

People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

Kasdi Merbah Ouargla University

Faculty of Letters and Languages

Department of Letters and English Language



Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the Master's Degree in the field of English
Language and Literature
Major: Literature and Civilisation

The Quest for a Voice in Edward Said's *The Question of Palestine*: Palestinian Intellectuals and Human Rights Liberalism

Presented and publicly defended by

Ahlem Lahchilli

Supervised by

Dr. Hind Hanafi

Jury

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| Pr. Abdelaziz Bousbia | UKMO | Chairperson |
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| Dr. Amina Badidja | UKMO | Examiner |

Academic Year: 2023/2024

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II
Dedication

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III Abstract

The present study aims at exploring the Palestinian Intellectuals' quest for a voice in the light of Liberalism. Through studying the theoretical elements of *Human Rights Liberalism Theory* and a critical reading of Edward Said's seminal work *The Question of Palestine* we aim to investigate to what extent to which Palestinian Intellectuals succeed in conveying their voices to the international community and how Edward Said amplified the Palestinian voices as he strived for fairness and respect. To this end, the current research adopted a descriptive analytical design. Thus, the qualitative approach was used by which instances were extracted to explore Liberalism. This study relied on *Human Rights Liberalism Theory* as a support to the analysis. Therefore, our investigation revealed that despite challenges and obstacles faced by Palestinian Intellectuals from geopolitical pressures and censorship restrictions, they play crucial role in conveying their voices. Moreover, Edward Said was skillful in amplifying the Palestinian voices on the global stage.

Keywords: Voice , Human rights, Palestinian intellectuals, Human Rights liberalism theory.

IV
List of Abbreviations

QP :The question of Palestine.

PLO :Palestine Liberation Organization

PA : Palestinian Authority

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General Introduction

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1. Topic

In the subjects of human rights and liberalism, some voices often get lost in the noise. One such voice is that of Palestinian intellectuals who have a lot to say about justice and dignity in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. For decades, Palestinians suffered a lot; they lost their homes, their land, and even their loved ones. Therefore, Palestinian intellectuals feel a deep responsibility to tell these stories. They want the world to understand the hardships and injustices faced by Palestinians through human rights ideas. Human rights are basic rights that every person should have, like the right to live in peace and freedom. Palestinian intellectuals believe that their people's rights are being violated. They want to use these human rights ideas to show the world what is happening in Palestine. They want to bring attention to the unfair treatment and discrimination faced by Palestinians under Israeli occupation. But it is not easy for Palestinian intellectuals to speak out. They face many challenges along the way. Sometimes they are silenced or ignored. Other times, they are criticized or even punished for speaking the truth. Despite these obstacles, Palestinian intellectuals continue to work hard. They use their talents and skills to tell powerful stories through art, literature, and activism. They want to make sure that the voices of Palestinians are heard loud and clear.

Edward Said (1935-2003) was one of the most prominent Palestinian intellectuals who engaged with human rights discourse and advocated for the representation of Palestinian voices on the global stage with significant works such as *Orientalism*(1978) and *The Question of Palestine* (1979).He wanted the world to see Palestinians as human beings deserving rights and freedom.

This research aims to delve into the role of Palestinian intellectuals in advocating human rights. In addition to a particular focus on the amplification of Palestinian voices and the influence of human rights liberalism theory on Edward Said's book *The Question of Palestine* .By analyzing this work , we will be provided with a comprehensive understanding of the Palestinian voices.

2. Motivation

The motivation behind this research lies on the desire to give the Palestinian intellectuals a voice through the lens of Human Rights Liberalism. Many times, their voices are not heard as much as they should be. Researching the contributions of Palestinian intellectuals like Edward Said who was influenced by liberal principles can amplify these voices and bring attention to their perspectives, experiences, and struggles for justice. Moreover, the aspirations to change their situation because when we understand what Palestinian intellectuals are saying about human rights, we can take an action. This might mean supporting policies that protect their rights or raising awareness about their situation. By studying their voices, we can be a part of the movement for positive change.

3. Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to investigate and understand the quest for a voice among Palestinian intellectuals in the light of human rights liberalism by:

- Highlighting the role of the Palestinian intellectuals to convey their voice. In addition, we aim to shed light on the obstacles and difficulties they faced in doing so.

- Analyzing-*The Question of Palestine* of Edward Said in the light of Human Rights Liberalism.

4. Statement of the Problem

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been characterized by ongoing human rights violations, political tensions, and international interventions. Despite global efforts to address these issues, Palestinian voices continue to be marginalized within international human rights discourse. Palestinian intellectuals, including prominent figures like Edward Said, play a crucial role in advocating the Palestinian rights on the global stage. However, the extent to which they effectively convey their voices with human rights remains unclear. Therefore, the problem addressed in this research is to what extent Palestinian intellectuals succeed in making their voices heard. Therefore, this modest work is an attempt to study Edward Said's book *The Question of Palestine* to find out

how he amplified the Palestinian voices through human rights liberalism theory.

4. Research Questions.

In order to conduct this study, it is attempted to answer the following questions:

- To what extent do Palestinian intellectuals succeed in conveying their voices?
- How does Edward Said amplify the Palestinian voices through human rights liberalism theory?

6. Research Hypothesis

In the pursuit of the proposed aims and in order to answer the already mentioned questions, it is hypothesized that:

- Palestinian intellectuals have a significant contribution in conveying the Palestinian voices within the realm of human rights .
- Edward Said was skillful in amplifying the Palestinian voices through human rights liberalism theory.

7. Methodology

In order to confirm the stated hypotheses, a descriptive analytical design will be adopted. It describes the role of Palestinian intellectuals ,their contribution to human rights in order to convey their voices and also the challenges they face .Therefore, the qualitative approach will be put forward by which instances will be extracted to explore Liberalism. The latter will be treated so as to analyze Edward Said's book *The Question of Palestine*. And for the research to win credibility, accuracy and reliability, the researcher will rely on *Human Rights Liberalism theory* as a support to the analysis. To understand how Edward Said amplified the Palestinian voices on the global stage.

8. Structure of the Dissertation

This limited body of research will be divided into three main chapters. The first chapter starts with a comprehensive overview of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict then it

explores Palestinian Intellectuals and Human Rights in which it includes the crucial role of the Palestinian intellectuals and their contributions in conveying their voices besides the obstacles they face. Chapter Two delves into liberalism and Human Rights Liberalism theory. In addition to the characteristic features of the mode. Chapter three focuses on Edward Said as a Palestinian intellectual and his advocacy for Palestinian rights. This chapter will shed light on his life, contribution to human rights. Furthermore, the analysis of his interesting book *The Question of Palestine* through the lens of Human Rights Liberalism Theory. Thus, this research aims to provide a comprehensive understanding to the Palestinian voices.

Chapter one:
Palestinian Intellectuals
And Human
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1.1.Introduction

The conflict between Israel and Palestine is one of the most enduring and complicated conflicts in recent history, characterized by long-standing territorial disagreements, political strains, and breaches of human rights. The core of this dispute revolves around the fight of self-determination and the quest for justice for the Palestinian people. Uncovering the historical context of this dispute is essential in understanding the contributions of Palestinian intellectuals in raising the voices of Palestinians and highlighting the injustices endured by their community. This chapter seeks to give a detailed look at the historical factors influencing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and to examine the various roles, obstacles, and hopes of Palestinian intellectuals as they strive for fairness and respect. Through studying their academic research, global activism, artistic representation, and recording of human rights abuses, we aim to understand the intricate relationship between Palestinian intellectualism and human rights discourse. Our goal in this investigation is to offer a thorough insight into the efforts of Palestinian intellectuals to express their opinions and champion for human rights despite challenging barriers.

1.2. Historical Background about the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

The conflict between Israel and Palestine has been going for a long time and it is really complicated. Its origins can be traced back to the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but its intensity and various phases have evolved over time. Here are the main events.

1.2.1. Rise of Zionism (Late 19th Century)

The late 19th century saw the emergence of the Zionist movement, advocating for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Zionist leaders, such as Theodor Herzl, envisioned Palestine as the rightful homeland for the Jewish people, leading to the First Zionist Congress in 1897. The Zionist project encountered resistance from the indigenous Palestinian Arab population, who viewed the influx of Jewish immigrants as a threat to their own national aspirations and land rights. Palestinians saw Zionism as a threat to their existence and sovereignty in their ancestral homeland. Khalidi says:

The rise of Zionism represented a profound challenge to the indigenous Palestinian Arab population, whose concerns about land ownership and national identity were deeply intertwined with their everyday lives. (41).

Khalidi's statement underscores the profound impact of Zionism on the indigenous Palestinian Arab population, revealing how it posed multifaceted challenges to their existence. Through its emphasis on land ownership and national identity, the quote highlights how the influx of Jewish immigrants threatened Palestinians' ancestral lands and sense of belonging.

1.2.2. Balfour Declaration(1917)

The Balfour Declaration, issued by the British government in 1917, that expressed support for the establishment of a "national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine, while also promising to safeguard the rights of the existing non-Jewish communities. This declaration, viewed as a turning point by both Jews and Palestinians, laid the groundwork for future conflict by endorsing conflicting national claims to the same territory.

1.2.3. Arab-Israeli War (1948) and the Nakba

The conflicting national aspirations of Jews and Palestinians led to rising tensions, culminating in the Arab-Israeli War of 1948. This conflict resulted in the establishment of the state of Israel and the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, an event known as the Nakba, or "catastrophe" in Arabic, it remains in the Palestinians' memory. "The rise of Zionism represented a profound challenge to the indigenous Palestinian Arab population, whose concerns about land ownership and national identity were deeply intertwined with their everyday lives." (Khalidi ,41).

Khalidi illustrates how the rise of Zionism posed a profound challenge to the indigenous Palestinian Arab population. The intertwined concerns of land ownership and national identity lay at the heart of this challenge, reflecting the deeply rooted connection between Palestinians' everyday lives and their struggle for self-determination. The Nakba stands as a stark testament to the enduring impact of this historical struggle, shaping Palestinian identity and continuing to fuel tensions in the region.

1.2.4. Palestinian Liberation Movement(1964)

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), established in 1964, emerged as a significant player in the Palestinian liberation movement, advocating for self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. Led by prominent figures such as Yasser Arafat, the PLO employed a combination of armed resistance and diplomatic initiatives to advance its objectives. Arafat famously encapsulated the organization's resolve and vision in his address to the United Nations General Assembly in 1974, stating, "I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand" (Arafat). This quotation epitomizes the dual nature of the PLO's strategy, showcasing its commitment to seeking peace while retaining the option of armed struggle in the pursuit of Palestinian rights.

1.2.5. Six-Day War (1967)

The Six-Day War in 1967 was a pivotal conflict between Israel and its neighboring Arab states, including Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. The Arab's loss in the war resulted in the occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Sinai Peninsula, and Golan Heights. Thus, the Six-Day War in 1967 had a profound impact on the Palestinians, particularly in terms of their displacement, loss of territory, and the beginning of Israeli occupation. "The war ushered in a new and ominous era for the Palestinian people." (Khalidi ,2). This underscores the significance of the Six-Day War and its impact in shaping the trajectory of Palestinian history and the ongoing struggle for self-determination.

1.2.6. Camp David Accords (1978)

The Camp David Accords were signed on September 17, 1978, by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, under the mediation of US President Jimmy Carter. They led to the signing of the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty in 1979, marking the first Arab recognition of Israel and the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Sinai. The Camp David Accords had a significant impact on the Palestinians, particularly in relation to the issue of Palestinian statehood and self-determination. While the accords resulted in a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, they did not address the Palestinian question comprehensively, leading to concerns among Palestinians about the status of their own rights and aspirations.

One notable aspect of the Camp David Accords was the absence of Palestinian representation in the negotiations. This exclusion raised questions about the legitimacy of the agreement from the perspective of Palestinian interests. "Camp David represented a betrayal of Palestinian rights and aspirations, as it sidelined the Palestinian cause and failed to address the core issues of occupation and self-determination." (Said ,123).

