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SEYASAT



Studies

- Oppositional Civil Society Forces and the Emergence of a new imaginary policy in the Arab World
- The September Bid: Return to the Roots
- The UN Security Council under the New World Order
- National liberation and resolving the conflict using peaceful Methods

Articles

- The Palestinian reconciliation between what is required and what is desired
- The Political Scene: Three Interacting Pathways

Public Policies

- Parliament oversight over the security institution in Palestine

International Policies

- Reading into the international positions regarding Palestine request to join the UN body as a full member



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Seyasat Magazine (17 & 18): English Summary

Seyasat contains a series of studies and articles that cover Palestinian affairs and their regional and international interactions and ramifications.

Recent months have witnessed the formulation of a new political subjectivism all over the MENA-region. This gives rise to an individual feeling that citizens are participating in re-defining their identity and reinforcing their collective identity regarding the concept of state secularism. The way that Mubarak and Ben Ali departed office constituted a major step of social modernization for the contemporary Arab world. Moreover, this political subjectivism refutes all expectations that were presented regarding Arab politics. It is modernization of a new kind. On one hand, it is very much different from the liberal vision that calls for empowering individuals and economic liberalization processes in a gradual process of producing procedural democracy; on the other hand, we are now about to witness the prevalence of political Islamists, which brings about the diminishing of liberal rights, as well as the destruction of individual voices.

The latest edition (17&18) therefore focuses on the Arab spring and its implications on Palestinian politics, as well as on several other political topics currently discussed in the Palestinian political arena. The issue contains 5 articles, covering topics such as the possible dissolution of the PNA, the Palestinian UN-bid for statehood and means of peaceful resistance with a special focus on the Palestinian experience.

Seyasat starts this edition with a study by the Swiss researcher Benois Shala under the title **“Oppositional Civil Society Forces and the Emergence of a new imaginary policy in the Arab World”**. In this study, the new political subjective dimension that was promised by the recent revolutions and the importance of the new innovative methods that the Arabs added to them is tackled. The main focus is on the question, how the Arabs reconsidered themselves and their political action during those events? The author concludes that “we are witnessing oppositional civil society forces that use the new imaginary political protest, thus forming a strong weapon towards toppling the oppressive regimes”.

It is too early to assess whether the protests will transform into revolutions, according to Shala, since there are many obstacles that will face the radical transformations in the Arab political systems, the more salient part of which is the interrelations between their political economies and the international economies, in addition to the regional engineering of the peace process and the strong deeply-rooted military regimes. But for sure, these obstacles will impede radical transformations in the political systems.

Talking about a more specific topic is the second article, posing several questions on the **"Future of the PNA amid threats to dissolve it"**. Several Palestinian intellectuals and politicians posed the issue of the future of the peace process and the future of the PNA in light of the halt of negotiations and (armed) resistance. Many statements and hints have been issued by several Palestinian leaders regarding the possibility of dissolving the PNA as one of the options that might be presented to Israel and the United States. Calls to dissolve the PNA have increased after the Security Council failed to recognize a Palestinian state as full UN member and after the United States showed full bias towards the Israeli demands.

Abdul Ghani presents the various Palestinian arguments that support the dissolving of the PNA and the arguments that oppose such an option. With presenting the Israeli position, the reader gets a panoramic view of the current debate on the future of the PNA in light of the failure of the peace process. The study is short but extensive, building on lots of evidence, writings and analyses.

In the third article, Author Bassam Darwish attempts to link the idea of the September bid and the roots of the Palestinian cause, the formation of Palestinian political elites, Palestinian national awareness and the political rights of the Palestinian people. The study of Darwish is entitled "**The September Bid: Back to the Roots**". His main argument is that the Palestinian leadership presents the central missing link to the needs of the Palestinian people, which is the full sovereign state. With presenting the statehood bid at the United Nations, the international community can assume its political and ethical responsibilities in enabling the Palestinian people to establish their independent state. Such a step can liberate the peace process from the American domination and it can also re-present this case at an international body, which has a responsibility to implement its decisions pertaining to the Palestinian cause.

The author continues in a special reading of historical events, examining all UN resolutions dealing with Palestine and the Palestinians- from the partition plan over the UN decision about the right of return, to the speeches of Yasser Arafat in 1974 and President Abbas in September 2011. The author concludes that the Palestinian people were totally denied any participation in discussing their future and their cause was transformed from a national cause to a refugees issue. Thus, the international community has to be pushed now to assume its historical responsibilities. The Palestinian question was born in the international institution halls: first at the League of Nations and then at the UN. It is high time for this international organization to

rectify its mistakes and work on enabling the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable legitimate rights, mainly the right to an independent state.

