THE WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP

INFORMATION PAPER



PASSIA

Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs

PASSIA is an independent, non-profit Palestinian institute, unaffiliated with any government, political party, or organization, which undertakes studies and research on the Question of Palestine and its relationship to international affairs.

PASSIA encourages the publication of various research studies on the Palestinian Question that reflect the plurality of perspectives and methodology within a context of academic freedom.

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Introduction

issues?

PASSIA is pleased to present this information paper on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as part of its annual project of International Fifes which is undertaken in cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Bonn.

No understanding of the Palestinian question is possible without understanding the key elements that make up Palestinian society; the land, the people, their rights, and the PLO - the historic leadership and the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. These are the cornerstones of the continuous Arab Israeli conflict.

Basic information on Palestinian society is a priority for those researchers, academicians, development experts and others interested in the Palestinians, their society and its future. It is also a priority for those who follow the developments of the Arab-Israeli conflict and contemplate its prospects, based on present realities.

This is a Palestinian information paper about Palestinian society; and it aims to provide information as Palestinians see it, without any mediation. PASSIA strives to educate at the local, regional and international levels in an atmosphere that encourages intellectual pluralism, the practice of democracy and academic freedom. PASSIA is hopeful that this information paper on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip will prove useful and welcomes comments and suggestions for this as well as for future information papers on other issues.

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Palestine: A Brief Historical Background

The total area of Palestine (\$ 10,162 square miles, or (26,323 square kilometers, and it extends from the Lebanese and Syrian borders in the north to the Sinai peninsula and the Gulf of Agaba in the southwest and the south, and from the Mediterranean in the west to the Jordan river in the east. In ancient times, reference to Palestine differed: at one time, it was identified only with the sea coast and, at other times, with the hill areas and beyond. The known history of Palestine speaks of the Canaanites, a tribe of Arab Semites from the Arabian Peninsula, who settled in the country in the middle of the third millennium B.C. Around the year 1175 B.C., the Philistines, hailing from Crete and Asia Minor, mixed with the Canaanites as they settled in the southwest part of the country. The Canaanites called the country they inhabited the Land of Canaan while the Philistines referred to it as Philistin or Palestine.

For the modern Palestinians, one of the most impressive and relevant events in the history of the country occurred in the seventh century AD. The Land of Canaan, comprising Palestine and the rest of Syria, emerged from the rule of the Romans and entered the sphere of the Arab-Islamic Empire. Jerusalem, the city established by the Jebusites, a Canaanite subtribe, became "the first of the two qiblas," towards which the Moslems prayed, the second and the permanent one being Mecca. Palestine, to Islam, is a blessed land as stated in the Holy Qur'an: "the neighbourhood whereof God has blessed."

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Palestine has seen the movements of people and ideas throughout its history. The country witnessed the developments surrounding the establishment and foundation of the three monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The country has continuously fused, in its long history, between old and new elements, whether of population or ideas. Rarely did this fustion lead to the uprooting of the population present in Palestine. The Ancient

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Hebrews attempted to subdue and expel the ancient Philistines and Canaanites but without success. The Crusaders, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, succeeded in expelling part of the population of Palestine. In modern times, the 1948 Arab-Israeli war resulted in the de facto partition of Palestine, the establishment of a Jewish state and the exodus of close to three-quarters of a million Palestinians.

One can identify three major cultural and language transformations in the history of the country, prior to the imposition of Ottoman rule in the sixteenth century: the defeat of the ancient Palestinians and the establishment of a Jewish kingdom; the rise of Christianity with Aramaic, the language of Christ, adopted as the language of the population; and the rise of Islam, in the seventh century AD, which left its imprint on the country with the spread of Arab-Islamic culture. The majority of the population embraced Islam, and Arabic became the language spoken by the Arab Moslem and Christian population of the country. The Jewish population kept its identity but Palestine became clearly an integral part of the Arab-Moslem world.

The British Mandate

Palestine of the twentieth century was created as a separate entity, by the European powers as a result of WVI. The four centuries of Ottoman rule (1517-1917) ended with the entry, in December 1917, of General Allenby into Jerusalem, ushering in the period of British occupation and subsequently, mandate over the country. The British occupation of Palestine was legitimated by the League of Nations when it entrusted Britain to govern it as a Class A Mandate. The territory of mandated Palestine (1923-1948) refers specifically to the approximately 10,162 square miles recognized by the League of Nations and subsequently by the UN. The specific delimitation of Palestine was a result of the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916, which partitioned the Arab world between Britian and France. This partition was

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According to the UN recommendation, the projected Jewish state would have had a slight Arab majority and 90% of its land would be Arab-owned. Palestinians could not accept the UN partition recommendation, since they could not perceive how their own country could be divided and half of it given to another people. They also opposed it since it denied them the right to self-determination. On the other hand, the Jews in Palestine welcomed the partition resolution because it offered them the recognition of the international forum. The continued communal conflict and dissension in Palestine led to the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. Which followed the decision by Britain to withdraw its forces on 15 May 1948.

As a result of the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, over 714,000 Palestinians were forced to leave their country and become refugees in the parts of Palestine that remained in Arabhands, and in neighboring Arab countries. In addition, portions of the Arab state, as recommended by the 29 November 1947 UN resolution, were taken over by the Israelis. And thus began a new chapter in the history of Palestine and the Palestinian Arab people: a chapter which, until this date, has not been closed, since the continued diaspora, the denial of the right to self-determination and the Israeli occupation, in 1967, of the remaining Arab parts of Palestine (i.e., the West Bank and the Gaza Strip), have all thwarted the legitimate goals and objectives of the Palestinian people.

Why the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?

Neither the West Bank nor Gaza was a distinct entity before 1948, since Both were an integral part of Palestine. Even an examination of the physical features of these two areas shows how integral a part they are of the geographical entity of Palestine. The West Bank and Gaza became identifiable geo-political and demographic units as a result of the 1948 war. The Arab Army of Jordan stationed in the central hilly region of Palestine was able to preserve this

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width of 40-65 kms and an average height of 2,400 feet. The Nablus, Jerusalem and the Hebron mountains are separated from the Galijee mountains in the north by the Marj Ibn Amer Plain. The lands in the north and south are good for cultivation with an average annual rainfall of 450-600 mm, while the Jordan Valley receives only 150 mm which allows only for irrigated cultivation. The supply of water is limited since much of the rain is lost through evaporation and transpiration.

The West Bank is divided into four geographic areas. In the north the coastal plain which includes the Jenin and Tulkarm area. This is a rich agricultural area, with Jenin (population 30,000) producing fruits, vegetables and melons and serving as a transport point between the north and the southern parts of the West Bank. Tulkarm (population 31,000) also produces fruits, melons and vegetables in addition to grains and citrus fruits.

The uplands start south of Jenin and comprise the mountains of Nablus, Jerusalem and Hebron. This region, particularly in the north and south, is good for agriculture as it receives sufficient rainfall and as its topography includes low-lying valleys and plains. It is in this region that most of the 430 Palestinian villages are found, with agriculture being the primary occupation of their inhabitants.

The eastern foothills are found between the central uplands and the Jordan Valley. These are mostly dry with scarce rainfall There is a limited number of population points in these foothills.

The Jordan Valley possesses a tropical climate and is sparesly populated, with Jericho (population 10,000) as the major population point.

The Gaza Strip is 45 kms long and 8 kms wide, Altogether, the area of the Strip is 363 sq. kms. The Gaza Strip lies in the southern part of the coastal plain and, inspite

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of its small size, the average annual rainfall varies substantially, being from 350 mm in the north and only 150 mm per year in the south. Historically, the Gaza Strip has been a major communication link between Egypt and Syria and it served as an active port during the period of the British Mandate from 1919-1948. At present, Gaza is known for its citrus plantations and for other agricultural produce. Agricultural activity has suffered, however, because of the increasing salinization of the soil and the high population density of the Strip. Other constraints, mostly Israeli settlements and the regulations imposed by the military authorities, also limit the agricultural potential and pates in look prospects of Gaza. the 12 st has

Population

FIXICE In 1987, the population of the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, was 1,004,100 of whom 136,000 lived in East Jerusalem, + The population of the Gaza Strip was 565,600 inhabitants. The latest figures for 1988 place the population

is 41.3 and 47.7 per 1,000 population for the West Bank and Gaza respectively. Almost two thirds of births, or 63.8%, in the West Bank take place at a hospital in comparison to only 53.7% in the Gaza Strip. Together, the percentage of the population below 14 and the high birth rate make the Palestinian population of the West Bank and Gazaisa very implications one. This has important young socio-economic, educational and political matters. The fact that the society has also been, since 1967, under Israeli military occupation, does not help much in seriously meeting the needs and aspirations of the young people. Well over 60 percent of the Palestinian population was born after 1967 and has known only the rules and directives of a military occupation overly concerned with the maintenance of the status que! On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, an Israeli human rights organization published statisties showing that over 250,000 Palestinians, had been arrested, at one time or another, for various periods of time since 1967. Most of the Palestinians arrested were young people in their teens and twenties. The tragedy of occupation is clearly a tragedy of denying a people its right to self-determination with all the promises that the exercize of this right carries for the society and its young people.

Religion

Islam; is the religion of 97% of the population with its Shafe'i, Hanafi, Hanbali and Maliki Rites. For Moslems, Jerusalem is a Holy City in which the Prophet Mohammad experienced the transfiguration of "al Isra' wal Mi'raj." Jerusalem was also the first city, before Mecca, to which the Prophet asked his followers to turn in prayers. At Haram al-Sharif compound, comprising both the Dome of the Rock mosque and Al-Aksa mosque, occupies a prominent place in the ecology of the walled city. It is the third holiest mosque in Islam after the two mosques in Mecca and Medina. The Dome of the Rock and Al-Aksa mosques attract large numbers of Moslems during Friday prayers and especially

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during Ramadan, the holy month of fasting. Besides Jerusalem, Hebron to the south, is considered holy since it has the tombsof Abraham and the Patriarchs who are revered in Islam.

Many of the Palestinian Moslems trace their descent to the seventh century when Moslems conquered the country. In Jerusalem, Palestinian families whose ancestors originally joined in the conquest of the country chose to reside next to the Dome of the Rock and the Aksa mosque. This pattern of residence stressed the retigious role of these families who provided religious functionaries to care for the Moslem Holy Places and to cater to the religious needs of the population. Likewise, in other cities such as Hebron and Nablus, the same pattern was followed as families identified with the religious holy places resided in their proximity in order to carry out religious functions and duties. Many of the Palestinian Moslem genealogies attest to hundreds of years of religious service and devotion in the vicinity of the Moslem Holy Places. Palestine is a sacred land to Moslems because of its association with Abraham, father of all prophets, and its association with the Islamic vocation of the Prophet Mohammad. The References and events in Islamic religious scriptures, as well as the history of the land itself, attest to the holiness of the land of Palestine to Islam.

Three percent, or close to 50,000 of the Palestinian population in the West Bank and Gaza, profess Christianity. They belong to over 15 different denominations of whom the larger communities are the Greek Orthodox (20,000), the Latins (17,000) and the Greek Catholics (3,000). The Christian population is concentrated in the central part of the country in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Beit Sahour, Beit Jala, Ramallah, and in a number of mixed Moslem/Christian villages, mostly in the central part of the West Bank.

