



**Economics in the face of Genocide: Post-war
Reconstruction and Development Lessons
from History and Challenges and Policies for
Palestine**

Adam Tooze

October 22 2025



The Political Economy of Palestinian Nationhood, Independence and Development in the Wake of War



OCT 2025

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PALESTINE ECONOMIC POLICY
RESEARCH INSTITUTE (MAS)

The Economic Pathway to Independence and Peace
Volume I

Economic Baseline and Statehood
Inception Phase Priorities

**Economic Baseline and Statehood
Inception Phase Priorities - Volume I**

Author: Palestine Economic Policy
Research Institute - MAS

Year: 2025

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The Economic Pathway to Independence and Peace
Volume II

State-to-State Economic Permanent Status:
Palestinian Principles and Positions

**State-to-State Economic Permanent
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Positions - Volume II**

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The Economic Pathway to Independence and Peace
Volume III

Reunification of the Palestinian National
Economy: Reclaiming the Space

**Reunification of the Palestinian
National Economy: Reclaiming the
Space - Volume III**

Author: Palestine Economic Policy
Research Institute - MAS

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The Economic Pathway to Independence and Peace
Volume IV

Strategies for Reconstructing the Gaza Strip
after the 2023-2024 War

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Reconstructing Gaza through Spatial Planning: Comparative Readings of Gaza Reconstruction Plans and Proposals

The matrix of possible future scenarios

	improvement	deterioration
gradual		
dramatic		

Scenario 1: return to status quo

	improvement	deterioration
gradual	Baseline Recovery: a new version of the pre- 2023 status quo of no war, no peace; separate West Bank and Gaza Strip governance arrangements	
dramatic		

- The 1990s neoliberal turn v. Yusif A. Sayigh structural developmentalism.
- Substitute bland developmentalism and liberal rights discourse for stronger, political vision of sovereignty.
- Business-elite driven two-state solution.
- Oslo as part of wider US vision of regional integration.
- Simon Peres, New Middle East and European model.
- De facto Israeli veto demonstrated during second intifada and siege of Gaza.
- Conformity of PA's neoliberal "reform" phase after 2007 with Israeli economic peace vision.
- Income growth without development = de-development (Roy).
- By the late 2010s Raja Khalidi began to question whether it made sense to talk of a Palestinian economy at all.

	improvement	deterioration
gradual	Baseline Recovery: a new version of the pre- 2023 status quo of no war, no peace; separate West Bank and Gaza Strip governance arrangements	Protracted Regression: Protracted low-level generalized violence and attrition of both sides, ... further fragmentation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip into Bantustans with separate power relations and development trajectories,
dramatic		

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dramatic		Sudden Shock: A wholesale ethnic cleansing of the Palestinian people, entailing the elimination of the “Question of Palestine” from the international agenda. Current developments in the North Gaza Strip portend to Israel continuing this trajectory.



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2025

Volume IV (comparing Gaza to Libya, Syria and Iraq)

The examples cited above illustrate the value of losses and the deterioration of economic and social indicators resulting from wars in large countries with vast land areas, genuine sovereignty, and local capacities that can help in adopting economic policies for recovery and reconstruction. All these factors are absent in the Gaza Strip, which is small in area and has limited resources. Moreover, it has been under siege for 17 years, and its economy has suffered five wars that preceded this devastating war. This requires moving beyond traditional reconstruction processes (as carried out by other countries in their destroyed cities), necessitating broader efforts and participation.

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dramatic	Emergence Trajectory: A combination of Palestinian direct power... influencing the global and regional policy agenda and longer-term shifts in Israeli and global perceptions, pushing Israel to cede land for peace, imposing international law, and ensuring equal national rights and justice for Palestine.	Sudden Shock: A wholesale ethnic cleansing of the Palestinian people, entailing the elimination of the “Question of Palestine” from the international agenda. Current developments in the North Gaza Strip portend to Israel continuing this trajectory.

