

# The Palestinian Strategic Report 2011/12



Edited By

**Dr. Mohsen Moh'd Saleh**



Al-Zaytouna Centre For Studies & Consultations



# **The Palestinian Strategic Report 2011/12**



**Al-Zaytouna Centre  
For Studies & Consultations  
Beirut - Lebanon**

# **The Palestinian Strategic Report 2011/12**

التقرير الاستراتيجي الفلسطيني 2011/12

## **Editor:**

Dr. Mohsen Moh'd Saleh

## **First Published in 2013 by:**

Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations

P.O. Box: 14-5034, Beirut, Lebanon

Tel: +961 1 803644

Tel-fax: +961 1 803643

E-mail: [info@alzaytouna.net](mailto:info@alzaytouna.net)

Website: [www.alzaytouna.net](http://www.alzaytouna.net)

**ISBN 978-9953-500-63-8**

© All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means without the prior written permission of the publisher. For further information regarding permission(s), please write to: [info@alzaytouna.net](mailto:info@alzaytouna.net)

*The views expressed in this book are those of the authors alone. They do not necessarily reflect views of al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations.*

## **Designed by:**

Ms. Marwa Ghalayini

## **Printed by:**

Dar Lubnan Print House +961 5 801673

# The Palestinian Strategic Report 2011/12

## Editor

Dr. Mohsen Moh'd Saleh

## Consultants

Mr. Ahmad Khalifah  
Dr. Hussien Abu al-Namel  
Prof. Dr. Majdi Hammad  
Mr. Munir Shafiq

## Writers

Mr. Hani al-Masri  
Mr. Hasan Ibhais  
Prof. Dr. Ibrahim Hassan Abu Jabir  
Dr. Johnny Mansour  
Dr. Mohamed Nouredine  
Dr. Mohsen Moh'd Saleh  
Mr. Muhammad Jum'a  
Mr. Mu'min Bsiso  
Prof. Dr. Talal 'Atrissi  
Mr. Wael Sa'ad  
Prof. Dr. Walid 'Abd al-Hay  
Mr. Ziad Bhies

## Senior Translator

Prof. Dr. Hassan Ibrahim

## Translators

Ms. Baraah Darazi  
Mr. Karim Traboulsi  
Ms. Salma al-Houry  
Ms. Yosra Zoghby

## Senior Language Editor

Ms. Rana Sa'adah

## Proofreading

Mr. Tom Charles

## Assistant Editors

Ms. Fatima 'Itani  
Ms. Ghina Jamal al-Din  
Ms. Hayat Dada  
Ms. Iqbal 'Omeish  
Ms. Laila al-Haj





# Table of Contents

<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	5
<b>List of Tables</b> .....	11
<b>List of Abbreviations</b> .....	15
<b>List of Contributors</b> .....	17
<b>Introduction</b> .....	23
<b>Chapter One: The Internal Palestinian Scene</b>	
<b>Introduction</b> .....	27
<b>First:</b> The Emergency Government in the West Bank .....	27
<b>Second:</b> The Caretaker Government in the Gaza Strip .....	33
<b>Third:</b> National Reconciliation Process .....	38
<b>Fourth:</b> Prisoner Swap Deal and Its Internal Repercussions .....	45
<b>Fifth:</b> Palestinian Factions and Forces .....	53
<b>Sixth:</b> Internal Security and the Security Predicament .....	58
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	63
<b>Chapter Two: The Israeli-Palestinian Scene</b>	
<b>Introduction</b> .....	75
<b>First:</b> The Internal Israeli Political Scene: .....	75
1. Opposition Parties Criticize the Netanyahu Government .....	75
2. The Disintegration of the Labor Party and the Rebuilding of What Remained of Its Fragments .....	76
3. The Yisrael Beitenu Party Dominates the Coalition .....	77
4. Moves to Develop a New Party Map of Israel, in Preparation for the Coming Elections .....	78
5. Social Justice Protests, a Tempest in a Teacup .....	79
6. Netanyahu's Reading of the Internal Political Scene and Its Connection to Events in the Region .....	80
<b>Second:</b> The Most Prominent Demographic, Economic and Military Indicators: ...	81
1. Demographic Indicators .....	81
2. Economic Indicators .....	85
3. Military Indicators .....	92

