Dedicated to
My Parents
Hamas an acronym for the original Arabic name Harkat al-Mokwama al-Islamiya meaning ‘zeal’ was officially founded on 14 December 1987 but its roots go back to the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood which was founded in 1928 by a school teacher Hassan al-Banna. The role of Hamas in Palestinian politics can be marked from its formation in 1987, but greatly increased from 1993 onwards when the Oslo Accords were signed between Yasser Arafat then the chairman of the PLO and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. However, Hamas’ remarkable electoral victory on 26 January 2006 surprised the whole world and Palestinians also. Hamas won 74 seats out of 132. This event was significant in two respects, firstly it gave Hamas legitimacy which it had lacked earlier and challenged the Fatah dominated PLO’s authority as a sole representative of the Palestinian people. Further, it led to the intra-factional conflict between Hamas and Fatah, which resulted in the Hamas’ takeover of Gaza and the West Bank under the control of Fatah. It also brought enormous economic hardship to the whole Gazan population, which was already on the verge of economic crisis due to the U.S. and Israel led economic and political sanctions.

This thesis has endeavored to investigate the role of Hamas in Palestinian politics especially since 1993 onwards.

The thesis is divided into five chapters. The first chapter provides a brief historical background to the formation of Israel and intends to show the root cause of the conflict for which Hamas is fighting.

The second chapter deals with origin and ideological moorings of Hamas. In this chapter I have attempted to find out the roots of Hamas, the role of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin in founding Hamas and circumstances which led to the formation of Hamas. In its ideological part I have discussed Hamas’ views on Jews, Zionism and Israel, its perceptions towards Western Countries as well as Hamas’ proclaimed goal,
means and strategy for the realization of the goal together with changing strategy of Hamas.

The third chapter discusses about the Oslo Accords and Hamas response to the Accords. In this chapter I have tried to find out the causes which led to the signing of the Oslo Accords, detail information about the Accords and Hamas response to the Accords.

The fourth chapter examines the relation between Hamas and Palestinian National Authority. This chapter is divided into three parts: the first part talks about the background and establishment of Palestinian National Authority; the second part explains the relation between Hamas and Palestinian National Authority from 1994 to 2000, and the third part discusses Hamas and Palestinian National Authority’s relations during 2000 – 2005.

The fifth chapter begins with the Israeli disengagement from Gaza and provides details of Palestinian Municipal elections of 2005, Hamas’ electoral victory in January 2006 elections, formation and breakdown of national unity government, Gaza civil war and Hamas’ subsequent takeover of Gaza, operation cast lead and Hamas – Israel relations after operation cast lead till the Hamas’ exiled leader Khaled Mishal’s visit of Gaza in December 2012.

The concluding chapter includes an overall perception of the Hamas role in Palestinian politics and special emphasis is given to its role since 1993.
NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES AND PERIODICALS

- Al Arabia News (United Arab Emirates)
- Al Watan (Qatar)
- Al-Ayyam (Yemen)
- Al-Bayan (United Arab Emirates)
- Al-Jazeera (United Arab Emirates)
- Al-Mysry Al-Youm (Cairo)
- Al-Risala (Gaza, Palestine)
- Al-Safir (United Arab Emirates)
- Al-Watan (Qatar)
- Arab World (Beirut)
- Arutz Sheva (Jerusalem, Israel)
- Asia Times (Hong Kong)
- BBC (London)
- Chicago Tribune (Chicago, USA)
- Christian Science Monitor (Boston, USA)
- Filistin al-Muslima (London)
- Financial Times (London)
- Ha’aretz (Tel Aviv)
- International Herald Tribune (New York)
- Jane’s Defense Weekly (London)
- Jerusalem Times (Jerusalem)
- Middle East International (London)
- Montreal Gazette (Montreal, Canada)
- Palestine Chronicle (Palestine)
- Rabat (Bahrain)
- The Age (Australia)
• The Al-Ahram Weekly (Cairo)
• The Al-Bath (Damascus)
• The Australian (Sydney, Australia)
• The Chronicle Herald (Nova Scotia, Canada)
• The Daily Telegraph (United Kingdom)
• The Independent (United Kingdom)
• The Jerusalem Post (Jerusalem)
• The New York Times (New York)
• The News (Pakistan)
• The Newsweek (New York)
• The Observer (United Kingdom)
• The Telegraph (United Kingdom)
• The Wall Street Journal (New York)
• The Washington Post (Washington D.C.)
• The Washington Times (Washington D.C.)
• Time Magazine (London)
• Times (London)
• Times of Israel (Jerusalem)
• Vanity Fair Magazine (New York)
The Charter of Islamic Resistance Movement

[HAMAS]
YE are the best of Peoples, evolved for humanity, enjoining what is right, forbidding what is wrong, and believing in Allah. If only the People of the Book had faith, it were best for them: among them are some who have faith, but most of them are perverted transgressors. They will do you no harm, barring a trifling annoyance; if they come out to fight you, they will show you their backs, and no help shall they get. Shame is pitched over them (like a tent) wherever they are found, except when under a covenant (of protection) from Allah and from people; they draw on themselves wrath from Allah and pitched over them is (the tent of) destitution. This because they rejected the signs of Allah, and slew the Prophets in defiance of right; this because they rebelled and transgressed beyond bounds.

(The Holy Quran Sura 3: Ali-'Imran: 110-112)

Israel will be established and will stay established until Islam nullifies it as it nullified what was before it.

-The Martyred Imam Hasan al-Banna
(may Allah have mercy upon him)

Indeed the Islamic world is burning, therefore it is obligatory on every one to put a little of it out so he can extinguish what he is able to do without waiting for anyone else.

-Shaykh Amjad al-Zahawee
(may Allah have mercy upon him)

Introduction

All praise is to Allah. We seek His aid, forgiveness, and guidance, and on Him do we rely. We send peace and blessings on Allah’s messenger – his family,
companions, those who follow him, called with his message and adhered to his way – may the blessing and peace be continued for as long as the heavens and earth last.

