

Changes in the Arab Position on the Palestinian Cause

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Introduction

The Palestinian cause is essential to the Muslim and Arab nations as Arabs and Muslims are emotionally connected and committed to support it.

The Israeli occupation noticed such close connection between Palestine and its Arab surrounding, and that such connection would probably result in its collision with the Arab region unless it breaks such bond and isolates the Palestinian cause from its Arab roots.

The occupation used different types of methods in order to achieve those goals. It grabbed Palestinian lands, isolated its people from the Arabs, waged war on surrounding countries, and attacked the resistance' bases there. At the same time, the Israeli political regime started communicating with Arab countries, building official relations with some of them, and signing secret agreements with others.

In addition, the occupation attempted to strike the internal Arab front through dividing the Arab world into smaller, weaker countries that can be easily controlled. To do so, it incited tribal and sectarian disputes, incited conflicts among the leadership themselves, and between the leadership and the people; all of which in order to divert their attention away from the Palestinian cause.

Such efforts were met with success as the Arab support offered to the Palestinians, whether its quantity or quality, was affected. This study traces the connection between the Palestinian cause and its Arab roots, the nature of the relationship between the two, the changes in the positions of the Arabs on the Palestinian cause (from complete support to normalization) and the peoples' position on normalization.

Topic One: Basics and Determinants of the Arab Cause and its Arab Roots

For years, the Palestinian cause has left an emotional impact on the Arabs for the strong bonds between Palestine and the Arab nation; such bonds are religious,

historical, national, geographical and social. All of these factors kept the cause alive in the Arabs' conscious and prevented any settlement attempts.

First: The Religious Aspect

Palestine is considered a waqf land and is religiously important to Muslims as it is the original place of all Heavenly messages, prophets' path, and the gate to Heaven. Allah described its people as 'murabiteen until the Day of Judgement', and it has Al-Masjid Al-Aqsa; which is considered the third Masjid where Muslims should go to pray at. The Prophet, peace be upon him, called it 'the land of resurrection and gathering', where the Muslims' best soldiers gather⁽¹⁾.

Second: The Geographical Aspect

Palestine is located in the center of the Arab region and bridges its eastern side, to the Gulf, to its western one, to the beaches of the Atlantic. It is a path for trade and land transportation. It is considered essential to the Arab region as a whole⁽²⁾.

Third: The Social and National Aspect

Palestine is an integrated part of the Arab world which shares similar habits, traditions and the same language. Several Arab groups and tribes moved from and to Palestine⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Al-Hawrani, Abdullah, **Palestine: Regional Not Palestinian Cause Only**, Haq Al-Awda Newspaper (38), BADIL Resource Center, 2010, p.24.

⁽²⁾ Abbas, Ibrahim, **the Palestinian Heritage: A Proof of Palestine's Arab Origins in History, Geography and Civilization**, El-Dar for Publishing and Distribution, Giza, 2016, p.67.

⁽³⁾ Palestine is Arab since the Canaanites, Al-Jazeera, <https://www.aljazeera.net/specialfiles/pages/e4329d51-7068-476f-ad78-89cd700baf96>.

Topic Two: Beginning of the Israeli-Arab Conflict

First: The Spark Triggering the Conflict

The indications for the emergence of the Arab-Israeli conflict first appeared after Balfour Declaration in 1917 when Palestine was a part of the Ottoman Empire. One year later, Palestine became under the British occupation (1918)⁽⁴⁾. The British forces facilitated the Jewish immigration to Palestine, established residential compounds, implemented agricultural projects for the Jews only, provided them with weaponry and ammunition, and allowed them to recruit armed militias.

Arabs, in general, and Palestinians, in particular, sensed the efforts Britain and other Jewish groups were exerting to implement Balfour Declaration at the expense of the Palestinians. Immediately, the Palestinians initiated their work against such efforts and the occupation's presence in Palestine. The Palestinians held demonstrations and strikes which soon developed into clashes between Arabs and Jews in Palestine. Then, there were armed strikes and counterstrikes between the Arab jihadists and the British and Zionist gangs⁽⁵⁾.

Some of the most prominent confrontations at the time are:

Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Revolution: the Syrian jihadi Izz ad-Din al-Qassam formed dawa and military cells to fight the British forces and Jewish settlers. The Qassam's operations first started in Haifa and its surroundings, then Jenin's Mountains and Ya'bad⁽⁶⁾.

