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The briefing of the Fourth Issue of Seyasat

The time the fourth volume of Seyasat has been issued at (2008) was important and crucial. It has coincided with the sixtieth anniversary of the Nakba and with the first after the Hamas's coup and the formation of Salam Fayyad's government. Subjects that Seyasat dealt with from different aspects.

Seyasat begins its studies with a study by Dr. Amr Hamzawi, who works as a researcher at Carnegie Foundation for Peace Studies in Washington. In his study entitled "Patterns and contexts of Islamists' participation in Arab politics", Hamzawi records four contexts reflecting that crisis that the Islamists are undergone by in the political scene. These contexts can be easily noticed in the relative decline in the Islamists performance through elections in 2007 compared to the expectations before beside the limited role and influence of Islamists representatives in the legislative councils in a number of Arab countries. And the continuation of the conflictual relationship between the ruling elites and some Islamists in a way that agitates the political life and negatively impacted on the potential democratic openness. And the tendency of Islamic resistance movements to use directly (Hamas) or indirectly (Hezbollah) military tools in the management of conflicts inside.

Hamzawi distinguishes between three main types which frame the Islamists involvement in Arab politics. He assumes that those types are reflective in the Islamists' political behavior. The first type, what Hamzawi characterizes as the participation in regimes and collapsed countries and unsuccessful cases such as the Iraqi, Lebanese, Palestinian. All of them keep the existence of tracts of regulatory freedom and political plurality that circumstance with the occupation leading to almost complete collapse of state institutions and organs which keep public order or continuity. In those countries the crisis persisted and absence of national consensus severely limiting the effectiveness of the state enterprise and its functionality to preclude political stability. This

situation encourages the dominance of exclusive approaches - inclusive run which contradict the final analysis, with the contents of peaceful participation and its mechanisms.

Based on type II "Islamists first option to participate," as Hamzawi names it, is the tendency of some of the Islamist movements in Arab political life to adopt a peaceful participation as a strategic option and not a single alternative to preserve tracts of pluralism and mechanisms available which is deepened gradually through building agreements on future steps of the process of democratization with the ruling elites and current Liberal and leftist opposition.

This type is clearly noticed in Morocco, Algeria, Kuwait, Bahrain, but type III "Islamists participate until further notice" is easily recorded in the Egyptian, Sudanese, Jordanian and Yemeni cases which reflect in most, despite the essential differences between the continuity, in the continuation presence of Islamic movements in political life with an almost complete absence of stability in areas of their participation and their role or in the nature of their relationship with the ruling elites.

Then Dr. Hamzawi discusses the motivations behind the Islamists' participation in Arab politics and the repercussions of such participation. He records two sets of motives first of which he calls a group motivated by "minimum recruitment" and participation of Islamist political mechanisms, particularly those associated with institutions of legislative and parliamentary action to keep safe from the oppression practiced by the ruling elite and its security and to preserve the coherence of their grassroots voters through expressing their demands and giving momentum which does not have to be achieved away from politics and dynamic public space variations. The second set revolves around the appeal for political and societal reform sought by the Islamists and their desire to appear as responsible political actor and then get out of the mantle of criticism of governments and non-religious currents for them as strong radicalism threatening stability and does not worth being trusted.

At the same topic and to pursue the discussion on the subject of the Islamists participation in Arab politics, Dr. Amr Shobaki the expert in the affairs of Islamic movements and director of Arab European Studies Unit at Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies in Cairo, writes a study entitled "The future of Islamic movements: the Islamic movement and the possibility of integration in the process of democratic development". Dr. Shobaki says that the existence and spread of Islamic phenomenon is due to various reasons, some has to do with the religious and sacred space and some with the cultural and civilization framework and the third is very much connected with the economic and class explanations familiar in the academic and research circles in the sixties and seventies in an attempt to impose almost single class justification to explain the reasons for the existence and spread of Islamic phenomenon.

