



# The Palestinian Legislative Council

A Handbook

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Published in 2007 in the United States of America by the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 1828 L Street NW, Suite 1050, Washington, DC 20036.

Cover design by Daniel Kohan, Sensical Design and Communication  
Front cover: Hamas leader and Palestinian prime minister Ismail Haniyeh (second from left) sits next to other Hamas lawmakers during a session of the Palestinian Legislative Council in Gaza City, March 22, 2006. Copyright AP Wide World Photos/Khalil Hamra.

## **The Washington Institute**

### Handbook of Palestinian Legislative Council Members

This Handbook is intended as a reference for analysis of the members of the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC), particularly with regard to tracking their positions on issues relevant to the Israeli-Palestinian relationship. Its contents were derived from open sources and are therefore reliant upon the accuracy of these sources. This notwithstanding, every attempt has been made to verify each entry via secondary sources and thus ensure all data within are as true, accurate, and unbiased as possible. However, The Washington Institute cannot guarantee that in all instances these criteria are met. For this reason, The Institute requests to be notified of any errors or clarifications that would improve the quality of the contents of this Handbook.

Currently, only biographical data and quotations are included in the Handbook. No attempt has been made to draw conclusions regarding the specific political orientation of each delegate. However, the quotations accompanying each entry are suggestive in this regard. The data will be updated periodically as more information becomes available.

• • •

This Handbook was prepared by Washington Institute research assistants Jamie Chosak and David Jacobson and interns Faysal Itani and Donna Doss, working under the supervision of Christopher Hamilton, the Institute's former senior fellow in counterterrorism studies.



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*Note: An asterisk (\*) denotes a person arrested since the outbreak of the conflict in June 2006. This list is up-to-date as of August 23, 2006, but is subject to change on a daily basis.*

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# I. Hamas



## Ismail Abdul Salah Ahmed Haniyeh

Ismail Haniya, Ismael Haniya, Ismael Haniyya, Ismail Haniyya



Member of Parliament – National List  
#1 on Change and Reform list  
Prime Minister  
Minister of Youth and Sport



### Biographical Information

- Born 1962 in Shati refugee camp
- From Gaza
- Married with 11 children
- Resides in Shati refugee camp

### Personal History

- Prime Minister of Palestinian National Authority.
- 1987 Obtained BA in Arabic Literature from Islamic University of Gaza. Member of the Islamic Student Bloc, a precursor to Hamas.
- 1989 Incarcerated for 3 years by Israeli authorities without charge
- 1992 Following his release from Israeli prison, he was deported to Lebanon.
- 1997 Became a close aide to Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, former Spiritual Leader of Hamas
- 2003 Injured by Israeli air strike
- 2005 Helped negotiate truce agreement between Palestinian factions
- 2006 His offices were bombed in response to the Shalit abduction; he called on the United States to pressure Israel to end its oppression of and attacks on Palestinians
- His control of Hamas begins to be questioned as the “militant wing” of the party, under the control of Khaled Meshal in Damascus, comes to the fore

### Notable Quotations

“We will not rest until we liberate all Palestinian land, crowned by Jerusalem.”  
*The Daily Star*, September 2005

“What we got [from Oslo] are more settlements, more occupation, more roadblocks, more poverty and more repression”  
*al-Jazeera News*, February 2006

“Hamas will be active in the resistance as well as in parliament in the political domain. There is no contradiction.”  
*The Daily Times Pakistan*, January 2006

“[We will deal with differences with Abbas] through dialogue and understanding to preserve the national unity of the Palestinian people and promote their higher interests.”  
*CBS*, February 2006

“Resistance is a principle and a legitimate right of the Palestinian people that cannot be renounced... Carrying out the resistance on the ground is linked to the higher interests (of the Palestinians) and managing the conflict.”  
*al-Jazeera News*, January 2006

"I swear by God to be loyal to the homeland, its holy places, people and its national heritage, and to respect the constitution and the law, and uphold entirely the interests of the Palestinian people."

*Agence France Presse – English, March 2006*

"The problem is not whether the Palestinians accept or not negotiations. The problem is whether the Israeli side accepts negotiations and signed agreements."

*Agence France Presse – English, March 2006*

"We remain committed to the path of Sheikh Yassin who laid the foundations of our deep Palestinian national unity, firm relations with Arab and Muslim countries and opened us up to the world."

*Agence France Presse – English, March 2006*

"The continued escalation aims to shed more Palestinian blood, confuse the situation and hamper ... the formation of the Palestinian government."

*Chicago Tribune, March 2006*

"We are facing an unholy alliance led by the American Administration to cut aid to the poor and oppressed Palestinian people. We will not give in, and attempts to isolate the government will fail."

*Time, April 2006*

"The government has been denied responsibility over security bodies, the borders and other powers, but it still needs to pay salaries"

*Agence France Presse – English, April 2006*

"...Dignity is more important than dollars."

*Agence France Presse – English, April 2006*

"We will eat salt, but we will not bow our heads for anybody other than God, because we are faithful to the rights of our people and our nation. We will not betray it."

*The Post and Courier, April 2006*

"You are granting me too few responsibilities. I think I don't have the powers of a prime minister" (To Mahmoud Abbas, President of Palestinian National Authority

*Agence France Presse - English, April 2006*

"We will not relinquish our borders(...)We will not go back on our principles"

*Agence France Presse – English, April 2006*

"We inherited a situation in which we not only have no money in the treasury but a whole load of debts."

*Agence France Presse – English, April 2006*

"The continuing occupation and aggressions are at the root of the cycle [of violence]"

*Agence France Presse – English, April 2006*

"I have called the president of the Iranian Islamic republic to thank him for the support that he has shown towards the Palestinian people"

*Agence France Presse – English, April 2006*

"All that we ask the American administration is to take a moral stance towards the Palestinian people, and the Palestinian suffering and to bear its responsibility as a superpower in this world."

--*Associated Press, July 25, 2006*

“It seems that from the American point of view, the new Middle East starts by destroying Lebanon, by killing the maximum number of our Palestinian people and by bringing down the resistance... We ask the American administration to stop its blind support for the occupation... and not allow the continued killing of children, women and old people by American weapons on Palestinian and Lebanese lands.”

--*Zaman.com*, July 26, 2006

The arrest of Aziz Dweik is “another crime of piracy by the occupation against the elected representatives of our people.”

--*Arab News*, August 7, 2006

## Mohammad Mahmoud Abu Tir\*

Mohamed Mahmud Abu Tair, Muhammad Abou Tayr

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#2 on Change and Reform



### Biographical Information

- Born 1951
- From Umm Tuba, Southeast of Jerusalem
- Resides in Umm Tuba

### Personal History

- Completed primary and preparatory education in Sour Bahr School
- 1971 Completed High School Studies in al-Aqsa Legislative School
- Completed military training in Beirut as a member of Fatah
- Jailed for the first time in 1974 for eleven years. Released in Jibril deal of 1985, when 1150 Palestinians were freed in exchange for three Israeli soldiers held by the PFLP
- 1987 Joined Hamas upon its creation
- Was an Imam in Mosques in Umm Tuba and in Israeli prisons
- 1998 Imprisoned in Israeli jail for arms possession and support to Hamas cells in the West Bank; freed in mid-2005
- In late May 2006, was threatened with loss of residence permit in Jerusalem if he did not leave Hamas. Residency was stripped from him one month later, after the Shalit abduction.
- Arrested by Israel following Shalit abduction

### Notable Quotations

"Hamas has no problem with the Prisoners' document's demand for a Palestinian state in all the territories occupied in 1967 but does not accept its recognition of international decisions that indirectly mean recognition of Israel."

--Haaretz, June 8, 2006

The following is from *The Jerusalem Post*:

- "I'm from this house. I have been living here not for 20 years not for 50 years not for 100 years. Um Tuba existed well before this. We have been here from the time of the Muslim arrival in the seventh century... Would you accept anyone taking you from your house and throwing you out of your house?"
- "There is a passage in the Koran about the tribe of Israel which says 'If I instruct you to kill them or to force them to leave their homes no one will do so except for a very few... Do you know what the meaning of this is? It means that throwing someone from their home is equivalent to killing them and only very few would do such a thing to someone else.'"
- "It's like putting a cat in a corner. What will he do? Everything he can to get out... I'll go to an Israeli court because we are under occupation. We have no choice but to go to an Israeli court. The injustice being done to me because of this issue forces me to go to an Israeli court."
- "The prison administrators were fearful of him. If he told the prisoners to do something they would." – a fellow prisoner on Abu Tir during his time in jail

- "Some are famous for their 'military experience' while others are famous for their social networks. Tens of thousands of people know Abu Tir: the prisoners and their families. That he was listed as number 2 on the Hamas list was a message from Hamas about his status and its concern for Palestinian prisoners." – a Hamas source on Abu Tir
- "Am I supposed to raise my hands in the air?... We never once liked the killing and blood and the explosions on the buses he claimed. Not Jews nor Arabs nor Muslims nor Christians... We don't want to massacre the Jews and we don't want to throw them into the sea."
- The violence will end "when the occupation ends."
- "The difference [between us and Jewish fighters like Menachem Begin] is that the Jews came from the outside and occupied our land he said. We are fighting to get it back."

--*The Jerusalem Post*, June 8, 2006, upon embarking on a court case to retain his Jerusalem residency

"Even though I have reservations about the [Prisoners'] document, I trust [Sheikh Abdul Khaleq al-Natsheh, the Hamas signatory of the document and a friend of Abu Tir's from time spent together in prison]. People inside jails live in a situation where they could never betray the principles on which their factions are based on."

--*Christian Science Monitor*, May 31, 2006

"We came up with the reform and change project based on deeply rooted constants which we will never cede." – following Hamas Parliamentary victory in January 2006

--*The Palestinian Information Center*, February 2006

"I frankly say Israel does exist. It does exist."

-- *Ma'bat Newscast*, January 2006

## Jameela Abdallah al-Shanti

Jamila Abdullah El Shanty, Jamila Abed Allah al-Shantee

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#3 on Change and Reform list



### Biographical Information

- Born 1955 in the Jabalia Camp
- Lives in Gaza

### Personal History

- Holds an English literature degree and has spent 20 years teaching English around the Arab world
- Currently heads the Women's Activities Division of the Palestine Islamic Movement
- Lecturer at the Islamic University

### Notable Quotations

"My favorite author is Charles Dickens, but my favourite book is the Holy Koran."  
--*The Telegraph*, February 2006

"We are going to lead factories. We are going to lead farmers."  
--*The New York Times*, February 2006

"We are angry - very, very, very angry. No one can say a bad word about our prophet." – on the Danish Cartoons  
--*The New York Times*, February 2006

"There are traditions here that say that a woman should take a secondary role - that she should be at the back, but that is not Islam. Hamas will scrap many of these traditions. You will find women going out and participating"  
--*BBC News*, March 2006

"We will bring back Islamic thought and heritage through the media and through education. These people will come to understand their culture. But we will not seize their freedoms from them."  
--*BBC News*, March 2006

## Mohammed Numan Ala' al-Deen al-Natsheh

Mohamad Nouman Ala al-Din, Muhammad Jamal al-Natshah

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#4 on Change and Reform list



### Biographical Information

- Born 1959
- Lives in Hebron, West Bank
- Married, four sons
- Member of the large Natsheh clan from Hebron

### Personal History

- Obtained Bachelor degree in Islamic Law from the University of Jordan
- Teacher at League of University Students.
- Member of number of Educational and Charitable Associations including Palestinian Llama League
- One of the founders of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement in Palestine.
- Arrested 8 times by Israeli Occupation forces
- 1993 deported to Marj al-Zuhour, Lebanon for 9 months
- July 2002 Arrested and sentenced for 8 years, which he is currently serving at Ketziot Prison
- Was Hamas' signatory on the Prisoners' document

### Notable Quotations

The following is from *al-Hayat al-Jadidah*, Ramallah, in Arabic, February 7, 2006:

- "Hamas initiated direct contacts after it won the elections to secure financial resources for the Palestinian Authority and these contacts were positive on the part of the Gulf countries and many Islamic countries expressed their readiness to support us materially and morally" – on Hamas receiving external financial support from Iran and others
- Hamas "can form a government even if no other parties participate in this government... it is a social movement and has the necessary experts, manpower and technocrats and can form a government alone, but we seek participation and not unilateral exercise of power. This is why we asked everybody to join the government."
- "A deputy who is in prison can exercise his role through consultation and submission of proposals."
- "We are being informed on the hour about all that Hamas undertakes and it consults us on all contacts it holds and we express our viewpoint and participate in any decision the movements makes."
- "Hamas will not recognize the road map for it contains a provision on the recognition of Israel and the movement cannot recognize Israel. Therefore, it rejects the road map."

"We, in the Hamas movement, do not support the disqualification or exclusion of any person and are making efforts to work together with all factions of our people in the spirit of political pluralism in order to build the homeland and to substantiate the process of change and reform which will serve the future of the Palestinian people." -- *al-Quds*, in Arabic, January 10, 2006



## Yasser Dawood Mansour\*

Yasir Daoud Mansur, Yaser Dawud Mansoor, Yassir Dawoud Mansuur

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#5 on Change and Reform list



### Biographical Information

- Born 1967
- From Nablus, West Bank

### Personal History

- Businessman, owns a soap factory
- Hamas' spokesman for the northern West Bank
- Conducted meeting before Shalit's abduction; fielded calls from Khaled Meshal from Damascus
- Arrested by Israel following Shalit abduction

### Notable Quotations

"We won't let anyone bring us down. Hamas can see cracks in the international boycott of the Hamas government. To make sure the referendum fails, Hamas is enlisting Fatah men, including parliamentarians and security officers, buying their loyalty. Hamas is preparing intelligence briefs and profiles on senior Fatah officials and members of the officers' class in the armed forces. Most of the focus is on Mohammad Dahlan's people as well as Rashid Abu Shabak and Tawfik Tirawi."—following his phone call from Khaled Meshal  
--*Mideast Mirror*, June 23, 2006

"We have spoken with many lawyers and they have told us that it is illegal for Abu Mazen to call a referendum... His announcement contradicts the basic law and we will present our evidence in the parliament today."  
--*Agence France Presse*, June 12, 2006

"There is a right to resistance, and our entry into the parliament will legitimize this right..."  
--*The Boston Globe*, January 2006

"We are open to Europe and the Arab world and we have no problem sitting with the Israelis to discuss municipal affairs."  
--*Associated Press*, December 2005

"The trend that Hamas adopted in the first place was to enhance the political partnership's principle as Hamas was very much concerned to have all Palestinian factions, especially Fatah, represented in the next government. Thus we hope that our brethren in Fatah would rethink their stand of boycotting the government."  
--*The Palestinian Information Center*, January 2006

## **Khalil Mussa Rabbai\***

Khaleel Moussa Rabba'i, Kahlil Musa Rabbaii, Kahleel Moosa Rabbai

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#6 on Change and Reform list

### **Biographical Information**

- Born 1959
- From Hebron, West Bank

### **Personal History**

- B.A. degree in accounting and administration.
- Was abducted by Fatah during the parties' June 2006 clash
- Arrested by Israel following Shalit abduction

### **Notable Quotations**

"This is our reality. How do we know that in a couple of days we all will not be in jail?"

--*The Globe & Mail*, February 2006

"An escalation of tensions would cause very serious damage...I still believe the Palestinian people are conscious enough not to go down that path." – referring to internal conflict after being abducted by Fatah

--*Los Angeles Times*, June 14, 2006

## Houda Naim al-Qrenawi

Hoda Naeem al-Krenawi, Houda Na'im al-Qrenawy, Huda Naeem al-Qrenawee, Huda Naim al-Krenawee, Houda Naeem al-Kreenawy

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Member of Parliament –  
National List  
#7 on Change and Reform list



### Biographical Information

- Born 1969 in the Brejj camp
- From Gaza
- Married with four children

### Personal History

- Bachelor's Degree in Social Studies
- Activist in the Muslim women movement
- Working with al-Islah Society providing service

### Notable Quotations

"As a woman and an MP, there are areas I want to concentrate on but that does not mean we have forgotten our struggle for our homeland, and preparing our children to die when the homeland calls for it."

--*The Guardian*, February 2006

"We need to make men aware of the real importance of women. Women didn't come into life only to be man's servant."

--*Gulf Daily News*, February 2006

"I will be so glad if we establish Islamic culture in our country but we'll never impose the hijab or make men wear beards."

--*Agence France-Presse*, February 2006

## Mahmoud Ahmed al-Ramahi\*

Mahmud Ahmad al-Romahi



Member of Parliament – National List  
#8 on Change and Reform list  
Secretary General of the Legislative Council



### Biographical Information

- Born 1963
- From Ramallah, West Bank

### Personal History

- Obtained degree in Medicine from Italy.
- Anesthetist at al-Arabia Health Care Hospital.
- Elected PLC Secretary February 2006. Forcefully seized the office of former PLC Secretary General Ibrahim Khreisheh.
- Israel initially failed to capture him in early July when Aziz Dweik and Ahmad Mubarak also avoided capture; he was captured on August 20, 2006, and charged with membership in a terrorist organization.

