



May 8, 2017

The goals and significance of Hamas's new political document



The front page of Hamas's new political document, or, to use its full name: "A Document of General Principles and Policies"

The goals of the political document and the background of its publication

1. On May 1, 2017, Hamas published a political document entitled "**A Document of General Principles and Policies**" (hereinafter: the "Political Document"). This document, which includes 42 sections, was published on the Hamas website in two versions: **an Arabic version and a version translated into English** (see appendices). An examination of the two versions reveals that there are slight differences in the translation into English compared with the Arabic source, **but no significant differences were found between them**. The document was published **at the end of Khaled Mash'al's term as chairman of the movement's political bureau** and was presented by him at a press conference in Qatar (May 1, 2017).

2. **The Political Document is intended to update the ideology and basic concepts that appeared in the 1988 Hamas Charter.¹ The document was aimed to adapt them**

¹The text of the Charter and an analysis of its sections appear in the ITIC's bulletin from May 5, 2006 (<http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/article/18894>).

to the current strategic reality, which has changed unrecognizably since the charter was written. The differences in the (Arabic) names of these documents - charter (*mithaq*) versus document (*wathiqah*) - are not semantic, since the term “charter” is more binding than “document”. The Political Document is short and seems more like a political platform than a basic ideological document. Nowhere in the document (or anywhere else) **does it state that it replaces the Charter**, which, in the ITIC’s assessment, remains a fundamental document expressing Hamas’s ideology and basic principles.

3. In the 30 years that have passed since the Charter was written, **Hamas and the entire region have undergone dramatic changes, which Hamas was required to address**. The formulation of a Political Document that would provide a response and update Hamas’s perceptions **apparently took several years**. The final wording was formulated at the end of Khaled Mash’al’s term in office, during which **the nature of the Hamas movement changed dramatically**.² Today’s Hamas is not just a “resistance” movement that is engaged exclusively with the armed struggle against Israel, but also a **governmental body that must, on a day-to-day basis, address the increasing hardships of the residents of the Gaza Strip**. Therefore, **Hamas is required to carry out a policy (including terrorism against Israel) that takes the needs of the residents of the Gaza Strip into consideration**.

4. **The Political Document was published during a period of change of leadership in Hamas, at a time when the movement is in dire strategic straits**: the Gaza Strip is in a severe economic crisis (exacerbated by the Palestinian Authority's economic pressure); the confrontation with the Palestinian Authority and Fatah is worsening; Hamas’s relations with Egypt and Saudi Arabia have deteriorated; difficulties have arisen in its relations with Iran in light of the civil war in Syria; and in the international arena it is almost completely isolated. Against this background, **the new Political Document was intended to assist Hamas’s efforts to emerge from its isolation and solve its difficulties, first and foremost in the internal Palestinian arena, in Hamas’s relations with Egypt and the Arab world, and in its relations with Western countries**.

²In his speech in Qatar (May 1, 2017), Khaled Mash’al said that in the past two years, Hamas had begun an in-depth discussion aimed at formulating the final wording of the document. This wording was presented to Hamas’s supreme institutions (the Shura Council and the Political Bureau) and approved by them. According to Khaled Mash’al, after the document was formulated, the Hamas leadership met with international legal experts to ensure that the document would be in line with international law (i.e., according to Mash’al, the destruction of the State of Israel and the adoption of a strategy of violence and terrorism are enshrined in international law). According to Khaled Mash’al, that is why the document was translated by Hamas into English.

5. An analysis of the Political Document clearly shows **that there has been no change in Hamas's basic ideology and principles**, which are based on an **uncompromising effort to destroy Israel through violence and terrorism, even if this is carried out in stages** (presenting conditional willingness to establish a Palestinian state within the 1967 borders). The adjustments, changes and additions that appear in the Political Document are intended to **present the appearance of Hamas's renewal and adaptation to the current reality, but without any significant change in the principles and basic perception that constitute the core of the Document.**³

The rigid fundamental perceptions that appear in the document

6. An examination of the text of the Political Document reveals **that Hamas's hard-core ideology and basic perceptions regarding the conflict with Israel, which have been expressed in the Hamas Charter, have not changed significantly over the past 30 years. They constitute the core of the new Political Document**, which discusses them at length. However, Hamas omitted several problematic sections that appear in the Charter, changed a number of sections, and updated additional sections in order **to present a façade of flexibility and the adaptation of its positions to the needs of the new reality** (see details below).

7. The rigid basic positions that appear in the Political Document **are especially prominent in all matters pertaining to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict**. Following are five of them:

A. **All of Palestine belongs to the Palestinian people:** the sections dealing with "the Land of Palestine" (Sections 2, 3 and 20) state that **all of Palestine belongs to the Palestinians, and the thieving "Zionist entity" has no right to it whatsoever. The borders of Palestine** are "from the River Jordan in the east to the Mediterranean in the west, from Ras Al-Naqurah [Rosh Hanikra] in the north to Umm Al-Rashrash [Eilat] in the south." The land of Palestine constitutes **an integral, indivisible territorial unit**. The Document states that it is strictly forbidden **to give up any part of the land of Palestine and struggle until its full and complete liberation**.

³The reactions to the document in the Arab and international arena, including in the Palestinian arena and in Egypt, range from presenting it as the expression of a significant change in Hamas's positions to considering it a tactical move and a political maneuver designed to Hamas's own needs. A detailed discussion of the reactions will be distributed in a separate document.

B. Jerusalem (called “Beit al-Maqdis” in the Arabic document) is the capital of Palestine and belongs exclusively to the Palestinian people and to the Arab and Islamic Ummah [nation] (Sections 7, 10 and 11). In Hamas’s view, **there is no West Jerusalem and East Jerusalem, all of Jerusalem is Palestinian, and “not one stone of Jerusalem can be surrendered or relinquished.”** The Document states that all the measures undertaken by Israel (the “occupiers”) in Jerusalem are fundamentally null and void. According to the Document, Israel has no right whatsoever to Al-Aqsa Mosque (and, implicitly, to the entire Temple Mount). **The Document contains no mention whatsoever of the thousands of years of Jewish presence in Jerusalem, and in all of Israel, even before the advent of Islam.**

C. The “right of return” of the Palestinian refugees: The “right” of the Palestinians to return to the lands from which they were deported in 1948 and 1967 (Sections 12 and 13). The Document states that this is a “natural right, both individual and collective” that **“cannot be dispensed with by any party,** whether Palestinian, Arab or international. Compensation to the Palestinian refugees for the harm they have suffered as a consequence of banishing them and occupying their land is an absolute right that goes hand in hand with their right to return. **They are to receive compensation upon their return, and this does not negate or diminish their right to return.”** The meaning of this section is that the **“right of return” cannot be canceled or violated in any political agreement.**

D. Denying the legitimacy of the Zionist movement [the document also uses the term “Zionist project”] and the State of Israel (Sections 14-23): In this part, the Zionist movement is described at length as racist, aggressive, and colonial, and the “Israeli entity” is described as its plaything. The Document states that the Zionist movement is the **enemy of the Arab and Islamic Ummah, posing a grave threat to its security and interests, and also poses a danger to international security and peace and to mankind and its interests and stability.** Therefore, **“there shall be no recognition of the legitimacy of the Zionist entity.”** The Document also states that **all the international community’s resolutions on Palestine, including the Balfour Declaration and the UN Palestine Partition Resolution,** are null and void. **The Document also rejects the Oslo Accords, including their addenda and commitments,** because they violate the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and are

detrimental to their interests, **“especially security coordination (collaboration) with Israel.”**

