

Arab Thought Forum

Democratic Formation In Palestine

Report on the status of democracy in Palestine for 2005

**Jerusalem
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Democratic Formation in Palestine (8)

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Important Dates

- 9.1.2005** New democratic day with the election of Mahmoud Abbas to the Presidency following competition with six other candidates.
- 15.1.2005** Elected President Mahmoud Abbas takes oath and assigns Ahmad Qurei' to form the new Cabinet.
- 16.1.2005** The Central Elections Committee (CEC) announces the final results of the first phase local councils' elections held on 22.12.2004.
- 22.1.2005** Light earthquake (3.5 pts) hits North of the Dead Sea.
- 7.2.2005** U.S. General William Ward appointed as security coordinator between Palestinians and Israelis.
- 8.2.2005** Sharm El Sheikh summit conference held confined to Israel, Jordan, Palestine and Egypt.
- 14.2.2005** Assassination of Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq El Harire in the bloodiest attack since the civil war with the killing of 14 others.
- 20.2.2005** Ahmad Qurei' presents his government of "technocrats" to gain PLC confidence after a long delay.
- 20.20.2005** Israeli Cabinet headed by Sharon holds a seven-hour "historic" meeting resulting in a unilateral plan to withdraw from the Gaza Strip and amending the Apartheid wall to swallow more than 6 per cent of the Palestinian lands.
- 24.2.2005** PLC grants confidence to the new Palestinian Cabinet of 24 ministers of whom 20 are new figures.
- 25.2.2005** Suicide operation in the heart of Tel Aviv resulting in the killing of three Israelis and the wounding of more than 50.
- 29.2.2005** London Conference for reform with Palestinian participation.
- 3.3.2005** Jordanian prisoners held by Israel launch a strike. (There are 22 of them).
- 8.3.2005** The tenth and final session of the PLC held.

- 15.3.2005** Inter-Palestinian dialogue session held in Cairo under Egyptian patronage.
- 19.3.2005** Greek Orthodox Patriarch Ironeus scandal of leaking Jaffa Gate property to Israelis.
- 22.3.2005** Arab Summit Conference in Algeria with the controversy between Farouk Kaddoumi and Nasir Qudwa over the Palestinian representation.
- 20.3.2005** The Central Elections Committee (CEC) presents the final report of the Presidential Elections.
- 22.3.2005** Announcing the second phase for running to Palestinian local council elections.
- 22.3.2005** Tulkarem comes under Palestinian rule following Israeli unilateral withdrawal.
- 28.4.2005** Russian President visits Palestinian territories calling for the convening of an International Middle East peace conference.
- 5.5.2005** Second phase of local council elections.
- 15.6.2005** Israel assassinates six Qassam figures in Salfit and Gaza.
- 13.7.2005** President Mahmoud Abbas issues a decree dismissing Patriarch Ironeus from his post.
- 14.7.2005** Armed clashes for several days between Hamas and security forces in Gaza resulting in the killing of two and the wounding of scores of others.
- 15.8.2005** Start of Israeli unilateral withdrawal from the Gaza Strip.
- 20.8.2005** President Mahmoud Abbas declares that 25.1.2006 is the date for PLC elections.
- 1.9.2005** Signing of the accord to deploy Egyptian forces on the Rafah borders.
- 10.9.2005** British legal order to detain ex-Israeli Colonel Doron Almog in London for committing war crimes.
- 12.9.2005** End of unilateral Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and the demolition of the settlements.

- 29.9.2005** Third phase of Palestinian local council elections.
- 2.10.2005** Armed clashes between Hamas and the Palestinian security forces in the Gaza Strip.
- 17.10.2005** Palestinian political forces sign on a binding code of honor for the PLC elections.
- 20.10.2005** U.S. President refuses to offer a commitment for the establishment of a Palestinian state by the end of his second term in office.
- 25.10.2005** U.S. President declares that his vision for the establishment of two states Palestine and Israel living side by side is a dream and that he is not sure that a Palestinian state would see light by the end of his second term.
- 26.10.2005** President Mahmoud Abbas addresses the PLC calling to keep the Qurei' government in office until the forthcoming PLC elections.
- 26.10.2005** Suicide operation in Khudeira resulting in the killing of five and the wounding of 30 Israelis. Islamic Jihad claims responsibility.
- 27.10.2005** Israel assassinates seven Palestinians. Four of them are Jihad members blown up in their car in Jebaliya refugee camp.
- 8.11.2005** Israeli Premier announces his decision to form a new party following his failure to include certain ministers to his cabinet.
- 9.11.2005** Three explosions shake the Jordanian capital targeting three hotels with 70 victims killed and 300 wounded. The attacks include the killing of Colonel Bashir Nafe', Head of the West Bank Military Intelligence.
- 10.11.2005** The PLC retracts its no-confidence vote to the government.
- 19.11.2005** Finance Minister Salam Fayyad submits his resignation to Prime Minister Ahmad Qurei'.
- 24.11.2005** Ariel Sharon's new party "Kadima" is registered.
- 12.12.2005** E.U. foreign ministers refrain from publishing the report criticizing Israeli policies in East Jerusalem.
- 15.12.2005** Fourth phase of local council elections.
- 15.12.2005** Fatah runs on two lists for the PLC elections.

19.12.2005 Sharon is hospitalized suffering from a brain-stroke.

25.12.2005 Israel declares a closed military security zone north of Gaza.

28.12.2005 President Abbas presents a unified Fatah list for the PLC elections.

Introduction

This is the eighth annual report on the state of democracy in Palestine. It coincides with ongoing Palestinian uprising against the Israeli occupation. In fact, the Israeli government still determines to pursue a policy of enforcing unilateral agenda involving combination of acts including the unilateral partial withdrawal, the apartheid wall, the closure and the assassinations. The aim of this policy is to force the Palestinians to alter internationally approved resolutions concerning Palestine and reaching unilateral settlement that would legitimize the occupation and perpetrate the colonization of Palestinian areas and exert political, economic and military control forcing the PA to become just a local administration to deal with daily affairs of the population.

The Arab Thought Forum (ATF) was keen to issue previous annual reports concerning the state of democracy at a time when addressing such issues seemed a futile luxury. It looked as if the priority should be focused on fulfilling national liberation and dealing with economic and security matters. In fact the calls for reform were not only a precondition for moving on but true steps have been taken in this respect responding to calls that were there since several years.

While the ATF recognizes the importance of reform and developing democratic practices, it is aware that this is not possible without fulfilling sovereignty. In fact such calls are nothing but an Israeli attempt to extend the occupation. However, the issue of reform remains on the top of Palestinian priorities. It is not merely temporary tactical measures or submission to external pressures but binding principles that need to be addressed as a matter of Palestinian concern.

The ATF is keen to grab the opportunity to move forward but is apprehensive to attempts to externally impose a leadership. Democratic formation needs to pass through legitimate tools through frameworks determined by the people.

Attempts for external intervention are bound to cause a polarization within the Palestinian society that could shift the focus off from the need for reform. This is particularly true in light of the Israeli right-wing government's drive to perpetrate occupation and deny Palestinian rights.

For the international role to be effective there is a need to assist the local community to develop the democratic formation through providing the tools and means that are

necessary for such course of action. The ATF is aware of official Israeli intentions and thus defends the Palestinian legitimate leadership without losing sight of problematic areas that need to be addressed. This process is bound to speed up the process of establishing an independent Palestinian democratic state.

Consistently, the ATF stressed that it neither seeks to flatter or condemn but to objectively diagnose strengths and weaknesses with the purpose of rectifying matters. In other words, the ATF is not in a position to take sides other than the ultimate interest of the Palestinian people with a deep understanding for the prevailing interests and sensitivities.

Our target in this report is not to point fingers but to uncover and take note of problem areas with the purpose of treatment. Accumulation of errors could undermine the process of moving on. More than ever, the current conditions require strengthening the inner front and treating ailments as part of the overall nation-building that Palestinians are yearning for.

Methodology

This 8th annual report is a summary of three periodic reports and twelve monthly reports issued by the ATF in the period between January and December 2005. These reports cover the process of democratic formation. Each report differs in its methodology of addressing targeted topics. The monthly reports are a monitor of current events and issues. The quarterly reports are a description and analysis of main events indicating democratic formation and draw specific conclusions concerning the period under study. The general report seeks to analyze all the aforementioned aspects; underlining weaknesses and strengths in light of steps forward or backward and following up the daily course of events during the given year. In addition, it analyzes and summarizes issues tackled by the annual report.

The series of reports (whether monthly, quarterly or this annual report), seek to underline elements, supportive or disruptive, of the process of democratic formation. This report is a by-product of the systematic monitoring of events drawn out from the press, information issued by government or non-government sources as well as reports by international institutions operating in Palestine. It also includes public opinion polls conducted by local institutions.

From an analytical point of view, the activities of the Arab Thought Forum and the Citizens' Rights Center play an important role in crystallizing various opinions and analyses. Such activities include a wide array of opinion articulated in the meetings of the ATF, and involve a broad spectrum of participants from the Palestinian political and intellectual leadership.

As for the style of exposing topics, the Arab Thought Forum has chosen to approach the issues addressed in a way that considers both the horizontal and vertical relations between Palestinian society and its institutions. Additionally, the ATF sought as much as possible, to take into consideration views made by participants in discussion sessions about the previous general reports. This formed an integral part of the preparation of the current report.

It should also be noted that the quality and conclusions of the general report are largely affected by information and reports supplied by relevant parties. The more official departments come up with reports; the more possible it would be to assess performance in democratic formation. This will become clearer to the reader as we proceed.

In light of the absence of clear, endorsed, integrated measurement tools to assess democratic formation quantitatively and qualitatively, this report has limitations to the monitoring of democratic formation. To compensate for that, the report contains statistical tables to indicate impact trends.

The importance of producing such graphs and tables has also to do with linking the process of democratic formation to the level and quality of services provided by public institutions. As such, the ATF is not merely interested in tracing traditional, academic and democratic transformation, but also in concrete results and services provided to the public. The motive for that is that democracy is not an end in itself but a means to secure better services to the public.

In this respect, the ATF in its reports does not deal with the issue of democracy in an abstract manner or as a pure academic exercise, but sees a clear connection between theory and practice as well as justice, social welfare and services that are provided. This emanates from the view that all of the above are integrated and interdependent. Otherwise, democracy becomes a futile exercise and void of its content with no qualitative relevance to the public. Not less important, the report also sees the connection between the status of democracy and the general political situation. In the conclusions, one cannot ignore that the country is still struggling against the occupation and is in a process of national liberation. During the successive years of issuing this report, there has been an obvious escalation of oppressive measures by the Israeli occupation. This has become especially a reflection of the return of direct Israeli rule to most Palestinian areas.

The ATF acknowledges the efforts of some specialized institutions that have provided valuable quantitative information included in this report and is indebted to members of the Board of Trustees and concerned friends whose meticulous comments have enriched the report.

General Outlook

The last year was characterized by significant elements in the Palestinian landscape. For the first time in half a century, Arafat is no more in control of Palestinians who tended to focus on internal issues. This was a natural outcome of the turn of events and the combination of US, Israeli and Arab policies over the background of European weakened position under American hegemony.

The predominant element was Israel's unilateral disengagement plan from the Gaza Strip with the looming Palestinian elections. The legislative elections had a priority status for both the PA and the political factions amidst alarming chaotic security conditions. The crisis within Fatah exacerbated the situation with massive external interventions. The willingness of Hamas to participate was a milestone as was the Palestinian resolve to hold the elections on time with no delay. Statements by EU officials threatening to cut off aid in case of a Hamas win was unprecedented and counterproductive. The same applies to the US congressional warnings that constituted an unwarranted interference with a set of reactions.

President Abbas was in an unenviable position with no concrete political achievements. The Israeli withdrawal from Gaza was credited to the role of Hamas. Despite warnings as to not exaggerate the significance of the withdrawal from Gaza, confrontations between the PA and Hamas led to a deteriorating situation. Demonstrations of complaint or demanding better living conditions or calling for prisoner release have become a daily occurrence.

Significant developments in the Palestinian/Israeli sides were underway. The withdrawal from Gaza was performed on September 12 as the Palestinians probed into their set of priorities to deal with the unfolding situation. A week later, four settlements in the North of the West Bank were evacuated. For the first time in 27 years, residents of Silat Al Dhaer could perform prayer on their Homesh settlement land. In Gaza, the outburst of the people yearning for freedom led thousands to break out of the Rafah border. Public rallies with slogans calling for the liberation of Jerusalem and the rest of the Occupied Palestinian Territories and the return of the refugees were held.

However, the Israeli Premier reiterated that his plan was final with no further steps until further notice. For Palestinians having a long term "interim" solution

was disturbing. Separating political arrangements between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip complicated matters further. Furthermore, the Arab world was almost completely left out with the exception of Egypt and Jordan for specific reasons.

From another angle, the US administration described the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza as a “historic moment.” However, the withdrawal kept the Strip under tight control of all the crossing points with Egypt and the West Bank with no Palestinian sovereignty whatsoever.

In his re-election speech, President Bush reiterated the neo-conservative principles calling for the uprooting of evil and spreading democracy across the globe. The militarization of external policy in alliance with Israel’s Likud was enhanced. This was contrary to the expectations of having a shift away from such a policy in light of the failures in Iraq, the cold war with Europe and the stalled Middle East political process.

The US policy, contrary to various recommendations and claims, conceded to support Israel’s control of major settlement blocks in the West Bank. It stressed the need for Abbas to combat Palestinian “terror” groups while emptying European proposals out of its content. The political settlement had to be centered around “security” issues.

Furthermore, the US asserted the need to maintain the truce between Palestinians and Israelis while asserting the Cairo accords among Palestinian factions and the PA. The Israeli withdrawal was portrayed as a strategic American interest to counteract the debacle of US troops in Iraq. A series of contradictory settlements concerning settlements, the wall and easing restrictions imposed on Palestinians were merely for local consumption. In line with such an ambiguity, the US president declared after meeting Abbas on October 20 that he is not sure that the Palestinian state would see light before the end of his mandate. Thus, what was supposed to be his vision became a distant dream. The US unequivocally backed Israeli policies at the expense of the Palestinians. It did not condemn the security zone established in Gaza or the air raids targeting Palestinians. The main demand was calling upon Abbas to act swiftly against Jihad and other “terror” groups. No complaints were registered against the settlements even when Sharon declared the annexation of the Jordan valley. Extra-judicial killings were also condoned.

Following developments in Lebanon, the US shifted its focus into there while awaiting election results in Israel and Palestine. In the meanwhile, no significant moves are expected other than US attempts to improve its tarnished image following reports about secret detention centers across the globe through its intelligence community.

Such a situation provided an umbrella for the Israeli premier to get the Knesset to approve the unilateral withdrawal from Gaza and amend the Apartheid wall that would swallow 7 percent of the West Bank land. The position of Sharon is based on American approval of his policies and his determined attack on the Palestinians under the pretext that there is no partner for a settlement or to ensure security on the ground. Systematically, major issues are fragmented into disconnected details with endless procrastination. For instance, withdrawal from five cities is announced and the Cairo accords concerning a truce and over settlements is completely disregarded. The policy of weakening the Palestinian leadership preempts keeping any cards in the hands of Abbas even if a possibility of credible negotiations looms in the horizon. The message dispatched to the Palestinians is that the negotiating policy of Abbas is unproductive even in getting food supplies and raw material into Gaza.

Sharon managed to overcome several hurdles in the Knesset. However, when he failed to replace the two Netanyahu-wing resigning ministers into his cabinet, he resorted to forming a new party in response to the inner struggle within the Likud. This was the beginning of the end of his government. Within a couple of weeks between 8 and 24 November, the new party “Kadima” was established. It turned out that this was the same name “Avante” used by the Italian fascists. The Knesset was dissolved on November 12 with a call for early elections. With Shimon Peres losing the bid to lead the Labor party, he joined Kadima as an epitome of the opportunism creeping into Israeli political life. On the other hand, the election of Amir Peretz to lead Labor was an unexpected surprise in that he was the first non-military, non-Ashkenazi figure to fill up such a position. With Kadima, Sharon replaced the principle of land for peace with security for peace while keeping the tough pressure on the PA and continuing to build settlements. The Israeli army became an “entrepreneur” of conducting detentions. The situation exacerbated further when a security zone was taken over in the northern part of Gaza under the pretext of preventing Palestinian home-made rockets reaching into Israel. The new Kadima party was expected to lead while the Likud was in shambles.

However, Sharon's plan for a settlement remains questionable. While one of his advisers declared that part of Jerusalem and most of the West Bank would be relinquished, only Sharon knew exactly how the borders of "his state" would look like. Clearly, Sharon managed to shelf up the Road Map following withdrawal from Gaza. Plans were underway for a second unilateral withdrawal from the West Bank. However, observers took that with a grain of salt considering it a mere ploy. It should be noted, as well, that Sharon had plans to encroach upon the Haram al Sharif/Temple Mount area.

The Europeans sought to maintain the linkage between the disengagement plan and the Road Map in order to avoid the scenario of a "permanent" interim solution and keep up the peace process momentum. They fulfilled the "duty" of delivering funds and obligations. Simultaneously, there was a shift in the position of Paris with the rapprochement between Chirac and Sharon. As a result, Europe refrained from publishing the report concerning Israel's policies to Judaire East Jerusalem. Following intensive negotiations with Israel, the EU agreed to send 70 observers to the Rafah crossing point as a third party. The issue at stake is that Israel wanted them as policemen to detain wanted Palestinian passengers.

As usual, the Arab position was pathetic. Following the Arab summit, a bizarre situation emerged in the Sharm El Sheikh meeting on February 8 attended by Egypt, Palestine, Israel and Jordan. A Palestinian/Israeli ceasefire was announced while deferring the main issues to the future. The deal simply provided Sharon with a clearance from his bloody policies from the Arab troika and allowed for the return of the Egyptian and Jordanian ambassadors. In return, Egypt felt relieved from the US calls for reform. A number of Arab states came close to full normalization with the Hebrew state as an additional demand that Sharon was seeking in return for withdrawal.

Following the Syrian/Lebanese crisis, the situation became explosive in light of the Mhllis report and the crisis with Israel when President Ahmadi Najad called for the eradication of Israel. The Syrian/Iranian/Lebanese issue came to the forefront on the International scene

Israel proceeded unhindered in undermining the declared truce pursuing an aggressive policy. Sharon threatened to eliminate areas in the Gaza Strip if his

demands were not met fully. The Palestinians, on the other hand, got plunged in dealing with their internal rivalries in a despicable manner.

The situation led many to feel that a third Intifada is underway, given that unilateral actions are not steps on the way to peace but, rather, part of a comprehensive military assault with endless landmines that could lead to an outburst. This included the Apartheid wall, crossing points, detainees, poverty, unemployment, security instability and transforming the whole Gaza Strip into a prison. Meanwhile, Israel was requesting the disarming of Palestinian factions and reform as a precondition to move on with the Road Map.

The UN solidarity day with the Palestinians and resolutions condemning Israeli policies did not ease off realities on the ground. The issue of settlement activity, the wall, withdrawal from the Golan Heights and resuming negotiations were all stalled. Internally, the situation was chaotic with rampant corruption and unemployment. Jerusalem had its own problems. The deck of cards in the entire Middle East was confused ushering an unpredictable future.

1. Institutions of the Palestinian National Authority

1.1. The Executive Authority

1.1.1. The President

The official investigation into the death of the late President is still shrouded with mystery. The Palestinian government received on April 5, 2005 the medical report on Arafat's death. On October 12, 2005, the Council of Ministers decided to leave the medical file open until the circumstances of the death are revealed. The fact, finding a severe brain hemorrhage following a sudden intestinal problem four hours after having dinner on October 12, 2004. This implies the possibility of poisoning. On the eve of the first anniversary of his death, the cornerstone for the establishment of a mausoleum in his graveyard was placed.

The new elected Palestinian President promised reform at various levels amidst massive challenges and limited options. With limited maneuvering options, internal rifts increased. Promises to ameliorate the declining security conditions failed to be fulfilled. The future looked bleak.

President Abbas felt that the US need to stabilize the Palestinian/Israeli issue would lead to activate the stalled process. Instead, the Israeli withdrawal failed to coordinate matters with the PA or provide answers to pertinent issues. In response, Abbas conducted a number of visits abroad and received various delegations trying to expose the Palestinian position over various issues. In fact, the issue of the Israeli withdrawal and the PLC elections were on top of the President's agenda.

The presidential decree announcing January 9 as the date for elections ushered in the way towards a new political system. As predicted, Abbas won in the elections that went smoothly despite certain flaws for extending the deadline to close the polling stations by two hours. The CEC announced the preliminary results on January 10, 2005. Voter turnout was 71% of the eligible and 12% of those listed in the civil registry issues by the Interior Ministry (120 thousand out of 700 thousand). Two days later, the CEC issued the final results for all 16 precincts. It stated that all complaints were reviewed. Most of them had to do with campaigning on election day. Vote-counting was not contested and the final results were confirmed.

With the President taking on the constitutional oath on January 15, Ahmad Qurei', whose government had resigned a day earlier, was assigned to form the new government. Despite the interim nature prior to the pending PLC elections on July 15 (with postponement to January 25, 2006), the new government would reveal the shape of the orientation following Arafat's death on November 11, 2004.

However, the transition was not smooth extending from January 15 to February 24, with allegations of deep differences between the President and the Prime Minister on the background of the polarization within Fatah. This resulted in the delay of forming the government with continued changes of proposed ministers undermining credibility. Eventually, a "technocratic" government was announced as an interim setup prior to the legislative elections.

The President demonstrated a remarkable ability to find compromise solutions. By having the PLC confidence in the new government, the elected president demonstrated an outstanding ability to operate within quite a complicated situation. Among the pending issues was holding the PLC elections due in July. Following meetings with all factions seeking to find a common ground, it was decided to hold the elections before the end of the year. This was in line with the Cairo declaration agreed upon by various Palestinian parties.

As a follow-up, the President proposed an amendment that altered the Cairo accord through having a mixed system of lists and precincts with 50% to each. This was approved by the PLC and a new date for elections was set up to be held on January 25, 2006.

The issue of the PLC elections reflected the deep divisions and the unpreparedness of both the candidates and the public especially within Fatah circles. Furthermore, the PA itself was exposed to danger if the process did not take place. Despite the wide disagreements within Fatah, the President tactfully went ahead ensuring to honor the results.

A more complex issue for the President was approving the PLC Fatah lists. To deal with this issue, he headed a higher committee with members of the Central Committee to determine the final lists of Fatah candidates running in the PLC elections. Divisions were so deep within Fatah that there was a likelihood to postpone the elections. However, the President held up to the position that the Palestinian people should not be held hostage to the whims within Fatah.

Having formed a unified Fatah list, a legal hurdle popped up in that the CEC deadline for registration was over. Fatah resorted to the court to deal with the issue, claiming the need to compensate for the hours when the CEC was shut down. The court decided to extend registration for six hours. There were 19 other candidates that benefited to present their candidature, of whom many were Fatah-affiliated.

Amidst the preparations to hold the PLC elections, the President managed to overcome another hurdle when there was a move to withdraw confidence from the government in parliament. The parliament addressed the PLC calling to keep the government for an additional two months until the holding of the PLC elections.

The President referred to the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza as a historic achievement calling for national unity to complete liberation. However, he refused to go along with the Hamas call to form a higher committee to deal with the issue of withdrawal. He declared that this was the responsibility of the PA and no parallel authority to the PA was needed. However, a National and Islamic Follow-up Committee was formed in Gaza to have a smooth transition, in contrast with previous positions. The actual withdrawal was conducted within less than a week (between August 15 and 22), contrary to all expectations. As such, the Gaza Strip ended its 38-year occupation with no Palestinian civil war or the Israelis coming under fire as some factions would have wanted.

During the formal celebration on September 12 in an evacuated settlement, the President declared that the next challenge was the West Bank. Following intensive efforts with the Europeans and Americans concerning the Rafah crossing, the President inaugurated it on November 24 becoming the first to cross on. Instead of boycotting the withdrawal, the PA moved to be cooperative with Israel.

The President acted to merge the security establishments and implement the internal reform program. A total of 1076 officers reaching retirement age were suspended in a smooth manner. American and Egyptian support was crucial in the success of such a step.

The desire of the elected President to impose a truce, even if it required the use of force, demanded the merger of the various security establishments. This became more pertinent with the “Muqata’a” crisis when a group of Al Aqsa brigades fired at the President’s office. Within the framework of controlling the situation, the

President issued a decree banning any external contacts without passing through the Minister of Interior. He also proposed an amendment to have a vice president elected directly by the people. In fact, the PLC was asked to appoint a vice president following such a request by the Fatah Council. However, there was no agreement over who will fill up such a job.

The President was indulged in maintaining the truce and convince various factions especially Hamas and Jihad to maintain the calm. On February 8, the Sharm El Sheikh summit was held with Palestinian, Israeli, Egyptian and Jordanian participation. It resulted in an Israeli/Palestinian truce with the actual consent of all factions. Regardless whether it was a calming up or unilateral or reciprocal or suspension of resistance or restraint, the net result was the same. The summit resulted in the formation of four joint committees to work on the issues of the detainees, the wanted, the deported and facilities to be arranged bilaterally. Reports mentioned that a protocol was reached to be announced later. However, the Palestinian/Israeli disagreements dismissed that.

The President tried hard to convince factions such as Jihad to halt launching rocket attacks from Gaza to avoid Israeli pretexts. However, things went out of control following Israel's relentless activities in detaining and targeting Jihad militants. With dissidents declaring that the truce would not be renewed after the end of the year, the President claimed that it will be renewed automatically according to the Cairo accords. Regional realignments and polarization affecting the Palestinian scene further complicate the ability of the President to maneuver.

With the unfolding US/Israeli/European positions, the President faces the hot issue of disarming militant factions and asserting calm. The issue became more relevant following a number of armed attacks such as in Netanya on July 12 and hitting rockets from Gaza in response to the continued killings, home demolitions and collective punishment.

The President's activities included attending the London Conference at the end of February. It boiled down to the issue of "money in return of security." He also attended the Algiers Arab Summit on March 22-23 where the Arab initiative was reiterated (full normalization in return for Israeli withdrawals). In April, the President received the Russian President that had retracted his call to hold an international peace conference being a co-sponsor of the Madrid talks. Israel rejected Russia's

offer to dispatch 50 armed vehicles to the PA but accepted the offer to provide two helicopters to Abu Mazen. In Beirut, the President discussed the issue of arms in the refugee camps on July 9. Munir Miqdah, a Fatah official in Lebanon resigned in protest to Abbas's acceptance to disarm the camps as part of the UN Resolution 1559. Abbas Zaki was assigned to follow up Palestinian issues in Lebanon.

The President referred 51 execution cases to the Mufti who approved 15 of them. Another three execution orders were endorsed for collaboration and murder. A presidential decree was issued to restructure the negotiating team headed by Saeb Erekat as part of the PLO. Another decree dealt with the conditions of appointment in ministries and public bodies. Four officials, three of them working in the Finance Ministry and the fourth in the Presidency, were referred to the Attorney General for corruption allegations. A number of by laws were approved such as the amended Civil Service Law, the Insurance and Retirement procedures for the security establishments. Allocations to the household of detainees were increased. An alimony fund made Palestine the second Arab country to endorse such a system.

President Abbas, as part of the reform and the fight against corruption, appointed Ibrahim Abu Naja as head of the body dealing with illegitimate profits with Adnan Amr in charge of legal affairs. William Nassar was appointed in the President's office headed by Dr. Rafiq Hussein. Another decree placed the Fatwa and Islamic Research Council under the PA Presidency. The head of the Radio and TV authority was dismissed and the body placed under the Minister of Information. Another decree was issued to trace the properties of the late President Arafat and probe into his mysterious death.

Following the allegations of the deal to leak Jaffa Gate and Bethlehem properties owned by the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate to Jewish extremist groups, the President approved impeaching the Patriarch. This came after a committee composed of members of the cabinet, the PLC, the Executive Committee, Greek Orthodox figures and legal experts was formed and confirmed the Patriarch's implication in the matter. The PA threatened 11 out of the 13 Orthodox Synod members to disqualify their vote if they did not sign a document annulling the Jaffa Gate deal. This was a position concerted with Jordan, that joined in by endorsing the election of Theofilus III as the Patriarch.

The presidential decrees included banning members of the security apparatus to

run for Fatah's internal elections. A court to deal with elections was formed with nine judges on November 1, with an insistence to hold the elections on time. Other committees were formed to look into issues related to the lands where the Gaza airport would be built as well as the lands evacuated by Israelis. Similarly, the Monetary Authority body was formed and Salah Ta'mari appointed as Bethlehem Governor.

In a symbolic step, the National Security Council was reestablished headed by the President to be in charge of security coordination with all relevant parties. The Council would be responsible to decide funding allocations and all issues related to appointments, promotions and structuring the security forces. The issue of those wanted by Israel is problematic, given the opposition of factions and Israeli dictates.

Inauguration of Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas (15 January 2005)

PLO Executive Committee Chairman Mahmoud Abbas, was sworn in as President of the Palestinian Authority (PA) at a ceremony held by the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) at the Presidential Headquarters in Ramallah.

As I address you today, I am full of pride over the Palestinian people's exceptional democratic achievement. Our people have stood in the face of the occupation to say - first and foremost to ourselves but also to the whole world - that no matter how great the challenges may be, we will not give up on our national project... That no matter how many obstacles may stand in our way, we will not be deterred from advancing our democratic process. The winner in these elections is the great Palestinian people who have created this democratic epic and who will safeguard it. I dedicate this victory in the name of our whole people to the soul and memory of our eternal leader, the symbol of our cause, Yasser Arafat. It was he who planted the first seed of this democratic process, it was he who held its banner high, and it was he who consolidated its traditions.

Our respect and gratitude go to your noble soul, Abu Ammar, on this day of Palestinian democracy.

This is historic day in our national process, and I say to all our people who voted: you have kept the flame of democracy alive, and all my thanks and gratitude go to you. I pledge to exert all of my efforts to implement the program according to which I was elected, and to continue on the path towards achieving our national goals.

My thanks and appreciation also go to all those who worked to make the election campaign a success, my brothers in the FATAH movement all over Palestine, and to all political forces, organizations, institutions, movements and individuals who spared no effort to defend our national democratic program. This program now has the widest public support.

To all the other candidates, I say: we highly appreciate your efforts in making the democratic process a success. You have my pledge to encourage and guarantee the active role of all of our political forces and strands, and to protect the freedom of expression in accordance with the law.

For even if our opinions may differ, we share one national cause, and even if our judgments may diverge, we defend one goal. We will make sure that we work together to achieve the national goals to which we all aspire.

Today, the results of the elections are final, and our great people have passed this important test. I stand before you as the President and representative of the whole Palestinian people to say: we will continue consolidating national unity. We will deepen dialogue with all the active forces in our nation, and we will remain devoted to strengthening the unity of our society and institutions. We will also continue on the path of Yasser Arafat to achieve just peace - the peace of the brave for which he had always worked, and to which he dedicated all his life and efforts.