### Notable Quotations

"[ Hamas ] combines resistance with political action."  
--*al-Ahram*, March 2005

"We were forced to do these things in the past because we live under occupation. We will still live under occupation even if we are in the government."  
--*Arab News*, January 2006

"If Israel recognizes our rights and puts an end to the occupation, then we can discuss all the issues. But before that, we are not going to."  
--*The Washington Post*, February 2006

"I hear something positive from Olmert (...) that the first priority is peace negotiations with the Palestinians."  
--*Newsday*, March 2006

"Negotiation is the job of the PLO as the representatives of the Palestinians all over the world. When there is a final agreement there should be a referendum of Palestinians everywhere and we will respect the result,"  
--*The Guardian*, March 2006

"The only one responsible for [suicide] acts is the Israeli government"  
--*Associated Press Online*, April 2006

"We are declaring it loud and clear that we are a moderate movement that would like others to listen to it as it listens to others. We are ready to sit and talk to the West with open heart; yet, if the West insisted on its stand against Hamas, then they wouldn't find any other Palestinian to talk to in the future"  
--*BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, April 2006

"The Palestinian media is clearly biased against Hamas (...) in the interest of Fatah"  
--*BBC Worldwide Monitoring*, May 2006

"A hungry people is (sic) an angry people, and all the region will pay the price."  
--*Jerusalem Report*, May 2006

"If I recognize Israel now, I give legitimacy to the occupation. I would be recognizing Israel in Ramallah."  
--*Jerusalem Report*, May 2006

"The Quartet wants us to recognize Israel and renounce violence in return for what? ...If it was in exchange for recognition of our rights to this land of Palestine, then maybe we would think about it and give our opinion..."  
--*Jerusalem Report*, May 2006

"The Arab Bank sent back the partial salary transfer, allocated to 132 legislators, to the administration office of the Ministry of Finance as the transmittance included salaries to the Change and Reform slate", confirming that the Arab Bank refused to pay the salaries of Hamas members of the PLC  
-- *Ramattan News Agency*, Gaza, in English, July 24, 2006

## Mahmoud Khaled al-Zahar

Mahmud Khalid al-Zahar

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#9 on Change and Reform list  
Foreign Minister



### Biographical Information

- Born 1945 to Palestinian father and Egyptian mother
- Four children with his wife Summaya, including first son, Khaled (born 1974), and daughter Rima (born 1983)

### Personal History

- 1971 - Graduated from Cairo University Faculty of Medicine, where he was influenced by Muslim Brotherhood.
- At 31 years, obtained Masters Degree in General Surgery from Ain Shams University, Cairo
- 1987 Helped found Hamas
- Personal physician of late Sheikh Yassin
- 1992 Deported to Lebanon
- Major spokesperson for Hamas in 1990s after return from deportation in Lebanon.
- 2004 Succeeded Rantisi who was killed by IDF
- Lecturer in medicine at the Islamic University in Gaza.
- Former leader of Hamas parliamentary majority and former second most senior Hamas leader in disputed territories
- Escaped two Israeli attacks on his home during which he lost his eldest son (September 10, 2003)
- Arrested several times and spent months in PA jails
- Was top Hamas official and considered for Prime Minister position prior to the election; was passed over in favor of Haniyeh because he was considered too radical
- Is the leader in Palestine of the radical arm of Hamas
- Collected \$20 million and brought it into Gaza to alleviate the financial strains on the Hamas government
- Israel destroyed the foreign ministry, which it accused of being used "to continue terror attacks against Israel" (*Los Angeles Times*, July 17, 2006)

### Notable Quotations

Are the diplomatic efforts continuing at this point? "Yes." Do you feel confident that they are going forward? "Sooner or later we're going to solve this problem." – on attaining a diplomatic solution to the conflict in Gaza, a week after his offices were bombed

--*CBS Evening News*, July 25, 2006

"I dream of hanging a huge map of the world on the wall at my Gaza home, which does not show Israel on it..."

--*Herald Sun (Australia)*, April 2006

"Jordan is our strategic gateway, as is Egypt."

--*Agence France Presse -- English*, April 2006

"I will convey all that I heard [on the Arab land-for-peace proposal] to every decision-maker and make a clear picture about the initiative. But the problem is: does the other party accept it?"

--*The Canadian Press*, April 2006

"The previous agreement between Palestinians and Israel, the closure of the borders, the abandonment of the Rafah agreement, all have deprived our people to a huge degree."  
--*Weekend Australian*, April 2006

"If [the two-state solution] satisfies the Palestinian demands, we can decide. But if it [does] not, we have to consult; we have to ask the people. We are not the owners of Palestine."  
--*The Gazette (Montreal)*, April 2006

"We are not a movement that labels people infidels or that abandons them. We are a movement that lives the realities of the people and that uses wisdom ... to turn them to Islam."  
--*Associated Press*, March 2006

"Anyone who thinks the calm means giving in is mistaken. The calm is in preparation for a new round of resistance and victory..."  
--*Ha'aretz*, February 2006

"We are not playing at terrorism or violence. We are under occupation. The Israelis are continuing their aggression against our people, killing, detention, demolition and in order to stop these processes, we run effective self defense by all means, including using guns."  
--*BBC*, January 2006

"We can accept to establish our independent state in the area occupied in '67 and we can give a long term hudna. If the Israelis are ready to give us the national demand, to withdraw from the area occupied in '67, to release our detainees, to stop their aggression, to make a geographic linkage between Gaza Strip and West Bank, at that time, and with assurance from another side, we are going to accept to establish our independent state... and give up one or two, 10, 15 years' time in order to see what is the real intention of Israel after that."  
--*CNN International*, January 2006

"Negotiations are a means. If Israel has anything to offer on the issues of halting attacks, withdrawal, releasing prisoners...then one thousand means can be found. Negotiations are not taboo."  
--*BBC*, January 2006

"Palestine means Palestine in its entirety-from the [Mediterranean] Sea to the [Jordan] River, from Ras al-Naqura to Rafah. We cannot give up a single inch of it. Therefore, we will not recognize the Israeli enemy's [right] to a single inch. That is one thing."  
--*al-Manar Television*, January 2006

"We will join the Legislative council with our weapons in hand."  
--*Associated Press*, January 2006

"The Israelis didn't leave this area because of goodwill. It wasn't a gift from Sharon to the Palestinian people. They left because they suffered too much."  
--*The Guardian*, September 2005

"If Iraq is attacked... all American targets will be open targets for every Muslim, Arab or Palestinian. Any attack against Iraq will be answered by resistance everywhere and American interests everywhere will be targeted. We say that all American targets will be open targets to every Muslim, Arab, or Palestinian."  
--*Ha'aretz*, January 2003

"Even if one Israeli dies for every 10 Palestinians, then the three million Palestinians can kill 300,000 Israelis."  
--*National Post (Canada)*, April 2002

## **Abdul Fattah Hasan Doukhan**

Abdel al-Fatah Hassan Dukhan, Abdel  
Fattah Hasan Dokhan

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Member of Parliament –  
National List  
#10 on Change and Reform list



### **Biographical Information**

- Born 1936
- From Der Albalah

### **Personal History**

- Head of al-Salah Islamic Society
- Long-time member of the Muslim Brotherhood.
- Oldest member of parliament
- Considered one of Hamas' main leaders
- 1992 Deported to Lebanon
- Lost a son in the first Intifada
- Son Zayan was killed by Israeli army while reportedly planting bombs along the border fence in the Gaza Strip in February 2006
- Drafted Hamas charter
- Appointed leader by the Sheikh Yassin

### **Notable Quotations**

"[The truce] is temporary. It's not the long-term dream. The strategic goal is the liberation of Palestine from the occupation, within its historic borders."

--*New York Times*, August 2005

The Palestinian Anti-Terrorism Act of 2006 issued by the US Congress "does not have legal grounds in the humanitarian international law and does not recognize people's right to realize self-determination and resist occupation."

--*Wafa* website, Gaza, June 1, 2006



## Ibrahim Mohammed Dahbour

Ibraheem Mohamad Dahboor, Ebrahim Muhamad Dahbur,  
Ebraheem Muhamed Dahbour

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#11 on Change and Reform list



### Biographical Information

- Born 1968
- From Araba, Jenin
- Married with four daughters and one son

### Personal History

- Graduate of University of Jordan with degree in Accounting and Islamic Sharia.
- Member of Palestinian Auditors Society
- Member of Orabah Municipality Council
- Director of Auditing Company
- Member of Administrative Committee of al-Bir Wa al-Ihsan Society
- Rapporteur of the PLC budget committee

### Notable Quotations

" Hamas legislators and leaders held internal consultations and had positively agreed on what appeared in the document as they seek to make the dialogue succeeding." – optimistically referring to the Prisoners' document

--*Xinhua*, June 20, 2006

"Our vision goes in harmony with our Palestinian people's ambitions and aspirations, including getting rid of corruption and favoritism that had plagued the PA for years, and carried negative impact on the daily life of the Palestinian people and its beleaguered economy."

--*The Palestinian Information Center*, March 2006

"Our people must not worry about their livelihood since our daily bread is from God. In the hands of God, our free and disdainful people will not accept his dignity and liberty to be sold for a handful of dollars" – on the result of PLC elections

-- <http://www.palestine-info.net/>, February 2, 2006

"Palestine is an Islamic endowment that belongs to all Muslims and no one has the right to even think of compromising it"- In a conference held against the Geneva Initiative.

-- [http://www.palestine-info.info/arabic/palestoday/dailynews/2003/dec03/7\\_12/details.htm](http://www.palestine-info.info/arabic/palestoday/dailynews/2003/dec03/7_12/details.htm), December 7, 2003

## **Mariam Mahmoud Saleh**

Maryam Mahmud Salih, Miriam Mahmood Saleh

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#12 on Change and Reform list  
Minister of Women’s Affairs



### **Biographical Information**

- 1952 born in Deir Amar refugee camp
- From Ramallah, West Bank
- Married to Engineer Nazmi Abdel Majid al-Tureifi with seven children

### **Personal History**

- Doctorate in Islamic law
- Member of Faculty of Quran, al-Quds University
- Activist in al-Khansa Society
- One of few Hamas members in the West Bank not taken into custody by the Israeli government

### **Notable Quotations**

“Such an arbitrary measure gives a taste of the ongoing state of siege imposed on the Palestinian people, their parliamentary representatives and their cabinet ministers to penalize them for their democratic choice” – on her being stopped at the West Bank-Jordan border on her way to Cairo to meet with Egyptian officials

--*Qatar News Agency*, June 17, 2006

"Our message as Muslim women is that Islam has come and serves everybody, not just Muslims, and regardless of their political affiliation."

--*The Globe & Mail*, February 2006

## **Fathi Mohammed Qarawi\***

Fathy Muhamad Karawi, Fathi Mohammad Qarawee, Fathi Mohamad Karawee

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#13 on Change and Reform list

### **Biographical Information**

- Born 1958 in West Bank village of Ramin
- From Tulkarim, West Bank
- Married
- Arrested by Israel following Shalit abduction

### **Personal History**

- Bachelor Degree in Islamic Sharia from Jordan University
- Mosque preacher in Tulkarim
- Teacher at Religious Waqf School in Tulkarim
- Arrested August 13, 1992 and held in administrative detention for 5 months
- 1993 One-year deportation to Marj al-Zuhour, Lebanon
- Arrested by Israel in 2002 and detained for 8 months in Naqab prison
- Arrested by Israel in September 2005, sentenced to 6 months detention in Ketziot Prison

### **Notable Quotations**

"The return home for me is like the return of life after our long plight in Marj al-Zuhour."

--*Associated Press*, December 1993

## Anwar Muhammad al-Zboun\*

Anwar Mohamed al-Zuboun, Anwar Mohammed al-Zaboun, Anwar Mohamad al-Zboun, Anwar Muhammed al-Zboun

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#14 on Change and Reform list



### Biographical Information

- Born 1968 in Ilar, a village near Bethlehem
- From Bethlehem, West Bank
- Married with 3 sons and one daughter
- Arrested by Israel following the Shalit abduction

### Personal History

- 1997 Graduate with M.A in Physics from Britain
- Teacher at Ministry of Education since 1996
- Teaches at al-Quds Open University
- 1992 Arrested for 11 months
- 2003 Arrested for 4 months
- 2005 Arrested for one month
- Arrested June 28, 2006 after Shalit abduction

### Notable Quotations

"It's forbidden to make concessions on our rights, but negotiations and discussions are not sinful."  
--*The Jerusalem Post*, January 2006

"The fact that people queued without complaining showed the respect that British people have for the rights of others. Our society is chaotic and people do not recognize the rights of others. If we can instill the respect that queuing requires, we can instill a moral basis here." – on his life in Britain  
--*The Telegraph*, February 2006

"The state of occupation does not respect the treaties and the agreements, so how can you ask us to comply with them?" – on the arrest of Ahmed Sadat, Head of PLFP  
<http://www.sabiroon.org/index.phtml?CatTable=SB&ParentID=newsdaily&ArticleID=18265&Lang=Arabic&Redirect=&Start=1&End=10&BR=BR>, March 18, 2006

## Imad Mahmoud Nawfal\*

Emad Mahmud Naufal, Imaad Mahmood Nofal

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#15 on Change and Reform list



### Biographical Information

- Born 1970
- From Qalqilya, West Bank
- Arrested by Israel following the Shalit abduction

### Personal History

- 2002 Received M.A. in Islamic Sharia from al-Quds University
- Teacher in al-Sadia school until 2006
- Also taught at al-Quds Open University
- Founder and Deputy of Islamic Club in Qalqilya
- Founder of Qalqilya Rehabilitation Society
- 2000 Arrested for a short period

### Notable Quotations

“ Hamas will not change its program to be a replica of the programs of the others, the Palestinian people chose Hamas for its resistance program and it is not reasonable to transform it into a peace program. Some are requesting us to recognize the Zionist entity, but our people read and saw a Hamas program based on liberating Palestine, and we will not deceive our people.” – responding to Fatah’s decision not to join the Hamas government

-- [http://www.palestine-info.net/arabic/palestoday/dailynews/2006/mar06/19\\_3/details4.htm](http://www.palestine-info.net/arabic/palestoday/dailynews/2006/mar06/19_3/details4.htm),  
March 19, 2006

“ Arab and Muslim public opinion proved its capability of supporting the Palestinian cause, and there is no need for Palestinians to make any concessions to satisfy international opinion, when the international community has failed to act credibly in the region and to deter aggression [against Palestinians].”

--<http://www.breaksiege.org/news/2.htm>, May 17, 2006

## Omar Mahmoud Matar (Omar Abdul Razak)\*

Umar Mahmood Mattar, Umar Mahmud Matar, Omar Abdel Razeq

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#16 on Change and Reform list  
Finance Minister



### Biographical Information

- Born 1958
- From Salfit, West Bank

### Personal History

- 1982 Bachelor's Degree from Coe College USA
- 1986 PhD from Iowa State University, USA
- 1982-1986 Professor at Iowa State University
- 1985 Lecturer at Coe College, USA
- 1986-1993 Assistant Professor in Department of Economy at An Najah National University, Nablus, West Bank
- 1991-1993 Head of Department of Economy at An Najah National University, Nablus, West Bank
- 1993-Present Associate Professor at Economy Department in An Najah National University, Nablus, West Bank
- 1996-Present Colleague at Economic Policies Research Institute, Ramallah, West Bank
- 1997 Arrested for 4 months
- 2000-2001 Research Coordinator of Economic Policies Research Institute, Ramallah, West Bank
- Arrested December 2005: Released March 16, 2006 from Mascobiya Prison
- Arrested by Israel following the Shalit abduction

### Notable Quotations

"We do agree on most of the document, but there are some points that need to be amended. If the points are amended, all the parties will be satisfied," on the Prisoners' document  
--*Xinhua*, June 7, 2006

Abbas has vetoed the formation of the new Hamas-led security force, terming it illegal while Hamas leader and Finance Minister Omar Abdel Razeq slammed the creation of the new security unit loyal to Abbas as illegal. – during the conflict between Fatah and Hamas  
--*Xinhua*, June 4, 2006

"When we have enough money for the rest, we will pay. We don't know when," on the inability of the Hamas government to pay salaries to 165,000 workers, whom Razeq promised to pay at some later point  
--*The Canadian Press*, May 31, 2006

## Muna Salem Mansour

Mona Salim Mansur, Mouna Sallim Mansoor

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#17 on Change and Reform list



### Biographical Information

- Born 1961
- From Nablus, West Bank
- Widow of Jamal Mansour (assassinated 2002)

### Personal History

- Teacher of Physics

### Notable Quotations

"Women can talk, women can think. We need to find a way to complement her needs and desires with Islam."

--*The Washington Times*, December 2005

"Women whose husbands have died have rights. We need to protect them."

--*The Washington Times*, December 2005

## Yehia Abdul Aziz Musa al-Abasda

Yahia Abd El Azeez, Yehya Abed al-Aziz Alabadsa

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#18 on Change and Reform list



### Biographical Information

- Born 1958
- From Khan Younis, Gaza

### Personal History

- BA from the Islamic University
- Masters in Education from Sudan
- Lecturer at the Islamic University in Education College
- Joined the Islamic Movement in 1979
- Founder of Islamic Salvation Party and several other civil society organizations
- General Secretary of Islamic Salvation Party
- Considered close to Haniyeh, Hassan Youssef and Mousa Abu Marzouq
- Arrested several times including by the PA
- Prevented from leaving town for two years
- Ideological force in Hamas

### Notable Quotations

“We don’t understand politics as the art of the possible, but we understand it as a struggle between wills, and for us, we will not surrender to the status quo.”

--*Al-Awsat*, January 27, 2006

“If you [the Israeli people] want to keep living where you are living now, and if you want us [the Palestinians] to live where we are living now, this is okay. But recognition of the statehood of Israel is impossible. If you want security, that is fine, but this land belongs to me.”

--*Ha'aretz*, February 5, 2006

“The government has faced great difficulties from the very beginning, and Palestinians must give the government needed support. Government Ministers bring in money from the outside and the Palestinian security forces try to stop them.”

--*Al Jazeera*, June 23, 2006



## Mohammed Maher Youssef Bader\*

Mohamad Mahir Yusuf Badr, Muhammed Maher Youssef Badir

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#19 on Change and Reform list

### Biographical Information

- Born 1956
- From Hebron, West Bank

### Personal History

- Professor of Sharia at Hebron University
- Arrested June 28, 2006 after Shalit abduction
- Rapporteur of the PLC legal committee

### Notable Quotations

“Our proposal is a long truce, in return for which they [the Israelis] allow our people its rights. These rights are: the departure of the occupation from all the land occupied in 1967, the release of all the prisoners without discrimination, and the right of return for all refugees.”

--<http://www.palestine-info.net/>, March 2006

“We are not bloody, we value human life, and we do not enjoy seeing the pain of others, but we seek to restore our rights by all legitimate means.”

--<http://www.palestine-info.net/>, March 2006

## Ayman Hussein Daragmeh

Ayman Husseyn Darajmah, Aymen hussayn Daragmah,  
Aiman Huseyn Daragmeh

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#20 on Change and Reform list



### Biographical Information

- Born 1963
- From Tubas, West Bank
- Married with 3 daughters

### Personal History

- High School studies in Tubas
- 1988 Masters Degree in Chemistry from "Aligar" Islamic University in India
- 1992 PhD Degree in Chemistry from Delhi University in India
- 1999 Higher Diploma in General Management from al-Khalil University - Supreme Management Institute in Rome
- 1983 Joined Islamic Student Union, India
- Lecturer in al-Quds Open University and Faculty of Educational Sciences in Ramallah
- Member of Tubas Municipality Council
- Former Director of Ministry of Health
- Head of the Energy and the Resource Committee of the PLC

### Notable Quotations

They promised us they would deal with any government we would form. The one who elected this government was the Palestinian people. The Palestinian people can't form a government according to the will of somebody else, Americans or Europeans.