Said critiques the marginalized position of the Palestinian cause in the negotiations, raising valid concerns about the legitimacy of an agreement that disregarded Palestinian representation and aspirations. His quote sheds light on the enduring complexities surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, emphasizing on the unresolved nature of Palestinian rights and the ongoing struggle for recognition and sovereignty.

1.2.7.Oslo Accords(1993)

The Oslo Accords, signed in 1993, aimed to establish a framework for peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The accords were a significant in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, as they provided for mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO and outlined steps towards Palestinian self-governance in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Key elements of the Oslo Accords included the creation of the Palestinian Authority (PA) as an interim governing body for parts of the West Bank and Gaza, with Israel gradually transferring responsibilities for civil affairs to the PA. The accords also addressed issues such as security cooperation between Israel and the Palestinians, the status of Jerusalem, and the rights of Palestinian refugees.

1.2.8.Disengagement from Gaza(2005)

The Disengagement from Gaza, also known as the Gaza Withdrawal or Gaza Expulsion, was a significant event in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It involved the dismantling of Israeli settlements in the Gaza Strip and the withdrawal of Israeli military forces from the area. The decision to disengage from Gaza was announced by the Israeli government under Prime Minister Ariel Sharon in 2004, and the withdrawal took place on August 2005.

This Disengagement was seen by some as a step towards peace and a potential opportunity for the Palestinians to govern themselves in Gaza. However, others criticized the unilateral nature of the withdrawal and raised concerns about its long-term impact on Israeli security and the situation in Gaza. Following the withdrawal, control of the Gaza Strip was transferred to the Palestinian Authority, led by President Mahmoud Abbas. However, Gaza soon came under the control of the Islamist militant group Hamas, leading to political tensions and conflict with Israel in the years that followed.

1.3. Palestinian Intellectuals And Human Rights

1.3.1. Overview of Key Concepts

1.3.1.1. Palestinian Intellectuals

Palestinian intellectuals play a crucial role as architects of cultural identity and as advocates for justice within the complex landscape of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Their responsibility goes beyond being just scholars or intellectuals; they shape cultural identity, promote justice, and preserve historical records. In his influential book of the Palestinian Identity: *The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*, Rashid Khalidi carefully examines the development of Palestinian intellectual ideas, emphasizing on their strong connection to Palestine's historical and cultural background. "Palestinian thinkers express the shared hopes and frustrations of their community, questioning widely accepted stories and promoting the rights and respect of Palestinians globally" (Khalidi,76).

Khalidi illustrate that Palestinian intellectuals express the shared hopes and complaints of their community through their writings, speeches, and activism, disrupting prevailing narratives and supporting the rights and dignity of Palestinians globally. In Khalidi's study, Palestinian intellectuals are portrayed as champions of opposition, strength, and optimism in times of hardship. They have made contributions in various areas, ranging from literature and academia to political activism and cultural expression. Their stories blend together elements of history, politics, and identity, creating a complex depiction of the Palestinian people's diverse experiences and aspirations. Palestinian intellectuals like Mahmoud Darwish and Edward Said have

made a lasting impact on a worldwide scale through their powerful words, advocating for Palestinian rights and confronting injustice wherever it is found.

1.3.1.2. Human Rights

Human rights constitute the ethical and legal framework that underpins the universal rights and freedoms inherent to every individual. This encompasses civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. The intersection of human rights and intellectual discourse becomes particularly relevant in conflict zones, where narratives of injustice, displacement, and resistance often find expression through intellectual engagement. "Human rights are the bedrock of a just society, an unwavering commitment to the inherent worth and equal rights of every individual, transcending borders and cultural differences." (Donnelly,42)

Donnelly's quote emphasizes on the foundational importance of human rights in fostering a just society. By asserting the intrinsic worth and equal rights of every individual, it underscores the universality and transcendence of human rights beyond geographical and cultural boundaries. This highlights the essential role of human rights discourse in promoting equality, justice, and dignity for all individuals, particularly in contexts marked by conflict and oppression.

1.3.1.3. Voice

The concept of voice resonates deeply within the Palestinian struggle for liberation and self-determination. Within the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Palestinians have long been denied their voice, their narratives silenced or distorted by dominant powers. However, Palestinian intellectuals and activists have refused to be silenced, using their voices to amplify the stories of their people and challenge the status quo. From grassroots organizers in refugee camps to internationally renowned scholars, Palestinians have reclaimed their narrative, asserting their rights and demanding justice on the global stage. Through literature, art, and political activism, Palestinians have forged a vibrant culture of resistance, showcasing the power of voice in the face of adversity."voice emerges as a powerful tool of empowerment and resistance, enabling marginalized communities to assert their agency and challenge oppressive systems." (Alcoff,45).

This highlights how reclaiming one's voice enables individuals to assert their agency and challenge systems of oppression. In the context of the Palestinian struggle, this resonates deeply, as Palestinians have consistently used their voices to counteract narratives of marginalization and assert their rights to self-determination. Alcoff's quote emphasizes the pivotal role of voice in fostering resilience and mobilizing collective action against injustice.

1.4 The contribution of the Palestinian Intellectuals towards human rights

Palestinian intellectuals contribute to defending human rights through various works, including academic research, advocacy, cultural expression, and engagement with international forums. Here are ways in which Palestinian intellectuals contribute to the defense of human rights :

1.4.1. Academic Analysis and Critique

Palestinian intellectuals are actively engaged in academic research and scholarship, offering critical analyses of human rights issues within the framework of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Through their scholarly efforts, these intellectuals contribute significantly to a nuanced understanding of the legal, historical, and sociopolitical dimensions inherent in the search of human rights within the conflict. "In their academic pursuits, Palestinian intellectuals meticulously examine the legal, historical, and sociopolitical dimensions of human rights within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, enriching our understanding of this multifaceted issue." (Erakat ,102).

1.4.2. International Advocac

Palestinian intellectuals actively participate in international advocacy efforts, utilizing their platforms to raise awareness about human rights violations and advocate for justice within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Edward Said, renowned for his advocacy work and involvement in international forums addressing the Palestinian cause, epitomized the commitment of Palestinian intellectuals to promoting a rights-based approach. Through engagements with global audiences, policymakers, and international organizations, Said and others significantly contribute to advancing the discourse on human rights and justice in the context of the conflict.

1.4.3.Cultural and Artistic Expression

Palestinian intellectuals actively utilize cultural and artistic mediums as vehicles for advocating human rights, employing literature, poetry, film, and visual arts as powerful tools of expression. Notably, Mahmoud Darwish's poetry stands out as a poignant example of cultural activism in defense of Palestinian rights. Through his emotive verses, Darwish artfully captures the complexities of the conflict, eliciting empathy and understanding from global audiences. Darwish, Mahmoud says:

Through poetry, we find a voice that transcends borders and speaks to the universal human experience. In our struggle for justice, literature becomes a weapon of resistance, allowing us to convey the realities of our existence and the aspirations of our people to the world.(72)

Darwish's words emphasize on the transformative power of literature as a means of transcending geopolitical boundaries and connecting with the shared humanity of all people. His assertion underscores the role of artistic expression in amplifying marginalized voices and advocating for social change. Through poetry, Darwish not only documents the Palestinian experience but also asserts its relevance to broader human struggles for justice and dignity.

1.4.4.Documentation of Human Rights Violations

Palestinian intellectuals play a crucial role in documenting human rights violations, contributing to the documentation of incidents, discrimination, and violence. Their writings, research, and collaboration with human rights organizations provide essential evidence for accountability. Various reports by prominent human rights organizations, such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, incorporate the work of Palestinian intellectuals, underscoring their significant contribution to the documentation of human rights abuses.

1.4.5.Engagement with International Legal Forums

Palestinian intellectuals actively engage in international legal forums, benefiting their legal expertise and perspectives on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Through their participation, they highlight violations, advocate for justice, and seek accountability

for human rights abuses. They offer historical and legal analyses that are relevant to the defense of Palestinian rights, contributing valuable insights to international legal discussions. Khalidi says:

In international legal forums, Palestinian intellectuals play a crucial role in highlighting violations, advocating for justice, and seeking accountability for human rights abuses. Their expertise and perspectives enrich discussions, contributing valuable insights to the defense of Palestinian rights on the global stage (123).

Palestinian intellectuals' participation in international legal settings not only draw attention to human rights violations but also contribute valuable expertise and perspectives that strengthen the global discourse on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Khalidi's perspective highlights the importance of recognizing and valuing the contributions of Palestinian intellectuals in advocating for justice and accountability on an international scale.

1.4.6. Educational Initiatives

Palestinian intellectuals actively participate in educational initiatives aimed at promoting human rights awareness and understanding. Through teaching, lectures, and workshops, they contribute to building a knowledgeable and informed public capable of advocating for human rights. Sari Nusseibeh, an academic and former president of Al-Quds University, has been actively involved in such educational initiatives, fostering understanding and dialogue on human rights issues.

1.4.7. Participation in International Conferences and Seminars

Palestinian intellectuals play an active role in international conferences, seminars, and symposiums dedicated to human rights issues. Their participation in these forums not only shapes global discourses but also fosters collaboration with international human rights activists and scholars. Through their engagement, Palestinian intellectuals contribute valuable perspectives and insights to the international dialogue on human rights.

1.5.The role of the Palestinian intellectuals in conveying the voice in the context of human rights

The role of Palestinian intellectuals in conveying the voice in the context of human rights is multifaceted. These intellectuals play a crucial role in articulating the Palestinian narrative, advocating for human rights, and challenging narratives that may contribute to injustice. Here are key aspects of their role :

1.5.1. Voicing the Palestinian Narrative

Palestinian intellectuals play a crucial role as storytellers, employing literature, poetry, and academic works to convey the rich tapestry of the Palestinian narrative. They offer a profound platform for Palestinians to articulate their experiences, struggles, and aspirations. One of these intellectual Edward Said who delves into the complexities of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, offering insightful analysis and critique of colonialism and its impact on Palestinian identity and rights. "The question of Palestine remains a defining issue for the Palestinian people, as they continue to resist occupation and assert their right to self-determination" (57).

1.5.2. Advocating for Human Rights

Palestinian intellectuals lead the charge in promoting human rights, continuously raising awareness about the mistreatment and injustices experienced by Palestinians through different outlets. By engaging in international conferences, these thinkers enhance the voices of Palestinians and bring attention to the human rights violations happening in the area. By participating in these worldwide conversations, they aim to gather backing and unity from the international community for the Palestinian issue.

One significant instance of Palestinian intellectuals' engagement in promoting human rights is their active participation in events like the United Nations Human Rights Council sessions and other global forums. In this setting, they give passionate talks, provide proof of wrongdoings, and demand responsibility from the global community and appropriate parties. They aim to gather backing for Palestinian rights and urge for specific actions to address continuing injustices through advocating.

Therefore, Palestinian intellectuals play a vital role in advocating for human rights by not only discussing the issue but also actively participating in global

platforms, working with international partners, and dedicating themselves to promoting Palestinian rights worldwide. By working tirelessly, they aim to achieve positive change and build a fairer future for Palestinians.

1.5.3. Analyzing Political and Legal Dimensions

Palestinian intellectuals contribute significantly to the comprehension of the political and legal dimensions of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. By conducting detailed analysis and engaging in academic discussions, they offer deep insights into how policies affect human rights and provide valuable perspectives on the complex nature of the situation. Palestinian intellectuals greatly enhance our understanding of the political and legal intricacies influencing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

1.5.4. Cultural Expression for Human Rights

Palestinian intellectuals skillfully utilize cultural expression, including literature and art, to shed light on human rights issues. Ghassan Kanafani, in his literary contribution *Men in the Sun* (1963), and Mahmoud Darwish through his poetry, offer poignant narratives that serve as powerful means to convey the emotional and cultural aspects of the Palestinian struggle.