I would like to thank the management and team of my campaign for their great efforts. I also extend my appreciation and commendation to the Central Elections Committee, its president, members and the thousands of teachers and workers (in the campaign) who played an outstanding role to guarantee the success and fairness of the elections. I also extend my appreciations to the Palestinian Authority and the Palestinian security services for their role: they have worked efficiently under extremely difficult circumstances to ensure that the elections are fair and free.

I would like to thank the governments, international organizations, international figures, and monitors who oversaw the elections process and who helped in achieving our goals for consolidating democracy in Palestine.

I would also like to thank my dear brother Rawhi Fattouh, who played an efficient and capable role as the President of the Palestinian National Authority during the period of transition. He created an exemplary environment for conducting the elections, and he enabled our national institutions to play their role and carry out their duties.

I would like to thank the Government, headed by my brother Abu Ala', and the PLC for all of their efforts during the period of transition, and for the spirit of cooperation and joint action in the face of demanding conditions.

And I salute all of our people, particularly the residents of Jerusalem - the capital of our independent state. You have proven to the whole world your national commitment, determination to move forward, and commitment to our national goals and democratic choice. Your turnout exceeded all expectations, and you overcame

difficulties, obstacles, and hardships.

- The people have spoken for the end of occupation and the democratic choice - for the continuation and consolidation of development and reform in all its forms,

- The people have voted for the rule of law, order, pluralism, the peaceful transfer of authority, and equality for all,

- The people have chosen just peace, ending the occupation, and coexistence based on equality and international legitimacy.

This year is the year of Palestinian elections - presidential, legislative, and municipal elections. Let us muster our national efforts to further extend the election process to all civil organizations, trade unions, and political forces and factions so as to rejuvenate our domestic political life.

The greatest challenge before us, and the fundamental task facing us is national liberation. The task of ending the occupation, establishing the Palestinian state on the 1967 borders, with Jerusalem as its capital, and reaching a just and agreed solution to the refugee problem on the basis of international legitimacy (resolutions), first and foremost (the UN General Assembly) resolution 194 (of 1949) and the Beirut Arab Summit Resolution (in 2002).

To achieve these national goals, we will remain committed to the PLO's strategic choice: the choice of achieving just peace and our national goals through negotiations. The path to these goals is what we and the world have agreed upon in the Road Map. We have repeatedly stated that we are committed to our responsibilities in the Road Map. We will implement our obligations as a matter of Palestinian national interest. In return, Israel has to implement its obligations.

In the last few days, a number of incidents took place. We condemn these actions, whether by the Israeli occupation forces or the reactions of some Palestinian factions. This does not help bring about the calm needed to enable a credible, serious peace process. We are seeking a mutual ceasefire to end this vicious circle.

Our hand is extended towards an Israeli partner for making peace. But partnership is not through words but rather deeds. It is through ending assassinations, the siege on our towns, arrests, land confiscations, settlement activity and the separation wall. Partnership cannot be achieved by dictation, and peace cannot be reached by partial

or interim solutions. Peace can only be achieved by working together to reach a permanent status solution that deals with all of the outstanding issues, and which turns a new page on the basis of two neighboring states.

I would like to stress here that we are fully prepared to resume permanent status negotiations, and that we are politically ready to reach a comprehensive agreement over all of the issues.

From this forum, and on this day, I say to the Israeli leadership and to the Israeli people: we are two peoples destined to live side by side, and to share this land between us. The only alternative to peace is the continuation of the occupation and the conflict. Let us start implementing the Road Map, and - in parallel - let us start discussing the permanent status issues so that we can end, once and for all, the conflict between us.

From this forum, I call upon all concerned international actors, particularly the Quartet, to play a direct role in guaranteeing the implementation of the Road Map. You must ensure that we do not re-enter the labyrinth of preconditions that preclude progress in implementation. You must ensure that we do not get stuck in the maze of long-term partial or interim solutions designed to delay reaching a just and comprehensive solution.

As we at the Palestinian Authority express our readiness to implement all of our Road Map obligations, we expect all other parties to implement theirs. It is not reasonable that only we are required to take action while settlements continue, or while the Wall expands within Palestinian land to separate Palestinian from Palestinian, and to destroy the livelihoods of hundreds of thousands of our people, or while closures, the siege, arrests, and other violations continue against our people, spreading despair, frustration, and loss of hope.

Today, it is up to the world to give our people hope, and it is up to the world not to repeat the same mistakes that sabotaged many initiatives and positive efforts in the past. In particular, I direct this call to all of the leaders of the Quartet members, and to all those committed to re-launching the peace process, and particularly to the US as the main player in this context.

Welcoming Palestinian democracy and supporting it is important, but this support will remain deficient if it is not shored up with efforts to end all aspects of the occupation so that this democracy may continue and thrive.

I also call upon the international community to take the necessary measures to implement the decision of the International Court of Justice, this decision that condemned the racist separation wall as illegal and called for its removal.

Palestinians at the Homeland and in the Diaspora, Ending the occupation was and will remain at the top of our national Palestinian agenda, but it is not the only priority. I can find no justification for ignoring the rest of our national issues under the pretext that we are an occupied people. The same proud Palestinian spirit that has struggled to ensure recognition of our just cause must guide us in dealing with our domestic agenda.

For decades, Palestinians have been a beacon of creativity and achievement, a light that has shone with talent and skill over the whole world. It is our duty to continue faithfully working in the same spirit and with the same determination to build an enlightened, civilized society that will be - both in its official and civil parts - a democratic example to be followed, and a basis for a bright outlook for our future generations.

I believe that we all agree that the first step towards building our society lies in establishing the rule of law. Only then will our people enjoy safety and security, only then will we be able to truly develop our institutions of governance and our political system, and only then will we achieve development and economic prosperity and make progress in social, cultural, and other fields.

The rule of law is embodied in one authority and one legal weapon in the hands of this authority, within the framework of political pluralism and the peaceful periodic transfer of authority. We all have the right to differ, and we all have the right to present our case to the people through the ballot box, but no-one has the right to by-pass the will of the people or to take law into their own hand in the service of their own agenda. Let law and democracy remain the only method of dealing with all aspects of our domestic concerns.

We have started the process of reform, and we will - God willing - continue. Reforming and developing the judiciary, security and government agencies, and continuing the development of our financial and economic system, and establishing a new mechanism for cooperation between the public and private sectors are prerequisites for enabling the National Authority to play its role in serving the

Palestinian people. But more than that, they are also a duty so as to establish the foundations of the Palestinian state to which we aspire. It is our duty, whether in the Authority, opposition, or civil society not to allow the occupation to derail us from this path, or internal chaos to sabotage this process.

We will work to establish close cooperation between the various institutions of the Palestinian Authority - the legislative, judicial and executive authorities - while respecting their separation and distinct role in accordance with the Basic Law. This should become the solid foundation and the established tradition of our political life, so as to develop our political system and to preserve its vitality.

We will exert all of our efforts to revitalize the PLO institutions and to activate its national role as the sole legitimate representative of our people. This will intensify our efforts to serve our people in the Diaspora. The PLO must assume its leading role in supporting the National Authority, in emphasizing the unity of Palestinian decision, and in protecting the National Program of 1988 and the Palestinian Declaration of Independence.

The way forward will not be easy. Our goals will not be achieved with dreams or miracles, but with constant tireless work. The challenges ahead are grave: the occupation is still strangling us, and there are those who wish the failure of our experience. But those who hope for it to succeed and flourishing, both among our people and our friends throughout the world, are the overwhelming majority. The road ahead is long, but it is a road that we will take and a challenge that we will accept. The alternative is stagnation and regression, and this is an alternative that we will never accept.

It was a great opportunity that women used their right to participate in local and presidential elections. This is an important step on the path of ensuring equality for women, including the right to assume leading positions in the Authority and in society.

The late Abu Ammar has left us a legacy that lights our path and shows us the way. His legacy will always be present to remind us that no matter how great the challenges may be, or how intricate the conspiracies may become, the will of the people, unwavering determination, and tireless work will lead to our goals. In the midst of our struggle for liberation and state-building, there is no place for despair or lethargy.

Today, I address the families of our revered martyrs to assure you that we will remain faithful to their memory and committed to protecting the future of their children. We will continue to care for the injured and the handicapped, and all of those affected by the violations of the occupation, whether home demolitions, the destruction of agricultural facilities, and all other forms of collective punishment.

I also address my brothers the prisoners and detainees to assure them that their cause will remain at the forefront of our efforts and will figure high on all levels. Opening the path of freedom before them is a noble purpose that we will do our utmost to achieve. We will also protect our fugitives and deportees, and we will absorb them and guarantee their future.

I have been throughout my field visits to the refugee camps here in the homeland and in Syria, Lebanon, and the Arab World. I have met our people who have entrusted us with their national aspirations and daily concerns. These will remain a central part of our own concerns. While we reject involuntary settlement outside the homeland, we must guarantee that our people - wherever they are - enjoy the best standards of living, through cooperation with our brothers in the host countries.

In this path, and in the face of every hurdle and difficulty, I will remain strong in the knowledge of the trust that you have bestowed upon me, steadfast in my unshakable belief in the maturity of the Palestinian people, in all of its sectors and segments, and with all of its diverse opinions and positions. I will draw my strength first and foremost from my faith in God, and from my belief in the justice of cause and the unwavering dedication of our historic leader Yasser Arafat second, and from your trust. I pledge today to do all that I can, and to exert all of my efforts and energies to put an end to the suffering of our great people.

I would like to express my gratitude to the Arab states and their leaders who have assured us of their continued support for our people and National Authority at this time where their brotherly help is most needed.

I would also like to express my gratitude for the support for the world leaders, leaders of European states, the United States, Russia, China, Japan, and Islamic, Asian, African, Latin American and Non-Aligned states, as well as to the Secretary-General of the UN and the various Arab, Islamic and international organizations.

It is the time for work, so let us start it strong and unified for the sake of our people, our youth and future generations, and for the sake of freedom, independence, reform, and democratic development.

On this occasion, I fully place confidence in brother Ahmed Qurie, the Prime Minister, and I ask him to highly concern himself with the issue of f security, municipal and legislative elections and reforms. We will also deliberate the idea of government reconstitution in accordance with the Basic Law.

Strengths

1. President Abbas's assuming power as a result of democratic, fair elections with a reasonable outcome is a milestone for Palestinian democracy.
2. The President managed to win with a 68% in his favor without changing his stated objectives or raising expectations.
3. The President was persistent in his adherence to the democratic process both at the local and PLC levels.
4. The President efficiently took control of matters within the security, judicial and political issues.
5. The decrees issued indicate the trend to change and reform with security establishments merged and cases of corruption investigated.

Weaknesses

1. Despite repeated attempts, the President failed to curb the status of chaos. The same applies to the judicial system that is in a pathetic shape despite claims that it is on top priority.
2. Despite the truce and compromise as requested by the International and Israeli parties, the President failed to have any significant move forward. He also failed to have Israel deal with him as the President of Palestine.

1.1.2. The Government

Following an elaborate debate concerning the nature of the first government during the second presidency, a “technocratic cabinet” was formed as an interim step ahead of the PLC elections. This was the ninth Council of Ministers in the PA.

Criticism to the PA mounted with the exacerbation of the security situation and the economic crisis with the political stalemate. There were calls to dissolve the government or block confidence with demands to form a “national unity government” involving the various factions. Such demands became more lucrative in light of the expectations to have a smooth and organized Israeli withdrawal from Gaza. With the decline of Hamas, Jihad and PFLP to go along with such a line and the decline of the PA to form a national committee to overlook the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza, the road was paved to have a technocratic government seeking confidence from the PLC.

The Council of Ministers functioned within a complex and perturbed atmosphere awaiting the outcome of the PLC elections. A number of ministers expressed an interest to run for the elections while the PLC was waiving to block confidence for failure to ensure internal control. An agreement was reached out between the President and the Prime Minister to maintain the government and manage matters for the last quarter of the year until the elections. The resignation of the ministers intending to run was accepted. The Prime Minister himself offered his resignation on December 16 and then withdrew his candidature from the Fatah list to head the cabinet. A decision was taken in the 40th session of the cabinet to freeze appointments and promotions during the interim period.

The Prime Minister and the Head of the National Security Council acted to maintain public order. A ban on carrying unlicensed arms was imposed with measures to curb encroachments on public lands. Violators would be dismissed from their jobs. Security personnel were to report to work by the end of January. The PLC issued a number of regulating bylaws. The Prime Minister approved through the national and Islamic committee held in Gaza on April 26 on the proposal involving the PLC to adopt the Cairo format for elections.

The Council of Ministers approved the two-year emergency development package to the tune of 225 million dollars as part of the mid-term plan for 2005-2007. On

October 27, the Council decided to utilize 175 million dollars of the PA cash reserves to establish a number of projects to stimulate the economy, curb unemployment and respond to the delay in donor aid. The Prime Minister completed preparation for the donor meeting held in London on December 13. However, the funds were not forthcoming pending the PLC elections and imposing additional restrictions on the PA projects.

Indicating additional problems to the reform efforts, eight members of the National Committee for Reform resigned complaining that the Committee did not fulfill its job during the last two years. In response, the Council of Ministers tried to activate the Committee by involving various sectors. However, a number of complications and resignations failed to improve matters. At another level, the Director General of Public Administration in the Labor Ministry was suspended from work and placed under investigation.

The Government pledged to swiftly approve a master plan for Gaza and Jenin after the Israeli withdrawal. Scores of workers in the evacuated plastic houses in Khan Younes protested for fear of being laid off by the Palestinian development company or for salary cuts. Reports about the company's loss of 12 million shekels were denied by the Director General of the Prime Minister's office.

Also reports that the PA contacted Jordan to bring in 100 thousand refugees to Gaza were denied. Attempts were made to assist Palestinians residing in Iraq. The bylaws concerning the diplomatic corps were presented for approval to the PLC evoking a controversy between the PA and the PLO Political Department headed by Farouk Kaddoumi who protested that his authority is being undermined. The government tried to activate the role of the UN to counter the building of the Apartheid wall during the annual Geneva meeting but to no avail.

Table 1: Palestinian Population for the Year 2005¹ (Estimated in million)

Region	Number	Percentage
Palestinian Territories (West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza)	3,800,000	37.9
Israeli region	1,100,000	11.2
Jordan	2,900,000	29.4
Other Arab Countries	1,600,000	15.9
Other Foreign Countries	564,500	5.6
Total	10,091,985	100

¹ Numbers are based on the Palestinian Central Authority Concerning the West Bank and Jerusalem.

Strengths

1. The government of technocrats managed matters efficiently for most of the time despite all the odds.
2. Elections were properly held.
3. Certain ministers came forth with plans to upgrade the infrastructure and improve the internal situation.

Weaknesses

1. The predominant feature was running matters with no significant political, security, economic or social breakthroughs.
2. Being in a waiting mood for the PLC elections, the government failed to effectively coordinate with other components at the legislative level and failed to take up political initiatives.
3. The eagerness of the Prime Minister and many of his colleagues to run for elections eroded the level of performance.
4. The Council of Ministers failed to come up with an economic plan to counter challenges and cope up with political developments.

Ministry Activities during the Period under Review

1. Health and Public Safety

Palestinian sources revealed that there were 3962 killings and 46,568 wounded persons on the eve of the fifth year since the eruption of the Intifada. Arbitrary shelling and attacks in Gaza had detrimental effects. There were 21 abortion cases, 50 patients were not allowed to travel for medication during the year and 39 children killed on roadblocks.

Table 2: Palestinian Victims for the year 2005

	West Bank	Gaza	Total
Martyrs	75	111	186
Wounded	666	354	1,120
Females	8	9	17
Children	55	82	137

Table 3a: Palestinian victims as a result of Israeli attacks from September 29, 2000- December 31, 2005²

Year	West Bank	Gaza	Total
2000	191	127	318
2001	342	249	591
2002	751	497	1248
2003	263	393	656
2004	254	709	963
2005	75	111	186
Total Victims	1876	2068	3962
Total Injuries	31307	15261	46,568

Table 3b: Victims by Targeted Groups

Victims	Number
Embryo	39
Children	793
Women	270
Assassinations	376
Self- Scarify	170
Shelling & Clashes	732
Settlers attacks	61
Total	2441

² Numbers are from the Health Department's Information Committee.

Table 3c: Victims by Nationality

Nationality	No.
Palestinians	4212
Arab Israel	18
Egyptians	2
Lebanese	2
Americans	1
British	2
Total	3943

Table 4: Final Figures of the victims and martyrs during the Intifada until December 31, 2005³

Martyrs ⁴	4044
Wounded ⁵	46568
Children	739
Females	270
National Forces	344
Educators and Students	844
Medical Sets	36
Journalists	9
Athletes	220
Shelling Results	732
Assassinations	376
Checkpoints	129
Settlers	61

Table 5: Israeli casualties from September 29, 2000 until December 31, 2005

	Inside the Green Line	Inside the occupied territories	Total
Civilians and Settlers	444	222	666
Children (until 18 years old)	79	37	116
Army	86	216	302
Total	609	475	1084

* Source: Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group. www.phrmg.org

³ Source: Information Committee's National Census.

⁴ Excludes 88 Martyrs that have not been reported due to Israeli formalities.

⁵ Excludes 8435 wounded that received informal medical attention.

Table 6: Number of hospital beds in Palestine for 2005⁶

Responsible Party	Public Hospitals	Private Hospitals	Clinics and Health Centers	Maternity Hospitals
Ministry of Health	1976	280	-	-
Non-governmental Institutions	556	132	114	157
Private	174	137	-	163
UNRWA	63	-	-	-
Total	2766	549	114	320

* Excludes Gaza

Table 7: Number of Hospitals in Palestine For the year 2005

West Bank	Governmental	UNRWA	Private	Non-governmental	Total
	12	1	17	14	44
Gaza Strip	14	0	1	8	23
Jerusalem	0	0	4	6	10
Total	26	1	22	28	77

Employees in the emergency health services of the Red Crescent Society in Gaza held a 15-day strike demanding to be treated at the same level financially and administratively as the Ministry of Health. They were joined by the staff of Al Amal medical center and other first aid units. A deal was reached with the management.

The Minister of Health declared that a committee has been formed to approve salaries setting up 1650 shekels as the minimum wage. Procedures outlining guidelines for hiring, confirming staff were elaborately established. Five percent of the posts were allocated to the handicapped. As such, it was the first ministry to fulfill its bylaws including the provision of a free health insurance to the unemployed until the end of the year.

Scores of fraudulent cases for medical treatment abroad were discovered and reported to the police. It turned out that there are organized gangs to refer patients for medication abroad even with the availability of local medication. This costs the Ministry around 90 million shekels annually. A number of assaults occurred against medical staff such as several incidents of encroachment in the Ramallah hospital by security elements. The Ministry provided a reserve supply of medication that could

⁶ Source: Health Department. www.moh3.com 2005

last for two months in preparation for the Israeli withdrawal, projecting the worst scenario situation. It prepared to deal with the bird flu assuring that the country is free from the virus. An intensive cardiac unit was introduced to the Ramallah hospital at a cost of 1.8 million dollars. A plan was set up to establish a medical academy. The Qalqilya hospital cornerstone was placed while the Prince Nayef Tumor Treatment Center in Gaza was inaugurated.

Two incidents affected the functioning of the Health Ministry. One had to do with the mumps disease when it was revealed that, by the beginning of June, there were more than 50 thousand vaccines that were useless or expired. As a result, scores of school children were affected. With various versions as to what actually occurred, it was not clear who should be held responsible for such a situation. Furthermore, there were cases of food poisoning in the village of Deir Abu Mash'al in the Ramallah area when 23 children suffered after eating contaminated choco that was distributed at the end of May. The Ministry also reported that 334 persons suffered from various injuries as a result of fire-works. It called for a ban on the import of such dangerous products. The other issue had to do with mounting demands of the health sector in response to the low salaries. This culminated in a sit-in in front of the Council of Ministers building with support from public figures. Already, unemployed doctors had launched a one-month sit-in in a tent outside the PLC in Gaza. Subsequently, the strike was declared suspended but not over. Other problems had to do with the lack of allowance payments and mistakes in the October pay-roll sheets. Firms dealing with pilgrimage complained from the lack of vaccines. On top of all that, doctors warned that hospitals in Jerusalem could fall apart as a result of the Israeli siege.

In fact, there are nine hospitals operating in East Jerusalem with a capacity of 524 beds, which makes it 2.1% of the total bed capacity (10% of the average). Due to the policy of closure, the number of patients referring to the external clinics declined from 345 thousand in 2002 to 117,500 in 2003. The numbers continue to decrease as a result of the closure.⁷

⁷ Ibrahim Habib, Reportt of Doctors for Rights, Des.2005

Delusive Raids

Delusive raids have become a new pattern utilized by the army against Palestinian civilians especially after the departure of settlers from Gaza on September 12, 2005. The idea is for F16 jet fighters to break the sound barrier in a deafening way several times at night or during the day. It is a terrifying form that results also in shattering windows and causing cracks to the buildings.

A team of Israeli and Palestinian experts presented a petition to the Israeli High Court calling for the halt of the jet fighter terrorization of the population in Gaza. Such raids cause severe stress and are a form of collective punishment to all the Gazans.

Surprisingly, the Israeli court, in a ruling issued on November 13, 2005, condoned such actions when the prosecution claimed that such operations are necessary to thwart terror attacks and frighten Palestinians that try to launch rocket attacks. What about the hundreds of thousands of children, the aged and the sick that have to suffer from such raids?

The raids are not arbitrary but part of a systematic policy approved by Shaul Mofaz the Defense Minister and Dan Halutz the Chief of Staff. This was clear in the statement of the respondent Yuval Reutman in the Court on November 13. As such, the Minister and his Chief of Staff could be personally held responsible for war crimes since they are in clear violation of articles 146 and 147 of the Geneva Convention. Such actions cause physical and psychological damage, undermine human dignity and are a form of torture and collective punishment.

On the night of November 4, 2005, there were 42 Gazans that were wounded or in a state of shock as a result of shattering windows. Two women in the maternity ward of Al Shifa hospital suffered injuries. Al Hayat reported on December 6 that 27 cases were referred to psychological treatment as a result of shock.

On December 18, 2005, four persons suffering from chronic cases died in a state of shock as a result. The same night 11 others were referred for psychological treatment and 23 children taken to Al Naser hospital with 43 others in other hospitals across the Strip. Five pregnant women were affected as a result of such raids (Al Hayat, December 19, 2005).

War Crimes

It is astounding how the Israeli war crimes have become so common with no international response. Israeli army officials boast about such crimes as if they are heroic acts. Apart from the army, settlers take their own share in the carnage. While Western countries provide the cover for Israel, the latter provides the cover to the settlers.

With such crimes occurring with impunity, the focus is on the victim whose responses are blown out of proportion as if it is part of state responsibility.

Despite claims of democracy, the Zionist notion carries racist principles that keep producing Apartheid forms. The wall is an example that separates Palestinians from Palestinians. Since October, the Central Command started a plan of action to segregate vehicles using the roads. The modern highways were to be confined to settlers. Commenting on that, the Israeli Premier's office declared on 19 October that this is a plan that has been shelved for so long. During the meeting of the military on October 19, 2005 it was decided to implement the plan whereby Palestinian vehicles would be banned from using Jewish settler main roads. Such actions had started with the announcement of the Oslo accords and the building of the by-pass roads to give access to the settlers. With the eruption of the second Intifada in 2000, Palestinian vehicles are banned to move on 700 km. of roads that are confined to the settlers in the OPT. The Apartheid wall is in line with the discriminatory road system.⁸

Israeli protestors joining the Bil'in village protests claim that the army plant in provocative elements among them in order to justify brutal actions. In fact, the army confirmed the allegations on November 15, 2005 by admitting that special Arab-speaking units were used at the weekly protests against the wall to hurl stones in order to justify a violent response. Military prosecutor Menahem Finkelstein managed, with the Intifada of 2000, to keep the Military Police free from prosecution in cases related to the killing of Palestinian civilians except in exceptional cases.⁹

⁸ Betsalem Report 2004

⁹ Gaza Center for Rights and Law, Extrajudicial murders, May 2004.

Assassinations

The most remarkable feature of state terror is the extra-judicial killings and the liquidation of Palestinian militants in a manner that contravenes all laws with no concern to the killing of innocent bystanders. The assassinations are carried out by throwing rockets from jet-fighters, sniping or artillery shelling of houses over the head of its occupants. The policy of summary extra-judicial killings was approved by the inner cabinet on July 3, 2001. As a result between September 28, 2001 and May 15, 2004, 425 Palestinians were killed (236 in the West Bank and 189 in Gaza Strip). Of those, 278 were targeted while 40 children and 107 bystanders lost their lives for being near the scene of the killings.¹⁰

On January 26, 2005 an Israeli official announced halting “targeted killings” which is extra judicial killing. Ehud Olmert denied that there was no official policy to halt the assassinations.¹¹ On December 5, 2005 the Israeli cabinet decided to resume the killing of Palestinians.¹²

¹⁰ Gaza Center for Rights and Law, Extrajudicial murders, May 2004.

¹¹ Israeli Army Radio Interview, Feb. 26, 2005

¹² Al Hayat, Dec. 6, 2005

Atrocities, Incursions and Maltreatment of Palestinians

In addition to aircraft and artillery, Israel utilizes in its war against the Palestinians satellites and pilot-less spying planes. Robots, dogs and horses with special units are also there with the use of human shields to protect the soldiers.

With increasing protests to the use of human shields, the Israeli High Court issued a ruling banning such a practice. In response, the Defense Minister issued an order on October 12, 2005 calling for an appeal against the ruling, indicating that he will personally testify in court to defend the need for human shields to protect the soldiers.

Examples for crimes against humanity and brutal policies covered up by the Israeli judicial system are abundant such as:

- Mahmoud Shawari (age 43), father of nine, went to work riding on his donkey in a village around Bethlehem. An army patrol detained him. He refused to abandon his donkey. The soldiers tied him to the donkey that dashed into the village causing Mahmoud serious injuries resulting in his death on November 23, 2005.¹³
- Mamoun Abu Ali was also tied to the donkey with a rock placed on his back while spurring the donkey to run.¹⁴
- Shuja' Balawi (age 20), member of Al Aqsa brigades was shot and arrested alive on November 13, 2005 following an armed confrontation. He managed to creep across the street and failed to enter a mosque that was shut down. With his bleeding leg, he tried to reach out to another house but failed to do so.
- Iman Al Hams; 13 years old from Rafah was heading to a grocery store on October 5, 2004, the soldiers on the observation post at a distance of 100 meters suspected a "suspicious object" and opened fire. She ran for a distance of 300 meters while they kept shooting at her. The soldiers chased her and emptied in her body a cartridge from an M-16 gun at a distance of two meters. The medical report indicated that her body had 20 bullets. A soldier testified in court that his commander emptied a cartridge of bullets into the body of the child from head to toes.

An eye witness soldier informed Yediot Ahronot in the issue of October 15, 2004 that this was the most disgusting scene during his military service.

¹³ Gideon Levi, Haaretz, Nov. 23, 2005

¹⁴ Haaretz, Dec. 21, 2005

Another witness reported that as she was running, “we all opened fire and everyone claimed that it was his bullet that got her. One of the soldiers warned that the target is a 10 or 12 year-old child and should not be fired at and could be taken to a military court.” On November 25, 2005 the officer involved in killing Iman was discharged and released.

- On December 12, 2005 the Supreme Court convened with attorney Lea Tsemel claiming having evidence that the soldiers posted in Grida next to Khan Younes had instructions to shoot at civilians even without following that these were blatant war crimes that can implicate those who issued the orders as well as the perpetrators (Al Quds, December 13, 2005).
- The army devised a robot that can shoot at demonstrators against the wall in Bil’in without the presence of soldiers (Al Quds, October 22, 2005).
- An Israeli officer looted money while searching a house. He left driving a hummer vehicle in Hebron.
- A number of Palestinians died after being crushed under vehicles on December 10, 2005.
- Defense Minister Mofaz ordered the army on September 6 not to have any mercy on roadblocks no matter how angry the population gets.¹⁵
- An Israeli ambulance vehicle carried the body of 9 year-old Aziza Fayyad to Tel Hashomer hospital. At the roadblock, the body was held as a condition to pay the hospital bill.
- Mufid Abed Rabbo, PLC member, was on his way from Ramallah to his hometown Tulkarem on November 9, 2005. Near Izhar settlement, his car was pelted with stones by a group of settlers. He was taken to hospital suffering injuries.
- A Jerusalem resident was held with his hands tied to his back for several hours. He pleaded for some water to quench his thirst. A soldier fetched him a bottle claiming it is apple juice. It turned out to be urine. He fainted and was taken to Jerusalem’s Maqassed hospital to clean up his stomach.
- An American son of a holocaust survivor echoed the question of whether it is possible that the Israelis are so unaware to the oppression they are causing after

¹⁵ Session with Chief of Staff Dan Halutz

¹⁶ Amira Haas, Haaretz, Aug. 24, 2005

all what he witnessed.¹⁶

- The Norwegian Sur Trundilag district council decided on December 16, 2005 to boycott all Israeli products in protest over such policies.
- London's mayor Ken Livingstone reiterated that Israel, for decades, was implicated in war crimes and the indiscriminate killing of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. He added that the Palestinians have nothing but their bodies to counter the jet fighters of the occupation forces.¹⁷
- As such, several international parties called for the formation of a coalition against war crimes with the participation of the Canadian Minister of Justice and the Attorney General. The purpose was to bring Ariel Sharon to trial for perpetrating war crimes since assuming office in March 2001. His policies failed to differentiate between civilians and armed people. A human tragedy was created with the restrictions of movement, destruction of the infrastructure, the Apartheid wall and shelling residential areas. The list also includes his role in the 1982 Sabra and Shatilla massacres and the planting of hundreds of thousands of settlers depriving Palestinians of their lands and resources.

A British court issued on September 12, 2005 calling for the arrest of Colonel Doron Almog for contravening the 1999 Geneva accords. The initiative was taken up by the association of Heckman Andrews that presented a file to the police with a list of violations in the name of the victims. The list included the killing of Nuha Shukri Makadme who was pregnant and murdered on March 3, 2005 and Abdel Rahman Madhoom on January 30, 2001. Another 15 persons were killed and 150 wounded when a one-ton rocket targeted a residential area on July 22, 2002 in Gaza. Such crimes were viewed by apprehension within certain Israeli circles with the disappearance of any demarcation line between what is allowed and what is not allowed in the OPT, with the absence of the Judicial system. In a phone conversation with Tony Blair on the eve of the convening of the UN General Assembly, Sharon expressed concern that he may be arrested if he made a stop-over in London.¹⁸

¹⁷ London Press Conference, July 20, 2005

¹⁸ Israeli Press, Sep. 16, 2005

2. Education

The number of students in the West Bank and Gaza Strip is estimated to be 1.2 million in 2100 schools involving 45,000 teachers. The schools were subject to Israeli assaults with 282 schools facing damage during the Intifada. There were six schools that were shut down and three transformed into Israeli barracks. A total of 421 pupils were murdered and 194 university students with 24 teachers and seven employees. In addition, 1000 students were detained, out of which 710 are university students, 132 teachers and 30 employees¹⁹.