Palestinian Christians are an integral part of Palestinian society: they have experienced the same afflictions that have befallen all Palestinians and participated in all events

pertaining to the aspirations and hopes of their people. When in 1948 Palestinians were forced out of their homes, 50,000 of the 714,00 Palestinian refugees were Christians, They who comprised 35% of all the Christians who were residing in Palestine prior to 1948. Christian relations with Moslems have been traditionally excellent; they were influenced by the attitudes and actions of *Omar ibn al-Khattab, the Moslem Caliph₄ who in 638 came to Jerusalem in person to accept the surrender of the city. It was buring his stay in Jerusalem, that Omar offered the Arab Patriarch of the city. Sophronius, "al-*Uhdah al-*Omariyah", that is his guarantee of for the safety of the Christians and their holy places. *Omar, mon the invitation of the Patriarch, preferred not to pray in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre when the call for prayers was heard. Fearing that believers would use this to transform the Church into a mosque, *Omar left the church and prayed at a nearby site. The Mosque of *Omar, off the southern end of the church, was built by believers in commemoration of this event. Both Christians and Moslems see themselves at present in a situation that calls for concerted action to end occupation and to fulfill the aspirations of the Palestinian people in a just peace that will bring an end to the conflict and hepefully lead to stability and prosperity.

Urban-Rural Characteristics of the Population

Palestinian society is traditionally a rural society with a majority of the population living in villages and engaged in agriculture. Prior to the Israeli occupation in 1967, close to 70% of the population was rural and 30% was urban. In the seventies and eighties, the rural urban ratio came close to 60:140, due to the expansion of the transportation network and internal migration from villages to cities and towns, especially to Nablus and Hebron. The greater Jerusalem area also attracts increasing numbers from the surrounding areas, particularly since it offers employment and other opportunities. In a number of villages, the population has increased making them small towns with some urban

influence. But inspite of these developments, the rural desinfluence is still felt in the society as the number of villages in the West Bank is over 430, distributed as follows in the various geographic areas:

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	Area		Number of	Villages
	Jenin		58	
•	Nablus Qalqilya/Tulkarm		130 43	
2.7	Ramallah/El-Bireh		74	
	Jerusalem/Bethlehe	em/Jericho	42	
	Hebron		83	
	Total	/ <u> </u>	430	

Palestinian society is undergoing great changes as many of the villagers seek employment in Israel, thus relegating agricultural work in the villages to a secondary position and making rural women an important part of the work force on the land. There are estimates that as much as 70% of the rural work force in the West Bank is composed of women. Working in Israel has also contributed to a weakening of the cultural traditions that were once an integral part of the village scene. Urban influences seeped in and as wage labour became the standard source of income, human relationships changed from stressing the family and the unity of the village, to personal pursuits and preoccupations. In Gaza; there are only nine villages and close to 90% of the population is considered urban. The same factors, however, which have influenced the culture and way of life of Palestinians in the West Bank have left their impact on the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip.

Cities and Towns

The cities and towns of the West Bank and Gaza have also experienced changes due to sraeli economic hegemony and its effects on the population and its employment structures. Jerusalem, with its population of 140 000 is the largest city of the West Bank, followed by Nablus in the north with over 100,000 inhabitants and by Hebron, in the south, with 70,000 inhabitants. Nablus is a major commercial industrial center with the production of soap, oils, sweets and other products. Because of the number of villages surrounding the city, it has become an active trading center. Al-Najah National University is located in the city. Hebron, similarly to Nablus, is an industrial/commercial center for the southern part of the West Bank but is not as industrially active as Nablus. The fact that these two cities lie in-rich agricultural areas has helped in promoting their population and their trading position with the villages that surround them.

There are six smaller towns in the West Bank with populations ranging from 25,000 to 30,000 inhabitants each: Bethlehem, El-Bireh and Ramallah in the central part and Jenin, Tulkarm and Qalgilya in the north. In the north, the towns are known for their agricultural activities while Ramallah and El-Bireh have light industries together with + scale and educational institutions the most prominent of which is Birzeit University eight kilometers north of Ramallah. Bethlehem, like Jerusalem, is a pilgrimage and tourist center with tourist industries predominating. Bethlehem University was founded in 1973 by the Pope and is run by the Order of the La Salle Christian Brothers. Smaller towns in the West Bank include Beit Sahour, just south of Bethlehem with 10,000 inhabitants; Beit Jala, on the western border of Bethlehem, with 9,000 inhabitants; Halhoul, 15,000 inbabitants, 7 kms north of Hebron, predominantly agricultural with 15,000 inhabitants; Dura, south of Hebron, with 20,000 inhabitants, and Jericho, considered to be the most ancient city in the world, 10,000 inhabitants in the Jordan Valley. Willy

In the Gaza Strip, Gaza City has a population of over 200,000 with 100,000 of them residing in refugee camps. Gaza is a large urban concentration with conditions of life being quite uncomfortable. Two other towns, Khan Younis and Rafah, each with 90,000 inhabitants, with refugees making up a good portion of their population. Agriculture and trade are two primary activities of the inhabitants of the Gaza Strip, in addition to employment, in Israel. In Gaza, the refugee camps are a permanent and visible feature of the ecology of the Strip and while refugee camps exist also in the West Bank, they are proportionately dispersed over a larger area than is the case in Gaza.

Refugees and Refugee Camps

The total number of refugees in the West Bank and Gaza is 867 776). There are 398,393 refugees in the West Bank and 469 385 refugees in Gaza. Of these refugees, 105,585 reside in the nineteen camps of the West Bank and 258,584 reside in the eight camps of the Gaza Strip. In the West Bank 26.5% of all the refugees live in camps, while in the Gaza Strip the figure is 55.1%). The percentage of refugees to the general population in the West Bank is 38.3% while their percentage of the total population of the Gaza Strip reaches a high of aguie: in offer to phromes 82.3%.

Refugee Camps of the West Bank

The nineteen refugee camps are distributed geographically as follows:

The Jenin Area

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The Jenin Refugee Camp lies within the municipal boundaries of Jenin. It was established in 1953 and has 9,530 refugees most of whom have come from the Haifa area and its villages. Heed In Flora

The Tulkarm Area

Tulkarm Refugee Camp is east of Tulkarm, within its municipal boundaries. It was established in 1950 and has a population of 10,513 who originate from the villages of the Haifa and Jaffa areas.

Nur Shams Refugee Camp lies three kilometers, east of Tulkarm. It was established in 1952 and has a population of 4,963 mainly from the Haifa and Galilee villages.

The Nablus Area

The Balata Refugee Camp is within the municipal boundaries of Nablus. It was established in 1950 and has a population of 13,556 mostly from the Jaffa, Lod and Ramleh areas.

Askar Refugee Camp lies within the municipal boundaries of Nablus. It was established in 1950 and has a population of 8,525 mostly from Jaffa, Haifa and their surrounding villages.

Al-Far' ah Refugee Camp is 17 kms north of Nablus on the road to Tubas at the location of Al-Far' ah spring. Its population of 4,538 come mostly from the villages of the Haifa, Beersheba and Jaffa areas.

Refugee Camp Number One (Beit'Ein al Ma') which lies west of Nablus on the Nablus-Tulkarm road-was established in 1950 and has 4,092 refugees from the villages of the Acre, Jaffa and Haifa areas.

The Ramallah-El-Bireh Area

The Jalazoun Refugee Camp lies north of Ramallah on the Ramallah-Nablus Road. It was established in 1948 and has a population of 5,898 refugees.

Al-Am' ari Refugee Camp lies within the municipal boundaries of El-Bireh. It was established in 1949 and has a population of 5,549.

Deir' Ammar Refugee Camp is in the village bearing the same name in the Ramallah area. It was established in 1949 and has a population of 1,289.

The Jerusalem Area

Shu'fat Refugee Camp lies within the Greater Jerusalem municipal area. It was established in 1965 to absorb those refugees who originally settled in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City after the war in 1948. It presently has a population of 6,054 refugees.

Qalandya Refugee Camp is located on the Jerusalem-Ramallah Road. It was established in 1949 and has a population of 5,942.

The Bethlehem Area

Dheisheh Refugee Camp lies on the southern outskirts of Bethlehem. It has a population of 7,601.

Aidah Refugee Camp, on the north-eastern side of Beit Jala, has a population of 2708.

Al-Azzah Refugee Camp (Beit Jibrin), which lies within the municipal boundaries of Bethlehem, has a population of 1,331.

The Hebron Area

The Al-'Arroub Refugee Camp on the Bethlehem-Hebron Road has a population of 5,706.

Al-Fawwar Refugee Camp which lies south of Hebron and east of the town of Durah has a population of 4,071.

The Jericho Area

Aqbat Jabr Refugee Camp lies in the Jericho area. It had a population of 27 700 refugees prior to the June War of 1967 but these numbers has dwindled to 2,982 as the majority of the camp residents left to the East Bank during the June War.

Ein As-Sultan Refugee Camp lies in the Jericho area. It had 18,900 refugees in 1967 but only 737 at present. The majority of the residents left as a result of the June War of 1967.

There was one additional camp in the Jericho area, the Nuwaimeh Refugee Camp, prior to the June War of 1967 with a population of 5,350 but the camp was completely emptied as a result of the war of June 1967.

The following table shows the number of refugees in and outside camps in the various geographic areas of the West Bank.

Geographic Area	In Camps	Outside	Total
Jenin/Tulkarm/Nablus	55 <i>7</i> 17	115 ,913	171 ,630
Ramallah/El-Bireh/Jerusalem	24 <i>7</i> 32	99 ,823	124 ,555
Bethlehem/Hebron	21 ,417	70 ,443	91 ,860
Jericho	3 ,719	6 ,627	10 ,346
Total	105 ,585	292,806	398 ,391

Source: Public Information Division, UNRWA H.Q., Vienna, 1988.

The Refugee Camps of the Gaza Strip:

to 30,000 persons per square kilometer.

Most of the Gaza refugee population originated from the coastal and southern parts of Palestine during the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. Fifty-five percent of the refugees took up residence in the camps while the others settled outside them. The influx of the refugees to Gaza has resulted in severe overcrowding and created unmet needs in the areas of housing, health and education. Five of the eight camps have populations larger than those of most of the towns in the West Bank. Population density in these camps can reach we

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The eight refugee camps are distributed as follows in the Gaza Strip:

The Deir al-Balah Area

The Deir al-Balah Refugee Camp lies within the municipal boundaries of Deir al-Balah. It has a population of 10,572.

Al-Magazi Refugee Camp lies between Gaza City and Deir al-Balah. It has a population of 11,855.

The Khan-Yunis Area

Khan Yunis Refugee Camp is located in the city of Khan-Yunis. It has a population of 36,075 or over one-third of the population of the city.

The Nuseirat Area

Nuseirat Refugee Camp is located between Gaza City and Deir al-Balah. It has a population of 30,064 refugees.

Al-Breij Refugee Camp is also located between Gaza City and Deir al-Balah and has population of 17,911.

The Rafah Area

Rafah Refugee Camp, which lies in the city of Rafah, has a population of 52,325, or over half of the population of the city.

The Al-Rimal Area

Al-Shatei' Refugee Camp which lies on the northern proximity of Gaza City has a population of 43,849 refugees.

The Jabalya Area

Jabalya Refugee Camp is located at the northern tip of the Gaza Strip and has population of 55,933 refugees.

The Following table shows the number of refugees residing in and outside the camps in the various geographic areas of the Gaza Strip.

