March 29, 2006

Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center
at the Center for Special Studies (C.S.S)

The new Hamas government and its political platform





The new Hamas government: The vote of confidence for Ismail Haniyeh's government in the Palestinian Legislative Council (Palestinian TV, March 28, 2006)

Overview

- On March 28 the new Hamas government received a vote of confidence from the Palestinian Legislative Council, with of majority 71 votes in favor and 36 against. The opposing votes came from the Fatah faction (the largest opposition faction in the Council), the Third Way (Salam Fiyyad) and Independent Palestine (Mustafa Barghouti). The Popular Front supported the new government. The Alternative Faction (Al-Badil), a union of leftist factions, abstained. During Legislative Council meetings on March 27 and 28, Fatah representatives attacked the new government's political platform as it was expressed in prime minister Ismail Haniyeh's speech. On March 29 the new government was sworn in.

- During coalition negotiations conducted by Hamas with Fatah and the small Legislative Council factions, **fundamental disagreements** surfaced. Most of them

stemmed from Hamas' **opposition to recognizing the PLO** as the Palestinian people's only legitimate representative and the Palestinian Authority (PA)'s source of authority, and by Hamas' refusal to **amend the new government's policies**, which reflect the movement's radical Islamic ideology.

- However, Hamas did not retreat in the face of pressure and did not change its political platform. This new government's platform is at variance with the guidelines Abu Mazen presented in his letter of appointment to Ismail Haniyeh. It **does not fulfill the minimum requirements set down by the government of Israel and the international community**: recognition of the State of Israel by the new government, abandoning terrorism and accepting the provisions of agreements already reached between Israel and the Palestinians. For that reason Abu Mazen sent a memo to Ismail Haniyeh warning him that Hamas' extremist positions were liable to lead to international isolation of the Palestinian and to harm their national interests.

- **Nevertheless, Abu Mazen permitted Hamas to form the new government**. It includes veteran activists (who hold key positions), technocrats and professionals identified with the movement. Hamas made an obvious attempt to present an attractive government which includes well-educated young ministers who will be able to carry out the reforms expected by the Palestinian public. Conspicuous by their absence are other organizations. Hamas, which had hoped to stand at the head of a broad united government was forced, in the final analysis, **to form its government without one single senior political partner (Fatah) and even without minor partners (such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.)**



Sheikh Hamad Bitawi, a Hamas member of the Legislative Council, praising the vote of confidence. Holding a copy of the Qur'an, he called for conduct governed by extremist Islamic codes, with cries of "Allahu Akbar" in the background (Palestinian TV, March 27). Sheikh Bitawi is a senior Hamas activist and chairman of Al-Tadhamun "charitable society" in Nablus.

The new Hamas government – general description

Following is a **general description of the new government**, based on the list of ministers ratified by the Palestinian Legislative Council.

☑ **Political activists, technocrats and independents**: Nine of the senior ministers are members of the Legislative Council,[1] and all of them were voted in on the Hamas ticket. The other 15 are **technocrats** or **independents** who are either affiliated with or sympathetic to Hamas. Some of the ministers were active in its ranks for years either in politics, social activities (*da'wah*) or security.

☑ **The most important positions are held by senior Hamas activists from the Gaza Strip**: While 11 members of the new government come from the Gaza Strip, 12 from the West Bank, and one from East Jerusalem. However,**those from the Gaza Strip were appointed to the most important positions (prime minister, foreign minister, interior minister)**. It would seem therefore that **the Gaza Strip will be the government's main center of activity, since the prime minister and most of the important ministers live and are active there**.

[1] Based on the list of ministers according to the Ramatan News Agency, March 27, 2006, and the Hamas Internet site.

☑ **The relative age of the government ministers is young**: Their average age is between 40 and 50.

☑ **Their backgrounds are varied**: Eight of the ministers live in **cities** in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. Ten of them live in **towns and villages** and five in **refugee camps**. One lives in East Jerusalem (the Minister of Jerusalem Affairs), there is one woman and one Christian from Bethlehem.

☑ **All of the ministers are well educated and about half of them have advanced degrees**: **Eight of the university graduates studied in the west** (the United States, Britain, Germany), **eight in Arab states** (Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, etc.) and the rest in the PA. An obvious attempt has been made to choose as ministers professionals in the fields of their respective.

☑ **There is a conspicuously large number of ministers – 13 – who were arrested by Israel**, a biographical tidbit each candidate was only too happy to include in his resumé. Some of them were arrested by the PA. Most of the arrests took place at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s.

❁ Many of the ministers helped spread the movement's radical-Islamic world view through educational, religious or social activity (*da'wah*). That reflects the importance Hamas places on fostering an Islamic perception and on the intensive indoctrination carried out in its educational institutions, which it presents in its charter as one of its central missions.[2]

❁ The composition of the government was intended to present to the Palestinian people, the Arab/Muslim world and the international community **the image of an**

[2] For further information see our Special Bulletins "The battle for hearts and minds," at http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/i_p_conflict_e.pdf and "The Hamas charter (1988)" at http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/hamas_charter.pdf

attractive, responsible government of well-educated professionals. However, the **hard core,** the three ministers holding most important portfolios, is composed of **old-time, well-experienced Hamas activists**. They rose to leadership positions through long years of activity in the movement's ranks and were even arrested a number of times by the Israeli security forces. **That hard core is centered in the Gaza Strip and will have enormous influence on the way the government functions, far more than the professional technocrats in their ministries**.

- Furthermore, the strongest centers of influence in Hamas are not the members of the government, but those "outside" who will have great influence on the way government matters are conducted. Two such individuals are **Khaled Mashal**, Hamas leader, head of its "political bureau," who operates from Damascus, and **Muhammad Deif**, head of the terrorist-operative wing, who is in hiding in the Gaza Strip.



Left: **Dr. Muhammad al-Zahar**, Minister of Foreign Affairs; right: **Sayid Siyam**, Minister of the Interior (Al-Jazeera TV, March 18).

- For further information about the government ministers, see **Appendices A and B**.

The political platform of the new government

Hamas published its government's political platform on its Internet site, calling it the "national coalition government" (a name more representative of its expectations than of the actual situation). The following are the main points of its policies in regard to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (according to its site, www.palestine-info.info):[3]

☑ **Expulsion of the [Israeli] occupation and the settlements" and "the establishment of an independent Palestinian state" with Jerusalem as its capital** (Article 1). [Note: Hamas deliberately avoids any mention of the borders of the Palestinian state it demands, and does not relate to recognizing Israel's right to exist as an independent country.[4]

☑ **The "right of return" of Palestinian refugees** (Article 2): According to Hamas' political platform, Palestinian refugees have the "right" to return to their homes and property [i.e., to pre-1967 Israel] and that the "right" **is individual and collective, and it is not to be ceded** [i.e., a change in the nature and identity of the State of Israel as a Jewish state and rejection of the principle of two states for two peoples].

