

**HAMAS AND ISRAEL :
CHALLENGE AND RESPONSE
(1987-1998)**

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Lt. Col. Behram A. Sahukar

**CENTRE FOR WEST ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
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जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110 067

Centre for West Asian and
African Studies
School of International Studies

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the M.Phil Dissertation entitled **Hamas and Israel : Challenge and Response (1987-1998)** Submitted by Lt.Col.B. A. Sahukar in partial fulfillment for the award of degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is his original work. This has not been published or submitted to any other University for any other purpose. We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Dr. A.K. Pasha
(Supervisor)

Prof. Girijesh Pant
(Chairperson)

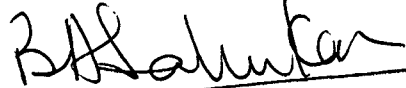
Chairman
Centre for West Asian and African Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067.

*Dedicated to
my loving parents Brigadier Adi K. and Nergish A. Sahukar,
my darling wife Rita,
and
The Third Battalion,
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ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS

UNGA	-	United Nations General Assembly
UNIFIL	-	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNIO	-	United Nations Information Office.
ANO	-	Abu Nidal Organisation
UNRWA	-	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
OTs	-	Occupied Territories
IDF	-	Israeli Defence Force
DOP	-	Declaration of Principles
SLA	-	South Lebanon Army
PLA	-	Palestinian Liberation Army
UNLU	-	United National Leadership of the Uprising
PA	-	Palestinian Authority

INTRODUCTION

The cancer of terrorism and political violence as a worldwide problem is here to stay. The use of terrorism as a method of warfare is as old as war itself. Perhaps no other country has been as much the target of rabid violence in recent times as has Israel. It is ironic that a country that used terrorism as a method to rid itself of the British and the Arabs, is today in the forefront of the fight against terrorism.

Since the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979, and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, a new brand of violence has emerged – that in the name of a resurgent, fundamentalist, militant, radical Islam – claiming that a *jihad* in the name of ‘true Islam’ is the only way to rid the world of Western influence and its ‘degenerate’ ways. The fighters, claiming to be the ‘soldiers of Allah’ view the USA and its ‘lackey’ Israel, as their main targets. In their perception, the Western Powers were instrumental in the creation of the State of Israel which is now in illegal occupation of Palestine and the Muslim Holy Places in Jerusalem. Moreover, to them, Israel is also guilty of its reprehensible policies in Palestine against the Palestinians.

In the 1980s, the Party of God – The Hezbollah mounted a successful suicide bombing campaign against US, British, French and Israeli troops in Lebanon, forcing the multinational force to withdraw. The Israelis have been embroiled since 1982, in a debilitating campaign against the Hezbollah, which has been transformed from a terrorist group to a guerrilla force armed with conventional weapons.

The PLO which renounced terrorism (in 1988) in all its forms, and implicitly recognised the right of Israel to co-exist with its neighbours, opened a new chapter with Israel with the signing of the Oslo Accords in September 1993. A new pathway to lasting peace then seemed possible. However, this hope was brutally shattered by suicide bombing attacks by Hamas – a radical Islamic group that was formed inside the occupied Gaza Strip during the *Intifada* in 1987, and operated from it.

The Emergence of Hamas (Harkat al Muqawama al Islamiya)

Hamas is an acronym for the Arabic word for 'Zeal' and is opposed to peace or any form of reconciliation with Israel. Hamas issued a Charter in 1988, which claimed that the whole of Palestine was a 'trust' in the name of Islam and that the 'banner of Islam' must fly over 'all' of it. Taking its cue from the Shiite Hezbollah suicide bomber, Hamas challenged Israel by launching a campaign of terror to discredit the Peace Process; hitting targets in the heart of the Israeli cities of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv and also posing a direct challenge to the PLO leadership of Yasser Arafat.

Because of its vast network of socio-economic facilities, Hamas was able to get outside financial help as well as considerable support from a sizeable segment of the Palestinian population which had suffered due to harsh Israeli policies in the West Bank and Gaza. Hamas claims that only a return to the Koran and its teachings will regain Palestine for the Palestinians. After the 1991 Gulf War, the influence of Hamas increased substantially and that of the PLO diminished, as the Gulf States withdrew funding to the PLO because of its support for Iraq.

Israeli Response – Hamas and the Al Fatah (PLO)

The Hamas campaign effectively focussed international attention back on the Arab Israeli Conflict and stalled the Oslo Peace Process. To safeguard Israeli security, the Labour government which was in power up to 1995, and the newly elected Israeli government under Likud leader B. Netanyahu since 1996, returned to the harsh Israeli policies that had triggered off the *Intifada*. Closures, curfews, imprisonment, deportations, demolition of homes, arrests and interrogations, and assassinations did not deter Hamas from intensifying its operations. Paradoxically, Hamas was first supported and encouraged by Israel in 1987-88 as a counter-weight to the Al Fatah in PLO. Now it had emerged as a formidable challenger. The PLO was pressured by Israel to act against Hamas and curb its operations within the areas handed over to the Palestinian Authority under the Oslo Accords. Further Israeli troop redeployments

were halted and the expansion of Jewish settlements in East Jerusalem and other areas continued unabated. It was re-iterated that Jerusalem would remain the undivided capital of Israel. Israel's policy of 'you can run, but you cannot hide' against terrorists and Hamas' determination to an 'Islamic' solution to regain Palestine led to a cycle of terror and counter-terror.

The Hamas suicide bombing campaign turned Israeli public opinion against the Rabin Government. Jewish extremist backlash led to Yitzhak Rabin's assassination (in November, 1995) and a change of Government from Labour to the Likud party. The slogan 'Land for Peace' was replaced by 'Peace with Security'.

Elimination of terrorism led by Hamas and the security of the Israeli State overshadowed the Oslo Peace Process. The pace of the Peace Process was determined by the involvement of the PLO (PA) and the Israeli authorities against Hamas attacks.

The activities of Hamas seem to be muzzled for the present. However, their spiritual leader Sheikh Yassin was released by Israel in November 1997 after a botched Mossad assassination attempt in Jordan. His release seems to have reinvigorated the movement. Yassin has also been able to get the support of some important Arab States, and also reinforced his ties with Iran.

The study of terrorism in the Arab-Israeli Conflict is an interesting subject for research. The analysis of Hamas as a vibrant, zealous, radical Islamic group; its motivation and zeal, and the Israeli response is an absorbing subject for research which will help the student of West Asia fully understand the complexities of the ongoing Peace Process.

The objective of this Dissertation is to carry out an in-depth study of the resurgence of Islam within the Israeli Occupied Territories, with specific reference to Hamas, during the period 1987-1998, and the Israeli response to safeguard its security. The following aspects are covered:

- a) The debate on the issue of "The definition of Terrorism".

- b) The situation in the Occupied Territories and the salient features of the Israeli policies prior to, and during the *Intifada*.
- b) The emergence of Hamas in December 1987, and the methods it used to gain popular support and legitimacy as 'soldiers of Allah'.
- c) An analysis of the Hamas Charter of 1988, to gain an insight into its ideology and motivation. A study of Hamas's religious and socio-economic network.
- d) The leadership crisis between the PLO and Hamas and the factors leading to Israel's initial encouragement of Hamas.
- e) Backlash of radical Jews and Jewish settlers against the Peace Process and the Labour/Likud policies in the background of Hamas attacks on Jewish targets.
- f) The influence of Lebanese Shiite Hezbollah on Sunni Hamas.
- g) Effect of the Peace Now Movement.
- h) Reasons for objections to the Oslo Accords by Hamas and radical Jews.
- i) The Israeli response to terrorism and the effect of Israeli policies on the Palestinians of the Occupied Territories.
- j) Brief analysis of the Hamas suicide bombing campaign. Effect on Israeli security, Palestinian morale, and economy.
- k) The effect on the Peace process on the PLO leadership.
- l) Future prospects of Israeli security and peace. The predicted future of Hamas and its role or importance vis-à-vis the Peace Process implementation.
- m) A brief analysis of Israeli security measures, and their effectiveness.

The following Research Questions will be addressed during the Dissertation:-

- a) What role has the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, and the support by Iran and the Hezbollah played in spawning Hamas and formulating its ideology? Is Hamas a

terrorist group, or a group fighting for justice in the name of Islam?

- b) In the event of Yasser Arafat's death, can Hamas emerge as an independent mouthpiece for the PA or for the future State of Palestine? Can it gain political legitimacy?
- c) Has PLO and Israeli pressure been able to muzzle Hamas?
- d) Can we expect an international radical Islamic network to aid Hamas against Israel?
- e) What action has Israel taken to safeguard its security interests?
- f) Can Israel continue to alienate the US and continue to refuse to implement the Oslo Agreements on the basis of the terrorist threat?
- g) Should Israel 'talk' to Hamas? What effect will it have on the PLO?
- h) Do Israeli repressive measures spawn more suicide bombers? Is there any defence against such attacks?
- i) What are the chances that the area will slide back to an inferno consumed by terrorism?
- j) What changes can the new government of Ehud Barak (of June 1999) make to re-start the Peace Process?

Hamas seems to have imbibed the Shiite Hezbollah's ideology of the destruction of the State of Israel. The concept of Hamas ideology is based on the pillar of the 'return to true Islam' and the old maxim of 'no recognition, no surrender, no negotiations and no peace' with Israel. Though two major Arab states (Egypt and Jordan) have signed peace treaties with Israel, and many Arab states have improved relations with Israel especially after 1993, most of them are now disappointed with the lack of progress towards peace. US and international support for Israel seems to be dwindling. At the same time, Arafat's leadership is at stake. Hamas seems to be

waiting to seize the initiative. Israel has stated that if Hamas ever wins the election in the PA, Israel will abandon the Oslo Accords. The Palestinians threaten a 'second *Intifada*' if Israel does not honour its commitments.