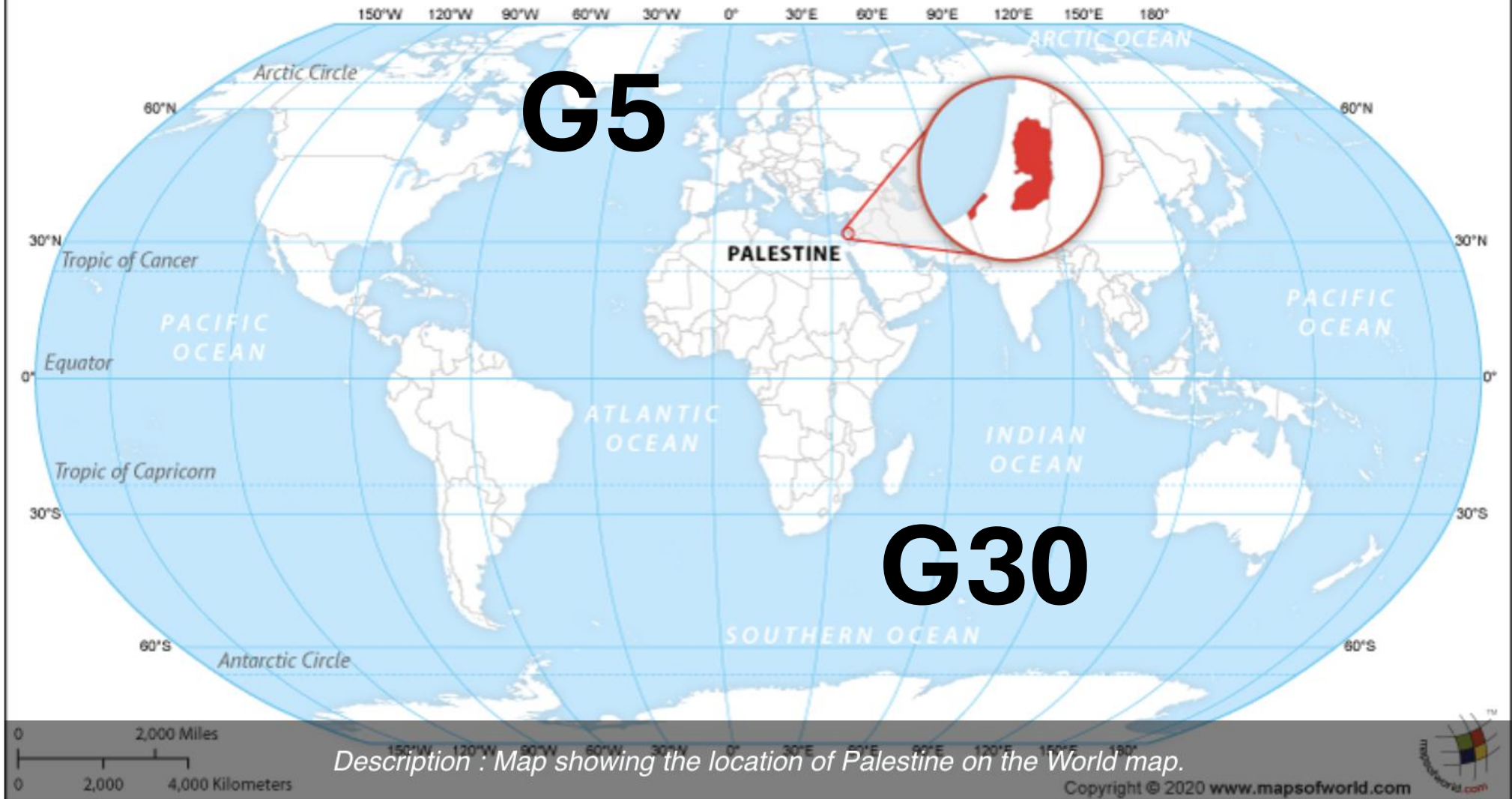
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Moving from regional to global level

	improvement	deterioration
gradual	status quo	slow disintegration
dramatic	grand bargain	world war III

PALESTINE LOCATION MAP



Description : Map showing the location of Palestine on the World map.

