



**Arab American University
Faculty of Graduate Studies**

**The Use of Palestinian Narrative by Palestinian
Diplomacy to Help in Resolving the Palestinian- Israeli
Conflict after the Oslo Accord (1993-2021)**

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Resolution**

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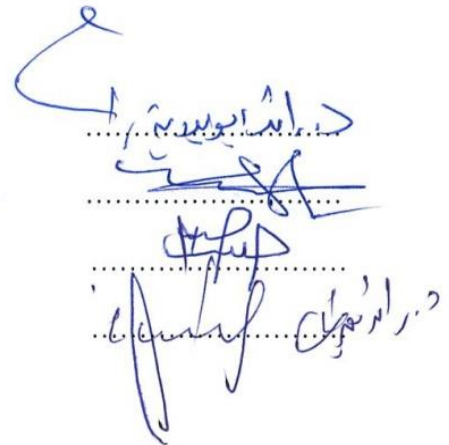
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Declaration

I, the undersigned, the author of Master thesis entitled as “The Use of Palestinian Narrative by Palestinian Diplomacy to Help in Resolving the Palestinian- Israeli Conflict after the Oslo Accord (1993-2021)” which is submitted to the Arab American University for the Master’s degree and I declare that it is the result of my own research, except as indicated, of which none has been offered for a higher degree to any university or other educational institution.

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Date: / /

Dedication

This study is wholeheartedly dedicated to my beloved parents, Ibtisam and Shukri, who support me mentally and emotionally on all my life's journeys. To my sisters and brothers, and all who believe in me.

Acknowledgement

The completion of this thesis could not have been possible without the participation, support, assistance and contributions of many people, and all their efforts and help are sincerely appreciated and gratefully acknowledged.

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My Parents and my family in general, my friends, and also, I would like to express my appreciation to my thesis supervisors Dr. Raed Abubadawia and Dr. Mahmoud Soliman Zawahre, who offered me their time, knowledge and help through this journey.

Abstract

In all forms of ending occupation and colonialism, major issues are resolved to end the conflict between two states, starting with the signing of the agreement, and then details are left for negotiations or any other political tool, and the issues of withdrawal, sovereignty, and self-determination are resolved. However, as with what happened in the Oslo accords, some details were agreed upon, and major issues were postponed. It has been talked about a limited Palestinian autonomy, which is gradually growing under the hegemony of the Israeli occupation, without regulations or standards that obligate Israel. Therefore, major issues have become marginal, such as: Jerusalem, refugees, settlement expansion, the right to self-determination, state borders, sovereignty, and natural resources.

As diplomacy plays a major role in representing countries, taking care of their interests, defending them, and taking full care of their citizens, the responsibility of diplomatic missions is doubled when it comes to people searching for their rights and self-determination in a world where interests prevail, especially the rights of the Palestinian people, who have been struggling for more than 73 years. Herein lies the importance of this study, as the researcher found that the Palestinian diplomacy, in its several forms, has not reached its minimum demands, due to its compliance in the first place with the political decisions, as it did not have any participatory role with the Palestinian leadership, but rather obeyed what the leadership dictated to it.

The Palestinian leadership, in turn, was following the Oslo agreement, which limited many options that could have given more rights to the Palestinian people and the Palestinian state. In addition to that, the Palestinian diplomatic sector did not have any clear long-term plan or strategy in the last two decades, and their participation in

international forums has been because of a crisis occurring, as they did not work internationally in normal times, and even their access to international forums was due to the suspension of negotiations with the Israeli occupation, which in turn rejected any settlement process with the Palestinians.

Other important reasons that weakened the Palestinian diplomatic role in conveying the Palestinian narrative, include the lack of a unified Palestinian narrative that was adopted by the official Palestinian position with all its institutions and the preference to adopt the peaceful narrative based on the Oslo accords. In addition to that, the presence of the United States of America as a strong ally of Israel and its possession of the right of veto led to the marginalization of basic Palestinian issues and rights.

Table of Content

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Thesis Approval..... | I |
| Declaration..... | II |
| Dedication..... | III |
| Acknowledgement | IV |
| Abstract..... | V |
| Table of Content | VII |
| Chapter One Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1 Motivation | 1 |
| 1.2 Research Problem..... | 5 |
| 1.3 Research Questions and Hypotheses | 6 |
| 1.4 Research Significant and Justifications | 8 |
| 1.5 Research Objectives | 8 |
| 1.6 Methodology | 9 |
| 1.7 Literature Review | 11 |
| 1.8 The Potential Limitations that Might Hinder the Study Are: | 15 |
| 1.9 The Terminology Used in the Study | 15 |
| 1.10The Chapters' of the Study..... | 17 |
| Chapter Two The Historical Development of Palestinian Diplomacy, Official and Popular, and its Achievements Between (1993-2021)..... | 18 |
| 2.1 Introduction | 18 |
| 2.2 The Historical Development of Official Palestinian Diplomacy, its Achievements and Obstacles..... | 20 |
| 2.3 Palestinian Popular Diplomacy | 37 |
| 2.3.1 The Definition of Popular Diplomacy | 37 |
| 2.3.3 Objectives and Challenges of the Palestinian Popular Diplomacy and the Axes of its Work | 38 |
| Chapter Three: The Tools of the Palestinian Narrative and its Role in Developing the Palestinian Diplomatic Performance in Resolving the Conflict and Strengthening international Attitudes Towards Issues: Refugees and the Right of | |

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Return, Prisoners, Jerusalem, Water, Settlement, and Borders in the Last Two Decades After the Signing of the Oslo Agreement. | 43 |
| 3.1 Introduction | 43 |
| 3.2 The Palestinian Narrative | 45 |
| 3.3 The Palestinian Diplomacy and its Use of the Palestinian Narrative..... | 53 |
| Chapter Four Enlisting the Palestinian Narrative by the Palestinian Diplomacy to Help Resolve the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in the Last Two Decades after the Signing of the Oslo Accords | 72 |
| 4.1 The First Study: The Narrative During the Conflict | 72 |
| 4.2 The Second Study: The Palestinian Diplomacy and How it Uses the Palestinian Narrative to Resolve the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict after the Oslo Accords. | 84 |
| 4.3 The Third Study: The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Palestinian Diplomacy in Using the Palestinian Narrative in an Attempt to Resolve the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict. | 94 |
| Chapter Five Conclusion and Recommendations..... | 101 |
| 5.1 Conclusion..... | 101 |
| 5.2 Recommendations | 102 |
| References | 107 |
| ملخص | 115 |

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Motivation

The Palestinian narrative and discourse have not yet realized their inherent strategic potential, as the Palestinian narrative, like the Palestinian people, is largely fragmented. Some of this is due to the varied experiences of the Palestinians with oppression and persecution (such as the exile that happened to them in 1948, which dispersed them into political ideologies and changed their priorities for 72 years (such as ending the occupation of 1967 versus returning to the lands of 1948). Some of it is also due to the difference in defining the framework for contemporary analysis that should be applied when diagnosing the Palestinian ordeal, such as; settler colonialism or apartheid, and foreseeing the future, such as; the state or equal citizenship. The difference between owning a unified narration and a unified discourse and the lack of them is the difference between the success of the Palestinian struggle and its failure.

When talking about the narrative and its transmission, many thinkers have argued about its concept and its definition, and herein lies the importance of the narrative for societies in general, and Palestinian society specifically. Regarding the previous word “Narrative”, according to the Cambridge Dictionary, it is defined as a story or a description of a series of events, or a particular way of explaining or understanding events.

In this sense, the researcher is addressing the importance of the way the Palestinian narrates his struggle and oppression that he is going through every day as a result of the Israeli occupational system, specifically when looking at the issues of asylum and identity, and the way of conveying when narrating, considering the shape of

the Palestinian issue in the eyes of the world. Therefore, Palestine must be presented as a historical entity within colonial world history because people whose struggles are mature and saturated with historical awareness tend to view history as an essential means of change, and to reveal the history and sources that the occupier is trying to hide. The history of Palestine and its people in general are marginalized.

Herein lies the greatest significance of the transmission of the Palestinian narrative and the greatest event that happened in Palestine since 1948, which is the Nakba. A narrative that is more than 70 years old, a story fraught with suffering, displacement, and fragmentation to paint another happy story for people who started a new life at the expense of the physical absence of other people. Herein lies the importance of narrating, specifically the everyday struggle of the Palestinians. In relation to the preceding, the researcher discusses the conflict in the Shaikh Jarrah neighborhood on May 20, 2021, as well as the importance of the popular movement and its work alongside official and public diplomacy in conveying the Palestinian narrative as a narrative related to the concepts we use in thinking and communicating about ourselves and the world around us.

These concepts are usually articulated and promoted by political, social, and cultural institutions and movements; they reflect and shape power relations; and they impact people's values, thoughts, beliefs, and ultimately actions. They are expressed through a wide range of forms, including literature, art, and written history (such as; articles and books), oral narration, photography, film, music, theater, and painting. Since the signing of the Oslo accord, the Palestinians have been trying to convey their narrative in various ways, as the knowledge and information development has imposed new criteria, after the classic form of knowledge, relations, and skills that the world

used to adopt, so that the priority has become for communication skills, management, participation, conflict resolution, and conflict management, which all form an essential part of the phenomenon of diplomacy, which is based on a set of effective tools and a network of influential international relations.

The Oslo era affected Palestinian diplomatic action entirely, after the joining of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) to the battlefield of peace negotiations with Israel, and the signing of several agreements, and as a result, the Palestinian Authority would have taken over and controlled both the West Bank and Gaza Strip, after the negotiations stage. The Palestinian Liberation Organization was welcomed by the West and even received attention from the United States of America (Salahat, 2015).

Palestinian diplomacy played an effective role in the Oslo era and had its serious activities related to the PLO Chairman, Yasser Arafat, where Palestinian diplomacy was distinguished by its openness to the West, and the desire to mobilize the greatest support and qualitative support for the Palestinian National Authority and the PLO, as the legitimate and only representative of the Palestinian people, and that the stability of Palestine is a reflection of peace in the Middle East, as the great influence of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict over the area.

The Palestine Liberation Organization adopted diplomatic resistance as a strategic choice after the signing of the Oslo accord in 1993. However, Palestinian diplomacy has not been able to transform the UN resolutions into actions on the ground. In order to resolve the conflict, the Israeli occupation was able to make the United States of America, USA, an absolute ally and change the way the conflict was resolved, based on the vision of the occupier. As a result of all this in the past, it has recently resulted in what is known as the Deal of the Century, announced by American President

Donald Trump on Jan 28th 2020, which is ruled by the logic of power and not based on conflict resolution theories.

Al-Nawajhah (2016) argues that the exception to the Palestinian diplomatic actions and emergences and developments from the rest of all countries is the absence of a sovereign and the independence of the Palestinian entity. On the other hand, Ramlawi (2018) believes that "diplomacy does not make policy, it is a part of the political system of the state, and its role is complementary to the policy and strategy of the state, which does not depart from it nor contradict it. In this sense, if the state makes any progress, diplomacy also retreats, and if the state retreats, diplomacy also retreats, and it cannot operate successfully, national transparency and creativity are lost". (Ramlawi, 2018: p. 26).

Therefore, there is a big debate about the specific meaning of the narrative and the delusion the Oslo accord contains, as it addresses that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict started in 1967 and not before that, and neglects the narrative of the Nakba in 1948, thus distracting the general Palestinian narrative.

Hence, this study seeks to explore the Palestinian diplomatic reality and to what extent it has been dependent on the Palestinian narrative in order to make changes in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the last two decades after the signing of the Oslo Accord. Thus, the research process is carried out through analyzing the Palestinian diplomacy's use of the Palestinian narrative. The study will adopt a qualitative methodology through interviews with diplomats and researchers in the field of the Palestinian narrative.

This study is expected to present practical proposals to the Palestinian diplomatic sector in order to use the Palestinian narration effectively to end the Israeli-

Palestinian conflict, as it will enrich theories of conflict resolution as this conflict comes from a unique conflict area, while the narrative is considered one of the most important elements of this conflict, and the occupier has strong allies around the world.

1.2 Research Problem

Palestinian diplomacy has gained exceptional and especial importance in the last two decades, since the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) opened the door to negotiations as a strategic choice to solve the Palestinian issue and since the declaration of the state of Palestine by the Palestinian National Council in 1988, Palestinian diplomacy has been revitalized in its work and relations with states that have an impact on the peace process, specifically the United States of America and European countries, but this diplomatic work has been increased after the signing of the Oslo accord between both the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Israeli government in 1993, which was followed by the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority, in order to have an international impact on several issues, such as getting international support for the Palestinian position in the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations, and financial support for the Palestinian treasury, development programs, and Palestinian Authority institutions (Salahat, 2015).

As a result of the failure of the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations, and the lack of access to righteousness and a peace agreement, which could have ended the dialectic on the Palestinian rights, which are considered fundamental issues, including; Jerusalem, prisoners, refugees, borders, settlements, and water, as a result of negotiations, which were considered as a conflict resolution political tool, the Palestinian side was forced to accept unaccepted alternatives, which deepened the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and so,

imposing restrictions on the Palestinian side. Despite this, Palestinian diplomacy has worked over the years to make an impact on international public opinion by acceding to international conventions such as the United Nations Convention against Corruption on April 4, 2018, the International Convention for the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid in April 2014, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage in December 2011, and the Convention for the Protection and Reinforcement of Cultural Expressions in December 2011. All international treaties to which the State of Palestine has agreed fall under the category of diplomatic efforts and attempts to impose the Palestinian position in international fields, represent it in international diplomatic and political forums, and establish relations with various countries around the world.

However, there are indications that say there is a problem in using the Palestinian narrative, and this research aims to analyze these imbalances that affect the represented Palestinian narration on international platforms, a narrative that expresses the persecution of the Palestinians for more than seven decades.

1.3 Research Questions and Hypotheses

The main hypothesis of this research is:

The researcher's argument is that there are weaknesses of in the Palestinian diplomacy in using the Palestinian narrative since signing the Oslo accord to help in resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as the Israeli violations continue to threaten the Palestinian existence and deprive it of its various rights. In addition to that, the daily colonial practices represented by settlement expansion, the continued killing and arresting of the Palestinians, the Israeli attempts to Judaize Jerusalem, ignoring the Palestinian refugee's

file, and finally the deal of the century, which indicated the weakness of the Palestinian demand for a state on the 1967 borders, and so, guaranteeing all the rights of the Palestinian people.

Therefore, this study attempts to answer the main question:

How did the Palestinian diplomatic sector use the Palestinian narrative to enhance conflict resolution, especially in the last two decades after the signing of the Oslo accord?

The main question is derived from the following sub-questions:

1. How can the Palestinian narrative contribute to developing a Palestinian diplomatic performance in resolving the conflict and strengthening international attitudes toward issues like: refugees and the right of return, prisoners, Jerusalem, water, settlements, and borders in the last two decades after the signing of the Oslo accord?
2. How has the Palestinian diplomatic sector used the Palestinian narrative through human rights and media through digital diplomacy, to present Palestinian suffering and persecution, and the issue of conflict, in the past two decades after the signing of the Oslo accord?
3. What has been the impact of Palestinian diplomacy on United Nations resolutions related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the last two decades after the signing of the Oslo accord?
4. What are the strengths and imbalances (weaknesses) of Palestinian diplomacy in using the Palestinian narrative, to resolve the conflict in the last two decades after the signing of the Oslo accord?

1.4 Research Significant and Justifications

The importance of this study lies in handling one of the most important forms of resistance, which is diplomatic resistance, as a strategic option after the Oslo accord, and implemented by signing the Oslo accord since 1993, and the importance of the study is determined by:

1. The outcome of this study aims to improve the Palestinian diplomatic performance.
2. Presenting practical proposals to the Palestinian diplomatic sector in order to use the Palestinian narrative effectively to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
3. There are many studies that dealt with each of the two issues separately, without combining them, demonstrating the scarcity of studies collected between Palestinian diplomacy and the Palestinian narrative.
4. This research will enrich the theories of conflict resolution, as this conflict comes from a unique conflict area where the narrative is considered one of the most important elements of this conflict, and as the occupier has strong allies around the world.

1.5 Research Objectives

1. To provide a brief history of Palestinian diplomacy
2. To analyze the performance of Palestinian diplomacy and its impact on the United Nations resolutions that are related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the last two decades after the signing of the Oslo accord
3. To explore the tools in the Palestinian narrative that the diplomatic sector has used or has not used in order to represent Palestinian suffering and persecution, and the issue of conflict, in the last two decades after the signing of the Oslo accord

4. To analyze how the Palestinian narrative contributes to developing the Palestinian diplomatic performance in resolving the conflict, and strengthening international attitudes towards issues like: refugees and the right of return, political prisoners, Jerusalem, water, settlements, and borders in the last two decades after the signing of the Oslo accord.
5. To shed light on the strengths and weaknesses of Palestinian diplomacy in using the Palestinian narrative adopted to resolve the conflict in the last two decades after the signing of the Oslo accord.

1.6 Methodology

The methodology will be used to examine possible answers to the research questions, which largely depend on the availability of data.

In line with the nature of the research and the aims of the study, the researcher chose the qualitative analytical approach, which works to study the phenomenon as it is in reality. Al-Wafi (2005) defines this approach as the sum of the accurate and practical descriptions of the phenomenon that is the subject of the research, the study in its current conditions, and the relationships that exist between the phenomenon and the study, which is the performance of Palestinian diplomacy using the Palestinian narrative in helping to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict after the Oslo accords.

The researcher will be using a qualitative approach because it will help her to develop a deeper understanding of the Palestinian diplomacy and narrative, which will enable the researcher to provide a holistic answer to the research question. It will also help the researcher explore issues with a wide-angle lens.

The researcher will conduct 6 semi-structured interviews with Palestinian diplomats, Palestinian researchers who have written about the Palestinian narrative and the Palestinian identity, and Palestinians who work in popular movements. Because all interviews will fill the researcher's assumed gap between Palestinian diplomatic work and Palestinian narrative, the necessity of conducting this study and asking various questions has emerged.