Hamas claims its legitimacy from the Koran and from Islam, and therefore justifies the acts of violence as a holy war: Israel and most of the world view Hamas as terrorists and therefore as legitimate targets for reprisals including assassinations. These were recently carried out against Ayyash 'the Engineer' (1996), Mohammad Sharif, the Hamas bomber, and the Awadallah brothers (1998). Israel even attempted to kill Mr. Khaled Mashal a Hamas operative in Jordan which failed, and led to the release by Israel in October 1997 of Sheikh Yassin – the spiritual founder of Hamas.

Many countries view terrorism in different ways. The United Nations itself, though always condemning acts of terror, has been unable to come to an internationally acceptable definition of terrorism. The UN has imposed sanctions against Libya and Sudan as sponsors of terrorism. The US had identified Iraq, Libya, Syria, Iran, and North Korea as co-sponsors of terrorism and imposed some measure of trade embargoes. In addition, USA recently retaliated with cruise missiles against targets in Afghanistan and Sudan in response to the Osama Bin Laden group's attacks on US Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in September 1998. The whole Oslo Peace Process today hinges on the subject of the control of terrorism by the PLO against terrorist attacks by Hamas from the areas handed over to the PLO by Israel.

Terrorists work on the Maoist theory of a fish living in a sea of the people. Popular support, a cause and outside help are all still essential for a movement to survive. The questions of terrorism being 'a weapon of the weak against the strong' and that of 'one man's terrorist is another's freedom fighter' still defy resolution. Hamas operates in the name of Islam and the Koran to gain popular support, and to motivate the people to regain Palestine in its entirety. At face value, this seems an unattainable goal.

Hamas has maintained that no part of Palestine can be negotiated away. They capitalise on the Islamic theory that anyone dying in the name of religion against a non-believer will go straight to paradise. The Shiite martyrdom of Imam Ali has been capitalised for motivation of Sunni Hamas martyrs. The military and economic predominance of Israel negates a conventional war. Hamas claims that the loss of one's life for the 'cause' is a small price to pay for Islam, and the liberation of Palestine.

Hamas has never been short of volunteers in the name of Islam. Like the Hezbollah, many videotape their messages before going on suicide missions. Economic pressure by Israel has spawned more popular support for Hamas and marginalised the secular and conciliatory attitude of Arafat and the PLO. The socio-economic policies of Hamas and its transparency in financial matters have been important factors in Hamas's popularity.

Hamas violence invites Israeli repression and counter-terror. Deportations, closures, beatings, torture, assassinations, demolitions, imprisonment and harsh punishments only fuel more terrorist attacks. The counter – terrorism strategy that the answer to violence lies 'not in pouring more troops into the jungle, but in winning the hearts and minds of the people', is as much relevant today after the Oslo Accords, as it was during the Malayan Insurgent movement of 1956. Economic deprivation widens the chasm between the Palestinians and the Israelis. The rise of Jewish extremism, especially amongst the Israeli settlers, has over-shadowed the peace movements like Peace Now. This has increased more terrorist attacks on both sides. The assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and the Jewish attacks in Hebron, including the one by Baruch Goldstein at the Tomb of the Patriarchs killing many Palestinian worshippers, has left an indelible mark on many Jews and Arabs. Religious Jewish opposition to giving up any part of Biblical Israel to the Palestinians, and the Hamas demand for 'all of Palestine' because Judaism and Islam demands it, has brought religion in the way of lasting political settlement in West Asia.

This Dissertation has been divided into four chapters. In Chapter I, Section 1 introduces the reader to a brief background of terrorism in general. In Section 2, the historical background of the claims of both the Jews and the Arabs to Palestine is covered. The Great Powers' strategic interest in the Levant and the Ottoman Empire, the persecution of the Jews and the history of Arab-Israeli terrorism prior to the formation of the PLO is covered. Section 3 takes the reader through the stages of PLO terrorism and the genesis of the Hezbollah suicide bomber in the wake of the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The fourth section of Chapter 1 covers the Israeli policies in the Occupied Territories that led to the Intifada and the rise of Hamas. Chapter II looks at Islamic Fundamentalism and the rationale behind Islamic militancy, and the role Shiite ideology may have played in shaping the Hamas ideology. Chapter III covers Hamas. Its aims, goals, ideology and organisation are covered in fair amount of detail. An attempt is made to analyse its Charter. Chapter IV looks at the Israeli response. The important aspects of security, Jerusalem, settlements, The Peace Process and the effects of the Israeli military and economic retaliations are analysed. In the conclusion, an attempt is made to analyse the future of West Asian peace in the wake of Ehud Barak's election and his promise to make peace with the Palestinians and the Syrians after being elected prime Minister in May 1999.

He has given himself 15 months to resolve the two year old deadlock which has its roots in over 100 years of mistrust and hostility. Will he succeed? Or will Hamas object with bloodshed again?

CHAPTER - I

BACKGROUND TO TERRORISM AND THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

Section 1

Terrorism

Introduction

The word 'terrorism' comes from the Latin 'terrere', meaning 'to frighten'. As a form of warfare, terrorism is easy to recognise but difficult to define with any precision. Despite the fact that terrorism and terrorist acts are universally condemned by governments, there has been a lack of consensus on a globally acceptable definition of terrorism. Many authorities have tried to formulate definitions of terrorism. Quite simply put, terrorism is "the premeditated, threatened or actual use of force or violence to attain a political goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation"¹

In other words, terrorism is a weapon that can be desperately dangerous or counter productive, and like other weapons, such as the sword and the gun, its effectiveness depends on how skillfully it is wielded. The stock-in-trade of terrorism is to arouse the human emotion of fear and insecurity, thus intimidating a person to do, or not to do, something against his will. Most people fear death, or at least the manner of dying, and nearly every human being fears pain, injury, torture, or mutilation.

The objective of political terrorism is to force a government, a people, or a group of people to surrender to political blackmail or subjugation. The spark that often ignites an insurrection, with the attendant use of terrorism, is the sustained exploitation and repression of a people longing to be free. They become politically frustrated and seething with discontent, are ready to kill and maim, and are willing to

¹ E.F. Mickolus, Todd Sandler, Jean M. Murdock, *International Terrorism in the 1980's: A Chronology of Events, 1980-83* (Iowa State University, 1989) p.i.

die in the attempt rather than suffer further oppression. Terrorism is frequently referred to as the 'poor man's warfare', or a 'weapon of the weak against the strong'.²

Those who resort to using the weapon of terror often consider themselves to be freedom fighters struggling against oppression to establish a legitimate and desirable political objective. On the other hand, established authorities consider them to be insurgent terrorists with subversive and criminal motives. Hence, the well-worn expression, 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter.' Edgar O'Ballance has classified terrorists as rural, urban, and international. However, of late, a new breed of fighters in the name of Islam have emerged on the international scene. Such fighters who are sworn to launch a *Jihad* (holy war) at all costs for the preservation of Islam, are referred to as Islamic militants or Islamic terrorists. This aspect will be covered later in the dissertation.

In an internal war situation, terrorism is a symbolic act designed to influence political behaviour by extranormal means, entailing the use, or the threat of use, of violence. Since terror is a weapon with political implications, it should be considered in its relationship to the entire spectrum of the political agitation. Some diagnose terrorism as a popular form of the ultimate protest, while others describe it as the use of indiscriminate violence to instil fear. When such violence has its ultimate objective the intimidation, subversion, or destruction of structures and processes of public authority, we speak of political terrorism.

No single theory can cover the variety of terrorist movements, as their aims, members, beliefs, and resources are extremely diverse. Terrorism has been used as a means of unconventional warfare by a growing number of minorities and factions which have either been too weak to launch a general insurrection, or have tried and failed. Terrorism can be briefly defined as 'the use of threats against life, limb, and property, in order to coerce a target government or community into submitting out of fear and insecurity, to the terrorists' aims and demands'.³ It has aptly been described as the 'weapon of the weak, pretending to be strong',⁴ and has an obvious attraction

² Quoted in *The Encyclopaedia of World Terrorism* (ME Sharpe, New York, 1997), p.20.

³ Quoted in *The Global Report on Terrorism: 1989* (US Department of State, Washington DC), p.4.

⁴ Paul Wilkinson, *Political Terrorism* (Macmillan, London, 1976), p.18.

for desperate and fanatical groups that are unable to win an outright political or military victory. Walter Laquer defines terrorism as, “the use of terror for political purposes among the civil population”⁵. All terrorists seek primarily to exploit the psychology of fear. Unpredictability is an essential factor in the process of the effectiveness of terror, as it creates a feeling of insecurity and dread.

Terrorists seek to create a climate of fear and insecurity resulting in a lack of confidence in the government and a demand for the government to exercise harsher methods and a stronger resolve in combating terrorism. This in turn leads to ‘state terror’ and the imposition of strict laws; a curb on the freedom of the population leading to an alienation of the people, and maximum publicity of the terrorists’ cause and demands. Counter-terrorism measures by a government makes it difficult for the terrorist group to operate freely and this leads to the expansion of the target areas outside the country, perhaps in collaboration with other groups. The vulnerable targets get internationalised leading to international terrorism and a nexus between various terrorist groups round the world.