		<u> </u>	
Geographic Area	In Camps	Outside	Total
Deir al-Balah	22 ,427	18 ,499	40 ,926
Khan-Yunis	36,075	45,031	81,106
Nuseirat	47,975	8,175	56 ,150
Rafah	52,325	28,844	81,169
Al-Rimal	43,849	29,015	72,864
Jabalya	55,933	20,945	76,878
Gaza City		60 ,292	60 ,292
Total	258 ,584	210 ,801	469 ,385

Source: Public Information Division, UNRWA H.Q., Vienna, 1988.

UNRWA Services

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The presence of the refugee camps with their residents is a constant grim reminder of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War and the tragedy that befell the Palestinian people. UNRWA, the United Nations Relief, and Works Agency for the Palestinian refugees, is in charge of these refugee camps and appoints director, himself a refugee, who supervises the daily running of the camps including physical maintenance and cleanliness. The director is authorized by UNRWA to issue 5 housing permits within the confines of the camp. Fhere are health and educational institutions in the camps: medical clinics with physicians and nurses are found on a permanent basis and they are primarily responsible for maintaining a relatively good standard of health among the refugees. Schools, primarily elementary and preparatory, also exist in the refugee camps in the larger camps there are socially and centers for youth where sports and other activities, are organized. Inspite of these modifying conditions, life in the refugee camps remains indicative of the transitory nature of the events in which refugees have been caught since 1948. Besides, the population density with a predominance of youth below age 14 is a constant reminder of the future that awaits coming generations of Palestinians.

Emigration

Emigration statistics show that in the period between 1967 and 1986, over 166,000 Palestinians, from the West Bank, and 103,000 from the Gaza Strip have emigrated. These statistics indicate that emigration affects a relatively large percentage of the population: average annual emigration figures for the occupied territories place the number of emigrants at 14,163 divided into 8,738 from the West Bank and 5,426 from the Gaza Strip. These numbers. respresent 40.8% and 35.0% of the natural population increase of the West Bank and Gaza, respectively. The Israeli occupation, with its hegemony over the Palestinian

annually-24.

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economy and restrictions on education, forces many Palestinians, especially young ones, to leave the country. Most emigrants go to the Arab world to seek employment. These do not severe their ties with the country as they plan eventually to return. Those who opt to emigrate to more distant lands such as the USA, Canada or Australia realize that the probability of return is quite weak.

Historical research into Palestinian emigration shows that the groups most likely to emigrate are the refugees who reside outside the camps, and those who belong to the middle class, including Christians and urban dwellers, especially in the greater Jerusalem area bounded by Bethlehem to the south and Ramallah/El-Bireh to the north. Reasons for emigration vary, but the most obvious are the unstable political situation, and the lack of suitable employment and opportunities for advancement. A relatively high level of education, together with the presence of family members abroad, seem to be factors that specifically encourage emigration among middle class Palestinians and in particular among Christians.

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Emigration is a loss to society and a reduction of its grewth potential and possibilities. It denies the society the contributions and skills of the emigrants in various areas of life. This is especially so with permanent emigration since the emigrants and their descendants will forever remove themselves from the land and its predicament. In fact, there are already family names who have become extinct in the local lexicon of names in some areas especially in the Bethlehem, Jerusalem and Ramallah/El-Bireh areas. This is unfortunate but it also highlights the need for Palestinian society to become free and independent in order to engage in reconstruction efforts: such efforts would open up opportunities in economic, educational, cultural and other spheres and would enable Palestinians to stay on their land and to develop and prosper.

Education

The importance of education has been stressed by Palestinians since the British Mandate period, when opposition to the British mandatory authorities and the to conflict between Palestinians and Zionists created a sense of insecurity for the future. The Brivate schools, both indigenous and foreign, which started to operate in the country as the early as mid-nineteenth century, helped to focus attention on the importance of education. Under the British Mandate, the Arab educational system developed and # expanded to reach a growing number of the population. Inspite of the strong reservations that the Palestinians had concerning British policies and designs for the country, the population was eager to cooperate in the spread of education. In fact, during this period, Palestinian villages contributed fifty percent of the expenditure involved in opening up-schools in their villages, with the authorities covering the remaining fifty percent. This equal contribution, which highlights the value given to education by Palestinians, has become an accepted procedure followed up to the present-time.

Given this background, it is no surprise that one third of the population of the occupied territories are students and that among Palestinians, in general, there are a relatively high number of university graduates in comparison to Araby and other nations. This eagerness to receive education should be understood as an attempt by Palestinians to secure their future and to gain some form of assurance as to their personal and national welfare.

Primarist Secondary and Pre-Secondary Institutions

In November 1987, there were 1,515 educational institutions in the West Bank and Gaza: 1,199 in the West Bank and 316 in Gaza. There are three major bodies that run schools in the West Bank and Gaza, as demonstrated in the -26 - " Whit + purice following table:

Schools in the West Bank and Gaza and their distribution according to sponsoring body

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G	Government	%	UNRWA	%	Private	%
West Bank	827	69	108	9	264	22
Gaza	104	33	161	51	51	16

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, No. 39, 1988, p.754.

The student population of 487,203 is distributed into 310,517 Students in the West Bank and 176,686 students in Gaza. The male/female ratio indicates that girls are equally represented, both in the West Bank and Gaza, in the educational system: 47 % of all students are female.

The educational system is divided into three cycles: the elementary (6 years-for ages 6 - 12); the preparatory (3 years for ages 12 - 15) and the secondary (3 years for ages 15 - 18). The Secondary cycle is divided, by turn, into ex literary, scientific, vocational, agricultural and commercial specializations. The highest concentration of students is in the literary specialization where 71.3% and 62.7% of the students in the West Bank and Gaza respectively are enrolled. The scientific specialization comes second with 25% and 34% of the student population of these two areas. The enrolment in other specializations is quite low since. only 3.7% of West Bank secondary students and 3.2% of Gaza students follow them.

Thus

It is clear that the overall orientation of the educational system is geared towards academics and not towards practical and technical pursuits. This situation complicates. the employment situation further as those students who finish 11 10 6 len

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finish high school have no alternative but to further their education or become unemployed. In 1986, as an example, 13,474 students finished high school in the West Bank and 7,429 in Gaza. For these 21,000 high school graduates, there were less than 700 jobs available in the public sector while the local universities and community colleges, when open, could only absorb 4000-5000 of them. The rest, numbering close to 15,000 had to turn to local employment or work in Israel as manual unskilled labourers. A few high school graduates with means or scholarships leave the country and enrol in Arab and foreign universities. Others are tempted to emigrate to seek opportunities abroad. The vocational and technical schools have so far failed to attract these youngsters to their various courses and programs. The problem lies in the fact that most vocational schools admit students who have not finished high school. Perhaps there is a need to study the feasibility of upgrading the vocational courses and programs to appeal to the graduating high school students who, otherwise, will remain idle and with no certain future. If young educated Palestinians seem overly concerned with their future, this is not simply an egoistic preoccupation on their part but a reflection of the limited possibilities available to them and the restricted educational opportunities and employment prospects.

School Closures

Since 9 December 1987, when the Intifada started, the system of reducation in the West Bank has undergone enormous stresses due to the orders of closure issued by the Israeli military authorities. All schools were closed, "until further notice," on 3 February 1988 by an order of the Office of Education of the Israeli Civil Administration in the West Bank. This blanket closure of schools lasted until 23 May 1988 when 611 kindergartens and elementary schools were permitted to reopen and their 203,000 students resumed classes. This step was the first in a gradual plan adopted by the Israeli authorities to reopen the schools. On 28 May 1988, 321 preparatory schools with 68,000 students

were reopened and on 7 June 1988, it was the turn of the 262 secondary schools which welcomed back their 37,000 students. But the joy which accompanied the reopening of the schools was soon to be replaced by the disappointment of parents, educators and students when the authorities announced that the school year, which had barely started, would end on 21 July 1988. During the year 1987/88, Students attended classes for less than two full months given individual closure orders, curfews, disturbances and general strikes.

For the year 1988/89, the Israeli Office of Education announced that the school year, which normally starts in early September, would begin on 15 November 1988 with the exception of kindergartens which were allowed to open. The authorities, however, postponed the opening date to 1 December 1988 and instituted a gradual plan for reopening the schools: on 1 December elementary schools were opened followed on 11 December by the preparatory schools and on 18 December by the secondary schools. But this was not destined to be a normal year of schooling as the authorities announced on 20 January 1989 that all schools, including kindergartens, were to be closed until the usual "further notice." The closure continued until 17 July 1989 when the authorities again announced their intention for the gradual reopening of schools. On 21 July 1989 elementary schools together with the third secondary class, the matriculating class, were reopened and over 193 700 students went back to school. On 2 August 1989, the preparatory schools were allowed to reopen and 68,000 students were once again back in school and finally on 30 August the first and second secondary classes were allowed to resume their schooling. In 1988/89 students in the elementary and preparatory cycles attended school, for half the period of their regular attendance, while the first and second year secondary students completed only about a third of an academic year or 85 days of schooling. In addition, the military authorities occupied a number of school buildings: five preparatory schools in Nablus, four in Hebron and one in Tulkarm,

among others, thus denying the students of these schools additional days of schooling. Individual closure orders, curfews and disturbances continued to affect the system of education adversely in the occupied West Bank.

The situation for the school year 1989/1990 was not any better. Schools were opened on 10 January 1990 after nearly two months of military-ordered holidays. By 25 February 1990, thirty-six West Bank schools were ordered closed. The policy of individual closure orders continued and it affected a number of schools in Tulkarm Refugee Camp, Qalqilya, Toubas and additional towns and refugee camps. A blanket closure of all schools was enforced at the end of March, for four days, in anticipation of Land Day on 30 March On 21 May 1990, following the Rishon LeZion massacre, which resulted in the killing and injuring of over twenty Palestinian labourers on 20 May, all West Bank schools were ordered closed. Elementary schools reopened on 26 May and were followed by the preparatory and secondary schools on 31 May 1990. For the academic year 1989/90, elementary and preparatory/secondary classes convened for a maximum of 115 and 109 school days which is far below the number of school days usually attended.

Schools in East Jerusalem

Since East Jerusalem is annexed to Israel, military law does not apply and therefore its schools are not included in the military orders of closure applicable to the rest of the West Bank. Separate area-wide and individual closure orders were issued, however, by the municipality of Jerusalem, which supervises the government schools, and by the city police. These orders affected the 48 private, 30 government and 8 UNRWA schools operating in East Jerusalem.

In the academic year 1987/88, East Jerusalem government schools were ordered closed by the municipality between 7 February 1988 and 22 May 1988.

16,000 students were thus prevented from attending classes. The private schools in East Jerusalem were closed for the same period as a show of solidarity with the government schools. When schools reopened on 23 May 1988, the Jerusalem schools were permitted, unlike schools in the rest of the West Bank, to schedule the end of the academic year as they wished in compensation for lost days due to closure. East Jerusalem schools ended the academic year on 30 July 1988.

In the academic year 1988/89, East Jerusalem schools were reopened on a gradual basis. On 4 September 1988, the first and second elementary classes in government schools were allowed to start their academic year. On 12 September the private schools opened on a gradual basis over a one-week period. On 19 September, the third elementary classes in government schools were permitted to start while on 27 September, the fourth elementary classes were allowed to follow suit. On 5 October) all other elementary classes were allowed to resume, together with the preparatory and secondary cycles. But the year was not without its occasional all-school and individual closures, as happened on 12 November for the one week in which the Palestine National Council was meeting in Algiers. Twenty-five schools were closed by the authorities in East Jerusalem for periods during the academic year 1988/89. The total number of closure orders, affecting certain schools more than once, reached 69 orders for the academic year.

