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The Implications of Dissolving the Palestinian Authority Option on the Palestinian National Project Based on the Two- state Solution

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Abstract

This study aims to identify and explore the impacts of dissolving the Palestinian Authority option on the Palestinian national project based on the two-state solution among the Fatah elite following the Israeli threats to implement a plan to annex Palestinian land to Israel. It depends on the interview with Central Committee members as the main tool for gathering information. The most prominent results that have been reached, are the existence of a dispute between the Fatah elite over their definition of the Palestinian national project of the Fatah movement. However, they unanimously agreed that dissolving the Palestinian Authority is an unthinkable option, for its negative implications on the national project based on a two-state solution even if annexation is achieved. They also rejected the One State option and thus the views were likely to continue to place the Authority on what it is while changing its roles and strategies as a future vision for the Fatah movement on the national project and the Palestinian Authority.

Keywords

the dissolving of authority, the two-state solution, the one-state solution, the national project, the elite, the Fatah movement.

Introduction

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's announcement, on July 1, 2020, of the implementation of a plan to annex Palestinian lands to Israel, meant

for many to undermine the "two-state solution", which is the core of the Palestinian national project among some Palestinian factions, especially with Fatah. This prompted Palestinian research and strategic thinking centers to search for scenarios and other alternatives to get out of the impasse that the "two-state solution" has reached. One of those scenarios or options that have been put forward is the "dissolution of authority ¹." This option (scenario) is not new as it was raised when final status negotiations were not resumed in 1999 as stipulated in the Wye Plantation Agreement². A theoretical controversy has been raised among the political community and researchers about it being one of the options available to break out of the political impasse concerning the Palestinian national project³. This controversy is limited to those who accept the dissolution of authority because of its many advantages to get out of the impasse, and those who reject this option due to its many disadvantages; from this theoretical controversy, the problem of this study is determined.

Researchers such as Jameel Hilal et al⁴., Mohsen Saleh et al⁵., Majdi al-Maliki et al⁶., Ahmad Azam et al⁷., Leila Farsakh et al⁸., and Bakr al-Ba'dour⁹ discussed in different aspects, very few studies have examined the repercussions of dissolving the Palestinian Authority on the Palestinian national project based on the two-state solution. Therefore, it is fundamentally significant to look at the impact of dissolving the Palestinian Authority option on the Palestinian national project based on the two-state solution.

This study aims at identifying the repercussions of dissolving the Palestinian Authority on the Palestinian national project among Fatah elites following the Israeli threats to implement a plan to annex Palestinian lands to Israel, and to explore those repercussions of dissolving the Palestinian Authority on the Palestinian national project based on the two states solution following the annexation decision.

To address this goal, one of the techniques of future studies will be adopted, which is the scenarios technique. The latter is a potential analytical technique that will enable tracking the overall trajectory of the development of events and

¹ Palestine Group for Strategic Thinking. Palestine 2030: A Decade of Clarity and Renewal: Mapping the Transformations in the Three Spheres of Influence: Israel, the Region, and the International Palestine. (Gaza: Strategy Group, June, 2020). <https://2u.pw/0ggbh>.

² Article IV. 'Permanent status negotiations'. Wye River memorandum. United Nation Website. (23 October, 1998). <https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-204357/>

³ Masarat. The Third Strategic Report. A Turning Point: Redefining the National Project and Building a Strategy to Achieve Its Goals. (Ramallah: The Palestinian Center for Policy Research and Strategic Studies Masarat, December, 2014). <https://www.masarat.ps/files/files/think2019-2012/point%20inside.pdf>

⁴ Jamil Hilal et al. "Kira'at fel Mashrou' Al Watani Alfilistini" [Readings in the Palestinian National Project between Yesterday and Today]. (Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies.2019).

⁵ Mohsen Saleh, Editor (2013) The Palestinian National Project Crisis and Possible Prospects. Beirut: Al-Zaytouna Center for Studies and Consultations.

⁶ Majdi Al-Maliki et al. (2015) The Palestine Question and the Future of the Palestinian National Project (Part One): On Identity, Resistance and Law. Qatar: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies.

⁷ Ahmed Azm et al. (2015) The Palestine Question and the Future of the Palestinian National Project (Volume One). Qatar: The Arab Center for Innovation and Policy Studies. 2015).

⁸ Farsakh et al. (2016) The Palestine Question and the Future of the Palestinian National Project: Settler Colonialism and Reimagining the Future of the National Project (Volume Two). Qatar: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies.

⁹ Bakr Al-Badour (2017) The Palestinian National Project: A Political Review in the Hands of a New Beginning. Jordan: Center for Middle East Studies.

phenomena, from their current situation to monitoring a series of future projections of these events and phenomena, cognitively there is no 'inevitable scenario but several scenarios'¹⁰. To gather information, political elites from Fatah movement, specifically from the Fatah Central Committee and the Revolutionary Council, were interviewed, It was also based on various literature.

By the implications, the researcher means any impact of the negative consequences of dissolving the Palestinian Authority on the Palestinian national project for the elite of the Fatah movement. While by dissolving the Palestinian Authority, the researcher means handing over the keys (the responsibility) of the Palestinian Authority to either the Israeli occupation or to the United Nations and holding the Israeli occupation fully responsible for the Palestinian people as the occupying power as it prevailed before the Oslo Accords in 1993.

