

The Palestinian Strategic Report 2005



Edited By

Dr. Mohsen M. Saleh

Dr. Basheer M. Nafi



Al-Zaytouna Centre For Studies & Consultations

The Palestinian Strategic Report 2005



Al-Zaytouna Centre
For Studies & Consultations
Beirut - Lebanon

The Palestinian Strategic Report 2005

Editors

Dr. Mohsen Moh'd Saleh
Dr. Basheer Musa Nafi'

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.

ISBN xxx-xxx-xxx-xxx-xxx

First Published in 2007 by
Al-Zaytouna Centre For Studies & Consultations

10th Floor, Riviera Centre,

Corniche al-Mazraa'h,

Beirut, Lebanon

Tel: (961) 1 303 644 | Fax: (961) 1 303 643

Email: info@alzaytouna.net | Website: www.alzaytouna.net

Distributed by

Arab Scientific Publishers, Inc.

PO Box 13-5574 Shuran 1102-2050

Beirut, Lebanon

Tel: (961) 1 785107/8 | Fax: (961) 1 786 230

Email: asp@asp.com.lb | Website: www.asp.com.lb

© 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

Cover Design by

Hareth Adlouni

Designed & Printed by

CA. s.a.r.l. | Beirut, Lebanon | (961) 1 30 44 44

The Palestinian Strategic Report 2005

Editors:

Dr. Mohsen Moh'd Saleh
Dr. Basheer Musa Nafi'

Consultants:

Prof. Dr. 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Misiri
Prof. Dr. Anis al-Sayigh
Mr. Munir Shafiq

Writers:

Prof. Dr. Ahmad Sa'id Nawfal
Dr. 'Amr Sa'dawi
Dr. Basheer Musa Nafi'
Dr. Ibrahim Hasan Abu Jabir
Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim Miqdad
Dr. Mohsen Moh'd Saleh
Dr. Ra'id Nu'ayrat
Dr. Salman Abu Sitta

English Version:

Translators:

Mr. Ahmad M. Hasan
Mr. Muhammad Shihatah
Mr. Mahmoud Jibin
Mr. Muhammad Salamah
Mr. Ayman Shabanah

Revisers:

Prof. Hassan A. Ibrahim
Dr. Abdulhamid Eliwa
Mr. Ahmad M. Hasan
Miss Ghina Jamal al-Din
Mrs. Selma Cock
Miss Aisha Wadvalla





Table of Contents

List of Tables	3
List of Abbreviations	11
Foreword	13
Introduction	15

Chapter One: The Internal Palestinian Scene: Change and the Quest for Consensus

Introduction	21
Fatah and the Collapse of the National Consensus	21
From Abu ‘Ammar to Abu Mazin	27
The Withdrawal from Gaza Strip	31
From the Municipal to the Legislative Elections	35
Conclusion	40

Chapter Two: The Israeli-Palestinian Scene: Launching the Journey towards the Green Line

Introduction	49
The Israeli Scene	49
The Demographic Scene	49
The Economic Scene	52
The Military Scene	56
The Political Scene	58
Aggression and Resistance	65
The Separation Wall	69
The Peace Settlement Track	73
The Road Map	76
Unilateral Separation and Withdrawal from Gaza Strip	79
Conclusion	83

Chapter Three: The Palestinian Issue and the Arab World

Introduction	91
The Position of the Algerian Summit and King ‘Abdullah’s Initiative ..	92
The Attitude of the Major Surrounding States on the Palestinian Issue .	96
The Egyptian Attitude	96
The Jordanian Attitude	101



The Syrian Attitude.....	104
The Lebanese Attitude.....	106
The Attitudes of the Arab Countries on the Israeli Withdrawal from Gaza Strip.....	107
The Egyptian Attitude	108
The Jordanian Attitude.....	109
The Syrian Attitude.....	109
Developments of Arab-Israeli Normalization	110
The Attitude of the Arab Masses	112
Conclusion.....	115

Chapter Four: The Palestinian Issue and the Muslim World

Introduction.....	121
The Organization of the Islamic Conference	121
Turkey.....	124
Iran	129
Pakistan.....	133
The Quiet Normalization with Muslim Countries	138
Conclusion.....	140

Chapter Five: The Palestinian Issue and the International Setting

Introduction	147
The United States of America.....	148
The USA and the Road Map.....	149
The USA and the Concept of Security.....	150
The USA and the Palestinian Political Status.....	152
The EU and the European Countries	155
Russia.....	159
China.....	161
India.....	163
Japan.....	165
Brazil.....	166
The United Nations	167
Conclusion	169