Schools started on schedule, in early September, 1989, for the academic year 1989/90. The year also ended on schedule on 31 May 1990. But this apparent normalization of education was still affected by area-wide closures on certain nationalistic dates as well as by individual closure orders. In 1989/90, 28 schools in East Jerusalem were ordered closed and 54 closure orders were issued between 1, September 1989 and 31 May 1990.

Schools in the Gaza Strip

In Gaza, the situation in the education system since December 1987 was slightly different from that of the West Bank, since no area-wide closures, or blanket closures, were issued. Instead, individual schools, were targeted for closure. The effect, however, on the educational system was not any better than that in which the system in the West Bank found itself. Between 4 September 1988 and 31 May 1990, 200 individual school closure orders were issued in the Gaza Strip. In addition, the frequent and widespread use of curfews by the military authorities resulted in area-wide elosures that, in effect, paralyzed the school system in the Gaza Strip. It is estimated, by educators, that students in Gaza lost from 35-50% of their school days in the spring term stone of the academic year 1987 /88. In the academic year 1988/89, schools were allowed to open on a gradual basis, with the secondary schools being the last to open on 11 October 1988 with a time-lag of five weeks from the regular opening date in September. Fifty-one Gaza Strip schools were ordered closed by the military for various periods of time during the academic year 1988/89.

The academic year 1989/1990 started as scheduled in September 1989 and ended on 31 May 1990. But, as in the West Bank, the year witnessed closures on nationalistic anniversaries such as the 6-December one-week closure on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Intifada. Gaza Strip schools were also closed, due to the curfew imposed on the Strip, between 20 May and 26 May 1990 following the Rishon LeZion massacre in which seven of Gaza workers were killed and twenty others were injured by an Israeli gunman on 20 May 1990. Altogether, the military authorities issued 124 closure orders against 88 schools for the academic year 1989/90. Twenty-seven schools were closed more than once while twenty-eight schools were closed for periods of time extending from one month and to over two months.

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The current academic year started on schedule for all schools in the Occupied Territories. Education, however, like all other areas of life, is susceptible to developments and events that affect continuity. One hopes that the present academic year will be a regular one given the continuing circumstances of the military occupation in which the Palestinians find themselves

Higher Education

A system of higher education has developed in the occupied West Bank and Gaza during the seventies and eighties which comprises six universities, ten community colleges, four UNRWA training colleges and five government training schools. The following list shows the institutions of higher learning in Palestinian society, and their locations.

Institutions

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Location

Universities

Al-Quds University

* Abu Dees College of Science and Technology Abu Dees * Al-Daw a College of Islamic Studies Beit Hanina *Women's College of Art Jerusalem El-Bireh * College of Paramedical Sciences Nablus Al-Naiah National University Bethlehem University Bethlehem Birzeit Birzeit University Hebron Hebron University Gaza Islamic University of Gaza

Community Colleges

Al-Umeh College Jerusalem
Al-Najah College Nablus
Al-Rawda College Nablus
Bethlehem Bible College Bethlehem

UNRWA Training Centers

Al-Tireh Women's Training Center Ramallah
Gaza Men's Training Center Gaza
Qalandya Men's Training Center Qalandya
Ramallah Men's Training Center Ramallah

Government Training Schools

Al-Arroub College Hebron
Girls' Community College Ramallah
Khadouri College Tulkarm
Men Teachers' College Gaza
Women Teachers' College Gaza

The total number of students enrolled in the institutions of higher learning is 22,803 of whom 61% are male and 39% female. The students are distributed as follows among the three types of institutions:

University students: 15,278 or 67% Community College students: 4,333 or 19%

Training Centers and Training School students: 3,192 or

14%

In December 1987, the number of students and faculty at the six universities of the occupied territories was as follows:

University	Students	Faculty
Al-Quds University		
* Abu Dees College	634	85
* Al-Daw' a College	359	8
*Women's College of Art	309	21
* College of Paramedical Sciences	240	28
Al-Najah University	3,514	206
Bethlehem University	1,517	99
Birzeit University	2,652	210
Hebron University	1,603	53
Islamic University	4 ,483	193

Source: The Palestinian Council for Higher Education, 1988.

Academic and Practical Pursuits

The system of higher education, particularly the universities, is geared mostly to academic pursuits and is influenced by the model of a liberal arts education. But-Inspite of this academic orientation, the universities are engaged in community-related programs and activities. Birzeit University runs a Literacy and Adult Education Program, a Community Health Unit and a Center for Environmental and Occupational Health Sciences. Bethlehem stress practical University offers programs which specialties such as Nursing, Physiotherapy and Hotel Management. Al-Najah University has a college for teacher training and it runs a Rural Research Center which serves as a link between the university and the local community. Two additional research centers are found in Al-Najah: the a Documentation, Manuscript and Publication Center and the Higher Education Research Center. The Islamic University of Gaza offers, beside its emphasis on religious studies,

instruction in foreign languages, education, economics and sciences. Hebron University has a Faculty of Agriculture which has set up a food-processing plant in order to promote local agriculture and, at the same time, provide a source of income to the university. Two of the four colleges of Al-Quds University offer practical degrees: Abu Dees College, on the eastern outskirts of Jerusalem, stresses technical fields while the College of Paramedical Sciences offers a four-year nursing program.

The Institutions of Higher Learning: A Historical Balef Dady on

The history of Higher education in the occupied West Bank and Gaza is of relatively recent origin, as illustrated by the histories of its different institutions. Birzeit University was operated as a two-year college until 1972 when it expanded into a four-year program. In 1976, the university gained recognition from the Association of Arab Universities and in 1977 from the International Association of Universities. Bethlehem University was founded in 1973 by the Vatican and continues to be run by the religious order of De La Salle Brothers. It has the official recognition of both the Association of Arab Universities and the International Association of Universities. Al-Najah National University expanded from a college to a full university in 1977, when it joined the Association of Arab Universities. In 1981, it was admitted to the International Association of Universities. Gaza Islamic University was founded in 1978 and was originally affiliated with Al-Azhar Religious Institute in Cairo. Hebron University was previously a college of Islamic Law which expanded in 1980 into a four-year program. It was given recognition by the Association of Arab Universities in 1984. As to Al-Quds University, All of its four colleges date back to the late seventies and early eighties. Al-Daw'a College started in 1978, the College of Paramedical Sciences in 1979, the Abu Dees College of Science and Technology in 1981 and the Women College of Arts in 1982. In 1981, a Higher Committee for Al-Quds University was formed in order to serve as an umbrella

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organization for the four colleges, but it has no authority over the operations of the individual colleges. Al-Quds University is accredited by the Association of Arab Universities and the International Association of Universities.

The Closure of Universities

The main problem for higher education, and in fact for education in general in the West Bank and Gaza, is the political situation and the continued military occupation. In February 1988 all universities and institutions of higher learning were ordered closed by the Israeli military authorities. As a result, the universities did not function at all for over a year. When administrators and educators realized that the closure would be an extended one, they opted for a system of "distance-learning" whereby faculty members offer courses for their students in religious and charitable institutions, hotels, high schools (when they are open) and even private homes. This system is now in its second year but, inspite of the challenge and experience that it provides for Palestinian academicians, it is wrought with difficulties not the least of which was the crackdown, at the beginning, by the Israeli military on faculty and students caught teaching and studying. In 1990, the Israeli authorities adopted a policy of conditional and gradual reopening of the institutions of higher learning: they allowed some community colleges and training centers and schools to reopen. The authorities, however, make the reopening of these institutions conditional on the good behavior of students and faculty. If problems occur at an institution which has been allowed to reopen, then it will be closed and other institutions will not be allowed to reopen. This isthe policy adopted by the military authorities when they announced on 1 September 1990 that the closure order of Bethlehem University would not be renewed, making it possible for the university to resume its functions. At the same time that Bethlehem University received the good news, the other major universities were handed closure

orders effective till the end of November 1990. Inspite of the smooth running of Bethlehem University since its reopening in September 1990, the authorities have not kept to their promise of gradual reopening of the institutions of higher learning. The Israeli authorities have decided to extend the closure order of the four other universities till the end of February 1991. The heads of all universities in the Occupied Territories, together with the Council of Higher Education, the body in charge of coordination among the various institutions of higher learning, have issued appeals to the United Nations and to the governments of various states urging them to put pressure on the Israeli Government in order to allow all universities in the Occupied Territories to function normally once again.

Until the military occupation is ended, the system ofhigher education in the West Bank and Gaza, as well as all other Palestinian systems, will continue to suffer the consequences of an unjust occupation. As Palestinians in all levels of education strive to maintain the quality of education, amidst difficult odds, a comprehensive political solution is needed to guarantee their basic rights and to enable them to use their potential for development and growth. The status quo is antithetical to their basic

aspirations and it cannot but lead to continued conflict and confrontation with the Israeli military authorities.

The Economy

The economy of the West Bank and Gaza is captive to the needs and priorities of the Israeli economy. As a consequence, industry remains backward and undeveloped and lacks the infrastructure that would allow it to develop adequately. Israeli economic policy towards the Occupied Territories appears destined to keep the West Bank and Gaza as markets for Israel's products and as suppliers of cheap

labor. An examination of the Gross Domestic Product of the

West Bank and Gaza in 1987 illustrates the relatively low percentage of industry's contribution to it:

	y date		
GDP	West Bank (\$1,030 m)	Gaza (\$365 m)	
Agriculture	24.0%	18.7%	
Industry	7.7%	13.7%	
Construction	16.8%	21.1%	
Services	51.1%	46.5%	

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, No. 39, 1988.

Industry in the West Bank is characterized by its small-scale and traditional basis of organization. The average employment per industrial unit has not changed since 1967 as it remains around 4.25 person per unit. There are 2,462 industrial establishments in the West Bank of which 1,101 are run by owners or family members and do not employ outsiders. Only 20 establishments have 50 employees or above. Of these, seven specialize in food, beverages and tobacco; four in textiles and clothing; six in rubber, plastics and chemical products; one in basic metal and metal products and two specialize in other industrial products. Textiles and clothing establishments employ close to 3,000 persons followed by those of food, beverages and tobacco with 2,000 employees. Another 3,000 employees work in the establishments of basic metal and rubber, plastics and chemical products.

Industry in Gaza is not in any better shape: of the 1 793 establishments, 723 do not employ outsiders while only 10 establishments have 50 employees or above. Of these ten, two produce food; beverages and tobacco; three

manufacture clothing; two produce wood and its products and three produce basic metal and metal products. There are 2,814 workers employed in clothing; 1,269 in metal smelting factories and 1,141 in timberyards and wood products.

auproving? The prospects for industrial development appear quite limited under the present conditions. The occupation and the presence of Israeli settlements contribute to instability which discourages investment. Nor do Israeli fiscal policies in the Occupied Territories, such as devaluation, heavy tex payments, value added tax, production tax, customs and levies. investment industrial help to promote or development. These policies are aggravated by the excessively high taxes which are imposed on the local businessmen due to their poor book-keeping practices.

