

# Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas

## Studies of Thought & Experience

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# Documents



# Documents

## *Document No. 1*

### **The First Communiqué of the Islamic Resistance Movement—HAMAS<sup>1</sup>**

14 December 1987

In the Name of *Allah*, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا أَصْبِرُوا وَصَابِرُوا وَرَٰبِطُوا وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ﴾

(O you who have believed, persevere and endure and remain stationed and fear *Allah* that you may be successful)

O Our steadfast Muslim masses:

Today you are on a date with destiny decreed by Almighty *Allah*, which will befall the Jews and their helpers. You are part of this destiny that, sooner or later, will pull up their entity by its roots, *Allah* willing.

In one week, there were hundreds of wounded and dozens of martyrs who gave their lives in *Allah*'s way, for the sake of the glory and dignity of the Muslim Ummah, and to regain our right to our homeland, with the objective to raise *Allah*'s banner on earth. This is a sincere expression of the spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion enjoyed by our people that robbed the Zionists of their sleep and shook their being to the core. This also proved to the world that a people that seek death cannot die.

The Jews must understand that despite their shackles, prisons and detention centers.. despite the suffering endured by our people under their criminal occupation.. despite the rivers of blood, shed everyday.. and despite the wounds, our people are more capable of perseverance and steadfastness than them in the face of their tyranny and arrogance, until they learn that their policy of violence will be met with something [more severe] from our children and young people who love the Gardens of Eternity more than our enemies love this worldly life.

<sup>1</sup> The First Communiqué of the Islamic Resistance Movement—HAMAS, site of Muslim Brothers Movement Wikipedia, translated from Arabic by al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations. All translations of the Qura'nic verses in the Documents are from the site of The Quranic Arabic Corpus, <http://corpus.quran.com/>

The *Intifadah* of our people who are steadfast in our occupied land has come in rejection of the occupation in its entirety and its pressures.. in rejection of the policy of usurping lands and planting settlements.. and in rejection of the policy of oppression imposed by the Zionists.. It has come to awaken the consciences of those panting for an insignificant peace.. for empty international conferences.. for treacherous side reconciliations in the manner of Camp David.. and to let them be certain that Islam is the solution and the alternative.

Do the reckless settlers not know that our people knew and know their path, the path of martyrdom and sacrifice, that our people are generous in this regard, that the policies of their military and settlers will not benefit them and that all their attempts to wipe out and annihilate our people will fail, in spite of their bullets, informers and disgraceful acts..

Let them know that violence only begets violence and killing only begets killing. How true is the saying, “Since I am drowning, why should I fear getting wet?”

To the criminal Zionists: take your hands off our people, our cities, our camps, and our villages. Our battle with you is one of ideology, existence and life.

Let the world know that the Jews commit Nazi crimes against our people, and that they will drink from this same cup.

﴿وَلَنَعْلَمَنَّ نَبَاهُ بَعْدَ حِينٍ﴾

(And you will surely know [the truth of] its information after a time)

The Islamic Resistance Movement

14–12–1987 AD

## ***Document No. 2***

### **Hamas Memorandum to the President and Members of the Preparatory Committee Tasked with Reforming the Palestinian National Council<sup>2</sup>**

6 April 1990

In the Name of *Allah*, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

From the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas)

To: President of the Palestinian National Council

His Eminence Sheikh 'Abdul Hamid al-Sa'eh

Respected Members of the Preparatory Committee,

Assalammu Alaikum Wa Rahmatullah

We in the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), note our appreciation of the kind invitation you extended to us to participate in the works of the preparatory committee for the re-formation of the Palestinian National Council, which will begin its work on Saturday 12 of Ramadan 1410 AH, corresponding to 7 April 1990 AD. This invitation considers (Hamas) an active and influential force in the leadership of the blessed *Intifadah* and a challenge to the Jewish occupation and its oppressive machinery, which has prompted our Palestinian people to rally around their movement (Hamas) in a great jihadist cohesion.. baptized by blood and sacrifices.

While we decline the invitation to participate in the mentioned committee for a number of considerations and circumstances, we ask *Allah* to grant you success to uphold the rights of our people and their fundamentals for which they have made many sacrifices throughout the past years.

On this occasion, the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) reaffirms that it stands with the unity of our people regardless of their orientations and forces, on clear foundations and bases... without compromise or concession... for this reason, our movement proposes to you our vision for the basis on which the Palestinian National Council must be formed in the next stage.

<sup>2</sup> Hamas Media Office, *Wath'iq Harakat al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyyah* (The Documents of the Islamic Resistance Movement), p.126, translated from Arabic by al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations.

Your Eminence the Chairman of the Palestinian National Council

Brothers, Members of the Preparatory Committee

The formation of the National Council in the past stage came as a result of a number of political factors and circumstances experienced by our people in the early years of its national awakening after the exodus in 1948.. No doubt, as a result of the changes and circumstances, the next Palestinian National Council must represent the circumstances of the current stage... the stage of the blessed *Intifadah* and the realities on the ground it has engendered as well as political and popular forces and orientations.

Our valiant uprising has proven that our heroic Palestinian people are able, with *Allah's* help, to confront the occupation and shake its presence and stability... and are insistent upon securing their inalienable rights. The *Intifadah* has also demonstrated the organic cohesion among our people, with all their forces and orientations.

Your Eminence the Chairman of the Palestinian National Council

Brothers, Members of the Preparatory Committee

The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) believes that the new lineup of the National Council must accommodate the following elements:

First: Election not appointment must be the primary means by which the members of the National Council are selected. Elections take place according to regions and with proportions that are equivalent to their weight.

Second: If the elections cannot be held, then the lineup should reflect the weight of the political forces on the ground, in numbers proportional to their sizes.

Third: Independents are chosen... based on the results of the elections. If it is not possible to hold the elections, their numbers and names are determined according to the consensus of all active forces on the Palestinian arena.

Fourth: For political, administrative, security and financial considerations, it is preferred that the number of members in the Palestinian National Council would be reduced and the role of the Central Council be reconsidered.

Fifth: Amending the Palestinian National Charter in line with the doctrine of the Muslim Palestinian people and their heritage.

Your Eminence the Chairman of the Palestinian National Council

### Brothers, Members of the Preparatory Committee

The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) stresses the importance of national unity in this crucial stage of our people's jihad.. for this reason, we in Hamas open our hearts and chests and extend our hands to coordinate with all Palestinian forces, parties and institutions to serve the best interests of our people and our cause. In line with (Hamas)'s fixed position on this issue.. and answering the calls for (Hamas) to participate in the National Palestinian Council by His Eminence the Chairman of the Palestinian National Council Sheikh 'Abdul-Hamid al-Sa'ih, and by some Palestinian forces approving this, Hamas can deal positively with the issue of participating in the Palestinian National Council:

First: Considering Palestine the land from the sea to the river, and from the Negev to Ras al-Naqoura, is one and indivisible, and is the right of the Palestinian people.

Second: Refusal to compromise on any part of the land of Palestine, and refusing recognition of the Jewish entity as a legitimate entity under any circumstances.. and rejecting all international resolutions that detract from our people's rights in their land, including resolutions 181, 242 and 338.

Third: Reaffirming the military option, and considering jihad the right path to liberate Palestine and achieve independence.

Fourth: Considering the question of Palestine an issue that concerns the entire Arab and Muslim nation, which must do what is needed in this regard and assume its role in the liberation.

Fifth: Reaffirming the importance of the continuation, development and escalation of the *Intifadah*, and supporting the steadfastness of our people against the occupation.

Sixth: Representing (Hamas) in the Council with a number of members equivalent to its weight on the ground, which is between 40–50% of the total number of members of the Palestinian National Council.

Seventh: (Hamas) must obtain its rights in all institutions and departments of the Organization [PLO] proportional to its size and weight.

Eighth: The immediate cessation of all violations and assaults against (Hamas) prisoners at the hands of Fatah in prisons inside [Palestine], and giving them the rights enjoyed by [the prisoners affiliated to] other forces in the prisons.



Ninth: Annulling all retreats, concessions and recognitions that are contrary to our rights, the aspirations of our people and their sacrifices, the latest concessions having been in the decisions of the nineteenth session in Algeria in November 1988.

Tenth: Taking into account the above-mentioned five elements in the formation of the National Council. These fundamentals, principles and conditions, are not a new proposition by the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) and are not intended to obstruct.. but they are the foundations that our movement was established on to affirm and defend.

Your Eminence Chairman of the Palestinian National Council

Brothers, Members of the Preparatory Committee

As we present our vision for re-forming the Palestinian National Council and our considerations for participating and engaging in the Palestine Liberation Organization.. we affirm our readiness to work diligently with all Palestinian forces regardless of their ideology or affiliation, and ask *Allah* to guide you and help you succeed, and *Allah* is behind the intent.. may *Allah* preserve the unity of our people and nation.

﴿وَقُلْ أَعْمَلُوا فَسَيَرَى اللَّهُ عَمَلَكُمْ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ﴾

(And say, Do [as you will], for *Allah* will see your deeds, and [so, will] His Messenger and the believers. And you will be returned to the Knower of the unseen and the witnessed, and He will inform you of what you used to do)

The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas)

Palestine

11 Ramadan 1410 AH

6 April 1990 AD

## Document No. 3

### The First Statement of the Ezzedeen al-Qassam Brigades<sup>3</sup>

1 January 1992

In the Name of *Allah*, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

﴿قَتَلُوهُمْ يَعْذِبُهُمُ اللَّهُ بِأَيْدِيكُمْ وَيُخْزِيهِمْ وَيَصْرِكُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ وَيُشْفِ صُدُورَ قَوْمٍ مُّؤْمِنِينَ﴾

(Fight them; *Allah* will punish them by your hands and will disgrace them and give you victory over them and satisfy the breasts of a believing people)

Military statement

The Jewish rabbi (Doron Shushan) was killed in response to the crimes of the terrorist Rabin

In retaliation for the cascade of blood flowing from the bleeding wounds of our people everywhere in our pure land, and to burn the ground under the feet of the Jewish gangs occupying the land of Palestine, one of our groups on Wednesday 1/1/1992 shot and killed the rabbi of the settlement of Kfar Darom (Doron Shushan), by shooting him. Let Rabin and his cohorts know that killing innocent members of our people will be met in kind, and every Jew shall be a legitimate target for our heroes from this moment.

We pledge to *Allah* that we will continue on the path of jihad until victory or martyrdom.

*Allah* is great and praise to *Allah*

*Allah* is great and death to the occupiers

Martyr Ezzedeen al-Qassam Brigades

1 January 1992 AD

<sup>3</sup> The First Statement of the Ezzedeen al-Qassam Brigades, Muslim Brothers Movement Wikipedia, translated from Arabic by al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations.

## ***Document No. 4***

### **Hamas Statement Rejecting the Cairo Agreement (Oslo 2) Between the PLO and Israel<sup>4</sup>**

14 May 1994

The anniversary of the creation of the occupation state and the Zionist aggression against our sacred Palestinian land, falls on Sunday 15 May, less than two weeks after the signing of the fateful Cairo Agreement, where our Palestinian cause is undergoing a serious stage of our long struggle against the brutal occupation. On 15 May 1948, Ben-Gurion declared the establishment of the state of the occupying enemy after the occupation of our Palestinian land in 1948.

In these days, the Zionist occupiers are celebrating the anniversary of declaring the establishment of their illegitimate state, after they defeated a segment of our people and forced it to recognize their illegitimate entity and cede rights of our people and their land. Recently, the majority [participating] in Madrid, Oslo, and Cairo achieved what they wanted and completed the so-called peace negotiations with the occupying Zionist enemy, and signed the deed selling Palestine and its people. They signed with the terrorist Rabin their collaboration and employment contracts in administrative posts in the enemy's civil administration.

It has become clear and evident to our Palestinian people and the Arab and Muslim nation the extent of fraud these people have engaged in to pass their humiliating concessions, leaving no room for them to hide the sin and aggression they have perpetrated against our people, cause, and sacred rights.

Our Palestinian people.. our Arab and Muslim nation:

Your movement, the Islamic Resistance Movement "Hamas," which has categorically renounced the disgraceful agreement called the Gaza-Jericho [Agreement], will work with the loyal and honorable in our nation and with the Islamic and national factions that reject this humiliating agreement, to expose the extent of the collapse and negligence that the signatories of the ill-fated Cairo Agreement have brought about. Here is some of the (good news) about this

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<sup>4</sup> PIC, <http://www.palestine-info.com/arabic/hamas/documents/cairo.htm>, translated from Arabic by al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations.

humiliating agreement, which the minority of Oslo, Madrid and Cairo have broken to us:

First: The self-rule authority, which is composed of 24 member, shall be subject to the approval and endorsement of the Zionist enemy. Any change in the members of this administration should be by agreement between the Organization [PLO] and the government of the enemy, and no member of these may discharge his duties without the approval of the occupying enemy, and this is what Article 4 of the Cairo Agreement has stated. It confirms that this authority is a tool appointed by the occupation, and reports to it, and cannot be considered an independent national authority.

Second: Foreign relations and external security are not among the powers and competences of the self-rule authority, according to the fifth and sixth articles. This means that this authority does not have any form of sovereignty, and that its tasks are confined to civilian functions, services, and executive tasks within the framework permitted by the occupation.

Third: Keeping the settlements intact in Gaza Strip, giving the settlements and the settlers legitimacy to remain, and keeping the task of protecting settlements and settlers the responsibility of the enemy's army. Using this pretext, the occupation forces and vehicles will continue their presence in the Gaza Strip and Jericho, and will continue their movements in the streets.

Fourth: The government of the enemy has the right to oppose and stop any laws or regulations issued by the Palestinian Authority, as indicated in the Seventh Article, which means that this Authority does not have control, and that its supreme reference point in all matters of affairs is the occupation, and that any laws or decisions issued must serve the occupation or at least do not conflict with its interests.

Fifth: Functions of the Palestinian police are confined to the maintenance of internal order and security for the Palestinians in Gaza and Jericho, and it is not among its responsibilities to address external threats or protect the border, which remains the prerogative of the enemy army, which retains the powers to take any action it deems necessary to do.

Sixth: The [Palestinian] Liberation Organization is obliged to share lists containing the names of Palestinian police with the authorities of the Zionist enemy,

and the enemy has the right to object to any of those names, which also proves the lack of independence of any decision by the civil administration authority.

Seventh: The type and quantity of the weapons of the Palestinian police was agreed on, and it was also agreed to record the serial number of each weapon and the name of the police officer who will receive it. No organization or individual in Gaza and Jericho may manufacture, sell, purchase, acquire, import, or bring in any firearms or (other weapons?!) or even gunpowder used in excavation and civilian purposes.

Eighth: Under this agreement, the [Palestine] Liberation Organization pledged to refrain from any form of criticism or incitement, including propaganda against the occupying enemy and its repressive practices, and to take various measures to prevent any organization, group, or person to do so, as stated in Article Twelve of the agreement. This turns the self-rule authority into a tool that serves the Zionist interests and defends them. It also allows this administration and the authorities of the occupying enemy to deem the publication of verses of the Qur'an, which speak of the corrupt morals of the Jews and the eternal enmity they hold towards those who believe, an act of incitement that must be prevented and prosecuted.

Ninth: The detainees who were released or who will be released in the coming days are bound to remain in the Gaza Strip and Jericho throughout the remainder of the term of their sentences, which confirms that Gaza and Jericho by the Zionist concept is a big prison for our people. This is stipulated in Article Twenty of the agreement.

Tenth: The detainees who are being released belong to the Fatah movement and the supporters of the [peace] settlement, while the enemy government rejects, as well as the self-rule authority, the release of opponents of the [peace] settlement unless they pledge to sign a document approving and pledging to condemn their past and their struggle, and pledge to support of the ill-fated agreement. The format of this humiliating pledge was imposed by the [Palestine] Liberation Organization and its negotiating team, and the detained heroes have refused to sign this humiliating document.

Eleventh: The [Palestine] Liberation Organization has equated the detained mujahidin [freedom fighters] and collaborators who have betrayed their people and their homeland: the [Palestine Liberation] Organization accepted the release of prisoners in exchange for an amnesty for collaborators, and a pledge to find a

solution to their case accepted by the enemy, and it also pledged not to prosecute them or harm them in any way.

These are some of the contents of the Cairo Agreement between the [Palestine] Liberation Organization and the Zionist entity.. It demonstrates the extent of compromise and forfeiture made by the PLO and its negotiators, and it demonstrates their total collapse before Zionist negotiators and before American dictates. It confirms that what happened was not liberation as the deluded ones tried to claim, and is not an [Israeli] withdrawal as the enemy authorities claim, but a redeployment of the enemy army in a new way that reduces their burden and the (risks) they are exposed to. The rest of the articles of the agreement, its maps and its annexes include larger and more serious disasters, and this explains the reluctance of the leadership of the [Palestine Liberation] Organization to publish all matters relating to the agreement and its details. Our movement will work to expose this ill-fated agreement and identify its devastating dangers to our people and our cause and expose its symbols and sponsors..

We in the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) emphasize the following:

First: The signing of that ill-fated agreement is the end of a stage and not the end of the Palestinian issue. It does not mean the end of the legitimate struggle of our people against the occupation, nor does it mean the end of the aspirations of our people and its aspirations, for which they have struggled and gave martyrs. It means the end of one stage of the Palestinian issue like several stages that ended before, and the end of the national role and struggle of the Oslo, Madrid and Cairo clique.

Second: The critical opposition of our people to the agreement does not require evidence or proof. The leaders behind Madrid, Oslo and Cairo themselves have begun to crack and crumble because of the extent of the shameful concessions included in the agreement. This explains the reluctance of some of the sponsors of the agreement—until now—to accept positions in the self-rule authority for fear of the anger and indignation of their people, and their certainty that this agreement is a distasteful surrender to the usurper occupier.

Third: The self-rule authority subservient to the occupation and lacking in sovereignty that these people have brought confirms that this agreement carries with it the seeds of its own death and failure, and that is not sustainable in any way. It confirms that what was taken by force cannot be recovered by negotiations and

concessions, and that struggles, jihad and sacrifices are the only way to liberation and defeating the occupiers.

Fourth: The leadership of the movement (Hamas) has decided to refuse for any of its detained heroes to sign the so-called humiliating (pledge document) imposed by the negotiating team. Because signing this pledge means a condemnation of our people's struggle, sacrifices and martyrs, which no true patriot would accept.

Fifth: The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) reaffirms its absolute rejection of this agreement, and considers it a humiliating compromise and surrender. [Hamas] along with the steadfast Palestinian people and most of the national and Islamic factions will remain faithful to the people and the cause, and is determined to continue the path of jihad and liberation, and to strengthen the unity of our people and strengthen its resistance forces, while unifying its ranks to confront this critical juncture, with our keen desire to avoid any form of fighting between the sons of our one people.

*Allah is great.. and victory for our struggling people*

Saturday 3 Dhul Hijjah 1414 AH

14 May 1994 AD

The Islamic Resistance Movement  
(Hamas) – Palestine

## ***Document No. 5***

### **Memorandum Issued by Hamas on the Elections of the Palestinian Limited Self-Rule Council<sup>5</sup>**

16 January 1996

We in the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) and out of our religious and patriotic duty to safeguard the interests of our people and defend their rights and gains, and in line with our position, which we have already announced, that is to boycott the elections of the limited self-rule council and calling on our people to

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<sup>5</sup> A memorandum issued by the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) on the Elections of the Palestinian Limited Self-Rule Council, PIC, <http://www.palestine-info.com/arabic/hamas/documents/election2.htm>, translated from Arabic by al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations.

boycott them [as well], we decided to delineate in this memo our view on these elections and the foundations and fundamentals that we based our decision on.

The position of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) on this election is determined by the following:

First: The Palestinian elections are taking place in a stage where the occupation retains sovereignty over our land, our wealth and our holy sites, and even dominates directly most Palestinian areas such as Hebron and Jerusalem, as well as the settlements and Areas (B) and (C) in the occupied West Bank. This means these elections will cement this occupation and give it legitimacy as did the Oslo Accords. On the other hand, the presence of the occupation during these elections severely undermines claims about their fairness and impartiality!

Second: The Oslo, Cairo and Taba agreements, in addition to the Palestinian election law, state that these elections are designed to put the Oslo Accords into practice through the election of a Palestinian Council. This council would then implement them while enjoying executive authority in addition to limited legislative powers under the ceiling of the Accords without conflicting with them. This is while giving the Zionist entity the power to veto some of the legislations that do not fit in with the provisions and spirit of the Accords or prejudice the Zionist entity.

Hence, the calls directed by the Palestinian Authority for the opposition to participate in these elections in order to change the Oslo Accord, or even cancel it, are misleading calls; how can the opposition change an agreement that makes elections the means for its implementation rather than changing it!!

Third: The Palestinian people is one unit and cannot be divided. Therefore, the elections, which will be limited to our people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip without the Diaspora and without Jerusalem (with regard to candidates), and without our detainees who remain steadfast in Israeli jails, is an attempt to split the Palestinian people and divide it. This serves the Zionist attempts to liquidate the Palestinian issue, resettle and compensate the refugees, and grant the Palestinians in the [West] Bank and [Gaza] Strip an autonomy linked to the Zionist entity. It also seriously detracts from the Palestinian leadership's seriousness with regard to establishing democracy in the Palestinian community, by holding elections for the Palestinian people under occupation and ignoring 5 million Palestinians in the Diaspora!



Fourth: Democratic elections that take place in an atmosphere of freedom of speech, pluralism and rotation of power is the perfect way for people to elect their representatives. The rejection by (Hamas) movement to participate in the self-rule council elections does not mean refusing democracy. Islamic movements all over the Arab countries have been involved in the parliaments of their countries. However, holding these elections does not mean that the Palestinian Authority is keen on democracy, which it violates every day by continuing to detain journalists and harassing them for trivial reasons, and by assaulting newspapers and journalists, as happened with *al-Ummah* newspaper in Jerusalem, with the journalist Sayyid Abu Musameh, editor in chief of *al-Watan* newspaper, and journalist Maher al-Alami and many others. The ongoing detention campaigns against outspoken opponents of the Oslo Accords, including of mosque imams and preachers, as happened with Sheikh Ahmad Nimr and others, and the Palestinian Authority's continuous attempts to bribe people and put pressure on the Palestinian people in general and opponents in particular, in order to abide by the commitments made by the [Palestinian] Authority to the Zionist entity, is proof of the Authority's hostile approach towards the spirit of democracy and the essence of freedom of expression within the Palestinian community.

Lastly.. the appointment by the president of the Authority of the heads of Palestinian municipalities and councils, especially in Gaza and Nablus, invalidates the claim by the Authority that these elections are an expression of true democracy!

Fifth: Because the limited self-rule elections mean the perpetuation of agreements signed independently of the will of the Palestinian people; because they aim to cover up the concessions made by the Palestinian leadership to the Zionist entity; because the occupation is still perched on our land and is appropriating our wealth and our holy sites; and because we believe that our people deserve real elections and representation that do not exclude any segment, we have decided to boycott these elections and we invite the Palestinian people to boycott too.

Sixth: And in recognition by the (Hamas) movement of the critical stage through which the Palestinian issue is passing and the reality of situation produced by the Oslo Accords and the polarization it has caused in the Palestinian arena, [Hamis] has pledged to avoid the use of force to thwart the elections. For this could result in unrest in the Palestinian arena and damage the principle of national

unity, which Hamas movement has stated that it is keen to preserve at a time when it was subjected more than once to the oppression of the Palestinian Authority!

Seventh: We see that the upcoming stage will not be the stage of liberation from occupation, and will not be an era of prosperity for Palestinian democracy as some claim. On the contrary, all indications suggest the Zionists will be intransigent regarding final status issues, and the mentality of monopoly and bullying will continue in the ranks of the Palestinian Authority leadership.

Therefore, we call for adhering to the principle of national unity and to avoid anything that could undermine it. We stress the need for all forces of the Palestinian people to meet to achieve the higher goals of the Palestinian people, respect the right of the opposition to continue its resistance against the Zionist occupation and express its position in rejection of the Oslo Accords by all legitimate means.

We do not consider that the elections are the goal of the cause of our people. There are the issues of Jerusalem, settlements, sovereignty and refugees, which need all the forces of our people to stand together to prevent losing them in the final status negotiations, like other [rights] were lost in previous negotiations!

Finally, the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), as it is keen to clarify its position in this crucial stage of the life of the Palestinian people, calls upon all our people to support it in this position, and stresses that it will remain faithful to our people's rights and gains, and loyal to the blood of the righteous martyrs who have died in defense of the right to independence and freedom. [Hamas] will continue to raise the banner of resistance against the occupation as long as it occupies one inch of our land!

The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas)  
Palestine 16/1/1996 AD

## ***Document No. 6***

### **Hamas Statement at the Beginning of *al-Aqsa Intifadah*<sup>6</sup>**

29 September 2000

In the Name of *Allah*, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

In protest against the heinous Zionist massacre against our defenseless people in the courtyards of *al-Aqsa* Mosque, the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) calls on the masses of the Palestinian people to stage a general strike tomorrow Saturday, and confront the enemy soldiers and herds of settlers, to emphasize the refusal of our people of Zionist aggressive greed and of compromising Jerusalem and *al-Aqsa*.

We also call on the masses of the struggling Palestinian people to observe three days of mourning for the souls of the martyrs of *al-Aqsa* massacre.

*Allah* is great..... and victory to our steadfast people.

The Islamic Resistance Movement  
(Hamas) – Palestine  
Friday 2 Rajab 1421 AH  
29 September 2000 AD

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<sup>6</sup> Site of Muqatel min al-Sahraa', [http://www.moqatel.com/openshare/Behoth/Siasia2/EntefadaAq/mol02.doc\\_cvt.htm](http://www.moqatel.com/openshare/Behoth/Siasia2/EntefadaAq/mol02.doc_cvt.htm), translated from Arabic by al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations.

## Document No. 7

### Interview with Sheikh Ahmad Yasin Conducted by the Palestinian Information Center on the Third Anniversary of the *Intifadah*<sup>7</sup>

28 September 2003

Gaza/ Exclusive

Since he survived a failed Zionist attempt to assassinate him by bombarding the house where he was present with his chief of staff Isma'il Haniyyah, the member of the political bureau of the Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas, he has been out of sight, and has not given any statements or interviews to the media.

With the fourth [third] annual anniversary of the blessed *al-Aqsa Intifadah* and the anniversary of the liberation of *al-Aqsa* Mosque from the Crusaders at the hands of the Muslim leader Salahuddin, in addition to the occasion of the Night Journey (*al-Isra' wa al Mi'raj*), Sheikh Yasin wanted to reassure the Palestinian people, the Arab nation, and the Muslim nation regarding the state of the movement and the resistance in Palestine. Hence this special interview with Sheikh Yasin.

**Q. On the fourth [third] annual anniversary of *al-Aqsa Intifadah*, what would you like to say? And what is the impact of “martyrdom” operations on you at this stage?**

A. I want to proclaim to the entire Arab and Islamic nation that Jerusalem is the first *Qiblah* [prayer direction] of the Muslims. We appeal to them to stand alongside our Palestinian people until the liberation of Jerusalem and *al-Aqsa*. We appeal to every Muslim, leader, commander, and monarch, to every man and woman, that Jerusalem today is in danger and is being lost. We must come together to reclaim it and liberate it.

Standing alongside the people of Palestine is the duty of every Muslim for the future of the nation and its pride. Jerusalem is the land of *al-Isra'*, the first *Qiblah* of the Muslims.

