

The Bureaucracy of Occupation: the District Civil Liaison Offices

**Joint report of Machsom Watch and
Physicians for Human Rights-Israel**

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Forward

One of the defining characteristics of the move from feudal to modern society was the removal of internal borders and the institution of freedom of passage. A liberal society is based on the principle of '*laissez faire, laissez passer*' – freedom of action and freedom of passage. Present-day Israel, which has adopted a neo-liberal socio-economic structure apparently based on the concept of *laissez faire*, is returning Palestinian society to the feudal age, where every passage from district to district needs a permit. But, as usually happens, the return to the past is not so simple. In feudal times there was a clear hierarchy, and people knew what to expect, even if they were restricted. It was clear in what conditions passage would be granted, to whom it would be granted and where they could go. Today, however, we can see from the data presented in this report that the restrictions on passage in the Occupied Territories are characterised by their arbitrary nature. This arbitrariness, which brings to mind the world of Kafka, is not accidental. The obtuseness of the system constitutes a form of control no less effective than the restrictions on passage by themselves. When nothing is transparent, when it is never clear who will receive a permit and who will not, when one official says there is no restriction and a second official does not give the permit, control becomes absolute. If the restrictions were consistent, then people would be able to plan their steps. They would know what to expect. There would be a possibility – albeit the very smallest – of choice. When decisions are apparently random, control becomes absolute. No-one can be sure that he or she has not been – or will not be – 'prohibited for reasons of security.' The reasons are so numerous, and the use made of them changes so much, that uncertainty becomes the ultimate system of control within the framework of the certainty of the occupation. Those opposed to the occupation – demonstrators, journalists, certain sorts of workers, direct victims of army or settler violence – all these are potentially 'prohibited for reasons of security.' In this way the permit is not a means of making things easier for the residents, but a way of controlling them through the threat of not giving a permit.

Not only is the arbitrariness deliberate, the inefficiency of the system is built in too. It must be clear to anyone that there is no way that a system run by so few people can provide for the need for countless permits for so

large a population. In the field of health, the situation is even more serious, since there is only one Health Coordinator for the West Bank and one for the Gaza Strip. More developed health systems than the Palestinian one are built on geographical centralisation of resources, so that access to health services requires freedom of movement. Such freedom of movement is even more necessary in the Occupied Territories where the centres with advanced medical technology are few and treatments such as dialysis or radiotherapy necessitate travel from one district to another. The result is a high need for permits which a single coordinator is unable to supply. The system is built *a priori* so that it will be **unable** to deal with all the applications, without reference to their nature.

Thus, as a result, the permit system is a clever system of control which works at a number of levels: 1) It provides the illusion of the possibility of civil life or of distinguishing between “innocent people” and “terrorists”, and presents the occupation as weighing up humanitarian factors. 2) By its structure the permits system makes it clear that the lives of the Palestinians are completely under the control of the occupying forces. 3) The application for a travel permit necessitates a certain degree of acknowledgement of the system of occupation as a mechanism of approval. 4) The permit becomes a means of achieving collaboration with the system of occupation. 5) The arbitrariness of the term ‘prohibited for reasons of security’ leads the Palestinians living under the occupation and in desperate need of permits to endless self-restrictions lest they should do anything (but just what is unclear) which might turn them into someone ‘prohibited for reasons of security.’ Thus, under an appearance of humanity, the control over the lives and behaviour of the Palestinians in the occupied territories is ever tightened.

This report, which concentrates on the restrictions on movement and on the right to receive health services, sharply defines the meaning of the internal barriers on daily life (or daily death).

The regular rationale used to try to justify the almost total paralysis of Palestinian civil society is the claim that these restrictions are needed for security reasons. But the use of this rationale is excessive, as is clear from the lack of consistency and the arbitrariness of the restrictions, from the fact that sometimes one officer is prepared to permit what another officer forbids, or from the fact that sometimes the intervention of Israelis is liable to change the decision not to issue a permit. But beyond this, the restrictions on movement within the occupied territories are not there to

provide security for the state of Israel and her citizens, but to enable the continuation of the occupation and in particular its major expression, the settlement project. The continuation of the daily suppression of every expression of independent living, which is not possible without freedom of movement, the complete control over the life and death of the Palestinians living under the occupation, do not add anything to the security of the citizens of Israel, but are there rather to enable the perpetuation of the settlements and the regime of occupation. Only the end of the occupation and opposition to the system of permits as an element of the mechanism of the occupation will bring security to the two peoples.

Dr. Danny File

**Member of the Board of Directors of
Physicians for Human Rights-Israel**

This report is the result of seven observations at four Israeli District Civil Liaison Offices (DCL), six observations at three Palestinian DCLs, continuous presence at the various checkpoints in the West Bank, and current daily contacts with the system of travel permits for Palestinian patients and medical personnel. At every Israeli DCL in the West Bank, without any consideration for the size of the population it serves, there are five reception counters, two of which deal with applications for travel permits. Simple arithmetic reveals that a population of two million people is dependent on the functioning and good will of sixteen clerks. For anything connected with health there is in addition one Health Coordinator, who has a secretary and an assistant. Even if we have made some small mistakes here, and there are further clerks in the buildings who are not visible to the Palestinians or to us, it is clear that this system suffers from a huge shortage of manpower. Furthermore, their working methods have hardly changed since the Oslo Agreements, and they have scarcely responded to the dramatic increase in the needs of the Palestinian population following the imposition of internal closures, blockades and the collapse of Palestinian civil organisations. These facts confirm that the system of DCLs is not intended to provide a real answer to the daily needs of the Palestinian population. It is there in order to preserve appearances, to look as if civil life could carry on in a situation where paralysis of ordinary life is the rule, and travel can be undertaken only with a permit.

The report will review the setting up of the DCLs in the Interim Agreement between Israel and the Palestinian Authority in September 1995, and the inherent failures in their functioning from then till now. After this, the report will review the findings of observations at different DCLs in the West Bank, and the results of dealing with applications of patients and medical staff who are residents of the Gaza Strip. Since many of these clients met with 'prohibition for security reasons' as the excuse for the rejection of their application for a permit, the report will also deal briefly with the significance of this. Finally, the report will present the results of our meetings with the Heads of the Palestinian DCLs, whose activities are a factor in preserving the system of permits as an Israeli control mechanism.

INTRODUCTION

Since October 2000, Israel has placed progressively more and more severe restrictions on the movement of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. Dozens of manned checkpoints have been placed all over the territories, allowing only selective passage, as well as hundreds of physical roadblocks – mounds of earth, concrete blocks and ditches. This is in addition to the ban on the use of most of the main roads by Palestinian residents: these roads are open to Israeli traffic only. In these circumstances, the Palestinian residents are forced to turn to the District Civil Liaison Offices (DCL) in an attempt to get a permit which will allow them passage. At this DCL the Palestinians will encounter hidden violence – the violence of bureaucracy which the film attached to this report attempts to uncover.

In the years before the present intifada, Palestinian residents needed a permit when they wanted to travel between the Gaza Strip and the West Bank,¹ and from both of these to East Jerusalem or Israel. Passage over the Allenby Bridge to Jordan or via the Rafah crossing to Egypt did not need prior arrangement, unless that particular Palestinian was classified as ‘prohibited for reasons of security.’ In the situation of the present intifada, a permit is also needed to pass internal checkpoints within the territories: between the different geographical cells² in the West Bank whose borders are defined by the Israel security forces (‘Permit during Blockade’); in order to get to the Palestinian enclaves which have been created by the building of the Fence/Wall (‘Permit for the Seam Zone’); in order to move between the Gaza Strip and the West Bank; between both of these and East Jerusalem; and from the Occupied Territories to Israel. Passage from the Occupied Territories via international border crossing points (the Rafah crossing to Egypt, the Allenby Bridge to Jordan) does not need a permit but because of security prohibitions many people are forced to make prior arrangements for passage there too. In addition, on certain periods of

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1. This was in spite of the *Declaration of Principles*, 13th September 1993, which specifically said that both sides see the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a single territorial entity, whose integrity is to be maintained during the interim period.
 2. **PHR-Israel** was introduced to this term in the state attorney answer to our High Court Appeal on the issue of unmanned blockades (9242/00). It relates to areas within the West Bank that are cut off their surroundings by manned and unmanned checkpoints and blockades.

times, the Israeli security system enforces sweeping restrictions on exits through these passages.

The fact that today almost all traffic needs a permit has not brought about any change in the system of issuing permits (except for the opening of an office at Ma'aleh Adumim) and the occupation authorities have made no serious preparation in order to supply the ever-increasing demand for permits. In the situation that has been created, the permits have become yet one more tool of control under the cover of consideration for the needs of the civilian Palestinian population.

When human rights organizations protest about the difficulties of movement for Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, and the way these difficulties seriously damage their access to health in particular, as well as the routines of life and the economy and education in general, these permits serve as the magic answer of the security system. Its suggestion that the resident should go to the DCL where his application will be dealt with, relates to the process of application as if there were really something to it. Not only this, but the permit will be conceived of as something positive which has been produced by the Israeli system in order to make the lives of the Palestinian residents easier: 'The idea was born under the duress of the complex security situation which requires the imposition of long blockades. As a result of the problems which arose around the movement of the Palestinian residents, and especially in movement for humanitarian needs, it was decided to make their passage easier by issuing travel permits during the blockade.'³ (stress added by H.Z.). This statement is particularly amazing in the light of the fact that many times a Palestinian resident has to pass checkpoints and roadblocks on his way to the DCL (be it Israeli or Palestinian). In these cases, he has to persuade the soldiers manning the checkpoint to allow him to pass on his way to the DCL.

The Palestinian resident can present his application for a permit to the Palestinian DCL, who will then pass it on to the Israeli DCL. In many places in the West Bank the resident himself can go straight to the Israeli DCL. In any case, he or she has to provide documentation to support his case which will satisfy the representatives of the Israeli DCL. Before he can receive his permit, his name will be checked on the computers of the Civil Administration to see whether he is classified as 'prohibited for security reasons' or 'prohibited by the police.' This classification can

3. Letter to the lawyer Yael Stein, B'Tselem, 17th September 2003.

prevent him from receiving a permit, even if he is seriously ill. If it is a matter of a permit on medical grounds, his papers will be checked by the Health Coordinator, Ms Dalia Bassa, in the Civil Administration.

Although our main interest is in the access of the Palestinian residents to health care, in actual fact travel permits are necessary for a wide spectrum of civil needs, such as visiting family, getting to work, school, sanitation etc. A calculation of the number of permits given in the West Bank revealed that only 2.45% of the population held any form of permit during 2003 (56,755 permits for a population of 2,313,609)⁴. In this situation, it is clear that many people will travel without a permit, but the effort required for this sort of travelling, avoidance of checkpoints, the use of tracks rather than roads, seriously interferes with the capacity of Palestinian society to lead any sort of life above the level of mere day to day subsistence, and that too is seriously limited.

Physicians for Human Rights-Israel (PHR-Israel) and Machsom Watch are against the restrictions which are made inside the Territories themselves. The manner in which the DCLs function, as well as the difficulties of access to them, are evidence that they too, like the permits themselves, and like the 'humanitarian' procedure for passage of patients, are yet another layer of fig leaves for the system of occupation and collective punishment. In reality the process of obtaining a permit is yet another means of control by Israel over the life and death of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories.

4. This data relates to blockade permits, which enable movement within the West Bank.

The District Civil Liaison Offices (DCLs)

The Theory

The DCLs – both the Israeli and the Palestinian offices – were created according to the Oslo Agreements, and they are an integral part of the situation which has developed since the agreements were signed. The ever-increasing restrictions on freedom of movement in the Occupied Territories have not given rise to any changes in their system of functioning.

In the Interim Agreement⁵ in 1995 it was agreed to set up a Joint Civil Affairs Coordination and Cooperation Committee, Regional Committees (West Bank, Gaza Strip) and District Committees (on the West Bank) whose function would be coordination and cooperation on civil affairs between the Palestinian Council⁶ and Israel. It should be noted that the present report only deals with the Civil DCLs, as it is not concerned with police and army cooperation.

Joint Civil Affairs Coordination and Cooperation Committee

In Annex 3 of the Agreement the areas of responsibility of the Joint Civil Affairs Coordination and Cooperation Committee (CAC) are detailed:

- 1) Civil affairs, including issues concerning the transfer of civil powers and responsibilities from the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to the [Palestinian] Council.
- 2) Matters arising with regard to infrastructures, such as roads, water, and sewage systems, power lines and telecommunication infrastructure, which require coordination according to this Agreement.
- 3) Questions regarding passage to and from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and safe passage between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, including crossing points and international crossings.