E. **The active resistance (*al-muqawama*) and jihad are the Palestinians’ “legitimate right” in their struggle to “liberate Palestine” (Sections 23-26).** The active armed resistance and jihad (i.e., **the use of violence and terrorism as the main strategy for the “liberation of Palestine”**) will remain a **“legitimate right” and a strategic (implicitly preferred) choice for protecting the “rights” of the Palestinian people.** However, the Document states that **the way the armed activity is conducted may change from time to time.** As part of this armed activity, **there may be periods of escalation or lulls,** or the use of various and sundry methods of action, **all in accordance with the circumstances and the changing reality.**

Changes, updates and adjustments in the Document

8. The new Political Document omitted problematic sections that appear on the Hamas Charter, updated and changed other sections, and added sections to which there was is reference in the Charter. **Following are the main changes and updates:**

A. **Hamas’s identity:** Hamas defines itself at the beginning of the Document as a **“Palestinian Islamic national liberation and resistance movement”**. **“Its frame of reference is Islam”** (Section 1). Its purpose is **“the liberation of Palestine” and confrontation with the Zionist project.** Hamas combines Palestinian nationalism and Islam. However, **Palestinian nationalism is highly emphasized in the Document.** The Document also discusses the nature of Islam in which Hamas allegedly believes. It states that **Islam which Hamas believes in is the “religion of peace and tolerance,” a justly balanced Islam that takes the “middle way,” which is opposed to any form of religious extremism** (alluding to the Salafi jihadists and to ISIS). Particularly important is the omission of Section 2 of the Charter, which states that **Hamas is the Palestinian arm of the Muslim Brotherhood movement.** In the ITIC’s assessment, this omission does not mean that Hamas has disassociated itself from the Muslim Brotherhood movement (and this was also not stated by Hamas), but rather an attempt by Hamas to **downplay the close relationship with them.**

B. Conditional acceptance of the establishment of a Palestinian state in the 1967 borders: in Section 20 of the Document of Principles, which received extensive media coverage, **Hamas expresses conditional agreement to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, whose capital is Jerusalem, in the June 4, 1967, lines.**⁴ The condition is that **the reward for establishing such state will not include any recognition of Israel (“the Zionist entity”) or renunciation of any Palestinian “right.”** It was stated that **even in the scenario of the establishment of such state, the goal must remain the complete “liberation of Palestine,” from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean, and the return of the Palestinian refugees to their homes (i.e., the destruction of the State of Israel).** The Document states that Hamas will consider a conditional establishment of such Palestinian state in the 1967 lines **because it understands that such a formula is within the national Palestinian consensus.**

C. “Moderating” the explicit call for the elimination of the State of Israel, without renouncing it. At the beginning of the Hamas Charter, there is a quote by Hassan al-Bana, the founder of the Muslim brotherhood movement, that **“Israel will rise and continue to exist until Islam wipes it out, as it wiped out what preceded it.”** This explicit call for the elimination of Israel was replaced with a categorical negation of the legitimacy of the State of Israel, and the desire **to “liberate” the entire land of Palestine** and to establish a Palestinian state on its entire territory, **without the existence of an Israeli political entity** (the Document does not refer to the question of what will become of Israel’s inhabitants upon the establishment of the Palestinian state and the destruction of the State of Israel).

D. The political document distinguishes between the struggle against Zionism and the State of Israel, and the attitude towards Jews as a religion. The paragraph in the Charter calling for joining efforts for the campaign against the Jews was not included in the Document. The Political Document states that **“Hamas affirms that its conflict is with the Zionist project, not with the Jews because of their religion. Hamas does not wage a struggle against the Jews because they are Jewish, but wages a struggle against the Zionists who occupy Palestine”** (Section 16). **Anti-Semitic sections that appear on the Charter**

⁴ The Political Document uses the term **“lines”** (*khutut*) rather than **“borders”** (*hudud*). In the ITIC’s assessment, this was done in order to stress the temporary nature of the 1967 lines and the fact that they are ceasefire lines rather than permanent borders between two states.

were also omitted, with the intention of repelling accusations as if Hamas is an anti-Semitic movement (the Charter includes anti-Semitic myths based on the Protocols of the Sages of Zion, on Jewish rule on the media, films, and education). The Political Document states that anti-Semitism and persecution of the Jews are phenomena related to the European history rather than to the history and legacy of the Arabs and Islam.

E. Willingness to show flexibility regarding the manner of conducting the terrorist campaign (active “resistance”) against Israel, without renouncing the principle of armed resistance as an (implicitly preferred) strategic choice for the “liberation of Palestine.” Hamas rejects any adverse effect on the “resistance” and its weapons. Yet it agrees that there might be changes in its nature from time to time. As according to Hamas’s perception, **there may be periods of escalation** in the terror campaign against Israel **and periods of lull, all in accordance with the circumstances and the changing reality.** All of this is within what the Document dubs **the process of conducting the struggle** (thus, Hamas gives **legitimacy to its agreement to the current lull in the Gaza Strip**).

Assessment of the purpose of the changes and adjustments

9. In the ITIC’s assessment, the changes and adjustments that appear in the Political Document are not intended to assist in starting a political process for the resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This is true as Hamas is well aware that **its intransigent fundamental position is a non-starter for the promotion of considerable communication with Israel and even with the international community.** These changes and adjustments are intended to achieve **political and media-related purposes first and foremost in the internal Palestinian arena.** In addition, they are intended to achieve **political profits for Hamas vis-à-vis Egypt and the Arab world and vis-à-vis Western countries,** in order for Hamas to break out from its isolation and ease the pressure exerted on it.

10. **Particularly important is Hamas’s attention to the internal Palestinian arena:**

A. Hamas is interested to show ostensibly “soft” formulas to demonstrate that its hardcore ideology **does not constitute an obstacle to internal Palestinian reconciliation** and present willingness to promote possible reconciliation **on a**

common political basis. This is not a novel tactic. Expressions of conditional willingness to establish a Palestinian state within the 1967 borders and **willingness for jointly conducting terrorist activity (“resistance”) with the Palestinian Authority and Fatah also appeared in the past**, in the context of communication towards internal Palestinian reconciliation.