<sup>7</sup> PIC, <http://www.palestine-info.com/arabic/hamas/hewar/yaseeen1.htm>, translated from Arabic by al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations.

Note: The PIC has indicated that the interview was conducted on the fourth anniversary of the *Intifadah*, whereas it was actually conducted on the third, on 28/9/2003.

Today is the anniversary of three years since the blessed *al-Aqsa Intifadah*, which enters its fourth year of fierce resistance, sacrifice, blood, martyrs, wounded, and prisoners. We salute the Palestinian people in the Diaspora and the Occupied Territories and in the Palestinian [territories] of [19]48, and all patient Palestinian people steadfast everywhere, the people who have sacrificed and who is defying the world's mightiest power. We pay tribute to them, and I stress to all that resistance and jihad are our choice and the path to victory is fraught with martyrs and blood. We have pledged to *Allah* and to our peoples that we will not surrender and raise the white banners. We will fight until victory or martyrdom. This is our promise and our path, no matter the threats, the aggression, the bombardment, and the destruction of our homes and children, and no matter the enemy's massacres. We are a people with a just cause, a homeland, and a heritage, and we will not surrender. We will stay the course no matter how long it is, and victory is guaranteed in the end for the believers, because *Allah* has promised us victory and that we shall prevail in the earth, and what *Allah* wills will be done.

I say that our people are stronger than the Zionist enemy, and they have energy and potential to put equations that trump the equation of might. Our people are the victors and the enemy has failed to impose its will by force. *Allah* willing, the *Intifadah* will continue until victory, and until the enemy surrenders and recognizes our people's rights to their land, homeland, and holy sites.

I salute the steadfast and striving Palestinian people, who have refused to surrender, and who have offered tens of thousands of martyrs, prisoners, wounded, disabled [and who have braced] massacres, [and sacrificed] homes and lands. These strong mighty people, no one can defeat or vanquish them, for they have a just cause.

I assure them victory is near. The enemy is being battered by the strikes of the resistance. All we must do is to persevere and not be despairing, and close our ranks against the enemy on the basis of jihad and resistance, not surrender.

As for threats, they only make us stronger. The martyrdom operations have a strong impact on the Zionist enemy, and have shaken its foundations and undermined its security, economy and all that it possesses. It is for this reason that the enemy has lost its mind.

We do not have F16s or Apaches. We do not have long-range missiles. We have humans who are willing to fight and to be martyred. This has shaken [the enemy's] foundations and impacted him. When it agrees to stop its assaults on our civilians and holy sites, and end extrajudicial assassinations, then we can stop our attacks on their civilians.

**Q. Can we say that *al-Aqsa Intifadah*, in its fourth year, has achieved even in part its goals?**

- A. The goals are long-term and include the liberation of our land and the expulsion of the occupation, and the cessation of the aggression. This cannot be achieved in a day, two days, a year or two years. This is a protracted war of attrition [that will continue] until the enemy surrenders and recognizes the rights of our people, and [their right to] return to their lands and holy sites, in order for their rights to be fulfilled on their own land. Therefore, we cannot today say that there are achievements, and in case we do, the first achievement is the continuation of the *Intifadah*, and a voluntary confrontation with the enemy now exists. This is an important achievement. Our Palestinian people have not surrendered and have not raised the white banner, and all forcible attempts imposed by Sharon to subjugate our people have failed. Therefore, the greatest achievement is that jihad and resistance have continued without surrendering. For the Zionist enemy is the one that is reeling and it is he who will surrender in the end.

**Q. Has the Zionist terrorist state succeeded in isolating the leadership of Hamas from the Palestinian masses after targeting them with F16 strikes?**

- A. Sheikh [Yasin] sarcastic: If the Zionist state had succeeded in this I would not have been with you now. I say it will fail in all its attempts to eliminate the movement and has already failed to do so. We will triumph, *Allah* willing, and so will our people.

No one will be able to eliminate Hamas's leadership. But Hamas has found itself face to face with a new reality and a new Zionist strategy that attacks without respecting boundaries, constraints, homes, women, and children. It was bound to adopt a new strategy to adapt with this unjust reality, to avoid aggression and shore up its presence on the ground, and maintain its strength, resistance and jihad. Hamas cannot be eliminated by aggression, killing of [its] leadership, and the murder of individuals.. Hamas movement is the movement

of an entire Palestinian people, the movement of a nation, the movement of history, and it will triumph at the end, *Allah* willing.

**Q. How do you evaluate the relationship between Palestinians themselves in this critical and sensitive phase of the history of their cause? Are Palestinians still in agreement over resistance as they were before?**

A. All Palestinian factions are in agreement on the need to sustain the *Intifadah* and resistance. The new projects seeking to stop the *Intifadah* and resistance and seeking disarmament are American projects. Sometimes they're imposed through a new ministry, or a new prime minister, and other means.

What do they want in return for the disarmament of the Palestinian people???, We cannot sell out our homeland and compromise on our rights in return for vague promises from America. We want a land, a homeland, and a free people on their land. We want the return of 5 million refugees to Palestine. When that happens, then it would be possible to stop resistance. In a state there can be no resistance, but under occupation every Palestinian has the right to bear arms and defend himself.

**Q. Can Hamas change its tactics and strategies in the new year of the *Intifadah* in light of relentless Zionist aggression?**

A. Why have we bore arms, why do we resist, and for what goal is the *Intifadah*? If we surrender to threats, fear and murder, we will have failed. We have resolved to carry out jihad until liberation and victory, and we cannot change our main tactics and core principles. We will fight until Palestine is liberated and our Palestinian state is established. As for some tactics, they can be changed from time to time.

**Q. Everyone in the Palestinian street is wondering: until when will Hamas's leadership remain in hiding, not confronting its people or leading the masses as it had done in three years of the *Intifadah*?**

A. Hamas has found itself face to face with a new variable that necessitates change to confront this reality. No man can find himself in his home as Dr. Mahmud al-Zahhar had done and be hit by airstrikes? So how can we address this reality in means other than security means? But the leadership of Hamas will not be absent from the street and the people. This meeting today is proof that we will not be absent and we will be on the ground, no matter the sacrifices.

**Q. What has prompted you to make this sudden appearance and speak in this interview?**

A. My appearance is not sudden. I make frequent appearances. The worshippers at the Islamic Complex Mosque bear witness to this. But today, I came out for the occasion of the Night Journey and the anniversary of the liberation of Jerusalem from the Crusaders, to appeal to the Islamic nation to stand alongside the Palestinian people, and to stress that the leadership of Hamas cannot be absent from the Palestinian street. It is part of the street, of the masses, and of reality, and it is steadfast on the path of defending [its people] and jihad against the Zionist enemy. It will not surrender, *Allah* willing.

**Q. But the Zionist state interprets the absence of Hamas's leaders as if it has succeeded in eliminating the movement's ability to mobilize the masses, influence them, and convince them of the idea of resistance.**

A. This claim does not concern us much. They have failed. Hamas can mobilize the masses, and [stay] present [remain]. Its leaders can appear at the right time, without fear, because they seek martyrdom and do not fear death.

**Q. But there have been no major military operations like the ones we have seen in the past by Hamas movement, since the recent attack on the movement's leadership. Have these attacks affected Hamas's ability to carry out such operations?**

A. On the contrary. Hamas has proven throughout its history that it can respond in kind, and force [the enemy] to pay a heavy cost for its crimes. I've seen that recent attacks were a very rapid response, but we do not know the obstacles that face the resistance fighters in their attacks and operations against the enemy. We know that the enemy has implemented huge security precautions to thwart many operations, but what matters is that we do not surrender, and that the resistance and jihad continue. The timing of the response is not important. What is important is to fight and not surrender. I think the enemy will pay the price for its crimes, *Allah* willing, sooner or later.

**Q. Why do you wait for mediators to come and ask you this, why do you not launch an initiative, for three months for example at this time, to say Hamas is willing to stop attacks and thus embarrass the Zionist state before international public opinion?**



A. The terrorist state has been embarrassed greatly and has not abided, or respected the world, the United Nations, the Security Council. The United States protects it at the UN Security Council, [even] as it targets homes, women, children, and elderly people. Is there a greater embarrassment than (this) in the world, the world's silence is deafening. The terrorist state demolishes homes every day, is building a racist barrier, and is grabbing Palestinian land despite all international resolutions. For this reason, it does not need to be embarrassed [further]. It would take any initiative from the Palestinian Authority or any Palestinian faction at the time it is on the offensive as weakness and retreat. We will not be defeated and we will triumph *Allah* willing.

**Q. The US president Bush said he would fight extremist ideologies in the Middle East. How will you respond?**

A. This is Bush's conscience that he revealed at the start of the war on Islam and Muslims. He described the war as a crusade, then backtracked under international pressure. Today, he is declaring a war on Islam under the pretext of terrorism and ideologies that produce terrorism. To Bush, terrorism is Islam, the Muslims, and the Muslim nation. But Bush must understand that people with a creed are not intimidated by threats, and that Islam is stronger than the Bush regime and the Bush state. Islam will prevail and will be the victor in the future.

If Bush has a correct creed then let him engage with Islam. He would find himself defeated in the arena of thought and proof. He failed to explain his principles and to confront Islam with arguments, and so he resorted to warplanes, tanks, and armies. He is defeated, and will be defeated, *Allah* willing, in Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine, and all the Islamic land, because Muslim peoples are still alive and still hold on to their faith. They will defend it until Bush and his allies fall, *Allah* willing.

**Q. The prime minister-designate Ahmad Qurai' said he is seeking a mutual ceasefire between the Palestinians and the Zionist enemy, and is holding a dialogue with the Palestinian factions. Has there been a dialogue with you?**

A. First of all: There has been no dialogue. Second: A truce cannot come from the part of an oppressed refugee people who is being destroyed, killed, and persecuted. The truce must come from the part of the side that is stronger. The Zionist enemy, during the truce proposed in the past, continued its aggression,

destruction, massacres, and killing, and did not stop for a moment. For this reason, there is no way to talk today about any truce because the enemy continues its aggression. Those who want a truce must stop the enemy's aggression, massacres, and brutality first, which is hounding our people day and night, and the demolition of homes, and arrests, and settlements, and the racist barrier. All this is present on the Palestinian land. After that we can talk about ending the aggression and a ceasefire. The occupation and its practices are here. End the aggression on our people, and settlements, and massacres, and [end] home destruction and land confiscation. End the aggression on our people in all their land, then talk about a truce.

**Q. Are there any active Egyptian mediations with Hamas movement to reach an agreement like before?**

A. So far, I am not aware of any Egyptian mediation.

**Q. Until when will Hamas's leadership continue to work underground, i.e., covertly?**

A. Until circumstances imposed by this reality change. Until this unjust reality changes.

**Q. Regarding the internal crisis of the Palestinian Authority, how do you perceive that? Are you trying to help reduce the tensions? You previously spoke about the need to strengthen the internal Palestinian ranks and internal unity, especially since you do not differ much with 'Arafat.**

A. Most definitely. I once again here stress the unity of our people and stress the rejection of any internal problems and any internal clashes. All the problems that have happened do not undermine communication, understanding, and dialogue. Every mistake committed during these problems, their perpetrators will be held accountable.

**Q. How do you evaluate the efforts of Abu al-'Ala' to form a Palestinian government and what are your expectations?**

A. We, the Palestinian people, our goal is not governments. Our goal is to liberate the Palestinian land and person. For this goal, we can search for the means to reach it. If the government is a means to liberate the land and Palestinian person, then we welcome it. If it pushes us towards surrender and [disarmament], then no, or to raise the white banner for the Zionist enemy. In that case, the government

has no meaning. For this reason, we do not participate in any government, and in the past we did not participate in a government under occupation.. The prime minister, [any] minister and the cabinet need permits to travel from Ramallah to Nablus, and from Gaza to the [West] Bank. If this government has no will, freedom, or independence, if it has no power for itself, then what will it do for the Palestinian people? For this reason, we do not participate in this government.

**Q. Abu al-‘Ala’ spoke about the chaotic deployment of arms. Does this mean it is possible to collect arms from the Palestinian resistance? Will Hamas hand over its weapons to the [Palestinian] Authority?**

A. We said a clear word, our people bore weapons to defend themselves, their nation, and their homeland. No one can remove these arms except after the land is liberated and holy sites are reclaimed. Only then can weapons be removed, when we have a state and independent entity with one authority. But under occupation, there can be no freedom. Our people have no authority. There is no free will and disarmament means surrendering to the Israeli enemy, killing the *Intifadah*, and killing the resistance. It would mean that victory of Sharon and that he defeated the Palestinian people. The Palestinian people have surrendered to Zionist dictates and terms to liquidate the Palestinian cause and the Palestinian people. This is a dangerous path that is rejected, and our people will not accept it.

**Q. If it is possible to obtain guarantees for the Zionist state to end assassinations and killings, can we then talk again about a truce with Arab or international guarantees?**

A. We expect all those who talk about truce to stop the enemy first. To stop its aggression, its crimes, and declare its commitment. Then we can think of the new reality.

**Q. There are reports suggesting Hamas movement officials met with the Lebanese Hizbullah officials last week to discuss a deal to swap prisoners with the Zionist entity. Do you have any information on what has been discussed regarding the prisoner swap deal with the Zionists? Did Hamas present a list?**

A. No doubt, there are serious attempts with international mediation for a prisoner swap process and deal. We from our side are working in coordination with

Hizbullah to get the highest number possible of Palestinian prisoners from the prisons of the Zionist entity.

**Q. Did you give lists to Hizbullah?**

A. At any rate, everything is contingent upon the reality and timing. However, Hizbullah is willing to cooperate with us to release the number they can of Palestinian and Arab prisoners in Zionist prisons.

**Q. Did Abu al-‘Ala’ contact the movement to obtain a mutual truce as he declared? Has he contacted you?**

A. So far, there have been no contacts and no understandings, neither with Abu al-‘Ala’ nor with others on this subject. The time is not right to speak about a truce. Talking about a truce at this time is something we categorically reject.

**Q. How do you see Sharon’s insistence on eliminating Hamas leaders, specifically yourself?**

A. I say once again that threats only make us stronger. We seek martyrdom. The one who carries a bomb and detonates himself is a martyrdom seeker. We are seekers of martyrdom, not of life and worldly matters. We are seekers of the afterlife. Therefore, threats do not harm us and only make us stronger. They do not weaken us. We love martyrdom and hate living in humiliation.

**Q. There are reports that the Zionist entity state intends to invade Gaza Strip next month. Is Hamas prepared to defend Gaza Strip?**

A. Gaza will not be easily violated. If the Zionist entity enters Gaza, it will pay a heavy price. It will not be able to settle in Gaza.. The entire Palestinian people will defend Gaza and all the Palestinian factions. Even the Palestinian police will defend it because it belongs to all, not to Hamas or others. It belongs to the Palestinian people, *Allah* willing.

**Q. Hamas has threatened to target residential buildings after the attack on the home of Doctor al-Zahhar. Are the Qassam Brigades able to carry through with this threat?**

A. This depends on the capabilities of the military wing of the movement and the conditions surrounding it.

## ***Document No. 8***

### **Hamas Statement on the Participation in Elections of the Legislative Council of the Palestinian Authority<sup>8</sup>**

12 March 2005

Out of our keenness in the Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas to strengthen our approach in the service of the Palestinian people in all areas and fields; take care of their affairs and interests; and protect their rights and gains; and in order to contribute to building the Palestinian society's institutions on a sound footing; address all aspects of corruption and dysfunction; and achieve comprehensive and real national reform, so that our people would be better able to endure the occupation and aggression; and to respond to the pulse and aspirations of our people, and their keenness on seeing all forces and factions participate in political life in the occupied Palestinian territories.

The Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas, after deliberations and extensive consultations involving various institutions and leadership bodies at home and abroad, including the prisoners of the movement in Zionist occupation prisons, has decided to participate in the upcoming Palestinian Legislative Council elections, so as to uphold the legitimate rights of our people, and protect the resistance program as a strategic option until the end of the occupation, *Allah* willing.

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<sup>8</sup> Mohsen Mohammad Saleh and Wael Sa'ad, editors, *Mukhtarat min al-Watha'iq al-Filastiniyyah li Sanat 2005* (Selected Palestinian Documents for the Year 2005) (Beirut: Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations, 2006), Document no. 28, p. 68, translated by al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations.

## *Document No. 9*

### **The “Cairo Declaration” That was Issued by the Palestinian Factions on 17/3/2005<sup>9</sup>**

17 March 2005

The “Cairo Declaration” was issued by 13 Palestinian political factions after three days of meetings in Cairo, Egypt.

1. Those gathered confirmed their adherence to Palestinian fundamentals, without any neglect, and the right of the Palestinian people to resistance in order to end the occupation, establish a Palestinian state with full sovereignty with Jerusalem as its capital, and the guaranteeing of the right of return of refugees to their homes and property.
2. Those gathered agreed on a program for the year 2005, centered on the continuation of the atmosphere of calm in return for Israel’s adherence to stopping all forms of aggression against our land and our Palestinian people, no matter where they are, as well as the release of all prisoners and detainees.
3. Those gathered confirmed that the continuation of settlement and the construction of the wall and the Judaization of Jerusalem are explosive issues.
4. Those gathered explored the internal Palestinian situation and agreed on the necessity of completing total reform in all areas, of supporting the democratic process in its various aspects and of holding local and legislative elections at their determined time according to an election law to be agreed upon. The conference recommends to the Legislative Council that it take steps to amend the legislative elections law, relying on an equal division (of seats) in a mixed system, and it recommends that the law for elections of local councils be amended on the basis of proportional representation.
5. Those gathered agreed to develop the Palestine Liberation Organization on bases that will be settled upon in order to include all the Palestinian powers and factions, as the organization is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. To do this, it has been agreed upon to form a committee

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<sup>9</sup> *Al majdal* magazine, BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, Bethlehem-Palestine, issue 25, Spring 2005, p. 57,  
[http://www.badil.org/phocadownload/Badil\\_docs/publications/al-majdal-25.pdf](http://www.badil.org/phocadownload/Badil_docs/publications/al-majdal-25.pdf)

to define these bases, and the committee will be made up of the president of the National Council, the members of the [Palestine Liberation] Organization's Executive Committee, the secretaries general of all Palestinian factions and independent national personalities. The president of the executive committee will convene this committee.

6. Those gathered felt unanimously that dialogue is the sole means of interaction among all the factions, as a support to national unity and the unity of the Palestinian ranks. They were unanimous in forbidding the use of weapons in internal disputes, respecting the rights of the Palestinian citizen and refraining from violating them, and that continuing dialogue through the coming period is a basic necessity toward unifying our speech and preserving Palestinian rights.

## ***Document No. 10***

### **Text of the “Change and Reform” List Program for the Palestinian Legislative Council Elections 2006<sup>10</sup>**

In the Name of *Allah*, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

“Change and Reform” List

﴿إِن أُرِيدُ إِلَّا الْإِصْلَاحَ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُ وَمَا تَوْفِيقِي إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ تَوَكَّلْتُ وَإِلَيْهِ أُنِيبُ﴾

(I only intend reform as much as I am able. And my success is not but through *Allah*. Upon him I have relied, and to Him I return.)

(*Surat Hud*: 88)

Elections Program

Palestinian Legislative Council Elections

Second Term

2006 AD

## **Introduction**

Due to our conviction that we are defending one of the greatest bays of Islam; due to our responsibility towards our struggling people and their holy and just cause; due to our duty to contribute in reforming the Palestinian reality, to alleviate

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<sup>10</sup> Site of Ikhwanweb, 30/1/2006, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=4921>

the suffering of our brave people, consolidate their resistance and protect them against corruption; and due to our hope to consolidate our national unity and to reinforce the domestic Palestinian front: we decided to participate in the Palestinian legislative elections 2006.

The list of “Change and Reform” believes that its participation in the legislative elections now and under the reality of the Palestinian cause, comes within the comprehensive program of liberating Palestine, repatriating the Palestinian people and establishing their independent state whose capital is Jerusalem. Such participation is meant to be backing up and support the *Intifadah* and resistance program assented by the Palestinian people as a strategic option to end the occupation.

The Change and Reform list works on establishing a civil developed Palestinian society based on political multiplicity, authority alternation and directing the Palestinian political system as well as its political and reform program to accomplish the national rights of the Palestinian people, taking into consideration the existence of the oppressive occupation and its odious burden placed on our land and people, as well as its flagrant intervention even in the details of the Palestinian life.

Our list brings forward its program as a kind of fidelity to our patient people who believe that such an approach is the most effective alternative; and consider Hamas movement as being the promising hope for better future, *Allah* willing; they also deem such list as the sincere leadership for better future, *Allah* willing. *Allah* says:

﴿وَأَنَّ هَذَا صِرَاطِي مُسْتَقِيمًا فَاتَّبِعُوهُ وَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا السُّبُلَ فَتَفَرَّقَ بِكُمْ عَنْ سَبِيلِهِ ذَٰلِكُمْ وَصَّيْنَاكُمْ بِهِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَّقُونَ﴾

(And, [moreover], this is My path, which is straight, so follow it; and do not follow [other] ways, for you will be separated from His way. This has He instructed you that you may become righteous.)

(*Surat al-An'am* (The Cattle): 153)

### First: Our Fundamentals

Our list (Change and Reform List) adopts a number of fundamentals arising from Islamic reference that we approve and consider as point of consensus not only on the national Palestinian domain but also on the Arab and Islamic one. Such fundamentals are as follows:



1. The true religion of Islam and its civilization achievements are our reference and a way of life in all its aspects: politically, economically, socially and legally.
2. Historical Palestine is a part of the Arab and Islamic land; It is a right for the Palestinian people that is imprescriptible. Any other military or allegedly legal procedures cannot change such a fact.
3. The Palestinian people are one unit, wherever they exist; they are part and parcel of the Arab and Muslim nation. *Allah* Says in the holy Qur'an

﴿إِنَّ هَذِهِ أُمَّتُكُمْ أُمَّةً وَاحِدَةً وَأَنَا رَبُّكُمْ فَاعْبُدُونِ﴾

(Indeed this, your religion, is one religion, and I am your Lord,  
so worship Me.) (*Surat al-Anbiya*' (The Prophets): 92)

4. Our Palestinian people are still living a stage of national liberation, they have the right to work for regaining their rights as well as ending the occupation by using all available means including armed resistance. We have to exploit all our energy to support the resistance of our people and to provide all abilities to end occupation and establishing the Palestinian state whose Jerusalem is its capital.
5. The right of all Palestinians who are expatriated and refugees to return to their home and properties; the right of self-determination and all our national rights are inalienable rights. Such rights are also fixed and they cannot be diminished by any political concessions.
6. Full adherence to our people's fixed and original rights in land, Jerusalem, holy sites, water, borders and a Palestinian state of complete sovereignty with Jerusalem as a capital.
7. Support and protection of Palestinian national unity is one of the priorities of the Palestinian national work.
8. The prisoners and detainees issue is at the head of the priorities of the Palestinian work.

## **Second: Domestic Policy**

On the domestic policy level that organizes the Palestinian political life with its different dimensions, we are aiming at achieving the following priorities, which we consider as being a guarantee to a future that is suitable to the struggle and sacrifice of our people and capable of enhancing their steadfastness in an endeavor to achieve comprehensive liberation and desired reform.

1. Preserving the Palestinian national fundamentals and resisting any attempt to give them up.

2. Preserving the Palestinian existence in Jerusalem; offering political, economic, social, and cultural support for that purpose; resisting enemy attempts towards Jerusalem Judaization and protecting Palestinian Islamic and Christian holy sites from Zionist desecration.
3. Political freedoms, multiplicity, freedom to form parties, having the poll voting decide [democracy] and peaceful rotation of power are considered the main frame that organizes the Palestinian political work; and a guarantee of reform as well as fighting corruption and establishing a developed civil Palestinian community.
4. Deepening bonds of national unity, approving dialogue, using common sense to solve domestic disputes and prohibiting fighting each other and using all kinds of force or threat within the internal frame.
5. Working on strengthening respect of public freedoms (freedom of speech, media, mass meetings, transportation and work) as being part of life of the Palestinian people.
6. Palestinian blood should be prohibited inside the Palestinian society; dialogue is the only acceptable way to solve domestic Palestinian disputes.
7. Prohibition of political detention and refusal of suppression of opinions.
8. Protecting civil society's institutions and activation of their role in development and censorship.
9. Rectifying and guiding the role played by security forces in protecting citizens' safety. Stopping wrong and abusive practices; providing a guarantee of citizens' freedom; safeguarding public and private properties; and subjecting the practices of such agencies to the review and calling to account of the legislative council.
10. Considering the security cooperation or the so called "security coordination" with the occupation forces a major political and religious crime that deserves the utmost punishment.
11. Protecting resistance; activating its role in fighting occupation; and completing the mission of liberation.
12. Raising Palestinian man who is proud of his religion, land, freedom and dignity and who is ready to give all that is precious and valuable for these rights.
13. Activating the resistance against the racial Separation Wall, by all possible means including international institutions or courts.

14. Guaranteeing and respecting minority rights at all levels on the basis of full citizenship.
15. (All kinds of) public fund are the right of the entire Palestinian people. It should be used in funding comprehensive Palestinian development in a way that fulfills social and geographical justice, away from misuse, waste, usurpation, corruption and pilferage.
16. Prisoners, injured and martyrs are symbols of Palestinian sacrifice. A topmost goal on our national agenda is to take care of such people and their families as well as releasing prisoners.
17. Improving the efficiency of institutions that support the prisoner movement, and the families of martyrs and injured. Treating prisoners and martyrs as civil employees, and paying them salaries that are equal to the civil ones.
18. Keeping both Muslim and Christian Palestinian endowments away from aggression and manipulation, as well as developing such endowments that exist all over Palestine, in a way that suits their moral and material values.
19. Working on mending the relations between Palestine Liberation Organization and the National Palestinian Authority in a way that serves national goals and respects fields of specialization.

### **Third: Foreign Relations**

1. Strengthening relations with the Arab and Muslim world in all fields as being the strategic depth for Palestine as well as openness to other world countries.
2. Activation of the role played by Arab and Muslim masses to support the resistance of our people against occupation, and the refusal of normalization with it.
3. Refusing ethnic, regional and sectarian calls that aim at dividing the *Ummah*.
4. Setting up balanced political relations with the international community that guarantee effective participation in it; and preserve the nation's unity, its national sovereignty and its development. Protecting its cause and rights—especially the Palestinian cause—repulsing any possible attacks.
5. Emphasizing at all international levels and in all international forums the illegitimacy of the occupation and its consequences.
6. Considering the occupation as being the most ugly form of terrorism, and fighting it by all means, which is a right dictated by religious and international laws.

7. Calling all peoples and charitable powers in the world to join into an alliance to establish a just universal peace that is based on getting rid of all kinds of occupation, and colonization aftermath; Banning foreign intervention in domestic affairs.
8. Rehabilitating Palestinian rights in international and Arab gatherings, especially the right of liberation, repatriation of refugees, establishing the Palestinian state with complete sovereignty and bringing about all stands and resolutions supporting it.
9. Calling the international community to participate effectively in rehabilitating cities and villages as well as providing infrastructure for them.
10. Refusing the conditioned donations that require concession of national fundamentals; and working continuously to find honorable alternatives.