And After

O people from the center of the affair, from the sea of struggle, from the beat of believing hearts, immaculate arms; upon realization of the duty, responding to the command of Allah, the call, meeting and gathering was [performed] the discipline were all based on the system of Allah. The will was persistent to offer its role in life surpassing all obstacles surmounting the hazards of the path the preparation was continuous, and the willingness to spend the body and soul for the sake of Allah. It was that the seed was formed and began forging its path in the stormy sea of hopes and dreams, desire and wishes, danger and obstacles, and pains and challenges from within and without. When the idea matured, and the seed grew, and the plant was firmly rooted in reality far away from the momentary emotional outburst and despicable rashness, the Islamic Resistance Movement went forth to perform its role *Mujahida* (struggling) for the sake of it’s Lord. The Movement placed its hands with the hands of all the *Mujahidin* who strive to free Palestine. The souls of its *Mujahidin* gather with all the souls of the *Mujahidin* who strove with their souls on the land of Palestine for all time since it was conquered by the companions of the Messenger of Allah *(saas)* until today. This is the charter of Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya (Hamas)\(^1\) [the Islamic Resistance Movement] manifesting its form, unveiling its identity, stating its position, clarifying its expectations, discussing its hopes, and calling for aid, support, and members. Our battle with the Jews is long and dangerous, requiring all dedicated efforts. It is a phase which must be followed by succeeding phases, a battalion which must be supported by battalion after battalion of the divided Arab and Islamic world until the enemy is overcome, and the victory of Allah descends.

This is how we perceive them approaching over the horizon.

*And you shall certainly know the truth of it (all) after a while.*

*(Sura 38: Sad: 88)*

*Allah has decreed: It is I and My Messengers who must prevail for Allah is one full of strength able to enforce His will.*

*(Sura 58: Mujadila: 21)*

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Say thou: This is my Way: I do invite unto Allah on evidence clear as the seeing with one’s eyes, I and whoever follows me. Glory to Allah and never will I join gods with Allah!

(Sura 12: Yusuf: 108)

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction to the Movement

*Ideological origin

Article 1:
The Islamic Resistance Movement: Islam is its system. From Islam it reaches for its ideology, fundamental precepts, and world view of life, the universe and humanity; and it judges all its actions according to Islam and is inspired by Islam to correct its errors.

*The Islamic Resistance Movement’s Connection with the Society of the Muslim Brotherhood

Article 2:
The Islamic Resistance Movement is a branch of the Muslim Brotherhood chapter in Palestine. The Muslim Brotherhood movement is an international organization. It is one of today’s largest Islamic movements. It professes a comprehensive understanding and precise conceptualization of the Islamic precepts in all aspects of life: concept and belief, politics and economics, education and social service, jurisdiction and law, exhortation and training, communication and arts, the seen and the unseen, and the rest of life’s ways.

* Structure and Formation

Article 3:
The structure of the Islamic Resistance Movement consists of Muslims who gave their loyalty to Allah. They therefore worshipped Him as He truly deserves:

I have only created Jinns and Humans that they may worship Me.

(Sura 51: Zariyat: 56)
They knew their obligation towards themselves, their people and their country. They achieved Taqwa\(^2\) of Allah in all that [their obligation]. They raised the banner of

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\(^2\) *Taqwa:* Awareness and fear of Allah, conscious of Allah’s watchful gaze.
*Jihad* in the face of the transgressors to free country and folk from [the transgressors’] filth, impurity, and evil.

*Nay, We hurl the truth against falsehood, and it knocks out its brain, and behold, falsehood doth perish!*

(Sura 21: Anbiya’: 18)

**Article 4:**

The Islamic Resistance Movement welcomes all Muslims who adopt its doctrines and ideology, enact its program, guard its secrets, and desire to join its ranks to perform the obligation and receive their reward from Allah.

* The Historical and Geographical Dimension of The Islamic Resistance Movement

**Article 5:**

The historical dimension of the Islamic Resistance Movement originates from its adoption of Islam as a system of life. It reaches far back to the birth of the Islamic Message and to the Pious Predecessors. Therefore, Allah is its goal, the Messenger its leader, and the Quran its constitution. As for its geographical dimension, it is wherever Muslims – those who adopt Islam as a system of life – are found, in any region on the face of the earth. Therefore, it establishes a firm foundation in the depths of the earth and reaching high in the heavens.

*Seest thou not how Allah sets forth a parable? A goodly Word like a goodly tree, whose root is firmly fixed, and its branches (reach) to the heavens. It brings forth its fruit at all times, by the leave of its Lord. So Allah sets forth parables for people, in order that they may receive admonition.*

(Sura 14: Ibrahim: 24-25)

* Differentiation and Independence

**Article 6:**

The Islamic Resistance Movement is an outstanding type of Palestinian movement. It gives its loyalty to Allah, adopts Islam as a system of life, and works toward raising the banner of Allah on every inch of Palestine. Therefore, in the shadow of Islam, it is possible for all followers of different religions to live in peace and with security over their person, property, and rights. In the absence of Islam, discord takes form, oppression and destruction are rampant, and wars and battles take place. The Muslim poet Muhammad Iqbal eloquently declares:

*When faith is lost there is no security nor life for he who does not revive religion;*
And whoever is satisfied with life without religion then he would have let annihilation be his partner.

* The Universality of The Islamic Resistance Movement

Article 7:

Muslims throughout the world adopt the system of the Islamic Resistance Movement; they work towards aiding it, accepting its stands, and amplifying its Jihad. Therefore, it is an international movement – it is prepared for this [task] because of the clarity of its ideology, its lofty goal, and the sanctity of its objectives. Upon this basis it should be considered, given a fair evaluation and admission of its role. Whoever cheats it of its right, turns away from aiding it, or is blinded to hide its role, is a person who argues with fate. And whoever closes his eyes from seeing reality, unintentionally or intentionally, will one day awake to find that the world has left him behind, and the justification will wear him down trying to defend his position.

The reward is for those who are early. The oppression of the close relations is more painful on the soul, than the assault of a sharp sword.