1936 Revolution: This Revolution erupted upon the martyrdom of Sheikh Al-Qassam and other Jihadists with him in Ya'bad. The operations were carried out in different areas such as Nablus, Ain Shams and Ain Jalut where British and Zionist forces were targeted. At that time, the Galilee British District Commissioner Lewis

⁽⁴⁾ Yusuf, Marwa, **Development of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: the Occupation and Resistance over 100 Years, p.2.**

⁽⁵⁾ **The Palestinian Resistance: Revolution of Man and Stone**, Al Jazeera Media Network, <https://www.aljazeera.net/specialfiles/pages/a1420287-8fd5-4c2e-9a4c-b54178af1998>.

⁽⁶⁾ Al-Alouji, Abdul-Kareem, **Ezz Eldin Al-Qassam: Victory or Martyrdom, the Knight Left but the Legend Stayed**, Dar Al-Kitab Al-Arabi, Damascus, 2010.

Andrews was assassinated, and Arab volunteers participated in the fight against the Zionists and British⁽⁷⁾.

Second: The Arabs' Position on Balfour Declaration and Settlement Efforts before 1948:

Arabs perceived the Palestinian cause as central to the Arab world, whether at each country's level or at countries' joint work. Since the establishment of the Arab League in 1945, the Palestinian cause was mentioned in every meeting. In addition, the Alexandria Protocol 1944, one of the founding documents of the League, clearly states that 'Palestine is an important pillar of the Arab world's pillars, and the Arabs' rights there cannot be harmed without affecting the peace and stability of the Arab World⁽⁸⁾'.

However, this was never translated into action. The Arabs did not react to the British and Zionist behavior in Palestine, especially after 1917 Declaration. Their response was always verbal as they denounced or condemned the British actions. Britain managed to calm the Arab rage down through offering Sharif Hussein promises of an independent Arab country under his leadership, and that any country for the Jews in Palestine would only be in accordance with the Arabs and their interests. However, Britain deceived the Arabs and occupied and divided the Arab lands⁽⁹⁾.

The division and occupation of the Arab lands weakened the Arab efforts in supporting the Palestinian cause. The Arabs could not take any effective measures against the Zionist project. Instead, they had to face the crises which resulted from the occupation of their countries. Their weakness finally ended with the UN's announcement of the UN's 1947 Partition Plan and the establishment of 'Israel' on Palestine one year later⁽¹⁰⁾.

⁽⁷⁾ Al-Saadi, Farhan: **(1860 – 1937)**, Encyclopedia Palestina, <https://www.palestinapedia.net/%D9%81%D8%B1%D8%AD%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B9%D8%AF%D9%8A-1860-1937/>

⁽⁸⁾ Al-Rashidi, Ahmed, **the Arab Dimension in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict**, Al-Jazeera Network, <https://www.aljazeera.net/specialfiles/pages/acc471c4-4e4b-478a-8b56-ac94f3336349>.

⁽⁹⁾ Abdul-Mohsen, Sumaya, **Normalization and Resistance over 100 Years of Balfour Declaration**, p.2.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Saleh, Mohsen, **the Palestinian Cause: Its Historical Background and Recent Developments**, Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations, Beirut, 2012, pp. 56-59.

Third: Arabs' Efforts in Fighting the Zionist Project in Palestine

The Arabs' first step to fight the Zionist presence in Palestine was through boycotting and surrounding it. Arabs refused to deal with the occupation in all forms and completely isolated it from its geographical surrounding. They even held campaigns to incite and spread hatred against it to mobilize the public towards its termination⁽¹¹⁾. The Arabs made the boycotting method official during Bloudan Conference of 1937 in Syria which declared boycotting Jewish products⁽¹²⁾.

