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**Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center
at the Center for Special Studies (C.S.S)**

Abu Mazen declared that on July 26 he would submit the prisoners' document to a national referendum, which Hamas strongly rejects. He views it as a means to strengthen his position vis-à-vis Hamas and hopes it will show Israel and the international community he can be a partner for negotiations.

Background information for composing the prisoners' document

✿ The prisoners' document, entitled "**A document for national reconciliation,**" contains 18 articles and was composed in the Hadarim jail (For the translation and original document in Arabic, see Appendices A and B). It was written by **five prisoners (all leading representatives** of the Palestinian terrorist organizations sentenced to long terms) headed by **Fatah's Marwan al-Barghouti** and **Hamas' 'Abd al-Khaliq al-Natsheh**. The document was also signed by the Palestinian Islamic Jihad's (PIJ) **Bassam al-Sa'adi**, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine's (PFLP) 'Abd al-Rahim Mallouh and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine's (DFLP) **Mustafa Badarneh**.

✿ The background for the document was the fact that the Palestinian Authority (PA) **has been polarized** by the Hamas victory in the Palestinian Legislative Council elections and the subsequent formation of a Hamas government. The power struggles between PA chairman Abu Mazen (and his supporters, which include the PLO and the Palestinian security forces) and Hamas recently turned into **violent clashes**, and as of

this writing **neither side has prevailed**. The prisoners' initiative was intended to **brake the violence before it turned into a civil war (*fitna*) and to rehabilitate Fatah-Hamas relations by reaching a consensus** on the key issues relating to internal Palestinian matters and the conflict with Israel.

The document's principles and their significance

✿ **The following are the main points of the document (For details see the Appendices):**

✓ **Establishment of an independent state in the territories captured by Israel in 1967, with Jerusalem as its capital** (article 1). [Note: The document does not mention recognizing Israel's right to exist next to the Palestinian state. The language of the document allows for the possibility of the Palestinians' willingness to a temporary arrangement but not a permanent settlement of the conflict based on the notion of two states for two peoples.]

✓ **Promise of the “right of return” and compensation for Palestinian refugees** carried out in accordance with UN General Assembly Resolution 194 (prisoners' document, articles 1, 9). [Note: The wording of the document is different from that of the Arab initiative of 2002 which included an “agreed” solution for the problems of the refugees in accordance with UN Resolution 194.]¹

✓ **Release “by any means” of all the prisoners and detainees held by Israel**, which is a “sacred national obligation” that must be assumed by all the “**resistance forces**” (article 8). [Note: That justifies attempts to liberate imprisoned terrorists by abducting Israelis to use as bargaining chips.]

✓ **Emphasis of the “right” of the Palestinian people to adhere to the “resistance” “by any means” by focusing it on the territories occupied in**

¹ A comparison between the prisoners' document and the Arab and other initiatives can be found in Appendix D.

1967 (article 3). According to the document, the campaign of violence against Israel will be directed by a unified front called the **Palestinian Resistance Front** (article 10). [Note: That **justifies violence and terrorism** as means to promote the Palestinian “struggle” and later on supports the continuation of the terrorism campaign, focused, however, in the West Bank.]

✓ **End of all [internal Palestinian] hostilities, a prohibition on the use of weapons in internal Palestinian struggles, the end of anarchy and the establishment of a national unity government composed of all the factions represented in the Palestinian Legislative Council, including Fatah and Hamas** (article 6).

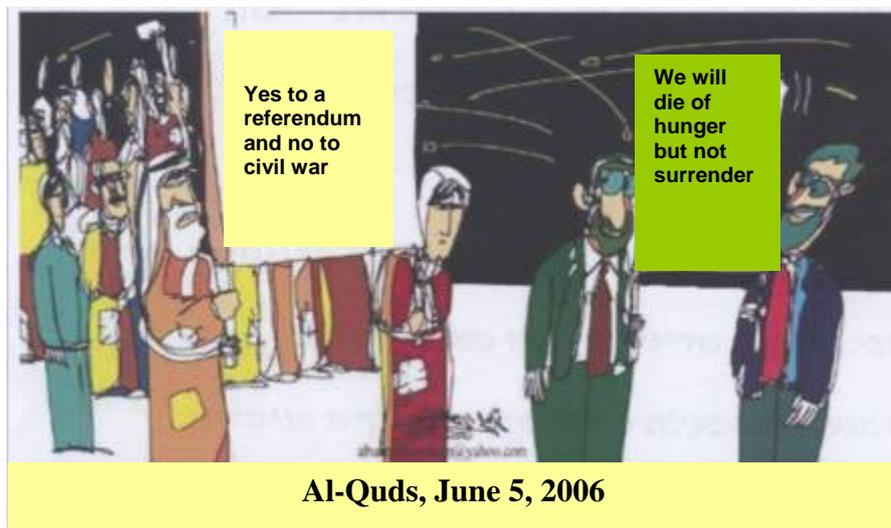
✓ **Only the PLO and the chairman of the Palestinian Authority (PA) can conduct negotiations in the name of the Palestinian people.** Every agreement of crucial nature will be brought before the **new Palestinian Legislative Council**, to be chosen by the end of 2006 (articles 2, 7), or be decided upon by referendum “if possible” (article 7). The Cairo Agreement of March 2005² should be implemented and **Hamas and the PIJ should join the PLO** (article 2).