5. *Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip*, September 28, 1995.

6. These terms are taken from the language used in the Agreement.

- 4) The relations between the two sides in civil matters, in issues such as granting of permits.
- 5) Matters dealt with by the various professional subcommittees established in accordance with this Annex, which require further discussion or overall coordination.
- 6) Other matters of mutual interest.

The Agreement details the working relationships and contacts between the Israeli and Palestinian sides in the Committee. It notes that the two sides should meet at least once a month unless otherwise agreed, and that if a special meeting is necessary, each side may initiate this on short notice. The committee shall determine its' mode of procedure by agreement.

Joint Regional Civil Affairs Subcommittees

In the Agreement it was decided that the Joint Regional Civil Affairs Subcommittees (RCAC) would be set up in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. These will deal with regional matters which the Joint Civil Affairs Coordination and Cooperation Committee (CAC) deals with, and be subject to it. The Regional Subcommittees shall convene no less than once every two weeks. Matters of principle and policy not settled by them shall be passed on to the CAC.

The District Civil Liaison Offices

The District Civil Liaison Offices (DCL) are the subject of this report, for it is they who come into daily contact with the Palestinian residents. In the Agreement it was decided each side would establish and operate District Civil Liaison Offices in the West Bank. Their sites were also determined in the Agreement: Jenin, Tulkarem, Qalqilya, Nablus, Ramallah, Bethlehem, Hebron and Jericho. In the Gaza Strip the Agreement simply said that DCLs may be established to operate in the districts. The District Offices were to deal with day to day civil affairs as outlined above. The DCLs were to operate on a daily basis, representatives of the sides were to meet daily and their senior officers were to convene official meetings at least once a week. The wording of the Agreement stressed the continuous contact between both sides and notes that the DCLs – both the Palestinian and the Israeli – were to set up means of communication with a view to ensuring efficient and direct contact 24 hours a day, in order to deal with any urgent matter arising in the civil affairs field.

The reality

The Agreement anchors Israel's ability to restrict the passage of residents of the territories **into Israel** (the restriction known as closure). Indeed, in this same Agreement, security considerations are already presented as having the potential to affect the movement of Palestinians in any area. Thus the promise of preserving the unity of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is effectively emptied of content, as well as the promise that "movement of people, vehicles and goods in the West Bank, between cities, towns, villages and refugee camps, will be free and normal, and shall not need to be effected through checkpoints or roadblocks."⁷

Criticism of the form and function of the DCLs accompanied their functioning from the very beginning, since this was governed by the arbitrary Israeli security discourse, and because in many issues, the representation of Palestinian residents by the Palestinian Authority deprived them of their rights as individuals. The failures of the early days have been repeated even more in recent years.

Disruptions in communication

In spite of the emphasis on daily communication, in actual fact at times of tension and closure there have been occasions when communications have been cut off almost immediately. Thus, for example, in 1996, following a number of serious attacks in Israel, a total closure was imposed on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and in the West Bank there was even an internal closure⁸ for a fortnight. The first days of the closure were characterized by disruption of communication between the Israeli and the Palestinian DCL.

On the 25th February 1996, a request was made by the Palestinian Ministry of Health to **PHR-Israel** to help move H., who had a growth in her abdomen, from Shifa Hospital in Gaza to Israel. Their own applications to the Israeli DCL in Gaza had been answered by slamming down the telephone, after it became clear that the application was from the Palestinian Authority. H. received a permit two days later following the intervention of **PHR-Israel**. Furthermore, a ban was placed on taking in medical supplies and drugs to Gaza during the first days of the closure, and hospitals in the

7. Annex I, Article IX, section 2a of the Interim Agreement.

8. Regions within the West Bank were cut off from each other.

Gaza Strip were left without sterile water or oxygen. Only after the intervention of **PHR-Israel** and with the help of the then Member of Knesset Yael Dayan, were the necessary medical supplies allowed in. After about ten days procedures were instituted which allowed drugs to be brought in when requested by the Palestinian Authority without the necessity for the intervention of a third party.

In October 2003, after a Palestinian suicide bomber blew himself up at the reception counter in the DCL in Tulkarem, wounding two soldiers, complaints were made to **PHR-Israel** about the closure of the reception facilities at Israeli DCLs, including medical cases. Certain DCLs closed for repairs, while the Israeli office in Ma'aleh Adumim remained closed for several months, leaving the Palestinian DCL in Abu Dis with no reasonable solution.

A. came to the Palestinian DCL at Tulkarem requesting a travel permit that will enable her to reach a hospital in order to remove a tumor. They told her that the Israeli DCL had broken off contact with them. Thus she went to the Israeli DCL but the soldiers waved her away from it. In answer to our letter we were told that⁹ following the attack it had been decided to look again 'the provision of services at all the DCLs' so that there was temporarily no reception at the reception counters. However, it was stressed that 'provision of permits to leave the region and other permits continued after the attack.' This is contradicted by evidence given to us by residents who went to the Israeli DCL on the same day and also by the explicit statement of a senior in the Palestinian DCL in Tulkarem: 'even in the most difficult situations there is communication, but after an attack they make everything difficult, including humanitarian [cases]. There was an exceptional case when a man committed suicide inside the DCL. There was no communication for 10 days, they would not receive any applications and there were no working meetings. There was only telephone contact but without giving permits. After that, they began to receive the representative of the Palestinian DCL at the counter and would not let him come in. After a few days they did let him in.'¹⁰

9. Lt Reuvi Tsigler assistant to the Legal Advisor, in his letter to Adv. Rosenthal, 13th October 2003.

10. Meeting with Salah Haj-Yehya, 10 February, 2004.

In response to the complaints of **PHR-Israel** on the situation where movement is allowed only with permits but people are not allowed to make applications for permits, Lieutenant Reuvi Tsigler, the Assistant to the Legal Advisor of the Civil Administration in the West Bank wrote in a letter that the issuing of permits continued during those days through continuous contact with ‘senior Palestinian officials – mayors of cities, mukhtars and dignitaries, as well as with the Palestinian Liaison.’¹¹ This is as if every sick person would have to apply to the Mayor of Tel Aviv in order to be able to leave the city to receive treatment.

Arbitrariness and lack of transparency

During the closures which were imposed on the Territories in the years 1995-1996, **PHR-Israel** acted on behalf of patients and medical teams whose applications for entry permits to Israel and East Jerusalem were refused. This activity concentrated on the Gaza Strip but also took place in the West Bank. It should be noted that in the Gaza Strip there was and still is the original model of communication between the Israeli and the Palestinian sides: a Palestinian resident has the possibility of presenting his application only through the mediation of the Palestinian DCL. This in turn will present the application to the Israeli DCL, which will examine it and inform the Palestinian DCL whether the application has been granted or not. The same will be done if the resident wants to appeal against the decision on his case. The criticism of various Human Rights organisations has been rejected with the claim that these procedures were set up with the agreement of the Palestinian Authority – the only representatives of the Palestinian residents.¹²

Our investigation revealed that there were no extant written procedures about the criteria for the passage of patients and doctors. Not publishing written rules has created a situation of obtuseness and lack of transparency about the process of making decisions. Similarly, a negative reply to the applications of patients for an entry permit is not detailed in writing, so that no Israeli officer puts his signature to the decision. **PHR-Israel** claimed that the fact that things are communicated verbally to the representative of the Palestinian DCL leads to a situation where it is not possible to find out whether the application has been examined properly, nor to appeal against

11. Lt Reuvi Tsigler assistant to the Legal Advisor, in his letter to Adv. Rosenthal, 13th October 2003.

12. See the section: The Palestinian DCLs.

the way in which decisions are taken. It was not clear whether a decision had been taken in consultation with medical personnel, weighing up the medical consequences for the patient who was asking. In this way, **PHR-Israel** claimed, Israel was shaking off all responsibility.

In cases of ‘prohibition for reasons of security,’ the resident had no possibility of knowing what was the background to the security prohibition in his case. Thus it was not possible to check whether there had been any weighing up of the security threat in allowing this resident into Israel as against the medical need of the patient. In the case of medical teams (entry to hospitals in East Jerusalem or transfers between Gaza and the West Bank and vice versa) their permits were restricted to certain hours so that they did not allow teams to get to night duty, there were cancellations of permits with every new curfew or tightening of restrictions in such a way as to seriously damage the functioning of the Palestinian health system. Furthermore, the Israeli DCL used to – just as today – issue daily permits, or weekly ones for patients in need of long treatments such as dialysis or radiation.

New rules – old practices

On the basis of this information **PHR-Israel** petitioned to the Supreme Court. In the petition¹³ **PHR-Israel** asked for the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) to be instructed to determine and to publish compulsory rules for giving exit permits to Palestinian residents in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip for medical treatment abroad and in Israel. As an example **PHR-Israel** cited the story of Bassam Tafash aged 16 from Gaza, who had asked to go to Israel for an urgent heart operation. No explanation had been given for refusing her application and her entry was only approved after pressure from **PHR-Israel**. Similarly the application of three year old Mahmoud Na'imah was rejected, and he too was only able to come to Israel for a heart operation after the intervention of **PHR-Israel**. We also asked in our petition that compulsory rules should be laid down to allow free movement of sick people in the West Bank even during times when an internal curfew was imposed. It should be noted that an internal closure as it was imposed in 1996, is not like a present day blockade, both because of its temporary nature and because it only involved a number of manned checkpoints. This is unlike the current policy of sweeping prohibition on free movement of

13. **PHR-Israel** vs. the Minister of Security et al. Supreme Court file no 132/95.

Palestinians within the OT which is enacted by the permit policy, and the hundreds of check points and blockades.

The State Attorney presented two systems of rules as an answer to the petition:

A. Procedural rules for dealing with an acute medical emergency which comes to the checkpoint. In general, this procedural rule was supposed to allow the passage of a man who was in a state of an acute medical emergency at the checkpoints within the West Bank. These procedural rules have been broken many times without steps being taken – certainly no seriously deterrent steps – against those who broke them, the soldiers at the checkpoint, and/or those in charge of them.¹⁴

B. Procedural rules for dealing with applications to receive medical treatment from the residents of the regions. In the principles guiding the procedural rules it says that ‘these procedural rules relate to the exit of the residents of the regions to Israel and abroad in order to receive medical treatment as a routine, during a closure, and also at a time when an internal closure has been imposed on the districts.’ These procedural rules do not relate to ‘the exit of residents of the regions to Israel (or via Israel) when an acute medical emergency arrives at checkpoints. The way of dealing with an acute medical emergency will be fixed with separate procedural rules.’

Here it is important to note that:

- 1) The applications for permits must be submitted to the DCLs. “The applications of the residents of Gaza, Judaea and Samaria [the terminology of the procedural rules] in Area A should be submitted to the DCL of the region where the resident is living through the Palestinian Council and the answer will be returned through them. Applications from residents of Gaza, Judaea and Samaria in Areas B or C should be submitted directly to the DCL [this refers to the Israeli DCL – H.Z.] and will be answered directly by them, or they may be submitted through the Palestinian Council (if the resident chose to submit through them).” For the residents of the Gaza Strip the procedural rules lay down that applications “should be submitted to the DCL through the Palestinian Council.”

14. For a more detailed discussion of the rules and the way they are broken, see: **PHR-Israel A Legacy of Injustice** November 2002.

- 2) The reliability of the application, and the contents of the applications are to be inspected by the Health Coordinator together with security officials “In every case, the officer in charge of the regional DCL in Judaea and Samaria or the head of the coordinating committee in the Gaza Strip, should not refuse to accede to an application without having in front of him a medical opinion supplied by the state which relates to the application.” In the case of prohibition for security reasons “such an application should be rejected for security reasons only after all the relevant medical and security considerations and all possible alternatives have been weighed and balanced. The person making the application is to be given an answer in writing.”
- 3) ‘In the case of a rejection, the reason for the rejection shall be made clear to the applicant. The decision on the rejection, as noted, shall be given in writing and will be explained,’ in other words, if the rejection is because of security reasons, the reason for the rejection will be explained as far as possible given the security restrictions.
- 4) Applications and answers shall be recorded.
- 5) An appeal shall be submitted in writing and thus also the decision about it, which shall be given based on the medical opinion in writing provided by the state and on the position of the security officials.

Our activity in relation to the different DCLs since then has revealed that answers are never given in writing, and that the reason for a rejection is never explained (except as a ‘security police prohibition’) and this therefore prevents an effective appeal. Similarly, we have never been presented with a medical opinion provided by the state when an application for a permit has been refused, even in cases where we have petitioned the Supreme Court against a refusal. Today, when a Palestinian resident is in need of a permit for almost every sort of movement in his life, the activities of the DCLs have a decisive influence on the ability of Palestinian civil society to function. Insofar as the DCLs activities relate to the Palestinian Health System, they are of freezing and choking effect. These activities are the subject of the following chapters.

