



المركز العربي للأبحاث ودراسة السياسات
Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies



مؤسسة الدراسات الفلسطينية
Institute for Palestine Studies

Annual Palestine Forum

Second Round

10-12 February 2024

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Abstracts



Abdelhamid Siyam

Lecturer at Rutgers University's Centre for Middle East Studies and Political Science Department. Before that, he worked as an international staff with the United Nations for 25 years, during which he held positions in the Arabic Language Department, the Office of the Secretary-General, the Office of the Spokesman for the SG, and the Arabic radio and news section of the Media Division. He has carried out international missions in Libya, Eritrea, Western Sahara, Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan and elsewhere. He holds a PhD in International Relations from the City University of New York, an MA in International Relations from New York University, and a BA in Arabic from the University of Jordan. His publications include *That Difficult Day* on the bombing of the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad in 2003. He recently completed a research project with the Arab Centre for Research and Policy Studies on United Nations mediation in Libya, Yemen, and Syria, and is now completing a new book on his UN field missions to be published by ACRPS. Siyam has been an op-ed writer in *Al-Quds Al-Arabi* since 2008, and a television analyst and commentator with many Arab and foreign satellite channels.

The Right of Return for Palestinian Refugees and Attempts to Circumvent It

This paper discusses the UN Right of Return Resolution 194 (1948) for Palestinian refugees, focusing on international, Arab, and Palestinian attempts to modify, circumvent, or annul the resolution. Following a discussion of Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) and how it dealt with the refugee issue, as well as Resolution 338 (1973), the study turns to the Arab retreat from the right of return in two documents: the Camp David Accords (1979) and the Arab Summit Resolution (2002). The study then addresses the concessions made by the Palestinian side in the Oslo Accords regarding the right of return. In explaining these retreats, the paper refers to the balance of power that imposed itself on the Palestinian arena and references four documents, including Mahmoud Abbas' agreement with Yossi Beilin in 1995, Siri Nusseiba's understandings with Ayalon (2002), and the Geneva Agreement between Yasser Abd Rabbu and Yossi Beilin (2003). In light of the powerful Arab solidarity that followed the October 1973 War, Arab nations were able to pass historic resolutions in the General Assembly, especially 3236 (1974), which established the right of return as an inalienable right. When the Arabs dispersed and their unity was shattered after the Camp David Accord of 1979, the Iraq-Iran war (1981-1988) and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait (1990), the historic resolutions adopted between 1974 and 1980 were all marginalized and ignored. The paper concludes by discussing the Palestinian popular adherence to the right of return as embodied in the positions maintained by associations and organizations of the refugees themselves in Palestine and the diaspora.



Adel Manna

Historian specializing in Palestine during the Ottoman period and the Palestinians in the 20th century. Since the early 1980s he served as a professor of history at several universities and has published ten books and dozens of academic articles in his fields of speciality. The Institute for Palestine Studies in Beirut has published three of his books on Palestine under the Ottoman rule, followed by *Nakba and Survival: The Story of Palestinians who Remained in Haifa and the Galilee, 1948-1956*, published in English by California University Press.

Insights regarding the Role of Palestinian leaders since Hajj Amin al-Husseini

This paper sheds light on the role of three Palestinian leaders from different generations: Hajj Amin al-Husseini, Yasser Arafat and Mahmoud Abbas. The three leaders played a critical role in the history of the Palestinian people and its national movement, and the paper provides a critical and comparative reading of the kind of leadership they represent. al-Husseini represented the aristocratic urban families who continued the traditional role of notables during the late Ottoman period. The Nakba of 1948 put an end to the historical role of the notables and many Palestinians came to blame them in failing to prevent the catastrophe. In the aftermath of June 1967 war, the PLO leaders (Arafat and Abbas) took control and led a different kind of leadership to liberate Palestine from occupation. However, the Oslo Accords signed in 1993 transformed the PLO leaders gradually from a vision of liberation to cooperation with the Israeli occupation. This paper focuses mainly on comparative and critical reading in the kind of leadership which Hajj Amin al-Husseini and Mahmoud Abbas represent.



Ahmed Sarri

Professor of Contemporary History at Oum El Bouaghi University, Algeria, Sarri holds a PhD from the University of Provence, France (1990), specializing in the history of contemporary Algeria. Sarri has served as a lecturer and researcher at the Algerian University since 1991. He has taken part in numerous national and international intellectual forums and supervised numerous research projects, including a biographical dictionary of Algerian personalities of the 19th century, and a biographical dictionary of activists of the Special Organization (1947-1950). He has published numerous writings on the political and cultural history of Algeria during the colonial period, including a book in French on the relationship between the Association of Muslim Algerian scholars and the French administration in Algeria between 1931 and 1956: *Histoire et politique: L'Association des Ulama Musulmans Algériens et l'Administration française en Algérie (1931- 1956)* (Ain M'lila: Dar El Houda, 2022).

The Palestinian Cause in Algeria between the Popular Position and Official Algerian Discourse: A Historical Approach

This research focuses on a key question related to the popular position and official Algerian discourse on the Palestinian issue, namely: Have they maintained their coherence and unyielding solidarity with the Palestinians, or have they succumbed over time to the influence of shifts in the Arab region and on the international scene? The paper is divided into three parts. The first examines Algerians' earliest awareness of the Palestinian cause, and the central place it occupied in the national movement. The Algerian revolution and its victories resonated with the Palestinians after the Nakba, as they provided a model for the Palestinians in their struggle and in their relations with Arab countries. The paper then discusses the interaction between the popular position and the official Algerian discourse on the Palestinian cause during the 1960s and 1970s. The paper refers to this period as the "golden age" of Algerian diplomacy with regard to the Palestinian cause, which was a central focus of Algerian foreign policy. Thirdly, the paper presents the evolution of both the popular position and official Algerian discourse towards proposed solutions to the Palestinian problem in light of changes that took place on the Palestinian, regional and international levels beginning in the 1980s, after which Algeria was plunged into multiple crises that signaled a decline in its role in the Palestinian cause. Since 2000, however, Algeria has taken initiatives to reconcile Palestinian factions and sought to bring the Palestinian cause before international bodies. Overall, Algeria has complied with Arab League resolutions relating to the Palestinian cause, and has rejected any settlement that would come at the expense of the rights of the Palestinian people.



Anmar Rafeedie

Assistant Researcher at the Palestinian Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS), Rafeedie holds an MSc in Sociology from the University of Oxford, and a bachelor's degree in Sociology from Birzeit University. Her research interests include development in colonial contexts, economic sociology, social policy, and social movements.

Inequality in the Palestinian Case: A Manifestation of Tightening Colonial Control

This paper poses the question of whether it is possible to achieve development and reduce inequality under the colonial rule imposed on Palestinians, as it is a more complex case than simply drawing up policies to promote growth, development, and fair distribution of returns. The study argues that pervasive inequality in Palestine is intricately tied to the settler colonial context, which operates across a multitude of systematic and non-systematic spheres, undermining all Palestinian developmental frameworks and systematically dismantling equality structures. The paper proceeds from the assumption that the prospects for development, along with the alleviation of poverty and inequality, are severely constrained within the ongoing colonial context. The study includes an analysis of inequality indicators in the economic and social services fields, encompassing consumption and income, poverty, social protection, water, electricity, health, and education, and the compound effects of both the colonial context and the inadequacy of Palestinian policies to achieve equality. The paper shows that despite their shortcomings, Palestinian policies may contribute to reducing the state of underdevelopment, and thus inequality, but they remain unable to bring about development, reduce poverty, and enhance equality in light of the continued context of settler colonialism. Therefore, true development requires that Palestinians enjoy the right to establish their own independent state and to self-determination.



Areej Sabbagh-Khoury

Researcher in Sociology and Anthropology. Sabbagh-Koury focuses her scholarship on political and historical sociology as it applies to colonialism, indigenous studies, and memory. She is the author of the recently published *Colonizing Palestine: The Zionist Left and the Making of the Palestinian Nakba* (Stanford University Press, 2023). She has published widely on settler colonialism, political sociology, and the Palestinian community in Israel in peer-reviewed journals such as *Sociological Theory*, *Politics and Society*, *Theory and Society*, *Current Sociology*, and *The International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. Sabbagh-Koury is the recipient of research grants and fellowships from the H.F. Guggenheim Foundation, the Palestinian American Research Centre, Fulbright, and the Council for Higher Education. She is a member of the General Assembly and Academic Research Committee of Mada al-Carmel – Arab Centre for Applied Social Research, and the Academic for Equality. In May 2021, she founded the organization Helpline for Arab students in Israeli universities

Bifurcated Consciousness and the Defence of Colonial Democracy

The recent crisis to have emerged in Israel around the "judicial coups" presents a valuable political moment to reevaluate the entrenched structures of colonial supremacy. The majority of those protesting in the streets for the restoration of Jewish democracy—the largest mobilization in Israel's history over the nature of the regime—seek the reinstatement of a system of governmentality premised on the exclusion and social control of Palestinians, and to which they have long consented. This moment brings to light the ways in which the settler colonial state has, from its inception, institutionalized social and political hierarchy, relying on a form of bifurcated consciousness among its Israeli national citizenry. The paper draws and builds on qualitative research, incorporating systematic discourse analysis of political speeches and Israeli news media spanning the last five Israeli elections (in the years 2015, 2017, 2019, 2021 and 2022), along with commentaries on the 2023 judicial reform protests. Additionally, the study draws insights from in-depth interviews with 30 political activists from Palestinian civil society and 15 political activists from Jewish-Israeli civil society, as well as ethnographic participant observations on the 2023 protests. Through a relational analysis attuned to the dialectical nature of political change in a settler colonial context, the paper unveils the nature of interactions between Jewish settlers and the indigenous Palestinian population, and how Palestinians' agency shapes the political landscape in Israel.



Asem Khalil

Serves as the HH Shaikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thani Professor of Constitutional and International Law at Birzeit University. He holds a PhD in Public Law from Fribourg University, Switzerland. He served previously as Dean of Graduate Studies and Research, Vice President for Community Affairs, and Dean of the Faculty of Law and Public Administration. His latest publications include, "Criminal Jurisdiction under Occupation: The Oslo Accords and the ICC" (with Halla Shoaibi) in, *Prolonged Occupation and International Law: Israel and Palestine*, edited by Nada Kiswanson and Susan Power (Brill, 2023), and "Teaching Europe in Palestine: Resisting the 'new normal?'" in *Knowledge Production in Higher Education Between Europe and the Middle East*, ed. Michelle Pace and Jan Claudius Völkel (Manchester University Press, 2023).

The Dual Functionality of Constitutional Judiciary in Authoritarian Regimes and the Palestinian Experience

What motivates an authoritarian regime, or more precisely, its leaders, who tailor legislation to their own needs, violate it at will, and usurp and combine powers as they please, to support the existence of a seemingly "formal" independent judiciary? How does it allow this judiciary to challenge it by limiting its powers and narrowing its interests? The study revisits this perennial yet contemporary question, employing the Palestinian experience as a case study. It adopts a comprehensive analytical approach, examining the orientations of the Palestinian Constitutional Judiciary (PCJ) represented by the Supreme Constitutional Court and its predecessor, the Supreme Court as a temporary constitutional court over the course of two decades (2002-2022). The study is founded on the assumption that the PCJ performs a dual function akin to experiences observed in authoritarian regimes, which are keen for there to be a judiciary that allows the sacrifice of some of the regime's non-essential interests in exchange for being able to use the judiciary as a means of upholding the regime's supposed legitimacy and/or to reassure investors and/or to control the administrative apparatus. However, the study concludes that the sole substantive interest of the State in allowing for the existence of a judiciary is the support the judiciary provides for the State's alleged legitimacy, yet without any corresponding sacrifice of non-essential interests. Instead, there is an abandonment of human rights.



Ayat Hamdan

Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and Editing Director of Ostour journal for historical studies. Hamdan received her PhD from the Institute of Arab & Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter, UK, where she served as an assistant lecturer in the Political Science department. She was also awarded a fellowship at the Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Oxford. She edited *Jerusalem: Ethnic Cleansing and Forms of Resistance* (ACRPS, 2023).

Towards Confrontation: The West Bank (2021-2023)

This paper traces the development of resistance strategies in the West Bank from 2021-2023, which saw an escalation in armed resistance activity. Various groups such as the Jenin Brigades and the Lions' Den, have formed locally in Palestinian cities, camps and villages to confront repeated Israeli military incursions and settler violence. Furthermore, military activity affiliated with factions and traditional Palestinian political parties has resurfaced. The paper examines the phenomenon in its broader context as new resistance formations have begun to appear in the West Bank despite Israeli, Palestinian Authority and international counterinsurgency policies. These policies dismantled the physical structures of resistance after the second intifada, attempting to link the societal whole through structural relations with the Palestinian Authority and its political trajectory. However, these, often severe, policies have not succeeded in completely eradicating resistance organizations, which remain effective with new determinants of action imposed by the security conditions that result from the aforementioned policies. Over three sections, the paper deals with post-2007 counter-insurgency policies applied in the West Bank and Jerusalem, post-2007 patterns of resistance in the West Bank and Jerusalem, and, finally, the new resistance formations, highlighting what distinguishes new groups and their actions from previous patterns of resistance.



Ayman Yousef

Professor of International Relations and Conflict Resolution at the Arab American University (Jenin, the West Bank, Palestine) and holds a PhD in International Relations from M.S. University of Baroda (India), He has also served as Dean of the Faculty of Arts (2015-2017), and as Chairman of the Board of Directors for the Arab American University's Policy and Conflict Resolution Studies Centre (2019-2021). His major research interests are conflict resolution, peace studies, civil society and political elites. His recent contributions include an article entitled, "The Importance and Centrality of Popular Resistance in Transforming the Conflict with the Occupying State in Palestinian Territory," *Conflict Studies Quarterly*, Romania 2021, and a paper presented at a conference in Ankara, Turkey exploring the relationship between crisis management and public relations in public and private organizations (August 2022).

The Crisis of Palestinian Civil Society

This paper addresses the structural crisis faced by Palestinian civil society, the importance of which lies in the pivotal role civil society plays in advancing democratic principles, upholding human rights, and realizing social justice. The study focuses on the conditional financial support extended to civic organizations, the policies of the Palestinian Authority towards this critical sector, and the impact of such policies. Moreover, the study examines religious leaders' perspectives on the notion of emancipation advocated by civil entities, and assesses the repercussions of the concentrated urban initiatives in Ramallah on civil society in various regions across Palestine. Employing a theoretical framework intertwined with civil society and non-governmental organizations, the document incorporates the complexities of political fragmentation and reliance on external funding. Adopting a case study methodology, the paper conducts a meticulous analysis of the phenomenon within its diverse contexts. Field interviews, focus groups, and observational data constitute integral components of the research, providing valuable insights from various stakeholders. The research concludes by proposing viable solutions to address the challenges confronting Palestinian civil society within a broader framework intricately connected to the national landscape, its multifaceted challenges, and existing divisions.



Azadeh Sobout

Post-doctoral researcher at the University of Manchester, Sobout recently completed a project on the intersection of arts and peace building, investigating the role of art, aesthetics and creative methods in revolutionary practice. Her research and practice have centred on the complex encounters between critical urban studies, grassroots peace building and transitional justice processes, specifically engaging with post-war geographies, geographies of (in)justice and displacement, and radical epistemologies. Over the past ten years, Azadeh has created visual and ethnographic accounts that explore post-war geographies and narratives of displacement in Afghan, Palestinian and Syrian contexts, bringing a paradigmatic shift to the study of post-war reconstruction and (in)justice.

Reimagining Nahr el-Bared: Transition and Memory in Children's Spatial Stories

Inspired by 'feminist geographical writing' and feminist construction of home, this paper interrogates children's illustrations to reflect on the experience of Palestinian children following the destruction of Nahr el-Bared refugee camp in North Lebanon in 2007. The paper seeks to revive the voices of Palestinian children, promoting their memories as a useful historical source and a new way of understanding the effects of war and displacement. In a collaborative project with children of Nahr el-Bared camp, the paper explores how the rebuilt urban landscape, with its remnants of war, sites of displacement and transformed environments, affects and informs identity, memory, and perceptions of the past. Through reading children's stories of violence, homelessness, and uprootedness, it sheds light on their experiences of resistance, loss, nostalgia, hope and longing. And finally, it reflects on children's agency and self-determination to highlight their role in rebuilding the camp and the collective memory of the community.



