



Palestine and the Arab Intifadas: Reflections, Consequences and Opportunities

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Chicago, April 2013

* Preliminary Draft: Please do not cite or circulate without author's authorization. Comments are very welcome.





Presentation Outline



- What is puzzling; the Questions.
- Advance the major arguments.
- The “untold revolution” in Palestine.
- The impact on the intra Palestinian divide/reconciliation.
- The Palestinian youth movements: the inevitable revolution.
- Inward and outward international, regional and local diffusions: challenges, opportunities and speculations.

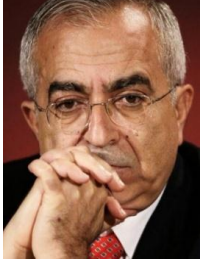
What are the 'Puzzles' and Questions?

- Where are the Palestinians from the Arab Intifadas; what happened to them; who is revolting in Palestine and against whom; how they were affected; and what opportunities these Intifadas offer to Palestinians?
- Is there an 'untold revolution' in Palestine despite the empty streets of Ramallah and Gaza?
- Did the Arab Intifadas sustained or bridged the Palestinian internal divide/reconciliation?
- Why the Palestinian youth have not yet 'imitate', on a large scale, their peers in the Arab world, what they need to do so, and why it is inevitable to happen?



“We welcome the Arab revolts and they will pave the liberation way to Al-Quds”

“Our cause has been marginalized to an extent unsurpassed for decades”



“Islamic, anti-Western, anti-liberal, anti-Israeli and anti-democratic wave”

“These are internal issues and we do not intervene in other countries matters”



VS. the People's Will



What Are My Major Arguments?



- The Arab Intifadas do not have the Palestinian cause in its core heart as many claim, despite the ‘popular and elite’ revival of the Arab deepening.
- The major revolution in Palestine, oddly enough, was practiced by the Palestinian Authority. In other words, the regime demands the change of the people!
- The change in Palestine is inevitable, despite the current silence, the state-building venture and trapped peace process.
- Within the ‘wait-and-see’ approach, the consequences will remain fragmented and it is too early to suggest serious impacts; however Palestine as a laboratory for power dynamics can be a proxy for the Intifada’s successes or failures.

The ‘Untold Revolutions’ and Intra-Palestinian Divide

The ‘Untold Revolutions’:

- The illusion of the UN statehood bid.
- The PA bureaucratic revolution vs. national defeat.
- Authoritarianism with kindness.
- The renewal of the Multilateralism approaches.
- Failed rounds of negotiations against the people’s will.
- Gaza as a third state.

Intra-Palestinian Divide:

- Transforming Fatah-Hamas divide from being short-term in nature, into a lasting and fatal permanence.
- Divide business/industry : Fatah-Hamas mutual enterprise.
- Deployed various measures to sustain and subsidise this divide.

Why There Is No Palestinian ‘Spring’ Yet?

It is really a long list, however this is a ‘sample’:

- More than one actor/body/power to revolt against (multilayers oppression and repression).
- Political vacuum due to the absence of a representative and legitimate leadership.
- The absence of a comprehensive national consensus and strategy.
- The schism in the Palestinian polity, the political and territorial fragmentation and the intra-Palestinian divide.
- The authoritarian transformation and emergence of police state in West Bank and Gaza.
- To ‘allow’ the PA to carry on in its statehood bid at the UN.
- The PA policies under the Fayyadism era, the notion of ‘economic peace’ the ‘normalization’ of the Palestinian life, and the entrenchment of the Israeli occupation.
- The status of aid dependency and the domination of individualism and suppression of collectivism.

The Palestinian Youth Movement(s): A Reflection of the National Crisis



The Palestinian Youth Movement(s): A Reflection of the National Crisis

- Very fragmented and absence of unified leadership.
- As the others, non-Islamic, but also non-factional.
- Similar techniques and tool, but smaller scale (the geographical difficulty of having a Tahrir Square!
- Creative, peaceful and broke a few year of silence.
- Close links with the BDS, international solidarity movements and shadow diplomacy: linking with Global Occupy movement.
- The PA fears them, but not take them serious despite the regular attempts to co-opt, however the movement is growing.
- The emergence of a nascent new youth leaders: Khader Adnan Impact!

Why the Intifada Is Inevitable?



For many reasons; but at the moment for these seven reasons:

- The continuous failures of the leadership of Fatah and Hamas to reach a genuine political rapprochement;
- The acts of ‘corruption’ and lack of legitimacy of the governments and authorities in both West Bank and Gaza;
- The policies, particularly in the economy and security spheres, adopted by the Palestinian Authority since 2007;
- The unjustifiable increase in the cost of living in the West Bank;
- The settlers’ harassment and the new crimes committed by Israeli military forces in killing innocent peaceful protestors;
- The gloomy socio-economic and development indicators;
- Youth activism on the ground is still fragmented, but eventually it will unite.

Inward and Outward Diffusions: Tricky Interaction?

- Export techniques, import enthusiasm.
- A space to ‘explore’ the power dynamics of regional pro and anti democratic change regimes: the role of Qatar and Egypt in the reconciliation example (*Masrana vs. Qatrana*).
- Israeli fear on its claimed ‘democratic oasis’, new governmental coalitions, and stopping the Arab revolts by attacking Iran.
- The international community have more other serious business around than the Palestinian-Israeli peace process.
- The two groups of the Palestinian élite (Fatah and Hamas leadership) lost their old regional alliances, and the Palestinian people gained their Arab peers popular alliance.
- The emergence of the ‘new heroes’ phenomenon: discourse and practice of human dignity in the heart of the freedom struggle.



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...Thank you...