Topic Three: Arabs' Role after 1948 Nakba

First: The Arab Role after the Partition Decision and Nakba

In 1948, the Nakba happened and the occupation announced the establishment of its country on Palestinian soil. The Arabs immediately denounced the grabbing of Palestine and establishment of 'Israel'. They exerted different efforts in fighting the Zionist presence of the occupation at three levels:

1. Arab Regular Armies: These armies included the armies of Jordan, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, and were led by King Abdallah, King of Jordan. However, the armies were under their countries' leadership which led to their fragmentation, and, eventually, their loss.
2. Arab Irregular Armies: These armies were formed of two main groups Al-Jihad Al-Moqadas (Holy Jihad), formed by Abdul Kadir Al-Husseini after 1936 Revolution, and Al-Inqath and Al-Tahrir (Rescue and Liberation), formed by Fawzi Al-Qawuqji under the Arab League request after the Partition decision in 1947. The latter constituted of 3,000 volunteers from multiple Muslim countries. However, the two armies disputed all the time which weakened them and negatively affected their performance.
3. Popular Resistance and Volunteers: This group consisted of all the jihadists from the Arab and Muslim world who came to Palestine to fight the occupation.

⁽¹¹⁾ Qassim, Abdul-Sattar, **Normalization with the Zionist Enemy**, p.1.

⁽¹²⁾ Nofal, Ahmed, **The Role of Israel in Fragmenting the Arab World**, Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations, 2nd ed., Beirut, 2010, p.188.

The most prominent groups are the Muslim Brotherhood from Egypt and others from Morocco...etc.⁽¹³⁾

At first, the Arabs were to some extent victorious, but they were soon affected by the internal disputes that surfaced and the disparity in visions and goals. In addition, they lacked a solid military plan that could organize the work against the Zionist gangs, which were better trained and more weaponized⁽¹⁴⁾.

Things worsened when some Arab armies confiscated the Palestinian rebels' weapons and ended their role in the battle claiming that the liberation battle had become the responsibility of the Arab armies alone. Such move, along with the other mentioned reasons, resulted in the victory of the Zionist occupation and led to the defeat of the Arab armies and volunteers who had entered Palestine⁽¹⁵⁾. Following are the most significant results of the war:

1. The occupation grabbed about 77% of Palestinian lands.
2. Jordan assumed responsibility for the West Bank and Egypt assumed responsibility for the Gaza Strip.
3. The Arab armies were distracted by their own issues away from Palestine.
4. Unorganized resistance operations emerged. The Palestinian borders witnessed thousands of attacks that targeted the Zionist presence and 'Israeli' forces⁽¹⁶⁾.

At the end, the Zionist project succeeded and managed to control Palestine, and continued to carry out ethnic cleansing operations and massacres in Palestinian towns, cities and villages.

⁽¹³⁾ Ibid: Yusuf, **Development of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: the Occupation and Resistance over 100 Years**, p.6.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Suleiman, Yazid, 70 Years since Al-Nakba, Arab Armies' Battles in 1948 War (1/19), Arab 48 Website, June 25, 2018, <https://www.arab48.com/%D9%85%D8%AD%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%AA/%D8%AF%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D9%88%D8%AA%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%B1/2018/06/25/70-%D8%B9%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%A7-%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%89-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D9%83%D8%A8%D8%A9-%D9%85%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8%B1%D9%83-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D9%8A%D9%88%D8%B4-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%AD%D8%B1%D8%A8-1948-1-19->

⁽¹⁵⁾ Ibid.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Ibid.

Second: The Role of the Arab League in Supporting the Palestinian Cause:

The Arab League was established in 1945, and consisted of 7 Arab states which were independent at the time: Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq and Yemen. Now the number of countries rose to 22 states⁽¹⁷⁾.

The Arab League played an essential role in the Palestinian cause within the Arab nation. It has always kept the issue on the agenda of most of its sessions and has always issued declarations related to it⁽¹⁸⁾. Nevertheless, its decisions were never translated into action against the occupation. Following are some of the most Palestine-related decisions made by the League:

| Year | Decision |
|------|--|
| 1945 | The first 'official' Arab decision to boycott Israeli products and goods, and assignment of a specialized committee to monitor the implementation of the decision. |
| 1946 | The holding of the Inshas Summit in Egypt to stop the aggression on Palestine. The Summit stated that Palestine was an essential part of the Arab countries, and that any attempt to target Palestine is an attempt to target all Arab countries. The Summit also issued a decision that should Palestine be assaulted, it is obligatory to defend it. |
| 1947 | The Leagues' rejection of the 181 Partition Plan. The League decided to support Palestine financially and with weapons, and to form the Inqath Army. It also issued condemning memoirs to the US and England. |
| 1948 | The League's decision to send Arab armies to Palestine. |
| 1950 | The League's decision to ban any negotiations or individual agreements with 'Israel' and sanctions should any Arab country disobey. |
| 1964 | The League's decision to form a united Arab leadership of the Arab countries' armies and classify the Israeli occupation as a grave danger that must be fought by all means. |