#### **Fourth: Administrative Reform and Combating Corruption**

1. Fighting corruption in all forms as well as considering it a main reason behind weakening the domestic Palestinian front and undermining foundations of national unity.. Following up investigation in financial and administrative corruption cases, and punishing corrupted people through judicial authorities.
2. Enhancing transparency, censorship and inquiries in dealing with public budget in all its stages (i.e., planning, preparation, discussion, approval and execution).
3. Modernizing legislations and general administrative systems in a way that guarantees increasing the effectiveness of the executive bodies, so that they would be able to offer public services in a high quality and facility at all levels. Achieving decentralization approach; working through authorization principles and participating in decision making.
4. Rephrasing public employment policy in a way that guarantees equal opportunities for Palestinians depending on competence, fighting nepotism, and factional and party preference, in appointments and promotions in all public institutions and government departments.
5. Forming a national parliamentary committee to monitor Palestinian Islamic and Christian endowment funds to guarantee proper usage and achieve its aspired goals.
6. Fighting negligence in governmental performance and wasting public fund, and to instill a sense of responsibility among all employees (All of you are guardians and all of you are responsible for his subjects) (Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad)

7. Applying the policy of “From where did you get this?” on public services employees.
8. Developing and activating the role of censorship apparatus, like the administrative and monetary censorship office and other censorship bodies.
9. Establishing “Ombudsman Office” to receive citizen complaints.

### **Fifth: Legislative Policy and Judicial Reform**

1. Making the Islamic law as “the basic source of legislation” in Palestine.
2. Confirming separation of judicial, executive and legislative authorities.
3. Activating the Constitutional Court role.
4. Stipulating the legislations that observe the confidentiality of the Palestinian people, their values and heritage.
5. Establishing a judicial institute for training and habilitation.
6. Re-forming the Supreme Judicial Council through elections done by the judges of Palestine, based on competence and experience and not on political and social preference or personal nepotism.
7. Passing laws that activate judicial inspection to monitor the judicial system at all levels.
8. Passing laws necessary for preventing politicization of the General Attorney office, and enacting experience, censorship, inquiry and calling to account.
9. Amending the law of code of civil and commercial procedures as well as criminal procedures law to insure shortening span of judicial proceedings and reducing number of circulated cases as well as determining time limitations for legal proceedings and periods of postponement.
10. Enhancing democracy and consultation in all fields and sites as well as achieving efficient participation.
11. Putting limitations on the executive authority infringement of the Constitution, as it passes temporary laws, makes repeated amendments, delays execution of laws or any other infringement.
12. Passing a new electoral law that achieves equity and guarantees the formation of a council that represents our people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in an honest and real way.
13. Fighting any legislations or agreements with the enemy that may damage the rights of our Palestinian people.

## **Sixth: Public Freedoms and Citizenship Rights**

1. Achieving the principle of equality before the law for all individuals so that they would gain equity in rights and duties.
2. Providing security for each citizen, protecting him/her and his/her properties, so that s/he is not exposed to arbitrary detention, torture or revenge.
3. Stopping intervention of the security forces in the employment process, and cancelling what is known as security safety.
4. Deepening the dialogue culture, and respecting all opinions in a way that does not contradict with people's beliefs and civilizational heritage.
5. Guaranteeing the rights of special groups (prisoners and their families, families of martyrs, woman and child, handicapped and the poor).
6. Keeping media institutions and guaranteeing the right of reporters to obtain information and publish it.
7. Protecting the freedoms of syndicates, preserving their independence, keeping them away from all kinds of domination, and allowing the establishment of new syndicates to protect workers' rights in all fields.
8. Recognizing political powers, encouraging them and benefiting from their role as well as supporting all different institutions of the civil society.
9. Approving the principle of equal opportunities as well as placing the right man in the right place.

## **Seventh: Educational and Pedagogical Policy**

Because upbringing is the foundation of having a generation able to determine the future of the country and achieving the dream of freedom, liberation and independence; education should also be up-to-date. Therefore, our list will try to achieve the following:

1. Applying the principles on which the philosophy of pedagogy and education is based, first of which, is that Islam is a comprehensive system that includes man's welfare and that preserves man's rights along with those of the community.
2. Applying laws of obligatory education; and expanding the secondary education whether technical or academic.
3. Developing curriculums and school instruments in a way that comply with the philosophy of education and pedagogy, their goals in Palestine and requisites of complying with the modern age.



4. To be concerned with humanities and concentrating on learning languages, especially the Arabic language in different stages.
5. Strengthening ethics of education and pedagogy professions, respecting rights of teachers and developing their capacities.
6. Passing legislations that protect the academic and educational process in universities and higher educational institutions from absurdity, temperament and nepotism.
7. Establishing and developing institutions to sponsor outstanding and talented people and those who have special capabilities.
8. Developing higher education institutions, and supporting scientific research domains including the establishment of the Palestinian Scientific Research Center.
9. Encouraging student syndicate work, providing the proper atmosphere for the work and support of students' unions so that they would be able to perform their desired roles. The schools and universities will thus remain fortresses for national work.
10. Securing sport and cultural facilities, science and computer laboratories at all schools of the country.
11. Providing different specializations in different areas by attracting qualified Palestinians migrants and training those qualified at home.
12. Encouraging scouting activities and domestic tourism and making such activities requisites of educational process especially through curriculums of national education.
13. Encouraging private educational institutions in different educational stages (pre-university) for what they provide the state's budget, and the competition they represent that benefits education in general.
14. Allowing licenses for qualitative universities (private and non-profit) to encourage competition that leads develops qualified persons. Such universities will also encourage students to remain in the country thus providing new financial resources.
15. To be concerned with technical education and training as well as agricultural education.
16. Developing strategies of education so that it would concentrate on qualification and reject employment nepotism.. and would also concentrate on the quality of students who graduated from the educational system.

17. Supporting the fund of needy college students and developing its mechanisms, so that it would be most transparent and objective, and would be able to make aid reach to those who deserve it.

### **Eighth: Preaching and Guidance**

1. Increasing the competence of preachers, giving them rights equal to their counterparts in other ministries, whether concerning promotions, grades, rights. Also, offering them material incentives, passing legislations and putting systems that achieve justice.
2. Stopping all forms of security interventions in this apparatus, and enabling scholars to play their role as well as stopping expulsion policy.
3. Reconsidering preaching and guidance law in order to give chance to people of knowledge and competence to perform their religious and national duties.
4. Taking care of mosques as well as activating their preaching and educational roles inside the community.
5. Following up issues of Hajj and Umrah in order to facilitate the performance of their rites.

### **Ninth: Social Policy**

1. Supporting the sound foundation and coherence of the Palestinian family in order to be the strong base that preserves our social and ethical values.
2. Achieving social solidarity, encouraging and expanding the existing social protection network in order to guarantee political and economic stability of the family and society as well as enhancing constituents of resistance.
3. Providing social services (education, health, and social security) as well as other public services for all [Palestinians] without discrimination, nepotism or factional preference.
4. Unifying retirement system in order to achieve equity and justice among retired people.
5. Regarding civil law and Shari'ah courts [Islamic courts]:
  - There is a need to pass one law driven from Islamic law and various schools of Islamic jurisprudence, as well as choosing what suits the development of Palestinian Muslim society.
  - Passing legislations related to Palestinian Islamic religious courts of different levels, so they could be uniformly applied in the courts (of Jerusalem, West Bank



and Gaza). This includes endowment law, inheritance law and non-Muslim religious groups law.

- Representing religious courts in the Palestinian constitutional court with a reasonable percentage.
- 6. Preserving the social fabric of the Palestinian people and public ethics, providing guarantee not to violate social fundamentals and preventing passing any legislations that may affect them.
- 7. Supporting social institutions that care for different community groups (e.g. women, child, orphans, and poor people of special needs).
- 8. Developing educational, training and rehabilitation institutions and centers that take care of detainees and ex-detainees, in order to integrate these into society and allow their contribution to nation development.
- 9. Providing educational and comprehensive care to the families of martyrs and detainees and all the needy groups in society.
- 10. Activating, organizing and developing Zakat committees.
- 11. Fighting poverty by establishing justice and distributing resources, and by encouraging charity institutions while removing restrictions.
- 12. Developing social insurance systems in order to end poverty and to keep social unity that is prevailing in Palestinian society.
- 13. Fighting drugs, intoxicants and all forms of corruption by [spreading] culture, awareness, education and activation of law.
- 14. Supporting disability and special needs organizations; and developing programs for their integration into society.
- 15. Adopting a clear policy that takes care of the human element, by developing labor force, and achieving job security and psychological stability of workers.
- 16. Activating and supporting reform committees, as they have a role in solving problems between members of society and in defusing tension among those who are at odds.

### **Tenth: Cultural and Media Policy**

Due to the important role of culture and media in forming citizen's mentality and thoughts; and in building the character of the *Ummah*; our list will work on:

1. Setting up media policy on bases of free thinking and expression; and on integrity.

2. Protecting citizens, especially youngsters, against spoilage, Westernization, intellectual invasion; and resisting cultural normalization.
3. Facilitating the mission of media men and means; and the right of audience to know the truth.
4. Stopping the interference of security forces in giving licenses for publishing houses, research centers, publications and opinion survey centers.
5. Raising cultural standards and public awareness of rights, duties, responsibilities and their consequences.
6. Activating public mass media, and liberating them of group orientation, and consolidating professionalism and transparency in their programs.
7. Establishing public institutions and encouraging the establishment of private ones that are interested in Palestinian heritage and its modern history and holy sites.
8. Directing government mass media towards the advancement of Palestinian society and consolidating its endurance and resistance, making it a platform that expresses honestly the struggle of the Palestinian people and the nobility of their cause. Add to this, providing a space for politicians, thinkers and media persons to put forth their subjects freely, without violating national fundamentals.

### **Eleventh: Woman, Child and Family Issues**

1. Childhood protection and care, while stressing [the children's] right to be brought up, fed, psychologically and physically raised, guided and educated.
2. The Palestinian woman is a partner in Jihad and resistance; and a partner in building and development.
3. Ensuring women's rights, and completing the legislative frame consolidating them, and working on enabling them to contribute to social, economic and political development.
4. Fortifying women with Islamic education; edifying her with her legislative rights; and stressing her independent character based on virtuousness, modesty and moral obligation.
5. Activating the role of constructive women's volunteer organizations, as they are a part of civil society organizations.
6. Establishing guiding units in the countryside for carpets, mats, textile, and miniatures, etc., to secure job opportunities for countrywomen.
7. Encouraging the investment of woman powers in public work, and highlighting her role in building the society.

8. Supporting family stability through:

- Developing legislations concerning working women, to achieve family stability and youngsters' protection and care.
- Solidarity with families whose houses are demolished and children detained and chased.
- Providing suitable health clinics and hospitals, a matter that will [improve] the general health of families, especially related to motherhood and infancy.
- Protecting women against all forms of exploitation of their femininity, including those that degrade their dignity, or treat them as only a body in commercials and advertisement, or in illegal acts.

**Twelfth: Youth Issues**

1. Expanding the establishment of youth institutions and developing the existing ones, which will ensure building a sound youth character, and encouraging youth dialogue platforms.
2. Supporting sports and cultural clubs, and putting an end to interferences in their affairs, and fighting negative phenomena there.
3. Supporting and encouraging creative youth in all fields, and providing job and creativity opportunities for young people according to their interests.
4. Working on taking care of the youth, and fortifying them against all means of spoilage and moral deviation.
5. Providing suitable and respectable job opportunities for the youth, especially university graduates.
6. Increasing youth participation in most political, social, cultural and art events.
7. Supporting different sporting teams which would ensure their participation in local, Arab, Islamic and international championships. Working on setting up halls and playgrounds that serve this purpose.

**Thirteen: Housing Policy**

1. Allotting some public lands to construct housing blocks and towns, and distributing them on people with limited income, especially those whose houses were demolished, poor families, and families of martyrs and detainees.
2. Reducing the housing problem for those with limited income of the Palestinian people, and reducing the problem of crowded houses, especially in Gaza Strip, and some of the areas in the West Bank.

3. Encouraging the establishment of workforce housing complexes of public institutions like schools, hospitals, universities and public facilities.
4. Justice in distributing charity housing buildings, which will encourage the benefactors to continue supporting these projects.
5. Concentrating on activating construction sector through providing easy finance for housing and public building projects. This will relatively quickly contribute to:
  - Solving unemployment problem among Palestinians who used to work for the Israeli economy, especially that they have the experience and skill in construction. Moreover, staffing tens of thousands of new workers, especially those with low skills.
  - Decreasing rent bills the government pays for the buildings it occupies, consequently reducing budget expenses, and directing revenues to other priorities.
  - Developing social services through providing new buildings or expanding the existing ones, especially in the field of education and health care.
6. Providing apartments for junior employees and those with limited income, at cost price and with facilitated interest-free installment payments; and encouraging housing contracts and handling cases of payment difficulties.
7. Approving structural and regional blueprints of Palestinian cities and villages.

#### **Fourteenth: Health and Environment Policy**

1. Mending health insurance system, and make it available for all citizens starting with the most needy poor class.
2. Putting a time plan to achieve self-sufficiency in medical care in all medical specializations, in order to prevent waste of money in seeking treatment abroad.
3. Expanding the services of primary health care and general health centers, to facilitate remedy, and to lessen the load on citizens in villages and cities.
4. Developing general health services to outcompete these in private sector.
5. Putting required plans for expanding the building of hospitals according to regional needs.
6. Striking a balance in specializations and expertise in hospitals, and fair distribution of qualified staffs and equipment in all areas.
7. Providing material incentives for doctors, nurses, and health workers in remote areas, and health workers of rare specialties.

8. Encouraging private and specialized health services.
9. Elevating health sector standards (doctors, pharmacists, nurses and health administrations) according to what is suitable for the needs and requirements of the Palestinian society.
10. Providing suitable health facilities to take care of the injured or handicapped of the Palestinian people, who got hit during Palestinian struggle; and of all groups without any discrimination.
11. Providing the suitable and free care for the families of martyrs, injured, handicapped, and prisoners.
12. Working on having a clean environment by spreading public sanitation education, and planting trees in roads and public parks; and encouraging the planting of private and public gardens.
13. Protecting the environment and stopping the Palestinian environmental deterioration, through coordination with international organizations. Moreover, resisting the continuous environmental pollution of Palestinian lands, due to the occupation and Zionist settlements practices; and working on exposing these practices in international forums.
14. Keeping Gaza's beach clean, beautiful and suitable for tourism; and stopping transgressions of it, including dumping fill dirt and waste; and preventing environmental pollution resulting from dumping sewage into the sea.
15. Following up with the prepared studies to get rid of the environmental disaster resulting from waste water tanks in the northern of Gaza Strip; and to specify new lands to increase the number of "garbage landfills" in Gaza Strip and West Bank, and setting up projects to make use of them.

### **Fifteen: Agricultural Policy**

1. Developing the agricultural sector and animal wealth in order to achieve food safety for the Palestinian people, then working on achieving extra production for exportation.
2. Working on categorizing the Palestinian lands and determining its usage, like citrus, grains, fruits, roses, etc., and passing necessary legislations for developing them.
3. Re-forming and activating the Farmers Union in order to reach all the nation's governorates, to contribute in applying the agricultural policies aiming at developing this important sector.

4. Working on adopting an agricultural lending system instead of usury system. Encouraging agricultural lending in kind.
5. Working on enhancing coordination among institutions of the agricultural sector on the policy, production, industry and marketing; and working on opening international and Arab markets to the Palestinian products, especially agricultural ones within the available preferential treatment agreements.
6. Adopting a comprehensive rural development program, as a frame to agriculture development through providing necessary infrastructure for agricultural projects.
7. Encouraging food industry projects to make use of the production surplus, and working on developing the qualities of seeds, seedlings, herbicides and locally-made fertilizers.
8. Taking care of fish resources, and protecting fishermen rights.
9. Regulating the import, marketing and use of agricultural or veterinary fertilizers and medicine; and rationing the usage of chemicals fertilizers, and providing agricultural guidance services.
10. Encouraging land reclamation, and supporting its cultivation and irrigation.
11. Working on developing animal wealth, and reducing the gap between supply and demand.
12. Monitoring the performance of “Coastal [Municipalities] Water Utility” to achieve nation and citizens interests.

### **Sixteenth: Economic, Financial and Monetary Policy**

*Allah* (SWT) Says:

﴿وَالَّذِينَ إِذَا أَنْفَقُوا لَمْ يُسْرِفُوا وَلَمْ يَقْتُرُوا وَكَانَ بَيْنَ ذَلِكَ قَوَامًا﴾

(And [they are] those who, when they spend, do so not excessively or sparingly but are ever, between that, [justly] moderate)

(*Surat al-Furqan* (The Criterion): 67)

And He (SWT) says:

﴿يَمْحَقُ اللَّهُ الرِّبَا وَيُزِيلُ الصَّدَقَاتِ﴾

(*Allah* destroys interest and gives increase for charities. And *Allah* does not like every sinning disbeliever).

(*Surat al-Baqarah* (The Cow): 276)

1. Achieving economic and currency independence; disengagement from the Zionist entity, its economy and currency; and also getting rid of its dependency [on Israeli economy] and seeking to issue a Palestinian currency.

2. Reviewing and developing the economic and monetary laws and legislations.
3. Providing the proper legal and procedural environment to encourage investment and pass vital additional economic laws as: antitrust and customs laws.
4. Seeking to build the “Resistance Economy,” encouraging self-independence, avoiding forms of lavishness and levity, and being cautious of nonproductive projects, or those which corrupt the social and moral structure like nightclubs and gambling houses, etc.
5. The well-planned distribution of projects and the expansion of its geographic and human areas to protect them and to ease the probabilities of assault, restriction, and siege by the enemy.
6. Reviewing and developing international economic agreements to take into consideration the special conditions of the Palestinian economy. The most important of those are:
  - Paris Economic Treaty [Protocol on Economic Relations between the Government of the State of Israel and the PLO, representing the Palestinian people].
  - The Free Trade Agreement with the United States.
  - The Partnership Treaty with the European Union [Euro-Mediterranean Interim Association Agreement].
  - Economic cooperation agreements with Egypt and Jordan.
7. Developing the economic and trade relation with the Arab and Muslim world through privileged trade treaties that contribute in developing the Palestinian economy and helping it to get rid of the Israeli economy dependence.
8. Putting the economic policies (monetary, currency, operational, trade, industrial, and agricultural) that work (during the legislative council term (4 years)) on achieving balanced economic development, [and that] reinforce self-abilities, protect marginalized groups, keep the social solidarity and achieve stability of prices and wages. They will lead to fighting poverty, reducing unemployment, keeping the inflation limited, achieving economic growth and improving the standard of living.
9. Developing the infrastructure to be suitable for the industrial, agricultural, and public services sectors, and concentrating on training and qualifying the Palestinian labor force to be fit for the Palestinian market needs, thus solving the problem of depending on the Israeli economy in operations.

10. Protecting the properties and public money and using it in a way that achieve public benefit for the present and future generations, and this require an ambitious program of administrative and monetary reform in all the authority institutions and apparatuses. Also, using international aid in an ideal way so as to achieve comprehensive development targets away from squandering and misuse, and by this, social justice would be achieved.
11. Reviewing the prices of gas, oil derivatives, electricity, phone and water to ease off on citizens.
12. Taking care of the Palestinian productive sectors by applying the recommendations of the serious scientific studies especially those which discuss developing the Palestinian economy own resources.
13. Developing the Palestinian trade and custom policy to suit the developing conditions of the Palestinian economy and the characteristics and objectives of the Palestinian external trade.
14. Reframing the income tax law to be ascending in order to help the low-income individual, modifying the indirect taxes of the Palestinian economy and reducing the value-added tax to suit the Palestinian developing level.

### **Seventeen: Labor and Workers Issues**

1. Respecting, developing and encouraging occupational and specialized unions and associations.
2. Specifying minimum limit for wages in different labor sectors, in order to provide an acceptable and a respectable standard of living.
3. Carrying out a serious national plan to deal with unemployment, based on programs for developing Palestinian economic resources and the perfect use of the Palestinian public money (both domestic and international funds).
4. Spreading labor culture and awareness concerning the rights and obligations between all the workers in all sectors and with different legal methods.
5. Workers in all sectors should be under a comprehensive health insurance.
6. Developing the law of labor, workers and unions so as to insure workers' rights and their right in union work and to go along with the period developments and achieving justice with all workers in the different production sectors.
7. Linking wages and salaries of workers with the cost of living table.



## **Eighteenth: Transportation and Crossing Points**

1. Rehabilitation of all the roads in the country with modern specifications.
2. Building new vital roads between cities and villages, where each damaged citizen [could] keep his/her right of compensation.
3. Stressing free efficient communication between the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
4. Opening free crossings between Palestinian territories, Egypt and Jordan; and rejecting any foreign intervention at any level.
5. Working on opening the port and airport to develop Palestinian economy, and serve the communication between the members of the nation, inside and outside [Palestine].

## **Epilogue**

The blessed *Intifadah* had settled new facts on the ground, made the Oslo [Accords] old history, where various parties, including the Zionist occupation, spoke of “the burial of Oslo.” Now our people are more coherent, aware and harder to handle, and Hamas is going ahead [to participate in] the elections. It was able, with *Allah*’s help, and with the cooperation of all the honest [people], to support the resistance course and entrench it in our people’s minds, souls and conscious.

O Brother voter... O Sister voter... this is our platform, we put it in your hands...and we share with you the ambition, put our hands in yours, [and] we don’t pretend that we make miracles or have the magic wand.

But we do our best to achieve our national project on the way to our greatest aims.. a one free wise nation..

O Brother voter..... O Sister voter.... the responsibility is common, and *Allah* raises and develops the good doing.

Our method depends on honest and qualified representatives, who raise the slogan of [being] honest to *Allah*, and loyal to Him, the people and the cause... so be absolutely confident that they’ll apply their slogans and they will fulfill their promises..

O Brother voter..... O Sister voter....

When you are in front of the ballot box remember your responsibility in the presence of *Allah*... you are entrusted with your testimony to choose your representative in the legislative council.. when this representative speaks and has

the final word in religion, nation and future issues; he acting on your behalf, so choose the best to please your generous God and your great prophet (SAAWS)

﴿إِنَّ خَيْرَ مَنْ آسْتَجَرْتَ الْقَوِيُّ الْأَمِينُ﴾

(Indeed, the best one you can hire is the strong and the trustworthy)..  
Yes, choose the best to be happy and to please your people *Allah* willing.

“Islam is the solution” is our way to change and reform.

Our program is our way to support the building of the society, which was destroyed by the occupation, and protect its resistance.

Our program is our way to support the Islamic and national unity towards full national liberty.

Our program is that of the people and the whole nation.

﴿وَقُلْ أَعْمَلُوا فَسَيَرَى اللَّهُ عَمَلَكُمْ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَسَتُرَدُّونَ إِلَىٰ عِلِّيِّ الْعَالِينَ وَالشَّهَادَةِ﴾

﴿فَيُنَبِّئُكُم بِمَا كُنتُمْ تَعْمَلُونَ﴾

(And say, Do [as you will], for *Allah* will see your deeds, and [so, will] His Messenger and the believers. And you will be returned to the Knower of the unseen and the witnessed, and He will inform you of what you used to do.)

(*Surat al-Tawbah* (The Repentance): 105)

O Brother voter..O Sister voter:

(Voting is your duty, so vote only your conscience)



## ***Document No. 11***

### **Address by Prime Minister Isma'il Haniyyah to the Legislative Council for a Vote of Confidence in the Tenth Government<sup>11</sup> [Excerpts]**

27 March 2006

In the Name of *Allah*, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

Praise be to *Allah*, and peace and blessings be upon His trustworthy Messenger and all Prophets and companions, and their followers until the Day of Judgement,

Brother, distinguished Speaker of the Legislative Council,

Brothers and sisters, distinguished members of the Legislative Council,

Distinguished gentlemen, ambassadors, consuls and representatives of countries and international organizations

Distinguished guests

Dear attendance

May *Allah*'s peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you,

I had hoped for this Council to convene in better circumstances, and for our meeting to be in Jerusalem, capital of our independent Palestinian state. However, this circumstance in which the homeland has fragmented gives the world clear proof of the cruelty of the occupation and its oppression. The occupation is waging a bloody war against our unarmed people, inciting against its democratic choice, and insisting on keeping the region in a spiral of bloody conflict.

Today, your esteemed Council is convening to witness the birth of a new Palestinian government, the tenth government, amid the continuation of the occupation and aggression, the increasing number of martyrs and wounded, and the continuation of assassinations, arrests, strangulation and siege. [This is in addition to] land confiscation, the construction of the Apartheid Wall, the Judaization of Jerusalem, and the continuation of the excavations under the blessed

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<sup>11</sup> PIC, 27/3/2006, [http://www.palestine-info.info/arabic/Hamas/hewar/2006/ismael\\_haneya/27\\_3\\_06.htm](http://www.palestine-info.info/arabic/Hamas/hewar/2006/ismael_haneya/27_3_06.htm); and Donia Al-Watan electronic newspaper, 27/3/2006, <http://www.alwatanvoice.com/arabic/news/2006/03/27/40919.html>, translated from Arabic by al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations.

*al-Aqsa* Mosque with permanent threats to storm it. There is also the expansion of settlements and plans to annex the Jordan Valley, and the prevention of our people from communicating with one another inside the West Bank itself. This was cemented by turning the Qalandiya checkpoint into the equivalent of a border crossing.. The occupation culminated its assaults by raiding the Jericho prison and abducting the resistance fighters Ahmad Sa'adat and Fuad al-Shubaki along with a number of their fellow detainees, leaving a number of martyrs and wounded, in addition to the full destruction of the Muqata'a building. By [perpetrating] these criminal acts, [Israel] has violated all the agreements that were signed.

We are confident that the usurper occupation is staging all these escalations to undermine the new government, with a view to send a message to the Palestinian people saying: "You have made the wrong choice, and you must be punished." Unfortunately, this position is being adopted before the entire world, and we warn of the consequences of such policies.. The great Palestinian people must not be punished for having exercised their right to choose their leaders through free democratic elections observed by the world, and witnessed its honesty. Wrong are those who also believe that economic pressures will force our government to succumb or that it will impact the determination and steadfastness of our proud Palestinian people.. This government will lead its people to a free and dignified life, relying on *Allah* almighty.

﴿وَمَا لَنَا إِلَّا نَنُوكِلَ عَلَى اللَّهِ وَقَدْ هَدَانَا سُبُلَنَا وَلَنَصْبِرَنَّ عَلَى مَا آذَيْتُمُونَا وَعَلَى اللَّهِ فَلْيَتَوَكَّلِ الْمُتَوَكِّلُونَ﴾

(And why should we not rely upon *Allah* while He has guided us to our [good] ways. And we will surely be patient against whatever harm you should cause us. And upon *Allah* let those who would rely [indeed] rely.)

We salute our righteous martyrs, of whom we mention the late President Yasir 'Arafat, Sheikh Imam Ahmad Yasin, Doctor 'Abdul 'Aziz al-Rantisi, Doctor Fathi Shiqaqi, Comrade Abu 'Ali Mustafa, and brother Abu al-'Abbas. We salute our gloried wounded and our detained heroes steadfast behind bars in occupation prisons and detention centers, [we wish] their forbearing families all the help and [we express our] appreciation.

We salute our freedom fighters and the leaders of Palestinian national action from all factions inside prisons.. We promise them—as we promise all male and female prisoners (Palestinians and Arabs)—that we shall never forget them. Their

sacrifices will not be in vain, and we shall work tirelessly to secure their release with dignity and pride, so that they may take part with us in achieving freedom for our people, and participate with us in building, developing, reforming, and changing.

We also salute and honor our great Palestinian people at home and abroad; in the Diaspora [refugee] camps, and our Palestinian communities all over the world.

