

T.C.

ISTANBUL SABAHATTİN ZAİM UNIVERSTY

GRADUATE EDUCATION INSTITUTE

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**

**POPULAR RESISTANCE IN PALESTINE AS A NATIONAL
ACTION STRATEGY**

MASTER THESIS

Taqwa N.S ABUKMEIL

Istanbul

March 2022

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March 2022

THESIS APPROVAL

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DECLARATION OF SCIENTIFIC ETHICS AND ORIGINALITY

This is to certify that this MA thesis titled “*The Palestinian Popular Resistance as a National Action Strategy*” is my own work and I have acted according to scientific ethics and academic rules while producing it. I have collected and used all information and data according to scientific ethics and guidelines on thesis writing of Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim University. I have fully referenced, in the text and bibliography, all direct and indirect quotations and all sources I have used in this work.

.....

Taqwa N.S ABUKMEIL

Istanbul, March 2022

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First and foremost, I have to thank my parents for their love and support throughout my life. Thank you both for giving me strength to reach for the stars and chase my dreams. My sisters, and my brothers, deserve my wholehearted thanks as well.

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To all my friends, thank you for your understanding and encouragement in my many, many moments of crisis. Your friendship makes my life a wonderful experience. I cannot list all the names here, but you are always on my mind.

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This thesis is only a beginning of my journey.

Finally, I would like to leave the remaining space in memory of Sadi (1986-2012), great friend and brother.

Taqwa N.S ABUKMEIL

March 2022

ABSTRACT

POPULAR RESISTANCE IN PALESTINE AS A NATIONAL ACTION STRATEGY

Master Department of Political Science and International Relations

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March, 2022, 102

This thesis aims to study the transformation of popular resistance into a national action strategy and its role in consolidating national unity among the various Palestinian groups and identifying the capabilities of the popular Palestinian resistance as a form of legitimate resistance against the Israeli occupation in the Palestinian territories. To achieve the objectives of this study, the researcher has studied the concept of popular resistance and highlighted the stations it went through on the Palestinian scene. It examined its contributions towards achieving national unity that would enhance the liberation ability of the Palestinians as a whole. As for the study method, the researcher followed the descriptive-analytical approach to describe the situation and analyze its elements through review. In addition, the researcher conducted interviews with members of the Palestinian factions (the Palestinian National Authority, Fatah, Hamas, the Islamic Jihad, the Popular Front, the Democratic Front, the Palestinian People's Party) to determine their attitudes towards popular resistance. Which added a scientific and realistic dimension to the study. A questionnaire was conducted On 104 Palestinians from all over Palestine (West Bank, Jerusalem, Gaza, and the Diaspora) to determine the Palestinian people's attitudes regarding popular resistance. The study presented an analysis of the Palestinian experience in popular resistance in its various stages. The popular resistance played an essential role in instilling the unity of the Palestinian people in all its sects and locations. The study concluded that consensus among the Palestinian factions on popular resistance is possible and necessary to participate in the national liberation process. The political programs pursued by the Palestinian factions, despite their differences, are in complete agreement around the popular resistance in the Palestinian territories. It is the foundation upon which to build for the national action strategy.

Keywords: Palestine, Popular Resistance, National Action Strategy, West Bank, Jerusalem, Gaza.

ÖZET

ULUSAL EYLEM STRATEJİSİ OLARAK FİLİSTİN'DE HALK DİRENİŞİ

Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı

Taqwa N.S Abukmeil

Danışman: Prof. Dr. Ömer Çaha

18 Mart, 2022, 102

Bu çalışmanın amacı, halk direnişinin ulusal bir eylem stratejisine dönüşümünü ve çeşitli Filistinliler arasında ulusal birliği sağlamlaştırmadaki rolünü incelemektir. Ayrıca, Filistin topraklarındaki İsrail işgaline karşı meşru direniş biçimi olarak Filistin halk direnişinin ulusal birliği sağlamadaki rolünü analiz etmektir.

Çalışmanın amaçlarına ulaşmak için, halk direnişi kavramı incelenip Filistin özelinde geçtiği aşamalar vurgulanmıştır. Filistinlilerin bir bütün olarak kurtuluş yeteneğini artıracak ulusal birliğin sağlanmasına yönelik katkıları da bu çerçevede incelenmiştir.

Araştırma yöntemi olarak yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatların yanı sıra Filistin halkının halk direnişine yönelik tutumlarını öğrenmek için 104 kişi üzerinde bir anket çalışması da yapılmıştır.

Araştırma bulgularına göre halk direnişi, hangi gruplara ait olursa olsun veya nerede bulunursa bulunsun Filistin halkının birliğini sağlamada önemli rol oynamıştır. Çalışmamız, Filistinli gruplar arasında halk direnişi konusunda mevcut olan fikir birliğinin ulusal kurtuluş sürecine katılmak için mümkün ve gerekli olduğu sonucuna varmıştır. Filistinli grupların izlediği siyasi programlar, farklılıklarına rağmen, Filistin topraklarındaki halk direnişi hakkında tam bir mutabakat içindedir. Araştırmanın ortaya koyduğu bulgulara göre Halk Direnişi, Ulusal Eylem Stratejisinin üzerine inşa edileceği bir temel oluşturmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Filistin, Halk Direnişi, Ulusal Eylem Stratejisi, Batı Şeria, Kudüs, Gaza,

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of the Study

This study analyzes the concepts of popular resistance and deals with the position of the Palestinian Authority and the various Palestinian factions. And the extent of the impact of the popular resistance on the Palestinian society and trying to figure out how to build a national action strategy. In recent years, the Palestinian issue was going through a critical stage due to Arab normalization and decreased regional support. It was necessary to find ways to mobilize international public opinion to consider the Palestinian cause a valid struggle by a defenseless people under occupation and colonialism seeking to achieve justice.

The importance of the research lies in its study of popular resistance, which is considered one of the legitimate forms of resistance in international law against occupation with many other forms of armed and peaceful resistance. But due to the current situation where it is not possible to practice all forms of resistance against occupation in all the Palestinian territories, it was necessary to shed light on the available types and on the mechanism adopted by all Palestinian factions which means building a national action strategy to build an integrated resistance and practicing it properly.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

International norms and laws guarantee the right of the occupied peoples to resist the occupation by using all the means that work to eliminate it. The forms of resistance are numerous and differ, including the popular resistance. Popular resistance is one of the most prominent methods of struggle practiced by the occupied peoples and nations since ancient times to obtain their freedom and national independence and eliminate the occupation. The target of popular resistance is to obtain their freedom and national independence and to get rid of the occupation. The experience of Gandhi in India, the Palestinian experience in the face of the Israeli occupation, standing in the front of authoritarian regimes, and the overthrow of dictatorial regimes, such as the Iranian experience and the experiences of many Eastern European countries, are the most prominent examples of this resistance. This type of resistance focuses on the psychological, social, economic, and political methods exercised within the framework

of broad popular participation, which in total constitute the primary source of success and effectiveness of this model of resistance.

At the level of the Palestinian experience, formed the resistance in occupied Palestine natural response to the army practices of the Israeli occupation of the occupied land, killing their owners, and burned their homes. This resistance was not a result of the occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip following the aggression in 1967 but returns its historical roots go back to the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century.

The research study's problem will be answered by studying and analyzing the concept of popular resistance, its mechanisms, and forms through the various historical stations of the Palestinian struggle experience. And via analyzing the nature of the role played by the popular resistance and monitoring the effectiveness of this type of resistance to turn it into a unified national action strategy.

1.3 Research Question

The research goes to answer the following question:

Are the appropriate organizational and political conditions available that allow the national action factions to unite about the option of popular resistance as a national action strategy unanimously?

1.4 Significance of the Study

The significance of the research is that it covers the primary forms of resistance against the occupier. In addition to shedding light on the mechanism of building an integrated and unified strategy for the Palestinian parties' popular resistance and its practice in the right way, for a national action strategy. Therefore, the dissertation is giving a first-hand primary outlook of the Palestinian popular resistance that can be a value added scope to the discipline of Politics and IR especially Peace and Conflict Studies.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

The limitations that the study faced during the acceleration of events on the ground are not all documented. Therefore, the questionnaire and its results can be considered as covering a certain period that has been exceeded due to new events. The conducted interviews with many

representatives of Palestinian organizations are also subject to the current events on the ground, and may conflict and differ according to the emerging political trends of those parties, according to the latest events and developments on the Palestinian issue. The other limitation is the lack of sources that covered this aspect of the Palestinian popular resistance was one of the most important obstacles that the researcher faced. In this study, the research sought to cover these gaps by covering the documented historical aspects.

1.6 Research Methodology of the Thesis

The researcher used a qualitative and quantitative approach which is based on the discourse analysis with a historical approach. The researcher also conducted a set of interviews that would enrich the research, it conducts seven interviews with members and representatives of 7 political parties that directly influence popular resistance (Fatah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, the Popular Front, the Democratic Front, the People's Party). In addition to a questionnaire conducted on a random group of participants. The number of participants in this survey was 104 Palestinians.

Table 1: Demographic Features of the Sampling

		Number	Percent
Gender	Male	37	35,6
	Female	67	64,4
Marital Status	Married	20	19,6
	Single	84	80,4
Age	18-25	67	64,4
	26-35	32	30,8
	36-50	4	3,8
	51 and over	1	1,0
Education	Secondary	6	5,8
	High school/college	12	11,5
	University	86	82,7

Revenue	Under 500\$	5	43,3
	501-1000\$	29	27,8
	1001-2000	20	19,3
	2001\$ and over	10	9,6
Total		104	100

1.7 Conceptual Framework

Popular resistance is an act that arises because of current situations. One party to deprive another party of freedom of choice can describe these situations as attempts. These acts are aimed at the ability to restore liberty. Resistance is through military, political, cultural, or economic tools (Nasri, 2007).

Based on the above, there is no specific definition of resistance; it is only the need of powerless people who have no armies to defend their land, rights, freedoms, dignity, and symptoms. Many terms have been associated with the concept of resistance to express the use of non-violence in resistance, such as the power of truth, peaceful protest and peaceful resistance, peaceful civil resistance, passive resistance, and non-military resistance, non-militarized insurrection, civil disobedience, non-violence, and the struggle for non-violence.

Popular resistance is a means of resisting and challenging oppression, cruelty, and tyranny, and its philosophy, which stems from the human spirit of people, and it has tools and methods that are different and renewable. People of various ages have exercised resistance, sometimes forced to lack opportunities and possibilities in the opponent's face violently. Besides, based on convictions and philosophies about how the forms and means of conflict must be between human beings or based on a calculated strategy to achieve the goals with minimal losses.

The popular resistance has achieved many victories throughout contemporary history. However, these experiments were conducted in different environments and cultures with other objectives, which motivated the search for the possibility of using popular resistance to a national action strategy in this regard.

1.7.1 Popular Resistance Theory

Popular resistance theory is taken as conceptual framework of this study. The theory of resistance is one aspect of political philosophy, and it discusses the basis on which individuals or groups can oppose an existing authority. It emerged in the European context due to religious

divisions at the beginning of the modern period that followed the Protestant Reformation. Resistance theories can justify the disobedience of kings on religious grounds.

It was considered necessary in European national politics and international relations in the century leading up to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. It could also support and justify the idea of revolution as it is understood today. The theory of resistance in the early modern period can be seen as a precedent for formulas of natural and legal rights of citizens, coexisting with considerations of natural law.

Any "right to resist" is a theory about the limitations of civil disobedience. Although resistance theory is an aspect of political theory, self-defense is usually taken as part of legal theory, not heresy in the early modern period. The arguments for the two concepts overlap. Indeed, the differences are not very clear in the discussions.

Documenting the Palestinian national action and consolidating the memory defending the land and the symbolism of living in freedom and dignity is one of the many forms of struggle waged by the Palestinian people against the occupation. This documentation helps, cumulatively, in creating a theoretical contribution. It explains the Palestinian popular struggle and its prospects, and this is what the writer tries to do in this letter.

There were many forms of Palestinian resistance against the Israeli occupier - popular and armed resistance, intellectual and diplomatic resistance, organized collective resistance, and individual resistance. A practical experience that had a significant impact on thwarting one of the most important schemes of the current Israeli colonial occupation is the end of the Palestinian existence and the obliteration of the Palestinian identity. Documenting the Palestinian national action and consolidating the memory defending the land and the symbolism of living in freedom and dignity is one of the many forms of the struggle waged by the Palestinian people against the occupation. This documentation helps, cumulatively, create a theoretical contribution. It explains the famous Palestinian work and its prospects, and this is what the writer tries to do in this search.

1.8 Organization of chapters

The study consists of five chapters. The first chapter of this thesis discusses the concepts of resistance and popular resistance, its features, levels, and means, and the most influential thinkers who wrote and spoke about popular resistance.

The second chapter is about the Palestinian organizations such as the Palestinian Authority, the

Palestinian National Liberation Movement - Fatah, the Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas, the Palestinian People's Party, the Islamic Jihad, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and their position on the popular resistance, each according to its declared ideological ideology.

The third chapter analyzes the popular resistance in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank, Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip. Then it goes to shed light on the opinion of the leaders in the popular resistance and the opinion of research participants.

Moving from the findings of the investigation the fourth and last chapter discusses how to conduct Successful Popular Resistance and adopt it as a national strategy for action.



CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

RESISTANCE AND POPULAR RESISTANCE

There has been increased talk about the term “popular resistance” in the Palestinian context, especially in political and party circles, and even in academic and research processes, not because the word has a seductive decorative content from a political point of view, but because it is related to the current stage of the Palestinian cause, and the Palestinian national situation in particular. The popular Palestinian resistance is deeply rooted in Palestinian history. It has deep roots in the march of the Palestinians since the beginning of the last century at least, because it passed through different stages, the most important of which was the strike of 1936 and the various spontaneous popular revolutions and gifts during the British Mandate period, through the intifada of 1987, and the end of the intifada in 2000, and the multiple forms of popular resistance that followed. However, it can be said that the widespread use of this term at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

It can be said that popular resistance, in all its colors, spectrums, and names, focuses on building a world-wide value system to resist oppression, tyranny, and aggression, and treating all forms of bloody violence with peaceful or nonviolent means. In the Palestinian cause, the study of popular or peaceful resistance is considered a case of resistance against direct occupation and organized structural oppression practiced by the occupier against people.

Here, it is necessary to refer to two important schools of thought which dealt with the general concepts and implications of popular or peaceful resistance and the prospects for its work. Mahatma Gandhi adopted the first school - the ideal Gandhi school - in the early twentieth century in the context of his personal and national experience in resisting the British colonialist in the Indian subcontinent. He defended the awakening of the energies of the good of the enemy, the questioning of the humanity of the colonized and the openness to him, and spoke with them in the language of reason and the joint search for the truth (Madia, 2002, 181-191).

As for the second school, it was adopted by the Gene Sharp, who has realistic, pragmatic orientations. This school advocated a clear and practical strategy to defeat the opponent, without making a great effort to question his humanity or stir up the good factors within him (Sharp, 1980).

Here, it must be noted that most famous and peaceful resistance movements, to direct towards social/political change under dictatorial regimes, or on the way to their efforts to defeat the enemy or occupier, must be based on a vision capable of identifying the sources and pillars of support for this opponent, including elements of its material, moral, and oppressive strength, and the state of surrender, servility, cooperation, and passivity that characterize fearful and subservient peoples. The colonizer or the dictator alike does not depend only on the strength of their repression and brutality, but - also - on submission to the common people through their permanent willingness to cooperate and respond to the policies of the occupier. This includes paying taxes, respecting the laws of oppression, and standing in lines—waiting in front of the institutions and agencies of the opponent or occupier (Sharp, 1980).

In other words, most studies of changing authoritarian/totalitarian political regimes have focused on the importance of working to change the grounds on which these regimes stand by disrupting their internal and external support sources, especially the human, economic, material, and military base, as well as their friends and allies at the regional and international levels, and this requires setting a strategy that is patient, calm, deliberate, steadfast, and rational, in terms of taking on causes and cases (Ackerman & Kruegler, 1994: 21-30).

For tangible results to be achieved on the ground, the nonviolent movement of popular resistance on the ground must work hard to increase the cost of the repressive policies of the dictatorial regime, which ultimately leads to a reduction in its use of brute force and weapons against the movement.

Occupier or ruling authority loses its legitimacy with his local and foreign friends and allies, especially the bureaucratic and security forces that support it. It encourages the split movement among his soldiers and security forces working in the field to kill protesters and suppress the peaceful popular movement (Galtung, 1989). Besides, the popular/peaceful resistance movements that revolt against a repressive dictatorial regime differ in their methods, tactics, and strategies from those movements operating in the field against an external occupier who colonizes the land directly because the popular movement here in the second case must work to start from the idea of boycott occupation and colonialism at all levels: economic, scientific, cultural, academic, medical and legal, in addition to its work to consolidate the conviction among the general population that the will of peoples is much stronger than the whips of occupiers and executioners (Semelin, 1993: 28-49).

The root of political violence is located in the problems of poverty and social inequality.

Palestinian resistance is a term that refers to the movement, policies, calls, and operations that advocate or support resistance to occupation, oppression and Zionist colonization of the Palestinians and the Palestinian land and seeks to raise it. The term is used to describe various Palestinian movements ranging between civil, popular and armed resistance.