B. Thus, for instance, following the signing of the internal Palestinian reconciliation agreement (May 4, 2011), **senior Hamas figures made it clear that they had no objection to the PA’s political move in the UN that would lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state within the 1967 borders. This was on condition that it would not necessarily be accompanied by recognition of Israel and the renunciation of the “right of return” of the Palestinian refugees.** Therefore, senior Hamas figures explained, they would allow the Palestinian Authority to go forward with its move at the UN in September 2011, although they didn’t believe in it (“empty words,” “political circus”). Senior Hamas figures also made it clear that in principle, Hamas adheres to the way of “resistance” (i.e., terror); however, it is willing to reach an agreement with the Palestinian Authority **as to the manner of conducting the “resistance.”**⁵

11. The omission of the connection with the Muslim Brotherhood movement from the Political Document and the emphasis on moderate Islam to which Hamas allegedly adheres were intended **to distinguish** between Hamas and the Salafi jihadists mainly (but not exclusively) **to please Egypt**, which declared the Muslim Brotherhood movement a terrorist organization. They were also intended to present Hamas to the Arab world and to the international community as a moderate Islamic movement. The omission of the anti-Semitic sections that appear in the Hamas Charter; the distinction between the struggle against Zionism and the attitude towards Jews; presenting the struggle against Israel as a Palestinian national struggle; the conditional willingness to establish a Palestinian state within the 1967 lines – all of these, in the ITIC’s assessment, **were intended to improve Hamas’s relations with Western countries and the entire international community** and to motivate the

⁵ See the ITIC’s Information Bulletin from May 15, 2011: “Statements made by senior Hamas figures since the internal Palestinian reconciliation agreement attempt to present a moderate image while restating Hamas’ refusal to recognize Israel or accept the International Quartet’s conditions, continuing the “resistance” (i.e., terrorism), and drawing Fatah back into the cycle of violence” (<http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/article/17911>). See also the ITIC’s Information Bulletin from April 23, 2014: “Following the Fatah-Hamas reconciliation, Hamas may maneuver between adherence to its fundamental positions and its desire to benefit from the agreement which may serve its internal political and media purposes” (<http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/article/20641>).

international community to exert pressure on Israel. Against this background, Hamas may soon be expected **to engage in “smile politics” addressed at the Arab world and Western countries (first and foremost the United States), in order to gain political and PR profits from the new document.**⁶

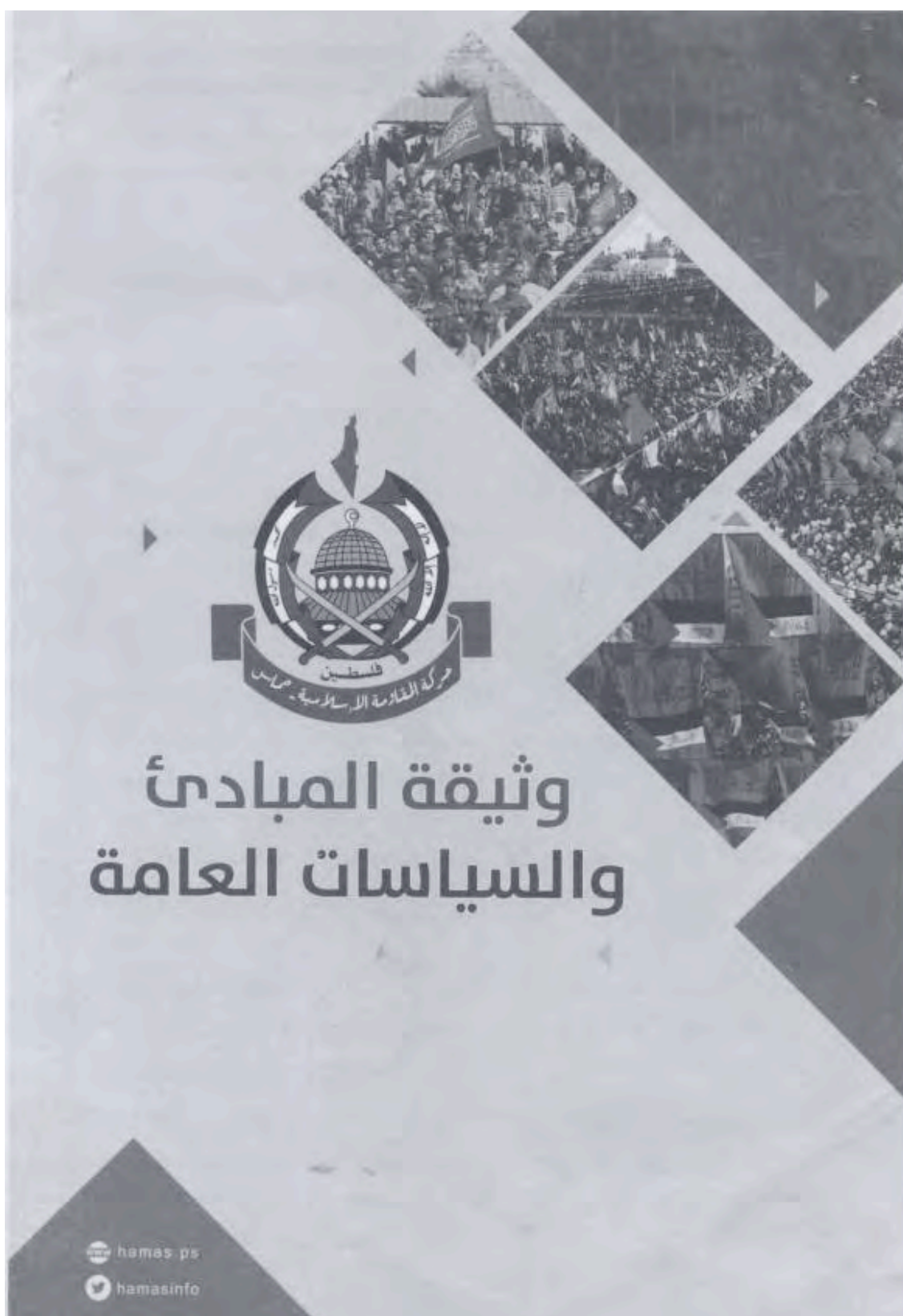
Appendices

12. **Attached are the original version in Arabic (Appendix A) and Hamas’s English version of the Document (Appendix B).** Subsequently, the ITIC will systematically compare the wording of the Political Document with that of the Hamas Charter, and the findings of the study will be published separately.

⁶ The first indication of this is an interview granted by Khaled Mash’al to CNN in Doha (May 3, 2017), on the eve of President Trump’s meeting with Mahmoud Abbas. In the interview, Mash’al said that the Political Document gives Trump a “historic opportunity” to exert pressure on Israel and find an “equitable solution” for the Palestinian people. According to Mash’al, Israel does not recognize the Palestinian rights. When the Palestinians have their own sovereignty, a state of their own, they will be able to make their own choice, without external pressure. **Khaled Mash’al called on President Trump to exert pressure on Israel because of its “intransigence”** with reference to the settlements and its occupation of the West Bank. According to him, this is the key for achieving a “real and equitable peace in the region” (CNN, Doha, May 3, 2017).

Appendix A

The Arabic version of the Political Document



The Islamic Resistance Movement

HAMAS - Palestine



حركة المقاومة الإسلامية

حماس - فلسطين

وثيقة المبادئ والسياسات العامة

الحمد لله رب العالمين، والصلاة والسلام على سيد المرسلين وإمام المجاهدين، وعلى آله وصحبه أجمعين.

مقدمة:

فلسطين أرض الشعب الفلسطيني العربي، منها نبت، وعليها ثبت، ولها انتمى، وبها امتد وانصل. فلسطين أرض على الإسلام مكانتها، ورفع لها مقامها، وبسط فيها روحه وقيمه العادلة، ولتس لعقيدة الدفاع عنها وتحصينها.