The school year started on September 3, 2005 when over a million students headed to school with an additional 40 thousand students than the preceding year (in 2250 schools with 41 new schools) and 22,526 more school rooms and 1255 rooms. Clearly, classrooms were overcrowded and lacked adequate premises. Israeli measures deprived hundreds of students from joining up their classes either due to the Apartheid wall denying access or due to roadblocks causing humiliation, especially in the Jerusalem area. The President decided to exempt children of workers and the unemployed from tuition fees.

The Ministry of Education completed the school-finishing exams on June 6 and announced the results at a record speed. Participants reached a record high of 60,255 students with 25,000 in the Gaza Strip and 34,000 in the West Bank and 865 in detention centers. The list included 12,972 in the science stream of whom 10,864 succeeded (84%) while 34,188 were in the arts stream of whom 21,234 succeeded (62.1%).

Significant achievements were made with the opening of 942 labs with an increase of 50 labs and 50 school libraries, bringing up the total to 1017 offices and 670 social councilors serving in 1160. There were 120 thousand students that were vaccinated and 11,000 first aid kits distributed. In addition, 380 summer camps were organized with the participation of 30 thousand students.

¹⁹ UNRWA Commissioner General Peter Hansen called upon the Israeli forces to halt targeting schools, following the killing of 10-year old Ghadeer Mkheimar while she was in the classroom of an UNRWA school (Oct. 23).

Table 8: Number of schools

Schools		Students	Employees
Public	1725	757,615	35,018
UNRWA	279	254,552	8,477
Private	272	66,321	5,184
Kindergarten/Daycare	946	77,500	3,400

The teachers' strike underlined the need to restore annual allowances and deal with promotions according to merit and law. Special committees probed into estimating transportation allowances, the needs of the retired and Jerusalem personnel linked to the living index increments and the application of civil service. Following persistent efforts, the Minister of Education announced that the government is eager to implement the Civil Service Law. The Minister addressed a letter to the teachers at the end of March clarifying the position as to their situation. The Council of Ministers approved most of the demands on March 21. However, the General Union of Teachers went on strike with more than 37 thousand teachers asserting the same demands. The Union requested to implement the Civil Service Law and when such a request was not forthcoming, it went on strike for two days for failure to have a favorable response to the proposed amendments. Obviously, the issue of teachers concerns the entire society. The Ministry allocations in the 2005 budget is no more than 14% while the security share is around 26% although there are 40,000 employees and teachers. Maternity leave was reduced from 90 to 70 days. What is needed is not partial increases but establishing a special system that provides basic rights to fit into the role of teachers in serving the society.

Table 9: Number of schools, teachers and students for the years 2005-2006²⁰

Gender	Schools	Students	Teachers
Male	802	536,752	22,700
Female	786	541,736	25,974
Co-ed	688	-- ----	-----
Total	2276	1078488	48674

²⁰ Ministry of Education's reports on the Internet.

Table 10: Growth in the number of students, schools, and teachers in private schools between 1994-2006²¹

Year	Schools	Students	Teachers
1994/95	1,084	418,807	14,938
1995/96	1,070	447,822	16,810
1996/97	1,113	481,678	18,858
1997/98	1,175	516,160	21,186
1998/99	1,230	549,404	22,690
1999/2000	1,289	586,777	24,318
2000/2001	1,343	621,285	26,173
2001/2002	1,406	653,650	28,015
2002/2003	1,490	686,507	29,930
2003/2004	1,577	711,541	31,858
2004/2005	1,659	733,735	33,398
2005/2006	1,725	757,615	35,013

Table 11: Average number of students according to the responsible parties for the year 2005/2006

Responsible Party	Primary School	Secondary School	Total
Public	637,172	120,443	757,615
UNRWA	254,552	-----	254,552
Private	61,897	4,424	66,321
Total	953,621	124,867	1,078,488

Table 12: The impact of Israeli attacks on Palestinian education until December 31, 2005²² Losses and Human Suffering

Student and teacher martyrs	844
Shot students and teachers	4,809
Detained teachers and employees	205
Detained high school and college students	1,389
Detained children	301
Military forced closures of schools and universities	12
Disruption of education in schools	1,125
Shelled educational organizations/facilities	316
Schools converted into military bases	43

²¹ Ministry of Education's reports on the Internet.

²² Source: Information Committee.

Table 13: Material Losses

Incidents of school and university closures	12
Converting schools to military premises	43
Incidents of disrupting education	1,125

Table 14: Secondary School Exams - Tawjihi results in 2005

Stream	Attended	Graduated	Graduation %
Scientific	12,972	10,864	83.7 %
Art	34,188	21,234	62.1 %
Vocational	2,279	1,511	66.3%
Private	14,298	5,922	41.4%
Total	63,737	39,531	63.3%

Education in Jerusalem

There are 79,000 pupils in East Jerusalem eligible to study, of whom 64,500 are able to join private or public schools. As such, 14,500 of them have to study outside the city or miss being in schools.²³ Around 10,000 pupils went on strike in Jerusalem for two weeks at the beginning of the semester. The Parents' Committee went on strike to protest the overcrowding and lack of classrooms. Some years ago, a petition was presented to the Supreme Court on behalf of 950 students. At the time, the Municipal Court and the Ministry of Education pledged to deal with the problem. The municipality promised to build up 245 additional classrooms within four years. After five years only two rooms were actually built. Since 1994, 20,000 additional pupils joined in. within the last decade, 300 new classes were added while 400 were closed, which means that there are 100 less classes than 1994. Demands were made to cancel the system of studying on two shifts. Simultaneously, the municipality built several schools in the Abu Ghneim settlement, although it is still unoccupied.²⁴ It should be noted that enrolment in municipal schools declined from 62% to 55% due to lack of space.

There are several types of schools in the Jerusalem district in 2004/2005:

- a) Municipal schools and cultural centers (53 of them) involving 32,700 pupils.
- b) 39 Islamic Waqf schools with 11,800 pupils.
- c) 7 UNRWA schools (245 pupils).
- d) Private schools with 10,900 pupils.

²³ 'Ir 'Amim report, Oct. 2005

²⁴ Yuli Khrometchinko, Haaretz, Sep. 11, 2005

Higher Education

Currently, Palestinian Higher Education has 11 universities and 25 community colleges involving 120 thousand students. Al Quds Open University has a share of 35%, while technical schools have 7%. The proportion of those enrolling in higher education is one of the highest in the world. However, indicators are that there is a long way to go since there is little coordination. In addition, higher education face harsh conditions affecting performance quality.

The issue of tuition fees is a problem that led to the disruption of studies at Birzeit University for some time. Favoritism is another problem that was highlighted through a recent AMAN report at the end of July.

At another level, symptoms of chaos crept in colleges with an increasing pace of violence. This included problems in Bethlehem University, shooting in Al Quds Open University in Tulkarem and clashes in Rafah Open University. Al Quds University protested the assault by the intelligence department in the University. A Birzeit student was detained for protests in the Ramallah Muqata'a and later released. Attacks were reported on Qalqilya school teachers with shooting incidents on the dean of the Faculty and Law and the Librarian of the Arab/American University in Jenin.

Similar disruptions occurred in Al Azhar University where the rector and some employees were attacked and studies suspended with students enriching the administration. Security forces were summoned to deal with the situation. A strike was held to reopen the university following the resignation of the board of trustees. Following the decision to dismiss 11 students implicated in the assaults, studies were suspended until further notice. The workers' union called for a meeting to save the academic year while six members of the student council resigned and the issue brought up to the General Attorney. Eventually, the President interfered and assigned Nabil Sha'th on November 6 to form a new board of trustees. However, the steps of the Ministry of Education to put matters in order were not effective. A number of initiatives were announced in the field of improving the quality of higher education with a 16 million dollar budget. This included establishing an electronic university in Gaza called the Palestinian International University. Furthermore, the Ministry established the International Institute for training and signed three contracts to build new schools. Saudi Arabia contributed 15 million dollars in favor of Palestinian university students.

Table 15: Student appropriation in higher education according to sex and the degree earned for the year 2004-2005

Degree	Diploma		Bachelor		Higher Diploma		Masters		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Open University	10	41	22,288	46,200	1	4			68,832
Universities	35	115	33,573	72,012	132	302	2,400	3,713	112,784
Colleges	1,793	3,966	888	2,068					8,715
Mid- level Colleges	5,070	9,002							14,072
Total	6,908	13,124	56,749	120,280	133	306	2,400	3,713	204,404

3. Infrastructure and Housing

Roadblocks

Despite an agreement to facilitate circulation, the numbers of roadblocks are clearly on an increase. The office of the UN coordinator for Human Rights reported that the number of roadblocks in the West Bank increased from 396 to 403²⁵. In an interview with Al Ahram Weekly, Mordechai Va'nunu declared that Israel has become an Apartheid state treating Palestinians like animals and claiming to be democratic. Things cannot continue this way²⁶.

There are 720 roadblocks over an area of 6600 sq. km, which means having one on each 8 sq. km or on 3 km of road. The claim is that this is needed for security reasons and that 200 possible attacks were intercepted on such roadblocks. However, cutting apart Palestinian areas is clearly a measure of collective punishment.

The occupation authorities put in place a racist transportation system forcing Palestinians to utilize side routes and reserving the main roads for settler use only. Access on the roads has become double on triple-distance from designated locations. Obviously, this has a negative impact on the economy. Even the Prime Minister's convoy was subject to obstruction and humiliation on the roadblocks.

"There is not much I can do to alleviate such misery other than keeping on record that we have not seen, heard or known about what's going on." The claims are that such roadblocks are for protection but in fact, it is to make the life of Palestinians tougher.²⁷ Examples for this include:

1. The UN Office of the High Commission for Human Rights (OHCHR) reported that 33 deaths of children occurred during delivery out of 55 cases of mothers that were delayed during labor²⁸
2. Medien Omran (28 years old) was badly beaten up by soldiers when he was stuck in the revolving door and could not return as ordered by the soldiers. He had a brain concussion and had to have stitches for his wounds²⁹.
3. On the Tayasir roadblock on September 4 at 7 am, seven vehicles were waiting

²⁵ Haim Yavin documentary "Chronicles of a Journey" broadcast in Israel, July 2005

²⁶ Mordechai Va'nunu, ex-Israeli atomic expert, Al Ahram Weekly, Aug. 2005

²⁷ Palestinian Prime Minister Ahmad Qrei' who was stopped for 45 minutes near Ramallah, during Ramadan

²⁸ Al Ayyam, Oct. 1, 2005

²⁹ Testimony of Mahsom Watch activist Daphna Yanay, Haaretz, Oct. 7, 2005

to enter the area and 15 vehicles from the other direction. They were there since 4 am³⁰.

4. Between September 2000 and December 2004, 61 women delivered at roadblocks; 36 of the newborn died³¹.
5. There were more than forty cases of patients in need of referral to hospitals in Jerusalem. In addition to waiting for permissions, they are forced to walk on foot for 800 meters to cross over³².
6. Between October 12 and December 25, 2005, Israeli forces at the Bardala roadblock prevented the transport of the vegetables coming from Toubas, Jericho, Jiftlik, 'Oja and Marj Na'ja.

³⁰ Dorit Hotzkourity report in Yediot Ahronot on Oct. 18, 2005 referring to the humiliations at roadblocks

³¹ WHO report, Sep. 2005 (15 concentrations inside the wall, 134 outside)

³² Director General of Emergency and First Aid, Palestinian Health Ministry, Al Ayyam, Sep. 10, 2005

Transportation

In September, the third phase of rehabilitating the road system was launched at a cost of 12 million dollars. The project involved opening and asphaltting roads in six areas: Tulkarem-Anabta (4.5 km), Beit 'Our-Beit Liqya (Ramallah area, 3.5 km), Sourif-Kharas (Hebron area, 6.2 km), Qalandya-Al Bireh (2.5 km), Toubas-Far'a (6.8 km) and Jenin-Nablus (6.8 km). Additional licensing offices were opened with regulatory procedures related to vehicles through the transportation law #5 of the year 2000.

The plan to link the West Bank and Gaza Strip through a 42-km road from Beit Hanoun to Hebron was prepared. The 160-million dollar project would include a highway, train lines with the electricity, telephone, gas and water infrastructure.

Drivers protested to the decision of getting vehicles produced before 1982 off the roads. As a result, the decision was frozen, pending taking alternative procedures. The Ministry of Transportation implemented the comprehensive administrative plan to fully computerize its operation in the various districts as a step within a comprehensive integrated administrative program. The plan was presented to the Council of Ministers for approval.

As for the major projects, the site of the Gaza port was specified with six projected piers. Certain environmental studies were conducted. The initial cost of the project is 75 million dollars to be achieved within 2,5 years. Documents for an international tender to implement the first phase of the project of the Gaza port were complete.

Similarly, plans to restore the Gaza airport, which had been deliberately damaged by the Israelis, were underway at a cost of 22 million dollars.

Settlements

In violation of all international conventions, widespread land confiscation is underway. Building settlements and moving in settlers fall under the category of war crimes³³. Unquestionably, this is illegal despite the fact that it went unhindered during the last six decades. Successive UN General Assembly and Security Council Resolutions and worldwide condemnation did not restrain Israel from grabbing more and more land.

The issue does not lie merely in massive confiscation of land and the moving in of settlers, but also in covering up for daily assaults on Palestinian livelihood. Four decades of occupation have resulted in the confiscation of 45% of West Bank land, with most of it coming under settler control. The built-in area in 155 settlements is 157 million square meters with around 450 thousand settlers living there illegally, by the end of 2005. During the first quarter of 2005, around 4000 new residential units were built³⁴.

However, Israel does not recognize this figure. It claims that the settler community is 240 thousand on the assumption that the additional 210 thousand settlers in Jerusalem do not count since the land is annexed to Israel. Obviously, the annexation violates international law. Nevertheless, Israel announced that it will keep 180 thousand of the 250 thousand settlers outside Jerusalem under its control, even under a peaceful accord³⁵.

During 2005, a dramatic development occurred in the domain of the unlicensed settlements. The Israeli Lands Authority issued title deeds for certain settlements such as Pisgat Ze'ev and the old city Jewish quarter and Har Homa. For instance, the SADR company owned by settler Yossi Sassi managed to have a number of residential units registered³⁶.

In an even more dramatic step, the State Comptroller Minha Lind Straus revealed that successive Israeli governments did not honor its own bylaws related to land confiscation and construction. For instance, thousands of dunams of land were allocated to settlers without following proper procedures. The report also revealed that, since 1993, the Lands Authority halted registering confiscated lands under the category of state-owned lands³⁷.

One of the most deceptive manipulators is the reference to “illegal” or unlicensed settlements for those established without government approval. It implies that government approval grants its legitimacy bypassing international law. In many

³³ Knesset Member Zehava Galon regretted that Israeli society did not realize the illegality of settlements in Palestinian lands, July 21, 2005

³⁴ Peace Now Report, Sep. 2005, Akiva El Dar, the Coalition of the Occupation with capital “A Criminal Political Case”, Haaretz, Sep. 6, 2005

³⁵ Dov Weisglass, Aug. 4, 2005

³⁶ Al Quds, Dec. 3, 2005

³⁷ As reported in Haaretz, Sep. 1, 2005

such cases, “illegal” settlements are recognized as becoming “legal” following the creation of facts on the ground.

All kinds of ploys are used to acquire land. For instance, when Ariel Sharon visited the “illegal” settlement of Tal Binyamin (named after Binyamin Kahana), he was reminded that the legal advisor considered it “illegal.” His response was: “Who is this advisor, is there a Tal, then go ahead and settle it.” It sounds like the wild west where anything becomes possible. The situation was summarized by the previous director of the International Law section in the Israeli military prosecution department when he said “Very simply, there is no law³⁸.”

Eitan Haber, who was the head of Yitzhaq Rabin’s office, mentioned about the arrogance of settlers who strut in the circles of power and the roads of the land feeling that they are the masters that have been dispatched of God’s messengers on a divine mission³⁹.

There are endless incidents of settlers uprooting the trees of Palestinian farmers. At the end of December 2005, the uprooting of an additional 100 trees brought up the 51st complaint against such actions. Despite the carnage affecting thousands of humans of trees, no settler was ever detained for such actions⁴⁰.

One may bluntly state that settlements are artificial from the angle of government; politically, a stupidity; and from a human point of view, unethical. ⁴¹

The highlight of settler crimes

- August 3, 2005: Extremist soldier Idan Mitzuri opens fire on passengers of a civilian bus in Shafa Amer, killing four and wounding 12 others.
- April 11, 1982: Alon Goodman, in military garb, breaks into the Jerusalem Dome of the Rock, fires at the worshippers, killing two and wounding nine others.
- October 28, 1994: Soldier David Ben Shihul fires a LAU rocket on a Palestinian bus near Jerusalem, killing a Palestinian and wounding ten others.

³⁸ As reported in Haaretz, Sep. 1, 2005

³⁹ Ex-Director of Itzhaq Rabin’s Office, Yediot Ahronot, Aug. 14, 2005

⁴⁰ Haaretz editorial, Dec. 24, 2005

⁴¹ Uzi Benziman, Haaretz, July 3, 2005

- May 20, 1990: Ami Popper kills seven Palestinians, wounds 11 others near a bus stop in Rishon Letzion.
- February 25, 1994: Beruch Goldstein fires his automatic weapon as a thousand worshippers were kneeling at dawn for prayer in the Hebron Ibrahimi mosque, killing 29 and wounding 25 others.
- January 1, 1997: Noam Friedman, in military uniform, shoots at shoppers wounding seven of them.
- According to SHABAK sources, there are at least 300 zealots ready to conduct terror attacks against Palestinians⁴².
- Settlers open fire in the Mawasi area in the Gaza Strip killing five, most of them children.⁴³
- It has become customary for Karnei Shamron settlers to unleash wild pigs in Palestinian villages to the West and South of Nablus to terrify Palestinians and cause damage to their crops⁴⁴.
- Scores of settlers fortified themselves in a Palestinian building in the Mawasi quarter, hoisting a banner referring to Prophet Muhammad as a pig. Palestinians pelted the building with stones. The settlers opened fire from the third floor on the demonstrators, killing Hilal Majayda (18) who was left to bleed for 20 minutes. The ambulance team was obstructed by the settlers. Instead, five settlers started to hurl rocks and stones on the wounded. By sheer miracle Hilal survived⁴⁵.
- The father revealed in the investigation that his son that murdered lives in Kfar Tapuah with Kahana followers and not in Rishon Letsion as he had told the army. (???)
- Internal Security Minister Gideon Ezra declared that the Israeli Police is keen to detain the Palestinians that killed the extremist Zadeh. There are hundreds of Jewish extremists ready to go on a rampage as was revealed in the Knesset's Internal Affairs Committee (August 7, 2005).

⁴² Israeli Military Sources, Aug. 7, 2005

⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴ Complaint filed by residents of Huwwara and Jinsafout, May 30, 2005

⁴⁵ Yediot Ahronot, July 30, 2005

Table 16: Damages as a result of shelling, razing, and Israeli incursions until August 31, 2005⁴⁶

	Partial Damage		Heavy Damage		Public Buildings Damage		Security Building Damage		Roads Damage		Total	Total in Million Dollars
	No.	Value \$ (millions)	No.	Value \$	No.	Value \$	No.	Value \$	Direct \$	Indirect		
Ramallah	6163	7.104	88	3.760	63	2.345	14	24.485	9.835	5.600	15,435	53,129
Bethlehem	7850	8.725	188	8.190	18	1.795	4	3.750	6.128	4.000	10,128	32,588
Hebron	6,340	5.480	431	14.920	4	0.098	11	5.887	7.510	6.300	13,810	40,195
Tulkarem	2,820	2.265	80	2.785	20	1.263	5	2.615	4.510	4.600	9,110	18,038
Jenin ⁴⁷	8,085	6.363	1060	26.546	3	0.410	6	3.992	13.134	6.450	19,584	56,895
Nablus	6,668	4.941	894	24.048	24	1.450	15	1.531	10.070	5.640	15,710	47,680
Jericho	40	0.040	17	0.624	1	0.010	9	0.314	1.050	2.000	3,050	4,038
Qalqulia	1627	0.644	62	2.718	11	0.020	10	0.085	2.650	3.160	5,810	9,277
Salfit	580	0.75	17	0.811	1	0.009	1	0.280	2.000	3.240	5,240	7,090
Jerusalem	47	0.035	6	0.420					3.150	3.200	6,350	6,805
North Gaza	3,042	2.050	477	11.657	13	0.050	3	0.029	8.199	0.850	9,049	22,968
Gaza	2,713	2.278	266	9.598	5	0.005	337	19.333	1.870	4.400	6,270	37,780
Central	1,480	0.709	195	4.391	5	0.002			0.900	1.200	2,100	7,836
Khanyounes	7,430	2.502	805	15.595	44	0.066			1.150	1.200	2,350	20,487
Rafah	8,957	4.164	3,042	50.369	18	0.059			3.831	1.600	5,431	60,053
Total	63,842	48.050	7,628	176.432	230	7.586	415	62.301	75.987	53.44	129,427	424,856

Table 17: Road conditions for the year 2005⁴⁸

Type of Road	Length of Road /km	Good Roads	Satisfactory Roads	Bad Roads
Main	600	13%	31%	56%
Regional	750	22%	40%	38%
Paved	1,350	40%	25%	35%
Unpaved	800			
Total	3,500			

⁴⁶ Ministry of Housing and Public works.

⁴⁷ Includes 800 buildings that were completely damaged and 300 buildings partially damaged in Jenin Refugee Camp that cost 21.5 Million Dollars.

⁴⁸ Excludes Detours that equal 670.5 km in length.

Table 18: Israeli aggression's impact on the Palestinian infrastructure until December 31, 2005⁴⁹

Total home destruction	7,628 homes, including 4,785 in Gaza Strip
Partial destruction	63,842 homes, including 23,622 in Gaza Strip
Bulldozed lands	76,867 Dunum
Tree uprooting	1,355,290 trees
Land confiscated for the wall	243,866 Dunum
Settlements	165 ⁵⁰
Settlers	440,415 settler
Shelling neighborhoods	33,830 times
Destruction of arrogation	31,263 meters
Destruction of Rural Infrastructure	609,593 meters

The Apartheid Wall

The pace of constructing the Apartheid wall in 2005 escalated drastically both in size and the confiscated space separating people. Obviously, the construction is not along the Israeli borders, but it entails control of natural resources extending from 10 to 25 km inside the Palestinian areas in the West Bank bypassing Jerusalem completely. The wall converts the area into enclaves and enhances the pace of settlement activity⁵¹.

There are concerns within certain Israeli circles that such violations of international law could lead to sanctions similar to those of South Africa. The legal advisor of the Ministry of Justice warned that the ruling of the ICJ in the Hague should not be taken lightly. However, Tzipi Livni the Minister of Justice declared that the wall will be the future borders of the Hebrew state⁵².

Water

The Palestinian Water Authority estimates that, since 1967, no less than 70 million cubic meters have been already grabbed. In addition, 900 million cubic meters of the Jordan river is controlled, together with the ground water in the Western basin through 500 artesian wells in a network to directly take hold of the water.

According to the Accords, the Palestinians are entitled to get 700 million cubic meters of water annually. However, what they get does not exceed 120 million

⁴⁹ General Information Committee and the Palestinian Census Center.

⁵⁰ Excluding what's referred to as "scattered" settlements.

⁵¹ Betselem Report, Nov. 2005, 12 incidents were mentioned

⁵² In a conference of law, Nov. 2005, contrary to the claims of the Attorney General that the law is for security, and not political reasons

cubic meters from the Israeli water authority. During the Intifada, 397 wells have been destroyed.

Out of 635 population concentrations in the West Bank, there are 400 that supply 20 to 40 percent of the water needs while the remaining 235 have no water networks. It depends on collection of rain water or purchasing potable water with an annual deficit of 100 million cubic meters for domestic usage.⁵³

The Water Authority revealed that there is a need for 850 million dollars for hydraulic projects in light of the catastrophic situation resulting from Israeli policies. These include control of 900 million cubic meters in the Jordan rift and the ground water. The shortage in the Gaza Strip is 60 million cubic meters annually. The first desalination plant was operated with the production of 650 cubic meters daily. However, 250 thousand Palestinians remain deprived of proper water resources. Projects of wastewater disposal are also obstructed due to various restrictions.

As an emergency measure, the Water Authority allocated a million dollars to avoid an environmental disaster due to lack of water. The shortage of water in the West Bank is around 100 million cubic meters while the annual consumption is 145 million. An agreement of 62 million dollars was signed with USAID to provide water in Gaza with the establishment of seven storage tanks with the capacity of three thousand cubic meters in each tank over a 60 cubic meter network. Further phases of the project require an additional 52 million dollars.

The Environmental Quality Authority warned of the contamination resulting from the disposal of Israeli hazardous waste products in the village of Deir Al Sharaf in the Nablus area.

Lands

The Land Authority announced shutting down its operations until further notice as a result of what it claimed to be systematic intimidation from security establishments seeking personal benefits from public lands in an illegitimate form. The police launched a campaign to deal with encroachment on state lands in the Gaza Strip. A presidential decree was issued in this respect including an order to demolish structures built illegally and the review of allocations of public lands. The assault

⁵³ Palestinian Water Authority Report, 2005

by the shooting incident in Mid February at the home of Sakher Bseiso, who was charged with the coordination of dealing with the encroachments on state lands, reflected the gravity of the matter.

In a relevant step, the President issued a decree on July 30, 2005 canceling all previous measures to allocate public lands while granting a 15-day notice to rectify legal procedures. A committee was formed headed by the Director of the Lands Authority and representatives of the Public Affairs, Housing, Local Government ministries and the relevant governors as well as a representative from the Ministry to implement the decree.

Communications

PALTEL succeeded in tangible achievements. It managed to place Palestine on a common calling system, reducing expenses to the public by 83%. In 2005, company profits soared to 54 million dinars, compared with 38 million in the preceding year. Company assets rose to 274 million dinars with an increase of 43% in subscribers (900 thousand). A loan of 200 million dollars was requested from the banks to proceed with concessions acquired for mobile phones in Yemen and Afghanistan, as well as for regular phones and the internet in Kazakhstan and the UAE.

The Ministry of Communications and the I.T. signed an accord with the National Institute of I.T. to upgrade the level of the Ministry staff. The agreement was reached with PALTEL over the reductions on phone bills and placing all of Palestine under a single code. A 50-million euro project was started with Dutch support to enhance electronic learning. The Ministry announced entitling private and foreign sectors to compete in various projects.

Energy

The Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources revealed that the PA is willing to export natural gas into Israel as part of an exchange package. It also signed a memorandum with the Egyptian Petroleum Ministry to supply the needs of the Gaza Strip. Two electricity supply projects in Gaza were signed with USAID. A deficit of 59% in electricity costs was announced with the PA paying 75 million shekels

monthly because of failure to collect electricity fees. The Ministry conducted the first radioactive test in the evacuated Gaza areas and declared that prime quality natural gas is available to cover all local needs and allow for export to the USA through Egypt by 2009.

Crossings, Ports and Airports

The staff of the Aviation Authority went on strike demanding to be treated as the rest of the PA personnel. Work had stopped as a result of Israel's attack on the airport as part of the destruction of the infrastructure.

Housing, Construction and Public Works

Housing in Palestine has a shortage of 250 thousand residential units at a cost of 477 million dollars according to the Ministry reports. Between 1994-2002, eight billion dollars have been invested in construction. However, a lot of it is unpopulated due to high costs.

At another level, the Ministry launched a project to restore, through a five-million dollar Canadian grant, houses demolished by Israelis. An agreement was signed with the Emirates' Red Crescent Society to build the Sheikh Khalifa town in Khan Younes at a cost of 13 million dollars. There were 36 beneficiaries of the houses in the Sheikh Zayed city. The city would have 736 units at a cost of 50 million dollars, including the repair of 600 Khan Younes houses, at a cost of 13 million dollars, offered by the UAE through UNRWA. The Emirates also offered 25 million dollars for the reconstruction of the Jenin camp.⁵⁴ A total of 122 units were handed to those whose houses were demolished in Rafah in February 2005. Another two-million dollars from the Sheikh Zayed is allocated to provide housing in Jerusalem for those with low income. The Ministry of Public Works announced that there are 1045 houses in the West Bank that need to be repaired at a cost of 44.8 million dollars.

As for demolished houses, there are 7920 that are totally damaged in the West Bank and 63 thousand partially, in need of repair. The Ministry of Public Works warned

⁵⁴ Housing Minister, Muhammad Shtayeh, June 4, 2005

that any usage of public lands requires prior consultation with it. It also established a unit for emergency intervention in cases of natural disasters. Furthermore, the first phase of the package of projects related to infrastructure was launched, with special focus on roads with an initial budget of 50 million dollars out of 225 million. Work on the roads took place in Hebron, Jenin and Bethlehem. The Ministry handed in a number of schools to the Ministry of Education after completing them and prepared the ground to establish a governmental complex in Ramallah.

The Israeli court system connived to the policy of the demolition of hundreds of houses and land confiscation together with the expulsion of 25 thousand Palestinians from Hebron to expand the Jewish quarter⁵⁵. Hina Gilan, the representative of the UN Secretary General declared that Palestinians are deprived of their basic rights under the pretext of security. She added that lawyers, journalists and human rights activists are not allowed to be informed of possible human rights violations (October 11, 2005).

The withdrawal from Gaza marked an end to 35 years of colonial rule. It involved the evacuation of 25 settlements in the Gaza Strip and another four in the West Bank with the departure of 8000 settlers occupying 25% of the Gaza Strip. On August 18, orders were delivered to the settlers to evacuate all Gaza settlements within 48 hours. After six days, all settlers were out. However, Israeli encroachments continued unabated. On December 28, the northern part of the Gaza Strip was declared as a buffer zone undermining the lives of 280 thousand people. Intensive shelling resulted in scores of deaths and destruction of property together with infrastructure services and agricultural products. The area that includes Jabalya, Beit Hanoun, Beit Lahia and Al Maslakh constituting 17% of the Gaza Strip was heavily pounded at the end of September 2004 causing 150 deaths and more than one thousand wounded with the destruction of 500 houses and the razing of thousands of dunams of agricultural lands. To add to the tragedy, eight persons drowned in the sea near Khan Younes following the thousands who flocked to the shore after the Israeli withdrawal on September 12, 2005.

Social and Detainee Affairs

The Minister of Justice and Social Affairs issued a decree separating the Institute of

⁵⁵ Haaretz, Sept. 14, 2005

Martyr Families from the Social Affairs Department. The temporary unemployment program was stopped pending the payment of the wages for those who worked in it. Another issue had to do with the arrest of the Ministry's Director General to investigate alleged corruption. A few days later, the Director General denied his having been detained and failed to mention those who claimed so. Similarly, the Detainees Club demanded the Attorney General to probe into the case of mismanagement and corruption in the Abu Jihad College.

In general, the transition of the Ministry from relief into development was poor within a complex political setup. However, the Ministry announced the distribution of 56 million shekels to needy families in Gaza claiming that 100 thousand workers benefited from the emergency employment plan. A social care program was launched to the benefit of 55 thousand families. The plan was to mitigate the life of 55% of the elderly and needy among Gazans and 45% of West Bankers. Clearly, the Ministry was engaged in providing urgent emergency services.

