

Abstract

The emergence of the National Liberation Movements in the second half of the twentieth century formed the most prominent features of a new international system formed on the ruins of World War II, left behind - inter alia - a colonial regime in which the North seized control of one-third of the globe in the South.

The main objective of the National Liberation Movement was founded on the right of political self-determination as a political concept and a legal principle. Most of these movements were engaged in the international system in seeking peaceful solutions for conflict resolution and self-determination, committing themselves to the international law. Diplomacy was a major tool of the National Liberation Movements foreign policy in addition to the armed struggle which introduced them as effective actors and benefiting from combining both diplomatic and strategic options.

The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was one of the most prominent movements which recognized from the very beginning the importance of getting involved in the international system. According to its interim political agenda the PLO agreed in 1974 to establish a national state, on any part of Palestine. This decision was considered as a dramatic turning point in the official political Palestinian standpoint which formerly did not accept any compromise other than destroying the State of Israel and liberating the whole Historic Palestine. Consequently, the PLO became a permanent observer in the General Assembly. Later on, most of the liberation movements gained regional recognition by which they were afforded to have a similar status.

The incentive for the researcher of this study is to investigate the influence and impact of the activity of National Liberation Movements in the international system and in the international law and international relations. It is a case study of the Palestinian experience by comparing and contrasting it to the Algerian and the Vietnamese experiences. The time scale in perspective is from the foundation of the PLO in 1964 until the establishment of Palestinian National Authority (PNA) in 1994. However, the Palestinian National Movement did not end by establishing the PNA since it is viewed as self-rule and a step towards self-determination.

The study tries to answer two major questions: the first one deals with the effect of the diplomatic activity of the liberation movement within the international law and relations in a way to serve its interests. How did the PLO gain those interests and made use of them to achieve its demands? The second one is about the effect of the international law and relations on the activities and objectives of the national liberation Movements in general and the PLO in particular, in contravention of the principles of the organization, thus contributing to the engagement in the international system.

The study mainly uses the descriptive analytical approach, by referring to the entire international resolutions and official diplomatic documents. This approach requires using the historic approach due to its ability to compile and document data. The comparative approach is also used in which the PLO was compared to other national liberation movements. In addition, the legal approach is used in the relevant parts.

The theoretical framework of the study introduces the concepts and principles used in this study adapting them to the context of the National Liberation Movements. The framework also discusses the parallel development of the international law and relations and the development in the context of the National Liberation Movements.

Another section of the study is titled "The Palestinian National Movement: interior and exterior mobility". It traces back the important shifts in bi-moral entity and entity sought diplomacy and international relations through a chronological division. It was noted in this chapter, regarding the "moral entity," the relative stability after the establishment of the PLO in 1964, as a military and political system, rejecting by this the existence of any synonymous political body like the interim government and government in exile. The Palestinian experience witnessed a shift concerning the sought entity in about six basic perceptions for that entity. With regard to diplomacy and international relations, the PLO has developed incrementally over time, reaching the political setback in the early nineties due to a number of factors.

The third chapter entitled "The National Liberation Movements from inside and in the International System", studies two key topics: First, the organizational structure and foreign policy of the liberation movements. The study noted the similarities between the interior systems of the PLO in comparing it with other states. The process of making foreign policy was highlighted within the study. Second, the nature of the international

legal personality for the liberation movements, and it has found that it enjoys a particular type of legal personality, which is characterized by being operative and transitional.

The last chapter handles the international practice of the national liberation movements in three main subjects: first, the relationship of the National Liberation Movements with the international legal work. It was noted that the liberation movements contributed to the legislation of the international laws, in addition to the forms of legal work experience of those movements. Second: Diplomatic Representation; the study notes the forms of representations which those movements experienced, the immunities which they obtained, in addition to the formation and organization of the Diplomatic Missions. Third: membership in the International Organizations (multilateral diplomacy). Emphasis was placed on the subject of organic control of the United Nations, in terms of development, rights, duties, privileges and immunities. All this focuses on the experience of PLO.

The study has concluded, *inter alia*, that the diplomatic activity of the National Liberation Movements had an impact on the patterns of international relations in which the movements became one of the prominent actors. Moreover, its openness and relations with the international actors over its basic principles made it adopting less radical strategies. As for the international law it has been more influential in the liberation movements which affected it. Although acquiring international legal personality and the recognition of legality of the right of self-determination and the participation in the legislation of the international law. It acquired through its membership in the international organization some privileges that were formerly monopolized according to these organizations by independent states only. As a result the nature of these international relations, dominated by the bipolar system until the early nineties and unipolar system afterwards, had to decide which of these movements were closer to achieve national destiny which most of the liberation movements gained. These movements usually envied the PLO for its overwhelming presence in the international community which started in the early nineties its peace process through which it could establish the independent authority as an interim period which has lasted until now.

Thus, this study concludes the consequences of the diplomatic experience of the Palestinian revolution in a crucial period in the life of the issue of the Palestinian people who insist in the current time to mobilize the motivation and the voting power to have full membership of the United Nations, as a pressure on the Israeli side who is still opposing the establishment a Palestinian state, to bring them back to the negotiating table, but this time according to clear and fair terms of negotiations.