While the Israeli authorities like to argue that the level ofpersonal consumption among the Palestinians has gone up since 1967, the fact that no serious development has taken place in the economy of the Occupied Territories provides a more accurate assessment of the situation. The Gross National Product per capita was only \$1,562 for the West Bank and \$1,081 for Gaza in 1987. More recent estimates for 1989 put these figures at \$1,200 and \$700. These lower estimates are due to the slowing of the economies as a result of Israeli measures undertaken to stop the Intifada. This is a relatively low GNP per capita even compared to that of neighbouring Arab countries. GOP GNP

Manpower and Employment

In 1988, the total work force for the West Bank and Gaza was 183,000, and 98,900 respectively. This work force was distributed as follows:

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Area of Economy	West Bank	%	Gaza	%
Scientific & Academic	3 ,660	2.0	1 ,879	1.9
Other Professional, Technical & Related Workers	9,699	5.3	5 .044	5.1
Administrative & Managerial	1,647	0.9	890	0.9
Clerical & Related Workers	4,209	2.3	2,077	2.1
Sales Workers	17 ,568	9.6	11,077	11.2
Service Workers	13,542	7.4	7,516	7.6
Agriculture	44,103	24.1	19,879	20.1
Skilled Workers in Industry, Mining, Building, Transport, & Other Skilled Workers Unskilled & Other Workers in Industry, Transport and	46 ,848	25.6	28 ,582	28 .9
Building	41 724	22.8	21 ,956	22.2

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, No. 40, 1989.

The participation of women in the work force reaches 13.2% in the West Bank and only 3.6% in Gaza. The 183,000 work force in the West Bank is divided into 119,000 who work in the West Bank itself and 64,000 who commute to work in Israel. This means that one third of the West Bank labor force works in Israel. In comparison, 45.9% of the Gaza labor force works in Israel. Thus, of the total labor force in Gaza, 53,500 work in Gaza itself and 45,400 work in Israel. The total number of Palestinian workers in Israel is estimated at 109,400 which constitutes 38.8% of the total Palestinian labor force in the West Bank and Gaza. The Palestinians who work in Israel make up only 6-7% of the total labor force in Israel. This fact accentuates the dependency not only of the Palestinian economy but also of its labor force on Israeli society and economy.

Given the present economic conditions, sending the Palestinian workers home or preventing them from working in Israel, would have a negative effect on the Palestinian economy, especially in the short run. The Israeli economy would suffer but, eventually and with the arrival of huge numbers of Soviet Jewish immigrants, it would be able to adapt and accomodate itself to the absence of Palestinian cheap labor. The Israelis have already considered, especially since the beginning of the Intifada, a policy of importing labor from other parts of the world, but so far they have not put this policy into effect. The employment and economic situation in the Occupied Territories emphasizes, once again, the need for a political solution that will eventually enable the Palestinians to determine their own future.

In 1970, a report by the Israeli Ministry of Defence entitled "Development and the Economic Situation" in the Occupied Territories, stated the following: "The areas are a supplementary market for Israeli goods and services on the one hand and a source of factors of production, especially unskilled labor, for the Israeli economy on the other." Meron Benvenisti, head of the West Bank Data Base Project, concluded in 1986 that the Israeli authorities have netted an estimated profit of close to \$50 million a year during the first 19 years of occupation. Even local development projects undertaken by international non - governmental organizations are included in the annual reports of the Israeli administration of the Occupied Territories as part of its accomplishments.

Imports-Exports Relationship

In the imports exports relationship, the hegemony of the Israeli economy becomes even more pronounced and augments the argument that Israel treats the West Bank and Gaza as captive economies.

Imports and Exports for 1987

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West Bank	Imports	Exports
Total	\$639 .1 m	\$228.2m
Israel	\$580.7 m	\$160.5 m
Jordan	\$ 9.4m	\$ 66 .4 m
Others	\$ 49 .0 m	\$ 1.3 m
Gaza		
Total	\$412.1 m	\$157 .1 m
A Commence of the Commence of	\$380 .5 m	\$143.2m
Israel	φυου.υπ	φ
Israel Jordan		\$ 11.8 m

Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, No. 39, 1988.

Looking at these import-export figures, the extent of the economic dependence of the occupied West Bank and Gaza on Israel becomes self-evident. The West Bank imported in 1987 over 90.9% of all its imports from and through Israel while the figure for Gaza goes up to 92.3%. Jordan provides an export outlet for the Occupied Territories, but primarily for the West Bank. As a result of the Intifada, the imports from and through Israel dropped to \$700 million in 1988 and fell to \$550 million in 1989, but still Israel continues to be the dominant factor in the economy of the Occupied Territories. Only with a political solution that is comprehensive in its nature can the economic balance be redressed.

Agriculture makes up 24% of the Gross Domestic Product of the West Bank and 18.7% of that of the Gaza Strip. In 1987/88, agriculture-generated income reached over \$250 million in the West Bank and \$70 million in the Gaza Strip. Of the workers employed in the West Bank 31.2% are engaged in agriculture while the percentage for those in Gaza is 18.6%. Yet Palestinian agriculture, like industry, suffers from Israeli control and hegemony. Palestinian farmers are not free to plant whatever they wish: the specific produce and the area to be planted are determined by the needs of Israeli agriculture so no competition can take place. The produce of the West Bank and Gaza is not allowed to be marketed inside Israel unless a license, granted through an arduous process, is given. Produce seized while in "illegal" transportation to Israel is confiscated and liquidated on the spot. The argument used by the Israeli authorities to justify such steps is that the agricultural produce does not meet health standards since the water used to irrigate it could be unclean. The more likely reason for such steps is to protect Israeli agriculture from the relatively lower prices of Palestinian produce. Even when Palestinians think of investing in agriculture-related industries, such as the setting up of a factory for frozen citrus juice, the Israeli Ministry of Industry opposes such a step because it would compete with Israeli plants already engaged in this activity.

Inspite of these obstacles, Palestinian agriculture has gained the skills and technology needed for modern agriculture. But if Israeli restrictive policies were to be lifted, Palestinian agriculture would operate at its optimal level and thus become more economically viable for the society and its development.

In 1987/88, the quantities of agricultural produce in thousands of metric tons were as follows:

Produce Philipping	West Bank	Gaza
Field Crops	ine	
Field Crops	50.9	
Vegetables & Potatoes	192.2	129.9
Melons & Pumpkins	44.3	1.3
Olives	164.3	
Citrus	79.8	118.8
Other Fruit	98.3	21.3
Meat	45.2	7.8
Milk	57 .4	9.8
Eggs	69 million	90 million
Fish	*	0.3

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Israel, No. 39, 1988.

Agricultural Marketing

As noted above, concern over agricultural work and development is a primary preoccupation of Palestinians. The Occupied Territories rely on agriculture, both in terms of GNP and of labor force. Traditionally, local cooperatives for agricultural marketing have assumed the function of promoting agriculture through lending money or providing grants. The objectives of the cooperatives are to advance methods of agriculture, help introduce a variety of crops and encourage techniques that will facilitate the marketing of agricultural produce. While some of these cooperatives are concentrated in the northern part of the West Bank, they are found all over the West Bank and Gaza. It is estimated that 18 percent of Palestinian farmers in the West Bank belong to cooperatives. The largest of these cooperatives is the Jericho Marketing Cooperative which certifies the crops exported to Jordan to ensure that they are not of Israeli origin. The cooperative also provides seasonal credit for the

production of crops destined primarily for export. The attitude of the Israeli military authorities towards these cooperatives, as well as the grass root agricultural organizations, is one of constraint and restriction. The Israeli authorities do not want the agricultural produce to compete, in any manner, with that of Israel. The policies and attitudes of the Israeli military with respect to Palestinian agriculture and its development are best understood when placed in this context.

EEC, USA and Other Economic Aid to the West Bank and Gaza

The European Parliament of the EC decided on 12 October 1988 to allow direct imports of Palestinian goods, including agricultural produce, on equitable terms with Israel's own highly protected farmers, and the use of Israeli ports for such imports. This decision culminated almost a vear's negotiation efforts between the EEC and Israel over the issue of using Israeli ports for Palestinian exports to the EEC. The EEC threatened to block a loan of 63 million EC Units to Israel if the latter would not approve the use of Israeli ports and also facilitate the bureaucratic process involved in the export of Palestinian goods. On 10 October 1988, an agreement was signed between the Israeli Government and representatives of Palestinian farmers allowing them to use Israeli ports. This agreement met the conditions of the EEC which, within two days, announced its decision on Palestinian imports. As a result of the EC decision, 2,200 tons of citrus and 89 tons of eggplants were exported in 1988 to the EC. In 1989, these figures went up to 5,000 tons and 500 tons, respectively. The EC considers the Palestinian imports to its members as a direct contribution to strengthening the economy of the Occupied Territories. But besides this import relationship, the EC has donated, since 1971, over \$185 million to the Occupied Territories. These donations were given through UNRWA but recently the EC decided that its economic aid will go directly to

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local Palestinian agencies and institutions engaged in social welfare, education and economic development. For 1990, the EC will offer \$6.6 million in aid to the Occupied Territories to be doubled to \$13.2 million by 1992. The EC seems determined to champion the Palestinian economic cause and, because of its economic weight on Israel, measures undertaken in favor of the Palestinian economy are less tikely to be obstructed by Israel. EC economic aid helps sustain the Palestinian effort at self-development but, within its present dimensions, it cannot be expected to contribute to an overall rehauling of the economic infrastructure in the Occupied Territories.

As to US aid, it amounted to \$14 million in 1986 which is only a pittance when compared to the \$4 billion received by Israel for the same year. Between 1975 and 1984, overall US aid to the West Bank and Gaza came up to \$51.6 million in comparison to \$24.3 billion to Israel for the same period. There is no point in comparing US aid to Israel with that to the Occupied Territories since it is clear where the US primary commitment lies and where its strategic interests are. From this point of view US aid to the Palestinians is not intended to challenge the economic status quo but rather to lease conditions of life for the Palestinians. US aid to the Occupied Territories is channelled through six private voluntary organizations: ANERA, CDF, and CRS, AMIDEAST, Holy-Land Christian Missions and CARE.

Palestinian NGOs

Money

The local Palestinian NGOs specialize in extending grants and loans for agricultural and industrial projects both on an individual and communal basis. Among these NGOs what the Economic Development Group (EDG) and the Arab Development and Credit Company (ADCC) were established in 1986, while the Technical Development Center (TDC) was established in 1990. In addition to these NGOs, the United Arab Agricultural Company, set up in 1990, specifically caters to development of the agricultural sector.

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Other Palestinian NGOs, such as the Center for Development Work (MAAN) and the Arab Thought Forum in Jerusalem, specialize in research on development and related fields. Another development oriented center is Bisan for Research and Development. The Union of Agricultural Relief Committees, established in 1985, undertakes agricultural work and projects. Similar orientation towards agricultural. work and development is shown by the Union of Agricultural Work Committees and the Union of Palestinian Peasante which was founded in 1990. The Technical Center for Agricultural Services, established in 1988, specializes in the study of the practical aspects and obstacles ef agricultural activity in the Occupied Territories. The Applied Research Development Group (ARDG), established in 1990, has set up an Applied Research Institute in Jerusalem (ARIJ) which specializes in research mapplied agriculture, seeks to develop an agricultural library and an agricultual data bank. Coordination among these various local NGOs is needed to to promote optimal use of resources and increase the prospects of export marketing, especially in agriculture.

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The need for coordination, however, is not a magic formula for overcoming all development problems. There is also a necessity to undertake follow-up studies for the various projects already in progress as well as feasibility studies and assessment of needs for the different sectors of the economy and society. Some of the local organizations, as well as the international NGOs emphasize the importance of conducting follow-up, sectoral and feasibility studies. The findings of these studies should be made available to all involved in self-help and development projects in order to avoid duplication of effort and to encourage cooperation and coordination among the various NGOs. Judging from the genuine interest shown by Palestinians for their own development, it is correct to conclude that Palestinians want to be active partners with the international NGOs in meeting the needs and priorities of their society.

