



A Review for the Palestinian Human Development Report 09/10

Investing in Human Security for a Future Palestinian State: In Larger Freedom and Participatory State Building

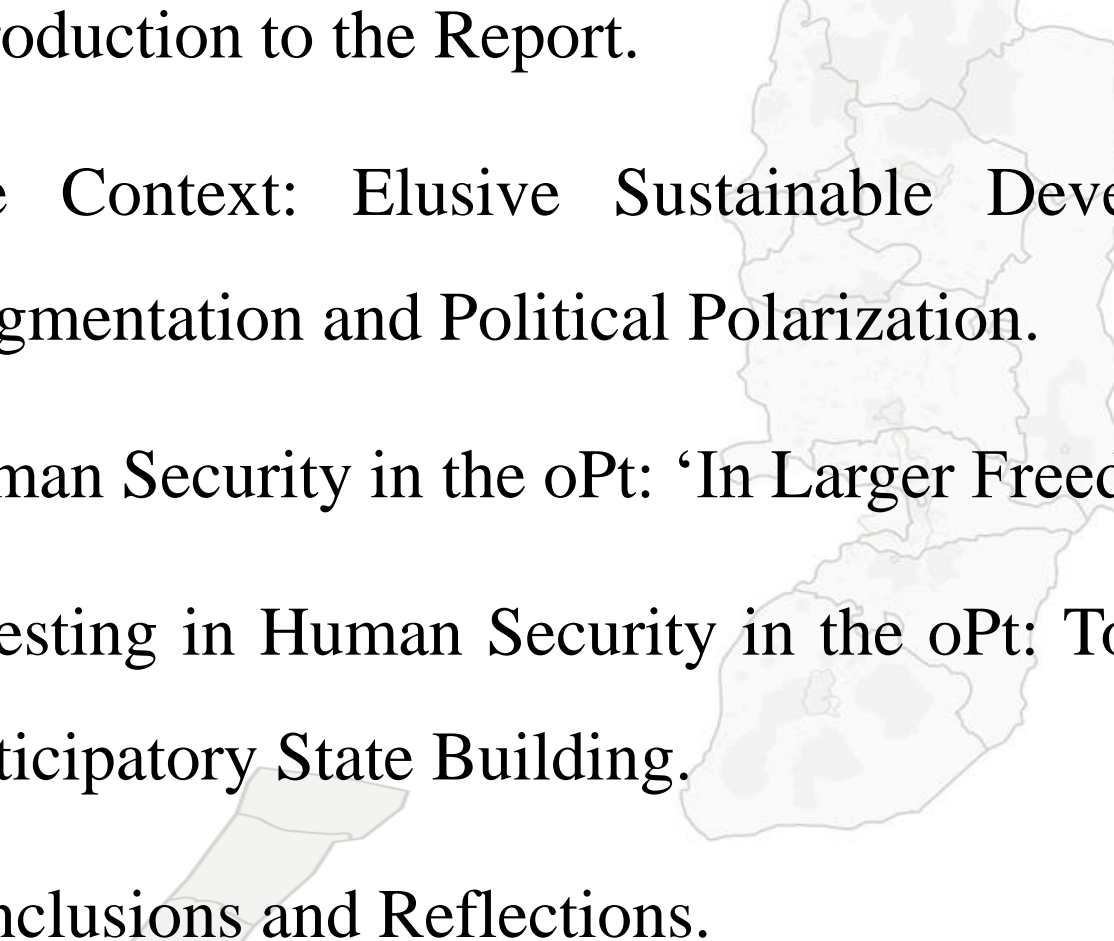
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Introduction to the Report

- Failure in state building ‘venture’ since 17 years, despite of the \$14 billion investment/aid.
- Crisis in human dignity and human security in the oPt.
- Continuous de-development, however the same ‘conventional wisdom’ is still followed and recommended.
- A Palestinian independent State in 2011!
- Shift toward alternative development and conflicts resolution paradigms: Human Security First; Participatory State building Approach; the usage of the indigenous mechanisms; the revival of the First *Intifada*/Uprising resistance modes.

The Context: Elusive Sustainable Development, Territorial Fragmentation and Political Polarization

- Progress in human development under prolonged occupation, is extremely difficult.
- No progress can be reported regarding sustainable human and economic development in the oPt.
- Palestinians are not in a poverty of insufficiency but a poverty of disempowerment.
- Administrative measures and physical impositions lead to the creation of Bantustans in WBGS.
- The intra-Palestinian conflict and political polarization may lead to a status of social fragmentation.