<b>Third: Aggression and Resistance:</b> .....	97
1. The Killed and Wounded .....	97
2. The Prisoners and Detainees .....	100
3. The Israeli Siege of the Palestinian People .....	102
<b>Fourth: The Israeli Position Towards the Domestic Palestinian Situation</b> .....	103
<b>Fifth: The Peace Process</b> .....	106
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	118

### Chapter Three: The Palestinian Issue and the Arab World

<b>Introduction</b> .....	131
<b>First: The Stance of the League of Arab States:</b> .....	133
1. The Stance on the Peace Settlement .....	133
2. The Stance on the Palestinian Schism .....	135
<b>Second: The Stances and the Roles of Some Key Countries:</b> .....	136
1. Egypt .....	136
2. Jordan .....	141
3. Syria .....	148
4. Lebanon .....	152
5. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Countries .....	159
<b>Third: Developments of Normalization</b> .....	165
<b>Fourth: The Arab Public's Position:</b> .....	169
1. The Masses Return as Pivotal Actor .....	169
2. The Dilemma of the Increase of Traditional Actors and Their Fragmentation .....	170
3. Greater Role for al-Azhar and the Popular Diplomacy .....	171
4. The Future of Partnership with the New Palestinian Movements .....	172
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	174

### Chapter Four: The Palestinian Issue and the Muslim World

<b>Introduction</b> .....	183
<b>First: Organization of Islamic Cooperation</b> .....	183
<b>Second: Turkey</b> .....	185
<b>Third: Iran</b> .....	199
<b>Fourth: Malaysia</b> .....	209
<b>Fifth: Indonesia</b> .....	210



**Sixth: Trade** .....211  
**Conclusion** .....214

**Chapter Five: The Palestinian Issue and the International Situation**

**Introduction** .....223  
**First: The Quartet** .....224  
**Second: The United States of America:** .....231  
    1. Negotiations Under a Balance of Power Tipped in Favor of Israel .....231  
    2. US Efforts for a Peace Settlement .....236  
    3. American Public Opinion Trends .....241  
**Third: The European Union:** .....242  
    1. Linking the Arab Uprisings to Efforts for Settling the Palestinian Issue ....243  
    2. Condemnation of Israeli Settlement in the Territories Occupied in 1967 ....244  
    3. The “Moral” Bias to the Israeli Side .....245  
    4. Continued Financial Support .....245  
    5. European Public Opinion .....246  
**Fourth: The Russian Federation:** .....247  
    1. The Position on Settlement Building .....247  
    2. The Effects of the Arab Uprisings on Efforts to Resolve the  
        Palestinian Issue .....249  
    3. Military Tension in the Region .....249  
    4. Russian Relations with the Palestinian and Israeli Sides .....250  
**Fifth: China** .....254  
**Sixth: Japan** .....256  
**Seventh: The United Nations** .....258  
**Eighth: International Public Opinion:** .....265  
    1. Popular Attitudes .....265  
    2. International Non-Governmental Organizations .....269  
**Conclusion** .....270

**Chapter Six: The Land and the Holy Sites**

**Introduction** .....285  
**First: Islamic and Christian Holy Sites:** .....285  
    1. *Al-Aqsa* Mosque .....285  
    2. Jerusalem’s Islamic Holy Sites .....295

3. Jerusalem’s Christian Holy Sites .....	297
4. Islamic and Christian Holy Sites in the Rest of Historic Palestine .....	297
<b>Second:</b> The Population Under Occupation: .....	300
1. The Demographic Battle’s Reality .....	301
2. Attempts to Expel the Palestinians .....	303
3. Demolition of Houses and Structures .....	305
4. The Palestinian Citizens’ Deepening Cost of Living Crisis .....	306
5. The Decision to Force Curriculum Changes on Jerusalem Schools .....	306
6. The Policy of Targeting Children .....	307
7. Escalating the Policy of Shutting Down Institutions .....	307
<b>Third:</b> The Settlement and Judaization Process in Jerusalem: .....	308
1. Consolidating Jerusalem’s Standing as the Center of the State .....	308
2. The Biblical Park Project in al-‘Isawiyah .....	309
3. Developments in Building the Wall Around Jerusalem .....	311
4. Consolidating the South Jerusalem Settlements .....	311
5. Putting Jerusalem Light Rail into Operation .....	312
<b>Fourth:</b> Political Developments: .....	314
1. Jerusalem in the Negotiation Documents .....	314
2. Deportation of Jerusalem MPs .....	317
3. Draft Law of Jerusalem “Capital of the Jewish People” .....	318
4. Developments in Moving the American Embassy to Jerusalem .....	319
<b>Fifth:</b> Jerusalem: a Look at the Near Future .....	320
<b>Sixth:</b> Israeli Settlement Expansion .....	321
<b>Seventh:</b> Confiscation of Palestinian Land and Water Resources .....	324
<b>Eighth:</b> Destruction of Palestinian Agriculture .....	327
<b>Ninth:</b> Demolition of Palestinian Homes .....	329
<b>Tenth:</b> The Separation Wall .....	330
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	333