Terrorism begins either as a struggle for liberation from perceived domination, or against an allegedly oppressive domestic regime. In both cases, terrorism occurs because more potent and meaningful forms of political violence have become ineffectual or are beyond the means and resources of the regime’s opponents. Terrorism is generally, but not always, directed at targets which have symbolic value in addition to, or independent of, any tactical or strategic value. It is the symbolic value which usually transcends the direct significance of any specific target, and is aimed at influencing political decision-making through fear and intimidation. One of the primary ingredients of political terrorism is random violence; where all people are targets and no one is safe. The objective of political terrorism is to force a government or a group of people to surrender to political subjugation or blackmail.

In the period 1970-73, approximately 20 percent of all international terrorism incidents were directly related to the Palestinian cause⁶. By 1975, the proportion had

⁵ Encyclopaedia of World Terrorism, n.2, p.20.

⁶ Edgar O’Ballance, *Terrorism in the 1980s* (Sterling, London, 1989), p.3.

dropped to 10 percent⁷. Palestinian terrorism has played a major role in the escalation of international terrorism. A massive upsurge in international terrorism began in 1967-1968 in the wake of the crushing Arab defeat during the Six Day War. Between 1968 and 1972, terrorist attacks increased by 400 percent from about 50 to over 200 incidents per year. In 1978, terrorist incidents were pegged at about 250 per year.⁸

Paul Wilkinson states that, "Political terrorism may be briefly defined as coercive intimidation. It is the systematic use of murder and destruction in order to terrorize individuals, groups, communities or governments into conceding to the terrorists' political demands."⁹ The Rand Corporation defines terrorism by the nature of the act, not by the identity of the perpetrators or the nature of their cause. All terrorist acts are crimes - murder, kidnapping, arson. Many would also be violations of the Rules of War; all involve violence or the threat of violence often coupled with specific demands. The violence is directed mainly against civilian targets. The motives are usually political. The actions are generally carried out in a way that will achieve maximum publicity. Unlike criminals, the members of a terrorist group normally claim credit for the act. Finally, the act is intended to produce effects beyond the immediate physical damage. Sometimes, all a group really wants is publicity independent of the political demands. The advent of the visual media like television greatly increases the reach and impact of the terrorist groups. Grant Wardlaw emphasises the point that terrorists are not mindless murders who kill at random. Terrorists, he says choose their method of attack and their targets with care. It is a deliberate means to an end. Terrorism has its objectives; and the attacks are designed to create maximum fear, panic, and insecurity, as well as achieve maximum publicity.¹⁰ Benjamin Netanyahu defines terrorism as "the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming and menacing of the innocent to inspire fear for political ends".¹¹

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Wilkinson, n.4, p.20.

¹⁰ Encyclopaedia of World Terrorism, n.2, p.22.

¹¹ Benjamin Netanyahu, ed, **Terrorism: How the West Can Win**, (Collins, Toronto, 1988), p.9.

Terrorism and the UN

Countries under colonial rule exercised the right of an 'armed struggle' to rid themselves of their colonisers. Since the groups that were under occupation were always weaker than their 'masters', the use of terrorism by itself, or in conjunction with guerrilla warfare, was often resorted to. The UN Document of December 1973, portrayed terrorism as "emanating from misery, frustration, grievance, and despair which cause some people to sacrifice human lives, including their own, in an attempt to effect radical social change". In 1977 when the UN was drafting a convention on hostage taking, the Tanzanian delegation insisted that the UN should recognise the inalienable right of freedom fighters to take up arms to fight their oppressors; and that people held in perpetual bondage could not be stopped from taking their oppressors hostage, if that became inevitable. The only type of terrorism which the resolution acknowledged was that of 'colonial' and 'racist' regimes denying people their right to self determination. It did not recognise State terrorism. However, the UN did pass a resolution protecting the lives of diplomats; branding any acts of violence against them as illegal.¹²

There have been many international conventions to try and combat terrorism. Some of these are:

- The 1937 Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism.
- Conventions for the Suppression of Unlawful Interference with Operations of Air Services (1963 to 1971).
- The 1973 Convention to Protect Diplomats Against Acts of Terrorism.
- The 1977 European Convention on Suppression of Terrorism.
- The 1979 International Convention Against the Taking of Hostages.

In November 1972, in the wake of the September 1972 Munich Massacre by the Black September Organization, 93 Nations participated in a general debate on

¹² UN Report of the ad hoc Committee on International Terrorism UN General Assembly Official Records, 28th Session, September 1973.

International Terrorism. Not a single state went on record in support of terrorist activities, but the stand taken on the prohibition of terrorism as a method of violence did reflect the essential differences between policies i.e. criminal acts versus an armed struggle against oppression and terror perpetrated by the state.¹³

The cancer of terrorism has spread from America to Europe, and from Asia to Africa. Terrorism is seen by some as a Hydra. As one eliminates it in one place, it re-emerges again in a more virulent form in another.¹⁴

Summary

Terrorism is a cancer that has eroded the fabric of governmental authority. It has both national and international dimensions. While terrorists in the past had the overthrow of an oppressive as their aim, there has been a new breed of fighters who are willing to resort to indiscriminate violence in the name of Islam and for the destruction of Israel and the West.

Terrorism has defied both a universal definition and a universal solution. Yet it seems to be a universal phenomenon, and no country seems safe from this form of violence.

Even the UN - a world body, has failed in its attempts to formulate a globally acceptable definition of terrorism. The debate of 'terrorist' versus 'freedom fighter' is an unending one.

¹³ Yogesh K. Tyagi, "Political Terrorism: National and International Dimensions", *Indian Journal of International Law*, Vol.27, April-September 1987, p.162.

¹⁴ Hydra was a many headed monster in Greek mythology which grew more heads as soon as one or more were cut off.

Section 2

The Jews, Arabs, and The Great Powers

The Jewish Links With Palestine

The phrase, 'the wandering Jews' has become familiar in the English language to describe the fate of the Jews throughout history. Despite their attempts to assimilate in the country or society in which they lived, they were persecuted and demeaned and exiled from their 'promised land'. But wherever they were, they never forgot their roots and vowed to return to their ancient land of Israel and to the hills of Zion. (See Map 1).

The Jews claim their links with Palestine as far back as 1800 BC when the Patriarch Abraham led a group of nomads - the Israelites from Ur in Mesopotamia (modern Iraq), to the land of Canaan (in present day West Israel). The Jews consider themselves 'the chosen people of God' to inhabit Palestine as their 'promised land' for all time. In 1250 BC, the Israelites were forced to move to Egypt to avoid starvation by famine which had ravaged Canaan. In Egypt, the Israelites were put under bondage as slaves by the Pharaohs for almost 400 years. Then, they were led out of slavery by Moses to the Promised Land Of Israel. After 40 years of wandering in the wilderness, Joshua conquered the Promised Land for the Jews. The Israelites were united under Saul(c.1024-1004 BC) and later under King David (c.1004-965 BC). David is considered Israel's saviour and greatest king as he united the kingdoms of Israel and Judea and made Jerusalem the capital of the unified kingdom. The 'Shield of David' is incorporated in the modern Israeli flag. David was followed by Solomon who built the first temple in Jerusalem in 950 BC. After Solomon's death, the Jews were conquered first by the Assyrians and then by King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon. The Temple was destroyed(586 BC) and the Jews led into exile and captivity. However, it is said that the Jews never forgot their heritage or their links with Jerusalem, or that the lands of Judea and Samaria and Israel were 'promised' to them by God for all time to inhabit Eretz (Biblical) Israel.

The Persian conquest of the Babylonian Empire and Judea and Samaria(538-322 BC) allowed the Jews to return to Israel and rebuild the Second Temple by the

grace of the Persian Emperor Cyrus the Great. Thereafter, the land was under brief occupation by Alexander the Great(332-163 BC) and the Seleucids, with a brief period of Jewish autonomy under the Hasmonean dynasty. The Roman Rule from 63 BC to 313 AD was the most catastrophic for the Jews. In 70 AD, the Romans under Titus, burnt down the city of Jerusalem and destroyed the Second Temple. Thousands of Jews were scattered to different parts of the world. From 70-73 AD, nearly 1000 Jewish men, women and children occupied and fortified King Herod's mountain-top palace complex of Masada near the Dead Sea. They held out against repeated Roman attempts to dislodge them. When the Romans finally scaled Masada, they found that the defenders and their families had chosen to die by their own hands rather than be enslaved again. In recent years, Masada has become a symbol of the Jewish people's determination to be free in their own land. Sometimes, the term 'The Masada Complex' and 'siege mentality' is used to denote the Jews' over-riding concern bordering on paranoia, for their survival. Many Israeli leaders have made the statement during speeches on Israeli security that "Masada shall not fall again."

In 132 AD, after another Jewish revolt was brutally put down, the Romans built Aelia Capitolana, a new Jerusalem, after totally destroying the old city. Jews were forbidden entry into certain portions of the city or the province of Judea as it was then called. Later, the Romans renamed the area Syria-Palestina(also Philistia after the Philistines), and began to settle it with non-Jews. By the end of the 4th Century, following the Emperor Constantine's conversion to Christianity, and the founding of the Byzantine empire, Palestine became a predominantly Christian country. Judaism existed for the most part, in the Jewish Diaspora rather than within Palestine. Byzantine rule spanned the years 313-636 with a brief period of Persian rule.

Arab Links With Palestine

The Arabs too claim an ancient attachment to the land of Palestine. Arabs and Jews are descendants of the same patriarch, Abraham. One of his sons Ishmael, founded the Arab tribes and the other, Isaac, fathered the Jewish tribes. While Muhammad was expounding the new religion of Islam, he and his followers faced Holy Jerusalem during their prayers. Though Muhammad received his revelations in Saudi Arabia, he began his holy journey to heaven from the site of the Al Aqsa

mosque in Jerusalem and finally ascended to heaven from the site over which the Caliph Omar later built the Dome Of The Rock mosque. To Muslims, Al Aqsa (the furthest one), is the third holiest mosque after Mecca and Medina. In addition, though the Jews were frequently conquered and exiled from Palestine, the Arabs have continued to live there uninterrupted for thousands of years. Further, the Muslims have been rulers of Palestine for almost 1250 years from 636 to 1917 when Ottoman rule came to an end. (See Map 2).