1.5.5. Bridging Academic Scholarship and Activism

Numerous Palestinian intellectuals adeptly bridge the gap between academic scholarship and activism, utilizing their research and intellectual insights to inform and empower activists, policymakers, and the wider public in advocating for human rights. Edward Said, exemplifying this dual commitment, it is evident in his engagement in advocacy and academic work, notably explored in *Representations of the Intellectual* (1994) and various speeches.

1.5.6. Documenting Human Rights Violations

Palestinian intellectuals actively contribute to documenting human rights violations through strict academic research, writings, and collaborative efforts with human rights organizations. They play a pivotal role in building a factual basis for advocacy and accountability. Their collective efforts are often incorporated into various

reports by organizations, further solidifying the evidence of human rights abuses.

1.5.7. International Solidarity and Global Dialogues

Palestinian intellectuals play an active role in international solidarity movements, fostering global dialogues on human rights. Edward Said's notable international engagement, exemplified in various interviews, speeches, and participation in global forums, illustrates how these intellectuals connect the Palestinian struggle with broader human rights issues worldwide. Their involvement contributes significantly to building bridges and fostering understanding on an international scale.

1.6. Obstacles encountered by Palestinian intellectuals

The complex challenges are rooted in the geopolitical, cultural, and political dynamics of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Palestinian intellectuals face a range of obstacles that impact their ability to freely articulate their narratives and contribute to global discourse on human rights. Here are key obstacles they encounter:

1.6.1. Geopolitical Pressures

The geopolitical pressure faced by Palestinian intellectuals is derived from the complex political dynamics of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The political landscape in the region, characterized by ongoing conflict and occupation, imposes constraints on academic freedom and intellectual discourse. Palestinian intellectuals may face restrictions on travel, access to research materials, and collaboration with international scholars due to geopolitical tensions and security measures. "Our voices are restrained by the geopolitical intricacies, navigating a delicate balance in expressing narratives that challenge the status quo". (Said)

Here's a closer look at how these geopolitical pressures manifest as obstacles:

1.6.1.1. Occupation and Control

The Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories imposes severe restrictions on freedom of expression, movement, and academic researches. Palestinian intellectuals living under occupation face limitations on their ability to travel freely, attend academic

conferences, or engage in international collaborations. Israeli authorities exercise control over educational institutions, curriculum content, and cultural activities, leading to censorship and restrictions on academic freedom. As Edward Said, a prominent Palestinian intellectual, noted that the occupation stifled intellectual freedom and suppressed dissenting voices, making it difficult for Palestinian intellectuals to express their views openly.

1.6.1.2. Territorial Disputes and Fragmentation

The territorial disputes between Israel and Palestine, particularly over issues such as borders, settlements, and access to resources, contribute to political fragmentation within Palestinian society. Palestinian intellectuals may face pressure to align with certain political factions or adopt specific ideological positions, potentially compromising their academic independence and freedom of expression. Divisions between the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank and Hamas in Gaza further exacerbate these challenges, creating obstacles to collaboration and academic exchange. As Rashid Khalidi, a renowned Palestinian historian, remarked that the internal divisions among Palestinians exacerbated the challenges faced by intellectuals, limiting their ability to engage in open dialogue and exchange of ideas.

1.6.1.3. International Diplomacy and Influence

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is subject to intense international audit, with various countries, regional actors, and international organizations involved in diplomatic efforts and peace negotiations. Palestinian intellectuals may encounter pressure from external actors, including governments, donors, and academic institutions, to conform to specific political narratives or adopt certain positions on the conflict. This external pressure can limit academic freedom, constrain critical inquiry, and hinder efforts to promote dialogue and understanding. As Noura Erakat, a Palestinian-American legal scholar, highlighted that the international pressure often dictated the parameters of academic discourse, limiting the space for Palestinian intellectuals to challenge dominant narratives.

1.6.2.Censorship and Restrictions

Censorship poses a significant obstacle to Palestinian intellectuals, manifesting in both external and internal forms. External censorship often emanates from occupying forces, while internal censorship may be enforced by political factions or local institutions within Palestinian territories. Ghassan illustrates this dilemma, stating, "Censorship shadows our discourse, stifling the diversity of thought and compelling self-restraint in conveying the complexity of our narratives." (Ghassan ,42).

This underscores the stifling effect that censorship has on the freedom of expression and the exchange of diverse perspectives within Palestinian society.

1.6.3.Political Polarization

Political divisions within Palestinian society can create challenges for intellectuals. Divergent political perspectives may lead to internal pressures to align with specific narratives, limiting the diversity of voices within the intellectual community."Navigating political polarization, our intellectual discourse becomes entangled, constraining our ability to represent a unified Palestinian narrative."(Khalidi,87).This underscores the challenge of maintaining a cohesive intellectual discourse amidst diverse political perspectives, highlighting the impact of polarization on the representation of a unified Palestinian narrative.

1.3.4.Access to Resources

Limited access to resources, including educational opportunities, publishing platforms, and international collaborations, can restrict the ability of Palestinian intellectuals to disseminate their works globally and restricts them from reaching wider audiences."Unequal access to resources constrains our ability to share our intellectual pursuits globally, impeding the development of a comprehensive Palestiniannarrative."(Erakat,56) .This underscores the profound impact of resource limitations on Palestinian intellectuals' efforts to contribute to global discourse. Thus, restricting the development and dissemination of a comprehensive Palestinian narrative.

1.6.5. Security Concerns and Threats

Palestinian intellectuals who challenge predominant narratives or advocate for human rights, social justice, or peace may face security threats, harassment, or intimidation from extremist groups, political factions, or state authorities. The unstable security situation in the region, characterized by violence, unrest, and periodic escalations of conflict, creates a climate of fear and uncertainty for intellectuals and their families. This atmosphere of insecurity can restrict intellectuals from expressing different viewpoints or engaging in activism. Thus, Security concerns may restrict them from freely expressing their opinions, especially on contentious issues. According to Raja, "Security concerns cast a shadow over our intellectual pursuits, compelling us to navigate self-censorship out of fear for personal safety." This illustrates the impact of security threats on the intellectual freedom of Palestinians that often force them into self-censorship as a means of self-preservation.

1.6.6. Global Misrepresentations

Palestinian intellectuals often grapple with global misrepresentations that frame the conflict in simplistic terms. Countering these misrepresentations requires concerted efforts to present a nuanced and accurate narrative. According to Mahmoud Darwish, "Combatting global misrepresentations becomes an ongoing struggle, as stereotypes and distorted portrayals hinder our efforts to convey the nuanced Palestinian narrative."

1.7. Conclusion

Palestinian intellectuals play a crucial role in defending human rights within the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Their diverse contributions help to enhance our understanding of the complexities of human rights challenges and opportunities. Despite these obstacles, their determination to express their opinions demonstrates the strength of the Palestinian intellectual community in difficult times.

Chapter Two:
Liberalism And Human
Rights Liberalism
Theory

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2.1. Introduction

In the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the principles of liberalism and human rights liberalism have played a significant role in shaping discourse, advocacy, and aspirations for justice. Chapter Two delves into an exploration of liberalism as a political ideology and human rights liberalism as a framework for understanding and promoting fundamental rights and freedoms. This chapter seeks to illuminate core principles of liberalism and its relevance with the context of Palestine, providing a theoretical foundation for understanding the intersections between political philosophy and the pursuit of human rights.

2.2. Liberalism

2.2.1 .Definition

Liberalism is a political and philosophical ideology that emphasizes individual rights, liberty, equality, and the rule of law. It promotes the idea that individuals should have freedom of thought, expression, and action, as long as they do not infringe upon the rights of others. Liberalism advocates for limited government intervention in the economy and society, favoring free markets and civil liberties.

There are different forms of liberalism, including classical liberalism, which emerged in the 17th and 18th centuries and focused on the protection of individual rights and freedoms from government interference. In the 19th and 20th centuries, liberalism evolved into various branches, such as social liberalism, which emphasizes social justice and welfare policies, and neoliberalism, which prioritizes free-market principles and deregulation .

2.2.2.Liberalism Evolution

Liberalism, as a political ideology, has been extensively studied and analyzed by scholars from various disciplines. It has a rich and diverse literature that spans centuries, reflecting its historical development and evolving interpretation

One of the foundational works in the study of liberalism is John Locke's book *Two Treatises of Government* that was written in the 17th century. Locke's ideas on natural rights, limited government, and the social contract have had a profound

influence on liberal thought. "Being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions." (Locke,287).

In the 18th and 19th centuries, liberal thinkers such as Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and Thomas Jefferson further developed liberal principles,advocating for free markets, individual liberties, and representative democracy. Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* and Mill's *On Liberty* are seminal texts that explore the role of government in promoting economic prosperity and safeguarding personal freedoms."It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest." (Chapter II)

According to John Stuart Mill,"The only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others." (Chapter I)

In the 20th century, scholars like John Rawls and Isaiah Berlin contributed to the liberal literature with their theories on justice and pluralism, respectively. Rawls's book *A Theory of Justice* introduced the concept of the veil of ignorance and the idea of justice as fairness."Each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override." (3). While Berlin's essays on liberty and value pluralism challenged traditional understandings of liberalism."Liberty in the positive sense involves participation, citizenship, and collective self-determination." (15)

Contemporary scholars continue to engage with liberalism, exploring its implications for various aspects of society, including globalization, human rights, and multiculturalism. Works by authors such as Martha Nussbaum, Amartya Sen, and Charles Taylor offer critical perspectives on the challengesand opportunities facing liberal democracies in the 21st century.

2.2.3. The principals of liberalism

While liberalism encompasses a range of ideas, it fundamentally revolves around key principles such as individual rights, freedom, equality, and the rule of law. These principles have been articulated and expounded upon by influential thinkers throughout history.

2.2.3.1. Individual Rights

Individual rights are fundamental to liberalism, representing a cornerstone of the ideology's commitment to personal autonomy and freedom. In addition to the right to life, liberty, and property, liberalism recognizes a broad spectrum of individual rights encompassing civil, political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions. These rights are considered inherent to human beings, independent of any external authority, and should be safeguarded by both the state and society. John Locke's articulation of natural rights in his *Two Treatises of Government* that remains influential in liberal thought. Locke's assertion that "no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions" underscores the foundational principle of individual rights (Locke, 287). Moreover, liberal thinkers have expanded upon Locke's ideas, advocating for the protection of additional rights such as freedom of speech, religion, assembly, and privacy. These rights are seen as essential for fostering a pluralistic and tolerant society where individuals can pursue their own conception of the good life without undue interference from the government or other individuals. Furthermore, liberalism recognizes the importance of protecting vulnerable and marginalized groups, ensuring that all individuals have equal opportunities to exercise their rights and participate fully in society. As such, the concept of individual rights lies at the heart of liberal theory and serves as a guiding principle for advancing justice, equality, and human dignity.

2.2.3.2. Freedom and Liberty

Liberalism advocates for freedom and liberty as fundamental principles essential for the flourishing of individuals and society as a whole. Beyond the mere absence of coercion, liberalism envisions a positive conception of freedom that empowers individuals to act according to their own will and conscience. This includes freedom of thought, expression, and action, allowing individuals to pursue their aspirations and interests without undue interference from external authorities. Adam Smith, in his seminal work *The Wealth of Nations* which highlights the significance of individual freedom in economic matters. He famously remarked, "It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest" (Smith, Chapter II). Smith's assertion underscores the idea that

individual freedom in economic transactions leads to the efficient allocation of resources and the maximization of societal welfare. Moreover, liberalism recognizes that freedom extends beyond economic realms to encompass social, political, and cultural dimensions. This includes the freedom to participate in democratic processes, the freedom to practice one's religion or beliefs, and the freedom to form associations and pursue cultural expression. Liberal societies prioritize the protection of these freedoms through legal frameworks, constitutional protections, and institutional safeguards. However, liberalism also acknowledges that the exercise of freedom must be balanced with the recognition of rights and responsibilities, ensuring that individual autonomy does not infringe upon the rights of others or undermine the common good. As such, the promotion of freedom and liberty lies at the heart of liberal theory, serving as a guiding principle for fostering human flourishing, pluralism, and democratic governance.