To thee We sent the Scripture in truth, confirming the scripture that came before it, and guarding it in safety: So judge between them by what Allah hath revealed, and follow not their vain desires, diverging from the truth that hath come to thee. To each among you have we prescribed a Law and an Open Way. If Allah had so willed, He would have made you a single People, but (His plan is) to test you in what he hath given you; so strive as in a race in all virtues. The goal of you all is to Allah: It is He that will show you the truth of the matters in which ye dispute.

(Sura 5: Maida: 48)

The Islamic Resistance Movement is a link in [a long] chain of the Jihad against the Zionist occupation, which is connected and tied with the initiation [of the Jihad] of the Martyr ‘Izz al-Din al-Qassam and his Mujahid brothers in 1936. And the chain continues on to connect and tie another episode to add to the Jihad of the Palestinians and the Jihad of the Muslim Brotherhood in the war of 1948 and the Jihad operation of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1968 and thereafter. Even though the episodes were few and far between, and were not continuous in Jihad due to the obstacles placed by those in the sphere of [influence of] the Zionist entity in the face of the Mujahidin. Even though the Islamic Resistance Movement looks forward to fulfill the promise of Allah no matter how long it takes because the Prophet of Allah (saas) says:
The Last Hour would not come until the Muslims fight against the Jews and the Muslims would kill them, and until the Jews would hide themselves behind a stone or a tree and a stone or a tree would say. Muslim or Servant of Allah there is a Jew behind me; come and kill him; but the tree of Gharqad would not say it, for it is the tree of the Jews (Bukhari and Muslim).³

* The Motto of The Islamic Resistance Movement:

Article 8:

Allah is its Goal. The Messenger is its Leader. The Quran is its Constitution. Jihad is its methodology, and Death for the sake of Allah is its most coveted desire.

CHAPTER TWO

* Goals

Article 9:

The Islamic Resistance Movement evolved in a time where the lack of the Islamic Spirit has brought about distorted judgment and absurd comprehension. Values have deteriorated the plague of the evil folk and oppression and darkness have become rampant, cowards have become ferocious. Nations have been occupied, their people expelled and fallen on their faces [in humiliation] everywhere on earth. The nation of truth is absent and the nation of evil has been established; as long as Islam does not take its rightful place in the world arena everything will continue to change for the worse. The goals of the Islamic Resistance Movement therefore is to conquer evil, break its will, and annihilate it so that truth may prevail, so that the country may return to its rightful place, and so that the call may be broadcast over the Minarets [lit. Mosques] proclaiming the Islamic state. And aid is sought from Allah.

And did not Allah check one set of people by means of another, the earth would indeed be full of mischief. But Allah is full of bounty to all the worlds.

(Sura 2: Baqara: 251)

Article 10:

While the Islamic Resistance Movement is forging its path, it will be a support to the weak, a victor to the oppressed; with all its might, using all of its energy, to realize the truth and defeat the falsehood, by words and action, here and everywhere it can reach and effect a change.

CHAPTER THREE

Strategy and Means

*The Strategy of The Islamic Resistance Movement: Palestine is an Islamic Trust:

Article 11:

The Islamic Resistance Movement [firmly] believes that the land of Palestine is an Islamic Waqf [Trust] upon all Muslim generations till the day of Resurrection. It is not right to give it up nor any part of it. Neither a single Arab state nor all the Arab states, neither a King nor a leader, nor all the kings or leaders, nor any organization – Palestinian or Arab – have such authority because the land of Palestine is an Islamic Trust upon all Muslim generations until the day of Resurrection. And who has the true spokesmanship for all the Muslim generations till the day of Resurrection?

This is the legislation in the Islamic Shari‘a (Jurisprudence), and the same goes for all the lands accessed and consecrated by Muslims at the time of conquering for all Muslim generations till the day of Resurrection. And so it was when the leaders of the Islamic Army, after conquering Iraq and Sham [Greater Syria], sent [a letter] to the Muslims’ Caliph ‘Umar ibn al-Khatab, asking for his advice concerning the accessed lands: Shall they divide it up among the army, or leave it to the original owner, or what? After discussion and consultation between the Caliph of the Muslims, ‘Umar ibn al-Khatab, and the companions of the Messenger (saas), they came to the decision that the benefits and blessings of the land should stay in the hands of its owner. As for its real ownership, it should become a trust for the Muslim generations till the day of Resurrection. Those who are on the land have the rights to the land’s benefits only, and this trust is permanent as long as the heavens and the earth last. Any action taken in contradiction to the Islamic Shari‘a concerning Palestine is unacceptable action, to be taken back by its claimants.

Verily, this is the very truth and certainty. So celebrate with praises the name of thy Lord, the Supreme.

(Sura 56: Waqi‘a: 95-96)

* Nation and Nationalism from the Point of View of The Islamic Resistance Movement

Article 12:
Nationalism, from the point of view of the Islamic Resistance Movement, is part and parcel of religious ideology. There is not a higher peak in nationalism or depth in devotion than Jihad when an enemy lands on the Muslim territories. Fighting the enemy becomes the individual obligation of every Muslim man and woman. The woman is allowed to go fight without the permission of her husband and the slave without the permission of his master.

Nothing of the sort is found in any other system. This is a reality about which there is no doubt. If other nationalisms have material, humanistic, and geographical ties, then the Islamic Resistance Movement’s nationalism has all of that, and, more important, divine reasons providing it with life and spirit where it is connected with the originator of the spirit and life giver, raising in the heavens the divine Banner to connect earth and heavens with a strong bond.

* Initiatives, Peace Solutions and International Conferences

Article 13:

The initiatives conflict, what are called “Peaceful Solutions” and “International Conferences” to solve the Palestinian problem. As far as the ideology of the Islamic Resistance Movement is concerned, giving up any part of Palestine is like giving up part of its religion. The nationalism of the Islamic Resistance Movement is part of its religion, in that it educates its members, and they perform Jihad to raise the banner of Allah over their nation.