--*CNN*, September 12, 2006

## Fathi Ahmad Hammad

Fathy Ahmed Hamad

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#21 on Change and Reform list



### Biographical Information

- Born 1961
- From Northern Gaza

### Personal History

- Director of al-Aqsa TV, official local TV station of Hamas
- Leader of Izzidin al-Qassam Brigade in North Gaza
- Imprisoned in PA jails from March 1996 to May 1997

### Notable Quotations

"Hamas will continue to develop its armed wings by recruiting more members and making more rockets and bombs (...) Our aim after the elections is to reinforce Islamic culture and spread it and our social and political views."

--*People's Daily Online*, January 2006

## Maryam Muhammed Farhat (Umm Nidal)

Mariam Mohamad Farhaat, Miriam Muhamad Farhat

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#22 on Change and Reform list



### Biographical Information

- Born 1949
- From Gaza
- Six sons (3 killed in al-Aqsa Intifada)

### Personal History

- 2002 Appeared on TV encouraging 17 year-old son before he attacked Gaza settlement
- Electoral platform: continuation of armed struggle, strengthening Islamic culture, scarf for all Palestinian women, and fight against poverty

### Notable Quotations

"There is no difference [between operations against civilians and soldiers]. This is Islamic religious law. I don't invent anything. I follow Islamic religious law in this"

--'Dream 2' TV, December 2005

"Because I love my son, I encouraged him to die a martyr's death for the sake of Allah"

--*al-Sharq al-Awsat*, June 2002

"What we see every day - massacres, destruction, bombing [of] homes - strengthened, in the souls of my sons...the love of Jihad and martyrdom."

--*al-Sharq al-Awsat*, June 2002

"I encouraged all my sons to die a martyr's death, and I wish this even for myself"

--*al-Sharq al-Awsat*, June 2002

## Sayed Salem Abu Musameh

Sayyid Sallim Abu Msamih, Sayid Salim Abou Mussamih, Sayyed Sallem Abu Msamih

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#23 on Change and Reform list



### Biographical Information

- Born 1948
- From Rafah, Gaza

### Personal History

- Bachelor Degree in Sharia from Faculty of Da'awa
- Bachelor Degree in Fundamentals of Religion from Islamic University in Medina
- Former editor of Palestinian newspaper al-Watan
- Worked at the Islamic University
- One of the founders of Hamas.
- Considered a moderate and close to Ismaeel Haniyeh and Sheikh Hassan Youssef
- 1991 Arrested by Israel
- 1995 Arrested by PA, sentence to 5 years imprisonment for political activities that "undermine the Palestinian Authority"
- The Preventive Security Forces shot on his car on May 9, 2006 and detained him for few hours.
- Consultant to Ismail Haniyeh

### Notable Quotations

"Hamas will not deal with the resistance fighters in the same way that the Palestinian Authority dealt with them in the past. Attacking the occupying forces will no longer be an issue that causes internal Palestinian conflict."

-- <http://www.albayan.ae/>, January 30, 2006

## Marwan Mohamad Abu Ras

Merwan Muhammed Abou Raas

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#24 on Change and Reform list



### Biographical Information

- Born 1958
- From Gaza City
- Married
- Son was killed in 2005

### Personal History

- Elementary Education in Salah Eddine School in Gaza
- Preparatory Education in al-Yarmouk Preparatory School
- Preparatory School and his Secondary Education in Yafa High School
- 1982 Received Bachelor Degree
- 1986 Received Masters Degree
- 1994 Received PhD Degree
- Former Professor at Faculty of Da'wa in Islamic University in Gaza

### Notable Quotations

"We heard a loud noise, and then everything went black, and then red before my eyes."

Following air strike on his home.

--*al-Jazeera News*, September 2003

"My son Assem is a martyr and he got what he had always wished for. This is a big honor for us."

--on the killing of his son

--<http://www.palestine-info.info/>, July 15, 2005

## Sameera Abdullah Halaykah

Sameera Abed Allah Halayqa, Samira Abdallah Halayka, Sameera Abd Allah Halayqah

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#25 on Change and Reform list



### Biographical Information

- Born 1964
- From Hebron, West Bank

### Personal History

- BA in Islamic Studies from Hebron University
- Director of the al-Rassad Office for Journalism and Media
- Journalist with Sawt al-Haq, al-Risala, both journals affiliated to Hamas
- Husband and son are imprisoned by Israel

### Notable Quotations

“We are accused [by the west] of being backwards towards women. But we say to them, that in our traditions, paradise is the realm of mothers. In contrast, your [Western] culture forces mothers to spend the rest of their lives in old age homes.” – on Mothers’ Day  
--*Al-Ayyam*, March 20, 2005

“The [American] Congress has no authority to interfere in our people’s internal affairs or to describe our people’s struggle as terror. It would be better for Congress to make policy against the occupation.” – on the congressional decision to cut aid to the PA  
--*Al-Hayat al-Jadidah*, August 27, 2006

## Jamal Ismail Sqaiq

Jamaal Ismail Skaik, Jamal Ismail Sqayq, Jamal Ismail Skayk

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#26 on Change and Reform list

### Biographical Information

- Born 1964
- From Gaza

### Personal History

- Building engineer at Faculty of Daqwa in Islamic University in Gaza
- Previously worked for Gaza Municipality

### Notable Quotations

“We chose our slogan ‘Islam is the Solution’ because the nation that moves away from God’s law and follows corruption and injustice will anger God and be humiliated.”

--*Al-Hayat al-Jadidah*, March 13, 2006



## **Ali Saleem Romanin\***

Ali Salim Rumaneen, Ali Saleem Romaneen

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#27 on Change and Reform list

### **Biographical Information**

- Born 1971
- From Jericho, West Bank
- Resides in Oja, West Bank
- Married with 2 sons and one daughter

### **Personal History**

- Bachelor's Degree in Islamic Sharia from al-Quds University
- Teaches in Saad Sael school in Jericho
- Spent 4 years in prison

### **Notable Quotations**

"[Taking revenue] for things against Islam, such as gambling and drinking alcohol, is unacceptable."

--*The Globe & Mail*, February 2006

## Ahmed Youssef Abou Halabiya

Ahmad Yusuf Abu Halabiyya, Ahmad Yoosif Abou Halabia

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#28 on Change and Reform list



### Biographical Information

- Born 1952
- From Gaza City

### Personal History

- PhD in Islamic Sharia
- Professor at the Islamic University

### Notable Quotations

"Have no mercy on the Jews, no matter where they are, in any country. . . . Wherever you are, kill those Jews and those Americans who are like them."

--*The Boston Globe*, October 2003

## **Abdul Jaber Mustapha Fuqaha\***

Abed al-Jabir Mustafa Fukaha

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Member of Parliament – National List  
#29 on Change and Reform list

### **Biographical Information**

- Born 1966
- From Ramallah, West Bank

### **Personal History**

- Bachelor's Degree in History at Bir Zeit University
- Master's Degree in Economics at Bir Zeit University
- Trader and shop owner
- Previously imprisoned
- Arrested by Israel following the Shalit abduction

### **Notable Quotations**

"Because Israel and the world fear that Iran will fill the void [in case the world cuts aid to Palestinians], the international and regional actors will think a thousand times before cutting aid to the new Palestinian government."  
--*Al-Sharq al-Awsat*, February 10, 2006

## **Wael Muhammed Abdul Rahman\***

Wa'el Mohamad Abed al-Rahmaan, Wael al-Husseini

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Parliamentarian Jerusalem District

### **Biographical Information**

- Born 1962
- From Jerusalem, lives in Ram neighborhood
- Has a family, including a 16 year-old daughter

### **Personal History**

- Master's Degree in Modern Education
- Headmaster of al-Nahda School, Jerusalem
- Arrested eight times by Israeli authorities

### **Notable Quotations**

"We will never recognize the legitimacy of Israel inside the 1948 borders. That doesn't mean we don't recognize the existence of the Israelis. We recognize the existence of Israel but not on our land. We don't give Israel anything in return for withdrawal."

--*Christian Science Monitor*, June 28, 2006

## Ahmad Mohammad Ahmad Attoun\*

Ahmed Muhamad Ahmed Atoon, Ahmad Mohammad Ahmad Atwan

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Parliamentarian Jerusalem District



### Biographical Information

- Born 1968
- From Jerusalem

### Personal History

- Master's Degree in Modern Islamic Studies
- Head of al-Muntada Cultural Forum Society
- Arrested by Israel 03-08-06 in Jerusalem for illegal political activity. Detained for three hours then released.
- Arrested by Israel following the Shalit abduction

### Notable Quotations

"We are not entering the parliament with arms. We are entering for reform and change and what concerns us the most is the benefit of the people . . . For us, being part of political life is part of the resistance, so we are going to work in the interests of the people, which is going to be decided at the ballot box."

--*The Irish Times*, January 2006

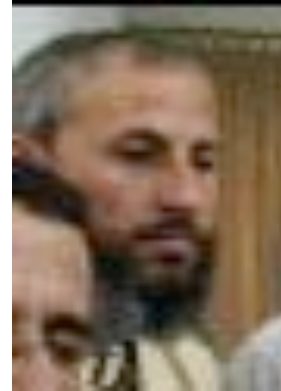
## Mohammad Omran Saleh Tawtah

Muhamed Umran Salih Tawta

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Parliamentarian Jerusalem District



### Biographical Information

- Born 1969
- From Jerusalem
- married with 4 children

### Personal History

- Master's in Business Administration
- Professor at al-Quds University
- Gives Islamic lectures in Al-Aqsa mosque

### Notable Quotations

“No one has the right to evict us from Jerusalem and no one has the right to extract our political representation which the Palestinians grant us. We are subject to Palestinian political decisions and not to Israeli decisions.”

--<http://www.ipc.gov.ps/>, May 31, 2006

“Jerusalem for us is occupied land and our duty is to defend its people and its holy places. This is part of our creed.”

--*Al-Hayat al-Jadidah*, during the campaign for the January 2006 elections



## Khaled Said Yehia

Khalid Saeed Yahya, Khaled Said Yehya

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Parliamentarian Jenin District



### Biographical Information

- Born 1959
- From Jenin
- Married with 6 sons and one daughter

### Personal History

- Masters Degree in Arabic Language from University of Jordan
- Former Professor in Islamic University of Gaza
- Professor at al-Quds Open University
- Mosque speaker and poet



## Khaled Suleiman Fayez Abou Hassan

Khalid Sulayman Fayiz Abu Hasan

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Parliamentarian Jenin District



### Biographical Information

Born 1967

From Yamoun

Married with 6 sons and one daughter

### Personal History

Bachelor Degree in Da'wa and Fundamentals of Religion

Masters Degree in Planning and Political Development from An Najah National University

Former Imam of al-Daghi Mosque

Political analyst and writer

### Notable Quotations

“The time when the [Fatah-led] PA can monopolize decision-making is over and we are at the doorstep of a Zionist withdrawal from Gaza and settlements in the West Bank. All this is happening because of the resistance strikes.”

--*Maan News*, April 19, 2005

“The disagreement with Abu Mazen is theoretical and not practical, as long as no further negotiations take place in which he changes that.”

--*Maan News*, February 26, 2006

“Constitutionally, the government has nothing to do with negotiation with Israel. That is the purview of the PLO”

--*Maan News*, February 26, 2006

“Any dissent in Hamas will be very small and will fail because it is an ideological movement and the political behavior of Hamas members has a strong cultural foundation.”

--*Maan News*, February 26, 2006

“Recognizing Israel is not our agenda. Previous PLO attempts at recognizing Israel didn't yield any results.”

--*Palestinian News Network*, Interview 58 (<http://www.pnn.ps/arabic/interviews/interview58.htm>)

## Husni Mohammad Bourini Yasin\*

Hosni Yassin

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Parliamentarian Nablus District



### Biographical Information

- Born 1955 in Aseera al-Shamalieh, Nablus
- Married with children

### Personal History

- UNRWA clerk
- 1992 - Deported to Marj al-Zuhour in Lebanon
- Arrested after the Shalit abduction
- Bachelors degree in Islamic Law from Hebron University in 1979
- Masters degree in Islamic Studies from Al-Quds university in 2004
- Teacher at Al-Quds Open University

### Notable Quotations

"Negotiations achieved nothing for over a decade and continuing them without an end in sight is a waste of both time and effort. It is chasing a mirage."

--<http://www.palestine-info.info/>, January 9, 2006



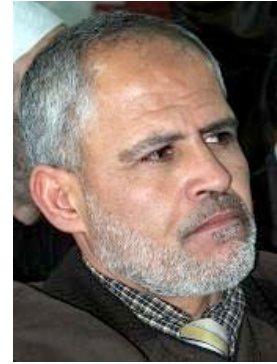
## Riyad Ali Mustafa Aqli\*

Riyad Ali

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Parliamentarian Nablus District



### Biographical Information

- Born 1961

### Personal History

- 1995 - Former Head of Qabalan municipality, the only municipality run by Hamas until December 2004
- Arrested after the Shalit abduction

### Notable Quotations

“Bearing responsibilities in municipalities is a labor of great faith, and it is the direct execution of the will of God, in that human beings should inherit the earth. Every order from God is a contract we have to fulfill.” – on his experience as the head of Qabalan

--<http://www.palestine-info.info/>, May 31, 2005

## Ahmad Ali Ahmad Ahmad

Ahmed Hajj Ali

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Parliamentarian Nablus District



### Biographical Information

- Born 1940 in the destroyed village of Qaisariyyah near Haifa
- 1948 - Family fled to the West Bank to the Ain Beit al-Ma' Refugee Camp in Nablus
- Married with children

### Personal History

- 1974 - BA in Islamic law from Damascus University
- 1994 - MA in Islamic Sharia from al-Najah University
- Former school principal
- Member of the Hamas' Shura Council
- November 1, 1992 - Arrested by Israel and held in Ketziot prison for 6 months under administrative detention until deportation
- 1993 - Deported to Marj al-Zuhour
- September 2005 – February 15, 2006 Detained by Israel and held for 5 months under administrative detention in Ansar III prison with no charges.

### Notable Quotations

"Hamas will become fiercer because of this war of starvation. A cat will turn into a lion if it is jailed. We will not surrender."

--*Wafa Amr*, February 22, 2006

"I want to tell the world that Israel is an apartheid and racist state, it is a state where the justice system is subservient to the military establishment and the secret police. If you are non-Jewish you can't expect justice from an inherently unjust system."

--*al-Khalil*, February 16, 2006

## Nasir Abdullah Odeh Abdel Jawad\*

Nasser Abdel Jawad, Abu Oais

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Parliamentarian Salfit District

### Biographical Information

- Born 1965

### Personal History

- Completed PhD in Islamic Sharia while in prison in the Negev with a thesis titled "The Islamic tolerance with Non-Muslims residing in the Islamic State"
- Imprisoned for 12 years
- Arrested by Israel following the Shalit abduction

### Notable Quotations

"We want to tell the world that Hamas is coming to defend the resistance to rebuild Palestine."  
--*The Jerusalem Post*, January 8, 2006

Jawad rejected international call for Hamas to honor agreements and concludes he will only support a near term truce if Israel withdraws to '67 borders. - "Hamas has not reached a decision regarding historical Palestine and will not give up its claim for historical Palestine. But for an immediate truce Hamas wants Israel to return all land stolen since 1967."

--*National Public Radio*, February 18, 2006

"The military wing is connected to the occupation. If there is occupation, the military wing will work. If the occupation is ended, it is easy for the military wing to be in security forces."

--*The Baltimore Sun*, February 19, 2006

"They (Israel and the U.S.) should deal with the new reality. It's not for them to obstruct the democratic choice of the Palestinian people."

--*The New York Times*, February 19, 2006

"Hamas rejects negotiations with the occupation under the current circumstances. Hamas will retire its military wing when Israel no longer attacks us."

--*Margarate Coker*, February 19, 2006

## Ahmad Abdel Aziz Saleh Mubarak\*

Abu Malik

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Parliamentarian Ramallah District  
Head of the Refugee Committee in the PLC



### Biographical Information

- Born 1962 in the Deir Ammar refugee camp
- Resides in Jilazun
- Married with 7 children

### Personal History

- Completed elementary and intermediate studies in al-Zalzoun Preparatory School for Boys
- Attended secondary school at Ramallah High School
- Continued higher studies at the University of Jerusalem in the faculty of Dawa and the Fundamentals of Religion
- Former Head of Legislative Court Diwan in Ramallah
- 1984 - 1987 - Member of Administrative Committee in Youth Cultural Center in al-Jalzon
- Chief administrator of Ramallah's religious court
- Member of Administrative Committee and Vice President of the Beit Nabala Charity
- Founding Member of Palestinian Scientists League
- Member of Popular Committee for the resistance of Normalization
- 1996- Member of Administrative Committee Islamic Charity Society
- 1978 - Detained by the Israelis multiple times
- 1992 - Deported to Marj al-Zuhour
- 1995 - Detained by Israel
- 2004 - Arrested by Israel
- Arrested on April 27, 2006 and released on June 1, 2006
- Arrested after the Shalit abduction

### Notable Quotations

" Hamas considers this session unconstitutional because it unjustly granted the president authority through the Palestinian Constitutional Court on essential issues such as dissolving the PLC and calling for early PLC elections"

--*Palestinian Forum Net*, February 13, 2006

## Fadel Mohammad Saleh Hamdan

Abu Salam

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Parliamentarian Ramallah District



### Biographical Information

- Born 1953 in Ramallah
- Resides in al-Bireh
- Married with 6 children

### Personal History

- Attended secondary school at Ramallah High School
- 1976 - Graduated from the University of Jordan with a degree in Islamic Sharia
- Former lecturer in Dar al-Muallimeen in Ramallah
- Worked in Legislative Education for four years
- 1976-1980 - Worked in Ministry of Endowments
- Member of the Ramallah Zt Committee
- Imam
- August 1992 - Arrested by the Israelis and held in Ketziot prison until deportation
- 1992 - Deported to Marj al-Zuhour
- December 2003 - Detained by the Israelis and later released

### Notable Quotations

Fadel Muhammad Salah Hamdan was "directly connected with the planning of [ Hamas ] suicide attacks and the spiritual preparation of those about to commit suicide attacks, including the Mahane Yehuda attack in July 1997."