## Chapter Seven: Demographic, Economic and Educational Indicators

<b>Introduction</b> .....	347
<b>First:</b> Demographic Indicators: .....	347
1. The Palestinian Population Worldwide .....	347
2. The Demographic Characteristics of Palestinians .....	350

3. The Palestinian Refugees .....	356
4. Demographic Growth Trends .....	360
<b>Second: Economic Indicators in the WB and GS: .....</b>	<b>362</b>
1. Gross Domestic Product .....	363
2. GDP per Capita .....	367
3. Public Debt .....	369
4. The PA's General Budget (Ramallah) .....	370
5. General Budget of the Caretaker Government in the GS .....	374
6. Work and Unemployment .....	376
7. Industrial Activity .....	377
8. Agricultural Activity .....	378
9. Trade .....	379
10. PA's External Financing .....	381
<b>Third: Educational Indicators in the WB and GS: .....</b>	<b>383</b>
1. The General Educational Situation .....	383
2. Basic and Secondary Education .....	383
3. University Education .....	388
4. University and Community Colleges .....	389
<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>390</b>
<b>Index .....</b>	<b>395</b>



## List of Tables

<b>Table 1/2:</b> Population of Israel 2005–2011 .....	82
<b>Table 2/2:</b> Numbers of Jewish Immigrants to Israel 1990–2011 .....	83
<b>Table 3/2:</b> World Jewish Population by Country 2010 .....	84
<b>Table 4/2:</b> Israeli GDP 2005–2011 .....	85
<b>Table 5/2:</b> Israeli GDP per Capita 2005–2011 .....	86
<b>Table 6/2:</b> Total Israeli Exports and Imports 2008–2011 .....	87
<b>Table 7/2:</b> Israeli Exports by Commodity Group 2010–2011 .....	87
<b>Table 8/2:</b> Israeli Imports by Commodity Group 2010–2011 .....	88
<b>Table 9/2:</b> Volume of Israeli Trade, Exports and Imports to/ from Selected Countries 2010–2011 .....	89
<b>Table 10/2:</b> US Bilateral Aid to Israel 1949–2011 .....	91
<b>Table 11/2:</b> Israeli Military Consumption 2005–2012 .....	93
<b>Table 12/2:</b> The Killed and Wounded Among Palestinians and Israelis in the WB and GS 2007–2011 .....	98
<b>Table 13/2:</b> Prisoners and Detainees in Israeli Prisons 2011 .....	101
<b>Table 1/3:</b> Volume of Trade Between Jordan and Israel According to Jordanian and Israeli Statistics 2010–2011 .....	167
<b>Table 2/3:</b> Israeli Exports and Imports to/ from Some Arab Countries 2008–2011 .....	167
<b>Table 1/4:</b> Volume of Trade Between Turkey and Israel According to Turkish and Israeli Statistics 2010–2011 .....	196
<b>Table 2/4:</b> Israeli Exports and Imports to/ from a Number of Non-Arab Muslim Countries 2008–2011 .....	213
<b>Table 1/5:</b> EC Support to PA Sectors, August 2011 .....	246
<b>Table 2/5:</b> Views of Israel’s Influence by Country 2012 .....	267
<b>Table 1/6:</b> Excavations Under <i>al-Aqsa</i> Mosque and in Its Periphery, 21/8/2011 ...	288
<b>Table 2/6:</b> The Rise in the Number of Excavations Under <i>al-Aqsa</i> Mosque and in Its Periphery, 22/8/2010–21/8/2011 .....	288
<b>Table 3/6:</b> Most Notable Israeli Attacks on the Holy Sites in the Rest of Historic Palestine 2011 .....	298
<b>Table 4/6:</b> Number of Residents in Jerusalem 2009–2010 .....	301