☑ **The "struggle" against the "Israeli occupation"** (Article 3): The release of prisoners [i.e., the release of terrorist-operatives incarcerated in Israeli prisons] should be ensured. The steps taken by Israel, i.e., making Jerusalem a Jewish city, annexing the Jordan Valley, cutting off the West Bank from the Gaza Strip, building the security fence – called by Hamas "the racist separation fence," etc., should be struggled against. [Note: **That ensures eternal friction between the Hamas government and Israe**l.]

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[3] For the original Arabic version, see **Appendix C**.

[4] **Musheir al-Masri,** a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, said in an interview with Egyptian television on the eve of the formation of the Hamas government that "Hamas strongly opposes mutual recognition with the State of Israel and that is a point of disagreement between Hamas and the other factions" (Egyptian TV, March 19).

☑ **Legitimizing the "resistance" [i.e., the use of terrorism and violence]** (Article 4): Hamas has posited "resistance in all its forms" as the "legitimate right" of the Palestinian people as a means of "ending the occupation and returning Palestinian national rights" [Note: According to Palestinian terrorist organization terminology, **suicide bombing attacks** come under the heading of "resistance."]



The new Hamas government: briefcase in one hand, assault rifle in the other, in a cartoon by Omaya Joha, known for her Hamas sympathies (Al-Hayat Al-Jadeeda, February 1, 2006).

☑ **Avoidance of the recognition of agreements signed between Israel and the Palestinians [i.e., the PLO and the PA] and of international agreements relating to Israeli-Palestinian relations** (Articles 9, 10): According to the Hamas platform, it will approach such agreements with "the greatest responsibility" and "in a way that will protect the ultimate interests of the [Palestinian] people, preserve their rights and not harm their basic principles" **[i.e., every Israeli-Palestinian or international agreement will be reexamined and reinterpreted by the Hamas government to verify whether**

they are beneficial to Palestinian interests, rights and principles…][5]

- **The platform of the Hamas government clearly reflect its radical Islamic ideology and its basic, rigid positions as expressed in its 1988 charter.[6] They are in opposition to the platform presented by Abu Mazen in his letter of appointment to the new government, and expressed in his speech at the swearing-in ceremony of the Palestinian Legislative Council on February 18. They also do not fulfill the minimum demands set out by the government of Israel and the international community, mainly full recognition of the State of Israel as a Jewish state, the disarming of Hamas, the abandoning of terrorism and violent and the ratification of agreements and understandings reached in the past between Israel and the Palestinians (the PA and the PLO).**

- In his speech to the Legislative Council on March 27, Ismail Haniyeh repeated those positions, accompanying them with pleasant phrases meant to deflect the pressure currently exerted on Hamas. He avoided committing the government to fulfilling agreements made with Israel in the past but expressed his willingness to continue communicating with it regarding issues related to the Palestinians' daily life. He also expressed willingness to hold a dialogue with the Quartet to search for a way to end the conflict, but refrained from recognizing the right of the State of Israel to exist. He stated that the Palestinian people were peace-loving, but made no commitment to abandon terrorism. He called for the continuation of the struggle to establish an independent Palestinian state, but without mentioning the Jewish-Israeli state which would share its borders. He also expressed firm objection to any unilateral steps taken by Israel (i.e., the disengagement plan).

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[5] Dr. Mahmoud al-Zahar, the new designated foreign minister, stated on the eve of the formation of the new government that it would reexamine the agreements signed with Israel which, he said, were "a burden on the Palestinian people" (Masa News Agency, March 20). Musheir al-Masri said, "There are agreements which deprive the Palestinians and some of them were signed for a limited time. Therefore it is the right of the new government to reexamine them and to determine the extent of their legitimacy" (Egyptian TV, March 19).

[6] For further information see our Special Bulletin "The Hamas charter (1988)," at "The Hamas charter (1988)" at http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/hamas_charter.pdf

Opposition of Abu Mazen, PA chairman, to the basic policies of the Hamas government

- On March 25 Abu Mazen sent a note to Ismail Haniyeh, the prime minister designate.[7] It stated that the Hamas victory in the elections did not mean that the PA's legal and political commitments, as represented by the PLO, could be disregarded, since the PLO was the source of its authority and the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people in the PA-administered territories and elsewhere. He called upon him to be wary of adopting [extremist] positions which would leave the Palestinians isolated internationally and enable the government of Israel to ignore its commitments and agreements, and to impose on the Palestinians measures decided upon unilaterally.

- In a postscript to the note Abu Mazen expressed his sorrow that Hamas had not adopted the policies he represented, a step which had frustrated the establishment of a national coalition government, and demanded that Hamas make the necessary repairs in its governmental policies. Nevertheless, he clarified that he had decided to permit the new government to be presented for a vote of confidence in the Legislative Council out of respect for the democratic process. However, he added, he intended to watch the functioning of the government closely and in the future he would not hesitate to use his constitutional authority, if necessary, to preserve the national interests of the Palestinian people [i.e., a veiled threat to dismiss the prime minister should the situation warrant it and to disband the government].

[7] Ramatan News Agency, March 25.

Abu Mazen's platform

Hamas platform



Two diametrically opposed political platforms seen through the eyes of a Palestinian cartoonist (Al-Quds, February 19, 2006)