فلسطين قضية شعب عجز العالم عن ضمان حقوقه واسترداد ما اغتصب منه، وبقيت أرضه تعاني من واحد من أسوأ أشكال الاحتلال في هذا العالم.

فلسطين التي استولى عليها مشروع صهيوني إحلالي عنصري معاد للإنسانية، تأسس على تصريح باطل (وعد بلفور)، واعتراف بكيان غاصب، وفرض أمر واقع بقوة النار.

فلسطين المقاومة التي مستظل متواصلة حتى إنجاز التحرير، وتحقيق العودة، وبناء الدولة ذات السيادة الكاملة، وعاصمتها القدس.

فلسطين الشراكة الحقيقية بين الفلسطينيين بكل انتماءاتهم، من أجل بلوغ هدف التحرير السامي .

فلسطين روح الأمة، وقضيتها المركزية، وروح الإنسانية، وضميرها الحي.

بهذه الوثيقة تعمق تجربتنا، وتشارك أفعالنا، وتتأسس نظرتنا، وتتحرك مسيرتنا على أرضيات ومنطلقات وأعمدة متينة وثوابت راسخة، تحفظ الصورة العامة، وتبرز معالم الطريق، وتعزز أصول الوحدة الوطنية، والفهم المشترك للقضية، وترسم مبادئ العمل وحدود المرونة.

تعريف الحركة:

1. حركة المقاومة الإسلامية "حماس" هي حركة تحزر ومقاومة وطنية فلسطينية إسلامية، هدفها تحرير

فلسطين ومواجهة المشروع الصهيوني، مرجعيتها الإسلام في منطلقاتها وأهدافها ووسائلها.

أرض فلسطين:

2. فلسطين بحدودها من نهر الأردن شرقاً إلى البحر المتوسط غرباً، ومن رأس الناقورة شمالاً إلى أم الرشراش

جنوباً وحدة إقليمية لا تتجزأ، وهي أرض الشعب الفلسطيني ووطنه. وإن طرد الشعب الفلسطيني وتشريد

من أرضه، وإقامة كيان صهيوني عليها، لا يلغي حق الشعب الفلسطيني في كامل أرضه، ولا ينشئ أي

حق للكيان الصهيوني الغاصب فيها.

3. فلسطين أرض عربية إسلامية، وهي أرض مباركة مقدسة، لها مكانتها الخاصة في قلب كل عربي ومسلم.

شعب فلسطين:

4. الفلسطينيون هم المواطنون العرب الذين كانوا يقيمون في فلسطين حتى سنة 1947، سواء من أخرج منها أم من بقي فيها؛ وكل من ولد من أب عربي فلسطيني بعد هذا التاريخ، داخل فلسطين أو خارجها، هو فلسطيني.

5. الشخصية الفلسطينية صفة أصيلة، لازمة، لا تزول، وهي تنتقل من الآباء إلى الأبناء؛ كما أن النكبات التي حلت بالشعب الفلسطيني، بفعل الاحتلال الصهيوني وسياسة التهجير التي ينتهجها، لا تفقده شخصيته وانتماءه ولا تفتيقها. كذلك لا يتسبب حصول الفلسطيني على جنسية أخرى في فقدان هويته وحقوقه الوطنية.

6. الشعب الفلسطيني شعب واحد، بكل أبنائه في الداخل والخارج، وبكل مكوناته الدينية والثقافية والسياسية.

الإسلام وفلسطين:

7. فلسطين في موقع القلب من الأمة العربية والإسلامية، وتحتفظ بأهمية خاصة، ففيها بيت المقدس الذي بارك الله حوله، وهي الأرض المقدسة التي بارك الله فيها للعالمين، وهي قبلة المسلمين الأولى، ومسرى رسول الله محمد - صلى الله عليه وسلم - ومعراجة إلى السماء، ومهد المسيح - عليه السلام - وفي ثراها رفات الآلاف من الأنبياء والصحابية والمجاهدين، وهي أرض القائمين على الحق - في بيت المقدس وأكناف بيت المقدس - الذين لا يضرهم من خالفهم ولا من خذلهم حتى يأتي أمر الله.

8. تفهم حركة حماس الإسلام بشموله جوانب الحياة كافة، وصلاحيته لكل زمان ومكان، وروحه الوسطية المعتدلة؛ وتؤمن أنه دين السلام والتسامح، في ظلّه يعيش أتباع الشرائع والأديان في أمن وأمان؛ كما تؤمن أن فلسطين كانت وستبقى نموذجاً للتعايش والتسامح والإبداع الحضاري.

9. تؤمن حماس بأن رسالة الإسلام جاءت بقيم الحق والعدل والحرية والكرامة، وتحريم الظلم بأشكاله كافة، وتجريم الظالم مهما كان دينه أو عرقه أو جنسه أو جنسيته؛ وأن الإسلام ضدّ جميع أشكال التطرف والتعصب الديني والعنصري والطائفي، وهو الدين الذي يرتي أتباعه على ردّ العدوان والانتصار للمظلومين، ويحثهم على البذل والعطاء والنضحية دفاعاً عن كرامتهم وأرضهم وشعوبهم ومقدساتهم.

القدس:

10. القدس عاصمة فلسطين، ولها مكانتها الدينية والتاريخية والحضارية، عربياً وإسلامياً وإنسانياً؛ وجميع مقدساتها الإسلامية والمسيحية، هي حق ثابت للشعب الفلسطيني والأمة العربية والإسلامية، ولا تتازل عنها ولا تقرّط بأي جزء منها؛ وإن كل إجراءات الاحتلال في القدس من تهويد واستيطان وتزوير للحقائق وطمس للمعالم منعدمة.

11. المسجد الأقصى المبارك حق خالص لشعبنا وأمتنا، وليس للاحتلال أي حق فيه، وإن مخططاته وإجراءاته ومحاولاته لتهويد الأقصى وتقسيمه باطلة ولا شرعية لها.

اللاجئون وحق العودة:

12. إن القضية الفلسطينية هي في جوهرها قضية أرض محتلة وشعب مُهَجَّر؛ وإن حق العودة للاجئين والنازحين الفلسطينيين إلى ديارهم التي أخرجوا منها، أو منعوا من العودة إليها، سواء في المناطق التي احتلت عام 1948 أم عام 1967 (أي كل فلسطين)، هو حق طبيعي، فردي وجماعي، تؤكد الشرائع السماوية والمبادئ الأساسية لحقوق الإنسان، والقوانين الدولية، وهو حق غير قابل للتصرف من أي جهة كانت، فلسطينية أو عربية أو دولية.

13. ترفض حماس كل المشروعات والمحاولات الهادفة إلى تصفية قضية اللاجئين، بما في ذلك محاولات توطئتهم خارج فلسطين، ومشروعات الوطن البديل؛ وتؤكد أن تعويض اللاجئين والنازحين الفلسطينيين عن الضرر الناتج عن تشريدهم واحتلال أرضهم هو حق ملازم لحق عودتهم، ويتم بعد تنفيذ هذا الحق، ولا يلغي حقهم في العودة ولا ينتقص منه.