Azza El Hassan

Documentary filmmaker. She holds a PhD in Film and Archives. El Hassan is a and the winner of numerous international film awards, including The Aleph Documentary Award, the Luchino Visconti Award, the prestigious British Grierson Award, and the Jazeera Television Jury Award. She has produced and directed films for TV networks, such as BBC, WDR, ARTE and many others. In 2019, El Hassan founded The Void Project to retrieve, restore and form new visual narratives out of images that have survived violent events. Her academic work uses theory and film practice to explore the effect of colonial film plundering on the construction of Palestinian visual narratives. Her book, *Reconstructing the Archive* will be published by Springer, 2024.

Hands on Visual Remains: A New Methodology to Explore Media Objects That Have Survived Colonial Plundering

This paper argues that the systematic looting and destruction of Palestinian films and photos by the Israeli state affects not only the plundered objects, but also the images that survive the violence, altering the way in which Palestinian society and culture relate to their own photos and films. To study and assess the effect of violence on the objects and subjects of plundering, Hands on Visual Remains, a practice-based, creative methodology is used to enable research into both the remains of plundering, and the subjects who were dispossessed of their objects. As an example, contact sheets of photos that were plundered in 1982 during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and which belonged to Hani Jawherieh, one of the most prominent photographers and cinematographers of the Palestinian revolutionary era, are presented and explored using Hands on Visual Remains methodology. The subjects of the research put to use objects that emerged from the violence with the aim of finding a new use for them, thus producing a new experience out of the ruins.



Basil Farraj

Assistant Professor at the Department of Philosophy and Cultural studies at Birzeit University, Farraj completed his PhD in Anthropology and Sociology at the Graduate Institute, Geneva. His research addresses the intersections of memory, resistance, and art by prisoners and others subjected to violence. Basil has conducted research in a number of countries, including Chile, Colombia, and Palestine. He is currently working on a research project funded by the Arab Council for the Social Sciences (ACSS) which explores the global exchange of carceral expertise, policies and practices.

Israeli Violence and Racial Carceral Policies: Towards a Varying Analysis

This paper offers a guiding conceptual and theoretical framework through which the analysis of Israeli prisons and their relation to changing modes of violence and power might be approached. It discusses dominant formulations of power – necropolitics, biopolitics and bare life – while arguing that these conceptions of power and associated forms of violence are inadequate alone for analysing carceral experiences in Palestine. The heavy reliance on such conceptual frameworks in existing literature presents power and violence as totalizing and escapable only through moments of flight or violent inversions of power. This, in effect, depicts prisoners as the sole victims of power and violence, and assumes that power is omnipresent and incontestable over the management of life and death. In the context of Palestine, the racialization of Palestinians and their constant categorization as inherently dangerous and worthy of punishment are also sidelined or obscured by these theories. The function of power and violence when they are directed towards the reshaping of Palestinian subjectivity and political collectivity is also overlooked in existing conceptualizations. By considering the Israeli colonial state as possessing a wide range of violent and constantly modified practices to further subjugate, depoliticize and ultimately reshape, if not obliterate, the population it administers, a more nuanced examination of carceral practices is possible.



Bilal Salameh

Associate Professor in the Department of Social Sciences at Bethlehem University, Palestine. Salameh holds a PhD in Sociology from the University of Granada, Spain (2011), and a High Diploma in Cultural Anthropology from the same institution (2009). His research interests focus on civic culture, decolonization, and individual/collective action in national movements. In addition to numerous contributions to peer-reviewed scientific journals, he recently authored *On the Meaning of Land: Restoring the Palestinian Self* (Doha: The Arab Centre for Research and Policy Studies, 2021), and *On the Meaning of Place: Inspiration from the Lessons of Jerusalemite Resistance* (Beirut: The Centre for Arab Unity, 2023)

The Palestinian Social Actor: From Fragmented Action to Collective Action and Rhizomatic Resistance

This paper traces the political, social and economic role of the Palestinian social actor in the midst of structural changes in the Palestinian scene and the resulting fragmentation of Palestinian society, thus paving the way for the growth of the idea of individual salvation, a decline in the value of social solidarity and an unprecedented dismantling of collective structures in the Palestinian context. The paper analyses actions labelled as individual as an integrated collective action in which rhizome resistance structures and clusters are formed in supportive social and national environments in the face of the societal mechanisms of repression and control in the colonial context. It discusses how individuals and groups contribute to forming an awareness and aims which nurture a culture of collective action embodied in resistance and multiple social movements, which act in turn to shape a discourse of dignity that constitutes the basic pillar and infrastructure of collective action in the content of Zionist colonial occupation.



Bilal Shalash

Researcher at the Arab Centre for Research and Policy Studies and a PhD candidate in Social Sciences at Birzeit University, Shalash holds master's degrees in Arab and Islamic History (2015) and Israeli Studies (2018), also from Birzeit University. His current research interests concentrate on the history of Palestinian military action, especially during the 1947-1949 war and from 1967-1970. He has published numerous books and peer-reviewed articles on the topic, the most recent of which include *A Passing Thing: Nablus under Occupation (June 1967/ March 1968): Memoir and Documents of Ḥamdī Ṭāhir Kan'ān*.

Self-Examination Under the Gun: Fighters' View of the Role of the People of Palestine in the War (December 1947-May 1948)

This paper highlights a particular aspect of Palestinian self-criticism during the 1947-1949 war through the voices of fighters in the central region, their view of their position in the war, and the limits of the Arab role therein. Various primary sources indicate that during the first stage of the war, these voices advocated for self-reliance, and for the need to mobilize local resources to serve the war effort. At the same time, disagreements emerged with some Arab projects and policies related to the limits of Palestinians' role and the fate of their future institutions. As the paper details, fighters who called for self-reliance failed to impose their point of view fully due to both internal and external factors, most notably those related to the decisions made by the Supreme Arab Military Committee, as well as the martyrdom of prominent leaders such as 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ḥusaynī (April 1948) and Ḥasan Salāmah (June 1948), and the overall course of the war. The paper is divided into two main parts. The first presents a brief history of Palestinians' military presence in the central region (Holy Jihad – formation and the arena of action; Jaffa fighters – formation and the arena of action), while the second discusses Palestinians' role in the war before and during the battle.



Emad Moussa

A researcher and writer specializing in political psychology and intergroup dynamics focusing on the Israeli-Palestinian context, especially the aspects of victim mentality and Zionist psychology, Moussa works as an op-ed writer and editor for multiple newspapers.

Decolonizing Memory: Israel's Modes of Forgetting Palestinian History

In this paper I suggest that there are two modes that define Israel's colonization and, consequently, suppression of Palestinian memory: passive forgetting and active forgetting. Passive forgetting is typically unconscious and driven by the Israel/Jewish collective memory of past victimization. The dynamic, inter alia, acts as a method of avoidance and neutralization of guilt. Active forgetting, on the other hand, is deliberate and systematic. Active forgetting is expressed via the purposeful removal/concealment of the physical/symbolic evidence of Palestinian history, as well as the enactment of legal impediments. The interaction between these two modes of forgetting, I argue, has contributed to the creation of "a consensual reality" among Jewish Israelis which leads to the normalization of Palestinian memory suppression and, consequently, deepens the 'intractability' of the Israeli-Palestinian situation.

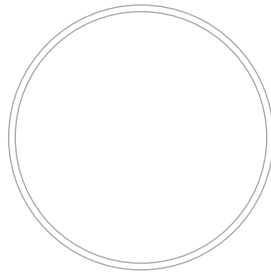


Eman Bdaiwi

Writer and researcher with an interest in the Palestinian cause. She holds a master's degree in Sociology and Anthropology from the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies and a Bachelor's Degree in Sociology from Yarmouk University in Jordan. Her research interests revolve around the sociology of both Palestinian resistance and colonial sovereignty practices vis-à-vis the concepts of memory, identity, and the body. She publishes on multiple Arabic platforms and in magazines such as *Fusha*—a Palestinian cultural magazine, *Rumman*, another cultural magazine, and the "Ultra Sawt" website.

Understanding the "Lions' Den" Group: What is Revealed by their Martyrs' Wills?

This research is an attempt to form a sociological understanding of the "Lions' Den," ('arīn al-usūd) group that recently emerged within the Palestinian armed resistance as a pattern with new features. The research relies on an analysis of the last wills and testaments of its martyrs, which intensified interaction with the group and triggered the occupation authorities' fear of a spike in armed resistance in the West Bank. The research starts with the importance of these wills as a means of revealing the group's identity and the status of resistance within it. An analysis of the aforementioned wills' content reveals this group's ability to redefine death through its glorification (martyrdom), to reject the subjugation of the body, and to express its members' awareness of the relationship between Palestinians and the occupier, and between Palestinians and other Palestinians. Viewed as a rhetoric of resistance charged with patriotic values, the wills left by the "Lions' Den" martyrs have played a central role in mass mobilization and in forming a popular incubator for the group at the levels of both thought and action. Similarly, they have revived the model and symbolism of the hero in revolutionary action and its role in producing successive acts of resistance and martyrdom.



Espinosa Najjar

She holds a PhD in Law and an MSc in Global Politics, with an emphasis on humanitarian law, gender, and democracy in conflict settings and another in Social Policy and Planning in Developing Countries and a BA in Political Science. Her previous roles as a senior gender and development expert focused on peace, human rights and project development led to her exposure to a range of Palestinian, Israeli and international civil society actors and her interest in their distinctive roles in shaping East Jerusalem.

Civil Society and the Judaization of East Jerusalem

This presentation investigates the role of settler civil society in processes of Palestinian marginalization or re-identification, Judaization and the use of archaeology and heritage tourism to do it. It focuses on a particular settler organization located in the Wadi Helweh neighbourhood in the village of Silwan. The research explores how multi-tiered Zionist-biblical settler colonialism is swiftly proceeding to stamp ownership over the Palestinian neighborhood through a reciprocal relationship with heritage tourism through a process which the speaker terms 'irrefutable divine internalization'. The research is grounded in a settler colonial theoretical framework based on on-going in-depth interviews with settlers and critical Israeli and Palestinian civil society conducted in Jerusalem (Wolfe 2006, Sayegh 2012, Salamanca et al. 2012). The relevance of the findings and the presentation is to demonstrate how the gaze is being shifted from annexation-occupation to a sole Zionist Jewish heritage in Wadi Helweh instead.



Feras Qawasmeh

Assistant professor at the Joaan Bin Jassim Academy for Defence Studies. He holds a PhD in Public Policy from the University of Malaya, Qawasmeh previously worked as a postdoctoral research fellow at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies, preceded by work in various research centres in Turkey and Brazil. He has published numerous peer-reviewed studies, chapters, and working and policy papers. He was recently awarded the 'Best Paper Award in Regional Development and Policy' from the UK Regional Studies Association. His current research projects focus on building public institutions in fragile states from a policy perspective.

Zionist Colonization in the West Bank under the Extremist Netanyahu Government: A Policy Perspective

The current Israeli government is viewed as the most extremist since the establishment of Israel, with settlement escalation being one of the key areas of agreement among the parties forming the government. This study analyses the understandings of relevance to Israeli settlements in the West Bank and their impacts from a policy perspective. Employing the Advocacy Coalition Framework theory, which explains the role of "belief systems" and what factors determine whether and how beliefs are translated into actions, the study found that the structural change in the Ministry of Defence where Bezalel Smotrich became a deputy minister supervising the Civil Administration was merely a tool with which to implement his deeply held belief in the necessity of radically expanding settlements in the West Bank. In the medium term, Smotrich aims to abolish the role of the Civil Administration, which manages the lives of Palestinians and settlers alike, and place settlers' affairs under the direct management of the Israeli government, which will result in the settlements' de facto annexation to the occupation State. The study identifies six conditions for a radical expansion in settlements, all of which appear to have been fulfilled: 1- a supportive legal authority, 2- a clearly defined expansion project, 3 - major financial and tax-based support, 4- supportive Israeli public opinion, 5- the presence of ideologically mobilized settler groups, and 6- Netanyahu's extremism and Smotrich's constant blackmail for the sake of settlement expansion. The study argues that if the Netanyahu government succeeds in its judicial battle, we will witness a "third Palestinian Nakba," in which settlement construction will expand both geographically and demographically. Subsequently, the Palestinian presence in the West Bank will be threatened, and the Palestinian Authority will be transformed into cantons, where their role will be limited to managing Palestinians' affairs without a political solution.



Ghada Samman

Part-time Lecturer at Birzeit University in the Department of Social Sciences and as a lecturer at Al-Quds Open University in the Department of Social Sciences. She holds a PhD in Social Sciences from Birzeit University (2023), a master's degree in Social Sciences, and a master's degree in International Relations from the same university. She has also worked in the Ministry of Finance in the General Administration of Management and Financial Affairs. Samman has participated in many local and international conferences, presenting: "The Oslo Accords and the Establishment of Colonial Bureaucracy" (2020), "The Druze between Colonialism and Isolation" (2019), "Individualism within the Neo-Liberal Ramallah City" (2019), and "Jerusalem in Palestinian Fine Art" (2017).

Colonial Domination and Indirect Rule in the West Bank

This paper examines the Israeli colonial pattern in the post-Oslo phase, in which colonial hegemony developed rapidly towards greater control and surveillance over Palestinians. Similarly, it analyses the nature of the colonial administration in terms of hierarchy, information circulation and use, implementation of orders and policies, manoeuvring and controlling Palestinian time and space, and non-compliance with the terms of the Oslo agreement. The Palestinian National Authority (PNA) emerged out of the Oslo Accords, which were signed between the occupation state and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1993. The Oslo Accords determined the general framework in which the PNA would operate by creating a subaltern, submissive relationship to the occupation, and through a system embodied in the establishment of indirect rule, which resulted in a colonial pattern that differed both structurally and mechanically. Indirect rule is embodied within the structural relationship with the occupation from different directions: by creating multi-dimensional levels of separation on a geographical, political and demographical basis, by fostering an elite that cooperates with the occupation and manages Palestinian self-government, and via the occupation's control over the Palestinian taxes that constitute the core of the PNA's revenues. At the level of mechanisms, the occupation was administered by constructing a hierarchical structure in which the PNA would operate under the dominance of the occupation at the bottom level of the pyramid, and by restricting the role of the PNA to that of implementing general polices and providing information.



Haneen Magadlah

Lecturer at Al-Qasemi Academy in Baqa al-Gharbiah and Bethlehem University and serves as Chair of the Administrative Board for the Palestinian Archive Project – Khazaaen and the founder and board member of the Salamtcom Voluntary Association. Before completing a postdoctoral fellowship at San Diego State University in California in the Department of Social Work, Magadlah received her PhD in Social Work from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and initiated numerous social projects in Jerusalem. Her research focuses on social change, volunteering, and community responsibility, and she has published various studies in international journals on these topics.

Practices of Belonging: Finding a Sense of Palestinian Belonging through Volunteering

Many previous studies have addressed the complexities of identity and belonging for Palestinians residing inside the Green Line. However, this research is the first to highlight volunteering as a practice undertaken by Palestinians to deepen their connection to their identity and Palestinian community. Through this practice, individuals enhance their sense of belonging and contribute to the formation of a collective identity. The study employed a qualitative research methodology which included in-depth interviews with 37 participants of both genders between 16 and 43 years of age in fourteen cities within Israel, and who had volunteered in various projects serving the Palestinian community throughout Israel. The research findings revealed that volunteering significantly assisted participants in deepening their knowledge of their community, collective identity, and history, while facilitating the building of relationships between them and Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. This broadened their sense of identity, fostering a sense of belonging and a willingness to work together for their homeland and community. The research also indicated that the question of identity and belonging had not been a significant concern for many participants in the past due to various reasons, including the fear of political persecution, the geographical separation among Palestinians, and the presence of an Israeli system that challenges such a sense of belonging.



Hashem Abushama

Lecturer in Human Geography at the School of Geography and the Environment at the University of Oxford and a postdoctoral fellow at EUME – Forum Transregionale Studien in Berlin, Abushama holds a PhD in Human Geography from the Oxford School of Geography and the Environment, an MSc in Refugee and Forced Migration Studies from the Oxford Department of International Development, and a BA in Global Studies from Earlham College, Indiana, the United States. His research examines the politics of cultural production under settler colonialism, particularly in Palestine.