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Appendix A

Summary of information about the ministers in the new Hamas government

No.	Name	Role	Place of residence	Education / Profession	Studied at / in	Age	Membership in Legislative Council
1	Ismail ‘Abd al-Salam Ahmad Haniya	Prime Minister, Minister of Youth and Sport	Al-Shati’’ refugee camp, Gaza Strip	BA in Arabic language studies	Islamic University, Gaza	43	Yes
2	Dr. Mahmoud Khaled Zabut al-Zahar	Minister of Foreign Affairs	Gaza, Gaza Strip	Surgeon	‘Eyn Shams University, Egypt	61	Yes
3	Sheikh Said Muhammad Shabaan Siyam	Minister of the Interior and National Security	Al-Shati’’ refugee camp, Gaza Strip	BA in Islamic culture	Al-Quds Open University	47	Yes
4	Dr. Omar Mahmoud Matar Matar (‘Abd al-Razzeq)	Minister of Finance	Salfit (Nablus district), West Bank	Professor of Economics	Iowa State University, USA	48	Yes
5	Dr. Nasser al-Din Muhammad Ahmad al-Sha’ir	Minister of Education and Deputy Prime Minister	Sebastia, (Qalqilya district) West Bank	PhD in Islamic law	University of Manchester, Britain	45	No
6	Dr. Basem Naim Muhammad Naim	Minister of Health	Beit Hanoun, Gaza Strip	Surgeon	Germany	43	No
7	‘Ala’ al-Din Hussein al-Araj	Minister of National Economics	Gaza, Gaza Strip	Engineer	Al-Najah University, Nablus	42	No
8	Fakhri Fahed Musa Ahmad al-Turkeman	Minister of Social Affairs (Welfare)	Jenin refugee camp, West Bank	MA in Arab culture and literature	University of Damascus, Syria	66	No
9	Wasfi ‘Izat Hassan Mustafa Kabaha	Minister of Prisoners’ and Released Prisoners Affairs	Barta’a (Jenin district), West Bank	Civil engineer	A university in Detroit, Michigan	45	No
10	Dr. Yussuf Musa Muhammad Ruzka	Minister of Information	Al-Brij refugee camp, Gaza Strip	PhD in Arabic language studies		55	No
11	Dr. Maryam Nimr Muhammad Saleh	Minister of Women’s Affairs	Ramallah, West Bank	PhD in Islamic law	King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz University	53	Yes

					in Mecca, Saudi Arabia		
12	Dr. Ahmad Mubarak al-Khalidi	Minister of Justice	Janid, Nablus, West Bank	PhD in jurisprudence		61	No
13	Jamal Naji Shahadah al-Khodari	Minister of Communications, Technology and Information Technology	Gaza, Gaza Strip	Electrical engineer	Egypt	51	Yes
14	‘Abd al-Rahman Fahmi ‘Abd al-Rahman Zeidan	Minister of Employment and Housing	Dir al-Ghusun (Tulkarm district), West Bank	Civil engineer / MA in transportation engineering	Alabama, USA; Al-Najah University, Nablus	37	Yes
15	George George Jawada Murcos	Minister of Tourism and Antiquities	Bethlehem, West Bank	Engineer		58	Yes
16	Dr. Atallah ‘Abd al-‘Aal Muhammad Abu al-Sibbah	Minister of Culture	Rafah, Gaza Strip	PhD in Islamic law	Um-Darman University, Sudan	58	No
17	Ziyad Shukri ‘Abd al-Raba al-Thatha	Minister of Transport and Transportation	Gaza, Gaza Strip	Civil engineer	University of Alexandria, Egypt	51	No
18	Sheikh Naif Mahmoud Muhammad Rajoub	Minister of Waqf (Endowments) and Religious Affairs	Dura (Hebron district), West Bank	PhD in Islamic law	Universities in Jordan and Yemen	48	Yes
19	Samir Abdallah Saleh Abu Eisha	Minister of Planning	Nablus, West Bank	Professor of civil engineering	University of Pennsylvania, USA	46	No
20	Prof. Muhammad Ramadan al-Agha	Minister of Agriculture	Khan Yunis, Gaza Strip	PhD in the philosophy of science	University of Manchester, Britain	47	No
21	Khaled Abu ‘Arafa	Minister without Portfolio in Charge of Jerusalem Affairs	Ras al-Amoud, East Jerusalem	Engineer	University of Baghdad, Iraq	45	No
22	Isa Khouri Isa al-Ja’abari	Minister of Local Governance	Hebron, West Bank	Chemical engineer		40	No
23	Dr. ‘Atef Ibrahim Muhammad ‘Odwan	Minister without Portfolio in Charge of Refugee Affairs	Beit Hanoun, Gaza Strip	PhD in international relations	Oxford University, Britain	50	Yes
24	Muhammad Ibrahim Musa al-Barghouti	Minister of Labor	Kouber (Ramallah district), West Bank	Business administration	Al-Najah College for Advanced Research	44	No

Appendix B

Biographies of the Hamas ministers

Ismail Haniya: Prime Minister and Minister of Youth and Sport[8]



✓ **Name**: Ismail ‘Abd al-Salam Ahmad Haniya (nicknamed Abu al-‘Abd)

✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1963 in Al-Shati’ refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. His family came from the village of al-Jura near Ashqelon (as did Ahmad Yassin’s family)

✓ **Marital status**: Married, 13 children

✓ **Education**: He attended the UNRWA elementary school in the camp, and Al-Azhar high school in Gaza. He received his BA from the Department of Arabic at the Islamic University in Gaza. Throughout his studies he was active in Islamic student groups.

✓ **Affiliation**: Hamas

✓ **Hamas activity**: His status in the organization is the result of his **close association with Ahmad Yassin**. In January 1997, he wanted to run in the Legislative Council elections, but pulled out after the Hamas leadership exerted severe pressure on him. In 1997, when Yassin was released from prison, Haniya **ran his office** until Yassin died in a targeted killing in the spring of 2004. Among his many activities, for 10 years (1990 until 2000) he dealt with **Hamas organizational work**. Those activities (and his closeness to Ahmad Yassin) enabled him to **achieve a central position in Hamas and become a member of its political leadership**. He headed the Hamas ticket for the Palestinian Legislative Council elections and is

[8] For further information see our Special Bulletin “**Ismail Haniya, Portrait of the Hamas candidate for Palestinian Prime Minister**,” at http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/ismail_hniyeh.pdf.

considered a “pragmatic” figure by the Hamas leadership, as compared with other senior Hamas leaders (He has recently made statements pleasant to western ears.).

✓ **Involvement with the Israeli security forces**: Ismail Haniya was arrested a number of times by the Israeli security forces. The first time was in December 1987he was in jail for 18 days. The second time he was held in administrative detention for six months. In May 1989, he was imprisoned for three years. In May 1992 he was released and in December of the same year deported to Marj Zuhour in Lebanon with other Hamas activists.

✓ **Additional information**: On September 6, 2003, while in the company of Ahmad Yassin, he escaped from an attempted targeted killing.