Scores of disabled demonstrators attacked the Ministry pelting it with stones and burning tyres demanding their basic rights. As a result, the government approved granting the disabled with a special card that secures a number of services. The Ministry announced the completion of a complains' unit in Ramallah and Gaza. Also, it was decided to review the status of cooperative societies. A few days later, the Employment Department of Nablus was attacked by an armed group. In response, the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs shut down the office.

The Detainees⁵⁶

By the end of 2005, there were 8800 detainees in 28 Israeli prisons of whom 369 were from the period before the establishment of the PA in 1994, 209 from the period between 1994 and 2000. Since the 1967 occupation, around 650 thousand Palestinians faced detention (20% of the population)⁵⁷.

The records of the Ministry for Detainee Affairs list 5906 prisoners. During the current Intifada, 2000 children under the age of 18 were detained. There are currently 236 of them in detention, with 24 having no charges or court proceedings.

⁵⁶ Ministry of Detainee Affairs, the Statistical Report, 28 Feb. 2005

⁵⁷ Report of Ministry of Detainee Affairs, 2005.

On the background of the decision of the prison authorities to transfer Abdel Rahim Mallouh and his companions to another prison, clashes took place in 'Ofer detention center leading to the wounding of 32 detainees. The Ministry filed an official complaint to the ICRC in Gaza following the fire that erupted in the Magiddo prison causing the death of Rasem Ghneimat and undermining the life of 240 other detainees. There are reports that 117 out of 400 women prisoners are still behind bars. A large number of the detainees (6434) work for the PA and are on its payroll. In addition, 177 detainees were murdered either under torture or due to medical negligence, as was the case with 18-year old Jawad Abdel Aziz in the Naqab prison. The Ministry issued, at the beginning of the year, a report concerning the abuse of 312 detained children and minors, of whom 12 are girls held under harsh conditions. The report indicated that 450 detainees were arrested before gaining the age of 18. By the beginning of 2005, there were 330 detainees in Jerusalem. Their families held a protest at the PLC calling to having the Jerusalem detainees within the list of the rest of the prisoners to be released in some deal. The Ministry failed to include the Jerusalem detainees in the list of those to be released.

Conditions in detention centers during the last year were the most pathetic since three decades. All the benefits that had been gained by prisoners' protests were canceled. Humiliating conditions were common, with bans of visits, lousy food and so on. The Ministry failed to respond to the needs although it managed to mediate for the resumption of family visits to 3500 detainees after an extended ban on visits.

The Minister of Detainees' Affairs mentioned that there are around 1500 prisoners suffering from all kinds of illness, with a medical negligence, living under harsh conditions. Reports indicate that 98% of the detainees were beaten up or tortured during interrogation or detention.

The Detainees held a hunger strike for forty days. Most of their demands were accepted. However, the general feeling is that the prison authorities would gradually reintroduce the humiliating practices. The death of Muhammad Abu Hadwan, a Jerusalemite who was serving a life sentence was a reminder of the case of 950 detainees who are suffering from various chronic diseases with the usual medical negligence.

There are also cases of detainees with bullet shots and no treatment. Ministry reports indicate that there are 250 detainees that have been incapacitated as a result of shots including 25 cases of partial paralysis and 45 neurotic cases as a result of torture. The Nahshon unit of special prison forces introduced the usage of iron bullets instead of tear gas. In addition to causing acute pain, it transforms the skin into a deep crimson color.

Women detainees in Talmoud prison launched an open hunger strike as of October 25 in protest against their conditions. In addition, there are 58 women detained in the Ramla prison, of whom 8 are below 18 years old. Due to the increase in abuse and humiliation, a general hunger strike was started on August 15, 2005. It involved 1700 detainees held in four detention centers (Shatta, Beer Sheva, Hadarim and Nafha). In response, special units called the “Fortress” attacked the striking detainees beating them up and shooting bullets that cause skin burns. As a result, thirty detainees were injured on August 31 in Nafha prison, with four suffering burns. As a punishment, the detainees were denied access of basic commodities and family visits. A campaign to break their morale was also staged.

A wave of solidarity activities spread with scores of tents erected in support of the detainees.

On September 2, the strike was suspended for four days and an agreement reached to halt the strip search, allow phone calls, improve the food quality, increase the daily rest time, facilitate family visits and limit the policy of solitary confinement.

However, the deal did not manage to provide a political and legal context to protect the rights of detainees.

A significant increase was marked in the number of arrested minors. Between September 2000 and April 2004, around two thousand minors below 18 were rounded up. There are 35 who are held as administrative detainees and 484 in prison. A ministry report revealed that, by March 2004, there were 7500 detainees. On another hand, the Ministry pursued the prisoner exchange issue between Hezbollah and Israel.

Despite the Sharm El Sheikh summit and the declared truce, the policy of arbitrary arrests went unabated. In addition, high fines were imposed on detainees making it a source of income.

Among the documented practices is the case of Samar Suboh, whose house was attacked on August 29. She had been married three months earlier and was two months pregnant. All the men in the compound were stripped in front of the women and children. She was also ordered to undress at gunpoint⁵⁸. Abdel Rahim Mallouh, the Deputy Secretary General of the PFLP was also physically assaulted with 32 other detainees in Ofer prison on November 29, 2005. Another blunt violation of international law was the seven-year detention sentence against PLC member Husam Khader, the Chairman of the Committee defending Palestinian rights.

Equally, 650 detainees from Gaza stayed in Israeli prisons after the withdrawal from Gaza, in contrast to article 77 of the fourth 1949 Geneva Convention that stipulates handing over all detainees after departure of occupation forces. In fact, a decree was issued on September 12, 2005 declaring that: “As of today, the military rule has ended in the area of Gaza Strip. Efforts to allow detainees to exercise the right to vote in the presidential elections failed.”

The Ministry of Detainee Affairs contributed 4 million shekels to alleviate the living conditions of detainee families. It increased the monthly contributed to prison canteens by half a million shekels to make it two million. An agreement was reached with Switzerland whereby 1.25 million dollars would be available to the rehabilitation of released detainees until September 2005. However, there is a long way to go in this matter.

The Ministry was criticized for not being up to the standard during the prisoners’ strike. Allegations by human rights groups claimed that it wanted to see an end to the strike without fulfilling the demands. Talks were held with Israel with no coordination with the detainee representatives.

⁵⁸ For further details, interview with Attorney Hanan El Khatib, Al Hayat, Dec. 15, 2005 and with Sana Dweik, Al Hayat, Sep. 20, 2005 and report of Ministry of Detainee Affairs, Dec. 24, 2005.

Torture

Israel is the sole country in the world where torture is practiced with political and legal cover with no strings attached to international conventions. The Supreme Court in 1996 allowed Israeli forces to utilize torture against Palestinians to extract confessions.

During the occupation, 166 Palestinians perished under interrogation, 67 of them in direct murder, 69 as a result of torture and 31 from medical negligence⁵⁹, according to the Ministry of Detainee Affairs statistics on February 28, 2005.

To cover up for such crimes and preempt any judicial proceedings, the military judicial department issued orders to conceal all methods used during interrogation. However, there are reports revealing that more than 80 illegal methods of physical and psychological torture are applied⁶⁰. An estimated 98% of the detainees are beaten up, which means that 8000 of the 8400 arrested in 2005 were subject to that. The figure, since 1967, would mean that half a million Palestinians were subject to torture.

Under the slogan of combating terror, the most basic human values are disregarded and war crimes perpetrated. Scores of affidavits were gathered by human rights organizations with detainees, including children, reporting about threats of sexual abuse to extract confessions. This is part of a systematic practice.⁶¹ In fact, the Washington Post reported on June 16 that the Americans in Iraq's Abu Ghareeb prison are amateurs compared to the Israelis and need to learn from the latter. Torture is practiced without the use of the word making it palatable to the Israeli public with no consciousness pangs.⁶²

Thousands of court cases were raised by Palestinians with claims of more than 100 million dollars. In response, the Israeli ministries of defense and justice managed to issue an amendment, with a retroactive date, claiming that, under the Intifada law no appeals are allowed against the State except in exceptional cases. This curtails the ability of Palestinians to go to court and seek compensations. Sarit Dana, the deputy legal advisor of the Israeli government, declared in a session of the Constitution Committee that residents in areas of confrontation where Israeli security forces are conducting operations are not entitled for any compensation from the Israeli government.⁶³

⁵⁹ Ministry of Detainee Affairs, the Statistical Report, 28 Feb. 2005

⁶⁰ Report of Ministry of Detainee Affairs, 2005.

⁶¹ Husam, Society of Detainees and ex-Detainees

⁶² Washington Post, June 16

⁶³ Jadoen Alon, Haaretz, 4 July 2005

4. Economy and Commerce

In the report issued by the World Bank in December 2005, Israel was held as the main reason for the deterioration of the economic conditions in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. During the meeting of the donor countries on December 14, 2005, the World Bank made it clear that the system of the closure is the main obstacle to activate the economy. It involves restrictions on the movement of labor, commodities and individuals within the West Bank⁶⁴.

The PA set up an economic plan within an “Investment Guide” including 126 projects at a cost of 5 billion dollars supervised by a body to encourage investment into the year 2008. The plan included having development projects for Gaza in the aftermath of the Israeli withdrawal. It would include 300 million dollars for land reclamation. The Ministry of Economy presented its report in June with a forecast to absorb 10,000 laborers over two years at a cost of 10 million dollars. It revealed that the daily losses as a result of the siege are 10 million dollars. The pending pledged amounts from Arab countries are 500 million dollars. In addition, 440 million dollars were expected, following the Algiers Arab summit to rebuild the houses demolished by Israel. The Ministry also had a plan to regulate imports.

The industrial zone in Gaza was activated, following the Israeli withdrawal, with the provision of water and electricity. Thousands of workers are expected to be employed. As for the development of the Jordan rift area, work is underway with the Japanese JAICA team to develop about 100 sq. km, which is almost 20% of the West Bank, over the coming decade.

Agriculture

The Ministry of Agriculture reported to the PA about the losses of farmers as a result of Israeli policies and the Apartheid wall. Losses of the agricultural sector during the Intifada years are estimated to be 1.4 billion dollars. During 2005, the Ministry distributed 4 million dollars to assist affected farmers. The Ministry formed an agricultural monitoring unit to prevent the sneaking of settlement products into the Palestinian markets. More than 1500 chicken unfit for human usage coming from settlements were found and gotten rid of.

⁶⁴ Palestinian Economy Evaluation report, World Bank, Dec. 2005

At another level, the Union of Cattle Farmers demanded subsidies to pay for the fodder and control of sheep livestock that hit record high prices. The Ministry responded by setting up a plan to regulate the import of livestock. The Palestinian countryside also faces the nuisance of wild pigs that are released from certain settlements to damage the crops. A technical committee was formed to take over agricultural lands that Israel would leave with plans to implement.

The Agriculture Ministry initiated a three-year medium range plan at a cost of 300 million dollars to develop the agricultural sector. Hundreds of tons of cheated olive oil were found in several districts. Again, the issue of wild pigs sent from settlements caused massive damage and resulted in the death of a Sebastia farmer after being attacked by the pigs. An emergency plan was underway to cope with the bird flu. The basic law for the Palestinian Olive Oil Council was endorsed to protect farmers and improve the quality of the products. The agricultural sector is expected to have a support priority from donors, particularly USAID that earmarked 80 million dollars, of which 56 million are for the plastic agricultural houses in Gaza.

Tourism

The Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities announced a plan to update the Palestinian Tourism Law and upgrade the level of those working in the sector. Equally, the department of antiquities, heritage would be enhanced with infrastructure development projects. Certain sites were presented to be placed on the World Heritage Preservation sites. This was a response to the 2002 resolution of the World Heritage Council calling for the priority to preserve Palestinian heritage. The Ministry revealed that 300 thousand tourists visited the Occupied Palestinian Territories, which is an increase of 200% from the preceding year when there were only 103 thousand tourists.

A course was held with 28 officers to deal with illegal trade and smuggling of antiques in cooperation with the Ministry of Interior and the Political Orientation Department. In another joint effort with the Ports Authority, the Ministry of Local Government and the Engineers Union, a consultative committee was held to deal with the issue of establishing the Gaza Port and the environmental implications of such a step.

There are 75 hotels operating in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, with 3050 rooms and 6620 beds. Of these, 26.5% are in the Jerusalem Governorate with a capacity of 907 rooms (2147 beds). There are 1200 workers in the hotel sector. Occupancy was pathetic at 11.7% compared to 74% in 1999.⁶⁵

Concern to preserve antiques and heritage increased. Since the 1967 occupation around 120 thousand antique and heritage pieces are smuggled out (85% are sold abroad).⁶⁶

A committee was formed to deal with the matter and spread consciousness on heritage. The Council of Ministers allocated six million dollars to rehabilitate certain archeological sites. Together with the Ministry of Culture and UNESCO, projects are underway to be funded.

At another level, Israel has a plan to establish a museum under the name of “tolerance”. What is striking is that the suggested location is the Mamilla Islamic cemetery in West Jerusalem. Islamic and Christian religious leaders met on December 28 and declared that such a step is a desecration that contradicts with respect of human dignity and the principle of tolerance. The Mamilla cemetery is 200 dunams and, since 1948, was largely confiscated to establish public parks and shopping centers. The proposed plan would put an end to whatever remains.

⁶⁵ PCBS, Survey of Hotels in the Palestinian Territory, April 2004

⁶⁶ Hamdan Taha, Head of Archaeology, Jan. 23, 2005

Table 19: The main economic indicators in Palestine (in million Dollars) ⁶⁷

Indicator	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Population no (in million)	2.361	2.454	2.554	2.840	2.958	2.085	3.224	3.381	3.472	3.647	3.827	3.825
GDP	2.833	3.504	3.878	4.182	4.464	4.954	4.579	4.405	3.779	4.222	4.462	4.456
GNP	3.216	4.055	4.546	4.914	5.617	6.125	5.466	4.911	4.161	4.761	4.951	
GDP/ capita	1.222	1.411	1.474	1.503	1.541	1.641	1.484	1.302	1.088	1.157	1.650	1.268
GNP/ capita	1.388	1.632	1.728	1.766	1.939	2.028	1.771	1.452	1.198	1.304	1.293	
Consumption	3.755	4.125	5.011	5.299	5.435	5.920	6.093	5.293	5.073	5.578	5.896	
Private	3.178	3.641	4.230	4.148	4.227	4.646	4.870	3.970	3.806	4.463	4.717	
Government	577	485	780	1.152	1.208	1.273	1.223	1.323	1.266	1.116	1.179	
Unemployment%	25	18	24	20	14	12	14	25	31.3	25.6	26.90	23.5
Inflation%	14	11	8	8	5	5	3	1	5.7	4.4	3.0	2.84
Public Revenues	400	549	928	1196	1.822	1.136	1.364	1.308	743	1.219	1.308	1.943
Domestic	268	411	684	816	922	901	964	581	335	701	947	1.208
Donations	132	138	244	306	330	235	400	765	408	519	361	734.9
Public expenditure	383	635	928	1.113	1.193	1.194	1.364	1.239	1.237	1.494	1.354	1.925
Current	297	501	710	790	819	927	940	1.016	1.025	1.231	897	1.036
Capital costs	85	134	218	323	375	267	424	222	212	263	457	614.4
Deficit/surplus before donation or grants	114-	223-	243-	465-	439-	293-	400-	952-	-902	-792	-407	-717.1
Total Deficit / surplus	17	-86	0	-159	-109	-58	0	-186	-493	-274	-46	17.8
Goods and services exports	561	668	739	767	887	891	868	626	572	518	547	
Goods and services imports	2.334	2.500	2.871	3.028	3.320	3.804	3.404	2.779	2.553	2.873	3.037	
No. of workers in Israel (in Thousands)	53	67	58	83	120	138	119	65	50	58.7	53	63
No. of workers in Palestine (in Thousands)	328	347	354	402	435	461	489	481	435	546	560	570

⁶⁷ Source: Monetary Authority.

5. The General Budget and the Fiscal Situation

The Finance Ministry was late to present the 2005 proposed budget due in December. The Ministry sent a letter to the PLC informing that the necessary financial guarantees for the budget are forthcoming. He added that state expenditure for the new fiscal year would proceed until the end of March 2005 at the rate of one out of twelve from the previous budget. Eventually, the proposed budget was forwarded on March 16 after securing the funding guarantees. This was not linked with the delivery of the 1.2 billion dollars for the year as pledged in the London conference. The new proposed budget was 2.229 billion dollars, of which one billion are from local revenues. The Finance Minister announced that 1.1 billion dollars were delivered to the Treasury from three Arab countries to support the 2005 budget. The Ministry complained from the delay in the arrival of other donor funds. Out of 900 million dollars that were pledged by the donors, only 310 million were forthcoming. The monthly revenues increased from 47 million dollars two years ago into 97 million by the end of 2005. Annual revenues by 2008 are expected to be 1.535 billion dollars compared to 1.078 billion for this year.

Following the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza, the Ministry announced that a Palestinian economic development committee was established with a 100 million dollar capital to manage the agricultural areas evacuated by the Israelis through Palestinian manpower.

With the financial crisis facing the PA, the Minister dispelled the rumors that there will be salary increases for the public servants. He emphasized that no funds were forthcoming between December 2004 and February 2005. However, a social security network was established with a funding of 240 million dollars. As a reform step, a number of international auditing firms presented bids to audit public management. Eventually, an agreement was signed with Ernst and Young to do the auditing for three years at a cost of 4 million euros. The Ministry also announced that 70 million dollars were secured to compensate those who were effected by the first Gulf war. It apologized for the errors in the lists of beneficiaries promising to rectify the mistakes.

With the sudden resignation of Salam Fayyad, the Finance Minister, there was a feeling that the step expressed indignation from the PA obstacles facing him. It became clear later that the motive was due to Fayyad's desire to run in the elections.

Table 20: The General summary budget for the year 2005⁶⁸

Expenditure		Income	
Local Income	396	Running Cost	
Transaction	662	Salaries	936
		Operational	263
		Transferable	600
		Others	23
		Development Cost	268
Total	1,058	Total public cost	2,220
Deficit	-1,162		

Table 21: The General summary budget for the year 1998-2005 in million dollars

Statement	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
General Income	1195	1822	1604	1364	1308	1148	531	806	1.058
Local income	684	754	901	964	581	581	205	298	396
Grants and assistance	369	330	235	400	117	578	747	650	1.171
Public expenditure	1213	1194	1194	1364	1677	1476	1278	1694	1.822
Running costs	818	853	953	940	1089	1096	1040	1444	1.952
Developmental costs	393	341	241	423	550	380	239	250	268
Deficit	159	109	58	Zero	526	328	747	888	-1,162

Table 22: Financing

Grants and assistance supporting the budget	654
Expected grants supporting the developmental projects	268
Released clearance Income	180
Net change in defrwert	-23
Paid back Loans	-69
Financial gap	0

⁶⁸ Ministry of Finance. 2004 General Budget Proposal.

Table 23: Assistance Given by Donor Countries⁶⁹

Year	Confirmed sums in Million Dollars	Amounts Spent
1994	829	504
1995	651	425
1996	744	514
1997	699	553
1998	641	425
1999	649	473
2000	527	162
2001	(1000)	⁷⁰ 675
2002	(1100)	1100
2003	(1000)	863
2004	439	
2005	425	

The Monetary Authority

The bank assets in Palestine increased from 2004 by 15% to reach 5.6 billion dollars. The deposits constitute 4.7 billion of this amount. The Governor of the Monetary Authority expects that, by 2010, the assets would rise to 12 billion dollars, provided calm is maintained in the region⁷¹.

The banking sector in Palestine faces unwarranted disruptions such as Israel's extortion of money from the banks in 2004 or the legal cases in the US to compensate American Jews for being victims of violence. Cases are also raised against the PA. Although all these cases failed to get through, they were a cause of nuisance to the Monetary Authority. As a result, it opened an account in Basel, Switzerland, to resolve international disputes instead of New York. The Arab Bank is also facing serious legal challenges by all sorts of groups claiming to be victims of violence and accusing the Bank of channeling funds to the terrorists. At some point, the Arab Bank was considering to close down its branches in the USA, finding it impossible to function in such an atmosphere. In fact, the New York branch was shut down (Al Hayat, February 10, 2005). The Monetary Authority managed to release the freezing of 30 million dollars for similar reasons, with Zionist groups suing the Authority for claims from the PA. (Al Quds, October 19, 2005).

⁶⁹ MOPIC'S 2003 3RD Quarterly Monitoring Report on Donor's Assistance

⁷⁰ تشمل صندوق الاقصى والمساعدات الاوروبية والدولية الاخرى

⁷¹ George Abed, Governor Monetary Authority, Open Press Meeting, 3 Oct. 2005.

The Monetary Authority issued regular reports about the various activities of the banks. In fact, the Prime Minister offered the Governor to resign following complaints from the PLC. Instead, George Abed was appointed as the new governor. Abed declared that an amount of three billion dollars are sought for various projects. He expressed hope to issue a national currency and establish a Central Bank. He also expected that the US will release 28 million dollars belonging to the PA that are held in American banks since last March.

Table 24: Number of Banks and its Branches in Palestine ⁷²

Year	No. of Banks			No. of Branches		
	National	International	Total	National	International	Total
1995	3	11	14	14	43	57
1996	4	13	17	20	51	71
1997	8	13	21	29	60	89
1998	9	14	23	40	65	105
1999	9	14	23	48	67	115
2000	9	13	22	52	68	120
2001	10	13	23	58	68	126
2002	10	11	21	59	68	127
2003	10	12	22	60	73	133
2004	10	12	22	62	73	135
2005	10	11	21	71	71	142

Table No.25: United Budget for the Banks Working in Palestine (Million Dollars)⁷³

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Deposits	1707	2067	2390	2832	3470	3350	3275	3559	3869	4106
Facilities	424	613	822	992	1328	1198	937	1041	1384	1727
Outside assets	1393	1640	1775	2148	2316	2365	2509	2538	2619	2337

⁷² Monetary Authority.

⁷³ Monetary Authority.

Justice

The Ministry of Justice announced that the legal situation of the Gaza Strip has not changed since Israel controls all crossing points. The Minister confirmed that the Council of Arab Justice Ministers, in their 21st session, approved the protocol to combat corruption. A crisis surfaced with a number of employees going on strike for not getting their salaries for 20 months. At another level, the Ministry warned that capital punishment will face those convicted with collaboration with the enemy. However, those convicted by the State Security or military court could appeal through the Council of Ministers. The Legislation and Fatwa Department, which is part of the Ministry, was requested to implement the Cabinet Resolution no. 4 of 1995 that seeks to refer PLC resolutions to the PA.

Labor and Youth

The Ministry of Labor announced that there were 54,048 persons that would benefit from the temporary employment plan, out of 235,395 that registered as unemployed. During March 3000, new jobs were created. The same occurred in April. The Minister declared that an elaborate social care system was established with an increase in vocational training centers. However, the harsh economic conditions and the widespread unemployment did not alleviate matters. As an expression for that, scores of martyrs' families demonstrated in Rafah on March 7 in front of the Labor Ministry offices demanding an improvement of their living conditions. The Ministry of Youth and Sports, in coordination with the Olympic Committee decided to halt participation in tournaments abroad.

In an unconstitutional manner, the Deputy Head of the Federation assumed the chairmanship of the Football Association.

Women Affairs

The Ministry of Women Affairs focused on issues related to divorce, minimum marriage age, murder on the background of family honor, sexual abuse, incest and inheritance. Contact was done over these issues with the Legislation and Fatwa Department and the Islamic Waqf as well as relevant ministries. The issue of "Honor

Crimes” was a top priority with 17 women killed during last year and 100 who committed suicide. The Ministry was also concerned that the quota guaranteeing certain seats for women in local councils could be abolished.

Freedom of Opinion and Expression

The Ministry of Culture held on January 18 a celebration to honor two disabled children that won prizes for their contribution in international art events in Cairo and Paris. In addition, an agreement was signed with Al Masqat International Festival to expand Palestinian participation in the coming years. In El Bireh, the sixth International Book Exhibition was held after a pause of six years. The Ministry announced the start of discussion over the draft dealing with the general framework of the future Palestinian Cultural Palace, that was built with a six-million dollar Japanese contribution, was handed over to the Ramallah Municipality.

The Ministry of Information decided to restructure the Executive Information Council with the appointment of the Broadcasting and TV team. A project to have an archival website for the Voice of Palestine was launched together with the TV. The Ministry inaugurated light media centers to cover Israeli withdrawal and assist the international coverage. There was discussion as to whether the media should be centrally controlled through a Higher Information Council. Finally a presidential decree placed the radio, TV and satellite channel under the control of the Minister of Information instead of the PLO. From another angle, all local broadcasting groups were requested to abide by the licensing procedures.

In what was considered a step backward, the Interior Minister issued an order in July 2005 banning any coverage or pictures related to the security establishments without acquiring a written approval from the Ministry. The decision was faced with vehement opposition from the media and human rights organizations claiming that it deprives the public from the right of having access to information. In contrast, President Abbas issued clear instructions to Palestine’s satellite channel as to the need to provide full freedom to expose controversial views and reflect reality. Arrangements were done to have the satellite TV diffuse across the world starting from August 2005. The Ministry of Information acted to regulate the functioning of all broadcasting services under the law and set up the standards to qualify for licensing.

At another level, the national anthem was recorded in a professional manner, with high technical standards for use in official events. A decision was also taken to provide 20 thousand dollars to support the first CD of Palestinian singer Ammar Hasan who ranked second in the Superstar TV program.

The Ministry of Culture criticized Qalqilya Municipality for banning the holding of folkloric and cultural events in the municipal playground.

Table 26: Freedom of Expression Indicators⁷⁴

	West Bank	Gaza	Total	Shut Down
Newspapers	9	4	13	
Magazines	14	3	17	
Broadcast stations	16	5	21	13
TV. Stations	22	0	22	
Culture centers	122	52	174	39
Theaters	7	7	14	1
Cinemas	4	-	4	
Mosques	1246	545	1791	
Churches	320	10	330	
Museums	4	1	5	8
Public Libraries	20	11	31	9
Publishing houses	23	8	31	57

The Internal, Civil Affairs and Waqf

The Ministry of Interior came to the forefront of events due to the unfolding events. Of particular significance was the case when Al Aqsa brigades opened fire on the Interior Minister as he was inspecting the security forces in Jenin. As a result, all the heads of the security establishments in Jenin were dismissed. The Minister ordered that there will be only one commander to control all security forces in each district. He also formed a committee to investigate the leaking of the names of security commanders that will be sent to retirement and the names of those who will replace them. The Ministry launched a new civil defense center in the Hebron industrial zone.

⁷⁴ Source: Census Bureau, 2005.

It was also announced that there is a new system and format in the issuing of passports. Following the Israeli withdrawal, the Ministry took control of security matters in the Gaza Strip. However, there were repeated assaults by armed elements into public premises demanding jobs in the security establishments. The Ministry promised to look into the matter and respond to the demands of various factions. Eventually, 72 high-ranking officers were relieved into retirement and 500 new recruits were to be trained. A report was issued regarding cases of kidnapping, murder and assaults.

As stated earlier, there was widespread criticism of the Interior Minister's order to acquire prior approval to report anything or interview anyone related to the Ministry. This was viewed as an authoritarian step to stifle basic freedoms.

The Ministry for Civil Affairs called for the need to properly register the children and their addresses through family reunification procedures with the Israelis. There was also the problem of people with visit permits who over-extended their stay or those still awaiting visit permits. It was announced that Israel is willing to settle 54 thousand files for those who are awaiting to get Palestinian IDs.

The Ministry was looking into the cases of officials working in the Rafah crossing involved in corruption.

As for the Religious Affairs Ministry, there is a problem to absorb graduates from Shari'a institutes. It turns out that there are 200 vacant jobs. Instead, 500 persons were recruited as part of the low-paying Labor Ministry unemployment program. As a result, the Imams reported to work in sundry jobs that do not fit with their status undermining their credibility. Another issue has to do with the revenues of Waqf properties and utilizing it to cover the Ministry's expenses.

The Ministry maintained its warnings concerning the plans by Israeli zealots to blow up or take over Al Aqsa mosque. It also condemned the desecration of Koran books by Israeli prison guards. As for the issue of pilgrimage to Mecca, the Ministry denied having any direct say in the matter following the cabinet's forming a special body to deal with pilgrimage. Although there were a number of newspaper ads complaining about the high-costs of pilgrimage (880 JD in the West Bank and 1195 JD for Gaza Strip), around 10 thousand people managed to fulfill the pilgrimage. There was a spirit of animosity and lack of cooperation between the Ministry and the Pilgrimage Committee.

Foreign Affairs, Planning, Negotiating Affairs

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs revealed that an extensive reshuffling process is underway for the diplomatic corps. The PLO Executive Committee called upon the Ministry to propose a systematic plan for procedures to regulate matters in cooperation with the PLO's Political Department headed by Farouk Kaddoumi. With this done, 29 new ambassadors were appointed with a special committee formed to evaluate their performance along the new structures.

The new ambassadors are: Ismail Ahmad Hasan (Bulgaria), Elias Sanbar (Unesco), Manuel Hassassian (UK), Ahmad Abbas Ramadan (Bahrein), Adham Abu Mudallala (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Ass'ad El Ass'ad (Uzbekistan), Anwar Al Agha (Sri Lanka), Jaber Abu El Naja (Senegal), Hikmat Al Ajjouri (Ireland), Khaled Erekat (Ukraine), Thiab El Loh (China), Randa Nabulsi (Portugal), Sa'di Tmeizi (Ghana), Said Abu Imara (Oman), Said Hamad (Mexico), Sumaya Barghouthi (The Netherlands), Salah Abdel Shafi (Sweden), Abdel Aziz El A'raj (Vietnam), Adli Sadek (Rumania), Izzat Abdel Hadi (Australia), Imad Falouji (Iran), Amr Hourani (Zimbabwe), Adnan Abu Haija (Mozambique), Awad Yakhlaf (Nigeria), Luay Isa (Mauritania), Muhammad Nabhan (Serbia and Montenegro), May Keleh (Chile), Hael Fahoum (Germany), Walid Hasan (Kazakhstan).

The issue of Palestinian representation abroad is problematic in light of the overlapping between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the PLO's Political Department. A compromise was found during the Arab Summit when Kaddoumi attended the opening ceremony while Qudwa, the Foreign Minister, came in the following part. Following the PLC approval of the Diplomatic Corps Law, the Foreign Ministry carried out a massive reshuffle of its delegates in a manner that had never happened in the previous three decades. Some warned that this could be the last nail in the coffin of the PLO.

The declarations of the Foreign Minister that the occupation should come to an end before handing in the arms of Palestinian factions evoked a wave of Israeli objections. At another level, an agreement was signed with the Chinese Foreign Minister to construct a building to the Ministry and provide hospitals with medical equipment. The Palestinian Embassy in Ankara announced that the archives of land ownership under Turkish rule up until 1916 were handed in.

The Ministry reiterated the request to probe into the mysterious death of Yasser Arafat. In addition, a work action was placed to pursue the issue of the Apartheid wall and follow up over the ruling of the Hague International Court of Justice on the issue.