Tantura and the Silencing of the Past

This paper takes the story of the depopulated village of al-Tantura in southern Haifa as an entry point into examining the intricacies of the production of historical narratives. In May of 1948, the Israeli Alexandroni Brigades committed a massacre in al-Tantura, where they buried 200-400 Palestinians in a mass grave. In addition, the Zionist brigades enlisted Palestinian prisoners of war from al-Tantura for war labour, subjecting them to coercive conditions. This massacre has been a major subject of debate for both Israeli academia and media. I take these debates as an entry point into examining: 1) how settler colonial narratives rely on a structured 'silencing of the past' (to evoke the writings of Haitian historian Michel Trouillot) and 2) how native labour, despite being secondary to settler colonial states' intent to eliminate the natives, remains a constitutive sphere of the settler colony.



Heba Yazbak

Lecturer in the Social Sciences. She holds a PhD in Sociology and Anthropology from the University of Tel Aviv. She has published numerous articles and book chapters dealing with forced internal displacement among Palestinians in 1948, settler colonialism, memory, space and gender and oral history. She co-edited the book *Personal Status and Gender: Palestinian Women in Israel*.

Settler Colonialism and Urban Displacement: Displaced Cities and Cities of the Displaced

This paper presents the experience of forced displacement based on narratives of Palestinian urbanites who were uprooted in the Nakba of 1948 but managed to resettle in their homeland, which became the State of Israel, as internally displaced persons. Employing an oral history methodology, the paper documents various narratives of displacement in the cities of Jaffa, Haifa, Acre, Safad, Baysan, Tiberias and Lydd. The paper proposes that there is no single urban narrative, and that the narratives of the displaced vary depending on several factors, such as gender and space ("within-city displacement" or "city-to-city displacement"). It also proposes that the narratives of many of those who were displaced within cities were marginalized politically and academically, and thus remained outside the mainstream historical narrative for a period of decades.



Ilan Pappé

Director of the European Centre of Palestine Studies, University of Exeter, United Kingdom.

Power, Money, and Morality: the Pro-Zionist Lobby on Both Sides of the Atlantic

This paper argues that Zionism was an evangelical Christian project before it became a Jewish one. When the two Zionist lobbies, the evangelical Christian one and the Jewish one, fused into a single lobby on both sides of the Atlantic, it became powerful enough to influence British policy towards the Ottoman Empire in general and towards Ottoman Palestine in particular. The lobby was made up of an Anglo-Jewish aristocracy, American Jewish elites, Zionist ideologues and an evangelical aristocracy, mostly antisemitic, who all believed Zionism was both a solution to the Eastern European Jews and a means of expanding Anglo-American influence in the Arab world. With few changes, this historical global alliance is still the most important force shielding Israel against global criticism and rebuke, even during the genocide being carried out in the Gaza Strip at this time.



Iman Saadeh

A resident researcher at the Palestinian Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS), and as an independent consultant in the areas of advocacy and economic empowerment for women. She holds a master's degree in Sociology and a bachelor's in Business Economics from Birzeit University. She has worked on numerous projects in the field of socio-economic and development research. She has contributed as an author to many studies, the most recent of which is entitled, "The Economy of Cultural Heritage in Palestine and Sustainable Development." She contributed to the preparation of the Social Development section of the MAS Quarterly Economic Monitor from 2020-2023, which addressed the multiple dimensions of poverty in Palestine, and was part of the MAS team that prepared the 2023 Multidimensional Poverty Strategy Papers with the Palestinian Ministry of Social Development and ESCWA. She also contributes to writing the semi-annual food security bulletin issued by MAS.

Inequality in the Palestinian Case: A Manifestation of Tightening Colonial Control

This paper poses the question of whether it is possible to achieve development and reduce inequality under the colonial rule imposed on Palestinians, as it is a more complex case than simply drawing up policies to promote growth, development, and fair distribution of returns. The study argues that pervasive inequality in Palestine is intricately tied to the settler colonial context, which operates across a multitude of systematic and non-systematic spheres, undermining all Palestinian developmental frameworks and systematically dismantling equality structures. The paper proceeds from the assumption that the prospects for development, along with the alleviation of poverty and inequality, are severely constrained within the ongoing colonial context. The study includes an analysis of inequality indicators in the economic and social services fields, encompassing consumption and income, poverty, social protection, water, electricity, health, and education, and the compound effects of both the colonial context and the inadequacy of Palestinian policies to achieve equality. The paper shows that despite their shortcomings, Palestinian policies may contribute to reducing the state of underdevelopment, and thus inequality, but they remain unable to bring about development, reduce poverty, and enhance equality in light of the continued context of settler colonialism. Therefore, true development requires that Palestinians enjoy the right to establish their own independent state and to self-determination.



Inas Khateeb

Publishing and Production Coordinator at Mada al-Carmel Arab Centre for Applied Social Research. She holds an MA in Public Administration and a BA in Economics from Haifa University, as well as a BA in Archaeology & Arabic language from Tel Aviv University.

A State Alongside a State: Israeli Economic and Social Policies towards the West Bank Settlements since 2009

This paper examines Israeli economic and social policies towards the settlements in the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, and the role of such policies in consolidating and expanding settlement in order to control a larger area of the West Bank since the return of Benjamin Netanyahu to the government (2009) alongside a dominant right wing. The paper asserts that Israel employs various socio-economic policies that fulfil the needs of the settler colonial project; that is to say, Israeli governments adopt a neoliberal Zionist economic policy within the Green Line, while simultaneously adopting a Zionist socioeconomic policy (a welfare policy) in the West Bank settlements. The results confirmed the study's claim that there are socio-economic policies specific to settlement which differ from the socio-economic policies adopted within the State of Israel. Successive Israeli governments have stressed the importance and necessity of reducing their economic and social role and functions within the Green Line, leaving economic management and growth to market forces, requiring local governments to recruit resources to fund themselves, and discontinuing some social and public services. In the settlements, by contrast, these same governments perform all these functions; in fact, they guarantee most public services there without measuring outlay against the economic principles of efficiency, rationality, profit and loss. These policies are reflected in the various ministries' budgets, as well as in the settlements' budget structure and size as compared with other local authorities in Israel.



Ishraq Othman

PhD candidate in the Human Geography program at the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences at Newcastle University, UK. She holds a MA in Women, Society and Development from Hamad University in Doha, Qatar (2020). Othman is currently a Her research interests focus on the politics of waiting, the biopolitics of life and death, and checkpoints under the Israeli occupation.

The Biopolitics of Waiting: Patients and Beit Hanoun "Erez" Checkpoint

This paper examines the temporalities and spatialities of patients waiting at the Israeli-controlled Beit Hanoun/ Erez checkpoint in Gaza, Palestine to receive treatment in the hospitals of the West Bank, Jerusalem or the Palestinian occupied territories of 1948. The research focuses on the idea of time and relations to the practice of waiting, and it investigates how a health system that is subject to a debilitating siege affects patient care, whereby many medicines cannot enter; medics are unable to travel for specialist trainings, and patient exit permits (for treatment outside Gaza) are delayed or refused. Waiting for patients takes various forms: waiting for a permit, waiting inside the checkpoint, waiting for a treatment to arrive, and so forth.



Islam Rabee

Assistant Researcher at the Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute since 2019 and general coordinator of the Quarterly Economic Monitor. Rabee holds a Master's Degree in Economics and a Bachelor's Degree in Applied Mathematics in Economics from Birzeit University. In addition to serving as general coordinator of the Jerusalem Development Cluster Project and the study into the prospects for cooperation and integration between the Palestinian economy on either side of the Green Line, he worked as a statistical assistant in the National Accounts Department of the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics from 2015-2018. He has published extensive research on macroeconomics and the Palestinian labour market.

Palestinian Labour in the Israeli Economy: Trends, Motives, and Impacts

This paper reviews the conditions of Palestinian labour in Israel and in the settlements located in the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967. The paper reviews the historical context of the first influx of Palestinian labour into the Israeli economy and its effects on economic conditions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In particular, the paper focuses on current labour conditions, by reviewing the motives and causes of supply in the Palestinian labour market, and the determinants of the demand for Palestinian labour in the Israeli economy. In addition, the paper provides an overview of issues related to the economic distortions resulting from the Israeli occupation and Palestinian workers' benefits in the Israeli labour market.



Jan Busse

Senior Research Fellow and Lecturer at the Institute of Political Science at the University of the Bundeswehr Munich, Germany. Busse worked previously in the Middle East and Africa Division of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin. From 2017 to 2022, he was a member of the Arab German Young Academy of Sciences and Humanities (AGYA).

His research has been published in peer-reviewed journals such as *International Studies Review*, *Middle East Critique*, *International Political Sociology*, and the *International Spectator*. He is co-editor of the Mediterranean Special Issue "MENA Political Science Research a Decade after the Arab Uprisings" (2021, with André Bank), editor of the volume *The Globality of Governmentality: Governing an Entangled World* (Routledge, 2021) and author of the research monograph, *De-Constructing the Dynamics of World-Societal Order: The Power of Governmentality in Palestine* (Routledge, 2018).

Palestinian Diplomacy and the Making of the Global Order: The Impact of Contested States' Diplomatic Practices on International Politics

Resulting from a strategy of international recognition, Palestine was not only recognized as a non-member observer state by the UN General Assembly in 2012, but joined numerous international treaties and conventions. Using a practical-theoretical understanding of diplomacy, this paper assesses both the historic emergence and current developments of Palestinian international and regional diplomacy, and relate them to overarching questions of global order. First, it becomes evident that the so-called internationalization strategy which resulted in Palestine's recognition as a non-member observer state by the UN General Assembly in 2012 represents the continuation of a strategy which the PLO had initiated in the 1970s. Accordingly, this approach is less a deviation from the pathway of the Oslo Peace process than it is a continuation thereof. Second, it argues that even though Palestine is not yet a full member of the United Nations, the genealogy of Palestinian diplomacy has had a considerable impact on the outlook of the global order as a whole. By exercising diplomacy, "contested states" such as Palestine have an impact on the global order in three respects. First, in their quest for legitimacy and recognition, contested states invest heavily in the exercise of independent statehood by means of diplomacy. Second, by diplomatically exercising statehood, these actors crucially reinforce the established international order, since this exercise of statehood requires the emulation of key features of statehood and sovereignty and adherence to core principles of international order. Third, at the same time, however, by requesting membership in the international society of states, contested states also present a substantial challenge to the established international order.



Karim Qurt

Researcher at the Yabous Foundation for Consulting and Strategic Studies in Ramallah. Qurt holds a master's degree in Israeli Studies and a bachelor's degree in Political Science with a minor in International Relations from Birzeit University. He writes for the *Palestinian Affairs* magazine issued by the Palestine Liberation Organization Research Centre, and co-authored *the Palestinian Scene Report* at the Vision Centre for Political Development in Istanbul.

The Road to Gilboa: A Study of the Dialectics of Surveillance and Escape from Zionist Prisons

This study examines the dialectical relationship between the development of the monitoring and control system in Zionist prisons and the escapes and attempted escapes made by Palestinian prisoners. The development of this control system came about in large part in response to the repeated penetration of this system by Palestinian prisoners. Following each operation or escape attempt, the Zionist colonial prison authorities have made modifications to this system to make it more secure. However, prisoners have always managed to overcome this system, up to the great escape from Gilboa Prison in 2021, which overcame state-of-the-art means of colonial control and technology. This raises major questions regarding the ability of prisoners to continually overcome this sophisticated control system. How does this system always fail to perform the task of automatic authority that Jeremy Bentham talked about in his description of the Panopticon? The research shows that the reason for the failure of the control system is its excessive power, which renders the colonial authorities completely dependent on it and its ability to control prisoners while at the same time, prisoners develop methods to overcome this system. Moreover, this system cannot quench prisoners' abiding desire to be freed from prisons, which is an urgent need that prompts them to work incessantly to achieve their freedom.



Kate Rouhana

Writer, editor, researcher, and journalist, and founding director of the *Jerusalem Story* website. She holds an MA in Middle Eastern Studies and a BA in International Relations from Harvard University. She has lived and worked in Jerusalem and elsewhere in Palestine.

Palestinians in Occupied East Jerusalem: An Unrepresented, Doubly Disenfranchised Population

Palestinians comprise nearly half of the population of Jerusalem, a city that Israel proclaimed as its capital in 1948 and has worked relentlessly to Judaize since even before then. Outside of the Gaza Strip, Palestinians in Jerusalem make up the largest urban demographic concentration of Palestinians in historic Palestine. So who represents this demographically weighty population, and what are the obstacles to their having access to adequate – or indeed any – political representation? Without engaging with the valuative question of whether Palestinians should participate in any politics within the prevailing political conditions, this paper seeks to elucidate the current situation from a governance perspective, tracing Palestinian Jerusalemites' opportunities, or lack thereof, to engage freely in local and national elections in order to choose self-representation.



Khaled Zawawi

PhD Student at the University of Tunisia, Faculty of Anthropology and Social Science, Zawawi holds a bachelor's degree in Media and Journalism (2000) and a master's degree in Political Planning and Development (2011), both from An-Najah National University. His PhD dissertation is entitled *The Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine: A Sociological Approach to Shifts in its Ideological Reference and Political Practice (1995-2018)*. In 2012 he published his MA thesis as a book titled *The Reference for Political Islamic Discourse in Palestine*. His research interests include Palestinian political and religious communities and Islamic movements in Palestine, particularly Hamas and Islamic Jihad; the religious institution within Palestinian society, and its historical developments.

Transformations in the Religious Institution in Palestine from the End of the Ottoman Era to 1936

This study argues that the religious institution in Palestine during the Ottoman period, including its related institutions of Sharia, the judiciary, fatwas, etc., was part of the Ottoman religious institution both administratively and doctrinally, with the Hanafi school of thought being the official *madhhab* of the Ottoman Empire. The religious institution in Palestine underwent transformations that changed the status of religious scholars. With the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the beginning of the British occupation, the religious field in Palestine was dismantled and replaced by the Supreme Islamic Council headed by Haj Amin Al Husseini, who was also elected Mufti. (The study takes as its point of departure social approaches based on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "field.") Thus, a new religious institution in Palestine was established. Despite its administrative affiliation with the British occupation, it was given a broad mandate as an intermediary institution and was considered the national institution at that time. This study highlights the transformations that the Palestinian religious institution underwent from the end of the Ottoman era until the end of 1936, the year in which the British occupation dismissed Haj Amin Al-Husseini from the Supreme Muslim Council.



Kholoud Al-Ajarma

Director of the Globalised Muslim World MSc in the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Edinburgh (UK), Al-Ajarma holds a PhD in Anthropology and Comparative Study of Religion from the University of Groningen (Netherlands), an MA in Peace and Conflict Studies (Coventry University, UK) and an MPhil in Anthropology and Development Studies (University of Bergen, Norway). Her academic interests and publications revolve around the topics of Global Islam and Muslim societies, refugee studies, gender, water, migration, and visual culture in Palestine and elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, Europe, and Latin America.

From Iraq to Chile: The Complex Journey of Palestinian Refugees in the Diaspora

The impetus for this article came from the need to understand differential diaspora patterns and experiences of refugees across a group of people commonly homogenized under the label 'Palestinian diaspora' despite the diversity of their experiences and trajectories. The study on which the article is based explores a specific part of the Palestinian diaspora: Palestinian Nakba refugees originally settled in Iraq, then displaced during the Iraqi civil war, and now located in Chile, a country containing an already established Palestinian diaspora and the largest number of Palestinians outside the Middle East. The article explores refugees' struggles to build new lives for themselves, to narrate their own history, to negotiate their relationship with the 'old diaspora', and to make sense of their own diaspora experience. The article reflects on the ways in which members of this particular diaspora community negotiate questions of identity and memories of home and belonging in their daily lives in Chile while highlighting relevant aspects of identity, culture, and religion.