✿ The prisoners’ document reflects an attempt to arbitrate between the various organizations and in particular to find the lowest common denominator **between Fatah and Hamas. However, the denominator reached is still incompatible with Hamas’s more extreme positions, and it also does not reflect Abu Mazen’s willingness to find a significant compromise with Israel. In addition, the document does not meet the minimum demands of the Israeli government and the international community:** it does not recognize the State of Israel and its right to exist and says nothing about abandoning terrorism and recognizing previously signed Israeli-Palestinian agreements.

² For the Palestinian dialogue in Cairo see Appendix D.

Contradictory reactions to the prisoners' document

✿ **The reactions of Abu Mazen and Hamas to the prisoners' document clearly reflect the opposing positions of the two poles of power in the PA: Fatah supported the document, Abu Mazen even tried to use as a tool to pressure Hamas and Hamas rejected it. That was because of its ideological opposition to some of the articles, which were not extreme enough, and because it regarded the document as a tool Abu Mazen would use to weaken Hamas and its government. The Palestinian population, on the other hand, which groans under the burdens of anarchy and a financial crisis, and which fears the outbreak of a civil war, expressed widespread support for the document and for Abu Mazen's proposal to hold a referendum (according to the results of several public opinion surveys).**



A cartoon in support of Abu Mazen (left) and reservations about the statements of senior Hamas officials regarding the Palestinians' willingness to die of hunger rather than surrender

✿ **Hamas prisoners in various prisons, recently even Hadarim, also expressed their objections to both the document and the idea of a referendum. For example, in statements to the press they noted that they strongly objected to both and demanded that Abu Mazen change his mind. However, Fatah prisoners in the Megiddo, Ketsiot and Ofer prisons issued statements supporting the prisoners' document and the idea of a referendum (Ma'a News Agency, June 6).**

☀ White House spokesman Tony Snow welcomed the idea of a referendum, saying “[Mahmoud] Abbas demonstrated that he’s somebody who wants to work toward a two-state solution³ to the Middle East conflict” (New Mexico, Agence France-Presse, June 6, 2006).

Using the document: Abu Mazen calls for a referendum

☀ On May 25, 2005, a **national Palestinian dialogue** began between representatives of Fatah, Hamas and other Palestinian terrorist organizations. It was instituted because of growing public pressure to end the anarchy and violent street clashes Abu Mazen’s supporters (Fatah and the Palestinian security forces) and Hamas. In recent weeks the clashes have led to the killing and wounding not only of members of the rival organizations but of innocent civilians as well. Abu Mazen timed the first meeting of the dialogue to announce his plan to put the prisoners’ document to a national referendum.

☀ In his speech at the meeting, Abu Mazen announced that **if within ten days the two sides could not reach an agreement, he would, within 40 days, put the prisoners’ document to a national referendum.** At the same time he charged the central elections committee with preparing the referendum, and wrote a presidential edict. In our assessment, Abu Mazen adopted the prisoners’ document because of the **broad support** it received from Fatah, the PLO and the Palestinian population, which thinks can be used **to promote two main goals:** strengthening his status vis-à-vis Hamas (assuming the results of the referendum are what he hopes for) and **making himself and his position more relevant in the international arena as a partner for negotiations with Israel.**

³ Although as previously stated, the prisoners’ document makes no mention of two states for two peoples...



A cartoon reading “Yes to the referendum” in Al-Ayam, June 6. The word “Yes” is written with empty plates, a criticism of the current economic crisis.

✿ On June 10, Abu Mazen called a press conference in Ramallah where he announced his decision to put the prisoners’ document to a referendum on July 26. The referendum will have only one question: “Do you agree with the prisoners’ document, yes or no?” He called for the continuation of the dialogue and said that if agreement on the issues in dispute is reached, the referendum would not be necessary. Hamas, the PIJ and other Palestinian terrorist organizations reiterated their strenuous objections to the referendum. Senior Hamas officials called it “illegal,” an American “plot” to overthrow the Hamas government and meant to blackmail the Palestinian people into recognizing Israel.