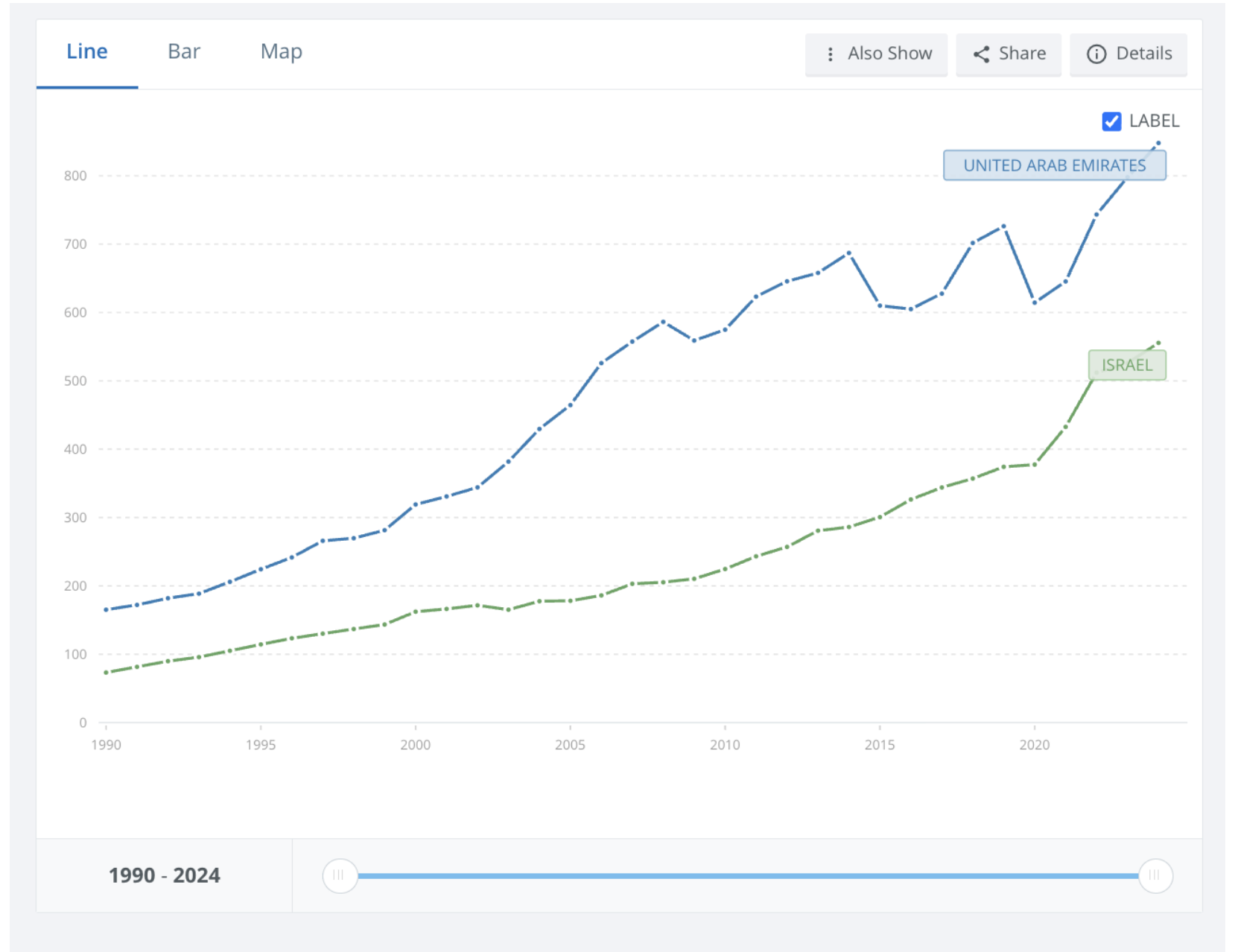
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The 1990s global fix