Leila Farsakh

Professor of Political Science at the University of Massachusetts, Boston. She holds a PhD from the University of London and an MPhil from the University of Cambridge, UK. Farsakh is the editor of *Rethinking Statehood in Palestine: Self-Determination and Decolonization Beyond Partition* (University of California Press, 2021), author of *Palestinian Labour Migration to Israel: Labour, Land and Occupation* (Routledge, 2012) and co-editor of *The Arab-Jewish Questions: Geographies of Engagement in Palestine and Beyond* (Columbia University Press, 2020). She has also published widely on the political economy of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and alternatives to partition in Israel/Palestine in various academic journals and other public venues, including the *London Review of Books*, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, *Al-Shabaka*, and *Jadaliyya*, among others. In 2001, Farsakh won the Peace and Justice Award from the Cambridge Peace Commission in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Reimagining Economic Sustainability and Liberation in Palestine: Obstacles and Opportunities

This paper argues that imagining a Palestinian future requires the creation of an economy that is equitable, just, and ecologically sensitive. Such an economy can only be achieved by moving away from the partition paradigms that have been proposed to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It will require decolonizing the economic structure of domination that Israel has entrenched over the past seventy-five years as well as moving away from relying on consumerism and debt to generate growth, as the Palestinian Authority has tried to do over the past two decades. In this regard, the paper explores the economics of the one-state solution, a dimension rarely explored in most discussions on the moral case and political imperative of such a solution. Its central premise is that the developments of the past thirty years have consolidated an apartheid economy that is exploitative and unequal. The international community has contributed to this situation; however, it also holds the key to its reversal and shifting the power imbalance in favour of a single democratic state in all of Palestine.



Lucy El-Sherif

Assistant Professor in the Global Peace & Social Justice and Gender & Social Justice programs at McMaster University. El-Sherif focuses in her scholarship on Arab and Muslim youth subjectivity on Turtle Island (North America) through Palestinian dabke. Through dance, she examines how social citizenship is learned, embodied, and challenged in racialized diasporic and transnational communities. Her research asks what it means to dance a relationship to one's stolen land, Palestine, on another stolen land, Haudenosaunne territory. El-Sherif has published in the journals *Lateral: Journal of the Cultural Studies Association*, *Curriculum Inquiry* and *ReOrient: The Journal of Critical Muslim Studies*. Her dissertation won the 2023 Outstanding Dissertation Award from the American Educational Research Association.

Mothering Ethnography: Methodological Imperatives Researching Subjectivity and Settler Citizenship with Palestinian Youth in Canada

Scholarship on settler colonialism in Palestine and on Turtle Island highlights parallels between entwined processes of racialization and colonization. This work provides key methodological insights regarding fieldwork and analysis into how such processes are embodied, enacted and performed. Drawing on my positionality as an Arab immigrant and mother, I engage three methodological imperatives. First, I centre joy and the richness of Arab cultural production rather than victimization and narratives of suffering to produce knowledge that is of use to my communities. Second, I engage with the participants mindful of considerations I would like researchers to take if they were engaging with my child. Finally, I am profoundly wary of the surveillance climate in which Arabs and Muslims in settler states live. Throughout, I am keenly aware of my position as a non-Palestinian Arab woman and my belief in the liberation of Palestine as "the mother cause" (el-qadiyya el-omm).



Maher El Kurd

Economist at the Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute, MAS, Ramallah. El Kurd served previously as head of the Department of Political Science at Al-Quds Bard College, head of planning at the Economic Department, economic advisor to the chair of the PLO Executive Committee, and chair of the PLO/Fatah Economic Committee. Recent publications include *An Introduction to the Economy of Palestine: How did we get here? Where do we go from here?* (Ramallah: Dar al-Ru'ah, 2022), in Arabic.

Envisioning the Economics of Alternatives to the Two-State Solution in Palestine

The viability of a two-state solution in Palestine within its mandatory borders has receded due to the cumulative consequences of the policies and practices of Zionist settler colonialism in the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967. As these policies and practices of dispossession and impoverishment, as well as the expansion of the Zionist settlement project have rendered the two-state solution or re-partition of mandatory Palestine inapplicable, this paper reviews three alternatives to the two-state paradigm: an economic union, two parallel states on one land, and one secular democratic state, limiting its scope to the economic aspects of the hypothetical implementation of such models. In this context, the paper examines the knowledge gleaned from the South African experience, the closest to the present apartheid regime in Palestine, in ending settler colonialism. The paper concludes with the objective of 'equal rights' for all in the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea to be a first step in the right direction in a long and difficult struggle. The lessons learned from the South African experience highlight the importance of the politico-economic dimension: the objective of achieving equal rights must be accompanied by the struggle for the realization of equitable redistribution of land ownership and economic wealth, and the application of transitional justice.



Mahmoud Muhareb

ACRPS Researcher, specialized in Palestine Studies and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Author of *Gahal and Mahal: Recruits into the Israeli Army from Outside the Country in the 1948 War*.

Gahal and Mahal: Recruits into the Israeli Army from Outside the Country in the 1948 War

This study addresses Israel's recruitment of the largest possible number of both Jewish settlers in Palestine and Jews from around the world into the Israeli army during the 1948 war, causing their numbers to exceed the total number of Arab fighters who participated in that war. The study follows how the Zionist movement and Israel were able to recruit nearly 26,700 people for the Israeli army from outside the country. These recruits belonged to two categories, the first of which was called 'recruits from outside the country' (Gahal). Those belonging to this category, of whom there were over 22,000, were from Jewish survivors of the Nazi Holocaust in Eastern Europe. The second category was called 'volunteers from outside the country' (Mahal), of whom there were over 4,000, and they were from the United States of America, South Africa, Britain, Canada and elsewhere. The study focuses on the critical role played by the 'Gahal' recruits and 'Mahal' volunteers in the 1948 war, not only in increasing the numerical strength of the Israeli army, but also in providing it with experts, advisors and military professionals, of whom the Israeli army was in dire need, which had a significant impact on the course of the war and its outcomes. The study documents Mahal volunteers' decisive contribution to establishing air, naval and artillery forces for the Israeli army during the 1948 war.



Mai Abu Moghli

Senior Researcher at the Centre for Lebanese Studies and an Academic Fellow at the University of Cambridge, Abu Moghli holds a PhD in Human Rights education from UCL Institute of Education and an MA in Human Rights from the University of Essex. Abu Moghli's work focuses on critical approaches to human rights education, professional teacher development in crisis and emergencies, refugee education and decolonizing research and higher education. She has taught at academic institutions in Lebanon, UK, and Palestine, and has published on topics related to the legal status of Syrian Palestinian refugees, Palestinian teachers' activism, professional teacher development in contexts of mass displacement, and decolonizing knowledge production.

Silenced Narratives: Examining Repression of Palestinian Students in UK Universities

This paper explores the impact of Israel's settler-colonial project on Palestinian communities, emphasizing the overlooked experiences of Palestinian students in UK universities. While discussions about Palestine are prominent in Britain, there is a significant gap in research on the Palestinian student experience in the UK. This study highlights testimonies collected between March and May 2023 through an online survey and in-depth interviews with Palestinian students. The findings reveal multi-layered repression faced by Palestinian students, encompassing physical and verbal abuse, marginalization, epistemic violence, erasure, and intimidation. Despite this, Palestinian student activism within UK universities is a model for resistance against ongoing colonization and oppression. Government policies such as 'Prevent' and the IHRA definition of anti-Semitism allow for discriminatory measures which impact Palestinians' academic performance and career prospects, and violate their freedom of assembly and expression. The research examines anti-Palestinian sentiments and actions, exploring the links with the broader colonial history of UK universities. It critiques the use of terms like 'controversial' and 'terrorism' to dismiss Palestinian narratives and experiences and hinder organizing efforts. The thematic analysis employed in the paper focuses on anti-Palestinian racism, epistemic violence, Nakba denial, and identity erasure, providing a comprehensive understanding of the challenges shaping Palestinian identity and offering insights moving forward.



Majd Darwish

Researcher specialized in the Palestinian cause, Darwish works to affirm the legitimacy of resistance in accordance with international law. Holds an MA in International Law from SOAS, University of London. His interests also include decolonial politics and history, and the critical scholarship being done by the school of Third World Approaches to International Law (TWAIL).

The International Legality of Palestinian Armed Resistance

This paper provides evidence of the international legality of Palestinian armed resistance against Israeli occupation and its colonial apparatus. The question of the permissibility of the Palestinian armed struggle under international law has been almost entirely ignored within Palestinian-focused legal academia. The lack of attention to this phenomenon is quite extraordinary, as the conflict has been heavily influenced and shaped by the Palestinian armed struggle that was launched in the early stages of the Zionist colonization of Palestine. The right of occupied, colonized and oppressed peoples, including the Palestinian people, to wage armed struggle is enshrined in international law. The armed Palestinian resistance has been legitimized in particular through the legal and diplomatic efforts of the decolonized Global South and progressive states. The right of the Palestinian people to armed resistance continues to be recognized despite the radical changes that have been witnessed in the Palestinian and international political situations. Attempts by Israel and its Western sponsors and allies to criminalize the Palestinian right to resistance in a bid to preserve Israeli colonial supremacy have been rejected and resisted at the international level with the power of international law and those who shape it.



Malakeh Abdellatif

Researcher at the Wadi Hilweh Information Centre-Jerusalem, Abdellatif holds an LLB from Al-Quds university, and a master's degree in Law and Israeli Studies from Birzeit University.

Religious-Zionist Settlement in Jerusalem: EL'AD Association as a Case Study

This study focuses on religious settlement in Jerusalem as a phenomenon that has grown out of the centrality of the current of religious Zionism in recent times. The study focuses on the EL'AD association, a civil society association that is active in settlement in Jerusalem, and performs educational, educational, and tourist roles to achieve this. It is an arm of the Israeli government which supports it in its settlement programs. Despite its marginalization in the early days of its settlement activity and its ongoing violations of the law, EL'AD is the wealthiest right-wing settlement association in terms of funding and governmental support, which is sometimes veiled, and sometimes open.



Mandy Turner

Senior Researcher with Security in Context, a consortium of scholars analysing peace, development, and security from a Global South perspective. Turner centres her research around the political economy of conflict and peace, and the situation in Israel and Palestine. From 2012-2020 she lived and worked in Palestine, after which she served as Professor of Conflict, Peace and Humanitarian Affairs at the University of Manchester, UK from 2020-2024. Her most recent book was an edited collection with chapters written mostly by Palestinian experts called *From the River to the Sea: Palestine and Israel in the Shadow of 'Peace'* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2019), which will be published in Arabic by the Arab Centre for Research and Policy Studies (Doha) in 2024.

The Politics of the Israel-Palestine "Conflict" in the UK: Understanding Hegemonic and Counterhegemonic Struggles, 7 October to 11 November 2023

The UK has always supported Zionism and Israel against Palestinian-Arab self-determination. Until recently, this hegemonic perspective was embedded in all sectors of society: from political left to political right, from elites, the public, and civil society groups such as trade unions and organizations representing the UK Jewish community. Over the past few decades, a counterhegemonic perspective and movement which campaigns for Palestinian rights has gained support and momentum in the UK. Employing Marxist-Gramscian theories, this article charts the struggle between the "social movement from above" that supports Zionism and Israel (made up of UK political elites and reactionary civil society groups) and the "social movement from below" (made up of members of the public and civil society groups) that is transforming how the Israel-Palestine "conflict" is understood in the UK. Events and processes between 7 October and the London demonstration on 11 November 2023, which was the biggest in UK history for Palestinian rights, show that this struggle has accelerated.



Marah Abdel Jaber

Palestinian-American Writer and Researcher, Abdel Jaber is currently pursuing her master's degree in Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Chicago. Her work focuses on constructions of Palestinian identity within and beyond the occupied territories, historical preservation, Palestinian creative movements, and the imagined Palestinian space. She is interested in accessible knowledge production, and seeks innovative methods of globalizing education on the Palestinian condition which prioritize the Palestinian narrative.

The Homeland Is Us: Reconceptualizing Liberation through the Palestinian Imaginal

The structural dismantling of Palestinian existence by the Zionist project since 1948 perpetually ruptures the collective Palestinian consciousness, generating fragmented conditions of Palestinian reality which rapidly evolve across generational and geographic contexts. The Israeli Nakba canon operates to dismantle the Palestinian collective by manufacturing violence which penetrates and disrupts every extension of Palestinian being. In pursuit of liberation, the Palestinian people require a globally accessible landscape which transcends the nation-state, bearing in mind the various contexts of occupation and their respective demands for freedom. *The Homeland is Us* argues that this space, one frequently alluded to by various scholars of the Palestinian question, can be identified as the Palestinian imaginal. The imaginal realm, or *Mundus Imaginalis*, in this case is adopted from Islamic theosophy and reconceived as a mode of Palestinian landscape which generates access to a unified homeland concealed by violent occupation. The imaginal is evaluated through its relationship with the Palestinian novel as a critical informant on the diverse Palestinian condition, reconceptualizing the possibility of liberation within and beyond the boundaries of occupied land via expanded knowledge on the heterogeneous Palestinian reality.



Marie Kortam

Human Rights and Security Research Policy Advisor at the Lebanese Palestinian Dialogue Committee in the Lebanese Council of Ministers. Kortam is a research fellow at Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme – Paris and the French Institute of the Near-East (IFPO). In addition to teaching at different universities in France and Lebanon, Kortam has served as Special Advisor for Lebanon at the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue-Geneva and been a visiting fellow at various European educational institutions, such as the Christian Michelsen Institute in Bergen and the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin. Kortam holds a PhD in Sociology and an MA in clinical sociology from Paris University, as well as a Master's Degree in Social Work and Communication from Saint-Joseph-Beirut. She has co-authored numerous publications in the field of refugees and migration studies, security studies, violent extremism and human rights.

Palestinian Diaspora in Europe: Belonging to Home and Host Society

Based on the field of migration studies, my paper seeks to provide a comprehensive overview of the Palestinian diaspora in Europe and the host society in three case studies: Germany, France and Denmark. I focus most specifically on vulnerable individuals who suffer from a failure to integrate or rejection by the host society. The paper seeks to understand whether such failed inclusion is due to individual and identity factors, or to government policies or discriminatory laws against the specific legal status of Palestinians. More specifically, I inquire into the identity crisis suffered by second- and third-generation and diaspora communities, and their experience of 'cultural marginalization' due to their religion and beliefs in terms of alienation and a lack of belonging to either home or host society. The study is based on a mixed methodology and employs a variety of methods: extended desk research, participatory observation, snowball sampling and interviews with Palestinian civil society stakeholders and Palestinians in the three aforementioned countries.



May Barakat

Practicing Attorney-at-Law, Barakat holds a master's degree in International Studies from Birzeit University, Palestine. As a legal researcher, she has published numerous peer-reviewed legal studies in the fields of public international law and international human rights law. She served as the Legal and Community Awareness Coordinator for the Palestinian project to promote the adoption of the provisions of the *Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishments and its Optional Protocol* in Palestinian legislation to build a society that respects human rights.

Redefining "Palestinian" Based on the Laws of the State of Palestine is Prejudicial to the Representative Character of the Palestine Liberation Organization

This study addresses the issues posed by the legislation issued by the State of Palestine with regard to the redefinition of "Palestinian." While these laws appear to be regulatory within specific contexts, they present a different and fragmented version of the definition of Palestinian set forth in the Palestine Liberation Organization charters. One of its recent manifestations emerged in the postponement of the 2021 legislative elections, which constituted the contemporary practical context for enshrining the legal text which classifies the Palestinian people according to place of domicile, and which, accordingly, determines the possibility, or lack thereof, of exercising the right to self-determination. This event reflected the extent to which such laws prejudice the legal basis from which the PLO derives its legitimacy as the legal person which has been internationally recognized as the exclusive representative of all categories of the Palestinian people.



Mohammed Duraidi

Director-General of Population and Social Statistics at the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (since 1996) and as a researcher in social and demographic studies, Duraidi holds a master's degree in Population Studies and Demography. He has conducted many research studies on population and demography, and has participated in numerous relevant forums and conferences.

Palestinian Youth between the Hammer of Occupation and the Anvil of Economic Hardship

As the most vibrant and productive group in society, youth play a key role in recovery from crises and challenges. Accordingly, the government must work to improve and develop youth participation and action at the local, national and global levels. Given the Israeli occupation with its oppression, persecution, arrests, and the moral and material destruction it has brought about in Palestinian society at large, and particularly among its youth, young Palestinians face greater and more complex challenges than those faced by young people in surrounding countries. This study includes a presentation and analysis of the demographic reality of Palestinian youth in the occupied Palestinian territories and estimates of their future numbers. It examines various aspects of the social and economic circumstances of Palestinian youth, such as unemployment and poverty, education and health, especially mental health, migration abroad, and their connection to current political conditions. The study presents young people's opinions and attitudes on a number of relevant issues, such as political and community participation, entrepreneurship and volunteer work, as well as an analysis of the well-being and happiness index and the positive role of youth as partners in promoting development. The study draws on surveys and studies carried out by the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics and other entities, while aiming to provide an important reference for understanding and analysing the current reality of Palestinian youth, their attitudes and needs, and expected future trends.