-- Federal Bureau of Investigation report, cited in Matthew Levitt, " Hamas Blood Money," May 5, 2003



## Mahmoud Ibrahim Mahmoud Musleh

Mohammad

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Parliamentarian Ramallah District



### Biographical Information

- Born 1941 in Haifa
- Married with 6 girls and 3 boys

### Personal History

- Completed elementary studies in Orabah and Toubas schools in Jenin
- Finished his secondary studies at al-Salhia School in Nablus
- Graduate of Faculty of Arts, Birzeit University
- Head of Hamas' information department during the first Intifada
- Director of Islamic Charitable Society in al-Bireh for 11 years
- Founded the Safa Sports Club
- Teacher in Toubas and Birzeit and Ramallah Educational Zones
- Acting Member of Beit al-Maqdess League for Literature
- Acting Member of Islamic Charity Society
- Acting Head of the Zt Committee in Ramallah
- Educational Supervisor for Physical Education in Department of Teaching and Education in Ramallah
- Lecturer in Faculty of Educational Sciences in Ramallah
- 1971 -1982 - Football Coach
- 1978 - 1979 - One of the Founding Members of Islamic Party in Birzeit University
- 1990 - Detained in Israelis prisons for 2 years
- 1995 - 1996 - Official Hamas Spokesman
- September 1997 - October 1998 - Detained in PA prisons
- According to Amnesty International, "After the Palestinian High Court ordered the immediate release, on grounds of unlawful detention, of Shaikh Mahmud Musleh, a Hamas activist, in December 1997 he was taken for a short walk and then brought back to prison. He was told that he had been rearrested. That makes a mockery of the law."
- Has twice served time in Israeli jails due to his connections to Hamas

### Notable Quotations

"Western people say we must recognize Israel, but who recognizes our rights as an occupied people? The strong will not be strong forever. The weak will not be weak forever. Our ideals are our ideals, but we are ready to search for solutions."

--*The Gazette*, January 22, 2006



## **Khaled Ibrahim Tafish Thouaib**

Khaled Tafesh Dweib

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Parliamentarian Bethlehem District



### **Biographical Information**

- Born 1964 in Bethlehem
- Resides in Za'tarah
- Married with 6 boys and a girl

### **Personal History**

- Finished his secondary studies in the scientific branch
- BA from al-Quds University in Islamic Sharia
- Former Imam in the Department of Endowments
- - Detained by Israel
- 1992 - Deported to Marj al-Zuhour
- 2002 - Arrested during Israel's Operation Defensive Shield and sentenced to 4 1/2 years.
- Currently held in Ketziot prison

### **Notable Quotations**

Israeli army spokesman asserted, "He (Dweib) was among those directing the Hamas attack policy in Bethlehem with responsibility for approving individual attacks." Hamas sources said Dweib was a political activist in charge of Bethlehem's Omar bin al-Khattab mosque and had nothing to do with the Izz el-Deen al-Qassam brigades.

--*The Sunday Observer*, April 21, 2002

## Mahmoud Daoud Mahmoud al-Khatib\*

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Parliamentarian Bethlehem District



### Biographical Information

- Born in 1972
- Father imprisoned by Israel for more than 21 years

### Personal History

- MA degree in Islamic Sharia
- June 2005 - Participated in a shooting at a sports club in the Balata refugee camp when Ahmed Qureia was visiting
- Arrested by Israel following Shalit abduction

### Notable Quotations

"Officials live in luxury and we, the ones who gave so much to Palestine, have got nothing. I reached a point where I'm willing to kill so I can take back my rights, my father's rights, and the rights of all those like us."

--*TimesOnline*, June 22, 2005

## Mohammad Ismail al-Tal\*

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Parliamentarian Hebron District



### Biographical Information

- Born 1965
- From the Aldahrieh village

### Personal History

- BA degree earned through medical laboratory work
- His home was shot at after the Hamas-Fatah clashes of June 2006
- Arrested by Israel following the Shalit abduction

### Notable Quotations

“Negotiating with the country of occupation was a futile exercise and proved its pointlessness in the past. The occupation government deliberately wanted to make negotiations fail so that it would not have to honor any commitments.”

-- <http://palestine-info.net>, April 11, 2006

“The government derives its legitimacy from its people. The strong powers that press and blackmail the Palestinians have no right to undermine this legitimacy.”

-- <http://palestine-info.net>, April 11, 2006

“The subject of recognizing the Zionist entity must be seen by the world in an objective and absolute manner. The enemy has no clear borders.”

-- <http://www.moqawmh.com>, June 19, 2006

## Hatem Rabah Kafeesheh

Hatem Qefeisha, Hadj Hatem Abu Aned

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Parliamentarian District Hebron



### Biographical Information

- Born 1960
- Married with 4 children

### Personal History

- Studied contemporary Middle Eastern politics and Islamic studies until he was detained
- Member of Civil Authority for the Defense of Intifadat al-Aqsa in al-Khalil
- Member of Palestinian Football League
- Deputy President of Muslim Youths Association
- Owner of a travel agency in Hebron which facilitates the Hajj pilgrimage
- 1992 - Deported to Marj al-Zuhour
- 1994 - Survived the Hebron massacre
- 1995 - Arrested by the Israelis for 27 months
- Acted as the leading figure in the "Intifada of the Administrative Detainees" - a hunger strike for prisoner rights conducted in Megiddo, Damoun, and Telmond prisons in the mid-1990s
- Arrested by the Palestinian Authority and held for 102 days in 1998
- 2005 - Arrested by the Israelis and currently held in 6 months administrative detention in Ketziot prison
- On August 10, 2006 his detention was extended for 3 months

### Notable Quotations

"The prisoners and the detentions were and still the fuel of war."

-- <http://www.ikhwan.net/>, January 13, 2006

"At 5:20 a.m., at the dawn of this day and while those praying were standing, I took off my shoes. There was an old man [Baruch Goldstein] wearing military clothes, running while holding a big machine gun, and I surprised by him entering the mosque during the services. He opened fire, but I ran away." – on the massacre at the Abraham Mosque in Hebron in 1994

-- <http://www.palestine-info.info/arabic/terror/alfikr/alerhabwalm.htm>

## Azzam Numan Rahman Salhab

Azzam No'man Abdel Rahman Salhab Tamimi

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Parliamentarian Hebron District



### Biographical Information

- Born 1956
- Married with 5 children

### Personal History

- PhD in Islamic Sharia from Medina, Saudi Arabia
- Lecturer at Islamic Law College
- Arrested a total of 8 times by Israel and the PA including:
  - October 1992 - Arrested and held in administrative detention until deportation
  - 1992 - Deported to Marj al-Zuhour
  - 2005 - Imprisoned by the Israelis and currently held under 6 month administration detention in Ketziot prison. Charged with incitement against Israel.

### Notable Quotations

“The truce which Hamas accepted is for limited period and it came from a strong position and not from a weak one”

-- *Palestine-info.info*, March 31, 2005

“The strange thing among the accusations is that I incite against the Palestinian authority. When I asked the Israeli intelligence interrogator, ‘Do I incite more than the minister Rafiq al-Natsheh or Abbas Zaki?’ he said, ‘I don’t know, this is what I have on the computer.’”

-- [http://www.palestine-info.info/arabic/spfiles/asra\\_05/asra10.htm](http://www.palestine-info.info/arabic/spfiles/asra_05/asra10.htm)

## Basim Ahmad Zaareer\*

Abu Ahmad

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Parliamentarian Hebron District

### Biographical Information

- Born 1962

### Personal History

- Head of al-Samo' municipality
- Arrested by Israel following the Shalit abduction

### Notable Quotations

The Israeli unilateral "policy is part of the Israeli expansion plot. These are arbitrary measures against the sons of the Palestinian people in order to force them to bow and make concessions of their legitimate rights."

--<http://www.palintefada.com/arabic/articles/file/details/8/671.html>, March 4, 2006



## Sameer Saleh al-Qadi\*

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Parliamentarian Hebron District



### Biographical Information

- Born 1956
- From Soreef village
- Resides in Surif, Hebron
- Married with 3 children

### Personal History

- Graduated in Russia
- Doctor
- 1992 - Deported to Marj al-Zuhour
- Arrested by Israel following the Shalit abduction on charges of being a member of Hamas

### Notable Quotations

“Many European countries are starting to retreat from their threats of cutting aids to Palestinians. It is not proper to be asked by the Americans and the Europeans to implement democracy, then not to respect its results.”

--*Palestinian Media Center*, March 15, 2006

“The number of beds in hospitals in Hebron district is less by one third than that of Nablus district, and the number of health employees in Nablus is more by one third than that of Hebron. Even in Gaza medicine is being practiced, but in an arbitrary way and without planning.”

--<http://www.palestine-info.net/>, March 16, 2006

“Most of the health ministry budget is spent on treating patients in outside PA territories. The health ministry spends \$ 60 million annually on treating patients outside out of its \$ 90-95 million annual budget.”

--<http://www.palestine-info.net/>, March 16, 2006

“We can build many modern health centers that cost \$60 million. This way we provide treatment quickly and easily and we can save the patients costs.”

--*Palestinian Media Centre*, March 16, 2006



## **Mohammad Mutlaq Abu Jhesheh\***

Mohammed Abu Jeheisha, Muhammad Abu Gahisha

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Parliamentarian Hebron District

### **Biographical Information**

- Born 1955 in Izna, Hebron
- Married with 13 children

### **Personal History**

- Master degree in Islamic Sharia from Islamic University in Mecca
- PhD candidate in applied sciences at the University of Yemen
- Employed as an official mediator for judicial courts
- Played a leading role in an assortment of committees and grassroots activities (including membership in the local Tribal Council) in the Hebron district
- Director of New Ethna Electricity Company
- 1992 - Deported to Marj al-Zuhour
- 2005 - Arrested by Israel and currently held under 6 month administrative detention in Ketziot prison
- Arrested by Israel following the Shalit abduction

### **Notable Quotations**

“The issue of prisoners is the issue of Palestinian humanity, and it forms in all its details the Palestinians suffering. Without solving this issue, it will not be possible to achieve stability in the region.”

-- <http://www.ansarasra.org/>, February 13, 2006

## Naif Mahmod Rajoub\*

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Parliamentarian Hebron District  
Religious Affairs Minister



### Biographical Information

- Born 1958 in Dura, West Bank
- Married with children
- Has 12 siblings including brother Jibril Rajoub, a former PA security chief in the West Bank. Jibril ran against Naif as a representative of Fatah

### Personal History

- MA degree in Islamic Sharia
- Imam
- Amateur beekeeper
- Teaches Islamic law at Hebron University
- Arrested four times by Israel
- 1996 - Arrested by the Palestinians and held for one day
- Arrested by Israel following the Shalit abduction

### Notable Quotations

January 2006 - "The Palestinian-Israeli negotiations in last 10 years were very tragic, indeed a gigantic fiasco. They did not bring any good for the Palestinian people."

--*Julie Stahl*, January 25, 2006

"Mass starvation is mass genocide. It is a silent holocaust."

--*al-Ahram*, February 23, 2006

"Have you forgotten that Israel is the occupying power here? Do I need to remind you of an occupying power's obligations under international law? Besides, how come you people always ask us to recognize Israel but never ask Israel to recognize Palestine; are you all one-eyed when it comes to Israel?"

--*al-Ahram*, February 23, 2006

"The resistance itself is not a strategy. It is a means to end this evil occupation and oppression. If the international community gives us credible assurances that the occupation will end soon, then we will observe calm."

--*Iran News*, February 25, 2006

## Aziz Salem Mustada Dwaik\*

Abu Hisham, Aziz Dweik

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Parliamentarian Hebron District  
Palestinian Legislative Council Speaker



### Biographical Information

- Born 1948 in al-Khalil, Hebron
- Resides in Hebron
- Married with 7 children

### Personal History

- Masters Degree in Urban Planning
- Masters Degree in Education
- Masters Degree in City Planning
- PhD in Regional Planning from University of Pennsylvania
- Actively worked the U.S. lecture circuit to raise funds for the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development
- Spokesman for the deportees to Marj al-Zuhour
- Member of Scientific Research Committee in An-Najah National University
- Founder and Head of Geography Department in An-Najah National University
- Secretary of Workers Syndicate in An-Najah National University
- Member of Faculty of Arts Council in An-Najah National University
- Current lecturer in An-Najah National University
- Director of Public Relations in Friends of the Sick Society in Nablus
- Published books including, "The Palestinian Society"
- 1992 - Deported to Marj al-Zuhour
- Arrested 5 times by Israel
- Former confidant of Abdel Aziz al-Rantissi
- Went into hiding after multiple Israeli attempts to arrest him after the Shalit abduction; was finally arrested August 6, pushing the number of captured members of the Palestinian government and parliament to over 65.

### Notable Quotations

"Please stop asking us to recognize the occupier and not the needs of our own lives. This is slavery, slavery of a kind that did not even happen in Africa or in any other country! The Jews suffered the Holocaust, but it only happened for a short period of time. The Palestinians have been living a whole century in a holocaust.... The Israelis in this city have to move somewhere else. They have to acknowledge the facts on the ground. The future is ours."

--*The New Yorker Magazine*, February 19, 2006

"The Palestinian people will be our leaders and we will want to follow the path of the great Palestinian people who have showed us how to resist. Our main guide will be the teachings of God and of Mohammed."

--*Middle East Online*, March 6, 2006

## Yousef Awad al-Shrafi

Abu Mohammad

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Parliamentarian Northern Gaza District



### Biographical Information

- Born 1963
- Married with 8 children

### Personal History

- BA from the Islamic University
- Masters from Jordan University
- PhD in Islamic Sharia from Sudan
- 1987 - 1988 - Worked in Yemen
- Speaker in a mosque
- Employee at the Ministry of Religious Affairs
- Teacher at Islamic University in Gaza
- 1990 - Began collaborating and became a member of the Muslim Brotherhood

### Notable Quotations

“When you reach the voting booths, you are the ones who decided whether you support ‘Islam is the Solution,’ Jihad and resistance, and change and reform, and oppose the proposed new laws which legalize alcohol and the sex out of marriage.”

--*Alresalah*, January 9, 2006

“The Danish crime and the West’s position regarding Hamas reveal the fake democracy of the West.”

-- <http://www.sabiroon.org/>, January 31, 2006

“This event comes in the context of the war declared against God, and we heard previously when the war against Iraq started, the American leaders said ‘now the crusade war started’”

-- <http://www.sabiroon.org/>, January 31, 2006

## Atef Ibrahim Adwan

Atef Ibrahim Mohammad Idwan

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Parliamentarian Northern Gaza District  
Minister of Refugee Affairs



### Biographical Information

- Born 1952
- Married with 7 children

### Personal History

- Higher Diploma in Political Sciences from Lebanon
- 1978 - Bachelor Degree in economy and administration from Egypt
- 1983 -1987 - Masters and PhD Degrees in history and political science from the United Kingdom
- 1987 - 1992 - Dean of Students Affairs in Islamic University
- 1992 - Deported to Marj al-Zuhour
- 1995 - 1999 - Dean of Faculty of Commerce in Islamic University
- 2001 - 2003 - Dean of Scientific Research in Islamic University
- Acting Chairman of Islamic Society in Beit Hanoun
- Preaches weekly at the Omar Abed al-Aziz mosque
- Published 18 books on political science and many research papers
- Arrested several times by the Israelis

### Notable Quotations

"That could be the way to solve the problems of the Palestinian people," on the possibility of a "technocrat" government, comprised of experts from various fields and excluding the Hamas and Fatah politicians who were then in power

--*The Forward*, June 23, 2006

"I think we are going to agree to the document,"—on coming to an agreement with Fatah on the Prisoners' document. Adwan said if they could not agree, Hamas would consider stepping down from the government

--*Agence France Presse*, June 18, 2006

"Unfortunately, the EU is standing in the rank of the oppressor against the oppressed while it is justice to ask Israel to stop its unabated crimes in order to have a just peace for all" – objecting to strict EU economic policy towards Hamas

Atef Adwan said that if there were a peace proposal similar to that proposed at the last set of talks, in Taba in 2001 (two states living side by side, a return by Israel of almost all the land occupied in 1967, a shared status for Jerusalem and an agreed solution for Palestinian refugees), "Hamas would think seriously about the offer". He is also softer on doctrine: Sharia would be desirable as the main source of Palestinian law, he says, "but you can't have a stream that goes against the world".

--*The Economist*, February 2, 2006

Accepting Iranian money would make "Hamas a tool of [Iranian] policy and this is not good for Hamas and not good for the region."

--*The Jerusalem Post*, February 22, 2006

"The US is doing its best to close all windows and doors, so Hamas will do its best to find other open doors."  
--*Ben Lynfield*, February 23, 2006



## Ismail Abdallatif al-Ashqar

Abu Ashraf

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Parliamentarian Northern Gaza District



### Biographical Information

- Born 1962
- Married with 6 daughters and 1 son

### Personal History

- Bachelor Degree in Engineering
- Engineer
- Former Chief Executive Officer of al-Nour Center for Research and Studies
- 1989-1996 - Member of Administrative Office of Hamas
- Member of Engineers Syndicate
- Member of the Board of the Islamic Society in Jabalia Camp
- Founding Member of Islamic Reformation Committee in Gaza
- Founding Member and acting Deputy Secretary General of al-Khalas National Islamic Party
- Member of Supreme Follow Up Committee of the National Islamic Forces
- Chairman of the Board of al-Risala Weekly Magazine
- Founder and President of Arabic Center for Research and Studies
- Member of HUSSAM Society
- Published several articles about the Intifada
- Detained for 5 years in Israeli prisons
- 1996 - Detained in Palestinian prisons
- 2004 - Brother was killed during the Jabalia invasion

### Notable Quotations

“The movement will cooperate with the international community to remove the occupation and the settlements and to insure a complete withdrawal from the land occupied in 1967, including occupied Jerusalem.”

-- *Saudi Press Agency*, March 18, 2006

“Israel bears complete responsibility for this explosion, which was a missile fired from an Israeli planes on a car used by Hamas leaders during the parade” – on the explosion of a Hamas car in Jabalia

-- <http://www.alittehad.net/>, September 24, 2005

“Haifa wasn’t hit since it was occupied in 1948, but now it is bombed by the Hizballah’s brave missiles. This is new element in the equation; therefore, we should expect the enemy to submit to the resistance’s demands.”

-- *Alalam*, July 16, 2006

“We don’t have any problems with any country in the world. Our only problem is with the Zionist occupation.”

-- *Alalam*, May 20, 2006

“Abu Amar recognized the Zionist entity, and the result was that he was poisoned. We recognize the futility of any organization, including Hamas, recognizing the Zionist existence.”