Popular resistance is one of the means of resisting and challenging injustice, oppression, and tyranny. It also has its philosophy, which stems from the human spirit of people, and it has its different and renewed means and methods. It has been practiced by people in various eras, in times of necessity, sometimes due to the lack of opportunities and possibilities in confronting the opponent violently, and sometimes optional. Others based on convictions and philosophy of forming and means of conflict should be between humans or based on a calculated strategy to achieve minimal losses.

What the report explores in this chapter is an effort to construct a theoretical concept of popular resistance, its modes, and global paradigm of popular resistance, as well as to incorporate and transform the idea of patriotic action into strategies to deal with the components, meaning and foundations of popular resistance.

While these encounters have taken place in diverse contexts and communities and with numerous realistic aims, the standard form of resistance has accomplished several achievements throughout contemporary history. It gave the researchers the opportunity to study whether or not joint opposition could be turned into a national plan for intervention. The principle of resistance is explored in this chapter.

In addition to the bases, features, and norms of its origins, shapes, and means, the leading global models of popular resistance are being addressed to examine the degree to which popular resistance has been turned into a national action plan explored in the following chapters.

The theory of resistance is one aspect of political philosophy, and it discusses the basis on which individuals or groups can oppose an existing authority. It emerged in the European context due to religious divisions at the beginning of the modern period that followed the Protestant Reformation. Resistance theories can justify the disobedience of kings on religious grounds. It was considered necessary in European national politics and international relations in the century leading up to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. It could also support and justify the idea of revolution as it is understood today. The theory of resistance in the early modern period can be seen as a precedent for formulas of natural and legal rights of citizens, coexisting with considerations of natural law.

In this chapter, the concept of resistance, its origin, forms, and means, in addition to its foundations, characteristics, and criteria, will be addressed, and the most prominent global models that have adopted the method of popular resistance will be remarked. Also in the chapter will discuss the extent of the possibility of converting popular resistance into a national action strategy.

2.1. The Concept of Popular Resistance

Resistance is the action that arises as a result of current conditions. These conditions can be shown as an attempt by one party to deprive another party of the freedom of choice, so these actions aim to restore this freedom. Resistance is seen by means of military, political, cultural, or economic actions that arise as a means to repair a right or freedom or human dignity (Al-Sayegh, 2007).

Based on the previous, there is no specific definition of resistance, except that the need of the weak in the face of the more substantial. It is an issue that is subject to unbalanced balances of forces as it is the need of the vulnerable who do not have armies to defend their land, rights, freedoms, dignity, and honor (Al-Sayegh, 2007).

Resistance can be considered as a humane imposition to restore the ability to free choice. Choosing not to be free is not freedom, and in most cases, the side that resists cannot be considered the weak side. Weakness and strength vary according to the criterion that is followed in measuring that, in addition, that any resistance movement is the strongest in its attempt to impose its choice. This is what Azmi Bishara refers to in his definition of resistance:

There is no doubt that resistance as a human movement is more than a physical act and reaction, such as its linguistic origin in the law of every individual response or resistance to friction or gravity, for example. The violence of resistance in the most superficial layers of abstraction is an act of secondary violence, and a reaction to the front of violence of primary occupation (Bishara A. , 2009).

Many concepts are correlated with resistance to passive resistance, such as the force of reality, democratic dissent and peaceful resistance, peaceful civil resistance, unarmed and non-military opposition, defiance, non-cooperation, and non-violent resistance.

It means the force of reality, the determination of the mind, and the power of love, as Gandhi generally called it, and prohibits the use of violence because man cannot know the absolute

truth. It means the power of truth. He merits no sanction.

What seems true seems incorrect for one human. Gandhi named it the strength of compassion. He concludes that persuading the truth does not mean using violence against one's adversary but extracting one from error with tolerance and kindness, and patience, which means bringing personal pain. Gandhi also called his philosophy a way of displaying the truth (Sharp, 2004).

As far as passive resistance is concerned, passive resilience is a way of defending human rights by displaying personal pain and relying on the strength of the soul and does not rely on body strength and morality but instead on material powers.

Concerning the term, civil disobedience is a violation of immoral law. This period goes back to Henry David Thoreau used it to denote his chosen method of resisting the law in a slave state. As for non-cooperation, it means withdrawing cooperation from the state (Furtak, 2017)

Ethical, which not everyone can do and bear its consequences, and practices the method of non-cooperation openly, which is open so that children can participate in it, and the masses can safely practice it. Its forms include the followings:

- Economic boycott.
- Political boycott such as election boycott or refusal to occupy government office.
- Boycott of organizations that the government supported (Abdel Hakim, 2013).

As for the phenomenon of non-violence, sociologists and policy-makers have sought to describe it, as the community has understood. It is a friendly and calm way of experiencing friendliness and solidarity with others, resisting control and confrontation; with opponents. At the same time, this is a logical behavior directed at avoiding disputes with a party and keeping peace and unity with the parties, which can cause stress and fear. Gandhi describes this as action which does not require the love of those who only love us, but goes beyond this as non-violence begins as we begin to love those who hate us (Gandhi, 1958).

For Jane Sharp (1973) it is described as a civilized practice that allows the parties to solve its difficulties and disputes with other parties by embracing cooperative, human methods that rely on appeasement, relief, and the waiving of some rights to dispute resolution that satisfy opposing parties' ambitions and interests without resorting to violence as an alternative (Muller, 1995). The definition of cultural opposition is a phrase meant to alter a particular decision, place or structure. At this point it crosses aggression and varies when it practices non-violent approaches.

The Constitution implements nonviolent methods in favor of the rights given to society's citizens. It is associated with such actions such as civil disobedience and non-compliance.

All of these articulated an act not to fight the unwelcome act but, beginning with passive resistance and ending the non-violent battle, with differing degrees of non-violent acts.

The word popular protest can thus be considered a crucial concept to face oppression in all its manifestations with all forms of nonviolence.

2.2. Features of Popular Resistance

According to Jane Sharp, some characteristics differentiate common protest from other types of resistance, other formal means of negotiation, and the resolution of disputes. The followings are the main features of the popular resistance.

2.2.1. Above the Constitution

The resistance is not reached by the official government bodies such as lawyers, letters and votes. Instead, it uses chosen networks to accomplish its objectives. Common opposition is different from conventional procedural means of not defining what the state requires. It may or may not be legal. Legal civil disobedience, for instance, is an important non-violent way for mutual defiance of legislation, except strikes in democratic countries because, in official circumstances, they are not deemed non-violent when carrying out. It is a standardized statement of opinion which exists in the catalogue of allowable mechanisms. Popular opposition works to create new rules for the political confrontation game.

2.2.2. Confrontation

The common rebellion refuses the indolent means or surrenders as it attempts to wage war through an intentional or direct struggle by delegating the authority to the enemy, through compelling him to change his positions or meet the demands of the resistance.

2.2.3. Unexpected Tracks and Results

In comparison to common opposition, customary laws and codes of democratic procedure set the ultimate outcomes of conventional procedural means. The strategies of grassroots opposition are difficult for the adversary to forecast their outcomes, since they are linked to known laws and rules and their results are linked to the trend of continuing debate.

Conflict engagement and an uncertainty in common resistance laws and rules are some of the main reasons why they succeed, since their tactic is based on surprise and danger, so that the adversary will not anticipate the next move.

2.2.4. Availability of Risk Component

Perhaps the most important aspect of the common rebellion as a weapon and its operation is that it is focused around the concept of defiance resistance, which is to breach prohibited spaces and to break red lines. Their results contribute to their ability to spend and handle activities with discount.

2.2.5. It is not Peaceful

We couldn't assume that there is any opposition, particularly when it comes to the use of the tools for direct action and when there is no resistance, but that aggression is urgent at the very least, and not an intrinsic part of the ideology or resistance practices. It is difficult to respectfully make famous.

The researchers have built the so-called hexagonal method in order to measure the operation of being a resistance or a protest, namely the degree of resistance:

2.2.5.1. The Strategic Vision

The resistance is based on a strategy vision that identifies stages and solutions in order to replace the second activity if the first activity fails. The interim and final strategic goals are accomplished by several options and a ladder of escalation. In conjunction with the stage to prevent misunderstanding, until the plan which is called resistance plan does not protest, despite the use of protest tactics, to achieve a successive phase towards escalation.

2.2.5.2. The Expected Result of the Action

The intended outcome of the action would still be related to the primary objective, be it by tracking participation or modifying the situation, which means that the success of this action will change the situation.

2.2.5.3. Manage and Awareness

It is the ability to perceive the map of the conflict, its parties, and stages.

2.2.5.4. Continuity

Popular resistance is a repeated activity, and every link is within a series of episodes within the resistance campaign.

2.2.5.5. Action or Reaction

The resistance's behavior is based on the action and effort, the regulation of the incident scene and the rhythm of gestures. Resistance must not be attracted to the field of action at this point, because the resistance spark is a reaction to an occurrence.

2.2.5.6. The Extent of Activity Protection

The stronger the potential of the resistance to improve its operation through the programs it has prepared to safeguard its actions, the more likely it is to declare its activities and more inclined to engage in the effects of the activity to which the adversary can refer, to include it in the reaction group. These six factors allow a measurement machine to analyze any operation and to assess how close it is to resistance (Sharp, 1973).

2.3. Levels and Means of popular Resistance

Gene Sharp is one of the leading figures to speak about popular resistance, and he suggested that non-violent strategies of popular resistance would hit 198 and break into three levels (Sharp, 1973):

2.3.1 Persuasion and Nonviolent Protest

It comprises symbolic actions of pacific opposition or persuasion, which begin at the verbal expression of dissent, with a view to non-cooperation or non-violent action. The table below shows the first degree of the ten groups of resistance.

Table 2.3.1.1: Methods of Nonviolent Persuasion and Protest (Sharp, 2004)

CATEGORY	TOOLS
Official statements	Public letters, letters, statements, petitions
Addressing the broad masses	Logos, cartoons, symbols, banners, posters, flyers, brochures, newspapers, periodicals, recordings, radio, and television
Mass protests	Imaginative judgments, pressure groups, sit-ins, sham elections
Symbolic acts	Raise flags, display symbolic colors, wear special symbols, pray and worship, and use sounds
Putting pressure on individuals	Accompanying officials, reprimanding officials, protest, sit-in
Theater and music	The satirical play, composing plays, playing music, and singing
Processions	Marches, parades, religious processions, caravans

Honoring the dead	Political mourning, symbolic funerals, demonstrations, visiting cemeteries
Popular gatherings	Rally to protest and support, hold seminars.
Withdrawal and disclaimer	Silence, refusal of protocol, turning back, leaving a specific place.

2.3.1 Non-Cooperation

It means the intentional disconnection, suspension, or challenge of individual existing relationships, whether social, economic, or political (Sharp, 1973).

Non-cooperation may take a spontaneous or planned form, and from the legal point of view, it may be legal or unlawful, and it includes 103 methods divided into three main categories of nonviolent resistance work, as shown in the attached table:

Table 2.3.2.1: Methods of Nonviolent Intervention (Sharp, 1973).

CATEGORY	TOOLS
Psychological intervention	Exposure to natural elements, hunger strike, reverse trial, harassment using non-violence.
Physical intervention	Sit-ins, storming, nonviolent invasion, nonviolent protest, nonviolent checkpoint, nonviolent occupation.
Social intervention	Establishment of new social models, procrastination, verbal boycott, alternative social institutions, alternative communication system.
Economic intervention	That includes strikes, sit-ins, land grabbing using non-violence, politically motivated fraud, alternative markets, alternative economic institutions.
Political interference	Overburdening administrative systems reveals the identities of secret agents, desire for imprisonment, civil disobedience, and dual power.

2.4. The Thinkers on Popular Resistance

Many celebrities, politicians and intellectuals on the national and Arab scales have taken on the approach of mainstream rebellion in their lives. They also analyzed metaphysical and functional

aspects of common rebellion. Perhaps the most prominent of these thinkers are the names mentioned in the following pages.

2.4.1. Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862)

Henry David Thoreau was an American writer and poet, a nature lover, anti-tax fighter, a critic of evolution, historian, philosopher, and one of the pioneers of transcendentalism. He is the best known for his essay, *Civil Disobedience*, which sparked a debate about individual resistance to civil government in a moral objection to an unjust state. One of the most important works published after Thoreau's death was his essay *Civil Disobedience*. The writer affirmed his fundamental principle that people should be free to act according to their ideas of right and wrong, without government interference. In his famous article, Thoreau called for what is now known as civil disobedience, which he implemented when he refused to pay taxes. That book significantly influenced some of the reform advocates, such as the Russian writer Leo Tolstoy and the Indian Leader Mahatma Gandhi (Britannica, 2021).

He is considered one of the pioneers who wrote about popular resistance, although he used civil disobedience and referred to his idea in his famous article *Civil Disobedience* published in 1849. After refraining from paying war taxes in protest of slavery, oppression, persecution, and the war it was waging, he wrote it after refrain in the *United States versus Mexico*.

Refraining from paying taxes was not a new idea, but rather anti-slavery activists used it. Karl Marx also resorted to this idea when he tried to organize a campaign to persuade Europeans not to pay taxes during the revolution that swept Europe in 1848.

The effects of his nonviolent resistance still exist now. His name and his nonviolent resistance still resonate from time to time in Eastern Europe and finally in the Arab world since the end of 2010, through the unrest, sit-ins, and demonstrations that the Arab world witnessed from Tunisia through Egypt and Palestine since British colonialism until today. No one knows where the spark of this nonviolent resistance will lead. This nonviolent resistance was accompanied by a lot of blood drawn to achieve freedom for these countries and those peoples.

2.4.2. Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948)

He is Indian who respects the law. Gandhi grew up with the importance of the principle of non-violence, and he adopted a political theory that reached the level of lofty human principles, which states that political action must be in all constitutional forms. He was known to have established the principle of non-violence or peace, and in that his famous phrase.

When he entered college, he moderated his attitude toward whites, focusing his anger on

injustice rather than hatred of a particular person. It happened when he read the writings of Thoreau where he came to know the idea of civil disobedience as a weapon for change and the idea of healthy resistance, so he began to say that love gives inner strength. Gandhi's life and style influenced Martin Luther King greatly. King was assigned to serve the Baptist Church on Dexter Street, and it was a good start for him to reach the position of professor at the Faculty of Theology, but the December incidents came in 1955.

His creed on non-violence did not depend on the person's authority in the world and that the various religions as a whole are the flowers of one garden. Moreover, he also adds that if he found something better than tolerance, he would have chosen it, but that did not happen. So, nonviolent civil disobedience was used while he was an expatriate lawyer in South Africa. During that period, the Indian community was fighting for legitimate rights. After returning to India in 1915, he organized protests with peasants, farmers, and workers in urban areas against excessive land taxes and discrimination in treatment.

The Russian philosopher Tolstoy is one of the most critical figures influenced by Gandhi. Gandhi's influence is, especially, seen in Tolstoy's book, *The Kingdom of God Is in You*. This reading had a decisive effect on him. Gandhi advised Indians to stop cooperating with social institutions that oppress them by saying, "Do not resist evil, but also stop sharing it. You are in evil." Gandhi's calm conviction highlights the Russian writer that a strategy of non-cooperation and civil disobedience is the best way for a community or people seeking liberation from the yoke of oppression and injustice.

Tolstoy considers that the state is violence, organized by a minority, and that a small group leads the state and submits the majority under its sovereignty, and that the state's authority depends on intimidating the subjects and depriving them of their freedom and the most basic of their rights. The greater the individual's submission and the greater their obedience, the greater the power of the state, the more people accepted this injustice, the more the state was able to overcome their necks (Networks, 2019).

2.4.3. Martin Luther King (1929-1968)

One of the most important sponsors of Peaceful Resistance was the American Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929-1968). He devoted his life to serving the black community, finding peaceful ways that help the integration of the black community with the white community. He aimed at creating a peaceful coexistence between the two communities to establish peace and love - on the one hand, and an attempt to achieve the desired justice and equality in rights and

duties between the two communities, on the other.

Martin Luther comes across as one of the most prominent political theorists of nonviolent resistance leaders, as he had an essential role in persuading Americans to end the racial discrimination that was prevalent in many areas in the United States. He had made an influential speech with an estimated quarter of a million supporters and his nonviolent calling. His speech touched the feelings of millions, and many people memorize extracts from his speech “I have a dream”. People wish that a day will come “when people are not judged based on their skin color, but the basis of their morals and personality”. Martin Luther King has toured all over the United States, he was calling for peace and peaceful resistance. Within a short period, he assumed the leadership of many black associations to lead them towards the path of salvation.

In 1964 Martin Luther was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. His candidacy came after organizing a mass rally that started from Washington and was called the “March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom” in 1963. In that campaign, he delivered his famous speech “I have a dream,” and the international media reported this speech, which lasted for nineteen minutes, had poignant phrases, hopes, and dreams that at that time seemed impossible. He dreamed of freedom and equality, and that the black community would enjoy a prosperous future brimming with science and education, and that the world would recognize the existence of the black entity at all levels. This speech is one of the missionary discourses, a spiritual vision overlooking the future that seemed impossible. But Martin Luther King's efforts so angered the FBI that they put him under close surveillance and accused him of being a communist. It got to the point that they sent him a threatening letter telling him, "You are done." In 1968 Martin Luther King was organizing a massive rally he called the Poor People's Campaign on the streets of Washington. Unfortunately, he was brutally assassinated while he was amid his people, and there was chaos after that (Biography, 2021).