Mohammed Elshobake

Assistant Professor in the Department of Civil Law, Ahmad Ibrahim Kulliyah of Laws (AIKOL), International Islamic University Malaysia, Elshobake holds a PhD in Law from Ahmad Ibrahim Kulliyah of Laws, International Islamic University Malaysia (2019), where he won the award for best PhD law student. He is an expert in public law, particularly international law and human rights from conventional and Islamic perspectives. He won the Emerald Literati Award 2023 for a paper entitled, "Human Rights Violations During the Covid-19 Pandemic" which was published in the *International Journal of Human Rights in Healthcare*.

Israel's Withholding of Palestinian Martyrs' Bodies Under International Law

Israel's policy of withholding the bodies of Palestinian martyrs is a longstanding measure taken by the Israeli occupation as a means of "collecting bodies" and turning them into a "bargaining chip." Using the descriptive analytical approach, this research examines the legality and implications of Israel's policy of withholding the bodies of Palestinian martyrs from an international legal perspective. The main research hypothesis is that the weakness of international resolutions and the means of enforcing international humanitarian law and international human rights law have allowed the Israeli occupation to continue implementing its illegal and unjust policies without regard for the rules of international humanitarian law and international human rights law. The research concludes with a set of findings and recommendations on how to hold the Israeli occupation accountable and promote justice for the Palestinian people.



Mohammed Samhuri

Palestinian/American economist with over 30 years of experience in academia, research, and policymaking. He holds a PhD in Economics from the US and received post-doc training at Harvard University. Samhuri is a former senior research fellow and senior lecturer at the Crown Centre for Middle East Studies at Brandeis University (USA); former senior economic advisor in the Palestinian Authority (1995-2005); and member of the board of governors of the Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction. He has taught Economics in Palestine and the USA, and has served as a senior consultant to the World Bank, UNDP and ESCWA. Samhuri has published widely on the Palestinian economy and contributed to Op-Ed pages of local and international newspapers.

Thirty Years after Oslo: Making the Case for a "Rights-based" Approach to the Palestinian Economy

This paper calls for a full reconsideration of the failed Oslo-based economic model which has been in place in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) since 1994, and for a strategic shift in policy based on an entirely different approach to the Palestinian economy. The paper argues that the intricate political-security-territorial setting as it currently exists in OPT, and the continued squeeze of the Palestinian physical and economic landscape (as evidenced in the territorially fragmented West Bank; the besieged and war-torn Gaza Strip; and the isolated and walled-off East Jerusalem) no longer supports the continuation of the Oslo-based, donor-supported "development-as-usual" approach to the Palestinian economy. Thirty years after Oslo, the study argues, the time has come for a change in discourse and a shift in course. The study's main goal, and hence its original contribution to the literature, is to make the case for this change by adopting a rights-based approach to achieving Palestinian socioeconomic development.



Mohannad Abusarah

PhD Candidate in the Department for the Study of Religion at the University of Toronto, where he earned his Bachelor's and MA degrees in the Study of Religion. Abusarah's project investigates the intellectual and social history of 19th and early 20th century Palestine by focusing on the intellectual and social development that accompanied the modernization process which took place under the Ottoman Empire and increased interaction with Western institutions and ideas.

The Development of Social Roles and Intellectual Tendencies of Jerusalemite Notables during the 19th and Early 20th centuries

This paper explores the social and intellectual history of Palestinian intellectuals during the 19th and early 20th centuries, with a specific focus on the Husayni and Khalidi families of Jerusalem. It sheds light on the unique trajectory of Palestinian intellectual and social reformation, revealing that the emergence of new categories such as "intellectual" and "politician" came at the expense of the traditional roles of qāḍī (judge) and faqīh (jurist). By examining the overlooked intellectual history of Palestine during this period, the paper establishes connections between historical developments in the era of political and cultural reform and modern Arab/Islamic thought. It investigates the Palestinian experience with the Ottoman reforms (the Tanzimat), highlighting the smooth transition facilitated by the active participation of traditional figures and the emergence of new intellectual and political roles. The Husayni and Khalidi families, renowned for their significant political and social influence in Jerusalem, play a crucial part in this narrative, offering valuable insights into the evolution of ideas and intellectual discourse among Palestinian traditionalists and reformers.



Mostefa Bousboua

Assistant Professor at Badji Mokhtar-Annaba University. Bousboua holds a PhD in International Relations from the University of Batna 1. His teaching and research interests revolve around the intersection of international relations and transnational Middle East politics, focusing on issues of security, popular culture and migration. He has published peer-reviewed articles on illegal migration, the *hirak* movement and ultras.

The Ultras in Algeria and Support for the Palestinian Cause: Marginalized Community and Narratives of Struggle

This study examines the reasons for the ultras' support for the Palestinian cause through their verbal and visual discourses, demonstrating that this support is due to the intersections between the Algerian and Palestinian cases. These intersections have created a shared memory of the struggle of indigenous peoples against French colonialism, which first attempted to expel Algerians from their homes and replace them, then exploit and plunder their land, and Israeli colonialism, which has attempted to replace the local population with a settler population. The study argues that in their struggle against deprivation and exclusion, the ultras find in the Palestinian resistance against Israeli occupation a model that embodies their own struggle. They give expression to this at every football match by raising Palestinian flags and tifos and even singing "*Falastin Shuhada*", meaning "Palestine, the [land of] martyrs", in support of the Palestinian resistance.



Mtanes Shihadeh

Researcher at the Mada al-Carmel Centre – the Arab Centre for Applied Social Research (Haifa) – where he specializes in the political behaviour of Palestinians in Israel, the political economy of Israeli governments, and discrimination against Palestinians in Israel. He received his PhD in Political Science from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He has served as coordinator of the Israeli Studies Program (2011), and as Director of Academic Projects at Mada al-Carmel (2015-2016). In 2016, he was elected Secretary-General of the National Democratic Party, and has served as coordinator of the Policy Study Unit in Mada al-Carmel since 2021. He has published several studies in the field of economic policies, voting patterns, and Israeli policies towards Palestinians in Israel.

A State Alongside a State: Israeli Economic and Social Policies towards the West Bank Settlements since 2009

This paper examines Israeli economic and social policies towards the settlements in the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, and the role of such policies in consolidating and expanding settlement in order to control a larger area of the West Bank since the return of Benjamin Netanyahu to the government (2009) alongside a dominant right wing. The paper asserts that Israel employs various socio-economic policies that fulfil the needs of the settler colonial project; that is to say, Israeli governments adopt a neoliberal Zionist economic policy within the Green Line, while simultaneously adopting a Zionist socioeconomic policy (a welfare policy) in the West Bank settlements. The results confirmed the study's claim that there are socio-economic policies specific to settlement which differ from the socio-economic policies adopted within the State of Israel. Successive Israeli governments have stressed the importance and necessity of reducing their economic and social role and functions within the Green Line, leaving economic management and growth to market forces, requiring local governments to recruit resources to fund themselves, and discontinuing some social and public services. In the settlements, by contrast, these same governments perform all these functions; in fact, they guarantee most public services there without measuring outlay against the economic principles of efficiency, rationality, profit and loss. These policies are reflected in the various ministries' budgets, as well as in the settlements' budget structure and size as compared with other local authorities in Israel.



Muhannad Ayyash

Professor of Sociology at Mount Royal University. Ayyash is the author of *A Hermeneutics of Violence* (UTP, 2019), and has recently finished writing *Lordship and Liberation in Palestine-Israel*. He has published numerous academic articles on topics such as political violence, vaccine apartheid, anti-Palestinian racism, and Palestinian decolonial movements. He has co-edited two books, the most recent with Jeremy Wildeman titled *Canada as a Settler Colony on the Question of Palestine*. He is also the author of multiple book chapters, and has written opinion pieces for *Al-Jazeera*, *The Baffler*, and *Middle East Eye*, among others.

From the Nation-State to Decolonial Sovereignties: Towards a Paradigm Shift in Palestinian Nationalism

To reinvigorate the liberatory potential of Palestinian nationalism that has withered since Oslo, the paper presents a case for decolonial sovereignties to replace the nation-state as a guiding structure for imagining an alternative decolonial future in Palestine. Rather than focus on the nation-state as the vehicle and/or destination of the liberation struggle, the paper argues that decolonial sovereignties can theoretically mold and shape social and political structures, including the state and nationalism, into decolonial forms. In contrast to Euro-American settler colonial sovereignty which is absolute and indivisible in its aspirations and eliminatory of the Indigenous in its practices, decolonial sovereignties are layered, shared, and multiplying in both their aspirations and practices. In a forthcoming book, I argue that a prominent example of decolonial sovereignties is the popular committees of the first intifada. Taking inspiration from these committees, the paper argues that it is not enough for scholars today to debate the constitutional framework of the state in imagining an alternative future, even when such efforts are guided by the principle of decolonization. Rather, the guiding principle of decolonization has to itself have a structure that we can delineate, advance, and follow, and that structure should be decolonial sovereignties.



Mustafa Sheta

General Manager of The Freedom Theatre in Jenin Refugee Camp. Sheta has extensive experience in the Palestinian civil sector as a researcher, journalist and coordinator for various organizations and projects, such as Interpeace (UNOPS/UNDP), the Palestinian Refugee and Diaspora Centre (SHAML), the Bisan Centre for Research and Development, and the Muwatin Institute for Democracy Study. Previously a researcher with the American University in Beirut, Sheta holds a BA in Journalism and Political Science from Birzeit University, and an MA in Conflict Resolution and Development from the Arab American University in Jenin.

The Crisis of Palestinian Civil Society

This paper addresses the structural crisis faced by Palestinian civil society, the importance of which lies in the pivotal role civil society plays in advancing democratic principles, upholding human rights, and realizing social justice. The study focuses on the conditional financial support extended to civic organizations, the policies of the Palestinian Authority towards this critical sector, and the impact of such policies. Moreover, the study examines religious leaders' perspectives on the notion of emancipation advocated by civil entities, and assesses the repercussions of the concentrated urban initiatives in Ramallah on civil society in various regions across Palestine. Employing a theoretical framework intertwined with civil society and non-governmental organizations, the document incorporates the complexities of political fragmentation and reliance on external funding. Adopting a case study methodology, the paper conducts a meticulous analysis of the phenomenon within its diverse contexts. Field interviews, focus groups, and observational data constitute integral components of the research, providing valuable insights from various stakeholders. The research concludes by proposing viable solutions to address the challenges confronting Palestinian civil society within a broader framework intricately connected to the national landscape, its multifaceted challenges, and existing divisions.



Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian

Palestinian feminist and researcher, and the Global Chair in Law at Queen Mary University of London. Her scholarship focuses on knowledge production in relation to cumulative trauma, state criminality, surveillance, gender violence, and law and society. She has authored *Militarization and Violence Against Women in Conflict Zones in the Middle East: The Palestinian Case Study* (Cambridge University Press, 2010); *Security Theology, Surveillance and the Politics of Fear* (Cambridge University Press 2015); and *Incarcerated Childhood and the Politics of Unchilding* (Cambridge University Press, 2019); and co-edited *Engaged Students in Conflict Zones: Community-engaged Courses in Israel as a Vehicle for Change* (Palgrave Macmillan Press 2019); *When Politics are Sacralized: Comparative Perspectives on Religious Claims and Nationalism* (Cambridge University Press, 2021), and *The Cunning of Gender Violence* (Duke University Press, 2023).

The Necropolitics of Ihala in Jerusalem

On the experience of the colonized, Fanon states: "To live means to keep on existing. Every date is a victory: not the result of work, but a victory felt as a triumph for life... [T]he objective of the native ... is to bring about the end of domination. But he ought equally to pay attention to the liquidation of all untruths implanted in his being by oppression" (1963, pp. 308-309). Following Fanon's insight, the paper will centre Palestinian experiences in occupied Jerusalem within the context of Israeli settler colonialism and draw on everyday aspects of Palestinian life to introduce and analyse the concept of ihala (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2023). Ihala in Arabic carries many meanings: to swarm, to attack from many sides, to crush, to flood, to assault, to beat, to engulf, to knock down, to exhaust, and more, in an aim to cause major instability. Ihala is a manifestation of overwhelmingness in numerous forms: physical, social, psychological, and economic. By opening the analytical horizon to the voices of those who "keep on existing" while faced with the Zionist ihala, we will examine everydayness as a set of connected systems and assemblages that might appear to be distinct but which actually intersect with racialized and gendered political constraints, social relations, and colonial activities. Ihala against Palestinians exposes the racialized political work of violence and settler-colonial dispossessive brutality, including its mundane criminality, which constructs, directs, governs, and transforms (or attempts to transform) the colonized into dangerous "others", and thus to evict them from the realm of humanity. As a diagnostic tool, Ihala can reveal the ways in which the various technologies of dispossession operate within Palestinian Jerusalemites' intimate lives; moving between their affective, bodily, educational, and familial experiences, as it invades their sleep, beds, homes, families, social networks, employment, and political economy.



Nasser Thabet

Coordinator of the Research and Legal Studies Unit at the Law for Palestine Organization based in Manchester, UK. He Holds a master's degree in Human Rights from the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies and a law license before the Palestinian judiciary. He has previously worked as a legal researcher with various Palestinian and international human rights organizations, including the Palestinian Centre for Human Rights and The Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Monitor. Thabit has authored numerous research papers on the Palestinian cause and the International Criminal Court. His research interests revolve around the intersections of international law with the Palestinian cause, international criminal and humanitarian law, and international organizations.

Denying Palestinian Refugees' Right of Return as a Crime against Humanity before the International Criminal Court

This study investigates the hypothesis surrounding the potential prosecution of the Israeli leadership for their ongoing denial of Palestinian refugees' right of return, considering it a crime against humanity within the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Notably, this particular hypothesis has not been previously presented by the Palestinian Authority before the ICC. The significance of this paper lies in its contribution to broadening the scope of criminal prosecution against the Israeli occupation leadership for their actions against the Palestinian people. The objective is to exert pressure that may lead to a resolution of the issue concerning the denial of Palestinian refugees' right of return. The paper is structured into several key sections. It commences by examining the right of return within the framework of international law. Subsequently, it delves into the hypothesis of holding the Israeli leadership accountable under the provisions of the Rome Statute and explores the current practices of the International Criminal Court. Finally, the paper assesses potential future scenarios for legal proceedings on this matter before the International Criminal Court.



Natalie Salameh

PhD candidate in Social Sciences at Birzeit University specializing in dependency studies and the political economy of the Global South, Salameh holds a Master's Degree in Contemporary Arab Studies and a Bachelor's Degree in Biology from the same university. She has published a number of peer-reviewed articles dealing with topics such as the French Revolution, sexual culture in Arab society, and eastern Christianity. Her most recent article is entitled, "Eastern Christianity in Academic Research between the Colonial and Post-Colonial State" (Omran, October 2023). She recently contributed a chapter entitled, "Palestine as a Moral Paradox Between Western and Eastern Christianity," to *The Conceptualization of Palestine 2: Models of Emancipatory Knowledge*, ed. Abd al-Rahim Al-Shaikh (The Palestine Studies Foundation, 2023).

The Commercial Bourgeoisie in the Palestinian Context

This study offers a critical reading of the concept of comprador as it has been employed in Palestinian political economy literature. I argue that the literature's use of the concept of comprador to describe the Palestinian commercial bourgeoisie has perpetuated a view of the Palestinian commercial bourgeoisie as nothing but a class that collaborates with colonialism, thus exacerbating both colonial domination and subordination. I base my argument on three facts usually overlooked in the literature on the Palestinian economy. First: The interests of the Palestinian commercial bourgeoisie clash to some degree with those of the occupation, which is evident in the fact that representatives of the occupation's interests extract a share of Palestinian merchants' profits. Second: The measures implemented by the occupation since 1967 include a wide range of severe restrictions imposed on Palestinian merchants, with a negative impact on their business and profits, which the literature usually tends to overlook. Third: Palestinian literature tends to separate commercial and industrial activities, thus neglecting commercial capital as a central element in the production process. Although the industrial bourgeoisie are primarily producers, it is they who distribute their production without the use of intermediaries. This highlights the importance of using the production lens in the analysis, that is, from Marx's perspective of the turnover of capital, which is the sum of the periods of its production and circulation. This analysis is not used in the literature on Palestinian political economy.