The Arabs conquered Palestine in 636, and their rule lasted till 1099, under the Umayyid, Abbasid, and Fatimid Dynasties. The Caliphs ruled from Damascus, and then from Baghdad and Egypt. During this period, the influence of Judaism and the Jews further declined and there was a clash between Christianity and Islam.

The Crusades

From 1099-1291 the country was dominated by the Crusaders who tried to wrest the Holy Land from the Muslims following an appeal by Pope Urban II. Jews were massacred by the Crusaders when Jerusalem was captured in 1099, and the Jews suffered further persecution. Following the overthrow of the Crusaders in 1187 by the great Kurdish warrior Saladin, the Jews were again accorded some measure of freedom including the right to live in Jerusalem. From 1291-1516, the Mamlukes ruled from Damascus. Following the Ottoman conquest by Selim I in 1517, Palestine was divided into four districts, attached administratively to the province of Damascus and ruled from Istanbul. The Jews were given a special status (*dhimmi*) under the Ottomans (see Map 3) and they were also allowed to settle in Palestine. Though they were heavily taxed, the Jews in Palestine were not persecuted as they had been in Czarist Russia, Spain and Eastern Europe.

After the Eighth Crusade, which commenced in 1270, only a handful of Crusaders stayed on in Palestine within a complex of castles and forts which can be seen even today. They formed the Order of the Knights Hospitalers and the Knights Templars. The Jews flourished under Islamic rule, especially under Suleiman the Magnificent. In Moorish Spain, there was a Jewish Golden Age to complement the Islamic culture in the cities of Cairo, Baghdad, Damascus and Cordoba. In 1258, the

Mongols sacked Baghdad (Abbasid Empire) and plunged the Arab World into the Dark Ages.

Jews and Christians

While the Jews lived in large measure of amity with the Muslims, they were being continually persecuted by the Christians all over Europe and in Russia. Christians looked upon Jews as the race that had sent Jesus Christ to his death by crucifixion. The Jews were also singled out because of their close association with the Muslims.

From the 12th Century onwards, Jews were expelled and persecuted by the Christian Church in Germany, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, France, England, Italy, Poland, Portugal and Russia. The Spanish Inquisition and the Russian Pogroms (1882-1903, 1904-14) took a high death toll of Jews. The Jews suffered more under the Crusaders and Christians than under the Arabs. Yet paradoxically, during the First World War (1914-1918), the Jews sided with the Christians rather than with the Arabs.

Persecution of Jews in Europe

The Jews were persecuted as under:

1100	1500 Jews flee Germany
1266	Poland: Jews cannot live with Christians
1268	Total destruction of Jewish community in Italy
1279	Hungary – Jews to wear special sign.
1290	Edward I expels Jews from England.
1355	12,000 massacred in Spain
1391	50,000 Jews killed in Majorca
1391	Jews massacred in Sicily
1412	Jews in Castille shifted to ghettos
1420	Jews expelled from France.
1492	160,000 Jews expelled from Spain. 20,000 Jews killed.
1494	Poland : Jews shifted to ghettos in Cracow.
1498	All Jews massacred in Portugal.
1541	Jews expelled from Naples.
1550	Jews expelled from Genoa.

Source: Ron David, *Arabs and Israel for Beginners* (Writers and Readers Publishing, New York, 1993). The table does cover the Holocaust where six million Jews perished, or the Russian Pogroms.

The Great Powers And Palestine

Britain's interest in the Levant and Egypt commenced with the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon in 1798. His advance into Palestine further alarmed the British who wanted to protect their strategic interests in India. The French were driven out in 1801 by a joint force of Britain and Turkey. In addition, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, made the Levant and Egypt of strategic importance to Britain. Russian expansionist designs in Persia, Crimea and Afghanistan, and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, brought the strategic importance of Palestine and West Asia to the forefront of British imperialist policy. Further, the Jewish influence in Britain and other political and strategic considerations led the British to issue the Balfour Declaration of November 1917. This declaration has been described by one obscure author as "one nation, solemnly promised by a second, the country of a third". The British promise to the Jews of a homeland in Palestine was seemingly thought by them as giving to the Jews, an 'uninhabited' desert waste-land i.e. "a country without people, to a people without a country"¹⁵. In 1917, British Forces under General Allenby along with three battalions of the Jewish Legion captured Jerusalem. The Allied victory against Turkey and Germany resulted in the end of the First World War and the breakup of the Ottoman Empire.

Though the foundation of political Zionism is accredited to Theodore Herzl in 1897, Sir Moses Montefiore a wealthy Jew had proposed the establishment of a Jewish state as far back as 1839, gaining the support of some influential Christians from Europe. Herzl first approached the Ottoman Sultan for a homeland in Palestine, but was refused. Thereafter, the British offered Uganda, Argentina and even Mongolia as a homeland for the Jews. It was only after the Balfour Declaration in November 1917, that Palestine was seriously considered by the British as a Jewish homeland. (See Map 4).

Origins of Terrorism in the Arab-Israeli Conflict

The Jews and the Arabs in Palestine have been victims of terror. At the same time, Jews and Arabs used terrorist acts against each other and against the British

¹⁵ Attributed to Chaim Weizman, President of the World Zionist Congress in 1914 at Paris.

during the mandate. Israel has been accused of using State terror against the Palestinians which in turn unleashed terrorist attacks on Israel. Terrorism and counter-terrorism is an unending cycle. In the first century, when Palestine was under Roman occupation, Jewish zealots called the Sicari assassinated Romans and Jewish collaborators. Their aim was to free Palestine from Roman rule. In the 10th Century, the Assassins, a Shiite Muslim group in Iran assassinated corrupt and despotic rulers and were willing to die in the attempt. They also killed Crusaders for being in occupation of the Holy Land.

The origins of the present Arab-Jewish terrorism can be traced to World War I. This conflict marked the end of the Ottoman Empire and its subsequent partition amongst the Victors. During the War, Britain made promises (see Map 5) to both the Jews and the Arabs in order to gain their support against Germany, and to sow dissent amongst the Arabs within the Ottoman Empire. These promises concerned the future of the Arabs and the Jews in the postwar West Asia. However, after the War, it became clear that it was impossible for Britain to grant the expectations of one people without alienating the other. The stage was set for an era of strife, mistrust, and continuous hostility marked by periodic wars and large scale terrorist campaigns that has lasted to this day. While the Balfour Declaration promised a homeland in Palestine to the Jews, the Arabs were promised independence under a united Arab kingdom at the end of the War. At the end of the First World War, the British did not keep their promise to the Arabs to grant them total independence. Under the Mandate System, Palestine, including Transjordan became a mandated territory of Britain (effective September 1923), while France was given Syria and Lebanon. (See Map 6).

In the Mandate for Palestine, Britain was also made responsible to take suitable measures leading to the eventual establishment of a homeland for the Jews as laid down in the Balfour Declaration. A large scale immigration of Jews, and purchase of land by them changed the demographic composition of Palestine and threatened the very existence of the Arabs who were already there. At the end of World War I, Palestine had some 700,000 inhabitants of whom 80 percent were Muslims, 10 percent Christian, and 10 percent Jews. By 1947, when the British

decided to hand over Palestine to the UN (see Map 7 & 8), the population of Palestine had increased to two million, of which one third were Jewish. This influx of massive migration of Jews into Palestine was the key political issue of the inter-war years. (See Maps 8A to 8D).

Jewish Immigration into Palestine (1920 – 1989)

Year	Immigrants	Year	Immigrants
1920	5514	1933	30327*
1921	9149	1934	42359*
1922	7844	1935	61854*
1923	7421	1936	29727
1924	12856	1937	10536
1925	33801	1938	12868
1926	13081	1939	16405
1927	2713	1948-51	686748
1928	2178	1952-56	147777
1929	5249	1957-66	421223
1930	4944	1967-75	309784
1931	4075	1989 onwards	700000
1932	9553		



* Rise in influx due to exodus from Germany following Hitler's rise to power after the defeat of Hindenburg as Chancellor.

Source : Peter Mansfield (ed.), The Middle East: A Political and Economic Survey (Fourth Edition) (Oxford University Press, 1973) p.58, and Facts About Israel, Ellen Hirsh (ed.), Israel Information Office, Jerusalem, 1996).

A series of Arab uprisings took place in 1920, 1921, 1925, 1927, 1929 and 1936 against the British policy of unchecked Jewish immigration. In 1931, Izz al-Din al-Qassam, an Islamic cleric, organised a terrorist group in Palestine to attack Jewish settlements and liberate the territory from British rule. He was killed in 1935. To this day, he is considered a hero and a martyr by the Palestinians (in 1988, the militant group Hamas named its military wing the 'Izz al- Din Al- Qassam Brigade' in his

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memory). With the rise of Hitler in Germany in 1933, and his virulent anti-Semite policy, more and more Jews migrated from Eastern Europe, Germany and Russia to Palestine and elsewhere. In addition, large tracts of Arab land in Palestine were purchased outright by the Jewish Agency and rich Jews, causing insecurity amongst the Arabs who were not so well off.