- Oslo
- NAFTA and the stabilization of Mexico.
- Propping up Yeltsin in Russia and the incorporation of Eastern Europe into NATO and EU
- Creation of WTO and the incorporation of China into it

The substance behind the Abraham Accords

- Quantity into quality
- Israeli and Emirati growth







The US has been through phases of adjustment:

- The Obama team attempted more or less half heartedly to articulate a policy of restraint.
- Trump 1.0 formulated great power competition but did not push it consistently.
- It was under Biden that the new disorder facing the US was first formulated as a genuine generational challenge in terms that smacked of bipartisan neoconservatism and cold war liberalism before it.
- Trump 2.0

In a period of crisis, the Gulf provided the West with three things:

#1 energy: Remember the Biden-MBS fist bump in 2022. Remember Germany's desperate gas procurement deals with Qatar.

ConocoPhillips



حفل توقيع اتفاقيات بيع الغاز الطبيعي المسال من مشروع
حقل الشمال الشرقي وحقل الشمال الجنوبي إلى ألمانيا

The Signing Ceremony of the Sale and Purchase Agreements for LNG Supply
from North Field East and North Field South Projects to Germany

Doha, Qatar
29 November 2022

الدوحة،
٢٩ نوفمبر

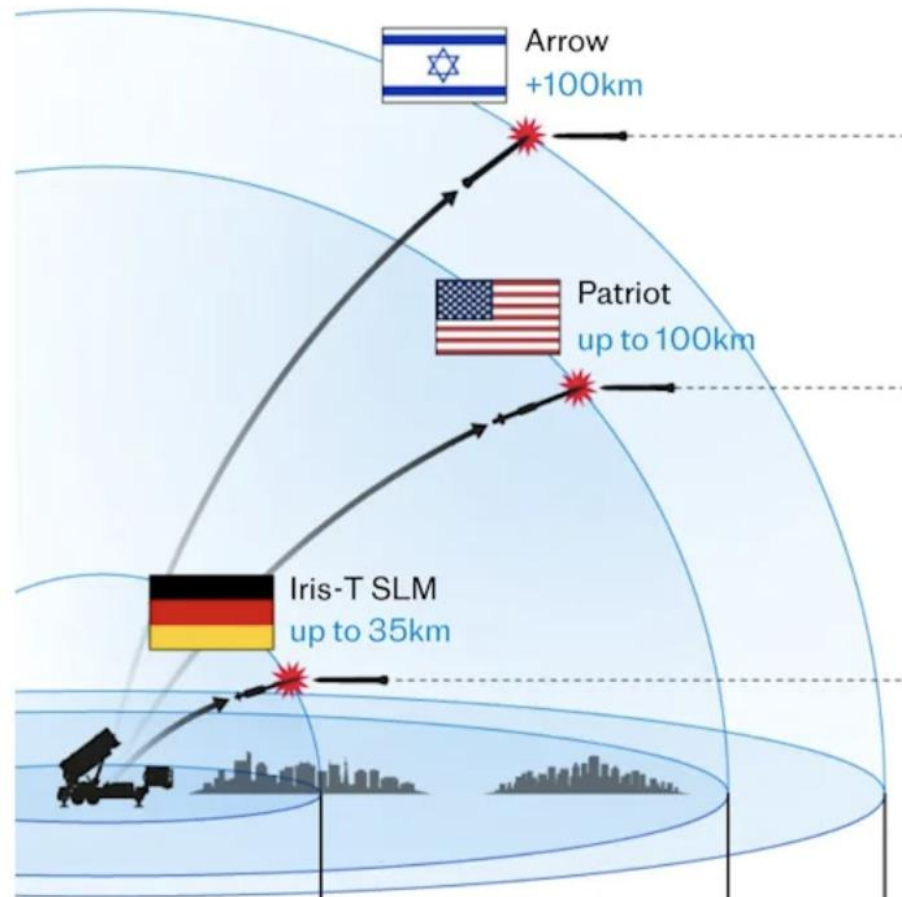


#2 high tech Weapons, specifically missiles and missile shields. On the one side you have Iran and Russia. On the other hand Germans desperately shopping for its Sky Shield and settling on a US-Israeli combination, in the summer of 2023. The largest ever Israeli arms sale to Germany. The joint Israeli, us, European interest in rocket war is huge.

Europe's Iron Dome

The European Sky Shield Initiative aims to ensure the future security of Europe's air defence

Range and cost of missile defence systems