Dr. Abdullah Abu Eid, on the other hand, presents the means to develop the UN Security Council so that it can activate its performance and overcome the impediments that faced its process when protecting international peace and security. In his study entitled "**The UN Security Council under the New World Order**", Abu Eid proposes that the World Order needs to be restructured and that the voices calling for this are becoming bolder and higher, especially after the changes that took place following the Cold War and the emergence of double standards in the policies of the super powers, and the changes that affected the concept of power and force, and the emergence of new forces that look for representation in the most important international organization.

The most important point that needs to be reconsidered is the use of Veto right which impedes the work of the Council. After discussing the structure of the Security Council and the voting process inside it, the researcher assesses the works of the Council under the new World Order. Then, the researcher presents the role of the Council in the Palestinian cause and in denying the Palestinian people the right to independence, freedom and self determination and the establishment of an independent sovereign state.

He concludes by saying that the Security Council has become a handy tool that serves the interests of the super powers which are the permanent members, especially the United States. This is clear in the use of the Veto right by the United States and the former Soviet Union and the present Russian Federation several times for pure political goals and to serve their interests. This contradicts with the spirit and core of the goals set in the charter of the UN. Therefore, the use of the Veto right many times, especially by the United States in the recent years for the sake of Israel, makes the Security Council lose its international reputation and credibility, thus

fully contradicting with the joint and common public interest of all countries in the world, especially the small and weak peace-loving countries that respect the UN Charter and the International Law. There is a major interest for all to develop the work of the Security Council in order to improve the status and living conditions of the world citizens and work on achieving a peaceful world free of wars, invasion and occupation.

He presents some proposals to conduct radical changes on the structure of the Security Council and its authority and the voting method in order to have international justice and to serve the common interests of all nations and citizens, and to abide by the rules of the international law and the UN Charter that recognizes the right of all peoples to determine their future and establish their independent sovereign state so that they become an effective part of the international community and the UN like the rest of the world.

Researcher Rashad Tawwam presents a study entitled "**National Liberation and Resolving Conflicts Using Peaceful Methods: Reading into the Palestinian Experience**". The researcher explores the basic concepts of peaceful conflicts and their Palestinian applications. He basically presents the PLO experience which moved towards resolving its conflict with the occupation using peaceful methods, mainly negotiations, since 1974, which witnessed the declaration of the Interim Political Program; the PLO aimed through this program to establish a Palestinian national authority on any part of the lands of Palestine, which meant moving away from the idea of the destruction of the state of Israel, and aimed to establish the democratic state. This phase lasted until the beginnings of the nineties when the Oslo Accords were signed with the Israeli government, thus starting the interim self rule phase which has lasted for two decades.

The study is divided into two parts: the first part deals with the theoretical framework which presents three basic themes, with each theme discussed separately. The first theme deals with the self-determination right because it is the pillar and motive behind the national liberation movements which usually face a situation where they have to choose between violent and peaceful means.

The second theme deals with the national liberation movements as new individuals in the international law. The third theme discusses the hostile relations between the national liberation movements and the countries that exist by occupation or colonialism, which means its hostile features in international conflicts. There is a lot of focus on the Palestinian experience in the second part of the study.

Seyasat Magazine also includes political articles that cover the political events that stormed the Palestinian cause in the last few months, mainly the issue of the reconciliation and the September bid. Author and journalist Mohammed Hawwash discusses in his article "**The Future of the Political Process Depends on Reconciliation and International Recognition Course & Popular Resistance**" three basic headlines that make up the Palestinian political scene.

According to Hawwash, the future of the political process, the reconciliation and its various implications and the international course to recognize the Palestinian state. It is clear that the process of isolating the Israeli occupation policies constitute the core of the work of the PLO and its arms in the Occupied Palestinian Territories: the PNA. This is a practical approach that was imposed because of a series of policies that have proved in the past few years that they are capable of convincing when compared with the policies that were adopted during the Second Intifada. In fact, the current policies make up a form of Intifada against the Israeli stalling measures that aim to keep or improve the occupation on the ground.

The reconciliation that was achieved by the factions is also a major political theme and landmark in the confrontation with Israel and must remain this way. In order to maintain the meanings of reconciliation in confronting Israel, there is a need for the PLO to be preserved as a framework that represents all the Palestinian people and the PLO political program must not be touched also. Any agreement between the Palestinian factions must be based on the principle of preserving and developing the PLO entity and not deleting it or changing its core under any pretext or claim.

Hawwash reminds the readers of Seyasat Magazine that the deadlocked political process with Israel does not exempt the Palestinians from facing new challenges that might arise amid such a vacuum, including the rampage of Israeli settlers in the West Bank and their attacks against the citizens in the rural areas and the repeated attacks against their lands and source of income and the olive trees fields in the villages areas, and the attacks against the mosques in the West Bank, Jerusalem and Galilee. This means that there is a possibility of being dragged into confrontations and reactions that go beyond the limits of popular resistance against settlements and the separation wall.

In his article entitled "**the Palestinian Reconciliation between the required and desired: Will it be the Spring or Autumn of the Cause?!**" the writer Salim Naffar calls for reinforcing steps towards reconciliation and make use of what he calls the positive signs and overcome the obstacles that might stand in the path of the reconciliation on real grounds.