*(Sura 2: Baqara: 256)*

From time to time the invitation is made for an international conference to look into solving the problem. Some accept and some reject the idea, for one reason or another, asking for some condition or conditions to be fulfilled in order to agree to attend and participate in the conference. Due to the Islamic Resistance Movement’s knowledge of the participating parties of the conference, and the participants’ past and
present opinions and stands on Muslim interests, the Islamic Resistance Movement does not perceive that the conferences are able to deliver the demands, provide the rights, nor do justice to the oppressed. Those conferences are nothing but a form of enforcing the rule of the unbelievers in the land of Muslims. And when have the unbelievers justly treated the believers?

Never will the Jews or the Christians be satisfied with thee unless thou follow their form of religion. Say: “The Guidance of Allah – that is the (only) Guidance.” Wert thou to follow their desires after the knowledge which hath reached thee, then wouldst thou find neither Protector nor Helper against Allah.

(Sura 2: Baqara: 120)

There is no solution to the Palestinian Problem except by Jihad. The initiatives, options, and international conferences are a waste of time and a kind of child’s play. The Palestinian people are nobler than to be fiddling with their future, rights, and destiny. It is mentioned in the honorable tradition:

The People of Sham (Greater Syria) are God’s whip in His earth; with them He takes revenge on whom He pleases of His servants. It is forbidden on their hypocrites to be ruling over their believers and they will not except in worry and darkness.

(Ahmad and Tabami)

* The Three Spheres

Article 14:

The problem of liberating Palestine is related to three spheres: the Palestinian sphere, the Arab sphere, and the Islamic sphere. Every one of them has a role to play in the struggle against Zionism. Each has obligations to fulfill. It is a grave error, and extreme ignorance, to ignore any of these spheres, because Palestine is an Islamic land accommodating the first Qibla, the third Holy Sanctuary, the [place where the] ascent of the Messenger (saas) took place.

Glory to Allah who did take His servant for a Journey by night from the Sacred Mosque to the Farthest Mosque, whose precincts We did Bless – in order that We

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4 Qibla: The direction in which we face during prayer. During the formative period of Islam, Muslims were commanded by Allah to face Masjid al-Aqsa during prayer. It was later on that the command was revealed from Allah that Muslims should change the direction to face Mecca. This incident is recorded in the Holy Quran; see 2:142-145, 149-150.

5 The third Holy Sanctuary refers to the authentic narration of the Prophet (saas) in which he mentions the sanctity and blessings of Bayt al-Maqdes and the rewards of praying at Masjid al-Aqsa.
might Show him some of Our Signs: for He is the One Who heareth and seeth (all things).

(Sura 17: al-Isra’: 1)

Since this is the case, the liberation of Palestine is obligatory for every Muslim, no matter where he is; it is on this basis that the problem should be viewed, and every Muslim must know this. When the problem begins to be solved from this basis, when all the resources of the three spheres are employed, the current situation will change and the day of liberation will be near.

Of a truth ye are stronger (than they) because of the terror in their hearts, (sent) by Allah. This is because they are people devoid of understanding.

(Sura 59: Hashr: 13)

* Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine is Obligatory

Article 15:

When an enemy occupies some of the Muslim lands, Jihad becomes obligatory for every Muslim. In the struggle against the Jewish occupation of Palestine, the banner of Jihad must be raised. That requires that Islamic education be passed to the masses locally, in the Arab [world] and in the Islamic [world], and that the spirit of Jihad – fighting and joining the ranks – must be broadcast among the Umma (Muslim community). The education process must involve (Islamic and other) scholars, teachers, and educators, communications specialists and journalists, the educated masses, and especially, the youth of the Islamic Movement and their scholars. Fundamental changes must be brought about in the education system to liberate it from the effects of the Ideological Invasion brought about at the hands of the Orientalists and Missionaries, whose attack suddenly descended on the area after Salah al-Din al-Ayubi defeated the Crusaders. So the Crusaders then knew it was impossible to defeat the Muslims except by setting the stage with an ideological attack to confuse their (the Muslims’) thoughts, stain their heritage and defame their history, after which a military attack would take place. That was to pave the way for an Imperialistic attack where (General Edmund) Allenby claimed when he entered Jerusalem “Now the Crusades are over,” and General Gurud stood by Salah al-Din’s (Saladin’s) grave saying, “Here we have returned O Saladin.” Imperialism has helped and is still helping the Ideological Invasion to establish its roots firmly. And all that was preparation for the loss of Palestine. We must instill in the minds of the Muslim generation that the Palestinian cause is a religious cause. It must be solved on this
basis because it contains Islamic sanctuaries where Masjid al-Aqsa is tied firmly to Masjid al-Haram (in Mecca) never to be released, as long as the heavens and the earth last, by way of the night journey ('Isra) of Rasulallah (Saas) and ascension (Mi’raj) to the heavens from there (al-Aqsa). To guard Muslims from infidels in Allah’s cause for one day is better than the world and whatever is on its surface, and a place in paradise as small as that occupied by the whip of one of you is better than the world and whatever is on its surface; and a morning’s or an evening’s journey which the worshiper (person) in Allah’s cause is better than the world and what is on its surface.6 By Him in whose Hand is Muhammad’s life, I love to be killed in the way of Allah then to be revived to life again, then to be killed and then to be revived to life and then to be killed.7 (Agreed upon)

* Training the Muslim Generation

Article 16:

We must train the Muslim generation in our area, an Islamic training that depends on performing the religious obligations, studying the book of Allah very well, the Prophetic narration (sunna), the Islamic history and heritage from its authentic sources with the advice of specialists and scholars, and using the curriculum that will provide the Muslim with the correct world view in ideology and thought. In addition is the necessity of careful study of the enemy’s material and human ability, knowing his weaknesses and strengths, knowing the powers that support him and stand by his side, along with the necessity of knowing current events and new trends, studying the analysis and commentaries on it. Also, there is the importance of planning for the present and the future, and studying every trend where the fighting Muslim (mujahid) can live in his time with the full knowledge of his destiny, purpose, path, and the events surrounding him.

