



# Palestine at a Crossroads: Old Occupation, New Middle East

## “Fayyadism and the Palestinian Spring”

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## PALESTINIAN LOSS OF LAND 1946 TO 2010



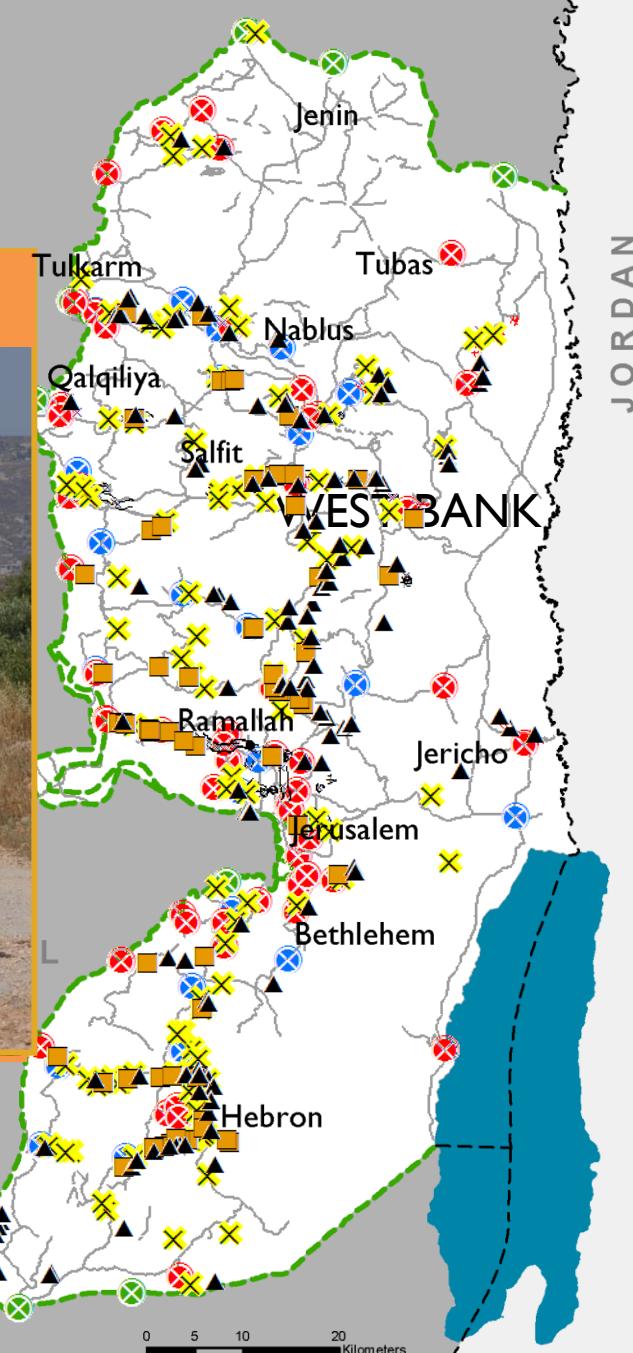
## Road Gates

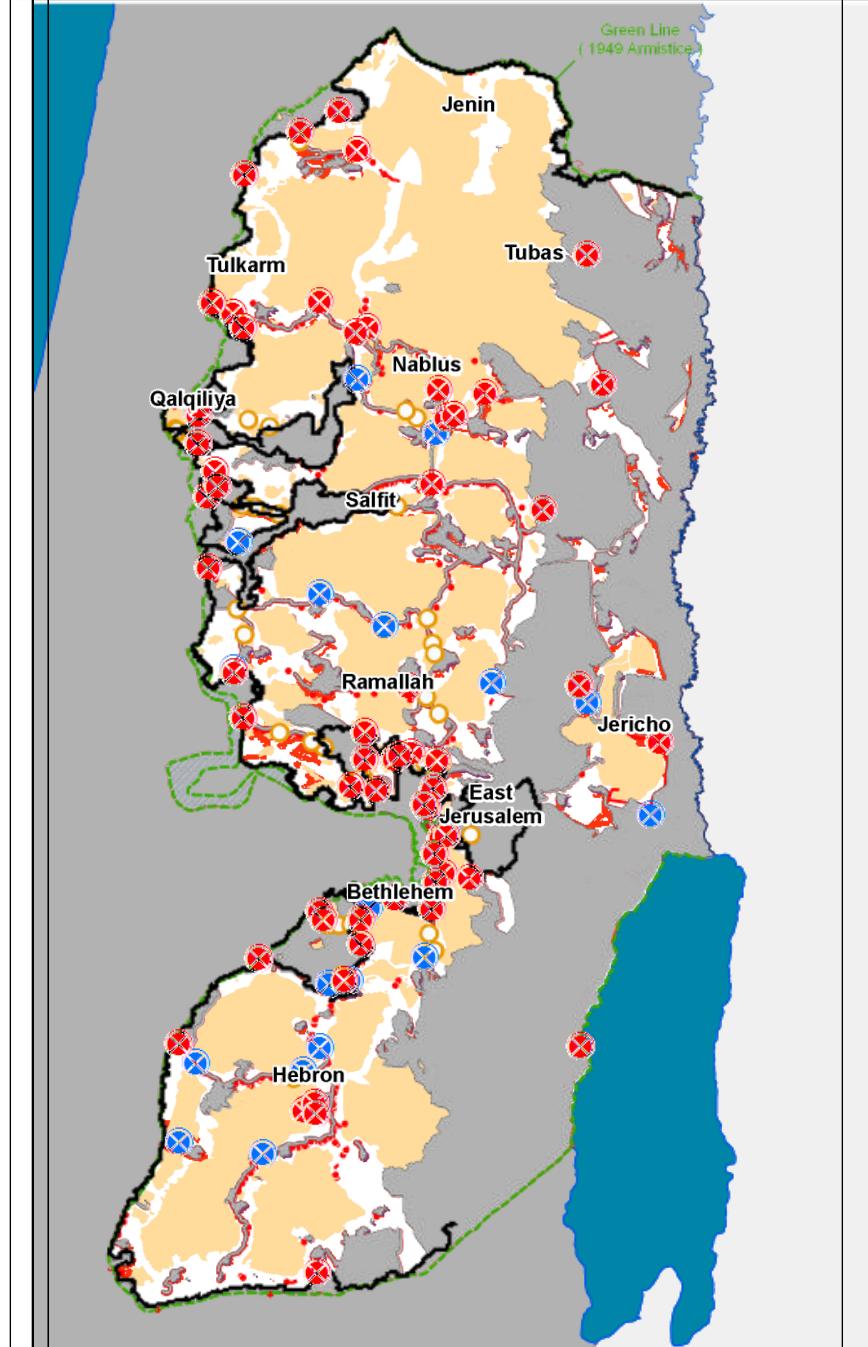


Barriers that are used to obstruct movement across the roads.  
Movement is often limited.