2.4.4 Gene Sharp (1928 - 2018)

He is a professor of political science at the University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth and a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize. Gene Sharp's name has been associated with writing and authoring on the topics of peaceful struggle and has drawn from his writings many anti-government movements worldwide.

Gene says he drew his ideas from in-depth studies of Mahatma Gandhi's movement primarily and Henry David Thoreau, though Thoreau less influenced him. He also mentions many of the sources he was influenced by in his 1973 book entitled *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* which

expanded his doctoral thesis in 1968.

In his book, he presents a practical political analysis of the peace movement to exercise power in times of conflict. One of the most critical ideas that Sharp puts forward is that power is not unilateral and fixed. It is not something that cannot be taken away from those in power. Still, he believes that political power, that is, the state's power, regardless of its organization's nature, stems primarily from its citizens. He believes that any rule of authority is based on citizens' obedience to the orders of the ruler or politicians. If the citizens refuse to obey, in this case, the ruler loses his authority.

Sharp also sees that every adequate base of power has systems that encourage or obtain obedience from individuals. States usually have complex systems to maintain the commitment and compliance of citizens. These systems include well-known state institutions, such as the police, courts, and regulatory bodies. Still, they may also have some cultural aspects that encourage obedience by instilling the concept of the singularity of authority, its sanctity, and its status. These systems define punishments for intimidation and grants and benefits for inducement, all of which affect the extent of individual obedience.

In 1983, Gene Sharp succeeded in formulating the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University, where he developed social science research on the possibility of civil disobedience by the population of Western Europe to counter a possible invasion of the armies of the Persian Pact (Roberts, 2018).

2.5. History of the Popular Resistance in Palestine

For a decade, the Palestinian people have been confronting all the processes of eradicating their roots and their national and Arab identity in front of the various imperialist powers that possess the capabilities of eradication and oppression. Where the Palestinians were and still face an integrated colonial team that supports each other. Each of them knows his role precisely to implement the Zionist colonial project on the land of Palestine. This historical equation revealed the difficulty of the Palestinian struggle. Still, at the same time, it proved a fundamental truth in the Arab-Israeli conflict, which is represented will and longevity. There is great importance in the Arab-Israeli conflict that does not stop at the limits of material strength but instead goes beyond that to reach the part of will and perseverance, where the Palestinians realized the equation. The response was to continue the Palestinian struggle to enhance the ability to survive and pave the path to liberation and an impenetrable wall in front of ablation attempts (Ayoub,

1984). The popular Palestinian resistance was a case capable of consolidating the Palestinian people with their roots and land, as Palestinian history was full of the popular resistance model. This can be reviewed with a set of stages that coincided with each of the crises that the Palestinian people went through, starting with the end of the Ottoman rule and the crystallization of the Zionist project and the Mandate the British until the Israeli occupation. These stages can be summarized as follows:

2.5.1. Palestinian Popular Resistance against the Zionist Project Before British Colonialism

The popular Palestinian resistance emerged at the beginning of the last decade of the nineteenth century when the Palestinians became aware of the danger of the Zionist project, which was represented by mass Jewish immigration and Zionist settlement. After the Zionist plans, goals, and risks were revealed, the first official objection to Jewish immigration was on June 24, 1891, by Muslim leaders in Jerusalem to the Ottoman Sultan. Hence, the Ottoman authorities issued orders to restrict the entry of Jews to Palestine (Hourani, 2003).

At this stage, the famous Palestinian resistance achieved great success through its ability to spread awareness of the problem and alert the Arabs of the Zionist danger through popular and peaceful means represented by protests, official complaints, statements, holding conferences, and establishing associations.

2.5.2. Popular Resistance during British Colonialism Until 1948

Late 1917 was the beginning of a new phase in the history of the Palestinian people, as the British army eliminated the Turkish military and seized southern and northern Palestine. The Ottoman government left the country, and the British colonial government was established. After Palestine was placed under British colonialism, the popular resistance witnessed a remarkable activity in Resisting the colonialism, which was characterized by presenting evidence that supported the right of the Arabs in Palestine and refuting Zionist claims. It also carried out several strikes and negotiations with Britain (Barghouti Omar, 2001). February 1920 was the date for the implementation of the Balfour Declaration launched by Britain. As a response to the performance of this promise, famous marches and demonstrations were found, shops were closed, and protests intensified against the British administration headquarters in Jerusalem, demanding the abolition of the Jewish national home project (Suwaidan, 2004).

In addition to the policy of non-cooperation, the economic boycott of Jewish goods, which began in the wake of the Al-Buraq Revolution, was implemented. After the Youth Conference was held in Jaffa on March 26, 1933, it transferred the popular resistance in Palestine to the

principle of non-cooperation and civil disobedience. Independence resulted in the national movement leaders relinquishing their government positions affiliated with the colonization authority, and it was decided to engage in demonstrations periodically, which gave the demonstration method a strong militant impetus (Basem, 2007).

The pre-Nakba phase was characterized by nonviolence in the popular Palestinian resistance. The Palestinians used many means of popular resistance such as messages, holding meetings, conferences, festivals, and public gatherings, spreading awareness through articles and press writings, addressing public opinion and speeches in mosques. Economic and commercial boycotts, and political sanctions. official protests and complaints, presenting evidence, sending delegations, establishing associations, protest marches, raising black flags, wearing the Kuffiyeh, implementing a policy of non-cooperation across the boycott for local councils, refraining from paying taxes, prohibiting the sale of lands, submitting all the periodic demonstrations in cities, mass resignations. As for civil disobedience, the British Mandate period is the main point that shaped and drew the features of the popular Palestinian resistance with its multiple means and the strategy of armed struggle.

2.5.3. Popular Resistance from the Nakba until the Stone Uprising

The popular resistance declined in front of the armed opposition extending from after the Nakba until the uprising of stones in 1987. The Nakba is a Palestinian term that deals with the human tragedy related to the displacement of many Palestinian people outside their homes. It is the name the Palestinians gave to their displacement and the destruction of most of their society's political, economic, and cultural features in 1948. The term al-Nakba recalls the establishment of the State of Israel on the land of Palestine in 1948 through the expulsion of more than half of the population of historic Palestine and the destruction of Palestinian heritage, social and political institutions in the occupied territories (Aljazeera, 2016).

As for the events of the Palestinian Nakba, they include the occupation of the majority of Palestinian lands by the Israeli army and the Zionist movement. Where more than 750,000 Palestinians were expelled from their lands and turned into refugees, massacres were perpetrated against the residents of Palestinian villages, their villages were burned, more than 500 villages were subsequently demolished and replaced with Jewish villages, and the accompanying acts of looting of Palestinians. The events of the Palestinian Nakba also included the expulsion of the majority of the Bedouin tribes from Negev. During the Palestinian Nakba, the Zionist gangs committed more than 70 massacres and massacres against the Palestinians, during which more than 15,000 Palestinians were martyred. Today, more than 75% of

Palestinians are refugees and ethnically cleansed, and 50% of Palestinians today are forcibly residing outside the borders of “historic Palestine.” After the number of Palestinians was equal to 1.4 million during the Palestinian Nakba, today, their number exceeds 11.6 million. 5.6 million of them are today inside Palestine between the West Bank, Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip, and the occupied Palestinian interior, and 6 million Palestinians are in the various countries of asylum Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, etc (BBC, 2020).

There remained a state of ebb and flow in the popular resistance and did not disappear once and for all. During this period, especially in 1955, the largest demonstration that Palestine witnessed came in response to the project to resettle the Palestinians, especially Gaza in Sinai, which is the Johnston project Conspired against the Palestinian cause (Badra, 2014).

In 1967, the villages witnessed a state of civil disobedience and the implementation of a policy of non-cooperation with the Israeli authorities in response to the annexation of East Jerusalem, as the residents of Jerusalem refused to pay taxes in addition to protesting filing lawsuits, and carrying out strikes. As many traditional and innovative means, popularity was used to confront the Israeli attacks, as this year witnessed 127 days of demonstrations, sit-ins, and strikes, in which different spectrums of the people participated, including students, workers, and peasants (Hawari, 1977). After the popular resistance produced multiple and innovative forms, the Palestinian masses remained enduring their daily hardships, difficulties, and pains, which resulted in many martyrs, deportees, prisoners, and wounded. Until 1987, a decisive historical period in the Palestinian struggle and resistance to occupation, especially the popular resistance, varied in multiple forms and innovative and non-traditional methods.

The popular resistance remained in two directions: resistance to the policies and aggressions of the occupation and attempts to Judaize Palestinian cities and villages. The second matter preserved the revival of national occasions for the Palestinian people, such as Land Day (Abu Amer, 2011).

2.5.4. Popular Resistance during the Stone Uprising in 1987

At the end of 1987, the Stone Intifada was launched, characterized by its peacefulness and popularity, which earned it international and local support. This uprising constituted a qualitative shift in the history of the struggle of the Palestinian people. The rebellion also worked to exhaust Israel financially, militarily, and intellectually in its attempts to quell this uprising, as the Stone Intifada was able to recruit the people Palestinians, with all their social groups, levels, and affiliations, to create popular resistance to confront the arrogance and

aggression of the occupying forces (Booth, 2006). The Stone Intifada in 1987 constituted an essential model for the types of popular resistance in which it triumphed over the force of arms and was able to withstand the challenge and bring about fundamental changes in world public opinion. Managing Palestinian affairs, but the cessation of this intifada reflected negatively on the Palestinian cause due to the Palestinian leadership's reliance on negotiations alone to restore the usurped Palestinian rights. The failure of this option has been proven after two decades of continuous negotiations.

2.5.5 Popular Resistance after the Advent of the National Authority 1994

This period was characterized by containment and calm in the areas of the West Bank and Gaza, as the widespread interest was directed towards establishing and performing the authority and the follow-up to the administration's handing over the Palestinian villages and cities from the Israeli occupation based on the agreement signed between them.

In the year 2000, the Al-Aqsa Intifada sparked, through which the Palestinians used many means of popular resistance, such as launching marches and demonstrations against the occupation from schools and universities, at the invitation of Palestinian factions and feminist frameworks, to sit in front of international institutions, occupation settlements, official Palestinian institutions, and in the Palestinian arenas. Banners, slogans, flags, patriotic songs, and raising pictures of martyrs, and this uprising was characterized by the use of weapons to respond to the occupation's crimes that claimed many martyrs, wounded, and prisoners. This resistance centered against the apartheid wall and settlement, where a popular committee was formed that includes all sects, whether they are factions, parties or families, in Boutros village on 9/11/2003, where the first demonstration against the wall took place and the number of participants was 10% of the village's population. This resistance and protests were also concentrated in specific villages such as Bil'in, Ni'lin, Al Ma'sara, Al Nabi Saleh and other villages.

During this period, the Palestinians used many innovative and new means of popular resistance, perhaps the most prominent legal opposition. The Palestinians succeeded in persuading the United Nations to adopt a position rejecting the construction of the separation wall. In 2004, the International Court of Justice issued its advisory opinion 56 to confirm the principles of international law. Especially the Fourth Geneva Convention, in which the construction of the wall constitutes a grave and systematic violation of international law (Al-Mizan, 2004).

The popular resistance used many means and fought many levels of resistance to the body. It

was embodied by many Palestinian individuals and solidarity activists resisting the occupation practices such as uprooting trees through their opposition to the body. Solidarity Rachel Corrie was a model for that, and among the means that applied the economic boycott of Israeli products, many campaigns were organized to boycott settlement products, and the Palestinians were able to address world public opinion by mobilizing media coverage to transmit pictures and scenes of peaceful protests and demonstrations, which take place regularly weekly in many Palestinian villages, such as the weekly Kafr Qaddum march, the Ni'lin march, Al-Masara, and Al-Nabi Saleh (Awawda, 2012). These Palestinian activities and protests were not part of an integrated vision of popular resistance, nor were they systematic and conscious. Everything that was done did not amount to an effective unified resistance program.



CHAPTER III

PALESTINIAN ORGANIZATIONS AND POPULAR RESISTANCE

Occupation resistance is one of the rights guaranteed by international laws, and popular resistance is one way of resisting and challenging injustice and tyranny. On the Palestinian level, after the first meeting of the interim leadership the framework of the PLO on December 22, 2011, which was held in Cairo, a state of consensus emerged among the Palestinian factions on accepting and adopting the method of resisting the Israeli occupation by nonviolent popular means without denying the right of the Palestinian people to fight in all its forms.

To shed light on the Palestinian position on the popular resistance and clarify it, the researcher resorted to studying three groups through which it is possible to highlight the features of the Palestinian position on the issue of popular resistance. The first group is represented by the role of the Palestinian National Authority. Political parties and factions in Palestine represent the second group. The third group deals with the opinion of the Palestinian street, where a questionnaire was conducted for a random group of 100 people.

3.1 Palestinian Authority

Following the Oslo Accords in 1993, the Palestinian National Authority was established, which believed in the Negotiation approach as an optimal solution to end the occupation, and adopted the peaceful path of resistance for liberation Palestine and worked to renounce all forms of violence. Still, today, more than twenty years after establishing the Palestinian National Authority, the official position of the Authority on popular resistance is different from what it was in the past. In light of the failure of all efforts for settlement and negotiation with the Israeli side, which were called absurd negotiations by Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas, and the continuation of confiscating land and building the separation wall, the official position of the Authority shifted in favor of the popular resistance.

As Legislative Council Resolution No. (815/1/9) in 2005 considered all the villages affected by the wall as disaster villages, where the government demanded at the time to continue to move and gather all capabilities to carry out an international campaign for Israel's commitment to stop settlement and implement the decisions of the International Court of Justice "The Hague" to stop construction apartheid wall. However, the head of the Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas announced his strategic position after the death of Yasser Arafat, in which he

rejects armed resistance, believes that the intifada has caused great harm to the Palestinian people, and he is very determined only to negotiate as the only option (Al-Zaytouna, 2010). On the other hand, he declared his adherence to the popular resistance, saying: “We believe in it, and we have the right to practice it. Thus, Abbas links the path of peaceful popular resistance with the path of construction, readiness, and provision of survival elements” (Salah, 2013). Former Prime Minister Salam Fayyad also stressed at the Ba'lin Third Conference for popular Resistance on the 4th of June 2008 the importance of supporting the experience of Popular Resistance in Palestine, strengthening it, and disseminating it to confront the continuous Israeli measures against the Palestinians. He affirmed that the liberation of Jerusalem and the prisoners and the removal of the apartheid wall pass through Bilin village sit-ins. (Fayyad, 2008).

During the holding of the Fourth Bil'in Conference on 22/4/2009, Prime Minister Salam Fayyad emphasized the importance of the Bil'in experience and said, that the example you present represents the narrative of a people determined to hold on to their land, the justice of their cause, and their legitimate struggle that contributes to restoring the mobilization of international support. Therefore, it is the right of Palestinians and even their national duty to express their rejection of the occupation and its practices, protect lands, and the right to life, freedom, to live in security, peace, and dignity, like the rest of the world (Fayyad, 2009). On January 15, 2012, former Prime Minister Salam Fayyad spoke at a ceremony honoring journalists in Bil'in. The popular Resistance formed a fundamental role in the national effort exerted at all levels to end the occupation and establish the state and the effort made by the National Authority in preparing for the establishment of the Palestinian state. Also, the third aspect of the political struggle led by the Palestine Liberation Organization on behalf of the Palestinian people, to enable the Palestinian people to gain their freedom and all their rights, foremost among which is their right to self-determination and to live in freedom and dignity in their independent state, with full sovereignty over the 1967 borders in the Gaza Strip, West Bank and Jerusalem are the eternal capital of this state.

The Palestinian National Authority, led by President Mahmoud Abbas, has also expressed its willingness to support a return to the option of resistance. President Mahmoud Abbas has conducted internal consultations and coordination under the title of nonviolent resistance as the last card that the Authority can use to set aside the option of dissolving the Palestinian National Authority, which raises many controversies (Ahmed, 2010). The Palestinian Authority's stand on popular resistance is devoid of its content, in light of the continuation of the policy of security and administrative coordination with the Israeli occupation, in addition to the policy of

normalization adopted in all areas, as well as the economic relations between the two parties these policies.

3.2 Political Palestinian Parties

3.2.1 The Palestinian National Liberation Movement, Fatah

Fatah movement was launched in the mid-sixties of the last century, announced the rise of the Palestinian people, 17 years after the Nakba (1948 AD), the usurpation of two-thirds of Palestine, and the displacement of most of its people, proposing the goal of liberation and eliminating the Zionist entity, by adopting the method of armed struggle, or (war of long-term popular liberation), and considering the Palestinians the vanguard of the Arab nation in this battle (movement, 2016). Fatah movement announced its vision in the internal system in Articles 17 and 19 that the main means to achieve its goals lies in the armed popular revolution as the only and inevitable way to liberate Palestine (Fatah, 2011). However, the history of resistance to the Fatah movement is not devoid of popular nonviolent means, as the Fatah movement views popular resistance as an essential topic of resistance against occupation, and what is meant by resistance in all its forms, as the popular resistance is a significant part of this resistance called by the Fatah movement. It is adopted as one of the methods of resistance against the occupation (Al-Aloul, 2021).