Brother, distinguished Speaker of the Council,

Brothers and sisters, distinguished members of the Legislative Council,

It is my pleasure to extend to your esteemed council this program, hoping that you will grant confidence to my government, in order to proceed to implement its program, which it promised to our people to safeguard their supreme national interests, restore their usurped rights, and achieve the desired security, prosperity and reform.

I am pleased, before delving into the main themes of the government's program, to extend my sincere greetings to Mister President Mahmud 'Abbas (Abu Mazin), President of the Palestinian National Authority, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, respectfully noting his leading role in holding the legislative elections and strengthening the foundations of Palestinian democracy. He was keen on sponsoring and protecting political pluralism, and the days that accompanied the recent elections were quintessentially Palestinian, to the surprise of the whole world, reflecting the civilized face of the Palestinian people. I would like to reiterate our commitment to respecting the constitutional relationship with the president to serve the interests of our people and maintain its legitimate core fundamentals, while being committed to addressing policies and positions through dialogue, cooperation and continuous coordination between the institutions of the presidency, the government and other national institutions, led by the Palestine Liberation Organization, based on mutual respect and protection of the constitutional and functional prerogatives of each branch.

I would also like to extend my greetings and appreciation to our great people, who gave us this precious confidence, and pinned their hopes on us. We promise them to be up to their expectations, and to spare no effort in order to alleviate the suffering of all of them, and to achieve what they aspire for, namely freedom, independence, progress and prosperity.

This struggling people who excelled in resistance against the occupation and was an example of giving, patience and steadfastness, its talents will be reflected in construction, reconstruction, and in strengthening the democratic choice, *Allah* willing, the success of all of which could be a role model for all honest and free people in the world.

We also extend our gratitude to the heads and members of previous governments, and to the government of Brother Ahmad Qurai' (Abu 'Ala'), who graciously offered his cooperation for a smooth transition of power and in facilitating the conduct of various tasks. We also thank former ministers and members of the Legislative Council, and Brother Rawhi Fattouh, former speaker of our distinguished Legislative Council.

Brother, Speaker of the Council,

Brothers and sisters, members of the Council,

There are grave responsibilities that the government must tackle on the internal and external levels. Carrying out these tasks requires diagnosis of the previous stage, and an examination of reality, to build on the successes and straighten the march.

Perhaps one of the most important challenges and issues that await our government are the following:

First: The occupation and its ugly practices against the land, man, holy sites and wealth.

Second: Keeping the order and ending chaos in the Palestinian arena.

Third: The tough economic conditions experienced by the Palestinian people.

Fourth: Reform and cracking down on administrative and financial corruption.

Fifth: Putting the internal Palestinian house in order, and re-forming the Palestinian institutions on democratic bases that ensure all parties participate politically.

Sixth: Strengthening the position of the Palestinian issue in the Arab and Islamic world.

Seventh: Developing the relationship with the regional and international environment in order to serve the higher interests of our people.

In light of the above, we emphasize the following:

First: Protecting the right of our people to defend themselves against the occupation, remove settlements and the Apartheid Wall, and continue their struggle to establish an independent and fully sovereign Palestinian state, with Jerusalem as its capital. [In addition,] rejecting partial solutions, temporary borders and fait accompli policies, and every project that detracts from our rights and interests such as the disengagement plan decoder aimed at transforming our country into ghettos and cantons that preclude a viable Palestinian state. We also reaffirm our commitment to the right of Palestinian refugees to return and to be compensated, and regard this as an inalienable individual and collective right. [We also reaffirm our commitment to] working for the liberation of prisoners and confronting the occupation's measures on the ground, including assassinations, arrests and incursions, and to defending Jerusalem that is being subjected to a major Judaization process. [We also reaffirm our commitment to] confronting attempts to annex the Jordan Valley and the expansion of settlements. We will also work to confront collective punishment, and the occupation's confiscation of our financial dues.

In this context, the government will deal with the agreements signed by the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian Authority with a strong sense of national responsibility, in the service of the interests of our people and their established rights. The government and its competent ministries will take into account the interests and needs of our people, and the mechanisms of life that are in contact with the occupation, in all economic, commercial, health and labor aspects. The government will deal with international resolutions on the Palestinian issue with national responsibility, in a way that protects the rights and national fundamentals of our people.

Second: Providing security for citizens and their properties, protecting embassies and the headquarters of international institutions, their employees and foreign guests, is a task that cannot be postponed. We will address it wisely and firmly through the rule of law and the ethical values that characterize our people, and through responsible cooperation between all segments of our great people. There is no doubt that these security breaches and abuses are not worthy of our people, who wrote pages of glory that make the nations of the earth proud. This requires addressing those limited violations, because of the distorted image they present of us, and the damage they cause to our higher interests.

In this context, the government will work to develop the performance of the security forces, and improve their role as the party responsible for protecting our people and preserving their security. They are also responsible for protecting the rule of law and keeping the order, and providing security for citizens without violating their constitutional rights or abusing their human dignity or intervening in their civil lives.

Third: My government, which adopts a reform strategy, affirms to your respectful council and to the people who gave us their precious confidence that we will be faithful to the trust they put in us. The citizen shall feel through the work of this government—*Allah* willing—real achievements on the ground, in administrative and financial reform; through active oversight and cooperation with the Legislative Council in issuing laws that promote reform and fight corruption.

The government will work on meeting the urgent needs of the citizens in various fields, through planning and initiatives, and determining the priorities for spending, launching initiatives and innovations, and maintaining the highest degree of credibility. [This is in addition to] benefiting from experiences of others in the field of institutionalization of the community and issues of democracy, human rights and public freedoms, taking into account our unique Palestinian, Arab and Islamic identity, and the political, social and historical reality of our people.

Also, in the context of reform, the government will seek to fight corruption, promote integrity and transparency, and shun abuse of public funds.. We will give the issue of administrative development a social dimension and a community-based culture that would establish a new concept. Indeed, we are now in a dire need for formulating a community-based Palestinian strategy for administrative development, and a sound work mechanism based on modern management concepts to implement this strategy in accordance with the requirements and needs of the Palestinian society.

Fourth: This government, which emerged through democratic choice and free elections, is committed to protecting Palestinian democracy and the peaceful transfer of power, and to the consolidation of political partnership and pluralism, as the sound choice to ensure the safety and stability of our political system.

We recognize that the promotion of *shura* and democracy requires work towards the establishment of the rule of law, and to get rid of tribal, family and factional feuds, and perpetuating the principle of equality between citizens in rights and duties.



The government will work to protect the constitutional rights of all citizens, and to protect the human rights of Palestinians and their freedom.

The government will also work to enable Palestinian women to occupy the place they deserve and that befits their great sacrifices, and guarantee their participation in decision-making in our ministers and national institutions.

The government is committed to protecting citizens' rights, and establishing the principle of citizenship, without discrimination based on creed or political affiliation. We will work together to fight political and administrative exclusion, and will lift injustice on people as much as possible (*O my servants... I have forbidden oppression for myself and I have made it forbidden among you, so do not oppress one another*).

Building the state of law strengthens democracy in Palestinian society, and helps support their steadfastness in defense of their rights and freedoms. The rule of law gives the judiciary the primary role guaranteeing of equality and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.. Therefore, the judiciary, prosecutors and lawyers are the necessary complement to the work of the executive branch with regard to the implementation of the rule of law and the promotion of democracy. This requires the judiciary to be independent and to work with high professionalism and responsibility.. the independence, professionalism and objectivity of the judiciary promotes security in society and is a fundamental guarantee for achieving justice.

Fifth: Reforming the financial system and diverting all the revenues of the National Authority to the public treasury, and promoting the principle of transparency and specifying spending priorities, are all important tasks that cannot be postponed. We will seek to complete them as part of a comprehensive Palestinian economic vision, prepare ourselves for it well and creatively, and work under the following parameters:

a. Working to ensure free and dignified life for citizens, and maintaining the legitimate gains that have been achieved, securing staff salaries, both military and civilian, and allocations for social affairs and the families of martyrs, prisoners, the wounded and the disabled.

b. Giving priority to stimulating the national economy. Developing policies and programs to address poverty and unemployment, by strengthening local capacity and encouraging productive economic sectors, while continuing to support national

produces by all possible means. This is in addition to developing economic and trade relations with the Arab and Muslim worlds in particular and promoting direct ties with the European Union and the rest of the world.

c. Acting to protect the consumer and encouraging the private sector, by providing a favorable and adequate climate for its activities. In addition, laying sound foundations for collaboration between the government and official institutions and private sector institutions is an important guarantee for attracting investments to Palestine. The government will work to establish an adequate and stable climate for protecting investments.

Allow me from this podium to appeal to Palestinian, Arab and Muslim capitalists to come to our country to explore investment opportunities in various fields. We promise them that we will provide them with all possible assistance, and the investment climate, security and economic protection, through the enactment of necessary laws and legislations... We look forward to their participation and their contribution to alleviate the suffering of our people and to support their just cause, and ease the economic hardship, by contributing to the creation of employment opportunities for young people and male and female graduates.

Here, we reaffirm that investment is a pillar of sustainable development, [because] donations and aid do not spare the need—as important as these may be at this stage—and is therefore one of the first priorities of our economic program, to encourage investment in Palestine. Our government will be ready to discuss all the details related to the provision of the necessary guarantees for foreign investment. We here say that, a fortiori, the Palestinian capital should return to contribute to stimulating construction and development. Our government will urge the financial and banking institutions operating in Palestine to invest deposits and money inside Palestine, and we will help them in providing the best investment climate to achieve worthwhile financial returns.

While our economic program seeks to achieve sustainable development, by boosting energies and optimally exploiting the wealth, the government is aware that the political situation surrounding our people besieged by the occupation and the continued closure of the crossings have caused great damage to our fundamental infrastructure. We have been left in dire need of help and support from the international community, and our brothers and friends in the world. The government will seek openness and dialogue with all countries, including EU

member states to continue to provide aid to our people and our Authority, so as to provide a decent life to this afflicted people. We assure all donors that we will provide two guarantees:

First: All the money that will be provided to our people and our Authority will go to its allocated destination, and will be spent on projects and areas that are approved and funded, and will not go to any other party.

Second: Our government will provide all the guarantees and mechanisms to all donor countries and donors to monitor the disbursement of these funds, and make sure it is spent in the right place, according to the approved plans, projects and programs.

I want to say that hasty statements and decisions made following the elections, especially by the US administration that threatened to halt aid to the Palestinian people, are completely unjustifiable and do not serve in any way stability in the region. We call on the international community to reconsider its position on the new government, respect the democratic choice of the Palestinian people, and support our people's aspirations for freedom, independence, and liberation from the occupation, and to direct its pressures towards the occupation force rather than the Palestinian people under occupation.

The US administration, which calls for spreading democracy and respect for peoples' will, is required before others to encourage the Palestinian choice, and not lay siege to it with threats and intimidation. It is required to fulfill its promises regarding the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital.

Our government will work to establish strong and healthy relations with various countries of the world, as well as with international institutions including the United Nations, the Security Council, and international organizations in different fields of work, to promote peace and global stability.. The European Union has provided a lot of aid to the Palestinian people, and supported its right to freedom and independence, and has voiced serious positions in the criticism of the policies of the occupation... Therefore, we are interested in a strong and solid relationship with the European Union, but we expect the European Union to reconsider some of its policies on the conflict in the region. We expect the European Union to play a bigger role in putting pressure on the occupation authorities to withdraw from occupied Palestinian lands, and end repeated aggressions against our people.

Our government expects the international community, especially the international Quartet, to side with justice and equity in order to achieve a just and comprehensive peace in the region, and not be biased in favor of one party over another party, and stop threatening to impose sanctions on the Palestinian people because of its democratic choice. In this regard, the government appreciates Russia's position as a member of the Quartet, which has chosen the path of dialogue rather than brandishing threats and intimidation. Our government would be willing to engage in dialogue with the Quartet and to seek all means to end the conflict and pursue calm in the region.

Brother, Speaker [of the Council],

Brothers and sisters, members of the Council,

We understand, as we review before you these challenges, and the methodology of the government in confronting them, that we are facing a difficult phase, and that the tasks required of this government are not easy, because the legacy is heavy and on more than one level. But we arm ourselves with a relentless will and determination, because we have no choice but to work together to protect this blessed nation.

To this end, we wanted to tackle all of this as a single rank in a coalition government. We thus spared no effort to form a national coalition government, and made lengthy efforts in recent weeks, to achieve this noble objective. We seriously worked in all honesty and sincerity through our long dialogues with the brothers in the parliamentary blocs and factions; to find common ground to guarantee the participation of all sides, especially the brothers in Fatah. The consultation and dialogue also included factions that are not represented in the Legislative Council and that did not take part in the elections, such our brothers in Islamic Jihad Movement.. During all these dialogues, we presented multiple formulations and many amendments to the political program of the national coalition government, and expressed understanding and a high level of flexibility in those talks, because we believed and we still believe that success can be achieved by coming together and uniting, for advancement, development and a better future.. However, our brothers in the parliamentary blocs preferred not to participate in this government, and we respect their choice. However, we say: If we failed together in forming a national coalition government, then we must succeed in maintaining national unity.. We will not give up on it, and we will continue to work to strengthen

national unity, close ranks, arranging putting Palestinian [political] house in order, and shore up our internal front, and will keep our hands stretched out for all to engage in dialogue and consultation on all issues in order to achieve the supreme national interest of our people and our nation. The door to participation in our government will remain open. This is the homeland of everyone, and [concerns] everyone's fate, and the future of everyone.

As for the Palestine Liberation Organization, the government appeals to the factions and forces to work together to implement the Cairo Understandings... We will work together to preserve the Palestine Liberation Organization as the framework that embodies the aspirations of our people and their continuous sacrifices to attain their rights. It is a title of cumulative struggle that we cherish and want to develop and reform through consultation and dialogue. We confirm here the necessity of rushing to expedite the necessary measures, so that it would bring in all active Palestinian factions and forces, and rebuild the [Palestine Liberation] Organization on sound democratic bases, thus achieving political partnership, where it is considered the large umbrella for all Palestinians inside and outside Palestine. It represents them and cares for their interests, carries their concerns, addresses their problems and issues, and protects their national rights.

We must also stress here Palestinian geographical unity, and insist on linking the two parts of the homeland politically, economically, socially, and culturally between the [West] Bank and [Gaza] Strip, in addition to linking the interior and outside [Palestine], and reactivating national institutions led by the Palestine Liberation Organization to guarantee the linkage and the right of return for our people in the Diaspora.

In relation to internal social affairs, I make reference to the need to pay attention to healthcare and developing it; in order to meet the needs of the Palestinian society. This includes developing health insurance programs and improving conditions in hospitals. It is also important to draft a clear social policy and strategy, to provide a decent social life for all segments of the Palestinian community through a social security program. This would protect society from social problems such as poverty, unemployment, and delinquency, in addition to social insurance for the elderly and those with special needs. [This is in addition to] working to provide social care for families through targeted social programs.

In the area of the rule of law and the promotion of democracy, we emphasize that the freedom of the Palestinian is the goal sought by the Palestinian government through equality, justice, and respect for human rights, especially for women and vulnerable groups, given what this achieves in terms of security and stability for society. This is what the government will emphasize in its executive work and legislative proposals, in which it will stress everything that contributes to human and social development, and [everything] that will facilitate developing the role of women and their participation in political and social life. Building the state of law strengthens democracy in Palestinian society, and help support their steadfastness in defense of their rights and freedoms. This requires an independent, professional and responsible judiciary.

It is necessary as well to advance and develop education, to bring it up to the developed nations standards, and benefit from modern experience while preserving identity.

In the areas of administrative development and government reform, we will seek to implement a governmental reform program, review the administrative structure, and develop the administrative system in all ministries and public institutions. We will strengthen cooperation between them, and continue building self-capacities in them, focusing on administrative development and human development as the foundation pillar of overall development.

It is necessary to repair and rebuild infrastructure and buildings destroyed by the Israeli occupation, and seek to allocate appropriate investments to develop, maintain, repair, or build basic infrastructure networks, including roads, water, electricity and others. [The same goes for] developing and building industrial zones and housing, especially for low-income segments newlyweds; and tapping into information technology and developing this sector to contribute to building a knowledge society.

Brother, Speaker [of the Council],

Brothers and sisters, members of the Council,

Distinguished guests

Our government will be keen to deepen the relationship and consultation with the Arab and Islamic surroundings, our national and strategic depth.. Our Palestinian people are an integral part of the Arab and Muslim nation, because their

cause is an Arab and Islamic responsibility, and does not impact the life and future of the Palestinian people alone, but the life and future of all Arabs and Muslims.

Our government would like to emphasize here the ongoing Arab and Islamic efforts for our people to obtain their rights, including the distinguished efforts of the League of Arab States and its Secretary General Doctor ‘Amr Moussa, who has always shown a strong commitment to the Palestinian issue. In this context, we send our warm congratulations on the occasion of the renewal of his term as Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, and we hope that we to cooperate together in the next phase of the restoration of full Palestinian rights. We also salute and appreciate the Organization of the Islamic Conference... We affirm that our government will be keen to strengthen relations with Arab and Muslim countries; [whether] governments, people, clerics, Islamic and national movements, and political and intellectual elites, to serve collective Arab action and prepare a climate for Arab and Islamic solidarity with the rights of our Palestinian people.. Therefore, our government encourages all Arab and Islamic political action in order to restore the Palestinian people’s national rights, and establish their fully sovereign Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital. Our government also affirms its support for the cause of liberation from occupation, particularly in [our] brother [country] Iraq, the occupied Golan, and the remaining occupied Lebanese land.

We remind the whole world that it was the occupation authorities that have always ignored the Arab initiatives, including the initiative at the Arab summit in Beirut.. The problem has never been Palestinian or Arab but the Israeli occupation.

I would like to refer here to the messages we received through our extensive recent contacts with Arab and Muslim states. They carried good results and reassurances that the Palestinian people will not be alone in the coming phase, and that they will not be isolated but will receive political, financial, and moral support. Many leaders, elites, and economic figures in the Arab and Muslim worlds have pledged to give financial assistance and support; whether to the Palestinian government, its institutions, and projects, or the Palestinian people, non-governmental charities.

We consider that the aid donated by Egypt and Jordan, after the plight of the Israeli blockade, which caused a shortage of bread and flour, is a good example of Arab fraternal solidarity, and we believe it to be the beginning of what we expect the Arab and Muslim nation.

Our message to the whole world on this day is that the time has come to establish justice for the Palestinian issue, and restore rights to their rightful owners, and end the injustice done to our people over six decades.. The Palestinian people is in most need among all peoples of the earth for peace, security, and stability, and our government will not hesitate to make every possible effort in order to reach a just peace in the region, a peace that ends the occupation and restores rights to their owners. We were never advocates of war, terrorism, or bloodshed.

I pray to *Allah* Almighty to help us succeed carry the duty entrusted to us by our people. We pledge to our people, our righteous martyrs, our prisoners, our wounded, and our freedom fighters at home and abroad, to be loyal to the fundamentals and values for which we struggled and to which we committed ourselves, loyal to Palestine and its glorious history, and loyal to all the tolerant values of our Islamic faith. We reaffirm the spirit of tolerance, cooperation, and coexistence among the people of the one homeland, be they Muslims, Christians, or Samaritans, in the framework of citizenship that does not discriminate between citizens on the basis of religion or belief. We stress at the same time the need for hard work on a local, Arab, and international levels, and by all means available, to protect the Islamic and Christian holy sites, and the need to seek the protection of Jerusalem as the capital of our independent state from Judaization, and the need to support Jerusalemites to stay on their land in the face of Judaization and displacement procedures practiced by the occupation every day.

Brother Speaker,

Brothers and sisters,

The lineup of this government, the result of hard work, reflects in a conscious and creative way the requirements of the stage and of Palestinian national action. Its members are your brothers and include politicians, independents, and experts in their respective fields, who devoted themselves to the service of their people and their nation. Give them honest support and advice with the help of *Allah*.

We are facing a great task that requires us to continue to work day and night, and to make an extraordinary effort, with the help of *Allah* almighty who says:

﴿وَمَنْ يَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ فَهُوَ حَسْبُهُ ۚ إِنَّ اللَّهَ بَالِغُ أَمْرِهِ ۖ قَدْ جَعَلَ اللَّهُ لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدْرًا﴾

(And will provide for him from where he does not expect. And whoever relies upon *Allah*—then He is sufficient for him. Indeed, *Allah* will accomplish His purpose. *Allah* has already set for everything a [decreed] extent.)





and who says: ﴿وَتَعَاوَنُوا عَلَى الْبِرِّ وَالتَّقْوَىٰ وَلَا تَعَاوَنُوا عَلَى الْإِثْمِ وَالْعُدْوَانِ﴾

(And cooperate in righteousness and piety, but do not cooperate in sin and aggression.)

I extend my greetings to your honorable assembly, valuing the trust people have placed in you, in the hope that you will grant my government confidence to work together to serve this great nation, each in their respective fields, and according to the Basic Law amended in 2003 AD.

We are looking forward to a joint and continuous collaboration with your esteemed council; to address the enormous tasks ahead of us, “may *Allah* help us all in carrying them out.” I am fully confident that our collaboration will have a decisive impact on making the experience of this government succeed, and we and you look forward to the cooperation of our people, of all groups, institutions and national and Islamic factions, as well as trade unions at home and abroad, for the success of this new experience.

We recognize the challenges we face, and have prepared ourselves fully for this stage reliant on *Allah* (Mighty and the Majestic), armed with our deep faith in the justice of our cause, and standing to benefit from the experiences of our brothers in the former ministries.. Their rich experiences will help us in tackling the challenges facing us to ensure a decent life for our people. A life that fits their struggle and history, and the sacrifices of thousands of martyrs, wounded, prisoners and detainees.

We affirm that our era, *Allah* willing, will be an era of mercy not an era of carnage. We will promote compassion, forgiveness, cooperation, cohesion, social justice, and fraternal coexistence, and charity for all. We will be supportive to all our people, whatever their views and affiliations. This is our homeland, our home, and this is our Palestinian family. Let us go forward with *Allah*’s blessing to build the homeland, and provide security and dignity for every citizen.

﴿وَاللَّهُ غَالِبٌ عَلَىٰ أَمْرِهِ وَلَكِنَّ أَكْثَرَ النَّاسِ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ﴾

(And *Allah* is predominant over His affair, but most of the people do not know.)...

﴿رَبَّنَا لَا تُزِغْ قُلُوبَنَا بَعْدَ إِذْ هَدَيْتَنَا وَهَبْ لَنَا مِن لَّدُنكَ رَحْمَةً إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ الْوَهَّابُ﴾

(Our Lord, let not our hearts deviate after You have guided us and grant us from Yourself mercy. Indeed, You are the Bestower.)

(...)

I hope my government will receive your precious confidence, and thank you for your understanding, and appreciate the people's trust in you. Assalammu Alaikum Wa Rahmatullah,

Your brother/ Isma'il Abdul Salam Haniyyah

Prime Minister

Gaza–Palestine

Drafted on Monday, the twenty seventh of March 2006 AD

Corresponding to Monday the twenty seventh of Safar 1427 AH

## ***Document No. 12***

### **Final Text of the National Conciliation Document<sup>12</sup>**

28 June 2006

In the Name of *Allah*, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

﴿وَأَعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا﴾

(And hold firmly to the rope of *Allah* all together and do not become divided)

*Allah* Almighty has spoken the truth

### **(National Conciliation Document)**

#### **Preamble**

Emanating from a high sense of national and historical responsibility, and because of the dangers facing our people, and stemming from the principle that rights cannot be relinquished and the occupation cannot be legitimized, and with the intention of reinforcing and consolidating the internal Palestinian front and preserving national unity in the homeland and in the Diaspora, and for the purpose of confronting the Israeli project, which aims to impose an Israeli solution [on our people], crushing their dreams and hindering [their] right to establish their independent fully sovereign Palestinian state—the scheme that the Israeli government intends to implement during the upcoming phase, comprising the construction and completion of the

<sup>12</sup> National Reconciliation Document, *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics and Culture*, vol. 13, no. 2, 2006, <http://www.pij.org/details.php?id=828>

Apartheid Wall, the Judaization of Jerusalem, the expansion of Israeli settlements, the seizure of the Jordan Valley, the annexation of vast areas of the West Bank, and the blocking of our people from exercising their right of return.

And with the end of preserving the accomplishments and acquisitions our people have achieved throughout their long struggle, and in loyalty to our martyrs, prisoners, and injured, and because we are still in the phase of liberation, grounded in a high sense of nationalism and democracy; all this dictates the adoption of a political and resistance strategy commensurate with these challenges, and the success of the comprehensive Palestinian national dialogue, based on the Cairo Declaration and the urgent call for unity and solidarity, we therefore present this document (The National Conciliation Document) to our great steadfast people, to President Mahmud ‘Abbas (Abu Mazin), to the Palestine Liberation Organization leadership, to the Prime Minister Isma‘il Haniyyah, to the Cabinet, to the head and members of the Palestinian National Council, to the Speaker and members of the Palestinian Legislative Council, to all Palestinian forces and factions, to all nongovernmental and popular organizations and institutions, and to the leaders of Palestinian public opinion in the homeland and the Diaspora.

This National Conciliation Document is considered an integral package and the preamble is part and parcel of it.

1. The Palestinian people in the homeland and the Diaspora seek to liberate their land, to obtain the evacuation of the settlements and settlers, the removal of the Separation and Apartheid Wall, and to achieve their right to freedom, return and independence. In this spirit, they look to exercise their right to self-determination, including the right to establish their independent state on all the territories occupied in 1967, with al-Quds al-Sharif [Jerusalem] as its capital; to secure the right of the refugees to return to their homes and properties, from which they were driven out, and their right to compensation; to obtain the liberation of all prisoners and detainees, without exception or discrimination, basing their claims in all this on the historical right of our people on the land of their fathers and forefathers, on the United Nation Charter, and on international law and legitimacy.

2. To accelerate the implementation of that which was agreed upon in Cairo in March 2005 pertaining to the reinvigoration and reactivation of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the incorporation of all the forces and factions in accordance with democratic principles, which solidifies the position of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of all our

people wherever they may be, and in keeping with the changes on the Palestinian scene and which strengthen the position of the [Palestine] Liberation Organization as the competence that can assume its responsibilities in leading and mobilizing our people in the homeland and the Diaspora; and to defend their national, political and human rights in the various forums and circles in all the international and regional arenas. Furthermore, our national interest calls for the formation of a new National Council before the end of 2006, to ensure the representation of all national and Islamic forces, factions and parties and our people gatherings everywhere, [in addition to] all sectors, institutions, and prominent persons. [This would be] through elections whenever possible, according to the principle of proportional representation, and by consensus if elections are not possible, according to mechanisms to be laid down by the higher committee deriving from the Cairo Declaration. [It also calls for] the preservation of the Palestine Liberation Organization as a broad front and framework and a comprehensive national coalition that incorporates and will remain the highest political reference of all the Palestinians in the homeland and in the Diaspora.

3. [To affirm] the right of the Palestinian people of resistance and to preserve the option of resistance to the occupation by various means, and to concentrate the resistance in the territories occupied in 1967, concomitantly with political action, negotiations and diplomacy. To pursue the popular resistance against the occupation in all its forms and policies and to focus on the expansion of the participation of the various groups, fronts and sectors of our people in this popular resistance.