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Foreign NGO's

Ever Since the 1948 war and its consequences for the Palestinian people, a number of international NGOs established themselves in the area to extend emergency and long-term help to the Palestinians and in particular to refugees and rural residents. After 1967, a number of organizations set up offices in East Jerusalem to help the Palestinian people cope with a situation of occupation and the absence of state institutions. Among these organizations are six American organizations which channel US government aid to the Occupied Territories. These are ANERA, CDF and CRS which focus on development projects and public works and AMIDEAST, Holy Land Christian Missions and CARE which focus on educational, health and community help. In addition to these American organizations which accept US government funds, there are also some organizations that do not accept US government funds but are supported by North American churches and groups, for example the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) and the Friends (Quakers) who run legal aid services as well as educational institutions including the Friends' Boys and Girls schools in Ramallah.

Federation with its primary funding coming from Germany, undertakes to run the Augusta Victoria hospital in Jerusalem as well as a several medical clinics in the country. Germany supports a number of institutions operating in the Occupied Territories including Talitha Kumi school in Beit Jala, the Shiloah School for the Blind in Bethlehem and the Christopher Blind Mission, There are a number of German NGOs operating in the Occupied Territories one of which, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, stresses academic and scientific cooperation. The Friedrich Naumann and the Konrad Adenauer Foundations undertake similar work.

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OXFAM of Britain offers relief aid and education especially in early childhood. CARITAS of Switzerland runs a specialized baby hospital in Bethlehem with an office in

Jerusalem to extend family and personal relief. Both the Vatican and Italy sponsor a number of organizations operating among the Palestinians, chief among them being the Pontifical Mission which was established immediately after the 1948 war to tend to Palestinians in their refugee status. The Pontifical Mission offers help for educational and communal projects and activities. Italy supports the EFTA school for the deaf and dumb in Bethlehem as well as the Dom Bosco school. The Swedish Organization for Individual Relief extends help to retarded and mentally handicapped children. NOVIB of the Netherlands is active in the areas of development, early childhood and in research geared to overall socio-economic growth.

North American and European churches support local churches and religious institutions in their relief and aid efforts. Examples include the support extended by the Anglican Church to the Palestinian Evangelical Church and the help extended by different churches in the U.S.A. to the Holyland Christian Mission in Bethlehem. The Middle East Council of Churches funds the International Christian Committee which, since 1948, provides support for the Palestinian people through individual and communal projects self-help. for rural development. clinics and mother-and-child care.

All these NGOs encourage development among the Palestinians either through small-scale projects or through grants and loans aimed to cover various needs. These needs range from helping a small business expand, to adding a school building or laying water-pipes to helping a village to install electricity.

The international NGOs have been supportive of the development of local NGOs and have established partner relationships with them. The coordination and partnership between the international and Palestinian NGO's need to be maintained and strengthened in order to better serve the Palestinian people and society.

The West Bank and Gaza Institutions

Municipal Institutions

The legal basis for the municipalities and village councils of the Occupied Territories is the Jordanian law of the municipalities, number 29 of 1955, for the West Bank and the British law of 1934 for the Gaza Strip. In fact, the municipal laws enacted by Jordan and Israel are derived from the British law which applied before 1948 but was subsequently amended. The Gaza Strip kept more to the Palestinian characteristics of the municipal system since the British law continued to operate after 1948 with the Egyptians introducing amendments to it between 1948 and 1967.

The municipalities and village councils undertake activities and services in the following areas: the supply of water and electricity: the establishment and maintenance of schools; the construction of roads, and control of public markets and slaughter-houses. The major orientation of the Palestinian municipal system is thus towards the service of the community and the provision of the essential services and institutions needed in town or village. In the mid-eighties, there were 26 cities and towns in the West Bank with a municipal council while the number of village councils was around 75. Prior to 1967, there were close to a hundred village councils in the West Bank but due to the fluctuating policies of the Israeli military towards the village councils, their number changed from a low of 64 in the 1970s to a high of 85 in the early 1980s which fell to 75 in the mid-eighties. The 25 towns with a municipality status are: Bani-Zayd, Beit Jala, Beit Sahour, Beituniya, Bethlehem, El-Bireh, Birzeit, Deir Dibwan, Jericho, n. Jerusalem, Ramallah and Silwad in the central part of the West Bank. In the northern part, the municipalities are: Anabta, Arrabah, Jenin, Kabatiya, Kalkilya, Nablus, Salfit, Tubas, Tulkarm and Ya' bed. There are four municipalities in the southern part of the West Bank: Dura, Halhul, Hebron

and Yatta. As to the village councils, 27 are in the Tulkarm region, 11 in Nablus, 8 in Jenin, 13 in Ramallah, 8 in Hebron and 3 in the Bethlehem area.

In the Gaza Strip, there were four municipal councils in the mid-eighties. These were Gaza City, Khan Younis, Rafah and Deir al Balah. In addition, there were village councils in eight localities: Jabalia, Beit Lahia, Beit Hannoun, Bani Suhaila, Abasan el-Kabira, Abasan el-Saghira, Kheza'a and Zawaida. There were also local committees in three localities: Maghazi, Bureij and Nuseirat refugee camps.

The municipalities and village councils in the Occupied Territories are often a reflection of the social, political and economic preoccupations of the population. These institutions are quite close to the population as they usually include members who represent the various families, political groups and other segments of the population. The number of members in the municipal council ranges from seven to twelve and from three to twelve in the village council, depending on the size of the population served. The period of service is usually four years for the municipal councils and three years for the village councils.

Israel's Use of the Municipalities

After the 1967 Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, the military authorities decided to reactivate the municipalities and village councils. With the absence of a Palestinian administrative infrastructure. the Israeli authorities thought that the municipalities and village councils could be coopted to play an intermediary role between them and and the Palestinian population. When in 1972, the Israeli authorities decided to hold the first municipal elections in the West Bank, the decision was undertaken to show the "enlightened" side of Israeli occupation and to advance the role of the municipalities as intermediaries. The Israeli authorities were encouraged in taking this decision by the fact that the socio-political L'and

climate in the occupied West Bank did not point to the emergence of an afternative municipal leadership that would challenge the old municipal leadership. When in 1976, the authorities decided once again to allow municipal elections, the results were quite different since-the nationalist pro-PLO states won the municipal councils of almost all the large cities and towns in the West Bank. The results of the 1976 elections meant that the political expectations that the Israelis had placed on the municipalities could never materialize. In fact, because the Israeli authorities were not able to use the municipal councils as they had expected, they resorted to expelling some of the elected mayors and to disband most of the elected councils in 1982. The mayors and their councils had refused to cooperate with the Israeli authorities on the issue of introducing a new civil administration to run the Occupied Territories in parallel with the military government.

In Gaza, the history of the municipal system under Israeli occupation does not fare any better than its counterpart in the West Bank. The last municipal election in Gaza was held in 1946 in accordance with the municipal law of 1934. This law stipulated that the British Commissioner had the sole authority to appoint and dismiss the municipal council and the power to decide who could vote or be eligible for nomination. Using the prerogatives offered by this law, the Israeli authorities twice dismissed the mayor of Gaza City --Once for refusing to link the city with the Israeli electricity network and the other for refusing to extend the municipal services to Nuseirat refugee camps. At present, however, Gaza city, similarly to other towns and villages in the Strip and in the West Bank, does not have an indigenous municipal council. The city is run by an Israeli officer who acts as its mayor. This fact is replicated in almost all the other towns and cities of the Occupied Territories. Palestinians under occupation do not even have a say in these institutions which are directly linked to their daily needs and requirements. The history of the Palestinian municipalities under occupation points to the fact that the Israelis would never be

able to use these institutions as political tools to legitimize the status quo of military occupation or Israeli political designs for the future of the Occupied Territories. If this fact becomes well understood by the authorities then any future measure undertaken with respect to the municipalities would be geared solely to serve the population and its pressing daily and communal needs.

Health Institutions in the Occupied Territories

In 1990, there were 24 hospitals in the West Bank with a total of 1,854 beds. The ratio of beds per 1,000 population in the West Bank was 1.49. The northern region, comprising Nablus, Jenin, Tulkarm, Qalqilya and their villages, had nine hospitals with 521 beds serving a population of over half a million. The ratio of beds per 1,000 population in the northern region was 0.91. In the central area which includes Ramallah, El-Bireh and their villages, the population of 175,000 was served by two hospitals with 186 beds or a ratio of 1.06 beds per 1,000 population. In Jerusalem, with a population of 140,000, the highest ratio of beds per 1,000 population was 3.41 due to the presence of five hospitals with 477 beds. Note should be taken that the Jerusalem hospitals in fact serve the larger population of the West Bank. Accordingly, the ratio of 3.41 bed per 1,000 population should be considered with this fact in mind.

In the south, which includes Bethlehem, Hebron and their villages, there were seven hospitals with 350 beds serving a population of over 300,000. The ratio of beds per 1,000 population was 1.01. Note should be taken that in the southern part of the West Bank, the hospitals are concentrated in the Bethlehem area. Hebron has one hospital but the Friends of Siek People Society in the city is in the process of building another. As to mental health services, Bethlehem Mental Hospital has 320 beds and provides services for the entire population of the West Bank thus bringing the ratio of beds per 1,000 population to 0.31 for mental illness, at best estimate.

In the Gaza Strip there were six hospitals, four of them in Gaza City, with a total of 527 beds. Two of the hospitals, Al-Shifa (340 beds) and Radwan (46 beds) government-run. Al-Shifa specializes in multiple medical and surgical specialties and has had to cope with the increased number Intifada-related and of iniuries casualties. Radwan hospital specializes in opthalmic and psychiatric care. Nasser (81 beds) is a semi-private hospital specializing in pediatric and surgical care as well as in neonatology. Al-Ahli Arab hospital, with 60 beds, is run by the Anglican Church of East Jerusalem with specialties in general medical and surgical care. There are two additional hospitals in the Gaza Strip. Khan Yunis hospital is run by the government with 200 beds and with specialties in internal medicine. surgery, pediatrics, obstetrics. gynecology and orthopedics. Bureij hospital at the Bureij refugee camp has 70 beds specializes in respiratory diseases and is run by UNRWA, the ratio of beds per 1,000 population in the Gaza Strip is 0.88.

The Palestinian Medical Relief Committees as well as other Palestinian and international organizations have been active, particularly during the years of the Intifada, in the provision of medical services to the Palestinian population. These services are aimed at communities which do not normally receive systemic health care and also at Intifada-related victims. Attention is also being given to the estimated 6,200 Palestinians suffering from serious injuries and to the 670 who are permanently disabled. The medical activities undertaken by the Committees and other groups help in meeting some of the urgent health needs by the overall Palestinian population. But inspite of the good will and intention of these voluntary organizations, the overall health situation in the Occupied Territories remains in need of improvement and development. Just for comparative purposes, one can look at parallel Israeli figures on ratio of beds per 1,000 population. For 1987, this ratio was 6.24, the overall number of hospital beds in Israel was 27,516 serving a population of 4,406,500. There were 153 hospitals in Israel for 1987 distributed as follows: 43 for general care, 30 for mental diseases, 78 for chronic diseases and 2 for rehabilitation.