المشروع الصهيوني:

14. المشروع الصهيوني هو مشروع عنصري، عدواني، إحلالي، توسعي، قائم على اغتصاب حقوق الآخرين، ومعادٍ للشعب الفلسطيني وتطلعاته في الحرية والتحرير والعودة وقرار المصير؛ وإن الكيان الإسرائيلي هو أداة المشروع الصهيوني وقاعدته العدوانية.

15. المشروع الصهيوني لا يستهدف الشعب الفلسطيني فقط، بل هو عدو للأمة العربية والإسلامية، ويشكل خطراً حقيقياً عليها، وتهديداً بالغاً لأمنها ومصالحها، كما أنه معادٍ لتطلعاتها في الوحدة والنهضة والتحرر، وهو سبب رئيس لما تعانيه الأمة اليوم، ويشكل المشروع الصهيوني، أيضاً، خطراً على الأمن والسلم الدوليين، وعلى المجتمع الإنساني ومصالحه واستقراره.

16. تؤكد حماس أن الصراع مع المشروع الصهيوني ليس صراعاً مع اليهود بسبب ديانتهم؛ وحماس لا تخوض صراعاً ضد اليهود لكونهم يهوداً، وإنما تخوض صراعاً ضد الصهاينة المحتلين المعتدين؛ بينما قادة الاحتلال هم من يقومون باستخدام شعارات اليهود واليهودية في الصراع، ووصف كياناتهم الغاصب بها.

17. ترفض حماس اضطهاد أي إنسان أو الانتقاص من حقوقه على أساس قومي أو ديني أو طائفي، وترى أن المشكلة اليهودية والعداء للسامية واضطهاد اليهود ظواهر ارتبطت أساساً بالتاريخ الأوروبي، وليس بتاريخ العرب والمسلمين ولا موارثهم. وأن الحركة الصهيونية -التي تمكنت من احتلال فلسطين برعاية القوى الغربية- هي النموذج الأخطر للاحتلال الاستيطاني، الذي زال عن معظم أرجاء العالم، والذي يجب أن يزول عن فلسطين.

الموقف من الاحتلال والتسوية السياسية:

18. يُعدّ منعدماً كل من تصريح "بلفور"، وصك الانتداب البريطاني على فلسطين، وقرار الأمم المتحدة بتقسيم فلسطين، وكل ما ترتب عليها أو ماثلها من قرارات وإجراءات؛ وإن قيام "إسرائيل" باطل من أساسه، وهو

مناقض لحقوق الشعب الفلسطيني غير القابلة للتصرف، وإرادته وإرادة الأمة، ولحقوق الإنسان التي تكفلها المواثيق الدولية، وفي مقدمتها حق تقرير المصير.

19. لا اعتراف بشرعية الكيان الصهيوني؛ وإن كل ما طرأ على أرض فلسطين من احتلال أو استيطان أو تهويد أو تغيير للمعالم أو تزوير للحقائق باطل؛ فالحقوق لا تسقط بالتقادم.

20. لا تنازل عن أي جزء من أرض فلسطين، مهما كانت الأسباب والظروف والضغط، ومهما طال الاحتلال. وترفض حماس أي بديل عن تحرير فلسطين تحريراً كاملاً، من نهرها إلى بحرهما. ومع ذلك - وبما لا يعني إطلاقاً الاعتراف بالكيان الصهيوني، ولا التنازل عن أي من الحقوق الفلسطينية - فإن حماس تعتبر أن إقامة دولة فلسطينية مستقلة كاملة السيادة، وعاصمتها القدس، على خطوط الرابع من حزيران/يونيو 1967، مع عودة اللاجئين والنازحين إلى منازلهم التي أخرجوا منها، هي صيغة توافقية وطنية مشتركة.

21. تؤكد حركة حماس على أن اتفاقات أوسلو وملحقاتها تخالف قواعد القانون الدولي الأمرة من حيث إنها رتبت التزامات تخالف حقوق الشعب الفلسطيني غير القابلة للتصرف، ولذلك فإن الحركة ترفض هذه الاتفاقات، وما ترتب عليها من التزامات تضر بمصالح شعبنا، وخاصة التنسيق (التعاون) الأمني.

22. ترفض حماس جميع الاتفاقات والمبادرات ومشروعات التسوية الرامية إلى تصفية القضية الفلسطينية أو الانتقاص من حقوق شعبنا الفلسطيني، وإن أي موقف أو مبادرة أو برنامج سياسي يجب أن لا يمس هذه الحقوق، ولا يجوز أن يخالفها أو يتناقض معها.

23. تؤكد حماس أن ظلم الشعب الفلسطيني واغتصاب أرضه وتهجيرها منها لا يمكن أن يُسمى سلاماً. وإن أي تسويات تقوم على هذا الأساس، لن تؤدي إلى السلام؛ وستظل المقاومة والجهد لتحرير فلسطين حقاً مشروعاً وواجباً وشرفاً لكل أبناء شعبنا وأمتنا.

المقاومة والتحرير:

24. إن تحرير فلسطين واجب الشعب الفلسطيني بصفة خاصة، وواجب الأمة العربية والإسلامية بصفة عامة، وهو أيضاً مسؤولية إنسانية وفق مقتضيات الحق والعدل. وإن دوائر العمل لفلسطين سواء كانت وطنية أم عربية أم إسلامية أم إنسانية هي دوائر متكاملة متناغمة، لا تعارض بينها.

25. إن مقاومة الاحتلال، بالوسائل والأساليب كافة، حق مشروع كفلته الشرائع السماوية والأعراف والقوانين الدولية، وفي القلب منها المقاومة المسلحة التي تعد الخيار الاستراتيجي لحماية الثوابت واسترداد حقوق الشعب الفلسطيني.

26. ترفض حماس المساس بالمقاومة وسلاحها، وتؤكد على حق شعبنا في تطوير وسائل المقاومة وآلياتها. وإن إدارة المقاومة من حيث التصعيد أو التهدئة، أو من حيث تنوع الوسائل والأساليب، يندرج كله ضمن عملية إدارة الصراع، وليس على حساب مبدأ المقاومة.

النظام السياسي الفلسطيني:

