

The Palestine Strategic Report 2024 – 2025



Edited By

Prof. Dr. Mohsen Mohammad Saleh



Al-Zaytouna Centre For Studies & Consultations

The Palestine Strategic Report 2024 – 2025



**Al-Zaytouna Centre
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List of Abbreviations

PA	Palestinian Authority
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BoP	Board of Peace
CBR	Crude Birth Rate
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics (Israel)
CDR	Crude Death Rate
CELAC	Community of Latin American and Caribbean States
CRS	Congressional Research Services
DFLP	Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine
EGIS	Egyptian General Intelligence Service
EU	European Union
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GIS	General Intelligence Service
GS	Gaza Strip
GSF	Global Sumud Flotilla
Gulf CAN	Gulf Coalition Against Normalisation
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICJ	International Court of Justice
IDI	Israel Democracy Institute
INGOs	International non-governmental organizations
INSS	The Institute for National Security Studies
IPC	Integrated Food Security Phase Classification
IRGC	Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps
ISA	Israel Security Agency (Shabak)
ISF	International Stabilization Force
JISS	Jerusalem Institute for Strategy and Security
LAF	Lebanese Armed Forces
LAS	League of Arab States
MB	Muslim Brothers
MK	Israeli Knesset member
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCPPA	National Commission for Palestinian Popular Action

NII	National Insurance Institute of Israel
OCHA	UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OCHA-oPt	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs-occupied Palestinian territory
OHCHR	Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights
OIC	Organization of Islamic Cooperation
PCBS	Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics
PCC	Palestinian Central Council
PCPA	Popular Conference for Palestinians Abroad
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
PMA	Palestine Monetary Authority
PNC	Palestinian National Council
PNI	Palestinian National Initiative
PPP	Palestinian People's Party
RC	Refugee Camp
RP	Registered Person
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SDF	Syrian Democratic Forces
SIS	Egypt's State Information Service
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
US	United States of America
WB	West Bank

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Introduction

Although The years 2024–2025 were largely defined by the dynamics of Operation al-Aqsa Flood, during which Israel pursued its genocidal campaign, starvation and forced displacement against the Palestinian population in Gaza Strip (GS). Simultaneously, it intensified repression, annexation policies and Judaization measures in the West Bank (WB), particularly in relation to *al-Aqsa* Mosque and Jerusalem. Moreover, Israel expanded the scope of its military operations to include Lebanon, Syria, Iran and Yemen, seeking to consolidate regional dominance and impose a “new Middle East” in line with its strategic vision. Within this context, the Palestinian resistance, together with its popular base, exhibited an exceptional and resilient model of military performance under extremely adverse conditions. Despite the enormous human and material costs, as well as the extensive destruction in GS, Israel nevertheless failed to achieve its declared objectives. At the same time, Iran, along with resistance movements in Lebanon and Yemen, provided sustained support to the Palestinian resistance and engaged in direct confrontations with Israel, in addition to the involvement of the Iraqi resistance.

During the same period, the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Palestinian Authority (PA) in Ramallah increasingly appeared unable to manage escalating challenges, as institutional fragility deepened, popular legitimacy eroded further, and the peace process on which they rely reached a clear impasse. Consequently, this trajectory reinforced the PA’s role in Ramallah as a functional authority operating within Israel’s framework, while sustained efforts continued to exclude resistance factions from meaningful participation in Palestinian representative institutions. In parallel, the Arab and Islamic environment, despite varying degrees of support, was no better in practice. It was characterized by structural weakness and limited engagement with the Palestine issue, as several states continued to pursue normalization with Israel while simultaneously restricting or isolating resistance actors, even as the Israeli threat to regional “national security” became increasingly pronounced.



Despite the centrality of the Palestine issue on the global agenda throughout 2024–2025, alongside an unprecedented level of international support, it remains unlikely that this momentum will translate into meaningful gains on the ground in the near term. This is largely because Israel continues to act as a state effectively “above the law,” while the US retains “exclusive control” over the international management of the Palestine file, seeking to advance its vision through a proposed “Board of Peace” in GS and by promoting normalization across the region. However, the broader trajectory of events reflects a period of global “transition” marked by instability and intersecting regional and international crises, including within Israel and the US. Accordingly, the Palestine issue faces significant “existential” risks, including political marginalization or even erasure. Nevertheless, these volatile conditions also open up potential opportunities, provided they are properly assessed and strategically leveraged.

This is the fourteenth volume of the Palestine Strategic Report (PSR) series. Over time, the report has established itself as a leading reference in Palestine studies and an indispensable resource for researchers, specialists and interested readers. It provides extensive, precise and well-documented material, presented within an objective analytical framework grounded in rigorous academic standards and research methodologies, while also seeking to anticipate near-term developments. Moreover, PSR is distinguished by its comprehensive scope. It covers internal Palestinian dynamics, the Israeli scene, and the trajectories of both resistance and the peace process, as well as the Arab, Islamic, and international dimensions of the Palestine issue. In addition, it allocates substantial attention to the Land, Jerusalem and its holy sites, alongside Palestinian demographic and economic conditions.

As in previous editions of the PSR, the names of contributors, along with chapter titles and their respective research topics, are listed at the beginning of the volume rather than at the start of each individual chapter. This approach reflects the collective nature of the PSR and, moreover, acknowledges that the editing process of this report, as with all previous editions, extends beyond conventional editorial practices. Indeed, substantial additions, revisions, and updates have been introduced in several chapters, thereby making responsibility for the final form of the text a shared one.

We extend our appreciation to the experts who contributed to drafting this report, the consultants who reviewed its content, and the staff at al-Zaytouna Centre, including editorial assistants and archivists, for their essential role in providing materials, reviewing texts and ensuring compliance with the required academic standards.

Finally, we praise Allah for the success of this report and for its recognition as a specialized reference. We also extend our gratitude to all those who supported and encouraged this work, and we remain open to constructive criticism, advice and suggestions.

Editor

Prof. Dr. Mohsen Mohammad Saleh



This Report

Al-Zaytouna Centre is pleased to present The Palestine Strategic Report (PSR) 2024–2025, now in its 14th consecutive edition. This report provides an academic, objective and comprehensive analysis of developments related to the Palestine issue across various dimensions. It offers up-to-date and accurate information and statistics through the end of 2025, complemented by analytical insights and forecasts.

Prepared by 14 specialized professors and researchers, this PSR consists of eight chapters that explore various aspects of the Palestinian situation. It examines the internal Palestinian scene, demographic and economic indicators, and the status of Jerusalem and its holy sites. The report also analyzes the courses of aggression, resistance and the peace process, while providing insights into the Israeli political, demographic, economic and military landscape. Furthermore, it discusses Palestinian Arab, Islamic and international relations. Notably, Operation al-Aqsa Flood has significantly influenced the report's findings and perspectives.

The PSR has emerged as a key reference in Palestine studies, serving as an indispensable resource that provides invaluable insights for those interested in Palestinian affairs. Al-Zaytouna Centre aspires, through the PSR, to make a significant contribution to the field of Palestine studies.

Prof. Dr. Mohsen Mohammad Saleh

The Palestine Strategic Report 2024 – 2025



Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations

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