As for Fatah elites, the researcher means the members of the Fatah Central Committee who has the most influence on political decision-making within the Palestinian Authority. While the researcher means by the Palestinian national project, the establishment of a Palestinian state on the borders of June 4, 1967, with full sovereignty, with East Jerusalem as its capital.

The study is important because it will explore the impact of the consequences dissolving authority scenario on the Palestinian national project from the Fatah elite point of view, through interviews. Where it will differ from other studies dealing with the national project based only on analyzes, and perspectives. The study was divided according to its problem and objective into three main axes as following:

1. Defining the National Project for Fatah Elites

Prior to the anticipation of the implications of dissolving the authority on the Palestinian national project of the Fatah elite, there is a need to know whether the Palestinian national project based on the two-state solution of the Fatah elite has changed for the movement's political elite, or if the elite's definition of the national project remains the same. Following the annexation decision. The researcher noted a discrepancy in the project's definition; some define it as "the establishment of an independent State with Jerusalem as its capital as a project that culminates in the independence and freedom of the Palestinian people¹¹." Others define it as the solution based on the two-state solution with the establishment of a Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital¹²." There are also those who believe that the national project is: "Our national project is our legitimate rights as a Palestinian people on our land, which means the right of self-determination for the people to establish their state and its embodiment on their land, sovereignty, and the right

¹⁰ Tariq Amer (2008) *Methods of future studies*. Amman: Al-Yazouri for Publishing and Distribution. P. 193.

¹¹ An interview conducted by the researcher with "member of the Central Committee of Fatah Movement". Major General Tawfik al-Tirawi. August 23, 2020. Jericho.

¹² An interview conducted by the researcher with "Member of the Revolutionary Council of Fatah Movement. Abd al-Ilah al-Atiri". September 16, 2020. Telephone interview.

of return¹³.”

While some other define nation project as: "Commitment to liberate all Palestinian territory and establish a sovereign state¹⁴." Nonetheless, it is not intended to list different definitions of the Palestinian national project from a point of view of Fatah movement's members, rather to show the discrepancy between the elite members of the movement in their definition of the national project of the Fatah movement, as some see that only East Jerusalem is the capital of the Palestinian state. While other consider that the Palestinian national project includes the establishment of a Palestinian state, but its capital is Jerusalem and not East Jerusalem. A nother opinion thinks it is the commitment to liberate all Palestinian territory.

The commitment to liberate the entire Palestinian land was the Palestinian project for all Palestinian factions that joined the Palestine Liberation Organization, before the interim program, and before the national charter was amended by a decision of the Palestinian National Council on April 24, 1994, to approve the Oslo articles and all its annexes¹⁵. However, after amending the charter, some Palestinian factions, such as the Fatah movement, adopted the Palestinian national project based on the two-state solution, to be compatible with the Oslo Accords.

Regardless of the difference in the definition of the Palestinian national project, the interviewed members from Fatah movement all agreed that there is no alternative for Fatah but to continue the national project based on the two-state solution. Despite of the Deal of the Century, Trump's decision to transfer the US embassy to Jerusalem In 2017, Israeli plans with the decision to annex, and despite of the US-UAE-Israel tripartite agreement. Central Committee member Dalal Salameh stressed that continuing the national project based on the two-state solution is the "official position of the movement¹⁶." It also appears that what was agreed upon according to the statement of the secretaries-general of the

Palestinian factions, which stipulated: "Continue to strive to achieve the right to self-determination and to establish our future state with full sovereignty on the borders of June 4, 1967, with occupied Jerusalem as its capital¹⁷."

Some members of the Fatah movement's elite admit explicitly and clearly that: "the national project based on the two-state solution has failed and there is no longer any such thing as two states¹⁸." Despite this, it is clear that the national project based on the two-state solution among the Fatah movement's elite has not changed following the annexation decision, and they will continue with it.

Tawfik Al-Tirawi summarized the reason for continuing the Palestinian

¹³ An interview conducted by the researcher with "Member of the Central Committee of Fatah Movement. Dalal Salameh. September 17, 2020. Ramallah.

¹⁴ An interview conducted by the researcher with: "Member of the Central Committee of Fatah Movement, Abbas Zaki". 27 August 2020. Ramallah.

¹⁵ Decision of the Palestinian National Council to amend the Palestinian National Charter, Gaza, 24/4/1994, (Summer, 1996) *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, 7 (27), p. 249.

¹⁶ An interview conducted by the researcher with "Member of the Central Committee of Fatah Movement", Dalal Salama, Op.Cit.

¹⁷ Statement by the General Secretariats of the Palestinian Factions. September 3, 2020. Ramallah, Gaza and Beirut. P. 1.

¹⁸ An interview conducted by the researcher with: "Member of the Central Committee of Fatah Movement". Abbas Zaki". Op.Cit.

national project based on the two-state solution without any change after the annexation decision by the following:

'Nothing is new after the annexation decision, settlement continues, the Judaization of Jerusalem continues, the deal of the century etc..., then there must be a national project that we fight for, something that may fail once and succeed again. The national project is a goal that must be achieved no matter what difficulties there are to achieve it'¹⁹.