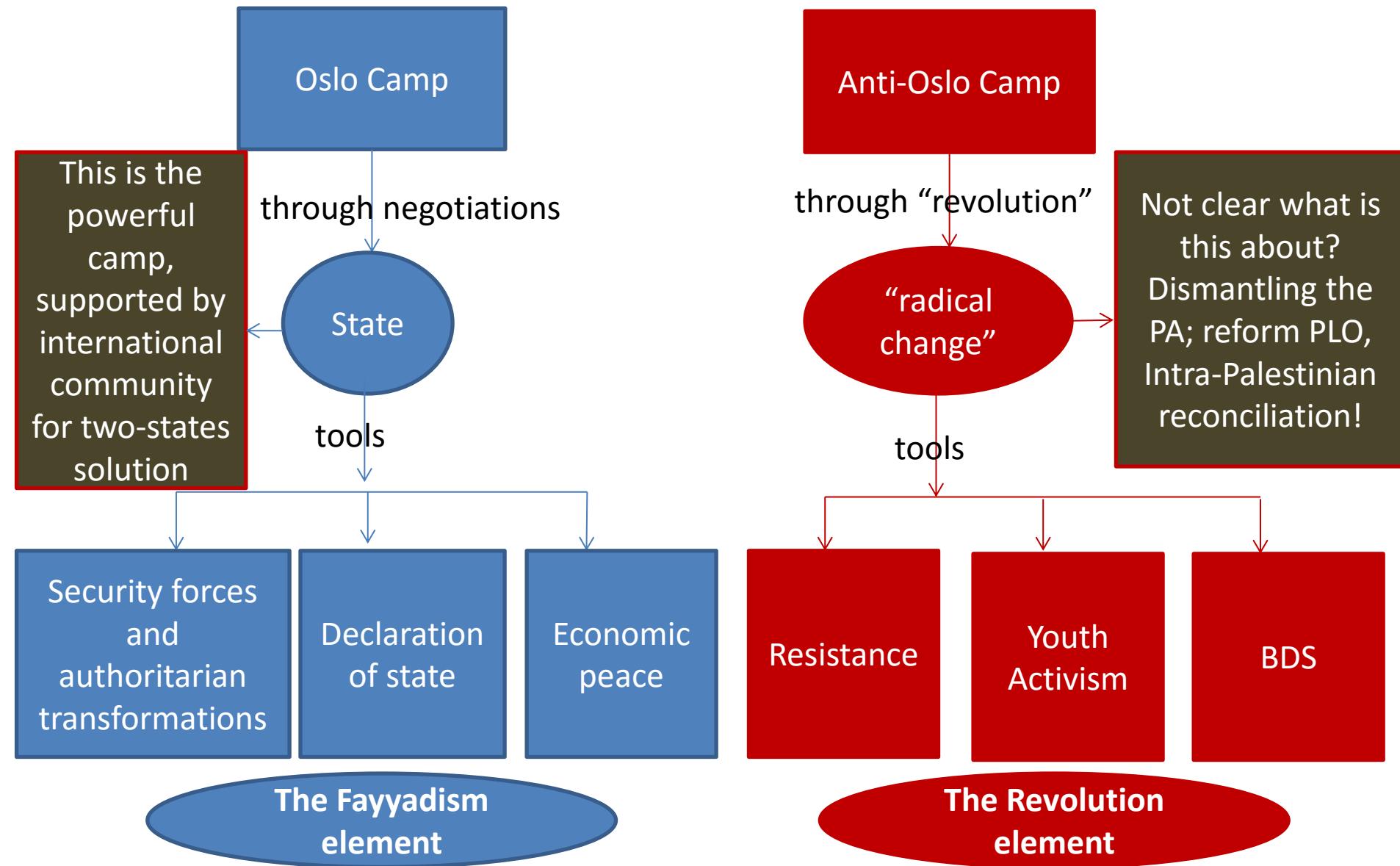
## DDDD EARTH WALLS

A continuous wall or series of earth mounds.





# Thinking of the crossroads: renewed polarization!



# Advancing few arguments/conclusions/assumptions

- The occupied state of Palestine is an outcome of the neoliberal Fayyadism paradigm and another regional and international Failure.
- Due to the neoliberal Fayyadism and its security agenda, there is no revolution in Palestine.
- Aid dependency; PA persistence financial crisis; and fragmented illegitimate leadership are prescriptions for ultimate failure and collapse.
- Sustainable peace is irrelevant and unattainable.
- The question remains: What did the interaction between the ‘inward and outward diffusions’ bring closer: a Palestinian state? a sustainable peace? or a multilevel intifadas/uprisings?



# What is Fayyadism and Why?

- State-building venture ‘focuses on establishing solid institutions, guided by good governance principles, respect for human rights, rule of law, and efficient and effective delivery of public services’
- It is a strategy and outcome
- It is a ‘home-grown’ phenomenon but externally sponsored
- West Bank First, and a state on 18% of Palestine
- Authoritarian approach but galvanized with modernity packages?!