2.2.3.3. Limited Government

Liberalism Limited government is a foundational principle of liberalism, emphasizing the importance of restraining the powers and functions of governmental institutions to ensure the protection of individual rights and freedoms while providing essential services for the common good. Liberalism posits that excessive government intervention in the economy and society can impede personal liberty and stifle individual initiative. Instead, governments are viewed as necessary but should operate within defined boundaries to prevent encroachment on individual autonomy.

John Stuart Mill, a prominent advocate of liberal principles, articulated the importance of limited government intervention in his work *On Liberty*. Mill argued that the legitimate exercise of power by the state should be narrowly circumscribed, with the primary objective being the prevention of harm to others. As he stated, "The only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others" (Chapter I). This principle underscores the belief that government should only intervene when necessary to protect individuals from harm inflicted by others, such as through criminal acts or violations of their rights.

Moreover, limited government extends beyond merely restraining state power in the realm of law enforcement. It also encompasses limitations on government involvement in economic affairs, such as regulations, taxation, and welfare programs. Liberals argue that excessive government intervention in the economy can distort market mechanisms, reduce economic efficiency, and infringe upon individual freedom of choice. Instead, they advocate for a minimalist approach to government involvement, favoring free markets and voluntary exchange as the most effective means of promoting prosperity and individual well-being.

Furthermore, limited government entails a commitment to the separation of powers and checks and balances within the political system to prevent the concentration of authority and safeguard against abuses of power. By dispersing authority among different branches of government and subjecting it to oversight and accountability mechanisms, liberalism seeks to mitigate the risks of tyranny and ensure the protection of individual rights and liberties.

2.2.3.4. Rule of Law

Liberalism emphasizes on the importance of the rule of law which focuses on the idea that everyone, including government officials, is bound by and accountable to the same legal standards, ensuring fairness, predictability, and equality before the law. Liberalism advocates for a legal framework that is transparent, impartial, and consistent, where rights and obligations are clearly defined and enforced through impartial judicial processes.

John Rawls, a leading figure in contemporary liberal political philosophy, places significant emphasis on the rule of law in his seminal work *A Theory of Justice*. Rawls argues that the rule of law is essential for the realization of justice, asserting that "each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override" (3). This perspective underscores the idea that the rule of law serves as a bulwark against arbitrary power and protects individuals from unjust encroachments on their rights and freedoms.

Moreover, the rule of law promotes stability and predictability in society by providing a framework for the peaceful resolution of disputes and the enforcement of legal obligations. It fosters confidence in the legal system and encourages voluntary

compliance with laws, contributing to social order and cohesion. Additionally, the rule of law helps to prevent abuses of power by government officials and institutions, as they are held accountable for their actions and decisions within a legal framework that respects fundamental rights and procedural fairness.

Furthermore, liberalism recognizes the importance of an independent judiciary and impartial legal institutions in upholding the rule of law. A judiciary that is free from political interference and external influences plays a crucial role in interpreting and applying laws objectively, safeguarding individual rights, and checking the power of the executive and legislative branches of government. By upholding the rule of law, liberalism seeks to ensure that society operates according to principles of justice, equality, and respect for human dignity, thereby fostering a just and inclusive social order.

2.2.3.5. Equality

Equality is a core principle within liberalism, encompassing both equality of opportunity and treatment under the law. Liberals emphasize the importance of ensuring that all individuals have equal access to opportunities and are treated fairly and impartially by institutions and systems of governance. This commitment to equality stems from the recognition of the inherent worth and dignity of every individual, regardless of their background, identity, or circumstances.

In addition to advocating for equality of opportunity, liberalism also recognizes the importance of acknowledging and respecting individual differences and talents. While equality does not necessitate uniformity or sameness, it does require that individuals be afforded the same basic rights and opportunities to pursue their own goals and aspirations. Liberals argue that diversity and pluralism enrich society, fostering innovation, creativity, and social progress.

Moreover, liberalism extends its commitment to equality beyond mere formal legal equality to encompass substantive social and economic equality. Liberals advocate for policies and initiatives aimed at reducing inequalities and disparities in wealth, income, and access to resources. This includes measures to ensure access to essential services such as education, healthcare, and employment opportunities, as well as policies to address systemic barriers and discrimination that perpetuate inequality.

Furthermore, liberalism recognizes that achieving true equality requires addressing structural inequalities and systemic injustices that disproportionately affect marginalized and disadvantaged groups. This may involve implementing affirmative action programs, promoting diversity and inclusion in institutions and workplaces, and dismantling discriminatory practices and policies. By addressing root causes of inequality and fostering a more equitable society, liberalism seeks to create conditions where all individuals can thrive and contribute to the common good.

2.2.3.6. Tolerance and Pluralism

Tolerance and pluralism are foundational principles within liberalism, reflecting a commitment to embracing diversity and recognizing the inherent value of individual differences. Liberalism acknowledges that societies are composed of individuals with varied beliefs, values, and identities, and it seeks to create conditions where people of different backgrounds can coexist harmoniously and participate fully in public life. By promoting tolerance and respect for diversity, liberalism fosters a culture of inclusivity and mutual understanding, where individuals are free to express themselves and pursue their own conception of the good life.

Isaiah Berlin, a prominent liberal philosopher, delves into the concept of positive liberty in his work *Two Concepts of Liberty*. Berlin argues that positive liberty involves more than mere absence of constraints; it encompasses active participation in civic life, citizenship, and collective self-determination. As he states, "Liberty in the positive sense involves participation, citizenship, and collective self-determination" (15). This perspective highlights the importance of creating opportunities for individuals to engage meaningfully in shaping their communities and exercising control over their own destinies.

Moreover, liberalism recognizes that tolerance and pluralism are essential for maintaining social cohesion and preventing conflicts arising from differences in beliefs or identities. By fostering an environment where diverse perspectives are welcomed and respected, liberalism seeks to mitigate the risks of social discord and promote peaceful coexistence. This entails creating legal and institutional frameworks that protect the rights of minority groups and ensure that all individuals have equal opportunities to participate in public life.

Furthermore, liberalism advocates for policies and practices that promote inclusivity and diversity in various spheres of society, including education, employment, and governance. This may involve implementing affirmative action programs, promoting cultural exchange and dialogue, and challenging discriminatory attitudes and practices. By embracing tolerance and pluralism, liberalism seeks to create a more vibrant, dynamic, and resilient society that celebrates the richness of human diversity and fosters a sense of belonging and solidarity among its members.

2.3. Liberalism In Palestine

The development of liberalism in Palestine has been influenced by a complex interplay of historical, cultural, and political factors. While liberalism as a political ideology has roots in European Enlightenment thought, its adoption and adaptation in Palestine have been shaped by the unique context of the region .

2.3.1.Late Ottoman Period (19th Century)

During the late Ottoman period, Palestine existed within the broader context of the Ottoman Empire, which was marked by centralized authority and traditional societal norms. This era was characterized by a lack of significant exposure to liberal thought originating from Europe, limiting the development of liberal ideas within Palestinian society."Palestine, like other provinces of the Ottoman Empire, was governed by a centralized administration that left little room for local autonomy or political pluralism" (Khalidi). Consequently, the prevailing autocratic rule and conservative social structures prevalent in the Ottoman Empire hindered the emergence of liberalism in Palestine during this period.

2.3.2. British Mandate Period (1917-1948)

During the British Mandate period in Palestine (1917-1948), the introduction of modern institutions and educational reforms by the British authorities played a crucial role in exposing Palestinian society to liberal ideas. This period witnessed an increase in engagement with liberal thought among the urban middle class and Palestinian intellectuals. "The British Mandate brought about significant changes in Palestinian society, including the introduction of modern educational institutions and the expansion

of urban centers" (Pappe). Consequently, Palestinian intellectuals and professionals began to advocate for concepts such as individual rights, representative government, and civil liberties, reflecting a growing interest in liberal principles within Palestinian society.

2.3.3. Emergence of Political Parties

During the interwar period, Palestine experienced the emergence of various political parties, showcasing a spectrum of ideological orientations encompassing liberal, nationalist, and socialist perspectives. This spread of political organizations reflected the growing diversity of political thought within Palestinian society. "The interwar period in Palestine witnessed a surge in political activism and organization, with the emergence of political parties representing a range of ideological viewpoints." (Khalidi).

Notably, liberal-leaning parties such as the Independence Party and the Reform Party emerged during this time, advocated for principles of individual rights, democratic governance, and civil liberties. Additionally, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) which has consistently advocated for human rights and the rule of law, emphasized on the right of Palestinians to self-determination, equality, and dignity. Therefore, PLO became a significant political entity representing Palestinian nationalist aspirations within the broader context of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

2.3.4. Arab-Israeli Conflict and National Liberation

The Arab-Israeli conflict and the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 significantly impacted the trajectory of liberalism in Palestine. "The creation of the State of Israel in 1948 marked a turning point in Palestinian history, ushering in an era of displacement, dispossession, and conflict." (Khalidi). This pivotal moment overshadowed liberal discourse in Palestine, as the focus shifted towards the overarching goals of national liberation and resistance against Israeli occupation. Liberal principles such as individual rights and civil liberties were often subsumed within the broader struggle for Palestinian self-determination and national identity. As a result, the pursuit of liberal ideals took a backseat to the urgent demands of the national liberation movement, shaping the political landscape of Palestine for decades to come.

2.3.5. Post-Oslo Period

The Oslo Accords signed in the 1990s that marked a significant shift in Palestinian politics, ushering in a new era of self-governance and renewed engagement with liberal democratic principles. "The Oslo Accords represented a historic opportunity for Palestinians to gain greater autonomy and control over their political affairs" (Brown).

The establishment of the Palestinian Authority (PA) following the Oslo Accords signaled a commitment to democratic governance and the rule of law, despite operating within the constraints of Israeli occupation. The holding of elections, albeit within limited parameters, provided Palestinians with a platform for political participation and representation, reflecting a nascent commitment to liberal democratic values within Palestinian society.

2.4. Human Rights Liberalism Theory

2.4.1. Definition

Human Rights Liberalism is a political and ethical theory that emphasizes on the protection and promotion of individual rights and freedoms as essential components of a just and equitable society. At its core, Human Rights Liberalism asserts that all individuals possess inherent rights by virtue of their humanity, and these rights must be respected, protected, and upheld by governments and institutions. One of the key figures associated with the development of Human Rights Liberalism is John Rawls, an American political philosopher whose seminal work *A Theory of Justice* which is published in 1971, laid the foundation for contemporary discussions on justice, rights, and the role of the state. Rawls' theory of justice as fairness prioritizes the protection of individual liberties and the promotion of equal opportunities that has been used as instrument in shaping the principles of Human Rights Liberalism. Additionally, other thinkers such as Ronald Dworkin, Amartya Sen, Martha Nussbaum, and Jürgen Habermas have also made significant contributions to the development of Human Rights Liberalism through their writings on justice, human rights, and democracy.

Human rights liberalism advocates for the recognition and protection of basic human rights, such as the right to life, liberty, and security of person, freedom of expression and association, and the right to self-determination. These principles align

closely with the aspirations of Palestinian intellectuals who seek to convey their voices and advocate for justice within the framework of international human rights law.

Furthermore, human rights liberalism emphasizes on the role of international institutions and mechanisms in upholding and enforcing human rights norms. Palestinian intellectuals often engage with international human rights organizations and forums to raise awareness about human rights violations.