It is evident from the interviews that were conducted with the Fatah elite that the Palestinian national project for the Fatah movement has stopped at the fourth stage of the transformation of the Palestinian national project, which is summarized by Dr. George Giacaman, who believes that the Palestinian national project passed through several stages. The first stage: was during which the national project meant the liberation of all of Palestine through armed struggle. The second stage is the one-state democratic project, where there is no discrimination based on religion and race or citizenship; hence, rights are equal. As for the third stage of the project which is based on the "Phased Solution Program" in 1974, which proposed the establishment of a Palestinian Authority on any part of Palestine that would be liberated. The fourth stage is the stage of the project based on the two-state solution at the National Council meeting in 1988. As for the fifth stage, which is after the Oslo Agreement, however, Giacaman points out that it is not clear whether it is considered a fifth stage or not of the stages of the Palestinian national project, as the Oslo Accord was marketed as establishing a transitional phase and then access to the state²⁰. The following figure will help to illustrate the cycle of transformation stages in the national project that George Giacaman (1-1) addressed.

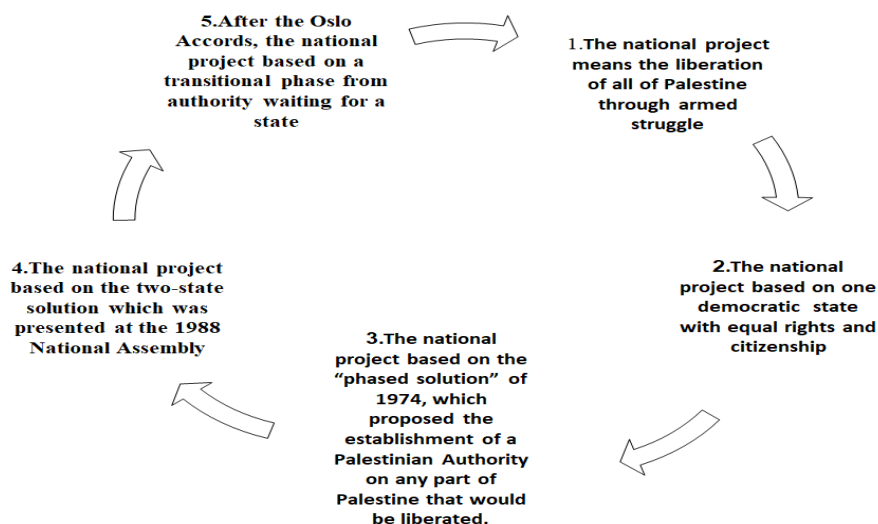


Figure (1-1)

¹⁹ An interview conducted by the researcher with "A member of the Central Committee of Fatah Movement". Major General Tawfik al-Tirawi. Op.Cit.

²⁰ George Giacaman (2019) "What is the National Project Now?". In Jamil Hilal and Khaled Farraj (eds.). Readings in the Palestinian National Project between Yesterday and Today. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies. P. 229.

The Cycle of the Stages of Transformation of the Palestinian National Project Based on Dr. George Giacaman

2. The Impact of the Negative Implications of Dissolving the Palestinian Authority on the Palestinian National Project

As it has been used by researchers, research centers, and some politicians in the face of any obstacle encountering the Palestinian national project based on the two-state solution, the first thing that is considered and called for is the option of dissolving the Palestinian Authority²¹. In that matter, the concept of the dissolution of authority has emerged clearly every time the peace process falters and an impasse exists especially with "The Israeli military campaign called the Defensive Wall that led to the occupation of Palestinian cities in 2002²²." Some other studies of strategic thinking came up with another solution, which they called 'exiting from Oslo'. As for the justifications put forward for exiting the Oslo Accords, they summed it up with: "None of the provisions of the "transitional" Oslo agreement did include any indication that this agreement is irrevocable. However, the time frame set for the completion of final status negotiations, which is the main purpose of the agreement, has been skipped²³."

Recently, following the annexation decision, Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas announced his withdrawal or dissolution of all agreements and understandings with the American and Israeli governments, and all obligations arising from them, including security obligations²⁴. Some Fatah members found in this declaration, "It is only a declaration to move forward to achieve our Palestinian national project, and not to escape from it²⁵." However, other opinions believe that "the Oslo process designed the security, political and economic system of the authority so that it would always remain at the mercy of the occupation, the American administration, and the so-called international community; without that, the authority would not be able to continue²⁶. This is confirmed, "by press sources with the return of security coordination, which was suspended by a decision of Abu Mazen on May 19, 2020; Protesting a plan to annex 30% of the occupied West Bank, and that the Israeli military is preparing to resume security and civilian

²¹ Palestine Group for Strategic Thinking (June, 2020) Palestine 2030: A Decade of Clarity and Renewal: Mapping the Transformations in the Three Spheres of Influence: Israel, the Region, and the International Palestin.. Op.Cit.

²² Round Table (10) (2011) Dissolution of the National Authority: Justifications - Consequences - Cautions with a Focus on Economic Dimensions. Ramallah: Palestinian Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS). P. 2.