O my son (said Luqman), “if there be (but) the weight of a mustard seed and it were (hidden) in a rock, or (anywhere) in the heavens or on earth, Allah will bring it forth. For Allah understands the finer mysteries, (and) is well-acquainted (with them). “O my son! Establish regular prayer, enjoin what is just, and forbid what is wrong and bear with patient constancy whate’er betide thee; for this is firmness (of purpose)

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in (the conduct of) affairs. ‘And swell not thy cheek (for pride) at men, nor walk in insolence through the earth. For Allah loveth not any arrogant boaster.

(Sura 31: Luqman: 16-18)

* The Role of the Muslim Woman

**Article 17:**

The Muslim woman has a role in the battle for the liberation which is no less than the role of the man, for she is the factory of men. Her role in directing generations and training them is a big role. The enemies have realized her role: they think that if they are able to direct her and raise her the way they want, far from Islam, then they have won the battle. You’ll find that they use continuous spending through mass media and the motion picture industry. They also use the educational system by way of their teachers who are part of Zionist organizations – which go by different names and forms, such as [free] Masons, Rotary Clubs, intelligence networks, and other organizations. These are all centers for destruction and destroyers. Those Zionist organizations have great material resources which allow them to play a significant role in society to realize Zionist goals, and enforce the understanding that serves [the interests of] the enemy. These organizations play their role while Islam is absent from the arena and is estranged from its people. The Islamist should play his role in confronting the plans of those destroyers. When the day comes and Islam has its way in directing life, it shall eliminate those organizations which are opposed to humanity and Islam.

**Article 18:**

The women in the house of the Mujahid, (and the striving family), be she a mother or sister, has the most important role in taking care of the home and raising children of ethical character and understanding that comes from Islam, and of training her children to perform the religious obligations to prepare them for the Jihadic role that awaits them. From this perspective it is necessary to take care of schools and the curricula that educate the Muslim girl to become a righteous mother aware of her role in the battle of liberation. She must have the necessary awareness and attentiveness in running the home. Being economical and far from carefree spending of the family’s income are requirements to continue the struggle in the overwhelmingly arduous situation. She should always keep in mind that money is blood that must not flow except in veins to sustain the life of children and elders equally.
For Muslim men and women, for believing men and women, for devout men and women, for true men and women, for men and women who are patient and constant, for men and women who humble themselves, for men and women who give in charity, for men and women who fast (and deny themselves), for men and women who guard their chastity, and for men and women who engage in Allah’s praise – for them has Allah prepared forgiveness and great reward.

(Sura 33: Ahzab: 35)

* The Role of Islamic Art in the Battle for Liberation

Art has rules and standards with which one can determine whether it is Islamic or ignorant. The Islamic Liberation is in need of Islamic art that raises the spirit and does not emphasize one aspect of the humanity over the others, but raises all aspects equally and harmoniously. The human is of a strange makeup, hand full of clay and breathed spirit. Islamic art communicates to mankind on this basis. Ignorant art communicates to the body and emphasizes the clay aspect. Books, articles, newsletters, orations, pamphlets, poetry, nasheed (songs), plays, and other materials, if the specialties of Islamic art are included in it, are necessary for ideological education and invigorating nourishment to continue the struggle and relaxing the spirit because the struggle is long and the toil is hard. The souls will be bored and Islamic art revives the vigor, imparts excitement and invokes in the soul the high spirits and correct deliberation.

Nothing corrects the soul if it is deliberating than change from state to state.

All this is serious with no mirth included because a nation at Jihad does not know merriment.

* Social Welfare

Article 20:

The Muslim society is a cooperative society and the Messenger (saas) said “Best of the people are al-Asharites. They were, f a difficult situation befell them, in residence or in travel, they would gather what they have (of wealth) and divide it up equally among themselves.” And this is the Islamic spirit that must prevail in every Muslim society. The society that opposes a vicious Nazi enemy in its behavior, which does not differentiate between men or women, elder or youth is foremost in being adorned with this Islamic spirit. Our enemy uses the method of collective punishment, robbing people of their land and property, and chasing them in their migration and places of
gathering. They purposely break (bodily) bones, fire (live ammunition directly) at women, children, elders (sometimes) with a reason or without a reason, create concentration camps to place thousands (of people) in inhuman conditions, not to mention the demolition of homes, orphaning of children, and issuance of tyrannical laws on thousands of youth so they spend their best years in the obscurity of prisons.

The Nazism of Jews has included women and children. Terror is for everyone; they frighten people in their livelihood, take their wealth, and threaten their honor. They, with their shocking actions, treat people worse than they treat the worst of war criminals. Deportation from one’s land is a form of murder. In confronting this type of conduct, social cooperation must predominate among all the people and all must oppose the enemy as one body; if a member of it is afflicted the whole of the body is involved both in waking and in fever.

**Article 21:**

Part of social welfare is providing aid to everyone who is in need of it, be it material, or spiritual, or collective cooperation to complete some works. And upon the members of Islamic Resistance Movement falls the responsibility of looking after the needs of the population as they would for their personal needs. And (an obligation) upon them is that they should not spare an effort in realizing it, protecting it and them, and they should avoid, without foul play, what might adversely affect future generations. Because the masses are from them, and to them its power is their power, its future is their future. A duty upon all members of the Islamic Resistance Movement is to take part in people’s happiness and grief and there they should take as their duty the people’s demands and what realizes the people’s benefit and theirs. When this spirit (of cooperation) overwhelms, love will deepen and cooperation and mercy will (exist), and ranks will be strengthened in confrontation with the enemies.