27. الدولة الفلسطينية الحقيقية هي ثمرة التحرير، ولا بديل عن إقامة الدولة الفلسطينية كاملة السيادة على كل التراب الوطني الفلسطيني، وعاصمتها القدس.
28. تؤمن حماس وتتمسك بإدارة علاقاتها الفلسطينية على قاعدة التعددية والخيار الديمقراطي والشراسة الوطنية وقبول الآخر واعتماد الحوار، بما يعزز وحدة الصف والعمل المشترك، من أجل تحقيق الأهداف الوطنية وتطلعات الشعب الفلسطيني.
29. منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية إطار وطني للشعب الفلسطيني في الداخل والخارج يجب المحافظة عليه، مع ضرورة العمل على تطويرها وإعادة بنائها على أسس ديمقراطية، تضمن مشاركة جميع مكونات وقوى الشعب الفلسطيني، وبما يحافظ على الحقوق الفلسطينية.
30. تؤكد حماس على ضرورة بناء المؤسسات والمرجعيات الوطنية الفلسطينية على أسس ديمقراطية سليمة وراسخة، في مقدمتها الانتخابات الحرة والنزيهة، وعلى قاعدة الشراكة الوطنية، ووفق برنامج واستراتيجية واضحة المعالم، تتمسك بالحقوق وبالمقاومة، وتلبي تطلعات الشعب الفلسطيني.
31. تؤكد حركة حماس على أن دور السلطة الفلسطينية يجب أن يكون في خدمة الشعب الفلسطيني وحماية أمنه وحقوقه ومشروعه الوطني.
32. تؤكد حماس على ضرورة استقلالية القرار الوطني الفلسطيني، وعدم ارتهانه لجهات خارجية، وتؤكد في الوقت ذاته على مسؤولية العرب والمسلمين وواجبهم ودورهم في تحرير فلسطين من الاحتلال الصهيوني.
33. إن مختلف مكونات المجتمع من شخصيات ورموز ووجهاء ومؤسسات المجتمع المدني، والتجمعات الشبابية والطلابية والنقابية والنسائية، العاملة من أجل تحقيق الأهداف الوطنية، هي روافد مهمة لعملية البناء المجتمعي ومشروع المقاومة والتحرير.
34. إن دور المرأة الفلسطينية أساس في بناء الحاضر والمستقبل، كما كان دائماً في صناعة التاريخ الفلسطيني، وهو دور محوري في مشروع المقاومة والتحرير وبناء النظام السياسي.

الأمة العربية والإسلامية:

35. تؤمن حماس أن قضية فلسطين هي القضية المركزية للأمة العربية والإسلامية.
36. تؤمن حماس بوحدة الأمة بكل مكوناتها المتنوعة، وترى ضرورة تجنب كل ما من شأنه تمزيق صف الأمة ووحدة.
37. تؤمن حماس بالتعاون مع جميع الدول الداعمة لحقوق الشعب الفلسطيني، وترفض التدخل في الشؤون الداخلية للدول، كما ترفض الدخول في النزاعات والصراعات بينها. وتتبنى حماس سياسة الانفتاح على مختلف دول العالم، وخاصة العربية والإسلامية؛ وتسعى إلى بناء علاقات متوازنة، يكون معيارها الجمع بين متطلبات القضية الفلسطينية ومصالح الشعب الفلسطيني، وبين مصلحة الأمة ونهضتها وأمنها.

الجانب الإنساني والدولي:

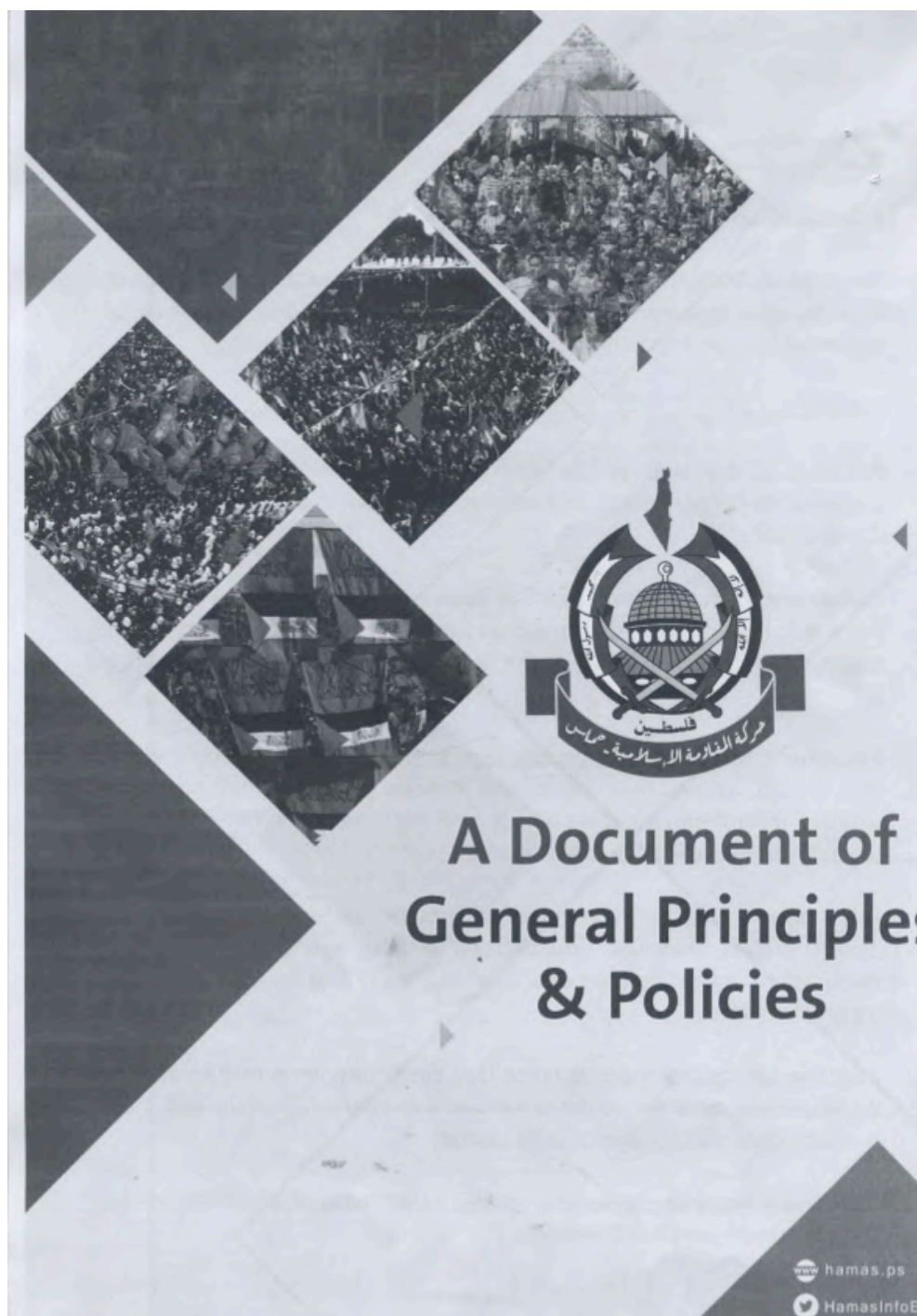
38. إن القضية الفلسطينية قضية ذات أبعاد إنسانية ودولية كبرى؛ وإن مناصرتها ودعمها هي مهمة إنسانية وحضارية، تفرضها مقتضيات الحق والعدل والقيم الإنسانية المشتركة.
39. إن تحرير فلسطين من ناحية قانونية وإنسانية عمل مشروع تقتضيه ضرورات الدفاع عن النفس، وحق الشعوب الطبيعي في تقرير مصيرها.
40. تؤمن حماس، في علاقاتها مع دول العالم وشعوبه، بقيم التعاون، والعدالة، والحرية، واحترام إرادة الشعوب.
41. ترحب حماس بمواقف الدول والمنظمات والهيئات الداعمة لحقوق الشعب الفلسطيني، وتحثي أحرار العالم المناصرين للقضية؛ كما تدين دعم أي جهة أو طرف للكيان الصهيوني، أو التغطية على جرائمه وعدوانه على الفلسطينيين، وتدعو إلى ملاحقة مجرمي الحرب الصهاينة.
42. ترفض حماس محاولات الهيمنة على الأمة العربية والإسلامية، كما ترفض محاولات الهيمنة على سائر الأمم والشعوب، وتدين أي شكل من أشكال الاستعمار والاحتلال والتمييز والظلم والعدوان في العالم.