Nawras Almanassra

Researcher in Sociology and Anthropology and a research assistant in the Interdisciplinary Studies Project with the Ibn Khaldun Centre for Social and Human Sciences. She holds a master's degree in Sociology and Anthropology from Doha Institute for Graduate Studies in Qatar, and a bachelor's degree in Biology from Hebron University in Palestine. Her research focuses on the transformations of narratives of space and place in the Zionist colonial context, the anthropology of the environment and water in the Palestinian context, and the collective memory, imagination and oral history of the Palestinian people.

The Forcibly Abandoned Village of Wadi Fukin from 1953 to 1972: A Model of Return under Settler Colonialism

This paper examines the case of the Palestinian village of Wadi Fukin, located to the southwest of the city of Bethlehem, whose people were forced to leave it in 1953 by the Israeli occupation under the pretext of its being a "border village." In an exceptional event and unprecedented heroism, its people were able to return to it in 1972 after nearly twenty years of displacement, making it the first and only Palestinian village to which its people have been able to return since the Nakba of 1948. This study attempts to reveal the historical circumstances and sociopolitical factors that made return possible at the height of Israeli control over the West Bank, and under the influence of military rule over its cities and villages. The paper provides a detailed understanding of the patterns of resistance engaged in by the village's Palestinian population, and their collective effectiveness against the practices and policies of settler colonialism with respect to drawing borders and demarcating space. Methodologically, the research relied on field interviews with villagers, as well as relevant literature, documents, and archival, press and historical reports.



Nazmi Jubeh

Associate Professor in the Department of History and Archeology at Birzeit University (since 1991). He holds a PhD in Oriental Studies and Archeology from the University of Tubingen in Germany. In addition to holding several administrative positions at Birzeit University, he has served as Co-Director of Riwaq - Centre for Architectural Conservation (1994-2010) and as Director of the Islamic Museum - Jerusalem (1980-1984). He has published numerous books and articles in the fields of history, archeology, architectural history, cultural heritage, and the history of Jerusalem and Hebron. His most recent books include *Lifta – The Record of a People: History, Cultural Heritage, and Struggle* (Beirut and Ramallah: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2021), in Arabic; *The Jewish Quarter and the Moroccan Quarter in Old Jerusalem: History and Fate between Destruction and Judaization* (Beirut and Ramallah: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2019), in Arabic; and *Jerusalem in Israeli Historical Writings* (Rabat: Bait Mal al-Quds al-Sharif Publications, 2019), in Arabic.

The Archive of the Palestinian Department of Antiquities in the British Mandate Era and its Use in Writing the Modern and Contemporary History of Palestine

The archives of the Department of Antiquities under the British Mandate in Palestine contain a huge number of documents that shed light on the work of the Department, including valuable information about the antiquities of Palestine and archaeological activities such as surveys, excavations, documentation of the tangible cultural heritage, the policies adopted, and their ideological background. These documents shed light on the Department's staff, including Palestinians recognized as pioneers in the field of archaeology. In 1967, Israeli occupation forces seized control of both the archive and the Palestinian Archaeological Museum (Rockefeller) in Jerusalem. However, over the past few years, the archive has been digitized and placed on the Internet, thus rendering it accessible to all. This paper presents the areas in which this archive can be used in writing and studying Palestine's modern and contemporary history, including tracking the names of sites before they were distorted and falsified.



Nizar Ayoub

Co-founder and Director of Al-Marsad (an Arab Human Rights Centre in the Golan Heights), researcher and human rights lawyer. Ayoub holds a PhD in International Law and a MA in Conflict Management and Mediation. He worked as a lawyer and legal researcher with various Palestinian NGOs in Jerusalem and Ramallah, including Al-Haq, from 2000-2013. His research concerns the legal status of the occupied Arab territories, focusing on the legal status of Jerusalem and its Palestinian citizens and ethnic cleansing in Jerusalem. He has conducted studies on the conflict in Syria, including, "Accountability for the Perpetrators of War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity," "International Humanitarian Intervention in Syria and the Duty to Protect," and, "Transitional Justice in Syria: Transitional Justice or Transitional Politics?"

Overview of the Israeli Apartheid Regime over Palestinians in Law and Practice

This study examines the apartheid regime that targets the Palestinians in Israel, known as the 1948 territories, the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, and the Palestinian refugees who are deprived of their fundamental, inalienable right to return to their homes, and consequently, of their right to independence and self-determination. The study discusses the most prominent studies and reports dealing with the Israeli apartheid system in Palestine, including reports from Palestinian, Israeli, and international human rights organizations. The study also examines basic Israeli laws that govern the apartheid system in Palestine, mainly within the 1948 territories, such as the citizenship law, planning and construction laws, and laws related to seizure and dispossession of Palestinian lands to reinforce and perpetuate the system of oppression and domination by the Jewish majority in flagrant violation of international law and international human rights standards, which amounts to a crime against humanity under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC).



Nour Joudah

Assistant Professor in the Department of Asian American Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles and a former President's and Andrew W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow in Geography at UC-Berkeley (2022-23). Joudah completed her PhD in Geography at UCLA (2022), and wrote her dissertation, *Mapping Decolonized Futures: Indigenous Visions for Hawaii and Palestine* on the efforts of Palestinian and *native Hawaiian communities* to imagine and work toward liberated futures while cantering indigenous duration as a non-linear temporality.

Honouring Pasts, Escaping Presents, and Dwelling in Futures: The Palestine Land Society Village Reconstruction Competition

In the Palestine Land Society's reconstruction competition, Palestinian architecture students tell a story of dwelling in the future. In the process of creating their designs to reconstruct paused life worlds, they show just how little bifurcation there is between past and present. In this article, I demonstrate a unique reality of displacement and dispossession: the spaces Indigenous communities map and dwell in are not confined to this moment.



Nouraldin Araj

Palestinian Researcher, Journalist, and student in the Israeli Studies Program at Birzeit University, Ramallah.

Settler Colonialism and the Environmental State of Exception: The Flow of Waste into the West Bank

This article examines Israeli waste disposal sites in the West Bank within the broader framework of structural violence against the Palestinian population and landscape. It explores the evolution of the West Bank into an "ecological state of exception" within Israeli environmental discourse. Beyond its profound implications for the well-being of Palestinians, this disposal strategy seeks to reshape the Palestinian urban environment and erode the indigenous people's connection and access to their land.



Omar Ashour

Professor of Security and Military Studies and the Founder of the Critical Security Studies Programme at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. Head of the Strategic Studies Unit at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. He specializes in small state defence; military adaptations, innovations, and transformations by state and nonstate actors; asymmetric, conventional, irregular and hybrid warfare; combat and military effectiveness; weapon systems analysis; counterinsurgency and counterterrorism; radicalization and collective de-radicalization; and transformations from violence to non-violence. He is the author of *The De-Radicalization of Jihadists: Transforming Armed Islamist Movements* (Routledge, 2009) and *How ISIS Fights: Military Tactics in Iraq, Syria, Libya and Egypt* (Edinburgh University Press, 2021) and editor of *Bullets to Ballots: Collective De-Radicalisation of Armed Movements* (Edinburgh University Press, 2021). His current research project is titled Hybrid Defence for Smaller States: Assessing the Combat Effectiveness of Ukraine's Armed Forces.

Hybrid Defence-in-Depth: Observations on Military Adaptations and Innovations in Gaza and their Strategic Implications

On 7 October 2023, Hamas' Qassam Brigades (QB) conducted and led a multi-domain, combined arms offensive manoeuvre in the "Gaza Envelope." The QB manoeuvre reflected regular teir-1, special forces skills and a number of tactical and operational innovations. The Israeli forces have retaliated with a full-scale ground invasion of the Gaza Strip, following a 20-days air-strike campaign. In Gaza, the QB implemented a ground-based strategy that can be described as "hybrid defence-in-depth." The strategy engages the Israeli forces in six out of seven dimensions of warfare. This intervention has three parts. The first part aims to briefly describe the coined concept of "hybrid defence-in-depth." The second part analyses a series of military adaptations and innovations – within a hybrid-defence strategy – that enhanced the military effectiveness of QB. The final part concludes with a few observations on hybrid defence-in-depth strategy and how the Israeli forces are attempting to counter it.



Omar Iharchane

Moroccan researcher and academic, professor of Public Law and Political Science at Cadi Ayyad University, head of the Moroccan Centre for Research and Policy Analysis (CEMRAP), founding member of the Laboratory for Legal Research and Policy Analysis (LAREJAP), and founding member of the Moroccan Observatory Against Normalization in January 2013, Iharchane has authored many research papers on issues of democratic transformation, constitutional law, and social movements.

Palestine Solidarity Movements: The Moroccan Case Study

This research falls, methodologically speaking, under the category of case studies which focus on observing both the official and unofficial Morocco in terms of how it relates to the Palestinian cause, the objective being to identify the transformations that have occurred in this respect, their implications, reasons, and repercussions. In practice, this research falls within the scope of movements in solidarity with a humanitarian cause that has attracted wide and diverse support across nationalities, religions, races, and ideologies. The hypothesis for this research stems from the existence of a distinction, and in many instances an outright contradiction, between an official Morocco that shirks its obligations towards this cause in a gradual, accelerated and unjustified manner, and an unofficial Morocco which continues to stand in solidarity with the Palestinian cause, but whose interaction is tempered by multiple factors, foremost among which is the overuse of ideology and politics, the multiplicity of solidarity frameworks, and the difficulties of coordinating among them given all these needless complications. The purpose of this research is to observe the extent to which this development is compatible with what is required by the Palestine solidarity movement in light of the changes that have taken place in recent years, and to study the impact Palestine solidarity movements have among the Moroccan people and on Morocco's public policies.



Osama Tanous*

Paediatrician and public health scholar. Tanous is Co-Director of the Palestine Program for Health and Human Rights (PPHHR), a partnership program between the FXB Centre for Health and Human Rights, Harvard University, and the Institute of Community and Public Health, Birzeit University, which utilizes a decolonial framework in program development, leadership, and engagement. He is a member of the O'Neill-Lancet Commission on Racism, Structural Discrimination and Global Health, and was a 2020-2021 Hubert H. Humphrey Fellow of Public Health and Health Policy in the Rollins Schools of Public Health, Emory University.

Defining Medical Apartheid through the Palestinian Experience: A Historical Framing

The term "medical apartheid" has not been formally defined by medical or public health bodies. In the United States, the term has been widely used with reference to unethical medical treatment of and experimentation on African-Americans, or the adverse effect of segregation and racism on access to healthcare and insurance coverage. In South Africa, it refers to the medical effects of the apartheid system enacted on Black South Africans and the separation of the health systems resulting from the broader separation of the races. More recently, the term vaccine apartheid was used to refer to inequitable distribution of the COVID-19 vaccine between the global north and the global south, an image that mirrors post-colonial inequities and the ongoing economic and political exploitation of the global south by corporates and neocolonial powers. This paper uses a settler colonial lens to track the formation and expansion of healthcare services in Palestine–Israel, where different communities such as Jewish Israelis, Palestinians citizens of Israel, Palestinian residents of Jerusalem, Palestinians in the OPT, and Jewish settlers in the West Bank enjoy differential access and rights to healthcare based on race, location, class, and ID card. We use the healthcare system to explore larger notions of statehood, statelessness, sovereignty, citizenship, de-development, dependency, humanitarian work, and aid as they shape the life, health, illness and death of Palestinians. By tracking the formation of two separate and unequal healthcare systems, built by and for different populations, we explore the contours of medical apartheid in Palestine–Israel. *This paper is co-authored by Osama Tanous, Yara Asi, Bram Wispelwey, David Mills and Weeam Hammoudeh from the FXB Center for Health and Human Rights at Harvard University.



Raja Khalidi

Director-General of the Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS) since 2019, Khalidi is also a consultative member of the Welfare Association (Taawon), and a founding member of the Family Relief Fund in Palestine (Geneva). He has served as Research Coordinator at MAS (2016-2019); worked with the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (1985-2013), and served as coordinator of its Program of Assistance to the Palestinian people (2000-2006). He spent his last five years at UNCTAD as head of the Office of the Director of the Division of Globalization and Development Strategies, which led UNCTAD's response to the global economic crisis and its participation in the G-20 process. He was a member of the MAS Board of Trustees from 2007 to 2013. Khalidi holds an MSc in Development Economics (1981) from the University of London (SOAS). He has prepared and published numerous papers and reports on the economic situation and development policies in the occupied Palestinian territories, and on the Arab economy in Israel.

The Identity of the Palestinian National Economy and the Structural Transformation Required for Sustainable Development

This paper underscores the stark reality of the failure to achieve Palestinians' national goals of establishing a state and asserting sovereignty, building a productive national economy, and instituting a just social system as meticulously planned and legislated for. It acknowledges the presence of a profound dialectical issue that has distorted the essence of the national economy, jeopardizing both its current trajectory and its future aspirations. The paper's eight sections detail the fundamental 'variables' in the socio-economic reality of Palestine that have impeded the realization of the goals envisioned for the State of Palestine. These sections address pivotal issues, including the required form of the national economy in relation to sovereignty and subordination, the integration of fragmented Palestinian economies into a unified national development path, economic relations with the Israeli occupation, the interplay between a free economy and the state's role vis-à-vis the private sector, the governance of Palestinian economic development, and the concept of national security. The paper concludes with a set of scenarios which can be used to produce a socioeconomic model appropriate to the current context at the national and regional levels.



Rami Rmeileh

Palestinian writer and social psychologist from Burj Barajneh Refugee Camp in Lebanon currently pursuing a PhD at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter. He holds an Msc in Cross-cultural Psychology from the University of Oslo and ISCTE in Lisbon. Rmeileh has worked with various political and humanitarian organizations in Lebanon and Europe advocating for the rights of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, and his current work explores Palestinian *ṣumūd* (resilience), highlighting Palestinian knowledge production at the intersection of cultural studies and social liberation psychology. He has contributed articles to *Al-Araby al-Jadeed* and the *Omran* journal for the social sciences and humanities

Oral Histories: Weaving Glossaries of Struggle

This paper addresses the discourse of struggle revealed in an oral history archive, highlighting the experiences of six Palestinian women from Ain al-Hilweh camp during the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. In line with Edward Said's question of "who has the permission to narrate?", this study expands the inquiry to encompass who has permission to critique and produce knowledge. Moving beyond elitist written traditions of academic critique, the paper emphasizes the significance of approaching oral history as a generative site for repressed knowledge, wherein people's narratives serve as vehicles for decolonial knowledge production. An analysis of the oral context of these six Palestinian women's testimonies reveals a unique language manifested through glossaries of struggle—an assemblage of non-Eurocentric words that defy adequate expression within Eurocentric critical theory or languages. These words intricately interweave glossaries that illuminate the multifaceted struggle of Palestinian refugee women in Ain al-Hilweh, encompassing moments of suffering, transformation, joy, fear, hope, and a resolute belief in justice and humanity driven by a profound connection to the land. The paper argues that theorists who are unfamiliar with Palestinian discourse risk overlooking the shared meanings of struggle embedded in Palestinian language and practices. In this context, language becomes the privileged medium through which we make sense of things and produce meaning. Learning this language entails grasping its discursive role, as well as its relational, historical, and contingent nature.



Rashad Twam

Research fellow and part-time faculty member at the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, Birzeit University, Palestine. He holds a PhD in Public Law. He has served previously as a lecturer, consultant, researcher, and trainer in collaboration with several local and international universities and institutions. His most prominent publications, scientific and professional activities revolve around an interdisciplinary legal approach including politics, sociology, media, security, and civil-military relations. His most recent publications include: *The Politicization of Civil Service in the Palestinian Bureaucracy* (2023); *The Game of Law: Changes in the relationship between the Palestinian Authority and the PLO* (2023); *The State in the Soldier: The Army and Changing the Constitutional Regime in Egypt* (2022); *A Step Backwards: Implications of the Constitutional Engineering of the Transition for the Foundational Process in Egypt and Tunisia* (2021); *The Protagonist: Religion in Constitutional Preambles and its Impact in Light of the Controversy Over Their Legal Value* (forthcoming); and *Teaching Constitutional Law in Arab Universities: The Dilemma of Theory Out of Context* (forthcoming).