He believes that the Islamic phenomenon reflected a strong overlap and interaction between cultural and political field. Shobaki begins his analysis by providing a socio-cultural closeness of the Islamic phenomenon to say that the main factor behind the "existence of the phenomenon" of Islamic origin is not due to socio-political motives, but mainly due to the presence of "cultural security" able to push them into existence without contributing to its image formation, and therefore the reasons for proliferation and decline, or motives in adopting a particular historical context of violent methods and in another context of peaceful methods are all social and political motives and causes which have nothing to do with the cultural component. Here lies the importance of the integration of cultural reading that explains the existence of the phenomenon, with the social interpretation which explains the reasons behind the spread or decline of the Islamists phenomenon and its tendency to use violence or resort to peaceful methods.

Shobaki then moves to discuss the challenges facing the integration of the Islamists in contemporary Arab political systems. He notes that the arrival of

some Islamic movements to office already had an impact on the evolution of political discourse and concepts, and it seemed obvious the difference between access to power democratically in the presence of state institutions and constitutional and legal act with reasonable efficiency (Turkey) and the arrival to power in another country in which there is no state or strong institutions (Palestine and Iraq), and between a third case where the Islamists participated in a non-democratic means and under disruption to the role of institutions of an independent judiciary and the separation between the legislative and executive authority (Sudan). Then researcher moves to the Islamists problems before discussing how the reach of Hamas to office in the West Bank and Gaza Strip had regionally and internationally opened the Islamists file. To concluded in the last part of his study the diversity of experiences of the Islamic movement and the varying experiences from country to country and the impact of the political context in which they live and influence their performance.

As the researcher concludes, it is certain that the issue of integrating Islamist political currents in a peaceful process of political reform and democratic option is not easy, but there is no alternative option for a genuine democratic reforms, helping in the creating a new civil elite capable of competing with the Islamists in the legislative elections in and in the unions, without dependence and rely on the help of administrative and security organs for the success of people who does not enjoy popular and real legitimacy in the street.

As a complement to the same subject, but under more specialized frame Seyasat singled out an article of its three articles in this issue about the actual experience of Hamas in government where Dr. Ayman Shaheen of Al-Azhar University discusses in his article "Hamas and the realist theory of international relations" the appropriateness of the Hamas movement, during its rule for realism in its external relations. Shaheen reviews the real foundations in international relations and the appearance significantly in the new era that followed the fall of the Soviet Union. Realism is based essentially on two elements the first of force and the second of the national interest (national) and

their link with each other. The theory does not give much attention to the principles and ideals.

To make his point of view Dr Shaheen discusses what he calls the elements considered by the realist theory as weak influence in international relations, and how Hamas movement dealt with these elements. These elements include public opinion and international morality and international law.

Dr Shaheen says that Hamas in the direction of its political discourse which contains its objectives primarily depended on the attraction of public opinion and not the international units in order to achieve its goals, or even maintain the status quo with all disadvantages that existed when the Government was first formed in March 2006.

Even when it sent its message to the international units, it sent it to a non-actor international units on the international stage and have little influence if any, in the region. The international contingent, which might be effective in the region like Syria and Iran, which it is clear that Hamas to a reasonable extent bet on, the two states obviously have hostility with great powers which have the domination over the existing international system. This limited the ability of Hamas to move politically in the region and limited its ability to impact on the international scene . on the other hand, the moral force imposed by the Hamas victory in fair elections did not make the movement immune against the blockade and boycott. Hamas lost the bet that there is international morality that must palm it without being aware that morality has light vulnerability in the course of current international relations.

With regard to the international law, the program of Hamas government did not give a clear stance of the international resolutions on the Palestinian cause, and that what the movement raised can only be understood as non stance position. The Hamas first government said "that the government will deal with the international resolutions regarding the Palestinian cause with national

responsibility which protects the rights of our people and national principles "and it is clear that the Hamas government has in mind the negative part of the decision and did not take positive part regarding the state the return. As a result of this negative perception of the international resolutions, the Hamas government was denied access for the International Organization or any other international organization to make its views clear. there was not recorded of any presence of Hamas or its Government in any of the international organization. Added to all that Hamas relations with all active units in the scene around was marked by lack of confidence to the fullest extent which deprived it of the possibilities of networking and take advantage of these relations.