Human Security in the oPt: 'In Larger Freedom' Dimensions

- Human security is concerned with freedom & dignity, and involves empowerment & protection as two mutually reinforcing strategies.
- Prioritize freedom from fear, freedom from want, and freedom to live in dignity.
- The freedom to live in dignity in the oPt is 'palpably absent': psychological health and environmental insecurities.
- High levels of economic insecurity and limited economic policy space available to the PNA.
- High levels of personal, community & political insecurities: Palestinians are unable to enjoy the right to self-determination.

...How to Alleviate Human Insecurity?

- Building a self-sustaining economy; working on consensus regarding liberation strategies and galvanizing a popular movement to promote and protect civil and political rights.
- Two civil campaigns can be employed: The first for civil and political rights in a non-violent resistance format, and the second for the right to self-determination.
- Political national reconciliation and end the occupation!

Investing in Human Security in the oPt: Towards Cohesion and Participatory State Building

- Assuming a prolonged transmission to sovereignty and self-determination, a *pragmatic approach* is proposed to promote development and human security.
- However, such pragmatic approach is not ‘new’, may sustain the occupation and the status quo: To what extent, is the human security paradigm possible under occupation?
- It represents a shift from state-centric strategy for development and state-building toward a civil society-centric strategy: The Fayyaddism approach and the 13th government plan is ‘ignored’.
- Shift toward *radical/idealistic proposals* is urgently needed.

Investing in Human Security in the oPt: Towards Cohesion and Participatory State Building....Contd

- Within current political polarization, investing in social cohesion as one aspect of human security in the oPt, is urgently needed.
- This investment will apply an indigenous conflict resolution model, known as *Sulha*, which is traditionally used to mediate disputes between individuals and families.
- This *National Sulha* promote social healing, discourage revenge attacks, establish culture of reconciliation and peace, and revitalize traditional community reconciliation processes.
- Donors should urgently endorse the Do No Harm principles and redouble their investment in Palestinian civil society.

Investing in Human Security in the oPt: Towards Cohesion and Participatory State Building....Contd

- Will this tribal-centered mechanism be the magical solution? And How good is the revival of informal mechanisms of dispute resolution, instead of promoting rule of law?
- Such *National Sulha* is necessary, but not sufficient, to create a culture of reconciliation, forgiveness and peace.
- More questions are raised: Who will sponsor this *National Sulha*? How its neutrality can be guaranteed? What does donors 'supportive role' mean? What about the power asymmetric? Who will force donors to apply the do no harm principles?

Investing in Human Security in the oPt: Towards Cohesion and Participatory State Building....Contd

- Investment in another indigenous practice, called *Sumud*. *Sumud* defined as ‘the motivation to persist through steadfastness and a sense of connection with the land in order to achieve self-reliance and navigate a life under occupation’.
- However, this investment requires certain level of volunteerism: The spirit of volunteerism is in crisis in the oPt.
- Indeed, It is the duty of the civil society and not the Palestinian Authority to revive the principles of *Sumud*.

Investing in Human Security in the oPt: Towards Cohesion and Participatory State Building....Contd

- What to do when the existing Authorities are weak and ‘illegitimate’? ...Invest in a participatory state-building strategy.
- This strategy lead by the civil society, can be complemented with an independent national Commission for Representative Governance to ensure the transparency of the Palestinian State.
- This participatory state building strategy has four main priorities: Territorial contiguity; economic integration; social cohesion; sovereignty and political reconciliation.

Investing in Human Security in the oPt: Towards Cohesion and Participatory State Building....Contd

- However, participatory state building strategy requires the development and strengthening of the appropriate governance and delivery mechanisms that are linked to, and coherent with, oPt-wide administrative structures.
- In parallel to the participatory state building strategy, the creation of a taskforce to establish a comprehensive Palestinian Emergency and Disaster Response Strategy is necessary if the human security agenda is to be made operational.

Conclusions and Reflections

- This shift toward human security and participatory state building approaches, is recommended to be pursued after the failure of the traditional approaches to promote sustainable development.
- The civil society through campaigning and mobilizing has now the opportunity to lead, and compensate the weak role of the PA.
- However, the only way to guarantee a sustainable development and human security, is by ending the illegal Israeli occupation.
- The unanswered question remains: When the ‘peace’ discourse will shift from ‘Israel-Security First’ and ‘West Bank First’ toward ‘Palestinian Human Security First’?



Investing in Human Security for a Future Palestinian State...

**THANK YOU FOR YOUR
ATTENTION!**