<b>Table 5/6:</b> Extent of Poverty in Jerusalem and Israel 2009 .....	306
<b>Table 6/6:</b> Israeli Plans and Tenders to Build Housing Units in a Number of WB Settlements Including Jerusalem, 1/1/2011–20/12/2011 .....	312
<b>Table 7/6:</b> Number of Housing Units Built in the WB Settlements, East Jerusalem Excluded, 2009–2011 .....	323
<b>Table 8/6:</b> Examples of Lands Confiscated in the WB 2011 .....	326
<b>Table 9/6:</b> Number of Israeli Attacks on Trees and Lands 2011 .....	329
<b>Table 10/6:</b> Demolitions of Palestinian Structures 2011 .....	330
<b>Table 1/7:</b> Palestinian Population Worldwide Estimate According to Place of Residence at the End of 2011 .....	348
<b>Table 2/7:</b> Palestinian Refugees Worldwide; Population Estimates in 2011 .....	349
<b>Table 3/7:</b> Palestinian Total and Refugee Population in the WB and GS 2011 .....	350
<b>Table 4/7:</b> Estimated Population Count by Governorate, 2007 & 2011 .....	351
<b>Table 5/7:</b> Selected Demographic Indicators of Palestinians by Residence .....	355
<b>Table 6/7:</b> UNRWA’s Figures as of 1/1/2012 .....	358
<b>Table 7/7:</b> UNRWA-RPs, Their Births and Families by Region .....	359
<b>Table 8/7:</b> Estimated Population Count of Palestinians and Jews in Historic Palestine 2011–2020 .....	361
<b>Table 9/7:</b> GDP in the WB and GS 1999–2011 .....	363
<b>Table 10/7:</b> Comparing the Israeli and Palestinian GDP 2008–2011 .....	364
<b>Table 11/7:</b> GDP in the WB and GS 2008–2011 .....	366
<b>Table 12/7:</b> GDP Growth in the WB and GS 2008–2011 .....	366
<b>Table 13/7:</b> GDP per Capita in the WB and GS 1999–2011 .....	367
<b>Table 14/7:</b> GDP per Capita in the WB and GS 2008–2011 .....	368
<b>Table 15/7:</b> Comparing the Israeli and Palestinian GDP per Capita 2008–2011 .....	369
<b>Table 16/7:</b> Total Public Debt Evolution in the WB and GS 1999–2011 .....	370
<b>Table 17/7:</b> PA Revenues, External Budgetary Support and Development Financing 2008–2011 .....	371
<b>Table 18/7:</b> Evolution of PA Expenditures 2008–2011 .....	372
<b>Table 19/7:</b> Evolution of the PA Budget Deficits 2008–2011 .....	373
<b>Table 20/7:</b> Fiscal Operations of the Caretaker Government in GS 2010–2011 .....	374
<b>Table 21/7:</b> Distribution of Palestinians Aged 15 Years and over in the WB and GS by Labor Force Status and Region 2008–2011 .....	376
<b>Table 22/7:</b> Distribution of Palestinians Aged 15 Years and over in the WB and GS by Labor Force Components and Region 2008–2011 .....	377

<b>Table 23/7:</b> Evolution of Industrial GDP and Its Percentage of Total GDP in the WB and GS 2008–2011 .....	377
<b>Table 24/7:</b> Evolution of Agricultural GDP and Its Percentage of Total GDP in the WB and GS 2008–2011 .....	378
<b>Table 25/7:</b> Volume of Palestinian Trade, Exports and Imports in Goods in the WB and GS to/ from Selected Countries 2009–2010 .....	379
<b>Table 26/7:</b> Evolution of the PA External Budgetary Support and Development Financing 2008–2011 .....	381
<b>Table 27/7:</b> Sources of External Financing for the PA 2010–2011 .....	382
<b>Table 28/7:</b> Basic and Secondary Schools in the WB and GS by Supervising Authority 2007/2008–2011/2012 .....	384
<b>Table 29/7:</b> Number of Schools, Students, Teachers and Sections in the WB and GS by Sex 2010/2011–2011/2012 .....	385
<b>Table 30/7:</b> Number of Schools, Students, Teachers and Sections in Government Schools in the WB and GS 2007/2008–2011/2012 .....	387
<b>Table 31/7:</b> Number of Students in Traditional Universities in the WB and GS by Sex 2010/2011 .....	388
<b>Table 32/7:</b> Number of Students Seeking Open Education in the WB and GS by Sex 2010/2011 .....	389
<b>Table 33/7:</b> Number of Students in University and Community Colleges in the WB and GS by Sex 2010/2011 .....	389