The Israeli District Civil Liaison Offices: description

Throughout the Occupied Territories there are eight Israeli DCLs and one Israeli representation, working in conjunction with Palestinian representations and DCLs:

Palestinian DCL (in towns)	Israeli DCL	District	Population ¹⁵
Jenin and Tubas	Salem	Jenin	307,230
Nablus	Hawarah	Nablus	319,453
Tulkarem	west Tulkarem (functions as a full DCL from Jan 2003, till then only representation. ¹⁶) Many still use Qedumim DCL	Tulkarem	164,020
Qalqiliya	Qedumim	Qalqiliya	91,075
Qalqiliya, and Palestinian repres- entation in Salfit itself	Qedumim	Salfit	60,359
Ramallah	Beit El	Ramallah	270,855
Abu Dis	Ma'aleh Adumim	Jerusalem	395,607
Bethlehem	Etzion	Bethlehem	169,962
Hebron	Har Manoah	Hebron	507,621
Jericho	near Vered Jericho	Jericho	395,607
Gaza	Erez	Gaza	1,334,266

15. Correct for 2003, from the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics.

16. Lieutenant Talia Somech, spokesperson for the Civil Administration in the West Bank, verbal communication to **PHR-Israel** 22 April 2004.

In the following paragraphs we shall bring evidence based on the investigations of **Machsom Watch** and **PHR-Israel**, which included unannounced visits to the different DCLs. In some of the DCLs a number of observations were conducted, while in others we base ourselves on one observation. It should be noted that, in spite of the fact that Palestinians may enter the area of the DCL, the officers in charge demanded that the representatives of the two organizations should leave on the grounds that it was 'closed military territory.' We were never given documentary proof of such an order.

Hawarah DCL

Observations: Thursday 5.2.04

Residents: According to the Palestinian Central Beauru of Statistics (PCBS) the number of residents in 2003 in the District of Nablus was 319,453. Ra'ed Mansour, the head of the Israeli DCL at Hawarah told **Machsom Watch** that this meant that the DCL was supposed to serve 180,000 people. It should be noted that children who need treatment always need an adult to accompany them, so that even if the child does not need a permit himself, his adult companion does. Therefore, we relate to the PCBS data in our calculation of permit holders.

Permits: During 2003 (up to September) in this district 7,351 permits were issued.¹⁷ In other words, 2,3% of the population of this district received any sort of permit, assuming each resident only received one permit during this period.

Location: This DCL is sited about 2km north-east of the Hawarah crossroads and south of Nablus – the central city of this whole region (about 6km from the city centre). From the road between the two halves of the Hawarah checkpoint lead road 557 to Itamar, and a smaller road in the direction of the village of Awarta. ON this smaller road, a little way east, after the descent from road 60, is the army base at the back of which the DCL is situated. In order to get to the DCL, the residents have to go round the base on an unmade road (which is muddy in winter) and pass the sentry post.

17. Lieutenant Talia Somech, spokesperson for the Civil Authority, in a letter to Adv. Yael Stein, B'Tselem, 17 Sept 2003.

Access: the way to a permit is through checkpoints. The area of the city of Nablus is well-known for the large number of permanent manned checkpoints between the city and the refugee camps and villages of the district. The checkpoints of Deir Sharaf/Shavei Shomron and Beit Iba hold up entry to the city from the north-west, presumably because of the propinquity of the settlement of Shavei Shomron. The checkpoint and roadblocks at Azmut, Askar, Balata and Beit Furiq block Palestinian traffic from the east and the north, again apparently because of the nearby settlement of Elon Moreh. The checkpoints at Awarta, Hawarah and Tapuah hold up traffic from the south, because it passes near the settlements of Yitzhar, Tapuah, Itamar and all their holdings. The checkpoint at Sarra holds up traffic to the city from the west, near the settlement of Qedumim. In the whole area there are temporary checkpoints and other blocks, for example Qusin, Sab'ata'sh, Assirah a-Shamaliya, Azmut, Til, Jat.

Because of the many checkpoints and roadblocks, passage to DCL Hawarah is not simple. Those arriving from east of Hawarah have to pass the **Beit Furiq checkpoint** which is close to the crossroads of the road which leads from Beit Furiq to Nablus via Askar, with road 557 which leads to Elon Moreh. The checkpoint is open from 6.00am till dusk. Humanitarian cases are supposed to go through at night as well. After they have passed the Beit Furiq checkpoint, the residents must pass the Awarta checkpoint, for those coming from the north are forbidden to arrive at the DCL via the Hawarah checkpoint.

Residents coming from the direction of Nablus, or the northern and western villages near the town of Hawarah (Burin, Ma'adama, Jat, Sarra, Til, Beit Iba, Qusin etc) have to pass the **Awarta checkpoint** and produce permits there for passage through the blockade checkpoints. Those coming from the south must pass the checkpoint at **Hawarah**. This checkpoint is sited at the Maskit crossroads north of the **Hawarah** crossroads and is usually open between 6.00 am and 6.30pm. The Maskit crossroads is the nodal point of two important traffic arteries: road 60 running north-south, and road 57 which leads to Nablus and east from the city in the direction of the Jordan valley. A little north of the crossroads, road 557 leads to the villages east of Nablus. These three roads are forbidden to Palestinian traffic, since they form the artery which leads to the settlements of Itamar and Elon Moreh.

The **Hawarah** checkpoint is divided into two parts: at the northern part, people leaving Nablus wait to be checked, while at the southern part there

are those who want to get to Nablus or pass through it on their way north. The distance between the two parts of the checkpoint is about 500m and passage between them is on foot. Passage through metal detectors takes place under the eyes of a soldier with cocked sub-machine gun, who sits opposite those being checked, protected by blocks of concrete. A male and a female soldier check the documents and permits of those coming and going in the tracks. There is no suitable protection from harsh weather conditions for those waiting, which is particularly problematic in the winter and on days when waiting takes many hours. Residents who turn to the bypass road which leads to the DCL via Awarta will find that this road is closed from time to time. They will be directed by the soldiers to the Hawarah checkpoint, where in turn they will be re-directed to the bypass road – and so again and again. Residents who choose for various reasons to apply to the Palestinian DCL sited within the city of Nablus will also encounter checkpoints, on their way from the local villages to the city centre. These same checkpoints demand from them de facto to apply to the Israeli DCL in order to get to Nablus, the metropolis which they depend on for all the necessities of life.

The building: At the entrance to the walled compound of the DCL there is a Control Tower from which a soldier trains his weapons on the crowd. Those coming to the DCL enter by an open gate to the waiting area. This area is fenced on all sides and only partly roofed. Across this part are rows of benches facing the reception counters. Entry to the counters is through a revolving gate.

Five counters are to be found in the area described as ‘sterile,’ presumably because entrance to it is scrutinised, and made only after a security examination. As in the rest of the DCLs, the counters are divided according to subject – police, magnetic cards (two counters) and permits to enter Israel and to pass the internal checkpoints (two counters). The windows of the counters are impenetrable so conversation takes place through metal intercoms. The Palestinian resident can approach as far as a metal railing placed about 60cm away from the window. The documents are passed over by bending over to the slit in the hatch.

Opening hours: 8.00-15.30

Etzion DCL

Observations: 9.11.03; 23.11.03; 4.1.04; 8.1.04

Residents: According to the data of the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics the number of residents in 2003 in the District of Bethlehem was 169,962. The head of DCL Etzion told **Machsom Watch** that the DCL is supposed to serve 80,000 people¹⁸.

Permits: During 2003 (up to September) in this District 7,850 permits were issued. In other words, 4.6% of the population of this district received any sort of permit¹⁹.

Location: From road 60 there is a turning west on to road 367 which leads to Gush Etzion. A little way after the petrol station there is left turn to the Etzion army base.

Access: Since it is forbidden for Palestinian residents to travel on road 60, they are dependent on public transport run by a company which receives travel permits from time to time. Those coming from the east have to pass the Za'atarah and Teqoa checkpoints, both on road 356. The residents of the villages of Nahalin, Hussan, Batir, Wadi Fuqin, and Jaba' cannot travel in a motor vehicle – including public transport – to the DCL, since the roads from their villages to Bethlehem and the DCL are blocked with piles of earth or concrete blocks. Therefore they have to travel by taxi or on foot to the Al Khader crossroads and only from there can they get on the permitted buses or the taxis which are sometimes available there.

The building: This is a preliminary building on one floor, next to the gate of the Etzion army base. On the roof of the building an armed soldier is stationed. The waiting room is a fibreglass hut from which there is passage via a revolving gate to what is called the 'sterile' compound, which is surrounded with a fence.

Five reception counters are to be found on the front of the building. Here too, the windows are impervious to sound and conversation is via the intercom. A narrow slit serves for passing over documents. It should be noted that on one of the days when **Machsom Watch** visited, these

18. **Machsom Watch** Report 21 November 2003.

19. Lieutenant Talia Somech, spokesperson for the Civil Authority, in a letter to Adv. Yael Stein, B'Tselem, 17 Sept 2003. Once again, this is on the assumption that each resident received only one permit.

intercoms were out of order and it was not possible to understand what was being said. Even on days when the intercom works there are still communication problems, as some of the soldiers do not speak Arabic and will not accept documents in Arabic.

Opening hours: 8.30-17.30

Hebron DCL

Observations: 1.1.04

Residents: According to the data of the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, the number of residents in 2003 in the District of Hebron was 507,621. (Forecast for 2004: 533,337).

Permits: During 2003 (up to September), 6,213 permits were issued in this District, in other words 1.2% of the residents in this district received any sort of permit.²⁰

Location: Har Manoah, a short way from road 60.

Access: The Tarqumiya, Beit Awa and Shima checkpoints surround the city of Hebron from the west and the south. Internal checkpoints within Hebron, between the area under Israeli control and that which is supposedly in Palestinian control, and between this and the settlements of Qiryat Arba, make it difficult for the residents of the city of Hebron itself and the surrounding neighbourhoods to move. Above all, the residents of the eastern neighbourhoods have difficulties in passing the internal checkpoints in the city in order to get to the road leading to the DCL. Driving on road 60, which leads directly to the DCL, is forbidden to Palestinians, so that those coming from Hebron use the internal road which passes the Church of Abraham. Between the crossroads turning off to Tel Rumeida and the crossroads with road 60, they turn east to the road which leads to Har Manoah where the DCL is sited.

The building: The gate to the DCL is open and leads to an open space with temporary buildings and asbestos huts. In the open space there are plastic chairs. In one of the buildings there is a cafeteria and an office with a photocopying machine run by a Palestinian company. There it is possible

20. Lieutenant Talia Somech, spokesperson for the Civil Authority, in a letter to Adv. Yael Stein, B'Tselem, 17 Sept 2003. Once again, this is on the assumption that each resident received only one permit.

to get services of Hebrew typing and registering an application. They also sell the stamps which residents must buy and stick on their application form for a magnetic card. From the far side of the open space runs a 'sleeve' with a long asbestos roof, for entry into the army base. Those resident who have a meeting with the GSS wait in the sleeve. The building of the GSS itself is behind a revolving metal gate.

Five reception counters are to be found on the internal wall, in a room behind the cafeteria building. The hatches were overhauled a short time before the observation day. The window is made of thick armoured glass, and for a long time reception was carried out without an intercom, in what looked like deaf and dumb language. On 16th February we were told that intercoms had been put in a month before. The Palestinian resident can come as far as a metal railing about 60cm from the window. The documents are passed over by leaning over towards a slit in the hatch.

Opening hours: Officially between 8.30am and 17.00, but on the day of the observation all the clerks disappeared at 13.00 for a lunchbreak, and only reappeared after about an hour and a half. We were told this happens nearly every day.

Qedumim DCL

Observations: 5.2.04

Residents: The DCL serves the residents of the Qalqilya and Salfit districts. According to the data of the Palestinian Central Office of Statistics, the number of residents in 2003 in these districts was 151,434, a number confirmed by Lieutenant Jund Shahin from Qedumim DCL.

Permits: The data for permits for the districts of Salfit and Qalqilya for 2003 (up to September) also include the district of Tulkarem.²¹ In other words, this was a population of 315,454 which received 3,359 permits. Thus about 1% of the residents in these districts received any permits (assuming they received only one permit each).²²

21. Lieutenant Talia Somech, spokesperson for the Civil Authority, verbal communication to **PHR-Israel** on 22nd April 2004.