Chapter Six: The Palestinian Demographic Indicators

Introduction	175
--------------------	-----



General Demographic Indicators.....	175
Palestinian Refugees.....	176
The Israeli–Palestinian Demographic Conflict.....	179
The Ongoing Ethnic Cleansing.....	182
The Israeli Demography.....	187
The Palestinian Solution.....	189
Conclusion.....	190

Chapter Seven: The Economic Situation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip

Introduction.....	197
Main Indicators.....	198
The Authority’s Budget.....	201
Repercussions of the Israeli Occupation.....	206
The <i>Intifadah</i> Economic Losses.....	208
Industry.....	209
Agriculture.....	211
Poverty and Unemployment.....	212
Palestinian Development Plans and Foreign Aid and Assistance Programs.....	214
The Mechanism and Phases of Donations.....	215
Israeli Withdrawal and Evacuated Lands.....	222
Financial Corruption.....	223
Conclusion.....	224

Chapter Eight: Education in the West Bank and Gaza Strip

Introduction.....	235
The School Sector.....	237
The Palestinian Institutions of Higher Education.....	246
Students’ Drop-out in the Palestinian Authority Schools.....	248
The Impact of the Occupation on the Palestinian Education.....	250
The Impact of the Separation Wall on Education.....	254
The Curricula during the era of the Palestinian Authority.....	257
Conclusion.....	262





List of Tables

Table 1/1: Results of the Palestinian Municipal Elections in its Four Phases	37
Table 1/2: Population of Israel 1997 – 2005.....	50
Table 2/2: Number of Jewish Immigrants to Israel by Year.....	51
Table 3/2: Israeli Gross Domestic Product 2002 – 2005	52
Table 4/2: Total Israeli Exports and Imports 2002 – 2005	53
Table 5/2: Israeli Exports and Imports to Some Countries	55
Table 6/2: Israeli Violations of the Ceasefire from 8/2/2005 to 2/1/2006.....	65
Table 7/2: The Palestinians Killed and Injured during 2004 – 2005.....	66
Table 8/2: The Israelis Killed and Injured during 2004 – 2005	66
Table 9/2: Resistance Operations 2004 – 2005	67
Table 10/2: Assassinations of Palestinians According to their Membership during 2005	67
Table 1/3: The Israeli Trade with the Arab Countries.....	111
Table 1/4: Israeli Trade with Turkey from 2002 to 2005.....	129
Table 2/4: The Israeli Trade with the Muslim Countries	139
Table 1/6: General Demographic Indicators for the Year 2005.....	176
Table 2/6: Number of Refugees in Different Countries until 31/12/2005 Registered by UNRWA	177
Table 3/6: Estimates of Palestinians Living in the Diaspora	178
Table 4/6: The Expected Population Increase (Jews and Palestinians) in Palestine	181
Table 5/6: Israeli Estimates of the Palestinian Migration from the West Bank and Gaza Strip	186
Table 1/7: Economic Main Indicators of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.....	199
Table 2/7: Summary of the General Budget from 1996 to 2005.....	202
Table 3/7: Monthly Financial Operations of the Palestinian Authority in 2005	204
Table 4/7: Foreign Support for the Palestinian Authority's Budget 2004 – 2005	205
Table 5/7: Palestinian Imports in 2002.....	207
Table 6/7: Losses of the Palestinian Economy in the GDP (29/9/2002 – 28/9/2005)	209
Table 7/7: The Contribution of the Industrial Sector in Domestic Production	210