The Ministry of Negotiation Affairs announced that the joint committees with Israel emanating from the Sharm El Sheikh summit will convene as of February 13. The Minister claimed that there was an agreement with Sharon's advisor that all roadblocks in areas where the Israeli forces withdraw from shall be completely removed. Obviously, this was not the case. In fact, the whole Ministry of Negotiation Affairs was canceled with the formation of the new government that Saeb Erekat declined to join. Instead, he was assigned to head the Negotiations Committee through a Presidential Decree.

The Ministry of Planning announced a project for land management in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In March, it started implementing the project to assess poverty in cooperation with UNDP. A memorandum of understanding was signed with Germany to finance water and waste water projects as well as support economic development through both public and non-governmental organizations. The Ministry revealed that projects to the tune of one billion dollars were implemented, decreasing unemployment into 26%. It added that the mid-term development was revised and updated to be presented to the conference of donor countries.

The Main Activities of the Public Bodies were:

The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS)

The PCBS actively promoted its endeavors. It revealed that Israeli measures reduced the income of 55.6% of the households in the Occupied Palestinian Territories to half what it used to be four years ago. In January 2005, 39.9% had a further decline in income levels. At the publication front, the first statistical Atlas for Palestine was issued with a special Jerusalem yearly book (it declared that the population of Jerusalem is 394 thousand). The bureau looked into the development indicators as endorsed by the UN. It inaugurated the system of monitoring and proceeded into the second population census to be completed by the end of 2007.

A number of surveys were conducted related to transport and vehicles, demographic conditions, health services, hotels. The President of the Bureau Dr. Hasan Abu Libdeh resigned on March 21, 2005 and was replaced by Luay Shabaneh.

Central Elections Committee (CEC)

The CEC was actively engaged in the Presidential, Legislative and the four phases of the Local Council Elections. The Committee denied that any of its members resigned and looked into charges of intimidation against some of its teams on the presidential election day. Early in April, the entire CEC offered its resignation and was restructured through a presidential decree as stipulated by the basic law. The Committee had requested detailed financial reports from presidential candidates. Since the law requires the need to have registration, it was decided to leave registration open. The process would have required a team of 20 thousand at a cost of eight million dollars.

The CEC rejected seven PLC applicants after discovering forging of certain signatures and having names of deceased persons. It dismissed Hamas objections to have a more balanced CEC since it is not based on factional representation.

The CEC requested the government to intervene in the issue of the elections in Jerusalem and the participation of the detainees. Voter registration proceeded and voting through the ID was allowed for Jerusalemites in light of Israeli restrictions. The performance of the CEC was remarkably efficient.

State Information Service (SIS)

As SIS report indicated that the total direct and indirect losses incurred as a result of Israeli policies since the eruption of Al Aqsa Intifada are 15.6 billion dollars. Other reports revealed that by November there were 4214 killed. An additional 82 were not listed due to Israeli procedural restrictions. The wounded were 45,891 of whom 8,345 needed treatment in the field.

The National Archives

Stressing the importance of Archives, the Department was attached, since June 2004, to the Council of Ministers. However, there is a long way to go to update this vital endeavor.

Strengths:

1. Over all, most Ministers functioned, although some were more efficient than others.
2. Since most of the ministers are young technocrats, they managed to introduce innovative steps.
3. The ability to put plans to deal with chronic problems paves the way for improved performance.
4. The desire for internal and external reform is positive, particularly in the reshuffling of the diplomatic corps and combating corruption.

Weaknesses:

1. While going on strike is legitimate, resorting to violent means and carrying weapons is totally unjustifiable.
2. Ministries such as Health and Education failed to address the issue of their employees' rights.
3. The delay to present the proposed budget on time.
4. Retreat on the issue of the freedom of thought and expression with the Interior Minister's decision to require a prior written order to talk to officials of the security establishments.

1.1.3. The Security Establishments

Reforms and Palestinian Security Commitments

The President focused on the issue of the Security Establishments as part of the General Reform Program – a total of 1076 ageing officers, including 18 Lt. Colonels, 70 Colonels were relieved for retirement (such as Musa Arafat, Amin Hindi and Ismail Jaber). Arafat and Hindi were appointed as military advisors with a ministerial rank. With eight others, they were rewarded with distinguished medals. The whole process happened tactfully to the credit of the President. Within the new arrangement, the National Security, Police, Preventive Security and Civil Defense Forces were placed under the Interior Minister while the President controls the General Intelligence. Pending future plans, Force 17 and the Military Intelligence are also under the President's command.

The reshuffling process became necessary in light of the mutual truce to have a ceasefire. Any violation would be taken seriously. The “Muqata'a crisis” which involved shooting at the President's headquarters and damaging public and private premises in Ramallah by Al Aqsa Brigades was taken seriously. It led to the resignation of Tawfik Tirawi, Head of the General Intelligence in Ramallah who later withdrew the resignation.

A presidential decree was issued to support the Interior Minister's decision to ban any security officials to have any unconcerted contacts with anybody. The security forces foiled a number of planned military operations, destroyed a number of tunnels between Gaza and Egypt as well as detaining a number of Islamic militants.

The merger and restructuring the security forces did not contribute to alleviate the chaotic conditions or criminal incidents (in which competing security figures were often involved with scores of victims). Clearly, the issue cannot be resolved with certain orders and cosmetic changes but by the existence of political will and implementing previous rulings.

In a relevant issue, disputes surfaced between the Military Intelligence and the Special Units. The former staged protest marches in Gaza complaining from the Interior Minister's decision to appoint two heads to the force (in Gaza and the West

Bank). It was perceived to be a prelude to get rid of the Military Intelligence which demanded re-installing their previous commander. The Interior Minister rejected their demands or merging them under his command. Similarly, the Special Units members staged demonstrations in Ramallah, Jenin and Tulkarem protested against the Interior Minister's decision to incorporate them with the National Security Forces. They were particularly indignant to the appointment of Lt. Colonel Bashir Nafe' as Head of the West Bank Military Intelligence on June 8.

The flurry of the Interior Ministry's activities came at the backdrop of the mission of US General William Ward. Putting the house in order in relation with the security establishments and getting rid of over-lapping is viewed as crucial from the US/European and Israeli perspective to secure calm on the ground and counter Palestinian factions. In addition, it is necessary to have a smooth Israeli withdrawal, so that it will not appear as running away under fire as was the case when Israel left Lebanon in the year 2000.

At another level, the PA received 100 vehicles supplied by special security equipment from Spain. In fact, 20 million dollars were earmarked to upgrade the Palestinian police in an agreement sponsored by General Ward and the head of the EU office. Around 45,000 persons were enrolled in security courses. However, the Ministry of Interior faced a serious financial crisis. A number of Tulkarem Fatah security teams resigned for failure of receiving salaries. In other instances, public buildings were attacked in Bethlehem, Khan Younes and others by security elements demanding the improvement of their conditions. This became part of the chaotic conditions exacerbated by cases of kidnapping foreigners.

On the positive side, the Preventive Security managed to uncover a major network of forging all kinds of documents ranging from land title deeds to driving permits, IDs and university certificates of all levels. Furthermore, ten kilograms of marijuana were caught and the case of a murder in the village of Qibya exposed. Another case involving the theft of 160 thousand shekels in Qalqilya led to the capture of the perpetrator. The same happened with the armed burglars of the Arab Bank branch in Askar, Nablus. Another collaborator involved in the killing of scores of combatants through informing Israeli special units during the first Intifada was referred to prosecution.

The Head of the General Intelligence revealed that the PA requested Jordan to hand in two leading officials involved in corruption, with the case pursued by the Attorney General.

To allow the Interior Ministry to fulfill its obligations, Israel allowed it to acquire weapons and Egyptian armored cars with US support. Russian officers were also involved in training the police. The Interior Minister incorporated 2500 militants in the security establishments, most of them from Fatah. Reports indicated that 20% of the stolen vehicles that were captured were with security elements. The Ministry of Interior ordered that security people are not allowed to enter universities in their official uniform.

The Ministry of Interior ordered its staff and the public not to quit the areas that Israel decided to evacuate in order to establish a buffer zone by leveling the lands. It also succeeded in tracing a Jenin wanted person through the Interpol after he ran away to Jordan. Reports that the PA complied with Israeli demands not to execute collaborators were denied. With the murder of scores of militants, the issue of collaborators surfaced again. In fact, four Gaza collaborators were executed.

The Minister of Interior issued orders calling for cooling up and calm. He asserted that the law will be firmly applied and the PA is the only party in charge and no targeting of Israeli settlements would be condoned. Orders were given to prevent shooting rockets on the settlements with strict control of civilians carrying arms. Clearly, such measures clash with the positions of various factions such as Hamas, Jihad, Al Aqsa Brigades and Fatah's popular resistance groups.

The focus of the Security establishments was to maintain the truce and the understandings between the PA and Israel. The main issue was disarming dissident groups by force if necessary. In fact, more than 200 of the 500 wanted persons pledged to abide by the calm after getting jobs with the PA. Despite US and Palestinian demands to provide armaments to the security forces, Israel rejected demanding the disarmament of various factions.

Table 27a: Deaths in Palestinian Detention Centers according to 1994 – 2005⁷⁵

Year	Gaza	West Bank	Total	Percentage
1994	1	0	1	3.2 %
1995	4	5	9	29 %
1996	1	2	3	9.7 %
1997	2	4	6	19.4 %
1998	0	2	2	6.4 %
1999	0	1	1	3.2 %
2000	0	1	1	3.2 %
2001	3	2	5	16.1 %
2002	3		3	9.6%
2003	0	0	0	0
2004	0	0	0	0
2005	0	0	0	0
Total	14	17	31	100%

Table 27b: Deaths by Palestinians and Palestinian security forces from September 29, 2005 -December 31, 2005

Way of Death	Number of Deaths
Killed while in detention	6
Executed	2
Accidental killings	115
Palestinians and Palestinian security forces	28
Total	151

Table 28: Deaths in Palestinian prisons according to the Security Apparatus 1994-2005

Apparatus	Gaza	West Bank	Total	Percentage
General Intelligence	5	5	10	31 %
Preventive Security	2	6	8	25.8 %
Military Intelligence	3	3	6	19.4 %
Crime Police	3	2	5	15.5 %
Naval Police	0	1	1	3.1 %
Force 17	1	0	1	3.1 %
Total	14	17	31	100 %

⁷⁵ Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group and Other sources; List of Deaths in Palestinian Detention Centers.

Table 29: Time period that detainees spent from the time detained until their death

Duration in days	Number	Percentage
1-3	9	29 %
4-14	8	25.8 %
15-30	3	9.7 %
More than a year	11	35.5 %
Total	31	100 %

PA Prestige and Internal Security

The last quarter of the year was remarkably chaotic with a series of violent incidents. Denominational clashes erupted in Taybeh and Deir Jrir over the death of a woman in early September. The issue was blown out of proportion attracting press coverage and evoking Christian/Moslem tension. Armed clashes also occurred in Beit Hanoun between Al Masri and Kafarneh families causing the death of eight and wounding 100 including a policeman. It took several days to bring the armed clashes to a halt. A drug gang attacked the Shija'iyah police station to secure the release of one of its detained members. This was the second similar attack in that station and resulted in the killing of a policeman and a young bystander. A series of murders and theft occurred with shooting incidents including the absurd theft of the lion and lioness of the only zoo in the Gaza Strip at the end of November. The decline in order reached an unprecedented form reflecting the impotence of the security establishments.

In addition, there was a series of kidnappings of foreigners from Australian, US, British, Austrian and French nationalities. Although all of the kidnapped were safely released, since the demands of the kidnappers were for protest reasons, serious damage was done to the image of the Palestinians. In one instance, French President Chirac personally interfered on behalf of a kidnapped French journalist threatening to cut off all aid to the PA. In early August, Farouk Kaddoumi announced the formation of a "popular army." A few days later, there were clashes between Fatah militants and the Preventive Security resulting in the arrest, and later release, of Kaddoumi's representative in Gaza. Regardless of the pretexts to have militias, this is a destabilizing phenomenon that is counterproductive.

The decline in public order was pathetic at all levels with almost the total absence of the authority.

Condemnations became common but to no avail. In addition to live ammunition, hand grenades and rocket launchers were utilized. The Security Establishments are far from getting the job done.

In a more serious development, around 100 armed persons attacked on September 7 the home of Musa Arafat, the President's military advisor and the previous commander of the military intelligence in his residence that is at a close distance from the preventive security headquarters and the president's compound. Arafat was murdered while his son Manhal was kidnapped for two days. Hamas denied any involvement while Manhal claimed that Palestinian groups were involved in the murder of his father.

The Interior Ministry claimed that the perpetrators escaped to Egypt through Rafah. However, companions of Arafat were subject to killing or attempted killing during the following month.

At another level, Lt. Colonel Bashir Nafe' Head of the Special Units and Head of the West Bank Military Intelligence was murdered with three other Palestinians in the explosions that rocked Amman in November. As a result, both the special units and the Military Intelligence were eliminated within three months. With the disappearance of the two top officials, the security establishments were merged into three formations.

Internal Clashes

The phenomenon of militarizing political differences within the Palestinian context is an alarming element aggravating the situation. In July, clashes between Hamas and the PA lasted for several days and threatened an all out eruption. Fiery statements charged the atmosphere with Abbas declaring on May 30 that the days of suicide operations are over and that there is only one authority. On the other hand, Mahmoud Zahhar and other Hamas figures accused the authority of corruption and called for the continuation of resistance. Jibril Rajoub added fuel by claiming that Hamas has a plan to take over the PA while Muhammad Dahlan told Haaretz that Hamas was planning a military puch against the authority with the support of Sharon who

reiterated that Abbas is weak. Dahlan added that Sharon is surprised that the PA has not collapsed already. There was also news that Hamas is organizing a popular “Murabitoun” army, thus increasing the imminence of confrontation.

Armed clashes were repeated as the Preventive Security tried to prevent Hamas from launching rockets into Israel with each side blaming the other. After several days of clashes and victims, the clashes stopped on July 16. The Interior Ministry declared an emergency situation calling to maintain the truce. Despite reaching an accord following public pressure and Egyptian mediation, tensions remain high with each side sticking to its guns and the likelihood of an explosion along the way.

With the Interior Ministry’s regular emphasis that the PA is the sole body to carry weapons, clashes occurred again when the General Intelligence claimed that Hamas kidnapped one of its members. In retaliation, the Intelligence kidnapped two Hamas members followed by clashes that started in Al Daraj Quarter in Gaza and spread to the West Bank. The Hamas affiliated Engineering Dean at Al Najah University was kidnapped and there was shooting at the home of another Hamas militant in Tulkarem.

Hamas did not retaliate and denied involvement in the kidnapping of the General Intelligence official. Similarly, Al Aksa Brigades also denied kidnapping Hamas members. Tensions ran high following the explosion of a vehicle during a Hamas parade to celebrate the Israeli withdrawal in Jabalya. The Ministry of Interior held Hamas responsible for the death of the three victims while Hamas claimed that the explosion was a result of an Israeli guided rocket and that the PA was covering up for Israel and implicating it.

Another explosion occurred in a Shuja’iya home in Gaza with several victims. The Said family held Hamas responsible for the technical failure that led to the explosion. The Interior Ministry took the initiative of launching an offensive against all those having weapons other than the PA. It threatened owners of weapon workshops and called for the need to maintain the truce. With all the pressure, Hamas seemed ready for a compromise over the issue.

The position with the Islamic Jihad was more confrontational. With continued rocket attacks, 42 Jihad members were put under arrest. The PA managed to foil 17

operations and 70 infiltration attempts and intersect 32 rocket attacks. The tensions between the two sides deteriorated further with the hunger strike in the Jericho prison on September 7 where there were nine Jihad and two Aqsa Brigades members. There was a deliberate negligence of the strike at all levels. With the detention of the 42 Jihad members, the shadows of political detentions were back. When Birzeit University students protested at the Muqata'a, the arrest of one of their colleagues, they were dispersed by force. Following a strike in the University, the detainee was released. The situation indicated that security encroachments are on the rise.

Strengths:

1. There is little that can be appreciated at the level of internal security with the serious chaotic decline other than the resolution of certain civil crimes – nothing to compare with the violations of the security establishments.
2. The merger of the various security agencies was supposed to regulate matters, which is not what happened on the ground.
3. Several attempts to restore the security establishments, following the severe blows by the Israelis over the last five years, failed to be up to the standard.
4. Placing most of the security establishments under the authority of the Interior Ministry.
5. The restructuring and merger of the security forces with the retirement of old officers are bound to improve performance.

Weaknesses:

1. If negligence in fulfilling duties is a problem, then what about those assigned to protect becoming the source of the problems.
2. Armed protests by security establishments undermine the prestige of the PA.
3. Assassinations and assaults on public figures.
4. Extra-judicial killing of collaborators.
5. The phenomena of groups using arms.
6. Kidnapping of internationals with all the negative effects.
7. Certain security personnel abusing their role and undermining public security.

1.1.4 Local Government

There are 708 population centers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip having 509 local councils. Out of 460 such centers in the West Bank, there are 142 lacking water networks and 56 with no public electricity. In the Gaza Strip, there are five concentrations with no water or electric networks. The total internal road networks are 10 thousand kilometers with only 25% fit while 65% need maintenance. In general, the local councils lack financial resources as a result of failure to collect revenues. In addition, the PA has to provide between 12 to 18 million dollars to cover the deficit of electricity supplies. Most municipalities and local councils are in the red. To deal with the issue, an initial 120-million dollars local councils fund was established to develop the work. There is also an emergency fund. The midterm development plan targets to have 1.2 billion dollars to assist the needs of the local councils. The Ministry of Local Government devised a system to manage a unified accounting and budgeting procedures to all councils. Most of the municipalities have customer service departments. The Minister signed a 103-million euros deal with the EU to support food security and provide potable water. A complaints unit was established at the Ministry headquarters in Ramallah. Several municipalities took action to deal with encroachments and contribute to developmental activity.

This year was the local council elections *par excellence*. All councils were elected in four election phases awaiting the fifth annual round. At first the Ministry and the Higher Council for local councils operated jointly before the latter assumed responsibility alone into the fourth phase. Currently, meetings are held to have the job done through the CEC. Khaled Kawasmi was the Minister of local councils while Jamal Shobaki headed the Higher Council of Local Council Elections.

The final results of the first phase for the West Bank were announced on January 16. There were disruptions for the ten local councils in the Gaza Strip due to Israeli measures. A total of 414 candidates (86 of them women) competed for 118 seats. There were 83,700 eligible voters, of whom 60480 participated (a turnout of 72% on January 27.) There were 48 election centers with 11 dealing with the Civil Registry and the rest with voters' lists that had 62433 eligible voters. The turnout was 85% with 52,968 who exercised the right to vote. As for the Civil Registry, 21,267 were eligible and 6366 actually voted (30%). Although half of the voters were women, only 17% win bringing in 20 women.

The second phase was held on May 5 with an 80% turnout to vote in 84 local councils in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. There were 2519 candidates competing on 906 seats in 784 voting stations and the participation of 400,600 voters.

There was a controversy between Fatah and Hamas as to the reading of the election results. Fatah had 50 to 58 percent of the council seats while Hamas had between 26 and 34 percent. The results brought 499 seats to Fatah and 299 to Hamas, while independents had 73 seats, PFLP 25, PDFLP 8, Jihad 2 and one for the People's Party. Support to Hamas was less than the first round. However, it managed to sweep the big cities such as Qalqilya and Rafah. In Al Ram, the elections were postponed to May 19 due to disputes among various clans. Eventually, 5462 voted in Al Ram in 11 stations where 24 candidates, with two women, ran to fill up 15 seats. The voter turnout was dismal.

Fatah contested the outcome of the Gaza elections in three locations: Rafah, Beit Lahia and Beit Hanoun where Hamas had a landslide. Tensions ran high. Although a court decision ordered to hold the elections again a few days later, it was decided by the national follow-up committee to postpone the elections due to mutual threats.

The second phase of elections indicated an increasing polarization between Fatah and Hamas and the likelihood of armed clashes. The follow-up committee decided against the court ruling to avoid possible bloodshed.

The third phase was held on September 29 and the fourth on December 15 according to the amended law based on the 132 lists of local council elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The pending Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and some parts in the North of the West Bank required postponement in 27 precincts (all Jenin and Gaza Strip, two precincts in Nablus leaving it with Hebron to the fourth phase).

Observers testified that the third and fourth phases ran, by and large, smoothly with some flaws, here and there. In the third phase, 319 lists were formally registered with 88 for Fatah and 55 for Hamas to compete for 1018 seats in 104 precincts. Participation was 81%, with only one precinct having a sole list. The results reflected the actual size of each faction since no list is allowed to declare party affiliation without acquiring a formal approval from the faction that it claims to represent. As such, Fatah led in 51 councils, Hamas had 13 while 22 lists won by default and there were 40 unaffiliated lists. In terms of seats, Fatah had 546 and Hamas 256,

PFLP had 50 while the People's Party, the Democratic Front and the Islamic Jihad had 17, 13 and 3 respectively.

Through coalition agreements with other factions, Fatah secured 78 councils, with 14 others in formation. The detainees demanded the PA to be able to participate. The crisis within Fatah surfaced again when the five-member Fatah bloc in the eleven-member Hizma council resigned following a challenge from an unofficial Fatah list that won three seats and went into a coalition with Hamas.

The fourth phase was a test since it was close to the date of the PLC elections. With 148 thousand eligible voters for 414 local council seats with 1321 candidates (of whom 266 were women) in 40 precincts. The turnout was 83% with Hamas sweeping the big cities. In Nablus, 13 seats for Hamas and only two for Fatah, El Bireh, 8 for Hamas, 4 Fatah, and 3 to the left and independents. Undoubtedly, the mess within Fatah played a major role in alienating the grassroots with the movement's inability to draw up the lessons.

During the fourth phase, the Higher Committee for the Local Council Elections restricted on November 20 the number of observers for each faction to only two for each precinct. There were also protests to adjourn the Hebron elections to the fifth phase by a presidential decree. The Council also declared that the first meeting of the Ramallah elected municipal council is illegal since the court was still reviewing contesting allegations.

In Nablus, the new municipal appointments were also contested. The municipal workers staged a hunger strike in protest of not confirming 1600 of the 2000 employees in water services in their jobs. Only 450 municipal workers have stable jobs. They demanded salary increases as well. Eventually, the municipal council resigned in protest over the deterioration of public order. The Minister of Local Government rejected the resignation insisting that the council should continue operating until the elections.

In Gaza city, garbage collection was disrupted due to financial shortage with the municipality having a 68-million shekel debt. The mayor of Jenin accused the Water Authority for the responsibility in the chronic shortage of water. All of the Gaza local councils warned from the financial insecurity calling up for the PA intervention to redeem the situation with the increasing debts. In response, the PA announced the

establishment of a fund to support the local councils with a contribution of 100 million shekels, starting from the following year. The step followed the strike held by Rafah municipality workers who failed to receive their salaries. It was announced that 105 million dollars would be available in the form of grants to support local councils. However, attacks on local council heads continued. In Jabaliya, municipal workers suspended work for three days following the attack on the mayor who rejected some people to build on public land. The head of the Hizma local council was also attacked while the mayor of Qalqilya was placed under administrative detention. There were sporadic cases of assaults and even arson in certain local council buildings. The cars of Beit Lid and Anabta local council heads were torched while the mayor of Tulkarem faced shooting at his home. In response, there were demands to reinforce the role of the police.

At another level, there was a controversy over the participation of 11 local councils (7 from the West Bank and 4 from Gaza Strip) in an encounter with Israeli local councils in Spain under the title of the Encounter of Civilizations against “terror.” On the other extreme, a wave of protests ensued when Qalqilya Municipality banned a musical event of Ammar Hasan in July organized by the popular art center. The Chief Judge supported the ban indicating that Taliban types of tendencies were in the horizon following the landslide victory of Hamas in Qalqilya.

Strengths:

1. With the completion of the four phases of local council elections, this year was a year for democratic formation par excellence.
2. Of particular importance was that the elections were held in a fair and orderly manner.
3. It is too early to evaluate the performance of the elected councils. However, it is encouraging that new blood has been infused in the process.
4. Women's participation can also be underlined.
5. The efforts of the Ministry of Local Government in regulating management procedures are also a step in the right direction.
6. The smooth transition in the takeover of the winning candidates is also a favorable step towards the public goal.

Weaknesses:

1. Disputes in a number of locations kept a negative impact, particularly that the final phase is not complete yet.
2. Local councils still lack funds restricting the implementation of projects.
3. Revenue collection is dismal.

1.1.5. General Control Bureau

The General Control Bureau issued a report concerning cases of swindling in the Gaza Lawyers' Union and referred an alleged culprit to prosecution. Some members of the Lawyers' Union were accused of obstructing the work of the Bureau, contrary to the law.

The President issued a decree substituting the General Control Bureau with the "Financial and Administrative Monitoring Body." Dr. Mahmoud Abu Al Rub was appointed as head heralding a phase where public performance is in line with efficient procedures.

A website indicates the work plan for 2006 with seasonal reports exposing various deviations and mechanisms to deal with matters, according to the law.

The Financial and Administrative Monitoring Body adopted a system of control through preventive, disciplinary and performance procedures to intercept deviations.

The parties falling under the scrutiny of the controlling body are:

- a) The Public Sector including the Presidency, Council of Ministers, Security Establishments, the PLC and the judicial authorities at all levels.
- b) The municipalities and local councils.
- c) NGOs and CSOs.
- d) Public institutions, funds and companies owned or shared by the PA.

The control involves supervising all procedures in a concerted form based on international standards. It holds all public officials, regardless of rank, answerable to all functions and the public sector in an indirect form.

A mechanism was also put in place to probe into any incoming complaints and take measures to rectify matters. In addition, indicators to economic growth and performance would be reviewed and rectified.

Strengths:

1. Changes at the top level are bound to improve the performance of control.

Weaknesses:

1. Changing the name does not mean much, if it is not coupled with more comprehensive changes.
2. Failing to publish the annual report is a serious failure that needs to be addressed.

1.2. Legislative Authority

1.2.1. Legislative Council

The PLC was a focus of attention in light of the deteriorating security conditions and the failure to bring down the government. There were allegations that the PLC attempted to obstruct the elections and extend its mandate through the Fatah bloc initiative on March 6. The Council resumed its 10th round on March 9 with the President opening the session and the new government of “technocrats” sworn in with a majority of 54 votes against 12 with four members abstaining.

Another focus was the pending elections that deferred the ouster of the government.

The PLC approved on February 3 the first reading of the General Elections Law following an elaborate discussion and increased the seats into 132 instead of 88 and cancelled the quota of women. In the session held on April 27, there were protests over the faction agreement in Cairo to combine the proportional and regional representation forms. PLC member Hasan Khreisheh had announced that the Council would adjourn by June pending the PLC elections. At a later phase, Khreisheh and other members threatened to resign following the assault by armed members of the military intelligence on the Gaza PLC premises destroying furniture and torching PLC members’ cars. Released detainees also broke into the PLC demanding job security.

The PLC failed to deal with the issue of public disorder despite the declaration that it will remain in session until resolving the problem. At the end of the day, it granted confidence to the government. Fearing that the violence would get to the PLC’s doorsteps, a decision was taken on March 8 to form a special force to protect the parliament. The speculation proved to be right. Thousands of workers broke into the PLC in protest of their living conditions. PLC member Ahmad Al Batsh was shot at on April 13. Earlier there was shooting at the home of Jamil Tarifi. The PLC demanded immediate action to protect its members.

The PLC welcomed the President’s initiative to deal with the issue of corruption and abuse of authority. It warned from Israel’s conniving with Jewish extremists seeking to break into Al Aqsa Mosque. A decision was taken to collect one Jordanian dinar

from all PA employees to support Jerusalem. There was also a call for a peaceful upheaval in protest against the Apartheid wall. Another call was for holding an international parliamentary meeting in Ramallah in support of Jerusalem. The issue of the teachers was also raised, calling upon the Prime Minister to deal with the issue. The PLC also withdrew the recognition from Greek Orthodox Patriarch Ironeus for alleged involvement in leaking real estate to extremist Jewish settlers. Israeli guidelines on the issue of releasing detainees were rejected, calling for a clear time frame for their release. The PLC also called for adopting principles for the distribution of aid and proper storage of supplies. Actually, hundreds of unemployed graduates protested on February 13 outside the PLC premises in Khan Younes while Hamas readiness to participate in the forthcoming elections was hailed.

Table 30: Distribution of Legislative Council Sessions On parliamentary periods ⁷⁶

	First Session	Second Session	Third Session	Fourth Session	Fifth Session	Sixth Session	Seventh Session	Eighth Session	Ninth Session	Tenth Session
Ordinary Meeting	38	30	21	14	19	8	7	14	19	23
Extraordinary Meeting	4	4	11	8	3	2	4	12	6	11
Secret Meeting	1	2	2	1	1	-	-	0	0	1
Meeting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Total	43	36	34	23	23	10	11	26	28	35

⁷⁶ Based on the laws and proposals mentioned in this report's appendix until 9/2/2005.

1.2.2. Legislation and Laws

Table 31: Establishing Laws while Negotiating During 2005⁷⁷

#	Law Proposal	Issue
1	Issued by the President	23
2	Referred to the President	3
3	General Budget Proposal by the Committee	1
4	Second Reading and Returned to the Cabinet	1
5	Second Reading	Zero
6	Third Reading	Zero
7	First Reading	Zero
8	Accepted By the General Discussion	15
9	Referred to special Opinion Committees	13
10	Merged	2
11	Laws Published in the Official Gazette	33

1.Laws Proposed by the PLC and Issued by the President

Law Number	Law	Issue Date
95/2002/E	Amendment Law Amending 1998's Rehabilitation Centers' law No. 6	11/1/2005
70/2000/E	Illegal Profits	8/1/2005
167/2004/E	Amendment Law Amending 2001's Court Creation Law No. 5	15/1/2005
157/2004/MO	Amendment Law Amending 2001's Civil and Commercial Contracts' Law No. 2	-/3/2005
126/2003/MO	Amendment Law Amending 1998's Civil Service Law No. 4	2/4/2005
162/2004/MO	General Retirement	26/4/2005
110/2003/MO	Welfare Fund	26/4/2005
169/2004/A	Security Forces	4/6/2005
176/2004/MO	Amendment Law Amending 2003's Agricultural Law No. 2	20/6/2005
98/2002/L	Amendment Law Amending Elections Law	13/8/2005
192/2005/L	Amendment Law Amending 2003's Basic Law	13/8/2005
193/2005/A	Amendment Law Amending 1996's Local Committees' elections law No. 5	15/8/2005
199/2005/L	Amendment Law Amending 1996's Local Committees' elections law No. 5	29/8/2005
191/2005/MO	Diplomatic Relations	24/9/2005
81/2001/MO	Management of Orphans Property Association	28/9/2005
113/2003/L	Amendment Law Amending 2002's Judicial Authority Law No. 1	11/10/2005
122/2003/L	Insurance	13/10/2005
180/2005/MO	General Intelligence	26/10/2005

⁷⁷ Palestinian Legislative Council's documents.