Dr. Mahmoud al-Zahar: Minister of Foreign Affairs



- ✓ **Name**: Dr. Mahmoud Khaled Zabut al-Zahar (nicknamed Abu Khaled)
- ✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1945 in the Gaza Strip. His father was Palestinian and his mother was Egyptian. He grew up in Ismailiya (Egypt) and lived there until he was 13.
- ✓ **Affiliation**: A member of the founding generation of Hamas, he is considered an "extremist" by the organization's leadership. After the death of Ahmad Yassin he was appointed Rantisi's deputy. He is considered first among equals in the Hamas leadership in the Gaza Strip. He is the chairman of Hamas's "Change and Reform" faction in the Palestinian Legislative Council.
- ✓ **Marital status**: Married, seven children
- ✓ **Education**: He went to junior high and high school in Gaza. He studied medicine at 'Eyn Shams University in Cairo graduating in 1967 with a specialization in surgery.
- ✓ **Arrested by the Israeli security forces**: In 1988 he was arrested by the Israeli security forces and imprisoned for six months. He was one of the Hamas activists expelled to Lebanon in 1992. In September 2003 he survived a targeted killing in which his son Khaled died.
- ✓ **Additional information**: He worked in various hospitals in the Gaza Strip until 1982, when he was fired for his anti-Israeli incitement. From 1981 till 1985 he headed the Medical Association in the Gaza Strip. Since 1985 he has lectured

at the Islamic University in Gaza. He heads the board of directors of the Al-Nur Center for Study and Research in the Gaza Strip. He has written a number of ideological, political and social essays. In 1996 he was arrested by the Palestinian Authority.

✓ **Extremist statements made during Palestinian Legislative Council elections**: On election day, January 25, he was interviewed by Reuters. Regarding the ideology expressed in the Hamas charter of 1988, which calls for the destruction of the State of Israel, he said, "Hamas will not change a single word in its covenant." On January 13, during the election campaign, he made a speech in Khan Yunis in the Gaza Strip expressing Hamas' basic principles, as broadcast by Radio Al-Aqsa:

- "**There will be no cooperation and no agreement and no coordination with the Israeli enemy**… We will not cooperate with him [in any area], neither economic, political or security. **We do not regard the enemy as a neighbor or a partner or has having [any right over] a single inch of Palestinian [land]**."
- "…**All Palestine, every inch of Palestine, belongs to Arabs and Muslims and there is no room for any occupier** [**i.e., Israel**]. [Another] principle is **the right of return**, which we will not give up."
- "**We will educate our children as to what resistance** [i.e., violence and terrorism] **is.** They will read the Qur'an and know about the enemy from the Qur'an, not from television… . We will teach them that Palestine, all Palestine, is part of the Arab and Islamic nation… They will learn who Izzedine al-Qassam was and about the lives of Sheikh Ahmad Yassin and 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Rantisi."

Sheikh Said Siyam: Minister of the Interior and National Security



✓ **Name**: Sheikh Said Muhammad Sha'baan Siyam (nicknamed Abu Musab)

✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1959 in Al-Shati' refugee camp in the Gaza Strip and is a resident of the Sheikh Radwan neighborhood in Gaza. His family came from the village of al-Jura near Ashqelon, as did those of Ahmad Yassin and Ismail Haniya.

✓ **Affiliation**: Hamas. He is considered "pragmatic" [relative to other senior Hamas figures].

✓ **Marital status**: Married and father of six.

✓ **Education**: Studied at the Ramallah teachers' seminary and is qualified to teach science and mathematics. He has a BA from the Al-Quds Open University in Islamic culture.

✓ **Hamas activity**: He invests a great deal of time and effort in spreading Hamas ideology (*da'wah*) and social activity. He was the movement's representative at the Monitoring Committee of the National and Islamic Forces. Between December 2001 and April 2002 he was the Hamas spokesman. He was responsible for founding Hamas's Radio Al-Aqsa in the Gaza Strip. He was elected to the Palestinian Legislative Council with a large number of votes.

✓ **Arrested by the Israeli security forces**: Between 1989 and 1992 he was arrested four times by Israel, and was one of the Hamas activists expelled to Lebanon in 1992.

✓ **Additional information**: He worked at one of the UNRWA schools in the Gaza Strip, but left after a quarrel with his employers over his Hamas affiliations. Worked as a preacher and volunteer imam in various mosques in the

Gaza Strip. In 1995 he was arrested by the Palestinian Authority security services.

✓ **Comments after the elections**: With his election to the Palestinian Legislative Council he stated that he would not arrest the members of the "resistance" [i.e., terrorist-operatives carrying out attacks against Israel] because in his opinion "the resistance is the legitimate right of the Palestinian people" (Ma'a News Agency, March 24). His declaration is particularly important in view of the fact that his position of Interior Minister makes him part of the Palestinian security forces.

Prof. Omar Abdel Razzeq : Minister of Finance



- ✓ **Name**: Omar Mahmoud Matar Matar (Abdel Razzeq)
- ✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1958 in Salfit, a village in the Nablus district.
- ✓ **Marital status**: Married and father of four.
- ✓ **Education**: He went to college in Iowa, and received a PhD from Iowa State University in 1986.
- ✓ **Affiliation**: Hamas
- ✓ **Career**: He has been a professor of economics at Al-Najah University since 1991 and does research work at the Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute[9] in Ramallah. He has published four articles on Palestinian economics and dealt with the establishment of educational institutions.
- ✓ **Arrested by the Israeli security forces**: He was arrested twice, in 1997 (sentenced to administrative detention for four months) and in 2005, and is currently being tried at the military court in Judea for Hamas activities. **His trial is still in progress** and he was released on condition that he pay 20,000 shekel bail.

[9] *Ma'had Abhath As-Syasat Al-Iqtisadiyeh Al Filistini*

Nasser al-Din Muhammad Ahmad al-Sha'ir: Minister of Education and Higher Education and Deputy Prime Minister



✓ **Name**: Nasser al-Din Muhammad Ahmad al-Sha'ir

✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1961 in Sebastia, a village in the Qalqilya district.

✓ **Marital status**: Married, six children.

✓ **Education**: Nasser al-Sha'ir received a BA and an MA from Al-Najah University in Nablus. He finished his doctoral studies at the University of Manchester in England, writing his dissertation on a comparison of Islam and Judaism with an emphasis on the status of women in both religions. He specialized in comparative Islamic law.

✓ **Affiliation**: He has no formal factional affiliation and is not a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.

✓ **Career**: Between 1985 and 1989 he worked in high schools. In 1989 he lectured at Al-Najah University. Since 2001 he has been dean of Islamic law at Al-Najah University in Nablus. He worked for the Palestinian Authority's Ministry of Higher Education. He takes part in the social activities of various organizations. In recent years he supervised a program of social research of Israeli society. He has published two books, one of them called *The Palestinian-Israeli Peace Process*, which was also translated into English.