However, a member of the Fatah movement's committee, Abbas Zaki, refused to accuse his movement of abandoning the armed struggle, saying, "It will never drop it and still keep it as an option internationally granted to the Palestinian people (Al-Zaytouna, 2010). What emerges from the Fatah movement leaders' statements confirms that it has not wholly abandoned the armed option. Still, it disrupts its use according to the conditions that the Palestinian people live in. Therefore, the most effective means of resistance in a state of weakness for Fatah is popular resistance. The Fatah movement launched its position regarding the necessity of activating the peaceful popular resistance against the occupation, following the blockage of the negotiating horizon and the lack of settlement opportunities due to the strict Israeli policies adopted by the Netanyahu government, and its absolute refusal to freeze settlements, even for a limited period. President Mahmoud Abbas was the most adoptive and theorizing of the idea, based on the following considerations:

- Exerting pressure on the occupation by reactivating the popular element, which constitutes a major disturbing factor for the policies and plans of the occupation.

- Covering up the failure of the negotiating project by suggesting the opening of national struggle options to peaceful popular resistance. Attempting to move stagnant international waters, with the aim of re-working on the Palestinian-Israeli track and intervening to soften the hard-line Israeli positions (Consultations, 2012).

3.2.2 Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas

On December 15, 1987, the founding statement of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) was published, as the movement sees itself as an extension of the Muslim Brotherhood movement that has its roots in the 1920s. To establish the movement, as the Hamas movement believes that the program of the Palestinian revolution that was gathered and crystallized in the Palestine Liberation Organization was exposed in the eighties to two series of internal and external setbacks that weakened and undermined its vision.

Hamas believes that the conflict in Palestine is an existential struggle, and it is a fateful civilized conflict that can only be ended with the demise of its cause, which is the Zionist settlement in Palestine, the usurpation of its land, and the displacement of its inhabitants (Maghris, 2006). As the words of the first statement after the outbreak of the First Intifada in 1987 were apparent in the conflict with an occupation state, where the speech in the last words of the statement addresses the Israeli occupation and says: "Our battle with you is a battle of belief, existence, and life" (Al-Hroub, 1997). Hamas believes the best way to manage the Zionist enemy's conflict is by mobilizing the Palestinian energies regarding jihad and the struggle against Zionists by all possible means. Also, keeping the conflict going until there are conditions for resolving it within the Islamic nation. There must also be the completion of power and mobilization of energies and capabilities with a unified political decision (Media, 2014)

Military action was the strategic means of the Hamas movement to confront the occupation and its expansionist ambitions, based on the belief that Palestine is an Islamic endowment land, and Muslims have to strive to recover and liberate it from the occupier, and this is what came and is confirmed by Article 11 of the movement's fundamental law. Besides, Hamas declared in its charter that jihad is the only option to liberate Palestine (Salah Mustafa, 2013). Despite all the aforementioned, Hamas has practiced and is still practicing popular resistance on the ground, as the movement, like the rest of the Palestinian factions, practiced many methods of popular resistance during the two uprisings and the Great Return Marches in the Gaza Strip, which is under the control and rule of Hamas. Many of the movement's leaders stated that Hamas's adoption of popular resistance was a wise and successful decision. The occupation used military action as a pretext to besiege the Palestinian people and target its leaders, attracting the

international community to its side. Hamas is ready to adopt the strategy of popular resistance at present, at least (news, 2011).

Hamas leader Ahmed Yusef also believes that the nonviolent method in popular resistance has won the acceptance of Hamas and added it to its struggle record as one of the most prominent tools in the face of the occupation without dropping any other options of resistance methods approved by international laws, considering that the Palestinian people are still under the field. It is his right to resist the occupation with all available means, and with the technological development we are experiencing, Hamas has worked to show this dimension in the use of nonviolent action and employ it as one of the tools of the Palestinian struggle, and therefore this struggle has become one of the movement's tools that it exercises, and it could be a subject of consensus among the Palestinians. Ahmed Youssef adds that the state of national consensus on popular resistance is a rare case of consensus and stresses its importance in light of many foreign solidarity activists who tend to such a method. Such resistance contributes a vital role in conveying the image of the Palestinian cause to the world, and he considered that the method of Resistance When Hamas approved it as a tool of its struggle, the form of an advanced step, and this method became acceptable to the movement's cadres and leaders (Agency, 2011).

Hamas also believes that adopting the option of popular resistance will achieve many benefits including:

- Reducing pressure on the members and cadres of the West Bank movement and allowing them to breathe, rebuild, train, and participate in mass activities against the occupation.
- Building a consensus situation with Fatah allows managing the conflict with the occupation at a minimum, moving the stagnant battlefield due to the division, and striving to launch a new relationship between the two movements based on partnership during the next stage.
- Changing the stereotypical image in the international mentality of Hamas, which has been associated with armed action and is accused of terrorism, allowing the movement to communicate more and spread bridges with the political and parliamentary circles in the West (Consultations, 2012).

3.2.3 Palestinian People's Party

The Palestinian People's Party emerged from the former Palestinian Communist Party, and it is an extension of the history of the Communist movement in Palestine. The party is based on

dialectical materialism and is guided by Marxist and socialist thought and the struggle experience of the Palestinian people that it has accompanied since the twenties of the last century (Party, 2009). The party that practiced popular resistance, as the party works to secure the Palestinian people's right to return and self-determination and establish an independent and sovereign Palestinian state over the entire occupied land since 1967, with East Jerusalem as its capital. The People's Party is considered one of the first Palestinian factions that called for the principle of the two-state solution and acceptance of a decision Partition in 1947 as the worst solution to the fairest issue, with the occurrence of Nakba in 1948 (Party, 2008).

The People's Party believes in the necessity of harmony between the nature of the Palestinian national program based on international legitimacy and the appropriate forms and means of struggle to achieve it. Therefore, the party considers all other forms of resistance as its project, including armed resistance, support, and a backbone for popular resistance and not a substitute for it. Thus, the party adopts popular resistance and mass action as a strategy of work and resistance in the battle for liberation and establishing an independent Palestinian state on the borders of 67 (Al-Salhi, 2021).

3.2.4 Islamic Jihad

The emergence of the Islamic Jihad movement resulted from neglecting the Palestinian issue as the central issue in the Islamic world and its isolation from it, along with the intellectual and political dialogue witnessed by the Palestinian Islamic movement in the late seventies. After the Muslim Brotherhood refused to resist the occupation, the Islamic Jihad movement split from the group, as the year 1980 is the official date for the founding of the Jihad Movement, as the Islamic heritage is the source of inspiration for the movement. The movement derives its ideological and political thought, and the movement was influenced by the ideas of Hassan Al-Banna and Sayed Qutb and the trends the militancy of Sheikh Izz al-Din al-Qassam the Islamic Revolution in Iran and its leader Khomeini. The Islamic Jihad Movement is considered the organization closest to the Iranian regime to this day, and it enjoys excellent support from it (Hilal, 2006). In its ideological foundations, the Islamic Jihad Movement starts from Palestine, is Islamic land, and the jihad to liberate Palestine is a legal duty and imposing an eye on the people of Palestine. It is not permissible to recognize or reconcile with the usurping entity. The agreements and treaties concluded with the occupation are null and illegal, so armed jihad is the only way to push the aggression. The Zionist entity's struggle is not a border struggle, but rather a struggle for existence, for a just peace will return all of Palestine to its people (Omar, 2008).

Islamic Jihad Movement raises the slogan of Islam, Jihad, and Palestine, as Islam is the starting point, jihad as a means, and Palestine as the goal of liberation. The movement adheres to Islam as a doctrine, Sharia, a life system, and a primary reference to formulating the Islamic action program for mobilization and confrontation. From the river to the sea, Palestine is an Arab Islamic land legally forbidden to abandon its inch. The movement aims from its armed jihad to liberate all of Palestine and liquidate the Zionist entity by mobilizing the Palestinian masses and preparing them in jihad, military, and political preparation, with all educational, organizational, cultural, social, economic, and media means. The movement believes in popular action that serves the primary means in the liberation process, armed jihad (Omar, 2008).

Although the Islamic Jihad Movement adopts in its charter armed resistance against the Israeli occupation as the only option to liberate Palestine, it relied on many methods of popular resistance throughout its struggle stages of demonstrations and statements, leaflets, sit-ins, and strikes, and here we recall the prisoners of the Islamic Jihad movement, headed by Khader Adnan. He fought a hunger strike for more than 60 days in his struggle for freedom inside Israeli prisons and was released. Among the most prominent leaders of the Islamic Jihad movement who spoke about the popular Resistance, Khaled al-Batsh said:

"Although the Islamic Jihad Movement is not convinced of confronting the Israeli occupation with peaceful marches, it will back the right of armed resistance, and that it is not a substitute for it. He also adds that popular resistance is acceptable even though the Israeli enemy must be confronted with painful tools since, despite our conviction in the jihad that the Israeli enemy has nothing to do with it except a confrontation that hurts it, our approval of peaceful resistance will be after we consult with Fatah and Hamas movements in this direction" (Al-Batsh, 2021).

A member of the jihad political leadership, Nafez Azzam, said, "We are not against the popular resistance. peaceful popular uprisings can affect the that our people have fought repeatedly since the beginning of its tragedy" (Maher, 2020). A specific stage, and indicated that any political project presented to the jihad movement about adopting "popular resistance" as an option for action, "we will affirm the right of the Palestinian people to defend themselves by all appropriate means and methods (Sweidan, 2012).

3.2.5 The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

The defeat of June 1967 represented the Popular Front's founding point for the Liberation of

Palestine, and its founding was also linked to the Arab Nationalist Movement. After the defeat of June, the Palestinian branch of the Arab Nationalist Movement sought to create an essential framework that includes the various Palestinian national factions, since their presence constitutes a significant factor in the victory, as well as the Liberation Organization the Palestinian character at the time was not suitable to form this framework, just as the front abandoned its endeavor to create a national act in light of the developments witnessed by the Palestine Liberation Organization, because in its view the PLO embodied the framework of this front with its broad lines, especially after amending the national charter and adopting the factions that fall under the banner of the organization Armed struggle.

The political statement of the Popular Front affirmed the guerrilla action and the armed struggle on December 11, 1967, that the military defeat inflicted on the Arab armies marked the beginning of a new phase of revolutionary action, in which the masses would assume their leadership role in fighting the forces of imperialism and Zionism. With the weapon that history has proven to be a weapon to crush all forms of colonial aggression. After today, there is no slogan that we carry and repeat except armed resistance. Armed resistance is the only effective method that the popular masses must resort to in confronting the Zionist enemy and its interests and locations (encyclopedia, 2020).

Although the front considers the provisions of its bylaws changing and unfixed principles and rules, and its amendment by its national conferences, according to the requirements of the stage and reality, the Sixth National Conference held in July 2000 reaffirmed the importance and role of armed struggle in the liberation process. Article 5 of the bylaw states: “The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine practices all forms of political, intellectual and economic struggle, peaceful and violent, including the armed struggle. According to the concrete circumstances of each stage (Palestinapedia, 2013). It can be recorded after reading and analyzing what was contained in the front's first statement and what was included in the rules of procedure in its sixth conference since after the front considered armed action the only way to repel all forms of Zionist aggression, it is noticed that the political, intellectual, economic and other forms of struggle are presented. Since its establishment in the necessity of mass action in the battle for liberation, the front has believed that this belief was based on its role in the armed activity and not in popular resistance.

The Popular Front affirms the importance of popular resistance, with the need to participate in the mass rallies and the economic boycott of Israeli products in which the front had an active and leading role, especially after the signing of the Oslo Agreement and the establishment of

the National Authority, as it is a popular and mass resistance and not peaceful or nonviolent resistance. Hence, the nature of the settlement, expansionist and occupation determine the heart of the resistance, tools, and methods. The Popular Front formed a trend rejecting the Fatah movement's leadership approach that dominates the PLO towards settlement projects. Its rejection continued after the signing of the Oslo Accords, as the front took a position opposing these agreements, but this was accompanied by actual and limited cooperation with the authority on the ground. It happened after the return of the Front's Secretary-General, Abu Ali Mustafa.

Despite this armed history of the front, its struggle history is not without means of popular resistance, like the rest of the Palestinian factions, especially under the unified national leadership of the uprising in 1987 and the Al-Aqsa Intifada in 2000, such as demonstrations, marches, sit-ins, and strikes (Palestinapedia, 2013).

3.2.6 The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine

The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine presented itself upon its establishment as a united left front and called early on to establish a revolutionary-democratic alliance. The front was set on 2/22/1969 in the major setbacks that the Arab national project suffered after the June 1967 war. It revealed the impasse of its program and the depth of the movement's crisis Nationalism in its various formations.

Although the Democratic Front adopted the armed struggle and practiced it against the Israeli goals, the front moved as early as 1973 to formulate a program for the right of return, self-determination, and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem as the capital (Magazine, 2002). The local program represents the reformulation of the Palestinian political thought centered until that time in rejecting any settlement that diminishes the Palestinian people's right to their land and self-determination. The front's internal system defined its goal of establishing an independent and fully sovereign Palestinian state over the Palestinian land in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, with Jerusalem as its capital until the borders of June 4, 1967. The goal also guarantees the refugees' right to return to their homes, and in the context of the struggle for this national liberation goal, the front strives to deepen democracy and respect pluralism in society and power (Al-Hajj, 2013).

The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine raises the slogan (the people's democratic state) to express the Palestinian national question, to reach a democratic solution to the conflict.

However, this recognition was accompanied by an emphasis that the key to this issue passes through freedom from the Zionist project and coexistence with the Arab Palestinians based on equality in the shadow of the people's democratic state that will be established on the ruins of the state of Israel after the defeat of the Zionist project (Al-Hajj, 2013). After the Front's Fifth National Conference's meetings and in its political report, the front affirmed that its position rejects partial and transitional solutions proposed by the Israeli government.

It also demonstrated the right to return refugees and the importance of continuing the struggle, resisting occupation and settlement, and defending Jerusalem, the eternal capital of Palestine. The front also affirms the Palestinian people's right to oppose the occupation and its practices in all forms of struggle. It includes armed resistance and the need to protect the weapons of resistance and to provide the requirements for steadfastness in the face of occupation and settlement. Especially for those areas and communities threatened with confiscation and which are in direct contact and stand in the front of constructive the Apartheid Wall this resilience and support are achieved through the provision of material support and giving it a priority in infrastructure projects, supporting small productive projects, and providing the foundations for education and health (Abdel-Karim, 2001).

The Democratic Front believes that popular resistance is the best and most appropriate method to confront the occupation in the current political circumstances, and it is not a new practice. It is the essence of previous popular uprisings since 1987 and what followed until today. Therefore, we see that most of the political victories were the result of these popular uprisings, and we note today, the popular resistance has been concentrated in specific outposts, namely Ni'lin, Bil'in, al-Maasara, and Kafr Qaddum, but what is required is to transform it into a comprehensive popular movement for all of the Palestinian territories.

The Democratic Front's strategy also consists of a three-link plan:

- Popular Resistance leads to a comprehensive uprising that protects the armed resistance.
- A diplomatic battle to recognize the Palestinian state and delegitimize Israel.
- Negotiating battle under the roof of international legitimacy resolutions and a binding mechanism for the Israeli withdrawal from the Palestinian state's borders and ensuring the right of return (Hamadeh, 2020).

The Democratic Front begins in its vision of popular resistance as part of a plan to confront the occupation and settlement. It emphasized the necessity and importance of unanimity to promote this resistance and secure the elements for its continuation and spread. In this context, the front

warned against attempts to fabricate a conflict between popular resistance and armed resistance, for resistance in all its forms is a legitimate right of the Palestinian people, confirmed by the national consensus position in the National Accord Document (2006). Its legitimacy is recognized by international law and the charter of human rights. Popular Resistance has a broader horizon, transforming into a comprehensive popular uprising, which requires an end to the devastating division and reinforcement of the constituents of society's steadfastness to bear the burdens of confrontation and alleviate suffering (Hamadeh, 2020).

The positions of the Palestinian factions towards the popular resistance are the same despite the different political programs of each of them. It calls for the use of popular resistance as a national action strategy in which the Palestinian factions are united.

3.2.7 The Relationship of Popular Resistance to the Masses

The masses are the leading incubator and the main base from which the resistance emerges. As the resisters are the ones who give legitimacy to its leaders. Therefore, the victory of the resistance in all its forms depends on the extent of people's association with its leadership. They have the ability to unite the resisters on multiplicity of goals. The popular struggle makes its goal to serve the purpose and cause of the general masses. Contrarily, it means isolating it from its people and thus faltering in achieving its goals, and this indicates the importance of the relationship between the resistances. The more the resistance forces show resilience the more it becomes close to the people and expresses their interests and goals theoretically and practically. The common people embraced them, defended them and provided protection for them because they tell them and their interests, and this requires that the forces of resistance understand and realize that the secret of their strength and ability to achieve their goals depends on how close they are to the masses and embrace them. Likewise, masses must be convinced of the tools and means that the resistance forces use to achieve their goals. The crowd is one of the most critical components of victory because they are the source of moral potentials. The struggle of the national resistance with its enemies of occupation and colonialism is a struggle of will and determination, so the military defeat is a debate. It takes a long time to get rid of its consequences, neutralizing the people and trying to distort the image of the resistance, and convince the masses that their interests are at risk if the opposition is embraced is crucial goals the occupation seeks to achieve.