Appendix A

The “National Conciliation Document” [the prisoners’ document]

The following is a full translation of the 18 articles of the National Accord Document translated by MEMRI and taken from their Internet site, <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP118206>⁴

The National Accord Document

1. The Palestinian people in the homeland and in the diaspora seeks to liberate its land, to realize its right to liberty, return, independence and self-determination, including its right to establish an independent state with Jerusalem as its capital on all [territories occupied] in 1967, to secure the right of return for all the refugees and to liberate all the prisoners - based on the historical rights of our people to the Land of the Fathers, on the U.N. charter, on international law and on U.N. resolutions.
2. It is necessary to expedite the implementation of the Cairo agreement of March 2005 concerning the promotion and activation of the PLO, and the incorporation of Hamas and Islamic Jihad into the PLO, which is the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people wherever they be, in accordance with the changes in the Palestinian arena and based on democratic principles. We must consolidate the status of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of our people, in order to reinforce its capacity to lead the people in the homeland and the diaspora, to mobilize [the people] and defend their national and political rights in various circles, domains, and arenas - international and regional. The national interest requires that a new [Palestinian] National Council be established before the end of 2006, in a manner that ensures the representation of all forces and factions, the national and Islamic parties and all Palestinian groups, sectors, institutions and figures everywhere - based on [the principle of] proportional representation and on their involvement in the struggle and in the political, social and public [arenas]. The PLO should be retained as a broad front, as an inclusive national coalition, as a united national framework for the Palestinians in the homeland and overseas, and as the supreme political authority.

⁴ Note: The MEMRI translation does not include the preamble or the signatories.

3. The Palestinian people has the right to resist and to remain committed to the option of resistance by any means. The resistance should focus on the territories that were occupied in 1967, along with political and diplomatic activity and negotiations, and along with popular-public resistance against the occupation, in all its forms and policies. Attention should be given to widening the [circle of] groups, forces, sectors, and individuals involved in this popular resistance.

4. A Palestinian program for comprehensive political action must be formulated, with a unified Palestinian political message based on a national Palestinian consensus, on Arab legitimacy and on U.N. resolutions that do justice to our people, whose representatives are the PLO, the president and government of the PA, the national and Islamic groups, civil institutions and public figures. This, in order to mobilize and reinforce the Arab, Islamic and international support for our people and for the PA on the political, financial, economic, and humanitarian [levels] - support for our people's right to self-determination, liberty, return, independence, and our right to resist the Israeli program that imposes an Israeli solution on our people as well as the unjust siege that oppresses us.

5. The PA should be defended and strengthened as the nucleus of the future [Palestinian] state. This is the PA built by our people through struggle and sacrifice, through the blood and suffering of its sons. The supreme national interest dictates that the PA's temporary constitution and its laws be respected. The responsibility and the authority of the president, chosen by the Palestinian people in free and fair democratic elections, must be respected, as well as the responsibility and authority of the government, which has the confidence of the Legislative Council. It is of paramount importance that the government and the president cooperate, working together and holding regular consultations, in order to settle any disputes that may arise by means of amicable dialogue, in accordance with the temporary constitution and the supreme national interest. A comprehensive reform in PA institutions should be carried out, particularly in the judicial system. [It is necessary to] respect all levels in this system, to implement its decisions and to reinforce the rule of law.

6. A national unity government should be established, to ensure the participation of all of the parties in the Legislative Council, and in particular the Fatah and Hamas movements and [other] interested political forces. [It should be established] on the basis of this document and a common program for bearing responsibility for the Palestinian situation on the local, Arab, regional and international [levels]. The challenges must be met by a strong national [unity] government which enjoys the popular and political support of all Palestinian forces, as well as Arab and international support. [This government must be] able to implement the reform program, fight poverty and unemployment, and address in the best possible manner [the needs of] those who bore the burden of the steadfast resistance and the Intifada, and were the victims of the criminal Israeli aggression - in particular the martyrs' families, the prisoners, the wounded, and owners of homes and property destroyed by the occupation. [It must also meet the needs of] the unemployed and the university graduates.

7. Conducting negotiations is the prerogative of the PLO and the Palestinian president, based on commitment to the Palestinian national goals and their attainment. Any agreement of a crucial nature shall be subject to ratification by the new Palestinian National Council or by popular referendum, if possible.

8. Liberating the prisoners by any means is a sacred national obligation incumbent upon all the national and Islamic forces and factions - the PLO, the president, the government, the Legislative Council and the resistance organizations.

