



PASSIA ANNUAL REPORT 2025

PASSIA

PALESTINIAN ACADEMIC SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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Jerusalem, 15 January 2025

DR. MAHDI FOUAD ABDUL HADI (22 March 1944-15 January 2025)



It is with Immense sadness that we share the heartbreaking news about the passing of Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, who was not only the founder and esteemed Chairman of PASSIA, but our dear colleague, friend, and family.

Dr. Mahdi was a distinguished academic, advocate, and patriot who devoted his life to the Palestinian cause. Through reliable research and tireless dialogue, he worked to illuminate every facet of the struggle for justice and to foster a deeper understanding of Palestinian perspectives, undeterred by the challenges he faced.

He will be remembered by countless individuals around the world as a brilliant political analyst, whose wisdom and counsel shaped lives and influenced critical decisions. His vast knowledge, experience, and steadfast leadership inspired change, marked by courageous decision-making in every role he undertook — whether as the director of a think tank, a Board member, or a member of the Waqf Council.

Dr. Mahdi's unwavering love for Palestine and Jerusalem defined his life's work. Jerusalem, in particular, held a special place in his heart, and its fate was a cause he championed with deep passion and commitment.

Our thoughts are with his family and all those who were touched by his remarkable life and legacy.

Rest in peace, Dr. Mahdi. You will be deeply missed — by us and by Jerusalem, the city you cherished so dearly.

PASSIA Team

RESEARCH STUDIES PROGRAM

Since its founding in 1987, PASSIA has been actively implementing its Research Studies Program, producing more than 200 publications. These works are authored by PASSIA researchers or commissioned specialists and reflect a wide range of subject areas. Over the years, the program has brought together contributions from Palestinian, Arab, Israeli, and international academics, scholars, and experts.

Dedicated to offering comprehensive background information, in-depth analysis, and thorough documentation on key issues, PASSIA adheres to the principles of academic freedom across all its research and publications. Emphasizing specialization, scientific rigor, and objectivity, the organization also engages with controversial or underexplored topics, encouraging a diversity of perspectives.

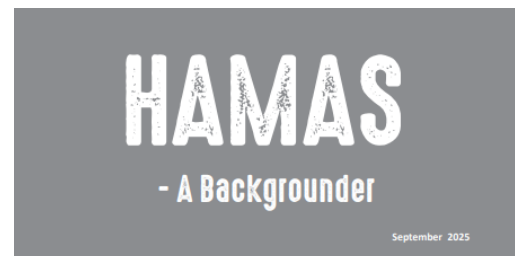
PASSIA's publications have become important reference resources for academics, diplomats, professionals, libraries, and others interested in Palestinian affairs and their regional and international dimensions.

Within the framework of its 2025 Research Program, PASSIA released a bulletin, four factsheets (for three of them see the Jerusalem chapter), and an infographic/poster.

Hamás – A Backgrounder

English, 20 pages, September 2025

This bulletin offers a comprehensive overview of Hamas, charting its evolution from its founding roots to its current role in Palestinian political and social life. It explores the movement's history, ideological foundations, organizational structure, and leadership. The bulletin also provides essential background on Hamas's political positions and strategies, its longstanding rivalry with Fatah, and the intermittent efforts toward reconciliation between the two factions. In addition, it examines Hamas's participation in Palestinian elections, key turning points in its development, and its governance of the Gaza Strip since 2007. By presenting this information in a clear and accessible format, the bulletin aims to serve as a reliable reference for those seeking to better understand one of the most influential and controversial actors in the Palestinian political landscape.



INTRODUCTION

This bulletin offers a comprehensive overview of Hamas, charting its evolution from its founding roots to its current role in Palestinian political and social life. It explores the movement's history, ideological foundations, organizational structure, and leadership. The bulletin also provides essential background on Hamas's political positions and strategies, its longstanding rivalry with Fatah, and the intermittent efforts toward reconciliation between the two factions. In addition, it examines Hamas's participation in Palestinian elections, key turning points in its development, and its governance of the Gaza Strip since 2007. By presenting this information in a clear and accessible format, the bulletin aims to serve as a reliable reference for those seeking to better understand one of the most influential and controversial actors in the Palestinian political landscape.

FOUNDATION OF HAMAS AND THE FIRST INTIFADA, 1987-1992

Hamas, an acronym for *Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiyya* [Islamic Resistance Movement], was founded during the First Intifada which began in December 1987. It is a Sunni-Islamic organization that has its roots in Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, which had been active in the Gaza Strip since the 1950s.

Hamas was formally launched in January 1988 by Palestinian Islamic scholar Ahmad Yassin, Abdul Aziz Al-Rantisi, and Mohammed Taha. As the Intifada empowered local activists due to increasing disillusionment with the Palestinian leadership, particularly the PLO, it created space for more religiously-motivated groups to emerge as a distinct alternative. Hamas capitalized on this momentum, positioning itself as an ideologically and politically different actor and gained popular support, not least through its community and charity work, including running schools and clinics.

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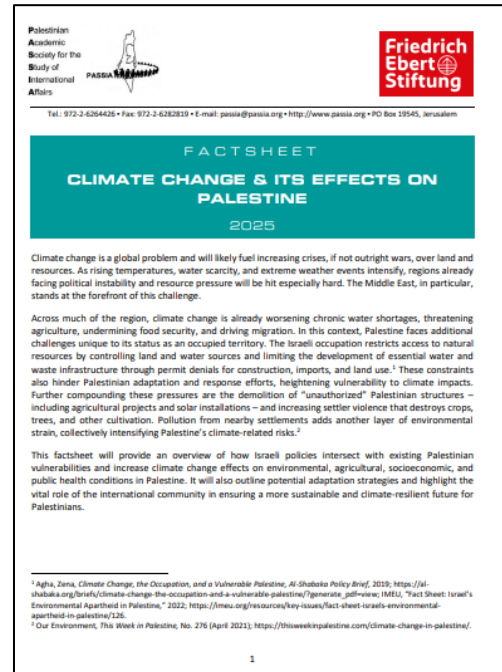
PASSIA

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Factsheet: Climate Change and Its Effects on Palestine

English, 7 pages, November 2025

This factsheet provides an overview of the key issues shaping the lived reality of Palestinian Jerusalemites. These include the precarity of their legal status and residency, which leaves many vulnerable to displacement; pervasive spatial governance practices that reinforce discrimination in planning and housing; and the use of urban planning as a geopolitical instrument, most visibly through the expansion of settlements and the impact of the Separation Barrier. Daily life is further affected by heightened police repression, widespread surveillance, and the criminalization of ordinary activities. Equally significant are the structures of economic disempowerment and public policy discrimination that constrain livelihoods and limit access to essential services.



Infographic/Poster – Historical Timeline of Palestinian-Israeli Peace Attempts

English, poster (A0), September 2025

This poster traces attempts to achieve peace in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict from the 1991 Middle East Peace Conference in Madrid to the 2024 Trump “Deal of the Century.” It presents, in chronological order, the main events, agreements, and proposed plans, as well as related and relevant developments.



JERUSALEM

Throughout 2025, PASSIA continued to prioritize the Question of Jerusalem as a core focus of its research and activities. A broad range of initiatives was implemented to examine and document the city's political, historical, and legal dimensions. These efforts included roundtable discussions, expert briefings, and research activities, all aimed at enhancing scholarly analysis and contributing to informed public understanding of the evolving situation.

Activities and meetings specifically addressing religious affairs – particularly issues related to Al-Aqsa Mosque and the wider religious dynamics in Jerusalem – are detailed in the chapter on the Religious Studies Unit below.

Meetings

5 May 2025, Legacy Hotel, Jerusalem

Topic: New Israeli Legislation Affecting Palestinians in Jerusalem

Speakers: Dr. Munir Nusseibeh, Professor of International Law, Director, Al-Quds Human Rights Clinic and Community Action Center; Rami Saleh, Director for the Jerusalem Legal Aid and Human Rights Center (JLAC).