* The Powers that Support the Enemy

**Article 22:**

The enemy planned long ago and perfected their plan so that they can achieve what they want to achieve, taking into account effective steps in running matters. So they worked on gathering huge and effective amounts of wealth to achieve their goal. With wealth they controlled the international mass media – news services, newspapers, printing presses, broadcast stations, and more. With money they ignited revolutions in all parts of the world to realize their benefits and reap the fruits of them. They are behind the French Revolution, the Communist Revolution, and most
of the revolutions here and there which we have heard of and are hearing of. With wealth they formed secret organizations throughout the world to destroy societies and promote the Zionist cause; these organizations include the freemasons, the Rotary and Lions clubs, and others. These are all destructive intelligence-gathering organizations. With wealth they controlled imperialistic nations and pushed them to occupy many nations to exhaust their (natural) resources and spread mischief in them.

Concerning the local and international wars, speak without hesitation. They are behind the First World War in which they destroyed the Islamic Caliphate and gained material profit, monopolized raw wealth, and got the Balfour Declaration. They created the League of Nations so they could control the world through that organization. They are behind the Second World War where they grossed huge profits from their trade of war materials, and set down the foundations to establish their nation by forming the United Nations and Security Council, instead of the League of Nations, in order to rule the world through that organization.

There is not a war that goes on here or there in which their fingers are not playing behind it.

Every time they kindle the fire of war, Allah doth extinguish it; but they (ever) strive to do mischief on earth. And Allah loveth not those who do mischief.

(Sura 5: Maida: 64)

So the imperialist powers in the Capitalist West and Communist East support the enemy with all their might – material and human – and they change roles. When Islam is manifest, the unbelievers’ powers unite against it because the Nation of the unbelievers is one.

O ye who believe! Take not into your intimacy those outside your ranks: they will not fail to corrupt you. They only desire your ruin. Rank hatred has already appeared from their mouths. What their hearts conceal is far worse. We have made it plain to you the signs, if ye have wisdom.

(Sura 3: Al-‘Imran: 118)

It is not by chance that the (above) ayah ends with “if ye have wisdom.”

CHAPTER FOUR

Our Position On:

* A) The Islamic Movements
Article 23:

The Islamic Resistance Movement regards the other Islamic Movements with respect and honor even if it disagrees with them on an issue or viewpoint. However, it agrees with them on many issues and viewpoints and sees in those movements – if they have good intentions which are purely for Allah’s sake that they fall within the area of *Ijtihad*. As long as its actions are within the Islamic (Jurisprudence), to every *Mujtahid* there is a reward. The Islamic Resistance Movement considers those movements as beneficial, and asks Allah’s guidance (spiritual and worldly conduct) for everyone, and it raises the banner of unity and continues striving to realize unity based on the Quran and Sunna.

*And Holdfast all together, by the Rope which Allah (stretches out for you), and be not divided among yourselves.*

(Sura 3: Al-‘Imran: 103)

Article 24:

The Islamic Resistance Movement does not allow slander or condemnation of individuals or movements, because the believer is not a slanderer or curser, however, it is necessary to differentiate between this and positions and actions of individuals or groups. So, when there is a mistake in a position or action, the Islamic Resistance Movement has the right to clarify the mistake and warn against it and work to clarify the truth and adopt it in current situations with impartiality. So wisdom is the object of a persevering quest of the believers; he takes it wherever he finds it.

Allah loveth not that evil should be noised abroad in public speech, except where injustice hath been done; for Allah is He who heareth and knoweth all things. Whether ye publish a good deed or conceal it or cover evil with pardon, verily Allah doth blot out (sins) and hath power (in the judgment of values).

(Sura 4: Nisa’: 148-149)

* B) The Nationalist Movements in the Palestinian Arena

Article 25:

Given due respect, and considering its situation and surrounding factors, Hamas will lend support to it as long as it does not give its loyalty to the Communist East or the Crusading West and reassures its (the nationalist movement’s) members

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*Ijtihad*: Creative self-exertion to derive legislation from legitimate sources. (I. Faroqui, Islamic English.)
and victors that the Islamic Resistance Movement is a moral and *Jihadic* movement, moral and attentive in its view on life, and in its cooperation with others. It hates opportunism and does not wish anything except good to people, either individuals or groups. It does not go after material gain nor personal fame, nor reward of people. It utilizes its own resources and what is available to it.

*Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power.*

**(Sura 8: Anfal: 60)**

It has no other ambition than to perform the obligation and win Allah’s satisfaction.

All nationalist elements working in the arena for the sake of liberating Palestine should be assured that it is a helper and supporter and will never be anything but that, by work and action, past and present, by uniting, not dividing, repairing not destroying, valuing benign advice, pure effort, and powerful actions, closing the door in the face of petty disputes, not listening to rumors and defamations while realizing the right of self-defense. Everything that contradicts these guidelines is fabricated from the enemy, or those who tread in their footsteps, to achieve chaos, cleavage of ranks, and entanglement in side issues.

*Oh ye who believe! If a wicked person comes to you with any news, ascertain the truth, lest ye harm people unwittingly, and afterwards become full of repentance of what ye have done.*

**(Sura 49: Hujurat: 6)**

**Article 26:**

The Islamic Resistance Movement, while favorably viewing the Palestinian nationalist movements that are not loyal to East or West, is not forbidden from discussing the options on the local or international arenas concerning the Palestinian problem. Here an objective discussion will clarify to what degree the nationalist movement is in the national interest – from an Islamic perspective.

*C) Palestine Liberation Organization*

**Article 27:**

The Palestine Liberation Organization is closest of the close to the Islamic Resistance Movement, in that it is the father, the brother, the relative, or friend; and does the Muslim offend his father, brother, relative, or friend? Our nation is one, plight is one, destiny is one, and our enemy is the same, being affected by the situation that surrounded the formation of the organization (PLO) and the chaotic
ideologies that overwhelm the Arab world due to the ideological invasion that befell the Arab world since the defeat of the Crusades and the ongoing consolidation of orientalism, missionary work, and imperialism. The organization (PLO) adopted the idea of a secular state, and as such we considered it.

Secularist ideology is in total contradiction to religious ideologies, and it is upon ideology that positions, actions, and decisions are made. From here, with our respect for the Palestine Liberation Organization and what it might become, and not underestimating its role in the Arab – Israeli struggle, we cannot exchange the current and future of Islam in cause the Islamic nature of the Palestinian issue is part and parcel of our din (ideology and way of life) and whosoever neglects part of his din is surely lost.