22. Lieutenant Talia Somech, spokesperson for the Civil Authority, in a letter to Adv. Yael Stein, B'Tselem, 17 Sept 2003. Once again, this is on the assumption that each resident received only one permit.

Location: The DCL is sited near the settlement of Qedumim. From road 55 which runs east-west, there is a left turn in the direction of the settlement of Qedumim. After the petrol station and past the right turn to Qedumim, the road continues west as a well-paved track towards the DCL.

Access: The road to the DCL (55) is forbidden to Palestinian cars. The Palestinians who come to Qedumim DCL are forced to use taxis or donkeys.

North of the city of Qalqilya is the settlement of Tzofin, and south of it Alfei Menasheh. Because of these settlements, the wall that surrounds the city of Qalqilya and its neighbourhoods veers far to the east, and traps to its west the villages of Ras Atiyah, Wadi Rashah, Dabaa and others, together with the settlement of Alfei Menasheh. The villagers of Hablah and Ras Atiyah, who, if not for the wall, could travel north to Qalqilya in five minutes, are forced to travel via Azun, a journey of thirty-five minutes if they are lucky. In the south of the Qalqilya district lie the settlements of Oranit, Sha'arei Tiqvah, Etz Efraim, and Kanah, which once again cause the wall to veer sharply to the east, trapping the village Azun Atma to its west. At the northern border of the Salfit district with Qalqilya are the settlements of Qarnei Shomron, Ginot Shomron, and Ma'aleh Shomron. There a further wall is planned. In the centre of the Salfit district is the city of Ariel, and to its north the settlements of Revava, Yaqir, Netafim, Nofim and Immanuel. Because of the settlements, the Palestinian villages are surrounded with many roadblocks which make travel in general difficult, and in particular, travel to the DCL.

The building: At the DCL is a parking area crowded with the yellow taxis in which the Palestinians are allowed to arrive. Entry is via a passage made in the barbed wire fence to a fenced compound with two roofed areas with benches for those waiting.

Five reception counters are to be found here with armoured windows. On the day of the observation only two of them were manned. A loudspeaker calls out the names of people for whom there is an answer.

Types of permits

Palestinian residents need various services from the DCLs. The subject of this report is the sick and the medical teams who need to come to the DCL for everything connected to the various transit permits. We shall therefore

detail here the different sorts of endorsements and permits issued by the DCLs as far as they are known to us.²³ An appropriate application has to be submitted for each and every permit.

- **Magnetic card** The resident has to fill in a application for a magnetic card. (see appendixes). For many of the applicants at the DCL the acute issue is the lack of any possibility of obtaining a magnetic card. Although it is possible to issue a permit to someone who does not hold a magnetic card, this is yet another complication over and above those which already exist. The multiplication of internal checkpoints, which require transit permits during blockade, have turned the magnetic card into a life-saving card. Getting one is dependent on the absence of a ‘prohibition on security or police grounds.’

“In May 1989 Israel decided to require workers from the Gaza Strip entering Israel to have a magnetic card containing coded information about their security background. The direction was later imposed also in the West Bank, and became a condition for obtaining a work permit.”²⁴ The magnetic card, which was to be renewed annually, was an almost indispensable condition, although not enough by itself, for receiving permits, being an endorsement that the resident applying for the permit is not considered as a security risk. Without it the Palestinian resident would find it difficult to obtain certain permits, and others – like the permit to work in Israel – s/he would not be able to obtain at all.

An application for a magnetic card must be submitted on a stamped form. In order to do this, the resident must get to the Palestinian DCL and buy the stamps from the post office. Together with the handling charge, the form costs 45 NIS. If the application is refused, the soldiers in the Israeli DCL mark each of the stamps with the word ‘void,’ thus in effect making it impossible to submit this application at a later date. A further application will demand a further investment of time, bother and money.

- **Entry permit to Israel** The resident must fill in a form applying for a permit to enter Israel (see appendixes). In this context, work permits are given to workers, and there are also permits for personal needs, including medical treatment, professional updates, etc. and more.

23. This information was collated from different sources at the Palestinian DCLs, from Palestinian residents, and from the spokesperson of the Civil Authority in the West Bank, Lieutenant Talia Somech, (verbal communication, April 22nd 2004).

24. B’Tselem, *Builders of Zion*, September, 1999.

- **Exit to Jordan** (via the Allenby Bridge) According to the spokesperson for the Civil administration, Lieutenant Talia Somech, apart from certain specific cases where the exit to Jordan is restricted because of the security situation, there is no need for a transit permit. However, when it is a case of prohibition on the grounds of security, when these people get to the bridge they will be stopped from going over it to Jordan. They are thus required to go to the DCL in the region where they live and ask for their case to be examined. If it is decided that they are allowed to go to Jordan, the authorities at the Allenby Bridge will be contacted in order to allow their passage. Exit to Egypt via the Rafah crossing is done in the same way. It should be noted that going abroad via Ben Gurion airport is most exceptional, and de facto these applications are refused.

S. is 76 and his wife M. is 70. In February 2004 M. submitted an application to the Etzion DCL to allow them to fly to the USA via Ben Gurion airport. The reason for the journey was medical treatment. The soldier at the hatch refused to accept their application claiming there were no endorsements for travel via Ben Gurion airport and that she must submit her application at a later date nearer to the date required. Since her application was totally rejected, there was no documentation for the refusal. M. came to Etzion DCL at the beginning of March in the hope that this time her application would be considered. After she was rejected again she turned to a representative of **Machsom Watch** who was present there. A request for clarification by **PHR-Israel** encountered the claim that her application was submitted too close to the time of her journey and therefore would not be dealt with. Only because of our insistence that M. had come twice in the past, and that this was negligent treatment by the DCL, was her application dealt with by a speeded-up procedure and finally received all the necessary permits from the Health Coordinator, Dalia Bassa and the officer in charge of the Gush Etzion DCL.

- **Exit from the West Bank to the Gaza Strip** This permit allows passage through Israel and notes that its intent is to get to Gaza.
- **Permit to travel during blockade** (see appendix) This permit allows someone to travel through the West Bank from a specified point which is subject to blockade to another point which is subject to blockade. Usually it is a question of passage between districts, although sometimes

there is internal blockade even within the same district and passage from there needs a permit. Thus for example in the Ramallah district, even when the Surda checkpoint is open for exit to the north, exit to the south via the Qalandiya checkpoint needs a permit. According to Lieutenant Talia Somech, for a long time no blockade was imposed on any of the cities except for Nablus, apart from blockades, which were imposed after a pin-pointed local warning. And yet, she agreed that if someone wants to ensure his or her passage – especially if it is because of medical needs – it is desirable for him to possess a permit to travel during blockade.

- **Permit for crossing the “Seam Zone”** In the Seam Zone there are different sorts of permits, since it is in the interests of the Israeli authorities that only someone with a permit should be allowed to enter this area. Thus the permit for a permanent resident identifies these residents as people who live in those districts; the permit for agriculture allows residents whose lands are west of the security fence to work their lands (it should be noted that even then they are dependent on the opening hours of the gates, a subject which has its own problems), and similarly there are permits issued to teachers, traders, doctors and nurses. According to Lieutenant Somech 10,000 permits for the Seam Zone were issued to almost all those who applied.
- **Permits for cars** (see appendix) are more difficult to obtain and need a separate procedure.

The movement of ambulances is not subject to the permits system and needs to be coordinated with the Health Coordinator, Ms Dalia Bassa.

Permits for medical needs

Applications for permits for patients, submitted to the various DCLs, are supposed to be investigated by the Health Coordinator as to their veracity. This is in parallel to the security investigation. According to the procedural rules, an application should not be refused by the heads of the regional DCLs (West Bank and Gaza Strip) unless they have in front of them ‘a medical opinion supplied by the State which relates to the application.’ In the case of a prohibition for security reasons, the application should be refused by the heads of the regional DCLs ‘only after all the relevant medical and security considerations and all possible alternatives have been weighed and balanced. The person making the application is to be given an answer in writing.’ On ‘prohibition for security reasons,’ see below.

In the Gaza Strip and the West Bank the Health Coordinators are Menahem Weinberg and Dalia Bassa (in coordination). It is they who inspect every application for medical treatment and give their opinion as to its veracity. These coordinators are employees of the State, who work both according to the accepted yardsticks of behaviour in the State Service and also subject to the instructions and procedural rules applying to the Occupied Territories. The Health Coordinator for the Gaza Strip is subject to the head of the Gaza DCL and the Health Coordinator for the West Bank is subject to the head of the Civil Administration. Working together with her there are an assistant and a secretary who do not work on festivals or at weekends, so that many times applications from patients which happen to occur on Jewish festivals are not dealt with.

The function of the Health Coordinators is ‘communication and coordination between the Health Systems in the PA and between the Ministry of Health and the Health Institutions in Israel... these functions are a result of the Interim Agreement, paragraph 17 in the Health Section.²⁵’ There is extreme pressure on the Health Coordinators, both in the Gaza Strip but particularly in the West Bank, because they are the only officials dealing with the medical reasons in the applications for the different permits. Therefore it is quite astonishing that there is no medical advisor in their offices on a permanent basis. Following the serious criticism of the treatment by the Israeli Security System of the health needs of the Palestinian residents during the imposition of the various blockades, a medical advisor to the Health Coordinator in the West Bank was appointed, Dr Ya’acov Adler. However, a few months later he left this job – which he had performed voluntarily. No new advisor was appointed.

Today, as in the past, the Health Coordinators are supposed to consult with “the Ministry of Health, medical institutions in Israel, IDF medical officers and the medical institutions of the PA.”²⁶ In cases where **PHR-Israel** dealt with cases where patients’ applications for a travel permit were rejected, we found that no medical opinion of the State was provided as demanded by the procedural rules. Thus it appears that even when the Health Coordinator asks for the lifting of the prohibition on grounds of security, no real process takes place of weighing up and balancing the security considerations – the reason for the rejection - against the medical needs of the patient. In a number of cases where we petitioned the Supreme

25. Letter from Lt-Colonel Sharon Biton, assistant to the Health Coordinator, to **PHR-Israel**, 28th December 2003.

26. *Loc. cit.*

Court, the State went back on its refusal, or suggested the alternative of treatment in Jordan to the patient, when the application included entry to Israel. The fact that after petitioning the Supreme Court, or even during the procedures that take place before such a petition, the prohibition on security grounds was withdrawn, demonstrates that the internal procedure was basically defective.

Even when a permit is granted, its implementation depends on the authority of the health coordinators over the different DCLs.

V. is a resident of Hebron. He is physically impaired and needs rehabilitation treatment following a road traffic accident. He is treated daily by different clinics in Tel HaShomer Hospital. These treatments, which started a few months ago, are supposed to continue for at least the next three months. Since V. cannot get to the DCL by himself, every time he needs to renew the permit which allows him to enter Tel HaShomer, one of his family has to get to the Hebron DCL to submit an application for a permit. The soldiers at the counter explained to the family that they can only apply for a new permit on the last day of the old permit. Since the processing of the application for a permit takes at least a few days each time, V. was left for several days without a permit and his rehabilitation treatment was cut short. **PHR-Israel** applied to the Health Coordinator who countermanded what the soldiers had said, but this did not change their behaviour. Her promise that V. would receive a monthly permit, which would allow him to get to his treatments, fell on deaf ears at the DCL. Indeed, Ms Bassa told us, the DCL was causing problems. On 13th April 2004 we found one of the family members waiting at the entrance to the Hebron DCL. This time he was even prevented from entering the DCL to make an application. We were told that the DCL would re-open to receive people.

P.B. returned to Gaza and had stayed there beyond the period stated in her visitor permit. This presented a problem when she was diagnosed with breast cancer. The Israeli DCL refused to deal with her application to leave and receive treatment in an Israeli hospital, even though she herself is not prohibited for security reasons and the Palestinian Authority had agreed to pay for the treatment expenses. Only the petition of **PHR-Israel** to the Supreme Court²⁷ led to her

27. Supreme Court File no. 10642/03, through Adv. Yossi Tzur.

application for a permit being dealt with, and she began to receive life-saving treatment at Tel HaShomer hospital. B. met another problem when she needed to receive radiotherapy daily for five weeks (not including weekends). The daily treatment meant that she had to arrive at a specific time every day at the hospital. Since past experience had shown that serious bureaucratic difficulties make this an impossible task, **PHR-Israel** asked for her to be granted a permit to stay in Israel during the whole treatment period. The reply of the Erez DCL was that the likelihood of permission being granted was small. Because of the urgency of the treatment P.B., **PHR-Israel** and the organization One in Nine (Women for Women with Breast Cancer) petitioned the Supreme Court to oblige the respondent to issue her with a long-term permit.²⁸ The permit was granted after the first day of her treatment.