4. To formulate a Palestinian plan aimed at comprehensive political action; to unify Palestinian political discourse based on the Palestinian national goals as put forth in this document and on Arab legitimacy and international resolutions that grant justice to our people and that safeguard the rights and fundamentals of our people, implemented by the [Palestine] Liberation Organization and its institutions and the [Palestinian] National Authority with its president and government, the national and Islamic factions, civil society organizations, and public figures and operatives. To accomplish this with a view to mobilize and consolidate Arab, Islamic and international political, financial, economic and humanitarian backing for our people and National Authority; to win their support for the right of our people to self-determination, freedom, return, and independence; and, [furthermore,] to confront Israel's plan to impose the Israeli solution on our people, and to confront the oppressive siege [against us].

5. To protect and strengthen the Palestinian National Authority as it is the nucleus of our future state. This authority that was born out of the struggle, sacrifices, blood and sufferings of the Palestinian people; to stress that higher national interests call for the upholding of the Authority's Basic Law and the laws in force, and to respect the authority and responsibilities of the president, who was elected according to the will of the Palestinian people through free, open and democratic elections. Also, to respect the authority and responsibilities of the government that was given the vote of confidence by the [Palestinian] Legislative Council elected in free, democratic and fair elections. [To focus on] the importance and need for creative cooperation between the presidency and the government, and on the importance of joint action and periodic meetings between them to bring about and reinforce cooperation and complementarity according to the Basic Law and for the sake of the higher interests [of the Palestinians]; additionally, to focus on the need for comprehensive reforms in the [Palestinian] National Authority institutions, especially the judiciary, abiding by its authority, and securing the implementation of all its rulings, and the consolidation and endorsement of the sovereignty of the law.

6. To work on forming a national unity government that secures the participation of parliamentary blocs, and the political forces desirous of participating on the basis of this document and a joint program designed to advance the Palestinian condition on the local, Arab, regional and international levels. To confront any challenges through the building of a strong national unity government that enjoys Palestinian popular and political support from all forces, as well as Arab and international backing. To implement a national economy reform and development program, and encourage investment, fight poverty and unemployment, and to extend the best possible care to the groups that have borne the brunt of steadfastness, resistance and *Intifadah* and have been victims of Israeli criminal aggression, especially the families of martyrs, prisoners and injured, and the owners of homes demolished and properties destroyed by the occupation, in addition to those unemployed and the graduates.

7. [To acknowledge that the task of] conducting the negotiations falls within the jurisdiction of the (PLO) and the President of the Palestinian National Authority, predicated on the adherence to the Palestinian national goals as stated in this document with the condition that any agreement pertaining to the matter be referred to the new Palestinian National Council for ratification and endorsement, or be

presented for a general referendum in the homeland and the Diaspora whenever possible according to a law that regulates it.

8. [To recognize] the liberation of the prisoners and detainees is a sacred national duty that must be assumed through all possible means by all national and Islamic forces and factions, and by the PLO and the [Palestinian] National Authority president and government, the [Palestinian] Legislative Council and all the resistance forces.

9. To double the efforts to support and care for the Palestine refugees and defend their rights and to work for the holding of a popular conference for the refugees, proceeding from follow-up committees, with its duty to stress on the right of return, to adhere to this right, and to call on the international community to implement Resolution 194 which stipulates the right of the refugees to return and to be compensated.

10. To work on forming a unified resistance front to be called The Palestinian Resistance Front to lead and engage in resistance against the occupation and to unify and coordinate action and resistance, and to define a unified political reference for the front.

11. To observe the democratic system and to hold general, regular, free, open, and democratic elections in accordance with the law, for the presidency, the PLC, and local and municipal councils, and unions, syndicates and societies, and to respect the principle of a peaceful and smooth transfer of authority; and to ensure the principle of separation of powers, to undertake to protect the Palestinian democratic experience and protect democratic choice and its outcomes; and to respect the sovereignty of the law, individual and public freedoms, human rights, freedom of the press, and equality among the citizens in rights and duties without discrimination; and to protect the achievements of women and to enhance and promote them.

12. To reject and denounce the oppressive siege that is being led by the US and Israel against our people and to call on the Arab brethren at the popular and official levels to support the Palestinian people, the PLO and the [Palestinian] National Authority and to call on the Arab governments to implement the political, financial, economic and media resolutions of the summits supporting the Palestinian people and their national cause; to stress that the Palestinian National Authority is

committed to the Arab consensus and to joint Arab action that supports our just cause and the higher Arab interests.

13. To call on the Palestinian people to strive for unity and solidarity, to unify their ranks and to support the PLO and the Palestinian National Authority with its president and government; to endorse the people's steadfastness and resistance in the face of Israeli aggression and siege, and to reject any interference in internal Palestinian affairs.

14. To denounce all forms of rifts and discord and whatever leads to internal strife; to condemn and ban the use of arms among the members of one people in settling internal disputes regardless of the justification; to stress on the sanctity of Palestinian blood and to adopt dialogue as the sole means of resolving disagreements. To promote freedom of expression via all means, including the opposition to the Authority and its resolutions, based on the endorsement of the law for the right of peaceful protest and the organization of marches, demonstrations, and sit-ins, on the condition that these are peaceful and weapon-free, and to proscribe any acts of vandalism against private or public property.

15. It is of national interest to look for the most appropriate means and mechanisms to allow for the continuing participation of our people and their national, political, and social forces wherever they may be in the battle for freedom, return, and independence; and to take into consideration the new situation of Gaza Strip, which makes it a true leverage and force for the steadfastness of our people and an example in the use of efficient means and methods in resisting the occupation while taking the higher interests of our people into consideration.

16. To reform, develop and modernize the Palestinian security forces in all its branches in a manner that allows them to better assume their task in defending the homeland and the people, and to confront aggression and occupation; to maintain security and public order, to enforce laws, to end the state of chaos and lawlessness, to end armed parades and the public display of weapons and to confiscate them as this brings considerable harm to the resistance and distorts its image and threatens the unity of Palestinian society; to coordinate and restructure the relationship between the security forces and the resistance forces and formations, and to regulate and protect the possession of weapons.

17. To call on the [Palestinian] Legislative Council to continue issuing laws that regulate the work of the security forces in its various branches and to work towards issuing a law that bans the exercise of political and partisan involvement

by members of the security forces, and to require them to abide by the elected political reference as defined by law.

18. To work on the expansion of the role and presence of international solidarity committees and peace-loving groups to support our people in their steadfastness and just struggle against the occupation and its practices, against settlement building, the Separation Wall, and annexation, and to work towards the implementation of the ruling of the International Court of Justice at The Hague pertaining to the dismantlement of the Separation Wall and the settlements and their illegal presence.

### ***Document No. 13***

#### **Mecca Agreement Between Fatah and Hamas Movements<sup>13</sup>**

8 February 2007

In the Name of *Allah*, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

﴿سُبْحَنَ الَّذِي أَسْرَى بِعَبْدِهِ لَيْلًا مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ الْأَقْصَا الَّذِي بَارَكْنَا حَوْلَهُ﴾

(Exalted is He who took His Servant by night from al-Masjid al-haram to al-Masjid *al-Aqsa*, whose surroundings We have blessed, to show him of Our signs. Indeed, He is the Hearing, the Seeing).

*Allah* Almighty has spoken the truth.

Based on the generous initiative announced by Saudi King ‘Abdullah Bin ‘Abdul ‘Aziz and under the sponsorship of his majesty, Fatah and Hamas Movements held in the period 19 to 21 Muharram 1428 AH, 6 to 8 February, 2007 in Holy Mecca the dialogues of Palestinian conciliation and agreement and these dialogues, thanks to *Allah* (SWT), ended with success and an agreement was reached on the following:

First: to stress on banning the shedding of the Palestinian blood and to take all measures and arrangements to prevent the shedding of the Palestinian blood and to stress on the importance of national unity as basis for national steadfastness and confronting the occupation and to achieve the legitimate national goals of the

<sup>13</sup> Site of Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre (JMCC), 9/2/2007, <https://web.archive.org/web/20080212122709/http://www.jmcc.org/documents/meccaagree.htm>



Palestinian people and adopt the language of dialogue as the sole basis for solving the political disagreements on the Palestinian arena.

Within this context, we offer gratitude to the brothers in Egypt and the Egyptian security delegation in Gaza who exerted tremendous efforts to calm the conditions in Gaza Strip in the past period.

Second: Final agreement to form a Palestinian national unity government according to a detailed agreement ratified by both sides and to start on an urgent basis to take the constitutional measures to form this government.

Third: to move ahead in measures to activate and reform the Palestine Liberation Organization and accelerate the work of the preparatory committee based on the Cairo and Damascus Understandings. It has been agreed also on detailed steps between both sides on this issue.

Fourth: to stress on the principle of political partnership on the basis of the effective laws in the Palestinian National Authority and on the basis of political pluralism according to an agreement ratified between both parties.

We gladly announce this agreement to our Palestinian masses and to the Arab and Muslim nation and to all our friends in the world. We stress on our commitment to this agreement in text and spirit so that we can devote our time to achieve our national goals and get rid of the occupation and regain our rights and devote work to the main files, mainly Jerusalem, the refugees, *al-Aqsa* Mosque, the prisoners and detainees and to confront the [Separation] Wall and settlements.

## ***Document No. 14***

### **The Platform of the National Unity Government Headed by Isma'il Haniyyah<sup>14</sup>**

16 March 2007

The Palestinian people have lived for more than 60 years under the yoke of dispersion, deprivation and eviction and suffered, due to occupation, all kinds of suffering and oppression and aggression, while our people marked a long process of struggle, resistance, perseverance, and resilience through which they sacrificed hundreds of thousands of martyrs, injured and prisoners. [They] gave the best examples of sacrifice and self-denial and giving and clinging to their rights and fundamentals, moving through important historical phases until we reached the phase of the national unity government (the eleventh government).

This government was born after many efforts exerted by the loyal members of our people who worked day and night to reach a reconciliatory vision and common denominators that gather all Palestinians under one umbrella.

This government came as a fruit of the positive spirit and mutual confidence that resulted in solving all issues in the various fields. It is one of the major and leading results of the Blessed Mecca Agreement under the sponsorship of the Saudi King 'Abdullah Bin 'Abdul 'Aziz. The national unity government is the culmination of a long series of Palestinian dialogues where the Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria had a leading role in sponsoring these dialogues and following them up with appreciated efforts by several brotherly Arab countries and Arab and Islamic organizations. It also reflects the devotion and loyalty to the long process of martyrs and the pains of the prisoners and injured, mainly the major martyrs: the late President Yasir 'Arafat, Sheikh Imam Ahmad Yasin ( Hamas founder), Leader Abu 'Ali Mustafa (Secretary General of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—PFLP), (Israel assassinated the latter two in Ramallah and Gaza), Leader Fathi al-Shiqaqi (Secretary General of the Islamic Jihad movement, Israel assassinated him in Malta) and Leader Abu al-'Abbas (Muhammad 'Abbas;

<sup>14</sup> Site of The United Nations Information System on the Question of Palestine (UNISPAL), citing the translation of JMCC, 17/3/2007, <https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/8670EE789BE79869852572C10058759A>

Secretary General of Palestinian Liberation Front, who died of a heart attack in an American prison in Iraq).

Based on the national conciliation document and in light of the letter of commissioning, the national unity government will work at all levels in a manner that achieves the higher interests of the Palestinian people in the following manner:

First: At the Political Level

1. The government affirms that the key to security and stability in the region depends on ending the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories and recognizing the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people; the government will work with the international community for the sake of ending the occupation and regaining the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people so that we can build a solid basis for peace, security and prosperity in the region.
2. The government shall abide to protect the higher national interests of the Palestinian people, protect their rights, preserve and develop their accomplishments, and work on achieving their national goals as ratified by the resolutions of the [Palestinian] National Council meetings and the Articles of the Basic Law and the national conciliation document and the resolutions of the Arab summits. Based on this, the government shall respect the international legitimacy resolutions and the agreements that were signed by the Palestine Liberation Organization.
3. The government shall abide by rejecting the so-called state with temporary borders, because this idea is based on taking away from the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.
4. To cling to the right of the Palestinian refugees and right of return to their lands and properties.
5. To work diligently for the sake of liberating the heroic prisoners from the Israeli occupation prisons.
6. To confront the measures of the occupation on the ground in terms of assassinations, arrests, and incursions. The government shall grant special importance to the city of Jerusalem to confront the Israeli policies pertaining to the people, lands and holy sites of Jerusalem.
7. To consolidate the relations with the Arab and Muslim countries and open up and cooperate with the regional and international surrounding on the basis of mutual respect.

## Second: At the Level of the Occupation

1. The government affirms that peace and stability in the region depends on ending all forms of occupation of the Palestinian territories and removing the apartheid wall and settlements and halt of the Judaization of Jerusalem and policies of annexation and restore the rights to their owners.
2. The government affirms that resistance is a legitimate right of the Palestinian people as granted by the international norms and charters; our Palestinian people have the right to defend themselves in face of any Israeli aggression and believes that halting resistance depends on ending the occupation and achieving freedom, return and independence.
3. Despite this, the government, through national conciliation, will work on consolidating the calm and expanding it to become a comprehensive reciprocal simultaneous truce. This should be in return for Israel halting its occupation measures on the ground, in terms of assassinations, arrests, incursions, home demolition, leveling of lands and excavations in Jerusalem. It should work on removing the check-points, reopening the crossings, lifting all restrictions on movement and the release of prisoners.
4. The government affirms what came in the National Conciliation Document on the issue of the administration of the negotiations which is the jurisdiction of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the President of the Palestinian National Authority, on the basis of clinging to the Palestinian national goals and towards achieving them, so that any offer on any final agreement should be presented to the new Palestinian National Council for ratification or to hold a general referendum for the Palestinian people inside and abroad, where a law organizes it.
5. The government shall support the exerted efforts and shall encourage relevant parties to accelerate and end the case of the captive Israeli soldier in the context of an honorable prisoners exchange deal.

Third: At the Security Level; the national unity government realizes the internal difficult conditions and believes that its top priority at the coming phase is to control the current security conditions and in order to achieve this, the government shall depend in its program on the following:

1. Forming a higher national security council that would be reference to all security forces and a framework that organizes their work and define their

policies, and asking the [Palestinian] Legislative Council to finalize the law pertaining to that council.

2. Structuring security forces and building them on professional bases, working to provide their needs, reduce the partisan considerations, move them away from political polarizations and conflicts and consolidate in them the loyalty to the homeland. They would execute their political leadership decisions, whatever those may be, and make sure that the personnel working in these forces commit themselves to the tasks commissioned to them.
3. Working on activating the laws that have been ratified by the [Palestinian] Legislative Council with regards to the security institution.
4. Setting up a comprehensive security plan to end all forms of chaos, lawlessness and aggressions; protect [and prevent] any bloodshed, the honor of families, funds, and public and private properties; control the weapons and provide security to the citizen; work on ending the oppression inflicted on people through the rule of the law; and support the police to perform its duties in the best manner.

#### Fourth: At the Legal Level

1. The government shall work in full cooperation with the judicial authority to secure the reform, activation and protection of the judicial apparatus with all its institutions, in a manner that can enable it to perform its duties in the context of achieving justice and fighting corruption and abiding by the rule of the law and implement the law with transparency and integrity on everybody without any interference from any party.
2. The government affirms that it would work according to the Basic Law, which organizes the relations between the three authorities on the basis of separating them. And [that it would] respect the authorities granted to the Presidency and to the government according to the law and order.
3. The government shall assist Mr. President in performing his various duties and will make sure to cooperate fully with the Presidency institution and the constitutional institutions and work with the [Palestinian] Legislative Council and the juridical authorities towards developing the Palestinian political system on the basis of having a unified strong national authority.

#### Fifth: At the Level of the Palestinian Value System

1. The eleventh government shall abide by consolidating national unity, protecting social peace, consolidating the values of mutual respect, adopting the language

- of dialogue, ending all forms of tension, consolidating the culture of tolerance, protecting Palestinian blood, and banning internal fighting.
2. The government affirms the unity of the Palestinian people inside and abroad, and shall work to have the participation of the Palestinian people abroad in all matters pertaining to the Palestinian affairs.
  3. The government shall seek to consolidate national conciliation and achieve comprehensive national reconciliation by forming a higher national commission under the sponsorship of the presidency and the government. It would be formed from the [Palestinian] Legislative [Council], factions, well-known figures, legal experts and scholars. The aim of this commission is to end the blood problems [killing and revenge] between the factions and families, and assess the damage caused to the properties and institutions, and work on solving these problems.
  4. The government shall work on reinforcing the principle of citizenship through equality in rights and duties and equal opportunities, and consolidate social justice in appointments and recruitments in the various ministries and institutions and end all forms of political favoritism in civil and security recruitments.
  5. The government affirms its respect to the principle of political pluralism, protection of public freedoms, reinforcement of *shura* and democracy values, protection of the human rights, consolidation of justice and equality principles, protection of free press and freedom of expression. It affirms also that it would abide by the peaceful transfer of power and conclude the elections at the local councils within the next six months, *Allah* willing.
  6. The government is committed to provide a dignified life to the Palestinian citizen and also the requirements of life and social welfare. It is committed to meet the health needs, develop health facilities, expand health insurance, and improve the situation of the hospitals and clinics. It is committed to tackle the phenomena of poverty and unemployment by providing job opportunities, development projects, social securities and the social welfare program. The government shall grant special care to education and higher education and shall encourage scientific research and provide its needs.
  7. To care for the sectors of laborers, farmers, fishermen and youths. To care also for women, so that they can assume the status they deserve based on their sacrifices and to secure their participation in decision making process. To contribute in the building process in all institutions and ministries and at the various fields.

### Sixth: The Economic Situation

1. The government shall work on ending the siege imposed on our Palestinian people, through the programs and relations and the activation of regional and international frameworks, to alleviate the suffering of our Palestinian people.
2. The government shall give priority to upgrade and advance national economy, encourage [the interaction of] economic and trade sectors with the Arab and Muslim world, and encourage economic and trade relations with the European Union and the rest of the world.
3. [The government shall] protect the consumer, encourage the private sector, provide the proper climate for its activities, lay down the sound rules for government work and its official institutions and the institutions of the private sector, and end monopoly. The government shall work on providing the proper climate, and protection and stability of investment projects.
4. The government shall work on respecting the principles of free economy in a manner that meets with our values and norms, and in a manner that serves Palestinian development. It shall protect the private sector, encourage investment, fight unemployment and poverty, reinforce the productive economic sectors, reconstruct the infrastructure, and develop the industrial zone and the housing and technology sectors.

### Seventh: Reform

1. My government which adopts the reform strategy affirms to your respectful council and to the people who granted us their esteemed confidence that we will remain faithful. The citizen shall feel this in the work of the government—*Allah* willing—through real achievements on the ground in the areas of administrative and financial reforms. [The government will] cooperate with the [Palestinian] Legislative Council, on issuing laws that reinforce reform and fight corruption, and it will look into the structures and methods of work to guarantee efficacy of work and performance in ministries and their abidance by the law.
2. The government shall work on meeting the urgent needs of the citizen in the various fields through planning and initiatives and in defining the priorities of spending and rationalize it. In launching initiatives and innovative ideas while maintaining the highest degrees of credibility and transparency.
3. Within the context of reform, the government shall seek to fight corruption and reinforce the values of integrity and transparency and refrain from abusing

public funds. We will give the matter of administrative development a social dimension and societal culture that establishes for a new concept. [We will] formulate a Palestinian societal strategy for administrative development and develop a sound working mechanism based on the principles of modern administration, which can assist in implementing this strategy according to the requirements and needs of the Palestinian society.

Eighth: International Relations; At the time when our government stresses on its Arab and Islamic depth, it shall work on establishing sound and solid relations with various world countries and international institutions, including the United Nations, the Security Council and international regional organizations in a manner that reinforces world peace and stability. The European Union has offered lots of assistance to our Palestinian people, supported their right in freedom and independence and has had serious standpoints in launching criticism to the Israeli occupation policies... Therefore, we are interested in solid ties with the European Union and we expect from it a larger role in exerting pressure on the occupation authorities to respect human rights as stipulated by the international charters to withdraw its troops from the occupied Palestinian Territories and halt repeated aggressions against our people. The government seeks to develop relations with countries of permanent membership in the Security Council, mainly the Russian Federation, Republic of China, Japan and the African and Asian countries in a manner that secures the just rights of our people. At the same time, the government calls on the American Administration to reconsider its unjust positions towards the Palestinian cause and calls on the need to respect the option of the Palestinian people as realized and translated in the national unity government.



## ***Document No. 15***

### **Press Conference Held by Hamas in Gaza City After the Military Takeover<sup>15</sup>**

22 June 2007

Why did the situation in Gaza explode leading to the removal of the faction of sedition and treason?

#### **Before the Mecca Agreement**

First: The Conspiracy Against the Election Results From the First Day

- Incitement against Hamas and the government in front of the Americans and the Europeans not to lift the siege, but to tighten it.
- Inciting the banks and financial institutions not to deal with the government.
- Disobedience in the ministries leading to politicized strikes, especially in education and health.
- Armed marches, especially from members of the security forces, and attacks on ministries and private and public institutions. The Legislative Council more than once and the Council of Ministers were assaulted multiple times.
- Obstructing the Legislative Council, and the exploitation of the occupation authorities' arrest of Hamas's Members of Parliament; to impose some decisions and laws they want.

Second: The Military Takeover

When all measures failed to oust Hamas or to topple the government, pursuant to an American and Zionist decision, the phase of force, assaults, and assassinations began, targeting symbols, cadres, and members of Hamas, up to staging a coup against the government and declaring a state of emergency (Document No. 1).

- The killing of the young man Rami al-Dalou. The killers were known, but they were not punished, and were even helped to escape.

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<sup>15</sup> *Al-Watha'iq al-Filastiniyyah li Sanat 2007*, Document no. 187, p. 405, translated from Arabic by al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations. Note: Dr. Khalil al-Hayyah was the speaker in the press conference.

About the circumstances of the Hamas military takeover of Gaza Strip, see also the two internal documents sent by Hamas leadership in GS to Hamas leadership in Damascus, on 13–14/6/2007, in: *Al-Watha'iq al-Filastiniyyah li Sanat 2007*, Document no. 161 and Document no. 162, p. 345–349. (in Arabic)

- Scholar, university professor, and member of the political leadership of Hamas Dr. Hussein Abu Ajwa was murdered. The killers were protected and given treatment, and then smuggled to the West Bank, amid a complete security shutdown in the Gaza Strip.
- The Preventive Security Service, in a dangerous precedent, forced a person to make false confessions. The Preventive Security Service took the young man to the Kawari' family to make his false confessions, inducing the family to kill the person who falsely confessed to [killing one of its members]. The family did and staged the murder of Sheikh Bassam al-Fara outside his office. The young man's confessions are in our possession and are documented.
- The Preventive Security Service executed members of the Ghalban family at a checkpoint without them firing a single shot. In the incident, Leader Yasir al-Ghalban, his sister in law, and his niece were killed among those who were in the car.
- Samih al-Madhun, who confessed to his crimes in front of the media of killing and burning houses, was a source of much killing and destruction in the northern region. He interrogated and fired at the feet of the mujahidin without deterrent.
- After we agreed to stop all fighting with this faction, and held national dialogue sessions, I (Khalil al-Hayyah) sat down with leaders from Fatah and warned them regarding attempts by some of their men to engage in assault and repeat the same actions. Unfortunately, a group of them, two hours after the meeting, planted a bomb in a car belonging to the Executive Force in the Jabaliya area, killing four of its passengers. The killers were apprehended and they confessed to their crime. We handed them over for prosecution, but unfortunately, they were released.
- There was an assassination attempt against the prime minister at the Rafah crossing. His bodyguard 'Abdul-Rahman Nassar was killed, and the political adviser and secretary general of the Council of Ministers was injured. We have in our possession now recorded confessions damning the people who ordered this time and the officers who planned the assassination, and [showing] who gave the orders. We will present this to the fact-finding committee or any other legal body later.
- Mansur Shalayil killed a group of men from the [Hamas] movement in a vehicle of the radio station. At the time of withdrawal from outside the house, based on an agreement between us and Fatah, he also killed two men from Al-Qassam Brigades.

- The crime at al-Hidayah mosque and the negative role of the Preventive [Security Service] there. The documents and investigations are there; the Preventive [Security Service] prevented ambulances from helping the wounded at the mosque, leading to the death of four Hamas members led by Abu Anas al-Mansi.
- The arson attack against the Islamic University by Presidential Security [forces] and members of the treacherous faction, without drawing a clear reaction from the presidency or the leaders of the putschist faction.
- The [murder of the] Ba'lushah family, and the attempt by the criminal faction to blame it on the [Hamas] movement members without proof. From day one, we were by the side of the bereaved and wounded family, and the government and prime minister stood by its side.
- On the night of the Mecca Agreement, they killed Muhammed Abu Karsh, a Qassam leader, and ordered one of the perpetrators from the Daghmash family to take the blame for it on behalf of the family. The criminal faction escaped criminal liability, implicating his family in the crime.

### **After the Mecca Agreement**

- After the Mecca Agreement, we went back hoping that the incidents would stop and that we would not go back to violence. Unfortunately, the same faction continued the same policy, and continued to receive Zionist and American support (Document No. 2).
- Bringing in armored vehicles without the knowledge of the government nor the competent authorities.
- Forming groups outside the Fatah movement and the security forces to follow and pursue Hamas leaders, symbols, and members and collect information about them (Document No. 3), and eavesdropping on all means of communication. Also, uncovering places of storage and manufacturing of hardware and military equipment meant to fight the occupation, and uncovering locations of explosives and tunnels meant for the occupation, and places of weapons storage. Hundreds of their fighters were trained in urban warfare in multiple countries, and dates were chosen to initiate the confrontation with Hamas, after the end of the high school exams.
- We notified Abu Mazin and the Fatah leadership that we knew of the actions of these people, and warned against their plans.
- We told some Arab parties about this plan, including 'Amr Musa, Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, and Minister Omar Suleiman, head of Egyptian intelligence.

## Before Egypt's Last Call for Dialogue Between Factions

- Some senior members of this faction, who are known by name, held meetings with foreign parties, and handed them information on political and military leaders in Hamas. Days after this meeting, the names were put on the occupation's hit-lists (Document No. 4).
- After the agreement between Prime Minister Isma'il Haniyyah and Abu Mazin on the implementation of the security plan, prepared by the Interior Ministry under Minister Hani al-Qawasmi, it was agreed to carry out changes in the ranks of security leaders, led by Rashid Abu Shbak. Rashid Abu Shbak held a meeting of some security leaders at the Preventive Security [Service] headquarters, where he uttered obscenities against religion and the Divine, swearing he would turn the tables on everyone. In the same night, he deployed forces in Gaza City without the knowledge of the Interior Minister nor the government; these forces clashed with the Qassam brigades, and a massacre almost occurred. However, a number of their vehicles were commandeered, and the Prime Minister intervened personally, returning the vehicles to the police force. A day later, Bahaa Abu Jarad was killed, for which Hamas was falsely accused. Although we expressed our readiness to form a joint committee to investigate, they ignited the Gaza Strip, bearing in mind that Bahaa Abu Jarad had disagreements and problems with both Samih al-Madhun and Mansur Shalayil. Let it be known that we communicated this to Majed Abu Shammleh in the presence of the Egyptian security delegation, and he did not deny them [this information] and commented about the Rashid Abu Shbak incident by saying: Rashid was angry.
- They perpetrated some of the ugliest crimes known to humanity; people were killed for having a beard and for their affiliations; they fired at feet, and killed Journalist Muhammad 'Abdu, Suleiman al-'Ashi and 'Issam al-Juju after they took them and interrogated them. They killed the elderly merchant Nahed al-Nimr outside his house, in front of his sons and daughters. Those who killed him had emerged from the presidency forum and returned to it after their heinous actions, and also removed the veil from one of the sisters from the Islamic bloc, and shot between her feet.
- They burned civilian homes and shops.
- All these crimes were taking place in private rooms at President Abu Mazin's forum; they put barriers, climbed the towers, and harassed people.