*And who turns away from the religion of Abraham but such as debase their souls with folly?*

*(Sura 2: Baqara: 130)*

When the Palestine Liberation Organization adopts Islam as its system of life, we will be its soldiers and the firewood of its fire, which will burn the enemies. Until this happens, and we ask Allah that it be soon, the position of the Islamic Resistance Movement toward the Palestine Liberation Organization is the position of a son toward his father, and the brother toward his brother, and the relative toward his relative. He will be hurt if a thorn pricks him; he supports him in confronting the enemy and wishes guidance for him.

*Your brother, your brother he who has no brother is like one going to battle without weapons. And know that your cousin is like your wings; and does the falcon fly without wings?*

* * D) The Arab Countries and Islamic Governments*

*Article 28:*

The Zionist invasion is a vicious attack that does not have piety not to use all methods low and despicable to fulfill its obligations; it depends enormously on its penetration of and intelligence operations upon the secret organizations that were offshoots of it – such as the Masons, Rotary, and Lions clubs, and other such networks of spies – and all these secret or public organizations work for the benefit of and with the guidance of the Zionists. Zionists are behind the drug and alcohol trade because of their ability to facilitate the ease of control and expansion. The Arab countries surrounding Israel are requested to open their borders for the Mujahidin of
the Arab and Islamic countries so they can take their role and join their efforts with their Muslim brothers of Palestine. As for the other Arabic and Islamic countries, they are asked to ease the movement of *Mujahidin* from it and to it – that is the least they could do. We shouldn’t lose this opportunity to remind every Muslim that when the Jews occupied immaculate Jerusalem in 1967 they stood on the stairs of the blessed Masjid al-Aqsa loudly chanting: “Muhammad has died and left girls behind.”

So Israel with its Jewishness and its Jewish population challenges Islam and Muslims. *So the eyes of the cowards do not sleep.*

* Nationalist and Religious Organizations, Foundations, Intelligentsia, Arab and Islamic World

**Article 29:**

The Islamic Resistance Movement would like each and every one of these organizations to stand by its side, supporting it on all levels, taking up its position, pushing forth its activities and movements, and working to gain support for the Islamic Resistance Movement so the Islamic people can be its support and its victors – a strategic dimension on all levels: human, material, media, historical, and geographical. It works through holding supportive conferences, producing clarifying statements, supportive articles, purposeful pamphlets, and keeping the public aware of the Palestinian situation and what is facing it and what is being plotted against it, through educating the Islamic people ideologically, morally, and culturally in order to play its role in the battle for liberation, just as it played its role in defeating the crusaders and pushing back the Tartars and saving human civilization, and that is not hard for Allah.

“Allah has decreed: “It is I and my messengers who must prevail”: For Allah is one full of strength, able to enforce His will.”

*(Sura 58: Mujadila: 21)*

**Article 30:**

Authors and scholars, people of media and oration, people of training and education, and the rest of the different fields in the Arab and Islamic world: All of you are called upon to adopt your role and perform your obligation, due to the ferocity of the Zionist invasion and its penetration in most countries, its materialistic and media control, and what it has built in most countries of the world. *Jihad* is not only carrying weapons and confronting the enemy. The good word, excellent article, beneficial book, aid, and support, if intentions are pure, so that the banner of Allah is the most
The Charter of Hamas

high, is a Jihad for the sake of Allah. He who provided equipment to a fighter in the way of Allah, then he fought and he who remained behind (to look after the) family of the fighter in the way of Allah, in fact fought in the way of Allah.

(Abu Dawad and Tirmithi)

* The People of Other Faiths

Article 31:

The Islamic Resistance Movement is a humanistic movement that takes care of human rights and follows the tolerance of Islam with respect to people of other faiths. Never does it attack any of them except those who show enmity toward it or stand in its path to stop the movement or waste its efforts. In the shadow of Islam it is possible for the followers of the three religions – Islam, Christianity, and Judaism – to live in peace and harmony, and this peace and harmony is possible only under Islam: The history of the past and present is the best written witness for that. Followers of other religions should stop fighting Islam in ruling this area, because when they rule, there will only be murdering, punishing, and banishing, because they make life hard for their own people, not to mention the followers of other religions. The past and present are full of examples which prove this.

“They will not fight you (even) together, except in fortified townships, or from behind walls. Strong is their fighting (spirit) amongst themselves. Thou wouldst think they were united, but their hearts are divided: that is because they are a people devoid of wisdom.”

(Sura 59: Hashr: 14)

Islam gives everyone their rights and forbids enmity over the rights of others. The Nazi Zionist efforts will not last as long as their battles. The state of oppression is an hour and the state of truth is until the coming of the hour.

Allah forbids you not, with regard to those who fight you not for (your) faith nor drive you out of your homes, from dealing kindly and justly with them: for Allah loveth those who are just.

(Sura 60: Al Mumtahina: 8)

* The Effort to Single Out the Palestinian People

Article 32:

World Zionism and Imperialist powers try with audacious maneuvers and well-formulated plans to extract the Arab nations one by one from the struggle with
Zionism, so in the end it can deal singularly with the Palestinian people. It already has removed Egypt far away from the circle of struggle with the treason of “Camp David,” and it is trying to extract other countries by using similar treaties in order to remove them from the circle of struggle. The Islamic Resistance Movement calls upon the Arab and Islamic people to work seriously and constructively in order to not allow that horrible plan to be carried out and to educate the masses of the dangers of withdrawal from the struggle with Zionism. Today it’s Palestine and tomorrow it will be another country, and then another; the Zionist plan has no bounds, and after Palestine they wish to expand from the Nile River to the Euphrates. When they totally occupy it they will look towards another, and such is their plan in the “Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion.” Their present is the best witness on what is said. Withdrawal from the circle of struggle is high treason and a curse on the doer.