It should be noted that both in the Gaza Strip and in the West Bank there are many patients, including chronic patients who need continuous treatment, who find it difficult to get long-term permits and who are forced to return to the DCL time after time to renew their entry permits. This process is difficult for anyone, and even more so for those who should be reserving all their strength to fight their illness.

In parallel with the Health Coordinators there are telephone 'hotlines' which are supposed to deal with the passage of patients and medical teams in real time. These are supposed to be in continuous contact with the different DCLs as to the functioning of the soldiers at the checkpoints. However, these 'hotlines', called by the army 'Humanitarian Hotline' insist that non-urgent patients must apply for permits ahead of time. They make the same demands of doctors too, because they see by them as people who by definition cannot be considered urgent medical cases, even if they are on their way to a patient in Intensive Care. Furthermore, even when the hotlines endorses the passage of patients, there are still communication gaps between them and the relevant regional DCL, and between the DCL and the soldiers at the checkpoint. These sometimes refuse to allow the passage of the patient, or pass on wrong information as if they have indeed allowed the patient passage. Without the capacity of enforcement on the DCL and the soldiers of the relevant checkpoint, the hotline is denied any real meaning.

28. Supreme Court file no. 3588/04 though Adv. Yossi Tsur.

During 2003 (up to September) 56,755 permits were issued in the West Bank for a population of about 2,313,609. In other words, 2.45% of the population had any kind of permit, for a particular period. It is interesting to note, that Ramallah alone, whose population makes up 11.7% of the population of the West Bank accounts for 48% out of the total 2.45% who received permits, so that in the rest of the districts of the West Bank the percentage of permits was even lower than 2.45% and stood at 1.49%. It is clear that this number of permits cannot answer the needs of the population for travel for the purposes of education, economics and health. In the same way it is clear that the system of permits has been planned in such a way that it will not be able to meet these needs.

The DCLs and the General Security Service: ‘Can two walk together except they be agreed?’²⁹

According to all the procedural rules, an application for a permit for medical treatment can be prohibited on the grounds of security. Since this is so, cancelling this prohibition is a process which is needed for many of the applicants to the various DCLs. In cases where the resident applies to rescind his prohibition in order to receive a magnetic card he has to meet a representative of the General Security Service (GSS) in the offices of the GSS in the DCL.

The prohibition on security grounds: The prohibition on security grounds denotes a level of likelihood that the person so prohibited is liable to carry out an attack. The prohibition is made for a fixed time (it should be noted that in the cases we have dealt with the prohibition has never been lifted voluntarily by the Israeli Security system). According to the head of the Civil Administration ‘the prohibition is not just for someone who once was involved in terrorist activity, but for someone who is likely to be involved in it.’³⁰

Were you hurt? You have become a security threat: ‘If your brother was killed by the IDF, accidentally or not – then you will probably be prohibited on security grounds, because you are more likely to be involved in a terrorist attack.’³¹

29. Amos 3.3.

30. Tzadoq Yehezkel, *Yediot Ahronot*, 23.1.04.

31. *Loc.cit.*

On 20.10.03 the Israeli air force directed two rockets, within a minute and a half, on a car whose passengers were suspected of being Hamas activists in the Nusseirat refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. Many residents who arrived there after the first rocket were hit by the second, including Mahmoud Tabazeh, a 14 year old boy. Because of his serious condition, he was transferred for treatment to Tel HaShomer hospital in Tel Aviv. His brother Abed, aged 23, a student of economics and statistics, was killed, as was his cousin Ibrahim, a schoolboy in the 12th grade. Other members of the family were also injured. His father Muhammad had a permit to work in Israel. But when he tried to go and visit his son in hospital the soldiers at the Erez checkpoint confiscated his permit. When he asked why, he was told 'it is because of your children, because of what happened to your family.' From the moment his sons became victims of the Israeli army, the father was prohibited on security grounds: not only could he not visit his son, but he also stood to lose his job. Because of the refusal to allow his father to enter Israel, his son Mahmoud had to undergo an extremely serious and complicated operation without a single member of his family at his bedside. Only the legal and media activities of **PHR-Israel** and the intervention of Member of Knesset Yossi Sarid changed this decision and enabled the issue of the required permits to the father.

Illegal stay in Israel: Evidence taken by **PHR-Israel** and **Machsom Watch** reveal that Palestinians caught while staying in Israel illegally are not allowed to receive magnetic cards. This prohibition is defined as a police prohibition as opposed to prohibition by the GSS. The Operations Branch of the Israeli police has told us that they do not fix security prohibitions, but pass on their position to the Civil Authority. They add that a criminal background and illegal stay are the main reasons for a police refusal. Further clarification with Ms Riki Qiviti³², the head of the Computer Unit revealed that 'a police prohibition can be on the background of intelligence or criminal information, which says that I do not want people like that to enter.' The period of the prohibition is fixed 'for every person according to the case, and he can find out when it is removed.' A person can request this information by applying to the Computer unit either himself or through a lawyer. The implications of a police prohibition on movement within the

32. verbal communication, March 11th 2004.

Occupied Territories themselves were not clear to the Computer Unit. It should be noted that the definition of the prohibition on the computer is not influenced by the sort of travel required, whether it is to Israel or within the Occupied Territories, so that de facto if the police prohibition prevents the issue of a magnetic card it will also cause difficulties in receiving a permit during blockade.

Cancellation of a prohibition: Since a prohibition is not permanent and it is possible that it will be removed after a certain time, when a resident applies for a permit or a magnetic card the soldier behind the counter is supposed to tell to the Palestinian applicant to return after a certain period. In order to issue a permit to a person who has been classified as 'prohibited' the soldier has to request a detailed diagnosis from the GSS. For example, in a meeting with **Machsom Watch**, the Head of the Civil Administration, Ilan Paz , told the members of this organisation that 'in clear and urgent humanitarian cases, help will be given to people without magnetic cards who need a certain permit, although there will always be cases where no permit can be given because of security reasons.'³³ The process of examining the permit for people prohibited for security reasons can only be carried out by the soldier on the Israeli side, and not by the Palestinian DCL. According to the Head of the Civil Administration, this requires a wait of about three days. However, in cases dealt with by **PHR-Israel** we found that the resident often waits far longer, and he has to return to the DCL to find out the situation of his request. There are almost no cases where the DCL initiates contact to tell the applicant that his/her refusal has been cancelled and/or the permit issued. In a number of cases at the Hebron DCL, and as a rule in the Gaza Strip, we did find that the answers were given to the officials who applied, who in turn informed the individual her/himself.

In order to cancel a prohibition and receive a magnetic card, the Palestinian resident is constrained to hand in an application form. If the application is rejected, the resident is told to return and reapply 'from time to time,' in case the prohibition is cancelled. However, in actuality, the resident will be constrained to fill in a new application each time (because of the practice of marking the stamps) without knowing whether his prohibition has been cancelled, or not before he has reapplied. One of the possibilities for cancelling the prohibition is to meet in person with the regional representative of the GSS.

33. Head of the Civil Administration to **Machsom-Watch** 6/1/2004.

Meeting with the GSS – Waiting for Godot: Some of those rejected will be told by the representatives of the DCLs to return there when the representative of the GSS of the region has receiving hours at the DCL. Thus, they are told, they can bring their objections to the prohibition to him in person. However, in a meeting with the **Machsom Watch** women, the Head of the Nablus DCL told them that in order not to raise false hopes, since he himself has no connection with the GSS, he prefers to tell people rejected not to come. And indeed, entrance to the offices of the GSS itself is yet another system of control over the Palestinian population. In the different DCLs the members of **Machsom Watch** saw people waiting at the entrance to the area of the GSS behind a revolving iron gate, without the slightest idea of when or whether they would be called to a meeting. ‘A long queue of people waits there from the morning. They are summoned to the GSS. The problem is that no-one knows whether there is really someone there because the gate does not open. People sit for hours, summoned there for that day by a small chit. At the end of the day, if the gate does not open they return to the hatch for the magnetic cards in order to get a chit for another day.’³⁴ Thus, for example, ten Palestinians who arrived at the Hebron DCL on 1st January 2004 for a meeting with the GSS were not seen. They did get a hand-written scribble on their application forms for magnetic cards: ‘to come on Sunday 4.1.04.’ From experience they told the members of **Machsom Watch** that it was very likely that they would not be seen then.

‘The entrance [to the GSS wing] is through a revolving iron gate, with an impermeable metal gate behind it. In front of the gate is a small sentry box. People wait outside under an asbestos roof. From 9.00am [when we arrived at the DCL] until 14.30pm the gate was locked and the sentry post unmanned... When we asked why no-one was there to receive these people summoned to the GSS we were answered by Assaf, an officer responsible for coordinating with the Palestinians ‘I have no connection with the GSS’ and by Captain Osheri Yoav that ‘I do not interfere with the GSS in carrying out their operational functions.’³⁵ In contrast, at an observation at the Etzion DCL, things were more organized and people were called by loudspeaker to come to the counter. They entered one by one within a short time. Eight people entered that day.

34. **Machsom-Watch** report 1/1/2004.

35. *Loc. Cit.*

At one of the DCLs Y. waited for a meeting with the GSS. His father was hospitalised in Jordan with a serious illness and he was urgently needed to be present. Since he knew that his name was on the list of prohibitions and he would not be allowed to cross the Allenby Bridge, he had requested the meeting to try to remove his name from the list. He had come to the DCL three times and every time waited for hours but was not received for a meeting. On that same day that the **Machsom Watch** women met him he had waited from the morning outside the locked gate of the GSS. At 14.45 when the members of **Machsom Watch** left he was still waiting. And his father was also waiting on his sick-bed in Jordan for a son who might or might not come.

S. has been asking for two years to receive a magnetic card, and has been redirected time after time to a meeting with the GSS. Finally, he had his meeting and was told that he was 'clean'. Therefore, he was told, he was to go to the counter for magnetic cards to get his card. Two weeks after this, when he arrived at the counter he was told to his surprise that he was prohibited and that he must return to the GSS wing. After two days S. returned to the DCL in order to meet the GSS, only to hear what he already knew: 'there is nothing against you,' and 'go and get your magnetic card at the counter.' This was not the end of his troubles, however, for a day later he arrived at the counter for the magnetic cards. The soldier again referred him to the GSS. At this stage a representative of **Machsom Watch** intervened, and the soldier endorsed S.'s application for a magnetic card, the first step towards issuing it.

Help us and we will help you: Two young men who were waiting at Hawarah DCL told us that they had met their man from the GSS, and received their magnetic cards. We asked how they managed to communicate with the man from the GSS since there was no gate, entrance or door, or even a place for reception by the representative of the GSS. 'They [the GSS] know how,' was the answer. Another young man who had not received a magnetic card because of a prohibition on security grounds told us that he had met a representative of the GSS. They wanted him to work for Israel as a collaborator. In return they offered him a magnetic card. 'The man from the GSS got out an aerial photograph of the village

where live and marked exactly the house where I live. I think he wanted to frighten me.’³⁶

The influence of the prohibitions on the grounds of security, and the dubious processes to cancel them, are a very serious influence on the ability of patients to access medical treatment. Some of these we met in the different DCLs in the West Bank.

Y. is a disabled man on crutches. He often needs lengthy treatments in Bethlehem, which is outside the area where he lives. Passage from the place where he lives to Bethlehem needs a blockade permit. Y. applied to the Israeli DCL in the district where he lives a number of times but found that he was prohibited on security grounds. Day after day he tried to appeal but was rejected until ‘another time’. Only after the intervention of the **Machsom Watch** women whom he met at the DCL did he receive a special travel permit for the internal checkpoints in the West Bank. However, the permit was for one day only. For his next treatment he will have to go through the whole painful process again in the hope that this time too an Israeli human rights organisation will intervene. His only alternative is to set out for his treatment without a permit, but at his previous attempt to do this he was stopped by the soldiers at the checkpoint. The punishment: to stand for an hour next to his car, supported on his crutches.

Patients from Gaza meet an intertwined bureaucracy, Israeli and Palestinian, when they are sent again and again to apply via through the Palestinian regional council. Here more than anywhere else, their ability to appeal against the prohibition on security grounds is dependent on the functioning of the Palestinian DCL.