- These crimes were carried out by Presidential Security forces, National Security groups at the checkpoints, and the Executive Force that was formed by Muhammad Dahlan to achieve his ambitions, goals, and plans under the eyes of Abu Mazin who did not lift a finger. We did not hear any condemnation, and unfortunately, there were pictures of him with Samih al-Madhun, a symbol of murder and torture at the forum. More dangerously, Samih and Mansur Shalayil received money from the presidential guard and we have evidence in our hands (Document No. 5).

### **Agreements Signed But Not Respected, and Which They were the First to Break**

- The first agreement was violated by Maher al-Miqdad's groups, which assaulted an Al-Qassam position, with some of Miqdad's guards killed and some Al-Qassam men being wounded in the clashes.
- The second agreement: Fifteen minutes [after the agreement], the National Security [forces] killed Commander Ibrahim Munia Abu Usamah. During his funeral, they opened fire, killing Commander Muhammad Abu al-Khair (50 years old).
- The third agreement: An hour after the agreement, as the delegation of the factions headed from the Egyptian security delegation to carry out the agreement, there was an attempt on the lives of Ghazi Hamad and Ayman Taha by groups that identified themselves as Preventive Security [Service]. Brigadier-General Sharif Isma'il was wounded, and were it not for the fact that the delegation was travelling in an armored vehicle, they would have all been killed. They were also fired at outside the passport authority building.
- We took a unilateral decision and implemented a ceasefire, because in all agreements, we have found no one who could compel this faction to stop its crimes and wrongdoing. The Al-Qassam Brigades fired rockets into occupation positions in response to its crimes, and to head off anyone who wanted to preoccupy us with internal issues away from resisting the occupation.
- On the night of the unilateral cease fire, even though Abu Mazin reciprocated, eight members of Hamas were killed at the hands of those killers. In a horrific scene, all contacts with their leadership, which lasted an hour and a half, did not succeed in saving the life of a young man who was bleeding, as groups from National Security [forces] fired on the ambulance whenever it tried to approach him, until he died.

- Afterwards, the incidents were contained. As we met to address the roots and consequences of the incidents, a member of Presidential Security [forces] was apprehended and after investigations, he confessed that he was tasked with following and spying on Prime Minister Isma'il Haniyyah. His confessions are recorded in audio and video, and we communicated his actions to the Egyptian security delegation and Abu Mazin, so what did he do (Document No. 6). A map was also found at the presidential forum showing the entrances and exits of the prime minister's residence.
- They asked their misguided youths to gather information on institutions affiliated to Hamas or whose owners are close to or collaborate with Hamas. They posted this data online, while making false claims about them, inducing the occupation authorities to target and destroy them. This happened with the shops of Abu 'Akar for foods, al-Bar'asi shop, Harazallah, and Khazendar Exchange (Document No. 7).
- They led an organized campaign against the Executive Force, sharing information about it with multiple security apparatuses, including the places of its deployment and its capabilities. At the time, 'Azzam al-Ahmad said to lift the cover off it: This force must be crushed and terminated. A day after those remarks, the occupation army assaulted dozens of facilities of the Executive Force, killing dozens of martyrs, wounding scores, and fully destroying those sites.

### **The Last Explosion**

- We made clear to the Egyptian brothers all these facts, and told them that as long as Dahlan's treacherous faction remained in our midst, no one would have security. I believe that others whom the Egyptians met told them the same. We asked the Egyptians whether there was anyone who could rein in this faction? and they said yes.
- The Egyptian brothers promised us to de-escalate the internal front, and we asked them to force those people to abide by this, and they promised to do so.

### **But the Surprise and Irony was**

- They opened fire on a group of mujahidin [freedom fighters] in Rafah. There were unfortunate incidents in which a Qassam leader was killed in Rafah, martyr Ahmad Abu Harb. Yet those incidents were contained.
- A day after the Rafah incidents, they replicated them in Gaza, firing at the feet of Dr. Fayez al-Barawi, who was attending his brother's graduation ceremony at the presidential forum. They kidnapped two from Hamas in al-Zaytoun area,

and kidnapped Hasan al-Bozum, a bodyguard of the prime minister, and tortured him. They shaved his eyebrows, half of his moustache, and shaved his head in the shape of number (17).

- They shot at the government's headquarters when it was in session, and fired an RPG round at the home of the prime minister, directly hitting the house.
- They committed the most heinous crime, murdering scholar and imam of al-'Abbas mosque Sheikh Muhammad al-Rafati, causing anger among all people, none of whom could bear this scene. Yet the men restrained themselves as the following day marked the beginning of official high school exams. However, they pushed their lackeys and those they supplied with money and arms from the Bakr family, to burn a carpentry belonging to the 'Ajjur family, killing the mujahid Mazen 'Ajjur, a cadre from the Al-Qassam Brigades. Al-Qassam reacted to punish the Bakr family, but these were supplied by Presidential Security [forces] with weapons and equipment. On the same day, those killers threw off the young man Husam Abu Qainas from the twelfth floor of a tower, you can ask his family. Nevertheless, they lie and accuse Hamas of throwing people off from towers. Their groups also assaulted *Al-Aqsa* satellite TV channel using jeeps and heavy weapons. The incidents and the situation escalated, especially when Samih al-Madhun announced that he killed and burned more than twenty homes, killing dozens, and will kill anyone who is from Hamas, and slaughter them like sheep. The ethnic cleansing of the members and leaders of Hamas from the Tel al-Islam area campaign (Tel al-Howl) continued; dozens of homes and institutions were burned down, and we heard the cries of women calling for help from the horror of what they were subjected to in their homes and their places in this area, which was dominated by the treacherous faction.
- These actions were the spark and fuel for the fire. The head of the snake and their den where the plots were hatched were attacked. There, a mass grave was found for eight of our members, most of whom could not be identified because of the decomposition of the bodies. Evidence of their security, moral, and national crimes was found there.
- The Preventive Security [Service] fell to Al-Qassam. Afterwards the rest of their positions were surrendered. Those who were at the intelligence headquarters, aka *al-Safinah* [The Ship], escaped, and the security positions collapsed in front of Al-Qassam Brigades. People entered those positions before Al-Qassam, as happened in the presidential forum.

- A day after these events, all positions came under control, and were secured and guarded. Today they are under guard and no one is tampering with them.
- The police force, which did not intervene, was unharmed, and an agreement was reached with its commanders to continue its functions. But unfortunately, the orders came from Abu Mazin via Kamal al-Sheikh for them to withdraw from their positions and even to engage in sabotage and arson. They even left the venues of official high school exams unguarded during exams on Saturday. On Sunday, however, the situation was brought under control with the help of the Executive Force and those police officers who insisted on staying, whom we salute and respect.

### **Sabotage and Chaos**

There were events that we do not accept and condemn, such as the vandalism of the Unknown Soldier, or some youths sitting on the president's chair, or assault on homes. However:

- These actions were carried out by ordinary people who rushed to these places, and no one could control things in the first two days.
- Or they were individual actions by some members of Hamas, but we reject and condemn this.

However, we find it odd that these events were highlighted while the crimes that took place were neglected. What is the position on throwing Husam Abu Qainas from the tower, the only incident of its kind to actually take place? What is the position of killing and interrogating people inside the presidential forum? What is the position regarding the violations against anyone from Hamas in the West Bank? What is the position on burning the home of 'Aziz Dwaik, Speaker of the Legislative Council who is kidnapped in Israeli jails, and the assault on the homes and sons and daughters of kidnapped members of parliament? Before all these crimes, what is everyone's position, including Abu Mazin's, regarding the burning of the Islamic University and the murder of scholars? Or are their blood, properties, and homes legitimate targets for assault!!!!.

### **The Security Forces and Their Leaders were not Patriotic**

The security forces were built not to serve the homeland, but to be a security infrastructure for international intelligence services. They played a bad role, from security collaboration with the occupation, to pursuing the mujahidin and selling intelligence to foreign entities. The following are details of these crimes:



1. Fighting and pursuing and monitoring resistance fighters (Document No. 9).
2. Relentlessly searching for the location of captured Zionist soldier Shalit.
3. Eavesdropping on people illegally, including political, security, and faction leaders, businessmen and businesswomen. Even Arab and other diplomatic missions were not spared from them and their spying, including Egyptians. They even spied on Abu ‘Ammar [Yasir ‘Arafat], May *Allah* have mercy on him.
4. Entrapping people sexually and morally, then blackmailing them to do their biddings, including ministers, directors, and politicians (Document No. 10).
5. Security coordination, or say grand treason, supervised by Dahlan and Rashid Abu Shabak, as confessed by leaders of this treacherous faction.
6. Leaders of the Preventive Security [Service] transformed from poor and destitute people to capitalists and feudal lords. Ask the head of sedition Muhammad Dahlan how he collected billions at home and abroad, and acquired towers, villas, estates, companies, and so on, run by his cronies, some registered in his name others in other names known to us.
7. It was the Preventive Security [Service] that created death squads, which tormented, blackmailed, killed and terrorized people, since the Palestine massacre, the university massacre, and the Jabalia massacre, and the Gaza massacre...etc.
8. Working for American, Zionist, and foreign intelligence, handing over information that harms Arab, regional, and Islamic national security. They pursued political leaders, scholars, and faction leaders, relayed dangerous information, and worked against states on behalf of other states while conducting so-called foreign relations in the security forces, especially Preventive Security [Service] and the intelligence services (Document No. 12).
9. Preventive [Security Service] is behind most kidnappings, especially of foreign persons.
10. Preventive [Security Service] was able to control command of security forces, institutions, and ministries, dominating the homeland. It deployed its cadres and leaders to dominate the public sector.
11. Smuggling drugs to the West Bank, after taking over the trade from drug dealers in Gaza, and using counterfeit [US] dollars, quantities of which were seized at security headquarters (Document No. 13).

The Islamic Resistance Movement – Hamas

## ***Document No. 16***

### ***Assabeel Newspaper Interview with the Head of Hamas Political Bureau Khalid Mish'al on Hamas Political Thought***<sup>16</sup> [Excerpts]

23 August 2010

**Q. What is the equation adopted by Hamas to achieve liberation and end the occupation. In your view, can this liberation project be achieved with Palestinian efforts and capabilities in isolation from an Arab role and partnership?**

A. From the beginning, it was clear that the Palestinian issue is not a confined conflict between the Palestinians and Israelis, but is a conflict between the nation and a Zionist expansionist occupation project targeting the entire nation, not just Palestine.

This understanding was the subject of accord from the outset. There was no doubt or argument regarding the nature of this conflict, which prompted the Arab states to enter their first wars with the Zionist entity. It also prompted many Arab and Muslim volunteers to participate effectively in the conflict with the Zionist project in its various phases.

But unfortunately, the divergence from this understanding of the nature of the conflict, and the desire of some to abandon their responsibilities, reinforced the logic that focused on the narrow national perspective, which began later to dominate the view of Arab official parties that falsely came to believe they could reduce the burden of the conflict with the Zionist project.

Later on, this affected official Palestinian policy, especially when its leaders' bearings deviated away from resistance to peaceful settlement and negotiations, believing at the time that they can do without Arab and Islamic support, as long as it was possible to deal directly with Israel and the United States through the negotiations option.

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<sup>16</sup> Site of Afro-Middle East Centre (AMEC), 30/8/2010, <http://www.amec.org.za/palestine-israel/item/976-hamas-mesh-al-lays-out-new-policy-direction.html>; Some parts of this interview were not translated by AMEC, they were translated by al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations from the original Arabic source: *Assabeel*, 23/8/2010.

At that moment, there was increasing talk of the independence of Palestinian decision-making and the “Palestinization” of the conflict, which was promoted as an anti-thesis of the Arab and Islamic depth of the cause and the conflict. This took place in parallel with the Palestinian leadership’s gradual renunciation of the military option, especially after the Israeli army invaded Beirut in 1982, after which Palestinian fighters were directed to Arab exiles; later on, this even reached the point of declaring a divorce with armed resistance as an option.

This dangerous shift in the path of the conflict had serious implications for the Palestinian issue, the Arab reality, and the confrontation with the Zionist project. To this day, we are still suffering from the negative effects of this deviation in the bearings of the conflict. Hamas came to correct the direction of the compass, and address the serious deviation that took place, to rehabilitate the Arab, Islamic, and even humanist depths of the conflict with the Zionist entity.

Indeed, we believe that the conflict involves the whole nation, not just the Palestinian people, against the Zionist project that constitutes a radical opposite of the nation’s project, existence, and interests. This makes the whole nation a key party to the conflict and a partner in the confrontation, not just a supporter of the Palestinian people’s resistance. This is our firm conviction, and we have sought and continue to seek to reinforce it among the ranks of our nation, peoples, leaders, elites, and political movements, and to deploy it in practical terms in our culture, practice, confrontation, and management of the conflict, on the basis of partnership that we advanced from the outset as our slogan. We seek to translate this into methodological, permanent, and institutionalized working programs, rather than seasonal whims and transient emotions, yet without this meaning discarding Palestinian identity or compromising Palestinian independent decision-making.

**Q. However, some claim that this understanding of the nature of the conflict may undermine Palestinian identity and independence?**

A. For our part, we say that it is natural for the Palestinian people not to act as monitors waiting for others to act, because they are in the heart of the conflict, and it is their duty first to fight. Their natural place is to be at the vanguard of the confrontation and the forward trenches of the battle. Thus, our people have their whole lives and throughout the phases of the conflict taken the initiative to resist, fight, and sacrifice everything they have.

At the same time, the nation and all its constituents are required to fight the conflict on the basis of partnership, self-defense, and the common fate, not on the basis of supporting and aiding only. Confronting the Zionist project is not an effort for the sake of Palestine only, but is at the same time part of the defense of the nation itself, and its existence and civilizational project.

Therefore, both dimensions of the conflict are important and necessary, and there is no contradiction between them. No dimension should overshadow the other or be at the expense of the other [...] because this would create an imbalance in the equation. Therefore, things must be placed in proportion in a state of equilibrium, integration, and mutual support between what is Palestinian and what is Arab and Islamic (....)

The Arab, Islamic and human dimension is important in Hamas's philosophy and liberation project (.....)

In addition, Palestine has a special status in the Arab nation—for both Muslims and Christians—and the Islamic nation, by virtue of its history, status, and religious, geographic, and strategic position. Indeed, Palestine, and Jerusalem in particular, was the first Qibla [direction of Muslim prayer] of the Muslims and the place of the Isra' [The Night Journey] and Mi'raj [Ascension] of Prophet Muhammad (SAAWS). It is the earthly gate to heaven, the land of holiness and blessing, the land of messengers and messages, and the birthplace of Jesus 'Isa (PBUH). Palestine is not on the periphery of the Arab and Muslim world, but its heart and the heart of the world. Therefore, it is natural and even inevitable that this conflict has affected and interacted the Arab, Muslim, and human surrounding.

At the same time, we are not calling for bypassing special Palestinian circumstances, and do not see them as something that contradicts the Arab and Islamic dimension of the conflict. Indeed, this is a natural issue with human, realistic, and religious justifications. In the human and realistic perspective, it is natural for any people subjected to foreign aggression or occupation, to have a bigger duty than others in confronting this aggression. No people in the world, no matter their religious or nationalist extensions, can rely on others while foregoing their own role. To be sure, the role of the Palestinian people is a pioneering and essential one in the battle, and must not be disrupted under any justifications. It must not be considered secondary to the Arab and Islamic role,



because it is an authentic, major, and forward role that is complimented by the Arab and Islamic role and does not contradict it. (...)

Therefore, our philosophy is based on emphasizing the importance of the Arab, Islamic, and humanist depth of the conflict. At the same time, we emphasize the importance and special nature of the Palestinian role in taking the initiative and leading the battle, in the front trenches, resisting and sacrificing on the battleground, while urging the *Ummah* to take part in their battle for liberation. (...)

True, the Palestinian people cannot alone handle the burdens of the battle, because as we have always stressed, it is not a local but a global battle. However, the Palestinians can initiate the battle and bear its responsibilities, as they have done before, thanks to *Allah* Almighty, and to stand their ground, be steadfast, and excel on the battlefronts, draining the Zionist project and confronting it on all fronts and using all available means while holding on to their rights. They are great people who have the determination, will, and capacity to give and offer sacrifice, but they must not be left alone in the arena of confrontation. This does not contradict the independence of the Palestinian decision, and does not mean overshadowing the Palestinian identity. On the contrary, Arab and Islamic participation in the battle reinforces and does not weaken the Palestinian decision; because it saves it from being vulnerable to US and Israeli extortion. But when Palestinians are left alone and isolated from their Arab and Islamic depth, then the Palestinian decision becomes in danger, and subject to foreign and even hostile pressure and extortion as is the case today, unfortunately.

### **Hamas and Sectarian-Ethnic Contradictions**

**Q. Some are seeking to detonate sectarian-ethnic contradictions in the region. Some see this as part of a plot to dismantle and fragment the nation... This is happening in Iraq, Sudan, and elsewhere. How do you see this issue?**

**A.** There are several dimensions for dealing with this extremely important issue:

The first dimension: Understanding reality with accuracy and balance. We realize that there is a broad degree of diversity and plurality in the region and the nation. There is religious, sectarian, ethnic and nationalist plurality. This plurality must not be ignored in terms of knowing it, being aware of it, and learning its implications, repercussions, and requirements.

The second dimension: The nation has lived for a long time, in the past and the recent past, in this state of plurality and diversity, and yet this did not lead to conflict or fragmentation. So why is this conflict emerging today? Have some suddenly awakened to this plurality as though it is something new requiring bloody conflicts and internal confrontations to be fought on its basis?

This logic is unacceptable, (...) It is not acceptable to stir strife between Muslims and Christians.. We are a tolerant nation, (...) We are a nation whose ethnicities mixed, its sects coexisted, and its cultures varied all in the framework of one nation. While Islam is not the faith of everyone, its civilization belongs to all in this nation.

As for the third dimension: It is that stirring and amplifying strife is part of a hostile agenda, a Western-Zionist-colonial agenda on the basis of “divide and conquer,” in order to dominate the region and seize its resources; (...)

The fourth dimension: addressing these issues is best done by allowing the nation to rise and recover, (.....) We say to some members of this nation or its officials, who fear that any side in the world or in the region may be exploited [to take advantage of this] pluralism in the nation for their agenda. The solution is not to fall into the others’ trap and fuel differences and divisions. The solution is to recover the nation and help it rise from its state of weakness by strengthening it, and rallying its efforts and home front against the real enemies of the nation. Then, pluralism becomes a strength and not an element of weakness and fragmentation. The nation then can find the appropriate formula for coexistence and social peace among its components.

### **Hamas and the Islamist Movement**

**Q. What is the nature of the relationship between Hamas and the global Islamic movement? Do you alone benefit from this relation or the benefit is mutual?**

A. Hamas, as a resistance and national liberation movement, and owing to its Islamic identity, history, and roots in the Muslim Brothers movement, intersects with the Islamic movements in the world in many common spheres. We are not ashamed of this intersection rather we hold on to it. Hamas is proud of this history, these roots, and this background, and of this sphere of intersection with Islamic movements in the Arab and Muslim world. However, Hamas does not

confine itself to that; by virtue of being a national liberation and resistance movement, and by virtue of the special nature of the conflict in Palestine and its Arab and Islamic dimensions, and given the position of the movement in the Arab-Israeli conflict and its awareness of the requirements of this conflict and its responsibilities vis-à-vis the Palestinian people, Hamas is open to various ideological, partisan, and political circles in the Arab and Muslim world. We are open to the circles of patriotic, national, and Islamic action, and to various ideological and political movements in the Arab world. We cooperate with them and intersect in common spheres of interest, and seek to unite efforts and rally them for the sake of Palestine and the confrontation with the Zionist project, and for the sake of the main causes of the nation, its security, and its common interests. (...)

The comprehensive understanding of Islam, and belief in the path of jihad and resistance, moderation and centrism, and openness to and tolerance of the other, seeking to serve people, and caring for the local community and national and social causes in addition to the causes and concerns of the nation, all these are notions that the Islamic movement, which has a beautiful, positive, and effective legacy, adopts. Hamas has certainly benefited from this legacy being part of the same school, and this is to the credit of the Islamic movement. However, this does not mean that there haven't been mistakes. Every human experience has mistakes and negative aspects, as well as achievements and positive aspects, but credit must be given where credit is due. (...)

### **On Negotiations with the Enemy**

**Q. Do you reject, in principle, negotiations with the enemy? If negotiations could not be conducted with the enemy, is it possible to do so with a friend? Does Hamas reject the principle of negotiations outright, or do you reject its form, conduct and results?**

A. (...) It is indisputable that negotiating with the enemy is not rejected, either legally or rationally; indeed, there are some stages during a conflict among enemies when negotiations are required and become necessary. Both from a rational perspective and from legal logic, it is true that negotiations as a means and a tool may be acceptable and legitimate at certain points in time, and

rejected and prohibited at other times; that is, it is not rejected in itself, nor is it rejected all the time.

In Islamic history, in the era of the Prophet (peace be upon him), and in subsequent ages—at the time of Salahuddin [Saladin], for example—negotiation with the enemy was conducted, but within a clear framework and a specific philosophy, within a context, vision, rules and regulations governing this negotiation. This is in stark contrast to the wretched approach taken by those negotiation professionals who consider it a way of life and the sole strategic option in the service of which all other options are ruled out. (.....)

In the science of strategy and conflict management, negotiation is an extension to war, and a form of war management. What you obtain by negotiating at the table is a product of your condition on the ground, and an outcome of the balance of power in the field. If you are vanquished in the field, you will certainly be defeated in the negotiations as well. Just as war requires a balance of power, negotiations require a balance of power, (....)

The situation regarding the conflict with Israeli occupation is different, as this is a case of a body alien to the region, and which came from outside and imposed itself on a land and a people, drove people away from their land, and replaced them with an immigrant Diaspora from all over the world. This is, therefore, a complex situation which must be dealt with delicately.

When objective conditions and requirements for negotiation are available, especially the existence of a situation where sufficient balance and relative equilibrium are present; when there is proven need for it at the appropriate time—without hurry or delay—then it could be one of the options we resort to as a mechanism, means and tool, not as an objective or an end, not as a permanent condition or a strategic option. Negotiation is a tactical instrument, and just as war is not a permanent condition and has its requirements and conditions, so too does negotiation.

With this clear view of negotiations, and when it is exercised with great caution and under strict rules at the right time, it will be acceptable and useful in the context of conflict management; otherwise it will lead only to surrender and submission to the enemy's hegemony and conditions, and will result in the neglect of rights and a continuous decline in the level of demands and political positions. (.....)



Negotiation is a tool and a tactic in the service of a strategy and is not a strategy in itself; it is not a substitute for a strategy of resistance and confrontation with the occupation. (...)

Negotiation has its specific spaces and domains and is not an absolute option in all matters. There are issues that should not be negotiated, such as the critical fundamentals. Negotiation is a mechanism and a tactic within specific margins and domains; no one in their right mind would negotiate on everything, especially not on the principles. In business, negotiation is often on profits and not on business assets. Unfortunately, the current experience, especially of the Palestinian negotiations, is that all these rules have been abandoned.

In all honesty and courage, I say: negotiation is not absolutely prohibited or forbidden, be it from a legal or political perspective, or in view of the experiences of the nation and humanity, or the practices of the resistance movements and revolutions throughout history. However, it must be subject to equations, regulations, calculations, circumstances, contexts and proper management, for without these it becomes a negative and destructive tool. (....)

### **Hamas and the Recognition**

**Q. The issue of recognizing the Zionist entity raises much debate. There is also talk of legal recognition in contrast to realistic [or pragmatic] one.. What is the position of Hamas on this issue?**

A. Our position regarding the acknowledgement of the occupation's legality is clear and settled, and we do not hide or conceal it. (...)

It is unacceptable to legitimize occupation and theft of land. Occupation is a crime, theft is a crime, and should not be legitimized under any circumstances. These are uncontroversial concepts in the common human understanding, and so is the conception of the Palestinian victim whose land was usurped! This is an issue tied to our human existence, and it contrasts with recognizing the legitimacy of occupation and usurpation, not to mention the patriotic and religious feelings, cultural affiliation and historical presence, which all link us to this land.

(...) In short, we refuse to recognize the legitimacy of Israel because we refuse to recognize the legitimacy of occupation and theft of land. For us, this principle is clear and definitive.

## **Hamas and the Jews**

### **Q. Is the resistance of Hamas directed against the Zionists as Jews or as occupiers?**

- A. We do not fight the Zionists because they are Jews; we fight them because they are occupiers. The reason behind our war with the Zionist entity and our resistance to it is the occupation, rather than differences in religion. Resistance and military confrontation with the Israelis was caused by occupation, aggression and crimes committed against the Palestinian people, and not because of the differences in religion and belief. (...)

## **Hamas and International Relations**

### **Q. Are you satisfied with your achievements in international relations? What is the position of these relations in the thinking, programs and priorities of Hamas?**

- A. International relations in the political thinking of Hamas has several dimensions:

The first dimension: conviction that the Palestine battle, in one of its aspects, is the battle of humanity against Israeli injustice and oppression, and against the racist Zionist scheme targeting the world and humanity as a whole and threatening the interests of peoples and nations, since its evil and dangers are not limited to Palestine and the Palestinians and the Arabs and Muslims.

The second dimension: the necessity of promoting our just cause and winning more friends who support our legitimate right to resist occupation and aggression. It has been shown that there is still good in the human conscience, and that it could be awakened and moved in our favor if we present our case well, and strive to reveal the truth of the Zionist entity. (...)

The third dimension: just as Israel encircles and haunts us on the international stage, we too must follow it in all international forums, and not leave the stage to it. (...)

The fourth dimension: we are interested in forging a network of relations, strong and effective at all levels, international as well as Arab and Islamic. (...)

The fifth dimension: the forging of international relations starts here, from within the region, for here is the plant, and the harvest is there in the West, while hard work is required in both.

This means that the primary basis for achieving a breakthrough and success in international relations is strength on the ground, and being ingrained in it, united around our people and our nation, practicing resistance and resoluteness. [With such a foundation], the world will respect us and realize that there will be no peace or stability in the region unless they deal with us and accord us the consideration we deserve, respect our interests, rights and legitimate demands, and retreat from their current policies of bias towards Israel and disregard for the Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims. (.....)

### **Hamas, Alignments and Axes**

**Q. In recent years, the Arab arena has witnessed a number of different axes and alignments. Hamas has been classified by some as being within the axis of rejection. How do you view this situation dominating the Arab political scene; where do you see yourself with regard to it; and do you believe it to be in the interests of the nation?**

**A.** I will answer this from three angles.

First angle: There is a reprehensible gathering, and another gathering which is praiseworthy. The reprehensible gathering is an assembly, for example, on the basis of race or narrow national ideas in opposition to other people; it invokes factors of categorization and internal alignment on the level of the country or the nation. (...)

But if people rally to do good, to support the Palestinian people, resist the Zionist enemy, challenge normalization, resist the efforts of enemies to infiltrate the nation, confront American hegemony and the occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan, and stand in the way of attempts to rob the nation's wealth... all this constitutes a praiseworthy gathering, and cannot be equated with the other one.