Participants: Jamal Al-Aref, Consultant; Fouad M. Abdeen, Director; Lareen Abu Akleh, Communication Field Officer, Sabeel; alongside another delegation members from Sabeel; Linda Noonan Ngwane, Pastor; David Grishaw Jones, Pastor; Jennifer Veninga, Pastor; Sister Martha Ann Kirk; Harold Olsen, Diplomat; Charles F. Johnson, Pastor; Mehmet Zeki Günay, Vice Consul, Turkish Consulate; Dr. Mahmoud Zahaikeh, Lawyer; Rama Saleh, Director of Jerusalem Branch, JLAC; Maria Dellasega, Director, FES; Islam A. Jabar, Program Manager, FES; Marian Wrb, Austrian Representative Office; Dr. Sari Nuseibah; Lucy Nusseibeh, Executive Director, Middle East Nonviolence and Democracy (MEND); Patrice Budry, Program Manager, European Union; Julio Escobedo, Representative Office of Mexico; Maha Samman, University Professor; Saleh Zuheikeh; Samah Jaouny, European Union; Marwan Baghdadi, Program Manager, HSS; Angela Godfrey-Goldstein, Co-director, Jahalin; Adel Ruished, Freelancer Scholar; Rana Salumin, Media Coordinator/Project Assistant, FES; Wadi Razzouk, Senior Policy Officer, Netherlands Representative Office; Hussam Musa, Tour Guide; Claudia Roos, Project Reporter, GIZ; Julie Rowe; Fatemah Hammad, Program Associate, UNICFF; Sonia Najjar, Consultant; Adnan Joulani, Executive Director, PASSIA; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA; Paula Klees, PASSIA Intern.



Zoom Participants: Gregory Mahler; Robert Dimaukom, Pro Peace; Dr. Ma'moon Refa'i, Al-Najah University; Qusay Abbas, Project Coordinator at YDD; Joerg Knocha, GIZ; Michael Roesch, Head of Program, GIZ; Mohamed Alsalmiya, Program Manager, LRC; Muna Hidimi, UNDP; Tasneem Ramadan, Communication Assistant, IMEU; Maryam Alqam, Project and Political Officer, Carter Center; Hiba, LRC; Heather Gale, Political Officer, Canada; Diana Butta, Lawyer; Basma S. Khatib, Press, Human Rights and Cultural Affairs Officer, German Representative Office; Martina Tenko, European Union; Ruba Awad, GIZ; Rasmus Brandt, GIZ; Simon Engelkes, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Ramallah; Tom- Jinert Baret, Vice-Consul, Consulate of Sweden, Jerusalem.

20 May 2025, PASSIA, Jerusalem

Topic: Cooperation in Jerusalem

Participants: Hana Sweid, Arab Center for Alternative Planning; Walaa Hayek, Project Coordinator, Arab Center for Alternative Planning; Ahmad Sandoka, Project Coordinator, Arab Center for Alternative Planning; Adnan Joulani, Executive Director, PASSIA; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA.



27 May 2025, Legacy Hotel, Jerusalem

Topic: Israeli Settlement Plans in East Jerusalem

Speakers: Dr. Hanna Swaid, Chairperson, The Arab Center for Alternative Planning (ACAP)

Participants: Walaa Hayek, Project Coordinator, Arab Center for Alternative Planning; Ahmad Sandoka, Project Coordinator, Arab Center for Alternative Planning; Abeer Istanbuli, Project Manager, Land Research Center; Hussan Mousa, Tour Guide; Ramesh de Silva, Head of Political Section, EUREP; Wisam Abdellatif, Maps & GIS Dept, Arab Studies Society; Iskandar Najjar, Professor, Al-Quds University; Fouad M. Abdeen, Union of Charitable Societies in Jerusalem; Birgit Maier de Roy; Rana Salamin, FES; Maria Dellasega, FES; Nisreen Alaref, FES; FES Intern; Neamah Kafraani, Student; Sylvia Abu Laban, Chairperson, Volunteer for Hope Organization; Ratebeh Alaedin; Fida Salfiti, Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics; Maya Abu Hani, French Consulate; Khalil Tafkaji; Mohannad Jaouni, Economic Advisor; Zakaria Odeh, Executive Director, Civic Coalition for Palestinian Rights in Jerusalem (CCPRJ); Nida Dalmantaite, Lithuanian Representative Office in Ramallah; Angela Godfrey-Goldstein, Co-Director, Jahalin Solidarity; Tobias Roy, International Monetary Fund; Qusay Abbas, Project Coordinator; Murad Sobah; Fatmeh Hammad, PSEA Associate Program; Mvutyo Mhdoysuwqem; Pedro Blanco Pérez, Representative Office of Mexico in Palestine.



Workshops

On **12 March 2025**, PASSIA, in coordination with other Palestinian civil society organizations in Jerusalem, co-organized a workshop aimed at briefing primarily international interlocutors on current alarming developments in the city and their impact on the Palestinian population.

The different panels were as follows:

- **New Legislations and Settlement Expansion** by Rami Saleh, Jerusalem Branch Director for Jerusalem Legal Aid and Human Rights Center (JLAC)
- **Shrinking Space** by Rami Nasr Al Deen, Executive Director at The Palestinian Vision Organization (Palvision)
- **Reunification Laws & Violations Against Women** by Rania Silinjawi, Social Specialist and Head of Counseling & Jerusalemite Empowerment at the Women's Center for Legal Aid & Counseling (WCLAC)
- **Challenges of Education and the Cultural Scene in Jerusalem** by Adnan Joulani, Executive Director at Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA)
- **Threats to the Jerusalem Status Quo and Need for Action** by George Sahhar, Advocacy Officer EAPPI (Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel).

The poster features a red speech bubble on the left containing the title 'Jerusalemite Civil Society Speaks Out'. To the right, event details are listed: 'Wednesday, March 12, 2025', '10 AM - 12 PM', and 'Terra Sancta Club, Beit Hanina, Jerusalem'. Below this, a text box states: 'The briefing will address recent developments in Jerusalem and their impact on the city's residents.' A section titled 'Participating organizations & panelists' displays logos for PASSIA, WCLAC, JAC, and others. At the bottom, there is a QR code with the text 'Scan the code to confirm your attendance.' and contact information: 'Or contact us at: 02-532-7136 world@sabeel.org'.



In **April and May 2025**, PASSIA was invited to participate in a series of collaborative workshops on ***Shaping East Jerusalem's Future***, organized by the European Union Representative Office in Jerusalem.

The workshops were held in preparation for the 2026–2029 EU Strategy for East Jerusalem and aimed to foster strategic thematic dialogue while promoting alignment around East Jerusalem's development priorities. The outcomes of these workshops were intended to contribute to the design of an inclusive strategy and Action Document for the development of East Jerusalem. The workshops brought together key stakeholders, including representatives from the EU and its member states, Palestinian public institutions, NGOs and civil society organizations, the private sector, and international organizations. Discussions focused on successful initiatives across sectors and examined whether and how these could be scaled up, which areas of collaboration and synergy could be strengthened, and which gaps in support needed to be addressed.

Each workshop was structured around three main components:

- **General Overview of the Sector:** This session addressed sector-specific challenges, current and future support, lessons learned, successful initiatives, planned interventions, collaboration and synergies, gaps in support, effective coordination mechanisms, and the EU's added value.
- **Sub-Group Discussions:** These discussions focused on priority areas identified within each sector and explored them in depth. The aim was to identify effective approaches to addressing key issues, clarify roles and responsibilities, and pinpoint remaining gaps.
- **Discussion and Conclusion:** This final session summarized key takeaways, drafted recommendations emerging from the sub-group discussions, and outlined proposed next steps.