The Dual Functionality of Constitutional Judiciary in Authoritarian Regimes and the Palestinian Experience

What motivates an authoritarian regime, or more precisely, its leaders, who tailor legislation to their own needs, violate it at will, and usurp and combine powers as they please, to support the existence of a seemingly "formal" independent judiciary? How does it allow this judiciary to challenge it by limiting its powers and narrowing its interests? The study revisits this perennial yet contemporary question, employing the Palestinian experience as a case study. It adopts a comprehensive analytical approach, examining the orientations of the Palestinian Constitutional Judiciary (PCJ) represented by the Supreme Constitutional Court and its predecessor, the Supreme Court as a temporary constitutional court over the course of two decades (2002-2022). The study is founded on the assumption that the PCJ performs a dual function akin to experiences observed in authoritarian regimes, which are keen for there to be a judiciary that allows the sacrifice of some of the regime's non-essential interests in exchange for being able to use the judiciary as a means of upholding the regime's supposed legitimacy and/or to reassure investors and/or to control the administrative apparatus. However, the study concludes that the sole substantive interest of the State in allowing for the existence of a judiciary is the support the judiciary provides for the State's alleged legitimacy, yet without any corresponding sacrifice of non-essential interests. Instead, there is an abandonment of human rights.



Rassem Khamaisi

Urban and regional planner, Professor of Urban Planning and Urban Geography, and Head of the Centre for Planning and Studies in Kafr Kanna. He holds a PhD in Urban Geography from the Hebrew University, Jerusalem (1993). Khamaisi developed the methodology of alternative resistance planning, which he put into practice by preparing local and regional structural blueprints for Palestinian Arab towns. He has taken part in national, regional and municipal planning teams. His efforts focus on alternative and counter urban planning, urban geography, and water management, in addition to public administration, public participation, local government and urban management.

The Dialectic of Demography in Historic Palestine: Transformations, Projections and Foresight

This study presents and critically analyses the dialectic of demography, geography and democracy that the Zionist movement and the State of Israel continue to apply to produce a colonial geography based on distinctive religious concepts and a religious narrative. This geography was created by using a complex and diverse system to attract an ethnic group to bring about geopolitical changes and demographic shifts, harnessing an ethnodemocratic system to enable ethnic demographic dominance. The paper claims that the continuation of the conflict in light of the demonization of demography (quantitatively, qualitatively and broadly) will fuel this conflict, and may prepare the way for a future spatial cleansing against the backdrop of demographic changes whereby Palestinians outnumber Jewish Zionists despite the matrix of control being applied by the hybrid colonial Zionist state. The paper presents the demographic shifts in Mandatory Palestine and their geopolitical consequences in light of the use of state power and the application of techniques to confine Palestinians' movement to a particular place, thereby consolidating an ethnically and religiously supremacist Zionist narrative and perpetuating Palestinian inferiority despite the Zionist state's presence in a space marked by an Arab and Islamic majority.



Rovshan Mammadli

Baku-based independent researcher and political analyst. His main research areas include Iran-Azerbaijan relations, the Karabakh conflict, and the reconciliation process between Azerbaijan and Armenia. He holds a master's degree from Mykolas Romeris University in International Policy Studies and a graduate certificate from the University of San Diego in Conflict Transformation and Mediation. His articles have been published by Eurasianet, IPS-Journal, and the Georgian Institute of Politics, among others. His peer-reviewed paper, "Iran and the Second Karabakh War," has been published by Wiley Online Library.

The Rise and Decline of Azerbaijani-Palestinian Solidarity

This paper explores the transformation of Azerbaijan's solidarity narrative with Palestine in the aftermath of its independence from the USSR. Rather than attempting an exhaustive analysis of the Azerbaijan-Palestinian relationship, it offers a general overview of the historical backdrop of their solidarity, identifies factors that have hindered its development, and underscores areas that demand a reevaluation of conventional perspectives. The significance of this study is emphasized by the limited research available on the subject, especially when compared to the rich literature on Azerbaijan's relationship with Israel. The primary goal of the paper is not to present definitive conclusions but to provide insights and recommendations for future critical research in this field.



Rula Shahwan

Expert in archive, memory and cinema studies, Shahwan directs the Library and Archive Department at the Arab American University of Palestine. She is a PhD student at Goethe University, Frankfurt, where she is exploring the role of visual archives in narrative construction and knowledge production within colonial contexts.

Stolen Palestinian Archives as a Theme of Israeli Documentary Production

This study sheds light on the role of archives as a rich source of knowledge production, including documentary films produced using raw archival materials and montage techniques. It clarifies the role of hegemony over archives in controlling and presenting narratives aligned with the dominant discourse of power. The research demonstrates how Israeli filmmakers have utilized documentary films to create a historical narrative based on looted Palestinian records stored in Israeli state archives, bearing in mind the discrimination and controlled access to state archives. It highlights the intimate connection between artistic knowledge production and power dynamics, motives, and the political ideologies of filmmakers and producers. To gain deeper insight into the underlying reasons behind presenting a narrative that appears to contradict the prevalent colonial discourse in Israel, the research dissects the narrative discourse presented in three Israeli documentary films: *Looted and Hidden* by Rona Sela, *Shalal* by Karnit Mandel, and *Tantura* by Alon Schwartz, all of which depart from the official Israeli narrative. The research employs an ethnographic approach in studying these films by conducting Zoom meetings with the filmmakers. This method analyse their cinematic discourse and objectives in presenting counter-narratives, utilizing various theories about cinema, archives, and their role in narrative production within the colonial context.



Sabri Ya'aqbeh

A research assistant at the Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS) since 2021, Ya'aqbeh has contributed to many studies, including "Preparation of the Citizen Budget in Palestine", "The Public Sector after the Covid-19 Pandemic", "The Need for Modern Public Services Linked to Information and Communications Technology", and "The Role of Social Entrepreneurship in Achieving the Goals of Sustainable Development". He holds a bachelor's degree in Economics from An-Najah National University (2019), and is currently completing a master's degree in on Government and Local Governance at Birzeit University.

Palestinian Labour in the Israeli Economy: Trends, Motives, and Impacts

This paper reviews the conditions of Palestinian labour in Israel and in the settlements located in the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967. The paper reviews the historical context of the first influx of Palestinian labour into the Israeli economy and its effects on economic conditions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In particular, the paper focuses on current labour conditions, by reviewing the motives and causes of supply in the Palestinian labour market, and the determinants of the demand for Palestinian labour in the Israeli economy. In arabddition, the paper provides an overview of issues related to the economic distortions resulting from the Israeli occupation and Palestinian workers' benefits in the Israeli labour market.



Safaa Jaber

PhD student in Juridical Science (SJD) at Hamad Bin Khalifa University College of Law in Doha, Qatar. Jaber also works as a research assistant in the areas of law and technology, human rights law, and humanitarian law. She completed an LLB at Qatar University in 2021 before pursuing an LLM in International Law and Foreign Affairs at HBKU College of Law.

Remote Yet Effective Control? The Legal Status of Gaza as Occupied Territory under International Law

The traditional measure for determining whether a given territory is under military occupation requires the existence of effective control in the hands of the occupying power. However, the evolution of the international law of occupation and the emergence of complex situations, particularly of a technological nature, necessitate a functional approach that protects the rights of occupied populations. The political, historical, and geographical conditions of Gaza have allowed Israel to exert effective remote control over it. Despite Israel's disengagement from Gaza in 2005 and the assumption of military and political authority by Hamas, this paper argues that Israel nonetheless has continued to be in effective occupation of the Gaza Strip on the following grounds: 1) the relatively small size of Gaza combined with Israel's advanced technology have allowed Israeli forces to be physically present in Gaza within a reasonable response time; (2) Hamas's authority and armed resistance do not negate Gaza's status as occupied territory; (3) the long pre-disengagement occupation and geographical proximity between Israel and Gaza allow for the remote exercise of effective control and; d) all movement of goods and persons in and out of Gaza is fully controlled and regulated by Israel.



Sari Arraf

Visiting lecturer in Public International Law and a PhD in Law candidate at King's College London, Arraf focuses in his research on the evolution of law in minoritarian settler colonies against a turbulent transition to mass democracy from the 19th century onward. His interests centre on legal history, jurisprudence, social theory, and critical approaches to international law. He has worked as a human rights lawyer at the Palestinian non-profit organization Adalah, and as a research consultant at the Geneva Academy of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights.

The Demographic Dilemma: The Genesis of Apartheid in Colonial South Africa, Algeria, and Palestine

This paper sketches out the theoretical contours of an ongoing dissertation project, which seeks to situate the phenomenon of apartheid (or racial apartness in its original meaning) within the global dynamics of settler colonialism from the 19th century onwards. At this stage, the turbulent passage from traditional imperial formations into the modern-day nation-state was becoming increasingly marked by the erosion of legal paradigms that had long inscribed settler hegemony in the legal order of settler colonies. In particular, the eddying pressure for one-person-one-vote democracy spelt the necessity for legal reforms in the long haul. But the political stakes of this transition were more consequential in some settler colonies than in others. In the Americas and Australasia, the collapse of the native population secured a clear demographic advantage for the settler population, meaning that democratization reforms posed little threat to settler domination. But the supposed logic of elimination, commonly associated with the settler colonial enterprise, did not always result in a demographic majority for settlers. In other locations, the native population maintained its demographic superiority, avoiding the denouement of near-total elimination. The challenges of political and legal adaptation in these minoritarian settler colonies, situated at a critical juncture at which demography became instrumental to securing settler domination, have received little attention so far. The research charts the legal capillaries of this response in three primary locations of settler colonialism, where a substantial mass of settlers have faced a large native population: Colonial Algeria, South Africa and Palestine. Combining comparative and historical legal analysis, it traces the recalibration of racial apartness in the legal order of these settler colonies with a view to giving a contextualized account of apartheid in the modern era. It argues that, in its very essence, apartheid is the manifestation of a racialized legal system conditioned by the demographic anxieties of minoritarian settler societies.



Shaira Vadasaria

Assistant Professor in the School of Social and Political Science at the University of Edinburgh and former Assistant Professor at Al-Quds University, Bard College. Vadasaria serves as co-director of RACE.ED, a research and teaching repository that builds literacy on the study of race, racialization and decolonial studies. Her research and teaching is grounded in methodological and epistemological inquiry around race and racial violence as it changes form and political order under empire and settler colonialism. Her most recent publications include the chapters "Sensory Politics of Return: Hearing Gaza under Siege" in *Gaza on Screen* (Duke University Press, 2023, ed. Nadia Yaqub) and "Race and Colonialism in Socio-Legal Studies in Canada" in *Violence, Imagination, and Resistance: Socio-Legal Interrogations of Power*.

The Racial Question of Palestine and the Question of Racial Justice for Palestine

The persistence of racism and racial violence towards Palestinians is inextricably linked to a century-long settler project that took shape at the intersection of British mandate, US empire and modern political Zionism. While race and settler colonialism have necessarily been interlocked in the question of Palestine, liberal conceptions of 'racial justice' are incommensurable with anti-colonial discourse and western law and politics alike. This paper draws on experiences of teaching on critical race studies within Palestine to examine what these dissonances say about the limits of liberal anti-racism as an antidote to the colonial question of Palestine.



Sonia Boulos

Associate Professor of International Human Rights Law at the Faculty of Law and International Relations, Nebrija University, Spain, Boulos holds a PhD in Juridical Science from the University of Notre Dame, USA with a Fulbright scholarship. Her research and publications focus on the international protection of human rights. She has researched human rights issues related to the Palestinian minority in Israel, such as gender equality, due process in ecclesiastical family courts, the policing of the Palestinian minority in Israel, and the right of Palestinians in Israel to internal self-determination. Boulos is a co-editor of the new journal *Palestine/Israel Review*.

Can There Be Citizenship Without the Right to Self-determination? The Case of Palestinian Citizens of Israel

The citizenship of Palestinians in Israel has been conceptualized as a "settler-colonial citizenship," "incidental citizenship" and "empty citizenship." Such critical approaches pay little or no attention to the intimacies between citizenship and the right to self-determination. The Basic Law, according to which Israel is the nation state of the Jewish people, excludes Palestinians with Israeli citizenship from exercising the right to self-determination. But can there be citizenship without the right to self-determination? The paper explores the two basic elements of the right to self-determination, i.e., the right to participate in ongoing processes of choice relating to the political, economic and cultural life of the state, and the collective ownership of natural resources and the right to benefit from them. The paper argues that stripping Palestinian citizens of the right to self-determination confines them to a permanent residency status that can never be upgraded. This requires the re-evaluation of placing equal citizenship at the core of the political agenda of Palestinian political parties. Even the slogan "the state of all its citizens" has been stripped of its transformative and decolonizing potential through discursive manipulations by the Israeli Supreme court. Consequently, there is a need to explore political alternatives to a primary focus on citizenship claims.



Walid Habbas

Researcher at the Palestinian Forum for Israeli Studies. He holds a PhD in Sociology from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His areas of interest include West Bank-Israeli economic relations, Israeli border and permit regimes, and settlement in the West Bank.

Circumventing Israeli Control: Palestinian Furniture Exports via Israeli Settlements

West Bank exports to Israel have faced significant challenges due to the Israeli system of spatial control, the aim of which is to control Palestinians and facilitate settler expansion throughout the West Bank. The routing of Palestinian commercial freight through the separation barrier has escalated logistics costs, while settlement expansion in Area C has further impeded mobility between Palestinian areas of self-rule. This article highlights the tactics employed by Palestinian economic actors to offset these challenges within the confines of intensified Israeli spatial control. Using data from observations, interviews, and documentary sources spanning the years 2019 to 2023, the study focuses on Palestinian furniture exports to Israel. It reveals that Palestinians have leveraged colonial spatial variations to their advantage by forming partnerships with Israelis to export products through Jewish settlements. The article concludes by advocating for a disaggregated level of analysis that uncovers the dynamic interplay between Israeli spatial constraints and Palestinian agency in response. In the case of furniture exporters, this has led to deepening Palestinian-Israeli economic ties and increased engagement with the infrastructure of Israeli occupation to mitigate its economic impact.



Yanis Iqbal

Student at Aligarh Muslim University, India, Iqbal has published several articles on Marxist theory, imperialism, social movements, educational philosophy, and cultural criticism.

Palestine in the Global Intellectual Conjecture: Marxism and Post-Colonialism

This paper situates Palestine within the intellectual coordinates of Marxism and post-colonialism. By critiquing Edward Said, the paper demonstrates how post-colonial theory's rejection of universal explanatory frameworks hinders its ability to address the specific contradictions within the imperialist world system that underlies the Palestinian cause. The abstract celebration of Palestine as a symbol of resistance glosses over the historical mechanisms through which that resistance is produced and shaped. A Marxist perspective outlines how national liberation movements must navigate national, international, and regional contradictions. While earlier iterations of anti-colonial Marxism linked the Palestinian question to the Arab question, present-day international activism around Palestine has become reduced to individualist travel activism engaged in by First World nationals, which has obscured the global, anti-imperialist possibilities unleashed by China's rise.



Yaser Amouri

Associate Professor of International Law and Human Rights and Vice President of Advancement and Communications at Birzeit University. Amouri earned his PhD in International Law and International Relations from Granada University, Spain, in 2003. In addition to serving previously as Dean of the Faculty of Law and Public Administration (September 2015-August 2019), he has held administrative positions such as chair of the Masters of Law Program and the Department of Law, all at Birzeit University.

Redefining "Palestinian" Based on the Laws of the State of Palestine is Prejudicial to the Representative Character of the Palestine Liberation Organization

This study addresses the issues posed by the legislation issued by the State of Palestine with regard to the redefinition of "Palestinian." While these laws appear to be regulatory within specific contexts, they present a different and fragmented version of the definition of Palestinian set forth in the Palestine Liberation Organization charters. One of its recent manifestations emerged in the postponement of the 2021 legislative elections, which constituted the contemporary practical context for enshrining the legal text which classifies the Palestinian people according to place of domicile, and which, accordingly, determines the possibility, or lack thereof, of exercising the right to self-determination. This event reflected the extent to which such laws prejudice the legal basis from which the PLO derives its legitimacy as the legal person which has been internationally recognized as the exclusive representative of all categories of the Palestinian people.