## List of Abbreviations

AIPAC	The American Israel Public Affairs Committee
AKP	<i>Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi</i> (Justice and Development Party)
BCM	Billion Cubic Meters
CBR	Crude Birth Rate
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
CDR	Crude Death Rate
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
DFLP	Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine
DPRA	Directorate of Political and Refugee Affairs
EC	European Commission
ECESG	European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
EU	European Union
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GS	Gaza Strip
HRC	United Nations Human Rights Council
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IHH	<i>İnsan Hak ve Hürriyetleri ve İnsani Yardım Vakfı</i> (Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief)
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INSS	The Institute for National Security Studies
IRC	International Red Cross
ISA	Israel Security Agency (Shabak)
JEA	Jerusalem Education Administration
JOD	Jordanian Dinars
KSA	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia
l/c/d	Liters per Capita per Day
MB	Muslim Brotherhood

MCM	Million Cubic Meters
MP	Member of Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OCHA-oPt	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs-occupied Palestinian territory
OIC	Organization of Islamic Cooperation
PA	Palestinian Authority
PARC	Palestinian Agricultural Relief Committees
PCBS	Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics
PEGASE	Palestino-Europeén de Gestion et d'Aide Socio-Economique
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PFLP-GC	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command
PIJ	Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine
PLC	Palestinian Legislative Council
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PNC	Palestinian National Council
PPP	Palestinian People's Party
PRCS	Palestine Red Crescent Society
PWA	Palestinian Water Authority
RP	Registered Person
RPC	Registered Person in Refugee Camp
RR	Registered Refugee
SCAF	Supreme Council of the Armed Forces
SNC	Syrian National Council
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
US	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WB	West Bank

## List of Contributors

### Chapter One:

#### *The Internal Palestinian Scene*

**Mu'min Bsiso**, a Palestinian who studied journalism and media studies. He is the advisor to the speaker of the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) and the editor-in-chief of PLC's *al-Barlaman* newspaper. He was the managing editor of *al-Sada* newspaper, and the director of the Arab Center for Research and Studies in Gaza. He conducted many studies, most notably the *Intifadat al-Aqsa* series, issued by the Arab Center for Research and Studies. He is a permanent columnist in several Palestinian and Arab newspapers, magazines and websites.

**Hasan Ibhais**, a media man and a specialized researcher in Palestinian studies. He heads the Department of Media and Public Relations at al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations. He wrote in several publications, such as: *al-Tatawurat al-Amniyyah fi al-Sultah al-Filastiniyyah 2006–2007* (Security Developments in the Palestinian Authority 2006–2007), *Sira' al-Iradat: Al-Suluk al-Amni li Fatah wa Hamas wa al-Atraf al-Ma'niyyah 2006–2007* (Conflict of Wills Between Fatah and Hamas and Other Relevant Parties 2006–2007), *Mu'anat al-Mar'ah al-Filastiniyyah Tahta al-Ihtilal al-Israeli* (The Suffering of the Palestinian Women Under the Israeli Occupation) and *al-Jidar al-'Azil fi al-Daffah al-Gharbiyyah* (The Separation Wall in the West Bank). He conducted several researches and participated in several local and international conferences and seminars.

### Chapter Two:

#### *The Israeli- Palestinian Scene*

**Johnny Mansour**, Ph.D., is a historian and a lecturer at the History Department of Beit Berl Academic College, deputy director of Mar Elias College in the Galilee. His researches are on Islamic and Arab history and on Middle Eastern issues. His publications include: *Shawari' Hayfa al-'Arabiyyah*

(Jaffa's Arab Streets), *Masafah Bayna Dawlatayn* (A Distance Between Two States), *al-Istitan al-Isra'eli* (The Israeli Settlement), *al-Mu'assasah al-'Askariyyah fi Israel* (The Military Institution in Israel), *al-Madinah al-Filastiniyyah fi Fatrat al-Intidab al-Baritani* (The Palestinian City in the British Mandate Period) and *Mu'jam al-A'lam wa al-Mustalahat al-Sahyuniyyah wa al-Isra'eliyyah* (Lexicon of Zionist and Israeli Personalities and Terms). He edited the 2006 & 2007 strategic reports of The Palestinian Forum for Israeli Studies (Madar) in Ramallah and managed the archive department there. He has published many studies and refereed articles in many scientific journals and participated in local and international conferences. Mansour is an active member of several societies and academic institutions.