PASSIA's Executive Director Adnan Joulani and Program Director Deniz Altayli participated in the following four workshops:

28 April 2025, Ambassador Hotel, Jerusalem
Economic Development and Livelihoods

29 April 2026, Ambassador Hotel, Jerusalem
Inclusive Education and TVET

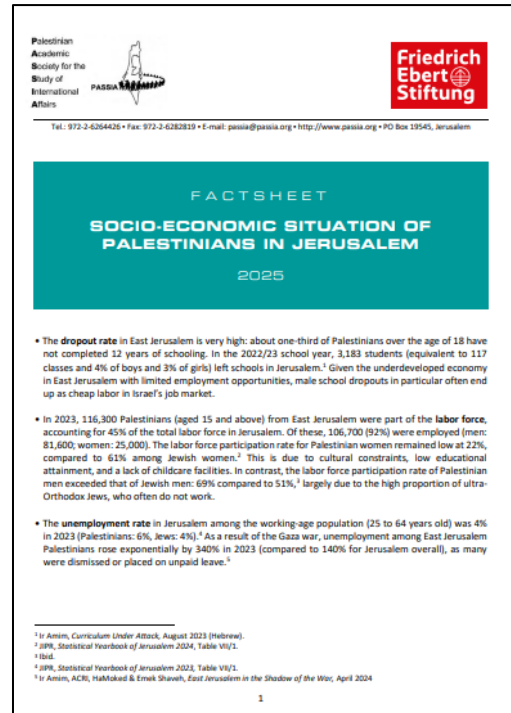
12 May 2025, YWCA of Jerusalem, Sheikh Jarrah
Housing, Legal Access and Urban Development

13 May 2025, The Lutheran World Federation - Vocational Training Center, Beit Hanina
Housing, Culture and Heritage Preservation and Identity

Factsheet: Socioeconomic Situation of Palestinians in Jerusalem

English, 2 pages, January 2025

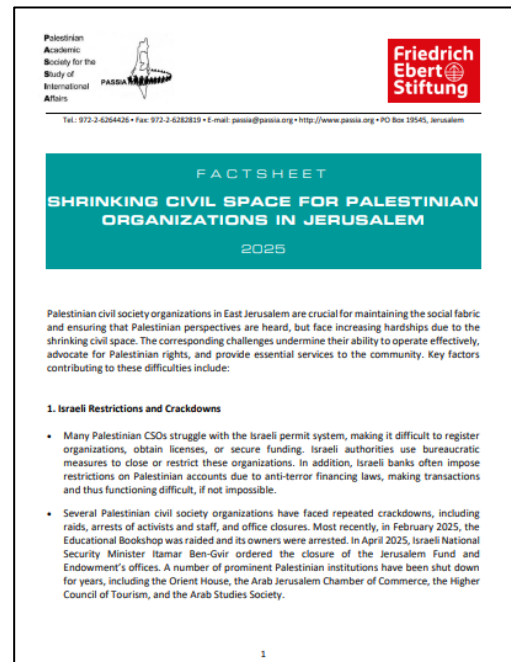
This factsheet provides an overview of the key issues shaping the socioeconomic living conditions of Palestinian Jerusalemites, with facts and figures on dropouts, labor force, unemployment, poverty, development opportunities, taxation, insurance, resource allocation, housing and infrastructure.



Factsheet: Shrinking Civil Space for Palestinian Organizations in Jerusalem

English, 3 pages, February 2025

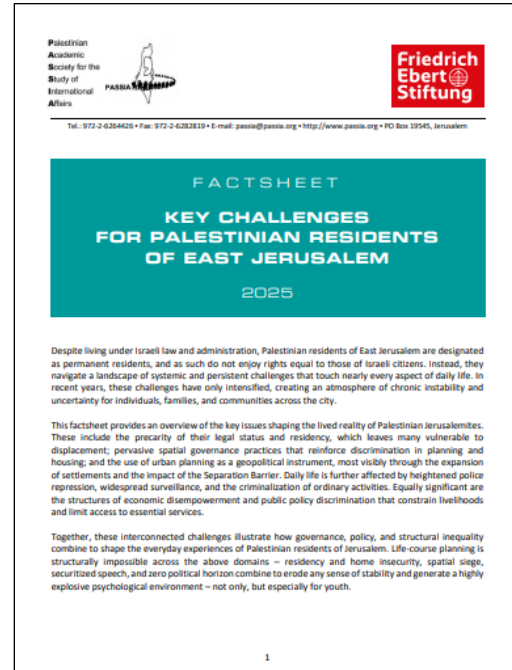
Palestinian civil society organizations in East Jerusalem are crucial for maintaining the social fabric and ensuring that Palestinian perspectives are heard, but face increasing hardships due to the shrinking civil space. The corresponding challenges undermine their ability to operate effectively, advocate for Palestinian rights, and provide essential services to the community. This factsheet describes and explains the key factors contributing to these difficulties.



Factsheet: Key Challenges for Palestinian Residents of East Jerusalem

English, 8 pages, November 2025

This factsheet provides an overview of the key issues shaping the lived reality of Palestinian Jerusalemites. These include the precarity of their legal status and residency, which leaves many vulnerable to displacement; pervasive spatial governance practices that reinforce discrimination in planning and housing; and the use of urban planning as a geopolitical instrument, most visibly through the expansion of settlements and the impact of the Separation Barrier. Daily life is further affected by heightened police repression, widespread surveillance, and the criminalization of ordinary activities. Equally significant are the structures of economic disempowerment and public policy discrimination that constrain livelihoods and limit access to essential services.



DIALOGUE PROGRAM

Since its establishment in 1987, PASSIA's Dialogue Program has been committed to fostering open discussion within Palestinian society and promoting greater understanding of Palestinian affairs at both the local and international levels. By providing inclusive platforms for dialogue and exchange, PASSIA has contributed to informed civic debate and public engagement.

Central to the program is the examination of diverse Palestinian perspectives on a wide range of issues related to the Palestine Question. This is carried out through roundtable discussions, expert briefings, and media engagements. Roundtables constitute a core component of the program, bringing together invited speakers – and, at times, designated discussants – to present on key topics, followed by structured discussions with participants. These meetings are designed to stimulate thoughtful debate among Palestinians and to facilitate dialogue with international audiences.

Participants in PASSIA's activities represent a broad spectrum of backgrounds and expertise, including scholars, professionals, policymakers, and intellectuals from Palestine, Israel, and the international community. Representatives of Palestinian NGOs, political factions, the media, and diplomatic missions also regularly take part, enriching discussions with diverse viewpoints.

PASSIA's briefings provide an additional forum for substantive exchange between individuals and institutions from varied backgrounds, focusing on current Palestinian political, social, and economic developments. These sessions often involve resident diplomats, visiting foreign delegations, and student groups from international universities, contributing to greater understanding of Palestinian perspectives and realities. Through its Dialogue Program, PASSIA seeks to bridge gaps, encourage informed dialogue, and support a more engaged and connected society.

Meetings

20 March 2025, Legacy Hotel, Jerusalem

Topic: Internal Political Developments in the United States and their Impact on Palestine

Speaker: Jonathan Kuttab, International human rights attorney, practicing law in the US, Palestine and Israel; co-founder of Al-Haq and of Nonviolence International



Participants: Jamal Al-Aref, Consultant, COP; Mehmet Zeki Günay, Vice-Consul, Turkish Consulate; Chloe Rouveyroues, Reporter; Heather Gale, Political Officer, Canada; Patrice Budry, Program Manager, European Union; Marla Marti, European Union; Tobias Roy, Resident Representative, International Monetary Fund; Angela Godfrey-Goldstein, Co-Director, Jahalin Solidarity; Safa Abu Assab, Program Manager, Diakonia; Maryam Alqam, Project and Political Officer, Carter Center; Hussam Musa, Tour Guide and Lecturer; Samah Jaouny, European Union; Claire Dabin, EU; Ikumi Ogiwari, Project Formation Advisor, Japan International Cooperation Agency; Bernard Sabella; Islam A. Jabar, Program Manager, FES; Iskandar Najjar, retiree; Sonia Najjar, Consultant; Bill Dekeyser, Researcher; Adnan Joulani, Executive Director, PASSIA; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA; Paula Klees, PASSIA Intern;

Alexandra King, PASSIA Intern.

Another 13 participants attended via Zoom from around the world.

28 October 2025, Carmel Hotel, Ramallah

Topic: 30th Anniversary of FES in Palestine under the auspices of Mr. Martin Schulz, President of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), and Dr. Sabine Fandrych, General Secretary of FES and with the accompanying delegation from FES Germany.

Attended by: PASSIA's Executive Director, Adnan Joulani, and Program Manager, Deniz Altayli.



22 November 2025, PASSIA, Jerusalem

Topic: Trump's 20-Point Plan, the European Role and Palestinian Priorities

Speaker: Dr. Muriel Aseburg, Senior Fellow, Africa and Middle East Division, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs), Berlin

Participants: Tobias Roy, Resident Representative, IMF; Birgit Maier de Roy, IMF; Wafa Dajani, Retired Engineer; Ayşe Aleyna Karasaç, Vice Consul, Consulate General of the Republic of Türkiye; Margarete Wendels, German Representative Office in Ramallah; Peer Otte, German Representative Office in Ramallah; Jamal Al Aref, JFA Expert, Enabel; Anke Schlimm, German Representative Office in Ramallah; Christoph Werthmann, Advocacy Advisor, forumZFD, Jerusalem; Pedro Blanco Pérez, Head of Mission at the Representative Office of Mexico.