2.4.2. The Characteristic Features of Human Rights Liberalism Theory

2.4.2.1. Universalism

Human rights liberalism asserts that human rights are universal and apply to all individuals, regardless of their nationality, ethnicity, religion, or other characteristics. It stands in direct opposition to cultural relativism, which contends that human rights are culturally specific and vary depending on societal norms and values. Human rights liberals argue that the principles of human dignity and worth are universal and immutable, applying to all persons equally by virtue of their moral personality.

John Rawls, a prominent advocate of human rights liberalism, emphasizes on the universality of human rights in his writings. He asserts that "human rights belong to all persons equally by virtue of their moral personality" (Rawls). This statement reflects the foundational belief that human rights are not contingent upon citizenship or membership in a particular community but are applicable to everyone universally. Regardless of one's background or circumstances, every individual is entitled to certain fundamental rights and freedoms simply by virtue of being human.

Moreover, universalism in human rights liberalism recognizes that human rights are interconnected and indivisible, encompassing civil, political, economic, social, and cultural dimensions. This holistic approach to human rights acknowledges that violations of one right can undermine the enjoyment of others and emphasizes the importance of addressing systemic injustices and structural inequalities.

Furthermore, universalism in human rights liberalism extends beyond the realm of domestic politics to encompass international law and global governance. Human rights liberals advocate for the establishment of international norms and institutions to

protect and promote human rights worldwide, recognizing that human rights violations often transcend national borders and require collective action and solidarity.

Additionally, universalism in human rights liberalism underscores the importance of dialogue, cooperation, and mutual respect among nations and cultures. While recognizing the diversity of human societies and the need for context-specific approaches to human rights implementation, human rights liberals emphasize the common humanity shared by all individuals and the universality of moral principles that underpin human rights.

2.4.2.2. Individual Rights

Human rights liberalism prioritizes the rights and freedoms of individuals, including civil and political rights (such as freedom of expression, assembly, and religion) as well as economic, social, and cultural rights (such as the right to education, healthcare, and a decent standard of living). "Liberty, in its primary sense, is the absence of coercion and the ability to act according to one's own preferences and choices".(Berlin). This perspective highlights the fundamental significance of safeguarding individuals' autonomy and agency against undue interference from the state or other actors, ensuring that they are free to pursue their own conception of the good life and to participate fully in society.

Moreover, human rights liberalism recognizes that the enjoyment of individual rights is interdependent and mutually reinforcing, with violations of one right often impeding the realization of others. For instance, the denial of freedom of expression may inhibit individuals' ability to advocate for their socio-economic rights, while economic deprivation can undermine their capacity to exercise political agency. Therefore, human rights liberalism advocates for a comprehensive approach to rights protection that addresses the full spectrum of individuals' needs and entitlements.

Furthermore, human rights liberalism emphasizes on the importance of accountability and redress mechanisms to remedy violations of individual rights and ensure accountability for perpetrators. This includes strengthening legal frameworks, empowering marginalized communities, and fostering a culture of respect for human rights at all levels of society. By upholding the rights and dignity of every individual,

human rights liberalism seeks to create a more just, inclusive, and equitable world where all people can live with dignity, freedom, and security.

2.4.2.3. Rule of Law

The rule of law plays a crucial role in safeguarding and advancing human rights principles. Human rights liberalism asserts that adherence to the rule of law is essential for creating a legal framework that upholds human rights norms and ensures accountability for violations. This includes establishing legal mechanisms that provide access to justice and effective remedies for victims of human rights abuses.

Ronald Dworkin, a prominent legal philosopher, articulates the essential components of the rule of law in his writings. "The rule of law requires that government must treat like cases alike, must not punish individuals or deprive them of their rights without legal authority, and must not abuse its powers" (Dworkin). This statement highlights the core principles of consistency, legality, and restraint that underpin the rule of law. By requiring governments to apply laws impartially, respect individual rights, and refrain from arbitrary exercises of power, the rule of law serves as a bulwark against tyranny and ensures that governmental authority is exercised in accordance with legal norms and procedures.

Moreover, the rule of law fosters transparency, predictability, and accountability in governance, creating conditions conducive to the protection and promotion of human rights. Legal frameworks that adhere to the rule of law provide clear rules and procedures for individuals to assert their rights, seek redress for grievances, and hold government officials and institutions accountable for their actions. This enhances public trust in the legal system and reinforces the legitimacy of government authority, contributing to the stability and resilience of democratic societies.

Furthermore, the rule of law is essential for addressing systemic injustices and structural inequalities that perpetuate human rights violations. By establishing legal mechanisms for monitoring and enforcing compliance with human rights standards, the rule of law enables governments to identify and rectify systemic barriers to rights fulfillment, such as discrimination, corruption, and impunity. This requires ongoing efforts to strengthen legal institutions, promote judicial independence, and enhance access to justice for all individuals, particularly marginalized and vulnerable groups.

2.4.2.4.Pluralism and Tolerance

Pluralism and tolerance are fundamental principles within human rights liberalism, reflecting a commitment to embracing diversity and fostering mutual respect and understanding among individuals and communities. Human rights liberalism recognizes the inherent value of pluralism, acknowledging the richness and complexity of human societies composed of diverse cultures, beliefs, and identities. It promotes an inclusive and pluralistic vision of society where individuals are free to express their identities, beliefs, and values without fear of discrimination or persecution.

In addition to valuing diversity, human rights liberalism emphasizes on the importance of tolerance as a guiding principle for social interaction and coexistence. Tolerance entails respecting the rights, dignity, and autonomy of others, even when their beliefs or lifestyles differ from one's own. It requires an openness to engaging with diverse perspectives, listening to different viewpoints, and seeking common ground through dialogue and peaceful negotiation.

John Stuart Mill, a pioneering advocate of liberal principles, articulates the principle of tolerance in his work *On Liberty*. Mill argues that the legitimate exercise of power by society should be limited to preventing harm to others, allowing individuals the freedom to pursue their own interests and lifestyles as long as they do not infringe upon the rights and freedoms of others. As he aptly states, "The only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others" (Mill). This principle underscores the importance of tolerance for diverse viewpoints and lifestyles within a pluralistic society, affirming the value of individual autonomy and freedom of choice.

Moreover, pluralism and tolerance are essential for fostering social cohesion, resilience, and democratic governance. In societies characterized by pluralism and tolerance, individuals are more likely to feel valued, included, and empowered to participate in public life, contributing to the vitality and vibrancy of democratic institutions and processes. By promoting pluralism and tolerance, human rights liberalism seeks to create conditions where individuals from diverse backgrounds can live together harmoniously, respecting each other's differences and working towards shared goals of justice, equality, and human dignity.

2.4.2.5. Promotion of Self-Determination

Promotion of self-determination is a foundational principle within human rights liberalism, reflecting a commitment to empowering individuals and communities to assert control over their own destinies and shape their political, economic, social, and cultural development. Human rights liberalism recognizes the inherent dignity and autonomy of individuals and affirms their right to participate in decisions that affect their lives. This principle extends beyond individual rights to encompass collective rights, particularly for peoples and nations subjected to colonialism, occupation, or other forms of oppression.

In advocating for the promotion of self-determination, human rights liberalism emphasizes on the importance of respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, while also recognizing the rights of minority groups and marginalized communities to preserve and promote their distinct identities and cultures. This entails creating legal and institutional frameworks that enable genuine participation and decision-making by affected individuals and communities, ensuring that their voices are heard and their interests are taken into account in the formulation and implementation of policies and programs.

Furthermore, human rights liberalism advocates for the protection of indigenous peoples' rights to land, resources, and self-governance, in recognition of their unique cultural and historical ties to their ancestral territories. This includes measures to address historical injustices, promote indigenous self-governance, and protect indigenous rights to language, culture, and traditional practices. By upholding the rights of indigenous peoples to self-determination, human rights liberalism seeks to rectify past injustices and promote reconciliation and social cohesion.

Moreover, promotion of self-determination encompasses not only political autonomy but also economic empowerment and social justice. Human rights liberalism recognizes the importance of addressing economic disparities and structural inequalities that limit individuals' ability to exercise their rights and fulfill their potential. This includes promoting inclusive development policies, empowering marginalized communities, and ensuring equitable access to resources and opportunities for all individuals, regardless of their background or circumstances.

2.5. Conclusion

To sum up, Chapter Three sets the stage for a deeper exploration of liberalism and human rights liberalism within the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. By providing a theoretical foundation rooted in historical context and political philosophy, we seek to lay the groundwork for understanding the complexities of Palestinian political thought and activism in relation to the principles of liberalism and human rights. Subsequent sections will delve into the application of these theories to Palestinian intellectual discourse and the broader quest for justice and liberation.

Chapter three:

**Human Rights Liberalism And
Edward Said: practical
Considerations**

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3.1. Introduction

Edward Said is one of the Palestinian intellectuals who is known for his strong involvement with human rights liberalism theory, especially in relation to the Palestinian struggle. His analytical method changes depending on the message he seeks to convey, employing a range of techniques and strategies to amplify the Palestinian voice within the framework of human rights liberalism. In Said's influential book *The Question of Palestine*, he demonstrates his ability to combine historical examination with theoretical understandings to further the Palestinian movement. This chapter offers a comprehensive overview of Said's life, scholarship, and advocacy, exploring his unique style of writing and his commitment in the context of human rights liberalism. Additionally, it delves into the core themes and arguments of *The Question of Palestine* which provides a roadmap for the analysis that follows. Moreover, it explores the central ideas and debates of "The Question of Palestine," offering a guide for the subsequent analysis. Through this investigation, our goal is to understand how Said uses the human rights liberalism theory to bring attention to the struggles of the Palestinian people and amplify their message internationally.

3.2. Understanding Edward Said (1935-2003)

This part provides insight into the life and intellectual tendencies of Edward Said, a prominent Palestinian intellectual and scholar.

3.2.1. His Life and Works

Edward Said, was born in 1935, emerged as one of the most influential Palestinian voices of the 20th century. Raised in Jerusalem and later relocated to Egypt then the United States. Said's raising was marked by the complex political realities of the Middle East. Despite facing displacement and exile, Said's academic career flourished, leading him to become a professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University. Said's seminal work, *Orientalism* (1978), garnered widespread acclaim and established him as a leading figure in postcolonial studies. Throughout his career, Said authored numerous influential books, including *The Question of Palestine* (1979), *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), and *Peace and Its Discontents* (1995). Despite his scholarly achievements, Said's personal life was often overshadowed by political turmoil and controversy, particularly due to his outspoken

advocacy for Palestinian rights. He passed away in 2003, leaving behind a legacy of intellectual rigor and political activism.

3.2.2. General Tendencies of Said's Writing

Said's intellectual pursuits were characterized by a profound commitment in challenging dominant narratives and questioning established systems of power. He believed that literature and academia should serve not only to entertain but also to educate and provoke critical thinking. He drew inspiration from a diverse array of sources, including literature, philosophy, and political theory, Said's work defied categorization and invited readers to engage with multiple layers of meaning. He employed literary techniques to deconstruct entrenched stereotypes and hierarchical structures, particularly in his seminal work *The Question of Palestine*. Throughout his writing, Said tackled themes such as colonialism, identity, and resistance, urging readers to grapple with complex geopolitical issues and consider alternative perspectives. Thus, Edward Said was a towering figure in Palestinian intellectual history, known for his incisive critiques of imperialism and his unwavering advocacy for justice and equality. His multidisciplinary approach to scholarship and his commitment in amplifying marginalized voices continue to inspire scholars and activists around the world.

3.2.3. Edwardsaid's Political legacy

In addition to his academic legacy, Said also left a mark on Middle Eastern politics. In 1979, Said published his article 'Zionism from the Standpoint of its Victims'. This statement centered Said's faith in a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, challenging the political and philosophical legitimacy of the Zionist claim to a Jewish homeland, in addition to the Palestinian right to self-determination .

Said has produced numerous projects on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, including; *The Question of Palestine* (1979), *The Politics of Rescue* (1994), and *The End of the Peace Process* (2000). He was involved in politics till the end of his life. After being diagnosed with leukemia in 2003, Said was often critical of the US invasion of Iraq.