9. Efforts must be redoubled to support the refugees, assist them, protect them and defend their rights. It is also necessary to convene a popular conference of refugee representatives which will emphasize the right of return and the commitment to it, and which will call upon the international community to implement [U.N.] Resolution 194, which stipulates the Palestinians' right of return and right to compensation.

10. It is necessary to establish a united resistance front, called the 'Palestinian Resistance Front,' which will lead the resistance, unite and coordinate the resistance activity, and form a unified political source of authority for it.

11. It is necessary to maintain the democratic system, and hold general elections for the Legislative Council and the Regional Councils, [elections] that are free, clean, and democratic according to law; to uphold the principle of peaceful transition of power; to remain committed to defending the Palestinian democratic experience; to respect the democratic elections and their results, as well as the rule of law, the liberties, the freedom of the press and the equal rights and obligations of all citizens, without discrimination. The achievements of women should be protected, promoted, and strengthened.

12. The siege that oppresses our people, [a siege] that is led by Israel and America, must be resisted and condemned. The leaders and people of the Arab countries must be called upon to support and assist the Palestinian people, the PLO, and the PA. The Arab governments must be called upon to implement the political, financial, economic, and media decisions of the Arab summits which support our Palestinian people in its resolute stand and its national plight. It must be emphasized that the PA is committed to the Arab consensus and to joint Arab action.

13. The Palestinian people should be called upon to unite and join forces, and to support the PLO, the PA, the presidency, and the government. The resolute stand and the resistance to aggression and to the siege should be strengthened. Interference in domestic Palestinian affairs should be opposed.

14. All divisiveness and anything leading to civil war should be eliminated. Any use of weapons to resolve internal conflicts should be condemned, whatever the justification. Weapons must not be used [in resolving conflicts] among Palestinians. The sanctity of Palestinian blood must be emphasized, and the principle of settling disputes through dialogue alone must be upheld. [There is a right] to express all opinions, including opposition to the government and its decisions, in all manners within the constraints of the law, to hold peaceful protests, marches, demonstrations and rallies, as long as no weapons are used, and no harm is caused to the population or to property.

15. The national interest obliges us to find the most appropriate methods and means to involve the public and the political forces in the newly [liberated] Gaza Strip in the campaign for liberty, return, independence and liberation of the West Bank and Jerusalem, so that the steadfast Gaza Strip serves as a lever and as a formidable force [supporting] the steadfast resistance of our people in the West Bank and Jerusalem. The national interest obliges us to reassess the methods and means of fighting the occupation [in order to] find the most effective means [of doing so].

16. The Palestinian security establishment, and all its branches, must be reformed and modernized in order to improve their ability to perform their duties of defending the homeland and its people, confronting the [Israeli] aggression and occupation, maintaining security and public order, enforcing the law and eliminating [the phenomena of] military chaos, [unofficial] armed men and armed parades. The weapons of chaos which harm the resistance and distort its image, and threaten the unity of the Palestinian people, must be confiscated. It is necessary to coordinate and regulate the relations between the forces and the resistance groups, and also to organize and protect the weapons of the resistance.

17. The Legislative Council is called upon to continue passing laws that regulate the activities of the defense establishment and the [security] forces, all branches included. A law must be passed prohibiting members of the security forces from taking part in party politics, and compelling them to submit to the elected political authority specified by law.

18. Action should be taken to expand the activities and presence of the international committees for solidarity and the peace movements in order to support our people in its resolute stand and its just struggle against the occupation, the settlements, and the racist separation fence, at the political and local levels, and in order to implement the ruling of the Hague International Court of Justice concerning the removal of the fence and the settlements and [concerning] their illegitimacy.

Signed by:

Fatah: PLC member Marwan Barghouti, Fatah Secretary.

Hamas: Sheikh 'Abd al-Khaliq al-Natsheh, Higher Leading Commission

Palestinian Islamic Jihad: Sheikh Bassam al-Sa'adi

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP): 'Abd al-Rahim Mallouh, member of PLO Executive Committee and Deputy General Secretary of the PFLP

Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP): Mustafa Badarneh

Note: Islamic Jihad expressed reservations on the item pertaining to the negotiations

Appendix B

The original Arabic version (based on
<http://www.wafa.pna.net>, May 10, 2006)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

"واعتصموا بحبل الله جميعاً ولا تفرقوا"