-- *Alalam*, May 20, 2006





## Moshir el-Masri

Moshir Omar el-Habel, Abu Baker



Parliamentarian Northern Gaza District  
 Hamas spokesman in Gaza



## Biographical Information

- Born 1978
- Married with 3 children

## Personal History

- Deputy of the student union during his undergraduate studies
- 1999 - Masters in political science from Islamic University
- Teacher at Islamic University
- Arrested several times
- Brother, Faris, killed
- Moved from Beit Lahiya in northern Gaza to Gaza City in 2005
- The youngest PLC member
- Former Hamas spokesman in Gaza before PLC election

## Notable Quotations

"We tell our brothers in Lebanon: your victory is ours, the victory of Hizbollah is the victory of Hamas."

--*Al-Mustaqbal*, August 18, 2006

"The Zionist state has no choice except the acceptance of the resistance conditions. It has no choice except submitting to the new reality that the resistance has created" – on the Shalit capture.

-- *Al-Mustaqbal*, August 18, 2006

"Recognizing Israel is not on the Hamas agenda, and Hamas will not recognize Israel. When we talk about interim and tactical solutions, that doesn't mean we will recognize the legitimacy of Israel. This is exactly what Sheikh Ahmed Yassin said 15 years ago."

-- <http://www.alqassam.ps/arabic/?action=chat&&nid=98>

"Hamas does not accept the principles expressed by (Mr Abbas) and does not accept the agreements as signed,"

--*The Australian*, February 20, 2006

"We don't seek to make Hamas activists of all Palestinians but to make all Muslims implement the word of God."

--*Jerusalem Post*, July 15, 2006

"We affirm our commitment to fight the occupation with the appropriate means."

--*Jerusalem Post*, June 27, 2005

The following quotations are from a June 26, 2005 *Jerusalem Post* article about conflict between Hamas and the Palestinian Authority over control of Gaza prior to the disengagement:

- "Hamas has asked for the formation of a national committee tasked with dividing up the land evacuated by Israel, but no one trusts the PA to handle such property... The PA security branches breach all laws and confiscate land for their own use "

- " Hamas is not looking for war booty. We consider the withdrawal a victory for the resistance movements; therefore we don't want the resistance movements to be smeared over fights for booty."
- "We would not want to see an important event like the disengagement ruined by the PA's destructive unilateral behavior regarding the people."

"It is not unexpected that Hamas is again accused of terror by the Bush administration...this administration is totally and clearly biased towards Israel and its positions are Zionist."  
-- *Maan News*, May 27, 2005

## Ahmed Mohamed Bahar

Abu Akram

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Parliamentarian Gaza District  
First Deputy to the President of the Palestinian Legislative Council



### Biographical Information

- Born 1949 in Gaza
- Married with 13 children

### Personal History

- PhD in English Language
- Former Head of Preparatory Committee of Imam Ahmad Yassin Conference
- Founding Member of Dar al-Qoran in Gaza
- 1971 - 1974 - Teacher in Legislative High School in al-Khalil, Hebron
- 1972 - 1976 - Preacher in Beit Amer Mosque in al-Khalil, Hebron
- 1984 - Vice President of Employees Syndicate in Islamic University
- 1985 - 2004 - Secretary General of Islamic Society in Gaza
- 2002 - 2003 - Vice Dean of Faculty of Arts at Islamic University
- Lecturer in Arabic Language Department in Faculty of Arts in Islamic University
- Deputy to the Dean of Literature College in the Islamic University
- Writer for al-Risala journal
- Author of several published articles and books including, "The Elements of Victory"
- 1989 - Detained in Israeli jail for 2 years
- 1992 - Deported to Marj al-Zuhour

### Notable Quotations

"I don't think we are diminished at all. The popularity of the resistance movement is gaining in general," on the common criticism that Hezbollah's ability to strike Israel has exposed Hamas' deficiencies

--*The Daily Telegraph*, July 21, 2006

"These are the conditions of all the Palestinians including the families of prisoners and martyrs" – explaining Hamas refusal to compromise their demands in the negotiations for the return of Gilad Shalit to Israel

--*The Jerusalem Post*, July 3, 2006

"All indications show that since its establishment, Israel has never been in such a state of retreat and weakness as it is today following more than four years of the intifada. Hamas's heroic attacks exposed the weakness and volatility of the impotent Zionist security establishment. The withdrawal marks the end of the Zionist dream and is a sign of the moral and psychological decline of the Jewish state. We believe that the resistance is the only way to pressure the Jews."

--*The Jerusalem Post*, March 24, 2005

"Doesn't America want democracy? Then why can't they accept democracy for the Palestinians?"

--*The Baltimore Sun*, January 22, 2006

## Mohammad Faraj Mahmood al-Ghoul

Abu Ahmed

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Parliamentarian Gaza District



### Biographical Information

- Born 1957

### Personal History

- Khail al-Hayih lawyer's union treasurer
- Lawyer
- Director of the Gaza-based organization House of Right and Law
- 1995 - Held in Israeli administrative detention
- Head of the PLC Legislation Committee
- One of Hamas leaders in Gaza
- Secretary of Palestinian Lawyer union [ not the treasurer]
- Arrested during the period 1989-1992
- arrested for six months in 1994
- Spokesman of prisoners in 1994

### Notable Quotations

“The government has no constitutional problems, the forced absences of ministers is considered legal, and not among the states that ministers should resign according to the Basic Law, this forceful absentee is considered a pride fro the government”

--<http://www.freepal.net/NoComment/dostoor.htm>, June 29, 2006

“This American position is not legally based. It is a very biased and aggressive position against the Palestinian people, and it neglects the suffering of those who have been the victims of aggression. America should not stand with the Zionist occupation against the Arabs. This issue adversely affects the credibility of the US and distances it from adopting just positions in the Middle East conflict.”

--<http://www.pal-media.net/main/main.php?catid=27&did=1256>, July 2, 2006

## Jamal Talab Mohammad Saleh Nasser

Jamal Talab Saleh

Abu Mohammed

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Parliamentarian Gaza District



### Biographical Information

- Born 1958 in Gaza
- Married with 6 children

### Personal History

- BA in commerce from Egypt
- Former President of Palestinian Accounting Association
- Director of an Accounting and Auditing Office
- Treasurer of al-Aqsa Information Establishment
- 1988 - 1994 - Arrested 7 times by the Israelis
- 1992 - Deported to Marj al-Zuhour
- 1992 - 1994 - Vice President of Palestinian Accounting Association
- 1994 - 2004 - Member of Legal Committee in Palestinian Accounting Association
- 1996 - 1998 - Deputy Secretary General of al-Khalas Islamic Party
- 1997 - 2000 - Secretary of Childrens Mabarrat al-Rahmah
- 2000 - Present - Head of the Islamic al-Khalas party
- 2000 - Present - Member of the Board of Childrens Mabarrat al-Rahmah
- Head of the PLC Economic Committee
- Arrested by the PA in 2002

### Notable Quotations

“Any state that wants to hold a referendum must first create a law that allows it. A referendum without law is considered unofficial, like a poll, and its results are not considered to be binding to any one.”

--*Maan News*, June 12, 2006



## Said Mohammad Seyam

Saeed Mohammad Siyam

Abu Mos'ab

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Parliamentarian Gaza District  
Interior and Civil Affairs Minister



### Biographical Information

- Born 1959
- Resides in Sheikh Radwan neighborhood in Gaza
- Married with children

### Personal History

- PhD in Islamic Sharia
- Former teacher at UNRWA school
- Teaches at Islamic University in Gaza
- Gaza offices struck in air raids following Shalit abduction; the offices were called “a meeting place to plan and direct terror activity” by the IDF (*Haaretz*, June 30, 2006)

### Notable Quotations

"Martyrdom operations is one of our tools. It is not the only means that we have."

--*al-Jazeera*, December 18, 2005

"The day will never come when any Palestinian would be arrested because of his political affiliation or because of resisting the occupation."

--*Reuters*, March 2006

"Said Seyam did not come to the government to revive any security cooperation or to protect the occupation and their settlers. I came to protect our people and their fighters, to protect their trees, their properties and their capabilities."

--*Reuters*, March 2006

The security forces have a "duty to stand up to this aggression and cowardly Zionist invasion" – on the Israeli incursion into Gaza in late June 2006

--*The Independent*, July 7, 2006

Ordered Palestinians “to shoot at Israeli forces”, taken as a declaration of war and a violation of the Oslo agreements by Israel

--*UPI*, July 7, 2006





## Abdel al-Rahman Yusef al-Jamal

Abu al-Bara'

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Parliamentarian Deir al-Balah District



### Biographical Information

- Born 1961 in Nuseirat

### Personal History

- 1987 - BA in Dawa and Fundamentals of Religion from Saudi Arabia
- 1987 - 1989 - Professor in the Faculty of Fundamentals of Religion
- 1992 - MA in Islamic Sharia from Jordan University
- 1994 - PhD in Saudi university system
- 1994 - 2003 - Founder and Chairman of Science and Culture Center
- 1994 - 2003 - Vice President of Dar al-Quran al-Karim
- 1994 - 2005 - Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Fundamentals of Religion
- 2001 - Dean of the Faculty of the Fundamentals of Religion
- 2003 - Present - President of Dar al-Quran al-Karim
- 2003 - Present - Assistant to the deputy of Student Affairs
- Founder of the Center for Science and Culture and head of its board

## Khamis Jawdat Khamis Najjar

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Parliamentarian Khan Younis District  
Previously a member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

- Born 1949 in Khan Younis

### Personal History

- 1973 - Bachelor Degree in Medicine from al-Azhar University
- PhD in Internal Medicine from Egypt
- 1984 - 1993 - Head of Blood Diseases Division in al-Shifa Hospital
- 1986 - 1991 - Director of Gaza Laboratories
- Medical professional
- Head of Nasser Hospital
- General Director at the Ministry of Health

### Notable Quotations

“The American and European threats mean nothing to us, for we rely on God only. But if we talk about material issues and mundane interests we say that the American and the European donations are for development projects which aim to support their policies, and not one cent of their contribution enters the PA budget, which pays the running costs.”

<http://www.alresalah.info/alresalah/report/2006/23-1/7.htm>, January 23, 2006



## Younis Mohe-eldeen Fayez El-Astal

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Parliamentarian Khan Younis District



### Biographical Information

- Born 1956 in Khan Younis

### Personal History

- 1979 - Bachelor Degree from Islamic University in Saudi Arabia
- 1980 - Present - Lecturer in Islamic University in Gaza
- 1986 - Masters Degree in Fiqh from University of Jordan
- 1996 - PhD in Fiqh from University of Jordan
- PhD in Sharia from Sudan
- Legal Counselor in Palestinian Islamic Bank for three years
- 1997 - 1999 - Dean of Faculty of Sharia in Islamic University
- 1999 - 2001 - Head of Fatwa Committee in Islamic University

### Notable Quotations

"May God bless those who touch weapons."

--*The Times*, August 16, 2005

"This (the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza) is only the first step to liberating all of Palestine including Jerusalem east and west and every inch of Palestinian land from the sea to the river."

--*China Daily*, August 16, 2005

## Abdel Rahman Fahmi Rahman Zeidan

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Parliamentarian Tulkarem District  
Minister of Public Works and Housing



### Biographical Information

- Born 1960

### Personal History

- B.S. in Civil Engineering from University of Alabama
- Engineer
- Member of Muslim Youth League in North America
- Member of Engineers Syndicate
- Vice Chairman of al-Takaful Fund in Engineers Syndicate
- Former Minister of Transportation
- Arrested in 1993 for being the liaison between the Hamas military wing in the northern West Bank and the outside world; spent 6 years in Israeli prisons
- One of three Palestinian Ministers remaining in the West Bank, reportedly trying to avoid Israeli detection by traveling many hours a day on West Bank roads

### Notable Quotations

"A person who is in prison suffering is dignified among Palestinians. People respect the ones who are suffering and represent their nation, and feel their pain."

--*The Washington Times*, February 24, 2006

"Compromise with Israel? This is not our big concern. Haniyeh can speak with the world the language that we want to reveal. It's a matter of how the world can see us. Maybe it's because of his nice smile."

--*The Jewish Week*, March 3, 2006

"You will not find one word in the document clearly stating the recognition of Israel as a state. Nobody has agreed to this. This was not on the table. This was not in the dialogue." – denying that the Prisoners' document recognizes the state of Israel

--*EUObserver.com*, June 28, 2006



## Riyad Mahmoud Sa'eed Radad

Riyad Radad al-Sedawi

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Parliamentarian Tulkarem District



### Biographical Information

- Born 1960

### Personal History

- Imam in Tulkarem mosque
- Arrested after the Shalit abduction

### Notable Quotations

"Families of Palestinian martyrs, wounded, and prisoners as well as poor and needy families must be accorded full respect and care so as not to turn them into beggars."

--*The Daily News*, January 8, 2006

"It is necessary to say that we as Palestinians have the means and provisions, if we would only make better use of our opportunities and improve our administration in terms of transparency, planning, knowledge, and decency. Through these means, the administration would be capable of doing without assistance, with the emphasis that no one else can provide us with that which would enable us to fulfill the obligations in front of us."

--<http://nablus-city.net/htm/details.asp?ID=2315>, January 17, 2006

## Khalid Hamad Hamid Abu Qous

Abou Toos, Abu Tous, Abu Toas

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Parliamentarian Tubas District

### Biographical Information

- Born 1949 in Tulkarem
- Married with 4 girls and a boy

### Personal History

- 1975 - Diploma in mathematics
- Teacher



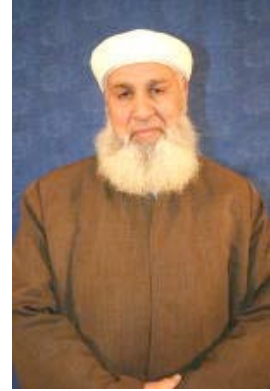
## Hamed Sulieman Jabir Khudair

Hamed al-Bitawi, Abu Hatem

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Parliamentarian District Nablus



### Biographical Information

- Born 1944 in Bita village
- Resides in the al-Dahyeh, Nablus
- Married with 6 boys and a girl; supports his grandmother

### Personal History

- Director of the Higher Committee for Islamic Law in the West Bank
- Head of the Legal Court of Appeals
- Conducts prayers at the al-Aqsa mosque
- Head of the Palestinian Intellectuals Committee
- Vice President of the Zt Committee in Nablus
- Head of Palestinian Scientific League
- 1992 - Deported to Marj al-Zuhour
- October 1998 - After holding an interview with al-Jazeera, he was arrested by Palestinian Intelligence

### Notable Quotations

"I have good news for you. There is a suicide operation in Tel Aviv. This is the only language the occupiers understand, the language of martyrdom."

--*CNN*, March 21, 1997

"We have no choice but to talk to the Israelis about many things so, yes, if we are ministers, we will have relations with them. There are many forms of resistance -- not only bang, bang. Israel teaches Zionism, America, capitalism and Russia used to teach communism. Why should we not teach Islam?"

--*al-Ahram*, January 19, 2006

## II. Fatah







## Intisar Moustafa al-Wazir

Umm Jihad

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Parliamentarian – National List 3  
Member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

- Born 1942 in Gaza
- Widow of Khalil al-Wazir (PLO military chief, known as the “architect of the armed struggle against Israel,” killed by Israel in 1988)

### Personal History

- BA in History from Palestinian university system
- Leader of Palestinian Women’s Movement
- 1959 - Joined Fatah
- 1965 - Founding member of General Union of Palestinian Women
- 1974 - Present Member of The PLC
- Minister of Social Affairs
- Minister of Welfare since 1996, in charge of providing welfare to Palestinians wounded in the conflict with Israel
- Deputy for Gaza
- Had her travel pass revoked in 1996 by the Israeli government for illegally transporting Hamas activists into the West Bank

### Notable Quotes

"I'm looking to the future, and I don't want the tragedy to continue. We need peace for both Israeli and Palestinian children, so other families won't have to go through what we did. The two peoples can build strong ties after we achieve our rights...It's a very beautiful country. Great efforts were made to raise it to such a high level of civilization. I hope we can live with each other."

"It was clean. There were proper roads. Now I found everything destroyed. There are no roads, the city is dirty and there has been a population explosion. But the people are beautiful, and they gave us a great welcome" – on Gaza's decline

"One woman in the National Authority is not enough," she said. "They have to be involved in all levels of government."  
-- *New York Times*, August 4, 1994

"Now that there's a Palestinian government, I will work hard to make sure that women get equal rights and justice. We will regulate these Islamic laws in a way that will protect women... I feel sad that Abu Jihad is not here with me on the land of Palestine and cannot feel all the love that people have for him. But I know his spirit is hovering over us and I'm sure he sees and he approves."  
-- *Chicago Tribune*, July 20, 1994

"The Israelis thought that when they killed Abu Jihad they would also kill the intifada," she said. "But they are wrong. His assassination gave our people more determination to continue ... to defeat the occupation... I do not want that any more women, Jewish or Palestinian, lose their husbands or children or loved persons. We feel it is enough killing, it is enough blood, it is enough war... We want our children to return to our homeland, to live in peace in a free and democratic Palestine."  
-- *The Jerusalem Post*, April 12, 1989

## Nabil Shaath

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Parliamentarian – National List 4  
Member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

Born 1938 in Safed

Married with 4 children

1965 became an Egyptian citizen

### Personal History

PhD in Economic and Administration Science

Doctorates in Law and Economics, University of Pennsylvania

Former Planning & International Cooperation Minister

Former Acting Prime Minister

Member of Fatah Central Committee

1961-1965 - Professor of Finance and Economics at University of Pennsylvania

1969 - Taught at American University of Beirut in Lebanon

1970 - Joined PLO serving as advisor to Fatah

1971-1981 - Head of PLO Planning Center

1974 - Headed first PLO delegation to United Nations

Former industry consultant and management trainer in several Arab countries

1993 - First PLO leader to meet with authorized Israeli Cabinet Member (met with Yossi Sarid on Gaza-Jericho formula)

1993 - PLO's chief negotiator at the Taba talks

Wrote Palestinian draft Declaration of Principles for the Oslo agreement

2002 - Secret Palestinian representative to Prince Abdullah in 'Saudi Plan' for peace

### Notable Quotes

"President Arafat is our Ataturk, Churchill, de Gaulle, Nero, and George Washington. His loss is a grave loss for the Palestinian people. If he were here he would not have allowed divisiveness."

-*Daily Times*, January 2006

President Abbas was elected by 62 per cent of the voters, and he will not resign because 62 demonstrators are asking him to resign. He will continue as President

-*al-Ahram*, February 2006

"[Fatah will] strengthen the presidency, create a shadow government, and forge a leadership from the opposition faction within the parliament."