To appease the Arabs, and garner their support during the Second World War, the British restricted Jewish immigration into Palestine causing a Jewish backlash. The Jews had served with the Allied Forces during World War I and had some military experience in addition to carrying arms while the Arabs were mainly Bedouin tribes who lived a nomadic life within a few settlements. During World War II as well, the Jews with the help of the British formed the Jewish Brigade and thus they had a fair amount of arms and military experience at the end of the War in 1945.

Terrorist organisations sprung up on both sides. The Arab ones were not as organised as the Jewish ones. Of particular mention were the Jewish Irgun Zvai Leumi(1937) and its splinter group the Stern Gang. By 1939, the cycle of Arab-Jewish violence cost the lives of 3232 Arabs , 329 Jews, and 135 Britons. By the end of 1946, Irgun and the Stern Gang had killed 373 people, of whom some 300 were civilians¹⁶. Two future prime Ministers of Israel, Menachim Begin and Yizthak Shamir were leaders of these groups. Some infamous acts of Jewish terrorism were the assassination of Lord Moyne in Cairo in 1944, the King David Hotel bombing in 1946, the assassination of Count Bernadotte the UN mediator in 1948. Of all the Jewish terrorist attacks, the massacre of 254 Arabs in the village of Dier Yassin by the Irgun and the Stern Gang in April 1948 is deeply imprinted in the Arab mind even today.

With the situation spiraling out of control, the British decided that their continued presence in Palestine was untenable. In February 1947, Britain referred the Palestine Question to the newly formed United Nations with the intention of giving up the Mandate and evacuate Palestine by 1948. The UN proposed a Partition Plan that was unacceptable to the Arabs, but which ended Britain's mandate over Palestine on

¹⁶ The Encyclopaedia of World Terrorism, n.2, p.102.

15 May 1948. The British evacuation led to the First Arab- Israeli War and the creation of the Jewish State of Israel. (Maps 9-12).

The 1948 War dispossessed 700,000 Palestinians of their homes (Map 13) and their land, and created a Palestinian Diaspora that vowed return and revenge to set right the wrong done to them. This war is referred to as the 'Nakbah' - 'The Catastrophe. Everything was lost but nothing is forgotten.' This war and the subsequent displacement of the Palestinians, sowed the seeds of further conflict and hostility between the Palestinians and the Jews. At the end of the War, the Palestinians had lost West Jerusalem, and a large part of the areas allotted to it under the UN Partition Plan. The West Bank of the Jordan River was annexed by Amir Abdullah of Transjordan on 4th April 1950 (renamed Jordan) and his Army also occupied East Jerusalem (see Map 14). Having been driven away from their lands, the Palestinians resorted to guerrilla actions against the Israelis launching their attacks from the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, the Sinai, and Syria. These attacks attracted severe Israeli retaliation. The Israelis used strong military forces including naval and air bombardment against the Palestinian *fedayeen* bases but the guerrilla war went on. (See Maps 15 & 16).

The 1967 Six Day War which brought about the humiliating defeat of the Arab armies, established Israeli predominance in the region. The Palestinians lost the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and the City of Jerusalem. Egypt lost the whole of the Sinai Peninsula and Syria lost the strategic Golan Heights (see Map 17). The Palestinian Liberation Organisation(PLO), which was formed in Cairo in 1964, realised that in future they would have to fight for their homeland by themselves, and could not expect or demand other Arabs to fight for their cause. In addition to guerrilla attacks by PLO *fedayeen* from their bases in Gaza Strip, Jordan, and Lebanon, the PLO splinter groups such as the PFLP, PFLP-GC, Abu Nidal Group carried out gruesome terrorist attacks on Israeli targets round the world (see Maps 18-21). These attacks attracted severe Israeli response including deportations, demolition of homes, arrests and imprisonment, assassinations and imposition of military rule in the Occupied territories. Further, Israel declared that Jerusalem was now the

undivided capital of Israel and annexed the Eastern part of it thus effectively unifying the city.

The 1967 War caused a shock in West Asia. The swift defeat of the Arabs destroyed Nasser's credibility as the pre-eminent leader, and also undermined Syria's claim for leadership. Egypt faced a severe economic crisis because of the cost of the on going war in Yemen and the war against Israel, loss of revenue from the closed Suez Canal and the loss of the Sinai oil fields. King Hussein also lost credibility as he had not been able to protect the Holy Sites in Jerusalem from falling into Israeli hands.

The Ramadan War and the Oil Weapon

The October 1973 War (see Map 22) launched by President Sadat of Egypt, in cooperation with President Assad of Syria, restored some Arab pride and broke the myth of Israeli invincibility. Though the war itself did not resolve years of Arab-Israeli hostility, it set the beginnings of the Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel in 1979 (at Camp David). The Ramadan War also saw the use of the oil weapon as a measure of Arab power to influence world opinion and world economy as the price of oil was increased almost four times by 1974. The oil weapon and its effect on the world economy brought a resurgence of Arab and Islamic pride.

Summary

Both the Jews and radical Arabs claim to be the chosen people destined by their God to live forever in Palestine. The defeat of the Ottoman Empire and conflicting promises by the British to the Arabs and the Jews, led to the UN Partition Plan of 1947. However, the seeds of Jewish-Arab hostility were sown by the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the large scale immigration of Jews into Palestine, which changed its demography. The Holocaust gave the Jews international sympathy for their quest for a safe haven in Palestine. Both Jews and Arabs resorted to terrorism. Jewish attacks against the Arabs and the British were particularly barbaric.

The Ramadan War of 1973 broke the myth of Israeli invincibility and restored Arab pride. It was also to bring to the fore the 'oil weapon' and a resurgence in Arab and Islamic pride.

Section 3

The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and The Hezbollah

The PLO And The Arab States

An umbrella body, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was set up in early 1964, to enable Palestinians to play their part in liberating Palestine and determining their own future. The decision to establish the PLO was taken at a summit of the Arab League. The PLO held its first congress in May-June 1964 in East Jerusalem then under Jordanian control, where it adopted the Palestine National Charter, which called for the establishment of a democratic and secular state in the Palestine constituted by the British mandate. Each of the affiliated bodies was represented on the Palestine National Council (PNC), which elected a central council and an executive committee. The PLO's importance increased in the aftermath of the defeat suffered by the Arab states in the June 1967 Arab-Israeli War. A change in the Charter in 1968, which declared 'armed struggle' to be the only way to liberate Palestine, paved the way for the affiliation of radical groups. In 1968, Yasser Arafat, leader of Fatah, the largest of the parties affiliated to the PLO, became its Chairman. Following the Arab-Israeli War of October 1973, the PNC adopted the idea of a Palestinian state in the Occupied Territories as a transient stage for the liberation of all mandated Palestine. Later that year, the Arab League recognized the PLO as 'the sole representative of the Palestinian people', and granted it membership of the League.

Arafat participated in a debate on the Palestinian question at the United Nations General Assembly in mid-November 1974. On 22nd November, the UN General Assembly Resolution 3236, described the PLO as 'the representative of the Palestinian people', reaffirmed the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and national independence, and the 'right of return' of the Palestinian refugees to their homes and property. The PLO was also given an Observer status at the UN¹⁷.

By the late 1970s, the PLO had won the formal recognition of over 100 countries, far more than Israel. Its annual budget of \$500 million consisted of \$350

¹⁷ On November 22, 1974 under UNGA resolution No.3237 (XXIX).

million in grants by oil-rich Arab states and \$150 million in indirect Palestine taxes collected by the Arab states, mainly in the Gulf, all of which were paid into the Palestine National Fund. It commanded some 23,000-armed guerrillas and 8-10,000 troops of the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA)¹⁸. The groups affiliated to the PLO were the Arab Liberation Front, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Fatah, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command.

Following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982, the PLO, including its commands and PLA troops, were evacuated from Beirut and dispersed to several Arab countries. The PLO headquarters moved to Tunis. There, its policies became progressively moderate. After the eruption of *Intifada* in the Gaza Strip in December 1987, the PLO backed it, and its adherents in the Occupied Territories became part of the United National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU).

Following the declaration on 15 November 1988 by the PNC of the independence and establishment of the State of Palestine 'on our Palestinian land', on the basis of the UN General Assembly Resolution 181 of November 1947, 70 of the 103 countries that had recognized the PLO accorded it full diplomatic status including India which was the first developing country to do so¹⁹. The relationship between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Arab states had a tremendous influence on terrorist incidents in the Middle East during the 1980s. In theory, the long-term goal of all Arab states was to "liberate Palestine from Zionist imperialism."

The PLO And Terrorism

The PLO itself developed enormously during the 1970s and 1980s under the leadership of Yasser Arafat. With his Fatah faction dominating decision-making bodies, it took on all the trappings of a government in exile. Many guerrilla and terrorist organizations took part in the formalities of running the PLO. There were eight main groups. The more important ones were;

- Fatah normally sought a compromise peace.

¹⁸ Encyclopaedia of World Terrorism, n.2, p.65.

¹⁹ Bansidhar Pradhan, "India's Policy Towards the PLO", in Riyaz Punjabi and A K Pasha, eds, *India and the Islamic World* (Radiant Publishers New Delhi, 1998) p.65.

- The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which is dominated by Marxist leaders who also sought to unify the Arab states.
- The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine which is a Marxist splinter group that broke away from the PFLP in 1969.
- Saiqa (Arabic for Thunderbolt) is a Syrian supported guerrilla force.

There were four major elements in the PLO's attitude to terrorism during the 1970s and 1980s²⁰. Firstly, the organization sought international respect and so was willing to negotiate and compromise. Secondly, the PLO needed to keep a loyal following among the Arabs living in the Occupied Territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Thirdly, it had to deal with the attitude of the Israeli government towards an Arab-Israeli peace settlement. Fourthly, it had to cooperate with the host states for its military bases and political administration. Arafat gave priority to gaining diplomatic recognition for the PLO from the international community. At various times during the 1970s and 1980s, he pursued a policy of restraining PLO members seeking violent confrontations with Israel.