سبيل تعزيز من الشعور العالي بالمسؤولية الوطنية والتاريخية، ونظراً للمخاطر المحدقة بشعبنا وفي انطلاقة في الوطن والمنافي، ومن أجل الجبهة الفلسطينية الداخلية وصيانة وحماية الوحدة الوطنية ووحدة شعبنا ونسف حلم شعبنا وحق شعبنا في إقامة دولته مواجهة المشروع الإسرائيلي الهادف لفرض الحل الإسرائيلي المشروع والمخطط الذي تنوي الحكومة الإسرائيلية تنفيذه خلال الفلسطينية المستقلة كاملة السيادة هذا تأسيساً على إقامة واستكمال الجدار العنصري وتهويد القدس وتوسيع المستوطنات المرحلة القادمة الباب أمام شعبنا في الإسرائيلية والاستيلاء على الأغوار، وضم أجزاء واسعة من الضفة الغربية وإغلاق شعبنا التي حققها من خلال مسيرة ممارسه حقه في العودة، ومن أجل المحافظة على منجزات ومكتسبات أسراه وأنات جرحاه وانطلاقة من أننا لا زلنا نمر في كفاحه الطويل ووفاء لشهداء شعبنا العظيم وعذابات وطني ديمقراطي مما يفرض إستراتيجية سياسة كفاحية متناسبة مع هذا الطابع، مرحلة تحرر طابعها الأساسي للوحدة انجاح الحوار الوطني الفلسطيني الشامل، واستناداً الى اعلان القاهرة والحاجة الملحة ومن أجل الصامد المرابط والى رئيس الحكومة والتلاحم، فإننا نتقدم بهذه الوثيقة (وثيقة الوفاق الوطني) لشعبنا العظيم الوطني الفلسطيني وأعضائه ورئيس المجلس التشريعي إسماعيل هنية ومجلس الوزراء والى رئيس المجلس القوى والفصائل الفلسطينية والى كافة المؤسسات والمنظمات الأهلية الفلسطيني وأعضائه، والى كافة تلقى الرأي العام الفلسطيني في الوطن والمنافي آمين اعتبار هذه الوثيقة كل متكامل، وأن والشعبية وقيادة :- الوطني الفلسطيني دعم ومساندة وموافقة الجميع وتسهم بشكل أساسي في التوصل الى وثيقة الوفاق

أرضه وانجاز حقه في الحرية والعودة 1 - ان الشعب الفلسطيني في الوطن والمنافي يسعى من أجل تحرير ذلك حقه في إقامة دولته المستقلة وعاصمتها مدينة والاستقلال وفي سبيل حقه في تقرير مصيره بما في المحتلة عام 1976 وضمان حق العودة للاجئين وتحرير جميع الأسرى القدس الشريف على جميع الأراضي ذلك الى حق شعبنا التاريخي في ارض الأباء والأجداد والى ميثاق الأمم المتحدة والمعقلين مسندين في والقانون الدولي وما كفلته الشرعية الدولية

الاتفاق بالقاهرة أذار 2005 فيما يتعلق في تطوير وتفعيل منظمة التحرير الإسراع في انجاز ما تم عليه 2- للشعب الفلسطيني وانضمام حركتي حماس والجهاد الإسلامي إليها بوصفها الممثل الشرعي والوحيد الوطني الفلسطينية وفق أسس ديمقراطية الفلسطينية في كافة أماكن تواجده وبما يتلاءم مع المتغيرات على الساحة بمسؤولياتها في قيادة شعبنا في الوطن والمنافي ولتكريس حقيقة تمثيل منظمة التحرير في القيام والنهوض والسياسية والإنسانية في مختلف الدوائر والمحافل والمجالات الدولية وفي تعينته والدفاع عن حقوقه الوطنية المصلحة الوطنية تقتضي تشكيل مجلس وطني جديد قبل نهاية العام 2006 بما يضمن تمثيل والإقليمية، وان القطاعات جميع القوى و الفصائل والأحزاب الوطنية والإسلامية وتجمعات شعبنا في كل مكان وكافة والفاعلية النضالية والسياسية والمؤسسات والفعاليات والشخصيات على أساس نسبي في التمثيل والحضور الفلسطيني اطاراً جهويماً عريضاً وانتلاف وطني شامل والاجتماعية والجماهيرية والحفاظ على منظمة التحرير للفلسطينيين في الوطن والمنافي ومرجعية سياسية عليا وإطاراً وطنياً جامعاً

المقاومة والتمسك في خيار المقاومة بمختلف الوسائل وتركيز المقاومة في 3 - حق الشعب الفلسطيني في المقاومة المحتلة عام 67 الى جانب العمل السياسي والتفاوضي و الدبلوماسي والاستمرار في الأراضي بتوسيع مشاركة مختلف الفئات الشعبية الجماهيرية ضد الاحتلال بمختلف أشكاله ووجوده وسياساته والاهتمام الشعبية والجهات والقطاعات وجماهير شعبنا في هذه المقاومة