Therefore, when we say that we are for resistance, adherence to Palestinian rights, the right of return, and have a bias for Palestine, Jerusalem and the nation's sacred places, and that we reject the Zionist occupation and refuse to succumb to the dictates of the enemy, then this is something we are proud of and do not hide.

Second angle: we do not consider our commitment to resistance and refusal to submit to the Quartet's and the enemy's conditions and the American-Israeli vision of the settlement and relinquishment of Palestinian rights to be undermining of Palestinian or Arab parties, but, rather, [we consider it to be an undermining] of the Zionist enemy. (...) However, we do not antagonize anyone from our people and our nation, and we have not formed a Palestinian, Arab or Muslim axis against another Palestinian Arab one. We continue to reach out to all, and are keen to communicate with everyone and establish relationships with everyone. (...)

Third angle: if it was acceptable to disagree in our politics and analysis of the political situation when the deal was being put to the test and when people were paying heavily for the resistance, is it acceptable to disagree today after the deal has been proven a failure with an obstructive political horizon and very heavy costs and consequences, much heavier than the costs of the resistance?

We call on all the nation's states and forces to rally together with us in our natural environment as a nation; when the nation undergoes occupation, our natural environment and our priority should be the resistance. When we undergo aggression, it is natural to unite in the face of aggression; and when the nation enters a stage of independence, then our natural environment and priority would be reconstruction, economic advancement and cultural renaissance in all its dimensions.

## **Hamas and Christians**

### **Q. What is the Hamas view of Christians and their role in the Palestinian cause?**

A. Islam dealt with the Christians in a special manner compared to other religions, as in the [Qur'anic] verse:

﴿لَتَجِدَنَّ أَشَدَّ النَّاسِ عَدَاوَةً لِلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا الْيَهُودَ وَالَّذِينَ أَشْرَكُوا وَلَتَجِدَنَّ أَقْرَبَهُمْ مَوَدَّةً لِلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا الَّذِينَ قَالُوا إِنَّا نَصْرُكَ ذَلِكَ بَأَنَّ مِنْهُمْ قِسِيَسِينَ وَرُهْبَانًا وَأَنَّهُمْ لَا يَسْتَكْبِرُونَ﴾

(You will surely find the most intense of the people in animosity toward the believers [to be] the Jews and those who associate others with *Allah*; and

you will find the nearest of them in affection to the believers those who say, “We are Christians.” That is because among them are priests and monks and because they are not arrogant.) (....)

Since the formation of Hamas, the relationship with the Christian brothers has been normal and good, and there were no problems between us and them. This despite the fact that some Palestinian forces tried, unfortunately, to scare Christians with the idea of the new Hamas, recalling that it is an Islamic movement in order that they might promote the notion of an allegedly inevitable contradiction between Hamas and the Christians. However, these attempts at intimidation failed, and Christians found the movement to be close to them, dealing with everyone with tolerance, openness and respect. During the first and second Palestinian *Intifadahs*, the movement took into consideration the specificities of Christian festivals, and was careful that strike days did not coincide with Christian festivals and events, just as it was also keen to protect Christian property. Not only this, but Hamas was also keen on an active Christian role in Palestinian political life. The movement’s leaders, at home and abroad, held several meetings with Christian national religious figures.

For these reasons, Hamas won broad support among Christians before and after the 2006 legislative elections; there were many Christians who voted for Hamas, and we supported them in the [West] Bank and [Gaza] Strip, too. For example, Dr. Husam al-Tawil—a Christian—won [a seat] in Gaza owing to votes from Hamas and its supporters. The number of Muslims who voted for him was several times the number of Christian votes—given that the number of Christians in the [Gaza] Strip is small. (....)

We are dealing with the Christian brothers as a fundamental component of the people and homeland, and an active part in the struggle against the occupation (....).

Hamas may have surprised some liberals and secularists in the Palestinian arena who thought, or even promoted the idea, that, by virtue of its Islamic identity, it will isolate itself and that a tenuous relationship may develop between us and Christian Palestinians. They were surprised when their expectations did not materialize. This is because religion is not about isolation and detachment; on the contrary, faith motivates a person to be tolerant, to be respectful of others, and to recognize their rights.

## Hamas and Women

**Q. Islamic movements are commonly accused of contempt towards women and marginalization of their role in political and social life. How do you view these charges in light of your experience in Hamas?**

A. (....)

Woman in the Islamic concept of thought, jurisprudence, mandate and role is — indeed—one half of society, and she has been given her prestige and respect. However, there is a huge difference between respect and appreciation for woman and her rightful role... [on the one hand], and abusing her and presenting her as a cheap commodity as is done in the Western civilization [on the other]. There is a difference between preserving woman's chastity and modesty and safeguarding her rights while according her a suitable role, and dealing with her as a commodity of lust and pleasure. These ethical regulations are not just Islamic; they are innate and human.

We in Hamas are keen, as regards women, to invoke Islamic concepts and their unadulterated application which are not marred by the ages of backwardness or the weight of social norms and traditions that stem from the environment and not the religious text, especially since the environment of Palestine is not a closed environment but a historically civilized one enjoying plurality and openness to all religions, civilizations and cultures.

With this pure and original conception, and as a part and an extension of the Palestinian experience and its legacy, Hamas assigned a distinctive role for women in its operations. The role of women was highlighted during the *Intifadah*, in the resistance and all forms of struggle efforts, not only as mother, wife and sister to the strugglers, but also as one herself, (....)

The role of women is significant in the Palestinian arena and in the movement, whether at work, jihad and struggle, in the field of social charity and educational work, or political and syndicalist work. The Palestinian woman is educated and cultured, and her activity in schools and universities is no less than that of a man. (.....)

## Hamas and the [Palestine] Liberation Organization

**Q. Do you believe the Palestine Liberation Organization is still suitable as a framework and reference point for representing the Palestinian people and**

**their aspirations, in light of its current circumstances, and the rejection by those who dominate it of any measures to activate it and reform its organizational and administrative structures?**

- A. No doubt, the reality of the organization today is complex and the subject of a real crisis in the Palestinian arena. It constitutes a major challenge for all Palestinian forces and figures. (....)

Therefore, we need to address this issue prudently and with balance and responsibility, and from various dimensions and angles, in order to find a real and suitable exit from this national crisis, the crisis of a reference authority.

The first dimension: The [Palestine] Liberation Organization, despite the weakness and decline it has suffered, and the mistakes and concessions made by its executive leadership, remains a framework with an [important] history, achievements, and track-record in the Palestinian experience. This requires all stakeholders to exert all efforts to build on this experience, and seek to reform the current state of the organization, mend its mistakes and weakness, and take the initiative with national accord to rebuild its institutions on real democratic foundations.

The second dimension: Any national framework, when it receives Arab, regional, and international recognition and acceptance, becomes an asset that must not be compromised. If it is possible to maintain this recognition and this asset, without it being at the expense of our Palestinian rights and national fundamentals, then this is something we must be keen to preserve, and not compromise or discard.

The third dimension: The reference points for peoples and liberation movements cannot be successfully maintained unless they enjoy the approval of everyone or the clear majority. No one party can alone claim to constitute a national reference point, or else it will be cause for further division and fragmentation, (....)

Furthermore, the party that has hijacked the organization today, controlling its levers without democratic legitimacy or broad Palestinian national accord, insisting to monopolize it and dominate its decisions, and flouting all decisions reached by Palestinian accord to rebuild and reform it, is killing the reference point and undermining the organization and its leading institutions as a national

reference authority and its legitimacy as the representative of the Palestinian people in the interior and abroad. (....)

These three dimensions make clear the complexity in the issue of the organization and the reference authority in the present reality. We in Hamas are well aware of this, and thus are keen to tackle this issue with various Palestinian forces and figures with a strong sense of responsibility seeking to find a real exit that could bring together the Palestinian people and all their forces to rally around a real unified reference framework, and not resort to choices that increase the fragmentation and division of the Palestinian reality. At the same time, we seek not to allow anyone to dominate the issue of the reference authority, disrupt it, and continue hijacking and monopolizing it.

We and others have accepted for the national reference authority to be the [Palestine] Liberation Organization. We welcome this and seek it strongly, especially since we as Palestinians have agreed to this many times. However, it is imperative to reform it and rebuild it to accommodate everyone, so that it may represent us all, and our people and cause. (....)

**Q. Do you believe in partnership with the others in political action, or do you seek monopoly and dominance?**

A. What we reject for others to do cannot be something we accept to do ourselves. We reject unilateralism, dominance, and monopoly, and our people reject this too. We are committed to partnership with all Palestinian forces and figures and are committed to this; we are all partners in the homeland and the cause. The victory of Hamas or others in the elections does not entitle them to monopolize decisions. We are committed to partnership and to coalition-based work with everyone, before or after elections. We have worked to achieve this on the arena of resistance and struggle as well as the arena of political and trade union action, in the experience of the Ten Factions, the Alliance of Palestinian Forces, and the formation of a national unity government after the Mecca Agreement in 2007, and in concluding many Palestinian agreements such as the Cairo Agreement in 2005, the Palestinian National Conciliation Document in 2006, and others.

No matter how strong any party in the Palestinian arena is, no matter its success or the extent of its electoral wins, it cannot and must not be allowed to monopolize Palestinian decision. (....)



## **Hamas and Flexibility and Realism**

**Q. How does Hamas perceive flexibility? What are its limits and margins, where does it begin and where does it end, and is Hamas's political flexibility the result of de facto pressures or the result of a prior vision?**

A. The imbalance in this delicate and sensitive subject takes place when one sphere dominates another. Usually, each sphere must receive its due attention. If you expand the sphere of fundamentals to include non-fundamentals, you would have narrowed your margin of action. True, your motive could be caution and fear of mistakes, and it could be an attempt to be strict to preserve your symbolism and image as someone with a strong stance. This in my opinion is wrong and must be cautioned against. Indeed, fundamentals must not be an excuse for rigidity, pride, showiness, and one-upmanship.

Meanwhile, expanding the sphere of flexibility to include that of fundamentals and principles, under the pretext that these are necessities dictated by reality, is also wrong and rejected, because it leads to weakness and compromise and the squandering of interests and rights.

We are in a state of equilibrium. From the Islamic jurisprudence and thought perspective, we support a centrist and moderate school. We are in favor of putting things where they belong, without excess or compromise, because this is the correct path we adopt. (...)

Moreover, an exaggerated feeling of power often leads to misplaced intransigence. How can you be strong without your strength leading you to overconfidence, which could deny you some ability to be flexible and implicates you in crises? How do you save yourself from impotence that could lead you to weakness and compromise under pressure? This needs balance, wisdom, and shrewdness, but first and foremost guidance from *Allah* Almighty.

At the level of politics, possessing strength is what gives you the required balance in managing political decision-making. Those who work in politics away from strength and resistance will find themselves living on the sidelines of weak political interpretations, which in most cases re confined in the realm of necessity, compulsion, and temporary provisions.

Therefore, one of the most important factors that have helped Hamas master the combination of rigid fundamentals and flexibility in parallel, rather than in

opposition or intersection, is its possession of strength elements that allow it to be in a more balanced state.

A second important factor is our meticulous Islamic law understanding, because this helps us determine such issues and handle them correctly within wise balances and approaches.

The third factor is that “*Hamas*” has profound institutional experience in managing leadership decisions that allow it to determine such positions and policies. (....)

The fourth factor is that “*Hamas*” does not rush things. Haste is deadly, and those who rush things pay a heavy price; and may still not get what they want; (....)

The fifth factor: Although we are human, affected by human weaknesses and vulnerabilities, we, praise be to *Allah*, have strong immunity against intimidation and inducement, which are deadly things that affect leaders and push them to compromise and surrender to the *fait accompli*, and cave in to external pressures. Intimidation does not work with us, nor does inducement.

These factors in their totality allow us, praise to *Allah*, to manage the political decision with a combination of preserving fundamentals, and flexibility and realism at the same time, without one overshadowing the other. (....)

Therefore, it is important and necessary to always make sure understanding is deep, implementation is meticulous, timing is right, and the motive to be the general rather than personal or partisan interest.

(.....) We reckon that *Hamas*, thanks to experience and the challenges it has faced, has good experience in dealing with these balances and delicate issues. We, praise be to *Allah*, rely in all this on our long-standing Islamic law heritage, our national heritage, and the history and cultural assets of our nation, as well as the accumulated experiences of peoples and nations. (.....)

### **Hamas’ Model of Resistance**

#### **Q. What contribution did Hamas make vis-à-vis jihad and the struggle? What distinguishes its model of resistance?**

- A. It must first be emphasized that *Hamas* as a movement of resistance against the Zionist occupation is a natural and authentic part of the experience of the



Palestinian struggle, an extension of it, and one of its circles that is continuing from a hundred years ago, (...)

We and the others build on the experience of our forerunners and benefit from them, and then we create our own experiences with their positives and negatives, and interact with our associates in the march. All this will be a legacy for future generations who will carry the flag and continue the struggle until victory and liberation are achieved, *Allah* willing. This is the goal which everyone will have contributed to—even if they do not witness the final outcome.

We have striven to form our model of resistance, which we established as a contribution to this great struggle, and we were keen to offer—through it—a notable addition to the march of the Palestinian struggle. (...)

Among the most prominent of these visions, concepts and policies are:

First: Resistance is our means to achieve the strategic objective, namely, the liberation and restoration of our rights and ending the Zionist occupation of our land and our holy sites. (...)

Second: Resistance for us is a means, and not an end, in the service of the aim and the objectives; it is not resistance for the sake of resistance. (...) It is the means and the way for achieving this goal, and a strategic tool for liberation.

Third: Hamas is not a military group, but an all-embracing national liberation movement, with resistance as its main axis, its strategic means to liberation and the realization of the Palestinian national project. At the same time, the movement works in all fields and areas, and has its own aims and political vision. It is a grassroots movement conscious of the concerns of its people at home and abroad, defending their interests, and seeking to serve them as much as possible in all aspects of daily life.

Fourth: We have limited our resistance to be in opposition to the Israeli occupation alone. Our resistance is against the enemy occupying our land and encroaching on our people and holy sites, and not against anyone else. (...)

We also adopted the policy of confining the resistance to Palestine and not outside it—not out of powerlessness, but on account of an accurate estimation of interest, and a balancing of various considerations.

Fifth: We clearly adopt the policy of using weapons and force only in the face of the occupier and the external enemy attacking us; this is legitimate

resistance. This means not using weapons and force either in domestic affairs, or in addressing political and intellectual disputes. Addressing disputes within national ranks must be through dialogue, consensus and arbitration by people, through democracy and the ballot box.

The tragic events in the Gaza Strip a few years ago are not a departure from this policy, as this is an entirely different case. There was a Palestinian party which rejected the election result and sought to overturn it, that is, to overturn Palestinian legitimacy, and, unfortunately, they collaborated with the Zionist enemy and the Americans and used weapons against us. It is our natural right to defend ourselves when forced to do so, particularly considering that we did this from the position of a legitimate government formed after fair democratic elections which were approved by the elected Legislative Council. (...)

Sixth: We have adopted a policy of not engaging in turf battles in the region, contrary to what others had done in the earlier stages. We never used force and weapons against any Arab state or party even if they harmed and besieged us, or arrested and tortured our brethren, or stabbed the resistance in the back, or incited against us. The Arabs are our brothers and family and they constitute our strategic depth; so we cannot wrong them even if they did so to us. We have committed ourselves to this policy over the past years, and will remain committed to it, *Allah* willing, because our battle is exclusively against the Zionist enemy.

Seventh: In building the resistance, we took pains to focus on building the resistance activist religiously, educationally, psychologically, and intellectually, ensuring a high degree of organizational and behavioral discipline, commitment to religious and ethical rules of resistance, and developing the capacity for endurance and steadfastness in extreme circumstances, as well as building awareness and clarity of vision in the fighters, sincerity of purpose and intention, and the blending of the religious and national dimensions to develop a strong incentive in the course of jihad and the resistance. The mujahid [freedom fighter] struggles against the occupying enemy in defense of his homeland and holy sites, his people and nation, and his family and honor. (....)

## Future of the Zionist Enterprise

**Q. Through your reading of the course of the Zionist enterprise and its current reality.. how do you see the future of this enterprise? Is it moving towards realizing “Greater Israel,” or is it in decline and regression?**

A. Factual data reinforce the conviction that the Zionist enterprise has no future in the region. There is a real decline in this enterprise, for which expansion was an important characteristic, and it is no longer able to continue in this way. The construction of the [Separation] Wall (while recognizing its negative repercussions on the Palestinian people), and the withdrawal from southern Lebanon and the Gaza Strip are but practical examples of this decline and regression.

Israel, which used to wage war on its neighbors and win easily, and was able to take the fight to its enemy, now has its heartland as a field of battle for the Palestinian resistance. This is a repetitive phenomenon. The so-called “Israeli home front” is now threatened in every war or confrontation and is paying the price for its leaders’ adventures.

Moreover, the Zionist ruling class in Israel today—and on the level of many military, political and security leaders—no longer has the capacity of the first generation who built this entity, nor the will to fight that they had had, not to mention rampant corruption in the ruling class, a growing number of suicides, the evasion of military service, and the declining performance of its security institutions.

Israel has not won a real war since 1967, except for the invasion of Beirut in 1982. This is an important indicator of the decline of the Zionist enterprise’s ability, and the fact that it has no future. In my estimation, the “Greater Israel” project has come to an end, simply because the Zionist enemy is no longer able to accomplish it, and because Israel continues on the same path as did apartheid South Africa. This is a growing conviction for many neutral politicians and observers.

After more than 60 years since the establishment of this entity, and when the question in the Israeli street is not only about the security of Israel, but also about its future and destiny, this is an important and serious development. When the Israeli community questions the basis of its existence and future, and the feasibility of its enterprise, then the countdown must have begun, *Allah* willing.

Saying this is not enough, however; what is required is building on it. We are not calling for an underestimation of the Zionist entity's strength and capabilities (for it is the sensible who do not underestimate their enemy) which still has many elements of power. Nevertheless, this realistic reading and vision, based on many facts and indicators, should prompt us not to succumb to Israeli threats or conditions for political settlement, and not to deal with the Zionist enterprise as an inevitable destiny. The real option and alternative to the policy of submission and the state of helplessness, waiting and getting bogged down in negotiations, is resistance. The Palestinian people are able, *Allah* willing, to continue the resistance, but they need the backing and participation of the nation. (.....)

In short, the Zionist enterprise, like all other enterprises of occupation, settler-colonialism and aggression throughout history, has no legitimacy and no future, because it is alien to our region and lacks the elements of survival. It will, thus, end up like all other similar enterprises. We are a great nation, proud of ourselves, our religion, our land, our history, our culture and identity, with Palestine and Jerusalem as our beating heart and an indicator of our life and survival. Therefore, we will not tolerate the Zionist entity for long and we will defeat it just as we defeated the Crusades and the Mongol advance in the past, *Allah* willing.

﴿وَتِلْكَ الْأَيَّامُ نُدَاوِلُهَا بَيْنَ النَّاسِ﴾

(And these days [of varying conditions] We alternate among the people.)

Allah Almighty has spoken the truth.

## ***Document No. 17***

### **Palestinian National Conciliation Agreement in Cairo on 3/5/2011<sup>17</sup>**

3 May 2011

**In the Name of *Allah*, Most Gracious, Most Merciful**

#### **Palestinian National Conciliation Agreement**

Based on national and historical responsibility which requires upholding the higher interests of the Palestinian people, in loyalty to the blood of the righteous martyrs, in tribute to the suffering of our brave prisoners, and in order to strengthen the internal Palestinian front, and maintain and protect national unity, the unity of our people in the homeland and the Diaspora, and in order to preserve the gains of our people achieved through their long march of struggle, and our certainty that the achievements and sacrifices of our steadfast people over the decades should not be squandered by any disputes or conflicts;

And pursuant to the comprehensive Palestinian national dialogue, which was held in Cairo, starting from 26–9–2009 with the participation of Egyptian actors, and the subsequent multiple and intensive dialogue sessions characterized by transparency and openness, and in-depth discussion of all the national action issues with an open mind and political will, and a genuine desire to end political, geographical and psychological division that brought disadvantages to all parts of the Palestinian homeland;

And in affirmation of the real desire for conciliation and reconciliation, and to overcome the obstacles that prevent re-unity of the homeland and the people, all Palestinian factions, organizations and forces agreed to end the state of Palestinian division, never to return, and identified all the fundamentals and necessary foundations for the implementation of the requirements. They agreed on solutions to the issues at the heart of the dispute and division, and these solutions will be the beacon and the main foundation for signing the Palestinian National Conciliation Agreement in Cairo. From it we will launch to the horizons of implementation, to

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<sup>17</sup> Site of the Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fatah), [www.fatehwatan.ps/functions.php?action=files&table=files&ID=23](http://www.fatehwatan.ps/functions.php?action=files&table=files&ID=23), translated from Arabic by al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations; and see PIC, 29/4/2011, <http://www.palinfo.com/site/pic/newsdetails.aspx?itemid=8718> translated from Arabic by al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations.

melt all disagreements and harmonize wills, so that everyone can move hand in hand to build the Palestinian homeland.

In order to ensure the success of the National Conciliation Agreement in the next phase that will follow the signing process, all sides have agreed to comply with the requirements of this phase and provide the appropriate environment for the implementation of its requirements, and interact positively with them, provided that a higher committee chaired by Egypt with Arab participation would supervise and monitor the implementation of this agreement.

In the end, the conferees praise the Egyptian role in support of the Palestinian issue, and the hard work that led to the signing of the National Conciliation Agreement, to allow for a real re-arranging of the Palestinian house as a step towards the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. The conferees also extend their gratitude and appreciation to the Arab countries supporting the Palestinian issue; Palestine will continue to believe that the Arab countries are its real depth.

The conferees agreed that the agreement requires that good intentions turn into an executable program of work, and pledge to *Allah*, and pledge in front of their people in the homeland and Diaspora, implement all the provisions of the agreement and to make every effort to make it a success, for the benefit of the Palestinian people in the context of responsibility and commitment.

### **First: The Palestine Liberation Organization**

Activating and developing the Palestine Liberation Organization on a consensual basis to include all forces and factions, according to the Cairo Agreement in March 2005, and as stated in the second paragraph of the National Conciliation Document in June 2006 regarding the development and activation of the Palestine Liberation Organization. [It must include] all forces and factions in accordance with democratic foundations that would cement the status of Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole and legitimate representative of our people anywhere they are present, in line with the changes in the Palestinian arena, and to enhance the [Palestine] Liberation Organization's ability to shoulder its responsibility leading our people in the homeland and in the Diaspora, and in mobilizing them and defending their national, political and human rights in all regional and international circles and forums.



The national interest requires the formation of a new National Council (within a specific timeframe), so as to ensure the representation of forces and factions, and national and Islamic parties, and all gatherings of our people everywhere, including all sectors institutions, dignitaries and personalities. [This is to be done] via elections where possible, in accordance with the principle of proportional representation. When it is not possible to hold elections, then in accordance with mechanisms developed by the committee created after the Cairo Agreement in March 2005. [It requires also] to preserve the Palestine Liberation Organization as a broad coalition and all-inclusive national framework, as well as a supreme political reference frame for the Palestinians in the homeland and Diaspora.

The term of the National Council is “4” years, to coincide with the election of the Legislative Council. The National Council elections must take place in accordance with the principle of full proportional representation and a law to be agreed upon, and consensually where it is not possible to hold elections.

The committee tasked with developing the Palestine Liberation Organization (according to the Cairo Declaration of March 2005) must create a special subcommittee to prepare an electoral law for the Palestinian National Council, and submit it to the committee for approval.

The committee tasked with developing the Palestine Liberation Organization (according to the Cairo Declaration of March 2005) completes its lineup and holds its first meeting as soon as the implementation of the agreement begins.

The committee specifies the relationship between institutions, structures, and functions of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian National Authority, especially the relationship between the National Council and the Legislative Council, in a way that would preserve the referential status of the Palestine Liberation Organization over the Palestinian Authority, and prevents redundancy in their powers and responsibilities.

Until a new National Council is elected, with emphasis on the powers of the Executive Committee and all other institutions of the [Palestine Liberation] Organization, the committee tasked with developing the Palestine Liberation Organization according to the Cairo Declaration of 2005 would complete its lineup and holds its first meeting as an interim leadership framework. Its functions will be as follows:

- Laying the foundations and mechanisms of the Palestinian National Council.

- Tackling fateful political and national issues and making decisions relevant to them by consensus.
- Following up the implementation of decisions emanating from the dialogue. Its first meeting would be held in Cairo to discuss the mechanisms of its work.

## **Second: The Elections**

Legislative, presidential, and Palestinian National Council elections shall take place simultaneously on Monday 28–6–2010. Everyone shall be committed to this.

Palestinian National Council elections are to be held on the basis of full proportional representation at home and abroad, wherever possible, while legislative elections are held on the basis of a mixed system.

Legislative elections are held on the basis of a mixed system as follows:

- 75% (Lists).
- 25% (Districts).
- Threshold: 2%.
- The homeland consists of 16 electoral districts constituency (eleven in the West Bank, and five in the Gaza Strip).

The elections are held under Arab and international supervision, with the possibility of taking all measures to ensure they are held in fair and favorable conditions for all, and in an atmosphere of freedom, integrity and transparency in the [West] Bank and [Gaza] Strip.

## **Consensus on the Following General Principles**

- Preparing the conditions necessary to facilitate the success of the presidential and legislative elections.
- Presidential and legislative elections are held in all areas of the Palestinian National Authority, including Jerusalem.
- Providing the necessary guarantees to successfully hold the elections on time.
- Signing a code of honor among all the forces and figures taking part in the dialogue to ensure that the elections are held routinely with integrity and transparency and in a timely manner.

## **Election Monitoring Mechanism**

- Stressing what is stated in Article (113) of the electoral law regarding the monitoring and coverage of the elections.

- Strengthening the monitoring of the elections by expanding the local, Arab, and international participation.
- In the case an electronic system is established, electronic monitoring mechanisms could be set up, provided that paper checks are the main benchmark in this regard.

### **The Formation of an Electoral Court**

In accordance with the provisions of the law, an electoral court consisting of a chairman and eight judges is formed, upon the recommendation of the Supreme Judicial Council. [Its formation would be] announced in a presidential decree after the completion of all formalities to form it (Supreme Judicial Council) in consultation and national consensus, in accordance with the law without infringing on the independence of the judiciary.

### **The Formation of the Electoral Commission**

Pursuant to the electoral law, the Palestinian president forms the electoral commission based on consultations carried out and the recommendation of the political forces and national figures.

## **Third: Security**

### **General Principles**

#### **Introduction**

The Palestinian people is still living in the phase of national liberation. Therefore, the work of the security forces in the West Bank and Gaza Strip must achieve the security of the homeland and the citizen, through the following principles:

- Formulation of security forces laws according to their functions, and Palestinian national interests.
- The reference frame of the security forces is the Law on Serving in the Palestinian Security Forces. [These forces] must be professional and non-factional.
- Identifying the criteria and foundations for rebuilding, restructuring, and unifying the security forces.
- All security forces are subject to accountability by the Legislative Council.
- All the information and secrets in the possession of the security forces are subject to the notions and rules of secrecy in force under the laws and regulations, violation of which subjects violators to prosecution under penalty of law.

- All residents on the territories of the [Palestinian] Authority, including citizens and foreigners, are entitled to security and safety, without regard to race, color, or religion.
- Any information, communication, or relaying of information to the enemy affecting the Palestinian homeland, citizens, and resistance is considered treason punishable by law.
- The prohibition of political detention.
- The security forces must respect the Palestinian people's right to resist and defend the homeland and fellow citizens.
- Foreign relations for security affairs are subject to political decision and instructions.
- Keeping the security institutions away from political polarization and differences between forces and factions, and refraining from mudslinging and accusations of treason against security institutions, and considering them a guarantor of the security and stability of the homeland and the citizens.