26 November 2025, Notre Dame Hotel, Jerusalem

Topic: Where is Israel Headed and What are the Implications for the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict?

Speaker: Sami Abu Shehadeh, Chairman of the Balad Party

Participants: Tami Rafidi, FES; Bruno Jahnke, ARD; Jan Christoph Kitzler, ARD; Clarissa Winter, Humanitarian Affairs Manager, Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF); Luai Al Shuaibi, Operations Manager, Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF); Pedro Blanco Pérez, Representative Office of Mexico; Pedro Valderrama, Representative Office of Mexico; Fakhri Abu Diab; Ibrahim Hussaini, Journalist; Sonnia Najjar, Research Fellow; Iskandar Najjar; Hussam Mousa; Angela Godfrey-Goldstein, Co-director, Jahalin Solidarity; Valerie Feron, French Journalist, Palestine Medi1 Radio (Tangier/Morocco); Ahmad Ali, Journalist; Marwan Baghdadi, Hanns Seidel Stiftung (HSS); Chloé Rouveyrolles, Journalist, AFP; Jason Morris, Political Consul, British Consulate General, Jerusalem; Jack Martin, British Consulate General, Jerusalem.



20 other participants joined the meeting via Zoom.



3 December 2025, Notre Dame Hotel, Jerusalem

Topic: The State of Repression of the Human Rights Movement in the U.S.

Speaker: Diala Shamas, Senior Staff Attorney at the Center for Constitutional Rights, New York

Participants: Lily Feidy, Retired University Professor; Angela Godfrey-Goldstein, Co-director, Jahalin Solidarity; Bassam Turjman; Eveline Muhareb; Rebekah Kosinski, Professor & advocate; Terry Boullata, Consultant; Abd Elkader, Journalist, Alaraby TV; Hussam Mousa, Tour Guide; Bishop Munib Younan; Wafa Dajani, Retired Engineer; Sonia Najjar, Consultant.



20 other participants joined the meeting via Zoom.



Briefings

11 February 2025, PASSIA, Jerusalem

Topic: The Passing of Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi and the Current Situation

Participants: Oliver McTernan, Director, Forward Thinking, London; Jordan Morgan, Director of Programs, Forward Thinking; Samar Abdul Hadi; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA; Adnan Joulani, Executive Director, PASSIA.



12 February 2025, FES, Jerusalem

Topic: PASSIA's Work and the Political Challenges and Shrinking Civic Spaces confronting Palestinians and Palestinian NGOs in East Jerusalem.

Participants: Guido Schmitz, Head of Department for Churches, Political Foundations and Social Structure Development, German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), and Emily Calaminus, German Federal Foreign Office; Maria Dellasega, Director, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES); Islam A. Jabar, Program Manager, FES; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA; Adnan Joulani, Executive Director, PASSIA.

6 March 2025, PASSIA, Jerusalem

Topic: FES-PASSIA Cooperation

Participants: Maria Dellasega, Director, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES); Islam A. Jabar, Program Manager, FES; Adnan Joulani, Executive Director, PASSIA; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA.

17 March 2025, PASSIA, Jerusalem

Topic: Recent Developments

Participants: Jonathan Kuttub, International Human Rights Attorney, United States; Adnan Joulani, Executive Director, PASSIA; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA.



25 March 2025, PASSIA, Jerusalem

Topic: Recent Developments

Participants: Ruth Müller, Deputy Head of Development Cooperation, Representative Office of Germany, Ramallah; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA.

26 March 2025, PASSIA, Jerusalem

Topic: Current Situation

Participants: Jason Morris, Political Officer, British Consulate; Adnan Joulani, Executive Director, PASSIA; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA.



27 March 2025, PASSIA, Jerusalem

Topic: Recent Developments

Participants: Islam A. Jabar, Program Manager, FES; FES Intern; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA; Layan Jber, PASSIA Team; Alexandra King, PASSIA Intern; Paula Klees, PASSIA Intern.



8 May 2025, PASSIA, Jerusalem

Topic: Recent Developments

Participants: Robert Dimaukom, Pro Peace; Rihan Taha; Adnan Joulani, Executive Director, PASSIA; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA; Paula Klees, PASSIA Intern.

17 July 2025, PASSIA, Jerusalem

Topic: PASSIA- FES Cooperation

Participants: Maria Dellasega, Director, FES; Islam A. Jabar, Program Manager, FES; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA.



30 August 2025, PASSIA, Jerusalem

Topic: The Changing International Order

Participants: Jonathan Kuttab, International Human Rights Attorney, US; Adnan Joulani, Executive Director, PASSIA; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA; Tony Cai, PASSIA Intern.

7 October 2025

Topic: Current Situation

Participants: Germano Correa, Counselor, Representative Office of Brazil, Ramallah; Adnan Joulani, Executive Director, PASSIA; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA., Tony Cai, PASSIA Intern.



7 October 2025

Topic: Current Situation

Participants: Maria Dellasega, Director, FES; Islam A. Jabar, Program Manager, FES; Adnan Joulani, Executive Director, PASSIA; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA; Alex King, PASSIA Intern; Tony Cai, PASSIA Intern.



16 October 2025

Topic: Meeting with the Canadian Forces

Participants: Jason G. Langelier, Commander, Task Force Jerusalem, Task Force Jerusalem OP PROTEUS; Osama Wazwaz, Advisor OP PROTEUS; Adnan Joulani, Executive Director, PASSIA; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA; Alex King, PASSIA Intern; Tony Cai, PASSIA Intern; Serena Nusseibeh, PASSIA Intern.



28 October 2025

Topic: Current Situation

Participants: Mvuyo Mhangwane, Chargé D'affaires, South African Embassy, Ramallah; Adnan Joulani, Executive Director, PASSIA; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA.



27 October 2025, American Colony Hotel

Topic: The Context of the Current Situation, especially in Jerusalem, and What Lies Ahead

Participants: Martin Schulz, President of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) and Former President of the European Parliament; Dr. Sabine Fandrych, General Secretary of FES; Richard Probst, Head of the MENA Department, FES; Dr. Konstantin Witschel, Desk Officer for Palestine/Israel, MENA Department, FES; Pascal Mix, Administrative Officer, Maike Röcker, Communications Officer; Maria Dellasega, Resident Representative of FES in Jerusalem; Islam Abdel Jabbar, Program Manager, FES Palestine Office; Adnan Joulani, Executive Director, PASSIA; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA.

24 November 2025

Topic: The Current Situation

Participants: Ruth Mueller and Peer Otte from the German Representative Office; representatives from the GIZ' Adnan Joulani, Executive Director, PASSIA; Deniz Altayli, Program Director, PASSIA.



RELIGIOUS STUDIES UNIT

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Meetings

4 January 2025, PASSIA, Jerusalem

Topic: The Holy Places in Jerusalem

Participants: Sheikh Azzam Al-Khatib, General Director of the Waqf; Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Chairman of PASSIA.

1 May 2025, PASSIA, Jerusalem

Topic: Current Situation at the Waqf and in Jerusalem

Participants: Sheikh Azzam Al-Khatib, General Director of the Waqf; Adnan Joulani, Executive Director, PASSIA.

BUILDING PALESTINIAN SUPPORT FOR A JUST, NEGOTIATED SUSTAINABLE SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI CONFLICT

Years of conflict, entrenched political divides, and repeated failures of peace initiatives have resulted in ongoing violence, widespread hardship for both Palestinians and Israelis, and the persistent denial of Palestinian rights and self-determination. Since the Oslo Accords, successive generations have grown up largely apart, with minimal interaction and deepening mistrust. The lack of sustained peacebuilding efforts has exacerbated hostilities, culminating in the devastating escalation that followed the October 7, 2023 Hamas attack.