Other comparative figures between the Occupied Territories and Israel show that the number of beds for mental patients in the West Bank is only one sixth that of Israel, while the overall number of hospital beds for the Palestinian population is only one seventh of that for the Israeli population. This comparison does not touch on the topic of medical specialists: all the specialists in the West Bank and Gaza, estimated to be around 250, can be absorbed in one Israeli hospital. Maybe it is not appropriate to compare Palestinian and Israeli health figures but the purpose is to show the discrepancy between the two societies perpetuated by the system of military occupation. Much remains to be done to improve the health system of the Palestinians under Israeli occupation.

Charitable and Other Societies

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society especially since the 1948 war and its dire consequences for the Palestinian people. The goal of most charitable societies is to tend to the pressing needs of those who suffer from a handicap, illness, poverty, old age and the effects of war and continued military occupation. By the mid-1980s there were over 200 charitable organizations operating in the West Bank under the umbrella of the Federation of West Bank Charitable Organizations which operates from East Jerusalem. These societies offer medical attention through their clinics which are spread all over the West Bank. Some of them also run educational institutions,

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especially kindergartens, in addition to vocational centers to teach embroidery, handicrafts, secreterial work, home

population-at-large. The societies also undertake to care for the mentally handicapped, for the visually handicapped and

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for the deaf and dumb. At least two societies tend for the elderly as they offer day care and an old age home.

The Arab Women's Union, one of the oldest charitable societies, has branches in Jerusalem, Nablus, Ramallah, el-Bireh, Bethlehem and Beit Sahour, among other localities. The Union is active in health, education, home economics and, during the Intifada, in a number of cottage industry projects aimed at increasing economic independence and development. Among the other societies active in community self-help and development are the various womens committees which first appeared in the seventies to tend specifically to the conditions and rights of Palestinian women in the context of socio-economic and political development. These women's committees represent various political groups in the society and they are found in different urban-rural localities. The four women's committees are: The Federation of Working Women Committees in the West Bank and Gaza; The Palestinian Women's Committee; The Palestinian Federation of Women's Action Committee and the Union of Women Committees for Social Work. The women's committees are oriented towards mass-participation and involvement; their activities accordingly reach out to the grassroots and their presence is felt both in the West Bank and Gaza

Among the other societies, the Y.M.C.A and the Y.W.C.A (Christian) and the Y.M.M.A and the Y.W.M.A (Moslem) are oriented towards practical short-term and one-year educational courses in such areas as secreterial skills for women, languages, computer skills, sewing, embroidery and home economics. The practical orientation of these associations which, in normal times, also offer cultural and sportive activities, responds well to the needs of a good part of Palestinian youth.

Gaza's Charitable Societies

The Gaza Strip has parallel charitable societies and popularly based committees to those in the West Bank. These

operate on the same basis. However, many of the societies in the Gaza Strip focus their energies on the provision of much needed health and educational services, besides caring for the poor and elderly. A list of some of these societies and their fields of service provides an appreciation of the pressing needs faced by the Palestinian population of the Gaza Strip:

1.Al-Amal Orphanage of Hope Institute: Residential Care for Orphans and poor children.

2) The Arab Medical Association: One clinic in Rafah which provides ophthalmic care and health education. The association was founded in 1977 and; in the mid-80s had a membership of 75 unemployed medical doctors. 9,000 inhabitants are served annually.

3 Benevolent Society: Medical equipment.

4.Blind Friends' Association: Education for the blind children at the preparatory level. General education service.

5 Joint Charitable Committee: Prosthesis workshop.

6.Missionaries of Charity: Residential care for aged women.

Near East Council of Churches: Mother/child care through three clinics in Daraj, Shaja'iya and Zeitoun. The stress is on preventive and curative care which is offered to 4,000 inhabitants each year.

(8).Patient Friends' Society: one clinic in Gaza City for general dental care which serves 3000 - to 6000 inhabitants

each year.

9) Red Crescent Society: Medical clinics in six communities which serve 20,000 inhabitants each year. Society was founded in 1972.

10. Society for the Care of Handicapped Children: Health care instruction for mothers of physically and mentally handicapped children.

11. Society for the Care of Disabled and Aged Persons: Residential care for the aged and disabled.

12.UNRWA/Pontifical Mission Center for the Blind: Elementary education for the blind in addition to some vocational training.

13.UNRWA/Quaker Preschool Program: Nutrition education and hygiene.

14.EI-Wafa Invalids' Society: Residential care for aged men.

Research Centers

As society's needs and conditions change so does the nature of the societies and associations operating in the community. It is therefore understandable why Palestinian society in recent years has produced a number of specialized research centers on a variety of topics. Among these centers are those that specialize in women's topics such as the Women's Resource and Research Center in Jerusalem and the Women's Academic Training Research Center in Nablus. These two centers have been founded in recent years and they are both headed and run by women. Of the other research centers, the best known, perhaps, is the Arab Studies Society headed by Faisal Husseini. This Society was established in 1980 and aims at studying Arab culture and Palestinian society. There are also research centers affiliated with the universities and educational institutions such as Center Documentation. the of Publication and Manuscripts of Najah University in Nablus. The University also runs a Rural Research Center and a Scientific and Higher Studies Research Center. Hebron University has a Scientific Research Center-while Birzeit University has both a Research Center and an Hiteracy Research Center. Other research centers include the Bisan Research and Development Center in Ramallah, the Palesting Human Rights Information Center in Jerusalem, the Islamic Research Center of Dar El-Tifl al-'Arabin'n Jerusalem, the Law in the Service of Man (Al-Hag) in Ramallah, the Magassed Scientific and Medical Research Center in Jerusalem the Arab Thought Forum in Jerusalem which focuses on reasearch for purposes of development, the Committee for Social Research and Palestinian Folklore of In ash al-Usra Society in el-Bireh, the University Graduates

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Union Research Center in Hebron and the Zahra Research Center in Jerusalem. These research centers are engaged in investigating the various aspects of Palestinian society and they seek to generate information on the society, its needs, its challenges as well as its prospects for the future.

Among the research centers that operate in the Occupied Territories is PASSIA which is a non-profit, independent academic society for the study of international affairs. It was founded in March 1987 by a group of Palestinian academics and intellectuals in East Jerusalem. The goal of PASSIA is to present the Palestinian question in its national, Arab and international context. It also supports and encourages others to research the various aspects and dimensions of the Palestinian question locally, regionally and internationally. PASSIA also undertakes inter-Palestinian dialogue in order to develop and clarify Palestinian views with respect to current events and future possibilities and their effect on Palestinian-Arab and Palestinian-foreign relations.

Press

The Palestinian press includes four dailies in Arabic. Al-Quds, Al-Fajr, Al-Shaab and Al-Nahhar with a total distribution of over 20,000 copies. Al-Fajr publishes a weekly in English while Gesher is a Palestinian bi-weekly in Hebrew. Al-Tali' ah is a weekly newspaper which appears on Thursdays. There are three weekly magazines: Al-Awdeh, Al-Usbu' Al-Jadid and Al-Bayader Al-siyasi. Al-Kateb is a monthly journal which specializes in literary, social and political analysis. Abeer Magazine is a monthly oriented towards a general readership. Al-Raed Al-Iqtissadi, on the other hand, is a monthly magazine that specializes in economic topics of interest to Palestinians and their society. A monthly computer magazine in Arabic has made its debut in 1990 to serve the increasing population of computer users in the Occupied Territories.

The Palestinian journalists have been active in covering the measures and practices of Israeli occupation since 1967 and especially during the years of the Intifada. For this reason, many of them have been harassed and imprisoned. Other Palestinian press activity revolves around the Arab Media Center, the Jerusalem Media and Communication Center, the Middle East Press Services, the Palestine Press Services and Al-Masdar Press Translation Office, all located in Jerusalem.

Trade Unions and Professional Associations

Palestinians have grouped themselves in various trade unions and professional associations in order to promote their professional interests and to preserve their rights. Trade unions for employees and blue-collar workers in the West Bank and Gaza cover a wide range of occupations from staff and workers at universities to those in hospitals, municipalities, printing presses, construction, textile, hotels and restaurants, the shoe industry and needle work, among others. The trade unions of blue-collar workers fall under the umbrella of the General Federation of Labor Unions in the West Bank, which has its headquarters in Nablus. Other trade unions, such as those at universities, coordinate their stand on issues that pertain to their wages, working conditions and other pertinent matters.

Professional associations are also operative in the Occupied Territories and these include the Agricultural Engineers' Association, the Arab Journalists' Association, the Arab Tour Guides' Union, the Dentists' Association, the Engineers' Association, the Lawyers' Association, the League of Palestinian Artists, the Medical Association, the Palestinian Writers' Association and the Pharmacists' Association.

The professional associations and labor unions are an integral part of their society. The Israeli authorities are

constantly on the lookout for union activities and members. Many of the members of these associations and unions have been arrested or intimidated by the authorities. Part of the policy of restrictions imposed on the labor and professional movement is not granting its branches, in the various areas of the Occupied Territories, permits to operate. By the mid-eighties over 140 trade union branches were not approved by the Israeli authorities. One interesting note is that unions are not allowed to operate in Arab East Jerusalem and, therefore, all activities pertaining to Palestinian labor unions in Jerusalem are technically speaking, illegal.

Chambers of Commerce

The Chambers of Commerce in the West Bank and Gaza play an important role in coordinating the affairs of merchants, exporters and industrialists, and in handling administrative and other activities. The chambers are present in all large cities and towns in the Occupied Territories. Among the activities undertaken by these chambers are the issuing of export licenses for Palestinian products to Jordan and the Arab world, as well as the processing of personal and official documents of Palestinians who need to present these to the various ministries in Amman.

Each Chamber of Commerce is run by a board which has six to twelve members who are supposed to be elected by their general assemblies every four years. The last elections for the Chambers of Commerce were held in 1972-1973. In 1977, the Israeli military decided not to allow new elections. Most of the present boards which run these Chambers have been in office since 1972 and, in the case of Bethlehem, Hebron, Ramallah and Tulkarm, since 1965. Among the cities and towns that have Chambers of Commerce are the following: Bethlehem, El-Bireh, Hebron, Jenin, Jericho, Jerusalem, Kalkilya, Nablus, Ramallah and Tulkarm.

Israeli Rule: Administration, Settlements and Practices

Administration

wters 57 Since June 1967, the Occupied Territories have been governed by a system of military command with a High Commander in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and with military governors in the various localities. In November 1981, military order number 947 established a civil administration which was intended to alter the status of the West Bank and Gaza as Occupied Territories. This change occurred in conjunction with the autonomy talks as proposed by the Camp David Agreement of 1979. The establishment of the Civil Administration led to certain structural and legal changes which differentiated between the civilian and military functions of the Israeli governing authorities. The institution of a civil administration also transformed a number of laws from the temporary status of security legislation to that of permanent law.