Yaser Shalabi

Visiting researcher at the Palestinian Economic Policy Research Institute (MAS), and as an independent consultant in multiple development fields. He holds a PhD in Social Sciences, a master's degree in International Studies, and a Bachelor's Degree in Sociology. He has worked for many international and national institutions in the fields of socio-economic research, social policy, development, and planning. He has served as a part-time professor in Birzeit University's Master's Degree program in International Migration and Refugee Studies, and in the Departments of Social and Behavioural Sciences and Philosophy and Cultural Studies. He has published numerous studies in the fields of migration, social protection, non-governmental organizations, and the informal economic sector. He has led development projects in Palestine in the areas of combating poverty and public sector development, and helped formulate a number of national development plans and sectoral strategies in Palestine.

Inequality in the Palestinian Case: A Manifestation of Tightening Colonial Control

This paper poses the question of whether it is possible to achieve development and reduce inequality under the colonial rule imposed on Palestinians, as it is a more complex case than simply drawing up policies to promote growth, development, and fair distribution of returns. The study argues that pervasive inequality in Palestine is intricately tied to the settler colonial context, which operates across a multitude of systematic and non-systematic spheres, undermining all Palestinian developmental frameworks and systematically dismantling equality structures. The paper proceeds from the assumption that the prospects for development, along with the alleviation of poverty and inequality, are severely constrained within the ongoing colonial context. The study includes an analysis of inequality indicators in the economic and social services fields, encompassing consumption and income, poverty, social protection, water, electricity, health, and education, and the compound effects of both the colonial context and the inadequacy of Palestinian policies to achieve equality. The paper shows that despite their shortcomings, Palestinian policies may contribute to reducing the state of underdevelopment, and thus inequality, but they remain unable to bring about development, reduce poverty, and enhance equality in light of the continued context of settler colonialism. Therefore, true development requires that Palestinians enjoy the right to establish their own independent state and to self-determination.

Participants

Opening Session



Ayat Hamdan

Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and Editing Director of Ostour journal for historical studies. Hamdan received her PhD from the Institute of Arab & Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter, UK, where she served as an assistant lecturer in the Political Science department. She was also awarded a fellowship at the Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Oxford. She edited *Jerusalem: Ethnic Cleansing and Forms of Resistance* (ACRPS, 2023).



Azmi Bishara

General Director of the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. Bishara is a leading Arab researcher and intellectual with numerous books and academic publications on political thought, social theory and philosophy. He was named by *Le Nouveau Magazine Littéraire* as one of the world's most influential thinkers. His publications in Arabic include *Civil Society: A Critical Study* (1996); *From the Jewishness of the State to Sharon* (2004); *On The Arab Question: An Introduction to an Arab Democratic Manifesto* (2007); *To Be an Arab in Our Times* (2009); *On Revolution and Susceptibility to Revolution* (2012); *Religion and Secularism in Historical Context* (in 3 vols., 2013, 2015); *The Army and Political Power in the Arab Context: Theoretical Problems* (2017); *The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (Daesh): A General Framework and Critical Contribution to Understanding the Phenomenon* (2018); *What is Populism?* (2019) and *Democratic Transition and its Problems: Theoretical Lessons from Arab Experiences* (2020). Some of these works have become key references within their respective field. His latest publication is titled *The Question of the State: Philosophy, Theory, and Context* (2023) with a second volume forthcoming in 2024 titled *The Arab State: Beginnings and Evolution*. Bishara's English publications include *Palestine: Matters of Truth and Justice* (Hurst, 2022); *On Salafism: Concepts and Contexts* (Stanford University Press, 2022); *Sectarianism without Sects* (Oxford University Press, 2021), among other writings. His trilogy on the Arab revolutions, published by I.B. Tauris, consists of *Understanding Revolutions: Opening Acts in Tunisia* (2021); *Egypt: Revolution, Failed Transition and Counter-Revolution* (2022); and *Syria 2011-2013: Revolution and Tyranny before the Mayhem* (2023), in which he provides a theoretical analysis and a comprehensive assessment of the revolutions in three Arab countries.



Tarek Mitri

Director of AUB's Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs since 2014. Mitri is the President of Saint George University of Beirut and Former Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General in Libya. Mitri has also served as a minister for Information and Environment in four Lebanese governments.

Participants

Symposia



Adeeb Ziadeh

Assistant Professor in the Department of International Affairs at Qatar University and Associate Fellow at the British Higher Education Academy. He received his PhD from the University of Exeter, UK, specializing in European foreign policy towards the Middle East. He also holds both a bachelor's and a master's degree in International Studies from Birzeit University in Palestine. He has worked in various educational institutions in different capacities both in Palestine and abroad. He has participated in numerous academic conferences and specialized workshops, presenting his research and insight. He has published multiple peer-reviewed articles in academic journals.



Ahmed Ghoneim

Author and novelist born in Jerusalem in 1960. He received his PhD from World American University, where he also earned a master's degree in Political Science and a bachelor's in Social Sciences. He was a member of the national leadership of the First Palestinian Intifada, and a member of the national and Islamic leadership of the Second Intifada. He previously served as a member of the Revolutionary Council of Fatah and a member of Fatah's Advisory Council, in addition to being a member of the Palestinian National Council. Ghoneim has published several works on Political Thought, History, Economics, and Literature, in addition to numerous research papers published in peer-reviewed journals.



Ahmed Hussein

ACRPS Researcher and Editor-in-Chief of the *Siyasat Arabiya* journal and the *Istishraf* yearbook. He was assistant professor at the Faculty of Political Science at Damascus University and holds a doctorate in International Relations from the University of Florence. He has many published widely on IR theory. His book *The European Union and the Arab Region: A Realistic Portrait of Challenges* was published by the ACRPS in 2021. He also edited *Challenges to Democratic Transition and the Crisis of State-Building in Libya* (ACRPS, 2022); *The June 1967 War: Paths and Implications* (ACRPS, 2019); and *The Boycott of Israel as a Strategy: Reality and Ambitions* (ACRPS, 2018).



Ali Al-Za'tari

A UN employee for many years in various countries across several levels of responsibility. His work was field-driven and focused on development issues. However, with the Arab region's shift of political emphasis and onset of multiple crises, he assumed functions coordinating and overseeing the humanitarian response in Sudan, Libya, and Syria. He is an avid reader of history, economics, and politics; has a proven affinity for strategic geopolitical analysis and writes articles that relate to these fields of interest.



Ben White

Writer, analyst, and Founding Executive Director of The Britain Palestine Media Centre. He is the author of four books on Palestine, including *Cracks in the Wall: Beyond Apartheid in Palestine/Israel*. White has written hundreds of articles for a variety of international publications, including The Guardian and Al Jazeera. He has a PhD in Palestine Studies from the University of Exeter, and lives in Cambridge, UK.



Ghassan Abu Sitta

British-Palestinian Associate Professor of Surgery and a Plastic & Reconstructive Surgeon. He completed his medical education at University of Glasgow in the UK and his postgraduate residency training in London. He later underwent 3 fellowships: Paediatric Craniofacial Surgery at Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Kids (GOS); Cleft Surgery at GOS and a further fellowship in Trauma Reconstruction at the Royal London Hospital. In 2011 he was recruited by the American University of Beirut Medical Center, becoming Head of the Division of Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery at the AUBMC and Clinical Lead of its Paediatric War injuries program and War Injuries Multidisciplinary Clinic in 2012. In 2015 co-founded and became director of the Conflict Medicine Program at Global Health Institute at the American University of Beirut. He returned to the UK in 2020 and continues in Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery in the private sector. He is an Honorary Senior Clinical Lecturer at the Center for Blast Injury Studies at Imperial College University of London and Visiting Senior Lecturer at the Conflict & Health Research Group at Kings College London University. He is Clinical Lead for the Operational Trauma Initiative at the World Health Organization's EMRO Office and serves on the board of directors of INARA, a charity dedicated to providing reconstructive surgery to war injured children in the Middle East, and Board of Trustees of the UK based Medical Aid for Palestinians. He serves on the UK's National Institute of Health Research (NIHR) International Funding Committee. He has published extensively on the health consequences of prolonged conflict and on war injuries including a medical textbook, *Reconstructing the War Injured Patient and Treating the War Injured Child*. He has worked as a war surgeon in Yemen, Iraq, Syria, South Lebanon and in the 4 wars in the Gaza Strip. On 9 October 2023 he entered the Gaza Strip and worked in Shifa Hospital and then Al-Ahli-Baptist Hospital for 43 days during the current aggression. He provided evidence as part of the South African submission to the International Court of Justice. His work has been featured by numerous newspapers and media outlets notably La Monde, The Independent, The Telegraph, BBC and CNN.



Ghassan El Kahlout

Director of the Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies and Associate Professor in Conflict Management and Humanitarian Action at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. El Kahlout received his PhD in post-war reconstruction and development studies from the University of York in 2001. His specialized experience covering three decades of professional work includes humanitarian response, post-war early recovery, and capacity building. He served as a member of a wide range of emergency humanitarian response teams and has extensive field experience in conflict and disaster-affected contexts, including but not limited to Palestine, Iraq, Yemen, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Libya, and Jordan, working for international organizations such as the United Nations, the International Federation of Red Crescent Societies, and Islamic Relief Worldwide. In 2015, he was appointed as Director of the Humanitarian Forum, playing a key role in convening spaces for training and knowledge sharing in the UK humanitarian sector. He has delivered training courses on humanitarian response, disaster management, post-war early recovery, and post-war reconstruction.



Leila Seurat

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Mohammed abu Rumman

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Mouin Rabbani

Researcher, analyst, and commentator specialized in Palestinian affairs, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the contemporary Middle East. He has, among other positions, previously served as Principal Political Affairs Officer with the Office of the UN Special Envoy for Syria, Head of Middle East with the Martti Ahtisaari Peace Foundation, and Senior Middle East Analyst and Special Advisor on Israel-Palestine with the International Crisis Group. Rabbani is Co-Editor of *Jadaliyya*, where he also hosts the *Connections* podcast and edits its "Quick Thoughts" feature, Managing Editor and Associate Editor of the *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, and a Contributing Editor of Middle East Report. He is Non-Resident Fellow at the Center for Conflict and Humanitarian Studies (CHS) and at Democracy for the Arab World Now (DAWN).



Mueen Al-TaHER

Palestinian Writer and Researcher, Coordinator of the "Palestine Memory Project" at the Arab Centre for Research and Policy Studies since 2016, former member of the Fatah Movement Revolutionary Council and the Supreme Military Council of the Palestinian Revolution between 1983 and 1991. He has participated in numerous conferences and written articles and research papers published in journals, such as the *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, *Siyasat Arabiya*, and *Ostour*. His publications include *Tobacco and Olives: Tales and Pictures of the Time of Resistance* (2017), *Adnan Abu Odeh's Diaries 1970-1988* (2018), and a chapter in *The June 1967 War: Paths and Implications* (2020).



Mustafa Barghouti

General Secretary of the Palestinian National Initiative (Mubadara), which he founded in 2002 with Haidar Abdel-Shafi, Ibrahim Dakkak, Edward Said, and other Palestinian. A member of the Council for Arab and International Relations, and a founding member and former president of the Global Council for People's Health. He studied his doctorate in Medicine and a postgraduate degree in Philosophy in Moscow, as well as a master's degree in management and Management Information Systems at Stanford University in the US. He was elected Chairman of the Freedom Committee in the West Bank within the framework of the National Reconciliation Agreement. He played an important role in forming the National Unity Government in 2007, in which he served as Minister of Information and official spokesman. He was elected a member of the Legislative Council in 2006 and headed the Independent Palestine Bloc in the Council. He ran in the 2005 presidential elections, finishing runner-up to President Mahmoud Abbas. He strongly opposed the Oslo Accords along with Haidar Abdel-Shafi, Ibrahim Dakkak and Edward Said.

Barghouti has devoted his life to the national liberation struggle, following up on people's concerns and supporting their social, health and educational needs. He has led medical relief activities in training paramedics, providing treatment for the wounded, and providing medical supplies, food, and water during invasions and curfews. In 1979, he and his colleagues founded a volunteer resistance movement with the aim of building an independent Palestinian health system. He contributed to establishing and managing the Palestine Monitor website in 2002, which aims to influence world public opinion to challenge Israeli propaganda globally. Barghouti also co-founded the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement and played a prominent leadership role in developing the popular resistance movement and organizing the campaign to resist the apartheid wall and the curfew and siege imposed on the Palestinian territories. He participated in the flotilla campaign to break the siege on the Gaza Strip and the other occupied Palestinian territories, and campaigned to end the occupation, settlement, and all forms of human rights violations. During the second Intifada, he contributed to rebuilding the international solidarity movement with the Palestinian people, meeting dozens of leaders of world countries and international institutions to advocate for the Palestinian cause, and to Grassroots International Protection for the Palestinian People, a program that seeks to protect Palestinians by arranging for international civilian witnesses to be present at potentially violent encounters between Palestinians and settlers or Israeli soldiers.

He received the Medal of Solidarity by the Italian Republic, the Legion of Honour from the French government, and was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2010. He has lectured at more than fifty Arab, European, and US universities and has published hundreds of research papers and articles in both Arab and international newspapers and journals as well as multiple books, most recently *The Hoax of the Century: Dimensions and Confrontational Strategies* [Arabic].



Osama Abu Irshaid

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Tarek Hammoud

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Wael Abdelal

Member of the Mass Communication Department at Qatar University since 2019. He received his PhD in Media Strategies from the University of Exeter in the United Kingdom in 2012. Abdelal has extensive teaching and practical experience and has held various academic positions, including Head of the Media and Communication Technology Program at the University College of Applied Sciences in Palestine, Visiting scholar at Ahmed bin Mohammed Military College, and Assistant Professor (adjunct) in the Department of International Relations at the Joaan Bin Jassim Joint Command and Staff Academy. He is also a member of the National Initiative to Develop Media in Palestine and has received a research grant from the Swedish government to research in the field of digital diplomacy and its prospects in foreign policy. Abdelal is widely published and a reviewer for prestigious journals such as *Media and Communication* and *Insight Turkey*.



Yara Hawari

Co-Director of Al-Shabaka, The Palestinian Policy Network. She completed her PhD in Middle East Politics at the University of Exeter in 2017, where she also taught various undergraduate courses. In addition to her academic work, which focused on indigenous studies and oral history, she is a frequent political commentator, writing for various media outlets including *The Guardian*, *Foreign Policy*, and *Al Jazeera English*. She published her first novel, *The Stone House* (Hajar Press) in 2021 and is the host of the podcast series *Rethinking Palestine*.



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Speakers and Chairs



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Mueen Al-Taheer

Palestinian Writer and Researcher, Coordinator of the "Palestine Memory Project" at the Arab Centre for Research and Policy Studies since 2016, former member of the Fatah Movement Revolutionary Council and the Supreme Military Council of the Palestinian Revolution between 1983 and 1991. He has participated in numerous conferences and written articles and research papers published in journals, such as the *Journal of Palestinian Studies*, *Siyasat Arabiya*, and *Ostour*. His publications include *Tobacco and Olives: Tales and Pictures of the Time of Resistance* (2017), *Adnan Abu Odeh's Diaries 1970-1988* (2018), and a chapter in *The June 1967 War: Paths and Implications* (2020).



Muzna Shihabi

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Nadim Rouhana

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Salim Tamari

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Tamara Kharroub

Tamara Kharroub is the Deputy Executive Director and a Senior Fellow at Arab Center Washington DC. Her research focuses on the intersection of technology and human rights and democracy in the Middle East and North Africa. She publishes research and policy analysis papers and editorials exploring the role of media and communication technology in the political process including issues of digital authoritarianism and repression, disinformation and information environments, cyber power and geopolitics, surveillance technologies, propaganda and media representation, identity politics online, artificial intelligence and autonomous weapons, and digital rights, in addition to research on Palestine/ Israel and US policy there. Kharroub holds a PhD from Indiana University Bloomington and an MA from the University of Westminster and is the recipient of several awards and fellowships including Fulbright.



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Yara Hawari

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