This project seeks to counter these destructive dynamics by generating momentum for a credible path toward peace rooted in broad-based public engagement. Through evidence-driven research on the viability of a two-state solution, the initiative provides a solid foundation for advocacy and educational outreach. Despite the given obstacles, civil society actors are increasingly motivated to engage in (grassroots) peacebuilding, envision alternative pathways for the future, and strengthen Palestinian agency in shaping the broader political narrative.

Besides its research component, the project also promotes constructive dialogue that can help shape public opinion and pave the way for thinking of a peaceful future. PASSIA will thereby serve as a platform, bringing together diverse perspectives to explore innovative approaches to conflict resolution and peacebuilding within the two-state paradigm.

Through targeted advocacy, PASSIA further works to inform stakeholders and duty bearers, challenge divisive rhetoric, and build support for a just and negotiated solution among diverse audiences and the general public. Capacity-building empowers young Palestinians to take an active role in promoting peace. Recognizing the importance of a vibrant and empowered civil society and that the communication of related values and principles is most effective if it begins during youth, PASSIA will provide tools and training to increase young Palestinians' understanding, skills and knowledge of peace and conflict resolution issues. This includes the formation of a "youth think tank" to enhance young people's participation in policy formulation and implementation.

Research and Publication

One component of the project is conducting evidence-based research on the feasibility and potential benefits of different aspects of a two-state solution and creating an online repository of resources and research findings that inform stakeholders, policy debates and strategies aimed at fostering a (two-state) solution. In 2025, two research papers/policy briefs were published and another two commissioned (one on economic aspects and the other on borders and security).

Past Peace Processes & Their Challenges – A Historical Overview

English, 28 pages, August 2025

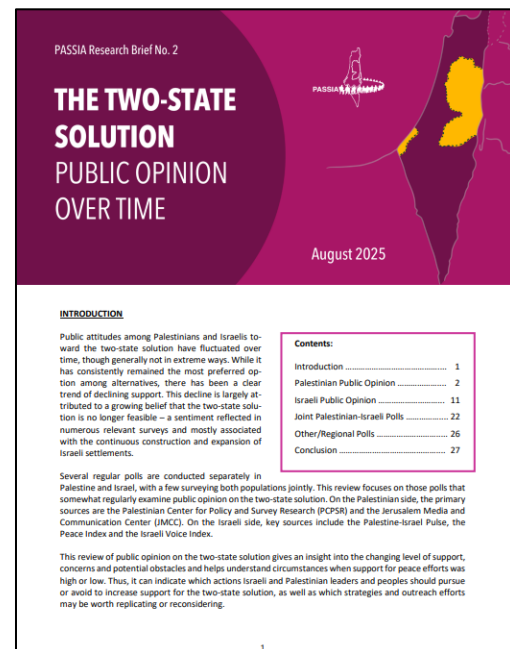
This policy brief reviews and assesses the history of the numerous peace initiatives that have been launched since the early 1990s in an effort to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and to establish a framework for coexistence. None of them – from the Madrid Middle East Peace Conference and the Oslo process to the Annapolis Conference and subsequent negotiations – succeeded in ending the occupation and providing a lasting and just solution. Instead, each attempt offered moments of both cautious optimism and deep disillusionment. This research paper provides a historical overview of key peace processes, examining their objectives, achievements, and the persistent obstacles that have undermined their success. It includes annexes for reference in table form: a) an overview table summarizing Palestinian and Israeli perspectives on the failures of the various attempts at peace, and b) a table comparing the different peace efforts by items such as main goal, participation, achievement, pitfalls and impact.



The Two-State Solution – Public Opinion Over Time

English, 28 pages, August 2025

Public attitudes among Palestinians and Israelis toward the two-state solution have fluctuated over time, though generally not in extreme ways. While it has consistently remained the most preferred option among alternatives, there has been a clear trend of declining support, which is largely attributed to a growing belief that the two-state solution is no longer feasible – a sentiment reflected in numerous relevant surveys. Several regular polls are conducted separately in Palestine and Israel, with a few surveying both populations jointly. This review focuses on those polls that somewhat regularly examine public opinion on the two-state solution on both the Palestinian side and the Israeli side. This review of public opinion on the two-state solution gives an insight into the changing level of support, concerns and potential obstacles and helps



understand circumstances when support for peace efforts was high or low. Thus, it can indicate which actions Israeli and Palestinian leaders and peoples should pursue or avoid to increase support for the two-state solution, as well as which strategies and outreach efforts may be worth replicating or reconsidering.

Meetings

30 September 2025, Notre Dame Hotel, Jerusalem

Topic: Can Recognition of Palestine at the UN make a Difference?

Speaker: Dr. Munir Nusseibeh, Professor of International Law, Director, Al-Quds Human Rights Clinic and Community Action Center.

Participants: Sari Harb; Pedro Blanco, Representative Office of Mexico, Ramallah; Helga Baumgarten; Lamis Amirah; Iskandar Najjar; Ayşe Aleyna Karasaç, Vice Consul, Consulate General of the Republic of Türkiye; Nida Dalmantaitė, Head of Mission (Lithuania); Anick Van Calster, Consul General of Belgium; Sebastián Molina, Representative Office of Chile, Ramallah; Leonardo Torres, Deputy Head of Mission, Representative Office of Chile, Ramallah; Marwan Baghdadi, Project Manager, Hanns Seidel Stiftung; Jamal Al Aref, CEO; Ratebeh Nashashibi; Germano Correa, Counselor, Representative Office of Brazil, Ramallah; Karin Gerster, Director, Rosa Luxemburg; Hussam Mousa, Tour Guide; Eveline Muhareb; Yehia Dissi; Wafa Dajani.

20 other participants joined the meeting via Zoom.



Reels

The two-state solution has long been the focus in negotiations to resolving the Palestine-Israel conflict, favored by the US, the EU, the UN, and a significant majority of states and organizations. It advocates “two states for two people”, i.e., a Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel with both sides running their countries peacefully and independently.

While widely considered the only way to achieve a just and lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians, there have also been increasing voices that the two-state solution is on the verge of collapse, if not dead altogether. Indeed, it seemed to have become almost absent on the agendas

of the international community, which has turned a blind eye to Israel’s continuous policies that made a two-state solution increasingly impractical.

However, Israel’s war against Gaza after the Hamas attack in southern Israel on 7 October 2023, has brought the Israeli-Palestinian conflict back into international spotlight – and with it the untenability of the status quo ante and the need for a two-state solution as the only post-war horizon for a lasting solution and sustainable peace. But what actually is the two-state solution?

To answer this question and make it available to a larger audience, PASSIA produced several reels for use on social media outlets, which explained different aspects and issues related to the two-state solution. These resulting reels addressed the following themes:

- History of the Two-State Solution – Part One: Up to 1948
- History of the Two-State Solution – Part Two: After the Nakba and Until Oslo (1948-1995)
- Main Actors and Official Positions
- Key Sticking Points for the Potential Implementation of the Two-State Solution
- Pro and Contra Arguments on the Two-State Solution



Youth Think Tank

In 2025, and as part of this project, PASSIA launched its Youth Think Tank, an initiative targeting Jerusalemite youth aged 18–29. The Think Tank was designed to provide a safe and inclusive space where young Jerusalemites could freely express their views, engage in critical discussions, and reflect on issues affecting Jerusalem and their future in the city. The initiative brought together a committed and diverse group of participants who meet twice a month to share their lived experiences and collectively examine the realities of daily life in Jerusalem.

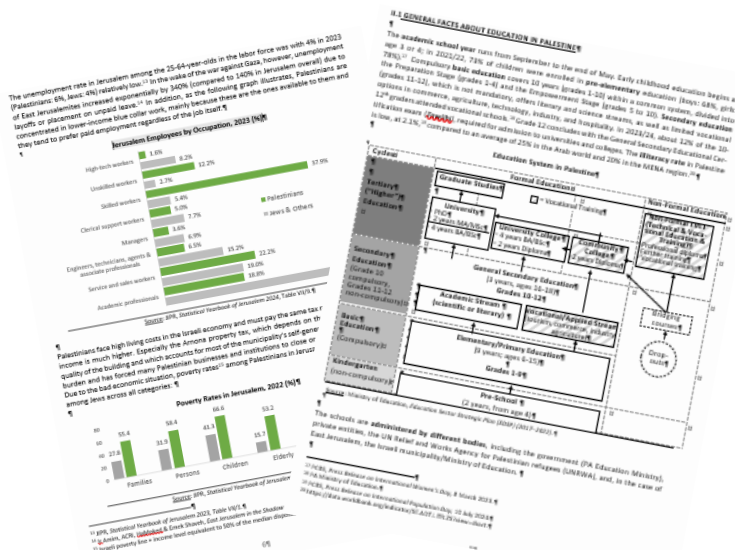
The meetings addressed a wide range of themes, beginning with explorations of what Jerusalem represents to today’s youth. Participants reflected on their emotional attachment to the city while also discussing the political, social, and economic challenges they face as young Palestinians living in Jerusalem. In addition, the sessions adopted a debate-based format to encourage critical thinking and active engagement with broader political and historical issues. For instance, discussions examined the concept of “historical right” and how Palestinians articulate and present their narrative and claims to the international community.