الفلسطيني على أساس برنامج وضع خطة فلسطينية للتحرك السياسي الشامل وتوحيد الخطاب السياسي 4- الشرعية الدولية المنصفة لشعبنا تمثلها منظمة الإجماع الوطني الفلسطيني والشرعية العربية وقرارات وحكومة والفصائل الوطنية والإسلامية ومنظمات المجتمع المدني التحرير والسلطة الوطنية رئيساً العامة من أجل استحضار وتعزيز وحشد الدعم العربي والإسلامي والدولي السياسي والشخصيات والفعاليات

المصير والحرية المالي والاقتصادي والإنساني لشعبنا وسلطتنا الوطنية ودعماً لحق شعبنا في تقرير و
على شعبنا لمواجهة الحصار الظالم والعودة والاستقلال لمواجهة خطة إسرائيل في فرض الحل الإسرائيلي
علينا.

الفلسطينية باعتبارها نواة الدولة القادمة، هذه السلطة التي شيدها شعبنا 5 - حماية وتعزيز السلطة الوطنية
المؤقت للسلطة وتضحياته ودماء وعذابات أبنائه وان المصلحة الوطنية العليا تقتضي احترام الدستور بكفاحه
المنتخب لإرادة الشعب الفلسطيني والقوانين المعمول بها بينها واحترام مسؤوليات وصلاحيات الرئيس
وصلاحيات الحكومة التي منحها المجلس التشريعي لانتخابات حرة وديمقراطية ونزيهة واحترام مسؤوليات
بيننا لرئاسة الحكومة والعمل المشترك وعقد الاجتماعات الدورية الثقة، وأهمية وضرورة التعاون الخلاق
بالحوار الأخوي استناداً للدستور المؤقت ولمصالحة الوطنية العليا، وضرورة إجراء بينهما لتسوية خلافات
مستوياته وتنفيذ إصلاح شامل في مؤسسات السلطة الوطنية وخاصة الجهاز القضائي واحترام القضاء بكافة
قراراته وتعزيز وتكريس سيادة القانون

أساس يضمن مشاركة كافة الكتل البرلمانية بخاصة حركتي فتح وحماس والقوى تشكيل وحدة وطنية على 6 -
وإقليمياً الراغبة على قاعدة هذه الوثيقة وبرنامج مشترك للنهوض بالوضع الفلسطيني محلياً وعربياً السياسية
والسياسي الفلسطيني من جميع القوى ودولياً ومواجهة التحديات بحكومة وطنية وقوية تحظى بالدعم الشعبي
برنامج الإصلاح ومحاربة الفقر والبطالة وتقديم أفضل رعاية وكذلك بالدعم العربي والدولي وتتمن من تنفيذ
أعباء الصمود والمقاومة والانتفاضة وكانت ضحية للعدوان الإسرائيلي ممكنة للفئات التي تحملت
العاطلين اسر الشهداء والأسرى والجرحى وأصحاب البيوت والممتلكات التي دمرها الاحتلال وكذلك وبخاصة
عن العمل والخريجين

السلطة الوطنية على قاعدة التمسك بالأهداف 7 - ان إدارة المفاوضات هي من صلاحية (م.ت.ف) ورئيس
عرض أي اتفاق مصيري على المجلس الوطني الفلسطيني الجديد الوطنية الفلسطينية وتحقيقها على ان يتم
استفتاء عام حيث ما أمكن للتصديق عليه أو إجراء

تقوم به وبكافة الوسائل القوى والفصائل الوطنية 8 - تحرير الأسرى والمعتقلين واجب وطني مقدس يجب أن
الوطنية رئيسا وحكومة والتشريعي وكافة التشكيلات المقاومة والإسلامية و(م.ت.ف) والسلطة

ومضاعفة الجهد لدعم ومساندة ورعاية اللاجئين والدفاع عن حقوقهم والعمل على عقد 9 - ضرورة العمل
والتمسك به ودعوة مؤتمر شعبي تمثيلي للاجئين ينبثق عن هيئات متابعة وظيفته التأكيد على حق العودة
وتعويضهم المجتمع الدولي لتنفيذ القرار 194 القاضي بحق العودة للاجئين

لقيادة وخوض المقاومة ضد، "10 - العمل على تشكيل جبهة مقاومة موحدة باسم "جبهة المقاومة الوطنية
مرجعية سياسية موحدة لها الاحتلال وتوحيد وتنسيق العمل والفعل للمقاومة وتشكيل

ودورية وحرية ونزيهة وديمقراطية طبقاً للقانون، 11 - التمسك بالنهج الديمقراطي وبإجراء انتخابات عامة
والبلدية واحترام مبدأ السلمي للسلطة والتعهد بحماية التجربة للرئيس والتشريعي وللمجالس المحلية
الضرورية الديمقراطية واحترام الخيار الديمقراطي ونتائجه واحترام سيادة القانون والحريات الفلسطينية
تمييز وحماية مكتسبات المرأة والعامة وحرية الصحافة والمساواة بين المواطنين في الحقوق والواجبات دون
وتطويرها وتعزيزها