#3 And then there is logistics and IMEC. The Indian ocean takes on a new significance if you are competing for something you have called the Indopacific. And then middle east takes on a new role as a pivot. Over summer of 2023 with Modi and new delhi in charge of G20, the Biden administration pushes Quad and IMEC. IMEC places israel as hub of a corridor that connects to india, Saudi and the gulf. In this vision the Israeli-Gulf axis is directed both against BRI and Russian-Iranian corridor.

INDIA-MIDDLE EAST-EUROPE ECONOMIC CORRIDOR



Figure 1. India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor

Source: <https://www.thenationalnews.com/opinion/comment/2023/09/20/the-corridor-plan-unveiled-at-g20-goes-much-beyond-trade/>

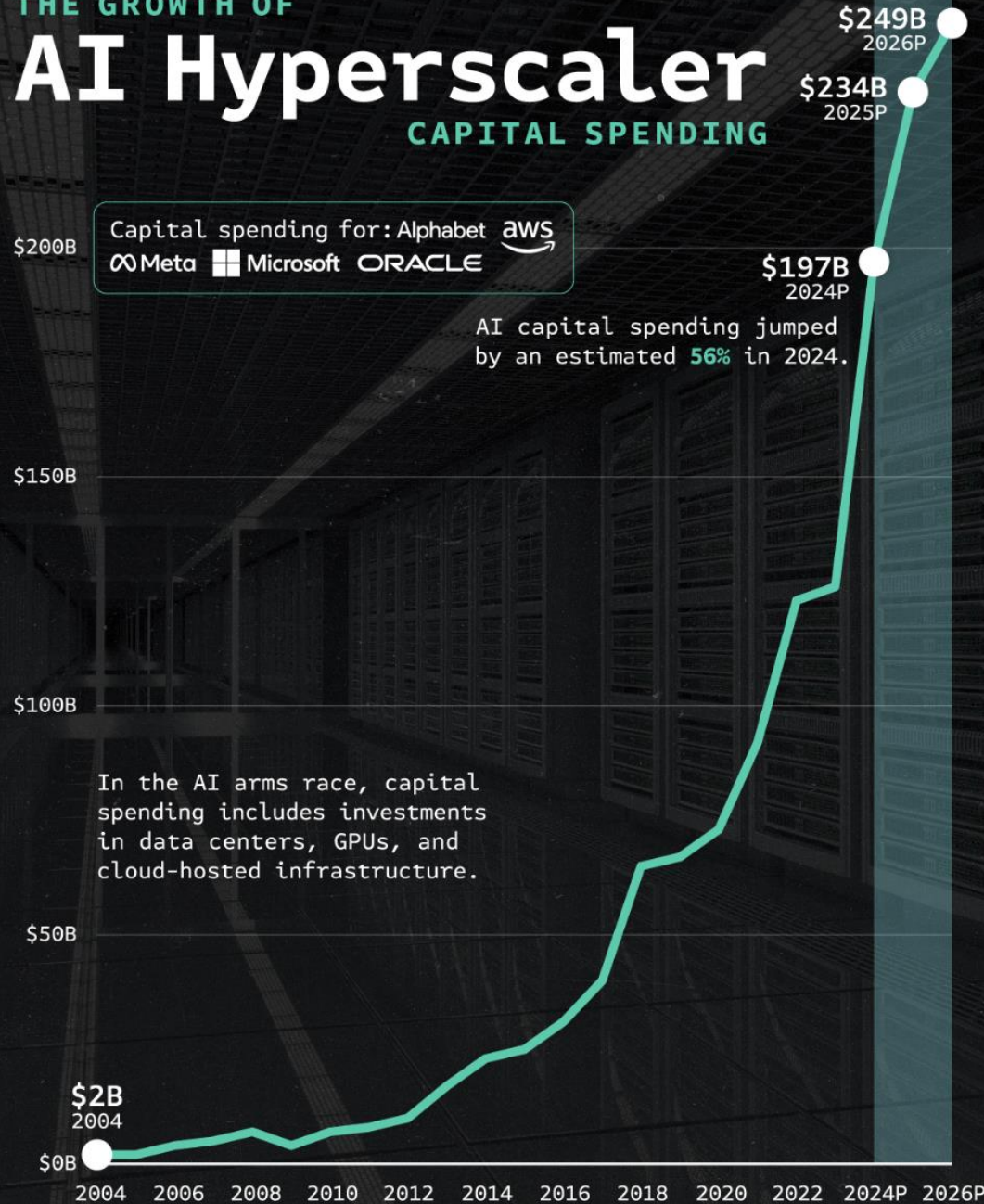
Israel felt indispensable as never before. By September 2023 Netanyahu at the UN was waving a map of IMEC in which Palestine was incorporated into Israel.