²³ Ahmed Ghazm et al. (March 2014) A Turning Point: Redefining the National Project and Building a Strategy to Achieve its Goals. The Third Strategic Report. Op.Cit. P. 82.

²⁴ Al-Jazeera (May 19, 2020) President Abbas Announces Withdrawal from the Peace Agreements Signed with the United States and Israel. Al-Jazeera website. Available at shorturl.at/pqDTX. Access at (August 23, 2020).

²⁵ An interview conducted by the researcher with "Member of the Central Committee of Fatah Movement". Dalal Salama. Op.Cit.

²⁶ Political Street (September 1, 2020) The Future of the Palestinian Authority after Emirati Normalization, Political Street website, available at. shorturl.at/gSRWZ. Access at (October 10, 2020).

coordination with the Palestinian Authority²⁷.”

Others found in the annexation decision and Abu Mazen's announcement an opportunity to renew calls for the dissolution of the Palestinian Authority, especially for what was considered a dead-end in front of the national project based on the two-state solution²⁸. The most prominent arguments and justifications for calls for the dissolution of power can be summarized as follows²⁹:

1. The existence of a Palestinian authority administering population affairs lifts the burden of occupation, both administratively and in material terms, of about \$2:8 billion. The presence of authority makes occupation inexpensive.
2. Israel benefits from the aid that the Palestinian Authority receives from international aid, in terms of what it spends on Israeli products and merchandise
3. Some Israeli commentators call Israel's occupation of the West Bank a deluxe occupation, which is the gap between the legal and official obligations of Israel as an occupying party. The number of Israeli soldiers in the West Bank at present is the lowest since the first intifada, due to security cooperation with the authority. The dissolution of the authority can replace this equation.
4. The presence of a Palestinian Authority gives the illusion that the occupation is over.
5. The Palestinian Authority is subject to the occupying power and does not have any real control over its internal situation.

It is no longer capable of developing and advancing the Palestinian national project but has become an obstacle to its development and the functioning of the internal structures that constitute the building ground for a future State.

There is a need to recognize the negative implications of the dissolving of Palestinian Authority on the Palestinian national project based on the two-State solution, not from an analytical point of view and opinions, but through the viewpoint of the political elite of the Fatah movement.

Interviews showed their absolute rejection of the dissolving of the Palestinian Authority due to its various implications, including its implications on the Palestinian national project based on the two-state solution. Howbeit, before going into what the Fatah elite referred to as the negative implications of dissolving the authority. It must be noted that Some Fatah movement member distinguish between the concepts used “Dissolving of Palestinian Authority” and between “Handing over the keys of the Palestinian Authority”. Central Committee member Muhammad al-Madani distinguishes between the two concepts 'Abu Mazen in that respect did not talk about dissolving the authority but hinted at handing over the

²⁷ Naila Khalil (August 19, 2020) A Palestinian Official Confirms to Al-Araby Al-Jadeed the Return of Security Coordination with the United States. Al-Araby Al-Jadeed website. Available at : shorturl.at/CK069. Access at (October 10, 2020).

²⁸ Masarat (August 19, 2020) Discussing the Future of Power in Light of Trump's Vision. Masarat website. Available at: shorturl.at/akFH9. Accessed at (October 10, 2020).

²⁹ Round Table (10) (2011) Dissolution of the National Authority: Justifications - Consequences - Cautions with a Focus on Economic Dimensions. Ramallah: Palestinian Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS). Pp. 7-8.

keys to the authority³⁰. Al Madani thinks "When the authority is dissolved, this means complete chaos, but if the keys of the authority are handed over, the employees will remain on top of their work and therefore there will be no chaos³¹."

While Central Committee member Tawfiq Al-Tirawi distinguishes between the dissolving of the Palestinian Authority and its collapse, "there is a difference between the dissolving of the Palestinian Authority and the collapse of the Palestinian Authority; the first means that the Palestinian side is the owner of the a decision about dissolving the Palestinian Authority. The second means the collapse of Palestinian Authority is caused by the occupation³². However, dissolving the authority for some Fatah members does not have any positive results over the national project. Rather, it has negative effects on the national project of the Fatah movement: "No one in Fatah talks about dissolving the authority. Fatah will not take the risk to dissolve the authority³³. The reason why Al-Tirawi thinks that he summarizes it by the following:

1. The Palestinian Authority requirements towards more than 10,000 employees, they will direct their anger on Fatah because its project did not succeed. This will lead to the collapse of all Authority systems and laws.
2. When all Authority systems and laws collapse, chaos will prevail and crime such as murder and theft will spread; security will be lost, civil and social peace will break down and the Palestinian state project will end.
3. Hamas will benefit from this chaos; it will say that the Fatah movement has failed to achieve the national project based on the establishment of a Palestinian state (the two-state solution).

