

State Formation in Palestine – an Assessment and the Way Forward

Monday, 26 January 2015

The aim of this conference is to discuss citizenship rights and alternative models for state formation in Palestine/Israel. This is particularly important in light of almost 20 years of the Oslo peace process, in which the occupied Palestinian territory has become even more fragmented and divided up into isolated enclaves, and deprived of territorial contiguity. Although a Palestinian state has received international endorsement, the presence of over 500,000 Israeli Jewish settlers in the West Bank, and the institutionalization of Israeli checkpoints and permits entrenched a system of segregation that deprives Palestinians of their national and citizen rights, sanctioned under international law. The paralysis in the final status negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis, have further rendered the prospects for a two state solution in Israel/Palestine difficult, if not impossible. There is a pressing need to explore alternative forms of sovereignty that can bring peace and security in the region, whether in the form of regional integration, federalism, a single territory with two systems of sovereignty or parallel state structures, bi-nationalism, or a single democratic state.

Against this background the Centre for Development Studies at Birzeit University together with the Vienna Institute for International Dialogue and Cooperation (VIDC) and the Open Society Institute Amman carried out jointly the project *Alternative Models of State Formation in Israel/Palestine*. First findings of this project will be presented during the conference. The scholars investigated how alternative models for statehood can provide an inclusive framework which upholds citizenship rights for all, reconciles individual and collective rights, and moves us towards a society that provides justice, equality and human security for all citizens in Palestine/Israel.

Venue: Diplomatic Academy | Favoritenstraße 15a | 1040 Vienna



Program

- 13:00 - 13:15 Registration
- 13:15 – 13:30 **Welcome**
Magda Seewald | VIDC
Samia Albotmeh | Centre for Development Studies, Birzeit University
- 13:30 – 15:30 **Alternatives to Partition – The Politics of State Formation in Palestine**
Leila Farsakh | University of Massachusetts: *Political Framework and Structure of the Alternative to Partition in Palestine*
Tariq Dana | Hebron University: *Economic Repercussions of Current State of Affairs*
Adam Hanieh | SOAS, University of London: *State Formation within a Regional Context*
Discussant: Gertraud Auer Borea d’Olmo | Bruno Kreisky Forum for International Dialogue
Chair: Ramin Taghian | University of Vienna
- 15:30 – 16:00 Coffee Break
- 16:00 – 18:00 **Looking Forward – an Encompassing Perspective**
Mazen Masri | City University London: *An Assessment of Possible Constitutional Frameworks for a One State Option*
Helmut Krieger | University of Vienna: *The South African Experience, Models of Justice and Palestine*
Samia Albotmeh | Birzeit University: *Economic Convergence within a One State Context*
Discussant: Gudrun Harrer | Der Standard
Chair: Anthony Löwstedt | Webster University Vienna
- 18:00 – 18:30 Break
- 18:30 – 20:00 **Final Discussion: The Way Forward**
Samia Albotmeh | Birzeit University
Leila Farsakh | University of Massachusetts
Hannes Swoboda | Former President of the Socialist & Democrats Group in the European Parliament
Chair: Helmut Krieger | University of Vienna

Conference language: English

Registration: seewald@vidc.org

Speakers

Getraud Auer Borea d'Olmo is Secretary General of the Bruno Kreisky Forum for International Dialogue. Prior to this role, assumed in 2005, she worked as projects manager at the Bruno Kreisky Forum; from 1990 - 1995 as staff member and international and cultural affairs' adviser at the Federal Minister for Education and the Arts in Austria; and from 1980 - 1990 as a free-lance professional.

Samia Albotmeh is an Assistant Professor in Economics and researcher at the Centre for Development Studies at Birzeit University in Palestine. She has completed her PhD at the School of African and Oriental Studies- University of London, in labour economics, the title of her thesis: Palestinian Women's Labour Supply: Towards an Explanation of Low and Fluctuating Female Labour Force Participation. Samia lectured and published internationally on issues of gender economics, labour economics, and political economy of development under colonialism.

Tariq Dana is Al-Shabaka policy advisor and Assistant Professor of Political Science at Hebron University, and faculty member at the MA program of International Studies at Ibrahim Abu Lughod Institute, Birzeit University. He received his PhD from the Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna, Italy, where his focus was on the transformation of Palestinian civil society from mass-based movements to neoliberal-oriented NGOs. During this period, he was PhD visiting fellow at School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). He has worked with many Palestinian and international NGOs and UN agencies in the occupied Palestinian territory, Africa and Europe. His research interests include civil society, NGOs and social movements, neoliberalism, and globalization and state-building with a particular focus on Palestine.