However, groups inside the PLO, which adopted the name 'rejectionist', defied Arafat and Fatah. In particular, some of the PFLP and Abu Nidal's Fatah Revolutionary Council tried to smash attempts at compromise in the period from 1973 to 1975. Indeed, Arafat's appearances as a world statesman who was prepared to compromise with Israel may actually have provoked these rejectionists to terrorist acts.

Fatah, the most moderate group in the PLO, did not altogether reject terrorism either, and certainly encouraged it during 1974 -1975. Fatah directed its strategy of violence against specific Israeli targets in Israel and the Occupied Territories rather than attacking people and property around the globe. Terrorist attacks took the shape of anything from a random grenade attack in Tel Aviv, to the bombardment of Galilee by Katushya rockets, to the taking of civilian hostages. Fatah worked within the PNC to bring the rest of the PLO membership around to their viewpoint, and the number of PLO terrorist acts taking place outside Israel declined during the 1980s.

²⁰ Encyclopaedia of World Terrorism, n.2, p.65.

A critical factor for the PLO's use of terrorism was the Israeli attitude²¹. Israeli retaliation for Arab terrorist attacks varied according to the seriousness of the acts. There was no doubt that the right-wing Likud party, which came to power in Israel in 1977, was more than willing to take swift military action against terrorist attacks. A more aggressive Israeli strategy, one associated with Ariel Sharon, resulted in the invasions of Lebanon in 1978 and in 1982. In particular, Palestinians were convinced that Israeli forces had conspired with Christian Lebanese Phalangist militia in organizing the massacres of Palestinians at the Sabra and Chatila refugee camps in 1982. Such incidents were used by some Palestinians to justify their own retaliation. The artillery and aerial bombardment by Israel of Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon only served to compound such attitudes.

The history of Middle Eastern terrorism between 1970 and 1987 can, to a large extent, be told in terms of the relationship between the PLO and the Arab states. In 1970, the PLO was based in Jordan. From here, since 1969, the PFLP had carried out its campaign of hijackings that culminated in September 1970 with the incident at Dawson's Field in Jordan, when three international jetliners were hijacked, flown to Jordan, and blown up in full view of international TV cameras. Many within the Palestinian organizations, and especially the PFLP, believed that it was necessary to overthrow Jordan's King Hussein to retain their bases. However, Hussein confronted the PLO soon after the Dawson's Field incident. The well-trained Jordanian army eventually expelled the Palestinian fighters from Jordan, in September 1970 in a bloody civil war. Fatah radicals formed the Black September Organization, which organized many terrorist incidents during the early 1970s in retaliation against the PLO's expulsion from Jordan. The Palestinians now found themselves without any direct support from the other Arab states. If an Arab state offered itself as a terrorist base, then it could also expect Israeli retaliation. The PLO moved its headquarters to Lebanon. The confessional governments there, were too weak to keep Palestinian fighters out of the many refugee camps founded after the 1948-49 War. In Lebanon too, the PLO began to form 'a state within the state' as they had done in Jordan, and

²¹ Barry Rubin, "The Origins of The PLO's Terrorism" in Barry Rubin, ed, *Terrorism and Politics*, (Macmillan, London, 1991) p.151

waged a war against Israel. It also precipitated a civil war in Lebanon and Israeli and Syrian intervention in Lebanon.

Palestinian Terrorist Groups in The 1980s

Long established forms of Palestinian nationalist terrorism continued in parallel with the *Intifada*, the mass civil uprising in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which began in 1987. The nationalist groups and splinter factions that had committed terrorist acts in the late 1960s were still active. Despite the loss of their bases in southern Lebanon after the 1982 Israeli invasion, the Palestinians continued to mount attacks against Israel, and against Israeli targets abroad. The changing nature of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict also led to changes on this battlefield. In November 1988, the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Yasser Arafat, acceded to US requests, by renouncing terrorism, and recognizing Israel's right to exist. Other Palestinian factions however, both inside and outside the PLO, persisted with attacks, sometimes motivated by the foreign policy of their sponsoring states.

The main Palestinian nationalist groups involved in terrorist attacks during this period included the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF), the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC) and Saiqa (both Syrian sponsored groups), the Abu Nidal Organization (ANO) and the Abu Musa group.

Some of these nationalist groups had networks and cells within the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, but they found it difficult to maintain armed cadres in the face of Israeli surveillance. Since the mainstream PLO groups had been expelled from Lebanon, their ability to mount operations from neighbouring countries had been restricted. Nonetheless, many Fatah fighters infiltrated back into Southern Lebanon, where they established bases in the Palestinian refugee camps there. Attacks across the Israeli border were launched from these camps, though on a far smaller scale than in the 1970s in conjunction with, or independently of Hezbollah attacks. In addition, a number of groups based in Damascus, Syria, such as the PFLP-GC, PFLP and DFLP, operated with considerable freedom from Syrian-controlled

areas of Lebanon. Some Palestinian groups still operated from Jordan, and Syria. A large number of raids and retaliations were conducted by the Palestinians and the Israelis. By September 1993, during the signing of the Declaration of Principles (DOP), between the PLO and Israel, factions loyal to Arafat were ordered to cease their armed operations. PLO member groups that rejected the peace deal, notably the PFLP and DFLP, however, continued their attacks.

Another long-established Palestinian method was to attack Israeli targets in third countries. Such attacks were, however, much less prevalent than they had been previous years. In May 1988, the ANO was probably responsible for an attempt to bomb the Israeli embassy in Cyprus. In October 1989, a Belgian Jewish leader was killed. This attack has also been linked to the Abu Nidal Group. Terrorism directed against officials of Palestinian nationalist groups had been carried out both by rival Palestinian factions, often sponsored by Arab states, and by Israel. Abu *Jihad* (the code name of Khalil al-Wazir) was deputy military commander of Fatah and director of Force 17. On April 16, 1988, Israeli commandos in collaboration with a team from Mossad (Israel's foreign intelligence bureau) shot Abu *Jihad* along with three aides at his house in Tunis²². Israel believed Abu *Jihad* was controlling the *Intifada* and coordinating the killing of Palestinian collaborators - a serious threat to Israel's intelligence capabilities in the occupied territories. The raid aroused worldwide condemnation, but Israel justified it as a strike on a military target. On January 14, 1991, Abu Iyad (Salah Khalaf), the PLO's intelligence chief, was shot dead. He was killed along with the PLO security chief²³.

The Hezbollah (The Party of God) And The Palestinian Cause

The word 'Hezbollah' comes from a Koranic verse promising victory for those who join the 'Party of God' (*Hizb'allah*). In the seventh century, the Prophet Muhammad used the phrase to spread the new faith; thirteen centuries later, it was employed by Iran as a means of spreading the revolution. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 propelled Hezbollah to emerge as a major force in Lebanon. But its

²² Mention has been made in several reports that Ehud Barak, the newly elected Prime Minister of Israel, formed part of this operation disguised as a woman.

²³ Encyclopaedia of World Terrorism, n.2, p.231.

origins lay in Iran. Although the inspiration for Hezbollah came from Tehran, it was assisted by Syria and led by Lebanese Shiite clerics.

One of Iran's core foreign policy goals in the 1980s, was the formation of a single '*umma*' or Islamic community under the Iranian leadership. The Islamic revolution was to be the inspiration. The Islamic Revolutionary Guards (Pasdaran-e-Enqelab) - Khomeini's 'sword arm' were formed to safeguard the Revolution and to carry out a *Jihad* in God's name by extending the sovereignty of God's Law throughout the world.²⁴ Their motto was "Our Movement is Hussein and our leader is Khomeini."²⁵ A further goal of the Revolution was to support the liberation struggle of the Palestinians.

In 1978, Israel launched the Litani River operation into Lebanon, to uproot Palestinian bases. In June 1982 Israel invaded Lebanon in full force (see Map 23). In September, the PLO was evacuated from Lebanon under Israeli military pressure, to their new headquarters in Tunis. The massacre of Palestinians in Sabra and Chatilla camps by the Christian Militia while the Israeli Army looked the other way invited worldwide condemnation.²⁶ This was followed by the US, French and Italian involvement in Lebanon and the beginning of the spiral of kidnappings, hostage takings, and suicide bomb attacks against Israeli and multinational forces targeted by Hezbollah.

On April 18, 1983, a Shiite bomber blew himself up with a truckload of explosives outside the US Embassy in Beirut. The embassy was destroyed and some 60 persons including 17 Americans were killed. Up to June 1983, almost 500 Israelis had lost their lives in the fighting. In November, 74 Israelis lost their lives in a suicide bomb attack of the IDF HQ at Tyre. In October 1983, 241 US servicemen were killed when a suicide bomber blew up the Marine HQ outside Beirut airport. At the same time 59 French soldiers were killed when their HQ was bombed by a suicide bomber.²⁷ These

²⁴ Preamble to the **Iranian Constitution**. p.22.

²⁵ Azaf Hussein, **Islamic Iran: Revolution and Counter Revolution** (Frances Printer, London, 1985), p.32.

²⁶ Public and international outcry led to the resignation of Prime Minister Begin in 1983. Large scale demonstrations by widows and mothers of soldiers in Lebanon and the refusal of some officers to shoot at civilian targets precipitated the situation further.