196/2005/E	Amendment Law Amending 2004's Palestinian Security's salaries and insurance law No. 16	23/10/2005
136/2004/MO	Consumer Protection	1/11/2005
133/2003/MO	Highest Constitutional Court	29/12/2005
192/2001/MO	Execution	22/12/2005
190/2005/E	Palestinian Flag Desecration	22/12/2005

2.General Budget for the PNA

Law #	Law	Date
185/2005/MO	2005 General Budget	31/3/2005

3.Proposed Laws in the Palestinian Legislative Council Accepted for the General Discussion

Proposal #	Law	General Discussion
115/2003/E	Palestinian Youth	6/1/2005
131/2003/MO	Forensic Science	6/1/2005
114/2003/E	Associations	14/3/2005
143/2004/MO	Trade Associations	14/3/2005
138/2004/MO	Land	5/4/2005
188/2005/E	Right to Receive Information	5/4/2005
184/2005/E	Citizens' Rights Independent Union	10/5/2005
87/2001/E	Unemployment Insurance	10/5/2005
201/2005/E	Creation of Military Courts	19/9/2005
204/2005/MO	Higher Education	18/10/2005
206/2005/MO	Increase Legal Age for Islamic Scholars	9/11/2005
207/2005/MO		9/11/2005
170/2004/E		22/11/2005
209/2009/MO	Palestinian Security	22/11/2005
212/2005/L	Palestinian Prevention Security	22/11/2005

4. Proposed Laws by the Palestinian Legislative Council referred to Committees for debate

Proposal #	Law	Referred to Committees
177/2204/MO	Amendment Law Amending 98's General Supplies Law No. 9	4/1/2005
178/2005/MO	National Security Council	5/1/2005
179/2005/MO	Veterinarian Association	29/1/2005
181/2005/MO	Palestinian Police	15/2/3005
182/2005/MO	National Security	15/2/2005
189/2005/E	Journalism	25/4/2005
195/2005/E	Social Workers Union	23/8/2005
197/2005/MO	Amendment Law Amending Ancient Monuments' 1929 No. 5 Law and 1966 No. 51 Law	23/8/2005
208/2005/MO	Social Work	9/11/2005
210/2005/MO	Commercial Agents	9/11/2005
213/2005/MO	Islamic Estates	22/11/2005
216/2005/E	Wounded Care	27/11/2005
218/2005/MO	Information and the Internet	27/11/2005

5. Proposed Laws that were Merged into One

Proposal #	Law	General Discussion
201/2005/E	Military Punitive Courts	19/9/2005
202/2005/E	Military Law	19/9/2005

6. Proposed Laws by the PLC that were referred to the President and Not Signed

Proposal #	Law	Date
74/2000/E	Combating Smoking	29/1/2005
137/2004/MO	General Debt	19/11/2005
183/2005/L	President's Compensations	8/12/2005

7. Proposed Laws by the PLC sent for a Second Reading and referred to the Cabinet

Proposal #	Law	Date
165/2004/L	Amendment Law Amending 2002's Monetary Branch's law No. 1	3/2/2005

The Council condemned the police for breaking into Gaza's PLC headquarters leading to a death with no follow-up. It also condemned the seven-year sentence delivered to PLC member Husam Khader who has been detained by Israel for 30 months. A committee was appointed to follow up the issue of President Arafat's death. On March 31, the proposed PA budget was approved. On several occasions, the PLC issued statements related to the attacks on its premises as well as the issue of Jerusalem. The PLC Information Department together with the Legal Department issued the first volume of all PLC resolutions, until the end of the ninth round, with the approval of the President. Also, a decision was taken concerning products smuggled from settlements into the Palestinian market. It was also decided that the field of telecommunications would be open in front of local and international companies.

1.2.3. Parliamentary Monitoring

The PLC requested that the PLC forms a special committee to look into the issue of public lands and present a detailed report within two weeks, as of January 3. The step followed the revelation by the Economic Committee that serious violations were committed on public property by various officials.

The Economic Committee held a meeting with the Minister dealing with IT to expose the performance and all aspects related to internet companies as well as the computer fund of PALTEL and the Ministry. There was a call to speed up the PLC decision to regulate the operation of telecommunications. A discussion was also held with the Economy Minister over the issue of direct import of cars with no local agents as well as the economic implications of the Gaza pull-out. The Minister of Education was summoned following the teachers' warning strike on April 6.

The PLC insisted that the PA cannot proceed with the Two Seas Project without clearance from the Council. The Monitoring and Human Rights Committee held a session to discuss conditions of the Civil Defense. The Budget Committee demanded an interrogation into the establishment of an electricity generating company at a time when 130 million dollars of PA funds are earmarked for electricity. The issue of the failure of the National Water Council was also raised.

The Finance and Interior ministers were also questioned over the deteriorating security condition and the sale of the PA's shares to the Algerian Telecommunications

Company (ORASKEM). The Budget Committee evoked the issue of the public debt and the risks of the loans taken by the PA. In fact, the public debt was 1.33 billion dollars, which consists of 34% of the GDP. The PLC also held a session to discuss the issue of workers in the health services demanding salary increases, in the presence of the Health Minister. The Council declared that it would consider blocking confidence in the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs for failing to respond to a summons's call from the Monitoring and Human Rights Committee.

1.2.4 Council Committees

The PLC Affairs Committee held a session to discuss the reform and the development of the PLC project and approved it based on the document of 2002.

The Economic Committee approved the first reading of the General Electricity bill. It also discussed the Chambers of Commerce bill, the Amended Agriculture bill, and compensating those affected by the first Gulf war. A session was held to probe into the impact of the security situation on the economy.

The Interior and Security Committee discussed the Planning and Construction bill, and the bill to support martyrs' families. It also delved into the Bill related to General Intelligence and other security organs.

The Budget and Financial Affairs Committee discussed the Military Service Bill as a prelude to present it for first reading. It rejected the proposed amendments to the Retirement Law but endorsed that the last salary is the bases of retirement benefits. It also discussed the Security Forces bill. It revealed that the national debt by October 16, 2005 was 1.339 billion dollars, which constitutes 35% of the 2005 GDP. The PA deficit for 2006 is expected to reach 950 million dollars. A session was held to listen to the supervisor of Insurance companies.

The Education and Social Affairs Committee met a number of pharmacists that exposed the difficulties they face and the need to have a bill to regulate their work. The issue of the shortage of medication was also discussed. The Youth and Sports bill was referred to another kitchen committee. The bills concerning the Martyr Families and Teachers' Strikes were discussed. A proposal was presented to form a shadow government to monitor and control the functioning of the ministries.

The Jerusalem Committee:

The **Lands and Settlement, the Economic and the Legal Committees** held a joint meeting to discuss the alleged sale of properties belonging to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate to Jewish extremist groups. They insisted that this is a very serious matter in the process of the judaization of Jerusalem. **The Jerusalem Committee** complained that, following the closure of Orient House and the death of Arafat, there are no terms of reference or an address to deal with various matters of concern such as house demolitions, taxes and withdrawal of residence permits.

The Refugees' Committee hailed the decision of Beirut to allow the refugees in Lebanon to be able to work in all fields.

The Monitoring and Human Rights Committee condemned the desecration of the bodies of Palestinian martyrs, as reported in Haaretz with the autopsy of Mansour Taha Muhammed in 2000. It discussed complaints about house demolitions, encroachment on public property and the deteriorating security. It summoned the directors of the Health and Justice Ministers to discuss the break-in of General Intelligence members into the Forensic Institute. The Committee rejected the decision by the religious courts to raise the age of children custody to fifteen.

Strengths:

1. The PLC was quite active in the field of legislation.
2. Of particular importance was the amendment of the Legislative elections.
3. The Council focused on relevant issues, such as unlawful profit, encroachment on public property.

Weaknesses:

1. It was a tough year for the PLC. The government of technocrats deprived members of joining in.
2. There were attempts to extend membership in the PLC.
3. The wavering in supporting or opposing the government hampered the functioning of both parties.
4. There was a serious decline in the functioning of the PLC compared to the previous six years. It was like a termination process.

1.3. The Judicial Authority

1.3.1. The Judicial Structure

The efforts of the Presidency to enhance the role of the Judicial Authority to find a way out from the rift between the Ministry of Justice and the Supreme Judicial Council were futile. The amendment that was introduced in the Judicial Authority Law faced certain difficulties in the PLC. However, the expansion of the Supreme Judicial Council and the responsibility to supervise courts has renewed differences and lack of cooperation.

The formation of the Higher Constitutional Court was intended to ensure the conformity of PLC legislation with the principles enshrined in the Basic Law. The situation of the judicial system kept deteriorating with the head and members of the Criminal Court in Gaza attacked. A bomb was thrown at the home of the Attorney General, also in Gaza. In addition, there was an explosive outside the home of the Head of the Supreme Judicial Council who resigned and publicly criticized the PA. A public controversy erupted between the Attorney General and the Ministry of Interior when the former claimed that the perpetrators of the attacks were known to the Ministry. Over such a background, the Supreme Judicial Council resigned and the judges suspended work in May while the President issued an order promoting and appointing ten judges.

With the PLC approving the amended Judicial Authority Law, the clash between the Ministry of Justice and the Supreme Judicial Council was revived leading to the resignation of the Head of the Council. The advisor Zuheir Sourani contested, in the Constitutional Court, the legitimacy of the amended law. Meanwhile, the PLC Legal Committee asserted that it must be consulted over any new legislation, claiming that the ruling of the Constitutional Court is unlawful. The Lawyers' Union sided with the Ministry of Justice rejecting the position of the Supreme Judicial Council.

As a result, Zuheir Sourani went on retirement and Issa Abu Sharar was sworn in as Head of the Supreme Court and the Judicial Council.

1.3.2. The Attorney General

The Attorney General declared that all investigation over the issue of cement imported from Egypt failed to confirm that it was transferred into Israel or utilized in building the Apartheid wall. He completely cleared the Economy Minister from such charges. A controversy surfaced with the PLC that accused the Attorney General for covering up in several corruption cases in early August. However, the Attorney General had ordered, at the end of June, the arrest of officials in ten corruption cases and asked for the extradition of a number of the accused from Arab countries. The PLC did not seem to be impressed and demanded his expulsion, which is what happened. As such, Husein Assi was replaced by Ahmad Mughni as Attorney General and sworn-in in front of the President. He promised to investigate the case of the murder of Musa Arafat and trace the killers who escaped to Egypt. He also pledged to work closely with the police to implement the law and visited the political prisoners in Jericho.

The Supreme Court in Gaza ordered the Personnel Department and the Minister of Finance to pay the annual increment to public servants retroactively. At another level, the Head of the Religious Judiciary condemned the attack at the office of the Chief Judge in Bethany and the burglary of documents and equipment.

Gaza's First Instance Court proceeded with cases involving collaboration, murder and other crimes. There were 15 accused in killing five persons. Meanwhile, the First Instance Court reviewed 12 cases of execution ordered by state security courts. This was part of 35 cases condemned in military courts. There was also the case of a detainee in Jericho from the village of Jitt who was not released despite an order from the Supreme Court to free him immediately.

The Ramallah First Instance Court ruled in favor of PALTEL against two Israeli mobile phone companies ordering the Israeli mobile phone companies to pay 531.6 million shekels in compensation later. The case was raised in 2001.

Lawyers

The Lawyers' Union held elections and mounted protests over the chaotic conditions with the decline of the rule of law. It was done through marches, sit-ins, work

abstentions and strikes. A program was launched to upgrade member skills. Protests against political detention were renewed.

The Jerusalem lawyers raised their concerns evoking the intervention of the Minister of Justice to resolve matters. The disorder involved the assault on some lawyers in Gaza on July 21. However, the lawyers managed to build an advocacy network, in conjunction with the PLC to hold a popular meeting to enhance the law.

Table 32: 2005 Accomplishments of the Palestinian Judicial Authority

Area	Number of Judges					Number of Courts					
	Courts of First Instance	Magistrate's Court	Court of Appeals		Supreme Court	Courts of First Instance	Magistrate's Court	Court of Appeals		Supreme Court	Court of Appeals for Income Tax
West Bank	28	25	8	10	10	8	12	1	1	1	1
Gaza	22	10	7	12	12	3	5	1	1	1	1
Total	50	35	15	22	22	11	17	2	2	2	2

Table 33: Number of Judges for the Year 2004⁷⁸

Area	Number of Judges			
	Courts of First Instance	Magistrate Court	Court of Appeals	Supreme Court
West Bank	28	25	8	10
Gaza	22	10	7	12
Total	50	35	15	22

⁷⁸ Documents of the high judiciary's committee.

Weaknesses:

1. It does not seem that the Judicial Authority has drawn the lessons or heeded the Presidential and Legislative moves to reform; instead, it continued to deteriorate.
2. Despite external factors, the deterioration is largely due to the failure of the Judicial Authority to assume its role.
3. The Judicial Authority is largely paralyzed coupled with violent incidents undermining the weight of the Judiciary.
4. Many questions are raised concerning some of the appointments in the Judiciary and the prosecution.

2. Civil Society Organizations

Obviously, the Civil Society Organizations have been affected by the general circumstances ranging from the unilateral Israeli withdrawal, deteriorating security, legislative and local council elections amidst divisions of Fatah and the PA as well as with Hamas. With the lack of perspective, there were signs of a general societal collapse. CSOs basically were engaged in the legislative elections at the expense of other issues.

2.1. Political Parties

A state of polarization characterized the relationship among political parties. The emergence of a third party was unlikely leaving Fatah and Hamas, with the latter scoring new grounds.

Dialogue among the parties in Gaza and Cairo produced, with Egyptian mediation, to a one-year truce. However, skirmishes became common in several universities between the two main factions. The formation of a Higher National Follow-up Committee to tackle the unfolding problems did not resolve matters, given Hamas's boycott in Gaza.

(Reference to the Sa'adat and his companies in Jericho prison).

2.1.1. Islamic Opposition

Hamas consent to participate in the Oslo-based PA was a milestone with the upheaval in the outcome of the elections. Declarations expressing the willingness to negotiate and the existence of open channels with the US and Europe was news. However, the apparent unity in the movement is misleading. There are deep divisions at various layers both inside and outside as to the course of action.

The willingness of Hamas to participate in the legislative elections was coupled with a call to form a coalition government, which reflected a distancing away from the traditional rhetoric. There were also signs that the US would open a channel with the movement, provided it dismantles the military wing. The same position was emphasized during the meeting on June 8 with British diplomats and Hamas leadership. Ismail Haniyeh confirmed the existing contacts with Europe.

However, Hamas maintained its military posturing in parades and in reference with the leaders of the military wing. The cessation of military operations came in response to the increasing popularity and the need to accommodate the new needs. Mahmoud Zahhar did not exclude negotiations with Israel while there were reports that some Hamas members joined the PA security apparatus. The position of the Head of the Political Office was on a different wavelength, declaring that the truce will not be maintained since Israel did not comply and occupation has not ended. At stake was the issue of linking matters with the Iranian/Syrian axe confronting the US/Israeli policies in the region.

Hamas denied having differences within the movement. In 1996, it had decided to boycott on the basis that the elections were based on Oslo and the occupation was ongoing while Palestinians abroad were excluded and there were questions related to East Jerusalem. Nothing had changed, so far. However, the movement prepared efficiently to participate in the elections.

Following Hamas killing somebody by mistake, a representative delegation apologized to the family and handed in 35 thousand JDs as compensation and sponsoring the spouse and child. One of the perpetrators of the killing was detained. The Hamas gesture was viewed favorably by the public.

As for the Islamic Jihad, the course of confrontation was clear towards both the PA and Israel. It persisted in demanding the release of its prisoners with the PA and complained the exclusion of its members from the prisoner release talks in June. The position vis-à-vis the elections was divided. At first it announced boycotting on September 7 and leave its members their freedom to act. Later, it called for a postponement, pending a national Palestinian conference to put the house in order. Eventually, it vehemently rejected the whole matter.

The gap between Hamas and Jihad widened with skirmishes in Nablus. Clearly, the relationship with the PA was not any better. There were 42 Jihad members in the PA prisons while Israel continues to chase the movement.

2.1.2. The National Opposition

The Fatah Revolutionary Council convened early in the year and came up with resolutions that were described as “crucial.” The representatives met for the first

time in the West Bank since 1967 on March 3 with youth leaders, but without the Central Committee. There were 500 of them seeking to have an impact on the leadership.

In protest against the internal rifts and political impotence, 32 leading members resigned. This was followed by another 250 who left. The situation intensified with armed elements breaking into the meeting. Meanwhile, a group headed to Tunis to meet the Head of the Political Department. Attempts to keep the movement intact to hold the sixth conference in August were futile. The Central Committee adjourned the meeting until further notice following the only meeting it held in Amman in eight years in mid May. The state of frustration in Fatah reflected the general mood among the various factions.

The position of the historic leadership was weakened with the rise of the second liners composed of Al Aqsa Brigades and the militants who were seeking to revive the movement. However, there was a lack in the sense of orientation.

As a result, there were deep divisions with 11 competing factions.

The PFLP and PDFLP complained against the excessive celebrations for the Gaza withdrawal since it was merely redeployment. In Ya'bad, 48 Democratic Front members withdrew collectively for being sidestepped while its Secretary General Nayef Hawatmeh declared his desire to return through Rafah, if guarantees were secured.

Strengths:

1. The political parties became active in the wave of elections.
2. The coalitions which were formed enhance democratic pluralism.
3. Preparations for the PLC elections on multi-party lists were a step forward.
4. The dialogues among the factions were an alternative to resort to the street to resolve violent disputes.

Weaknesses:

1. With the mobilization of the two main factions, the Third Way failed to emerge as a credible force.
2. Resorting to arms and meaningless rhetoric was counterproductive in every sense.
3. There is a long way to go to elect the party representatives in a democratic manner.
4. Fatah was deeply divided and failed to tackle the various problems

2.2. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)

The Local Committee to observe elections announced on January 6 that the Local Council Elections were free and fair. It was established in 2003 with representatives from West Bank and Gaza Strip, including Jerusalem to observe presidential, legislative and local council elections. CSOs held a series of activities with the candidates with some being partisan and others to support the process in a non-partisan form.

The ATF managed to provide an umbrella through the Code of Honor that every faction signed except Hamas that approved in principle only. (However, it signed at a later phase). The Forum designed a mechanism to monitor compliance with the Code of Honor and intercept any problems. Representatives of Jerusalem took issue with the way elections were held in Jerusalem, demanding to have a unified list.

The NGO network issued a statement with concern to the future of the West Bank, following the redeployment from Gaza. It expressed objection to the proposed amendment to the law governing charitable organizations as was the tendency of the Cabinet and both the Legal and Internal Committees of the PLC. The claim was that the amendment undermines the role of the CSOs and prevents political or volunteer activity without a prior permission. Furthermore, it allows unwarranted intervention from PA organs.

The engagement of the Arab Orthodox Community in standing up against the involvement of Patriarch Ironeus played a crucial role in his impeachment. President Abbas issued a decree on July 13, 2005 ousting the Patriarch following widespread protests. A National Christian Coalition was formed to follow up matters to engage the indigenous population and prevent land sales to Israelis.

2.3. Human Rights Organizations

The Palestinian Human Rights Organizations condemned the clashes and violent expressions of various groups to promote certain issues. They organized protests against the Apartheid wall related to the ruling of the ICJ in the Hague. Killing on the background of family honor were also condemned.

In a significant step, the Palestinian Center for Human Rights in Gaza assigned

the Heckman Androus legal firm in London to prepare files against Israeli officials involved in war crimes violating the fourth Geneva Convention. As a result, ex General Doron Almog had to flee London. General Ami Ayalon canceled his trip to London for fear of arrest. British Prime Minister Jack Straw announced that he could not guarantee Ariel Sharon's being arrested in case he is on British soil.

The issue sent waves among the Israeli military worried about being arrested in Europe for war crimes. A case was also raised in New York against the previous Shabak Head Avi Dichter for his role in the killing and wounding of 165 persons in the Daraj neighborhood in Gaza on July 22, 2002.

2.4. Trade Unions and Professional Associations

The resignation of the Journalists' Union Head was a direct result for the failure to hold any elections over the last six years. Calls to activate the Union in a proper form were expressed. Protests against the intention of President Bush to bomb Al Jazeera TV were also mounted. The journalists decided to boycott all PA news for a week in response to the involvement of presidential guards in beating up some of their colleagues in Gaza. There were additional attacks on journalists, such as the shooting on Al Risala journal offices with land grenades. The engineers held a sit-in at the Prime Minister's headquarters in Ramallah demanding their rights in civil service. On the other hand, the first conference of the labor movement was held in Ramallah and El Bireh while the bylaws of the youth workers was approved.

Strengths:

1. The Palestinian CSOs were instrumental in backing up the presidential, legislative and local council elections. Particularly they managed to have the political factions endorse the Code of Honor.
2. The role in standing up against Israeli war crimes on the international scene is also central.
3. The initiatives of CSOs such as standing up against the transfer of Greek Orthodox property enhance the role of civil society.

Weaknesses:

1. While CSOs are thriving in activity, the Trade Unions are in a state of deep freeze.
2. The tendency of certain CSOs to take partisan stands undermines credibility.
3. Accusations are leveled that the CSOs are subservient to external agendas set up by funding sources. This raises the question of raising funds from the local public or private sectors.

3. Conclusions

1. The occupation forces continue oppressive measures against civilians. Roads are closed and there are movement restrictions with ongoing land confiscation and settlement building. Instead of a political settlement, coercive measures are adopted.
2. Targeting Jerusalem with racist measures aggravates the situation further.
3. Despite compromising positions and compliance with international positions, the President did not manage to have any meaningful breakthrough or be taken seriously.
4. The Palestinian people managed to present a remarkable model in the exercise of elections at various levels.
5. The election of Mahmoud Abbas on a realistic, non-rhetoric platform is also a healthy indication, together with proceeding in the legislative and local council elections.
6. Despite repeated attempts, the President failed to control the security breaches. The same applies to the judicial level that is in a pathetic shape.
7. Crisis management was the predominant feature of the government with no focus on political, security, economic or social issues. It was not clear whether a government of technocrats is a proper model of rule.
8. However, the government of technocrats initiated young resources bringing in modern standards into the various ministries.
9. The security chaos continued to deteriorate raising questions over the ability of the security establishments to cope with the situation.
10. The year 2005 was characterized with public disorder, often caused by security forces. The merger of various organs exacerbated matters undermining the standing of the PA.
11. Resorting to armed demonstrations instead of political dialogue is, clearly, a deviation from democratic practices.

12. The political will is needed to reactivate the Monitoring Bureau within the reform process.
13. The PLC was active in passing an impressive amount of legislation.
14. The focus on unlawful profits and encroachments on public property in the legislation is positive and needs to be extended.
15. Wavering between supporting and opposing the government disrupted the work of both the Cabinet and the PLC.
16. The involvement of youth and women in elected bodies is certainly a step in the right direction.
17. The Judicial Authority remains in a pathetic shape, unable to emerge as an independent body.
18. The changes of the Head of the Supreme Judicial Council, Minister of Justice and the Attorney General did not alter the endemic problems within the judicial apparatus.
19. The recurrent violent incidents further weakened the judicial apparatus.
20. Political parties were vitalized during the elections and got into coalition arrangements within the local councils enhancing political pluralism. Running for the PLC elections on various party lists was another step in that direction.
21. The ongoing political discussions need to be pursued instead of resorting to armed manifestations.
22. The achievements of Hamas is an indication that the movement is engaged in the democratic process and the will of the people.
23. The forces of the left or the third way proved to be too weak to change the polarization between the two main factors.
24. The CSOs maintained an active role in influencing the scene both internally and externally, such as raising the issue of war crimes.
25. The CSOs were particularly involved in the elections, particularly at the legislative level with the endorsement of the Code of Honor by all factions.

However, some NGOs became politically biased, raising certain questions about credibility.

26. Amidst the vitality of civil society, the trade unions remain inactive and impotent.
27. Accusations keep circulating that CSOs operate according to external agendas. This raises the need to find funding from the private or public forces in tackling specific issues, such as the role of the Orthodox community regarding the leakage of property are steps in the right direction to uphold patriotic issues.

APPENDICES



Appendix #1

Executive Committee of the PLO¹

Name	Position	Telephone	Fax
Mahmoud Abbas	Chairman of Executive Committee	08- 2822366	08-2822365
Farouq Kaddumi	Political Section	002161-233816	002161-230105
Yasser Abed Rabbo	Information Department	02-2954043	02-2954042
Zakaria Al Agha	National & International Department	08-2824428	08-2821388
Zuhdi Nashashibi	Economic Department	08-2820696	08-2826188
Samir Ghosheh	Member	02-2964989	02-2986292
Ali Ishaq	Member	02-2958797	02-2988797
Mahmoud Isma'eel	Member	08-2828271	08-2846944
Emil Jarjou'i	Member	02-2766401	02-2741540
Riad Al Khudari	Member	08-2823180	08-2837772
Abdel Rahim Mallouh ²	Member	02-2959768	02-2959767
Ghassan Shak'a	Member	09-2374690	09-2379313
Tayseer Khaled	Member	09-2385577	09-2385577
Salim Al Za'noun	Chairman Palestinian National Council	08-2826325	08-2829153

¹Yasser Arafat, Faisal Husseine, Sulaiman Najab and Yaser Amer have been died. While Dr. Abdel Rahman had already requested his release from the responsibility of the department.

²Mr. Abdel Raheem Mallouh has been arrested by the Israeli Army since 11/6/2002

Appendix # 2 Council of Ministers of the PNA

	1 st Cabinet	2 nd Cabinet	3 rd Cabinet	4 th Cabinet	5 th Cabinet	6 th Cabinet	7 th Cabinet	8 th Cabinet	9 th Cabinet
Prime Minister	Apr. 94 – June 96	June 96 – Mar. 98	Mar. 98 – June 2002	June 2002 – October 2002	October 2002 – April 2003	April 2003 – September 2003	Sept. 2003 – Nov. 2003	Nov. 2003 – present	February 2005
Finance	Yasser Arafat Mohammed Z. Nashashibi	Yasser Arafat Mohammed Z. Nashashibi	Yasser Arafat Mohammed Z. Nashashibi	Yasser Arafat Salam Faiad	Yasser Arafat Salam Faiad	Mahmoud Abbas Salam Faiad	Ahmad Qurei Salam Faiad	Ahmad Qurei Salam Faiad	Ahmad Qurei Salam Faiad
Education ³	Yasser Amer	Yasser Amer		Na'eem Abu Ehomus	Na'eem Abu Ehomus	Na'eem Abu Ehomus	Na'eem Abu Ehomus	Na'eem Abu Ehomus	Na'eem Abu Ehomus
Higher Education		Hanan Ashrawi	Munther Salah						
Information ⁴	Yasser Abed Rabbo	Yasser Abed Rabbo	Yasser Abed Rabbo	Yasser Abed Rabbo	Yasser Abed Rabbo	--	--	--	Nabil Shath
Culture	Yasser Abed Rabbo	Yasser Abed Rabbo	Yasser Abed Rabbo	Yasser Abed Rabbo	Yasser Abed Rabbo	Ziad Abu Amr	Nabil Sha'th	Yehia Yakhlef	Yehia Yakhlef
Labor	Samir Ghosheh	Samir Ghosheh	Rafiq Al Natsheh	Ghassan Elkhatieb	Ghassan Elkhatieb	Ghassan Elkhatieb	Na'eem Abu Ehomus	Ghassan Elkhatieb	Hasan Abu Libda
Social Affairs	Intisar Al Wazir	Intisar Al Wazir	Intisar Al Wazir	Intisar Al Wazir	Intisar Al Wazir	Intisar Al Wazir	Jawad Tibi	Intisar Al Wazir	
Tourism and Archaeology	Elias Freij	Elias Freij	Mitri Abu 'Eitah	Nabil Qasees	Nabil Qasees	Mitri Abu 'Eitah	Sa'eb Ereiqat	Mitri Abu 'Eitah	Ziad Al-Bandak
Planning and International Cooperation ²	Nabil Sha'th	Nabil Sha'th	Nabil Sha'th	Nabil Sha'th	Nabil Sha'th	--	--	--	
Planning	--	--	--	--	--	Nabil Qasis	Salam Faiad	Nabil Qasis	Ghassan Al-Khateib
Foreign Affairs	--	--	--	--	--	Nabil Sha'th	Nabil Sha'th	Nabil Sha'th	Naser Al-Qudwa
Jerusalem	Faisal Hussein	Faisal Hussein	Ziad Abu Zayyad	Samir Ghosheh	Samir Ghosheh	--	--	--	
Health	Abdel Hafiz Al Ashhab	Ryad Al-Za'noon	Ryad Al-Za'noon	Ryad Al-Za'noon	Ahmed Shibi	Kamal Shrafi	Jawad Tibi	Jawad Tibi	Thihni Al-Waheidi
Justice	Freih Abu Medden	Freih Abu Medden	Freih Abu Medden	Ibrahim El Doghmeh	Zuhier Suramy	Abel AlKarim Abu Salah	Sa'eb Ireiqat	Nahed Al Raies	Fareed Al-Jalad
Local Government	Sa'eb Ireiqat	Sa'eb Ireiqat	Sa'eb Ireiqat	Sa'eb Ireiqat	Sa'eb Ireiqat	Jamal Shobaki	Jamal Shobaki	Jamal Shobaki	Khalid Al-Qawasmi
Civil Affairs	Jamil Al Tari	Jamil Al Tari	Jamil Al Tari	Jamil Al Tari	-----	-----	-----	Jamil Al Tari	Mohammad Dahlan
Waqf and Religious Affairs	Hassan Tabboub	Hassan Tabboub	-----	-----	-----	-----	Ahmad Qurei	Ahmad Qurei	Yusef Salameh
Commerce and Economy ¹	Ahmad Qurei	Maher Al Masri	Maher Al Masri	Maher Al Masri	Maher Al Masri	Maher Al Masri	Salam Faiad	Maher Al Masri	Mazen Sunnokrot
Agriculture	--	Abdel Jawad Saleh	Hikmat Zeid	Rafiq El Natshea	Rafiq El Natshea	Rafiq El Natshea	Salam Faiad	Rawhi Fattooh	Walid Abed Rabbo
Industry ¹	--	Bashir Al Barghuthi	Sa'di Alkrunz	-----	-----	-----	---	--	--