3.3.The contribution of Edward Said to Human Rights

Edward Said made significant contributions to international human rights discourse by advocating for the Palestinian cause and amplifying Palestinian voices on the global stage. Through his scholarship, activism, and advocacy, Said sought to convey the Palestinian voice and highlight the injustices faced by Palestinians within the framework of international human rights. His contributions can be summarized as follows:

3.3.1.Scholarship and Intellectual Leadership

Said's academic work, including his seminal book *The Question of Palestine* provided critical analysis of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and its implications for human rights. He highlighted the historical context of Palestinian dispossession and the ongoing violations of Palestinian rights under Israeli occupation.

Through his intellectual leadership, Said challenged dominant narratives and Orientalist stereotypes that dehumanized Palestinians. He emphasized on the importance of recognizing Palestinian agency and narratives within broader discussions of human rights and justice.

3.3.2.Advocacy for Palestinian Rights

Said was a vocal advocate for Palestinian rights on the international stage. He used his platform to raise awareness about the plight of Palestinians and to demand justice for their experiences of dispossession, displacement, and discrimination.

Through his writings, speeches, and public appearances, Said called for an end to the Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories, the right of return for Palestinian refugees, and the establishment of a Palestinian state with full sovereignty and self-determination.

3.3.3.Critique of Power Structures and Imperialism

Said's work extended beyond the specific context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to critique broader power structures and imperialism in the Middle East and outside. He highlighted the complicity of Western governments and institutions in perpetuating oppression and injustice in the region. By interrogating colonial legacies

and exposing the role of Western imperialism in shaping the Middle East. He contributed to a more nuanced understanding of human rights violations and the need for systemic change to address them. Therefore, Edward Said's contribution to international human rights discourse lies on his relentless advocacy for Palestinian rights, his critique of power structures and imperialism, and his efforts to convey the Palestinian voice to a global audience. Through his scholarship and activism, Said played a crucial role in challenging injustices and promoting solidarity with marginalized communities, including Palestinians, in their struggle for human rights and dignity.

3.4. Edward Said's engagement with liberal principles

It is evident throughout his writings, speeches, and activism, where he consistently sought to challenge dominant narratives, advocate for human rights, and promote the principles of justice and equality. Here Said's engagement with liberal principles:

3.4.1. Writings

Said's writings, particularly his seminal work *The Question of Palestine* (1979) and *Orientalism* (1978), reflect his deep engagement with liberal principles. In the Palestinian cause, Said critiques the Western liberal discourse that overlooks the specific injustices faced by Palestinians under Israeli occupation. He emphasizes on the importance of universal human rights and self-determination for Palestinians in challenging the status quo and advocating for a just resolution to the conflict. Similarly, in *Orientalism*, Said exposes the ways in which Western knowledge production perpetuates colonial attitudes and stereotypes in undermining liberal principles of equality and dignity. His critique of *Orientalism* serves as a powerful indictment of Western imperialism and its impact on the Palestinian people.

In addition to *The Question of Palestine* and *Orientalism*, Edward Said's body of work includes several other notable writings that further illuminate his engagement with liberal principles within the context of the Palestinian cause. One such work is *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), where Said explores the intersections between culture, power, and imperialism, particularly in the context of Western colonialism and its impact on the Middle East and other regions. Through a critical analysis of literary and

cultural texts, Said reveals how imperialist ideologies have shaped Western perceptions of non-Western societies, perpetuating stereotypes and distortions that undermine principles of equality and dignity.

Furthermore, Said's *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World* (1981) examines the representation of Islam and the Middle East in Western media and academic discourse. In this work, Said exposes the Orientalist biases and stereotypes that inform Western coverage of the region, perpetuating ignorance and prejudice while eroding the rights and dignity of Muslim and Arab communities. By challenging these distortions and advocating for a more nuanced and respectful portrayal of Islam and the Middle East, Said advances the principles of liberalism and human rights.

Moreover, Said's engagement with liberal principles extends to his advocacy for academic freedom and intellectual inquiry. In *Humanism and Democratic Criticism* (2004), Said reflects on the role of the intellectual in society and the importance of critical engagement with power structures and dominant narratives. By defending the principles of free speech, open dialogue, and academic autonomy, Said upholds the values of liberalism as essential for fostering democratic governance and safeguarding individual rights and freedoms.

Through these and other works, Edward Said demonstrates a consistent commitment to challenging injustice, promoting equality, and advocating for the rights and dignity of marginalized peoples, including Palestinians. His writings serve as a powerful testament to the enduring relevance of liberal principles in addressing contemporary global challenges and advancing a more just and inclusive world order.

3.4.2. Speeches

Edward Said's speeches, delivered throughout his illustrious career, serve as powerful manifestations of his unwavering dedication to liberal principles. In various addresses to academic and activist gatherings, Said eloquently championed the cause of human rights, emphasizing the critical importance of freedom of expression and the celebration of cultural diversity. One notable speech was delivered at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1993, where Said passionately called for solidarity with the Palestinian people, highlighting their struggle for justice in the face of adversity. Additionally, in a speech at Columbia University in 1998, Said fervently condemned

oppressive regimes and authoritarianism, urging for global action to protect the rights of the marginalized and disenfranchised. Furthermore, Said's speeches often resonated with themes of tolerance and respect, as he ardently advocated for a world where individuals of all backgrounds could coexist harmoniously. In a televised interview with BBC HardTalk in 2003, Said reiterated his commitment to liberal values, stressing the importance of dialogue and understanding in overcoming societal divisions and fostering peace. These examples illustrate how Said's speeches served as powerful vehicles for advancing liberal ideals and promoting social justice on both national and international stages.

3.4.3. Activism

Edward Said, renowned for his intellectual prowess and unwavering commitment to justice, fervently advocated for the principles of liberalism and human rights throughout his illustrious career. His activism, deeply rooted in his Palestinian identity and his fervent belief in the rights of oppressed peoples, transcended borders and resonated across the globe. As an esteemed member of the Palestinian National Council, Said emerged as a leading figure in the Palestinian liberation movement during the latter half of the 20th century. His relentless dedication to advancing the cause of Palestinian self-determination and challenging the oppressive policies of the Israeli state defined his activist endeavors. Said's influence extended far beyond the confines of his academic pursuits; he tirelessly engaged in international forums, leveraging his platform to amplify the voices of the marginalized and disenfranchised. One notable example of Said's activism unfolded during the United Nations General Assembly in 1988, where he delivered a powerful address condemning the ongoing occupation of Palestinian territories and calling for global solidarity in support of their quest for freedom.

Moreover, Edward Said's dedication to grassroots activism was exemplified through his active involvement in numerous advocacy campaigns and collaborations with various human rights organizations. For instance, he played a pivotal role in the establishment of the Palestinian Cultural Solidarity Group, an organization dedicated to raising awareness about Palestinian culture and heritage while advocating for the rights of Palestinians. Said's strategic alliances extended beyond traditional activist circles; he forged partnerships with artists, intellectuals, and politicians to amplify the Palestinian

narrative on the global stage. One notable collaboration was his partnership with renowned musician and activist, Roger Waters, in organizing the historic "Wall Concert" in Bethlehem, which brought together artists from around the world to perform in solidarity with the Palestinian people.

Furthermore, Said's engagement with international human rights organizations such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch underscored his commitment to fostering solidarity among diverse communities worldwide. He actively participated in initiatives aimed at documenting human rights violations in Palestine and advocating for accountability and justice. Said's relentless efforts to bridge divides and build coalitions across cultural and political boundaries exemplify his unwavering resolve to advance the cause of justice.

Edward Said's legacy continues to inspire countless individuals to stand in solidarity with the oppressed and champion the cause of justice. His pioneering efforts in grassroots activism serve as a beacon of hope for those striving to create a more just and equitable world.

3.5. Critical reading of *The Question Of Palestine*

Edward Said's *The Question of Palestine* is a seminal work that delves into the complex history and politics surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Said's critical analysis in the four chapters challenges prevailing narratives and sheds light on the Palestinian experience.

3.5.1. Chapter One

In the first chapter of *The Question of Palestine*, Edward Said navigates the intricate historical and political landscape of Palestine, setting the stage for a critical examination of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Said meticulously traces the roots of the conflict to the late 19th and early 20th centuries, exploring the impact of European imperialism and Zionism on the indigenous Palestinian population.

Said masterfully constructs a compelling narrative, interweaving scholarly analysis with personal anecdotes and firsthand accounts, thereby drawing the reader into an intimate conversation that transcends the traditional realm of academia. As Said eloquently states, "The idea of a 'Jewish state' in Palestine, based on a claim that it was a land without a people for a people without a land, was a contradiction in terms from the outset" (Said 17). Through the lens of postcolonial theory, he exposes the colonial roots of Zionism, skillfully deconstructing the notion of a 'land without a people for a

people without a land.'(9). Said critiques this slogan for erasing Palestinian presence and perpetuating colonial narratives. By deconstructing this myth, he exposes the flawed rationale behind Zionist aspirations and foregrounds Palestinian voices in the discourse on their homeland.

To truly grasp the magnitude of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Said invites the reader to witness the lived realities of those at the heart of the question. He introduces us to the voices of Palestinians who have experienced the persistent challenges imposed by occupation, dispossession, and segregation. As Said writes, "The Palestinians have known, since the establishment of the state of Israel, neither peace nor justice" (112). Through poignant stories of longing, resilience, and resistance, Said paints a vivid picture of a people's struggle for self-determination and survival amidst an unyielding environment of oppression.

Furthermore, Said challenges the conventional wisdom that portrays the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a purely religious conflict. He highlights the nuances and complexities beyond religious differences, emphasizing political, social, and cultural dimensions that have contributed to the persistence of the question of Palestine. As Said argues, "The conflict in Palestine is not between religions, but between a colonial power and an indigenous population" (143). This framing focuses on the systemic injustices faced by Palestinians and points towards a resolution rooted in decolonization and equitable peace-building.

3.5.2. Chapter Two

In chapter two of *The Question of Palestine*, Said contends that the Palestinian struggle for justice is not solely a political matter but also a moral imperative. He argues that the international community, particularly the United States, has consistently failed to fully grasp the depth of Palestinian suffering and the urgency of their quest for self-determination. As Said writes, "The Palestinians have been consistently denied justice and recognition of their rights" (221). This denial perpetuates suffering and undermines prospects for peace, necessitating a reevaluation of international policies and priorities in the region.

To further understanding to the complexity of the Palestinian struggle, Said points to the ongoing Israeli settlement project in the West Bank. As Said argues, "The expansion of Israeli settlements constitutes a grave violation of Palestinian rights and international law" (189). He emphasizes that the expansion of Israeli settlements not

only violates international law but also undermines the possibility of a viable Palestinian state.

Furthermore, Said sheds light on the issue of Palestinian refugees, who make up one of the largest and longest-standing refugee populations in the world. Said emphasizes the importance of the right of return for Palestinian refugees, stating that "The right of return is a fundamental demand that symbolizes the Palestinians' quest for justice and recognition of their historical rights" (222). He argues that their situation is emblematic of the larger Palestinian struggle for justice and self-determination.

Said also explores the role of the United States in perpetuating the unresolved nature of the Palestinian question. As he states, "American policy towards Israel has consistently prioritized Israeli interests over Palestinian rights" (241). He criticizes American policymakers for their unconditional support of Israel, arguing that this unwavering alliance undermines the prospects for a just and lasting resolution. Said contends that U.S. policy has often prioritized Israeli security concerns and strategic interests over the rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people.