## Why?

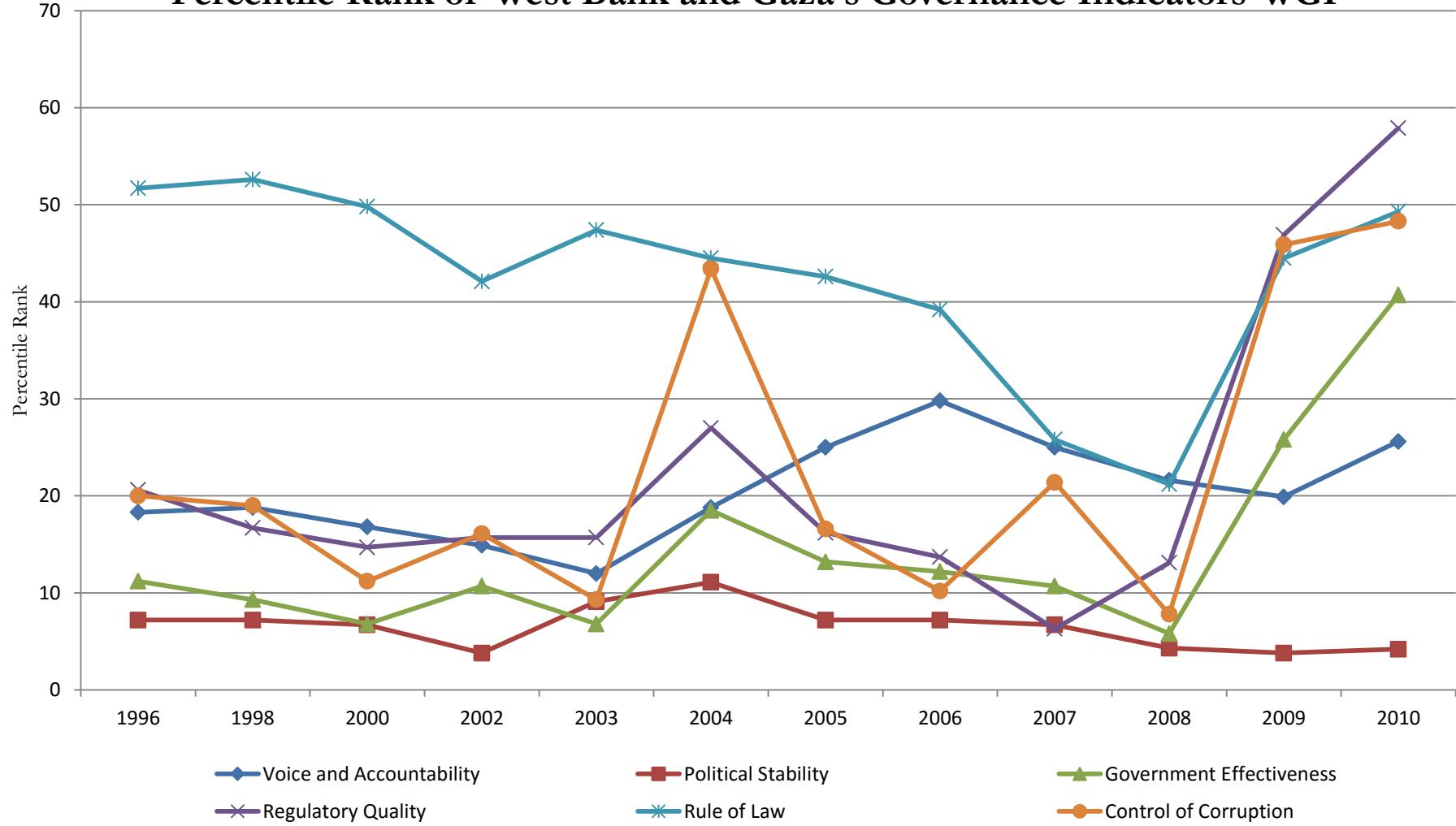
- The surrounding environment and the socio-political structural changes, aid dependency, reflection of crisis, defeat, fragmentation, end Arafat era, and ‘international wisdom’.
- To reform and sustain the PA and rescue the ‘peace process’.

# Achievements of Fayyadism



Should the fact that the number of families that receive financial assistance increase from 30,000 to 90,000 make us happy and believe that aid did a miraculous job?

Percentile Rank of West Bank and Gaza's Governance Indicators-WGI



Source: Worldwide Governance Indicators Database, World Bank (2012)



# Main ‘Pillars’ of Fayyadism



Security First, Economic Peace Second, Real Democracy Last

Fayyadism’s ‘Claimed’ Pillars	Fayyadism’s ‘Hidden’ Pillars
Monopoly of Violence and Rule of Law	Exclusive Peaceful Popular Resistance
Accountable PA Institutions	Building Local Legitimacy via ‘Achievements’ but Lacks Checks and Balances Institutions
Effective Public Service Delivery	Adapt with the Existence of Occupation and De-politicization of the Palestinian Cause
Market-oriented Economic Growth	Neo-liberal Economic Agenda and the Notion of ‘Economic Peace’



# The Fayyadism's Fragility



- Unsustainable economic growth- Jobless, aid driven, de-industrialize, non-Jerusalemite-Gazan, and anti-poor growth.
- Absence of democracy and check and balances institutions
- Absence of rights, sovereignty and fundamental pillars of neoliberalism!
- Almost fully dependent on donors community's money and advice and Israeli mercy
- Persistent financial crisis of the Palestinian Authority
- Threatened by intra Palestinian politics, WB-GS reconciliation and possible 'revolutions'
- Weak or unreliable private sector
- Dependency 'filling pockets' and exclusion principles



# The Fayyadism of the Economy

- The notion and practice of ‘economic peace’
- A shift from an economy based on rents and rent seeking activities toward good governance and neoliberal agenda
- From Special Accounts to Single Treasury Account
- From secret to transparent, audited, not accountable records
- Privatize and formalize as much as you can
- Consume more, produce less
- More internal resources generation (taxation) toward self-reliance and lower dependency on int'l aid
- Follow the exclusive policy prescriptions of the WB and IMF
- Persistent levels of unemployment and poverty; higher income inequality, decline in production technology and labour skills, and failure to move beyond Paris Protocol