Research Tools: Study Area, Sample Size

The researcher will conduct interviews for the purpose of the study, which aims to analyze the Palestinian diplomacy use of the Palestinian narrative. And the interviews will be conducted with the following interviewees:

- Diplomats who have worked in this field since the Oslo Accord's signing, such as Dr. Ahmad Al-Deek, Basel Ajwa, and Laila Al-Shami
- Palestinian researchers and writers, such as Dr. Sharif Kanaana, who have conducted research and written books on the Palestinian narrative.
- Dr. Bassam Awartani, a young Palestinian activist who helped to convey the Palestinian narrative in several Palestinian cases and worked to mobilize social populist movements.

Limitations of the Study

This study deals with the subject of the Palestinian narrative used by Palestinian diplomacy to help resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict within the following limits:

- Spatial boundaries: the study is limited to the West Bank and Jerusalem

- The difficulty in reaching out to some interviewees, for instance; Dr. Husam Zomlot and Muna Kurd.
- Time limits: the second semester (2020 – 2021)

1.7 Literature Review

The literature review is divided into two components; the Palestinian narratives' literature review and the Palestinian diplomacy's literature review.

Palestinian Narrative Literature Review

- Bshara's Study (2007) entitled: *The Palestinian Spaces of Memory's Role in the Reconstruction of New Collective Narrative in the Nation Building Process*,

Because of the significance of Palestinian built heritage in the collective narrative and its role in the Palestinian narrative, which has been heavily influenced by several colonial systems, it is critical to address this study, which examines the changes that occurred in Palestinian identities during critical stages of Palestinian history, beginning with the Nakba, the 1967 war, and ending with the Oslo accords of 1993. The researcher finds this study important as it reflects the reason why several identities emerged, and thus several Palestinian narratives.

- Said's Study (1984), entitled: *Permission to Narrate*

This study is relevant to the research, as Edward Said writes about the story of the Palestinians and their narrative, specifically the narrative which has never been officially admitted into Israeli history, except as that of "non-Jews", as Palestinians

whose narrative has always been ignored or expelled by the Israelis, and who have the right to build a sovereign state and end the Israeli occupation.

- Federman's Study (2016) entitled: *Narrative Approaches to Understanding and Responding to Conflict Narrative*

This study helps reveal the identity connections and stories that keep people situated as they are and perceive change as threatening to their identity. The researcher finds this study important as it shows how a dominant narrative can affect negatively a marginalized narrative and how a conflict can also create a new narrative in a state.

Palestinian Diplomacy's Literature Review

- Ramlawi study (2018) entitled: *Palestinian Diplomacy Achievements and Regressions*

This study sought to research the accomplishments and regressions related to Palestinian diplomacy, and the study that adopted the descriptive analytical approach concluded that the Palestinian diplomatic imbalance consists of three elements that are the main pillars of the success of every Palestinian diplomatic action, namely the human element, the ministry, and the element of freedom and national independence.

- Al-Nawajha's Study (2016) entitled: *Palestinian Diplomatic Performance in Strengthening the International Position Towards the Refugee Issue*

The study aimed to identify the performance of Palestinian diplomacy in strengthening the international position towards the refugee issue, the duration of its use and ownership of plans, capabilities, programs, means, and cadres available for that, the

extent of the impact of the Palestinian diplomatic representation (the PLO-PA) and the Palestinian division on diplomatic performance in Palestine. The study adopted the descriptive analytical method, the historical approach, and the comparative approach. The study reached a set of results, the most important of which are:

The Palestinian diplomatic efforts, in their beginning, focused on demanding individual return, and then gradually began demanding collective return.

The international interest in the Palestinian refugee issue is represented by a set of projects, and the various solutions presented by many parties and countries differ in their formulation and mechanisms according to the organization that adopts them. But this concern has not evolved to the point of providing a radical and just solution to the refugee issue and imposing it according to international resolutions.

All decisions emanating from the United Nations and its institutions related to the refugee issue are still ink on paper, as the international organization is unable to impose these decisions on "Israel" supported by the United States of America and the international community.

- Salahat's Study (2015) entitled: *The Role of Palestinian Diplomacy in Influencing the Positions and Policies of the European Union Towards the Process of Political Development in Palestine (2005-2013)*

The study aimed at explaining the impact of Palestinian diplomacy on the attitudes and role of the European Union towards the political development process in Palestine, by clarifying the importance of the European development role in Palestine, identifying the European Union's vision of the Palestinian political development process, and revealing the restrictions imposed on the European development role in

Palestine, and understanding the limits of Palestinian diplomacy in influencing the role of the European Union towards political development in Palestine. The study adopted the descriptive analytical approach, and the study reached the following:

1. Palestinian diplomacy was able to achieve some successes in terms of developing the European political and developmental stance towards Palestine.
2. The most important weakness of Palestinian diplomacy lies in its inability to influence the European Union towards developing its theoretical positions into practical positions, which results in actual policies implemented by the European Union to support Palestinian political development on the path to achieving and embodying an independent Palestinian state.
3. Besides losing Palestinian diplomacy to a clear plan towards the European Union, whether related to its political or developmental role, because the existence of a clear plan is important in terms of assessing the role of Palestinian diplomacy, the existence of the plan is an important starting point for evaluation, on the basis of which it is possible to judge the effectiveness of the performance of that diplomacy in achieving the goals it includes, and show the deficiencies and shortcomings in this performance.

- Ahmad's study (1993-2014)

This study, entitled: *The Impact of the Oslo Accord on the Palestinian Diplomacy* aimed to analyze the impact of the Oslo accords on many vital Palestinian concerns conducted by Palestinian diplomacy, such as; refugees, prisoners, Jerusalem, water, and settlement expansion.

The researcher believes that all the previous studies will enhance her ability to analyze the given components, which are: The Palestinian diplomacy and the Palestinian narrative, in order to gain a better understanding of the role of each.

1.8 The Potential Limitations that Might Hinder the Study Are:

1. The difficulty in accessing studies that combine Palestinian diplomacy with the Palestinian narrative.
2. Approaching the official figures
3. The COVID-19 crisis, which has hampered the movement of individuals, political, social, and academic institutions, as well as almost all aspects of life.

1.9 The Terminology Used in the Study

Diplomacy: A set of concepts, rules, procedures, ceremonies, institutions, and international norms that regulate relations between states, international organizations, and diplomatic representatives, with the aim of serving the higher interests (security and economic) and public policies, and for documenting the interests of states through communication, exchange, and political negotiations, and concluding agreements and international treaties (Al-Kayyali, 2012: p. 662). According to the researcher, diplomacy is the art of negotiations and international relations that are carried out according to successful communication mechanisms and intellectual and diplomatic skills, in order to achieve specific goals affecting the mother's relationships and decisions.

Conflict Resolution: A complete end to the conflict by addressing its deep roots in various political, economic, social, cultural and psychological aspects, and hence it is an ideal case as it does not only end armed violence, but rather seeks to address the

structural and root causes of it over a long period of time, and this requires the availability of four main conditions, namely, the awareness of the parties to the conflict of its high cost in a way that is difficult to bear, setting a deadline for settlement negotiations, the presence of an effective third party, and the commitment of the parties to the conflict to the principle of mutual compromises. A-at least, you believe that the cost of the conflict is affordable or unjustified (Mahmoud, 2004: p. 9).

Peaceful Settlement: is represented by political settlement on the one hand, and legal settlement on the other hand, and the first paragraph of Article (33) of the Charter of the United Nations identifies the peaceful means for settling international conflicts, namely negotiations, investigation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, or asylum to agencies and organizations using regional or other peaceful means of their choice (Shafi'i, 2016: p. 3).

The Palestinian Narrative: a distinctive literary art in its form and content, as the Palestinian narrative is considered one of the most important literary forms based on the long narrative, and it contains several stories that are presented in a series, which reflects the intensity of its events, characters, conflict, and momentum of events.

The Oslo Accord: A treaty or peace agreement which was signed between both the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel, in Washington, specifically in September the thirteenth 1993.

1.10 The Chapters of the Study

The study is divided into five chapters:

- Chapter One: Introduction, the background of the study, the justifications for the study, its importance, the objectives of the study, the study questions, its methodology, its limits, and previous studies
- Chapter Two: The historical development of Palestinian diplomacy and its achievements between (1993-2020).
- Chapter Three: The tools of the Palestinian narrative and their role in developing the Palestinian diplomatic performance in resolving the conflict and strengthening international attitudes towards issues including: refugees and the right of return, prisoners, Jerusalem, water, settlement, and borders in the last two decades after the signing of the Oslo agreement.
- Chapter Four: Enlisting the Palestinian narrative by Palestinian diplomacy to help resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the last two decades after the signing of the Oslo Accords
- Chapter Five: Conclusions and Recommendations.

Chapter Two

The Historical Development of Palestinian Diplomacy, Official and Popular, and its Achievements Between (2021-1993)

2.1 Introduction

After the end of the First World War in 1917, the Palestinian people went through many stages of conflicts, most notably the Balfour Declaration, declared by the British Foreign Secretary on November 2, 1917, according to which the Jews were guaranteed a homeland in Palestine, in addition to Partition Resolution No. (181) issued by the United Nations on November 29, 1947, which included the division of Palestine into two states, in addition to the declaration of the establishment of the State of Israel and the occupation of most of the Palestinian territories after the 1948 war, which led to the migration of more than one million Palestinians from their occupied lands to the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Arab and foreign countries, and then the 1967 war in which the Israeli occupation forces occupied the rest of Palestine from Jerusalem, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. As a result, the world has dealt with the Palestinian people and their cause as a refugee issue that needs relief and aid only.

The Palestinian people faced all the conflicts that Palestine went through, demonstrations and revolutions, such as; the Jerusalem Revolution, which took place in 1920, the Jaffa Revolution in 1921, the Buraq Revolution in 1929, and the Izz al-Din al-Qassam uprising that ignited the Great Revolution in Palestine in 1936, which prompted the emergence of many political, union and organizational armed parties, which led the Palestinian revolutions and movements to defend the Palestinian land. On the other

hand, the diplomatic representation in that era was almost not-existent due to the absence of a Palestinian state in the international forums. (Sarsour, 2017).

After the formation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1964 at the first conference of the Palestinian National Council in Jerusalem (www.plo.ps, 2016), the PLO played an important role in the Palestinian cause in highlighting Palestine, and introducing it to the countries of the world. The League of Arab States decided to consider the Palestinian Liberation Organization PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people at the Arab Summit held in Rabat in 1974 (www.plo.ps, 2016). Then, the PLO adopted several diplomatic actions. As a result, the Palestinian issue was included on the agenda of the United Nations as a separate item.

The United Nations issued a resolution on November 22, 1975, with the number (2236) that includes the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, their right to sovereignty and independence, and the right to return to their land (Sarsour, 2017).

The PLO's interest in diplomatic work to solve the Palestinian issue has increased because diplomacy is one means for countries to implement their foreign policies and achieve their goals, in addition to other means of military, economic, and media power.

Palestinian diplomacy has gained special importance among the countries of the world. With the Israeli occupation and the countries of the world trying to solve the Palestinian issue, and after the declaration of the Palestinian state by the Palestinian National Council in Algeria in 1988, Palestinian diplomacy became influential in the peace process and in some countries such as the United States of America and European countries, and the activity of Palestinian diplomacy increased after the signing of the

Oslo Accord between the PLO, and the Israeli occupation in 1993, with the aim of influencing and putting pressure on the countries calling for and sponsoring the peace process in several aspects, most notably, supporting the Palestinian position in negotiations with the Israeli occupation, securing financial support and development programs in Palestine and supporting the institutions of the Palestinian Authority (Salahat, 2015, p2).

Regarding the definition of diplomacy, there were many definitions that dealt with the concept of diplomacy, as some see it as a major tool used by countries to achieve foreign policy goals by influencing different countries and groups abroad with the aim of gaining their support. And some of them defined it as the science and art of negotiation. Consequently, it is considered a science because it is based on rules, laws, and essentials, and it is an art because it is a delicate profession that requires special skills.

Some modern politicians also defined it as a set of international rules and norms, procedures, decrees and formalities concerned with regulating relations between persons and members of international law, such as states and international organizations, with the need to follow the principles and norms covered by the principles of international law, and despite the different definitions, they agree in their entirety that diplomacy is based on four main bases: science, art, practice, and law (Salahat, 2015, p. 23).

2.2 The Historical Development of Official Palestinian Diplomacy, its Achievements and Obstacles

After the Israeli elections in 1992 and the victory of the Israeli Labor Party led by Shimon Peres, direct secret negotiations took place between Israel and the PLO in

the Norwegian capital, Oslo, and these negotiations resulted in the signing of the Oslo Accord at the White House in Washington in 1993, which is considered the first official direct agreement between the occupation and the PLO.

The Oslo Accord included a declaration of common principles between the two parties, after mutual recognition between them, and this agreement resulted in the end of the armed conflict between the two parties, and prepared the road for the establishment of a Palestinian Authority in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. And the Palestinian Authority (PA) was established by a decision of the Central Council in late 1993. As a result, the PA, with its various organs, took on the responsibilities of administration and internal security for the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (<https://unispal.un.org/>)

After the signing of the Oslo Accord, Palestinian diplomacy developed greatly, as it opened up widely to the West, especially with European countries and the USA, at the expense of several countries, such as China and Russia, due to the belief that these countries are not influential on the track of the peaceful settlement and negotiations with the United States of America (USA) and the European countries.

During that time, Palestinian diplomacy focused on explaining and clarifying the Palestinian positions through the negotiations and working on convincing the world of the need to support the establishment of the state of Palestine as the key to peace and stability in the Middle East. Focusing on maintaining the support of influential countries in the track of the negotiations by supporting the Palestinian position and expanding the circle of international recognition of legitimate Palestinian rights (Salat, 2015, p. 69).

Ahmad Husam addresses in his dissertation, *The Impact of the Oslo Accord on the Palestinian Diplomacy(2014-1993)* the pillars that Palestinian diplomacy has been based on, as the following:

1. Relying on the Negotiation Strategy:

After Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas took over the Palestinian presidency in 2005, he marginalized other forms of resistance that could have helped the Palestinian negotiator in his diplomatic battle with the Israeli negotiator.

2. The Wide Influence of the Fatah Movement on the Institutions of the Palestinian Authority:

The Oslo Accord came as a result of the efforts of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), and the leverage that the Fatah movement had in the PLO, as the Oslo Accord was approved by the Central Council with a Fatah majority, and thus, the authority worked to consolidate its presence in administering the West Bank and the Gaza Strip through Fatah's leaders or those who are closed to the Fatah movement. In Addition, the supporters of the Oslo Accords. Therefore, the political work continued within the framework of the Fatah movement and promote it diplomatically.

3. The Reliance on Personal Charisma:

The late Palestinian President Yasser Arafat unilaterally controlled all components of the Palestinian Authority, whether in terms of controlling the budget or employing main and middle positions in the authority. In addition to that, the absolute control over the security services and funding sources outside the framework of the authority's general budget. President Arafat used to manage all components of the

executive and administrative authority, but in 2003, the late President Arafat agreed to retract some of his powers in response to the pressures implemented on him by the International Quartet, which considered him to violate his powers and not make the necessary effort to fight terrorism. Despite this, President Arafat was able to achieve broad public support from the Palestinian people in all their places of residency.

4. Continuing Diplomatic Work with the Same Former Diplomats:

Many criticisms were made of the performance of the Palestinian diplomats, but in spite of this, the Palestinian diplomatic staff continued to manage diplomatic work, and this continued even after the formation of the Palestinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the adoption of the Palestinian Diplomatic Law, despite the urgent need to have high competencies for the Palestinian diplomats.

5. The Commitment to the Oslo Accord's References to Solving the Palestinian Issue:

At a time when the texts of the Oslo Accord were the source to rely on, there was no reliance on the main references in the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations represented by the decisions of the National Council and the Arab summit meetings, which led to the weakness of Palestinian diplomatic work at the level of international organizations.

6. Acceptance of the Implementation of the Security-Specified Commitments in the Oslo Accord:

The Oslo Accords included security arrangements where the authority performs specific tasks alongside the Israeli forces and where the authority is obligated to present an integrated plan to fight terrorism and cooperate with Israel in fighting terrorism.

7. The Palestinian Authority's Dependency on the Donor's Funds to Perform its Tasks:

The European countries and the USA committed to financially supporting the Palestinian Authority to ensure the implementation of its tasks and to win the Palestinians' support for the Oslo Agreement, which forced the Authority to rely on the aid of the donor countries, which led to a strong linkage between making political decisions by the Palestinian Authority and mortgaging them according to the donor countries' aid. This led to the failure to guarantee the independence of the Palestinian political decision (Ahmed, 2016, p. 69).

The Palestinian diplomacy was able to obtain a decision from the United Nations General Assembly at its 52nd session in 1998 to obtain a resolution that included granting it many privileges as an observer member, such as participating in sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, and participating in international conferences held under the supervision of the General Assembly other United Nations bodies (Al-Muzaini, 2018, p. 18).

The Palestinian diplomacy continued to develop and strive to obtain international recognition of the State of Palestine. In November 2011, a historic decision was issued to accept Palestine's full membership as a state in the UNESCO Educational, Cultural,

and Scientific Organization. Whereas Palestine won during the polling that took place at the organization's meeting in the French capital, Paris, with (107) against (50) abstentions from the polling attended by (173) participants. This resulted in the Palestinian diplomacy employing full membership in UNESCO to nominate a large number of archaeological sites for the world's human heritage to enhance the tourism sector, especially since one of the most important tasks of UNESCO is to identify and promote world heritage sites as a common human heritage (Sarsour, 2017, p. 117).

After Palestine was accepted as a member of UNESCO, the Palestinian diplomacy was able on October 31, 2011 to obtain a recommendation from the UNESCO executive council to raise its status from an observer member to a member enjoying full membership in the United Nations (Hamdan, 2016, p. 3). In order to capitalize on this recommendation and strengthen Palestinian diplomacy by increasing Palestinian representation in the United Nations to become a full member as a state, it submitted an application to join the UN in September 2011.