Table 8/7: Employment and Unemployment in the West Bank and Gaza Strip	213
Table 9/7: Aid from Donor Countries for the Years 1994 to 2003	218
Table 10/7: Distributing International Aid on Sectors (1994 – 2003)	220
Table 1/8: Schools in the West Bank and Gaza Strip	238
Table 2/8: Total Statistics of the Palestinian Education by Gender for 2004/2005 and 2005/2006	238
Table 3/8: Distribution of Students by Grades, Supervising Authority and Gender in 2005/2006	238
Table 4/8: Numbers of the Students in the West Bank and Gaza Strip by Stages	239
Table 5/8: Total Statistics on the Palestinian Education by Supervising Authority for 2004/2005 and 2005/2006	240
Table 6/8: Comparing the Numbers of Students, Schools, Teachers and Sections between 1997/1998 and 2004/2005	241
Table 7/8: Total Statistics of the Palestinian Education by Supervising Authority in 2005/2006	242
Table 8/8: The Development of Number of Schools, Students, Teachers and Sections in the Government Schools	242
Table 9/8: Distribution of the Students in the Government Schools by District and Grade in 2004/2005	243
Table 10/8: Distribution of Schools, Students, Teachers and Sections in the Government Schools by Region and Gender in 2005/2006	244
Table 11/8: Total Statistics of the Palestinian Education by District in 2005/2006	244
Table 12/8: Total Statistics of the Palestinian Education in the Secondary Vocational Education in 2005/2006	245
Table 13/8: The Expected Number of the Students in the Palestinian Lands by School Year, Stage and Gender	246
Table 14/8: Classification of the Registered Students in the Traditional Universities in the Academic Year 2004/2005	247
Table 15/8: Classification of the Registered Students in the Open Education in the Academic Year 2004/2005	248
Table 16/8: Distribution of the Registered Students in the Colleges in the Academic Year 2004/2005	248
Table 17/8: Leaving Education 1995/1996 – 2004/2005	250



Table 18/8: The Human Loss from 28/9/2000 to 20/1/2006.....	250
Table 19/8: The Closure of Schools during the Academic Year 2002/2003	252
Table 20/8: The Material Destruction from 28/9/2000 to 21/11/2004.....	252
Table 21/8: The Damages Inflicted on Colleges, Institutes and Universities, According to an Estimation in 31/3/2003.....	253
Table 22/8: Some Cases of Students Affected by the Separation Wall in Northern West Bank	255
Table 23/8: The Number of School Students and Teachers who Forced to Cross the Wall to and from the Areas of Jenin, Tulkarm and Qalqilya.....	256
Table 24/8: The Financial Costs of the Plan of the Ministry of Education for 2004.....	257
Table 25/8: The Classes of Each Grade in the Lower Basic Stage	258
Table 26/8: The Weekly Classes in the Higher Basic Education	258
Table 27/8: The Classes of Each Grade in the Higher Basic Stage	259
Table 28/8: Classes and their Percentage for Each of the Subjects of the Tenth Grade	259
Table 29/8: Number of the Weekly Classes for the Arts, Science and Technical Subjects of the Tenth Grade	260
Table 30/8: The Percentage of the Scientific Subjects in the Former and the Planned Palestinian Curriculum	260
Table 31/8: Number of the Weekly Classes of the Arts and Science Subjects of the Second Secondary Grade	261





List of Abbreviations

GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GS	Gaza Strip
ICBS	Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
PA	Palestinian Authority
PCBS	Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics
PECDAR	Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
QIZ	Qualified Industrial Zone
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
WB	West Bank





Foreword

Al-Zaytouna Centre is an independent institution for research and consultation that was founded in Beirut in mid 2004. The Centre is mainly concerned with strategic studies and futuristic scenarios in the Arab and Muslim worlds. It focuses on the Palestinian issue with all its relevant scenarios worldwide, and within the Arab and Muslim world. Furthermore, the Centre is keen to secure the cooperation of scholars, experts and specialists, and to publish serious and specialized scientific researches and studies, that should be based on objective methodology, precise data and thorough analysis. The Centre seeks to maintain transparency, as well as cooperation and integration with related centres and associations, and takes note of all ideologies, new issues, and intellectual/political trends worldwide.

This strategic report is a product of a massive team-work exerted by a group of affiliated researchers and specialists, for whom al-Zaytouna Centre is indebted and grateful. The Centre wishes to extend its thanks to Dr. Basheer Nafi', who devoted much of his time to write and edit this report. Thanks are, also, due to our colleagues Prof. Ahmad Sa'id Nawfal, Dr. 'Amr Sa'dawi, Dr. Ra'id Nu'ayrat, Dr. Salman Abu Sitta, Dr. Muhammad Miqdad and Dr. Ibrahim Abu Jabir, for their scholarly contributions in this respect.