Some other reasons for not dissolving the Palestinian Authority was giving by Salameh³⁴ summarized the reasons for why not dissolving the Palestinian Authority as the following:

1. Palestinian Authority was established by a decision of the Liberation Organization.
2. Palestinian Authority for all Palestinian people that there is no way to retreat from, as many sacrifices were paid in order to achieve it. Therefore, the Palestinian people do not give up their entitlement.
3. The Palestinian Authority represents the unity of representation. As for Trump, in his deal, he talks about cantons here and there and not about the authority of a people with an address. Dissolving the Palestinian Authority is consistent with Trump's deal, with residents here and there without addresses.
4. Dissolving the Palestinian Authority will mean the loss of everything that has been achieved, especially in terms of what has been achieved at the international

³⁰ An interview conducted by the researcher over the phone with "Member of the Central Committee of Fatah Movement." Muhammad al-Madani. August 25, 2020.

³¹ Ibid.

³² An interview conducted by the researcher with "Member of the Central Committee of Fatah Movement." Major General Tawfik Al-Tirawi. Op.Cit.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ An interview conducted by the researcher with "Member of the Central Committee of Fatah Movement", Dalal Salama, Op.Cit.

level. International legitimacy supports the two-state solution. The embodiment of our country, which was recognized by the United Nations in 2012, as a non-member observer state.

5. There are also members of the Fatah elite who have expressed their refusal not only to talk about dissolving the Palestinian Authority, but even to talk about 'handing over the keys of the Palestinian Authority;' "If there no longer room for the continuation of the Palestinian Authority our people will have open choices. Israel is unable to rein in the Palestinian people. The Palestinian people have many choices rather than handing over the keys of the Palestinian authority"³⁵.

6. What was revealed through interviews with the political elite of the Fatah movement, there is almost unanimity in rejecting the dissolving of the Palestinian Authority or even thinking of handing over the keys of the Palestinian Authority to Israel or to UN. As this has these negative implications on the national project based on the two-state solution, that can be summarized in the following most prominent points:

7. Fear of the civil servants, if the authority is dissolved, who will pour out their anger on Fatah because its national project based on the two-state solution did not succeed.

8. Fear of Hamas, if the authority is dissolved, the national project based on the two-state solution will end, and the Palestinian state project will end. This will prove Hamas' vision of the failure of the Fatah movement, as it failed to achieve the national project based on the (two-state solution).

9. The dissolving of Palestinian Authority means the abandonment of gains achieved at the level of Fatah's national project based on the two-state solution, where it has become an international legitimacy recognized at the level of the United Nations.

10. Palestinian Authority has become the title of the national project based on a two-state solution, and the dissolving of Palestinian Authority is in line with Trump's deal with a population here and there without addresses.

11. The dissolving of Palestinian Authority will lead to the regression of the Palestinian national project based on the two-state solution because, there is a fear that the occupation will exploit municipalities or groups at random for its own benefit.

12. The figure (1-2) illustrates the main implications of the dissolution of authority for the Palestinian national project from the perspective of the Fatah movement:

³⁵ An interview conducted by the researcher with: "Member of the Central Committee of Fatah Movement. Abbas Zaki". Op.Cit.

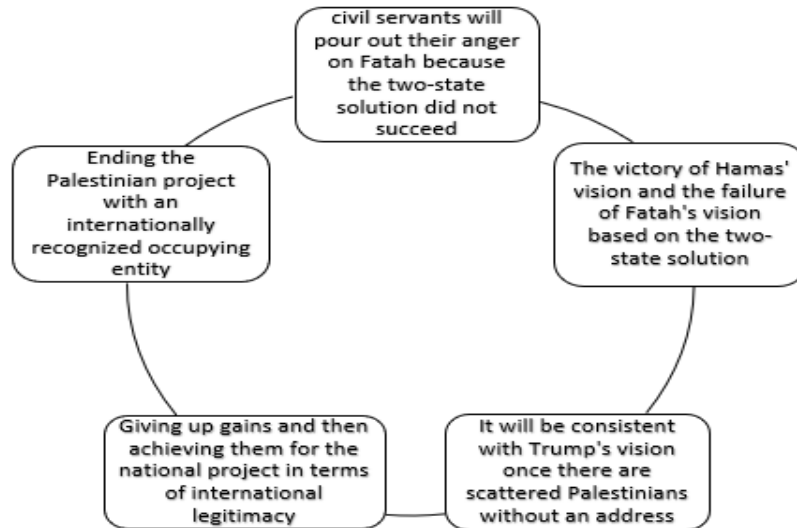


Figure (1-2)

The Implications of Dissolving the Palestinian Authority on the Palestinian National Project from the Point of View of the Fatah Movement

3. The Future of the Palestinian National Project for the Fatah Movement

According to what was presented in the previous axis, it appears that there is a consensus among the Fatah movement in rejecting the dissolving of the Palestinian Authority, because of its negative implications on the national project based on the two-state solution. Consequently, to see if any future changes can be made to their vision by adopting another national project, such as a national one-State solution project. In other words, if they intend to return to the second phase of the aforementioned project stages.

According to the interviews Fatah movement, not likely to accept a return to the second phase by proposing the one-democratic state project instead of the two-state solution project, although it returned to be spoken about again in some Palestinian circles³⁶.

