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الإهداء

إلى ذكرى والدي الحبيب رحمه الله.... وإلى والدتي الغالية

أهدي هذا العمل إلى زوجتي السيدة نجاح،، المربية الفذة
والأم العظيمة.. التي لولا دعمها ووقوفها إلى جانبي لما كلن
لي أن أكمل هذه الدراسة..
إلى أبنائي.. ليلي، وهيا، وأيوب، وأحمد.. عسى هذا الإنجاز
يمدهم بطموحات للمستقبل

الشكر

أتقدم بالشكر الجزيل للأستاذ د. نايف أبوخلف الذي أشرف على هذه الدراسة ومنحني ثقته الغالية

كما أشكر الأساتذة الكرام د. رائد نعيرات و د. باسم الزبيدي اللذان منحا الدراسة غنىً خاصاً بنقاشها وإجازتها.

الشكر مستحق للأخ العزيز نايف أبو عيشة، على مساهمته في تدقيق العمل لغوياً، وللأخت والصديقة رولا خير الدين التي تطوعت لطباعة هذه الأطروحة

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- (4) Khan,Mushtaq & Hilal, Jamil.*Israel and the Palestinian Economy*. In, *State Formation in Palestine*.edited by Mushtaq Husain Khanand others.First published 2004.Routledgecurzon-London.P72
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- (6) 72 . Khan,Mushtaq & Hilal, Jamil.*Israel and the Palestinian Economy*
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- 74Khan,Mushtaq & Hilal, Jamil.*Israel and the Palestinian Economy* (24)
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- Hanafi, Sari and Tabar, Linda.*Donor assistance,rent seeking and Elite Formation.* in (29)
- 218 State Formation
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- 166 – 163 (31)
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- 93 .Khan,Mushtaq & Hilal, Jamil.*Israel and the Palestinian Economy* (34)
- 63 (35)
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- Baumgarten, Helga.*Neo-patrimonial Leaders Facing Uncertain Transitions.*in Roger (37)
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**An-Najah National University
Faculty of Graduate Studies**

**Prospects of Democratic Transition in Palestinian
Political System, Dilemmas of the Relations between
the P.L.O and the P.N.A as a Major Factor**

**Prepared by
Hasan Saleh Ali Ayoub**

**Supervised by
Dr. Nayif Abu Khalaf**

*Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Planning & Political Development, Faculty of Graduate
Studies, at An-Najah National University, Nablus, Palestine.*

2006

**Prospects of Democratic Transition in Palestinian
Political System, Dilemmas of the Relations between
the P.L.O and the P.N.A as a Major Factor**

**Prepared by
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Abstract

The study: "Prospects of Democratic Transition in Palestinian Political System, dilemmas of the relations between the P.L.O and the P.N.A as a major factor" is an effort to analyze and understand factors and interrelations of Palestinian political and nationalistic experience from the perspective of democratic transition. In this regard, the study goes for the evaluation of democratic aspects of PPS in the era prior to the endorsement of Oslo Accords, and the establishment of the PNA, in which the PLO was dominating the system. Then the study moves forward to explore prospects of democracy in the PPS under the PNA.

The approach applied in the study based on the analysis of objective as well as subjective factors, whether internal or external, which contributed in shaping the structures and institutions of the PPS, and other factors which might play role in determining schemes of change in the system. To the extent related to the issue, the study tackles and overviews and analyzes literature and historical evidences, along with the data of the current situation (1993-2003), in order to diagnose correlations that have a potential to provide an explanation of non democratic proxies of the PPS from the viewpoint of an understanding of the current situation of political life in Palestine in terms of conflict with a new-colonial occupying force to achieve the goals of self determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian State in the POT since 1967. It means that the

evaluation of democratic experience and possibilities of democratic transition should remain attached to the concept of "National democratic liberation struggle", a liberation struggle with democratic perspective.

In the core, the study provides an elaboration of the emergence and development of the PPS, its dynamics, powers, effecting factors, and changes it witnessed in several historical junctions up to the dramatic changes in the aftermath of 1993. Through this elaboration, the study shades light on the shortcomings of the PPS and the causes that prevented it to make a notable advance towards the achievement of most of its goals and objectives.

The study seeks answers to a number of questions, and to tackle hypothesis concerning the changes of socio-political structure of the Palestinian political field, particularly those affiliated to the dilemmas of the problematic relationship - between the PLO & the PNA, the study suggests that this relation is not a supporting factor in the democratic transition of the system.

As for the fact that the PPS does not live and developed neither in a social or a socio-economic vacuum, nor a political one in terms of active internal actors of the system, and external effecting actors, the study sought to validate the assumption that structural changes took place in the Palestinian society have produced a political system with distinct characteristics which are not in favor of achieving democracy, not to mention national liberation. Those social and economic changes have affected the very nature of political actors (factions, organizations and parties) within the system, at the same time the socio-economic structure of Palestinian society was effected by means and approaches of the political system itself in ways that shaped a totalitarian model of domination.

With an understanding of democracy, in the Palestinian context, as one means to achieve and build national sovereignty, the study focuses on the concepts of constructing national integration and solidarity, and political coherence, and the issues of re-building Palestinian society. In other words the concept of building the nation which is a core part of democracy in the situations of national liberation, and the study assumes, in this respect, that the achievement and the actualization of these concepts in political terms are faced by number of obstacles, among them the distortion of the PPS merges from structural shortcomings under the PNA. Those shortcomings are a result of objective factors related to the very foundation of the PNA as a deducted political entity, and the constrains implied on it due to the signed agreements with Israel that prevent the progressive developments of socio- economic, political, and legal frameworks, that serve the purpose of democratizing the system, on the one hand. On the other hand the consequences of choices made by the dominating elites in the system played a clear role in frustrating possibilities of democratization.

The study provides a deep close insight of those assumptions through six chapters, starting with the theoretical discussion of concepts of democracy and civil society in the first chapter. The second chapter shades light on the concept of democratic transition and its approaches and theories. In the third chapter, there is a review of literature concerning the domain of the study is presented, and then it provides a theoretical and methodological framework to study the PPS. The fourth chapter deals with socio-economical, social and socio-political changes in Palestinian society, and their political implications on the system. In addition the chapter discusses the issue of civil society, and Palestinian political culture, and its role in democratic transition. The political structure of the PPS is the concern of the fifth chapter, including the current situation in terms of its

characteristics, limitations, and components, in this context the study analyzes the situation of the political parties, and the changes which took place in it, and how these changes affected the possibilities of democratic transition of the PPS. The sixth chapter provides several levels of description and analyzes to the current situation of the PPS under the PNA, in terms of factors shaped the foundation and characteristics of the PNA, and factors that could determine the changes in the system.