THE GROWTH OF

AI Hyperscaler

CAPITAL SPENDING



Can the Gulf buy its way to AI supremacy?

Middle East nations have committed \$2 trillion to artificial intelligence, computer chips, and defense, chasing tech supremacy that money alone may not guarantee.

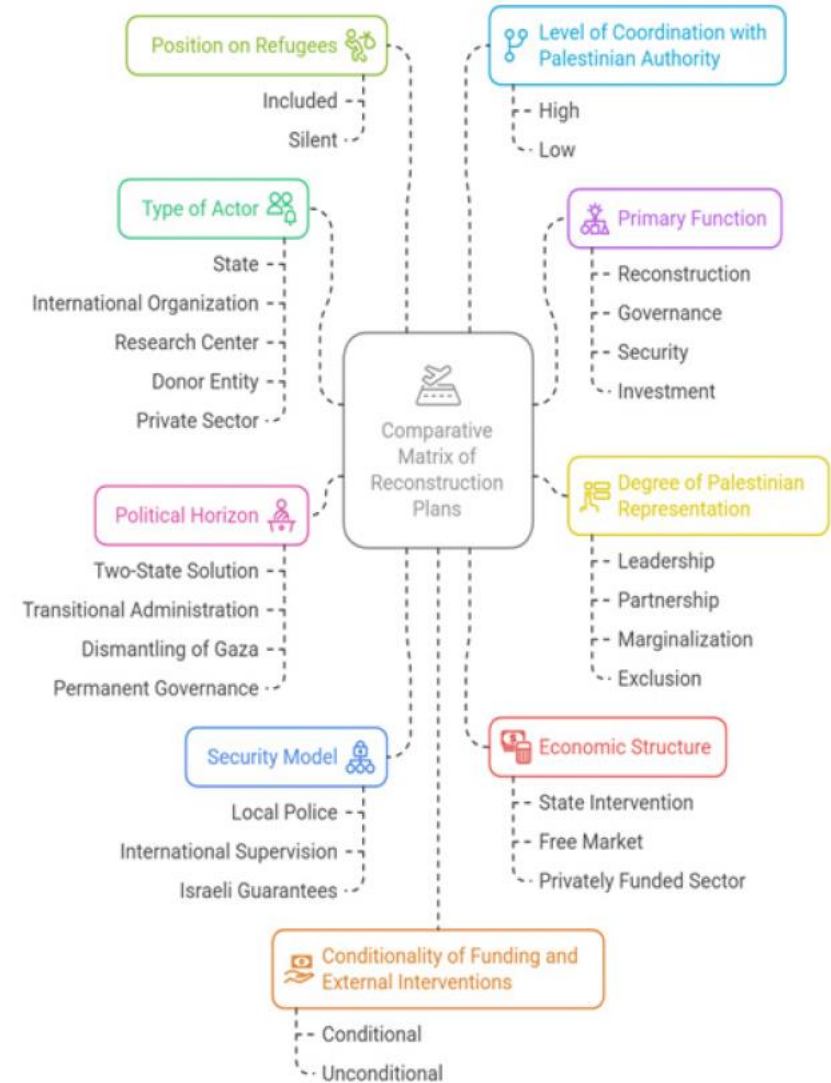




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Reconstructing Gaza through Spatial Planning:

Comparative Readings of Gaza Reconstruction Plans and Proposals



A New Palestinian Offer for Peace With Israel

Hebron's sheikhs propose to leave the Palestinian Authority and join the Abraham Accords.

By Elliot Kaufman


July 5, 2025 10:26 pm ET

848
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Sheikh Wadde' al-Jaabari in Jerusalem, July 3. COURTESY OF WADEE' AL-JAABARI

THE EIGHT PRINCIPLES OF DUBAI



نية لدبي

His Highness, Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum Vice President and Prime Minister of the UAE and the Ruler of Dubai

- The Union is the Foundation**
Dubai is an integral part of the UAE and a pillar of the federation. The Emirate's destiny is entwined with the UAE's destiny, its well-being is vital to the UAE, and its people are ever-willing to sacrifice for the greater good of the country. The Union's interest is above local interest, the Union's laws transcend our laws and legislations, the Union's policy is our policy, and the Union's government priorities are our government's priorities.
- No One is Above the Law**
Justice is the basis of a strong and proud nation, and guarantees prosperity and stability. No one is above the law in Dubai. Starting with the ruling family. The law does not discriminate between citizens and residents, rich and poor, male and female, Muslims and non-Muslims. Justice delayed is justice denied. "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere". I renounce unfair practice or conduct of any person, and the ruling family shall likewise renounce any form of injustice as long as it governs the Emirate.
- We are a Business Capital**
The Government of Dubai aims to improve the lives of its people through strengthening its economy. Dubai does not invest or involve itself in politics, and does not rely on politics to ensure its competitiveness. We extend a hand of friendship to all those who hold good intentions towards Dubai and the UAE. Dubai is a politically neutral business-friendly global hub that focuses on creating economic opportunities.
- Three Factors Drive Growth**
Dubai's growth is driven by three factors: a credible, resilient and excellent government; an active, fair and open private sector; and public and government-owned flagship companies that compete globally, and generate an income for the government, jobs for its citizens, and assets for future generations.