### **Standards and Foundations of the Rebuilding and Restructuring of the Security Forces**

- Stressing the provisions of the law on serving in the security forces, and upholding all prohibitions stated in the law (Articles 90–94).
- Adopting professional and patriotic standards for recruiting for the security forces.
- Expediting laws and regulations on security forces to regulate their work and ensure there is no overlap in their jurisdictions.
- Delineating and organizing the administrative hierarchy and the chain of command in the security establishment, in order to ensure the hierarchy of command and control.
- Banning the establishment of any military formations outside the framework of the planned structure of each force.
- The number of members in every force should be proportional to its functions.
- All forces must abide by the applicable laws in force in the areas of the [Palestinian] Authority, and respect the principles of human rights and the dignity of the citizens, in full cooperation with relevant bodies (the judiciary, public prosecutor, civil society organizations, various ministries), and must enable the national bodies and human rights institutions to exercise their work to ensure respect for human rights.

- The security forces, their leaders, and their members are accountable and answerable to the competent bodies and authorities in accordance with the law and regulations.
- Criminalization and prohibition of the use of arms for reasons beyond the functional tasks and the stated rules and regulations.
- Absolute preservation of the secrets of the state and the institution.
- The security forces carry out their duties in accordance with the law and away from interferences, and in accordance with the powers vested in them by law; it is necessary to enhance the law and legislation to serve this purpose.
- The need to pay attention to domestic and external training, in light of the importance of training in refining skills and acquiring experiences towards professional development.
- The criteria laid down must respond to the security needs of the Palestinians in their political contexts.
- The planned budget must be commensurate with the size of the tasks entrusted to the security forces. All facets of spending are subject to the principle of control and transparency.
- Committing to the specific terms of agency leaders in accordance with the law.

### **Supreme Security Committee and Assimilation**

- Forming a Supreme Security Committee under decree from the Palestinian president. [The committee] comprises professional line officers chosen by consensus, and operates under Egyptian and Arab supervision to follow up and implement the National Conciliation Agreement in the [West] Bank and [Gaza] Strip. Among its functions is drafting security policies and overseeing their implementation.
- Rebuilding and re-structuring Palestinian security forces with Egyptian and Arab assistance in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
- Affirming the occupational rights of all employees of the security forces (assimilation – retirement – transfer to civilian jobs –.....).
- Assimilation begins with (three thousand) members of the ex-security forces, the police, National Security, and Civil Defense in the forces of Gaza Strip, immediately after the signing of the National Conciliation Agreement. This number will increase gradually until the legislative elections are held, in accordance with a mutually agreed mechanism.

- All the requirements of assimilating these personnel are guaranteed through Egyptian and Arab support.

Approving the number of security institutions according to the 2005 Civil Service Law on Palestinian Security Forces as follows:

- National Security Forces and the Palestinian National Liberation Army.
- Internal Security Forces (police – civil defense – Preventive Security)
- General Intelligence.

(And any other existing or new force or forces will be within the three institutions)

## **The Functions of the Security Forces**

### **National Security**

#### **Definition**

The National Security is a regular military body. It carries out its functions and powers under the command of the General Commander, who issues the necessary decisions to manage its work and organize all its affair, according to the provisions of the law and the regulations issued pursuant thereto.

### **The Missions of the National Security Forces**

- Protecting the sovereignty of the country, ensuring the integrity of its territories, taking part in reconstruction, and helping in dealing with disasters internally, according to the cases where it is permissible to use the national security forces in non-military tasks.
- Enforcing judicial decisions and orders of the competent authority in respect to the security forces in accordance with military systems and laws.
- Protecting the nation from any external aggression.
- Confronting external and internal threats in its areas of deployment, and participating in responding to constitutionally defined emergencies.
- Military representation in national embassies abroad.

### **Internal Security Forces**

#### **Definition**

Internal security is a regular security body, which functions and exercises its powers under the command of the Interior Minister and the Director General of

Internal Security [Forces], who issues the necessary decisions to manage its work and organize its affairs.

### **The Missions of the Internal Security Forces**

- Maintenance of public order and preservation of morals and morality.
- Protecting citizens, their rights, and their freedoms, and protecting public and private institutions.
- Enforcing and respecting the law.
- Undertaking civil defense, rescue and fire-fighting operations.
- Combatting acts of espionage at home.
- Maintaining the home front against any external breaches or threats.
- Enforcing judicial decisions or any legal decisions issued by the competent authorities as provided by law.

### **Internal Security Forces are Composed of the Following Agencies**

#### **Police**

#### **Functions of the Police**

- Maintaining order and security, and protecting life, honors, assets and morals.
- Prevention, detection, and tracking down of crimes, and arresting perpetrators and bringing them to justice.
- Running and guarding penitentiaries
- Enforcing laws, regulations, and official orders, and assisting the authorities to perform their functions in accordance with the provisions of the law.
- Controlling and regulating road traffic.
- Protecting gatherings and marches according to the law.

### **Internal Security/ Preventive Security [Service]**

#### **Internal/ Preventive Security [Service] Tasks**

- Combatting espionage in the territories of the Palestinian Authority.
- Following up on and preventing crimes that threaten the internal security of the Palestinian Authority.
- Detecting crimes against government departments, public bodies and institutions and their employees.
- Providing information to the political leadership to guide the planning and decision-making processes.

## **Civil Defense**

### **Civil Defense Tasks (Palestinian Civil Defense Act)**

#### **Security and Protection**

Agreement was reached on the following tasks:

- Protecting official figures and government leaders during their internal movements and on their foreign visits.
- Providing protection for foreign delegations.
- Securing places of official meetings.
- Examining and securing vehicles belonging to the agency and to officials.
- Protecting officials' convoys and their movements in the country.
- Providing protection to personalities and visitors at crossings and facilitating their travel.
- Providing safe places to house dignitaries and government leaders in cases of emergency.
- Developing contingency plans for the movement and communication of dignitaries and government leaders in cases of emergency.

## **General Intelligence**

### **The Definition of the General Intelligence**

General Intelligence is an independent security body that reports to the Palestinian president, and carries out its functions and powers under his chairmanship and leadership. He issues the necessary decisions to manage its work and organize all its affairs.

### **The Functions of the Intelligence Service in Accordance with the Palestinian General Intelligence Law**

- Taking the necessary measures to prevent any actions that endanger the security and safety of Palestine, and the necessary measures against their perpetrators in accordance with the provisions of the law.
- Uncovering external threats that could harm Palestinian national security, including espionage, conspiracies, and sabotage or other actions that threaten the nation's unity, security, independence and resources.
- Joint cooperation with counterparts from friendly countries to combat any actions that threaten peace and common security, or any of the areas of internal security, on condition of reciprocity.



### **Doctrine of the Security Forces**

- The doctrine of the security forces is based on Article 84 of the Basic Law, with the addition of the clause “and protesting its legitimate rights.”

### **The Reference Frame of the Security Forces**

- The reference frame of the security forces shall be in accordance with what has been agreed upon with respect to the tasks of the security forces.

### **National Security Council**

- It is up to the [Palestinian] Legislative Council to issue the law on the Palestinian National Council.

### **Mechanisms of Arab Assistance for Building the Security Forces**

- Forming a liaison committee to source specific needs.
- Each agency specifies its needs and submits them to the committee.
- Receiving security delegations visiting for the purpose of providing assistance to the security forces, provided that this is governed by the parameters of the mission according to a specific timetable.

## **Fourth: National Reconciliation**

### **To Agree on the Following Objectives**

- Promoting a culture of tolerance, love, reconciliation, political partnership, and coexistence.
- Resolving all violations that resulted from the chaos and division through legal and legitimate means.
- Developing a program to compensate those affected by the division and violence financially and morally.
- Developing the foundations and mechanisms to prevent the recurrence of the unfortunate events.
- Securing the necessary budgets needed to support the success of the committee’s mission through a national fund financed by the Arabs.
- Overseeing social reconciliation.
- Forming subcommittees in all governorates.

### **Means and Mechanisms of Reconciliation**

- The immediate cessation of all forms of mutual incitement and violations, and monitoring the implementation.
- Holding broad-based public meetings that include all sectors of society (schools, universities, popular gatherings) and organizing media campaigns to promote a climate of reconciliation and tolerance in society, and including all forums including mosques to achieve this goal.
- Involving political forces, civil society groups, independents, and reconciliation committees to create a climate of reconciliation, tolerance, and forgiveness.
- Listening to all victims of internal violence and lawlessness, and identifying material and moral damage to those affected and their relatives.
- Identifying the bases of financial compensation to those affected.
- Discussing ways to activate the role of the law in accountability, and submitting recommendations in this regard to the competent authorities.
- Field visits and conducting the necessary surveys.
- Following matters up with the concerned authorities, demanding them to be firm in their positions to end vigilante actions, and enforcing strict accountability to prevent vigilantism.
- Lifting factional, tribal, and family cover on all those who perpetrate attacks on people and their properties.
- Issuing a code of conduct emphasizing the prohibition of infighting, and developing a follow-up mechanism.
- Making pan-Arab visits to facilitate the work of the reconciliation committee, in coordination with the competent authorities.

### **Forming a Reconciliation Committee Comprising the Following**

- Chairman of the Committee ([Chosen] by consensus).
- Deputy Chairman.
- Secretary.
- Treasurer.
- Members.

### **Forming an Advisory Unit for Judicial Remedies, in Coordination with the Competent Authorities, Including**

- Mobilization and Media Unit.
- Complaints and Grievances Unit.

- Public Relations Unit.
- Damage Survey Unit.
- The Judicial Guidance Unit (Regular Judiciary, Islamic Judiciary, Tribal Judiciary).

Considering the individuals who have suffered harm in different forms during the internal confrontations victims of violence, and that the Palestinian National Authority is responsible for addressing their cases, with follow-up and participation from the National Reconciliation Commission. What applies to the victims applies to the wounded.

Consequently, for those who have suffered harm in different forms because of individual criminal acts, the culprits bear responsibility, and the appropriate judicial measures shall be taken against them. For those who suffered harm of various kinds because of the political conflict, the groups that caused the harm bear the responsibility, not individuals. The consequences shall be addressed with the national participation of all sides, to achieve justice for those affected.

Every citizen who had a fixed or movable property stolen from them must present their case to the commission on complaints and grievances to restore their full rights.

### **Mechanisms for Reconciliation Commission**

The Reconciliation Commission operates through the following mechanisms:

- The commission meets after the signing of the national accord agreement to distribute tasks among its members according to the agreed structure.
- Obtaining a suitable headquarters in Gaza City.
- Moving immediately to form sub-committees in the governorates within the West Bank and Gaza [Strip], to help the higher commission carry out its tasks.
- Identifying the necessary cadres to form the agreed units of work.
- Expediting the holding of a popular conference for reconciliation and forgiveness that would launch its work, and declare the start of the implementation of the code of honor.
- The commission will proceed to carry out its duties immediately after it is formed.
- Announcing through all media outlets the start of the commission's work, its offices, and the mechanism of its work and implementation.

- Drafting the necessary budget for the success of its work, and seeking to secure this necessary budget from the competent authority.
- The commission shall submit reports to the competent authorities for implementation, after gathering the necessary information regarding the citizens who were subjected to abuse and harm, and ways to address this.

### **Code of Honor of National Reconciliation**

A code of honor for Palestinian national reconciliation was agreed (Annex A).

## **Fifth: The Joint Commission for the Implementation of the National Accord Agreement**

### **Composition of the Commission**

The commission is made up of (16 members) from Fatah, Hamas, the factions, and independents. Fatah and Hamas each nominate 8 members. President Mahmud ‘Abbas will then issue a presidential decree forming the commission after reaching an agreement on its members.

### **The Commission’s Frame of Reference**

Palestinian President Mahmud ‘Abbas “Abu Mazin” is the reference point for the commission, as President of the Palestine Liberation Organization and President of the Palestinian National Authority.

### **The Legal Framework of the Commission**

The commission is a coordinating framework that does not have any political obligations. It shall begin its work immediately after the signing of the National Conciliation Agreement, and end its work in the wake of the presidential, legislative, and National Council elections, and the formation of a new Palestinian government.

### **Functions of the Commission**

The joint commission is responsible for implementing the National Conciliation Agreement to be applied at home by dealing with the various stakeholders, including the following:

- Creating the conditions for holding presidential, legislative and National Council elections.



- Supervising the handling of Palestinian internal reconciliation issues.
- Following-up reconstruction in the Gaza Strip.

### **Unifying the National Institutions of the Palestinian Authority in the [West] Bank and Gaza [Strip]**

The institutions of the Palestinian National Authority in the West Bank and Gaza Strip shall be unified in coordination with the competent authorities, based on the principles of partnership, national accord, and strengthening of national unity, in line with and in implementation of the outcomes and decisions of the National Conciliation Agreement, especially in relation to the criteria and results produced by the legal administrative committee.

#### **Resolving the Status of Associations and Organizations**

Restoring the status of the associations and civil institutions that were closed or appropriated to the situation prior to 14 June 2007 in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, immediately after the signing of the National Conciliation Agreement, and working to restore their assets and compensate them for their losses as a result.

Resolving the status of societies and civil institutions in accordance with the laws in force before 14 June 2007.

Redressing the employees assigned to the work in societies and civil institutions according to the law.

The funds belonging to societies or institutions may not be seized, except by judicial decision.

#### **Handling Civil Cases and Administrative Problems Resulting from the Split**

Addressing civil cases resulting from split (after 14 June 2007) [must proceed] by resolving the issues of the employees who were affected by the division, and restoring the unity of governmental and constitutional institutions, in addition to preserving the independence of the judiciary, and re-operationalizing these institutions in accordance with the Basic Law, relevant laws, and national consensus. [This is in addition to] resolving the repercussions of the decisions issued after this date, and all these are the foundation for ending the division and achieving and securing national unity.

These cases include appointments, promotions, dismissals, salary suspension,

and transfers in government institutions and departments, and disputed presidential and governmental decrees and decisions of relevance.

A legal administrative committee shall be formed comprising administrative and legal experts to study these cases mentioned above, and propose ways to resolve them. The committee shall present the results of its efforts to the competent executive bodies—within a maximum of four months after its formation—to implement them on the basis of the Basic Law and relevant laws.

This committee functions in accordance to the following bases and principles:

- Abiding by the amended Basic Law of 2005, and the relevant laws, regulations, and rules approved prior to 14 June 2007.
- Achieving justice and equity without discrimination between citizens and without prejudicing the rights of individuals who have been affected as a result of the split.
- Emphasizing the principle of partnership for the Palestinian people in the institutions of the [Palestinian] Authority, on the basis of competence and suitability between the employee and the job they are nominated to fill.
- Taking into account the available financial capacities and resources and their impact on the state budget, administrative and organizational structures of government institutions, and the approved employment policies, while also addressing overemployment in the government institutions.

Forming a specialized legal committee with powers made up of competent judges with proven integrity, to look into grievances and complaints brought by individuals, institutions, and bodies in objection to any decisions issued against them, without prejudice to the right of individuals, institutions, and bodies to take legal action according to law.

All bodies and authorities follow their terms of reference as determined by the Basic Law in accordance with the law regulating their work. They correct their status in accordance with the applicable laws without being inconsistent with the Basic Law.

Returning all civil servants in the [West] Bank and Gaza Strip who were in their posts before 14–6–2007 to their jobs, including those sacked and those who became absent from their jobs in the wake of the split, while maintaining their full rights and reversing all layoffs, immediately after the start of the implementation

of the national conciliation accord. This shall be done in accordance with the mechanism recommended by the legal administrative committee formed within the agreed deadline.

Commitment shall be made not to carry out any amendments or new appointments until the legal administrative committee formed under this agreement finishes its work.

### **Sixth: Detainees**

In the context of agreeing on the need to resolve the problem of prisoners from all Palestinian factions, and in affirmation of the principle of prohibiting the detention on the backdrop of political affiliation and without due process, it has been agreed to resolve this problem through the following specific mechanisms:

- Fatah and Hamas draft lists of detainees who were still detained prior to the agreement. A copy of the list shall be handed over to Egypt and a human rights organization (to be agreed upon) after verifying the numbers and the names, prior to signing the national accord agreement.
- Each side releases the detainees in its custody from all other factions as soon as the agreement is signed.
- After the release of the detainees, each side hands over to Egypt a list containing the names of detainees that could not be released and the grounds for this. Status reports are then submitted to the leaderships of Fatah and Hamas.
- After the agreement is signed, efforts continue with Egyptian participation to close the detainees' file once and for all.

### **The Code of Honor of the Palestinian National Reconciliation**

The Palestinian people, through their long history, embodied their patriotic personality through the throngs of victims, wounded, and detainees they have sacrificed in defense of their land, cause, and holy sites. Our people, who deserve all appreciation, are now living in very difficult circumstances.

In appreciation of these circumstances, and out of our belief in the need for a cohesive internal front through which we seek to achieve our people's aspirations, defend their rights, liberate our land, and restore our rights, and in light of the negative effects created by the state of division, we in the National Reconciliation Committee emanating from the Palestinian Dialogue Conference have agreed to work and abide by the terms of this code of honor.

And in confirmation of our desire to end the state of division and remedy its consequences, and protect our internal front and prevent the repetition of the unfortunate incidents, the code of honor shall include the following principles:

- Emphasizing the prohibition of internal fighting and armed conflict, whatever the reasons and no matter how sharp the differences are.
- Emphasizing the general principle that the Palestinians have always been in agreement with, namely that dialogue must remain the only means of communication between them, and for resolving differences that arise between them.
- Prohibiting detention, prosecutions and pursuits against the backdrop of political affiliation.
- No individual may be arrested without a court order or permission from the Prosecution.
- Banning the use of torture in detention and the need to respect the rights of the detainees and not humiliating them.
- Allowing defendants to defend themselves and allowing them all legal means to do so.
- Banning all forms of aggression against the will and the property.
- Lifting factional, family and clan cover on each individual who violates the law and the honor.
- Respecting the independence of the judiciary and its decisions and not interfering with it, and keeping it away from any political and partisan bickering.
- The need to respect existing laws, and to emphasize that everyone is equal before the law.
- Maintenance of public and private freedoms of individuals and groups.
- Emphasizing the freedom of the press and freedom of expression.
- Emphasizing on the prevention of any form of media and communal incitement.
- Emphasizing political partnership and the principle of peaceful transfer of power.
- [Emphasizing] the right of the Palestinian people to resist and confront occupation and aggression.
- Preserving the resistance and its arms against the occupation, and refraining from implicating it in family, clan, and factional disputes.
- Ensuring the right to work for all on the basis of competence and professionalism.
- Rejecting dismissals, exclusion, and salary suspension on grounds of political affiliations.



We present this document as an offering to our people, and pray to *Allah* Almighty to help our people and its leaders succeed in preserving its unity and defending its rights.

**We salute our faithful martyrs  
Freedom for our imprisoned heroes  
Prayers for a speedy recovery for our wounded**

**The National Reconciliation Committee  
Palestinian Dialogue Conference**

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**In the Name of *Allah*, Most Gracious, Most Merciful**

**Meeting Minutes  
Regarding Understandings About Palestinian  
National Reconciliation**

Under Egyptian sponsorship, delegations from Fatah and Hamas met in Cairo on 27/4/2011, to discuss issues related to ending the division and achieving reconciliation, led by the observations concerning the clauses of the Palestinian National Conciliation Agreement of 2009.

The two sides have agreed that the understandings reached over these observations during the discussions are binding on both parties upon the implementation of the Palestinian National Conciliation Agreement.

The understandings, which Fatah and Hamas agreed on, include the following:

**1. Elections**

**a. Election Commission**

The two parties, Fatah and Hamas, have agreed to specify the names of the members of the Central Election Commission in agreement with the Palestinian factions, provided that it would be submitted to the president to issue a decree for the formation of this committee.

**b. Elections Court**

The two parties, Fatah and Hamas, have agreed to nominate no more than (12) judges to become members of the Elections Court, provided that [the lists be]

submitted to the Palestinian president in order to take the necessary legal steps for its formation, in agreement with the Palestinian factions.

### **c. The Timing of the Elections**

Legislative, presidential, and Palestinian National Council elections shall be held simultaneously a year after the date of signing the National Conciliation Agreement, by the Palestinian factions and forces.

## **2. The Palestine Liberation Organization**

Fatah and Hamas agreed that the tasks and decisions of the provisional leadership framework may not be obstructed, without prejudicing the powers of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

## **3. Security**

Emphasizing that the formation of the Supreme Security Committee, which the Palestinian president issues a decree on, shall comprise professional officers chosen by consensus.

## **4. The Government**

### **a. Formation of the Government**

Fatah and Hamas agreed to form the Palestinian government and appoint the prime minister and ministers by consensus.

### **b. Functions of the Government**

1. Creating the conditions for holding presidential and legislative elections and elections for the Palestinian National Council.
2. Supervising the handling of the Palestinian internal reconciliation issues resulting from the state of division.
3. Following-up reconstruction of the Gaza Strip and ending the blockade.
4. Following-up the implementation of the provisions of the Palestinian National Conciliation Agreement.
5. Handling civil cases and administrative problems resulting from the split.
6. Harmonization of the national institutions of the National Authority in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Jerusalem.
7. Resolving the status of civil society and charitable institutions.

## 5. The Legislative Council

Both parties agreed on activating the Palestinian Legislative Council in accordance with the Basic Law.

Fatah Movement  
'Azzam al-Ahmad

Hamas Movement  
Musa Abu Marzuq

### *Document No. 18*

#### **Statement of Palestinian National Reconciliation Agreement Implementation Between Fatah and Hamas Movements (Al-Shati' Agreement)<sup>18</sup>**

23 April 2014

In the Name of *Allah*, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

﴿وَأَعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا﴾<sup>٤</sup>

(And hold firmly to the rope of *Allah* all together and do not become divided.)

A statement issued from the meeting of the delegations of Palestine Liberation Organization and Hamas to end the division and implement the National Reconciliation Agreement.

At a time when the attack on the Palestinian issue is growing, at all levels; and at a time of increasing attacks on *al-Aqsa* Mosque, the first of two Qiblahs and the site of the Masra [Night Journey] of the Prophet (SAAWS); and as operations to Judaize the occupied city of Jerusalem and eliminate its Arab identity intensify; and as our Muslim and Christian holy sites are desecrated; and as settlements penetrate the steadfast territory of the West Bank; and as the occupation neglects all international agreements, treaties, pacts and norms; as its army intensifies its aggressions and transgresses all limits, and its leaders scheme against our people and leaders by means of this loathsome division; and as [the occupation's] settlers run wild over people, trees and stones; and as our male and female prisoners are subjected to the worst forms of abuse in the occupation's jails.

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<sup>18</sup> Site of Today in Gaza, Text of the Palestinian Reconciliation Agreement,  
<https://todayingaza.wordpress.com/2014/05/01/text-of-the-palestinian-reconciliation-agreement/>

At a time when the suffocating siege is tightening on our great [Gaza] Strip, and humanitarian problems intensify for our steadfast brothers there; and at a time when our people's suffering continues, whether in the homeland or Diaspora; national reconciliation, ending the Palestinian division, restoring and strengthening national unity, and putting in place controls that ensure stability, continuity and growth become a national duty.

After the brothers reviewed the political situation affecting our national cause, and the political stalemate resulting from Israeli politics and intransigence, everyone has [realized] the national responsibility of joint action, and the need to strengthen partnership in policy and decision-making, so that our people can continue their march toward freedom, return [to their homeland] and establish an independent Palestinian State, with its capital in Jerusalem.

Based on these exalted nationalist and religious premises, the Palestine Liberation Organization's delegation and the Islamic Resistance Movement "Hamas" met on the steadfast land of Gaza, to agree on timetables for ending the division and applying a National Reconciliation Agreement.

Two meetings were held over a period of two days, between the two delegations, and the meetings were characterized by understanding, diligence, agreement, and giving priority to the interests of the homeland; whereby the following was agreed upon:

First: Emphasizing the commitment to all that was agreed upon in the Cairo Agreement, including the understandings thereto, and the Doha Declaration, and [these agreements] shall be considered a reference for implementation [of reconciliation].

Second: The government: President Mahmud 'Abbas will begin consultations to form a government of national consensus, in line with his history, and it shall be declared within the legally specified period of five weeks, based on the Cairo Agreement and the Doha Declaration, and it will carry out all of its obligations.

Third: Elections: To emphasize that legislative, presidential and National Council elections will be held simultaneously, and the president is authorized to set a date for elections, in consultation with the national forces and actors, and the elections shall be held at least 6 months after the formation of the government.



This shall be discussed in the [Palestine] Liberation Organization Activation Committee, during its next meeting, and the requirements for holding the said elections shall be completed.

Fourth: The [Palestine] Liberation Organization: It was agreed that the Palestine Liberation Organization Activation and Development Committee will meet, to exercise its functions stipulated in the agreements, within five weeks as of this date, and it was confirmed that its meetings will continue periodically thereafter.

Fifth: The Societal Reconciliation Committee: The immediate resumption of work on social reconciliation, including [the work of] subcommittees, based on what was agreed upon in Cairo.

Sixth: Freedoms Committee: An emphasis on the application of what was agreed upon in Cairo, concerning the issue of public freedoms, and the Public Freedoms Committee in the [West] Bank and Gaza [Strip] has been called upon to resume work immediately and implement its decisions.

Seventh: The Legislative Council: An emphasis on the application of what has been agreed upon, to activate the Legislative Council and for it to carry out its duties.

In conclusion, the two delegations affirm the value of and their appreciation for the Egyptian role in overseeing the reconciliation agreement, and they confirm that this role will continue, and note the value of comprehensive Arab support for the application of the reconciliation agreement.

We salute our faithful martyrs  
Freedom for our imprisoned heroes  
We salute our blessed wounded

Palestine Liberation Organization Delegation:

‘Azzam al-Ahmad, Fatah movement, Bassam al-Salihi, Palestinian People’s Party, Mustafa al-Barghouti, Palestinian National Initiative, Munib al-Masri, a businessman, Jamil Shehadeh, Arab Liberation Front.

Hamas Movement Delegation:

Isma‘il Haniyyah, deputy head of the movement’s political bureau, Musa Abu Marzuq, member of the political bureau, ‘Imad Al-‘Almy, member of the political bureau, Mahmud al-Zahhar, member of the political bureau, Khalil al-Hayyeh, member of the political bureau, Nizar ‘Awad Allah, member of the political bureau.

## This Book

The Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas is a prominent Palestinian resistance movement. It enjoyed, and continues to enjoy, broad popularity in the Palestinian arena. Hamas adopts Islam as a creed, way of life, and a code. It belongs to the school of Muslim Brothers movement.

Credit for the idea behind this book is owed to the late Prof. Ibrahim Abu Rabi'. 17 academicians, researchers and senior Hamas leaders participated in writing the chapters of this book.

This book is indeed one of the most specialized references regarding Hamas thought and experience, and it is an indispensable source for those interested in studying the Movement. It committed itself to the methodologies of academic research and all this entails in terms of accuracy, objectivity, and documentation. The contributions by several Hamas leaders shed additional and up-to-date light on a number of controversial issues surrounding Hamas and its experience.

Dr. Mohsen Mohammad Saleh

Islamic Resistance Movement

# Hamas

Studies of  
Thought &  
Experience



Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations

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