*If any do turn his back to them on such a day – unless it be in a stratagem of war, or to retreat to a troop (of his own) – he draws on himself the wrath of Allah, and his abode is Hell – an evil refuge (indeed)!*

**(Sura 8: Anfal: 16)**

It is necessary to gather all forces and abilities to face the Tartarian Nazi invasion, otherwise loss of the homeland, exile of the population, and a prompting of the evil in the earth and the destruction of all religious values [will take place]. Every person should know that he will be held responsible in front of Allah to be questioned. *Then shall anyone who has done an atom’s weight of good, see it, and anyone who has done an atom’s weight of evil, shall see it.*

**(Sura 99: Zalzala: 7-8)**

In the circle of struggle with world Zionism, the Islamic Resistance Movement considers itself the spearhead, or a step on the path; it adds its efforts to the effort of the workers in the Palestinian arena. What is left is that it should be followed by steps and steps from the Arab and Islamic people, and from the Muslim organizations in the Arab and Islamic regions, because they are the people who are prepared for the forthcoming role in the battle with the Jews, the businessmen of war. *Amongst them we have placed enmity and hatred till the Day of Judgment. Every time they kindle the fire of war, Allah doth extinguish it; but they (ever) strive to do mischief on earth. And Allah loveth not those who do mischief.*

**(Sura 5: Maida: 64)**
Article 33:

The Islamic Resistance Movement goes forth with these general understandings, which are equal and in harmony with the patterns of the universe, like being poured in the river of destiny, to confront the enemy. And their struggle to defend Muslims, Islamic civilization, and religious sanctuaries, of which Masjid al-Aqsa is at the forefront, to ignite the Arab and Islamic people, their governments, and its nationalistic and official organizations, to fear Allah while considering the Islamic Resistance Movement, and its way of dealing with it, should be, as Allah has wished, as supporter and helper spreading its hand to help, with support followed by support until the decision of Allah is manifested. The ranks join the ranks and the Mujahids join Mujahids and other groups which come forth from everywhere in the Muslim world, answering the call of obligation, repeating “come to Jihad” – a call bursting forth into the heights of the Heavens, reverberating until the liberation is complete and the invaders are rolled back and the victory of Allah descends.

Allah will certainly aid those who aid His (cause) – for verily Allah is full of strength, Exalted in might (able to enforce will).

(Sura 22: Haj: 40)

CHAPTER FIVE

Historical Proof

* Facing the Enemy throughout History

Article 34:

Palestine is the heart of the earth, the meeting of the continents, and the lure of the avaricious since the dawn of history. The Messenger (saas) points to that in his venerable narration when he says to Mu‘ath bin Jabal:

_O Mu‘ath, Allah is going to open for you the Greater Syria (Ash Sham) after me. From Al-Irash⁹ to the Euphrates its men, women, and children are steadfast till the day of resurrection. Whosoever of you chooses a coastal site of Greater Syria or Jerusalem (bayt al-maqdes) then he is in constant Jihad till the Day of Resurrection._

The individuals have envied (in taking) Palestine more than once and they flooded it with armies to fulfill their goals. The hoards of Crusaders carrying their belief and crosses were able to defeat the Muslims for a specific period of time. The

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⁹ **Al-Irash**: One of the major cities in the Sinai Peninsula.
Muslims did not get Palestine back until they gathered under their religious banner and united together, glorified their lord, and took off as Mujahids under the leadership of Salah al-Din al-Ayubi for nearly two decades, and then it was a clear victory, the Crusaders defeated and Palestine liberated. 

*Say to those who reject faith. “Soon will ye be vanquished and gathered together to hell – an evil bed indeed to lie on.”*

(Sura 3: Al-‘Imran: 12)

This is the only way to liberation. There is no doubt in the truth of the historical evidence which is a pattern of the universe and a law of nature – only metal breaks metal – and nothing defeats a corrupt belief except the true belief in Islam because belief can only be defeated by belief, and in the end the victory is for the truth. Truth is victorious.

*Already has our word been passed before (this) to our servants sent (by us), that they would certainly be assisted, and that Our forces they must surely conquer.*

(Sura 37: Saffat: 171-173)

**Article 35:**

The Islamic Resistance Movement considers the defeat of the Crusaders at the hands of Salah al-Din al-Ayubi and liberation of Palestine, and the defeat of the Tartar in the (battle) of ‘Ayn Jalut and the defeat of their forces at the hands of Qatuz and Zhair Baybrus, and the rescue of the world from the destructive onslaught of the Tartar (which destroys) all traces of human civilization, and learns from those (valuable) lessons and wisdom. The current Zionist invasion was preceded by many invasions of the Crusading West and others, including Tartars from the East. As the Muslims confronted those invasions and prepared for fighting and defeating them, they should be able to confront and defeat the Zionist invasion. And that is not difficult for Allah if intentions are pure, efforts are truthful, and if Muslims have benefited from past experiences, have been freed from the effect of the ideological invasion, and have followed the way of their predecessors.

**Postscript**

**The Islamic Resistance Movement are Soldiers**

**Article 36:**
The Islamic Resistance Movement, while forging its way to emphasize time and time again to all our people – the Arab people and Muslim people – that it does not want fame for itself, nor a materialistic gain, nor a social status, and is not placed against any of our people so it can rival or take their place, will never be against any of the Muslims or the peacefulness of the non-Muslims, in this place or any place, and it shall not be except as an aid to all societies and organizations working against the Zionist enemy and those in its orbit. The Islamic Resistance Movement depends on Islam as a way of life, on its belief, its religion, and on whoever adopts Islam as a way of life whether he is here or there, be it an organization, committee, or group. The Islamic Resistance Movement is nothing but its soldiers. Nothing but.

We ask Allah to guide us and guide (others) through us and to decide between us and our people with the truth.

\textit{Our Lord! Decide thou between us and our people in truth, for thou art the best to decide.}

\textit{(Sura 7: A‘raf: 89)}

And our last prayer is “All praise is due to Allah, Lord of the Universe.”

Palestine: 1 Muharam 1409 A.H.
18 August 1988 A.D.