

## Abstract

The main problem of this study examines the enormous differences between the presuppositions, approaches and purposes of the texts laying the foundation for the Palestinian national project namely, the National Charter. This literature is investigated in relation to the vision of the question of Palestine, which includes the various approaches towards a solution and the projections of the political program of the Palestine liberation movement. In addition, the final status of this national text, in particular, and the overall Palestinian project of the PLO following Oslo Accords, in general, which takes into account the establishment of the Palestinian Authority in the context of the emergence of official or semiofficial documents issued by parties affiliated with the Palestinian national movement that have proposed alternative views to the national project which in consideration of several factors has led to its “failure”, “collapse”, or “crisis status”.

Accordingly, this thesis examines the track of transformations in the political program of the PLO in terms of discourse (including formal statements describing the national project and its transformations, namely, the Palestinian Pan Arab Charter, the Palestinian National Charter, the program of the Palestinian National Authority, the Palestinian Independence Document, Amended National Charter -1996). It also attempts to examine the completion of similar transformations in documents issued by the Palestinian Authority or factions of the national movement following the establishment of the Palestinian Authority in 1994 (official and non-official documents like the Democratic Constitution Document, the third version of the Basic Law of National Authority, the Prisoners Document, the National Reconciliation Document in Mecca, Yemen, Doha and Cairo, the document of the Geneva Initiative, the discourse of the Palestinian Boycott Movement of Israel, the One-State Document, the Moment of Truth – Kairos Palestine Document).

The significance of this study stems from the significance of its subject matter. It is an examination of the political, social and cultural transformations of the official and non-official discourse in the Palestinian national project. Most of the literature, which cover some of the points of interest of this study, has focused either on their political dimensions or the external pressures which have lead to the indicated transformations in the national project. The significance of this study is manifested in the fact that it tackles different specializations of the indicated documents/texts and in its attempt to reveal the prospects of a strategy for a Palestinian liberation discourse. This discourse can be revealed from an analysis of the different turning points of the various political projects and initiatives that can potentially present a comprehensive solution in terms of the spirit of the Palestinian National Charter. Moreover, a close investigation of these proposed specific solutions have the possibility of being beneficial on the collective Palestinian level. Another significance of this study is the fact that it uses an interdisciplinary approach on the level of analysis, tools, units, and criteria, that is a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

The study consists of five chapters:

*Chapter One:* This chapter presents the intellectual-structure of the national dilemma: a cognitive and controversial approach. It introduces a systematic approach towards studying the transformations of the overall structure of the Palestinian national project (PNP) from 1948-2013. It studies the Palestinian discourse in accordance with a critical approach of analyzing the discourse.

*Chapter Two:* This chapter presents a reading of the crisis of the Palestinian national project. This chapter examines a number of former studies and key parts of the literature to introduce a critical reading of the crisis in the national project. It is essentially a literature review that addresses the manifestations of crisis in the structures of the Palestinian revolution. This chapter concludes with a close reading of what is described as the "Crisis Syndrome" which has arguably infected all structures of the PNP in its different stages. As a result of this crisis, there appears a need to create an alternative Palestinian discourse to revive the Palestinian national project within its collective charter discourse.

*Chapter Three:* This chapter presents a reading of the crisis of Palestinian alternative and critical ventures. It is a critical review of a large part of the literature that tackles two central topics that make up the basis for this chapter. First, the issue of Palestinian alternative projects that emerged in development of the Palestinian national movement pre- and post-Oslo. Second, the chapter presents a critical map of the most significant, most famous and most recent critical contributions to diagnose, tackle and describe the Palestinian case, in particular the crisis

of the Palestinian national project as it was formed and explained. This review presents a clear picture of the nature of the crisis of these alternatives that are governed by non-Palestinian parties and how they compete to concede large Palestinian goals for the sake of fragile political projects. The objectives and ideology of some of these alternatives were vague and non-inclusive of Palestinians. They adopt certain global perspectives that differ from the discourse of the Palestinian national charter. However, some found nominal success albeit without resuming a discourse in harmony with charter rhetoric discourse. This chapter also explains the crisis of contemporary Palestinian critical ventures that have not succeeded in pulling the Palestinian national project out of the state of crisis and stalemate.

*Chapter Four:* This chapter addresses the transformations of Palestinian discourse – the fall of liberation discourse and introduction of state discourse. This analytical critical approach towards discourse traces the development of transformations that characterized the structure/text of the Palestinian National discourse back to 1948, the establishment of the PLO and the adoption of the Palestinian National Charter. A number of documents related to the Palestinian national project from that time of the Nakba (1948) to the Doha Declaration (2012) regarding Palestinian reconciliation are analyzed. This chapter shows the disappearance of the rhetoric of the National Charter by tracing the movement of discourse transformations that have contributed to the variations in rhetorical discourse. This chapter also reveals that there are Palestinian discourses that still follow the thought and spirit of the National Charter and continue to share the same vision and goals.

*Chapter Five:* This chapter addresses the rhetoric of the National Charter and liberation strategy including a reading of the transformations that characterized the development of the Palestinian national discourse. It monitors the most important transformations that gradually led to the abortion of the charter rhetoric. Alternatively, it also shows how some unofficial Palestinian discourses contributed to the increased reinforcement of charter rhetoric. This chapter identified the function of the substitute Palestinian discourse that stemmed from the critical permeability of well thought-out Palestinian discourses and presents a critical review of the literature that tackled the Palestinian national project. This chapter attempts to reach a Palestinian strategy that is capable of fulfilling greater Palestinian objectives. This strategy is expressed by the term “strategic tuning”, in general, and “concentrated strategy” to all Palestinian geography, in particular.