⁽¹⁷⁾ Facts along the History of the League, the Arab league Official website,

<http://www.lasportal.org/ar/aboutlas/Pages/HistoricalOverView.aspx>

⁽¹⁸⁾ Ibid: ⁽¹⁸⁾ Al-Rashidi, **the Arab Dimension in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict.**

| | |
|------|---|
| 1965 | The Summit approval of the joint Arab plan to defend Palestine internationally under the Arab Solidarity Pact. |
| 1967 | Holding the post-1967 war Summit and emphasizing the importance of unifying all efforts against the occupation and that retrieving Palestinian lands is the responsibility of all Arab countries. It also set the three principles: No peace, no recognition and no negotiations with the Israeli occupation. |
| 1973 | The Arab League's declaration it was a must to liberate all occupied lands of the 1967 war and retrieve all national rights of the Palestinian people. The following year in 1974, it recognized the PLO as the Palestinian people's sole representative ⁽¹⁹⁾ . It was also the beginning of a new phase of Arab crises and the setback of the Arab role in supporting the Palestinian cause ⁽²⁰⁾ . |
| 1981 | Approving the Arab peace project with 'Israel' and urging the removal of 'Israeli settlements' in the lands which were occupied after 1967. |
| 1987 | Holding on to retrieving all occupied Arab lands and condemning the Israeli occupation's 'international terrorism'. |
| 2002 | Saudi Arabia presentation of the Arab Peace Initiative with 'Israel'. In 2004 Tunisia Summit, the Arab Peace Initiative was again called for ⁽²¹⁾ . |

The Arab League's efforts, nevertheless, were never truly fruitful nor did they influence the Arab-Israeli conflict. The countries used the Palestinian cause as a political and publicity tool. Their true intention was to strengthen their presence and control their peoples.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Bshara, Azmi, **Palestine: Arab Cause or Palestinians' Problem?** Al-Jazeera, <https://www.aljazeera.net/knowledgegate/opinions/2009/6/13/%D9%81%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B7%D9%8A%D9%86-%D9%82%D8%B6%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8-%D8%A3%D9%85-%D9%85%D8%B4%D9%83%D9%84%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B7%D9%8A%D9%86%D9%8A%D9%8A%D9%86>.

⁽²⁰⁾ Al-Dajjani, Ahmed, **the Palestinian People's Struggle and the Arab-Israeli Conflict in the Eighties**, Institute of Palestine Studies, Beirut, 1980, p. 14.

⁽²¹⁾ Faraj, Mohammed, **Arabs and the Palestinian Cause: Important Dates and Stops**, ANA Press, <http://anapress.net/a/229311367286050>.

Topic Four: Arab Position's Inclination towards Normalization

Despite the hostility between the Arabs and the Zionists, some governing Arab families established secret relations with them (Golda Meir is an example)⁽²²⁾.

First: Camp David Accords 1979:

The year 1977 was a turning point in the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict. That year, the Egyptian President Mohammed Anwar Al-Sadat visited the occupation's entity and publicly called for normalization. In 1979, they signed Camp David Accords⁽²³⁾. This relation changed everything upside down; especially how the Egyptian position shifted from supporting the Palestinian cause to normalizing with the 'Israeli' occupation⁽²⁴⁾.

Second: Oslo Accords 1993:

The PLO, under Yasser Arafat's leadership, signed Oslo Accords in 1993. The Organization pledged to live peacefully with the occupation, abandon armed resistance, and recognize the occupation's right to own 78% of the Palestinian lands it had grabbed thorough the years. In return, the occupation recognized the PLO as the Palestinians' official representative⁽²⁵⁾.

Third: Wadi Araba Treaty 1994:

Soon after, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan also followed the same path and signed the Wadi Araba Treaty with the Israeli occupation. The Kingdom recognized the occupation's sovereignty over the Palestinian lands it had occupied. Other forms of normalization included establishing diplomatic relations; opening embassies; building

⁽²²⁾ Ibid: Qassim, **Normalization with the Zionist Enemy** p.1.