A.G., a 17 year old girl from Gaza, is in need of an immediate corneal transplant as she is gradually going blind. Her parents reported that the deterioration in her eyesight is seriously affecting her school work and her mental state. The family applied for a permit that would enable her to go to St John’s Hospital in East Jerusalem. The application was submitted through the Palestinian DCL in Gaza which passed it on to the Israeli DCL. In spite of repeated requests from the Palestinian DCL, the answer remained the same: the girl

36. **Machsom Watch** report, 5/2/2004.

is prohibited for security reasons. None of the rest of the family is prohibited for security reasons. The fact of the prohibition was confirmed to **PHR-Israel** by the department of applications at the Israeli DCL. Therefore we applied to the Legal Advisor for the Gaza Strip, who claimed that the family should apply through the Palestinian DCL and that the girl was not prohibited on security grounds. Only our insistence resulted in the office of the Legal Advisor agreeing to deal with the matter without sending the family to apply through the Palestinian DCL for the sixth time. We are still waiting for an answer.

The Palestinian DCLs

As we have already noted, every Israeli DCL has a corresponding Palestinian DCL and a few representatives. When the Oslo Agreements were drawn up, their intention was that the Palestinian resident should apply only through the Palestinian DCLs who would deal with the various applications opposite the Israeli representatives. However, from the first day, it was clear that in every place where there was physical access to the Israeli DCL many people would prefer to go there directly. Only in the Gaza Strip, because of the fence surrounding it, were the residents unable to get to the Israeli DCL from the time the Oslo Agreements were signed until today. The disadvantages are clear. The process of dealing with the application is longer, and an atmosphere of mistrust develops between the residents and the Palestinian DCL, with the residents criticizing it as not trying hard enough for them, not appealing against negative answers and sometimes not sending in the application at all. This situation is very convenient for the Israeli authorities, since they are not challenged as to the processes of decision making and are able to reject charges about their functioning with the claim that the Palestinian Authority has no complaints: 'In our opinion, it is the Palestinian Council which represents the Palestinian residents in the Gaza Strip, and it is with them that we discuss the arrangements for coordination and cooperation between the Israeli authorities and the responsible representatives of the Palestinian Council in the area of health... we have never received any official complaint from the Palestinian side as to the arrangements which were fixed for treatment of patients.'³⁷ In Gaza it is easier to preserve the situation as it was because 'according to the agreements, which were, as we have noted, fixed together with the Palestinians by mutual agreement, applications are passed on to the Health Coordinator, but only through the representatives of the Palestinian Council,'³⁸ and because of the lack of physical access for the residents of Gaza to the Israeli DCL at the Erez crossing.

All through the years, from the Oslo Agreements until today, **PHR-Israel** and other organizations have worked and are working on behalf

37. Colonel Yosef Talraz, locum Chief Military Attorney, in a letter to **PHR-Israel** 8th April 1996.

38. *Loc. cit.*

of residents whose applications have been rejected. It is clear that the ability of the Israeli human rights organizations to protest against the way applications are dealt with in the Israeli DCLs – and also to petition the Supreme Court – is the main reason for their influence as opposed to that of the Palestinian DCLs. Therefore, every process of clarification and appeal by a Palestinian DCL is in effect devoid of any real content, as it has no influence on the process of making decisions. Furthermore, this process is not transparent, answers are not given in writing, and those which are, lack the details needed for an effective appeal.³⁹ Whether it is because of this, or for other reasons, the Palestinian DCLs do not stand up enough for the right of the residents to move freely. From October 2000, Israel returned to control the West Bank directly and the differences between Areas A, B and C collapsed, so that in all the areas the Palestinian residents can apply directly to the Israeli DCLs. Because of the clear advantages, especially the fact that the resident can represent himself to the authorities without a third party, many of them prefer to apply to the Israeli DCLs. The Gaza Strip is the only place where the original model has been preserved, and the Palestinian authority acts as a go-between between occupier and occupied.

Reports to **PHR-Israel** which have been confirmed by the Spokesperson for the Civil Administration, Lieutenant Talia Somech⁴⁰, reveal that an attempt was made to implement this model in the West Bank too, so that most of the Palestinian residents needing permits would apply to the Palestinian DCLs and cut down the contact between them and the Israeli DCLs. Following complaints from **PHR-Israel** that patients whose dates for treatment were very soon had not been answered by the Israeli DCL, we were told that there had been a misunderstanding. In her letter to **PHR-Israel**, Lieutenant Somech stressed that “there is no new instruction to direct all the residents to the Palestinian DCL, but to set off a process which eventually would make things easier for the residents. It should be stressed that the recommendation to apply to the Palestinian DCL is related to non-urgent cases. Urgent humanitarian applications are dealt with by the [Israeli H.Z.] DCL immediately.⁴¹” Following our previous experience, we must suppose that here too, as with the hold-ups at the road blocks,

39. For a detailed description of the situation at the time, see the Supreme Court file no. 9109/96, **PHR-Israel** against the Minister of Defence and others.

40. Lieutenant Talia Somech, spokesperson for the Civil Authority, in a letter to **PHR-Israel**, 3rd March 2004.

41. *Loc. Cit.*

there will also be basic disagreements as to the definition of an urgent humanitarian case.

However, the new recommendation is revealed to be much the same as the new-old tendency of the Civil Administration to restrict contact between itself and the Palestinian residents as much as possible, handing over the bureaucracy of the occupation to Palestinian sub-contractors. At a meeting of **Machsom Watch** with representatives of the Civil Administration⁴² the latter said: ‘the Palestinian DCLs are supposed to provide services. They are supposed to hand on applications for permits to the Administration... .The idea is that the population should come to the Palestinian offices and that once a day there is a meeting with the Israeli DCL. This lengthens the process a little, and that is why people prefer to apply to the Israeli DCL.’⁴³ They see the direct contact with the Palestinians as something forced on them: ‘The Palestinian Authority has not been fully functioning for the past three years, so the Civil Administration helps with what the Authority does not manage to do... The matter of the DCLs and the permits is just an added function... in the Palestinian DCLs there is corruption and problems in functioning and they also did not want to collaborate. So the Administration was called on to help and develop the Israeli DCLs...We are trying to solve the problems.’⁴⁴

Nevertheless, the Palestinian residents do not apply to the Israeli DCL out of caprice alone; they know what the representatives of the Civil Administration have admitted: the agreements left the real power in everything to do with permits in the hands of the Israeli DCL: ‘the magnetic card is security clearance, so that we did not and will not transfer it to the Palestinians.’⁴⁵

In an attempt to examine the nature of the functions of the Palestinian DCLs, we met seniors of DCLs from Abu Dis, Qalqilya and Tulkarem. We found that most of them want to be the only officials to deal with the applications for permits, for in that way they are evidence, at least symbolically, of the survival of the government system of the Palestinian Authority. However, they too admitted that they are totally dependent on the connection with the Israeli DCL, and in actual fact the final decision

42. Meeting on 6th January 2004.

43. General Ilan Paz, head of the Civil Administration to the **Machsom Watch** women.

44. *Loc. cit.*

45. *Loc. cit.*

is in the hands of the Israelis. Most of them expressed frustration with the fact that in the present balance of power, where security terms hold sway, Israel has turned them into messenger boys without any real influence.

Abu Dis DCL

The importance of the Palestinian DCL at Abu Dis is considerable. The Wall which is being built is cutting off the residents of Abu Dis, Sawahreh, Azariya and a-Za'im from Jerusalem, which makes the permits absolutely essential. Ramallah, Hebron and Bethlehem are not the natural metropolis for these neighbourhoods, and anyway it is almost impossible to get to them because of the internal checkpoints. Now the roads to Jerusalem are also being blocked for the residents. It is ironic that the area of Jerusalem, which was ignored in the planning of the Oslo Agreements and the siting of the different DCLs, should now re-appear in the context of the policies of closure and blockade. In cutting off the free passage to Bethlehem and Ramallah, it is as if they were demonstrating anew the vital connection of the inhabitants of this district with the central city. Indeed, Jerusalem is a Palestinian economic, spiritual and medical centre; metropolis, vital to the daily life of the residents of these suburbs.

A Palestinian patient or doctor who lives in one of these neighbourhoods is about five minutes by car from the Augusta Victoria or Muqassed hospitals, but this road is no longer open because of the Wall. He or she must now travel via the a-Za'im checkpoint at Ma'aleh Adumim and wait until he can pass through; then he will carry on northwards to French Hill; only there can turn back south to the hospitals. On a good day and at times when priority is not given at the checkpoint to settlers coming from Ma'aleh Adumim, this journey will take 40 minutes. On a bad day, heaven alone knows how long it will take. This assessment was actually confirmed by the security forces themselves, in a reply to the Supreme Court petition by **PHR-Israel** about Dr Na'im Salameh and his journeys to the hospital where he works: 'In the opinion of the respondent, the minimal time for arriving by car from the area of Abu Dis to the Augusta Victoria hospital via the a-Za'im checkpoint is about forty minutes.'

Thus 40 minutes is the minimum time. 'The checkpoint is closed to Palestinians between 7.00 and 9.00. They allow the many cars coming from Ma'aleh Adumim to drive on without being stopped. Every morning, the cars of the settlers go to Jerusalem without being stopped, while the Palestinian cars wait at the checkpoint. At 9.00 [after the main traffic from

Ma'aleh Adumim has gone through] the checkpoint is opened, and the Palestinians go through.⁴⁶

In spite of the considerable importance of the Abu Dis DCL, for many long months there was no address for its complaints: The Israeli representation at Ma'aleh Adumim was closed for renovations. Today also, it is clear to everyone involved that only a basic change in the Israeli policy will bring about a solution for the distress of the residents of these neighbourhoods of East Jerusalem.

At a meeting with **Machsom Watch**,⁴⁷ a senior officer in the Palestinian DCL at Abu Dis, said that the permits – most of which are given for one day only – cannot be a solution to the difficulties caused by the Wall in the face of the daily need of thousands of people to get to East Jerusalem. They are therefore not at the top of his list of priorities: “What is more important is the struggle over free access to Jerusalem, at least for emergency cases, and there about 10-20 emergencies every day. The only way to get to the hospitals by car is to order a private ambulance. This costs 200-300 NIS and people just have not got the money. At the a-Za'im checkpoint they often hold ambulances up to check them over, sometimes people have to change ambulance and only then make all the journey round about to get back to the East Jerusalem hospital. If someone from Abu Dis is injured or has a heart attack, what stops him from getting to medical treatment at Makassad Hospital, a few hundred metres from his house is the Wall. It is the same for the Augusta Victoria hospital, Saint John and the maternity hospital Al-Hilal [belonging to the Palestinian Red Crescent. H.Z.]. Because of this, you can see cancer patients, women in labour, and chronic patients climbing or being dragged over the Wall, to take a short cut to the hospital.”

Tulkarem DCL⁴⁸

In the Tulkarem DCL they are aware of the bureaucratic nature of the occupation and the posts which must be filled to cope with it. Recently the opening hours have been extended to midnight on the instructions of the Civil Affairs office of the Palestinian Authority. The head of the DCL and another duty officer leave their telephones on for emergencies after

46. Report by **Machsom-Watch**, 22.1.04.

47. Report by **Machsom-Watch**, 22.1.04.

48. Verbal communication from a senior, the Tulkarem DCL to **PHR-Israel**, 10th February 2004.

midnight. This decision springs from the fact that the total occupation, accompanied by daily disorders and intrusions, undoubtedly makes it necessary to receive applications at all hours of day or night. In the DCL are 16 workers to serve the population of Tulkarem and district. Reception hours are from 8.00am to 14.30, and from 14.30 a new shift takes over until 21.00.

Every resident who wants a permit for Israel has to fill in a form for an 'application for an entry permit to Israel.' The form is provided by the Palestinian Office for Civil Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior and distributed to all sorts of scribes who sit at every street corner and fill in the forms for people so that it will be in clear and legible writing. It is not necessary to have the form filled in such a way in order for it to be accepted in the Israeli DCL, but it is clear that this makes dealing with it easier. The scribe takes between 7-10NIS per form. Medical documentation, invitations, and photocopies of identity cards are added to the form according to the nature of application. The Palestinian DCL does not make a charge for dealing with the application. Sometimes, because of an emergency, it is even dealt with by fax. But the procedural rules are that every day two Palestinian representatives go to the Israeli DCL. In the morning they hand over the applications and in the evening they receive the answers, and hand over new applications.

According to a senior in the DCL, every day there are about 8 requests for treatment in East Jerusalem hospitals or in Israel. Every month there are about 300 applications for permits on health grounds, and they coordinate about 15 ambulance journeys to Jordan. Similarly, about 100 applications are dealt with for permits to travel between villages and cities, and about 100 for coordination at checkpoints. There are also applications from traders and workers.