- Our Society has a Unique Personality**
Our society is a respectful and coherent one, bound by tolerance and openness. It distances itself from all forms of discrimination and biasness. It is a disciplined society, committed to its promises, timelines and covenants. We are modest about our successes, perseverant in dealing with challenges, charitable and generous in achieving the greater good, and open to everyone.
- We Believe in Economic Diversification**
Economic diversification has been the foundation of our unwritten constitution in Dubai since 1833. The changing times and the rapid developments make our commitment to this principle everlasting. Our new goal is to create at least a new economic sector every three years that will be productive, contribute to our GDP, and generate jobs.
- A Land for Talent**
Dubai has always relied on talented tradesmen, administrators, engineers, creatives, and dreamers for its success. The Emirate's prominence, sustainability and competitiveness depend on its capacity to continue attracting skilled and talented people, and nurturing the brightest minds to generate innovative ideas. We have to continually review and renew our policies and procedures to ensure our appeal to talented individuals. We must build the best environment in Dubai for the world's leading minds.
- We Care about Future Generations**
The destiny of our future generations must not be affected by the fluctuations of regional politics and global economic cycles. We invest and create valuable assets for them. Our fundamental rule in this regard is that the government should, under all circumstances, own economic assets that are worth at least 20 times the value of its annual budget. We work towards maintaining a secure future, and we are focused today on ensuring the prosperity of our future generations.

5. **مجتمعنا له شخصية متفردة**
هو مجتمع يتميز بكمية العمل وقلة الجدل، مجتمع يتميز بالانخراط والالتزام في وعوده ومواهبه وعهوده؛ متواضعون عند النجاح، متبارون عند التحديات، تاشرون للخير، منفتحون على الجميع، مجتمع يسوده الاحترام، ويربط كافة مكوناته التسامح، ويتباعد عن التطرفة والتمييز، لا تقبل من يتفوقون المحصنات او يتبرون الكراهية، الاصل في الجميع عدنا الخير والاخلاص والولاء وحب الوطن، الا اذا امت القاتون عكس ذلك، ولا يجوز لاحد ان يحكم على احد او يحاكمه، الا من خولناه القضاء او حكمناه تطبيق العدالة.

6. **لا نلتزم على مصدر واحد للحياة**
تتبع الاقتصاد قاعدة في دستور دبي غير المكتوب منذ عام 1833، وتغير الزمن وسرعة التطورات يفرض الالتزام بهذا المبدأ دائما ومهما اجدد المبادرات قطاع اقتصادي جديد على الاقل كل ثلاثة اعوام، قطاع منتج ومساهم في نمواذجنا المحلي وموفر للوظائف، وقادر على الاستمرار بقوة دفعه الذاتية.

7. **ارض للمواهب**
دبي قامت على الموهوبين من التجار والدارسين والمهندسين والمصنعين والمعلمين، وضاء دبي متفوقه مرمون ببقائها قبله للمتفوقين، واستمرار تافسيتها مرمون باستمرار استقطابها لاصحاب العقول والافكار، ولا بد من تجديد سياساتها واجراءاتها بشكل مستمر لتجديد جاذبيتها للمواهب، ولا بد من بناء الحياة الافضل في دبي لاصحاب العقول والافكار الافضل.

8. **ننظر بالاجيال**
لا تترك مصير الاجيال القادمة مرمونها بتقلبات السياسة الاقليمية وجورات الاقتصاد العالمية، بل نستثمر لهم، ونخلق اجورا استثمارية من اجلهم، ونلتزمنا في ذلك ان تمتلك الحكومة في كل الاجيال اجورا متجددات، نشرون مخصص ميزانيتها السنوية على الاقل نسمي لضمان المستقبل ونعز من اليوم في رضاء جيلنا القادمة.

محمد بن راشد آل مكتوم
Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum

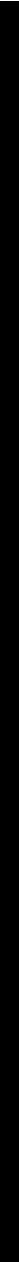
DUBAI IN 1980



DUBAI IN 2025



Dubai: the promise of development as magical transformation.



1. in your insistence on development for Palestine and the scandal of de-development, don't underestimate the radicalism of development elsewhere. Exactly as you say the form may be the same, but the content is what it is all about. Economic growth is not equal economic growth. True development is inherently political and historical. At the global level it is a protean force.

2. On the main axes of the world power structure, as a result of true development we are in the midst of a manifest crisis that goes to heart of US power.

3. The pace at which that crisis is unfolding is breathtaking. The Chinese green energy revolution happened during COVID. Hyperscaling during the Gaza war.