**Mohsen Moh'd Saleh**, Ph.D., is an associate professor of Modern and Contemporary Arab History, the general manager of al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations, editor-in-chief of the annual *Palestinian Strategic Report*, former head of Department of History and Civilization at the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM), and former executive manager of Middle East Studies Centre in Amman. He was granted the *Bait al-Maqdis* (Jerusalem) award for Young Muslims Scholars in 1997 and the Excellent Teaching Award (College level), given by IIUM in 2002. Saleh is the author of 12 books and some of his books were translated into several languages. He contributed chapters to seven books. He is the editor/ co-editor of more than 30 books. He is the editor of electronic daily "Palestine Today," which has so far published more than 2,600 issues. He has published many articles in refereed scholarly journals and magazines. He presented papers at innumerable academic local and international conferences and seminars. He is a frequent commentator on current issues on broadcasting media.

**Hani al-Masri**, is an author and journalist who studied at the Faculty of Commerce of Ain Shams University in Cairo. He's a member of the Union of International Journalists since 1980 and the general manager of the Palestinian Center for Policy Research and Strategic Studies—*Masarat* since 1/4/2011. From 2005 till 2011, he was the general manager of Palestine Media, Research and Studies Centre—*Badael*. He was the general director of the Department of Publication and Media Organizations Affairs at the Palestinian Ministry of Information 1995–2005. Al-Masri is a political analyst who was interviewed by different media. He is a columnist in *al-Ayyam* newspaper, and in several Palestinian and Arab newspapers and magazines. He wrote and published hundreds of articles, studies and researches, and contributed in several Arab and international conferences. He is a member of Board of Trustees of Yasser Arafat Foundation, a member of the Committee of Yasser Arafat Award, a member of the PA government delegation to the Cairo talks, and in many civil foundations, societies and others.

*Chapter Three:*

*The Palestinian Issue and the Arab World*

**Muhammad Jum'a**, is a researcher at Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies (ACPSS). He worked as an expert at Middle East News Agency (MENA). He has many publications including the one in 2010, *Azmat al-Ajhzah al-Amniyyah al-Filastiniyyah* (The Palestinian Security Apparatuses Crisis). Jum'a was the main researcher who prepared the televised Arabic documentary *The War on Gaza*, which was produced by Aljazeera TV in 2009. The author contributed in several annual Arab reports, where he wrote about the Palestinian issue. He authored many articles and studies that were published in several Arab and Egyptian newspapers and periodicals. He also participated in several conferences and seminars on the Palestinian issue.

*Chapter Four:*

*The Palestinian Issue and the Muslim World*

\* **Turkey**

**Mohamed Nouredine**, Ph.D., is a teacher of History and Turkish language at the Faculty of Literature and Humanities, Lebanese University. A specialized researcher in Turkish issues. His publications include *Turkya fi al-Zaman al-Mutahawwil* (Turkey in Changing Times), *Qubba'ah wa 'Amamah: Madkhal ila al-Harakat al-Islamiyyah fi Turkya* (A Hat and a Turban: Introduction to Islamic Movements in Turkey), *Turkya al-Jumhuriyyah al-Ha'irah* (Turkey: the Confused Republic), *Hijab wa Hirab: al-Kamaliyyah wa Azamat al-Hawiyyah fi Turkya* (Headscarf and Spears: Kemalism and Identity Crises in Turkey) and *Turkya: al-Sighah wa al-Dawr* (Turkey: the Form and the Role). Nouredine is the editor-in-chief of *Shu'un al-Awsat* (Middle East Affairs) journal.

\* **Iran**

**Talal 'Atrissi**, Ph.D., is a professor at the Lebanese University and teaches both Educational Sociology and Social Psychology. He is also a member of the Scientific Council of the Lebanese University Doctoral School of Literature, Humanities and Social Sciences. He obtained his Ph.D. in Educational Sociology from Université Paris Sorbonne-Paris IV. He is a former dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences in the Lebanese University and a former general director of the Center for Strategic Studies, Research, and Documentation (CSSRD), Beirut. He is a specialized researcher in the Iranian affairs. He published a number of books, studies and articles; *al-Bi'that al-Yasu'iyyah wa Muhimmat I'dad al-Nukhbah al-Siyasiyyah fi Lubnan* (Jesuit Missions and the Task of Preparing Political Elite in Lebanon), *al-Harakat al-Islamiyyah fi Muwajahat al-Taswiyah* (Islamic Movements in Opposition to Peace Settlement), *Dawlah bila Rijal: Jadal al-Siyadah wa al-Islah fi al-Sharq al-Awsat* (A State Without Men: Rule and Reform Controversy in the Middle East) and *al-Jumhuriyyah al-Sa'bah: Iran fi Tahawwulatiha al-Dakhiliyyah wa Siyasatiha al-Iqlimiyyah* (The Hard Republic: Iran in Its Internal Changes and Regional Politics).