He starts his article by giving a diagnosis of the state of internal split that has become a reality linked with various regional ties. Then, he presents a reading into the various positions of the international and regional parties vis-à-vis the expected reconciliation. There are several positive aspects that tempt the parties to move ahead on the path of reconciliation despite the various international positions, mainly the Arab Spring and the regional transformations. The

current reality does not meet in full with the desires of any party and the old political alliances in the region are not safe or secure from the current changes. No party must feel secure in its old alliance or relations.

With regards to Hamas, the major transformation lied in the Muslim Brotherhood integration in the Arab official regime when they joined the elections and this means that Hamas has to be prepared for that scenario because it is part of the international organization of the Muslim Brotherhood. Thus, reconciliation means paving the way in front of Hamas to integrate in an Arab comprehensive political mobilization.

Author Akram Attallah presents in his article "**The Arab Spring... its impact on the Palestinian Case**" a detailed reading into interrelations between the Arab transformations and the situation of the Palestinians. The author quotes from the speech of the head of the Israeli opposition, Zipni Livni, who said "Israel is surrounded by Arab revolutionary young men who want to get their freedom and rights and Israel has to make use of that in order to reach a peace agreement with the Palestinians before the flames of the revolutions hit us".

The transformations in Egypt constituted the most important and potential event in such an influence, and Egypt succeeded, despite the weakness of the state, in moving ahead on the Palestinian reconciliation path after the Palestinian popular pressure which was also influenced by the winds of the Arab change and because the two basic sides interested in reconciliation felt they have to present something to the street and to protect their interests, too.

Despite the importance of what has been achieved at the Palestinian internal level, the upcoming changes and the Arab peoples started to rebuild their political systems will be the most salient future influence. The past changes might have seemed as initial reflection of the Arab protest state, even if it caused rapprochement in the Palestinian political system which

was influenced by the Arab internal split between two wings: the wing of "resistance" which included Qatar, Syria and Libya and another wing headed by Egypt and each wing had its impact on the Palestinian internal conditions. This map has changed after the downfall of the Egyptian President while Qatar carried the banner of attacking its allies in Libya and Syria. These changes are also having an impact on the Palestinian internal conditions.

But now that the features of the Arab political system in the revolution capitals are becoming clearer and after the elections in which Islamists are gaining grounds and preparing to assume authority, there is no doubt that there are changes in the Arab political system and the ruling forces , which will reflect on the Palestinian arena as well. Hamas is part of the Palestinian political system but since it assumed authority, Hamas has been looking for legitimacy, since the Arab political system as well turned its back on them. Even countries that were considered part of the "resistance" axis dealt with Hamas as a movement only. So Hamas maintained relations with Islamic and opposition parties in the Arab world. After the recent elections, these parties are about to assume authority in their countries, which means that Hamas can strengthen its position in its relations with these countries and this will have its implications in the future.

In the public policies corner, "**the parliamentary oversight over the security institution in Palestine 1996-2006**" are discussed in a study by researcher Saeed Zeid. He points out the importance of parliamentary oversight over the security institution in the Palestinian case since this is a prelude to the reform of the security services which have to work in accordance with the law under utmost integrity and transparency in order to provide security and justice to its citizens.

This could also be a way to resolve the disagreement between Fatah and Hamas on the issue of partnership in managing the security institution as this is one of the conditions to implement the reconciliation agreement and end the internal split, and it is not possible to fragment the

security institution and distribute its positions between both sides. The fears and concerns of the conflicting sides can be eliminated through parliamentary oversight in order to stop the abuse of authority and end the implementation of partisan policies and avoid shortcomings and unnecessary financial expenses, and also to guarantee the legal side of the activities of the security services. Such an approach would add legitimacy to the actions and activities of the security services. The oversight of the parliament would also assist in determining the results of the security policies to the extent that they meet the desires and needs of citizens in a manner that guarantees the build up of an institution that represents all sectors of the Palestinian society.

The study attempts to reveal the degree of effectiveness of the institutions and tools used in the oversight over the security institution and the factors that affect the oversight role and the legal framework that organizes the oversight process since it is a means to establish a positive relation between the legislative and executive bodies.

In the International Politics section, Seyasat Magazine presents a "**reading into the international positions regarding Palestine request to join the UN as a full member**" presented by researcher Ma'moun Sweidan, who presents an overview of the Palestinian representation stations at the UN, dividing them into five stations, from the role as representing the Palestinian people as spokesperson to the right to participate in the deliberations of the General Assembly.

In the book review section, Seyasat presents two readings into the book of Atef Abu Seif "**Israel and the EU: The Soft Partnership**" and the book of Ahmad Fararjeh "**Ibrahim Abu Loghod: Exile and Return**", along with a series of Palestinian and Arab books included in the Library Section of Seyasat.