على شعبنا الذي تقوده الولايات المتحدة وإسرائيل ودعوة العرب شعبنا 12 - رفض وإدانة الحصار الظالم
الداعمة لشعبنا ومساندة الشعب الفلسطيني العربية والسياسية والمالية والاقتصادية والإعلامية ورسماً لدعم
الفلسطينية ملتزمة بالاجتماع العربي الفلسطيني وصموده وقضيته الوطنية والتأكيد على أن السلطة الوطنية
والعمل العربي المشترك

الفلسطيني للوحدة والتلاحم وحرص الصفوف ودعم ومساندة "م.ت.ف" والسلطة الوطنية 13 - دعوة الشعب
التدخل في الشؤون الفلسطينية رئيسا وحكومة وتعزيز الصمود والمقاومة في وجه العدوان والحصار ورفض
الداخلية الفلسطينية

يقود إلى الفتنة وإدانة استخدام السلاح مهما كانت المبررات لفض 14 - نبذ كل مظاهر الفرقة والانقسام وما وتحريم استخدام السلاح بين أبناء الشعب الواحد والتأكيد على حرمة الدم الفلسطيني النزاعات الداخلية في ذلك معارضة السلطة والالتزام بالحوار أسلوباً وحيداً لحل الخلافات والتعبير عن الرأي بكافة الوسائل بما وتنظيم المسيرات والتظاهرات والاعتصامات وقراراتها على أساس ما يكلفه القانون وحق الاحتجاج السلمي تتعدى على المواطنين وممتلكاتهم العامة شريطة أن تكون سلمية وخالية من السلاح ولا

أفضل الأساليب والوسائل المناسبة لاستمرار مشاركة شعبنا 15 - إن المصلحة الوطنية تقتضي البحث عن في وضعه الجديد في معركة الحرية والعودة والاستقلال وتحرير الضفة والقدس وقواه السياسية في قطاع غزة المصلحة من القطاع الصامد رافعة وقوة حقيقية لصدوم ومقاومة لشعبنا في الضفة والقدس وإن وبما يجعل الاحتلال الوطنية تقتضي بإعادة تقييم الوسائل والأساليب النضالية الأنجع في مقاومة

أساس عصري وبما يجعلها أكثر ضرورة إصلاح وتطوير المؤسسة الأمنية الفلسطينية بكل فروعها على 16 - مواجهة العدوان والاحتلال وحفظ الأمن والنظام قدرة على القيام بمهمة الدفاع عن الوطن والمواطنين وفي الفوضى والفلتان الأمني الذي يلحق ضرراً فادحاً بالمقاومة ويشوه صورتها العام وتنفيذ القوانين وإنهاء حالة المجتمع الفلسطيني وضرورة وتنسيق وتنظيم العلاقة مع القوى وتشكيلات المقاومة وتنظيم ويهدد وحدة وحماية سلاحها

المؤسسة الأمنية والأجهزة بمختلف 17 - دعوة المجلس التشريعي لمواصلة إصدار القوانين المنظمة لعمل السياسي والحزبي لمنتسبي الأجهزة والالتزام فروعها، والعمل على إصدار قانون يمنع ممارسة العمل القانون بالمرجعية السياسية المنتخبة التي حددها

المحبة للسلام لدعم صمود 18 - العمل من أجل توسيع دور وحضور لجان التضامن الدولية والمجموعات العنصري سياسياً ومحلياً ومن أجل تنفيذ قرار شعبنا ونضاله العادل ضد الاحتلال والاستيطان وجدار الفصل بإزالة الجدار والاستيطان وعدم مشروعيتها محكمة العدل الدولية في لاهاي والمتعلق . "النائب مروان البرغوثي أمين سر حركة "فتح"، "حركة التحرير الوطني الفلسطيني" "فتح الهيئة القيادية العليا الشيخ عبد الخالق النتشة" "حركة المقاومة الإسلامية" حماس . بسام السعدي حركة الجهاد الإسلامي الشيخ .التنفيذية نائب الأمين العام للجبهة الشعبية لتحرير فلسطين عبد الرحيم ملوح عضو اللجنة .بدارنة الجبهة الديمقراطية مصطفى