**\* Organization  
of Islamic  
Cooperation**

**Wael Sa'ad**, a specialized researcher in Palestinian studies. He works now a researcher and assistant general manager at al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations in Beirut. He authored a book *al-Hisar* (The Siege), and participated in preparing and editing several publications, among them: al-Zaytouna's annual *al-Watha'iq al-Filastiniyyah* (The Palestinian Documents), *Sira' al-Iradat: al-Suluk al-Amni li Fatah wa Hamas wa al-Atraf al-Ma'niyyah 2006–2007* (Conflict of Wills Between Fatah and Hamas and Other Relevant Parties 2006–2007), *al-Tatawurat al-Amniyyah fi al-Sultah al-Filastiniyyah 2006–2007* (Security Developments in the Palestinian Authority 2006–2007) and *Qira'at Naqdiyyah fi Tajrubat Hamas wa Hukumatih 2006–2007* (Critical Assessments of the Experience of Hamas & Its Government 2006–2007). He participated in several local and international conferences and seminars.

**Chapter Five:**  
***The Palestinian  
Issue and the  
International  
Situation***

**Walid 'Abd al-Hay**, Ph.D., is a professor of Political Sciences at Yarmouk University, Jordan. He had his Ph.D. degree in Political Sciences from Cairo University and had taught at several universities. He is a member of the board of trustees of al-Zaytoonah University of Jordan and the former head of the Department of Political Sciences at Yarmouk University. 'Abd al-Hay was a consultant at the Higher Media Council and at the Board of Grievances in Jordan. He published 22 books mostly focused on futuristic studies in theory and application. His books include: *al-Dirasat al-Mustaqbaliyyah fi al-'Alakat al-Duwaliyyah* (Futuristic Studies in International Relations), *al-Dirasat al-Mustaqbaliyyah fi al-'Ulum al-Siyasiyyah* (Futuristic Studies in Political Sciences), *al-Makanah al-Mustaqbaliyyah li al-Sin 'ala Sullam al-Qiwa al-Duwali 1978–2010* (The Futuristic Status of China in the International Power Scale 1978–2010) and *Iran: Mustaqbal al-Makanah al-Iqlimiyyah 2020* (Iran: The Future of Regional Status 2020). He has translated many books and studies from English into Arabic, and published more than 60 researches in refereed academic journals.

*Chapter Six:*

*The Land and the Holy Sites*

**Ibrahim Hassan Abu Jabir**, Ph.D. is a professor and the former director of the Center for Contemporary Studies, Umm al-Fahm. He got his Ph.D. from Goethe-Universität Frankfurt in 1990. He worked for four years at Ben-Gurion University, and subsequently joined the Da'wah College in Umm al-Fahm. In the academic year 2011/2012, he became a lecturer at An-Najah National University, he also works at Derby University in Tel Aviv. He published many books and studies, including *al-Quds fi Da'irat al-Hadath* (Jerusalem in the Spot Light), *Mawsu'at Jurh al-Nakbah* (The Scar of the Catastrophe Encyclopedia), *Intifadat al-Quds wa al-Aqsa* (The Jerusalem and the Aqsa Uprising), *al-Jidar al-Fasil* (The Separation Wall).

**Ziad Bhies**, a specialized researcher in Jerusalem issues, was head of Media and Research Department at al-Quds International Institution (2004–2007) then he was its executive director (2008–2010). He edited several books including *Kitab al-Quds 2005–2006* (The Jerusalem Book 2005–2006) and the annual reports 'Ayn 'ala al-Aqsa (Eye on al-Aqsa) from 2006 till 2008. He conducted many researches on the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, and wrote a chapter in the book: *Awda' al-Laji'in al-Filastiniyyin fi Lubnan* (Conditions of the Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon). He contributed in the field study on the Palestinian refugees in Lebanon conducted by al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations during 2005–2006.