However, the membership committee of the United Nations refused to accept the application for the membership of the State of Palestine, as this committee announced on November 11, 2011 that it had failed to agree on accepting the membership of the State of Palestine due to the inability to gather nine votes to represent the Palestinian request in front of the Security Council (Sarsour, 2017, p. 117).

Palestinian diplomacy was set back after 2006, following Hamas's win in the second Palestinian legislative elections, and the formation of the tenth government headed by Mr. Ismail Haniyeh, which led to the cessation of international funding for the Palestinian government, which resulted in the funding being directed to the Palestinian presidency, which furthered the regression of the Palestinian diplomacy

performance and thus, the hindrance of the negotiation process between the PLO and the Israeli occupation's government. Furthermore, the conflict that erupted between the two parties, Hamas and Fatah, in June 2007 weakened Palestinian diplomacy; on the other hand, Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas avoided talking about armed resistance forces or supporting armed action during that period, despite the ongoing suspension of the negotiation process (Salahat, 2015, p. 84).

The Palestinian-Israeli negotiations continued from 1993 to 2011 without reaching a final peace agreement between the two parties. On the contrary, Israel changed many facts on the ground and established settlement projects in the West Bank, especially in Jerusalem, which led to the closure of a settlement path. This pushed the President of the State of Palestine, Mahmoud Abbas, to take the decision to go to the United Nations to obtain a membership in the United Nations (Al-Muzaini, 2018, p. 19).

The Palestinian President justified his decision on the following grounds:

- 1) The negotiations with the Israeli occupation have reached a dead end.
- 2) The Israeli government has not given any indication or direction of its willingness to return to serious negotiations that would lead to a just and lasting solution for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

The Israeli government has not indicated a willingness to return to serious negotiations that would result in a just and lasting solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

- 3) The countries which are sponsoring the peace process have become unable to convince Israel that it must implement its obligations and stop the policy of settlement and Judaization in the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, which constitutes a violation of the peace process (Al-Nahal, 2015, p. 407).

As for the conditions for membership in the United Nations, they are as follows:

1) The Applicant Requesting a Membership Must Be a State:

The state, according to international law, means the political unity that arises from the meeting of three elements, which are people, territory and sovereignty. The element of sovereignty is not only for the existence of a supreme authority that practices the administrative affairs of the people, but also extends to include the independence of the state from other states. Where the concept of the state in the United Nations was affected by political considerations, even if they did not agree with the legal concept of the state.

In previous experiences of acquiring membership in the United Nations when examining the state's condition for joining, we find that the United Nations has been lenient in adhering to the element of sovereignty, especially in the external appearance related to the political independence of the country requesting a membership, and the Charter of the United Nations considered among the members some countries that do not apply to the elements of the state identified by international law, and this is due to the incompleteness of the element of sovereignty, such as Syria and Lebanon, which despite being under the French mandate, have joined the United Nations, as this is the case for other countries.

Despite the United Nations' leniency towards the term "state", it did not, in its discretion, completely disregard sovereignty, as there must be a minimum level of control by the governing body over the territory and the people, and this confirms that the United Nations has never accepted a government which is in exile as a member of the United Nations.

2) The Country Must Be a Peace-Loving Country:

The Charter of the United Nations includes a clause that states that membership in the United Nations is permissible for all peace-loving countries, but this clause has no legal connotation. This clause was included because of the historical circumstances of the establishment of the United Nations, which was established by a group of countries that fought a fierce war, and as a result, the charter had to state frankly that membership in the organization is only for peace-loving countries.

3) The Acceptance of the Requesting State to Join All the Obligations Contained in The Charter:

The Charter of the United Nations is considered a treaty in which parties must be committed to what is stated, and the condition of accepting these obligations is a legal condition. It requires that the state declares its acceptance of all the obligations established by the Charter, and this condition is fulfilled once the state submits an application to join the United Nations.

4) The State Must Be Able to Implement the Charter's Obligations:

Joining the United Nations requires that a state be able to implement the obligations contained in the Charter, and the ability of the state to implement the obligations stipulated in the Charter of the General Assembly and the Security Council is measured. If it is found that the state is unable to implement the obligations of the Charter, it means that it is not qualified to join the United Nations.

5) The Country Requesting Accession Must Be Willing to Implement the Obligations:

This condition is considered political in nature as it is based on considerations and factors related to the confidence of the country wishing to join, and therefore, it is difficult to set a criterion to determine whether this desire exists or not. This matter is subjected to the discretion of the General Assembly and the Security Council in accepting the request to join or not (Al-Nahal, 2015, p. 402).

Returning to the Palestinian decision to go again to the United Nations to obtain membership in the United Nations, on November 22, 2012, Palestine submitted, through a group of Arab and friendly countries, to the United Nations General Assembly a draft resolution that included upgrading Palestine's status in the United Nations to become a non-member observer state.

The draft resolution focused on the status of a non-member observer state at the United Nations without prejudice to the acquired rights and privileges and the role and position of the Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The draft also emphasized the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the independence of their state on the 1967 borders. On November 29, 2012, the General Assembly issued Resolution No. (67/19), which included granting Palestine the status of a non-member observer state at the United Nations. The project was approved by 138 countries, and nine countries opposed it, 41 countries abstained from voting, and five countries were absent from the voting session (Al-Muzaini, 2018, p. 20).

The United Nations Resolution No. (67/19) entails many gains for Palestinian diplomacy, as this resolution grants Palestine the full right to join general international

treaties and agreements and to join all the specialized international institutions, which allows Palestinian diplomacy to benefit from contractual and non-contractual mechanisms to isolate the Israeli occupation, condemning its criminal practice, holding it accountable, and embodying the achievement of an independent Palestinian state.

Under United Nations Resolution (67/19) Palestinian diplomacy was also able to make Palestine a member of many international and regional institutions and enter into full diplomatic relations.

The decision also provided Palestinian diplomacy with a number of political gains, the most notable of which is addressing Israeli claims that the Palestinian territories are disputed lands. Palestine was also granted as a state in the international legal system, which put it in a situation where it can claim its rights from the international community, especially in cases related to the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

In light of the gains achieved by Palestinian diplomacy under United Nations Resolution No. (67/19), the Palestinian leadership has acceded to many international conventions. The most important are the four Geneva Conventions of 1949, the Vienna Convention on Treaties of 1969, the Vienna Convention on International Relations of 1961, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the economic covenant on economic and social rights, and the Rome Statute as the founder of the International Criminal Court in 1998.

The Palestinian diplomacy was also able to obtain a decision from the United Nations that included raising the Palestinian flag at the headquarters of the United Nations, and the Palestinian diplomacy took many political and diplomatic steps to ensure that some countries recognized the State of Palestine (Hamdan, 2016, p. 2).

Official diplomacy has achieved many achievements that can be summarized as the following:

- 1) The Palestinian leadership's keenness to implement many diplomatic tasks, for example, the late Palestinian President Yasser Arafat was present in all the agreements that followed the Oslo Accord, in addition to the Palestinian leadership's being able to make many diplomatic visits to Arab countries and countries of the world to mobilize support for the Palestinian cause, and receive diplomatic delegations in the Palestinian territories
- 2) Sending diplomatic delegations to many countries around the world, as well as paying attention to and following up on diplomatic representations accredited to the Palestinian Authority, where there are (10) consulates in Jerusalem representing their countries to the Palestinian Authority, (22) representative offices in Gaza and Ramallah, and (15) embassies in Israel, which considers itself the representative of their countries to the Palestinian state, and Israel
- 3) Signing several cooperation agreements with donor countries to provide services and assistance to the Palestinian people.
- 3) Signing a number of cooperation agreements with donor countries in order to provide services and assistance to Palestinians.
- 4) The advisory opinion of The Hague Tribunal on the apartheid wall, as it considered the apartheid wall built by the Israeli occupation state in the West Bank violates international law, and then The Hague Tribunal called for its removal and compensation for the affected Palestinians. In addition to that, the fact that Palestinian diplomacy was able to highlight and show the danger of settlement to the countries of the world and its danger to the Palestinian people and the peace process,

which prompted the European Union to announce its rejection of settlements, and some countries have imposed restrictions on products from Israeli settlements in the West Bank (Salahat, 2015, p. 74).

- 5) Obtaining recognition as a non-member state of the United Nations.
- 6) Participating in international diplomatic meetings and conferences, as well as monitoring Palestinian diplomatic delegations abroad
- 7) Attempting to increase the level of Palestinian diplomatic representation in a few countries.
- 8) Publishing reports at an international official level exposing Israeli occupation crimes, particularly in UN corridors (Ahmed, 2016, p. 77).

Despite the importance of the state's diplomatic representation, Palestinian diplomatic work faces numerous challenges, as illustrated by the following:

1) Disagreement Regarding the Legitimacy of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and The Palestinian Authority (PA).

The period after the Oslo Accords was characterized by conflicting powers, a multiple reference to Palestinian diplomatic work, and the absence of an organized program and a clear plan for the diplomatic work.

This period witnessed a decline in the role of the Palestine Liberation Organization in political and diplomatic work and the emergence of the role of the Palestinian Authority, which took upon itself the leadership of the next phase according to the foundations and references of the Oslo Accord. After the formation of the Palestinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2003, and the issuance of the Diplomatic Law in 2005, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs became the first reference in Palestinian diplomatic work (Ahmed, 2016, p. 79).

2) The Palestinian Political Division

After the signing of the Oslo Accord in 1993, signs of a Palestinian division appeared. National and Islamic organizations opposed that agreement, and some organizations, such as Hamas, sought to bring it down through military operations against Israel with the aim of weakening the Palestinian negotiator and demonstrating his inability to control the land. During the Cairo negotiations in 1994, Hamas carried out its first martyrdom operation.

The opposition to the Oslo Accords had negatively affected the extent of the Palestinian Authority's hegemony and control over the reality in Gaza and the West Bank, and consequently, the Palestinian Authority's position at the international level was damaged.

After Hamas won the second legislative elections in 2006 and formed the tenth government, differences emerged over the government's powers. Then the differences developed to the point of an armed conflict, and the formation of two Palestinian governments, each carrying a different project from the other. As a result,

At the time, Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas issued a presidential decree dismissing the Prime Minister of the National Unity Government, and declaring a state of emergency based on the provisions of the edited Palestinian Basic Law of 2003, and Hamas responded by rejecting the decree and declaring the continuation of "Ismail Haniyeh" at the head of his government, and the ministers who were not affiliated with Hamas withdrew from Haniyeh's government.

Hamas considered the government formed by the Palestinian president illegitimate, and accused the Palestinian president of losing his powers. The Palestinian leadership rejected any diplomatic role of the tenth government and prevented it from

communicating with diplomatic workers in Palestinian representations and embassies, as it did not represent any legitimacy. The Hamas-led Ministry of Foreign Affairs made attempts to make changes to the structure of the embassies, but it ran into a solid wall against the change process.

The division also contributed to the revival of an old plan by Israel to solve the Palestinian issue, by adopting a vision presented by the Jaffee Institute for Studies in 1989, whose essence revolves around a unilateral withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, seeking to establish an unknown entity and in the best cases, expanding it towards Sinai. As for the West Bank, the study called for maintaining control over a large part of it and leaving the issue of sovereignty over it floating (Ahmed, 2016, p. 81).

3) The Absence of a Political Program that Represents the National Consensus

The state of contradiction between the program of the Liberation Organization as a liberation movement and the program of the Palestinian Authority, which includes the state-building phase, has negatively affected the Palestinian diplomatic work. The general understanding of many countries in the world has become that the Palestinian-Israeli dispute is related to the common borders between them, which had resulted in a confusion in the diplomatic field, as well as in the process of integration in their proposal between the liberation phase and the state-building phase.

In addition to the difficulty of reconciling between the requirements for the Palestinian Authority to rise to the task of building its civil, military, and economic institutions, and the requirements for preserving the institutions of the Palestinian Liberation Organization and its role as a leading national framework for all segments of the Palestinian people (Ahmed, 2016, p. 84).

4) Relying on the Negotiations as the Only Option to Solve the Palestinian Issue

The PA continued to bet on the slogan of the ongoing negotiation strategy with Israel for more than twenty years after the signing of the Oslo Agreement, and no political achievement was achieved, while settlements in the West Bank lands continued to leave for the Palestinians scattered pieces, which eliminates the possibility of achieving the two-state solution (Ahmed, 2016, p. 85).

5) The Competencies and Skills of the Workers in The Diplomatic Field

The Palestinian Authority was not keen on selecting Palestinian diplomats according to the criterion of competence. Rather than that, the selection of the diplomats has been made according to the criterion of loyalty in the first place, and many diplomats have remained in their positions for long periods.

The mismanagement of diplomatic work and the lack of capabilities have become one of the most important features of diplomatic work at this stage, and therefore, this has negatively affected the performance of diplomats due to the absence of a clear plan of action, a reference in professional, administrative, and important legal issues, the absence of a reward and punishment policy, and the absence of a job description that clarifies the nature of the employee's work, the limits of his powers, and his professional and occupational rights.

As a result of the preoccupation with the struggle for the crumbs of power and the interruption of funding to the Palestinian Authority, monthly allocations for employees, including embassies and consulates employees, and as a result, their first concern has become to obtain their monthly allowances to meet their needs rather than working (Ahmed, 2016, p. 86).

6) The Aggression in the Official and Unofficial Arab's Support for the Palestinian Cause

The Arab revolutions, dubbed the "Arab Spring," have had a significant impact on the Arab world, as many Arab countries have witnessed the collapse of their official governments, state structures, and control over their lands, and internal fighting has erupted between groups of the same people for sectarian or ethnic reasons.

All of this led to the weakening of the Palestinian position and its ability to benefit from the Arabs' support in its negotiations with the Israelis. This has led to an unprecedented imbalance of power in the region in favor of Israel, specifically, after Hezbollah exited the resistance equation, and became immersed in the war in Syria, and then, the Palestinian division continued, without a country which is able to threaten Israel, such as Iraq and Egypt, for example (Ahmed, 2016, p. 88).

7) The International Intervention

The Palestinian issue is considered the focus of attraction between the various world powers. There is no doubt that in the phase of the unipolar world, the Middle East region has become under the complete hegemony of the United States of America, which thus imposes its vision on various issues, including the Palestinian issue, and this was clearly demonstrated after the Oslo accord, as the USA became the first and last sponsor of the Palestinian negotiations with the occupying state (Ahmed, 2016, p. 89).

2.3 Palestinian Popular Diplomacy

2.3.1 The Definition of Popular Diplomacy

Popular diplomacy is considered informal diplomacy, and it is represented by citizens communicating with individual citizens of other countries and making individual efforts to serve the interests of their country. This includes a wide range of activities that individuals can undertake to strengthen ties between individuals and societies to achieve the goals of popular diplomacy.

Popular diplomacy relies on multiple means, most notably audio and video, the press, and websites, including social networking sites. It also relies on civil society organizations, such as groups to preserve the environment, supporters of peace, poverty fighters, the Union of Writers and Artists, labor unions, students, and professional associations.

The progress and technological development in the various means of communication had a great impact on the emergence of popular diplomacy, as new means of communication appeared which mobilized citizens in different parts of the world, away from official channels (Ahmed, 2016, p. 25).

Popular diplomacy is practiced by student, labor or sports' delegations with the aim of conveying the correct images of their countries, and bringing a rapprochement between the citizens of different countries through the non-political and traditional diplomatic method.

Popular diplomacy carries the goals and objectives of the state and transfers them to the international arena in a more fluid and liberated manner, through active individuals and groups in various fields. This is achieved through the interaction of these activists directly with their active counterparts in the same field in other countries,

where this diplomacy aims to address the people and public opinion through informal parties and formations that exist in the fabric of society and that express vital sectors of it (Abu Shamaa, 2013, p. 67).

Popular diplomacy is considered a form of diplomacy with a populist dimension in relations between states, as it is based on the available and recognized means of communication in the interaction between peoples in order to achieve the goals of the state. Through the available means of communication, popular diplomacy seeks to establish direct relations between peoples and gain their support (Abu Shamaa 2013, p. 68).

Despite the liberation of popular diplomacy from official restrictions and not being based on its tasks and on the principles of traditional diplomatic work, this does not mean at all that popular diplomacy is separate in its objectives and strategies from the objectives and official discourse of the state. On the contrary, public diplomacy is a modern form of a state's interaction.

It is possible for the societies of other countries to influence political decision-making at the international level by influencing the opinions of the leaders and decision-makers in different societies, and trying to direct their decisions to serve the interests and objectives of the state (Abu Shamaa, 2013, p. 68).

2.3.3 Objectives and Challenges of the Palestinian Popular Diplomacy and the Axes of its Work

The Palestinian people have used popular diplomacy since the beginnings of the Zionist migrations to Palestine. The Palestinian popular resistance has developed with the development of the stages of the Palestinian cause. The Palestinian people

contributed to the rejection of the colonialist Zionist system with the Intifada model, which embraced many forms of popular confrontation against the occupation, as the term Intifada entered into dictionaries of all the languages of the world, and that the Palestinian people and their successive generations are creative in inventing tools and means of popular diplomacy that are suitable for each stage of the Palestinian cause and the events and developments it is going through.

Palestinian popular diplomacy aims to achieve many goals, represented by the following:

1. Expose the Israeli occupation's practices against the Palestinian people, and stop its allegations, which are published through their official and unofficial media.
2. Defending the Palestinian cause on social media.
3. Gaining the support and mobilization of the world's public opinion in support of the Palestinian cause.
4. Demanding the rights of the Palestinian people according to the United Nations' resolutions and international agreements (Abu Khesiwan, 2020, p. 16).

Despite the importance of the goals of the Palestinian popular diplomacy, it faces many challenges which reflect negatively on its performance. These challenges can be summarized as follows:

1. The absence of a strategy: although there are many official pages of the Palestinian leadership on social media platforms, there has been no clear action strategy for Palestinian popular diplomacy until now.
2. There is a lack of information and knowledge related to popular diplomacy at official and popular levels.