The most prominent calls from the second phase of the Palestinian national project based on the one-state solution can be summarized as follows:

1. In 1944 the Palestinian Communist Party called for the possibility of living in peace in the land of Palestine between the Arab and Jewish communities on the basis of democratic rights³⁷.
2. In 1947, a committee at the United Nations that recommended the partition of Palestine submitted a side report in which it proposed the establishment of a

³⁶ Mahmoud Abdel-Hadi (September 8, 2020) Perspectives and reflections on the transition to a one-state solution, Al-Jazeera website, available at: shorturl.at/pqERZ. Accessed at (October 9, 2020)

³⁷ Maher Al-Sharif (February 10, 2019) The Palestinian People's Party 100 Years: Stations on the Road, People's Party website, available at: http://www.ppp.ps/ar_page.php?id=172c5f9y24299001Y172c5f9. Accessed (September 9, 2020)

binational federal state³⁸.

3. After the defeat of the Arabs in the 1967 war, both the popular and democratic fronts announced the adoption of the national project based on the one-state solution³⁹.

4. In 2002: During the anniversary of the declaration of the Libyan Jamahiriya, Libyan President Muammar Gaddafi called for the establishment of a single democratic state in Palestine in the name of (Isratine) for the Arab and Jewish peoples⁴⁰.

5. In 2004: Former Palestinian Prime Minister Ahmed Qurei (Abu Al-Ala) threatens the Zionist entity to adopt the one-state solution if the Palestinian people do not obtain their rights through the two-state solution⁴¹. The following figure (1-3) shows the most prominent calls for the one-state project.

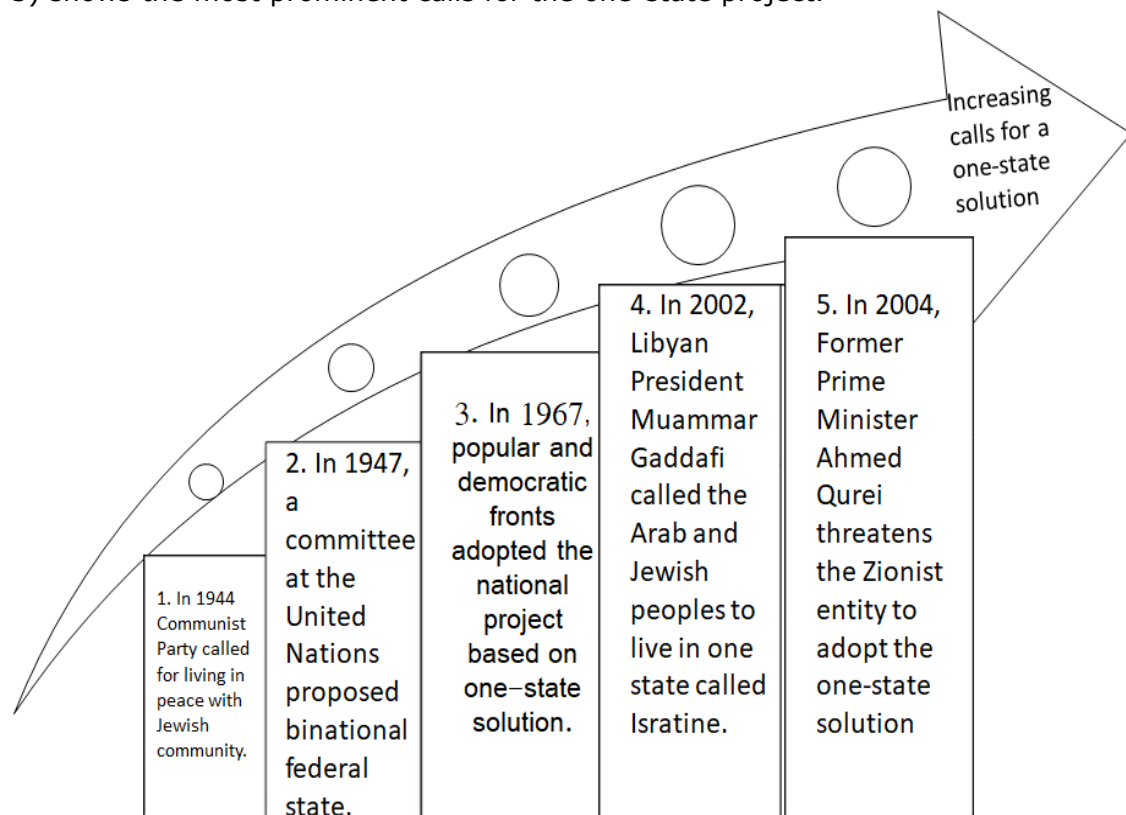


Figure (1-3)

The Most Prominent Calls for the One-State Project

The position on the rejection of the national project based on the one state

³⁸ Maher Al-Sharif (February 10, 2019) The Palestinian People's Party 100 Years: Stations on the Road, People's Party website, available at the link, http://www.ppp.ps/ar_page.php?id=172c5f9y24299001Y172c5f9. Accessed (September 9, 2020).

³⁹ Youssef Munir (November 4, 2019) We will have a One-State Solution, but what kind of State? Translated by Aladdin Abu Zina. Al-Ghad Newspaper Website. Available at: shorturl.at/boEX0. Accessed at (August 3, 2020).

⁴⁰ Al-Jazeera (March 3, 2002) Gaddafi Presents a Plan for Peace to Establish the State of Isratine. Al-Jazeera Website. Available at: shorturl.at/kMQRT. Accessed at (August 8, 2020).