Here too, it was reported that a prohibition for security reasons is a serious problem. Even when it is a medical case, the DCL encounters refusals, either for the patient himself, or for an accompanying person (parent, spouse). On the form is written 'prohibition for security reasons,' and the whole form, together with the original application, is returned to the Palestinian DCL. Sometimes the Palestinian DCL encounters a rejection which is not for security reasons: for example, it is claimed that the reason for the application is not convincing. A random check by us of applications which were submitted in the month of January showed that, on that particular day, 40% of applications in a medical context were rejected.

Qalqilya DCL

In a conversation with a senior in Qalqilya DCL, he reported to us that there is no form or procedural rules for an appeal whereby the Palestinian DCL can get the answer of the Israeli DCL in anything connected to a rejection of an application for a permit. “The only way to try to change the answer is to ask the applicant to produce more and more papers and endorsements, and to return and apply again and again until they succeed. The Palestinian representative can also ask the Israeli representative for the reason for the rejection. Usually the answer will be that the Israeli representative has passed the application on to, for example, the Health Coordinator, Dalia Bassa in the Civil Administration or the representative of the GSS, for an examination of the possibility of cancelling the rejection. In other cases, the answer will be that the application is being dealt with by some committee...” According to the senior, there are no lengthy discussions about every file and there is no way to persuade the Israeli representative, partly because the decision is anyway not within his power. Both of them, the Israeli and the Palestinian representative, “function as messenger boys. There is no discussion!’ Because of this ‘there are many who go to the Israeli DCL and by pass the Palestinian DCL. Some of them get [their permits] and some don’t.”⁴⁹

Summary

The desire of the Palestinian DCLs to control the process of dealing with the applications is clear, and has accompanied their functioning ever since Oslo: the desire to inspire an atmosphere of control and statehood. This desire is still there, in spite of the fact that most of the decisions remain in Israeli hands, and it has continued even during the last four years when Israel has gone back to total de facto control all over the Occupied Territories. Therefore, in spite of their helplessness, the Palestinian DCLs prefer the residents to apply directly to them and not to the Israeli DCLs: “We have no way of stopping this because Israel gives free access [to the Israeli DCLs], unless the soldier is lazy and sends them to the Palestinians.”⁵⁰

However, this Palestinian desire to preserve something of the symbols of ‘independence’, their positions of power and control over the Palestinian population works paradoxically in the Israeli interests. The Israelis

49. A meeting with Salah Haj Yehaya, March 2004.

50. *Loc. Cit.*

have an interest in cutting down contact with the Palestinian residents, particularly because contact signifies responsibility. Avoidance of direct contact by the Israelis carries a number of advantages. The applicant – the Palestinian resident – cannot bring his claims directly to authority who makes the decision – the Israeli DCL. Thus the system of occupation saves itself the emotional and actual coping of the soldier who is fulfilling his function. It is easier to reject a dry form than a patient desperate to live, even through an intercom, fences and concrete. Those rejecting – the Israeli Security forces – do not have to bear the direct initial anger of the resident who receives an answer rejecting his application, nor do they bare responsibility for the results of the rejection. The anger, conveniently, is directed against the Palestinian DCL which did not try hard enough. And indeed the Palestinian DCLs are engaged in trying to run the day to day life of millions of Palestinians. It is clear that their fight for a specific patient will be less tenacious than that waged directly by the patient himself. When human rights organisations complain about the manner of dealing with problems, and even appeal against them, they are presented by the Israeli system as weakening the Palestinian DCLs. The Palestinian DCLs have received a ready-made system of controlling their population which presents them as providers of service with some sort of status in the face of the system of occupation. The fact that gradually this status is being revealed as empty of content has still not brought about the required change in their self- perception vs. this system, just as in the wider arena the tightening of Israeli control in the last few years has not brought about a new assessment as to the degree of responsibility and functioning of the Palestinian Authority.

In fact, in contradiction to what was said by the Civil Administration, that it wishes to strengthen the Palestinian DCLs, it is the same trend of weakening them which is deeply rooted in the Oslo Agreements, a trend where the Israeli side – the Civil Administration – hands over to the Palestinians all the responsibility, but leaves itself all the power.⁵¹ Thus when **PHR-Israel** criticized the functioning of the Israeli DCLs over the lack of transparency in their decisions, the latter shook off all responsibility in a way which revealed the function they had left to the Palestinian representation:

51. This process has its origins in the handing over of civilian powers in the Interim Agreement, 1995. For a detailed criticism of this Agreement, see: **PHR-Israel Overview: The transfer of health services to the Palestinian authority: annual report 1993**, and especially the 11 point document, as well as **PHR-Israel A Legacy of Injustice** November 2002.

‘The procedural rules which the organisation [PHR-Israel H.Z] objects to were fixed in collaboration with the Palestinians in the sub-committee for health matters. In our view, it is the Palestinian Council which represents the residents in the Gaza Strip, and it is with them that we discuss the organisation of coordination and cooperation between the Israeli Authorities and the responsible representatives of the Palestinian Council on health matters. We must further stress that in the Interim Agreement the general responsibility in the area of health in the area of the Council passed to the Palestinian Council. Together with this, Israel still helps the Palestinian Authority on a humanitarian basis, in so far as is possible taking into consideration Israeli security factors, but it should be stressed that this is voluntary, and not because they have any obligation to do so.’⁵²

Thus if the process is analysed carefully, we can only understand it as a process whereby the Palestinian institution is weakened in the eyes of the residents which it is trying to serve. It is doubtful whether the Israeli government officials actually seriously weighed up what would be the results of this process of divide and rule, just as it is doubtful whether they weigh up the influences of the closure and blockade on Palestinian society and its ability to exist physically, spiritually and socially.

52. Colonel Yosef Talraz, locum Chief Military Attorney, in a letter to PHR-Israel 8th April 1996.

Summary

An occupying power has many means by which to exert its rule. Violent infringements of human rights are the easiest to uncover. The damage of a checkpoint, the damage of soldiers' violence, like the damage of torture and the destruction of houses is clear for all to see. The picture is easy to photograph, and if it causes a debate, this will be around the balance between the clear damage and the discourse of security needs. This is after all the discourse which characterises the many debates where this policy is attacked in the Israeli Supreme Court.

In contrast to the open violence, the occupying forces also engage in hidden violence. There is bureaucratic violence, which the film attached to this report attempts to uncover. The waiting for the permit which may or may not come, the lack of information as to whether the hatch will close before I have submitted my application for a permit, will they return me the documents supporting my application for a permit? – all these leave the DCL and the soldiers staffing it in a position of total control, whose authority only gets stronger the more arbitrary it is.

In the queue at the DCL – as opposed to that at the checkpoints – there is no Palestinian society, there are only individuals begging for a permit. As such, they are easy to control. Giving a permit to one means denying it to another. There is no possible discussion of rights. The fact that, in one way or another, the Palestinian DCLs are doing the same thing turns them into yet another instrument of control in the hands of Israel over the Palestinian population. The fact that the longer the closure and the blockade last and the harder it gets to travel, more and more bodies – including human rights organizations – deal with getting permits to travel, makes it harder to crack this system of control. The fear of losing the little that there is – the permits that are actually given – brings about the preservation of one of the most harmful mechanisms to the freedom of Palestinian society.

According to the data in the response provided by the Coordination of Government Activities in the Territories Office,⁵³ approximately 4% of the

53. Lt. Col. Daniel Beaudoin, Head of Foreign Relations Branch, in a letter to **PHR-Israel**, 1st June 2004.

residents of the West Bank were granted a blockade permit, 5.3% received a permit into Israel, and 0.6% received a seam zone permit. Therefore, we face a situation where only 10% of the Palestinian population of the West Bank received a movement permit throughout 2003. In fact, we are referring to even less than 10%, as some of those who received a permit, required more than one during the year due to their profession or specific needs. For example, a chronic patient requires several permits in a 1-year period so that he/she may undergo a series of necessary treatments. It is quite evident that normal civil life, and a proper medical system, cannot exist when the movement of more than 90% of the residents is officially prohibited.

PHR-Israel and **Machsom Watch** believe that we must wage a tenacious struggle against the restrictions on freedom of movement in the Occupied Territories. And that this struggle should be the struggle of Israeli and Palestinian civil society together. In this struggle we should see getting a permit as the opposite of an achievement and define it as it really is: agreement with Israel's total power to define the space, if not the very existence, of the individual and of the right of individuals to exist and define themselves as a group. It is desirable for this struggle to involve both societies because of its destructive influence, albeit not to the same degree, on the lives of both.

Recommendations:

In the current political situation, both Israel and the PA are interested – each for its own reasons – in keeping the responsibility on health services in the hands of the Palestinians. At the least, Israel is obliged to enable its function as with the rest of civic systems.

Therefore Israel must:

- Seize its policy of internal blockades & checkpoints.
- Enable free movement within the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
- Hold a free and safe passage between the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
- Enable a consecutive connection between residents of the Occupied Territories and the Palestinian hospitals in East Jerusalem.

It should be stressed that as long as Israel controls the Occupied Territories, it bears responsibility on the needs of its civil population. This includes the responsibility on the existence of proper health services in the Occupied Territories. No political reality can exempt it of this responsibility.



STATE OF ISRAEL
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
COORDINATION OF GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES IN THE
TERRITORIES

1 June 2004

Ms. Ravit Blumenthal
“Doctors for Human Rights”

I hereby confirm receipt of your request, following is our response:

It has been more than 3 years, since September 2000, that the State of Israel has been in an armed conflict with Palestinian terrorist elements.

In order to understand the volume and dimensions of terrorist activities with which the State of Israel must deal, it is sufficient to present the following data - since the commencement of the current conflict, September 2000; over 21,500 attacks have been carried out against Israelis. These terrorist attacks have cost the lives of over 950 Israelis and have caused injury to over 6,300 others, some of them seriously wounded.

One of the phenomena encountered by the IDF in its fight against the Palestinian terrorists is the total and intentional insignificance created by the terrorists between themselves and the innocent Palestinian population. The Palestinian terrorists operate within the civilian population, dressed in civilian clothes, through assimilation into the population and exploitation of its patronage. Houses, hospitals and ambulances, religious institutions, schools - are all exploited by the terrorists as cover for their activities.

With respect to the above, against the setting of these Palestinian practices, the IDF is forced to uphold processes of inspections and control over the movements of the civilian population, while attempting to minimize any injury involved therein.

Due to the severity of the security situation, the IDF was forced to apply restrictions to the civilian population, which affected the freedom of movement and the ability to maintain a stable lifestyle. This security necessity is grounded in the High Court of Justice [verdict] 2847/03 Hassan Mearuf Ratab Al Una Wach vs. The Commander of the IDF Forces in Judea & Samaria, which was submitted, inter alia, by the

“Doctors for Human Rights” Society. This appeal was rejected on the face of it by the High Court. Following is the verdict handed down by the Honorable Judge Heshin, in the High Court of Justice, (on July 14, 2003):

“We all agree that the situation of the residents of the villages is not easy, but we are obliged, at the same time, to voice our opinion with respect to the security considerations that brought about the restrictions on travel on the roads. As the representative of the State explained to us, both verbally and in writing, the city of Nablus constitutes a source of terrorists departing on missions of death and destruction in the Territories and in Israel and all those means applied by the Military were only to defend the lives of the residents of Israel and the settlers in Judea and Samaria.

We heard the claims of the representatives of the plaintiffs, and with all the empathy that we feel for the plaintiffs - and all, or at least the majority of them surely are innocent - we did not find any pretext to say to the defendant that his deeds depart from reasonable norms or from the proper methods.”

In an attempt to relieve the crossing through the roadblocks of the civilian population who are not involved in terrorist activities, the Civilian Administration began issuing travel permits (under closure) January 21, 2002. These permits although not issued to the general public, are, on the other hand, not issued lightly. The permits are issued for many and varied objectives, such as: Merchants, medical teams, teachers, pupils, infrastructure repair teams etc. The objective is to enable, by means of the permits, to traverse the roadblocks in a proper and organized manner.

The Adaptation of the Civilian Authority to the Reality on the Ground.

In the wake of the change in the civilian reality, the Civil Administration altered the structure of the system, in order to adapt itself to the existing reality.

In April 2002, during the Defensive Wall Campaign, a “Health Center” was established in the Civil Administration (this will be detailed below). In January 2003, the civilian and military Coordination and Liaison mechanisms were merged under the Coordination of Government Activities in the Territories Command. This added dozens of officers and soldiers to the system. In a period in which security liaison is almost de facto non existent, the organization made dealing with the civilian population its central activity.

As a result of the merging of mechanisms, the Tul Karem Coordination & Liaison Office was established, which was added to the 7 existing

Regional Coordination & Liaison Offices and the Abu Dis Representation. The Coordination & Liaison Office serves the population in the city of Tul Karem and the surrounding area.