After that Dr Shaheen moves to discuss the elements which the realistic theory consider as the basis for the management of international relations and consider the way in which these elements where understood by Hamas and dealt with. These elements are completely revolve around the concept of force with its different aspects: military power, economic power and diplomatic power. Dr. Shaheen concludes his article saying that the Hamas movement should realize the bitter truth that the international units behave according elements of the realist theory, especially the force of all kinds, and that the ideals and principles and wishes have no place in international dealings between units. Only then the movement can build and develop the attitudes and policies that can lead to the protection of national interest and achieve it.

Seyasat devotes the remaining two point of view articles to tow main issues, namely "Nakba", the 60th anniversary of which is this year, and the interactions associated with the ongoing preparations for the conduction of the VI Fateh Congress.

On the sixtieth anniversary of the Nakba, writes Nahed Zaqqout the researcher from the National Centre for Studies and Documentation. An activist in support of the right of return, Zaqqout comments on the Arab and Palestinian situation and its implications on the national and grass-roots struggle for the protection and realization of the right of return. As appears from the title of the

article "Sixty years on the Nakba: between yesterday and today nothing has changed" the Palestinian situation today is not better than yesterday.

The researcher knocks on the Palestinians on their preoccupation in the daily event and the retreat of their political rhetoric and of their demands and internal division after they were calling for the return of refugees, "we limit ourselves to mark the anniversary of the Nakba. After reviewing the official position of the PLO and its institutions including the Palestinian National Authority and the negotiating process, the researcher analyzes the popular position and says that the same defect hitting the Palestinian official position, hits the Popular Struggle Associations mainly their lack of clarity and of unity.

A clear division the people, evident features of the multi-eminent bodies, commissions, institutions and communities working to defend the right of return and the issue of refugees, both in the West Bank or Gaza Strip, the territory of 48, among the Palestinians living in the Arab countries, or in the European Diaspora. Despite their agreement on the goal their perceptions of the way of achieving this goal is different. In addition to the previously mentioned, there is something more dangerous, which is the conflict among the leaderships of these committees and bodies to lead the movement defending the right of refugees to return. It creates a state of fragmentation and waste of effort, and also leads to lack of

When the researcher wonders about the future of dealing with the refugee's issue, he suggests that it is better to postpone the broadcast of the case than surrendering the right of return.

With solid and elegant language, Ambassador Nabil Ramlawi, member of the Revolutionary Council of Fateh movement and former Palestinian representative at the United Nations in Geneva, presents a long and deep article about the Sixth General Congress of the movement. In his article he addresses the challenges posed by the event. There is much difficult stakes that the Congress has to find a solution to ensure that the Mother Movement in the

Palestinian national movement, will be able to overcome those difficulties. Simply as Ambassador Ramlawi says, the Congress is required (1) to purify the movement from the impurities that spoiled it.

(2) construction of the new organizational structure regarding membership basics and criteria.

(3) institutionalize the movement and activate its organizational associations .

(4) Central Committee unity is a need required by the supreme national interest, its rivalries is a crime against the movement, the people and homeland.

(5) work hard to reunify the country on a national basis and go to dialogue with Hamas and this is a special priority.

(6) apply the principle of accountability and the principle (from where did you get this?) without exception.

(7) refusing intervention in the internal affairs of the movement from foreign bodies and the fight against extortion and political subordination based on the material element to confiscate the national political decision.

(8) lay the foundations for new negotiations with Israel based on the principles and provisions of international law and international humanitarian law and human rights charter.

(9) to restore life to the Palestine Liberation Organization and the formation of a new national council includes all the national and Islamic Palestinian factions and activate its institutions.

In general, the sixth General Congress of the Movement faces important political questions and serious entitlements and significant dangerous organizational issues and where the success of the Congress depends on the extent to accomplish the treatment of these entitlements and take the crucial decisions at both the political or organizational aspects particularly with regard to institutionalizing the movement and activating its political, organizational and military systems, and put an end to the division of the Central Committee, where what happened and is happening in the framework of the Central Committee of the divisions at the stage where the needs of our people and the

nature of the confrontation with the Israeli occupation for unity in leadership is not allowed.

The unity of political and organizational decision may contribute negatively on the prospects of the Sixth General Congress of the Movement at this serious stage. The Central Committee must reunite and act as one body.