3. The seasonality of popular campaigns, is problematic as there is a need for popular campaigns to be periodic and continuous, as the permanence of work is extremely important to achieve tangible results that are positively reflected on the performance of popular diplomacy.
4. The individual work: The number of people in popular diplomacy is small compared to the educational level and the number of graduates (Abu Khesiwan, 2020, p. 16).

There are many successful manifestations of the Palestinian diplomacy, which were represented in the resistance against the apartheid wall and the Israeli settlements, the lifting of the siege on the Gaza Strip, and other examples brought by the popular uprising that took place in May 2021.

Social media played a prominent role in bringing the Palestinian cause back to the fore recently, specifically, after shedding the light on the crimes and violations committed by the occupation in Palestine, especially Jerusalem. Regarding the violations of the occupation in Jerusalem, it was remarkable the wide interaction caused by the hashtag # Save Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood, on Arabic and international levels, which sheds light on a tragedy that is happening to dozens of Palestinian families threatened with displacement from their homes in Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood in favor of settlement associations, which are supported by Israeli occupation courts.

The Jerusalem activist Mona Al-Kurd contributed to this by publishing a video about what is happening in the neighborhood, which witnesses continuous protests against the eviction decisions that the occupation intends to implement against her family and other families in the neighborhood.

Al-Kurd published a video on her Instagram account of a conversation that took place between her and an Israeli settler who stole part of her house, and he told her during the conversation; “If I don’t steal it, someone else will steal it” (Al Jazeera. 2021), referring to her house. This video spread like wildfire in the Sheikh neighborhood wounded in Jerusalem and the recent war on Gaza.

Consequently, despite the challenges and obstacles facing the Palestinian popular diplomacy, it has achieved many prominent successes for the benefit of the Palestinian people, as follows:

1. Several demonstrations took place in various countries of the world condemning the crimes committed by the Israeli occupation against the Palestinian people. The most recent was the demonstrations against the deportation of Palestinian families from the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood, and condemning the aggression against the Gaza Strip, in May, 2021.
2. Enhancing various forms of boycott against Israel at the political, diplomatic, economic and cultural levels.
3. Supporting the daily demonstrations against the Israeli apartheid wall and settlements.
4. Exploiting the issue of illegal settlements, which finds widespread rejection at the international level to isolate and expose the practices of the Israeli occupation.
5. Supporting the boycott of Israeli products, especially settlement products.
6. Exposing racist practices and human rights violations against the Palestinian people.
7. Using technology and making information available on the networks to support the rights of the Palestinian people.

8. Exerting economic and political pressure on countries, as well as supporting companies that invest in or buy Israeli settlement products (Ahmed, 2016, p. 126).
9. The increasing solidarity of the peoples of the world with the Palestinian cause after the recent war on the Gaza Strip in 2021, was represented by the emergence of many demonstrations and marches in many countries of the world, most notably the march that came from different Jordanian governorates towards the Palestinian borders.
10. In view of the impact of Palestinian popular diplomacy in influencing the world opinion towards the Palestinian cause, Leicester City player Hamza Chaudry carried the Palestinian flag in the final British Football Cup, and Manchester United's player Paul Pogba raised the flag in his team's last match, and solidarity did not stop on the field, but moved to digital space through the players' page. The popular support for the solidarity players also formed a protection net for them from any penalties that might occur from their clubs, as in the case of Arsenal player Mohamed Elneny (<https://www.prc.ps>, entry date 18/8/2021, 11:20 pm).
11. Many demonstrations took place around the world condemning the practices of the occupation forces towards Jerusalem and the Jerusalemites.
12. Many demonstrations took place around the world to demand the return of Palestinian refugees, and the establishment of the State of Palestine.

To go into greater detail, chapter three aims to bridge the gap between the Palestinian narrative and Palestinian diplomacy by addressing critical issues such as refugees and the right of return, prisoners, Jerusalem, water, settlements, and borders in the two decades since the signing of the Oslo agreement.

Chapter Three

Chapter Three: The Tools of the Palestinian Narrative and its Role in Developing the Palestinian Diplomatic Performance in Resolving the Conflict and Strengthening International Attitudes Towards Issues: Refugees and the Right of Return, Prisoners, Jerusalem, Water, Settlement, and Borders in the Last Two Decades After the Signing of the Oslo Agreement.

3.1 Introduction

Narrative and discourse are related to the concepts we use in thinking and communicating about ourselves and the world around us. These concepts are usually articulated and promoted by political, social, and cultural institutions and movements; they reflect and shape power relations; and they impact people's values, thoughts, beliefs, and ultimately actions. They are expressed through a wide range of forms, including literature, art, and written history (such as; articles and books), oral narration, photography, film, music, theater, and painting.

Therefore, the researcher asks the questions:

How can the Palestinian narrative be a tool for resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and how can the Palestinian diplomatic sector use the Palestinian narrative on an international scale to represent the Palestinian cause and its people suffering, in a diplomatic way? And in resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, what should the function of each narrative be: coexisting, bridging, or the denial of each the other?

Hence the researcher believes that this link is important between the roles of the three previous elements in this research.

The Palestinian narrative and discourse have not yet realized their inherent strategic potential, as the Palestinian narrative, like the Palestinian people, is largely fragmented. Some of this is due to the varied experiences of the Palestinians with oppression and persecution (such as the exile that happened to them in 1948, which dispersed them into political ideologies and changed their priorities for 73 years (such as ending the occupation of 1967 versus returning to the lands of 1948).

Some of it is also due to the difference in defining the framework for contemporary analysis that should be applied when diagnosing the Palestinian ordeal, such as; settler colonialism or apartheid, and foreseeing the future, such as the state or equal citizenship. The difference between owning a unified narration and a unified discourse and the lack of them is the difference between the success of the Palestinian struggle and its failure.

In this chapter, the researcher will represent the literature review that he has chosen to include in his dissertation and will construct a link between the three components: the Palestinian narrative, Palestinian diplomacy, and Conflict Resolution Theories and Tools. The researcher will use the literature reviews to prove or negate his hypothesis that the Palestinian narrative is not being well represented abroad, and thus there has been a weakness in the Palestinian position in resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

In this sense, a question is asked: what does the Palestinian writer write when looking at the issue of asylum and identity? What message does the Palestinian narrative convey to the outside world? What does the general shape of the Palestinian issue look like in the eyes of the world? And how does Palestinian narrative help in resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict?

In this sense, this chapter will be divided into four sections: the literature review of the Palestinian narrative, the literature review of Palestinian diplomacy, the literature review of conflict resolution theories, and the bridge that makes the connection between the previous.

3.2 The Palestinian Narrative

When talking about the narrative and its transmission, many thinkers have argued about its concept and its definition, and herein lies the importance of the narrative for societies in general, and Palestinian society specifically. Regarding the previous word “Narrative” according to the Cambridge Dictionary, it is defined as a story or a description of a series of events, or a particular way of explaining or understanding events (Narrative, 2021)

In order to gain a better understanding, the researcher chooses the previous studies which best suit her research. Please note that the researcher cannot be certain that the previous studies have a gap or are missing something, as the researcher used them separately: the Palestinian narrative, Palestinian diplomacy and conflict resolution theories and tools, in order to link them together. The main purpose is to obtain information that proves or negates the researcher’s hypotheses.

The Palestinian Nakba in 1948 constitutes the main Palestinian narrative, or the so-called grand narrative, and the Nakba is a term that symbolizes the collective forced displacement in 1948 of approximately 750,000 Palestinians from their homes and lands in Palestine (AFSC. 2021), and was represented by the success of the Zionist movement - with the support of the UK in controlling by force of arms over the greater part of Palestine and the declaration of the establishment of Israel.

War, in its essence, is organized violence, and it forces change and adaptation, and changes in society affect war (MacMillan, 2020). War or any kind of colonialism necessarily affects the occupied country in several ways. The most important affected aspects are the cultural and national aspects which creates new identities that did not originally exist among the indigenous peoples of the occupied or colonized states.

Khaldun Bshara, in his contribution *The Palestinian Spaces of Memory's Role in the Reconstruction of New Collective Narrative in the Nation Building Process*, wrote about three ideological streams combating over shaping Palestinian history and narrative within the broad geographical and political context of the region (Riwaq Centre, 2006). According to Bshara, those three streams have affected the structure of the Palestinian society. The first stream was known as the Ottomans who believed in the Ottoman Empire as a de-facto political identity. The second stream was the Shwam or the Syrians who believed that Palestine was a part of a homogeneous cultural and social entity known as the Great Syria. Many Palestinian thinkers believe in the second stream due to the social and cultural similarities between Palestinians and Syrians, as well as how both cultures interacted in various social and cultural aspects. The third stream was Al-Masriyen, or the Egyptians who believed in the Palestinian Arab identity, represented, then, by Egypt, the logical host of the Arab National movement (Bshara, 2007)

In addition to the various colorizations that took place in Palestine, which in turn affected the Palestinian identity, many identities were dispersed among them for instance; the refugee, the returner, the expatriate, the exiled and others. The researcher believes that there are other reasons for the absence of a single Palestinian identity. The

presence of different streams, such as the Arab extension, for example, as previously suggested by Bshara, has a direct impact on the Palestinian identity.

On the other hand, Bshara pointed out that during the British Mandate, for example, Palestinians were caught in a rapidly changing landscape which was not reflected in the Palestinian perception of Palestine, but rather was manifested in the resistance to the British project of creating a Jewish home land (Bshara. 2007). And so, Palestinians through the ages have not lost their national identity nor their belonging to Palestine nor their right to the Palestinian land, although that process ended dramatically with the loss of parts of Palestine and the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 (Bshara. 2007).

After an-Nakba (the Catastrophe of 1948), a new Palestinian narrative emerged, the core of which was the colonization of Palestine and the victimization of Palestinians. And Bshara added: (...on 1967 Palestinian political identity materialized fully with the establishment of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)” (Bshara. 2007). Thus, for every stage or history there was a change in the Palestinian identity, and thus an automatic change occurred in the Palestinian narrative.

The word Nakba is still used today to describe the Israeli/Zionist racist policies against Palestinians, although the Palestinians do not have a sovereign state. Thus, the main Palestinians’ narrative becomes the story of their struggle as refugees who have a narrative of their collective memories represented mainly through oral history.

In the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, Conflict Resolution’s researchers attempt to identify and map the conflict as a religious conflict based on a war between Judaism and Islam/Christianity, as both Palestinians and Israelis believe that their sacred places existed in Palestine. And so, the Israelis identified themselves with first Judaism as a

binding ideology, and second Zionism (the return to the Promised Land) as a political framework, and third, the Holocaust as a driving force, while the Palestinians identified themselves with Islam/Christianity and the right to return to their original homes (Bshara, 2007).

But the researcher believes that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not primarily based on religion, but rather on history and existence, and the evidence of this is the daily practices by the Israeli occupation authorities against the Palestinian people and the Palestinian land, and the wars that take place in Gaza or even the Nakba, which are all considered a genocide against the Palestinians, aiming to erase the history and culture of the Palestinian people.

In addition to that, the researcher believes that Palestinian intellectuals and thinkers must focus on making comparisons between the Holocaust and the Nakba and try to find similarities, especially in front of international platforms.

After the Oslo Accords (1993), there was a reconstruction of the Palestinian collective narrative. As the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) convention was modified to acknowledge the right of Israel to exist, hence, historical Palestine became a place for two nations/states, destroying much of the Palestinian collective narrative that equated Israel with imperialism, colonialism, and saw it as an apartheid system that should be dismantled and uprooted (Bshara, 2007).

Consequently, after the Oslo agreement, the narrative representing the Palestinian leadership became a peaceful narrative, and the Palestinian people were supposed to adopt this narrative, which was originally a narrative based on the Nakba, or the genocide of the Palestinians in 1948, and was considered the grand narrative of the Palestinians.

In Hayden White's contribution, "*The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality*" in *the Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, White suggests that "a culture may utilize for endowing experience with meaning, narrative as a meta-code, a human universal on the basis of which transcultural messages about the nature of a shared reality can be transmitted (White, 1987). Therefore, culture in itself is not sufficient if we want to define ourselves in front of other people anywhere, and the narrative is considered one of the most important means of transmitting culture.

White adds: "...the absence of narrative capacity or a refusal of narrative indicates an absence or refusal of meaning itself (White, 2013), and as a result of not recognizing the narrative of the other and building the narrative of one people at the expense of destroying the narrative of another people, new states built on the ruins of old, conflicts arise. In the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, how does what white mentions affect the conflict? Is the denial of a state's narrative a denial of its whole existence? Here lies the importance of the narrative in conflicted area.

Over the past decades, Palestinian scholar Edward Said, has emphasized the importance of narrative and how Palestinians are expected to participate in the dismantling of their own history at the same time (Said, 1984).

In his study, *Permission to Narrate*, these three words in the title described what Said felt was most denied to the Palestinians by the international media, the power to communicate their own history to a world hypnotized by a mythological Zionist narrative of an empty Palestine that would serve as a convenient homeland for Jews around the world who had endured centuries of racism, miraculously transformed by their labor from a desert to a bountiful Eden (Parry, 2003).

What Said experienced is happening on a daily basis for the Palestinians, an ongoing attempt to silence their narratives, which plays a fundamental role in their struggles for liberation and freedom from the patriarchal, violent, settler, and colonial systems. As long as discussions of Palestine and Israel are conducted at this level, the freedom of Palestinians will not be achieved (Said, 1984). On the contrary, the denial of a country's history means the denial of its narrative and then of its existence, as narrative might well be considered a solution to a problem of general human concern, namely, the problem of how to translate knowing into telling.

In the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the biggest problem lies in the denial of the Palestinian narrative by the Israeli side, and their right to live in their country or to regain their rights as refugees inside Palestine or outside as Palestinians in exile.

White argues that the problem of shaping human experience into form can be accommodated in structures of meaning that are generally human rather than culturally specific. We may be unable to comprehend what is specific.

The thought patterns of another culture, but we have relatively less difficulty understanding a story coming from another culture (Said, 1984). Here comes the power of storytelling, the role of narrating, the discourse, the ways and methods of presenting the narrative to ensure the arrival of the message from the sender to the recipient.

In this sense, Stuart Hall's communication model on "encoding-decoding" argues that a meaning is encoded by the sender and decoded by the receiver and that these encoded meanings may be decoded to mean something else (Hall, 1991 [1973]). This means that the senders encode meaning in their messages according to their ideals and views, and then their messages are decoded by the receivers according to their own

ideals, experiences, and views, which may lead to miscommunication or the receiver may understand the whole context in a different way from what the sender wanted.

In this context, Hall's interest did not stop at the limits of interpreting new cultural forms, such as the narrative, using the tools previously used by researchers in the field of literature, but was concerned with understanding the political, economic and social forces which converge in these means.

Hall believes that it is no longer limited to the content or language of the evening news, or the mid-level cultural magazines, which were telling us what we should think, but it has become necessary to pay attention to how they are organized, packaged and distributed. Thus, Hall's cultural studies are mainly reflecting on the role of cultural studies in the United Kingdom, stating that: "The vocation of cultural studies has been to enable people to understand what is going on, and especially to provide ways of thinking, strategies for survival, and resources for resistance to all those who are now ...excluded from anything that could be called access to national culture (Hall, 1991 [1973]).

In this sense, narrative as a cultural component is an optic for understanding and engaging with conflict, as its analysis provides a means to locate individual and communal meaning in their discourse and to pinpoint conflicts in their world views that threaten their identity and agency. Further, it helps explain how marginalized people remain marginalized (Federman, (2016).

It is natural for conflicts between countries to affect their cultures, particularly the narratives of marginalized groups that appear or were previously existing, and to reform them. Sometimes the emergence of a new narrative is based on the cancellation of the old one. One way to understand cycles of violence and protracted conflict is to

visualize them as broken narratives. A person's story is marginalized or, worse, destroyed by the dominant culture, and by this act, meaning, identity, and a place in history are lost. This is the deeper challenge of peacebuilding: how to reconstitute, or re-story, the narrative and thereby restore people's place in history (Lederach, 2005).

After the Oslo accords, the greatest interest became in creating a peaceful narrative between the Palestinian and Israeli people, and the Palestinian leadership's first goal was to create a state narrative, as they tried at that time to establish a Palestinian state that would possess sovereignty on the borders of the land of 1967, and to reach solutions that cover important issues such as the issue of Palestinian refugees, Palestinian prisoners, Jerusalem, and the settlement file. However, the Israeli occupational state did not abide by any of the terms of the agreement. On the contrary, all its racist and colonial practices against the Palestinian people increased.

When certain narratives (stories, perspectives) dominate, other experiences (marginalized by or contradicted by those dominant stories) become marginalized, oppressed, or suppressed, leading to both latent and overt conflict. Marginalization can erupt and express itself in the form of crime, protests, boycotts, uprisings, and sociopolitical movements (such as Black Lives Matter, Gay Pride, etc.) (Federman, 2016). In fact, here comes the importance of narrative approaches: to provide a way to understand how stories function in communities and how to intervene when destructive stories circulate. As the dominant narrative demolishes and fragments people's original identities and narratives,

Thus, the existence of a peaceful Palestinian narrative, or any narrative that contradicts the existing Palestinian narrative, negatively affects the grand narrative and

the identity of the Palestinian people, and may create a state of chaos and contradiction between their different identities and narratives.

On the other hand, narrative practitioners' interventions aim at increasing the textures and complexity (and potential contradictions) of dominant narratives as well as making them open to counter stories, old and new. The ability of those counter stories to be heard and legitimized is a key indicator of the narrative health of a community (Federman, 2016).

Thus, we can say that the narrative, as a cultural tool, has an impact on influencing and changing the ideologies of groups in various societies. It is an instrument through which soft power is conducted as a tool rather than a resource. It is no less than a form of soft power accomplished by states on a local and global level, and it is difficult to know the definition of soft power and how it works unless we understand and acknowledge its political characteristics.