The Civil Administration is subordinate to the Israeli military and ultimately accountable to the Department of Defence. This administration attends to all civil matters to the exclusion of military and security affairs. But all legislative, judicial and executive power is still entrusted in the military commanders of the West Bank and Gaza and not with the head of the Civil Administration. The primary purpose for the establishment of the Civil Administration was to ensure that all powers not given to the Civil Administration would remain with the military if occupation continued, or with the Israeli authorities if the Palestinians were granted autonomy. Thus, the introduction of the Civil Administration was set as a precedent that could be used in the future to distinguish between Palestinian civil administrators and Israeli military commanders in the West Bank and Gaza. Palestinians, aware of these legal complications, vehemently opposed the Civil Administration and the elected municipal councils in the Occupied Territories boycotted the Civil Administration and refused

to extend any form of legitimation to it. This refusal was an important factor in the decision taken in 1982 by the Israeli Government to dismiss the municipal councils in the Occupied Territories. As a result, Israeli military officers assumed the jobs of mayors in a number of cities and towns in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The Israeli Military Government in the Occupied Territories exercizes legislative, iudicial its administrative powers as a permanent sovereign power rather than as a de facto occupying power, as required by international law. Israel thus refuses to acknowledge the applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. ratified by Israel itself, to the Occupied Territories and their inhabitants. This is the legal background for the insistence by Palestinians and others on the need for Israeli upholding of the stipulations of the Fourth Geneva Convention in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and for calling for an international protecting body for the inhabitants of the Occupied Territories.

Settlements

Between 1967 and 1977, under the Israeli Labor Government, 34 settlements were established in the Occupied Territories with a total population of 5,023 settlers. In 1977 a Likud-led government came to office in Israel and it succeeded in doubling the number of settlements to 71 while the number of settlers went up four-fold to 21,000. Land confiscation, for settlement, security and other reasons, proceeded and by the mid-eighties over 52% of the land of the West Bank and 33% of that of Gaza, was confiscated by the Israelis.

Between 1982 and 1989, the number of settlements increased to become 130 settlements with 70,000 settlers in the West Bank. In Gaza, there are 18 settlements with close to 2,500 settlers. While Labour at the present does not encourage the establishment of new settlements, especially

in densely populated Arab areas. Likud still insists that such an activity is an Israeli right and leads to a fait-accompli that would make it difficult to agree to a territorial compromise with the Palestinians and/or with Arab states. A religious right-wing Israeli group that has been most active in the settlement effort, is Gush Emunim, "Bloc of the Faithful", that was established in 1974 following the October War of 1973. This group, sensing that political negotiations with Arab countries may endanger the Israeli hold on the Occupied Territories, adopted a position that makes a withdrawal decision by the Israeli government from any part of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, unacceptable on religious grounds. Gush Emunim made headlines when some of its members settled, in 1974; in the heart of the Arab city of Hebron and proceeded to set up Kirvat Arba, an Israeli settlement north of Hebron, on confiscated Arab land. Gush Emunim members are hostile to their Arab neighbours and they believe in a policy of force and control to accomplish their goals in the Occupied Territories.

Settlements in the Greater Jerusalem Area

The settlement effort was not restricted to the West Bank and Gaza. East Jerusalem, annexed to the expanded municipal boundaries of Jerusalem, saw the development of eight large settlements, including the renovated Jewish Quarter in the Old City. These settlements, built to encircle the Arab city and thus create an irreversible fait-accompli, were made possible through the confiscation of one-third of the land of greater Arab Jerusalem. At the present, 120,000 Israelis reside in these settlements, or one-third of the Israeli population of Jerusalem. Some of the Jerusalem settlements are:

Gilo, lies south of Jerusalem, is bordered by the Arab village of Beit Safafa to the east and Beit Jala to the south. It has a population of 28,000, many of whom are of Russian origin.

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<u>East Talpiot</u>, lies East of the Jerusalem-Bethlehem road and is built on confiscated land from the Arab villages of Sur Baher and Jebel al Mukaber. Its population is well over 12,000.

Givat Shapira or French Hill, is on Mount Scopus, east of the Jerusalem-Ramallah road close to the Hebrew University Campus. Its population is over 9,000.

Ramat Eshkol, lies west of the Jerusalem-Ramallah road, across from Mount Scopus. Its population exceeds 16,000. Together with French Hill, it encircles Arab Jerusalem on its northern side.

Neve Ya' aqov, is situated east of the Jerusalem-Ramallah road, seven kilometers north of Jerusalem. Its population exceeds 20,000.

Pisgat Zeev, is south of Neve Ya'aqov and east of the Arab suburb of Beit Hanina. It has a population of 5,000. A new West Pisgat Zeev is being planned at the present. Altogether, 12,000 housing units are planned for this settlement of which 3,000 have already been constructed.

Ramat Alon, lies west of the Jerusalem-Ramallah road, east of the Arab village of Shu fat and close to Nebi Samuel, the highest mountain top in Jerusalem. Its population is 30,000 and is linked to West Jerusalem by a modern highway.

Almost all of the Jerusalem settlements are dormitory suburbs with their residents leaving for work in the mornings and returning home in the evenings. The significance of these urban settlements is primarily political-to emphasize that Jerusalem is under Israeli sovereignty and will remain so. While over 70 thousand apartment units have been built in Jerusalem since 1967 for Israelis, including newly-arrived Soviet Jewish immigrants,

Palestinians in Jerusalem find it difficult to get permits to build even a limited number of apartments.

Insurmountable obstacles are placed in the way of Arabs seeking to build their own houses in Jerusalem. This has contributed to a serious housing problem in Arab Jerusalem as a result of which land price and rent have gone up considerably. But, in addition, an increasing number of "illegally" built homes by Arab inhabitants are being demolished on a regular basis by the Israeli authorities. The issue of housing in Jerusalem is not simply a question of personal comfort or luxury since it is tied to Israeli policies: The long-run effects of these policies are to confirm the Judaization of the city while, at the same time, effecting a process of ghettoization of the Arab parts of the city.

The situation in the West Bank and Gaza is not much better of when it comes to housing. The Israeli government has invested over \$2.5 billion, between 1967 and 1988, in building Israeli settlements, while restricting Arabs in the use of their own land for housing and other essential services. In December 1990, the Municipality of Bethlehem received an order from the Regional Planning Board in Jerusalem, prohibiting it from issuing construction permits within the boundaries of the Bethlehem municipality.

Legal Orders-and More of Them

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Since 1967, the Israeli military authorities have issued over 1,300 legal orders touching on all areas of life in the Occupied Territories. These areas include the legal, civil and all matters pertaining to politics. In addition, the use of land and water rights, licensing, taxation, services, security and social welfare are also covered by these orders. While Jordanian law continues to be the recognized law in the West Bank, these legal orders manipulate the decrees and stipulations of the Jordanian laws to suit Israeli purposes and objectives. The legal situation in Gaza is in even worse shape since the Egyptians, who administered the

territory until 1967, did not introduce Egyptian law. Many of the laws in Gaza have been inherited from the period of the British Mandate in Palestine. As in other areas, the Israelis use the existing laws to their advantage without consideration of the needs and requirements of the local population. As a specific example, the Israeli military in Gaza amended the Ottoman Law of Societies in order to have complete authority over the functioning of all forms of social organization in the Strip. As a result, the military can determine which societies may be founded, when and how they may function. These military orders are used to effect the confiscation of thousands of acres of privately owned lands, both in the West Bank and Gaza, with disastrous effects on the personal, communal and social levels of Palestinian society.

The Continuous Intifada: Commitment and Sacrifices

The Palestinian people remain committed to freedom and the exercise of their right to self-determination through an end to Israeli occupation. The present status quo is an unjust one and it is categorically rejected by Palestinians and by all those who believe in a future of peace. Since the start of the Intifada on 9 December 1987, the Palestinians continue to pay, with great personal sacrifices, for the realization of their yearning for freedom and independence. Until 31 May 1990, the number of those killed during the Intifada had reached 941.) Of these, 837 were killed through the direct responsibility of the Israeli authorities. 688 of the 837 were killed by gunfire while 61 died as a result of beatings and other non-bullet causes. There were also 104 who were killed under suspicious circumstances. Of these, 18 died in prison - four from shooting, eleven from beatings and torture and three from the failure to provide adequate medical treatment.

Most disheartening when one reads the statistics of the Intifada, are the figures for children killed. There were 227

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Palestinian children under 16 killed between 9 December 1987 and 31 May 1990. Of these, 161 died as a result of gunfire shots, mostly to the head and upper parts of the body. Eight children met their deaths from beatings and other non-bullet causes while 38 lost their lives in tear-gas related incidents. But the sacrifices of the Palestinians are not limited to those martyred since they also involve various degrees of injury, imprisonment, home sealings and demolitions and even tree uprootings. Close to 93,500 Palestinians were injured from the beginning of the Intifada to 31 May 1990. It is estimated that 670 of those injured suffer from debilitating injuries that require life-long attention and follow-up both in medical and rehabilitative aspects. Close to 6,200 have had injuries that will leave permanent body scars that require continuous attention.

Beside those injured, there were over 9,550 Palestinians under administrative detention. Administrative detention is a measure adopted by the Israelis from the British Emergency Regulations of 1945 by which the authorities can detain anyone, without due process, for suspicion that he/she is involved in bestile activity. Beside administrative detentions, close to 40,000 Palestinians have been imprisoned during the first three years of the Intifada. This brings the total of Palestinians imprisoned during the whole period of Israeli occupation to well over 300,000 or one out of every six Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. As to home sealings and demolitions, 1,467 houses and other structures were demolished or sealed during the period of the Intifada. Of these, 321) were demolished and 181 were sealed for "security reasons." In addition, 894 houses and structures were demolished on the pretext of their being unlicensed. In three cases, the settlers undertook to demolish houses. Punishment measures reached out to nature as the Israeli authorities uprooted over 87,473) trees throughout the Occupied Territories. These uprootings were undertaken on the pretext of "security reasons" and after confiscating Palestinian lands for the construction of settlements and roads or for military purposes.

The continuously tense situation in the Occupied Territories is best reflected in the curfews imposed quite frequently by the Israeli military authorities. Up until 31 May 1990, 3770 curfew days have been imposed on various localities in the West Bank. The parallel figure for the Gaza Strip is 3 771 of which 53 days were curfews imposed on the whole Gaza Strip. It is evident that the relationship of occupation is one based on the use of force and control, on the one hand, and on resistance and insistence on the basic rights of freedom and independence, on the other. As long as the Israelis, represented by their government, do not opt for the peace process, then the situation between Palestinians and Israelis will continue to be one of confrontation and mistrust. The Palestinians, through the Palestine National Congress (PNC) decisions of 15 November 1988 in Algiers, have expressed their willingness to accept a two-state solution based on all the relevant UN resolutions on the question of Palestine. The Israeli Government, however, continues to maneuvre and to neglect the rights of the Palestinian people, aided by American inaction with respect to Israeli infractions committed against Palestinians and their land. The Palestinians will not give up the fight for their basic and inalienable rights and, unless the Israelis can come to understand that the Palestinians will not go away, the status of the ongoing conflict will continue for the foreseeable future.

It is clear that the Intifada is a message of peace. Inspite of all the suffering and the sacrifices inflicted on the Palestinian people, Palestinians are still determined to seek a just and lasting peace that will provide a secure future for all peoples in the region. It is only a matter of time until more and more Israeli leaders, and Israelis themselves, understand that the future lies in recognizing the legitimate rights of their Palestinian neighbours. The policy of neglect and of creating facts can only be useful in the short run. In the long run, it is only the serious and in-depth consideration of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and of possibilities for its resolution, that could contribute to peace

and prosperity. There can be no peace based on control and hegemony by one side and the occupation and dispossession of the other side. Freedom for the Palestinian people is the only guarantee for a secure and prosperous future for the Israeli people. Continuous disregard by the Israeli leadership of this fact is a sure formula for future disasters to Israel, to the Palestinians, to the region and, perhaps, to the world, at large.

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