. ملاحظة:- حركة الجهاد الإسلامي تحفظت على البند المتعلق بالمفاوضات

Appendix C

The senior prisoners from the various Palestinian terrorist organizations in the Hadarim prison who signed the document

| Name | Affiliation | Role | Sentence |
|----------------------------------|---|--|---|
| Marwan Barghouti | Fatah  | Secretary of Fatah and Tanzim for the West Bank | Five terms of life imprisonment |
| Sheikh 'Abd al-Khaliq al-Natsheh | Hamas  | Head of the movement in Hebron | Sentenced to five years in prison and five years suspended sentence |
| Bassam al-Sa'adi | PIJ  | Head of the organization in Jenin | Sentenced to five years in prison and two years suspended sentence |
| 'Abd al-Rahim Mallouh | PFLP  | Member of the political bureau and general secretary of the organization | Sentenced to ten years in prison and five years suspended sentence |
| Mustafa Badarneh | DFLP  | Organization head in Ramallah | Sentenced to seven years in prison and two years suspended sentence |

Appendix D

A comparison between political initiatives regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and Abu Mazen's position.

| | ABU MAZEN'S POSITION | INTERNAL PALESTINIAN INITIATIVES | | AMERICAN AND ARAB INITIATIVES | |
|--|---|---|---|--|--|
| Topic | Expressed in his speech on Al-Nakba Day, May 15, 2006 | The prisoners' document (May 2006) | The Palestinian dialogue in Cairo (March 2005) | President Bush's road map (April 2003) | The Arab initiative (March 2002) |
| Recognition of Israel | Recognition of Israel. "A solution based on two states." | No mention of recognizing the existence of the State of Israel. | No mention of recognizing the existence of the State of Israel. | Mutual Israeli-Palestinian recognition "Acceptance of Israel as a neighbor living in peace and security." | Promoting the normalization of relations between the Arab states and Israel within the context of a comprehensive peace. |
| Nature of the Palestinian state and its borders | "Examination of past decisions and agreements...Respect for inter-Arab and international decision..." (i.e., an independent state within the 1967 borders). | Founding an independent state on the territories occupied by Israel in 1967. | Founding a fully independent Palestinian state (no specific mention of the 1967 borders). | Founding an independent, viable, democratic state based on the decisions of both the Madrid Conference and the UN resolutions. | Founding an independent, sovereign Palestinian state within the 1967 borders. |
| Jerusalem | "An independent Palestinian state whose capital is Jerusalem." | A Palestinian state whose capital is Jerusalem. | A Palestinian state whose capital is Jerusalem. | A negotiated solution for Jerusalem's status. | A Palestinian state whose capital is East Jerusalem |
| The "armed struggle" (i.e., the continuation of violence and terrorism) | <p>* "The PLO, which has led the Palestinian struggle, would have failed had it not had presented a firm political initiative alongside the armed struggle..."</p> <p>"Israel must cease all its military activity... and the useless Palestinian rocket fire must also cease..."</p> <p>*There is no total rejection of principle of the "armed struggle" but there is opposition to various aspects, such as rocket fire.</p> | A clear justification for the use of violence and terrorism ("resistance") focused in the territories occupied in 1967. | Ideological adherence to the right of "resistance" within the so-called "lull in the fighting" which should have been in force until the end of 2005. | The end of violence, the Palestinian announcement of an immediate, unconditional cease fire and the end of armed activity (Stage I). | <p>* Signing a peace treaty in return for the acceptance of Arab demands.</p> <p>* No specific mention made of the "armed struggle."</p> |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| UN resolutions | Acceptance | Acceptance | No mention made | Acceptance | No mention made, with the exception of the refugee problem |
| Solution for the refugee problem | “The refugee problem should be solved justly and in an agreed way, and in accordance with UN Resolution 194.” ⁵ | Ensuring the “right of return” to Palestinian refugees according to UN Resolution 194. | Ensuring the refugees the “right of return” to their houses and property. | A solution for the refugee issue which is agreed, just, fair and realistic. | Finding a just, agreed solution for the problem of the Palestinian refugees in accordance with UN Resolution 194. |
| Final status agreement | Abu Mazen to Israel: “We want to establish a just, viable peace with you...We extend our hand to you to establish peace...” | No mention made. | No mention made. | A comprehensive Israeli-Arab peace (Stage III). | An Israeli-Palestinian peace followed by a comprehensive Israeli-Arab peace. |
| Internal Palestinian issues | Closing ranks. The PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. | An end to the violence and internal struggles. An end to anarchy. The establishment of a national unity government. | Internal reforms. All the organizations join the PLO. A dialogue between the various factions. Forbidding the use of weapons. | Reform and stabilizing the Palestinian institutions and economy. | No mention made. |

⁵ According to Article 11 of UN General Assembly Resolution 194, December 11, 1948, “...the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live in peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and ... compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for the loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law...”