Therefore, the popular resistance and those in charge of it must not ignore their internal front and rely on the organizing, awareness, and mobilization to strengthen the masses' steadfastness financially and morally. They need to enhance their belief in the justice of their cause and

maintain mutual trust between the resistance and the people. Thus, achieving cohesion between the forces of resistance and the masses and the culture of resistance to transform. With the impetus of widespread opposition harnesses all energies and capabilities, wrapping around one goal and destiny, making an unlimited bid achieve victory (Wafa, 2015).

The masses have the right to hold the resistance and its leaders accountable. It requires taking the opposition out of its sanctity and subjecting it to accountability concerning its ideas, goals, methods, and tactics. Azmi Bishara refers to when he talks about the mistakes that the masses commit, which if they are not aware, they make a mistake in not holding the resistance accountable. Moreover, its actions are sanctified no matter how harmful they are. Azmi Bishara returns to the saying that no voice rises above the voice of the resistance. This error is evident in avoiding any discussion with any resistance organization or party, which leads to being content with praising it and its accomplishments without discussion that distinguishes thought from thought and without publishing positions on mistakes committed by the resistance internally and externally (Bishara, 2009).

Besides, the masses have the right to the resistance to educating them about everything related to the reality of the conflict. The factions and parties practice various means and methods such as publications and mobilizing and educational magazines distributed to the masses. In this regard, the Chinese leader Mao Zedong called the awareness process. People and their participation in the making of the revolution are called "the line of the masses, which is based on four assumptions: the first is that all progress must be dependent on the work of the commons, and the second: that people know what they want, and therefore leaders must always go to the masses to learn from them. Action on the part of the masses that must be undertaken by themselves, and the fourth: that the crowd have unlimited potential creativity, and this force makes revolutions, with the emphasis that Ma Tse Tung confirms that these assumptions are preceded by four stages that begin with the awareness of the masses (Woods, 1987).

This confirmed the awareness of the masses as it stems from the resistance goals, which, although its purpose is to preserve human dignity, to show this is essential in their dealings with the masses on the basis that they are the ones for whom the resistance that protects their satisfaction was found, and if the resistance at a particular moment neglected that The masses have made them a flock that does not matter what they want and what they think about, for they will arrive at some point in which they lose the support of these masses. We may turn against them not because of the resistance's misbehavior but for its neglect of an essential element of

liberation: the public.



CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

REFLECTIONS OF PARTICIPANTS ON POPULAR RESISTANCE IN PALESTINIAN REGIONS

The term Occupied Palestinian Territories refers to the lands belonging to Palestine and occupied by Israel in June 1967, specifically the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip. The Occupied Palestinian Territories constitute 22% of historical Palestine, which was controlled by the British colonial authorities before 1948. Israel is the sole ruling power in the remaining areas, it exercises significant authority and limited Palestinian autonomy. The Israeli authorities in these areas systematically grant privileges to Jews in most aspects of life and discriminate against Palestinians. Laws, policies, and statements by senior Israeli officials make clear that the goal of maintaining Israeli-Jewish hegemony over demographics, political power, and land has long guided government policy. To achieve this goal, the authorities have deliberately, to various degrees, expropriated, subjugated, isolated, and forcibly separated Palestinians under their identity. In some areas, this deprivation was so severe that it amounted to apartheid and persecution, two crimes against humanity.

Many prevailing assumptions have obscured the reality of entrenched discrimination in Israel's rule of Palestinians, including that the occupation is temporary, that the "peace process" will soon end Israeli violations, that Palestinians will truly control their lives in the West Bank and Gaza, and that Israel is an egalitarian democracy within its borders.

Over the past 54 years, the Israeli authorities have facilitated the transfer of Israeli Jews to the Occupied Palestinian Territories, granting them a higher status under the law than Palestinians living in the same areas in terms of civil rights, access to land, freedom of movement and construction, and the granting of residency rights to relatives.

The Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, announced July 1, 2020 as the date for implementing the decision to annex the occupied Palestinian lands from the year 1967, inspired by the American plan announced in late January 2020, which is called in the media the "Deal of the Century." According to the aforementioned American plan, Israel can annex the Jordan Valley area and areas in which the settlements are geographically contiguous, constituting about

30% of the West Bank (House, 2020). Except for the US position and some countries supporting Israel, there is a consensus in the regional and international environment to reject the Israeli annexation project. There is no doubt that Israel is exploiting the circumstance created by the Corona pandemic to advance this project. The European Union expressed its opposition to the annexation and held a special meeting, considering that it would take steps against Israel if it took this step. The flame of popular resistance and the accompanying uprising in the occupied territories would also maintain the Palestinian cause momentum at the regional and international levels.

4.1. West Bank

The popular resistance officially started on November 9, 2003 in Budrus village after the establishment of first popular committee that included all sects, whether political, social or family parties, where the first demonstration against the wall's construction took place. (Coptic, 2013).

Bil'in Village: The popular resistance against the wall and settlement began in Bil'in Village in February 2005, and the march was limited to the women component to send a message to the Israeli soldiers that the protest process is peaceful and not aimed at violence (Coptic, 2013)

The people of the village devised a new method and form of popular resistance, represented by linking the villagers themselves to the trees that were subject to uprooting, in response to the Israeli army's distribution of notices of bulldozing and the uprooting of olive trees to complete the works of establishing the expanding racial wall. The Palestinians also used other means, such as raising the flags of active countries in the international arena by demonstrators who closed their mouths with adhesive tapes to express international silence. The demonstrators also devised the iron wall method that passes over Palestinians' bodies by placing the wall model above the participants' necks.

In protest against the settlements, the people of one of the rallies carried five models of Israeli colonies built on the lands of the village and the neighboring villages, which are: Lapid, Kiryat Sefer, Hashmonaim, Sheela and Metatiah, and a large model of Modiin Illit settlement city.

Nil'in Village: As for the village of Nil'in, peaceful demonstrations against the wall and settlements began on 05/24/2008, when more than 500 Palestinians, foreigners, and Israeli "peace" activists demonstrated to protest against the start of the Israeli bulldozers to build the wall on the village's lands, and the confiscation of about 2.600 new dunams of its lands (Coptic,

2013).

The protest movement in the village was known for its dynamism and through their protests, the people of Na'lin were able to delay the construction of the wall and prevent the movement of the heavy machinery working in the construction of the wall. They re-throwing gas canisters at cranes and bulldozers, and when the wall in the village was initially made up of a fence, barbed wire, and high-precision electronic models, the demonstrators always cut it and destroyed the electronic models, which made the occupation soldiers build a three-meter-long concrete wall to avoid what the protesters do. However, the cement wall did not prevent them from demolishing sections of it several times.

Al Maasara Village: Since November 2006 until the writing of the report, weekly demonstrations have been taking place in Al Maasara village to protest the confiscation of thousands of dunams of agricultural land belonging to the residents of the village and the neighboring villages, Umm Salamuna, Wadi Al Nees, and Jurat Al Shamaa, to build the separation wall near the settlement of Efrat (Abu Amer, 2007).

Demonstrations in the village of Al Maasara are calm. The Israeli security forces block the path of demonstrations inside the village and disperse after a short time.

Beit Ummar Village: In the village of Beit Ummar, constant demonstrations have been taking place since March - March 2009, as the number of Israeli security forces in these demonstrations is almost equal to the number of demonstrators dispersed through resorting to excessive force.

Nabi Saleh Village: The demonstrations began in the village of Nabi Saleh in December 2009, in protest against the control of settlers from the settlement of Halamish, over "Ain al-Qaws" and additional lands belonging to the residents of the village. The marches of this village are classified under non-violence to protest against the dispossession of land.

Kafr Qaddum: In 2003, the settlement of Kedumim, which was built next to the village of Kafr Qaddum, was expanded, and a northern neighborhood was added to it. In the wake of the settlement's expansion, the army prevented residents from accessing the main road linking the village with Nablus's city, which passes between the settlement and the new neighborhood. As a result, residents are forced to travel via the bypass road, increasing travel time to Nablus.

As a result of this suffering, the residents of the village, since July 2011, began to demonstrate weekly from one of the village's mosques, demanding the opening of the street, and these marches are mostly directed towards the closure area that was struck on the street and to receive

speeches there, and the marches sometimes end in confrontations with the Israeli army (Al-Tamimi, 2007).

4.2. Jerusalem

The Israeli settlement, the ongoing Judaization, and the separation wall that suffocates Jerusalem's occupied city's people is the main reason for launching many popular activities to resist the occupation. Popular resistance to the settlements and the wall in Jerusalem takes many forms, including protests, marches and sit-ins.

Settlements and the wall occupy the most crucial topic of protests and marches by residents in Jerusalem. Demonstrations and marches in the town of Silwan in Jerusalem apply continuously, against the background of the aggressive practices of Jewish settlers and the continuing threat to demolish Palestinian homes after repeated incursions into these settlers. The Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood residents' weekly demonstration in East Jerusalem is one of the most evident evidence of the city's popular resistance against the settlements and Palestinian homes' seizure.

The sit-ins are considered one of the forms of popular resistance that is practiced, and it is still practiced by the people of Jerusalem, to force the occupation to stop its racist practices, such as the continuation of the expansionist settlement and the building of the apartheid wall, and these sit-ins succeeded to some extent in increasing the resilience of the people.

On 1-8-2008, delegations representing the national activities, the sit-in tent, which was set up on the old land of Beit Hanina, north of Jerusalem, in solidarity with the owners of the lands threatened by the razing and uprooting of trees. On February 25, 2009, many official and popular delegations, legal figures, and European delegations visited the sit-in tents in the Bustan neighborhood and Wadi Hilweh in the town of Silwan, to the south of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, and European delegations, to show solidarity with the residents against the demolition of their homes, in favor of dangerous, threatening schemes in the region (Akkari, 2020).

Solidarity campaigns included a visit to the "Umm Kamel" tent in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood, which was expelled from her home in the neighborhood by force for the benefit of extremist Jewish groups, as well as the demolition of her tent in which she resides, seven times as the tent has become a symbolic state of the steadfastness of the Jerusalemites in their city. On 07/26/2010, the tent set up by the National Committee to Resist Deportation in Jerusalem at the headquarters of the International Committee of the Red Cross in occupied Jerusalem, in which the deputies of Jerusalem and its former minister Khaled Boa Arafa were

staging a sit-in, witnessed the participation of more local and foreign solidarity delegations to protest against the occupation's decisions to deport them from their city of Jerusalem (Nasonline net, 2009).

The Palestinians escalated their popular resistance to Israeli settlement, by establishing Palestinian villages from tents on lands confiscated by "Israel" from the Palestinians, east of Jerusalem, to establish a colony on them to separate the south of the West Bank from its north (Center, 2014).

4.3. Gaza Strip

The concept of popular resistance was considered more comprehensive and transparent in the West Bank than in the Gaza Strip due to direct friction with the Israeli occupation and the prevention of the Palestinian security services from armed resistance action and its pursuit. In line with the concept of comprehensive resistance, some forms of popular resistance emerged in the Gaza Strip, consistent with the nature of the geographical and geopolitical location of the Strip about the Israeli entity, especially after the Israeli occupation evacuated the Gaza Strip settlements in 2005, which led to the restriction of direct contact of the residents of the Strip with the Israeli entity in the border strip area and the marine area off the Strip. However, the sector created in light of the continuation of the return marches changed all expectations.

Four years have passed since the start of the return marches, which constituted a distinctive theme in the new Palestinian experience in the context of what is known as popular or peaceful resistance. It is a qualitative experience that deserves to be studied, learned, and built upon in the future. The March of Return achieved a vast public turnout, especially in the Gaza Strip, and all social strata interacted with it. Furthermore, it was expressed, sincerely and firmly, the Palestinian people's adherence to the right of return, and a great mobilization took place in Lebanon and accompanying events in Jordan. National unity was also evident in the marches, as it was an element of meeting and agreement between civil society forces, popular actors, and Palestinian factions. This constituted a basis for building trust and convergence on "common denominators," thus strengthening the steps towards ending the Palestinian division (center, 2018).

These marches were characterized by the length of time, so it continued every Friday, for four years without stopping, and good public interaction (compared to many activities). Despite the varying degrees of participation, the state of participation, and the determination to continue

with it, continued in a manner of appreciation and admiration.

On the other hand, the marches were characterized by creativity, as they were accompanied by creative activities, such as kites, balloons, night confusion, etc., which constituted popular resistance methods that caused the Israeli occupation to lose tens of millions of dollars. Various artistic creations and social activities also accompanied the marches.

The marches shed more light on the refugees' right to return to their land and expose the Israeli occupation's ugly face. The demonstrators received broad Arab, Islamic, and international popular support and sympathy, and global condemnations were directed against the Zionists because of their aggressive and brutal behavior towards the peaceful demonstrators. The United Nations Human Rights Council adopted a resolution condemning the Israeli occupation because of its practices against the demonstrators.

The siege and the sanctions imposed on the Gaza Strip were intended to lead to the explosion of the situation and for the people to revolt against the line of resistance that runs the sector and to bring it down. To be replaced by the Ramallah authority committed to the settlement path, without any guarantees to protect the arms of the resistance, nor for a real national partnership based on the reconciliation agreement signed in 2011. However, the return marches directed the public anger against the Israeli occupation and presented a new model for cohesion between the masses and the resistance.

Return marches have forced the parties to the siege to ease it and separate the humanitarian side from the political side, even temporarily, thus improving some living conditions related to electricity, entry of goods, and crossings. Although this was partial gains, it was an acknowledgment by the besieging parties of the return marches' impact and effectiveness.

The Return Marches' most major criticism is that the prices it paid were more than the gains it had achieved. The total number of martyrs was 306, of whom 96.1% (294) were male, and 19.0% (58) were children. The total number injured was 32,529, including 17,581 (54.0%) who attended the hospital. 72.6 % of all hospital injuries were in persons aged 18 to 39 years. 47.8% of injuries were to the lower limbs, with 9.9% to the head and neck. 40.6% of injures were from live bullets, 5.8% resulted from rubber-coated metal bullets, and 14.6% resulted from tear gas inhalation. Four martyrs and 735 wounded among medical staff injured by gunfire and tear gas inhalation, while 119 ambulances were partially damaged due to attacks (MOH, 2019).

Critics also believe that the marches deviated from their strategic goal of achieving a return to occupied Palestine in 1948 to tactical goals related to easing the blockade, achieving a truce,

increasing electricity hours, operating crossings, and the movement of people and goods, expanding the fishing area ... and others. This made the marches lose the essential purpose for which they were created. The marches that were supposed to be launched firmly in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the diaspora, were confined to the Gaza Strip, while limited attempts were made that the Ramallah authority and the Arab regimes succeeded in containing them and quickly halting their momentum.

4.4. The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement

The Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement (BDS) is a Palestinian movement of global origin that seeks to resist occupation, settler-colonialism, and Israeli apartheid to achieve freedom, justice, and equality in Palestine, leading to self-determination for all the Palestinian people in the homeland and the diaspora. The demands of the BDS movement address the aspirations and ownership of all the historical components of the Palestinian people, from the Palestinians of the 1948 lands to the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, including Jerusalem, to the camps and the diaspora, which was divided into stages by Israeli settler-colonialism.

Proceeding from the failure of governments, the “international community,” and decision-makers to stop the complex Israeli oppression against the Palestinian people, the majority of Palestinian civil society issued a historic appeal in 2005 to the free peoples of the world, calling on them to support a boycott of Israel as a major form of peaceful Palestinian popular resistance, and as the most basic form of peaceful Palestinian resistance. For global solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people for their rights. The boycott includes several aspects: stopping dealing with Israel, boycotting Israeli and international companies that are complicit in its violations of Palestinian rights, and boycotting Israeli sports, cultural and academic institutions and activities. The divestment campaigns seek to pressure investors and contractors with Israeli and international companies involved in the occupying power and apartheid crimes to withdraw their investments from and terminate their contracts with these companies. Investors or contractors may be individuals, corporations, sovereign funds, pension funds, churches, banks, local councils, private entities, charities, or universities. The imposition of sanctions by governments, officials, and international institutions against a country or an entity that violates human rights forces it to stop these violations. They include military, economic, cultural, and other sanctions, such as containing military cooperation, arresting free trade agreements, or expelling Israel from international forums such as the United Nations, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, FIFA, etc (BDS, 2021).

The global boycott of Israel campaign is one of the most successful campaigns ever. Still, its success is becoming bigger and stronger outside the Palestinian territories due to the weakness of the Palestinian economy and their lack of productivity, as Israeli products invade the Palestinian markets. The Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza, and Jerusalem seek alternatives to Israeli products, but the boycott campaign inside the Palestinian territories has not yet reached the desired level. The Palestinian economy must be built separately from the Israeli occupation. It can only be done by the termination of all agreements that harm the Palestinian economy, such as the Paris Agreement and accessories.

4.5. The Participants' Opinion on Popular Resistance

This research study collects the primary data through interviews and surveys. The interview participant is selected from the prominent political parties that are directly playing a role in the popular resistance to guide the people to stand for their rights. The seven prominent parties (the Palestinian National Authority, Fatah, Hamas, the Islamic Jihad, the Popular Front, the Democratic Front, the Palestinian People's Party) are directly involved in the process. So one party member is selected from each to know their opinion about popular resistance. The surveys are conducted electronically, e.g., Google Sheet Survey, because of the Covid19 restrictions. The survey participants are the Palestinians from Gaza, the west bank, and refugees to measure their intention about the popular resistance. The total number of participants is 104 because of the limitations of the research. The collected data of the surveys are analyzed through simple statistical methods like a percentage via excel sheets. The popular resistance in the West Bank, Gaza, and the occupied interior is the best Palestinian response to the repressive Israeli practices against Palestinian citizens. The Palestinian youth movement is a name given to a wide range of youth movements in Palestinian gatherings, which appeared unexpectedly during the momentum of the Arab Spring in 2011. It relies on peaceful means in the movement. The expression of their views and national demands Nevertheless, in the summer of 2016, Israel declared this youth movement a banned movement, fearing that it would lead to a third Palestinian intifada (Palestinian youth movement, 2016).