⁴¹ Ayesha Qassem (March 2, 2014) The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict and the Proposed Solutions - a Prospective Study. Palestine Liberation Organization Website. Available at: shorturl.at/qOPVY. Accessed at (August 8, 2020).

and the continuation of the project based on the two-state solution was confirmed by an interview with Dalal Salameh. In her opinion, the national project based on the one-state democratic solution, after there was much talk about the failure of the national project based on the two-state solution, is that "There is no truth for it to be adopted at the table of the general secretaries or at the table of the Liberation Organization. Hence, the decision was that we will remain determined to defeat the occupation and achieve Resolutions of international legitimacy based on the two-state solution, so we in our project are in line with international legitimacy⁴²."

Some Palestinian and academic circles believe that they should be wary of the one-state proposal and that there is a danger in adopting such a project and explain it from this point of view: "The one-state solution with the Jews is no less dangerous and compromising than the two-state solution. Both of them detract from the Palestinian historical and religious rights and narratives, as well as the abolition of the Palestinian memory regarding the Israeli crimes committed against the Palestinian people over many decades⁴³."

What was put forward by academia is not much different from what was put forward by some of the Fatah elite who were interviewed. They summarized⁴⁴ why should Fatah refuses one-state project and the continuation of the two-state solution by the following:

The one-state solution replacing the two state solution, which based on the pursuit of legitimate Palestinian national, historical and political rights with the existence of an independent entity for the Palestinian people.

The one-state solution The one-state solution didn't has the internationally recognition, as the two state solution.

One state solution is another project that seeks to search for civil and religious rights in light of a state that is essentially an apartheid state that discriminates against the Palestinians living in the occupied territories in 1948.

One state solution is a reversal of many of the achievements of the Palestinian people that are guaranteed by international legitimacy resolutions. It takes us out of a key point in our national project, which is the right to self-determination, which means land and people, however in the one-state solution you only talk about citizenship rights.

According to the scenarios technique, the general course of the development of events based on their current situation could have brought about a change in the national project of the Fatah movement based on the two-state solution and thinking of another alternative project. However, this did not lead to any change in the national project of the Fatah movement based on the two-state solution.

⁴² An interview conducted by the researcher with "Member of the Central Committee of Fatah Movement". Dalal Salama. Op.Cit.

⁴³ Azmi Bishara et al. (November 14-15, 2015) Seminar file: The future of the Palestinian national project. In Marwan Qabalan (supervisor and presenter). Doha: Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. p. 52.

⁴⁴ An interview conducted by the researcher with "Member of the Central Committee of Fatah Movement". Dalal Salama. Op.Cit.

In fact, there are many events that according to the scenarios technique, could have led to the dissolution or collapse of the Palestinian Authority, and to consider an alternative national project. Howbeit, according to the interviews that were conducted with the Fatah elite, this did not happen. For instance, among the major events, that took place and that would have led to the dissolving of the Palestinian Authority and which it did not lead to and that can not all be detailed here, we can mention the killing of Rabin, and the siege and assassination of Yasser Arafat. Thus, two people who signed the Oslo Accords, on which the idea of the two-state solution is based and was expected to lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state, were removed. The Palestinian Authority, which came in accordance with the Oslo Agreement, has played a functional role in the management of Palestinian society and the construction of its institutions, a transitional phase before the establishment of the State. Thus, there were two phases of transition and a final phase, but Israel jumped from the transition before finalizing it and opened up complex paths such as the solution with Lebanon and Syria. "Israel's goal was to complicate the issue and it did not want peace with the Palestinians."⁴⁵ "

There was also criticism expressed through an interview with Professor Walid Abdulhay on recent reports and studies examining scenarios related to Palestinian issues, such as the Palestine Strategic Thinking Group report⁴⁶. The criticism revolves around Palestinian studies and reports examining scenarios are: "based on the assumption of the implications of what exists as if it were" inevitable." Other scenarios developed as a one-State solution option are a rumination of what exists from an Israeli perspective⁴⁷, hence, from his point of view "it may be useful to highlight changes of great likelihood at the three domestic, regional and international levels." At the local level, for example, it was suggested to examine the possible implications of Abu Mazen's possible death. However, if the death of Yasser Arafat did not bring about any change, despite many expectations of changes, is it really possible that Abu Mazen's death will bring about any change to the Palestinian national project based on the two-state solution for the Fatah movement? It turns out that there will be no change either. According to some elite members of the Fatah movement: "The national project is not linked to a specific personality or organization. There are organizations that come and go, but the national project remains"⁴⁸.

In addition, the development of internal events to anticipate a particular scenario does not depend solely on the death of people whose deaths may have a great on the development of scenarios. In this regard, the dissolution of power and

⁴⁵ An interview conducted by the researcher with the "Director of the Fatah Movement Deputy Office Director Mahmoud Al-Aloul. Yasser Al-Masry." August 27, 2020. Ramallah.

⁴⁶ Palestine Group for Strategic Thinking (June, 2020) Palestine 2030: A Decade of Clarity and Renewal: Mapping the Transformations in the Three Spheres of Influence: Israel, the Region, and the International Palestine. Gaza: Strategy Group.