In addition, a new branch was established in the Civil Administration, headed by a Lt. Col., which deals with liaison with international organizations. An officer, whose job it is to enable and assist the activities of the international organizations operating in the field for the welfare of the Palestinians, was posted to each of the Regional Coordination & Liaison Offices.

In February 2003, the Civil Administration commenced operating public transport services between the Palestinian towns. Today, there are 24 routes in operation which do not require travel permits and which serve 8,000 - 10,000 passengers daily.

Please be advised that in December 2003, 4,000 reserve duty days were allocated to the Civil Administration, for the purpose of positioning Civil Administration representatives at roadblocks. In addition, in 2004, 15 permanent positions were allocated to the Civil Administration, 6 of which were officers and 9 N. C. O.'s as well as 25 positions of regular conscription soldiers, for the purpose of positioning representatives at roadblocks.

“Humanitarian Center”

In February 2003, the Civil Administration established a humanitarian war room operating 24 hours a day, the objective of which is to provide a response to the appeals of residents, Palestinian elements, human rights organizations etc., for urgent humanitarian matters.

During 2003, the Center handled 2,563 complaints, of which 63% were resolved through the intervention of the Center. 2,254 complaints were transferred by the “Individual Rights Protection Center”, 115 complaints by the “Roadblock Watch” Organization, and 96 complaints by the Doctors For Human Rights Organization.

The Activities of the Coordination & Liaison Authority

As stated in the report, the Civil Administration is not structured to provide services to the entire Palestinian population in the Judea & Samaria areas. To this purpose, the Palestinian Liaison Offices were established, which deal on a day to day basis with the Israeli Coordination & Liaison Offices.

The reception windows at the Coordination & Liaison Offices are open on Sunday to Thursday from 08:00 - 17:30, with some of the soldiers taking a one hour lunch break at some of the Coordination & Liaison Offices.

The public reception at the Coordination & Liaison Offices has

not ceased during the past three years, with the exception of times when focused warnings of attacks on the camps were received and for purposes of upgrading the fortification of the public reception windows. The fortification of the public reception windows was carried out at all the Coordination & Liaison Offices after a suicide attack at the reception window of the Tul Karem Coordination & Liaison Office in October 2003, which resulted in the serious wounding of a soldier and the light wounding of another soldier. The coordination with the Palestinian Liaison continues to this day. At the Abu Dis representation, the work to position shielding did continue for a number of months, but the Representation continued its operation with the Palestinian Liaison Office in Abu Dis.

The bars, the slot in the receptionist's window, the intercom and the armored glass are security measures that we are forced to implement in order to protect our soldiers and, at the same time, to continue providing services to the population.

Permits

The data with respect to the issue of permits as appearing in the report, relates only to written travel permits [under closure], which were issued at the Coordination & Liaison Offices up to September 17, 2003. In actual fact, in 2003, 91,765 written travel permits [under closure] were issued, as well as 123,216 entry permits to Israel and 14,169 seam area permits. Total permits issued, 229,150. In addition, 51,432 magnetic cards were issued.

The Activities of the Civil Administration in the Medical Field

Within the framework of the activities of the Health Coordination Unit, a "Health Center" was operated, operating during the day in conjunction with hospitals in the Judea & Samaria areas, clinics, "The Red Crescent" etc. In addition to the coordination of ongoing traffic of ambulances in urgent medical cases, the Civil Administration operates many and varied arrangements in order to enable the movement of patients, ambulances and medical teams, also during times when travel restrictions for security reasons are applied. During 2003, 27,725 permits were issued for the benefit of medical purposes and the accompaniment of patients in Judea & Samaria areas and to Israel.

It is further noted, that throughout the years, The State of Israel has allowed access by Palestinians requiring medical treatment to hospitals of neighboring countries and Israeli hospitals. During 2003, the Authority executed 19,488 coordinations for patients to Israeli hospitals. This in addition to the approximately 1,500 ambulances which convey patients, the passage of which is coordinated to Jordan and back and the exit

of dozens of Palestinian children for purposes of obtaining medical treatment abroad.

In this context we will add that Palestinian medical teams working in hospitals in East Jerusalem and in Israel arrive at their workplaces on days of general closures. During 2003, 860 licenses and 50 permits were issued.

Security Prevented Palestinians

We regret that the report did not express the security considerations that guide the security forces in their activities, alongside the humanitarian considerations relating to the matter. In those cases that a Palestinian resident, who requests medical treatment in Israel, is prevented from a security point of view, the Civil Administration operates in conjunction with the highest level of security forces in order to enable the provision of medical treatment. We further add that any resident who feels that he has been treated unfairly in the handling of his request, is entitled to exercise his rights through the High Court of Justice.

Conclusion

The activities of the Civil Administration , at all levels, is from a clear interest of the State of Israel to allow the existence of a proper life style for the Palestinian population of Judea & Samaria as far as possible and not from an attempt to be converted into a ruling mechanism over the civilian population.

The Palestinian population is affected by the security situation, the hundreds of commanders and soldiers operating in the territories operate incessantly to realize the directives of the Security System, both the security and civilian facets, while adapting the lines of the system to the reality existing on the ground.

The authors of the report claim that the “The Civil Administration exists for the purpose of maintaining a visual facade... and that it has no intention of providing a true response to needs of the population”. This claim constitutes a total overlooking of the reality and the pretence of innocence. We regret that the authors of the report do not understand the reality on the ground and the security limitations. The majority of effort that the Security Organization carries out, as detailed in this response, indicates that the State of Israel invests much resources and manpower in order to enable the existence of a reasonable fabric of life as far as possible for the civilian population in Judea and Samaria.”

Sincerely,

**Lt. Col. Daniel Beaudoin
Head Foreign Relations Branch**

Appendixes & Photographs

Entry permit into Israel

28/10/2002 התאריך: التاريخ:	טול כרם טול כרם	7730124992 התאום והקישור האזרחי - التنسيق والارتباط المدني	מספר: رقم:
09:08:01 השעה: الساعة:	היתר כניסה לישראל - תקף בסגור אפריל 2002 تصريح دخول إلى إسرائيل - منتهي صلاحته في 2002 تصريح تفضل خاص في الجواز الداخلية في منطقة יהודה والسامرة		
<p>לתשומת לב !!! חירות תלואה ג'א'ס'ל אישור הכניסה לישראל הוא אישור כללי בלבד. אישור הכניסה אינו כולל אישור כניסה לטריטוריה המיועדת להגירת אדם. אישור הכניסה אינו כולל אישור כניסה לטריטוריה המיועדת להגירת אדם. אישור הכניסה אינו כולל אישור כניסה לטריטוריה המיועדת להגירת אדם. אישור הכניסה אינו כולל אישור כניסה לטריטוריה המיועדת להגירת אדם.</p>		שם המלא: الاسم الكامل:	
		נשוא ת.ז. حامل هوية	
		ישאי לצאת ל: المقصد الغرضية	למטרות: لغرض:
		רכב מס': رقم في سيارة رقم:	מסוג: من نوع:
		זוקף ההיתר: تاريخ التصريح من:	28/10/2002
		מסעה: من الساعة:	05:00
		עד ש"ה: وحتى الساعة:	19:00
		רמי ברכאת סרו קצין קישור טול כרם	חתימת

An invitation for meeting with a representative of the Israeli General Security Services

<p>מרת"ק הר מנוח מכתב الارتباط والتنسيق الاسرائيلي</p>	<p>צבא הגנה לישראל جيش الدفاع الاسرائيلي</p>
<p>לכבוד מר: لحضرة السيد:</p>	<p>כתובת: العنوان:</p>
<p>הנדון: הזמנה למת"ק הר מנוח الموضوع: دعوة الى مكتب الارتباط والتنسيق الاسرائيلي</p>	
<p>1. הינד מזמן אל: קפטן במת"ק הר מנוח אתה מדעו الى في مكتب الارتباط والتنسيق الاسرائيلي</p>	<p>בתאריך: _____ יום: _____ بتاريخ: _____ يوم: _____</p>
<p>2. עליך להביא איתך את: ת.ז. וזימון זה عليك احضار التالي:</p>	
<p>חתימה التوقيع</p>	<p>חותמת המת"ק ختم مكتب الارتباط والتنسيق الاسرائيلي</p>

An application for a permit during blockade

	תאריך	מתי"ק
הנדון/בקשת היתר תנועה בכתר		

1/פרטימבקשהבקשה		
א/שם פרטי ----- שסהאב ----- שם הסב ----- משפחה -----		
ב/ ת"ז ----- ת"ל ----- מגורים -----		
ג/טלפון -----		
2/ יעד היציאה -----		
3/ מטרת היציאה -----		
4/פרטי הרכב מספר ----- סוג ----- צבע -----		
5/מתאריך ----- עד -----		
6/משעה ----- עד -----		
7/גלוי ----- ת"ז -----		
8/חתימה -----		
מצי"ב / 1/ צילום ת"ז-כר"מ בתוקף 3/ צילום רשיון רכב בתוקף 2/ צילום רשיון רכב בתוקף 4/ צילום תעודת ביטובתוקף* 5/ קבילת על כנסות		

An application for an entry permit into Israel



טופס בקשה להיתר כניסה לישראל
استمارة طلب تصريح دخول لاسرائيل

תאריך: _____

תאריך _____

מס'ד: _____

חלק א' ימולא ע"י התושב

נושא ת.ז. _____

חامل הוזה _____

שם מלא (מרוכז) _____

الاسم الكامل _____

מתגורר ב _____

مكان السكن _____

מבקש לצאת ל _____

اطلب الخروج الى _____

לצורך _____

من اجل _____

ב'רכב מס'פד _____

מסוג _____

בצבע _____

في سياره رقم _____

من نوع _____

ذات اللون _____

מתאריך _____

עד _____

עד שעה _____
 وحتى _____

من تاريخ _____

משעה _____

من الساعة _____

وحسب الساعة _____

כולל לינה/ לא כולל לינה (מחק את המיותר)

بما في ذلك المبيت/ لا يشمل المبيت

נילוויס (מתחת לגיל 16)

مرافقين (تحت سن 16 سنة)

א. יחס קירבה _____

أ. القرابه _____

ב. יחס קירבה _____

ب. القرابه _____

ג. יחס קירבה _____

ج. القرابه _____

ד. יחס קירבה _____

د. القرابه _____

חתימת המבקש
 توقيع المستندي

A permit for a truck (In this example the truck is allowed to move from Tulkarem to Taibe checkpoint only)

	מת"ק <u>4</u> מס' אישור <u>4</u>
	משאית זו רשאית
	לנוע בציר <u>4</u> - מחסום טייבה
	לצורך שינוע
	תוקף האישור מ <u>25.4.02</u> עד <u>9.5.02</u>
	מספר הרכב _____
	חתימת ק. קשור + ת. מת"ק
	<small>רמי ברנאט, סגן מפקד מחוז צפון</small>
	אישור זה תקף רק בצמוד להיתר גלווה.
	מת"ק <u>2</u> מס' אישור <u>2</u>
	משאית זו רשאית
	לנוע בציר <u>2</u> - מחסום טייבה
	לצורך שינוע
	תוקף האישור מ <u>25.4.02</u> עד <u>9.5.02</u>
	מספר הרכב _____
	חתימת ק. קשור + ת. מת"ק
	<small>רמי ברנאט, סגן מפקד מחוז צפון</small>
	אישור זה תקף רק בצמוד להיתר גלווה.

An application to leave the area through Israel's national airport

עבור קמ"א נפת רמאללה

בקשה למתן אשרור יציאה לישראל

פרטי המבקש:

שם מרובע: _____ ח.ז.ח. _____

כתובת: _____ שנת לידה: 1951

פרטי הבקשה:

יעד היציאה: _____ לשדה תלופה בן גוריון

מטרה היציאה: _____ נסיעה לארצות הברית

מבקש לצאת מתאריך _____ עד תאריך _____
 18/11/2003 18/11/2003

רכב מס' _____ מסוג _____ בצבע _____

מ/א צוק צמון

-(לשימוש משרדי)-

החלטת הקמ"א: א. מאשר - _____
 (עם רכב / ללא רכב)

ב. מסרב - _____

ג. אחר - _____

An application for a magnetic card

מכתב התנסיע והארגון המדיני - התאריך _____		משרד התאום והקישור האזרחי - תאריך _____
<p>• בקשה לכרטיס מגנטי</p> <p>• طلب لبطاقة مغنطة</p>		
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content; margin: auto;"> <p>הדבק</p> <p>תמונה</p> <p>الصق صورة</p> </div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 100px; height: 15px; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> <p>ת.ז. _____</p> <p>رقم الهوية (بالأرقام الانجليزية)</p>	