# Beyond Fayyadism: Addressing its Fragilities



- Create the preconditions for neo-liberalism if you want to pursue it.
- Question the notion of development under occupation
- Develop an alternative development paradigm based on development as rights, freedom and people's will
- Conduct SSR but preserve resistance; and liberalize the land and people before the economy
- Build local legitimacy first as a bridge to the international one
- Check and balances institutions are pre-requisite for democracy
- Phantom authority can't create a real state!
- If Palestinians don't ensure dignity in their development, no one will
- Re-think neutrality and remember colonialism!



# **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:**

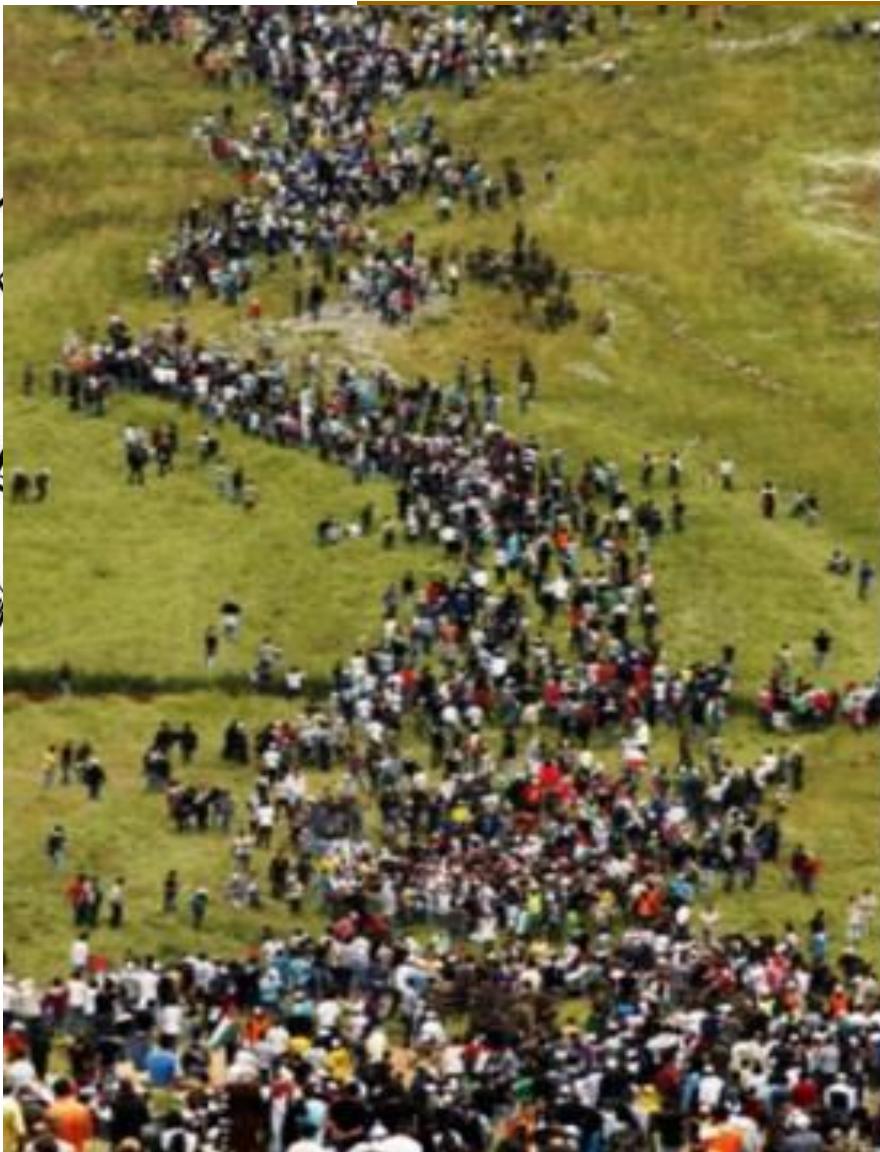
- Transforming Fatah-Hamas divide from being short-term in nature, into a lasting and fatal permanence.
- Divide business/industry : Fatah-Hamas mutual enterprise.
- Deployed various measures to sustain and subsidise this divide.

# 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.



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...Thank you...