*Chapter Seven:*

*Demographic, Economic and Educational Indicators*

Editorial team at al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations.



---

## Introduction

The changes and revolutions that swept the Arab world in 2011 marked a major turning point in the region's modern history. If these changes continue in a positive direction, where the peoples would succeed in imposing their will, establish representative regimes that express the dignity of Arab citizens, and embark on projects of development and progress, then this will no doubt lead to changing the equation in the conflict with Israel in the middle and long run.

Indeed, one of the leading factors that allow Israel's continued occupation is the weakness, division, fragmentation and underdevelopment of its surroundings countries. Therefore, the presence of a strategic sphere for occupied Palestine, and one which is strong, perseverant and coherent at once—which clings to Arab and Islamic rights in Palestine and supports resistance forces—will leave a huge mark on the Palestinian issue. This sphere would include several mechanisms that support the Palestine national action, and also would influence the tracts of both resistance and peaceful settlement.

Nevertheless, all this may remain in the realm of wishful thinking. For one thing, the region's revolutions and transitions are facing many internal and external hurdles. They are also suffering from attempts to hijack them, divert them from their trajectories, and undermine their visions and/or attempts to regenerate corrupt regimes in a different form. This is not to mention schemes to partition the region along sectarian and ethnic lines.

What has come to be known by many as the "Arab Spring," has so far had only a limited impact on the Palestinian issue. To be sure, Fatah and Hamas and other factions have signed a reconciliation agreement. But its implementation on the ground has progressed very slowly and reluctantly; the agreement has so far been used only for political exploitation, with Palestinian strife being managed rather than being resolved. It is perhaps still premature to speak about a "Palestinian Spring" that would unite Palestinians under one umbrella, and a unified national program in which they would focus their concerted efforts on confronting the occupation and on the liberation project.

*The Palestinian Strategic Report* is being published—in both Arabic and English—for the seventh year in a row. It has become an essential reference consulted by researchers and experts concerned with Palestinian affairs.

The *Report* contains a wealth of information, data and analyzes, supported by up-to-date documents. The *Report* adheres to strict academic standards and the principles of objectivity, and follows only accepted academic methodologies. The *Report* covers the internal situation in Palestine, as well as Arab, Islamic and international positions on the Palestinian issue. The *Report* also tackles developments on the Israeli scene, and issues pertaining to Israeli military aggression, Palestinian resistance and the peace process.

The *Report* devotes a special chapter to the occupied territories and the holy sites. Also in this *Report*, the chapters on demographics and economic conditions have been merged together, where the focus was placed on the key indicators. Data on education was also added to this chapter.

Twelve experts on Palestinian affairs have taken part in the preparation of this *Report*. Besides, the advisers on the *Report* played a key role in evaluation and final refereeing, and in developing the *Report*'s contents. Al-Zaytouna Centre's working team, particularly the editorial assistants and archive staff, were heavily involved in the preparation and production of this *Report*. Here, we must particularly give credit to the exceptional and commendable efforts of colleagues Iqbal 'Omeish and Ghina Jamal al-Din.

Finally, we thank *Allah* (S.W.T) for the growing success of this *Report*. We also thank all those who have supported this *Report*, and encouraged us to continue producing it. Lastly, we welcome all constructive criticisms, feedback or advice.

**The Editor,**

**Dr. Mohsen Moh'd Saleh**



## This Report

The Palestinian Strategic Report 2011/12 is the seventh in a series of annual resourceful academic studies. It discusses the developments of the Palestinian issue of this period in an objective and comprehensive manner. The meticulous analytical reading of events tries also to foresee the near future. This Report has become a basic reference on Palestinian studies, it is a must read for all those concerned.

An outstanding team of 12 academics and experts contributed to this Report in seven chapters. They covered the internal Palestinian situation, the Israeli scene and the Israeli-Palestinian relations, the Arab, Muslim and international stances towards the Palestinian issue. This Report focuses also on the issue of Jerusalem and the holy sites, and the suffering of man and land under the Israeli occupation. Besides, the demographic, economic and education indicators are also studied and analyzed.

## The Palestinian Strategic Report 2011/12



Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations  
مركز الزيتونة للدراسات والاستشارات

P.O. Box: 14-5034 Beirut - Lebanon  
Tel: +961 1 803 644 | Tel-Fax: +961 1 803 643  
info@alzaytouna.net | www.alzaytouna.net