Transportation & Communication	Abdel Aziz Haj Yehea	Ali AlQawasm	Ali AlQawasm	Abdel Aziz Shahin	Abdel Aziz Shahin	Abdel Aziz Shahin	Abdel Aziz Shahin	Abdel Aziz Shahin	Abdel Aziz Shahin	Metry Abu Eta	Metry Abu Eta	Sa'di Alkrunz	Abed Al Rahman Hamad	Hekmat Zeid	Sa'd Aliddin Khourmeh
Supplies ¹	--	Abdel Aziz Shahin	Abdel Aziz Shahin	Abdel Aziz Shahin	Abdel Aziz Shahin	Abdel Aziz Shahin	Abdel Aziz Shahin	Abdel Aziz Shahin	Abdel Aziz Shahin	--	--	--	--	--	--
Housing	Zakaria Al Agha	Abdel Rahman Hamad	Abdel Rahman Hamad	Abdel Rahman Hamad	Abdel Rahman Hamad	Abdel Rahman Hamad	Abdel Rahman Hamad	Abdel Rahman Hamad	Abdel Rahman Hamad	Abdel Rahman Hamad	Abdel Rahman Hamad	Abdel Rahman Hamad	Abdel Rahman Hamad	Abdel Rahman Hamad	Mohammad Ishtayyeh
Public works	--	Azzam Al Ahmad	Azzam Al Ahmad	Azzam Al Ahmad	Azzam Al Ahmad	Azzam Al Ahmad	Azzam Al Ahmad	Azzam Al Ahmad	Azzam Al Ahmad	Azzam Al Ahmad	Azzam Al Ahmad	Azzam Al Ahmad	Azzam Al Ahmad	Azzam Al Ahmad	Azzam Al Ahmad
Housing and Public works ²	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Interior	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Hany El Hasan	Hany El Hasan	Mahmoud Abbas	Abed Al Rahman Hamad	Abed Al Rahman Hamad	Naser Yousef
Post and Telecommunications ¹	--	Imad Al Faluji	Imad Al Faluji	Imad Al Faluji	Imad Al Faluji	Imad Al Faluji	Imad Al Faluji	Imad Al Faluji	Imad Al Faluji	Imad Al Faluji	Imad Al Faluji	Imad Al Faluji	Imad Al Faluji	Imad Al Faluji	Imad Al Faluji
Telecommunications	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Energy	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Abdel Rahman Hamad	Abdel Rahman Hamad	Azzam Al Shawa	Abed Al Rahman Hamad	Azham Al Ahmad	Sabri Sedam
Prisoner Affairs	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Hisham Abdel Razeq	Hisham Abdel Razeq	Hisham Abdel Razeq	Hisham Abdel Razeq	Hisham Abdel Razeq	Hisham Abdel Razeq
Environment Affairs	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Youssef Abu Safieh	Youssef Abu Safieh	Youssef Abu Safieh	Youssef Abu Safieh	Youssef Abu Safieh	Youssef Abu Safieh
Youth and Sports	Azmi Shu' aibi	Talal Sider	Talal Sider	Talal Sider	Talal Sider	Talal Sider	Talal Sider	Talal Sider	Talal Sider	--	--	--	Jamal Shobaki	Salah Al Ta'mari	Sakher Bsaiso
Parliamentary Affairs	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Nabil Amer	Nabil Amer	Nabil Amer	Nabil Amer	Nabil Amer	Nabil Amer
NGO Affairs	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Hassan Asfour	Hassan Asfour	Hassan Asfour	Hassan Asfour	Hassan Asfour	Hassan Asfour
Bethlehem 2000	--	Nabil Kassis	Nabil Kassis	Nabil Kassis	Nabil Kassis	Nabil Kassis	Nabil Kassis	Nabil Kassis	Nabil Kassis	Nabil Kassis	Nabil Kassis	Nabil Kassis	Nabil Kassis	Nabil Kassis	Nabil Kassis
Minister of State	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Salah Al Ta'mari	Salah Al Ta'mari	Salah Al Ta'mari	Salah Al Ta'mari	Salah Al Ta'mari	Salah Al Ta'mari
Secretary General	--	Ahmad Abdel Rahman	Ahmad Abdel Rahman	Ahmad Abdel Rahman	Ahmad Abdel Rahman	Ahmad Abdel Rahman	Ahmad Abdel Rahman	Ahmad Abdel Rahman	Ahmad Abdel Rahman	Ahmad Abdel Rahman	Ahmad Abdel Rahman	Ahmad Abdel Rahman	Ahmad Abdel Rahman	Ahmad Abdel Rahman	Ahmad Abdel Rahman
Secretary- General of the Presidency	--	AlTayyeb Abdel Rahim	AlTayyeb Abdel Rahim	AlTayyeb Abdel Rahim	AlTayyeb Abdel Rahim	AlTayyeb Abdel Rahim	AlTayyeb Abdel Rahim	AlTayyeb Abdel Rahim	AlTayyeb Abdel Rahim	AlTayyeb Abdel Rahim	AlTayyeb Abdel Rahim	AlTayyeb Abdel Rahim	AlTayyeb Abdel Rahim	AlTayyeb Abdel Rahim	AlTayyeb Abdel Rahim
Security Affairs	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Negotiations Affairs	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Woman Affairs	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Minister of Council Ministers	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Shaded area indicates membership at the PLC. ²The two cooperations were separated. ³ Immersed with other ministry. ⁴ Split into two ministries

Appendix #3

Official Palestinian Departments and Institutions

Palestine Legislative Council	Rawhi Fatooh	02-2958893	
Palestinian Economic Council for Development & Reconstruction (PECDAR)	Mohammad Shtayeh	02-2362300	02-2347041
Palestinian Geographic Center	Yunis Al Qawaasmi	02-2404711	02-2404712
National Center for Public Administration and Human Resource Development	Mohammad Naja	08-2829260	08-2824090
National Center for Studies and Documentation	Abdullah AlHorani	08-2865716	08-2822028
Palestinian Red Crescent Society	Yunis Khatib	02-2406515	02-2406518
Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics	Luay Shabaneh	02-2406340	02-2406343
Negotiations Affairs Department	Saeb Uraiqat	02-2963741	02-2963740
Dar Al Fatwa	Sheikh Ikrima Sabri	02-6285082	02-6285082
Diwan Al Fatwa and Legislation	Ibrahim Al Daghmeh	08-2829197	08-2829197
Personnel Department	Mohammad Abu Sharee'a	02-2980640	02-2987793
Palestinian Petrol Authority	Mahmoud Bader	02-2404988	02-2404003
Palestinian Environment Authority	Sufian Sultan	02-2929269	022929279
Palestinian Tobacco Authority	Ahmad Al Agha	02-2987561	02-2987507
Palestinian Energy and Natural Resources Authority	Omar Kitaneh	02-2986192	02-2986191
Palestinian Energy Authority	Nabil Tineh	02-2341804	02-2341388
Palestinian Water Authority	Fadel Ka'oush	08-2822696	08-2822697
Palestinian Monetary Authority	George Al-abed	02-2959920	02-2959922
Martyrs Families & Prisoners' Institution	Youssef Jubran	02-29858507	02-2986268
Civil Aviation Authority	Suleiman Abu-Halib	08-2821309	08-2821309
Palestine Standards Institution	Mazen Abu Shri'a	02-2964433	02-2965191
Political Guidance Commission	Othman Abu Gharbiyyeh	02-2987618	02-2987619
Palestinian National Archives Center	Mohammad Bheis	02-2345413	02-2345413
Government Computer Center	Ghassan Kaddah	08-2829262	08-2863900
Palestinian Curriculum Development Center	Salah Yassin	02-2406174	02-2401550
Radio & TV Authority	Radwan Abu Ayyash	02-2959890	022959893
General Control Bureau	Jarrar Al Qudweh	08-2827337	08-2821703
"Wafa" Palestinian News Agency	Ziad Abdel Fattah	08-2824036	08-2824046
Environment Authority	Yousef Abu Safieh	02-2403495	02-2403494
Non Governmental Organization Department	Hassan Asfour	02-2401370	02-2401371
Refugee Affairs Department	Mahmoud Abbas	02-2961132	02-2961313
Land Authority	Fraih Abu Median	02-2321336-4	02-2321336-4
Committee of Insurance and Salaries	Majed Al Helo	02-2966042	
High Committee of Fund and Investment	Jafar Hadeeb	02-2988791	02-2988793
Committee of Industrial Towns	Ismail Abu Shhadeh	02- 2801028	02-2801034
National Association Office	Samir Shhadeh	02- 2986623	02-2986322
Higher Learning, Science and Education Association	Jihad Qirashuli	02-2401080	02-2406333
Higher Judge Council	Tayseer al Tamimi	02-2965868	02-2965868
Harbors Authority	Ali Shaath	08-2826737	08-2826747

Appendix #4 Palestinian Security Establishments

Institution	Commander	Telephone	Fax
National Security	Naser Youssef	08-2822803	08-2829479
General Security	Suleiman Halas	08-2829425	08-2822335
General Intelligence	Tariq Abu Rajab	08-2829015	08-2829312
Military Intelligence	Merged with National Security		
Preventive Security-W.B.	Ziad Hab Al Reeh	02-2901801	02-2901807
Preventive Security- Gaza	Rashid Abu Shbak	08-2825415	08-2825044
Force 17	Faisal Abu Sharkh	08-2829323	08-2829324
Naval Police	Jawad Abu Hassan	08-2833610	08-2833620
Border Crossing Security	Nathmi Muhanna	08-6713684	08-6713685
Palestinian Security Council		02-2981371	02-2981372

Appendix #5 PNA Governorates

District	Governor	Telephone	Fax
Jerusalem	Jamil Othman Nasser	02-2799074	02-2799074
Ramallah & Al Bireh	Mustafa Al Liftawi	02-2958588	02-2986569
Hebron	Areef Al Jabari	02-2290771	02-2290770
Bethlehem	Salah Al Ta'mari	02-2741667	02-2741666
Jericho & Jordan Valley	Sami Muslim	02-2321242	02-2321291
Nablus	Said Abu Ali	09-2383046	09-2389913
Qalqilia	Mustafa Al Malki	09-2942922	09-2942922
Jenin	Cadora Musa	04-2503220	04-2503222
Tulkarem	Izildeen AlShareef	09-2673334	09-2673334
Gaza	Mohammad AlQudweh	08-2828694	08-2828684
North Gaza	Sakher Bseiso	08-2477131	08-2477130
Khan Younis	Husnie Zuorb	08-2054888	08-2054845
Rafah	Abed Al Mageed Al Agha	08-2136875	08-2136875
Central	Abdalla Abu Samhadaneh	08-2539330	08- 2539334

Appendix #6

(a) Higher Judicial Council

Head high court - Chief Judge	Zuher Al Surani
Supreme Court Judge	Fayez Hamdan Al Qidreh
Supreme Court Judge	Sami Sarsour
Judge, High Court	Mohammad Soboh
Deputy Justice Minister	Asad Mobarak
Head, Court of Appeals	Ishaq Mohanna
Head, Court of Appeals	Imad Salim
Attorney General	Hussen Abu Assi
Attorney General	Fareed Al Jallad

Appendix #6

(b) Palestinian Judiciary System

Position	Name
Head, High Court	Zuhair Al surani
Head, Court of Appeals /Gaza	Ishaq Mohanna
Head, Court of Appeals /Ramallah	Imad Salim
Attorney General	Hussein Abu Assi
Grand Mufti	Ikrima Sabri
Mufti of the Security Forces	Abdel Salam Abu Shkheidem
Chief Religious Court	Tayseer Biyoud Tamemi

Appendix #7

(a) The Speaker's Council

Speaker:	Rawhi Fattooh
1st Deputy:	Hassan Khreisheh
2nd Deputy:	Ghazi Hanania
Council Secretary:	Ahmad Nasr

(b) Committee Council

Committee Council		
No.	Name	Position
*	Rawhi Fattooh	Chairman
*	Hassan Khreisheh	1st Vice-president
*	Ghazi Hanania	2nd Vice-president
*	Ahmad Nasr	Secretary
*	Hanan Ashrawi	Political Committee
*	Abdel Fattah Hamayel	Economic Committee
*	Da'ud Alzir	Budget Committee
*	Othman Ghashash	Land Committee
*	Abd Rabbu Abu Oun	Refugee Committee
*	Mahmoud Da'as	Legal Committee
*	Musa Al Zaghhoot	Education Committee
*	Kamal Al Shara	Censorship Committee
*	Mohammad Hijazi	Interior Committee
*	Bishara Da'ud	Jerusalem Committee
*	Rawya Al Shawwa	Member
*	Jamileh Saidam	Member
*	Dalal Salameh	Member

(b) PLC Committees – 9th session

Jerusalem Committee		Budget and Finance Committee	
Name	Position	Name	Position
Ahmad Zgheir	Chairman	Sa'di Al Karnaz	Chairman
Ahmad Al Batsh	Reporter	Fakhri Al Turkman	Reporter
Bishara Da'ud	Member	Da'ud Zgheir	Member
Hatem Abdel Qader	Member	Yousef Al Shanti	Member
Fuad Eid	Member	Ibrahim Al Hibash	Member
Faraj Al Sarraf	Member	Jalal Al Masdar	Member
Emille Jarju'i	Member	Ra'fat Al Najjar	Member
Refugee Committee		Rawya Al Shawwa	Member
Jamileh Saidam	Chairman	Ziad Abu Amr	Member
Kamel Al Afghani	Reporter	Abdel Jawad Saleh	Member
Jamal Al Shati	Member	Abdel Aziz Shahine	Member
Abed Rabbu Abu Oun	Member	Abdel Karim Abu Salah	Member
Ali Abu Al Reesh	Member	Yousef Abu Saffieh	Member
Fayez Zeidan	Member	Mu'awiya Al Masri	Member
Musa Abu Sabha	Member		

Land and Settlement Confrontation Committee			
Bishara Da'ud	Chariman	Emille Jarju'i	Member
Othman Ghashash	Reporter	Mufeed Abd Rabbu	Member
Zahran Abu Qubeita	Member	Riad Al Za'nun	member
Economics Committee		Legal Committee	
Name	Position	Name	Position
Azmi Shu'abi	Chairman	Ziad Abu Ziad	Chairman
Jalal Al Masdar	Reporter	Sulaiman Al Rumi	Reporter
Da'ud Al Zir	Member	Abdel Karim Abu Salah	Member
Rawya Al Shawwa	Member	Hatem Abdel Qader	Member
Ali Al Qawasmi	Member	Hanan Ashrawi	Member
Hashem Daraghme	Member	Ra'fat Al Najjar	Member
Ahmad Al Zgheir	Member	Rafiq Al Natsheh	Member
Fayez Zeidan	Member	Sa'di Al Karnaz	Member
Abdel Fattah Hamayel	Member	Azmi Al Shu'abi	Member
Political Committee		Ghassan Al Shak'a	Member
Marwan Kanafani	Chairman	Faraj Al Sarraf	Member
Dalal Salameh	Reporter	Karam Zarnadh	Member
Ahmad Al Deek	Member	Mohammad Hurani	Member
Hanan Ashrawi	Member	Mahmoud Da'as	Member
Ziad Abu Ziad	Member	Marwan Al Barghouthi	Member
Ziad Abu Amr	Member	Yousef Al Shanti	Member
Abbas Zaki	Member	Monitoring and Human Rights Committee	
Abdel Aziz Shahine	Member	Jamal Al Shati	chairman
Emad Al Faluji	Member	Emad Al Faluji	Reporter
Ali Al Qawasmi	Member	Ahmad Al Batsh	Member
Fakhri Shakura	Member	Jamila Saidam	Member
Kamil Al Shara	Member	Husam Khader	Member
Mohammad Hurani	Member	Rafiq Al Natsheh	Member
Mu'awiya Al Masri	Member	Abdel Jawad Saleh	Member
Husam Khader	Member	Abd Rabbu Abu Oun	Member
Marwan Al Barghouthi	Member	Ali Abu Al Reesh	Member
Ghassan Al Shak'a	Member	Kamil Al Afghani	Member
		Kamil Al Shira	Member
		Mohammad Hijazi	Member
		Marwan Kanafani	Member
		Musa Abu Sabha	member

Education and Social Issues Committee		Internal, Security and Local Government Committee	
Name	Position	Name	Position
Abbas Zaki	Chairman	Fakhri Shakura	Chairman
Musa Al Za'but	Reporter	Burhan Jarrar	Reporter
Ibrahim Al Habbash	Member	Mohammad Hijazi	Member
Ahmad Al Shibi	Member	Mahmoud Da'as	Member
Dalal Salameh	Member	Hashim Daraghme	Member
Riad Al Za'nun	Member	Musa Al Za'but	Member
Zahran Abu Qbeita	Member	Ahmad Al Shibi	Member
Suleiman Al Rumi	Member	Abdel Fattah Hamayel	Member
Mufeed Abd Rabbu	Member		
Ahmad Al Deek	Member		
Burhan Jarrar	Member		

Appendix # 8
(a) Table of bills presented to the PLC

# of Bills	Bill	Presenting Party	Date	Date Presented	Referred to Sub-committees	General Discussion	1 st Reading	2 nd Reading	3 rd Reading	Referred to President	Promulgated
1/96 E	Basic Law	Minister of Justice/ Freih Abu Mdein	5/5/96	8/5/96	8/5/96	10/7/96	1/9/96	17/9/97	2/10/97	4/10/97	29/5/2002
2/96/MO	Electing Palestinian local Councils	Cabinet	20/3/96			22/8/96	10/10/96	1/12/96			16/12/96
3/96/MO	Civil Service	Cabinet	8/5/96	8/5/96	8/5/96	7/11/96	29/1/97	3/6/97		4/6/97	28/5/98
4/7/MO	Palestinian Local Councils	Cabinet				4/2/97	12/2/97	2/7/97	14/7/97	21/7/97	12/10/97
5/97/MO	1997 Budget	Cabinet	15/3/97	15/3/97	15/3/97	27/5/97					27/5/97
6/97/MO	Monetary Authority	Cabinet	7/5/96	7/5/96	7/5/96	27/3/97	11/4/97	30/6/97		15/12/97	16/12/97
7/97/A	Real Estate Ownership in Palestine by Foreigners	Legal Committee	16/6/97	16/6/97	16/6/97	16/6/97	30/6/97	30/9/97		4/10/97	
8/97/MO	The Palestinian General Petroleum Authority	Cabinet	19/4/97			15/7/97	18/9/97	25/11/97		7/12/97	
9/97/L	Regulating the Law Profession	Legal Committee	9/7/97	10/7/97	10/7/97	14/7/97 Postponed 28/7/98	1/12/98	6/1/99	6/4/99	19/4/99	24/6/99
10/97/L	Regulating General Budget and Financial Affairs	Budget Committee	30/4/97	9/3/98	19/3/98	19/3/98	2/4/98	14/4/98		20/4/98	3/8/98
11/97/MO	Protection of Animal Resources	Cabinet	11/4/97	30/9/97	30/9/97	13/10/97	14/10/97	10/12/97		9/3/98	2/11/98
12/97/MO	Political Parties	Cabinet	24/1/97	30/9/97	30/9/97	10/11/97					
13/97/L	Rehabilitation and Reformatory Centers (prisons)	Control Bureau Committee	20/11/97			25/11/97	2/4/98	28/4/98		2/5/98	28/5/98
14/97/L	Judicial Authority	Legal Committee	8/6/97			12/11/97	25/6/98	2/9/98	25/11/98	5/12/98	
15/97/MO	Local Institutions Development Bank	Cabinet	11/4/97	30/9/97	30/9/97	30/9/97 postponed—Pending Banking Law approval					
16/97/MO	Veterinarians	Cabinet	27/3/97	30/9/97	30/9/97	30/9/97 postponed—Pending Trade Union Law approval					
17/97/MO	Civil Defense	Cabinet	11/4/97	30/9/97	30/9/97	25/11/97	8/1/98	31/3/98		20/4/98	28/5/98
18/97/MO	Firearms and ammunition	Cabinet	19/4/97	30/9/97	30/9/97	25/11/97	7/1/98	2/4/98		20/4/98	20/5/98
19/97/A	Charitable Societies and Civil Organizations	Members	13/10/97	13/10/97	13/10/97	9/12/97	30/5/98	30/7/98	25/5/99	12/8/99	16/1/2000
20/97/A	Encouraging Investing in Palestine	Members	10/11/97	10/11/97	10/11/97	9/12/97	19/3/98	14/4/98		20/4/98	23/4/98
21/97/A	Regulating Work of Commercial Agents	Members	10/11/97	10/11/97	10/11/97	9/12/97	7/1/99	20/4/99	24/6/99	15/7/99	16/1/2000
22/97/A	Establishing The Palestinian Center for Rural Development	Cabinet	19/4/97	30/9/97	30/9/97	18/8/98 Returned to PLO					

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23/97/A	Fund for supporting martyr families, prisoners & wounded	Members		30/9/97	30/9/97	28/7/98	19/8/98 Presented for 1 st reading and referred to sub-committee for review				
24/97/MO	Public rallies	Cabinet	27/3/97	30/9/97	30/9/97	28/4/98	20/8/98	25/11/98		19/12/98	28/12/98
25/7/MO	Branding and Checking Precious ores	Cabinet	17/3/97	30/9/97	30/9/97	25/11/97	9/12/97	17/3/98		24/3/98	28/5/98
26/97/MO	Appointing "Mukhtars"	Cabinet	11/4/97			2/7/97 Rejected					
27/97/MO	Protecting Gaza's natural Resources	Cabinet	19/4/97	30/9/97	30/9/97	30/9/97 returned to PNA					
28/97/A	National Services	Member/ Azmi Al Shu'eibi	31/8/97	19/3/98	19/3/98	27/5/98					
29/97/MO	Regulating Contracts and Bids	Cabinet	13/7/97	19/3/98	19/3/98	27/5/98	Has been split into 1. General supplies 2. Public works				
29/1-97/ MO	General Supplies	Cabinet	13/7/97	19/3/98	19/3/98	27/5/98	14/7/98	18/8/98		14/9/98	2/11/98
29/2-97/ MO	Tenders for public works	Cabinet	13/7/97	19/3/98	19/3/98	27/5/98	1/9/98	25/11/98	9/6/99	27/6/99	28/12/99
30/98/MO	Natural Resources	Cabinet	24/1/98	19/3/98	19/3/98	28/4/98	18/8/98	5/11/98		5/12/98	24/1/99
31/98/MO	General Statistics	Cabinet	24/1/98	17/3/98	17/3/98	17/3/98	29/3/98	2/5/2000	7/6/2000	17/6/2000	8/7/2000
32/98/MO	Industrial towns and free zones	Cabinet	24/1/98	17/3/98	17/3/98	17/3/98	29/7/98	18/8/98		9/9/98	2/11/98
33/98/MO	Relief and rehabilitation of the handicapped	Member/ Azmi Al Shu'eibi	10/3/98	19/3/98	19/3/98	18/8/98 was incorporated with the bill suitability of public sites to form the handicapped rights bill 5/11/98					
34/98/MO	1998 PNA General Budget	Cabinet	27/1/98	31/3/98	31/3/98	28/4/98	Decided on 29/6/98				
35/98/MO	Civil Affairs	Cabinet	25/7/98	29/7/98	29/7/98	11/11/98	12/11/98	8/12/98	21/4/99	10/5/99	8/6/99
36/98/MO	Environment	Cabinet	16/5/98	17/5/98	17/5/98	18/8/98	27/5/99	6/7/99		5/8/99	28/12/99
37/98/MO	Palestinian Higher Learning	Cabinet	16/5/98	17/5/98	17/5/98	27/5/98	13/7/98	30/7/98		19/8/98	2/11/98
38/98/L	Palestinian Labor	Education Committee	8/3/98	10/3/98	10/3/98	27/5/98	24/12/98	27/10/98	29/3/2000	2/4/2000	30/4/2000
39/98/L	Public Health Insurance	Education Committee	20/5/98			27/5/98	5/11/98 Postponed to be incorporated as a part of the General Health bill				
40/98/A	Handicapped Rights	Members	16/3/98	19/3/98	19/3/98	27/5/98 5/11/98 postponed	6/1/99	16/3/99	25/5/99	2/6/99	9/8/99
41/98/L	Palestinian Income tax	Budget Committee	18/10/98	5/11/98	5/11/98	21/12/98	17/8/2000	11/3/2001		23/5/2001	
42/98/MO	Control of Citrus fruit	Cabinet	25/10/98	5/11/98	5/11/98	8/12/98 postponed					
43/98/MO	Banks	Cabinet	25/10/98	5/11/98	5/11/98	8/12/98	10/3/2001	24/6/2001	15/9/2001	20/9/2001	21/5/2001
44/98/MO	Administrative formations	Cabinet	4/11/98	10/11/98	10/11/98	8/12/98	3/11/99	13/3/2000		9/4/2000	
45/98/MO	Supplies	Cabinet	4/11/98	10/11/98	10/11/98	1/12/99					
46/99/E	Author's and Patent's rights	Member/ Azmi Al Shu'eibi	1/3/99	16/3/99	16/3/99	1/12/99					
47/99/E	Print and Publications	Member/ Azmi Al Shu'eibi	13/3/99	16/3/99	16/3/99	25/5/99 rejected due to the issuance of President's decree published in the official gazette					
48/99/MO	1999 PNA General Budget	Cabinet	5/4/99	5/4/99	5/4/99	The president recuperated the budget on June 9, 1999					
49/99/MO	Traffic	Cabinet	19/4/99	20/4/99	20/4/99	23/6/99	16/12/99	15/2/2000	8/6/2000	17/6/2000	17/9/2000
50/99/MO	Amendment of Branding and controlling precious ores' law	Cabinet	19/4/99	20/4/99	20/4/99	The law was recuperated on 27/9/1999					
51/99/E	Palestinian Medical Council	Member/ Dr. Mu'awiya Al Masri	25/4/99	11/5/99	11/5/99	18/10/05	24/11/05	8/12/05			

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52/99/MO	Regulating the sale and use of pesticides	Cabinet	16/6/99	24/6/99	24/6/99	1/12/99	18/5/00 Delayed				
53/99/MO	Arbitration	Cabinet	16/6/99	24/6/99	24/6/99	6/7/99	23/11/99	3/2/00		22/2/00	5/4/00
54/99/MO	1999 General budget	Cabinet	13/7/99		14/7/99	Declared on 12/8/99					4/9/99
55/99/A	Standards and Measurements	Members	21/7/99	14/10/99	14/10/99	1/12/99	16/2/00	12/4/00	28/6/00	1/7/00	17/9/00
56/99/MO	Punitive Procedures	Cabinet	22/7/99	14/10/99	14/10/99	27/10/99	15/2/00	28/6/00		23/7/00	12/5/01
57/99/MO	Farmers compensation fund for natural disasters	Cabinet	3/8/99	14/10/99	14/10/99	1/12/99					
58/99/MO	Consular Fees	Cabinet	3/8/99	14/10/99	14/10/99	1/12/99	17/5/00	8/6/00		24/6/00	30/1/01
59/99/MO	Water	Cabinet	31/8/99	14/10/99	14/10/99	1/12/99	28/9/00	8/8/01	18/2/02	28/2/02	17/7/02
60/99/MO	2000 General Budget	Cabinet	7/11/99	17/11/99	17/11/99	26/1/00					
61/99/E	Amended Law to regulate Law practice	Member/ Freih Abu Mdein	18/11/99	18/11/99	18/11/99	25/11/99				27/11/99	28/12/99
62/99/MO	Formation of Regular Courts	Cabinet	2/12/99	14/12/99	14/12/99	15/12/99	12/3/00	13/3/00	17/5/00	18/5/00	12/5/01
63/99/MO	Social Insurance	Cabinet	1/12/99	14/12/99	14/12/99	28/9/00	11/3/01	24/6/01		29/7/01	19/10/03
64/99/L	Banning torture of detainees and prisoners	Control Bureau Committee	19/12/99	30/12/99	30/12/99	17/5/00 Rejected					
65/2000/MO	General Health	Cabinet	26/1/00	3/2/00	3/2/00	12/3/00	3/12/00	1/6/04	22/12/04		27/12/04
66/2000/MO	Civil and Commercial Court Procedures	Cabinet	26/1/00	3/2/00	3/2/00	3/2/00	19/9/00	28/9/00		23/10/00	12/5/01
67/2000/MO	Amended Judicial Authority	Cabinet	26/1/00	3/2/00		3/2/00	3/2/00	3/2/00		5/2/00	14/5/02
68/2000/MO	Real Estate and Housing Rent	Cabinet	4/4/00	3/5/00	3/5/00	3/5/00					
69/2000/MO	Civil Aviation	Cabinet	14/9/00	3/5/00	3/5/00	3/5/00	8/8/00	16/8/00	5/4/01	16/4/01	Returned to the committee on 19/4/01 because this committee is not authorized to make decisions dealing with the executive branch of government such as aviation
70/2000/E	Illegal Profit	Member/ Abdel Fattah Hamayel	20/5/00	19/9/00	19/9/00	28/9/00	17/9/03	14/4/04	6/1/05	6/1/05	8/1/05
71/2000/MO	Statements of content in civil and commercial items	Cabinet	6/6/00	7/6/00	7/6/00	28/6/00	9/8/00	16/8/00		18/9/00	12/5/01
72/2000/E	Jerusalem as the Capital	Member/ Azmi Al Shu'eibi	7/6/00	8/6/00	8/6/00	8/6/00	19/7/00	20/7/00	28/9/00	29/9/00	5/10/02
73/2000/MO	The Palestinian Nursing and Midwives council	Cabinet	27/6/00	20/7/00	20/7/00	1/8/00					
74/2000/E	Combating Smoking	Member/ Marwan Al Barghouthi	8/8/00	19/9/00	19/9/00	10/3/01	6/7/04	25/11/04	5/1/05	2/12/04 referred to the cabinet	29/1/05 referred to the President
75/2000/MO	Industry	Cabinet	29/3/00	19/9/00	19/9/00	28/9/00					

76/2000/ MO	Regulating professional unions (engineers)	Cabinet	27/8/00	19/9/00	19/9/00	10/3/01						
77/2000/E	Regulating professional public school teachers	Member/ Abdel Fattah Hamayel	2/9/00	19/9/00	19/9/00	10/3/01						
78/2000/ MO	Amendment of Local Council election law of 1996	Cabinet	6/9/00	19/9/00	19/9/00	10/3/01	30/6/04	1/7/04	30/8/04	25/7/04		
79/2000/L	Amendment of Civil Affairs Law #2 of 1999	Interior Committee	6/9/00	19/9/00	19/9/00	28/9/00	5/4/01	24/6/01		30/7/01	21/10/01	
80/2000/ MO	Agriculture	Cabinet	11/11/00	21/12/00	21/12/00	10/3/01	18/2/02	15/4/03		31/5/03	5/8/03	
81/2001/ MO	Management of Orphan Property Association	Cabinet	24/1/01	14/2/01	14/2/01	10/3/01	12/5/05	21/7/05	20/9/05	26/9/05	28/9/05	
82/2001/L	Securities	Budget Committee	11/2/01	14/2/01	14/2/01	10/3/01	14/4/04	30/6/04	5/10/04	7/7/04	1/12/04	
83/2001/L	Palestinian Capital Market Committee	Budget Committee	11/2/01	14/2/01	14/2/01	10/3/01	16/1/02	6/10/02		22/10/02	1/12/04	
84/2001/E	Social Insurance Fund	Member	13/2/01	14/2/01	14/2/01	10/3/01						
85/2001/ MO	2001 General Budget	Cabinet	10/3/01	10/3/01	10/3/01	Decided on 4/4/01						
86/2001/ MO	Amended Local Institutions Law	Cabinet	13/11/00	24/6/01	24/6/01							
87/2001/E	Unemployment Insurance	Member/ Azmi Al Shu'eibi	13/2/01	8/8/01	8/8/01	10/5/05						
88/2001/E	Dealing with Fireworks	Member/ Abdel Fattah Hamayel	21/5/01	24/6/01	24/6/01	15/1/02						
89/2001/L	Jerusalem Municipality	Interior Committee	10/6/01	24/6/01	24/6/01	15/1/02	21/7/03	5/5/04			30/5/04	
90/2001/ MO	Fees of Civil Courts	Cabinet	16/6/01	24/6/01	24/6/01	8/8/01	16/10/01	16/1/02	15/4/03	28/4/03	5/8/03	
91/2001/ MO	Profession of Auditing	Cabinet	26/6/01	8/8/01	8/8/01	8/8/01	16/1/02	6/10/02		8/10/02	8/9/04	
92/2001/ MO	Execution	Cabinet	28/6/01	8/8/01	8/8/01	8/8/01	14/3/05	25/8/05	23/11/05	19/12/05	22/12/05	
93/2001/ MO	Punishment	Cabinet	6/9/01	15/9/01	15/9/01	16/10/01	14/4/03					
94/2002/L	Amended Judicial Authority	Legal Committee				15/1/02	15/1/02	14/2/02				
95/2002/E	Amended Rehabilitation & Reformatory Centers	Abdel Fattah Hamayel	16/2/02	6/10/02	6/10/02	24/11/04	25/11/04	8/12/04		11/1/05	11/1/05	
96/2002/ MO	Public and Governmental Employees Work Injuries	Cabinet	16/2/02	6/10/02	6/10/02							
97/2002/ MO	Palestinian Child	Cabinet	16/3/02	6/10/02	6/10/02	6/10/02	28/5/03	19/8/03			15/8/04	
98/2002/E	Elections	Member/ Azmi Al Shu'eibi	1/9/02	15/5/02	15/5/02	24/11/04	3/2/05	20/4/05	18/5/05	22/6/05	13/8/05	
99/2002/L	PLC Members' Duties and Rights	Legal Committee	6/10/02	4/11/02	4/11/02	4/11/02	12/12/02	13/1/03		2/2/03	20/9/04	
100/2002/ E	Amended Budget Regulations	Member/ Azmi Al Shu'eibi	30/10/02	12/12/02	12/12/02							