These challenges or some serious challenges faced by the Sixth General Congress of the Movement, given that it is the supreme organizational body, the Congress is required to find solutions and have the appropriate positions to ensure the safety of the national position of the movement, because it was impossible to accomplish these entitlements in practice during the Conference, it is natural to develop the foundations and control the methods and proposed solutions to be implemented by the well be elected Central Committee. When doing so, it will pass the most dangerous phases in the history of the movement and give birth to a new era.

Dr Atef Abu Seif, editor of chief, moderates the symposium, in which the main Palestinian political actors meet around a table to communicate on the future of the Palestinian Liberation Organization and ways to activate and implement the Cairo Convention and the National Accord document. The following sat around the table: The Fateh movement, Mr. Ibrahim Abu Naja member of the movement's Revolutionary Council and a member of the senior leadership in the Gaza Strip;

the Popular Front for the liberation of Palestine MP Jamil Majdalawi member of the Political Bureau of the Front; on behalf of Democratic Front for the liberation of Palestine, sat member of the Political Bureau Mr. Saleh Zeidan; on behalf of the Palestinian People's Party sat Mr. Walid member of the Political Bureau of the party.

This what Seyasat called "partners dialogue" discussion and deep brainstorming about the large Palestinian home "Palestine Liberation Organization."

In this issue, Seyasat hosts Palestinian Prime Minister Dr. Salam Fayyad to talk about his government and the challenges of the phase. Fayyad talks frankly and deeply about politics, economics, security and development: the four challenges posed by the Seyasat managing editor Mr. Akram Muslim and journalist Jaafar Sadqa on the table of the Palestinian cabinet.

In its "public policy" file, Seyasat provides two in-depth studies. An update of the public policies' studies initiated in previous issues and which covered the experiences and public policies of Palestinian authority in the area of different services over the past 14 years, Seyasat devotes a long study written by the economic researcher Yasser Shalabi, entitled "the social protection system in Palestine: reality and future prospects".

The researcher tries to present the reality of social protection in Palestine. The disclosure of the strengths and weaknesses of the strategies and policies of social protection in place, in order to reach a number of recommendations aimed at developing social protection sector in general. After the presentation of social protection in different studies the researcher presents a proposal for social protection concept which are placed in the Palestinian territories, and records that social protection programs placed in the Palestinian territories are divided into two main sections, the first includes the social insurance programs, and the second on social safety nets.

On the side of social insurance programs here are two major programs, the first is being the retirement fund and pension. As for social safety nets placed in the Palestinian territories are varied and include many programs such as aid programs of humanitarian relief, relief programs provided by government institutions, international institutions and private organizations.

These are all discussed in detail by the researcher. Then the researcher moves to discuss programs combating unemployment and social groups protection programs . In the latter part of his study, the researcher records a set of parameters that have impeded development of strong care and protection system and include these criteria.

First: The prolonged occupation of Palestine, which led to the deterioration of the economic and social conditions of the population.

Second: The social security system or social insurance system faces many challenges resulting from demographic characteristics, economic and social development of Palestinian society.

Third: social protection sector suffers from weaknesses in the legal environment governing the work, and its infrastructure, shortage of resources.

Fourth: the lack of a national computerized information regarding social welfare and social protection systems, capable of providing data on needs, and geographical distribution and sectoral levels. Then the researcher moves to analyze policies and social protection programs in place and record the following:

A – philosophy of working is characterized by relief and poverty alleviation.

B - the limited coverage and effectiveness.

W - Poor coordination and cooperation between actors working in the field of social protection

C - an imbalance in the targeting and weakness in the distributive justice.

6 - weakness of the Social Insurance

Then he moves to discuss ways to develop social protection policies in Palestine and make some recommendations in this regard.