حركة المقاومة الإسلامية _ حماس

أيار (مايو) 2017 م

Appendix B

The English version of the Political Document (as translated by Hamas)



In the Name of Allah Most Gracious Most Merciful
The Islamic Resistance Movement "Hamas"

A Document of General Principles and Policies

Praise be to Allah, the Lord of all worlds. May the peace and blessings of Allah be upon Muhammad, the Master of Messengers and the Leader of the mujahidin, and upon his household and all his companions.

Preamble:

Palestine is the land of the Arab Palestinian people, from it they originate, to it they adhere and belong, and about it they reach out and communicate.

Palestine is a land whose status has been elevated by Islam, a faith that holds it in high esteem, that breathes through it its spirit and just values and that lays the foundation for the doctrine of defending and protecting it.

Palestine is the cause of a people who have been let down by a world that fails to secure their rights and restore to them what has been usurped from them, a people whose land continues to suffer one of the worst types of occupation in this world.

Palestine is a land that was seized by a racist, anti-human and colonial Zionist project that was founded on a false promise (the Balfour Declaration), on recognition of a usurping entity and on imposing a fait accompli by force.

Palestine symbolizes the resistance that shall continue until liberation is accomplished, until the return is fulfilled and until a fully sovereign state is established with Jerusalem as its capital.

Palestine is the true partnership among Palestinians of all affiliations for the sublime objective of liberation.

Palestine is the spirit of the Ummah and its central cause; it is the soul of humanity and its living conscience.

This document is the product of deep deliberations that led us to a strong consensus. As a movement, we agree about both the theory and the practice of the vision that is outlined in the pages that follow. It is a vision that stands on solid grounds and on well-established principles. This document unveils the goals, the milestones and the way in which national unity can be enforced. It also establishes our common understanding of the Palestinian cause, the working principles which we use to further it, and the limits of flexibility used to interpret it.

The Movement:

1. The Islamic Resistance Movement "Hamas" is a Palestinian Islamic national liberation and resistance movement. Its goal is to liberate Palestine and confront the Zionist project. Its frame of reference is Islam, which determines its principles, objectives and means.

The Land of Palestine:

2. Palestine, which extends from the River Jordan in the east to the Mediterranean in the west and from Ras Al-Naqurah in the north to Umm Al-Rashrash in the south, is an integral territorial unit. It is the land and the home of the Palestinian people. The expulsion and banishment of the Palestinian people from their land and the establishment of the Zionist entity therein do not annul the right of the Palestinian people to their entire land and do not entrench any rights therein for the usurping Zionist entity.

3. Palestine is an Arab Islamic land. It is a blessed sacred land that has a special place in the heart of every Arab and every Muslim.

The Palestinian People:

4. The Palestinians are the Arabs who lived in Palestine until 1947, irrespective of whether they were expelled from it, or stayed in it; and every person that was born to an Arab Palestinian father after that date, whether inside or outside Palestine, is a Palestinian.

5. The Palestinian identity is authentic and timeless; it is passed from generation to generation. The catastrophes that have befallen the Palestinian people, as a consequence of the Zionist occupation and its policy of displacement, cannot erase the identity of the Palestinian people nor can they negate it. A Palestinian shall not lose his or her national identity or rights by acquiring a second nationality.

6. The Palestinian people are one people, made up of all Palestinians, inside and outside of Palestine, irrespective of their religion, culture or political affiliation.

Islam and Palestine:

7. Palestine is at the heart of the Arab and Islamic Ummah and enjoys a special status. Within Palestine there exists Jerusalem, whose precincts are blessed by Allah. Palestine is the Holy Land, which Allah has blessed for humanity. It is the Muslims' first Qiblah and the destination of the journey performed at night by Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him. It is the location from where he ascended to the upper heavens. It is the birthplace of Jesus Christ, peace be upon him. Its soil contains the remains of thousands of Prophets, Companions and Mujahidin. It is the land of people who are determined to defend the truth – within Jerusalem and its surroundings – who are not deterred or intimidated by those who oppose them and by those who betray them, and they will continue their mission until the Promise of Allah is fulfilled.

8. By virtue of its justly balanced middle way and moderate spirit, Islam – for Hamas - provides a comprehensive way of life and an order that is fit for purpose at all times and in all places. Islam is a religion of peace and tolerance. It provides an umbrella for the followers of other creeds and

religions who can practice their beliefs in security and safety. Hamas also believes that Palestine has always been and will always be a model of coexistence, tolerance and civilizational innovation.

9. Hamas believes that the message of Islam upholds the values of truth, justice, freedom and dignity and prohibits all forms of injustice and incriminates oppressors irrespective of their religion, race, gender or nationality. Islam is against all forms of religious, ethnic or sectarian extremism and bigotry. It is the religion that inculcates in its followers the value of standing up to aggression and of supporting the oppressed; it motivates them to give generously and make sacrifices in defence of their dignity, their land, their peoples and their holy places.

Jerusalem:

10. Jerusalem is the capital of Palestine. Its religious, historic and civilizational status is fundamental to the Arabs, Muslims and the world at large. Its Islamic and Christian holy places belong exclusively to the Palestinian people and to the Arab and Islamic Ummah. Not one stone of Jerusalem can be surrendered or relinquished. The measures undertaken by the occupiers in Jerusalem, such as Judaization, settlement building, and establishing facts on the ground are fundamentally null and void.

11. The blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque belongs exclusively to our people and our Ummah, and the occupation has no right to it whatsoever. The occupation's plots, measures and attempts to judaize Al-Aqsa and divide it are null, void and illegitimate.

The Refugees and the Right of Return:

12. The Palestinian cause in its essence is a cause of an occupied land and a displaced people. The right of the Palestinian refugees and the displaced to return to their homes from which they were banished or were banned from returning to – whether in the lands occupied in 1948 or in 1967 (that is the whole of Palestine), is a natural right, both individual and collective. This right is confirmed by all divine laws as well as by the basic principles of human rights and international law. It is an

inalienable right and cannot be dispensed with by any party, whether Palestinian, Arab or international.

13. Hamas rejects all attempts to erase the rights of the refugees, including the attempts to settle them outside Palestine and through the projects of the alternative homeland. Compensation to the Palestinian refugees for the harm they have suffered as a consequence of banishing them and occupying their land is an absolute right that goes hand in hand with their right to return. They are to receive compensation upon their return and this does not negate or diminish their right to return.

The Zionist Project:

14. The Zionist project is a racist, aggressive, colonial and expansionist project based on seizing the properties of others; it is hostile to the Palestinian people and to their aspiration for freedom, liberation, return and self-determination. The Israeli entity is the plaything of the Zionist project and its base of aggression.

15. The Zionist project does not target the Palestinian people alone; it is the enemy of the Arab and Islamic Ummah posing a grave threat to its security and interests. It is also hostile to the Ummah's aspirations for unity, renaissance and liberation and has been the major source of its troubles. The Zionist project also poses a danger to international security and peace and to mankind and its interests and stability.