-*al-Ahram*, February 2006

"We have two battles to win after the withdrawal is implemented: achieving freedom and real power for the Palestinian people and PNA in the Gaza Strip and having a secure connection between the Gaza Strip and the West Bank on one hand, and Jerusalem in the other hand"

-*Ministry of Information Conference*, July 2005



## Hakam al-Bal'awi

Hakam 'Umar As'ad Bal'awi



Parliamentarian – National List 5  
Member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

- Born 1934 near Tulkarem
- Married with 4 children

### Personal History

- Diplomas in Administration, Journalism and Education
- 1973-1975 Palestinian ambassador to Libya
- 1983-1994 PLO Ambassador to Tunis
- 1989-present Member of Fatah Central Committee
- 1994-1996 Secretary of National Security Council
- Member of The Jerusalem Committee of The PLC,
- Member of PLC Political Committee
- Secretary of Union of Palestinian Journalists and Writers
- Former Minister of Interior
- 2001 Signatory of joint Israeli-Palestinian declaration “No to Bloodshed, No to Occupation, Yes to Negotiations, Yes to Peace”
- 2003-2005 Minister of the Interior
- 2005 Minister of Governmental Organizations' Affairs

### Notable Quotes

"The security apparatuses have turned into armed tribes, and the Palestinian National Authority (PNA)'s reluctance to adopt the right decisions during past years has caused chaos." – on his efforts to reform the security apparatus.

--*Xinhua*, June 27, 2004

"The purpose of these talks would be to restore confidence between the two parties in order to implement the road map," – on Egyptian-Palestinian efforts to build towards the road map and his desire to continue in that direction.

--*The Jerusalem Post*, September 19, 2004



## Najat Omar Abu Bakr

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Parliamentarian – National List 7  
Member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

- Born 1962 in Nablus
- Mother of 4 children

### Personal History

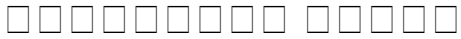
- PhD in Political Science
- Former Head of Consumer Society at Ministry of Economy Head of Raba' Adaweia Society for Education and Development
- Arrested several times during first Intifada
- Known as a technocrat

### Notable Quotes

MP Najat Abu-Bakr underlined the need for a unified Palestinian political programme to deal with such acts which aim to undermine the Palestinian spirit of defiance and give an authorization for [Israeli Prime Minister] Olmert's unilateral policy.

-- Palestinian news agency *Wafa* website (Gaza, in Arabic) June 1, 2006

## Raja'i Mahmoud Barakeh



Parliamentarian – National List 8  
Member of Fatah

### Biographical Information

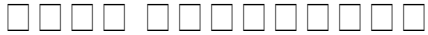
- Born 1957 in Gaza

### Personal History

- Chemist by trade
- Professor of Chemistry at the al-Azhar University

## Ibrahim Ali al-Musaddar

Ibrahim al-Masdar



Parliamentarian – National List 9  
Member of Fatah

### Biographical Information

- Born 1951 in Deir al-Balah

### Personal History

- Businessman by trade
- Built a village in Deir Albalah named after him
- Hospital Director and Chief of Emergency Medicine of al-Aqsa Government Hospital in Deir Albalah

### Notable Quotes

"The referendum won't affect the work of the government. In the absence of alternatives, the president has the right to call a referendum on the prisoners' document."

--*Associated Press*, June 12, 2006

## Rabiha Thiab Hamdan

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Parliamentarian – National List 10  
Member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

- Born 1954 in Durat al-Qar' near Ramallah

### Personal History

- Fateh activist
- First arrested by Israeli authorities when she was 12 years old, followed by other imprisonment sentences and house arrests spent a total of some seven years in prison
- Held various Fateh positions while inside the prison
- Received a BA in Sociology/Social Work from Bethlehem University (graduating after 25 years following imprisonment and house arrests)
- Member of the Palestinian university student leadership and of different Fateh committees
- Chairperson of the Union of Women Committees for Social Work
- Board member of the Women's Affairs Technical Committees and the GUPW
- Member of the founding commission of the Palestinian Prisoners' Club
- Member of the PLO, the PNC, and the Fateh Revolutionary Council
- Participates in different Women's activities both locally and internationally
- Director General in the PA Ministry of Youth

### Notable Quotes

Hamas lawmakers "closed their ears and wouldn't listen to anyone who talked differently." – on Hamas' willingness to pay attention to women's issues and vote for a recess of the parliament so that members could attend a march for women's rights

-- *Associated Press*, March 7, 2006

## Muhammed Khalil al-Lahham

Abu Khalil

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Parliamentarian – National List 11  
Member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

- Born circa 1960 in Dihesha Camp

### Personal History

- General Director in Department of Refugees, Refugee Services Coordinator
- Senior Officer in Preventive Security Forces
- General Director for Administration and Finance at Palestinian Broadcasting until 1998
- Scholar of Hebrew Poetry and Literature
- Spent 12 years in prison
- Participated in June 18, 2006 meeting of MPs to promote national unity agenda

### Notable Quotes

“I too, talked like that, before the prison,” regarding widespread opinion within Hamas that Jews should be returned to Eastern Europe and have no right to the land. After imprisonment and prolonged exposure to Hebrew-speakers and Israelis, he became more accustomed to the idea of dialogue with Israelis.

-- *The Progressive*, March 1994

“These moments are sensitive and historical for long-term prisoners who start to think again of their humanity, their families and their children... The first priority is the soldier’s life and his return to his family.”

--*Maan News*, June 26, 2006

## Jamal Muhammad Abu al-Rub

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Parliamentarian – National List 12  
Member of Fatah

### Biographical Information

- Born 1965 in Qabatieh
- Nicknamed 'Hitler'
- Son wanted by Israel



### Personal History

- Leader of one of three competing groups of al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades in Jenin
- Spent long periods in jail
- Sustained several injuries

### Notable Quotes

"All the roads of the West Bank are full of Israeli checkpoints, and I can't go to Ramallah"  
-*Israeli Insider*, February 2006





## Majed Abou Shammala

Majid Abu Shammaleh

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Parliamentarian – National List 14  
Member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

- Born 1962 in Rafa

### Personal History

- Member of Fatah High Committee
- Previously worked for Preventive Security Service
- Former director of Police Investigative Department
- Secretary General of the Palestinian Prisoners Society

### Notable Quotes

On his side, Mr. Majed Abu Shammala, Secretary General of the Palestinian Prisoners Society, praised Abu Motlaq's efforts in defending the cause of the Palestinian prisoners, and his continuous efforts to provide better living conditions for them inside their prisons and detention centers.

Abu Shammala called on the new Palestinian cabinet, headed by Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) not to commit to any security promises nor implement the Roadmap until signs of mutual trust and facilities have been shown by the Israeli government, represented mainly in the release of Palestinian prisoners, and lifting the embargos and closures on the Palestinian territories.

In addition, Mr. Abu Shammala called also on the Palestinian people to adhere to the cause of the Palestinian prisoners, and work together in harmony to join the campaign to release the Palestinian prisoners, who spent many years in the occupation prisons.

--*International Press Center*, May 6, 2003

"This is an unprecedented measure aimed at closing the Rafah crossing. Israel tried many times to impose Abu-Salim crossing as the only entry, but failed" regarding the Israeli suggestion that Palestinians trapped in Egypt use the Kerem Shalom crossing into Gaza, and not the Rafah crossing

-- *Palestinian Ma'an News Agency*, July 7, 2006.

We need a national program "under which we can cancel all private agendas and achieve the national and public interest."

-- *al-Ayyam*, May 10, 2006

## Faisal Abou Shahla

Faisal Abu Shahla



Parliamentarian – National List 15  
Member of Fatah

## Biographical Information

- Born 1950 in Gaza

## Personal History

- Doctor by trade
- Former General Director for hospitals at Ministry of Health

## Notable Quotes

"We received ruined hospitals with poor equipment and a very low level of services."  
-*ArabicNews.com*, June 1998

"President Abu Mazen was clear in his presentation. From the beginning he gave the opportunity for a dialogue, and we had the Prisoners Document as the basis of this dialogue and national understanding. Unfortunately, some of the Hamas members of the Legislative Council launched an initiative and requested an emergency session of the Legislative Council to be held to discuss the referendum. This was a presidential order, and the Legislative Council cannot argue the legality of this presidential order because it is the authority of the judicial system."

"We represent the conscience of the Palestinian people, and we demand to reach an agreement because without an agreement our people will suffer. The salaries have not been paid, the streets of Gaza are filled with garbage because the municipalities cannot pay salaries. The examiners of the high school exams are on strike because they have not received their salaries. The killing of Palestinians by the Israelis is still there, and the bleeding in Gaza. Certainly, there is the internal conflict, and the practices of the executive force which ignited a reaction in the Palestinian arena. There are many issues that are more important to us as members of the Legislative Council, and we are trying to deal with them and to remove the seeds of temptation and -- to be adopted by the Legislative Council."

"We need to reach an agreement and a consortium by the dialogue to what is best for the Palestinian people, and to introduce this to our people and our Arab nations, and to confront the occupation in order to be able to make it stop its practices, and to liberate our land with the help of God."

-- *al-Arabiya TV*, June 12, 2006

## Issa Qaraqi

Issa Karaki

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Parliamentarian – National List 16  
Member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

- Born circa 1960

### Personal History

- Head of the Palestinian Prisoners' Association
- Spent 10 years in prison

### Notable Quotes

" Hamas has violated all the laws and regulations. It is using the logic of domination and is trying to stage a coup against Abbas."

-*Central Chronicle*, March 2006

"The Koran and the Sharia mention the referendum and shura [consultation of the people in the management of religious and worldly affairs]. President Abbas's decision to hold a referendum is legal and is aimed at strengthening the status of the people."

-- *Associated Press*, June 12, 2006

"The Palestinians have the right to exchange the soldier for their prisoners... This is an act of self-defense... Why are we reluctant to talk openly about the need for a prisoner swap? Does the soldier have a mother while our prisoners don't? Is his mother the only one crying? What about our mothers, aren't they also crying for their beloved ones?"

--*The Jerusalem Post*, July 3, 2006

## Siham Thabet



Parliamentarian – National List 17  
Member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

- Born 1949 in Beitfourik village, Nablus
- Husband Dr. Thabet Thabet, West Bank leader, assassinated by Israel
- Lives in Tulkarem
- Mother of three

### Personal History

- Initially went to college in Cairo where she studied Dentistry and met her husband
- 1974 Graduated from Baghdad
- One of the founders of Women's Committee for Social Work
- Petitioned Israel that they could have arrested her husband rather than kill him

### Notable Quotes

"I am more civilized than them [the Israelis]. I have used the law."

-*BBC News*, February 2001

Israel needs to "stop its policy of summary executions against residents of the West Bank and Gaza and rule that the order to execute people without trial as a result of a premeditated military act and not during battle or a military operation is illegal."

-- text of her petition to the High Court of Justice, cited in the *Jerusalem Post*, February 13, 2001

## Naser Jumaa

Nasser Juma



Parliamentarian – National List 18

Member of Fatah

### Biographical Information

- Thirty-nine years old
- Has a three-year-old son
- Lives in Nablus

### Personal History

- Leader of al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade in Nablus
- Wanted by Israel
- Detained without charge in 1995
- Alleges torture under Israeli captivity
- Imprisoned for 6 years
- Wanted by Israel

### Notable Quotes

"All we have now is our guns, and we will use them against Israel."—expressing frustration about Fatah's loss in the 2006 election

-- *NBC Nightly News*, January 26, 2006

"The time is ripe for a different kind of resistance."—upon his decision to retire from al-Aqsa and begin a political career

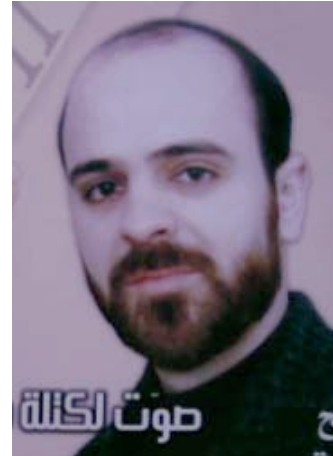
--*The Jerusalem Post*, November 18, 2005

"Palestinian society is exhausted by the occupation. This is the real problem. People are so depressed that they don't believe the elections can improve their lives."

--*Agence France Presse*, January 21, 2006

"The young generation considers the old generation to be responsible for this chronic state of corruption. It refuses reform. It refuses change. The young generation would like to see a leadership which is empowered to lead. I am able to comprehend their desires and needs. I am able to respond to them."

--*Christian Science Monitor*, November 29, 2005





## Abdul Rahim Barham

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Parliamentarian – National List 20  
Member of Fatah

### Biographical Information

- Born 1963 in Qalqilya

### Personal History

- Regional Secretary of Fatah



## Jamal Abdul Hamid al-Hajj

Jamal 'Abd al-Hamid Muhammad al-Haj

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Parliamentarian – National List 21  
Member of Fatah

### Biographical Information

- Born 1966 in Nablus

### Personal History

- Leader of al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade in Balata Camp

## Najat Ahmed Ali al-Astal



Parliamentarian – National List 22  
Member of Fatah

### Biographical Information

- Born 1955 in Khan Younis
- Widow and mother of six

### Personal History

- BA in Medicine from Ain Shams University, Cairo
- Masters in General Health from Ben Gurion University, Israel
- General Director of al-Amal Hospital in Gaza
- Hospital Manager for the Palestinian Red Crescent Society, Khan Younis, Gaza

### Notable Quotes

“I thank the group from America for coming here to help the Palestinian people — to help them to lessen the stress, to lessen the violence, and to help us to live a normal life with others.” – on the visit of an American group with the Center for Mind-Body Medicine to provide aid to Palestinians  
--*CMBM.org*

## Jihad Tmeileh

Jihad Tamliia



Parliamentarian – National List 23  
Member of Fatah

### Biographical Information

- Born in 1966

### Personal History

- General Director in Ministry of Civil Affairs
- Head of youth center at al-Amari refugee camp.

### Notable Quotes

"We have to validate the national dialogue and validate the role of security services."  
--*Alquds.com*, July 14, 2006

## Jihad Abou Zneid

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Parliamentarian – National List 24  
Member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

- Born 1967 at Shafat refugee camp, Jerusalem

### Personal History

- Studied psychology at university
- Masters in American Studies from al-Quds University
- Project Coordinator at Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information
- Worked at Women's Center in Shu'fat. East of Jerusalem
- General Secretary of the Union of Women's Centers/Refugee Camps in Palestine and Diaspora
- Signatory of Palestinian Appeal for Calm
- Former coordinator of human rights work for Palestine Human Rights Information Center,
- Former volunteer at Amnesty International
- 1997 Headed a program on young women for the Women's Affairs Technical Committee of Palestine
- 1998 Elected Director of Division of Prisoners at PA
- Arrested by Israel – alleges that they broke her hands

### Notable Quotes

“Men lead women because women are weak. Women often don't have the same opportunities; it's not easy for women to get their rights.”

-*USA Today*, January 2006

“I have to talk the language of rights not hatred of the Israelis  
(...) We can't blame the other; we have to understand the other.”

-*USA Today*, January 2006

“The situation of occupation is overwhelming. It stops everything. So, the most important thing to both men and women is freedom and to have a national identity(...) The people need to work for peace for their children. They need to understand how to go from conflict to peace

-*USA Today*, January 2006

“Occupation has changed us. One the one hand we are under occupation by the Israeli army and on the other, we work side by side with Israelis everyday.”

-*USA Today*, January 2006

## Akram al-Haymouni

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Parliamentarian – National List 25  
Member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

- Born circa 1960

### Personal History

- Fatah Secretary in Hebron City
- General Director of Political Guidance Commission

### Notable Quotes

"This operation is colorless and doesn't deserve any praise, because those who were released only had a few days, weeks or months to go." – on the Israeli release of 113 Palestinian prisoners whose sentences were about to end

--*Amin.org*, December 27, 2004

## Jamal Huweil



Parliamentarian – National List 26  
Member of Fatah

### Biographical Information

- Born circa 1967
- Twin brother killed by Israel in 1999

### Personal History

- Currently obtaining Masters Degree in Political Science
- Secretary General of Jenin Youth Club
- Arrested in Operation Defensive Shield
- 2001 Recruited by al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade as Treasurer
- Former Chief of al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade in Jenin
- Currently serving seven-year-sentence in Israeli prison

### Notable Quotes

Jamal Hwail, 33, who has been in an Israeli jail since April 2002 on accusations he was an al-Aqsa leader, won a spot on Fatah's list from the town of Jenin. If elected, he plans to send written proposals to parliament and use a cell phone he smuggled into his jail cell to stay in touch. His first priority if elected would be to fight corruption and his second would be to secure the release of prisoners like himself, he said in an interview with The Associated Press over the cell phone.  
--*Washington Post*, December 1, 2005

## Naimah al-Sheikh Ali

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Parliamentarian – National List 27  
Member of Fatah

### Biographical Information

- Born 1964 in Ashkelon
- Lived in Rafah refugee camp
- Mother of two

### Personal History

- Bachelor degree in Arabic Language
- Currently obtaining Masters degree in Psychology at al-Aqsa University
- Head of a cultural association in Khan Younis
- General coordinator for Women Committees for Social Work Member of Fatah's Recruitment and Organizing Bureau

### Notable Quotes

“The campaign of Israeli arrests is a part of a plan to destroy the Palestinian authority and diminish its executive and legislative branches in order to create a vacuum and wreak havoc in Palestinian society.”

--*www.palpress.ps*, June 29, 2006

## Abdul Hamid El Eileh

Abdel-Hameed Eileh



Parliamentarian – National List 28  
Member of Fatah

### Biographical Information

- Born 1957 in North Gaza

### Personal History

- Director in UN Agency
- Engineer by trade



## Emil Jarjoui

Emile Mussa Jarjouei, Imil Musa Basil Jarjoui

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Parliamentarian - Jerusalem District  
Christian Quota  
Member of Fatah



### Personal History

- Obtained a PhD in Pediatrics. Director of Relations with religious communities
- Member of the executive committee of the PLO
- Member of the Board of Trustees of al-Quds University
- Medical Doctor in Cartas Pediatrics Hospital
- May 2001 - Led senior delegation on visit to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate to hand over the list of candidates for the position in Jerusalem 3 months after the death of Diodoros I

### Notable Quotations

“We have determined that the only way to end this conflict is by common sense, by negotiation [with the Israelis].”

“We are fed up with wars and funerals and blood. We want to live like any other people under the sun and in the world. When we say this, it is not just words. We are determined to do it. But to do this we need for both parties to sit together as friends, as neighbors who can decide the future.”