These discussions enabled participants to present their personal stories of belonging, identity, and struggle, while fostering a sense of collective understanding and shared purpose. Overall, the Youth Think Tank functioned as a dynamic platform for dialogue, critical analysis, and collaborative problem-solving. Thus, this initiative contributed to PASSIA’s mission of deepening understanding of Palestinian perspectives and reaffirmed its commitment to empowering youth and encouraging their active engagement in public and political discourse.

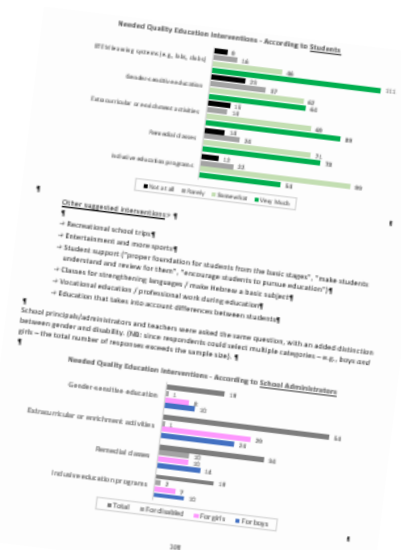
BASELINE STUDY ON THE EDUCATION SECTOR IN EAST JERUSALEM

In 2024, PASSIA was commissioned by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to conduct a baseline study aimed at establishing a comprehensive understanding of the current educational landscape in East Jerusalem, within the framework of UNDP’s Support to Education - Phase II (Education to Employment) project.

The study provided in-depth analysis and data to inform project implementation, assessing key aspects of the education sector in East Jerusalem. Areas of focus included socioeconomic conditions, local challenges, educational infrastructure, community engagement, and youth employment prospects.

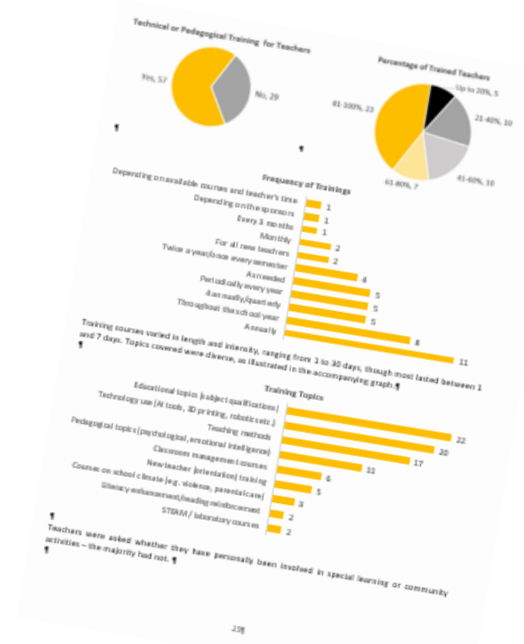


The assignment involved the collection of quantitative and qualitative data aligned with the project’s logframe indicators in order to establish baseline conditions. Data collection engaged a wide range of stakeholders, including school principals, teachers, students, parents and caregivers, as well as key informants from international organizations and local civil society organizations, ensuring comprehensive coverage of target groups and geographic areas.



The resulting report examines the state of Palestinian education in East Jerusalem, with particular attention to perceptions of education quality, learning outcomes, infrastructure, vocational training, and the transition from school to employment. The analysis is based on four tailored questionnaires targeting key informants, school administrators, teachers, and students. A total of 443 questionnaires were analyzed, offering insights into diverse perspectives, systemic challenges, and areas of progress.

Findings presented in the final report were primarily derived from open-ended responses, which were systematically reviewed and categorized to identify recurring themes. Results were presented by stakeholder group – key informants, schools, teachers, and students – allowing for a clear and comparative presentation of perspectives.



PASSIA YEARBOOK

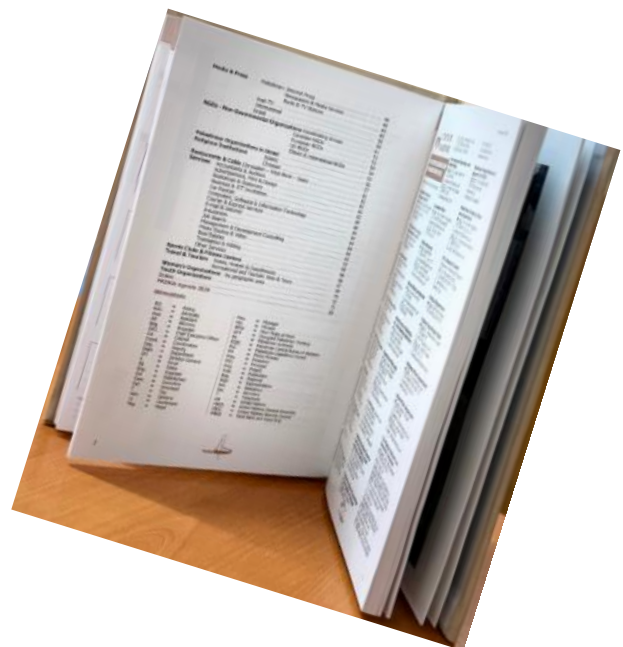
In 2025, PASSIA published the 38th edition of its annual *Yearbook*, a comprehensive resource designed for anyone working on or interested in Palestinian affairs. The yearbook is structured into three main sections: a Calendar, a Directory, and the Agenda, making it a valuable tool for researchers, professionals, diplomats, and organizations engaged with the Palestine Question. PASSIA takes great pride in this publication, which has become an essential reference and indispensable source of information on Palestine for individuals and institutions both locally and internationally.

The contents of the 2026 edition were thoroughly updated and revised to incorporate the latest available information.

Due to the high request for this, it was trimmed slightly to make it lighter and easier to handle.

The **Calendar** includes a full year-long monthly calendar and a yearly planner that allows to overview the entire year on one double page.

The **Directory** lists Palestinian and international organizations operating in the West Bank, Jerusalem and Gaza, including their names and contact details. At the end of the directory there is an alphabetical index to facilitate searches for certain entries. In the 2025 edition, entries included the following:



State of Palestine

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)

PLO Delegations Abroad; Representation in International Bodies; Palestinian National Council

Palestinian Authority (PA)

President's Office (Departments, Advisors)
Ministries (PMO, Cabinet Office)
Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC)
Attorney General-General Prosecution
High Judicial Council
Supreme Judge Department
The Upper Council of Sharia Jurisdiction
PA Institutions, Councils & Commissions
Police and Security
Local Government Administration

Political Parties and Factions

Academic and Research Centers

Agriculture

Associations & Unions

Chambers of Commerce

Charitable Organizations

Culture

Art & Galleries, Cultural & Folklore Centers, Film & Cinema, Literature, Museums, Music & Dance, Theater

Democracy & Community Organizations

Diplomatic Missions

Consulates, Representative Offices to the PA, Embassies

Education

Universities, Colleges, Training & Vocational Centers, Schools, Early Childhood Education, Educational Institutes, Libraries

Environment & Water

Financial & Development Institutions

Banks, Investment, Financial Consulting & Credit Companies

Governmental Aid Missions

Health

Human Rights & Law

Human Rights Organizations, Lawyers & Law Offices

International & UN Organizations

Israeli Activist Groups

Media & Press

Palestinian (Internet Press, Newspapers & Media Services, Radio & TV Stations); Arab TV; International, Israeli

NGOs

Coordinating Groups, Canadian NGOs, European NGOs, US NGOs, Others & International NGOs

Palestinian Organizations in Israel

Religious Institutions

Islamic, Christian

Restaurants & Cafés

Services

Accountants; Advertisement, Print & Design; Bookshops & Stationary; Business & ICT Incubators; Car Rentals; Computers, Software & IT; Courier & Express Services; E-mail & Internet; Insurances; Management & Development Consulting; Photo Studios & Video; Real Estate; Translation & Editing; Other Services

Sports Clubs & Fitness Centers

Travel & Tourism

Hotels, Hostels & Guesthouses; Recreational & Touristic Sites.