⁽²³⁾ Openly and Secretly – Israel's Relations with the Arab World, DW website, January 28, 2020, <https://www.dw.com/ar/%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B8%D9%84-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%86-%D9%80-%D8%B9%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A5%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%8A%D9%84-%D9%85%D8%B9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A/a-52177270>

⁽²⁴⁾ Ibid: Nofal, Ahmed, **the Role of Israel in Fragmenting the Arab World**, p. 189.

⁽²⁵⁾ Hitman, Gadi, **The Case for Arab-Israeli Normalization during Conflict**, Ariel University, Jerusalem, 2018, pp.52.

air and ground lines; and agreeing on the water distribution of the Jordan River, Yarmouk River, and Wadi Araba⁽²⁶⁾.

Nowadays, the Arab countries' relations with the occupation can be classified into four groups:

- Countries with strong relations with the occupation: Egypt, Jordan and Mauritania.
- Countries that broke off their diplomatic relations with the occupation due to popular pressure and the ongoing Israeli crimes against the Palestinians: Morocco, Tunisia and Qatar⁽²⁷⁾.
- Countries that refuses establishing any form of official relations with the occupation, but approves indirect negotiations: Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Yemen, Algeria and Libya⁽²⁸⁾.
- Countries with unofficial relations: All other Arab countries such the Emirates, Bahrain and Amman. They cooperate secretly, and directly and indirectly in security and economy⁽²⁹⁾.

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⁽²⁶⁾ Ibid: Abdul-Mohsen, **Normalization and Resistance over 100 Years of Balfour Declaration**, p. 4.

⁽²⁷⁾ Awwad, Ahmed, **From Secret to Public: Normalization Statges with Israel**, Al-Manassa Network, November 4, 2018, <https://almanassa.net/ar/story/11234>.

⁽²⁸⁾ Ibid.

⁽²⁹⁾ Abu Sa'da, Mohammed, **Arab-Zionism Normalization in Asia: the Gulf Countries as an Example, Resistance against Normalization Movement**, Istanbul, 2017, pp. 8-10.

Topic Five: Forms and Aims of Arab Normalization

The changes in the Arabs' positions influenced the Palestinian cause to a great extent. The cause was no longer a central matter to the Arabs, the internal conflicts within the Arab societies became more prominent, and the Zionist crimes were perceived 'normal'. The occupation exploited the situation and expanded its settlement activity and Judaization of Al-Quds and Al-Masjid Al-Aqsa⁽³⁰⁾.

The occupation's crimes did not seem to have any impact on the official Arab position. In fact, the Arabs became more determined to abandon the cause and destroy the Arab-Islamic frame which contained the cause for years. They also became more committed to normalizing with the occupation than to liberate Palestine and end the occupation. Such intentions were announced clearly and shamelessly⁽³¹⁾.

First: Forms of Normalization

Normalization can be defined as establishing "official or unofficial agreements, conducting commercial transactions, or holding economic cooperation with the 'Israelis' whether officially or unofficially⁽³²⁾". Normalization can come in different forms; following are the possible fields:

1. Political Normalization: Some Arab countries would establish official political and diplomatic relations with the occupation and adhere to a political conduct that abides them to exchanging relations. As a result, they would exchange ambassadors, open representative offices such as embassies, sign treaties and build political alliances to serve mutual interests. Today, some Arab countries - especially Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Emirates - gloat over the strong relations they have with the occupation⁽³³⁾.

⁽³⁰⁾ Al-Amour, Thabit, **the Palestinian Cause from Center to Margins**, the New Arab website, December 29, 2019,

<https://www.alaraby.co.uk/specialpages/2019/12/27/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D8%B6%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B7%D9%8A%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D9%85%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B1%D9%83%D8%B2-%D8%A5%D9%84%D9%89-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%B7%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%81>.

⁽³¹⁾ Ibid.

⁽³²⁾ Al-Rajhi, Adel, **Normalization: Can Worst Enemies become Good Friends?** p.1.