4.5.1. The Level of Support to Popular Resistance

The popular resistance option has recently begun to regain its momentum and importance. In light of the absence of armed resistance in the West Bank and the relatively calm situation in the Gaza Strip what made the popular resistance the common denominator and the consensual solution available at this sensitive stage in the history of the Palestinian cause. Where we see

daily high mass participation in demonstrations in different areas of the West Bank and Gaza borders (Palestinian youth movement, 2016). In the following table, the results show the extent to which the Palestinian street accepts the idea of popular resistance. Out of one hundred respondents and four, 97.1% strongly supports and 1,9% supporting while 1%. not supporting. Mr. Nidal Abu Kamil, a member of the Hamas movement. remarks the following in regard to that point:

"Yes... the popular resistance robs the occupier of the ability to use his war machine with which he is superior to the Palestinians and the whole of the Middle East. It exhausts his army, confuses it, and drains its energies. It also embarrasses it before world public opinion and contributes to isolating it and enhancing chances of boycotting it. Benefiting from it is what happened in the first popular intifada in 1987 when the international community moved and forced Israel to initiate a peace process that would have achieved the aspirations of the Palestinian people had it not been for the poor Palestinian political performance" (AbuKamil, 2021).

Table 4.6.1.1: Do you support the popular resistance in Palestinian lands?

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Supporting strongly	101	97,1
Supporting	2	1,9
Not supporting	1	1,0
Total	104	100

Of the 104 people who participated in the questionnaire, when asked about their participation on the ground in the areas of contact with the occupation, 14,4% answered that they joined most of these activities, 19,2% people said that they joined some of popular demonstrations, while 14,4% people responded that they have no opinion on the subject 26,0% did not participate and 26,0% did not participate at all.

The main reason behind these answers is the absence of a unified leadership that encourages the Palestinians to go out in widespread demonstrations and the severe repression facing the Palestinians by the Israeli occupation, where Israel killed 217 Palestinians, including 48 children and two women. According to a report issued by the Al-Mezan Center for Human

Rights on the statistics of the marches since its inception 03/30/2018 until 03/28/2020 (Rights, 2020).

Table 4.6.1.2: Have you joined any resistance realized in Palestinian lands?

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Joined most	15	14,4
Joined some	20	19,2
No opinion	15	14,4
Not joined	27	26,0
Never joined	27	26,0
Total	104	100

The continuation of the popular Palestinian resistance in various cities without interruption is evidence of the Palestinians' awareness of the importance of popular resistance as one of the tools of national liberation, and this was clearly evident in the answers to the questionnaire, where 61.5% of the participants showed their strong agreement to use the popular resistance for liberation, and 17.3 % also agreed with this tool. In contrast, 13.5 % of the participants strongly disagreed with it, and 5.8 % disagreed with it, and 1.9 % did not specify their opinion.

Table 4.6.1.3: Do you agree that popular resistance is one of the ways to liberation?

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	64	61,5
Agree	18	17,3
No opinion	2	1,9
Disagree	14	13,5
Strongly disagree	6	5,8
Total	104	100

Regardless of their political affiliations, Palestinians participate in these sit-ins and demonstrations against the occupation in the hope that this popular unity will lead to the agreement of the Palestinian leadership. Many Palestinians believe that the popular resistance

will bring the Palestinians together and unite the divided parties, as 55.8% of the participants Strongly agree, 34.6% agree. Professor Tayseer Muhsin, a member of the Central Committee of the People's Party, underlines the followings:

“That experience has shown that there is unity in the field and that the hands of all fighters are intertwined. They transcend the existing political differences at the higher levels of the leadership.

Joint action on the ground leads to pressures exerted by the masses and organizations bases on their leaders for the sake of unity. There are popular committees in which more than one organization is involved, with a single goal, love for the homeland, and their yearning for successful work. Popular resistance is a collective action based on developing a common identity, building common expectations, inciting a feeling of strength with the group, and reinforcing the need for unity and cohesion” (Muhsin, 2021).

Table 4.6.1.4: Do you agree that the popular resistance is a way to national unity?

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	58	55,8
Agree	36	34,6
No opinion	3	2,9
Disagree	4	3,8
Strongly disagree	3	2,9
Total	104	100

Many respondents believe that popular resistance is a method for a unified national strategy of action, in light of the organized and systematic measures taken by the Israeli occupation government to end the Palestinian presence against the cause and the people. 46.2% strongly agree, and 28.8% agree. The official of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine abroad, Dr. Maher Al-Taher, affirmed it as follows:

"What we need in these objective circumstances for a comprehensive are

explosion and a comprehensive Palestinian uprising, we tell everyone to stop the division, unite and close ranks for a comprehensive confrontation with the enemy, restore consideration to the resistance in all its forms, and draw a national strategy of action whose essence is resistance" (Al-Taher, 2021).

Table 4.6.1.5: Do you agree that the popular resistance will constitute a “National Action Strategy” for all Palestinian parties?

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	48	46,2
Agree	30	28,8
No opinion	18	17,3
Disagree	6	5,8
Strongly disagree	2	1,9
Total	104	100

Many participants support the idea that armed Palestinian resistance is the only way to liberation, and only 10.6% of the participants opposed it. Mr. Nidal Abu Kamil, a member of the Hamas movement expresses this idea like the following manner:

"That they support the continuation of the resistance in all its forms, including the armed resistance, the peoples of the world that were subjected to the occupation have taken the resistance as a way to defeat it. And he wonders about the outcome of the political settlement track over several years of negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis" (AbuKamil, 2021) .

Table 4.6.1.6: Do you agree that the “armed resistance” is the only means of liberation?

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	67	64,4
Agree	24	23,1

No opinion	2	1,9
Disagree	11	10,6
Total	104	100

Although the participants believe that armed resistance is the best option for liberation, they support demonstrations and sit-ins against the Israeli occupation. 54.8% strongly agree, and 34.6 percent agree. It is clear evidence that the Palestinians understand the importance of popular resistance on the road to liberation. Dr. Khaled Al-Batsh remarks as the follows:

“This form achieves many goals -- planting a culture of resistance among the masses... Stimulating the groups for national action, breaking the barrier of fear between them and the occupier, and exploiting the media to expose the occupiers and their racist and anti-human rights policies” (Al-Batsh, 2021)

Table 4.6.1.7: Do you agree that going out in sit-ins and demonstrations against the occupation is an effective work?

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	57	54,8
Agree	36	34,6
No opinion	5	4,8
Disagree	4	3,8
Strongly disagree	2	1,9
Total	104	100

4.5.2. Perceptions on the Success of Popular Resistance

The popular Palestinian resistance has always been a tool of pressure on the Israeli occupation to undo the policies and measures it has taken against the Palestinians. It was evident in the events in Jerusalem, Bab al-Amud, and electronic gates. The Palestinians go out in weekly demonstrations or on specific occasions called by the political factions to points of contact to confront the occupation army or areas targeted for settlement or confiscation to pressure the

occupation. The participants in this survey support the success of the popular resistance, as only 4% of the participants found it useless.

Table 4.6.2.1 How do you think about the success of ongoing popular resistances in Palestinian lands?

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Very successful	57	54,8
Successful	36	34,6
No opinion	5	4,8
Not successful	4	3,8
Total	104	100

In the following table, the researcher reviews the public's opinion of the Palestinian factions' management of the popular resistance. 27.9% see it as very successful, 42.3% as successful, while 13.5% see it as unsuccessful. The following remarks are from Professor Imad Al-Agha, a member of the Central Committee of Fatah Movement:

“That all Palestinian political forces now include popular resistance in their programs. It is an excellent achievement after most of them believed that armed resistance is the only form of struggle. But everyone, including the Islamic forces, embraced popular resistance. It was not translated on the ground with an escalating organized popular resistance to reach the stage of a massive uprising or a comprehensive rebellion. Also, the lack of a unified leadership made the popular resistance stagnant. He did not mobilize his energies and dedicate himself to the goal of developing and ensuring its continuity” (Al-Agha, 2021).

Table 4.6.2.2: How successful do you think are the Palestinian parties in leading the popular resistance?

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Very successful	29	27,9

Successful	44	42,3
No opinion	16	15,4
Not successful	14	13,5
Never successful	1	1,0
Total	104	100

In this question, the public confirms once again its belief in the success of popular resistance as a tool for liberation from the Israeli occupation, and this was also evident in the previous answers. The percentage of those opposed to its success was only 5.8%. In an interview with Mr. Mahmoud Khalaf, a member of the Political Bureau of the Democratic Front, he confirmed that idea in the following way:

Popular resistance is not a substitute for other forms of resistance. The excellent use of all forms following the circumstances of time, geographical location, and the energies of the masses can achieve the goal of liberation. Popular resistance in all its economic, cultural, and media forms creates a mass incubator for other forms of resistance "for each role in the struggle" and development Technical and moral values in today's world enhance the chances of achieving goals through popular resistance that involves all spectrums of society and does not reduce the struggle to a specific group or a specific tool. Popular resistance is based on comprehensive and integrated action. Therefore, it may be one way to achieve national liberation by strengthening the national identity in both its cultural and political aspects, confirming survival and steadfastness on the land, defeating the occupation on the ground, and exposing the aggressive, racist, fascist nature of its behavior (Khalaf, 2021).

Table 4.6.2.3: How successful do you think that the popular resistance will be in getting national liberation ?

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Very successful	51	49,0
Successful	41	39,4
No opinion	4	3,8
Not successful	6	5,8

Never successful	2	1,9
Total	104	100

The occupation worked from the outset to iron out the Palestinian awareness of their right to resistance through the use of the policy of repression, killing, arrest, and prosecution of any form of resistance carried out by the Palestinians. But the Palestinians' awareness of the most important exercise of their legitimate right to resist the occupation in all forms of resistance, due to its moral and material victory. The poll showed that only 1.0% of the respondents believe that the Palestinians have no awareness of the extent of the success of the popular resistance. The Palestinian people's awareness of popular resistance comes through their understanding of the reality in which they live and that the choice to confront the occupier is inevitable. Mr. Mahmoud Khalaf, says "The Palestinian people realize the importance of popular resistance, especially after achieving many local and international achievements after the masses saw the escalation of the occupation's brutality to popular resistance activities" (Khalaf, 2021).

Table 4.6.2.4: Do you agree that the Palestinian people are in the aware of the importance of popular resistance?

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	57	54,8
Agree	39	37,5
No opinion	4	3,8
Disagree	3	2,9
Strongly disagree	1	1,0
Total	104	100

The political field puts pressure on political decision-makers at the official level, and parliaments communicate with them immediately and ask them to make decisions condemning the crimes. What was reflected in the positions of politicians, and the works of European countries, are new and unprecedented, an essential part of which is due to this interaction of sit-ins, demonstrations, and pressure groups. We recall the recent positions after the attack on Jerusalem and Gaza and Sheikh Jarrah, which emerged from politicians across the continent without exception. If they were invested, they would make a difference in favor of supporting the Palestinian cause and standing up to the occupying state (Al-Zeer, 2021). The following

table shows the Palestinian people's awareness of popular resistance to obtain international support. 66.3% strongly agreed on its importance, and 31.7% agreed on its importance.

Tablo 4.6.2.5: Do you agree that the resistance has an impact on world public opinion?

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	69	66,3
Agree	33	31,7
No opinion	2	2,0
Total	104	100

Adham Adhim Abu Salmiya, a researcher in international relations, former spokesman for the Commission for Breaking the Siege on Gaza.says the followings:

Popular resistance cannot be described as terrorism, but rather reveals the criminal nature of the occupiers, and this leads to an increase in sympathy with the rights of our people. Sympathy with the days turns into pressures and penalties to be exercised against the occupiers and their interests in the world. For example, Israel and in the conferences of its experts and politicians, especially in the “Herzliya” conference, considered the boycott a strategic danger to it. Therefore, the occupying power allocated hundreds of millions to confront BDS in various countries of the world. Because Israel's reputation and support has declined significantly, and the accusation of anti-Semitism is no longer deceiving the peoples of the world, and it considers that the occupying state is practicing the worst forms of oppression, uprooting and ethnic cleansing against the Palestinians (AbuSalmiya, 2021).

4.5.3. Leadership and Palestinian factions in popular resistance

The absence of unified national leadership in the occupied West Bank distracts the focus of federal activities, which weakens the popular crowds. It reduces their presence in the field in large numbers that stand in the face of the occupier during the marches, unlike the Strip, which launched its popular resistance, under a unified umbrella of The Palestinian National and Islamic factions participate in announcing, organizing, arranging and planning popular events, and this is what gave them the advantage that everyone participates and tries to prove himself in them (Shami, 2018). Most of the answers to this question range between 25.0% strongly

agree, and 27.9% agree on forming a Palestinian leadership from outside the factions, and 27% did not have an opinion on the subject. When Mr. Moeen Al-Taher was asked about the possibility of finding leadership from outside the factions, his answer was as follows;

In my estimation, popular action does not always need leaders at the beginning. Still, it needs leaders, or perhaps it needs a framework to organize it and turn it into a more practical situation and achieve political gains through the action I want. In other words, the protests and sit-ins that started in Jerusalem in The blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque in the Bab Al-Amoud area in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood did not need factional leaders. They did not wait for permission from the factions. We always say that the popular action is ahead of the organizational action because the movement of organizations is usually heavy. People's movement is fast, but in the end, Protests and sit-ins need an honest leadership that emerges from the womb of these sit-ins convinced of their performance and role. These leaders move for the sake of political gains that serve and give positive results for the goals for which this sit-in and protest was (Al-Taher, 2021).

Table 4.6.3.1: Do you agree that the protests and sit-ins need a Palestinian leadership from outside the current Palestinian parties?

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	26	25,0
Agree	29	27,9
No opinion	28	27,0
Disagree	16	15,4
Strongly disagree	5	4,8
Total	104	100

It is no secret to anyone that the Palestinian political dispute did not begin with the events of the internal fighting between the elements of Fatah and Hamas in the summer of 2007. Instead, it is a division whose roots go back to the beginnings of the first intifada in late 1987, specifically with establishing the Hamas movement, which carried an ideology and a project of its own, as it refused Integration into Palestine Liberation Organization. After establishing the Authority, an ideological dispute emerged between Hamas and Fatah regarding ways to

confront the occupation. As a result, since 1994, the Palestinian security services, which were formed after the establishment of the Authority, have launched campaigns of political arrest and repression against resistance activists, as these campaigns were active after every commando operation against the occupation. One of the resistance factions was adopted, while the Authority considered it to "preserve security and peace" according to what it said, texted by "Oslo." (Al-Saeedi, 2017) The result shows in the following table that most of the participants believe that the Palestinian division affects the popular resistance, with 36.5% strongly agree and 40.4% agree.

Mr. Kayed al-Ghoul, a member of the Political Bureau of the Popular Front draws attention to the following in this regard:

yes... it weakens the mobilization of efforts and energies, creates contradictions, exaggerates internal contradictions, and sometimes diverts the compass from the occupier and leads to competition for factional gains. We want popular resistance that hurts the occupation and makes it lose. Therefore, the Palestinian division negatively affects the participation of the masses and the quality of its activities (al-Ghoul, 2021).

Table 4.6.3.2: Do you agree that the Palestinian division affects the Palestinian popular resistance negatively

Responses	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	38	36,5
Agree	42	40,4
No opinion	7	6,8
Disagree	12	11,5
Strongly disagree	5	4,8
Total	104	100

The Table 4.5.3. 3and Table 4.5.3.4 show the respondents' political affiliations and their opinion of which Palestinian parties are most motivated to participate in the popular resistance. The two tables show that resistance is the strategic choice around which the Palestinian people rally with their various political currents. Despite the state of destruction and siege that the Gaza Strip is experiencing, especially after the last aggression in May 2021, the public rally around the

currents that adopt the option of armed resistance has become apparent. It is the case as for the West Bank, Jerusalem, and even the occupied territories 48, where popular demonstrations were calling for slogans in support of the armed resistance in Gaza (Imran, 2016).

Table 4.6.3.3: Which party or faction do you feel yourself to be closest?

Responses	Frequency	Percent
The Palestinian Authority	5	4,8
Hamas	84	80,0
Palestinian People's Party	5	4,8
Islamic Jihad	3	2,9
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine	3	2,9
Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine	2	1,9
No answer	2	1,9
Total	104	100

Table 4.6.3.4: Which party or faction do you think is more successful in motivating the Palestinian to join in popular resistance?

Responses	Frequency	Percent
The Palestinian Authority	3	2,9
Fatah	1	1,0
Hamas	73	70,2
Palestinian People's Party	6	5,8
Islamic Jihad	1	1,0
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine	11	10,6
Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine	3	2,9
No answer	6	5,8
Total	104	100

Popular resistance activities were characterized by a combination of factors that determined its course to a large extent internally and externally, such as organized action, mass initiative, spontaneity, and nonviolent forms of resistance. The masses and the Palestinian resistance factions support any action that would be a step in the path of liberation. The popular resistance

proved its success in the various gifts in Jerusalem, the occupied territories 48, and the West Bank. Organizing a sustainable civil disobedience campaign will be time-consuming and challenging, but it is not impossible. It is likely to include frequent confrontations between Israelis and Palestinians in the streets, through the media, national forums, and the courts.