“The wall is going on for 720 kilometers. It is eating up the land. Let’s build bridges of reconciliation and love instead of walls. If it is our destiny to live together in this part of the world, let’s make a place that is livable. Our roots are here, we were born here and we want to die here. Our hope is that your group (IIFWP’s Middle East Peace Initiative) might be the hand that is reaching to help us end this conflict.” “A wall that separates nations will never deliver security. Only peace will. Security will never result in peace. Peace is what gives you security.”  
--IIFWP-International, May 16, 2005

## Ivivan Sabella

Evivane Zakkaria Abdallah Sabila, Bernard Sabella

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Parliamentarian - Jerusalem District  
Christian Quota, Catholic  
Member of Fatah



## Biographical Information

- Born 1945

## Personal History

- Former professor at al-Quds University
- Professor of Sociology at Bethlehem University
- Ph.D. in Sociology, University of Virginia
- Lawyer
- Executive Secretary of the Department of Services to Palestinian Refugees at the Middle East Council of Churches (MECC)

## Publications

- Introduction to Sociology (1983)
- Christian Emigration-Comparison Between Jerusalem, Ramallah and Bethlehem Areas (1991)
- A Date with Democracy - Palestinians on Politics, Economy and Society (1983)
- Many articles on the issue of emigration of Christian Arabs from the Middle East

## Notable Quotations

“My own interpretation is that this is democracy and our Palestinian people have cast their vote. I would have loved to see my Fatah movement win a comfortable majority but this did not happen due to so many different factors... All Palestinians without exception want an end to Israeli occupation and the sooner the better ... I pray that Hamas would make the correct choices which are in the interest of our people, first and foremost.”

-- *Palestinian Elections: Victory for Democracy*, January 27, 2006

“What is happening in Israel and Palestine is a symptom of the system of domination and oppression of one people by another... Israel has all the power in the region; it is the number four military power in the world.” – Sabella on the Gaza offensive

“An evil occupation must provoke an evil response” – Sabella on the occupation and the suicide bombing to which it is a response

“Peace and security in the Middle East are possible and this is what the Palestinian people want. It is what the Israeli people want, but the Israeli government does not seem to be listening.”

-- *Green Left Weekly*, July 19, 2006, <http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/2006/675/675p6b.htm>

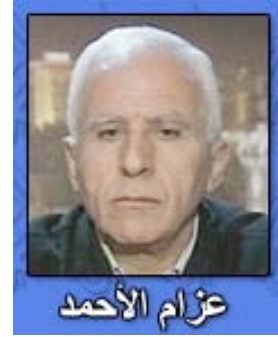
## Azzam al-Ahmad

Azzam Najeb al-Ahmah

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Parliamentarian - Jenin District  
Member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

- Born 1947 in Jenin

### Personal History

- 1974 - Received his BA in Management and Economics from University of Cairo
- 1976-1980 - Head of Arab Students Union and Representative of Palestine
- Former Ambassador in Iraq
- 1996-2002 - Minister of Public Works
- 2002-2003 - Minister of Transportation
- 2003-2005 - Minister of Communications and Information Technology
- 2005-2006 - Head of the Fatah parliamentary bloc

### Notable Quotations

"The program on whose basis Hamas ran for the elections was a general program that focused on domestic issues. It was not a comprehensive program, meaning an integrated political program that covered all the concepts of Hamas. I believe that the program that was submitted and distributed during the elections did not contain all the Hamas concepts and ideas on all issues. The program focused on issues dealing with daily life and subsistence means in general and spoke about the resistance in a general manner without going into the details of the forms and types of the resistance."

--*BBC News*, March 25, 2006

"Abu-Mazin persuaded the Americans to have Hamas participate in the elections. I believe that even Israel was not serious in its opposition to Hamas participation in the elections and I confirm that it was not serious. All the analyses confirm this. Second, I challenge any person who can prove that the Fatah movement has taken a single US dollar from the US administration, though the US administration declared otherwise. The US administration said that it has offered funds to candidates from Fatah and others. This means that it has funded individuals and I am a candidate. I challenge anyone to prove that the US administration has paid a single dollar to Fatah as a movement."

--*BBC News*, March 25, 2006

## Shami Yousif Mohammad Shami

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Parliamentarian - Jenin District  
Member of Fatah

### Biographical Information

- Born in the Jenin refugee camp

### Personal History

- Founding member of Fatah's West Bank youth group and its head in Jenin
- Imprisoned for 5 years in 1982

### Notable Quotations

On Operation Defensive Shield - "We saw a helicopter shooting at a house. The gunmen are shooting at the tanks and others are throwing homemade grenades," he said. "Others are planting bombs in the streets."

--CBS News, March 1, 2002



## Walid Mahmoud Mohammad Assaf

Waleed Assif

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Parliamentarian - Qalqilya District  
Member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

- Born in 1960
- Married with children

### Personal History

- Obtained his BA in Electrical Engineering in the Pakistani university system  
Former General Director in the local government ministry
- Arrested twice by Israel for 5 months

### Notable Quotations

“The Palestinian Basic Law does not say anything against a referendum. President Abbas was elected by the people and therefore he has the power to call a referendum.” – on the ability of Abbas to call for a referendum on the Prisoners’ Document, which would have caused a great rift between Fatah and Hamas

-- *The Jerusalem Post*, June 12, 2006

## Ahmad Hazza Shreim

Ahmad Shraym

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Parliamentarian - Qalqilya District  
Member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

- Born 1948
- Married with children

### Personal History

- One of the founders of Lajnieh Harakieh Olia "Fatah Tanzim in West Bank"
- Worked in Palestinian Preventative Security in the 1990s
- 2004-present - Member of the Fatah Revolutionary Council
- Fatah's Secretary General in Qalqilya
- 1969-1989 - Arrested and held by Israel
- Arrested in 1990, 1991, 2001, and 2002

### Notable Quotations

"We have paid a price for the Palestinian Authority's corruption and its not doing its job."

"Fatah depends on the goodwill of [Prime Minister Ariel] Sharon, but he has no goodwill."

--*Christian Science Monitor*, May 9, 2005

## Muheeb Salameh

Mohib Abdallah Salamah, Muheib Abdullah Salameh

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Parliamentarian - Ramallah and al-Bireh District  
Christian Quota  
Member of Fatah

## Biographical Information

- Born 1965

## Notable Quotations

PLC member Muhib Salamah described the Church property issue as serious because it is directly linked to the Palestinian issue. He emphasized all Christian and Muslim properties are targeted - something that requires action to stop the selling and leasing of church property. He urged the higher political quarters in Palestine and Jordan to form a higher committee to follow-up this issue, emphasizing that the final aim of this campaign is to Arabize the church and stop the acts of selling and leasing of church property.

--*Ramattan News Agency*, Gaza, in Arabic, May 30, 2006

" Hamas wants other factions, especially Fateh, to join a government to take on external affairs. This, however, would leave Fateh to pay the price for external concessions. This Fateh will not accept."

"For 15 years, Fateh has had the same leadership. There was a big gap between the top and the grassroots. The leadership became like royalty, though it was untouchable and in turn lost touch."—on the need for fresh faces in Fatah

--*Free Muslims Coalition*, January 29, 2006



## Saeb Erekat

Saeb Mohammed Saleh Oraikat,  
Sa'ib Muhammad Salih 'Urayqat

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Parliamentarian - Jericho District  
Member of Fatah



## Biographical Information

- Born April 28, 1955 in Jericho
- Member of the Abu Dis family
- Nephew of Rashid Erekat, military attache and government minister in the British mandate and Jordanian administrations
- Father founded bus company, lost everything in the 1967 war
- Resides in Jericho

## Personal History

- Sent overseas to study at the age of 17
- 1977 - Obtained his BA from San Francisco State University (SFSU) in international relations
- 1979 - Obtained his MA from SFSU in international relations
- Elected president of the Arab Students Association at SFSU
- Winner of prestigious scholarship to doctoral program at the University of Bradford in the U.K.
- 1983 - Obtained his D.Phil at the Quaker endowed Department of Peace Studies in conflict resolution with a doctoral thesis on the role of OPEC in the Arab-Israeli conflict
- 1982-1986 - Served as An-Najh University's Public Relations Director
- Acted as Arafat's personal translator to English-speaking audiences
- Former local governance minister
- Deputy for Jericho
- Minister of negotiation affairs
- Supreme Palestinian negotiator
- Resigned from the Palestinian cabinet after Abbas became PM, but was reappointed 3 months later
- Close aide to Abbas
- Involved in the Oslo accords
- Lecturer of political science at An-Najah University
- August 8, 1993 - Joined Faisal Hussein and Hanan Ashrawi in resigning as delegates to Washington, complaining that the "inside" PLO was being excluded from decision-making by Arafat and the Tunis PLO
- Served for 12 years on the editorial board of al-Quds newspaper
- Published 8 books and numerous research papers on international relations, conflict resolution, the geopolitics of oil, the democratization of the Middle East and redistribution of the region's wealth
- Jailed for the first time by Israel at age 13

## Notable Quotations

"The aim is to end the Israeli war in Lebanon and stop the ongoing destruction and killings in the Gaza Strip...Military operations and aggression cannot solve the problems in the region...Only political and diplomatic solutions can guarantee getting our region out of the cycle of violence,"  
--*Xinhua*, August 2, 2006

"Moderate Palestinians like me are losing during this crisis...How to make oneself heard on this point to a people that have long lost all hope? It's too late. Hamas is in power. And what is

happening in Lebanon only reinforces this tendency... [The United States should not] continue to treat Israel like a state above the law."

--*The Canadian Press*, July 31, 2006

"I sit in this office - I got two-thirds of the vote here in the January elections - and I can't even help a sick person. I don't have money or projects. Everything's backfiring! ... Does Israel want a partner or not? They're so obsessed with having 'no partner.' They are so angry at us. They don't trust us - I mean Abu Mazen, myself and the Palestinian peace camp. They doubt us. They think we are weak. Even if we are - did they ever give us a fair chance at anything? They are cutting the salaries of my voters, and [depriving] their children. It's about food."

--*The Jerusalem Report*, July 24, 2006

"Arresting the government - once you cross this line, what is left? This may go down in history as the beginning of the end; the toppling of the PA. And if the PA goes, the president's office goes with it. How can any of us survive this?"

--*The Jerusalem Report*, July 24, 2006

"We have no government, we have nothing," he said. "They have all been taken. This is absolutely unacceptable," he said, and demanded that Israel release the PA captives immediately.

-- *The Jerusalem Post*, June 29, 2006

We urge Prime Minister Olmert to refrain from any military action at a time when President Abbas is exerting maximum efforts in order to acquire the release of the soldier, alive and unharmed,"

--*Associated Press*, June 26, 2006

"The Hamas point is that they won the elections and now they should be allowed to govern. But we differ with them politically and we want to take it to the referendum. We said to them: ballots and not bullets. And if they say 'no' to the referendum, that means all their talk about democracy is just words."

--*Chicago Tribune*, June 18, 2006

There is a "daily massacre of Palestinians by Israel."

--*The Weekly Standard*, January 1, 2000

## Fuad Kokaly

Fouad Karim Saliba Kokali

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Parliamentarian - Bethlehem District  
Christian Quota  
Member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

- Born in Beit Sahour

### Personal History

- Former mayor of Beit Sahour
- Spent 5 years in Israeli prison

### Notable Quotations

“Palestinians are getting collective punishment from Israel, and now the whole world is cutting aid, the whole world is taking part in that collective punishment.”

“The Palestinians have the right to live in freedom, dignity and peace.”

-- *Twinning with Palestine* [http://www.twinningwithpalestine.net/temporary\\_site/report-bethlehemconf.html](http://www.twinningwithpalestine.net/temporary_site/report-bethlehemconf.html)



## Ahmed Abu Holy

Ahmad Hassan Awwad Abou Holei, Ahmed Holi

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Parliamentarian - Deir al-Balah District  
Member of Fatah



## Biographical Information

- Born 1968 in al-Maghazi

## Personal History

- Obtained his MA in sociology from Ein Shams University in Egypt
- Obtained his PhD in sociology in Egypt
- Former head of al-Azhar University graduate society
- Founder of Palestinian Society for Research and Social Studies
- Lecturer in Palestinian universities
- Director of the Ministry of Interior in Gaza

## Notable Quotations

" Hamas leaders should understand that there is a big difference between their speech as an organization bearing inflammatory slogans in their political platform and their speech as a Palestinian government that represents all of the Palestinian people."

"The majority of Fatah members refuse to participate in the next Hamas government on the grounds of differences between the two platforms and the Fatah's intention to exercise the constructive opposition besides bridging the gaps within Fatah movement."

" Hamas is the only one that can answer this subject. And it should take into consideration that when the Palestinian people granted it their confidence, they waiting for the movement to be adhere to its slogan the change and reform towards a better future."

" Fatah will respect any Hamas decision that takes into consideration the service and interest of the Palestinian people by enforcing law and order, fighting corruption and lawlessness and adhering to the Palestinian standpoints and rights."

" Everyone knows that the Palestinian blood and the military escalation against us are the sole slogans of the Israeli radical parties namely "Kadima" that wants to promote the causes of the settlers and Jewish extremists as well."

-- *International Press Center*, June 3, 2006

## Mohammad Dahlan

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Parliamentarian - Khan Younis District  
Member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

- Born September 29, 1961 in Khan Younis refugee camp
- Married with 4 children

### Personal History

- Studied business at the Islamic University of Gaza; did not complete his studies since he was deported by Israel from the Occupied Territories
- Former minister of civil affairs and negotiations
- 1981 - Founder of the Fatah Youth Association
- 1983-1988 - Imprisoned in Israel for political activism
- 1988 - Deported to Jordan in 1988
- 1994 - Head of Preventative Security Service (reportedly received training from the CIA)
- Participated in Camp David negotiations
- November 2001 - tried to resign, but Arafat refused
- March-April 2002 - Part of the "Gang of Five" in siege on Arafat's compound,
- July 2002 - National Security Advisor
- Abbas appointed him Interior Minister, left out of Qurei's cabinet
- Head of the Committee of Internal Affairs and Security
- Arrested 11 times
- Target of Israeli attacks on both his headquarters and his personal motorcade during the second Intifada

### Notable Quotations

Dahlan said Israel is withdrawing for three reasons:

1. It became too much costly to Israel to keep occupying the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.
2. This will give Israel the chance to reinforce its occupation of the West Bank
3. To show Israel negotiating on the final issues.

Dahlan affirmed that if 'we manage to deal well with the withdrawal, PNA and the Palestinian people will:

1. Have a state of peace and understanding.
2. Enjoy confidence of the international community regarding having fair power and authority on the ground.
3. Send a clear message to the Israeli people that you too can now enjoy peace after leaving our land

*-Conference held by the Ministry of Information, July 18, 2005*

"Certainly we will join forces in facing Israel, and Hamas announced that it will join its forces, will lead a struggle against Israel and also will run bases. I hope Hamas will succeed in those three things."

*-Frontpage magazine, February 13, 2006*

"The reoccupation of the Palestinian territories in the north of the Gaza Strip and the establishment of a buffer zone will not bring security and stability to the Israelis but, on the contrary, it will form a permanent focus, open a new front and will lead to a cycle of retaliation in the region."

*--Ma'an News Agency website, July 7, 2006*

## Mohammed Hijazi

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Parliamentarian - Rafah District  
Member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

- Born 1948 in Rafah
- Married

### Personal History

- Diploma in German Language & Psychology Studies
- Member of the Monitoring, Human Rights and Public Freedoms Committee of The PLC
- Member of the Interior Committee of the PLC
- Member of The Council's Affairs Committee of The PLC

### Notable Quotations

"[We will continue] on the path of jihad and [active] resistance."  
--CSS, November 10, 2005

## Ashraf Jomaa

Ashraf Juma



Parliamentarian Rafah District  
Member of Fatah



### Biographical Information

- Born 1964 in Rafah

### Personal History

- Spent 18 years in Israeli prison
- 1983-1986 Graduate of Chemistry from faculty of sciences in University of Zaqaziq in Egypt
- 1983 Joined Fatah
- 1987 Worked as a teacher in Libya
- Lecturer in Arafat Police Academy, University of Aqsa and Islamic University
- Leader of the al-Aqsa Brigades
- Founded a Fatah school for Leadership Skills in Rafah

### Notable Quotations

"Fatah withdrew from the session because this is an illegal meeting... The parliament has no right to discuss the referendum and try to ban it. Today's session means they are confusing executive and legislative powers."—on Hamas objections to Abbas' right to call for a referendum.

"There is a determination by President Abbas to go ahead with the referendum and we know from experience that if he wants something to happen on time, as he did with the elections, it will happen."

--*Christian Science Monitor*, June 14, 2006

"There is such despair in Gaza: some are ready to sacrifice anything and this creates fertile soil for growing al-Qaeda... They support al-Qaeda because they are angry at the American support for Israel and they see al-Qaeda hurting the Americans. We have a proverb to describe this: 'The enemy of my enemy is my friend'."

-- *The Sunday Times*, April 9, 2006

Two of the committee members, Mahmoud Musleh and Ashraf Juma'ah, presented a working paper to their colleagues in which they explained that the failure of the PA security forces and the courts to take tough measures against collaborators was one of the reasons behind the growing anarchy in PA-ruled areas.