²⁷ Mark Tessler, **A History of the Israeli Palestinian Conflict** (Indiana University Press, 1994), p.632.

attacks led to the total withdrawal of the multinational force in 1984 from Lebanon, and to the Israeli withdrawal by June 1985, to the security zone in Southern Lebanon. In March 1985, a massive car bomb exploded outside the Beirut headquarters of Hezbollah. It killed 80 people but failed to injure its target; Hezbollah's spiritual leader, Sheikh Mohammed Hussein Fadlallah. There was much debate over who planted this bomb. It is thought that the CIA was directly involved in the plot to assassinate Fadlallah.²⁸

Amongst the goals of Hezbollah are:

- Establishment of an Islamic State in Lebanon with Iran as its model.
- Liberation of Palestine and Jerusalem from Israeli occupation.
- Destruction of the state of Israel and opposition to the Arab-Israeli Peace Process.

✓ Hezbollah set about winning the hearts and minds of the Shiites by social and welfare activities partly funded by Iran. These included funding of schools, hospitals, mosques, day care centres, and the construction of low cost housing to rehabilitate those who had suffered because of Israeli and SLA attacks. Hezbollah also provided financial assistance to families of suicide bombers, and to those who had lost their sources of income due to Israeli Army attacks and assassinations. Iran was supplying Hezbollah with about 50-60 million dollars a year, in addition to the pay of the militia. Hamas was securing about 20 million a year. From a purely terrorist group, Hezbollah began to get arms, equipment and training and underwent a metamorphosis to a guerrilla army armed with rocket artillery, tanks and guns with which to engage the Israeli Army and the SLA. It has now become the most potent force in Southern Lebanon.²⁹ The Israeli leader Benjamin Netanyahu declared in March 1999 that Israel was willing to withdraw from Southern Lebanon within a year, if Lebanon could give it security guarantees that Israeli settlements in Northern Israeli would not come under Hezbollah fire, and that Israel's

²⁸ Edgar O'Ballance, *Islamic Fundamentalist Terrorism, 1979-95: The Iranian Connection* (Macmillan Press, London, 1997), p.71.

²⁹ In March 1999 Hezbollah killed a senior Israeli Brigadier General in an ambush in South Lebanon. A large number of Israeli soldiers have been killed in Lebanon, causing a demand by the Israeli public for a withdrawal of its troops. Over 700 Israeli soldiers have been killed in Lebanon.

Northern border with Lebanon would not be violated by the Hezbollah. Hezbollah has also gained some respectability in Lebanese politics. After 1991, at the end of the Lebanese Civil War, Hezbollah won a sizable majority in the Lebanese Parliament.

In 1996, Israel launched operation 'Grapes of Wrath' against continuing Hezbollah attacks against Israel. However, mounting Israeli casualties in Southern Lebanon have turned Israeli public opinion against further involvement of the IDF in Lebanon. Nasrallah, the present Hezbollah leader said, "there is no weakening of Hezbollah's resolve to drive the Israelis from Lebanon. The occupation of Jerusalem is an abnormal situation that cannot continue."³⁰ Further, he added, "Hezbollah will concentrate on pursuing a conventional political role in Lebanon after Israel's departure". However, on direct involvement in the OTs, Nasrallah said, "Nobody can fight for Palestinian land other than the Palestinian people who resist inside Palestine. When Israel occupied Lebanon, did we ask for anyone to come and fight on our behalf?"³¹ Sheikh Hussein Mussawi, Nasrallah's predecessor who was killed by the IDF had said, "If America kills my people, then my people must kill Americans. We have already said that if (*sic*) self-defence, and if the stand against American, Israeli and French oppression constitute terrorism, then yes, we are terrorists."³²

Hezbollah's ideology and goals were promulgated in an open letter dated 16 February 1985, addressed to 'The Downtrodden in Lebanon and the World.'³³ The letter refers to the destruction of Israel, the unity of the Muslim '*umma*,' the futility of international organisations, anti-Iran factions and the pro-USA and Israel factions, the Islamic resistance and an appeal for Islamic martyrs against the 'Zionist curse'. It condemns all means of mediation and the expansionist policies of Israel. It declares its basic enemies in the area as Israel, America, France and the Phalangists (Christians). The Hamas Charter of 1988, has many similarities. However, Hamas is much more rabid and vociferous in its condemnation of Zionism and Israel. This seems to be the influence

³⁰ Jerusalem Post, 19 September 1997, p.8.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Robin Wright, *Sacred Rage: The Crusade of Modern Islam* (Linden, New York, 1985)p.69.

³³ Extracts at the end of this paper, from Augustus Norton, *Amal and the Shia: Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon*, (University of Texas, 1987) pp.167 to 171.

of the book **'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion'** which is anti-Semite in nature and takes its anti Jewish trend from some passages of the Koran.³⁴

The Suicide Bomber

In the 1980s, martyrdom in the service of Islam was encouraged by Khomeini, as a sure way to Paradise. During the Iran-Iraq war, thousands of Shiite Iranians went willingly to their deaths wearing the 'key' to paradise around their necks, against Iraqi machine guns. Iran's human waves comprised of men and even young boys. Women also took part in the *Jihad* to protect the Shiite land of Iran against Iraqi attacks.

In Islam, martyrdom is closely identified with the Martyrdom of Imam Hussein, son of the Imam Ali. Hussein was hopelessly out numbered and killed in battle fighting the Sunni Ummayid King (Caliph) Yazid at the Iraqi town of Karbala in 680 AD. This martyrdom is re-enacted during the month of Muhurram during Ashura by devout Shiites, and reinforces the willingness of devout Muslims to sacrifice their lives for Islam. Hussein's father, Ali was himself assassinated in 661 AD in Najaf (Iraq). Since Hussein was killed while defending the 'true faith', he is considered a martyr to be emulated by the Shiites. The Hezbollah suicide bombers units were called the 'Al Husseni Brigades' in his honour.

In May 1983, Lebanon and Israel signed a short lived peace accord which the Syrians sabotaged. The Hezbollah saw this as 'slavery' to Zionism. Hundreds of volunteers came forward as suicide bombers to attack Israeli targets. The 'martyrs' were recruited in mosques, and recorded their messages on video or audio tapes before going proudly and willingly on their missions. Many were just young boys - some were women - all fired by the zeal of Islam and the martyrdom of Hussein.³⁵ The bombings wreaked havoc and led to the withdrawals of Israeli and the Multinational forces as explained earlier. Contrary to the usual Israeli policy of 'no negotiations' with terrorists, as many as 1,585 Shiite and Lebanese prisoners held by Israel were released by Israel in

³⁴ The Jews lost against the Prophet at the Battle of Khaybar and this is seen as a victory of Islam over the Jews. However, Islam considers Moses as one of the earlier Prophets of the 'People of the Book'.

³⁵ In World War II, Japanese suicide bombers crashed their fighter bombers into American warships to sink them. They were called Kami Kaze (The Divine Wind). The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) have launched a spate of suicide attacks in Sri Lanka. Their demand is for a separate Tamil state in NE Sri Lanka. Rajiv Gandhi the Indian Prime Minister was also the victim of an LTTE suicide bomb attack in 1992.

May 1985 and a further 435, were released shortly after in exchange for Israeli prisoners on 14 June 1985.³⁶

Summary

Today Arafat has gained world wide recognition as the Leader of the Palestinians. The PLO (Fatah) is accepted as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. From being branded as a terrorist organisation the PLO is today recognised by over 100 countries of the world and also issues its own passport. Yet, the Palestinians are prisoners in their own land. The Oslo Accords drove a wedge between fellow Palestinians as Camp David had between Arabs and Egypt. The Hezbollah continues to cause debilitating casualties to Israeli Forces in Lebanon, and is unwilling to give up its fight until total Israeli withdrawal. Arafat has managed to project a secular image and has even joined up with his old enemy, Israel in the fight against Hamas terrorism.

³⁶ Edgar O'Ballance, n.28, pp.83-87. Hezbollah and Al Dawa also led a virulent campaign of bombings in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Kidnappings, hostage taking and airline hijacks supplemented the suicide bombing campaign until 1990. The Lebanese group Amal was involved in the negotiations for prisoner releases. The last US Hostage was released on 3 December 1991.

Section 4

The Intifada

A new threat to Israeli security erupted in December 1987 in the form of the *Intifada* (shaking off or uprising). It was the brick and stone against the bullet. Much of the *Intifada* did not involve terrorism, but it did spawn militant groups like Hamas which resorted to terrorist attacks. Unrest, strikes, stone throwing and tyre burning, mass civil disobedience triggered off a strong Israeli response. The Palestinian uprising against the Israeli occupation, the *Intifada* erupted spontaneously in the Palestinian refugee camp of Jabaliya in the Gaza Strip on 9 December 1987, when thousands marched in protest against the killing of four Palestinians by an Israeli truck. During the next several days rioting spread throughout the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, with predominantly young protesters attacking Israeli forces with stones and petrol bombs, and the latter responding with tear gas and live ammunition, killing 24 Palestinians by the end of December. By then both the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), headquartered in Tunis, and the Islamic Bloc, the front organization of the Muslim Brotherhood, based in the Occupied Territories, had lent the spontaneous movement their support.

Conditions of The Palestinians in Occupied Territories (OTs)

The *Intifada* stemmed from 20 years of collective and individual frustration and humiliation that the Palestinians had endured in their dealing with the Jews and the Israeli authorities, both military and civilian. The Palestinians had been occupied for 20 years mostly in refugee camps, under a harsh Israeli military regime.

In the occupied territories, Palestinians were under the Israeli Civil Administration, which in effect was under military rule. The military made and enforced its own security rules and viewed all Palestinian movement as suspicious. Frequent checks and check points restricted their movement. Palestinians were arrested without any reasons, and detained for lengthy periods without trials despite their legal rights.