Women's Organizations

Youth Organizations

The final section of the Diary is the **Agenda**, which is a yearbook-style compendium of information. It contains a detailed collection of the latest statistics, facts, and figures related to Palestine and the Palestinian people, supported by tables, illustrative graphs, and recommendations for further research material and sources. The Agenda in the 2025 edition is divided into the 14 main and several sub-chapters, dealing with the following aspects of Palestinian society and the Palestine Question:

1. Palestine at A Glance
2. Israeli Occupation Policies
3. Geography
4. Population
5. Refugees
6. Land & Settlement
7. Water & Environment
8. Economy
 - 8.1. Background & Overview
 - 8.2. Agriculture
 - 8.3. Industry & Private Sector
 - 8.4. Labor Market & Employment
 - 8.5. Tourism
 - 8.6. Trade
 - 8.7. Finances

5. Refugees

Historical Background

After the 1948 War, the UN Conciliation Commission estimated that 700,000 Palestinians (70% of the total population of Palestine) fled or were expelled from their villages and towns. The UN estimated that 250,000 others fled to Israel, but that only 100,000 were registered as refugees. The UN estimated that 150,000 others fled to Jordan, but that only 100,000 were registered as refugees. The UN estimated that 100,000 others fled to Syria, but that only 100,000 were registered as refugees. The UN estimated that 100,000 others fled to Iraq, but that only 100,000 were registered as refugees. The UN estimated that 100,000 others fled to Egypt, but that only 100,000 were registered as refugees. The UN estimated that 100,000 others fled to other countries, but that only 100,000 were registered as refugees.

Year	Population	Growth rate	Fertility rate	Mortality rate	Population	Urban population
2025	5,100,000	1.2%	2.0	0.7	5,100,000	1,800,000
2020	4,800,000	1.2%	2.0	0.7	4,800,000	1,700,000
2015	4,500,000	1.2%	2.0	0.7	4,500,000	1,600,000
2010	4,200,000	1.2%	2.0	0.7	4,200,000	1,500,000
2005	3,900,000	1.2%	2.0	0.7	3,900,000	1,400,000
2000	3,600,000	1.2%	2.0	0.7	3,600,000	1,300,000
1995	3,300,000	1.2%	2.0	0.7	3,300,000	1,200,000
1990	3,000,000	1.2%	2.0	0.7	3,000,000	1,100,000
1985	2,700,000	1.2%	2.0	0.7	2,700,000	1,000,000
1980	2,400,000	1.2%	2.0	0.7	2,400,000	900,000
1975	2,100,000	1.2%	2.0	0.7	2,100,000	800,000
1970	1,800,000	1.2%	2.0	0.7	1,800,000	700,000
1965	1,500,000	1.2%	2.0	0.7	1,500,000	600,000
1960	1,200,000	1.2%	2.0	0.7	1,200,000	500,000
1955	900,000	1.2%	2.0	0.7	900,000	400,000
1950	600,000	1.2%	2.0	0.7	600,000	300,000
1945	300,000	1.2%	2.0	0.7	300,000	200,000
1940	100,000	1.2%	2.0	0.7	100,000	100,000

Refugees Today

Approximately 5.1 million Palestinians are registered as refugees. The distribution is as follows:

- West Bank: 1.8 million (35%)
- East Jerusalem: 0.5 million (10%)
- Occupied West Bank: 0.5 million (10%)
- Other: 2.3 million (45%)

9. Education
 - 11.1. Housing & Construction
 - 11.2. Electricity & Energy
 - 11.3. Transportation & Roads
 - 11.4. Communication
12. Society & Living Conditions
13. Government
 - 13.1. Administration
 - 13.2. Elections
 - 13.3. Rule of Law
 - 13.4. Police & Security
 - 13.5. State of Palestine
14. Jerusalem
 - 14.1. Population
 - 14.2. Legal Status & Residency Rights
 - 14.3. Housing & House Demolitions
 - 14.4. Land & Settlement
 - 14.8. The Old City
 - 14.9. Education
 - 14.10. Employment & Poverty
 - 14.11. Israeli Municipal Policies

13. Government

13.1 Administration

The Palestinian National Authority (PNA) was established in 1994, pursuant to the Oslo Accords. It is the governing body for the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The PNA is divided into 16 Governorates: Jericho, Nablus, Tulkarm, Ramallah and Al-Bireh, Hebron, Bethlehem, Qalqilya, Jenin, Gaza, West Bank, and Gaza Strip.

13.2 Elections

The 2021 elections were held on May 25, 2021. The results were as follows:

- West Bank: 132 seats
- Gaza Strip: 13 seats
- Total: 145 seats

9. Education

Education System in Palestine

The education system in Palestine is divided into three main levels: Basic Education, Secondary Education, and Higher Education.

- Basic Education:** Compulsory for all children aged 6 to 12. It includes primary and secondary schools.
- Secondary Education:** Offered in two streams: General Secondary Education (grades 10-12) and Vocational Secondary Education (grades 10-12).
- Higher Education:** Offered in universities, colleges, and technical institutes.

Enrollment Numbers (2020)

Level	Enrollment
Primary	1,200,000
Secondary	800,000
Higher Education	200,000

APPENDICES

Board of Trustees

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi – Chairman (until his death on 15 January 2025)

Political scientist; historian; columnist; author; (co-)founder and member of various Palestinian, Arab and International institutions; founder and head of PASSIA

Dr. Mustafa Abu Sway – Acting Chairman

Integral Chair for the Study of Imam Al-Ghazali's Work at the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque and Al-Quds University; member of the Waqf Council, Jerusalem

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Diana Safieh

Founder/General Manageress of a private Palestinian travel company, Jerusalem; member of various Palestinian women organizations, Jerusalem

Yousef Salman – Treasurer

MBA, BS Accounting; St. John Fisher College

PASSIA Administration

PASSIA employs its staff on a contractual basis, full or part time. The 2025 PASSIA team handled the execution of all projects, with additional researchers and other staff commissioned full- or parttime for specific tasks related to these projects if and where needed. This included also a number of volunteers and interns, whose contribution has always been and still is highly appreciated by PASSIA.

Adnan Joulani - Executive Director
MA International Studies, University of Reading, England

Deniz Altayli - Program Director
MA Sociology (with Economics & Political Science), Heidelberg University, Germany

Layan Jber - Administration
BA English, Birzeit University, Birzeit

Haitham Khalifeh - Accountant
CMA (Certified Management Accountant), Institute of Management Accountants (IMA), USA

Wa'el Sa'adi - Auditor (C.P.A)
BA Accounting & Economics; MBA Business Administration; Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Mazen Qubti - Legal Advisor
Attorney, Jerusalem

Volunteers and Interns 2025:

- Alexandra King (Canadian)
- Paula Klees (German)
- Habiba Jaridi (Palestinian-German)
- Tony Cai (Chinese)
- Serena Nusseibeh (Palestinian)
- Sarah Shoqueir (Palestinian)

Financial Support

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Research Studies Program: Supported by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), Jerusalem

Dialogue Program: Partially supported by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), Jerusalem.