3.3 The Palestinian Diplomacy and its Use of The Palestinian Narrative

i. Public Diplomacy

The emergence of the Oslo Accord led to a new beginning for Palestinian political and diplomatic work, as the Palestinian Authority (PA) was established on the basis of this agreement. In addition, this agreement gave Palestine legitimacy to represent itself in front of the international community, and also gave tasks to the Palestinian National Authority in managing the population of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The Oslo Agreement became the main reference for any political solution regarding the Palestinian issue, despite the differences between the Palestinian National

Authority and the political department of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) regarding the powers of diplomatic work for each of them.

The Palestinian diplomacy focused on the tool of negotiations with the Israeli side and, as a result, successive agreements with the Israeli side, which negatively affected the diplomatic performance, especially after the emergence of problems over the powers of diplomatic work between the political department in the organization.

The Palestinian diplomatic work has been limited to negotiations with the Israeli side, and this limited work has led to the marginalization of other political and legal ways of resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in addition to the absence of a unified position that brings together all the Palestinian national factions.

Liberation and the Palestinian Authority.

On the other hand, the Oslo Accords helped Israeli diplomacy and proved "Israel" as a true partner in the peace process and that it was committed to solving the Palestinian issue, while in fact it was continuing its settlement expansion and doing nothing but working on ending the two-state solution.

The Palestinian diplomatic work was negatively affected after the Oslo agreement, as the solution to the Palestinian issue was limited to the framework of direct negotiations with the Israeli side as mentioned above.

The division and the absence of a unified political program for all Palestinian national factions and the absence of a systematic plan to adopt different forms of diplomatic work, in addition to the adoption of the Palestinian diplomatic law and the establishment of the Palestinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which did not contribute to the serious and real development of diplomatic work.

Diplomacy is not only limited to the official diplomacy of governments; there are several forms of diplomacy in which countries can achieve their demands on an international level.

In the report, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*, by Nicholas J. Cull, Cull defines diplomacy as "the mechanisms short of war deployed by an international actor to manage the international environment (Cull, 2009). In this sense, diplomacy can be referred to as soft power, the opposite of war, which is known as hard power. Cull suggests a new form of diplomacy. Below is a table showing the differences between traditional diplomacy and the new diplomacy written by Cull.

| Dominant Characteristics | Old PD | New PD |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1) Identity of international actor | State | State and non-state |
| 2) Tech. environment | Short wave radio Print newspapers Land-line telephones | Satellite, Internet, real-time news Mobile telephones |
| 3) Media environment | Clear line between domestic and international news sphere | Blurring of domestic and international news sphere. |
| 4) Source of approach | Outgrowth of political advocacy & propaganda theory | Outgrowth of corporate branding & network theory |
| 5) Terminology | "International image" "Prestige" | "Soft power" "Nation Brand" |
| 6) Structure of role | Top down, actor to foreign peoples | Horizontal, facilitated by actor |
| 7) Nature of role | Targeted messaging | Relationship-building |
| 8) Overall aim | The management of the international environment | The management of the international environment |

Figure 1: The Old Public Diplomacy and the New

Cull adds: "Historically, PD (public diplomacy) has taken the form of contact between one government and the people of another state. PD does not always go out of its way to reach out to a large number of people...Moreover, PD does not always take the form of

an immediate attempt to influence a foreign public. It is also part of public diplomacy to listen to a foreign public and change your approach or even your position as a result (Cull, 2009).

It is noticeable that Israel has taken this approach for years, and it is noticeable from its current discourse to the Palestinians through social media platforms and the presence of pages such as the page of the coordinator and the page of the spokesperson for the Israeli occupation army, Avichai Adraee, through which the Israeli occupation government sends messages to Palestinian workers who work in Occupied Palestinian Territories to inform them of their working hours and details. In addition, they always greet the Palestinians on any Islamic occasion that concerns the Arab people in general and the Palestinians in particular, ignoring the role of the Palestinian government in reaching any solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

And here comes the question: What is the role of the Palestinian government through its diplomatic means?

Does diplomacy create opportunities to resolve conflicts between states or vice versa?

Does diplomacy recede by finding solutions to a conflict between two countries, or?

As mentioned previously, the Nakba that happened to the Palestinians in 1948 is considered the grand narrative of the Palestinians and the Palestinian cause, or in a more accurate sense, the story that grants the Palestinians their full rights, represented mainly by a whole land called historical Palestine, which in turn cancels the Israeli narrative of their entitlement to the land and, thus, their right to exist on the occupied lands of Palestine.

On the one hand, since the Oslo Accords did not refer to the occupied Palestinian lands in 1948 as a grand narrative, its main goal as an agreement between the

Palestinians and the Israelis was to reach a solution to end the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. On the other hand, there are many issues that are still pending between the two sides, some of which the researcher addresses in this study, like; the water, the prisoners, the refugees, and Jerusalem, as following:

1. Palestinian Diplomacy Towards the Water Issue

Water is one of the most important elements that are necessary for the continuation of life. Water is one of the most important reasons for existence and survival. It has also been a means of attracting individuals and groups over the years. Population communities originated near water resources. Water absolutely contributes to securing society's basic needs and the numerous uses of water, such as navigation, agriculture, industry, and energy generation, but the Israeli occupation controls the multiple water sources in Palestine, without providing a fair amount of water to the Palestinians. This was confirmed in the report of the Security Committee established on November 25, 1980, where the report stated that Israel, in its use of Palestinian waters, explicitly and gravely violated the Fourth Geneva Convention for the Protection of Civilians in Time of War of 1949, despite the international protection of the water resources of the Palestinian people.

The international community has not yet found any appropriate means to protect the water resources of the Palestinian people, due to the American protection of Israel through the right of veto, in addition to the American pressure on countries and international organizations to prevent taking any measures against the Israeli occupying state (Abu Amer, 2004, p. 21).

The issue of water is still one of the issues that are still pending between the Palestinians and the Israeli occupation. Therefore, it took an important position in the

Palestinian-Israeli negotiations. The Madrid Peace Conference, which was held on October 30, 1991, assigned a committee to study the water file within the framework of multilateral negotiations called the Water Resources Committee. This committee met more than eight times from 1992 to 1996, and these meetings resulted in several proposals, including the establishment of information banks for water resources, regional cooperation, finding common denominators in the field of water, and working on the development of available water resources (Abu Amer, 2004, p. 23).

Despite the issue of water being one of the outstanding issues in the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations, the Palestinian diplomacy succeeded in establishing the right of the Palestinian people to obtain water on many occasions and in international agreements - which have not been implemented - as the following:

1. Demanding that the United Nations' resolutions on lands and natural resources be implemented.
2. The inclusion of the Oslo Accords on 9/13/1993 with a clause stating that the water issues will be discussed with special plans prepared related to defining the water rights of each party on the basis of the principle of equitable use of water resources.
3. Paragraph (40) of the Oslo Accords 2 included Israel's recognition of the water rights of the Palestinians, and those rights will be negotiated and reached during the final status negotiations, which relate to various water resources.
4. The issue of water was mentioned in nine articles in the Cairo Agreement on May 14, 1994 (Abu Amer, 2004, p. 25).

Despite the stipulations of the Palestinian-Israeli agreements and international conventions and treaties that the Palestinians must be given the right to water, the Israeli

occupation refuses to implement international recognition of the Palestinian people's right to access water and their right to natural resources.

2. Palestinian Diplomacy Towards the Issue of the Palestinian Prisoners

The issue of Palestinian prisoners in the prisons of the Israeli occupation forces is considered one of the vital issues between the Palestinians and the Israeli occupation because it has an impact on the Palestinian cause as it constitutes a focus of the Palestinian struggle, given the daily suffering of the Palestinian prisoners through the arbitrary Israeli practices towards the Palestinian prisoners. In addition to that, the issue of the prisoners is also a symbolic and a national case that has affected the consciousness of the Palestinian people.

The issue of the Palestinian prisoners suffers from the absence of a participatory national policy to advance any efforts that would lead to the release of the prisoners, and the reason for this is due to the Palestinian political and geographical division between Fatah and Hamas, following the latter's control of the Gaza Strip and the strengthening of its political and military influence. On the other hand, the Fatah movement controls the West Bank, which has weakened the issue of the Palestinian prisoners at the political and the diplomatic levels, in addition to the difference of views between the two parties in dealing with the issue of liberating prisoners (Al-Deek, Atallah, Hamouda, Khaddour, 2016).

Given the significance of the prisoner issue, Palestinian politics and diplomacy approached the issue of prisoner liberation in two ways:

1- The Exchange Deals:

Many Arab countries and Palestinian resistance parties have made many deals to release Palestinian and Arab prisoners in exchange for the release of captured Israeli soldiers or bodies. Palestinian political and diplomatic efforts have resulted in the making of 38 deals that resulted in the release of thousands of Palestinian prisoners from 1948 until 2011.

It should be noted that the nature of these deals is dominated by their factional or international character, as the factions or countries have negotiated with the Israeli occupation forces. Individually, they have implemented exchange deals, and the last of these deals was in 2011, when the Islamic Resistance Movement “ Hamas ” managed, with Egyptian mediation, to implement the first prisoner exchange deal on Palestinian land since the beginning of the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority, which resulted in the release of (1027) Palestinian prisoners in exchange for the release of Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit.

2- Political Negotiations, Goodwill Initiatives and A Peace Agreement Between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel:

The Oslo negotiations process in 1993 resulted in the release of approximately (13,352) Palestinian prisoners.

With the blockage of the political and diplomatic road with the Israeli side and the internal Palestinian division, it has become necessary to find an internal diplomatic political mechanism for an internal horizon to end the issue of the prisoners, as the

Palestinian leadership and all its sectors must unanimously agree, especially the diplomacy, on the prisoners' umbrella, through a unified vision, it is possible to benefit from the achievements of individual prisoners represented in strikes and rebellions in prisons, in addition to the necessity of working on forming a strategy to ensure the success of individual strikes carried out by prisoners, and the Palestinian leadership, Palestinian diplomats and Palestinian factions must benefit from the card of the Israeli soldiers. Prisoners held by the resistance in Gaza after the 2014 aggression in activating the issue of prisoners (Zinati, 2016).

The failure of the Palestinian diplomacy actions towards the six Palestinian prisoners who ran from the Israeli prison (Jalbou') on September 2021, is noticeable, as we could not see any political position regarding the case.

Palestinian Authority officials dealt with caution with the "great escape", which prompted Palestinian Prime Minister Muhammad Shtayyeh to ignore the issue in his weekly speech, despite noting that his government "is following with interest the conditions of the prisoners on hunger strike, stating that" this injustice must stop, and the occupation authorities should release batches of prisoners from its prisons" (Khalil, M. 2021) .Article 15 of the Taba Agreement between the Palestinians and Israelis states that "the two parties will take the necessary measures to prevent acts of terrorism, crime, and aggressive acts directed against the other party or against individuals under the authority of the other party and against their property.

Legal action will be taken against the perpetrators of these acts, leading to a better understanding of how Palestinian diplomacy is dependent on political Palestinian decisions.

3. Palestinian Diplomacy Towards the Refugee Issue

The international community has not adopted a unified definition of the Palestinian refugee, except for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), which defines the Palestinian refugee as: "A person whose normal residency was in Palestine for two years preceding the 1948 conflict, as a result of which he lost his home and means of livelihood, and in 1948 he sought refuge in one of the countries in which UNRWA provides its services." It should be noted that UNRWA's definition of a Palestinian refugee is not considered a legal definition and it is limited only to mandating the UNRWA to provide assistance in terms of clothing, food, shelter, and job opportunities for refugees, in areas where UNRWA provides services (Abu al-Khair, 2018, p. 219).

The Palestinian National Charter defined the Palestinian refugee in Article (5), issued in the first session of the Palestinian National Council, which was held in Jerusalem in 1964, as "the Arab citizens who were residing in Palestine in 1947, whether they were expelled from it or remained in it, and everyone who was born to a Palestinian Arab father after this date inside or outside Palestine" (Abu al-Khair, 2018, p. 220).

The right of return of the Palestinian refugees to the State of Palestine is considered one of the national constants that cannot be waived in any negotiations or peaceful solutions. It is inherently derived from the right to self-determination.

There are basic elements on which the Palestinians rely in their demand for the right of return of refugees, which are as follows:

- 1- The right of return of refugees is a persistent right, as it is a basic right and not a political one, and no party may waive the right of return.

- 2- The right of return is based on the universal declaration of Human Rights and United Nations Resolution No. 194.
- 3- The right of ownership does not fall under the statute of limitations or any political agreement, and it may not be waived or delegated.
- 4- The right of return for refugees is an essential part of the universal declaration of human rights of 1948, which states: “Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country).
- 5- The right of return is a collective right under the right to self-determination that the United Nations affirmed in 1974 in a comprehensive statement of ~~the~~ Palestinian rights, and pointed to it as an inalienable right.

On December 11th, 1948, the United Nations General Assembly issued Resolution No. 194, stipulating Palestinian refugees who were displaced in the wake of the 1948 war should be allowed to return to their homes as soon as possible, and compensation should be paid for the property of those who decide not to return to their homes, and that any missing or injured person shall be compensated by the responsible party. Although more than six decades have passed since the emergence of the refugee issue, a solution to this issue has not been reached, despite the issuance of several United Nations resolutions that emphasized the necessity of implementing Resolution No. 194 (Abu al-Khair, 2018, p. 220).

Concerning the role of Palestinian diplomacy on the refugee issue, the Palestinian Authority activated the Department of Refugee Affairs at the end of 1996 and entrusted it with many tasks, including supporting local, Arabic, and international awareness of the refugee issue, as well as defending it in accordance with the decision of the National Council and the Palestinian Central Committee that adheres to Resolution No. 194. In

addition to that, the immediate participation in negotiations on the displaced Palestinians and refugees at the levels of the transitional phase, multiple negotiations and permanent status negotiations, as well as opening up space in relations with the Arab countries hosting Palestinian refugees, and other tasks.

The Oslo accord had negative effects on the right of return of refugees in an attempt to abolish this right by turning the essence of the issue into a problem of refugees in a need of humanitarian assistance, ignoring the actual issue of refugees seeking to obtain their right to return to their origin country. The Oslo Accord and its four annexes mentioned Security Council Resolutions No. 242 and 338, but neither Resolution No. 181 regarding the partition of Palestine nor Resolution 194 regarding the right of return of Palestinian refugees were mentioned.

The Oslo accords also included a procedure for the return of refugees, nominating the possibility of the return of the displaced Palestinians in 1967. On the other hand, the refugees of 1948 and the United Nations Resolution (194) which includes the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes, were not mentioned (Al-Nawajah, 2016, p. 125).

It should be noted that Article (12) of the Declaration of Principles between the Palestinians and the Israelis included the establishment of a committee to decide upon the forms of allowing the entry of persons who were displaced from the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1968, and when looking more closely at this Article, it does not include in any way the right of return of the refugees, as it includes organizing entry for some individuals, such as family unification cases and humanitarian cases (Al-Nawajah, 2016, p. 125).

Although the Oslo Accord neglected the refugee issue, Palestinian diplomacy did not, as the Oslo Accord did not include any clause that cancels the right of return of refugees. If any clause included that, the Israeli occupation would have stuck to it and invested in it at the international level.

Then, the Palestinian positive diplomatic attitude towards the refugee issue changed during the Camp David negotiations in 2000, and it was presented in the form of a request to the US President George Clinton, including the following:

- 1- The necessity of Israeli recognition of responsibility for the refugee issue.
- 2- The right of return for every Palestinian refugee is based on the United Nations Resolution No. 194.
- 3- The need for a mechanism to implement the right of return.
- 4- After recognizing the right of return for Palestinian refugees and finding a mechanism for implementation, we can talk about a compensation system (Al-Nawajha, 2016, p. 125).

In summary, the Palestinian leadership clearly demands the right of return of the refugees and refuses to compromise on this right. However, the Palestinian diplomacy did not handle the refugee issue properly, as it does not do what is required regarding this issue at the international level, as its interests were confined to traditional diplomatic work, as there were no creative diplomatic efforts towards the refugee issue and other issues, and there were no diplomatic efforts to keep the refugee issue circulating in international forums in order to find solutions to it.

In this sense, diplomacy has not taken any qualitative steps or measures at the international or diplomatic level to find a vision for solving the refugee issue based on the resolutions of international legitimacy and Resolution No. 194. In addition to that, it

has not invested or employed all the possibilities and means available to it to influence the international community in order to solve the just issue of refugees internationally recognized (Al-Nawajha, 2016, p. 125). And this led the Palestinian refugees to distance themselves from the umbrella of the PLO, and to form their own representative institutional bodies.

Palestinian Diplomacy Towards Jerusalem

Diplomacy has been interested in the issue of Jerusalem, which is one of the issues that is still pending between the Palestinians and the Israeli occupation, as it has demanded in many international forums that East Jerusalem be the capital of the Palestinians, and in all international forums it has condemned the attacks on the city of Jerusalem and the Islamic and Christian holy sites in it. The role of Palestinian diplomacy has emerged towards Jerusalem after US President Donald Trump announced on June 12, 2017 that Jerusalem is the capital of Israel and he signed the transfer of the American embassy headquarters from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, which was rejected by the Palestinian leadership, and led the Palestinian diplomacy to work on mobilizing all Arabic and Islamic countries to support the Palestinian position and to confront American decisions and affirm the right of the Palestinian people to establish their state with East Jerusalem as its capital.