✓ **Hamas activities**: He was a member of the Islamic Block, the Hamas student wing at Al-Najah University.

✓ **Arrested by the Israeli security forces**: He was arrested in 1995 and toward the end of 2005, and spend four months in administrative detention, recently released.

Dr. Basem Naim: Minister of Health



✓ **Name**: Dr. Basem Naim Muhammad Naim

✓ **Date and place of birth**: He was born in 1963 in Beit Hanoun in the northern Gaza Strip.

✓ **Marital status**: Married and father of six.

✓ **Education**: He studied medicine in Germany and is a surgeon.

✓ **Affiliation**: Hamas. He is a movement activist but not a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council. He is head of Hamas's doctors' association.

✓ **Career**: He works in the Dar al-Shafaa' Hospital in Gaza.

✓ **Additional information**: His son, who headed group of terrorists firing Qassam rockets, was killed in the refugee camp of Saja'iya by the Israeli army.

‘Ala’ al-Araj: Minister of National Economics



- ✓ **Name**: ‘Ala’ al-Din Hussein al-Araj
- ✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1964 in Gaza.
- ✓ **Marital status**: Married, five children.
- ✓ **Education**: Received a BA from Al-Najah University in 1987.
- ✓ **Affiliation**: Independent. He is not a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.
- ✓ **Career**: He is a businessman who is chairman of the board of directors of a number of companies. He is also head of the Palestinian Contractors’ Association, secretary of the Engineers’ Association and of various businessmen’s associations in the Gaza Strip. He had commercial contacts with Israel.
- ✓ **Arrests by the Israeli security forces**: He was arrested by the Israeli security forces and detained between 1991 and 1993.

Fakhri al-Turkeman: Minister of Social Affairs (i.e., Welfare)



- ✓ **Name**: Fakhri Fahed Musa Ahmad al-Turkeman
- ✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1940 in the Jenin refugee camp.
- ✓ **Education**: He received a BA in philosophy, psychology and social sciences from the University of Damascus. He holds a degree in high school culture and literature from Al-Najah University.
- ✓ **Affiliation**: He belonged to Fatah until the end of the 1980s, today his is affiliated with Hamas.
- ✓ **Career**: He worked in education for 36 years. He is active in various organizations, for example, he headed the Emergency Rehabilitation Committee for the Jenin refugee camp in 2002.
- ✓ **Additional information**: He represented Fatah in the Palestinian Legislative Council and was chairman of the Economic Committee. He was in contact with Fatah/Tanzim operatives and signed petitions supporting attacks on Israel. During the recent elections he ran on a Hamas-affiliated independent ticket and was not elected.

Wasfi Kabaha: Minister of Prisoners' and Released Prisoners' Affairs



✓ **Name**: Wasfi 'Izat Hassan Mustafa Kabaha

✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1959 in the village of Barta'a, in the Jenin district.

✓ **Marital status**: Married, seven children

✓ **Education**: He has a BS in civil engineering from a school in Detroit, Michigan. He also has an advanced degree in water-source administration.

✓ **Affiliation**: Hamas, considered senior activist in the Jenin district.

✓ **Hamas activity**: In the past he was a terrorist-operative.

✓ **Arrests by the Israeli security forces**: He was arrested a number of times for an accumulated incarceration of nine years.

✓ **Additional information**: When in prison, he was considered one of the prisoners' leaders. He is not a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.

Dr. Yussuf Ruzka: Minister of Education



- ✓ **Name**: Yussuf Musa Muhammad Ruzka
- ✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born 1951 in Al-Brij refugee camp in the Gaza Strip
- ✓ **Marital status**: Married, nine children
- ✓ **Education**: He holds a PhD in Arabic language studies.
- ✓ **Affiliation**: Independent; not a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.
- ✓ **Additional information**: He was dean of the Department of Literature and of student affairs at the Islamic University in Gaza.

Dr. Maryam Saleh: Minister of Women's Affairs



✓ **Name**: Maryam Nimr Muhammad Saleh

✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1953 in the Deir 'Ammar refugee camp, located in the Ramallah district.

✓ **Marital status**: Married, seven children

✓ **Education**: She holds a PhD in Islamic law from the King 'Abd al-'Aziz University in Mecca.

✓ **Affiliation**: Hamas, elected to the Palestinian Legislative Council on the Hamas ticket.

✓ **Career**: In 1993 she returned to Ramallah after 22 years in Saudi Arabia. Since her return she has lectured on hadith (the Muslim oral tradition) in the Department of *Da'wah* and Principles of Religion at Al-Quds University. In 2004 she was a guest lecturer at the Open University of Jerusalem near Ramallah. She participated in editing books on Islamic issues, and was one of the founders of the Al-Huda Women's Association[10] in Al-Bireh, heading it between 1997 and 2000. She was also on the founding committees of other "charitable societies" which operate as part of Hamas's *da'wah*.

[10] Al-Huda is a Hamas "charitable society" founded in 1997. It supports the families of Hamas members and spreads the movement's ideology through social and cultural activity. It also supports the families of *shaheeds* and prisoners.

Ahmad al-Khalidi: Minister of Justice



✓ **Name**: Dr. Ahmad Mubarak al-Khalidi

✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1945 in Nablus, lives in Al-Jeneid near Nablus.

✓ **Marital status**: Married, two children

✓ **Education**: He received a PhD in jurisprudence in 1979 and is a specialist in constitutional law.

✓ **Affiliation**: He formerly belonged to Fatah and was a member of the Palestinian National Council. Today he is affiliated with Hamas; he is not a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.

✓ **Career**: He is head of the Law Faculty at Al-Najah University in Nablus, and participated in the committee which formulated the Palestinian constitution headed by Nabil Sha'ath.

✓ **Arrests by the Israeli security forces**:

Jamal al-Khodari: Minister of Communications and Technology



- ✓ **Name**: Jemal Naji Shahadah al-Khodari
- ✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born 1995 in Gaza.
- ✓ **Marital status**: Married, five children
- ✓ **Education**: He studied in Egypt and holds a BS in electrical engineering.
- ✓ **Affiliation**: Independent, member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.
- ✓ **Career**: He worked in the Palestinian Ministry of Communications. A successful businessman, during the past 14 years he has been chairman of the board of directors of the Community College of Applied Science and Technology (CCAST). He is deputy chairman of the Engineers' Association and a member of board of directory of the Palestinian Commerce Center. He participated in developing projects and scientific conventions at the Islamic University and was chairman of the board of directors for 14 years.
- ✓ **Additional information**: He has business relations with Israel.