Our special thanks, also, go to the consultative editors: Prof. Anis al-Sayigh, Prof. 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Misiri and Mr. Munir Shafiq, whose guidance and advice provided an invaluable resource for the development of this report. Besides we thank Ahmad Khalifah (Editor of the Arabic quarterly: Journal of Palestine Studies) and Walid Muhammad 'Ali (Director of the Baheth Center for Studies) for their generous contributions and remarks. Finally, we do convey our great appreciation to the staff of al-Zaytouna Centre, especially Wa'il Sa'd, Muhammad Qaddoura, and Ghina Jamal al-Din, for their effort in collecting the required data and setting the format of this work.

We humbly hope that this report will make a serious step towards further scientific works in the field of Palestinian studies.

General Manager
Dr. Mohsen Moh'd Saleh





Introduction

The idea of writing this report came to our attention immediately after the establishment of al-Zaytouna Centre. However, it did not materialize until early autumn 2005. Indeed, the primary objective of this work is to assess the Palestinian situation on a regular basis through a rigorous study of its various aspects, and to highlight the living conditions of the people involved, i.e., the Palestinians.

This annual report is based on observations, investigations, and thorough analysis of the various aspects of the Palestinian issue: internal political affairs, economic development, the educational system, demographic indicators, the Arab-Islamic and international positions and the Israeli attitudes and policies. This is just the beginning of this venture, but we are aware that the framework of this report will have to undergo some amendments, either by way of omissions or additions, in the light of the expected feedback and responses to this very first report, as well as the ongoing developments in Palestine. Now, we are just initiating the project that we expect to progressively develop, thanks to the diligent work and dynamic reactions to the events.

The Palestinian Issue occupies a central position in the Arab and Islamic worlds. Moreover, it is justifiably regarded as the oldest and most complicated issue in the international arena. A great effort and dedication is needed to analyze and read the ongoing developments in the Middle East, like the invasion of Iraq, recent escalations in Lebanese – Syrian relations and the Iranian nuclear crisis, apart from the developments that are taking place in the Palestinian scene itself. It could be safely argued that the Palestinian Issue has been the prime mover of escalations in the Middle East since the rise of the Zionist project and, certainly, the establishment of Israel in 1948.

Due to the Palestinian Issue, new boundaries have been drawn, coups erupted, alliances formed, wars broke out, and some new regimes emerged while others were toppled. Moreover, the Palestinian Issue has affected the process of development in a considerable number of Arab countries, and has its impact on the relations of the Arab-Islamic countries with Western powers, especially the United States of America (USA). More important, is the fact that the Palestinian Issue is a living issue for all Palestinians of whom many have been forced to



leave their homeland and live in the Diaspora. Actually, this is what gives this report tremendous importance.

We at the Centre felt the importance of commissioning this academic exercise to distinguished specialists. Each participant submitted a chapter in his area of expertise. Then, the two editors, with the help of the researchers in the Centre, edited the texts and incorporated what may have been overlooked. Subsequently, these chapters were submitted to further scrutiny by another high caliber specialist in the Palestinian Issue, whose main task was to provide the editors with their comments and feedback. All these factors worked together to lead to the publication of this report. However, due to our shortcomings and appreciation of the heavy responsibility entrusted to us, we admit that there may be some errors, particularly so because of time constrain and our limited experience in this respect. However, we will do our best to avoid any shortcomings in future publications.

It is important to note that this project is essentially a product of team work. Moreover, some chapters have gone through several amendments made by the editors, which also reflects the collective nature of the work.

This report explains, discusses and analyses the events that took place during 2005, and pursues their developments. Being the first attempt in the field, and as is the case with similar scientific ventures, it was necessary for this first report to shed sufficient light on the background of the related issues. Hence, a rather lengthy introduction was provided in the opening part of the report. This may not be necessary in subsequent reports, unless there will be a dire need for it in one way or another.

The goal of this project is not only to pursue the annual developments of the Palestinian Issue, but also to provide the ground for serious academic research, as we are concerned with both the content and the form. Both editors were keen to draw the attention of the participants to the importance of being as objective and meticulous as possible in the choice of their references and resources. Furthermore, they have been advised to pay special care and attention to the verification of events, personalities and dates. As is the case with all scientific ventures, the report is not only concerned with recording events, but also with analyzing and assessing developments, and scrutinizing the texts involved. It also strives to investigate the wider context of the relevant events, developments, and scenarios.



Finally, we hope that this report will, somehow, significantly enrich the intellectual and scientific debate on the issues discussed. Moreover, we look forward to the comments of our readers and the critique of the specialists in the field to improve our future publications.

The Editors
Beirut – April 2006*

* The English translation was prepared by the end of November 2006.