3.5.3. Chapter Three

Said cites numerous examples of media bias in his third chapter, such as the coverage of the Sabra and Shatila massacre in 1982. During the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Israeli-allied Lebanese Christian militias carried out a brutal massacre of Palestinian refugees in the Sabra and Shatila camps. As Said observes, "The media coverage of the Sabra and Shatila massacre exemplifies the systematic bias in Western journalism towards the Palestinian narrative" (241). The media coverage downplayed the responsibility of Israeli forces and failed to adequately convey the magnitude of the atrocities committed, effectively absolving Israel of any responsibility for the massacre. Furthermore, Said highlights the bias in media coverage of the ongoing Israeli settlement expansion in the West Bank. Israel has been consistently building settlements on Palestinian land, in violation of international law and numerous United Nations resolutions. "The media's portrayal of Israeli settlements as a security issue rather than a violation of Palestinian rights perpetuates the skewed narrative that legitimizes Israeli occupation and colonization" (187). Said argues that the media often portrays this as a nuanced and complex issue, focusing on the supposed security concerns of Israel and downplaying the illegal nature of the settlements.

Moreover, Said argues that these media biases are ingrained in Western journalism due

to a variety of factors. Thus, he points to the influence of the pro-Israel lobby, which often works to shape media narratives in favor of Israel. "The pro-Israel lobby's influence on Western media undermines journalistic integrity and perpetuates biased reporting on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict" (215). Said contends that this influence manifests itself through pressure tactics on journalists and news organizations, leading to self-censorship and a reluctance to cover the conflict in a fair and accurate manner.

3.5.4. Chapter Four

In the fourth chapter of *The Question of Palestine*, Edward Said emphasizes that the key to resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict lies in addressing the root causes that perpetuate suffering and injustice for both Palestinians and Israelis. One of the most significant factors contributing to the conflict is the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem. Said explores how this occupation manifests itself through restrictions on movement, land confiscation, and military control, severely limiting Palestinians' basic human rights and dignity. As Said eloquently states, "The occupation has resulted in the systematic oppression and disenfranchisement of the Palestinian people, denying them their fundamental rights and freedoms" (175). He argues that any viable and sustainable solution must involve ending the occupation and establishing a fully sovereign Palestinian state.

Another critical issue that Said highlights is settlement expansion. Israel's continued construction of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories not only violates international law but also undermines the potential for a viable Palestinian state. As Said argues, "Settlement expansion further entrenches Israeli control over Palestinian territories, making the prospect of a contiguous and independent Palestine increasingly remote" (207). This division disrupts the social fabric of Palestinian communities, hinders economic development, and exacerbates tensions between Israelis and Palestinians.

To illustrate this point, Said delves into the case of Ariel, a settlement in the West Bank that has experienced significant growth over the years. He paints a vivid picture of how settlement expansion negatively affects Palestinian communities, leading to the confiscation of their land, the destruction of Palestinian homes, and the creation of segregated spaces. This expansion reinforces a sense of dispossession and disposability among Palestinians, further fueling their grievances and resistance against the Israeli occupation.

However, Said recognizes that a lasting solution must also consider the rights and aspirations of both Israelis and Palestinians. He asserts that a just resolution should recognize the Palestinians' right to self-determination while also ensuring the security and well-being of the Israeli people. "A comprehensive and inclusive solution requires acknowledging the legitimate concerns and aspirations of both Palestinians and Israelis" (34). Said emphasizes on the need for dialogue and understanding between the two peoples.

3.6. *The Question Of Palestine in the light of human rights liberalism*

To explore how Edward Said amplified the Palestinian voice through the theory of human rights liberalism, we spotlight on Said's seminal work *The Question of Palestine* as a corpus in the practical consideration of our study. This book stands out as a cornerstone in Palestinian literature and scholarship, offering a nuanced examination of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination and justice amidst the complexities of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Several reasons support the selection of *The Question of Palestine* over other potential texts. Firstly, Said's reputation as a leading Palestinian intellectual and advocate for Palestinian rights lends unparalleled credibility and insight to his analysis. As a prominent scholar of literature, cultural criticism, and postcolonial theory, Said brings a unique interdisciplinary perspective to the discussion, enriching our understanding of the Palestinian experience beyond political discourse.

Moreover, in *The Question of Palestine* Said delves into various aspects of the Palestinian situation, including historical accounts and modern geopolitical conditions. By thoroughly analyzing the Western portrayals, Zionist beliefs, and Palestinian realities, he explores the complexities of power structures and systemic inequalities in the Israeli occupation.

Furthermore, Said's articulation of the Palestinian narrative resonates deeply with the principles of human rights liberalism. By interrogating notions of equality, self-determination, and international solidarity, he not only amplifies the Palestinian voice but also underscores the universal relevance of human rights discourse in addressing oppression and marginalization worldwide.

In light of these considerations, *The Question of Palestine* emerges as an indispensable resource for our analysis, offering profound insights into the intersection

of Palestinian identity, human rights, and liberalism. Through a close examination of Said's text, we can better understand how his scholarship amplifies the Palestinian voice within the framework of human rights liberalism, improving our knowledge of the ongoing quest for justice and dignity in Palestine.

3.6.1. Universalism

Human rights liberalism asserts that human rights are universal and apply to all individuals, regardless of their nationality, ethnicity, religion, or other characteristics. It rejects cultural relativism and emphasizes on the inherent dignity and worth of every human being. In *The Question of Palestine* Said advocates for the universal application of human rights principles to all individuals, regardless of their nationality or ethnicity.

Said establishes the centrality of Palestine as a universal concern, transcending geographical boundaries. By framing Palestine as "the question of," he underscores its significance as a global issue that demands attention and resolution. This aligns with the principle of universalism in human rights liberalism, which emphasizes the inherent dignity and rights of all individuals, regardless of their nationality or background .

Said writes, 'At its center stands what I shall be calling the question of Palestine. When we refer to a subject, place, or person in the phrase 'the question of,' we imply a number of different things.' (4)

Not only this, Said highlights the enduring presence of Palestine as a concept and a lived experience, despite its absence as a recognized state. He emphasizes on the universal significance of Palestine as a symbol of resistance, identity, and aspiration for self-determination.

The fact of the matter is that today Palestine does not exist, except as a memory or, more importantly, as an idea, a political and human experience, and an act of sustained popular will.(5)

This fits with the principle of universalism, which recognizes the intrinsic value of Palestinian rights and acknowledges their relevance to the broader human experience.

As a Palestinian intellectual in exile, Edward Said emphasizes on the universality of the Palestinian experience of exile, suggesting that regardless of their specific circumstances, all Palestinians share a sense of displacement and longing for their

homeland. 'Any one of these people, I am sure, would say that he or she is in exile, although it is perfectly clear that the conditions and the type of exile vary greatly.'(115).

This underscores the universal nature of human rights, which should apply equally to all individuals, irrespective of their nationality or background. By acknowledging the diverse conditions of exile, Said highlights the need for a universal approach in addressing the rights and needs of Palestinians worldwide.

Through universalism, Edward Said wants to convey the Palestinian voices particularly the Palestinian refugee who left their land. Said reflects on the universal significance of the Palestinian refugee experience, emphasizing the injustice inherent in their displacement and denial of self-determination. He says:

Almost thirty years of existence away from their territory, as well as the absence for them of the right of self-determination, 'prove' (the word is unfortunate when its human meaning in this context is seen for what it is) some measure of injustice done them.(45)

By invoking the concept of universality, he underscores the shared humanity of Palestinians and their entitlement to fundamental rights, regardless of their nationality or ethnicity. On the other hand, Said critiques Israel's violation of universal principles by denying Palestinian refugees the right of return to their homes. He claims:

Whereas the moral and political right of a person to return to his place of uninterrupted residence is acknowledged everywhere, Israel has negated the possibility of return...(48)

Said contrasts the universal recognition of the right to return with Israel's discriminatory policies that privilege Jewish immigration while systematically excluding Palestinian.

According to Edward Said , universalism is essential in promoting justice and equality. He advocates for the universal application of human rights principles to all individuals, regardless of nationality or ethnicity. He emphasizes on the intrinsic value of Palestinian rights and experiences, framing Palestine as a global concern that demands attention and resolution. Through his critique of Israel's discriminatory policies, Said exposes the violation of universal principles and calls for a more inclusive approach to addressing the rights of marginalized communities.

3.6.2. Individual Rights

Human rights liberalism prioritizes the rights and freedoms of individuals, including civil and political rights (such as freedom of expression, assembly, and religion) as well as economic, social, and cultural rights (such as the right to education, healthcare, and a decent standard of living). Thus, Said's advocacy for Palestinian rights extends beyond the collective struggle for self-determination to encompass the protection of individual liberties. Through nuanced analysis and vivid storytelling, he highlights the countless ways in which the Israeli occupation infringes upon the rights of Palestinian individuals, denying them basic freedoms and subjecting them to systemic discrimination and violence. Said writes :

Before 1948, the majority of the territory called Palestine was inhabited beyond any doubt by a majority of Arabs, who after Israel came into being were either dispersed (they left, or were made to leave) or were enfolded within the state as a non-Jewish minority.(46)

Said underscores the violation of individual rights experienced by Palestinians through displacement and dispossession following the establishment of Israel in 1948. He highlights the denial of Palestinians' right to remain in their homes and the subsequent loss of their property and homeland. This reflects the infringement of individual rights, including the right to property and the right to remain in one's place of residence, as enshrined in international law and human rights principles.

Furthermore, Said asserts the collective agency of Palestinians in shaping the discourse and reality of Palestine, despite the absence of a recognized state. He emphasizes on the indivisibility of Palestinian identity and the inextricable link between Palestinians and their homeland. 'They make up the question of Palestine, and if there is no country called Palestine it is not because there are no Palestinians.'(5). This illustrates the importance of individual rights, including the right to self-determination and political expression, as Palestinians assert their presence and demand recognition within the international community.

Said highlights the resilience and agency of the Palestinian people in asserting their rights and aspirations for self-determination. He argues:

Short of complete obliteration, the Palestinians will continue to exist...they will continue to have their own ideas about who represents them, where they want to settle, what they want to do with their national and political future.(51)

Edward Said emphasizes on the importance of respecting Palestinian rights and equality under the law, advocating for their inclusion and participation in shaping their own future.

On the flip side, Said reveals the lack of respect for individual rights and equality, as Palestinians face barriers in representing themselves and advocating for their rights in public discourse. He quotes:

the sheer impossibility of finding a space in which to speak for the Palestinians is enormous... Thus it is legitimate and acceptable to be for Israel and against the Palestinians.(40)

Respecting individual rights and equality would require creating an inclusive and equitable space where all voices, including those of Palestinians, are heard and respected.

In foregrounding the centrality of individual rights within the Palestinian struggle, Said challenges reductionist narratives that obscure the lived experiences of Palestinians and underscores the imperative of centering human dignity in the quest for justice.

3.6.3. Rule of Law

Human rights liberalism emphasizes on the importance of the rule of law in protecting and promoting human rights. It advocates for legal frameworks to maintain human rights norms and ensure accountability for violations, including access to justice and effective remedies for victims.

Said criticizes the Israeli government's disregard for international law and human rights norms in its treatment of Palestinians. He underscores the importance of holding states accountable for their actions and upholding the rule of law as a cornerstone of human rights liberalism. By highlighting instances of legal discrimination and impunity, Said calls attention to the erosion of the rule of law in the occupied Palestinian territories. He states:

After 1948, the state of Israel used the native Arab population to efface its own human traces, attempting to reduce it to a class of mindless, barely mobile, completely obedient objects.(137)

Said exposes the violations of the rule of regulation and responsibility which

implemented against Palestinians by the Israeli state, highlighting the want for justice and responsibility within societies. The deliberate marginalization and dehumanization of Palestinians through Israeli government mirror a brush aside for the guideline of regulation and the concepts of human rights. Rule of regulation and accountability are the key elements of democracy and governance, ensuring that each one people, inclusive of minorities and marginalized agencies, are blanketed under the law and held liable for their movements. In the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, upholding the guideline of regulation and duty requires addressing beyond injustices, preserving perpetrators accountable for human rights violations, and making sure the protection of Palestinian rights in accordance with global regulation.