Abdel Rahman Zeidan: Minister of Housing and Employment



✓ **Name**: ‘Abd al-Rahman Fahmi ‘Abd al-Rahman Zeidan

✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1969 in the village of Deir al-Ghusun in the Tulkarm district.

✓ **Marital status**: Married, five children.

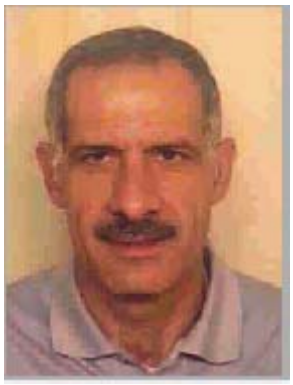
✓ **Education**: He holds a BS in civil engineering from the University of Alabama, and is currently studying for an MA in transporation engineering at Al-Najah University in Nablus.

✓ **Affiliation**: Hamas activist. He was elected to the Palestinian Legislative Council in the recent elections on the Hamas ticket.

✓ **Career**: He is in charge of a project on the West Bank sponsored by the Palestinian Economic Council for Growth and Development, and a member of various committees.

✓ **Arrests by the Israeli security forces**: He was arrested in 1993 and charged with responsibility for the Hamas terrorist-operative infrastructure [in his area] and with liaising with operativew abroad. In 1997 he was arrested and held in administrative detention.

George George Jawada Murcos: Minister of Tourism and Antiquities



- ✓ **Name**: George George Jawada Murcos
- ✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1959 in Bethlehem
- ✓ **Marital status**: Married, two children
- ✓ **Education**: He holds a BS in civil engineering.
- ✓ **Affiliation**: In the past he was affiliated with Fatah.
- ✓ **Career**: An engineer, he has served as Bethlehem's municipal engineer.
- ✓ **Additional information**: He is a Christian, the only one among the Hamas ministers.

Dr. Atallah Abu al-Sibbah: Minister of Culture



- ✓ **Name**: Atallah ‘Abd al-‘Aal Muhammad Abu al-Sibbah
- ✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1948 in Rafah.
- ✓ **Marital status**: Married, 13 children.
- ✓ **Education**: He acquired a basic education in UNRWA schools in Rafah. He studied at a teachers’ seminary in Ramallah, specializing in science and mathematics. He holds an MA in Islamic law and politics and a PhD from the Um-Darman University of Sudan.
- ✓ **Affiliation**: Independent, not a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.
- ✓ **Career**: Taught in UNRWA schools until 1984. He studied at the Islamic University in Gaza and was chairman of the student council between 1981 and 1982. He graduated with honors as a specialist in Islamic law and jurisprudence. He gives sermons and is a preacher of the return to Islam.

Ziyad al-Thatha: Transport and Transportation



✓ **Name**: Ziyad Shukri ‘Abd Raba al-Thatha

✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1955 in Gaza.

✓ **Marital status**: Married, nine children.

✓ **Education**: He holds a BS in civil engineering from the University of Alexandria in Egypt.

✓ **Affiliation**: Independent, not a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.

✓ **Career**: He directed infrastructure and construction projects in Iraq and Saudi Arabia, and today is deputy district engineer for constructing buildings for UNRWA in the Gaza Strip. He is chairman of the board of director of a charitable society focusing on children’s welfare and a member of the upper council of the Engineers’ Society.

Sheikh Naif Rajoub: Minister of Wakf (Religious Endowment) and Religious Affairs



✓ **Name**: Naif Mahmoud Muhammad Rajoub (brother of Jabril Rajoub, important figure of Fatah's "middle generation," and Abu Mazen's national security advisor)

✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1958 in Dura in the southern Hebron district.

✓ **Marital status**: Married, nine children.

✓ **Education**: He holds a BA in Islamic law from a university in Jordan and an MA in Islamic jurisprudence from Hebron University. He holds a PhD from the University of Applied and Social Sciences in Yemen.

✓ **Affiliation**: Hamas, elected to the Palestinian Legislative Council as representative from the Hebron district. Considered prominent in Hamas in Hebron.

✓ **Hamas activity**: He deals with incitement and recruiting young people to the ranks of Hamas. He is active in many social and charitable institutions belonging to Hamas' *da'wah*.

✓ **Arrests by the Israeli security forces**: He was arrested a number of times in 1989, 1994 and 2005, and was one of the Hamas activists expelled to Lebanon in 1992.

✓ **Additional information**: He had published many academic articles in the field of Islamic law and popular articles on religion. As imam of the mosque in Dura he preaches the return to Islam. He is a member of the Palestinian Society

of Islamic Sages.[11] He is a member of the administration of the Charitable Society for the Orphans of the Village of Dura.

[11] A Hamas-affiliated body made up of Islamic clerics from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It is headed by Sheik Hammed al-Bitawi. It has issued fatwas justifying suicide bombing attacks.

Samir Abu Eisha: Minister of Planning



- ✓ **Name**: Samir Abdallah Saleh Abu Eisha
- ✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1960 in Nablus.
- ✓ **Marital status**: Married, six children.
- ✓ **Education**: He holds a BS from a Jordanian university, and an MS and OhD from the University of Pennsylvania.
- ✓ **Affiliation**: Hamas activist, not a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.
- ✓ **Career**: He is a professor of civil engineering. He was employed by the Palestinian Authority in the Office of Planning and International Cooperation. He was dean of the engineering faculty and chairman of the civil engineering department at Al-Najah University. Today he is president for planning and development of Al-Najah University. (He has been visiting lecturer at a number of universities in the United States, German and France, and has written more than 60 articles and has collaborated in the writing of two books.

Prof. Muhammad Ramadan al-Agha: Minister of Agriculture



- ✓ **Name**: Muhammad Ramadan al-Agha
- ✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1959 in Khan Yunis.
- ✓ **Marital status**: Married, no children.
- ✓ **Education**: He holds a BS from the University of Cairo and an MS from a university in Jordan. He holds a PhD in the philosophy of science from Manchester University.
- ✓ **Affiliation**: Independent, not a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.
- ✓ **Career**: He has lectured at many universities in the United States, Britain and Germany. Since 1995 he has been a lecturer at the Islamic University in Gaza. He has published approximately 40 articles on scientific subjects in international journals.