The Palestinian leadership and diplomacy hastened at all levels to form a front with all countries in order to confront the unjust American decision and to emphasize the complete rejection and condemnation of the decision, and to demand the annulment

and reversal of the decision. The most prominent of these moves are the following:

- 1) Palestinian diplomacy has succeeded in persuading Arab and Islamic countries to adopt and support the Palestinian position at all levels. On December 5, 2017, the Council of the League of Arab States held an extraordinary session at the level of permanent delegates, at the request of Palestine, to discuss the developments which is affecting the status of Jerusalem, and the meeting issued Resolution No. (8220), which called on the United States of America to abide by all the United Nations resolutions related to Jerusalem, including the decisions of the Council of Order No. (252) issued in 1968, Resolution No. (267) issued in 1969, and Resolution No. (2334) issued in 2016. The resolution also called for the adherence to the principles of the international law, which consider all the Israeli procedures and laws which aims to change the legal status and history of the city of East Jerusalem, its sanctities, identity and composition, as null and void, in addition to that, not establishing any diplomatic missions there, transferring embassies there, or recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, especially since the principles of international law consider East Jerusalem to be an integral part of the occupied Palestinian territories in 1967 (Abdel Moneim, 2019, p. 29).
- 2) On December 9, 2017, the Arab League Council met at a ministerial level in an extraordinary session chaired by Djibouti and issued Resolution No. (8221), in which it clearly rejected the false declaration and called for immediate action to issue a resolution from the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly stating that the United States of America's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital

contradicts international resolutions. A meeting of the Arab League that was held in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia in 2018, called the Jerusalem Summit.

This summit is considered the first Arab summit after the US administration's decision to recognize Jerusalem and transfer its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. The Jerusalem summit sent strong and clear messages to the various parties, led by Israel, that despite the crises and dangers threatening the Arab countries, they will not be prevented from standing against the attempts to liquidate the Palestinian cause, impose new facts on the ground, and support the steadfastness of the Palestinian people in the face of the practices of the Israeli occupational forces, especially in the city of Jerusalem (Abdel Moneim, 2019, p. 29).

- 3) The issuance of a decision by the Union of Arab Parliaments in its special session on December 9, 2017, containing a condemnation of the absurd steps taken by Trump, which will largely end the peace process and lead the region to the unknown.

Also, the Union of Arab Parliaments considered that declaring Jerusalem as the capital of Israel is a departure from the international consensus, and a politically, diplomatically, and morally isolated decision, and the heads of Arab parliaments affirmed their countries' firm commitment to support the Palestinian people.

The Arab Parliament also held the United States of America fully responsible for the consequences of the decision, and the Arab Parliament affirmed the right to establish the state of Palestine on the entire lands occupied in 1967 and to preserve the legal status of the city of Jerusalem based on United Nations resolutions and the rules of international law (Abdel Moneim, 2019, p. 34).

- 4) The High Representative for Foreign Affairs and European Security Policies of the European Union affirmed the continuation of the European Union's position in

respecting the international consensus on Jerusalem. It was also addressed in the joint press conference with Israeli Prime Minister Olmert that the realistic solution is the two-state solution, with Jerusalem being the capital of both states.

The European Union and its member states will continue to respect the international consensus on Jerusalem, and that the transfer of European Union embassies to Jerusalem will not occur, and that all European Union countries are in agreement on this, and that European Union countries' reactions have continued to reject Trump's announcement, considering that the decision is contrary to international law and will harm the peace process. This will contribute to increasing instability in the region, and thus the position of the European Union countries is to reject President Trump's decision to consider Jerusalem as the capital of Israel (Abdel Moneim, 2019, p. 42).

5) The Palestinian diplomacy fought a big battle to extract a resolution from the Security Council condemning Trump's decision on Jerusalem. The Security Council met on December 18, 2017 to condemn the decision, but it failed to issue a resolution condemning Trump's decision because of the veto, and therefore rejected the project despite the support from all the permanent and non-permanent members of the Security Council. Diplomacy did not stop at the Security Council. On December 21, 2017, Palestinian and Arab diplomacy achieved a great victory with the support of non-aligned and Islamic countries, where a General Assembly resolution was adopted, with a rejection of any change to the legal status of Jerusalem under the clause "United for Peace" by a large majority.

On June 13, 2018, the General Assembly of the United Nations issued in its emergency session a resolution that included providing protection to the Palestinian people.

On December 6, 2018, Palestinian and Arab diplomacy successfully thwarted a draft resolution submitted by the United States to the United Nations General Assembly to condemn Hamas and Palestinian factions and distort the image of the Palestinian struggle, but the resolution did not receive two-thirds of the votes (Abdel Moneim, 2019, p. 48).

Palestinian diplomacy was unable to reach consensus in cooperation with the Palestinian leadership, in addition to the helplessness that it felt in the international forums and meetings mentioned earlier in the chapter, due to Israel's non-compliance with international resolutions, especially those of the United Nations, and the presence of the United States of America as a permanent ally of Israel and facilitator of its actions and plans in the Middle East.

Thus, it can be asserted that there are international political barriers that stand in the way of Palestinian public diplomacy in obtaining multiple achievements related to the previously mentioned issues. But on the other hand, there are issues that have been led by popular diplomacy and have gained international support through various platforms, for instance; the social media platforms, cases like Al-Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood, and the recent aggression against Gaza in May 2021, at a time when the Palestinian leadership had lost any hope regarding the Palestinian issue, and in resolving the conflict with the Israeli side, and obtaining a just peace that guarantees full rights for the Palestinians.

Popular diplomacy has provided examples which prove that the different popular movements in the countries of the world has a great impact on influencing international policies, and here the question arises; in the case of Al-Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood, and the recent aggression against Gaza in May 2021, what were the strength points which

led to international pressure on Israel at that time? Was it the Palestinian narrative or the method used in conveying it to the world?

In order to ask the previous questions, the researcher believes that it is important to raise the issue of Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood, with its both narrative, and the popular diplomacy tool used in narrating it, in the next chapter.

Chapter Four

Enlisting The Palestinian Narrative by the Palestinian Diplomacy to Help Resolve the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict in the Last Two Decades After the Signing of the Oslo Accords

The researcher will address three studies in chapter four as the following:

4.1 The First Study: The Narrative During the Conflict

4.2 The Second Study: The Palestinian Diplomacy and How It Deals with the Palestinian Narrative to Resolve the Conflict After Oslo Accords.

4.3 The Third Study: The Strengths and Weaknesses of The Palestinian Diplomacy by Using the Narrative in an Attempt to Resolve the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

4.1 The First Study: The Narrative During the Conflict

The narratives are linked to the privacy of peoples, and their culture, as they come a reflection of the history and the present of the peoples and their philosophy, therefore, the issue of people's narrative have gained a wide interest from human scientists, anthropologists, sociologists, researchers and even businessmen and politicians.

Dr. Sharif Kanaana defines people's narrative as a visualization of the history and the culture of the society and its people, from its emergence until now, from which they and see themselves and understand the things that happen to them, and this image is applied to the philosophy of the group, in another sense, it forms the collective identity of societies, and this means that each group has a specific philosophy and narrative, symmetric with their goals and point of view, and we find rarely people or a society which has one narrative unless there is a strong leadership in the community, which

crystallize and form the society's narrative, but this needs a trust between the two parties; the society and the leadership, and so, in another words, the leadership of a certain people can create a certain narrative of the collective if these collective trust them (Kanaana, 2021).

However, the researcher believes that the overall political and theoretical activities of the authority or leadership in society are a justification for its control and a preservation of this control, as a result of the consent and approval of the people, and thus, creating a kind of intersection between the policy exercised by the authority and the social life of the people, and as an inevitable result.

The conflicts and alliances that is supposed to revolve between the classes of a society with their different policies and ideologies will fade away, and end with the creation of a narrative that suits the interests and goals of the authority or the leadership, which Antonio Gramsci referred to and called the hegemonic bourgeois culture that ideologically rules the working class and its organizations.

In other words, the cultural perceptions of the ruling class, and the dominant liberal ideology, influence the choices of the masses of workers and create a false consciousness. But when there is a rebellion from the people, this rebellion will create a narrative that suits the rebellion's interests and its goals, and this rebellion usually comes out in the form of social movements demanding the removal of a specific injustice against the people.

However, in the Palestinian case, Palestinian society has witnessed a few social movements in the last two decades, the most important of which are: a movement that emerged to demand the rights of teachers and was quickly extinguished, and the movement of the Palestinian opposition to social security, which also indicates the lack

of confidence of the Palestinian people in their authority, so it is noticeable how narrative could change inside the Palestinian society, between Palestinians, to oppose a certain injustice and oppression.

Thus, it is not just that there are different narratives in Palestinian society, but rather narratives that contradict the others, and it is possible that there are narratives that exclude other's narratives.

On the other hand, asserts Dr. Kanaana stated that the narrative usually comes from decision-makers, or influencers who influence the public opinion.

People who influence public opinion are the ones who crystallize the narrative usually, or at least choose the narrative. The closest unified narrative to the Palestinians was during the period of the late President Abu Ammar, when it appeared before Oslo accords, but after Oslo, the narrative was divided as well as the beginning of Oslo accord. Before that, it was in Lebanon. At that time, the revolution had begun to form somehow, and therefore the revolutionary narrative began to form (Kanaana, 2021).

Regarding to the symbols of the Palestinian narrative, Dr. Bassam Awartani believes that the idea of using the Palestinian narrative globally is conveyed by certain symbols, and regarding to the Palestinian people, the narrative which is used reflects their tragedy, grief, destruction and demands, for instance the narrative of Hanzala which reflects the Palestinian rejection of the political reality and the injustice he suffers.

All of these symbols came out to the world and dealt with a just cause, which is the Palestinian people and their displacement (Awartani, 2021). These symbols have spread at global level, on the world press and the global discourse. In the Palestinian

society there are many symbols that have practically achieved great successes in making the Palestinian voice heard worldwide.

Every person uses his narrative in a way that serves goals, in this sense he faces two choices: either he uses force to reach his goals and builds a narrative which suits him, or he is weak and wants to say (pity me and help me, people) so he builds the narrative in a sympathetic way, and here Dr. Kanaana continues that “the sympathy of the other means obtaining the benefit from him, on the other hand, sometimes a person finds that he can reach his interest by force, but the weak one sees that he can obtain his interest by the sympathy of the other, so I say there is a similarity between the narrative that a person builds and his orientation to achieve his goals, so that he makes a narrative that does not turn people off from him and therefore does not take what he wants, but rather creates a novel that leads him to what he wants” (Kanaana, 2021).

But the inevitable matter is that the narrative is not imposed by force, as it is an image in the human mind and no one can force a person to see things in a certain way, of course, a person can be persuaded, and gradually it becomes the accepted narrative for all.

Culture contributes in the formation of the narrative, but this depends on the definition of culture, and culture (as customs, rituals, religion) all together form the culture, the identity and the narrative, as all of them are close to each other, so what forms the identity is the culture, in this sense the way people sees themselves is considered a part of their culture that affects them, for instance, Dr. Kanaana believes that with the phrase: We Arabs, are the people of generosity, it expresses part of our culture and part of our identity, noting that the narrative must go with culture and identity (Kanaana, 2021).

There is a set of features that can distinguish the relationship between the novel and identity, which are explained as follows:

- a) The fixed narrative is the best for the people: Dr. Kanaana addresses that if the narrative is fixed and stable, it is better, on the other hand, the narrative cannot be fixed nor stable, because the circumstances change and then the identity and the narrative change (Kanaana, 2021).

A comparison between the identity of the Palestinians and the identity of the Palestinians in the diaspora will be different regarding the narrative issue, and also different from the narrative of the Palestinians inside the Palestinian land of 1948, and in any case, wherever there is an identity, there is a narrative, and it depends on what level we want to treat identity.

- b) The narrative is a method of proving identity: but the narrative may be distorted and changed similarly to our identity. According to Dr. Kanaana, who asserts that "our identity provided our narrative that influenced it" (Kanaana, 2021)
- c) There is a symmetry between the narrative and the identity: they influence each other, constantly.
- d) Identity comes largely from the narrative, the culture and the history. History is also the narrative, as history is interpreted from the narrative we want, according to what Dr. Kanaana pointed out the interpretation of history changes with the change of narrative, as we look at things in a different way (Kanaana, 2021).

Conflicts can change the narrative of the Palestinian people, depending on how the transformation takes place in Palestine as a result of the conflict. The Palestinian narrative has changed a lot after Oslo accord, and thus the narrative changed. Dr. Kanaana said that "people have become aware of things from a different point of view,

this means that the things they were looking at can change, and therefore it is possible to see the same Palestinian issue from another angle which fits the current person's orientation” (Kanaana, 2021). And to emphasize the characteristics of the narrative, hereafter the following:

1. It is an accumulation of the history. This means that any identity's history of a society or people, from the moment they became a group, the history of their formation begins with what happened with them, their wars and their relations.
2. Every "we" has a narrative, for example: We are a family with a certain name, we have a certain narrative, and our original grandfather came from a certain place, and so on.

On the other hand, it is possible for the narrative to contribute in resolving the conflict between two countries, but this could be theoretical, as the society may change its narrative and accept a situation that is not accepted at the present time, and accepts solutions that may be unacceptable under other circumstances, if the possibility exists. Therefore, changing society's narrative means changing its identity. Dr. Kanaana argues: "I believe that the only solution for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is to change the narrative, but this is impossible, this means that it is possible that an ideological man appears with sufficient charisma and has a narrative with or a logical conception, and gradually be able to attract and mobilize the community for his benefit, and make them accepting the novel, and this matter makes the community accept the solution found in the narrative, the leader can influence this issue, for example; in the days of Gamal Abdel Nasser an Arab narrative was created for all the Arabs, which is the Arab nation, and when Nasser died, this narrative disintegrated.” (Kanaana, 2021)

This may lead the Palestinian narrative to have a negative impact on the Palestinian identity, as the following:

First: The transmitted Palestinian narrative affects the Palestinian identity and its representation at the international level, and it may have a negative impact. In this sense, Dr. Kanaana argues that one of the reasons for the unsolved Palestinian cause lies in the lack of a unified Palestinian narrative, so that each group has an identity that is somewhat independent and different from the other, as their narrative is more compatible with their thinking and with achieving goals, and if there are (20) sects, and each sect has a narrative and has a specific conception of a different liberation plan, this means that nothing will be achieved.

The more different narratives appear, the weaker the issue becomes (Kanaana, 2021). The differences in the Palestinian narrative are not limited to the Palestinian causes alone, but are a result of the world's intervention in it, as a result of general conditions, and the reason for this is the necessity of compatibility of the narrative with the identity at the moment, as Palestinians went through several rules, for instance: the Ottoman empire, the British mandate, the Israeli occupation, and others that came earlier.

Second: It is difficult to unite the Palestinians under one identity at the present time, because the circumstances do not fit with one identity. There are different identities because they suit different circumstances.

For instance, if a Palestinian refugee in Lebanon wishes to create an identity, his identity will be the identity of a Palestinian who wants to liberate Palestine. "He will die of hunger, according to his narrative, which must be commensurate with the circumstances in which he lives. And if he adopts the narrative that unites all Palestinians and, at the same time, there is indeed sufficient strength, sufficient capacity,

and efficient leadership, then identities can be united. It is difficult to unify narratives from the bottom to the top, and it affects the general view of the Palestinian issue.

Third: It is difficult to adopt a single Palestinian narrative, as the forces that control the different groups do not allow this. For more explanation, on the one hand, we find a Palestinian refugee in Lebanon may be suppressed if he wants to use force and liberate Palestine. On the other hand, the Palestinian who lives inside the occupied Palestinian land of 1948, whose story has long been separated from the rest of the Palestinians because of their desire for stability and not to be exposed to them, We find that their narrative has changed and they have imposed a new image based on the opposition and resistance to Israel, specifically during the recent uprising in May, knowing that Israel overlooked them at the time as a result of the case of Sheikh Jarrah, which created an Israeli's intimidation, as the Palestinians inside the green line became supportive of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and this was proof that they are part of all Palestinians.

After Oslo accords, a phase emerged which was politically structured, and there became a different Palestinian political discourse, and a different orientation appeared among the parties from the previous one, and therefore the transfer of the Palestinian narrative and the tragedy of the Palestinian people differed, as it differed specifically during the period of calm, the period in which there was no war or invasions, and this is after Oslo accords immediately, and when the authority entered in 1993, Gaza and Jericho first, and then, the spread began during this period from 1993 to 1998. But this stability did not last long.

In addition, things began to destabilize in parallel with the tunnel uprising, and Sharon's success in the elections. Dr. Awartani believes that the instability affected the Palestinian narrative as a result of the direct conflict with Israel, and he addresses that:

“the narrative is affected directly by the media’s performance. As such when a problem occurs in Jerusalem or assassination crimes occur, and there are martyrs here, the media begins to talk about the issue, but in a time of calm and the absence of a clash, the media does not speak. For Example, there are Israeli checkpoints that impede the movement of Palestinians on a daily basis, so why is the media is talking about this?” (Awartani, 2021).

This case is not only found in the Palestinian media, rather it is also existed in the Palestinian diplomacy in particular, as the Palestinian diplomatic discourse is more active when a real confrontation with the Israeli occurs than it is at a normal time.

The Nakba of 1948, which the Palestinians lived through, constituted their greatest suffering, and what defined it is: the event itself, as Dr. Kanaana argues that the Nakba is usually viewed in a way that may serve the Palestinian point of view, for example; “we were weak and had no weapons and the Israelis were supported by America.” We portray the Nakba in a way that serves our point of view, and this is inevitably to achieve our interest, but the point of view must be commensurate with what we want and where we are going (Kanaana, 2021).

The issue of the Palestinian refugees has been included in the Palestinian narrative and Palestinian representation in front of the international community, but if the narrator/actor does not establish a link between the narrative and identity, this may constitute a weakness. In the Palestinian case, there are Palestinians inside the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Palestinians inside the occupied territories of Palestine in 1948, and Palestinians in the diaspora, and this is one of the problems of the Palestinian narrative, it is better for all Palestinians to gather and return to rally around the larger narrative, and to have a leader like Gamal Abdel Nasser.

Dr. Kanaana who encourages the identity of the Arab nation considering it as the strongest identity, which may lead to a positive impact on the Palestinian narrative, and on the entire Arab world, a narrative that emerges from the Arab need for an Arab renaissance (Kanaana, 2021).