In addition, Said challenges narratives that absolve Israel of responsibility for the Palestinian exodus in 1948, emphasizing the importance of adherence to the rule of law in accurately determining historical events. ‘My own experience and all the evidence suggests that the conclusive reason for the Arab Palestinian exodus in 1948 was a different one.’(48)

To get an evident context, he focuses on the principle that justice must be pursued through legal inquiry and accountability. This fits with the rule of law, which emphasizes on the supremacy of legal principles and procedures in governing societies and resolving disputes.

In the subject of refugees, Said highlights the importance of approaching the Palestinian refugee issue within a legal framework that respects the rights and preferences of the individuals affected. He asks:

The proper context for dealing with the refugee problem is ready at hand: Do the Palestinian refugees want to be repatriated, or compensated, or resettled elsewhere?(46)

By framing the question within the context of international law and moral consensus, he underscores the necessity of legal mechanisms for addressing the complex realities of displacement and dispossession. This reflects a commitment to the rule of law as a means of ensuring justice and accountability in resolving conflicts and upholding individual rights.

Through rigorous argumentation and meticulous documentation, Said exposes the structural injustices inherent in Israel's occupation regime, which operates with impunity in defiance of international legal frameworks

3.6.4. Pluralism and Tolerance

Human rights liberalism values pluralism and tolerance, recognizing the diversity of cultures, beliefs, and identities within society. It promotes dialogue, respect for diversity, and the peaceful resolution of conflicts, while rejecting discrimination and intolerance.

In *The Question of Palestine*, Said advocates for a pluralistic society in which diverse ethnic and religious groups coexist peacefully. He condemns the discriminatory practices of the Israeli state, which marginalize and oppress Palestinian citizens and perpetuate divisions within society. Said argues that true peace and justice can only be achieved through pluralism and tolerance, where all individuals are treated with dignity and respect regardless of their background.

Edward Said highlights the lack of pluralism in the representation of perspectives in the Middle East. He says:

What Wilson sees—and for that matter what the Westerner generally sees—in the Middle East is seen from the Zionist perspective...Belief is, Israelis are the presence, their ideas and institutions the authentically native ones; Arabs are a nuisance, Palestinians a quasi-mythical reality...(36)

Instead of acknowledging the diversity of narratives and experiences, the Zionist perspective dominates, marginalizing the voices and perspectives of Palestinians and Arabs. Pluralism would require the inclusion of multiple viewpoints to foster a more nuanced understanding of the region.

3.6.5. Promotion of Self-Determination

Human rights liberalism supports the right of individuals and communities to freely determine their political status and pursue their economic, social, and cultural development. This includes the right to autonomy, sovereignty, and self-governance for peoples and nations, particularly those subjected to colonialism, occupation, or other forms of oppression.

Central to Said's vision for Palestine is the fundamental right of self-determination, which he views as the cornerstone of human rights liberalism. Through nuanced analysis and impassioned advocacy, he asserts the absolute right of the Palestinian

people to determine their own political future and shape their destiny free from external interference. Said critiques the asymmetrical power dynamics that underpin the Israeli occupation, which systematically denies Palestinians their right to sovereignty and self-governance. He writes, 'Palestinian self-determination is not a negotiable concession but a fundamental human right that must be respected and upheld by the international community' (59). By foregrounding self-determination as a backbone of human rights liberalism, Said challenges structural injustices that maintain Palestinian dispossession and focuses on the imperative of supporting Palestinian aspirations for freedom and independence.

Said emphasizes on the Palestinians' persistent demand for self-determination, challenging narratives that seek to undermine their agency and rights. He says:

Rather, the Palestinians have repeatedly insisted on their right of return, their desire for the exercise of self-determination, and their stubborn opposition to Zionism as it has affected them. (47)

By highlighting the Palestinians' desire to shape their own political future and resist external imposition, he underscores the principle of self-determination as a fundamental human right. This aligns with the promotion of self-determination, which advocates for the recognition of peoples' right to freely determine their political status and pursue their economic, social, and cultural development.

Moreover, Said focuses on the diverse forms of Palestinian resistance and activism as expressions of their collective pursuit of self-determination. He writes:

Judging by the great popular appeal and legitimacy of the Palestine Liberation Organization, by the constant resistance to and refusal of Israeli military rule in the Occupied Territories, by the daily demonstrations, strikes, and political gestures of resistance there and among the Arabs inside pre-1967 Israel, by every mass and private organization created by and for Palestinians, there is ample evidence to show that taken altogether as members of a community whose common experience is dispossession, exile, and the absence of any territorial homeland, the Palestinian people has not acquiesced in its present lot. (47)

By pointing to the widespread support for organizations like the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the ongoing resistance against Israeli occupation, he

underscores the Palestinians' agency in shaping their political destiny. This reflects a commitment to promoting self-determination by recognizing and supporting peoples' efforts to assert control over their own lives and destinies, even in the face of adversity and oppression.

Furthermore, Said acknowledges the challenges faced by Palestinians in exercising their right to self-determination through traditional democratic processes. However, he spotlights the resilience and resourcefulness of Palestinian communities in finding alternative avenues for political expression and mobilization. He says:

There has never been a plebiscite conducted among Palestinians as to their wishes... nevertheless, this is not to say that there are no other means by which, even in their dispersion and exile, the Palestinians could have expressed themselves.(46)

This emphasizes on the importance of promoting self-determination by creating opportunities for marginalized and oppressed communities to assert their rights and aspirations, even in contexts where formal mechanisms may be constrained or unavailable.

3.7. Conclusion

In delving into the intersection of human rights liberalism and the contributions of Edward Said to the Palestinian cause, this chapter has provided a nuanced understanding of the practical considerations involved in amplifying Palestinian voices. By examining Said's scholarship, advocacy, and engagement with liberal principles, we have gained insights into the complexities of advocating for Palestinian rights within the framework of human rights liberalism.

Edward Said's impact is significant in discussions about Palestinian rights and the wider fight for justice and dignity. His life and works epitomize a relentless pursuit of truth, justice, and equality in the face of systemic oppression. Through his seminal work *The Question of Palestine* Said challenged prevailing narratives and power structures, paving the way for a more inclusive and just understanding of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Said's engagement with liberal principles was not merely academic but deeply rooted in a commitment to human dignity and self-determination. By exploring concepts such as universalism, individual rights, rule of law, pluralism, and self-determination, Said provided a strong framework for analyzing and advocating for

Palestinian rights within the broader discourse of human rights liberalism.

Moreover, Said's advocacy extended beyond the realm of academia, encompassing grassroots activism, cultural expression, and international advocacy. His critique of power structures and imperialism resonates with contemporary struggles for justice.

General Conclusion

In this study we explored the Palestinian Intellectuals' quest for a voice in the light of Liberalism. Through studying the theoretical elements of *Human Rights Liberalism Theory* and a critical reading of Edward Said's seminal work *The Question of Palestine* we aimed to investigate to what extent to which Palestinian Intellectuals succeeded in conveying their voices to the international community and how Edward Said amplified the Palestinian voices in the fight for fairness. Thus this research structured in three chapters focusing on historical context and intellectual contributions, theoretical frameworks, and case analyses.

The first chapter started with a comprehensive overview of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict then it explored Palestinian Intellectuals and Human Rights in which it included the crucial role of the Palestinian intellectuals and their contributions in conveying their voices besides the obstacles they face. Chapter Two delved into liberalism and Human Rights Liberalism theory. In addition to the characteristic features of the mode. Third chapter represents the practical considerations in which our study concluded with a critical analysis of Edward Said's influence on Palestinian intellectualism and human rights advocacy. By interrogating concepts such as universalism, individual rights, the rule of law, pluralism, and self-determination, Said's work, particularly *The Question of Palestine*, was examined for its enduring impact and inspiration for future generations of Palestinian intellectuals striving for justice and dignity

The findings reveal the multifaceted roles played by Palestinian intellectuals, ranging from academic analysis and critique to international advocacy, cultural expression, and documentation of human rights violations. Despite facing obstacles such as geopolitical pressures, censorship, and political division, Palestinian intellectuals have demonstrated resilience and creativity in amplifying the Palestinian narrative and advocating for human rights on various fronts. Their engagement with international legal platforms, educational initiatives, and global dialogues underscores their commitment in promoting change and justice in challenging circumstances.

The corpus of Edward Said's *The Question of Palestine* was analyzed to explore the amplification of Palestinian voices through the lens of human rights liberalism theory. Therefore, Edward Said was skillful in amplifying the Palestinian voices.

Through his scholarship, advocacy, and critique of power structures, Said exemplified the application of human rights liberalism principles in challenging prevailing narratives and advocating for Palestinian rights. By interrogating concepts such as universalism, individual rights, rule of law, pluralism, and self-determination, Said paved the way for a nuanced understanding of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict within the framework of human rights discourse. His seminal work *The Question of Palestine* serves as a light of hope and inspiration for future generations of Palestinian intellectuals striving for justice and dignity.

In conclusion, this research underscored the pivotal role of Palestinian intellectuals in the Israeli-Palestinian dispute. Their resilient efforts to convey Palestinian voices and challenge systemic injustices highlight the importance of human rights liberalism in their advocacy. By acknowledging the complexities of the conflict and promoting inclusive solutions, Palestinian intellectuals advance the ongoing quest for peace, justice, and reconciliation.

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تهدف الدراسة الحالية إلى استكشاف سعي المثقفين الفلسطينيين للحصول لاسماع صوتهم في ضوء الليبرالية، من خلال دراسة عناصر نظرية ليبرالية حقوق الإنسان وقراءة نقدية لعمل إدوارد سعيد البارز في مؤلفه (مسألة فلسطين) نهدف إلى إبراز مدى نجاح المثقفين الفلسطينيين في إيصال أصواتهم إلى المجتمع الدولي، وكيف عزز " إدوارد سعيد" أصوات الفلسطينيين مبرزاً قضيتهم العادلة، ولتحقيق هذه الغاية اعتمد هذا البحث تصميمًا وصفيًا تحليليًا، من خلال استخدام النهج الكيفي مع استخلاص الامثلة لاستكشاف الليبرالية في نفس السياق، اعتمد البحث على نظرية ليبرالية حقوق الإنسان كدعم للتحليل، حيث خلص إلى أنه بالرغم من التحديات والعقبات التي يواجهها المثقفون الفلسطينيون من ضغوط جيوسياسية وقيود رقابية، إلا أنهم يلعبون دورًا حاسمًا في إيصال أصواتهم، كما كان " إدوارد سعيد" بارعًا في تعزيز أصوات الفلسطينيين على المستوى الدولي.

كلمات رئيسية: الصوت، حقوق الإنسان، المثقفين الفلسطينيين، نظرية ليبرالية حقوق الإنسان.

Cette thèse vise à explorer la quête des intellectuels palestiniens pour une voix à la lumière du libéralisme. En examinant les éléments de la théorie du libéralisme des droits de l'homme et en faisant une lecture critique de l'œuvre séminale d'Edward Said, *The Question of Palestine*, nous avons pour objectif d'investiguer dans quelle mesure les intellectuels palestiniens réussissent à transmettre leurs voix et comment Edward Said amplifie les voix palestiniennes. À cette fin, la recherche actuelle a adopté un design analytique descriptif. Ainsi, l'approche qualitative a été utilisée pour extraire des exemples afin d'explorer le libéralisme. Le chercheur s'est appuyé sur la théorie du libéralisme des droits de l'homme pour soutenir l'analyse. Par conséquent, notre investigation a révélé que malgré les défis et les obstacles tels que les pressions géopolitiques et les restrictions de censure, les intellectuels palestiniens jouent un rôle crucial dans la transmission de leurs voix. De plus, Edward Said a été habile à amplifier les voix palestiniennes sur la scène mondiale.

Mots-clés : Voix, Droits de l'homme, Intellectuels palestiniens, Théorie du libéralisme des droits de l'homme.