Many Israelis will view this campaign as an attempt to demonize and delegitimize their state, leading to significant economic and social hardships for the Palestinians. However, unless consensus, leadership, and national discipline are achieved to show a unified leadership in the face of the occupation and its suppression, the sacrifices made by the people will be futile. Popular resistance as methods of struggle (attrition to the enemy and continuous protest) stems from a plan with clear objectives. It turns into mobilization and culture adopted by all political organizations, unions, civil society organizations, and the joints of the country. It is linked to the plan and the vision that occupies the various segments of the people, each according to his capabilities, national consensus, and Arab and international support.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

POPULAR RESISTANCE AS A NATIONAL ACTION STRATEGY

Popular resistance is the talk of the Palestinian circles nowadays, and the emergence of this concept historically dates back to Gandhi's experience in peaceful civil resistance in India against the British occupation and the experience of the African National Congress in South Africa against the apartheid regime. In the Palestinian level, the option of peaceful popular resistance was not a product of the moment, as it was proposed since the beginning of the Palestinian cause and was essential in the first intifada in 1987. Still, the Al-Aqsa Intifada in 2000 had the character of armed resistance, which resulted in the choice of popular resistance being placed in a corner marginal, and weakening the effectiveness of the call to it, in light of the repressive and violent forms of Israeli aggression that were practiced against the Palestinians (Youssef, 2007). In the absence of armed resistance in the West Bank and states of calm that prevail from time to time in the Gaza Strip, the option of popular resistance has begun to regain its momentum and importance, which made the popular resistance the common denominator and the consensual solution available, at this sensitive stage in the history of the Palestinian cause.

5.1. National Action Strategy for Successful Popular Resistance

Since the 1936 strike, the Palestinians did not have a program of action or a national strategy for resistance that relied on popular resistance until the outbreak of the intifada in 1987, which was characterized by continuity and communication despite all the means and methods of the occupation to suppress it. New work in resisting the occupation, and considers the experience of Bil'in, the Prophet Saleh, the Ma'sara, and Kufr Qaddum as a result and reflection of what the struggle of the Palestinians against the Israeli occupation should be. The conflicting strategies are negatively reflected on the entire Palestinian issue. Since the goal of negotiations and peaceful and armed resistance is one, which is to restore rights to their owners and remove the occupation, it must be practiced within the framework of a national strategy and under one national leadership so that negotiations and resistance are complementary to each other. The framework of a single national strategy that unites the people attracts global support and

achieves goals better and faster, and this is what was touched from the 1987 Intifada.

There is no conflict in reality between peaceful resistance and armed resistance and negotiations as long as the goal is to defeat the occupation. However, most peoples' experiences have combined between the two methods within one integrated strategy led by one leadership, and the strategy is based on the interests and constants of the homeland, so it is only according to a national consensus because the constants are subject to agreement. What worries the occupation authorities and its government is the growing Palestinian awareness and awareness of the importance of popular resistance and the practice of political rejection and opposition, which would mobilize international and global support for the struggle of the Palestinian people and their struggle. The current situation has reached Palestine in terms of not achieving the goal of liberation. Even getting the state project was nothing but the absence of a real, apparent, and agreed-upon strategy that would be the basis for achieving this goal. What we see is evident with the authority, the factions, and the PLO. Everyone considers the solution differently, which means that the Palestinian street lost, like its leadership, not knowing where the political ship is going.

Preparing the appropriate strategy to achieve a peaceful national action requires the availability of a thought characterized by creativity and the ability to manage matters in light of the complexity, entanglement, difference, and convergence between the various political discourses and visions of the active Palestinian forces with an Islamic or national orientation, in addition to the difference in priorities among the masses. President Mahmoud Abbas clarified the authority's strategy towards peaceful resistance in his interview with Reuters. Where he said, my success as a leader is to reduce violence, and that after the failure of two previous intifadas, no one wants to see more bloody confrontations with Israel, and if you ask anyone if we are going to start a third intifada, they will say no, they want peace, people realized that our goals would be achieved through peaceful means

5.1.1. Reasons for the Absence of a National Action Strategy

One of the most important reasons for the absence of an agreed-upon national action strategy among the Palestinian factions is the absence of a unified national authority, which is intended as a popular choice reference, which must include all the Palestinian people at home and abroad, which makes the national leadership accountable to the Palestinian people, and this requires all powers and the factions satisfied and acceptance of partnership in managing the conflict and leading the national project, and appealing to the Palestinian people based on the strategic goal of liberation and return (Saleh, 2013).

In addition to this main reason for the absence of a unified national reference, there are other reasons:

- The leading institution's weakness, especially after the Palestinian division and the imbalance between the different authorities, legislative and executive.
- Partisan and factional fanaticism and inconsistency between them, so everyone considers himself the right thing to do. Accusations and criticisms of others without paying attention to its faults.
- The weak popular role in putting pressure on the political leadership, fearing for the associated interest's parties or distrust of them.
- The dissociation of the various parties and factions from the fundamental role is an organization and a culture and national liberation movement laws.
- Closed ideologies constitute a barrier to rational and creative thinking that allows for solutions for various problems.
- Lack of independence of decision and dependence on conflicting foreign agendas.
- Considering that elections are the best solution to the crisis the issue is going through
- The absence of the role of elites, intellectuals, thinkers, and public opinion leaders for various reasons, including fear of their interests and jobs.
- Make power and access to it the supreme goal of political parties at the expense of conservatives on a national program, which led to the transformation of the resistance fighters into employees looking for special privileges.
- The Palestinian division and the consequent separation of Gaza from the West Bank.
- The difference in the program between the national and Islamic factions and the complexities of reconciling them.
- Tactical rather than strategic performance, and this was the character of the Palestine Liberation Organization it is subject to circumstances, pressures, and dictates, as every action inconsistent with the liberation project, is justified as a tactic and one of the requirements of the stage without moving towards a single strategy, where the tactical has become a priority, and the strategic is secondary (Saleh, 2013).
- Lack of an international and Arab role supporting an integrated national strategy that

seeks to achieve its goals legitimate patriotism.

It is impossible to get out of this situation except by rebuilding an agreed national strategy and working on a comprehensive national revitalization process. This can only be done by reaching a national consensus on the national strategy's foundations, as the failure of strategies is not due to an imbalance of power but rather to the absence of mechanisms to achieve the strategy. The required national strategy is a national liberation strategy that adopts the appropriate choice to achieve liberation through the armed or peaceful struggle. This is what is decided by the approved Palestinian agreed leadership, and this strategy has fundamental foundations (Abrash, 2013).

5.1.2. Pillars of the National Action Strategy

5.1.2.1. Objective

What is meant here are strategic goals for a people under occupation. This goal transcends various internal differences and agendas. The supreme national interest is the supreme and the first, and the goal is to answer legitimate questions related to the Palestinian issue. What do the Palestinians want? The well-known answer is to remove the occupation. Moreover, “in what way is that?” and other strategic questions will be illuminated.

Moreover, this goal must distinguish between what we want as Palestinians and what Arab and regional parties want to employ the Palestinian cause to serve their agenda because the national program will not be national except under the banner of Palestinian nationalism: leadership, identity, and belonging.

5.1.2.2. Means and Tools for Achieving the Goal

Herein lies a real problem because the difference in methods and tools has negatively affected the chances of achieving the goal. If removing the occupation was the goal, what are the means that will be adopted to achieve it? What is the strategy for achieving the goal? Is it resistance or a peaceful settlement? Moreover, if it was through resistance, is it peaceful, armed, or both?

We have seen a consensus between the Palestinian factions, especially the Fatah and Hamas movements, over a choice. Popular resistance is not the direction of options and other alternatives; this may be the beginning and the basis.

5.1.2.3. Reference

It is the basis of identity and culture, as it is the Palestinian national project's identity. However, this reference has overlapping forms, including the historical, political, legal, national, and Islamic ones, and this reference needs to be agreed upon as well as the reference through the

existing framework, which is the liberation organization? Or through dialogues between the organization and the forces outside it? Or through elections?

However, since the reference exists, and the framework exists, which is the Liberation Organization, and it has been agreed to reform and activate it among all factions, it is better to proceed with that until it is an inclusive national framework agreed upon.

5.1.2.4. Leading Frame

Furthermore, it is for every Palestinian so that it represents all Palestinians and speaks in their name. Here either the PLO is activated to accommodate the forces outside it or the work of a new institution emanating from a popular national conference for all Palestinians inside and outside the country. A framework means one leadership and one representative of the Palestinian people speaking on their behalf. Moreover, he acts in their name in all international forums.

5.1.2.5. Ending the Palestinian Division

To agree on a national strategy, the division must be eliminated, and a national partnership based on popular reference must be adopted. The issue needs to be radically addressed to the causes and effects of the division and all that resulted from it in the West Bank and Gaza and to make societal reconciliation a top priority, and ending the division also means reviving all Institutions and adopting a unified and qualified national program to deal with various crises. The matter is not limited to this point. However, it goes beyond it to agree on what is acceptable and unacceptable and the constants of Palestinian work, finding ways to re-empower the Palestinian people with their constants and national identity, activate their relationship and build confidence in leadership. Moreover, the division contributed to the absence of unified resistance culture, as resistance is a practice and a culture, and ending the division will be a direct reason for returning to the resistance culture.

In addition to the above, prolonging the life of the division reflects positively on the occupier. Therefore, the most appropriate choice and strategy must be adopted by a unified leadership carrying a unified vision and a single program on the ground of searching for the people's supreme Palestinian interests. The division is an impenetrable barrier that impedes and delays the implementation of all programs. Moreover, the plans adopted in the face of the occupation and real resistance cannot form, so there will also be no popularly supported and successful negotiations in light of the division (Saleh, 2013).

Therefore, a strategic reconciliation must be achieved from which a strategic program will

emerge, and this reconciliation must not be limited to Fatah and Hamas. However, instead, all the various Palestinian forces and civil society institutions and the various elites must participate.

5.2 Popular Resistance as a National Strategy for Action

The importance of practicing popular resistance and adopting it as a national strategy for action lies in the fact that it allows this type of struggle to be practiced in all fields and on all fronts and with minimal losses. It is also distinguished by being resistant to a broad impact because it includes all groups and segments of society, official, popular, factional, and partisan, which increases its strategic importance. Besides, any popular resistance makes the occupation project vulnerable to loss on the political, security, economic and media levels, internally and externally (Jarar, 2010). The importance of popular resistance can be summarized in the following:

5.2.1. Gaining International Sympathy Support for the Palestinian Cause

Uniting the Palestinians around a single strategic option and adopting popular resistance as a national action strategy will positively affect the Palestinian cause in terms of global support and obtaining growing international gains, which Israel loses in return on the international arena.

5.2.2. Increasing Public Awareness

The importance of popular resistance and its role in restoring legitimate rights is represented, especially after the deformation that affected the popular resistance, as it has no effect and is limited to specific places and times.

5.2.3. Uniting Palestinian Efforts

The popular resistance contributes to the disappearance of political differences and the atrophy of factional programs in the face of uniting national efforts in resisting the occupier through popular means and tools that all the owners of the different political programs fuse with to transform the gains acquired by the various forces into general gains for the Palestinian cause.

5.3. Adopting Popular Resistance as National Strategy

Despite the difference in the political lines and the specific beliefs of each Palestinian political faction, it is noted that there is a state of theoretical consensus on the issue of popular resistance. This conclusion is the result of analyzing the position of the Palestinian factions towards the popular resistance, which they dealt with in the previous chapter of the study. Still, the dilemma

remains that these factions have lacked communication with each other to crucify this type of resistance within the framework of a national plan of action and one unified Palestinian strategy to confront the occupation.

In addition, the PA's approach to negotiations is still faltering and has not brought anything new, and the factions agree upon no alternative option in case the talks fail. This vast gap in vision and approach does not represent the comprehensive Palestinian national strategy. The latter is based on foundations, including unity of the situation and unity of vision and discourse. Such a division in attitudes weakens the Palestinian cause. This issue can be addressed on several levels

5.3.1. Political Level

Reaching a state of harmony among all Palestinian factions about popular resistance so that each party adopts this option and mobilizes its members and supporters around it through different methods and means it deems appropriate.

5.3.1.1. Fatah and the Palestinian Authority

The obstruction of the negotiations horizon after years without achieving any of the fundamental rights, in addition to the aggravation of settlements, confiscation of land, and repeated Israeli aggressions, requires the Palestinian Authority and Fatah movement to evaluate the situation and search for other options based on a new Palestinian vision that includes all Palestinians and aims to build a single strategy to confront the occupation. Therefore, it has become necessary for the Fatah leadership and the Palestinian Authority to be convinced of the futility of negotiations as the only option and that everything surrounding the negotiations is the lack of integrity of the mediator and Israel's lack of commitment to all that was agreed upon, and that the Palestinian Authority remains the only party that implements and implements what has been signed, especially with regard to what was signed. Concerning its political, security, and economic obligations to the Israeli side, the authority must implement an option it adopted at its Sixth Conference, which is popular resistance according to a vision agreed upon with the rest of the Palestinian parties.

5.3.1.2. Hamas

It mentioned above that Hamas does not object to adopting the option of popular resistance without dropping the other options, and this is evident from its approval of the popular resistance within the reconciliation agreement signed in Cairo 2011, and the National Accord Document or what is called the Prisoners' Document, in addition to its approval of President

Abbas to go to the United Nations to obtain the decision of the Palestinian state, and its acceptance of achieving the goal of the Palestinian state within the 1967 borders. These are indicators that confirm the possibility of harmony with the Fatah movement on popular resistance as a strategic option. Adopting the popular resistance option by Hamas will enable it to strengthen its cohesion with the public and the street, especially in villages that are exposed to attacks by settlers, and its participation in the popular resistance makes it part of the national movement that participates in all forms of national action. Not to mention attracting activists and young people involved in fieldwork, which makes them an asset to it and improving its image regionally and internationally, and changing the image entrusted to it, which is that it is a movement that adopts violence only.

Suppose Fatah is required to abandon the peace settlement project in its current form. In that case, Hamas must be more explicit about the core issues related to the Palestinian cause and have the courage to change some of its literature that may prevent agreement on a unified Palestinian strategy until a unified Palestinian approach is reached. Agreement between the two movements on a single process, what is required of them to achieve two things:

5.3.1.2.1. Ending the Division

The division must be eliminated to agree on a national strategy, and a national partnership based on the popular reference must be adopted. The issue needs a radical treatment of the causes of the division and its effects and all that it has entailed in the West Bank and Gaza, and making societal reconciliation a top priority, and ending the division also means reviving all Institutions and the adopting of a unified and qualified national program to deal with various crises. The matter is not limited to this point, but goes beyond it to agree on issues of acceptable and unacceptable and constants in Palestinian work, and finding ways to re-empower the Palestinian people with their principles and national identity, activate their relationship, and build confidence in their leadership (Awkal, 2014). The division also contributed to the absence of a unified culture of resistance. Resistance is a practice and culture, and ending the division will directly cause the return of the culture of resistance. In addition to the above, prolonging the life of the division reflects positively on the occupier. The most appropriate option and strategy must be adopted by a unified leadership that carries a unified vision and one program on the grounds of searching for the higher Palestinian interests of the people, implementation of all programs. And the plans that are adopted in the face of the occupation will also be no popularly supported and successful resistance in light of the division (Saleh, 2013). Therefore, a strategic reconciliation must be achieved from which a strategic program emerges. This reconciliation

must not be limited to Fatah and Hamas but must participate in all the different Palestinian forces, civil society institutions, and various elites.

5.3.1.2.2. PLO Reform

Reforming the PLO, activating its role, and rebuilding its institutions cannot take place without reaching consensus and a joint national program. The reform of the PLO was agreed upon in Cairo in March 2005. The agreement could not be implemented due to the fears of Palestinian, Arab, and international parties about the possibility of hegemony Hamas against the organization after it won the elections for the Palestinian Legislative Council in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in early 2006. The reformed of the PLO will not be unless there is a real political decision by the leadership of the organization and the rest of the factions, in addition to ending the division and overcoming the crisis of confidence between the poles of Palestinian action, and the ability to overcome external pressures and conditions, especially the so-called conditions of the International Quartet. Since the PLO is the most appropriate framework for adopting a strategy of popular resistance in the face of occupation to achieve the legitimate Palestinian national goals agreed upon in the Palestinians, an essential step in reforming the PLO is for the National Council to be elected by a free Palestinian popular will in which the Palestinian people at home and the diaspora participate, in addition to Activating the organization's institutions to become more stable and more capable of assuming its responsibilities. Reforming the Palestine Liberation Organization, rebuilding and revitalizing it is an urgent necessity for the Palestinian people due to the significant transformations in the Palestinian scene and the national project's crisis, including the internal division. This crisis seems to be inevitable. It is not possible to get rid of it without returning to the PLO.