According to Dr. Kanaana, he thinks that the great narrative of the Palestinian people is the Arab and Islamic people, where the history of Palestine transcends the “Nakba” as an event, a stage, and an emergent disaster, committed by the emergence of Israel. In the words of Dr. Kanaana, Israel “comes and goes,” but the one Arab nation exists, and the intellectual can expand on this narrative, as the importance and necessity of the Palestinian people’s adoption of the unified Arab nation’s narrative, as it can represent the people strongly and correctly worldwide (Kanaana, 2021), as Dr. Kanaana believes that is the way now to solve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

But this position of Professor Dr. Kanaana is opposed by Dr. Ahmed Al-Deek, who believes that the Palestinian leadership draws politics, including the Palestinian narrative, so diplomats translate it into terms and mechanisms of diplomatic action in a form that suits the Palestinian cause.

And he argues that the Palestinian narrative is the subjugation of the Palestinian people under an expansionist colonial occupation, as Dr. Al-Deek considers this land for the Palestinian people, the land of historical Palestine from the river to the sea. But despite the previous, Israel took (77%) of the lands of historic Palestine and left for Palestine (22%), which is the 1967 borders, and here Al-Deek confirms: “We do not ignore the root of the Palestinian cause, including the refugee issue, The main root of the Palestinian cause is the seven million refugees who were born in the wake of the Nakba and became refugees in the wake of the Nakba in 1948. (Al-Deek, 2021)

Therefore, Palestinian diplomacy still uses the Nakba as a major Palestinian narrative, meaning that historical Palestine is the land of fathers and grandfathers from the sea to the river, and how Israel became a result of an international decision and the practices of the Zionist gangs and their alliance with Britain. However, Palestinian diplomacy, which employs the Nakba in its narrative, defends 22% of the historical Palestinians who are persecuted by Israel and demands the establishment of the state of Palestine on the borders of June 4, 1967. Although the last presidential speech in September 2021 included a threat to Israel in case it rejected the solution of the borders of June 4, 1967, the Palestinians will go and discuss the Partition Resolution No. (181), on which Israel was established and which took an increase of more than 30%.

If the Palestinian citizen or follower of Palestinian affairs believes that in the Oslo accords the lands of 1948 were marginalized and the only issue that was mentioned was the occupied Palestinian territories in 1967, Dr. Al-Deek says, "We did not marginalize the occupied territories in 1948 in the Oslo accords."

These agreements are political agreements, not ideological agreements or agreements of principle. Dr. Al-Deek continues: "In the Israeli narrative, the flag of Israel is made of two stripes, which symbolize their intention of occupying the region from the Nile to the Euphrates, and when they signed an agreement with the Palestinian side, the Israelis identified the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. So, the Israeli side recognized the Palestinian people, but Israel did not abandon its narrative, and so do we.

In any agreement we sign with the Israelis, this does not mean that we have abandoned the Palestinian narrative, and we affirm through our positions that mention several non-negotiable rights, such as; the right of self-determination for the Palestinian

people, the right of return based on Resolution No. 194 and the Arab Peace Initiative to establish a viable Palestinian state geographically connected with its capital, East Jerusalem, on the borders of June 4, 1967, and all the previous are our political position, not the Palestinian narrative” (Al-Deek, 2021).

On the other hand, Jihad Harb asserts that the Oslo accords limit the use of the Palestinian narrative by the Palestinian diplomacy. For example, the Israelis see the Nakba, the Palestinians’ right in the 1948 and their right of return, as an incitement idea, which contradicts the peace narrative and the Oslo Accord. Therefore, the Palestinian diplomats were unable to change their discourses based on the Oslo Accord, in this sense, we can say that the Oslo Accord limits the ability of official Palestinian diplomacy from using the Nakba and using terms such as: persecution, apartheid, and others in the Palestinian diplomatic discourse. As a result, there has become an empty place filled by public diplomacy or popular diplomacy, which was able to provoke large sectors of the international community and people when it portrayed the Nakba and the Israeli occupation as an "apartheid regime" and showed the Israeli government’s practices against the Palestinians (Harb, 2021).

From the Palestinian political perspective, the Palestinian-Israeli agreements do not mean abandoning the narrative, as peace treaties between any two countries are based on a compromise process made by the two parties, and this may be far from the country’s real positions, especially if the side of the Israeli occupation state has abandoned its narrative based mainly on the Nakba and the abolition and exclusion of the Palestinian side, and in return, they signed the Oslo Accords with the Palestinian side of the Nakba, without applying the important issues related to the Palestinian side,

such as the issue of Jerusalem, Palestinian prisoners, settlement expansion, and refugees.

In addition to that, the daily colonial practices against the Palestinian people are based mainly on the idea of erasing the Palestinian presence. And the clearest evidence for this is the deal of the century adopted by the USA, which guarantees the fragmentation of the Palestinian presence. As a result, this means Israel had no prior intention of committing to any agreement with the Palestinian side, and signed the Oslo accords to save face in front of the international community.

4.2 The Second Study: The Palestinian Diplomacy and How it Uses the Palestinian Narrative to Resolve the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict After the Oslo Accords.

First: The Reality of the Diplomatic Performance at the Palestinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

According to Basel Ajwa, who is working at the public diplomacy department and digital diplomacy, diplomacy is considered as an activity carried out by an official, unofficial, or semi-official body directed by official parties (Ajwa, 2021), and there are interfaces to work in public diplomacy, where it is divided into old diplomacy and new diplomacy, which has new tools based on technology and new media, said Laila Al-Shami, who works at the digital diplomacy department (Al-Shami, 2021).

Al-Ajwa identifies the main characteristics for the public diplomacy department at the foreign ministry as the following:

- Mobilizing international public opinion
- Attempting to enter the public opinion industry and influence it and try to win it.

- The work of public diplomacy is based on higher decisions (the decisions of the leadership).
- In other words, the work of public diplomacy is like a war to control a space in the digital world, in order to express the Palestinian cause or create a counter-narrative to the Israeli colonial narrative (Ajwa, 2021)

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigrants is responsible for external relations, and the first track is related to strengthening international legitimacy resolutions, adopting new resolutions in favor of the Palestinian cause, and proving a strong and prominent presence of the Palestinian cause in all United Nations and UN forums. This was confirmed by Dr. Al-Deek, who sees that ~~the~~ Palestinian diplomacy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have won by observing the following indicators:

- The votes of the Security Council and the General Assembly, Palestine's accession to UNESCO, Palestine's accession to the Chemical Weapons Organization, and Palestine's accession to more than (115) international treaties and international organizations. Recognition of the State of Palestine as a full member, despite the clash with the American veto.
- There is an effort to establish or activate the course of international law to establish the legal personality of the State of Palestine at the international level. It is true that we are unable to end the occupation and declare independence on the ground, but at the international level, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs works with countries and with the international community to establish the legal personality of the State of Palestine as a body recognized by the international community.

This is done by communicating with countries in order to obtain more international recognition of the State of Palestine, as the number of countries that currently recognize

the State of Palestine officially exceeds 92, and the number of countries that voted in favor of the State of Palestine as a non-member state exceeds one hundred, and therefore, there is constant seeking to establish the legal personality of the State of Palestine by asking the countries that did not recognize the State of Palestine to take the initiative to recognize the State of Palestine as they support the two-state solution.

Here, Dr. Al-Deek adds: "There is an existing state, so why don't you recognize the state that has not yet been established, called the state of Palestine, and therefore you must recognize it. Part of the states from the seventies of the last century recognized the state of Palestine, and part of the newly-recognized states recognized the state of Palestine, and this is a path we are working on day and night, proceeding from the fact that the greater the number of countries recognizing Palestine, the more dimensions of the legal personality of the State of Palestine are embodied."

- Signing economic, tourism, cultural, and other agreements related to human rights and security, as well as holding common councils or common committees with many countries, which are held twice a year, once in Palestine and once in those countries, emphasizing the existence of bilateral cooperation with the majority of the world's countries, whether in terms of development or economics.

For example; the State of Palestine has a section in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs called (Pica) for a development cooperation for countries which are in need. Doctors are sent in times of crisis to participate in treating poor peoples, and the available Palestinian expertise is invested in the technology, agricultural and economic fields to support many countries, and all this gives an impression as it establishes the fact that Palestine is a state.

- A track specialized in questioning and prosecuting Israel by joining the International Criminal Court, and for the first time in the history of the international criminal conflict, a decision is made that includes the opening of an investigation into occupation violations and crimes. Dr. Al-Deek pointed out that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs demanded the new public prosecutor to expedite the opening of this investigation, and three main files were referred to the International Criminal Court, namely:

- a) The file of the aggression against the Gaza Strip

- b) Prisoners' file.

- c) Settlement's file (Al-Deek, 2021)

There are strengths for the Palestinians in the practical and diplomatic sense. The demographic factor is the most important and strongest factor. The survival of the Palestinian citizen in his land and his steadfastness in his land and homeland is a decisive factor in determining the future of the Middle East, not just Israel and Palestine. Dr. Al-Deek was referring to the president's last speech, in which he explained to the world: "Either one country with equal rights, and thus we control the government because we are the majority, or an apartheid regime, and thus Israel becomes a colonial occupation state, an apartheid state like South Africa, even if Israel is an ally with the USA." Al-Deek adds: "There is a committee at the United Nations called the Committee on Racial Discrimination and we are working with it. It may consider Israel as a racist state" (Al-Deek, 2021).

According to the researcher, Palestinian diplomacy began to move and take positions at the international law level when they ran out of political conflict resolution tools, primarily negotiation tools, because the Israeli side would not accept any peace process at the time. In addition to the previous, Palestinian diplomacy usually works in

times of crisis and does not have a clear strategic plan that works on a permanent basis to represent the cause of Palestine internationally.

Jihad Harb, an expert in governance and politics, believes that official Palestinian diplomacy has weakly used the Palestinian narrative during the past two decades regarding the main political issues and the solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, as it was in harmony with what came with the Oslo accords without having the ability to change the opinions of the international parties.

Harb adds: “The weakness of using the Palestinian narrative by the Palestinian political diplomacy was caused by the weakness of diplomacy itself, and also the result of the presence calcification of the Palestinian diplomats, specifically the ambassadors, because of their presence for many years without any change. Consequently, the Palestinian narrative was no longer developed in the mindset of Palestinian diplomats, which reduced their ability to communicate with the international community (Harb, 2021).

Harb argues that the weakness was never in the Palestinian narrative, but rather in formulating this narrative and presenting it to the international community or to the organizations and institutions represented by Palestinian diplomacy, in addition to the inability of diplomats to be creative in using new methods with the international transformations and the huge technical transformations that took place in the media tools, whether the new media or the digital media, or in the discourse and the quality of the discourse used to attract international solidarity from the peoples of the world, and deal with governments and the interests of these governments to change their opinions through the use of pressure groups in those countries (Harb, 2021).

The researcher argues that Palestinian public diplomacy is based on conveying the narrative and mobilizing the largest possible number of supports for the Palestinian narrative with only the people, and that public diplomacy has nothing to do with governments and official decision-makers. Working with people is public diplomacy, and there is no difference between public diplomacy and popular diplomacy. For example, what happened in Sheikh Jarrah is public diplomacy. It is public diplomacy, which is not separated from popular diplomacy.

It can be said that public diplomacy deals with parties, parliaments, people, unions, the press, media, universities, and all public opinion-makers, and this is according to reality and what we witnessed during the Al-Sheikh Jarrah crisis. On the other hand, Dr. Al-Deek believes that public diplomacy is not the same as popular diplomacy and that the work public diplomacy does is traditional diplomacy, which is direct relations between countries through diplomatic channels with the United Nations and embassies, and the role of Palestinian communities around the world is considered public diplomacy, as public diplomacy is about mobilizing public opinion, communities, and friendship committees and influencing them from the bottom up (Al-Deek, 2021).

On the other hand, Harb believes that public diplomacy is popular diplomacy and not related to the official one, and both of them can use the narrative of the Nakba, especially the narrative of the Palestinian people's displacement, and the racial discrimination used by the Israeli occupational state against the Palestinian people, especially in the lands of 1948, and thus the use of the Nakba is the biggest embodiment of the Palestinian people as victims (Harb, 2021).

The researcher believes that one of the problems of conveying the Palestinian narrative to the world is related to the different definitions of the narrative presented by

various official and unofficial parties and the desire of these different parties to monopolize the Palestinian narrative and use it according to certain labels and criteria that serve the policy of each party, noting that there are several successful individual experiences that succeeded in representing the Palestinian narrative and mobilized the international opinion, for instance, what happened in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood. In the next section, there will be an explanation for this issue and the way its narrative was used.

Second: The Case of Sheikh Jarrah

Recently, in May 2021, Palestinian digital diplomacy has taken a different approach, with a youthful spirit in particular, in parallel with the recent events in Jerusalem and the last Israeli aggression towards the Gaza Strip,

The Palestinian youth took the lead in the digital movement, or what some may consider digital diplomacy, in gaining global public opinion on social networking sites. Influencers from all over the world interacted with the Palestinians who led the campaigns, which contributed to drawing attention to the Palestinian cause as the most important humanitarian issue in the region in May 2021.

On the other hand, Israeli diplomacy was affected by the digital attack and resistance imposed by Palestinian diplomacy through its digital content, which prompted Israeli Defense Minister Benny Gantz to hold a meeting with the Facebook and Tik Tok administrations, urging them to fight Palestinian content. As a result of this meeting, a number of violations were observed against Palestinian digital content, most notably the closure of the Tik Tok platform affiliated with the "Quds" news network, and this is not new. In a report issued by the Arab Center for the Development of Social

Media entitled "Hashtag Palestine 2020," it has been documented that global technology companies, such as "Facebook," "WhatsApp," and "Twitter," continue to obey Israeli security units by continuing to impose censorship on Palestinian digital content, like Facebook, which responded to 81% of the requests submitted by the Israeli cyber unit, by continuing to impose censorship on Palestinian digital content, as Facebook responded to 81% of the requests submitted by the cyber unit, by continuing to censor digital Palestinian content.

Moreover, Twitter suspended a number of accounts based on information from the Israeli Ministry of Strategic Affairs, while YouTube and Tik Tok continued to allow many videos celebrating the Israeli army's violence to appear on them (Badr, 2021). There have been several positions regarding the Sheikh Jarrah case, whether it is a reflection of diplomacy or the social movement. Below we present the official Palestinian position, which was posed by Dr. Al-Deek. On the other hand, Dr. Kanaana and Dr. Awartani both pose a different position, explained below:

The Official Palestinian Position

- The Palestinian government, represented by its ministries and institutions, was the first Palestinian party to follow up with the case of Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood, as the people of Sheikh Jarrah followed up with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which had the main role in bringing the legal papers to the families of Sheikh Jarrah from Jordan, in other words, this work was done by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs according to official reports.
- The Palestinian foreign minister met with the Jordanian foreign minister, and the ministry handed over the documents to the lawyers and to the minister of Jerusalem.

These documents were taken from the Jordanian authorities.

- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been working on the file of Sheikh Jarrah since 2019, and there is absolutely no gap between the foreign affairs ministry and the case of Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood, as Dr. Al-Deek believes that the Palestinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Palestinian official diplomacy take the lead in all Palestinian sectors regarding political and diplomatic work.
- The experience of Sheikh Jarrah and what Mona Al-Kurd and her brother Muhammad did, they followed up with public diplomacy and adopted the digital public diplomacy's strategy. And these social platforms are a very important weapon in influencing the opinion of peoples, and global public opinion, in this sense, Al-Shami stated that a department was established in the foreign ministry called Public Diplomacy, and part of its employees work in digital diplomacy, in order to follow up with all the changes taking place in the world in general and in Palestine particularly, with the use of all technological means in social media platforms (Al-Deek, 2021).

The Palestinian Academic Position

- Dr. Kanaana argues that the success of Sheikh Jarrah's case was related to its location in Jerusalem, and Jerusalem does not belong to anyone, thus if the case of Sheikh Jarrah was in Nazareth or in Nablus, I believe that it would not attract as much attention as it would take if it were in Jerusalem for the Palestinians and for the entire Arab world, as the case of Jerusalem would unite the Arabs. In other words, the fact that the case of Sheikh Jarrah in Jerusalem makes every Palestinian feel that he has a right over Sheikh Jarrah.

According to Dr. Kanaana, who emphasized that the great narrative of the Palestinians is the narrative of the Islamic nation, and the narrative of Jerusalem is the one that affected the case of Sheikh Jarrah because of its relation to an element that unites all Arabs and the entire Islamic world.

- The Jerusalem narrative is the most comprehensive narrative for the Palestinians. Jerusalem is part of the identity of every Palestinian wherever he is. If the case of Sheikh Jarrah had taken place in Nablus, for example, all Palestinians would not have been affected. Jerusalem, Al-Aqsa and Mecca could constitute “us” for Islam and all the Islamic world, and Jerusalem narrative unites all the Palestinians from different sides, as well as the Arabs (Kanaana, 2021).
- There is another academic position that partially contradicts the vision of Prof. Dr. Kanaana, who saw that the success of Sheikh Jarrah’s case was due to the fact that the case was not framed. On the other hand, Dr. Awartani, considered the case of Sheikh Jarrah as a case which was accompanied by a populist movement and was framed, and it may be a partisan ideological framework linked to the importance of Jerusalem to the Palestinian people in general (Awartani, 2021).
- The case of Sheikh Jarrah is not a personal one that is being defended; rather, it is a human rights issue for all members of society, as it is linked to Palestinian religious identity, partisan identity, and position on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (Kanaana, 2021).
- The researcher believes that the case of Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood, with the global support it gained, was not a coincidence, nor done in a random way, as the proper use of digital tools made the impact direct, clear, and honest, and the researcher tends to consider what happened in the case of Sheikh Jarrah a combination of both digital

and popular diplomacy. This is due to the populist mass interaction with the issue, which was a real and virtual interaction at the same time, as real images and videos were transferred to the virtual world and social media platforms.

This fusion between popular and digital diplomacy resulted in a global shift in the eyes of international communities towards the Palestinian case, and this led to the arrival of official political decisions from various countries of the world that demanded an end to the Israeli violations committed against the people of Sheikh Jarrah and Palestine as a whole.