Building Palestinian Support for a Just, Negotiated Sustainable Solution to the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: Supported by HEKS/EPER (Swiss Church Aid)

Baseline Study on the Education Sector in East Jerusalem: Supported by United Nations Development Programme - Programme of Assistance to the Palestinian People (UNDP-PAPP)

PASSIA Yearbook: Supported by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), Jerusalem

List of Available Publications

Ever since its foundation, PASSIA has been extensively engaged in publishing and documenting. Currently, the following studies, monographs, research studies and reports are available. For more information and/or to order, please visit our website at www.passia.org or email us at passia@passia.org):

NO	TITLE	AUTHOR	Arabic/Engl.	DATE
1.	The Conservation of Jerusalem	Khaled A. Khatib, Jerusalem	E	June 1993
2.	The Law of the Land: Settlement & Land Issues under Israeli Military Occupation	Raja Shehadeh, Ramallah	E	July 1993
3.	Strategic Studies & Security: Seminar 1993	PASSIA Seminar Report	E	July 1993
4.	The Jerusalem Arab Municipality	Osama Halabi, Jerusalem	A	1993/2000
5.	Dutch Development Policy Towards the Middle East	Tom de Quaasteniet, Amsterdam	A	May 1994
6.	Jerusalem Women's Organizations During the British Mandate, 1920s-1930s.	Ellen Fleischmann, Georgetown University	A/E	Mar. 1995
7.	The Israeli Disengagement Plan 1995	Jawad Ja'abari, Jerusalem	A	1995/2001
8.	One Year Into Self-Government - Perceptions of the Palestinian Political Elite	Helena Lindholm Schulz Gothenburg University	E	Sept. 1995 Oct. 1997
9.	NGOs and Freedom of Association: Palestine & Egypt- A Comparative Analysis	Denis J. Sullivan, Northeastern University, Boston	E	Dec. 1995
10.	Women in Contemporary Palestine - Between Old Conflicts and New Realities	Maria Holt CAABU, London	A/E	May 1996
11.	The Judaization of Jerusalem - Israeli Policies Since 1967	Allison B. Hodgkins, Jerusalem	E	Dec. 1996
12.	Seminar 1996: Foreign Policies of Arab States	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	April 1997
13.	PASSIA Seminar 1997: Diplomacy & Conflict Resolution in the Middle East	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	Aug. 1997
14.	Neighborhood Councils in Arab Jerusalem	Izhaq Al-Qutub, Jerusalem	A	Nov. 1997
15.	Palestine-Jordan-Israel: Building A Base for Common Scholarship and Understanding in the New Era of the Middle East	Various Palestinian, Jordanian and Israeli Authors PASSIA, Jerusalem	E	Dec. 1997
16.	Municipal Policies in Jerusalem - An Account from Within	Amir Cheshin, Jerusalem (transl. from Hebrew by L. Perlman)	E	Aug. 1998
17.	Seminar 1998: The US & Canada: Political Systems, Policy-Making and the Middle East	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	Oct. 1998
18.	Israeli Settlement Policy in Jerusalem: Creating Facts on the Ground	Allison B. Hodgkins, Jerusalem	E	Dec. 1998
19.	Dialogue on Palestinian State-Building and Identity – PASSIA Meetings 1995-1998	Ed. by Mahdi Abdul Hadi, PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	Jan. 1999
20.	Abraham in the Three Monotheistic Faiths	Prof. Avigdor Shinan, Fr. Maroum Lahham, Dr. Mustafa Abu Sway	E	Dec. 1999
21.	Civil Society Empowerment: Media & Communication Skills	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	Apr 1999
22.	Seminar 1999: Japan, Palestine & the Middle East	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	June 1999

23. Peace Enemies - The Past and Present Conflict between Israel and Palestine	Ludwig Watzal, Bonn (transl. from German by Deniz Altayli)	E	June 1999
24. Foreign Policies Towards the Middle East & Palestine - PASSIA Meetings & Lectures 1995-98	Ed. by Mahdi Abdul Hadi, PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	July 1999
25. Civil Society Empowerment (Policy Analysis, Strategic Planning, and Media & Communication Skills)	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	A	Sept. 1999
26. Islamic Movement: A Challenge for Palestinian State-Building	Bernd Schoch	E	Nov. 1999
27. Civil Society Empowerment: Leadership Skills	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	May 2000
28. Seminar 2000: Israel - State, Society & Politics	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	July 2000
29. Palestinian Judiciary and the Rule of Law in the Autonomous Areas – An Introduction	Victoria Wagner, University of Vienna, Austria	E	Nov. 2000
30. Civil Society Empowerment: Research Skills	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	Dec. 2000
31. The Phenomenon of Collaborators in Palestine	A. Rigby, S. Abdul Jawwad, D. Williams, S. Zeedani	E	Mar 2001
32. Civil Society Empowerment: Project Management	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	May 2001
33. The World Bank & the Palestinian NGO Project	Denis J. Sullivan	E	Aug. 2001
34. Civil Society Empowerment: Fundraising & PR	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	Dec. 2001
35. US Policy Towards Jerusalem and the Occupied Arab Territories, 1948 and 1967	Candace Karp	E	Dec. 2001
36. 100 Years of Palestinian History - A 20 th Century Chronology	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	Dec. 2001 2005
37. Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon - From Hosting to Discrimination	Hussein Chaaban, UK	A	Feb. 2002
38. Civil Society Empowerment: Monitoring & Evaluation	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	Dec. 2002
39. Joseph in the Three Monotheistic Faiths	Ibrahim Abu Salem, Rabbi Jeremy Milgrom, Rev. David Neuhaus	E	Dec. 2002
40. Elite Change in an Authoritarian Regime: Co-opting an Islamic Movement in Algeria	Noura Hamladji	E/A	Jan. 2003
41. Civil Society Empowerment: Train the Trainer	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	Feb. 2003
42. Palestine in Review - This Was 2000	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	Sept. 2003
43. Water in Palestine: Problems, Politics, Prospects	Various; edited by F. Daibes	E	Oct. 2003
44. Palestine in Review - This Was 2001	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	Dec. 2003
45. Moses in the Three Monotheistic Faiths	Rabbi David Rosen, Fr. Dr. Louis Hazboun, Dr. Mustafa Abu Sway	E	Dec. 2003
46. The Geneva Accord: Plan or Pretense?	Nick Kardahji	E	May 2004
47. Civil Society Empowerment: Governance Issues	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	July 2004
48. The Conflict Over Jerusalem - Some Palestinian Responses to Concepts of Dispute Resolution	Cecilia Albin	E	Updated Oct. 2004
49. Security Sector Reform in the OPT	Roland Friedrich	E	Nov. 2004
50. Palestinian-Israeli Impasse - Exploring Alternative Solutions to the Palestine Israel Conflict	Various contributors	E	Aug. 2005
51. PASSIA Seminar 2004: Ireland & Palestine: Divided Countries United by History	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	2005

52. Islam in Contemporary Palestine	Various contributors	A	Nov. 2005
53. Introduction into Islamic Culture	Various contributors	A	Dec. 2005
54. In Search for a Palestinian Identity - A Personal Odyssey	Khalil Nakhleh	E/A	Dec. 2005
55. Palestine in Review - This Was 2002	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	Dec. 2005
56. Palestinian Security Sector Reform	Various contributors	E/A	Dec. 2005
57. <i>Civic Education in Palestine</i> - Citizenship, Human Rights, & Community Development	Various contributors	E	April 2006
58. Palestinian Personalities - A Biographic Dictionary	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	July 2006
59. Palestinian Security Sector Governance - Challenges and Prospects	PASSIA & DCAF (Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces)	E	Aug. 2006
60. Palestine in Review - This Was 2003	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	Dec. 2006
61. Palestine in Review - This Was 2004	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	Dec. 2006
62. Documents on Jerusalem (4 Vol., incl. CD)	Ed. by Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi	E	Jan. 2007
63. Palestine in Review - This Was 2005	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E	June 2007
64. Jesus in the Christian and Muslim Faiths	Fr. Rafiq Khoury/Dr. Mustafa Abu Sway	E	Dec. 2007
65. Documents on Palestine (8 Vol., incl. CD)	Ed. by Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi	E	Dec. 2007
66. Palestine in Review - This Was 2006	PASSIA Bulletin, Jerusalem	E	Mar. 2008
67. Nakba	PASSIA Bulletin, Jerusalem	E	May 2008
68. Gaza	PASSIA Bulletin, Jerusalem	E	July 2008
69. Jerusalem	PASSIA Publication, Jerusalem	E/A	June 2009
70. Finland and Palestine	Various contributors, PASSIA	E	Aug. 2009
71. To Jerusalem- In the Steps of Eight Swedes & a Finn	Mia Gröndahl	E	Dec. 2009
72. Germans in Jerusalem - 1830-1914	Bernd Isphording	E	Dec. 2009
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