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101/2002/ E	Amended Industrial Towns	Member/ Azmi Al Shu'eibi	30/10/ 02	12/12/02	12/12/02	12/12/02	6/2/03	28/5/03		17/6/03	11/1/04
102/2002/ E	Amended Monetary Authority	Member/ Azmi Al Shu'eibi	30/10/ 02	12/12/02	12/12/02	12/12/02	13/1/03	28/5/03		17/6/03	27/12/04
103/2002/ E	Amended General Supplies	Azmi Al Shu'eibi	30/10/ 02	12/12/02	12/12/02	12/12/02	6/2/03	28/5/03		2/6/03	15/8/04
104/2002/ E	Amended Encouraging Investments	Azmi Al Shu'eibi	30/10/ 02	12/12/02	12/12/02	12/12/02	6/2/03	28/5/03		17/6/03	11/1/04
105/2002/ L	Amended Standards and Regulations	Budget Committee	26/11/ /02	12/12/02	12/12/02	12/12/02	13/1/03	28/5/03		17/6/03	11/1/04
106/2002/ E	Compensation Fund to alleviate Israeli Aggression	Azmi Al Shu'eibi	21/12/ 02	6/2/03	6/2/03	1/7/03	27/5/04	27/5/04		5/6/04	8/9/04
107/2002/ L	Finance and Economy Monitoring Bureau	Budget Committee	28/12/ 02	13/1/03	13/1/03	16/12/03	24/1/04	14/4/04		27/7/04	27/12/04
108/2002/ MO	General Budget 2003	Cabinet	31/12/ 02			Decided on 1/2/03					
109/2003/ MO	Organ Transplants	Cabinet	16/1/03	6/2/03	6/2/03						
110/2003/ MO	Social Care Fund	Cabinet	6/2/03	14/4/03	14/4/03	1/4/04	7/7/04	30/1/05	7/4/05	12/4/05	26/4/05
111/2003/ MO	Amended Basic Law	Cabinet	10/3/03	10/3/03	10/3/03	10/3/03	10/3/03	10/3/03	18/3/03	18/3/03	18/3/03
112/2003/ E	Electricity	Member/ Abdel Rahman Hamad	5/4/03	14/4/03	14/4/03	28/5/03 Rejected on 6/7/05					
113/2003/ L	Amended Judicial Authority 2002	Legal committee	14/4/03	14/4/03	14/4/03	1/2/05	10/3/05	21/7/05	5/10/05	9/10/05	11/10/05
114/2003/ L	Professional Associations	Abdel Fattah Hamayel	15/4/03	1/7/03	1/7/03	14/3/05					
115/2003/ E	Palestinian Youth	Mufeed Abed Rabbu	10/6/03	1/7/03	1/7/03	6/1/05					
116/2003/ E	Prisoners and Liberated	Abd Al Jawad Saleh	13/7/03	20/7/03	20/7/03	1/4/04	17/4/04	6/7/04	22/12/04	19/8/04	27/12/04
117/2003/ MO	Arafat Fund for Social Care	Cabinet	14/7/03	20/7/03	20/7/03	Based on the Education Committee's decision it was incorporated with the Social Care Fund					
118/2003/ MO	2000 Amended Standards and Regulations #6	Cabinet	14/7/03	20/7/03	20/7/03						
119/2003/ MO	Amended for the Amended Industrial Towns	Cabinet	14/7/03	20/7/03	20/7/03	Halted based on Dr. Azmi Al Shu'eibi's request					
120/2003/ MO	Agriculture, Industrial, and Commerce Chambers	Cabinet	8/7/03	18/8/03	18/8/03	1/4/04	30/11/05	7/12/05		12/12/05	
121/2003/ MO	Drugs and Brain Stimulants	Cabinet	3/8/03	18/8/03	18/8/03	10/12/03					
122/2003/ L	Insurance	Economic Committee	11/8/03	18/8/03	18/8/03	1/4/04	26/4/05	13/8/05	5/10/05	11/10/05	13/10/05

123/2003/ L	Encouraging Competition and Preventing Monopoly	Economic Committee	11/8/03	18/8/03	18/8/03	1/4/04						
124/2003/ L	Industrial Ownership	Economic Committee	11/8/03	18/8/03	18/8/03							
125/2003/ L	Trade	Economic Committee	11/8/03	18/8/03	18/8/03							
126/2003/ MO	1998 Amended Civil Services #4	Cabinet	8/7/03	19/8/03	19/8/03	28/8/04	1/9/04	24/11/04		13/3/05	2/4/05	
127/2003/ MO	2000 Amended Charities and Civil Organizations	Cabinet	12/7/03	18/8/03	18/8/03	18/8/03	19/8/03					
128/2003/ L	Insurance and Salaries for Security Forces	Budget and Interior Committees	17/9/03	2/12/03	2/12/03	13/4/04	1/7/04	1/9/04	1/12/04 22/12/04	7/10/04	28/12/04	
129/2003/ MO	Old Archeology Validity No.51, 1966	Cabinet	30/10/ 03	2/12/03	2/12/03							
130/2003/ MO	Post Office	Cabinet	30/10/ 03	2/12/03	2/12/03							
131/2003/ MO	Forensic Medicine	Cabinet	30/10/ 03	2/12/03	2/12/03	6/1/05						
132/2003/ MO	Notary	Cabinet	30/10/ 03	2/12/03	2/12/03	30/12/03						
133/2003/ MO	High Constitutional Court	Cabinet	30/10/ 03	2/12/03	2/12/03	30/12/03	23/11/05	7/12/05		14/12/05	29/12/05	
134/2003/ MO	2004 General Budget	Cabinet	3/12/03	3/12/03	3/12/03	15/1/04	Decided on 15/1/04					
135/2003/ E	Saving Public Documents	Member/ Hatem Abdel Qader	21/12/ 03	30/12/03	30/12/03							
136/2004/ MO	Consumer Protection	Cabinet	29/2/04	10/3/03	10/3/03	23/6/05	28/7/05	21/9/05	27/10/05	30/10/05	1/11/05	
137/2004/ MO	Public Debt	Cabinet	29/2/04	10/3/04	10/3/04	23/6/05	6/7/05	13/8/05	9/11/05	16/8/05	19/11/05	
138/2004/ MO	Land	Cabinet	2/3/04	10/3/04	10/3/04	5/4/04						
139/2004/ MO	Insurance Supervisory	Cabinet	27/3/04									
140/2004/ MO	Compulsory Insurance	Cabinet	27/3/04									
141/2004/ MO	Planning and Construction	Cabinet	27/3/04	1/4/04	1/4/04	30/6/04						
142/2004/ MO	Regulating Electronic Signatures	Cabinet	27/3/04	1/4/04	1/4/04							
143/2004/ MO	Trade Unions	Cabinet	27/3/04	1/4/04	1/4/04	14/3/05						
144/2004/ MO	Exchange and E commerce	Cabinet	27/3/04	1/4/04	1/4/04							
145/2004/ MO	Regulation of expert witnesses in courts	Cabinet	27/3/04	1/4/04	1/4/04	30/6/04						
146/2004/ MO	Regulating Advertisements	Cabinet	27/3/04	1/4/04	1/4/04							
147/2004/ MO	Amended Judicial Authority	Cabinet	27/3/04	1/4/04	1/4/04							
148/2004/ E	PLC Cabinet and Governors Compensations	Sa'di Al Karnaz	27/3/04	1/4/04	1/4/04	1/4/04	14/4/04	5/5/04		15/5/04	2/10/04	

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149/2004/ E	1976 Civil Status Amended	Azmi Al Shu'eibi	10/4/04	13/4/04	13/4/04						
150/2004/ E	2004 General Statistics Amended	Abdel Fattah Hamayel	13/4/04	5/5/04	5/5/04						
151/2004/ L	Palestinian Capital Market Committee— Amended	Budget Committee	24/5/04	27/5/04	27/5/04	27/5/04	1/9/04	5/10/04	24/11/04	14/11/04	1/12/04
152/2004/ L	Amended Palestinian Income Tax	Budget Committee	24/5/04	27/5/04	27/5/04	27/5/04	31/8/04	5/10/04	24/11/04	14/10/04	1/12/04
153/2004/ MO	Amended Social Insurance	Cabinet	26/5/04	30/6/04 returned to the Cabinet							
154/2004/ E	Work Injuries for Public Officers	Suleiman Al Rumi	1/7/04	6/7/04	6/7/04	5/10/04					
155/2004/ L	Amended Local Councils Elections Law	Interior Committee	7/7/04	7/7/04	7/7/04	7/7/04	31/8/04	31/8/04	21/10/04 1/12/04	1/12/04	1/12/04
156/2004/ MO	Palestinian Legal Institution	Cabinet	17/7/04	30/8/04	30/8/04	5/10/04					
157/2004/ MO	2001 Amended Civil and Commercial Court law	Cabinet	17/7/04	30/8/04	30/8/04	24/11/04	25/11/04	8/12/04	30/1/05	5/2/05	March 05
158/2004/ MO	2003 Amended Social Insurance	Cabinet	19/7/04	28/8/04	28/8/04	28/8/04	31/8/04				
159/2004/ E	Unemployment Welfare	Member/ Suleiman Al Rumi	21/7/04	30/8/04	30/8/04	Merged with the Social Insurance Law based on the cabinet's decision issued on 21/10/04					
160/2004/ MO	Pharmacists Association	Cabinet	24/7/04	30/8/04	30/8/04						
161/2004/ MO	Industry and Crafts	Cabinet	24/7/04	30/8/04	30/8/04						
162/2004/ MO	Public Retirement	Cabinet	24/7/04	30/8/04	30/8/04	5/10/04	31/1/05	8/3/05	7/4/05	11/4/05	26/4/05
163/2004/ MO	Survey and Surveyors	Cabinet	24/7/04	30/8/04	30/8/04						
164/2004/ E	Palestinians in Israeli Prisons' Support	Sa'di Al Karnaz	17/8/04	28/8/04	28/8/04	28/8/04	28/8/04	28/8/04	24/11/04	13/9/04	1/12/04
165/2004/ L	2002 Amended Judicial Authority Law No. 1	Budget Committee	6/10/04	6/10/04	6/10/04		8/12/04	6/1/05	3/2/05		
166/2004/ A	Martyrs Fund	Members	26/10/ 04	24/11/04	24/11/04	29/1/05	18/6/05	18/6/05	20/6/05	6/9/05	
167/2004/ E	Amended 2001 Civil Court Creation	Azmi Al Shu'eibi	23/11/ 04	24/11/04	24/11/04	24/11/04	30/11/04	1/12/04	5/1/05	5/1/05	5/1/05
168/2004/ A	Amended 1995 General Elections law	Members	30/11/ 04	30/11/04	30/11/04	30/11/04	30/11/04	30/11/04	30/11/04	30/11/04	1/12/04
169/2004/ A	Military Service Regulation	Members	22/12/ 04	22/12/04	22/12/04	6/1/05	5/4/05	7/4/05	11/5/05	14/5/05	4/6/05
170/2004/ E	(preference)	Abdel Fattah Hamayel	27/12/ 04	4/1/05	4/1/05	22/11/05					
171/2004/ MO	Religious Court	Cabinet	29/12/ 04	4/1/05	4/1/05	Returned on 15/2/05					
172/2004/ MO	Companies	Cabinet	29/12/ 04	4/1/05	4/1/05	Returned to the Cabinet on 5/4/05					
173/2004/ L	Amended 2000 Palestinian Labor Law	Education Committee	30/12/ 04	4/1/05	4/1/05	29/1/05					
174/2004/ E	Graduates	Suleiman Al Rumi	30/12/ 04	4/1/05	4/1/05	29/1/05 postponed					

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175/2004/ MO	Amended 2002 Water Law	Cabinet	21/9/04	4/1/05	4/1/05	15/2/05					
176/2004/ MO	Amended 2002 Agricultural Law	Cabinet	3/6/04	4/1/05	4/1/05	10/3/05	15/3/05	11/5/05		29/5/05	20/6/05
177/2004/ MO	Amended 1998 General Supplies Law	Cabinet	26/10/ 04	4/1/05	4/1/05						
178/2005/ MO	National Security Committee	Cabinet	5/1/05	5/1/05	5/1/05						
179/2005/ MO	Veterinarian Association	Cabinet	17/1/05	29/1/05	29/1/05						
180/2005/ MO	Intelligence	Cabinet	1/2/05	15/2/05	15/2/05	25/4/05	6/7/05	13/8/05	21/9/05	28/9/05	26/10/05
181/2005/ MO	Palestinian Police	Cabinet	1/2/05	15/2/05	15/2/05						
182/2005/ MO	National Security	Cabinet	1/2/05	15/2/05	15/2/05						
183/2005/ L	PNA's President's Compensations	Budget Committee	5/3/05	9/3/05	9/3/05	22/11/05	23/11/05	23/11/05		28/11/05	8/12/05
184/2005/ E	Palestinian Citizens' Rights Independent Organizations	Member/ Azmi Al Shu'eibi	5/3/05	9/3/05	9/3/05	10/5/05					
185/2005/ MO	2005 General Budget	Cabinet	16/3/05	16/3/05	16/3/05	31/3/05	31/3/05				
186/2005/ L	Amended 2004 PLC's Rights and Duties	Legal Committee	3/4/05								
187/2005/ L	Amended PLC's compensation and salaries	Legal Committee	3/4/05								
188/2005/ E	Right to receive information	Member/ Abdel Fattah Hamayel	5/4/05	5/4/05	5/4/05	5/4/05					
189/2005/ E	Journalism	Member/ Sa' di Al Karnaz	9/4/05	25/4/05	25/4/05						
190/2005/ MO	Palestinian Flag desecration	Member/ Abdel Karim Abu Salah	9/5/05	26/5/05	26/5/05	26/5/05	20/9/05	18/10/05	23/11/05	19/12/05	22/12/2005
191/2005/ MO	Diplomatic Relations	Cabinet	12/5/05	26/5/05	26/5/05	26/5/05	24/8/05	25/8/05		12/9/05	24/9/05
192/2005/ L	Amended 2003 Basic Law	Legal Committee	19/7/05	20/7/05	20/7/05	20/7/05	27/7/05	27/7/05		10/8/05	13/8/05
193/2005/ A	Amended 1996 Local Elections law	Members	25/6/05	20/7/05	20/7/05	27/7/05	11/8/05	13/8/05		14/8/05	15/8/05
194/2005/ MO	Areas that Israeli Forces will withdraw From	Cabinet	21/7/05	21/9/05 returned to Cabinet due to an executive order							
195/2005/ E	Social Workers' Regulation	Member/ Salah Al Ta'mari	27/7/05	23/8/05	23/8/05						
196/2005/ E	Amended 2004 Palestinian Security's Insurance and welfare law	Member/ Mahmoud Da'as	2/8/05	23/8/05	23/8/05	21/9/05	21/9/05	21/9/05			
197/2005/ MO	Amended 1929 No. 5 Law and 1966 No. 51 Law for ancient monuments	Cabinet	2/8/05	23/8/05	23/8/05					16/10/05	23/10/05

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198/2005/ E	Amended Retirement Law	Member Sa' di Al Karnaz	16/8/05	23/8/05	23/8/05	9/11/05	24/11/05	30/11/05		3/12/05	
199/2005/ L	Amended 1996 Local Elections Law	Legal Committee	25/8/05	25/8/05	25/8/05	25/8/05	27/8/05	27/8/05		28/8/05	29/8/05
200/2005/ MO	Palestinian Products' union and Specialized unions	Cabinet	20/8/05	19/9/05	19/9/05	18/10/05	24/11/05	7/12/05			
201/2005/ E	Military Punitive Courts	Member/ Suleiman Al Rumi	19/9/05	19/9/05	Was merged with Military law to create Military Courts						
202/2005/ E	Military Law	Member/ Suleiman Al Rumi	19/9/05	19/9/05	Was merged with Military law to create Military Courts						
204/2005/ MO	Higher Education	Cabinet	15/9/05	5/10/05	5/10/05	18/10/05					
205/2005/ MO	Palestinian Commercial Institute	Cabinet	15/9/05	5/10/05	5/10/05	18/10/05	30/11/05 Returned to Cabinet				
206/2005/ MO	Increase Legal Age for Islamic Scholars	Cabinet	15/10/05	27/10/05	27/10/05	9/11/05					
207/2005/ MO		Cabinet	15/10/05	27/10/05	27/10/05	9/11/05					
208/2005/ MO	Social Work	Cabinet	23/10/05	9/11/05	9/11/05						
209/2005/ MO	Palestinian Security	Cabinet	7/11/05	9/11/05	9/11/05	22/11/05					
210/2005/ MO	Commercial Agents	Cabinet	7/11/05	9/11/05	9/11/05						
211/2005/ E	Highest Criminal Court	Member/ Ziad Abu Ziad	19/11/05	22/11/05	22/11/05	8/12/05	Returned to the Legal Committee				
212/2005/ L	Palestinian Preventive Security	Interior Committee	21/11/05	22/11/05	22/11/05	22/11/05					
213/2005/ MO	Islamic Institutions	Cabinet	19/11/05	22/11/05	22/11/05						
214/2005/ E	Amended 2005 General Elections	Member/ Sa' di Al Karnaz	3/11/05	22/11/05	22/11/05						
215/2005/ E	Amended Local Elections Law	Member/ Suleiman Al Rumi	20/11/05	22/11/05	22/11/05	8/12/05					
216/2005/ MO	Care of the Wounded	Member/ Jamal Al Shati	4/10/05	27/11/05	27/11/05						
217/2005/ MO	Amended 1998 Encouraging Investment in Palestine Law	Cabinet	23/11/05	27/11/05	27/11/05						
218/2005/ MO	Information and the Internet	Cabinet	24/11/05	27/11/05	27/11/05						
219/2005/ E	Electing National, Student, Union and non-profit associations	Member/ Suleiman Al Rumi	22/11/05	27/11/05	27/11/05	8/12/05	Returned to Legal Committee				
220/2005/ E	Amended 2005 National Elections Law No. 9	Member/ Rawhi Fattooh	7/12/2005	7/12/05	7/12/05	7/12/05	7/12/05	7/12/05	8/12/05	8/12/05	

Committee members presented 60 potential laws

Committees presented 34 potential laws

Cabinets presented 125 potential laws

**Appendix 9: Resolutions Published in the Official Gazette until the End of
December 31, 2005**

#	Decree	Gazette #	Page	Publication Date
*	1996 Elections' Law for Local Organizations No. 5	16	6	30/1/1997
*	1997 Local Organizations' Law No. 1	20	5	29/11/1997
*	1997 Monetary Authority Law No. 2	21	5	31/1/1998
*	1998 Encouraging Investments Law No. 1	23	5	8/6/1998
*	1998 Fireworks and Ammunition Law No. 2	23	28	8/6/1998
*	1998 Civil Security Law No. 3	24	5	1/7/1998
*	1998 Civil Service Law No. 4	24	20	1/7/1998
*	1998 Branding and Control of Precious Ores Law No. 5	24	72	1/7/1998
*	1998 Rehabilitation Law No. 8	24	87	1/7/1998
*	1998 General Budget Law No. 7	25		24/9/1998
*	1998 Protection of Animal Resources Law No. 8	26		26/11/1998
*	1998 General Supplies Law No. 9	26		16/11/1998
*	1998 Industrial and Free Zones Law No. 10	27	5	8/12/1998
*	1998 Higher Education Law No. 10	27	28	8/12/1998
*	1998 Social Gatherings Law No. 12	28	6	13/3/1999
*	1999 Natural Resources Law No. 1	28	10	13/3/1999
*	1999 Social Status Law No. 2	29	6	17/7/1999
*	1999 Regulating the Law Profession Law No. 3	30	5	10/10/1999
*	1999 Handicapped Rights Law No. 4	30	36	10/10/1999
*	An outline of Law No.1 for the year 1999 to Amend 1998's No. 5 Law for Branding and Control of Precious Ores	30	48	10/11/1999
*	1999 No. 5 Law that Amends 1999's No. 3 Law Regulating the Law Profession	32	5	29/2/2000
*	1999 Governmental Grants Law No. 6	32	9	29/2/2000
*	1999 Environmental Law No. 7	32	38	29/2/2000
*	2000 Charities and non-profit Organizations Law No.1	32	71	29/2/2000
*	2000 Commercial Agents' Regulating Law No. 2	32	92	29/2/2000
*	2000 Judicial Law No. 3	33	5	30/6/2000
*	2000 Census Law No. 4	34		30/9/2000
*	2000 Traffic Law No. 5	36		19/3/2001
*	2000 Standards and Measurements Law No. 6	36		19/3/2001
*	2001 Consulate Fees Law No. 1	37		31/5/2001
*	2001 Civil and Commercial Contracts Law No. 2	38	5	5/9/2001
*	2001 Punitive Procedure Law No. 3	38	94	5/9/2001
*	2001 Civil and Commercial Statements Law No. 4	38	226	5/9/2001

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*	2001 Creation of Legal Courts Law No. 4	38	279	5/9/2001
*	2000 Labor Law No. 7 with Work Illnesses' Appendix	39	7	25/11/2001
*	2002 Judicial Authority Law No. 1	40		18/5/2002
*	Amendment Law (1999 Civil Status Law No. 2 and 2001 No. 6)	40		18/5/2002
*	2002 Banking Law No. 2	41		6/6/2002
*	2002 Water Law No. 3	43		5/9/2002
*	2002 Basic Law			7/7/2002
*	2003 Amended Basic Law			-/3/2003
*	PLC's Interior Regime	46	16	16/8/2003
*	Jerusalem	44		31/3/2003
*	2003 Legal Courts' Fees Law No. 1	47	7	30/10/2003
*	2003 Agricultural Law No. 2	47	23	30/10/2003
*	2003 Social Insurance Law No. 3	48	7	29/1/2004
*	2004 Amendment Law No. 1 (Amending 1998's Industrial Towns Law No. 10)	49	10	17/6/2004
*	2004 Amendment Law No. 2 (Amending 1998's Encouraging Investments Law No. 2)	49	13	17/6/2004
*	2004 Amendment Law No. 3 (Amending 2000's Standards and Measurements Law No. 6)	49	17	17/6/2004
*	2004 Amendment Law No. 6 (Amending 1998's General Supplies Law No. 9)	52	11	18/1/2005
*	2004 Palestinian Child Law No. 7	52	13	18/1/2005
*	2004 Creation of a Compensation Fund to Alleviate Israeli Aggression Law No. 8	52	34	18/1/2005
*	2004 Auditing Law No. 9	52	38	18/1/2005
*	2004 Duties and Rights of PLC's members Law No. 10	52	50	18/1/2005
*	2004 PLC's Salaries and Compensations Law No. 11	52	58	18/1/2005
*	2004 Money Notes Law No. 12	53	10	28/2/2005
*	2004 Capital Market Law No. 13	53	60	28/2/2005
*	2004 Prisoners' Support Law No. 14	53	73	28/2/2005
*	2004 Financial and Administrative Law No. 15	53	75	28/2/2005
*	2004 Security's Insurance and Salaries Law No. 16	53	94	28/2/2005
*	2004 Income Tax Law No. 17	53	122	28/2/2005
*	2005 Illegal Profit Law No. 1	53	154	28/2/2005
*	2004 Amendment Law No. 18 (Amending 1997's Monetary Authority Law No. 2)	54	8	23/4/2005
*	2004 Detainees and Liberated Law No. 19	54	10	23/4/2005
*	2004 Comprehensive Insurance Law No. 20	54	14	
*	2005 Amendment Law No. 2 (Amending Creation of Judicial Regimes Law)	54	35	23/4/2005
*	2005 Amendment Law No. 3 (Amending 1998's Rehabilitation and Prisons' Law No. 6)	54	37	23/4/2005

*	2005 Amendment Law No. 4 (Amending 1998's Civil Services Law No. 4)	54	39	23/4/2005
*	2005 Amendment Law No. 5 (Amending 2001's Civil and Commercial Contracts' Law No. 2)	55	8	27/6/2005
*	2005 Welfare Fund Law No. 6	55	10	27/6/2005
*	2005 Retirement Law No. 7	55	16	27/6/2005
*	2005 Serving in Palestinian Security Forces No. 8	56	4	28/6/2005
*	2005 Basic Law Amending 2003's Basic Law	57	5	18/8/2005
*	2005 Elections Law No. 9	57	8	18/8/2005
*	2005 Local Committees' Elections Law No. 10	57	79	18/8/2005
*	2005 Amendment Law No. 11 (Amending 2003's Agricultural Law No. 2)	58	8	8/9/2005
*	2005 Amendment Law No. 12 (Amending 2005's Local Committees' Elections Law No. 10)	58	10	8/9/2005
*	2005 Diplomatic Relations Law No. 13	60	5	9/11/2005
*	2005 Management of Orphan Property Association Law No. 14	60	22	9/11/2005
*	2005 Judicial Authority Law No. 15	60	33	9/11/2005
*	2005 Amendment Law No. 16 (Amending 2004's Palestinian Security's Insurance and Salaries Law No. 16)	60	82	9/11/2005
*	2005 Intelligence Law No. 17	60	84	9/11/2005

Appendix 10: Names and Addresses of Palestinian Human Rights Organizations

Name of Organization	Telephone	Fax	E-mail
Citizens' Rights Center/ Arab Thought Forum	2347129	2347674	atfcrc@multaqa.org
Alhaq	2954903	2954646	haq@alhaq.org
Addameer	2960447	2960446	addameer@planet.edu
World Coalition to Defend Children	2407530	2407018	dcipal@dcj-pal.org
Mandela	2955756	2956468	madela@mandela-palestine.org
Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group	5823372	5823385	admin@phrmg.org
Independent Palestinian Coalition for Citizens' Rights	2986958	2987211	piccr@palnet.com
Democratic Workers Rights Center	2952608	2952985	info@dwrc.org
Jerusalem Legal Aid Center	6272982	6264770	jlac@palnet.com
Women Center for Legal Counseling	2347438	2342172	wclac@palnet.com
Land Research Center	2217239	2217239	lrc@palnet.com
Muwatin	2951108	2960258	muwatin@muwatin.org
Palestinian Center for Judicial Independence/ Musawa	2952004	2950957	musawa@palnet.com
Palestinian Prisoner Organization	2777151	2747555	info@ppsmo.org
Law College/Bir Zeit University	2982009	2982137	law@law.birzeit.edu
Jerusalem Center for Democracy and Human Rights	2791610	2791611	info@jcdhr.org
Jerusalem Human Rights Center	5826744	5826744	jchr@shabaka.net
Jerusalem Center for Social and Economical Rights	6271776	6273516	info@jcsr.org
Ramallah Center for Human Rights Studies	2961180	2961181	rchrs@palnet.com
Palestinian Lawyers for Human Rights	08-2868860	08-2868860	-----
Support Institution	09-2382279	09-2338420	sihr@zaytona.com
Palestinian Center for Human Rights	08-2824776	08-2825893	pchr@pchgaza.org
Al Mezan Center for Human Rights	08-2453554	08-2453554	mezan@palnet.com

Appendix 11: The Palestinian Coalition for Accountability and Integrity – AMAN

Name	Address	Email	Telephone	Fax
MIFTAH	Jerusalem	info@miftah.org	02-5851842	02-5851842
Al Mezan Center for Human Rights	Jabalya	Mezan@hally.net	08-2453555	08-2453554
Palestinian Council for Foreign Relations	Gaza	Cfr-pal@hally.net	08-2836617	08-2836627
Paltrade	Ramallah	info@paltrade.org	02-2959447	02-2959449
Arab Thought Forum	Jerusalem	info@multaqa.org	02-6289126	02-6264338
Muwatin	Albireh	muwatin@muwatin.org	02-2951108	02-2960285
Secretary of AMAN	Ramallah	aman@aman-palestinian.org	02-2989506	02-2989492

Appendix 12: Names and Addresses of the Organizing Committees for Palestinian Civil Committees

Name	Address	E-mail	Telephone	Fax
Medical Aid Union	Ramallah	hdip@hdip.org	2980550	2985917
Palestinian Counseling Center	Jerusalem	pcc@palnet.com	6562272	6562271
Addameer	Ramallah	addameer@palnet.edu	2960446	2960447
Union of Health Workers Coalition	Ramallah	uhwc@palnet.com	2407518	2407517
Muwatin	Ramallah	muwatin@muwatin.org	2951108	2960285
Education and Journalism Center	Ramallah	Ednwt@palnet.com	2958460	2958460
Arab Thought Forum	Jerusalem	info@multaqa.org	6289126	6264338
Sirreyeh	Ramallah	sirreyeh@palnet.com	2952706	2980583
Alhaq	Albireh	haq@al-haq.org	2956421	2954903
Palestinian Hydrologists' Group	Ramallah	phgtamimi@hotmail.com	2966315/6/7	2966319
Bisan Center	Jerusalem	bisanrd@palnet.com	2407837/8/9	2405777
Secretary of the Committee	Ramallah	Pngonet@p-ol.com	02-2963847	02-2963848

Appendix 13: Civil Committee for Monitoring of Elections

Name	Email	Telephone	Fax
Palestinian Center for Peace and Democracy	pcpd@palnet.com	2965981	2965983
Women Center for Legal Counseling		2347438	2342172
Muwatin	talebawad@muwatin.org	2407721	2407730
PARC	mansour@pal-arc.org	2963840	2963850
General Union of Palestinian Women	jupw@palnet.com	2407696	2401093
Arab Studies Society		2343352	2343354
PANORAMA	panorama@panoramacenter.co	2959618	2981824
The Civil Forum	aref@cfip.org	2348020	2348022
Arab Thought Forum	info@multaqa.org	2347129	2347674