5.3.1.3 Other Palestinian Factions and Parties

All the factions mentioned in the previous chapter and clarified their position on the popular resistance do not object to adopting this option. Therefore, the two most significant movements in the Palestinian arena are required to participate with the rest of the factions in formulating a unified national project with all its details that adopt popular resistance without marginalizing any party. No matter how small their size or influence, these factions have long accused Hamas and Fatah of excluding them from consultations, dialogues, and reconciliation agreements as they are power-sharing agreements. Therefore, all Palestinians must participate in formulating the new strategy without neglecting civil society institutions and the various Palestinian elites. For us to have a sustainable and effective popular resistance, there must be a strategic consensus between the two largest factions on the Palestinian arena and the rest of the other factions by

bringing about a consensual approach among everyone about this option and working to push towards the establishment of a broad popular movement that interacts with all the different popular activities as there is a ground upon which to build in what was agreed upon between the Palestinian factions in the occupation prisons through the National Accord Document in its third body, the right of the Palestinian people to resist and adhere to the option of resistance by various means, and to focus the opposition in the occupied territories in 1967 along with political, negotiating and diplomatic work Continuing the popular mass resistance against the occupation in its various forms, presence, and policies, and interest in expanding the participation of the different groups, agencies, sectors, and the masses of people in this popular resistance (Barghouti, 2013).

In addition to the above, practical steps must be taken towards agreeing on a unified strategic vision for popular resistance. The most important of these steps are:

- Organizing national conferences at home and abroad brings together political forces, Palestinian elites, and activists concerned with widespread resistance to a single strategic vision.
- Popular resistance activities are managed and managed by an agreed technical committee representing all Palestinians.
- Involving the Arab and international depth through the formation of Arab and international bodies to support the popular resistance.
- Forming popular local committees in all countries and governorates (Jarar, 2010).

5.3.2. Civil Level

5.3.2.1. Awareness Side

Raising awareness is that research institutions present good theses on the images of popular resistance and how to activate it in the media and its consistency with international law and defense, that is, building a media strategy that adopts popular resistance, in addition to the role of the private sector in strengthening the economy of resistance and supporting widespread opposition, as well as the role of social frameworks in embracing actors in the popular resistance. In addition to working to put an end to the absence of a comprehensive and transparent national culture in resisting the occupation, by spreading the culture of resistance because resistance is a practice and a culture, through various means, including the inclusion of lessons in educational curricula that talk about the importance of popular resistance.

5.3.2.2. The Legal Side

By adopting a human rights strategy through which human rights defenders are qualified to follow up on Palestinian human rights files in various international political and human rights bodies and institutions and work to thwart any scheme that seeks to criminalize the popular Palestinian resistance internationally.

5.3.3. Security Level

Since its establishment, the security establishment of the Palestinian Authority has failed to protect Palestinians from the Israeli military occupation, which is the primary source of their insecurity. Instead of enabling Palestinians to resist this occupation, the Palestinian Authority has contributed to the criminalization of the Palestinian struggle for their freedom. Palestinian security sector reform remains an externally controlled process, driven by Israeli and US national security interests, with minimal Palestinian community ownership (Luethold, 2007). The international donor community led this reform in 2005 with the establishment of the European Police Coordination Mission to Coordination of Support to The Palestinian Civil Police (EUPOL COPPS) and the US Security Coordination Office (USSC). This situation continues today through the strategy of “one legitimate weapon, one law, one authority” that guarantees the Palestinian Authority its monopoly on force and violence (al-tartirr, 2017). The consolidation of the PA’s security establishment requires policy interventions at multiple levels, from correcting biased rhetoric to establishing accountability mechanisms.

It will be done by re-arranging the security work in line with the national interests and in a way that does not contradict the popular resistance and formulating a new security doctrine that protects the popular resistance and civil peace. To hold periodic awareness-raising meetings for the security services that clarify the spaces between popular resistance and the chaos required to be controlled, the security services required of the security services support the popular resistance. Adopting an agreed-upon national action strategy is nothing but a safety valve for all. It is considered an essential element of strength and stability in the face of the occupation and its plans.

5.3.4. Economic Level

Since Israel occupied the West Bank lands, including Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, in 1967, these authorities have worked to dedicate the economy of these lands to serve the Israeli economy, which is growing significantly. The occupation government controls all ports and crossings, trade and economic mechanisms, and export and import policies, in addition to the continuous restrictions on any development attempt in the Palestinian territories, and worked

to cut all links with the economies of the Arab world, especially Jordan, so that the Palestinian economy became a fragile subordinate to the Israeli economy and utterly dependent on occupying country.

The local economy should be strengthening, supporting, and encouraging, raising public awareness of the importance of boycotting Israeli goods, and not neglecting the legal dimension of that and the national and moral dimension. The official authorities are also required to review the economic policies with the occupation, especially the Paris Economic Agreement, provide job opportunities for Palestinians working in Israel, and establish development projects. In addition, the current regional, international, and media conditions, along with the historical experiences of the Palestinian people, have represented a positive incubating environment for the crystallization of a struggle strategy for popular resistance, in light of international support for the people's demands and their political and social movement to consolidate their right to self-determination and to choose who governs and represents them (Awkal, 2014).

Suppose the levels mentioned above are addressed, backed by political will and populist and elite support. In that case, we can develop a national program of action that adopts popular resistance as a strategic option at this stage. After the popular resistance is adopted as an agreed option, it is required of all Palestinian factions, institutions, and different segments to engage in the broadest popular participation to resist the occupation, the wall, and settlements, and to benefit from the experience of the first intifada and its creative methods that enhance steadfastness and expose Israeli crimes and work to focus on the widespread public role in the Palestinian struggle. These confrontations are punctuated by the heat of the challenge and the conflict of wills that unite hearts and minds and the absence of differences. And all of this makes the Palestinians melt in the crucible of the agreed-upon Palestinian national project. The challenges facing the Palestinian cause require setting aside partisan and factional considerations because parties and factions are the means, and liberate the homeland is the goal (Saleh, 2013). A consensus among the Palestinian factions on the strategy of popular resistance is possible. It lacks only the natural will, which transfers this consensus to implementation, especially since the organizational conditions of the Palestinian factions and the internal and regional situation - which supports the political movement of the peoples to achieve their demands - along with the struggle experiences of the Palestinian people. It constitutes a good incubator for formulating a popular struggle strategy, which contributes to the involvement of all political and social spectrums of society and the investment of all efforts in confronting the occupation.

Campaigns to boycotting Israel, withdrawing investments from it, and imposing sanctions on it so that it adheres to the rules of international law and United Nations resolutions can be an entry point for all those wishing to participate in the Palestinian struggle to contribute with their initiatives and capabilities. The most important thing that distinguishes these campaigns from their predecessors is that they end when the Israeli withdrawal from all the Arab lands occupied in 1967 is achieved, and the actual implementation of United Nations Resolution 194 of 1948, i.e., the return of refugees, the restoration of their property and compensation, and the achievement of full citizenship and full equality for the 1948 Palestinians, and the refugees who They will return to their original homes within the State of Israel. Thus, it presents transparent, long-term goals; It also provides a campaign methodology to work for it, and the campaign is expanding worldwide, but more Palestinian effectiveness is required; Especially by political forces, so that the movement does not remain within the scope of non-governmental institutions only, but must include all the Palestinian people in the homeland and the diaspora. It needs to promote its culture, its public slogans, and it requires daily local initiative.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The Palestinian people are among the oldest people who used the principle of popular resistance in the face of the occupier. The Palestinian struggle began at the beginning of the twentieth century. After the announcement of the Balfour On November 2, 1917, it emerged, which called for the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine. The Palestinian people participated in the protests and demonstrations that swept Palestine at that time, and the various means of struggle became a significant part of those mass movements. The review of the history of popular resistance in Palestine in this research and conceptual paper reflects an essential fact that this type of peaceful resistance has a long history in Palestine that may go back decades. But the problem lies in the lack of what has been written on this issue on the Palestinian side and the weakness of documentation and archiving on the part of the Palestinians, especially in taking notes on their peaceful struggle experience. In addition to the Palestinian interest in the issue of armed resistance, it has been linked more and more deeply with Palestinian nationalism since the days of the British Mandate and ending with the Israeli occupation of all of Palestine. The concept of popular resistance in the Palestinian case still needs more maturity, activation, production of its strategies, and agreement on mechanisms for its implementation to become a permanent means. Many factors drive the popular Palestinian resistance, which must be worked on and developed to constitute an essential lever for popular action in general. Many factors include an obstacle to the continuation of the popular Palestinian resistance, which must be removed as much as possible to continue the path of popular resistance action. Popular resistance cannot be seen as absolutely free from violence. Its tools and the correct form of its practice make violence, even if limited, an inherent matter, especially if it is practiced against the occupation and not within the framework of a fully democratic state. It does not seem that the popular resistance option is an independent strategic option, but instead is part of the Palestinian resistance system where it is resorted to as needed, and this is clear.

The form of the resistance in defeating the occupation has created a broad debate on the Palestinian arena, especially in light of unfair and unbalanced international situations, which were not in the interest of the resistance and the Palestinian cause, where the entire American bias towards the Israeli occupation. And the missing role of the United Nations, the disruption of the work of human rights organizations, and the ineffectiveness of the European Union. It

was accompanied by the absence of Arab and Islamic interest in the suffering of the Palestinians, in light of the emergence of other issues that overshadowed the events of the Palestinian cause and topped the attention of the international community.

Israel succeeded in benefiting from global changes and in investing in several factors that dominated the Palestinian arena. To carry out focused media campaigns against the Palestinian resistance, it was able to attribute the accusation of terrorism to the opposition and include many of its factions on the list of terrorist organizations. In an attempt to distort the image and morality of the Palestinian struggle and degrade its legitimacy, and portray what is happening as a conflict between two forces, this came in the context of an attempt to mislead international public opinion and justify the crimes and violence committed by the occupation against the Palestinians.

What draws attention in this study is that the struggle methods of popular resistance do not constitute an alternative or rejection of armed resistance, as it is seen as a form of other resistance. The popular resistance is not considered neglect or a violation of inalienable national rights. Based on the foregoing, the forms of Palestinian resistance varied in its armed and popular forms, and the nature of the stage the Palestinian cause was going through had a prominent role in determining which form of resistance could be used, but what matters to our study is popular resistance. Where the Palestinian experience in the use of popular resistance in various stages, starting from the 1987 Intifada to the present day, was analyzed. The popular resistance played a prominent role in resisting the occupier. Returning to the focus of this study, this study came to the importance of popular resistance as a national action strategy.

As for the Palestinians, the popular resistance, when compared to other means and options of resistance, is the most acceptable to the Palestinian people, the lowest cost, and the possibility of its implementation outweighing others.

The course of the successive events on the Palestinian cause shows that the Palestinian people and its factions tend to unite in the enemy's face and put their political, organizational differences aside when confronting the enemy of the occupation. It is natural for the popular resistance to play this role in uniting the national ranks in the Palestinian uprisings. Transforming it into a daily approach within a straightforward program in which all the people are partners, and all sectors of the country are involved in this program. Setting common values that are nationally agreed upon serves as a roadmap for the popular resistance.

It becomes clear to us that the most critical problems that the popular resistance suffers from in

Palestine are the problem facing the Palestinian national movement in general, which is the absence of a single federal program, the lack of a clear strategy in confronting the enemy, and the great division between negotiations, popular resistance, and armed resistance.

This requires the formulation of a comprehensive national program and the construction of a struggle strategy based on popular resistance without dropping any of the other options so that all forces and segments of the Palestinian people participate in its formulation in its various places of residence, and includes arranging priorities and defining roles and tasks, so that each person, group or describe their role and their appropriate place in it, to reach a state of national and global consensus to defeat the occupation.

The researcher used a qualitative and quantitative approach in this thesis based on the analysis of the discourse with a historical process. The researcher also conducted a set of interviews that would enrich the research. The discussions included personalities from various Palestinian factions to cover all aspects and different opinions of the Palestinians and a questionnaire conducted on a random group of participants. The researcher made the questionnaire on Google directly through the use of Google forms, which saves a lot of time and effort, and is considered a quick and reasonable solution as it is characterized by the anonymity of the user, or who shares the answers to the questions, which ensures the integrity of the questionnaire. A method that helps spread information quickly.

There is a Palestinian academic weakness in popular resistance. Such a model uses global models of struggle, resistance, and fighting injustice, perhaps the model of Gandhi in India, Martin Luther King in America, Nelson Mandela Nelson in South Africa, democratization experiences, and democratic transitions in Eastern Europe at the end of the eighties of the twentieth century, are all basic models that should be taken and benefited from in this context.

The Palestinian elites have not yet been able to use the best methods of popular resistance against the Israeli occupation, despite a rich and distinct Palestinian popular experience in popular resistance, especially during British colonialism and the first intifada. By formulating a comprehensive national program and building a struggle strategy based on popular resistance without dropping any other options, all forces and segments of the Palestinian people in their different positions participate in its formulation. It includes arranging priorities and defining roles. And tasks so that each individual, group, or faction finds its role and place. It is appropriate to reach a state of national and international consensus to defeat the occupation. According to a comprehensive and studied strategy, continuing the popular resistance and

demanding the rights of the Palestinian people so that the popular resistance becomes a way of life.

Working on evaluating the popular resistance and placing it in the service of a unified national strategy with a single reference consistent with the justice of the Palestinian cause and is based on international law is something that the Palestinians can do if they have the will to do so.

The media coverage played a prominent role in conveying the image of the suffering of the Palestinian people from the occupation in the recent period. It contributed to modifying the wrong and harmful ideas about the popular resistance, which often link the widespread opposition to concession and surrender.

Completing the reconciliation and reforming the PLO is an essential step for adopting the popular resistance as a national action strategy, which is required and inevitable. The focus of the national discourse on the method of peaceful resistance as a strategic tool in resisting the occupation, the establishment of a popular economy based on reorientation to the means of agricultural and handicraft production, and the push towards rebuilding an internal Palestinian economy will allow the continuation of the widespread confrontation if it occurs. From the necessity for the authority to reconsider the ties of the peace process as an option that has been exhausted and consumed without result, lifting the security and political restrictions on the Palestinian factions and making them more capable of serving the popular resistance.

The international community constitutes a fertile ground for the formulation of a national strategy for popular resistance. The popular resistance achieved some achievements and successes that increased people's conviction about the efficacy of the option of peaceful action. Adopting popular resistance as a national action strategy does not mean abandoning other options adopted by forces and factions. Popular resistance exists and is effective on the ground, but it is limited to specific places and times. The popular and social incubator for popular resistance contributes to supporting adopting it as a national action strategy. The position of the Palestinian factions so far does not exceed the theoretical consensus on the popular resistance, nor has it reached the stage of adopting it as a strategic option. Adopting popular resistance as a national action strategy needs Arab support that strengthens Palestinian steadfastness politically and economically.

At the end of 2018, the United States of America failed to pass a UN resolution criminalizing popular Palestinian resistance. The US draft resolution at the time referred to the incendiary

kites¹ used by Palestinian youths, along with other popular tools such as barbed wire storming, night confusion, and stone-throwing, which proved their effectiveness in pressure. The occupation and pushed it to conclude truce understandings with Gaza as one of the fruits of the “Great March of Return” that extended for two consecutive years on the eastern borders of the Gaza Strip (El-Zebdah, 2020). Although the American project comes in the context of the American vision of adopting Zionism in the conflict, this does not detract from the legality of the Palestinians’ use of various forms of struggle in the face of the terrorism of the occupation, especially the popular resistance, to wrest freedom and their right to self-determination. The right of the Palestinian people to resist the occupation, we mention United Nations Resolution No. 2621 issued in 1970, which stipulated: “The right of colonized peoples to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against the colonial powers that suppress their aspirations for freedom and independence,” as well as the General Assembly resolution of the United Nations 43/37/RES/A issued in 1982, which stipulated “the legitimacy of peoples’ struggle for liberation from colonialism by all available means, including armed struggle.”

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Academic Qualifications:

- BA in Political Science and Media from IUG – Islamic University of Gaza (2012-2016)
- MA student in Political Science and International relations – IZU (2018 -)

Practical Experience:

- *Research assistant at CIGA (2018- 2020)*
- Political researcher at CPDS (March 2014 – March 2015)
- Social media websites intern officer at Quds News Network (Jan 2017)
- Human rights researcher at ICHR (Jan 2017)
- Head of Training, Education and Communication Department at Al-Hakim Solidarity Association May 1, 2018-2019
- Researcher at the Center for global Affairs and Islam Studies 1 May 2019

Community Contributions:

- Participated in the first debate club in Gaza (2014).
- Participated in the University initiatives project to promote political participation of the Palestinian youth in the Islamic University of Gaza in cooperation with the Central Elections Commission.
- Participated in “*We love Gaza*” institution.
- Volunteered in “*Mina 29*” initiative: *Arab Youth Society for Climate*.
- Participated in Human rights conferences to discuss the consequences of the Goldstone report regarding the 2008 war on Gaza.
- Participated in the first “*Palmun*” and winning the best written speech.

Training Experience:

- 30 hours making television programs course – Al-Kitab Channel
- 30 hours body language course – Kwader institute
- 25 hours debate skills course – PCDCR
- 30 hours management skills course - Kwader institute
- 76 hours leadership program in creative intelligence course – Tatwer institute for training and consultancy
- 20 hours empowering the use of social networking sites course – Women’s Affair Center

- 12 hours political analysis course -CPDS
- 20 hours looking for a job is a job course – IUG
- Law of Armed Conflicts course – Red cross
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Languages:

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