⁽³³⁾ Al-Habbsi, Ahmed, **Do Arabs Truly Support Palestine?** Kapitalis Network, August 26, 2018, <http://www.kapitalis.com/anbaa-tounes/2018/08/26/%D9%87%D9%84>

2. Economic Normalization: Some Arab countries would establish economic relations with the occupation which would include importing and exporting goods, and conducting industrial and commercial businesses⁽³⁴⁾.
3. Security Normalization: In this field, Arabs would exchange intel and sensitive information with the occupation, and participate in joint security programs⁽³⁵⁾. This particular type shows the real danger of normalization as countries provide information on its citizens which would facilitate their targeting⁽³⁶⁾.
4. Social Normalization: Some countries allow the implementation of interactive programs with the Israelis, whether as individuals or groups, as part of tourism projects and youth exchange programs. They allow the Israelis to move around the countries, build relations with the public, and even get married. There are thousands of marriage cases in Egypt and the emergence of intellectually deformed mentalities⁽³⁷⁾.
5. Cultural and Academic Normalization: Arabs would establish relations with the occupation in the fields of scientific and academic research under the umbrella of sharing knowledge. Although the Palestinian cause was essential to the Arab culture, its politics, poetry, and arts; the Israeli influence became more prevalent⁽³⁸⁾.
6. Media Normalization: Whether as individuals or groups, Arabs would make direct contact with the Israeli media and spread the Israeli narrative across Arab media platforms⁽³⁹⁾, and host official and unofficial Israeli figures on Arab channels and networks⁽⁴⁰⁾.

[%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8-%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AF%D9%88%D9%86-%D9%81%D8%B9%D9%84%D8%A7-%D9%84%D9%81%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B7%D9%8A%D9%86-%D8%9F/](#)

⁽³⁴⁾ Al-Fahd, Nasser, **Clarifying Dangers of Normalizations for Muslims**, 1423 AH, pp. 33-34.

⁽³⁵⁾ Ibid: Abdul-Mohsen, **Normalization and Resistance over 100 Years of Balfour Declaration**, p. 8.

⁽³⁶⁾ Hussein, Ghazi, **the Middle East Regional System and its Dangers to the Arab World**, p.9.

⁽³⁷⁾ Ibid: Al-Rajhi, Adel, **Normalization: Can Worst Enemies become Good Friends?** p.23.

⁽³⁸⁾ Al-Jalasi, Jamal, **the Palestinian Cause and the Arab-Zionist Conflict**, Palestine Today website, July 3, 2019, <https://paltoday.ps/ar/post/351838/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D8%B6%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D9%84%D8%B3%D8%B7%D9%8A%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B5%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B5%D9%87%D9%8A%D9%88%D9%86%D9%8A>.

⁽³⁹⁾ **Media Normalization: Journalists and Media Institutions Guide on How to Deal with Media Normalization**, Palestine International Forum for Media and Communication 'Tawasol', p.3.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Ibid: Qassim, **Normalization with the Zionist Enemy**, pp. 18-19.

The various forms of normalizations have given the occupation the chance to diversify its methods of breaching and merging with the Arab societies and their official institutes. The occupation exerted a lot of efforts to change its status from an enemy to a friend and neighbor, and this has worked considering the weakness of the Arab world⁽⁴¹⁾.

Second: Goals of Normalization

The Israeli occupation set a number of aims that it worked hard to achieve through its normalization attempts with the Arab countries. These goals are generally to strengthen its control and power regionally at economic, political and military levels⁽⁴²⁾.

The occupation's most crucial aims can be identified as follows:

- Settling the Arab-Israeli conflict.
- Ending the Arabs' boycott campaign.
- Increasing the 'Israeli' sovereignty in the Arab region in all possible fields.
- Forming a regional system that goes in harmony with the occupation and supports its presence.
- Ensuring the occupation's military advancement and depriving the Arabs' from self-defense mechanisms or equipment and keeping them attached to the Israeli security system.
- Controlling Arab riches and making use of Arab markets in promoting Israeli products.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Abu Al-Fadel, Mohammed, **Limits of Normalization with Israel: One thing to meet, a whole other to normalize**, Middle East Online, February 21, 2019, <https://middle-east-online.com/%D9%83%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%A8%D8%AD-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%B7%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%B9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A-%D9%85%D8%B9-%D8%A5%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%8A%D9%84>

⁽⁴²⁾ Ibid: Hussein, **the Middle East Regional System and its Dangers to the Arab World**, p.20.

Topic Six: Arabs' Popular Position on Normalization with the Occupation

The Arab popular position was a factor in exercising pressure on the occupation's advancement on Palestinian soil, whether through participating in the armed struggle against it or the economic boycott. The Arabs' position, as a people, has always helped in preventing Arab political regimes from normalizing with the occupation.