In the second studies, a group of researchers report an article full of figures and facts about the situation in the Gaza Strip after a year of Hamas has

controlled Gaza Strip. The study, entitled "The Year of Hamas-controlled Gaza: orientations, policies and performance", reads the basic sectors in the Gaza Strip and services (education, health and housing), security and economy in an attempt to uncover the reality of the situation in the Strip. After the coup of June of the year 2007 which was carried out by Hamas, despite the President sacking of the Government of Ismail Haniya the latter continued governance and expanded his government and worked to enforce its decisions. Besides that, as the study records, Hamas movement has taken in Gaza a set of security, institutional and judicial measures, which tried through it to stabilize its governance and the Government of the movement in the Gaza Strip, these included and affected all aspects of life in the Gaza Strip. The study consider the steps and measures taken by the movement's institutions (State organs: military and civilian) in the area of the judiciary and the justice system, then moves to view the services sectors especially education, health, housing, and the study concludes shedding light on the basic economic indicators in the Gaza Strip.

In " international Affairs" file, the researcher Fayeze Mohammed Farhat of Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies in Cairo, writes on" the Ascending Chinese role and the Arab world: the need to go beyond the field of oil". At the beginning the researcher suggests that the ascent of China will represent a sufficient condition for the development of a multi-polar international system, comprising, in addition to China and the United States, both the European Union, Russia and Japan. But some argue that the Chinese ascent will not lead to substantial changes in the strategic location of the Arab states and interests in the international system. Based on this vision that even with the evolution of a multi-polar international system, the interests of the Arab, particularly of a strategic nature, will remain with the Western world, especially the United States and the European Union. Therefore, the Arabs can not rely much on the ascent of China in this regard.

The researcher gets beyond these approaches in an attempt to provide a vision for the problems posed by future relations between the two sides, and to put a set of controls that govern the future of these relations. He does so by examining the problematic relationship between the Arabs oil and China and then moves to study the Free Chinese Trade Area–Gulf draft and China's stance on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In this regard, the researcher says that while the Western party will remain the main interlocker in the management of this conflict, it could invite iChina as a rising power to shoulder responsibility in the conflict. The researcher records the failures of the Arabs in the recruitment of their relationship with China for the support of their demands. For example, he notes

First: Israel's success in distinguishing between the developments of the Arab – Israeli conflict, on the one hand, and the relations with the Asian Middle East, especially Israel, on the other hand

Second: the primacy of the economic gateway on the political - the security forces in determining the Asian interests in the Middle East. The Arab states has played an important role to devote its economic dimension of the Asian vision for the Middle East through several factors, notably the focus on the economic agenda in its relations with Asia, particularly the issue of attracting investment and the opening of Asian markets,. It had not developed agenda or joint security strategy, especially after the end of the Cold War.

Third: inadequate employment of the oil weapon.

At the conclusion of his study, the researcher provides a number of recommendations to re-activate the role of Asia in general and China in particular, in the Arab-Israeli conflict

- The first of those recommendations is playing the zero sum relations game as possible in the Asian Israeli relations to arrive to the pre 1991Madrid Conference. It may be appropriate in this context to rely on the sharp deterioration in the settlement process. Although that does not include of course inviting Asian countries to sever political and diplomatic relations with Israel but it is possible to recruit the status quo in pushing Asian countries to take certain actions against Israel, such as imposing some restrictions on Israeli military cooperation with Asian powers, including China .

- The re-employment of Arab oil as an input to influence the role of Asian powers in the conflict. It may not come through the ban of oil export to those forces, as they come through the rearrangement of securities of Asian and Arab issues in a manner that creates a strong correlation between Asian and Arab interests in the region, especially the link between the security of the Middle East and energy security.

-Recruiting the international environment of the post-September 11 to create the agenda of an Arab – Asian joint strategy underlying the need to resist the tendency of unilateralism of America of the world and the Middle East, particularly the Asian powers, which possesses a great sense of threat in the face of that trend.

The journalist and the author from Gaza Asmaa Al-Ghoul reviews "The fact of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Palestine and trade unions in the Gaza Strip between 1993-2007," book published by Mezan Center for Human Rights.

As in all its issues, Seyasat present a group of books published recently relating to Palestine and the Arab region. These include Eric Hobsbawm's " On Empire: America, War, and Global Supremac"

Gabriel Piterberg's " The Returns of Zionism: Myths, politics and Scholarship in Israel, the book of former minister Emad Falouji "In the heart of power" and the book of Jean Orbie " Europe's Global Role: External Policies of the European Union."