Khaled Abu ‘Arafa: Minister without Portfolio in Charge of Jerusalem Affairs



- ✓ **Name**: Khaled Abu ‘Arafa
- ✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1961 in Ras al-‘Amoud, East Jerusalem.
- ✓ **Education**: He holds an engineering degree from the University of Baghdad.
- ✓ **Affiliation**: One of the senior Hamas figures in East Jerusalem, not a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.
- ✓ **Additional information**: Owner of a plumbing company. His brother was killed in a terrorist-operative action during the first violent Palestinian-Israeli conflict (1987-1993).

‘Isa al-Ja’abari: Minister of Local Governance



- ✓ **Name**: ‘Isa Khouri ‘Isa al-Ja’abari
- ✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1966 in Hebron.
- ✓ **Marital status**: Married, two children.
- ✓ **Education**: Studied chemical engineering.
- ✓ **Affiliation**: Senior Hamas activist, not a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.
- ✓ **Career**: He owns the family shoe factory.
- ✓ **Hamas activity**: He is active in Hamas-affiliated “charitable societies” which belong to the organization’s *da’wah*.
- ✓ **Arrests by the Israeli security forces**: He was arrested in 2002 and 2004.

Prof. 'Atef Ibrahim 'Odwan: Minister without Portfolio in Charge of Refugee Affairs



- ✓ **Name**: 'Atef Ibrahim Muhammad 'Odwan
- ✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1956 in Beit Hanoun in the northern Gaza Strip.
- ✓ **Marital status**: Married, seven children.
- ✓ **Education**: He holds a BA in political science from the College of Economics and Political Science in Cairo. He has a diploma in political science from the Institute for Arab Studies of the Arab League. He holds an Oxford MA and PhD, and is an expert in international relations.
- ✓ **Affiliation**: Hamas, a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.
- ✓ **Career and Hamas activities**: During 1996 he lectured at the Islamic University in Gaza. He has written articles for more than seven Arabic publications and edited Hamas's official organ, *Filisteen al-Muslima*, for four years. He was political-economic advisor to the late Ahmad Yassin. Worked as a journalist for more than seven Arab publications. Today he heads the Hamas-affiliated Al-Mustaqbal Research Center in Gaza, which publishes articles and "studies" in the service of Hamas.[12] He has written 18 books about political science and Islamic history. He is active in the *da'wah* and heads conventions and gives lessons in the mosques in the Gaza Strip.

[12] For further information see our Special Bulletin "The Hamas-associated Al-Mustaqbal research center presents another study on the future of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the new era following the IDF's withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and northern West Bank.," at http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/al_mustaqbal.pdf.

✓ **Arrests by the Israeli security forces**: Between 1969 and 1975 he was arrested a number of times, and in 1971 he was sentenced to three years. In 1992 he was one of the Hamas terrorists expelled to Lebanon. He was also arrested by the Palestinian security forces.

✓ **Additional information**: In the past he was an officer in the Popular Liberation Forces (which belong to the Palestine Liberation Army) and a member of the Palestinian National Council.

Muhammad al-Barghouti: Minister of Labor



- ✓ **Name**: Muhammad Ibrahim Musa al-Barghouti
- ✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1962 in Kouber in the Ramallah district.
- ✓ **Marital status**: Married, two children
- ✓ **Education**: He holds a BS in computer science and mathematics, and is a student in the business administration department of the College for Advanced Research at Al-Najah University.
- ✓ **Affiliation**: Senior Hamas activist since 1995. Is not a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.
- ✓ **Career**: He is the general director of the Islamic Charitable Society in Al-Bireh.[13]
- ✓ **Arrests by the Israeli security forces**: He was wanted by the Israeli security forces and arrested six times.
- ✓ **Additional information**: He was wounded during the first violent Palestinian-Israeli confrontation (1987-1993).

[13] A large Hamas-affiliated "charitable society" which the Palestinian Authority closed in December 2001 and which reopened shortly thereafter. Its activities focus on education, operating a large network of educational institutions, from kindergartens to high schools. They are Hamas-affiliated and indoctrinate the pupils with extremist Muslim ideology, hatred for Israel and terrorism.

Muhammad Ahmad Muhammad Awadh: Government Secretary



- ✓ **Name**: Muhammad Ahmad Muhammad Awadh
- ✓ **Date and place of birth**: Born in 1960 in Gaza.
- ✓ **Marital status**: Married, five children
- ✓ **Affiliation**: Independent, not a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.
- ✓ **Career**: He was dean of the engineering faculty at the Islamic University in Gaza. He works for the American USAID, the United States Agency for International Development, which operates internationally. He is a member of the board of directors of the Engineers' Society and other engineering associations. He is Deputy Chairman for Technological and Scientific Matters at the Islamic University.

- ✓ **Additional information**: Professor of engineering

Appendix C

The government's political platform as it appeared on the Hamas Website



مشروع البرنامج السياسي لحكومة الائتلاف الوطني

وفاءً للشهداء والأسرى والجرحى، وتضحيات شعبنا الفلسطيني، وحمايةً لحقوقه، وحفاظًا على ثوابته الوطنية غير القابلة للتنازل، وتأكيدًا لوحدته الوطنية، وبناء بيته، وقيامًا بالواجبات الدستورية المنوطة بالحكومة، وتحقيقًا لمبدأ المشاركة والديمقراطية على طريق حماية حقوق الشعب الفلسطيني ومصالحه، ودعم صموده، وإنجاز حقوقه الوطنية، بإزالة الاحتلال، وحماية حق العودة، والمقاومة، وبناء الدولة المستقلة كاملة السيادة وعاصمتها القدس، فإن برنامج الحكومة يتضمن الآتي:

1. إزالة الاحتلال، والمستوطنات، وهدم جدار الفصل العنصري، والعمل على بناء الدولة الفلسطينية المستقلة كاملة السيادة وعاصمتها القدس ودعم صمود أهلها، ورفض الحلول الجزئية، وسياسة الأمر الواقع، وكل مشروع ينتقص حقوقنا.

2. التمسك بحق عودة اللاجئين الفلسطينيين إلى ديارهم وممتلكاتهم باعتباره حقًا فرديًا وعامًا غير قابل للتنازل عنه.

3. العمل على تحرير الأسرى ومواجهة إجراءات الاحتلال على الأرض من اعتقالات واغتيالات واجتياحات (وبالذات تهويد القدس، وضم الأغوار، وتوسيع المستوطنات، وتمزيق الضفة، وجدار الفصل العنصري، وما نتج عنه من ممارسات من خلال تفعيل قرار محكمة العدل الدولية في لاهاي بشأنه) ومواجهة العقوبات الجماعية، ورفض الابتزاز والاغتصاب لمستحقات السلطة.