Leila Farsakh is Chair and Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Massachusetts Boston. She is the author of *Palestinian Labor Migration to Israel: Labour, Land and Occupation*, (Routledge, fall 2005, 2012) and editor of *Commemorating the Naksa, Evoking the Nakba*, (a special volume of *Electronic Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, in Spring 2008), as well as of numerous journal articles on the political economy of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and on the One-State solution. Dr. Farsakh holds a Ph.D. from the University of London and an M.Phil from the University of Cambridge, UK. She has also worked with a number of international organizations, including the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Paris and, since 2008, has been a senior research fellow at the Center for Development Studies at Birzeit University, in the West Bank. In 2001 Dr. Farsakh won the Peace and Justice Award from the Cambridge Peace Commission, in Cambridge-Massachusetts.

Adam Hanieh is a Senior Lecturer in Development Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. His recent books include *Capitalism and Class in the Gulf Arab States* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2011), *Lineages of Revolt: Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East* (Haymarket Press, 2013) and (co-edited) *Transit States: Labour, Migration and Citizenship in the Gulf* (Pluto Press 2014). He is a member of

the advisory board of the Centre for Palestine Studies (SOAS) and an editorial board member of the journal, *Historical Materialism: Research in Critical Marxist Theory*.

Gudrun Harrer is Senior Editor of the Austrian daily newspaper *Der Standard*. Her academic background includes Islamic, Arabic and International Relations studies (MA and PhD). She teaches Modern History and Politics of the Middle East at the University of Vienna and the Diplomatic Academy Vienna and she is a former Special Envoy of the Austrian Presidency of the European Union to Iraq and Chargé d'Affaires of the Austrian Embassy Baghdad. In 2014 she published two books: *Dismantling the Iraqi Nuclear Programme. The Inspections of the International Atomic Energy Agency in Iraq 1991-1998* (Routledge) and *Nahöstlicher Irrgarten. Analysen abseits des Mainstreams* (Kremayr&Scheriau).

Helmut Krieger is a researcher and Lecturer at the Department of Development Studies at the University of Vienna as well as a consultant to the VIDC/Wiener Institut. He completed his PhD with a thesis on state formation in Palestine from a political economy perspective at the Department of Political Science at the University of Vienna. His main research interests include the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, social movements and the postcolonial state in the Arab world, materialist state theories and the state in the global south as well as international political economy and postcolonial theory.

Anthony Löwstedt is a researcher and assistant professor at the media communications department at Webster University Vienna since 2007. After receiving his doctorate in philosophy at the University of Vienna, Austria, he worked for the International Press Institute (1994-2005) and taught at Webster University Vienna (since 1997). He also taught at Webster University Geneva and at Birzeit University in Palestine. In 2004-5 he was a media consultant for the UNDP in Palestine. His publications include *Apartheid: Ancient, Past and Present*, with a Foreword by Ilan Pappé and a Postscript by Richard A. Falk, 2014.

Mazen Masri is a Lecturer in Law at the City Law School, City University London. He received his PhD from Osgoode Hall Law School, York University in Toronto, Canada. Mazen is also a qualified lawyer and served as legal advisor to the Negotiations Affairs Department of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). His main areas of research are constitutional law and international law.

Magda Seewald works as a project manager at the Vienna Institute for International Dialogue and Cooperation (VIDC) since 2005. In this function she coordinates the State Formation Project in Austria and conceptualizes the VIDC series on the Arab uprisings. Beside her focus on the Middle East Magda works on gender, gender and armed conflict and engaging men and boy for gender equality. She graduated in political science at the University of Vienna.

Hannes Swoboda served as a Member of the European Parliament from 1996 to 2014. In this function he was a member of different committees including the Foreign Affairs Committee. Within the last two years in the EU Parliament Dr. Swoboda was the President of the Socialist & Democrats Group.

He is a Board Member of the Bruno Kreisky Forum for International Dialogue and President of the International Institute for Peace in Vienna as well as a member of the European Council for Foreign Affairs.

Ramin Taghian studied history with a focus on the modern Middle East and social movements. He is part of the research cluster of the Apeear consortium project Conflict, Participation, and Development in Palestine of the Centre for Development Studies, Birzeit University, Ramallah, and the Department of Development Studies, University of Vienna. He published about socialist movements with a focus on Iran.