⁴⁷ An interview conducted by the researcher over the phone with: "The specialist in future studies has more than twenty books in future studies. Professor Walid Abdulhay." July 7, 2020.

⁴⁸ An interview conducted by the researcher with "a member of the Central Committee of Fatah Movement." Major General Tawfik Al-Tirawi, Op.Cit

its implications on the national project is examined in this study via the scenarios technique, which takes into account many internal events to develop any given scenario. As for the scenario of dissolving the Palestinian Authority, according to the development of major events, all of which were according to the scenarios technique, events that could bring about a change in the national project based on the two-state solution, however, they did not. Perhaps the most important of which was the division between the Hamas and Fatah movements, the construction of the separation wall; the continued construction of settlements, and Trump's decision to move the US embassy to Jerusalem in 2017. The most recent of these was the Israeli plans for the annexation decision, which eliminates the last hope for the continuation of the national project based on the two-state solution, with the recognition of some elite members of the Fatah movement.

Some members of the Fatah movement's elite speak explicitly that the annexation plan is not only related to a project that detracts only from Palestinian rights as much as it is a plan targeting the national project. It is also "targeted by the American-Israeli plan known as Peace for Prosperity, which explicitly stipulates the liquidation of the right of the Palestinian people self-determination or the establishment of a Palestinian state⁴⁹."

Erekat, a member of the Central Committee thinks that the annexation has not been suspended for the 29th of the government coalition stipulated that the first of July 2020 is the beginning of the procedures for annexation, not the end⁵⁰." In addition, there is another recognition from the elite about the national project based on the two-state solution after the annexation decision, and 'nothing remains of it'⁵¹.

Despite this, members of the Fatah elite insist on continuing with the project based on the two-state solution and rejecting any other projects as an option for the one-state solution. Nevertheless, do members of the elite expect the situation to remain as it is, namely, to continue the project based on the two-state solution, and not to present the option of dissolving the Palestinian Authority? In fact, the expected scenarios after the annexation decision for members of the Fatah elite ranged from those who believe that Palestinian will choose the option of confrontation with Israel, and there is a step that precedes this expected scenario, as Palestinian unity must be achieved before it: "Confrontation is the way to prove attendance. The world does not respect the weak and does not cry with those who weep. Rather, he collapses before the force⁵²." In this sense, the tasks of the Authority will be reviewed as possible in the sense of a review of the tasks of the Authority, reconsidering the tasks, that is; taking a dimension that is closer to the citizen and strengthening his steadfastness. Therefore, integrating the functional

⁴⁹ A conversational interview that confronted the press with Saeb Erekat via Zoom (July 21, 2020) the latest political developments in Palestine, the Palestinian Press House in cooperation with the Media Center at An-Najah National University. The recording of the meeting is available at the link https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?v=279111750035481&ref=watch_permalink. Accessed at (August 20, 2020).

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ An interview conducted by the researcher with: "Member of the Central Committee of Fatah Movement, Abbas Zaki", Op. Cit.

⁵² Ibid.

state with the struggle process⁵³.

The changing the function of the authority remains largely on the table among the political elite of the Fatah movement, as some members of the Fatah elite admit that Israel wants the authority to continue with a service function for the people to be a tool for perpetuating the Palestinian occupation.

However, there are those who believe that the authority did not come only to provide services but to transfer the Palestinian people from the state of occupation to independence. Now in the new project, they want a functional and service authority that will be one of the tools for the perpetuation of the occupation. 'Either the authority handle its agreed function of transferring the Palestinian people from occupation to independence, or we will not accept to be a tool for the perpetuation of the occupation with a job that collects garbage and pays salaries'⁵⁴. This is the responsibility of the occupation, and it has to bear its full responsibilities in accordance with the Geneva Convention of the year 1949.

Results

The study concluded that, in contrast to the views of some researchers, whose results stem from political analyzes and views on the expected scenarios for dissolving the Palestinian authority, which are usually based on the implications of what is in place as if the existing was "inevitable". Hence, the results that were reached in this study came Based on the Fatah movement's vision of the implications of dissolving the authority on the national project. The most important findings of this study are that, according to the scenarios technique, the development of several specific events, such as the option of annexation, did not change the Fatah movement's point of view about the project based on the two-state solution.

The study concluded that, despite the existence of a dispute among the Fatah elite over their definition of the Palestinian national project of the Fatah movement, they unanimously agreed that the dissolving of the Palestinian Authority is not an option for them. The study also concluded that Fatah members thinks there are negative implications on the national project based on the two-state solution, even if the annexation is achieved. They also rejected the one-state option as an expected future scenario for the Palestinian national project, describing it as a step back. Thus, opinions favored, as a future vision for the Fatah movement, the national project and the Palestinian Authority, the continuation of the status of the authority as it is, with changing its roles and strategies.

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⁵³ An interview conducted by the researcher with "Member of the Central Committee of Fatah Movement". Dalal Salama. Op.Cit.

⁵⁴ A conversational interview that confronted the press with Saeb Erekat via Zoom (July 21, 2020) the latest political developments in Palestine. Op.Cit.

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