4. المقاومة بأشكالها المختلفة حق مشروع للشعب الفلسطيني لإنهاء الاحتلال واستعادة حقوقه الوطنية.

5. التعاون مع المجتمع الدولي من أجل إزالة الاحتلال والمستوطنات والانسحاب الشامل من الأراضي التي احتلت في عام 1967 بما فيها القدس، حتى تنعم المنطقة بالهدوء والاستقرار في هذه المرحلة.

6. إجراء عملية إصلاح شاملة للوضع الداخلي، ومحاربة الفساد، وحل مشكلة البطالة، وبناء مؤسسات الشعب والمجتمع على أسس ديموقراطية تكفل العدالة والمساواة والمشاركة، وممارسة التعددية السياسية وتعزيز سيادة القانون، والفصل بين السلطات، وتوفير استقلال القضاء وصيانته، وحماية واحترام حقوق الإنسان وحرياته الأساسية.

7. بناء مؤسساتنا الوطنية المختلفة على أسس وطنية ومهنية وديمقراطية بعيدًا عن التفرد والحزبية.

8. تؤكد الحكومة على ما تم الاتفاق عليه بين الفصائل الفلسطينية في حوار القاهرة في مارس 2005 حول موضوع منظمة التحرير، وتؤكد على ضرورة الإسراع في تنفيذ الإجراءات اللازمة لذلك.

9. تتعامل الحكومة مع الاتفاقيات الموقعة بمسئولية عالية وبما يحمي المصالح العليا لشعبنا ويصون حقوقه ولا يمس ثوابته.

10. تتعامل الحكومة مع القرارات الدولية ذات الشأن بمسئولية وطنية بما يحقق حماية حقوق شعبنا الثابتة.

11. الحفاظ على استقلالية القرار الوطني الفلسطيني وحمايته.

12. التأكيد على عمقنا العربي والإسلامي، وتفعيل دعم أمتنا العربية والإسلامية لشعبنا وقضيته العادلة في المجالات كافة.

13. إقامة علاقات طيبة إيجابية، وودية، ومتوازنة، قائمة على الاحترام المتبادل مع الدول العربية والإسلامية ومختلف دول العالم، والمؤسسات الدولية.

14. العمل على إيجاد تواصل حر بين مدن وقرى الوطن في الضفة، وبين الضفة وغزة، والعمل على فتح المعابر مع مصر والأردن بشكل دائم، وبناء الميناء وتشغيل المطار.

15. حماية الديمقراطية وتعزيز التداول السلمي للسلطة.

16. استكمال الانتخابات البلدية على أسس ديمقراطية.

17. دعم التواجد الفلسطيني في القدس، ومقاومة سياسية للتهويد.

18. تعزيز سيادة القانون.

19. حماية أمن المواطن والوطن، والممتلكات العامة والخاصة.

20. إصلاح القضاء، وتعزيز استقلاله ونزاهته، ورفع كفاءة الأداء، وصون قراراته وإنفاذها.

21. حماية الحريات العامة والخاصة، والتأكيد على حرية الرأي، وتشكيل الأحزاب، وتحريم الاعتقال السياسي.

22. تعزيز بنية المجتمع المدني، وتطوير مؤسساته، وتعميق الوحدة الوطنية، ومحاربة الفساد، والممارسات الخاطئة، ومعالجة الفلتان الأمني.

23. تطوير عمليات الإصلاح الإداري والمالي، وتعزيز دور الرقابة، وإنشاء ديوان للمظالم، وتفعيل قوانين معالجة الكسب غير المشروع ومحاربة الفساد، وهدر المال العام، وترسيخ مبدأ تكافؤ الفرص أمام الجميع، وتحريم الإقصاء

الوظيفي على أسس حزبية أو سياسية.

24. تنمية كفاءة المؤسسات الراعية للشهداء والجرحى، والداعمة للحركة الأسيرة والجريحة.

25. حماية الوقف الفلسطيني الإسلامي والمسيحي.

26. حماية حقوق الفقراء والضعفاء، ورعاية حقوق ذوي الاحتياجات الخاصة ودعم المؤسسات التي تقوم على رعايتهم.

27. العمل على تحسين ظروف معيشة المواطنين، وتشجيع التكافل الاجتماعي، وتوسيع شبكة الأمان والحماية الاجتماعية والصحية والتعليمية، وتطوير الخدمات المقدمة للمواطن بأشكالها المختلفة.

28. وضع خطة تنموية شاملة على مستوى الوطن، مع العناية بالتنمية البشرية في المجالات كافة.

29. حماية حقوق المرأة،، والطفل، والشاب، والأسرة، وتعزيز دور كل منهم في البناء.

30. تعزيز دور الشباب، ودعم مؤسساته، وتطوير أدائها، وتوسيع مساحات مشاركاتهم في البناء.

31. وضع خطة وطنية شاملة لمعالجة مشكلة الفقر والبطالة، والعمال، والخريجين.

32. تشجيع قطاع الإسكان، وتخفيف مشكلة المساكن أمام الأزواج الشابة والفقيرة.

33. تعزيز دور التعليم، والتعليم العالي، وتطوير مؤسساتهما وتنويعها، ورفع الكفاءة والجودة، وتشجيع البحث العلمي ودعمه، وتوظيف نتائجه، ورعاية الخريجين، مع الاهتمام بالتعليم المهني والتطبيقي.

34. تطوير المرافق الصحية، وتطوير خدماتها العامة والتخصصية، ورفع الأداء المهني، وزيادة التعاون مع دول الإقليم، والمؤسسات الدولية، وتحقيق الاكتفاء الذاتي.

35. تنمية القطاع الزراعي والحيواني، والبحري، وتشجيع التصدير، والتصنيع الغذائي.

36. بناء مؤسسات الوطن الاقتصادية على أسس تشجع الاستثمار، وترفع معدلات التنمية، وتمنع الاحتكار، والاستغلال، وتحمي العامل، وتشجع التصنيع، وتزيد التصدير، وتطور التجارة مع العالم العربي والدولي بما يخدم مصالحنا الفلسطينية، وتعزز قدراتنا الذاتية، وسن القوانين المناسبة لذلك.

37. تعزيز الدور الوطني للمؤسسات الثقافية، والعناية بالتراث الفلسطيني والعربي، وتحصين المواطنين من الغزو الفكري.

38. تعزيز دور واستقلال المؤسسات الإعلامية وحماية حقوق وحرية الصحافة والصحفيين وتسهيل عملهم.

39. تفعيل ودعم دور النقابات على المستوى المهني والعام.