4.3 The Third Study: The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Palestinian Diplomacy in Using the Palestinian Narrative in an Attempt to Resolve the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict.

First: The Strengths

There is a fact that cannot be ignored in the Palestinian diplomacy, as it has experienced a rich history of negotiations, and complex negotiations (Palestinian-Arab, Palestinian-international, and Palestinian-Israeli).

However, the strengths of Palestinian diplomacy are reflected recently in its transmission of the Palestinian narrative through the continuous persuasion in translating everything related to the Palestinian cause into diplomatic mechanisms of action in order to convey a different Palestinian narrative.

According to Dr. Al-Deek, there is a realization that Palestinian diplomacy does not make politics, but rather implements politics, and the Palestinian narrative and

Palestinian political discourse are the official Palestinian position on all issues related to the Palestinian cause, and here Dr. Al-Deek argues: “you have to do that while maintaining the level of bilateral relations with countries or at the level of the multilateral sector, which includes the United Nations and all United Nations organizations (the Security Council, the General Assembly), and everything related to the institutions of the international community or the global international system” (Al-Deek, 2021).

This comes in light of the challenges faced by Palestinian diplomacy in dealing with the Palestinian narrative, and will be reviewed in the last part of this chapter within the challenges and weaknesses associated with diplomatic performance in its transmission the Palestinian narrative.

Palestinian diplomacy has four major tracks it is working on to translate and transmit the Palestinian narrative and mobilize the widest domestic and international support for it, as indicated by Dr. Al-Deek, knowing that Palestinian diplomacy has passed the stage of mobilizing international support for the Palestinian cause at the international level (Al-Deek, 2021).

Furthermore, resolutions on the Palestinian case are adopted by an overwhelming majority in the United Nations General Assembly each year, indicating that Palestinian diplomacy and Palestinian politics have been able to achieve a remarkable achievement in terms of mobilizing support for the Palestinian people's national and legitimate rights (Al-Deek, 2021).

There are also strengths used by Palestinian diplomacy recently, in the practical and diplomatic sense. The demographic factor is the most important and strongest factor. As

Palestinian diplomacy has used recently, the survival of the Palestinian citizen narrative in his land, as well as his steadfastness in his homeland, is a decisive factor in deciding the future of the Middle East, not just Israel and Palestine.

Al-Deek refers to the president's recent speech, in which he explained to the world, "Either one country with equal rights, and therefore we control the government because we are the majority, or considering Israel as an apartheid regime, and thus Israel becomes an occupying, colonial, and an apartheid regime." A committee at the United Nations called the Committee on Racial Discrimination, and we work with it, and it may decide that Israel is racist (Al-Deek, 2021).

It should be noted that there is a latent force, which may be emotional and legal force, in the multiple narratives that Palestinian diplomacy deals with, as there are multiple narratives used by Palestinian public diplomacy in all forums, as indicated by Ajwa, explained as the following:

- a) The beginning is always with the narration of the Nakba, despite the different narrations presented, and the permanent slogan is always mentioned: "The owners of the original land."
- b) An example of the narratives that have been used, specifically in the recent period: the story of the Palestinian prisoners in the Israeli occupational prisons, and it is presented from a humanitarian point of view as well as their suffering in the Israeli prisons, specifically the story of the prisoners who are still in the Israeli prisons, even though they were prisoners before the Oslo accords, and remained there despite the signing of the agreement.
- c) A narrative related to Palestinian culture, in an attempt to establish a Palestinian right in the land, and not an Israeli one, such as the food (falafel) and the Palestinian

traditional costume (the Palestinian thoub), despite the Israelis' attempt to establish these narratives as Israeli ones (Ajwa, 2021).

Second: Weaknesses

One of the most important challenges facing the Palestinian narrative used by Palestinian diplomacy is that it faces the Israeli occupational narrative of the Israeli occupational state, as well as its power and leverage, as it faces the great powers that support Israel, headed by a state which is supported by the United States of America. On the bilateral level, it collides with some countries that prefer to align themselves with their interests at the expense of the principles proclaimed by those countries, whether with regard to human rights or not.

However, on the bilateral level, it collides with some countries that prefer to align with their interests at the expense of their principles regarding human rights.

Palestinian diplomacy collides with how to translate international support into real and tangible action mechanisms and measures so that it can impose international legitimacy resolutions on Israel and force the occupying country to implement international legitimacy resolutions.

This is a crisis of Palestinian diplomacy, and the Israelis have a crisis in the international system, as Israel is unable to translate the decisions of international legitimacy into mechanisms of action and measures that oblige them to implement the decisions of international legitimacy that are summed up in giving the right of self-determination to the Palestinian people, ending the occupation and settlement on the land of Palestine, and establishing a viable Palestinian state. It is sovereign and geographically connected with its capital, Jerusalem.

On the other hand, the simple capabilities of the digital diplomacy department in creating content, and the lack of sufficient coordination between the authorities working in the fields of public diplomacy in general and digital diplomacy in particular, with all their specializations in those fields in order to produce a successful partnership, constitute clear weaknesses and negatively affect Palestinian diplomacy.

Palestinian diplomacy does not have a long-term strategic plan, and there are many proofs of that. As diplomatic work is not based on historical accumulations or on specific positions, and here, Dr. Awartani, on his personal experience when he was working in the Palestinian embassy in Tunisia for two years, believes that diplomatic work should be on a long-term level, considering the future as an important stage of our life as Palestinians.

Dr. Awartani adds that Palestinian embassies do not initiate work, meetings, exhibitions, or other activities, unless the hosting countries decide to hold a specific exhibition and give the Palestinian embassies an opportunity to do so.

For example, if an association informs the Palestinian embassy that it wants to run a campaign for a specific matter, then the embassy participates in it as a participant, and the Palestinian ambassador comes out and gives a speech and leaves. And if there are popular social movements in any country, such as France, for example, or others, towards a specific issue for the benefit of the Palestinian people, no one believes that the embassy is the one that called for it, as the invitations are from associations, institutions, or other activists from the Palestinian community in that country or supporters, who start the activity, and usually, the only role for the embassy is to give a speech. Therefore, Palestinian diplomacy does not work within a long-term vision and planning, nor create opportunities and meetings on a regular basis or events periodically in order

to convey the Palestinian narrative. "And this is the reality in most Palestinian embassies around the world" (Awartani, 2021).

Perhaps the most important challenges and weaknesses are represented by the lack of a unified Palestinian narrative. According to Ajwa, this is due to the multiplicity and differences between the Palestinian platforms, ignoring the fact that one of the most important conditions that must be met when transmitting the narrative is the method of passing it. For example, the statistics may differ from one platform to another, and this leads to a lack of credibility in delivering the message.

In addition to that, the lack of accurate and reliable statistics, the absence of reliable information sources, as well as the lack of English-spoken materials suitable for the international community and its audience and the solution here lies in having and building a real partnership between us and other institutions that facilitate the editing process, and pass the information in an accurate and good way to the international community (Ajwa, 2021).

The researcher believes that the best solution to all the weaknesses related to the Palestinian diplomacy and its ability to convey the Palestinian narrative, is to prepare a comprehensive strategic plan for the diplomatic sector, away from slogans, so that it includes various visions and messages that official and even private decision-makers wish to convey and achieve, as well as giving a clear and free space to Palestinian youth who are able to formulate ideas in harmony with the people around the world. herein the change lies, when the ideas and the stories of the peoples are represented in creative ways, which are not subjected to reactionary or traditional criteria, or not influential, nor characterized by modernity and flexibility, to the extent that the

narrative may be repulsive if addressed as defeated and weak, since survival in this world is for the strongest.

The researcher proposes conveying the Palestinian narrative in a way that is far from a monotonous narrative, by creating ideas and scenarios that attract public opinion, in order to have a stronger and faster impact on the international community, with the need for optimal use of digital diplomacy tools, with a clear and specific reference.

Chapter Five

Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

To summarize, Palestinian diplomacy is experiencing a real crisis in the use of the Palestinian narrative, as they have failed to instill in the minds of the international community a clear narrative demanding clear rights within a clear strategic plan. Rather than that, their work was limited to obtaining the title of a state of Palestine from the international community. Although this is considered diplomatic work, it was important to focus on narratives that reflect the basic right of the Palestinians to their land and, thus, their right to have a state.

Palestinian diplomacy also needs an immediate reform so that the narrative used is clear, consistent, and guarantees the basic rights demanded by the Palestinians. Most importantly, it needs to be unified, despite its recent use of the Palestinian narrative, and its attempts to obtain international support through international forums. But this stage is considered too late after all the arbitrary colonial measures practiced by the Israeli occupation state against the Palestinian people since the 1948 Nakba, and perhaps one of the most important reasons for this is the Palestinian Authority's adoption of the peaceful narrative, which cancels the narrative of the Nakba at the expense of adopting the Israeli occupational narrative, and their right in occupying Palestinian territories in 1948, an Israeli narrative that led to the displacement of more than 750,000 Palestinians from their lands. On the other hand, Israel did not recognize the Oslo Agreement, nor abide by any of its provisions.

It was only a handcuffing of the Palestinian diplomatic work while using the Palestinian narrative, as during the Palestinian diplomatic work, important issues were

not addressed, such as: refugees, settlement expansion, prisoners, water, and Jerusalem. And despite the importance of the above, Palestinian diplomacy did not address it until they had exhausted all means of a peaceful solution with Israel. Perhaps the greatest evidence of the weakness of Palestinian diplomatic work is the Deal of the Century that was proposed by the previous US government in 2019, which proves the weakness of the Palestinian position internationally, despite the fact that the role of diplomacy is primarily to achieve the interests of countries and address public opinion in other countries.

The Palestinian leadership has to revise the Oslo accords as it does not prevent Israelis from doing occupational acts like settlement expansion, and this was done during the negotiations, as well as other practices done by the Israeli occupation like changing the face of Jerusalem and the rest of the West Bank, while at that time there was an unfinished negotiation process between Israelis and Palestinians, and the unending process of Judaization under the auspices of "Oslo." continued.

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5.2 Recommendations

There are a number of gaps in Palestinians' knowledge around the use of the Palestinian narrative by Palestine diplomacy after the Oslo accords in the research that follows from our findings, and would benefit from further research, including better realist evaluation and audit for the Palestinian diplomacy role and further knowledge of the Palestinian narrative, and finding a mechanism to create a unified Palestinian narrative that serves all Palestinian parties and interests, specifically the interest of the existence and sovereignty of the Palestinian state.

Hence, the researcher recommends urgent demands to the Palestinian leadership as the following:

1. A reconciliation between the Palestinian parties, specifically, Fatah and Hamas, after the divisions which happened between the two parties in 2006, and has created several Palestinian narratives adopted by each party, and led to the presence of two governments, one in the Gaza Strip and the other in the West Bank, which had a role in stopping the work of the Legislative Council, and creating a conflicting political positions between the governments of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, and cast a dark shadow on Palestinian diplomatic work, especially with different priorities for diplomatic work for each party. And thus, an action for unity between the Palestinian parties is needed.

2. Giving the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) a major role in decision-making, thus, participating in the Palestinian national work in an attempt to reach a single Palestinian narrative that includes all Palestinian parties and sides.

3. Revising the Oslo Accords, and using another political or legal means to reach a settlement with the Israeli side, to end the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The Palestinian leadership did not benefit diplomatically or politically from the events that occurred after the signing of the Oslo Accords. The Palestinian National Authority's commitment to the provisions of the Oslo Accords – specifically the security coordination - was prevented from exploiting several events politically or diplomatically, such as: The Ibrahimi Mosque massacre in Hebron in 1994, the rising

of the tunnel to confiscate land in Jabal Abu Ghneim in 1996, the outbreak of the Al-Aqsa Intifada at the end of 2000, and the construction of the apartheid wall in 2002.

4. Informing the world, on the official and unofficial levels, that the Palestinian people are going through a stage of national liberation from the Israeli occupation.
5. Creating a unified Palestinian narrative for all Palestinians, and benefiting from the Arab extension and the narrative of the one Arab nation, by strengthening relations with Arab countries, especially with whom relations have been shaken recently.
6. To assert that Palestinian diplomats are able to carry out their tasks with responsibility, commitment, efficiency, competence and the necessity of their commitment to their work within a specified period of time.
7. Encourage Palestinian youth participation with their creative ideas on various social media platforms, as in the recent events in Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood and the recent aggression on Gaza, and how Palestinian youth can deliver a real message to the world, without fabrication or political intervention, and achieve success.
8. Activating the role of populist diplomacy, social liberation movements and unions in Palestinian society, using digital diplomacy tools like social media platforms in order to influence the world's opinion towards the Palestinian cause.
9. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in its various forms should not monopolize diplomatic work, as conveying anything related to the Palestinian cause to the world

can be an individual act away from bureaucracy, as bureaucracy usually limits the work and puts obstacles in its path. The main goal is to convey the Palestinian narrative to the world, and therefore the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must accept that.

10. Cancel the dependency of Palestinian diplomacy on the policy adopted by the Palestinian leadership. The work must be participatory between the two parties, and they should complement each other.
11. Attempts to reach legal forums in which America does not have the right to veto.
12. Palestinian diplomacy has to find a way to develop a long-term plan and strategy for its work and to work permanently, not only in crises, and to use important issues related to the Palestinian cause, such as: Palestinian prisoners, refugees, settlement expansion, Jerusalem, and water, and to include them within its plan.
13. Consolidating the work of popular diplomacy as an authentic actor in strengthening and developing relations with the peoples of the world to support the Palestinian cause.
14. Focusing on cultural diplomacy in its various forms and patterns to achieve the Palestinian foreign policy and to distance extremist Islam's practices negative image from the Palestinian cause.

15. Develop various relations with Arab, regional, and international countries in order to increase Palestinian diplomatic influence and ensure the Palestinian decision-making independence.
16. Strengthening work in the field of international diplomacy through international organizations and building effective international relations for the benefit of the Palestinian cause.
17. There is a law in Palestine for the diplomatic sector No. (13) of 2005, and despite the necessity of reviewing the law, there are provisions that must be reviewed and amended (Iriqat, D. S. 2021), and the Palestinian decision-maker should immediately start reviewing the names of diplomats who violate these articles and take appropriate decisions against them and appoint new ambassadors in these countries.
18. The researcher believes that it is necessary to rebuild the work structure of all Palestinian institutions, especially those of diplomatic work, by using global solidarity with the Palestinian cause, gained since the recent events in May, and moving forward in extracting its right to exist and to establish a Palestinian state.

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The words "narrative," "narration," "to narrate," and so on derive via the Latin *Gnarus* ("knowing," "acquainted with," "expert," "skillful," and so forth) and *narroi* ("relate," "tell") from the Sanskrit root *gnrd* ("know"). The same root yields *yv•pLqow* ("knowable," "known"): see Emile Boisacq, *Dictionnaire itymologique de la langue grecque*

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ملخص

في جميع أشكال إنهاء الاحتلال والإستعمار يتم حل القضايا الرئيسية لإنهاء الصراع بين الدولتين بدءاً بتوقيع الإتفاقية، ثم تُترك التفاصيل للمفاوضات أو أي أداة سياسية أخرى كقضايا الإنسحاب والسيادة وتقرير المصير. لكن كما حدث في إتفاقية أوسلو تم الإتفاق على بعض التفاصيل و تم تأجيل القضايا الكبرى، حيث جرى الحديث عن حكم ذاتي فلسطيني محدود يتنامى تدريجياً تحت هيمنة الاحتلال الإسرائيلي، دون أنظمة أو معايير تُلزم إسرائيل، لذلك، أصبحت القضايا الرئيسية هامشية، مثل قضايا: القدس، اللاجئين، توسيع المستوطنات، الحق في تقرير المصير، حدود الدولة، السيادة، والموارد الطبيعية.

بما أن الدبلوماسية تلعب دوراً رئيسياً في تمثيل الدول، الاهتمام بمصالحها، الدفاع عنها، والعناية الكاملة بمواطنيها، فإن مسؤولية البعثات الدبلوماسية تتضاعف عندما يتعلق الأمر بالأشخاص الباحثين عن حقوقهم وتقرير المصير في عالم تسوده المصالح، وخاصة حقوق الشعب الفلسطيني الذي يناضل منذ أكثر من 73 عاماً. وهنا تكمن أهمية هذه الدراسة، حيث وجد الباحث أن الدبلوماسية الفلسطينية بأشكالها المتعددة لم تصل إلى الحد الأدنى لمطالبها، لامثالها في المقام الأول للقرارات السياسية، حيث لم يكن لها أي دور تشاركي مع القيادة الفلسطينية، ولكن بالأحرى أطاعت ما تمليه عليها القيادة.

القيادة الفلسطينية بدورها كانت تتبع إتفاقية أوسلو، والتي حدّت من العديد من الخيارات التي كان من الممكن أن تمنح المزيد من الحقوق للشعب الفلسطيني والدولة الفلسطينية، بالإضافة إلى ذلك، لم يكن لدى القطاع الدبلوماسي الفلسطيني أي خطة أو إستراتيجية واضحة طويلة المدى خلال العقدين الماضيين، وكانت مشاركتهم في المحافل الدولية نتاج أزمة تحدث، ولم يعملوا دولياً في الأوقات العادية، وحتى وصولهم إلى المحافل الدولية كان بسبب تعليق المفاوضات مع الاحتلال الإسرائيلي الذي رفض بدوره أي عملية تسوية مع الفلسطينيين.

ومن الأسباب المهمة الأخرى التي أضعفت الدور الدبلوماسي الفلسطيني في نقل الرواية الفلسطينية، عدم وجود رواية فلسطينية موحدة يتبناها الموقف الفلسطيني الرسمي بكل مؤسساته، وتفضيل تبني الخطاب السلمي المبني على إتفاقية أوسلو. إضافة إلى ذلك، وجود الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية كحليف قوي لإسرائيل وامتلاكها حق النقض (الفيتو)، مما أدى بدوره إلى تهميش القضايا والحقوق الفلسطينية الأساسية.