16. Hamas affirms that its conflict is with the Zionist project not with the Jews because of their religion. Hamas does not wage a struggle against the Jews because they are Jewish but wages a struggle against the Zionists who occupy Palestine. Yet, it is the Zionists who constantly identify Judaism and the Jews with their own colonial project and illegal entity.

17. Hamas rejects the persecution of any human being or the undermining of his or her rights on nationalist, religious or sectarian grounds. Hamas is of the view that the Jewish problem, anti-Semitism and the persecution of the Jews are phenomena fundamentally linked to European history and not to the history of the Arabs and the Muslims or

to their heritage. The Zionist movement, which was able with the help of Western powers to occupy Palestine, is the most dangerous form of settlement occupation which has already disappeared from much of the world and must disappear from Palestine.

The position toward Occupation and Political Solutions:

18. The following are considered null and void: the Balfour Declaration, the British Mandate Document, the UN Palestine Partition Resolution, and whatever resolutions and measures that derive from them or are similar to them. The establishment of "Israel" is entirely illegal and contravenes the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and goes against their will and the will of the Ummah; it is also in violation of human rights that are guaranteed by international conventions, foremost among them is the right to self-determination.

19. There shall be no recognition of the legitimacy of the Zionist entity. Whatever has befallen the land of Palestine in terms of occupation, settlement building, Judaization or changes to its features or falsification of facts is illegitimate. Rights never lapse.

20. Hamas believes that no part of the land of Palestine shall be compromised or conceded, irrespective of the causes, the circumstances and the pressures and no matter how long the occupation lasts. Hamas rejects any alternative to the full and complete liberation of Palestine, from the river to the sea. However, without compromising its rejection of the Zionist entity and without relinquishing any Palestinian rights, Hamas considers the establishment of a fully sovereign and independent Palestinian state, with Jerusalem as its capital along the lines of the 4th of June 1967, with the return of the refugees and the displaced to their homes from which they were expelled, to be a formula of national consensus.

21. Hamas affirms that the Oslo Accords and their addenda contravene the governing rules of international law in that they generate commitments that violate the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Therefore, the Movement rejects these agreements and all that flows

from them, such as the obligations that are detrimental to the interests of our people, especially security coordination (collaboration).

22. Hamas rejects all the agreements, initiatives and settlement projects that are aimed at undermining the Palestinian cause and the rights of our Palestinian people. In this regard, any stance, initiative or political programme must not in any way violate these rights and should not contravene them or contradict them.

23. Hamas stresses that transgression against the Palestinian people, usurping their land and banishing them from their homeland cannot be called peace. Any settlements reached on this basis will not lead to peace. Resistance and jihad for the liberation of Palestine will remain a legitimate right, a duty and an honour for all the sons and daughters of our people and our Ummah.

Resistance and Liberation:

24. The liberation of Palestine is the duty of the Palestinian people in particular and the duty of the Arab and Islamic Ummah in general. It is also a humanitarian obligation as necessitated by the dictates of truth and justice. The agencies working for Palestine, whether national, Arab, Islamic or humanitarian, complement each other and are harmonious and not in conflict with each other.

25. Resisting the occupation with all means and methods is a legitimate right guaranteed by divine laws and by international norms and laws. At the heart of these lies armed resistance, which is regarded as the strategic choice for protecting the principles and the rights of the Palestinian people.

26. Hamas rejects any attempt to undermine the resistance and its arms. It also affirms the right of our people to develop the means and mechanisms of resistance. Managing resistance, in terms of escalation or de-escalation, or in terms of diversifying the means and methods, is an integral part of the process of managing the conflict and should not be at the expense of the principle of resistance.

The Palestinian Political System:

27. A real state of Palestine is a state that has been liberated. There is no alternative to a fully sovereign Palestinian State on the entire national Palestinian soil, with Jerusalem as its capital.

28. Hamas believes in, and adheres to, managing its Palestinian relations on the basis of pluralism, democracy, national partnership, acceptance of the other and the adoption of dialogue. The aim is to bolster the unity of ranks and joint action for the purpose of accomplishing national goals and fulfilling the aspirations of the Palestinian people.

29. The PLO is a national framework for the Palestinian people inside and outside of Palestine. It should therefore be preserved, developed and rebuilt on democratic foundations so as to secure the participation of all the constituents and forces of the Palestinian people, in a manner that safeguards Palestinian rights.

30. Hamas stresses the necessity of building Palestinian national institutions on sound democratic principles, foremost among them are free and fair elections. Such process should be on the basis of national partnership and in accordance with a clear programme and a clear strategy that adhere to the rights, including the right of resistance, and which fulfil the aspirations of the Palestinian people.

31. Hamas affirms that the role of the Palestinian Authority should be to serve the Palestinian people and safeguard their security, their rights and their national project.

32. Hamas stresses the necessity of maintaining the independence of Palestinian national decision-making. Outside forces should not be allowed to intervene. At the same time, Hamas affirms the responsibility of the Arabs and the Muslims and their duty and role in the liberation of Palestine from Zionist occupation.

33. Palestinian society is enriched by its prominent personalities, figures, dignitaries, civil society institutions, and youth, students, trade unionist

and women's groups who together work for the achievement of national goals and societal building, pursue resistance, and achieve liberation.

34. The role of Palestinian women is fundamental in the process of building the present and the future, just as it has always been in the process of making Palestinian history. It is a pivotal role in the project of resistance, liberation and building the political system.

The Arab and Islamic Ummah:

35. Hamas believes that the Palestinian issue is the central cause for the Arab and Islamic Ummah.

36. Hamas believes in the unity of the Ummah with all its diverse constituents and is aware of the need to avoid anything that could fragment the Ummah and undermine its unity.

37. Hamas believes in cooperating with all states that support the rights of the Palestinian people. It opposes intervention in the internal affairs of any country. It also refuses to be drawn into disputes and conflicts that take place among different countries. Hamas adopts the policy of opening up to different states in the world, especially the Arab and Islamic states. It endeavours to establish balanced relations on the basis of combining the requirements of the Palestinian cause and the Palestinian people's interests on the one hand with the interests of the Ummah, its renaissance and its security on the other.

The Humanitarian and International Aspect:

38. The Palestinian issue is one that has major humanitarian and international dimensions. Supporting and backing this cause is a humanitarian and civilizational task that is required by the prerequisites of truth, justice and common humanitarian values.

39. From a legal and humanitarian perspective, the liberation of Palestine is a legitimate activity, it is an act of self-defence, and it is the expression of the natural right of all peoples to self-determination.

40. In its relations with world nations and peoples, Hamas believes in the values of cooperation, justice, freedom and respect of the will of the people.

41. Hamas welcomes the stances of states, organisations and institutions that support the rights of the Palestinian people. It salutes the free peoples of the world who support the Palestinian cause. At the same time, it denounces the support granted by any party to the Zionist entity or the attempts to cover up its crimes and aggression against the Palestinians and calls for the prosecution of Zionist war criminals.

42. Hamas rejects the attempts to impose hegemony on the Arab and Islamic Ummah just as it rejects the attempts to impose hegemony on the rest of the world's nations and peoples. Hamas also condemns all forms of colonialism, occupation, discrimination, oppression and aggression in the world.

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