Nevertheless, the agreements which were signed between some Arab regimes, such as Egypt, the PLO and Jordan, severely affected the popular stance, and contributed to the partial fall of the boycotting attempts of the occupation. In addition, a huge gap appeared between the Arab popular stance and the official position. While the first continued to show solidarity and loyalty to the Palestinian cause, the latter did not⁽⁴³⁾; hence declaring that the regimes' alliance did not reflect the peoples'⁽⁴⁴⁾.

The peoples managed to prove that any partial agreements with the occupation were not going to lead to stability⁽⁴⁵⁾. Arabs exerted different efforts in order to stop normalization with the occupation. The following are the different types they exerted:

Political Efforts:

Several associations against normalization were founded and many prominent figures grouped to exercise pressure on their regimes and to support the Palestinian cause. Some of the most famous associations are the Moroccan National Action Group for Palestine, the Moroccan Monitor against Normalization with Israel (Al-Marsad Al-Maghribi), and Parliaments for Al-Quds⁽⁴⁶⁾. In addition, there are also the parliament

⁽⁴³⁾ Arabi, Sari, **Why We Refuse Normalization with the Israeli Occupation?** the Palestinian Information Center, February 22, 2019. <https://www.palinfo.com/news/2019/4/22/%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%B0%D8%A7-%D9%86%D8%B1%D9%81%D8%B6-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%B7%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%B9-%D9%85%D8%B9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%AD%D8%AA%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%8A%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%9F>

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Al-Asali, Khalil, **Terminating the Palestinian Cause and Role of Arab Regimes**, Akhbar Al-Balad Website, February 20, 2020, <http://akhbarelbalad.net/ar/1/6/4415/>.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Ameera, Hanna, **the Palestinian Cause and Instability Factors in the Middle East**, 2007, p.19.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Ibid: Abdul-Mohsen, **Normalization and Resistance over 100 Years of Balfour Declaration**, p. 10.

stances of Marzouq Al-Ghanim, the current speaker of the Kuwaiti National Assembly⁽⁴⁷⁾, and other deputies from Bahrain and Kuwait⁽⁴⁸⁾.

Academic and Cultural Efforts:

A group of intellectuals issued an encyclopedia on normalization and normalizers ‘the Egyptian-Israeli Relations from 1979-2011’ in which they traced the normalization efforts between Egypt and the occupation. There were also Tunisian efforts of the sort⁽⁴⁹⁾.

Results:

This study came to the following conclusions:

1. Palestine is essential to the Arab-Islamic cause and will never be isolated from its natural container due to its deep and eternal connection to it.
2. Arabs have always played important roles in supporting the Palestinian cause ever since Balfour Declaration, throughout the Partition Declaration and until the occupation of Palestine in 1948. However, such roles have been random and unorganized which led to negative effects on the Palestinian cause.
3. The Palestinian cause was addressed in most of the Arab League’s meetings, and several declarations were issued that supported the Palestinian rights. However, the declarations were never translated into action.
4. Camp David was the first public normalization attempt and the beginning of many others.
5. Through normalization, the occupation aimed to strengthen its control and used different types of relations to achieve its political, economic, security and other goals.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Mohamed, Mohamed, Arab Normalization With Israel, Palestine Center Brief, The Jerusalem Fund for Education & Community Development, 7 March 2019, <https://www.thejerusalemfund.org/24425/arab-normalization-with-israel>.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Arab Normalization with the Israeli Entity: Where to? Strategic Fiker Center for Studies, January 24, 2019.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Ibid: Abdul-Mohsen, **Normalization and Resistance over 100 Years of Balfour Declaration**, pp. 10-11.

6. It is clear that the Arab popular position is completely different from the official stances even though the people have been subjected to a lot of propaganda and influence. It remains aware and supportive to the Palestinian cause.

Recommendations:

This study recommends the following:

- Reinforcing and strengthening the Palestinian cause's connection to its Arab and Islamic container.
- Improving the role of the Arab and Muslim nation in supporting the Palestinian cause in what truly helps the Palestinian rights.
- Exercising pressure on Arab decision makers to support the Palestinian cause and execute the declarations of the Arab League which both supports and protects the Palestinians' rights.
- Fighting normalization with the occupation and forming a front that could fight against normalizations and normalizers.
- Raising the awareness of Arabs about the Palestinian cause and protecting the Arabs from any Zionist propaganda.
- Building capacities and mobilizing Arab resources, which is both necessary and important.

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