-- *The Jerusalem Post*, June 21, 2006



## Redwan al-Akhras

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Parliamentarian – Rafah District  
Member of Fatah



## Biographical Information

- Born 1945

## Personal History

- 1966 Studied medicine in al-Azhar
- Spokesman for Fatah in the Gaza Strip
- Worked for the Red Crescent Society in Lebanon and Syria 1966 Joined Fatah
- Director of private medicine in the Ministry of Health
- Member of the executive bureau of General Union of Palestinian Doctors and Pharmacists

## Notable Quotations

"These statements have increased tensions and created confusion on the Palestinian street. Fatah wants to conduct a national dialogue with Hamas. But Hamas has responded by using rockets and automatic rifles." – referring to statements by Khaled Mashal and other Hamas leaders that contributed to tensions between Hamas and Fatah

-- *The Jerusalem Post*, May 8, 2006



### III. Third Parties and Independents



DFLP



PFLP



PPP

## Ahmad Sa'dat

Sadat Abed Alrasoul, Ahmad Saadat



Parliamentarian National List  
Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa List  
Member of PFLP since 1969



### Biographical Information

- Born 1953 in al-Bireh
- August 2002 - Younger brother, Mohammad, was killed by Israeli soldiers

### Personal History

- Trained as a math teacher
- Member of the political bureau of the PFLP in the West Bank
- October 3, 2001 - Elected Secretary General of the PFLP following the killing of Abu Ali Mustafa on August 27, 2001
- 1995-1996 Arrested three times by the PA
- January 2002 - Arrested and imprisoned in Jericho in connection with the assassination of Israeli Minister of Tourism, Rehavam Zeevi; held under U.S. and British supervision despite a Palestinian court ruling which favored his release
- August 2002 - Sadat began a hunger strike to protest his detainment
- February 2003 - PA refused to release Sadat unless the PFLP promised that it wouldn't hold Arafat and the PA responsible if Israel harms him after he's released
- March 2006 - Seized by Israel in a IDF raid on the Jericho prison; refused to recognize the Israeli military tribunal's authority to try him and the judge, in turn, refused to hear his bail application
- Presently serving time in Israeli prison
- Loyal to the "original" principles of PFLP (George Habash)
- Opposed to the Quartet's Road Map to Peace; Widely viewed as a hardliner
- February 2006- Sadat affirmed that PFLP would welcome a political partnership with Hamas

### Notable Quotations

"The Palestinian Authority knows full well who is behind this security chaos. Of course there is a difference between the guns that we use against the Israelis and the guns that are being used to create this chaos. The Palestinian Authority must put an end to this situation right now and of course we believe the elections can help repair the Palestinian home. We didn't stand in 1996 because of Oslo. We thought at that time, and still think, that it is an agreement that cannot deliver the Palestinian people their rights. Now Oslo is no more, we decided that we would stand along with other parties to build our state."

-*Agence France Presse*, January 3, 2006

Proclaimed at his bail hearing... "I am fighting occupation!"

-*al-Bawaba*, March 27, 2006

## Jamil Majdalawi

Jameel Mohammed al-Majdalawi

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Parliamentarian National List  
Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa List  
Member of PFLP



### Biographical Information

- Born in Semsem

### Personal History

- Representative to the National and Islamic Forces
- Headed PFLP's political office
- Member of PLO Central Council representing PFLP
- Current deputy for Gaza

### Notable Quotations

"This agreement (the "Swiss Agreement") represents the views of those who signed it, it doesn't represent the views of the Palestinian people... This is both a personal and collective right, nobody, no matter what position he occupies, has any right to give up a right that does not belong to him... As the Oslo Agreement was a corruption of the UN Security Council resolution 242, this agreement is a scandalous corruption of the Oslo Agreement."

--*al-Jazeera*, October 14, 2003

"We actually hold Fatah responsible for corroding and weakening the PLO. Hamas refused to recognize the PLO as the sole representative of the PLO, calling that entity 'anachronistic, undemocratic and unrepresentative of the Palestinian people.'";

--*al-Khalil*, April 6, 2006

## Khaledah Kanan Jarrar

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Parliamentarian National List  
Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa List  
Member of PFLP



### Biographical Information

- Born 1963 in Nablus

### Personal History

- Obtained her MA from Birzeit University
- Deputy for Ramallah
- Member of the Arab Organization for Human Rights
- Member of the Supreme Authority for Detainees Affairs
- 1989 - Imprisoned by Israel
- Known as an active defender as women's rights

### Notable Quotations

Regarding the IDF raid on Jericho..."As a Palestinian I feel very despondent, and see this as yet another materialization of the Israeli occupation. These are political prisoners being held inside a Palestinian prison. And they were attacked with tanks and helicopters as if they were resistance fighters armed with weapons. This demonstrates that such agreements, with so-called American and British monitors, do not in themselves guarantee the lives or protection of prisoners. Especially with an occupation that every day raids and attacks and kills and assassinates and detains...The Israeli occupation will continue with its policies regardless, and as a result we cannot reach any kind of agreement with them. Only by bringing an end to the occupation can we truly protect Palestinians and Palestinian prisoners. Practically speaking, the goal of the agreement was to transfer these people to a Palestinian prison under American and British supervision until Arafat's siege ended. But Arafat was kept under siege until he was killed."  
--*al-Jazeera*, March 15, 2006

## **Sallam Khaled Fayyad**

Salam Fayadd

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Parliamentarian National List

Third Way List

### **Biographical Information**

- Born 1952 in Nablus



### **Personal History**

- Obtained his BS at the American University of Beirut
- Obtained his MBA from Edwards University in Austin Texas
- Obtained his PhD in economics from Texas University in Austin, Texas
- Advisor to the executive director of the IMF in the USA
- Establish the IMF office in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and acted as its director for 6 years
- Economic professor at Yarmouk University
- Briefly headed the Arab Bank in the West Bank before his appointment to the cabinet
- Former PA Minister of Finance
- Known as a technocrat
- Widely praised for conducting financial reforms

## Hanan Daud Ashrawi



Parliamentarian National List  
Third Way List

### Biographical Information

- Born 1946 in Jerusalem
- Resides in Ramallah
- Anglican Christian
- Married with two daughters



### Personal History

- Obtained her MA from the American University of Beirut
- Obtained her PhD in English literature from the University of Virginia in Charlottesville
- Former PLC member for Jerusalem
- 1996-1998 - PA Minister for Higher Education
- Founder and Head of Birzeit University Legal Aid Committee/ Human Rights Documentation Project
- Founder and chairperson of the department of English at Birzeit University
- Dean of the faculty of arts at Birzeit University
- Founder and board member of the National Coalition for Accountability and Integrity – AMAN
- Founder and Secretary General of Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy- MIFTAH
- 2001 - Appointed as spokeswoman for the Arab League with special responsibility for Palestinians
- Played a strong role in representing Palestinians in negotiations from late 1980s when PLO members were excluded from talks
- Widely recognized as a human rights activist
- Known for her opposition to suicide bombings

### Notable Quotations

"Kidnapping and occupation of a soldier becomes license for collective punishment of a whole people, while kidnapping and occupation of a whole country remains beyond accountability by the international community."

-- *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, July 18, 2006

"Generally speaking, any outside leadership that is not in direct daily contact with the people can afford to be more hard-line and to take more purist positions and ideological positions, while any leadership that is in contact with the people and is more sensitive to their needs begins to understand the need for flexibility, pragmatism and compromise,"

--*Knight/Ridder*, July 1, 2006



## Qays Abdul Karim Khadir

Qais Kamal Abdul Kareem, Abu Leila

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Parliamentarian National List  
Alternative List  
Founding member of DFLP



### Personal History

August 2001 - Israel attempted to assassinate him; bomb exploded in his apartment when he was out

Supported the second Intifada

Frequently criticized Arafat

### Notable Quotations

Abbas "deals with his own team mainly and that gives him a narrow base, even within Fatah."

--*Newsday*, January 25, 2006

"The internal stresses in Fatah are mainly about the distribution of power and privileges. Political differences are always marginal and are tolerated."

--*Financial Times*, January 24, 2006

"We're united on the idea that there's no return to the previous negotiations... New negotiations could be held alongside the intifada, but ending the intifada is not an option."

-- *Newsday*, January 4, 2001

## Bassam Ahmad Omar al-Salhi



Parliamentarian National List  
Alternative List  
Member of PPP



### Biographical Information

- Born 1960 in al-Amari refugee camp in Ramallah; Resides in al-Bireh-Ramallah
- Married with 5 children

### Personal History

- Obtained his MA in international studies
- 1979-1981 - President of Beirzeit University's student union
- Led the Palestinian student movement against the Camp David accords
- Author of many books
- Permanent member of the national steering committee for Beirzeit University
- Member of the unified national leadership during the first Intifada
- Member of the PLC designated to attend the ICJ's sessions
- Member of the PLC panel tasked responsible for the case surrounding the wall at the ICJ
- Secretary General of the Palestinians People's Party
- 2005 - Candidate for the presidential elections; funding costs for his campaign were estimated at \$183,996, including personal contributions and funds from the party's accounts CEC report January 2, 2005)
- 1990 - Arrested by Israel and sentenced by a military tribunal to 3 years in prison
- December 2004 - Detained at the al-Ram checkpoint near Jerusalem and refused permission to enter the city; claimed he was assaulted by the police

### Notable Quotations

"They were arresting me and I only tried to resist being arrested."

-*al-Jazeera*, December 11, 2004

"The most urgent issue facing the Palestinian people is to focus on the implementation of a national salvation program to renew the confidence of the masses in its leadership after being shaken due to numerous erroneous practices. This is also essential for rebuilding national unity on sound democratic foundations, challenge the Israeli military occupation to our land and realize the legitimate rights of our people towards independence and the establishment of the Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital and the rights of return for our refugees is secured."

-- *Platform for Presidential Candidacy*, <http://www.minfo.gov.ps/elections/English/salhi.htm>

## Mustafa Barghouti



Parliamentarian National List  
Independent Palestine List

### Biographical Information

- Born 1954 in Jerusalem
- Distant cousin to Marwan Barghouti



### Personal History

- Degree in medicine
- Obtained his MA in Management from Stanford University
- Obtained higher degree in philosophy in Russia
- Physicist
- Former leader of the PPP
- Director of the Health, Development, Information, and Policy Institute in Ramallah (It distributes information on behalf of Palestinian NGOs and produces the "Palestine Monitor")
- Member of the board of trustees of MIFTAH
- 1979 - President of Palestinian Medical Relief Society
- 1996 - Candidate to the PLC in the Ramallah district; lost by a narrow margin
- Spokesman for various pro-democracy blocs
- 2002 - Secretary General of al-Mubadara (Palestinian National Initiative) after he reportedly resigned from the PPP
- 2002 - Winner of the WHO prize
- December 2004 - Accused Israeli soldiers of beating him at a checkpoint near Jenin

### Notable Quotations

My goal is to "end the occupation and reach a final settlement (with Israel) away from interim solutions that bring more suffering to the people.... Abu Mazen (Abbas) represents the old system. He may be saying similar things but he's failed to prove himself all these years."  
--*Agence France-Presse*, January 9, 2005

"What will we do for medications that need to be preserved, what will we do for hospitals that need electricity, what will we do for schools, for people who have no electricity now in their houses and probably will not have water supply? This collective punishment will only aggravate people and enhance violence."  
--*Chicago Tribune*, June 29, 2006

## Rawia al-Shawwa

Rawya Rashad Shawa

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Parliamentarian National List  
Independent Palestine List



### Biographical Information

- Born 1944 in Gaza City
- Resides in Shija'ieh, Gaza

### Personal History

- Member of the Monitoring, Human Rights and Public Freedoms of the PLC
- Member of supervisory board of the Welfare Association Consortium
- Renowned journalist
- Former Leader of the anti-Arafat bloc in the PNC

### Notable Quotations

"Women don't have the right to cry; it's only the privilege of men. A male MP, even a minister, can cry. It's normal. It's not being emotional, it's being intelligent. But women don't have the right to be weak, to cry, to show our emotions – because we live in a time when to be in politics, we have to behave more like a man."

For interview with Rawia al-Shawwa see Australian Broadcasting Corporation Lateline, February 26, 2002

1. Ms. al-Shawa chose to run as a member of Independent Palestine, and secured a seat on the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) as a result of the efforts of Independent Palestine colleagues, supporters and volunteers. While she could have run as an independent candidate for Gaza, it is well known that Ms. al-Shawa would not have achieved the level of votes needed to gain a seat on the PLC without the Coalition's backing.
2. The fact that Ms. al-Shawa is seeking to evade her legal, political and financial commitments to Independent Palestine, whose members have channeled all their energies and resources into her successful election to the PLC, is not behavior fitting of a member of parliament. By breaking the written, legal commitment signed by her and all other members of Independent Palestine to respect and implement the decisions of the Coalition Council, she has turned her back on her colleagues and friends, and her responsibilities to those who voted for her. Ms. al-Shawa's split from the Coalition represents a moral, legal and political violation of this agreement.
3. Independent Palestine refutes claims made by Ms. al-Shawa in a public statement that her resignation was carried out with the Coalition's knowledge and acceptance. Ms. al-Shawa has avoided attending Coalition meetings since her election, and by doing so, she has avoided her responsibility to the principles of united, participatory leadership that the Coalition represents. Independent Palestine hopes that Ms. al-Shawa will rescind her decision to leave the Coalition, and that she will continue to work with them towards achieving their objectives. However, should she abide by her decision to resign, it is only right that she give up her seat on the PLC to the successive Coalition member.

Independent Palestine will maintain its legal rights towards ensuring that this step is taken.  
-PNI- Independent Palestine Statement on Rawia al-Shawwa's Possible Resignation, February 25, 2006

## Hasan Khreisheh

Hasan 'Abd al-Fattah Khraysha

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Parliamentarian - Tulkarem

Independent

Second Deputy to the President of the Legislative Council



### Biographical Information

- Resides in Tulkarem
- Born in 1955

### Personal History

- Has a doctorate
- MA in Gynecology
- Deputy Speaker of the PLC
- Independent candidate with Hamas support
- Frequent critic of Arafat's policies during his leadership
- Attempted to arrange meeting between Fatah and Hamas leadership in early June 2006 to salvage their increasingly antagonistic relationship
- Arrested by Israel upon his return from Jordan on July 6, 2006 and held on charges of membership in Hamas; released on July 31, 2006

### Notable Quotations

"This will return us to point zero, to when there was no [Palestinian] Authority." – referring to abduction of Gilad Shalit

--*Financial Times*, June 29, 2006

"I personally saw [these moves] as disrespectful," – on last-minute Fatah legislation bolstering the party before the changeover in the Palestinian government

--*Middle East Report Online*, April 19, 2006

"This is... treachery. It is a treacherous act to help build the racist wall at a time when Palestinian children are risking their lives and dying protesting the evil structure" – on his committee's finding that Palestinians had been supplying Israeli construction firms with cement

--*Haaretz*, July 10, 2005

"The Israeli government and the forces of occupation" are behind the internal Palestinian conflicts between Fatah and Hamas.

--*Marxist.com*, October 11, 2005

## Ziad Abu-Amr

Ziyad Abu-Amr



Parliamentarian - Gaza  
Independent

### Biographical Information

- Born 1950 in Gaza City



### Personal History

- Member of PLC since 1996
  - Earned doctorate at Georgetown University
  - Former Chairman of the Political Committee of the PLC
  - Mediator at the discussions between the twelve most important Palestinian factions
  - April-September 2003 was Minister of Culture
  - Probably supported by Hamas
  - Director of the NGO Palestinian Council of Foreign Relations
- Author of numerous essays in English on Palestinian issues, including "Shaykh Ahmad Yasin and the Origins of Hamas" in *Spokesmen for the Despised: Fundamentalist Leaders of the Middle East* (U of Chicago P, 1996)

### Notable Quotations

" Hamas is fully aware that it's not liked by the Americans and the Europeans. But if it's part of a national government under Mahmoud Abbas, who enjoys legitimacy, and who is known for his commitment to the peace process, this will make it easier for Hamas."

"I think Hamas knows that Hamas alone can't do it."

--*News Hour with Jim Lehrer*, January 30, 2006

Hamas has sought to provide "a political, social and military alternative to the existing Palestinian order."

--*Middle East Report Online*, August 21, 2005

"Now, it seems, these hopes are evaporating and Iraqis, irrespective of their religious and political affiliation are burning the Israeli flags along with the American flags and identifying with Hamas and the Palestinian struggle" – on Israeli hopes for a better commercial and diplomatic relationship with Iraq

--*al-Jazeera*, April 11, 2004

## Husam al-Tawil

Hussam Fuad Kamal al-Tawil

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Parliamentarian – Gaza

Christian Quota

Independent



### Biographical Information

- Born 1966

### Personal History

- Represents the Christian contingent of Gaza City
- Studied Accounting
- Supported by Hamas

### Notable Quotations

“The Israeli incursion and the arrests aim to render the agreement reached by the Palestinian factions a failure.”

--*Palestinian TV*, June 29, 2006

## Jamal Naji al-Khudari

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Parliamentarian - Gaza  
Independent  
Minister of Telecommunications and Information Technology



### Biographical Information

- Born 1955 in Gaza City

### Personal History

- Minister of Telecommunication and IT
- Chairman of The Board of Trustees of Islamic University - Gaza (IUG)
- Member of the Council of Ministers
- Former Vice President and Member of Engineers Syndicate in Palestine
- Supported by Hamas
- Businessman by trade
- Earned B.S. in Electrical Engineering in Egypt
- Was denied entry into the Gaza strip because of the closure of the Rafah crossing on July 7, 2006

### Notable Quotations

"Any people under occupation are entitled to pursue all means to eradicate occupation as endorsed by international laws"

--*Palestine Information Center*, May 8, 2006



## IV. The Cabinet

1. Ismail Haniyeh, Prime Minister and Minister of Youth and Sports (Head of the Palestinian Legislative Council)



2. Naser al-Din al-Sha'er, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Education (currently arrested)



3. Mahmoud al-Zahar, Minister of Foreign Affairs (Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council)



4. Sa'eed Seyam, Interior Minister (Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, Reformation and Change List)



5. Omar Abdel Razeq, Minister of Finance (Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, Reformation and Change List) (currently arrested)



6. Abdel Rahman Zeidan, Minister of Public Works and Housing (Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, Reformation and Change List)



7. Bassem Na'im, Minister of Health



8. Naif Rajoub, Religious Affairs Minister (Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council) (currently arrested)



9. Mariam Saleh, Minister of Women's Affairs (Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, Reformation and Change List)



10. Tonous abu Attia, Minister of Tourism



11. Fakhry al-Turkuman, Minister of Social Affairs



12. Samir Abu Eisheh, Minister of Planning (arrested after Shalit abduction but subsequently released)



13. Alaa al-Aarag, Minister of National Economy, Trade and Industry



14. Raffik Mekki, Minister of Transportation



15. Jamal al-Khudari, Minister of Telecommunications and IT  
(Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council)



16. Ahmed al-Khaledy, Minister of Justice



17. Mohamed al-Agha, Minister of Agriculture



18. Youssef Rezqa, Minister of Information



19. Attalla Abu al-Sabeh, Minister of Culture



20. Issa al-Ja'bari, Minister of Local Governance (currently arrested)



21. Wasfi Kabaha, Minister of Prisoner Affairs (arrested after Shalit abduction but subsequently released)



22. Khaled Abu Arafa, Minister of State for Jerusalem Affairs (currently arrested)



23. Mohamed al-Barghouti, Minister of Labor (arrested after Shalit abduction but subsequently released)



24. Atef Adwan, Minister of Refugee Affairs (Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, Reformation and Change List)



25. Mohamed Awad, Secretary General of the Cabinet