The Israeli government confiscated any land it wanted in the OTs and also helped the Jewish Agency and individual Israelis to purchase Palestinian land for

settlements. Displaced Palestinians were forced to leave and take up menial jobs without adequate compensation.

By 1988, there were already about 140 Jewish settlements in the OTs, housing about 140,000 Jews and more were planned. These settlements threatened to 'engulf' Palestinian settlements and isolate them. At the time all Palestinian movement between the Gaza Strip and West Bank was prohibited.³⁷ Diplomatic and political efforts to improve the Palestinians' conditions or move towards statehood had all proved futile. Palestinian economy was stagnant - generating unemployment, depressed wages and simmering discontent. Those travelling to Israel to work were subjected to checks and restrictions and were at the mercy of Israeli border closures at the slightest pretext. By early January 1988, cooperation between the secular PLO and the Islamic factions - Hamas and the Islamic *Jihad* - resulted in the formation of coordinating committees under the United National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU) to direct the movement. Many of those involved were young and educated Palestinians, fluent in Hebrew and familiar with Israeli norms, who took over the communal leadership from the old generation of Arab notables who professed peaceful coexistence with the Israelis.

UNLU urged all Palestinians to resign from all government posts, stop using public services, withdraw their money from Israeli banks, boycott all Israeli products, stop paying taxes levied by the Israeli authorities, and join the strikes that were being called by the UNLU. UNLU committees issued circulars containing instructions in these matters, and urged all Palestinians to share the sacrifices required by the *Intifada*. The Palestinians used charity funds to support the large number of families whose husbands or brothers were jailed. Actions by the Israeli security forces - involving firings, curfews, harassment, arrest and house searches and demolitions - severally disrupted Palestinian life. During the first four years of *Intifada*, 1413 Palestinians were killed - most of them by the Israeli security forces and some by fellow Palestinians for being Israeli agents. About 90,000 (about one sixth of all male Palestinians above 15) were arrested.³⁸

³⁷ Edgar O' Ballance, *The Palestinian Intifada* (St. Martins Press, London, 1998) pp.42-44.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

The campaign intensified in the early 1990s and destroyed Shin Bet's 20,000 strong intelligence network among the Palestinians, making it extremely difficult for the occupying Israeli authorities to impose full control and restore law and order. This, and the refusal of the Palestinians to call off the *Intifada*, convinced the Israeli government of the futility of continued suppression of them and the denial of their national identity and their right to self-rule. The *Intifada* which declined to an extent in 1991, paved the way for the 1991 Madrid Peace Talks, and the Israeli-Palestine Liberation Organization Accords of September 1993.

Initially, Israel countered the *Intifada* demonstrations by imposing curfews and inducting a large military presence to overawe the protesters. Later, as the uprising spread, Israeli troops began to resort to beatings, indiscriminate firings and other forms of ill treatment. These were being beamed live worldwide and gave Israel a bad name. The security forces imposed long term curfews, closed businesses, sealed houses, and deported Palestinian leaders. They also closed schools and universities, cut electricity and telephone services to villages, stopped export of agricultural goods, and imposed monetary controls. Those believed responsible for insurgent or terrorist attacks were arrested, sometimes tortured and brought before military courts. To identify leaders, Shin Bet used coercive methods, including interrogations and beatings to elicit vital information as quickly as possible. Special secret military units infiltrated Palestinian organisations to identify ring leaders who were then arrested or assassinated. Shin Bet also resorted to kidnappings and the use of informers and collaborators.

After the agreements to set up a Palestinian National Authority in parts of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1993, the large scale demonstrations abated. However, fundamentalist groups such as Hamas, Hezbollah and Islamic *Jihad* carried out their own campaign of suicide terrorist attacks, many of them emanating from the Occupied Territories (OTs), and also from those areas handed over to Palestinian control. Israeli repressive measures resulted in the following casualties:-

- 63,000 children treated for injuries.
- 6,500 wounded by gunfire (up to 1990).
- 2722 Palestinians killed by Israelis and 45 Israelis dead.

- 10,000 Israeli troops deployed for quelling the unrest in the OTs.
- 15,000-20,000 Palestinians wounded and 50,000 arrested.³⁹

The Iron Fist Policy

The Israeli Cabinet endorsed 'the iron fist' policy on 17 January 1988. Soldiers were using rifle butts and batons as well as live ammunition and rubber coated steel bullets against demonstrators using stones and Molotov cocktails. Defence Minister Rabin said, "The first priority is to use might, power and beatings to break the bones of the *Intifada*".⁴⁰ Censorship was being imposed. Fuel, food, and petrol was prevented from reaching the Palestinians at home and in the refugee camps. The PFLP - GC established Radio Al-Quds in Southern Syria and began to broadcast to Israel and the OTs bringing out the repressive Israeli policies and the Palestinian struggle to overthrow 20 years of occupation. Very soon, leaflets issued by the PLO - United National Command were being distributed giving instructions for total shutdown of markets and calling for strikes and demonstrations. This led to Israeli searches for clandestine printing presses and the ring leaders. Palestinian demonstrators were tied to the bonnets of Israeli military vehicles to prevent stone throwing by the Arabs. Palestinians were ordered to remove burning tyres with their bare hands (tyres which were placed by the Palestinians to block the movement of Israeli military vehicles). UNWRA also reported live firings and brutal beatings against protesters armed only with stones. In January 1988, Israel deported nine Palestinians suspected of being involved in subversive activities. Leaflets appeared in the OTs exhorting the 17,000 Palestinian civil administrative workers and 120,000 Palestinian labourers holding jobs in Israel to resign and boycott Israeli jobs.⁴¹

Repressive Sanctions

On 14 March 1988, an indefinite night time curfew was imposed on Gaza, and the fruit and vegetable markets in Jenin and Jericho were closed down by the Army. Banks were forbidden to transfer large sums of money into the OTs. Travel restrictions

³⁹ C. Hoy and V. Ostrovsky, *By Way of Deception*, (Stoddard, 1990) pp.332-34.

⁴⁰ Edgar O'Ballance, n.37, p.82.

⁴¹ Ibid.

into the OTs were imposed. International telephone and fax links to the outside world were deliberately cut. This was to cut links with the Palestinian leadership in Tunis and also to block the transfer of funds from Arab countries to compensate those Palestinians who had given up well paying jobs under the Israelis. By the end of March, one Israeli had been killed while 120 Palestinians had died and 3,200 placed in detention. On 16 April 1988, Abu *Jihad* - considered to the leader of the *Intifada* was assassinated by the Sayeret Matkal (the Israeli Army counter-terrorist unit) in Tunis. The death provoked massive demonstrations in the OTs, and a three day general strike. By June 1988, the situation had deteriorated so much that Jewish settlers were given permission to open fire in self defence. 400 incidents of crop and harvest burning by Palestinians were reported leading to an economic blow and loss of income.⁴²

On 31 July 1988, Jordan relinquished its authority over the West Bank. King Hussein dissolved the Lower House of the Jordanian National Assembly which had 60 seats from West Bank. He also stopped paying about 18,000 Palestinian civil servants working on the West Bank and stopped all further Jordanian investment. This was a further blow to the Palestinian economy.

Further Israeli operations involved 'spot' searching of suspects, making widespread arrests, demolishing houses, setting up road blocks and check points to restrict the movement of Palestinians, intensive patrolling of villages, checking identification cards, work licenses and travel permits, profiling the Palestinian labourers who came to work in Israel, holding suspected offenders without trial for lengthy periods. After the 1967 War, the PLO's attempts to set up an effective counter-Israeli network were thwarted by Gen. Ariel Sharon. To eradicate new terrorist cells, he initiated a sweeping military operation. The IDF surrounded the refugee camps, divided them into a grid like sectors and allocated units to monitor each sector. Working on Shin Bet intelligence, IDF units searched houses and demolished the homes of suspected terrorists or of anyone found to be involved in insurgency activities. When demonstrations occurred, the IDF or the Border Police imposed curfews and enforced closures of various parts of the camps including schools. Such crackdowns succeeded in controlling violence for most of the

⁴² Sara Roy, "The Palestinian Economy after Oslo", *Current History*, January 1998, p.12.

1970s and 1980s. But these measures also caused the internationalisation of terrorism by some factions of the PLO.

Hamas and the *Intifada*

During the *Intifada*, Hamas gained ground, strength and efficiency, and influence. For sometime after the *Intifada* began, it followed most of the instructions issued by the UNLU leaflets. But in August 1998, it issued its own charter. Hamas' aggressive attitude attracted many young recruits. After initially encouraging the Islamists, against the PLO nationalists, Israel began a crackdown on both the Fatah faction of the PLO and Hamas/Islamic *Jihad*. In October 1988, Israeli forces began to use more lethal plastic bullets instead of rubber ones with increased range. Rabin announced that Israeli soldiers had been ordered to 'shoot to wound' to curb stone throwing by the Palestinians.

In November 1988, Arafat proclaimed an independent State of Palestine with Jerusalem as its capital and called for a just settlement of the Palestinian problem. His declaration was based on UN resolutions 181 of 1947, 242 of 1967, and 338 of 1973 recognizing the right of Israel to exist within secure borders. However, Hamas and other militant groups dismissed the PLO's declaration as a traitorous act. Over 50 countries however, recognised Arafat's independence and thus gave Arafat the power to deal with the fundamentalists.

In the first year of the *Intifada*, out of the 11,500 (Amnesty International figures) casualties in the Gaza Strip, 298 Palestinians had been shot dead by the Israelis, while another 95 had died from beatings, the effects of tear gas and other injuries. 58 percent had been under 15 years of age, 21 of whom had died.⁴³ 45 Israeli soldiers had been court martialled for using excessive force, and another 154 sentenced to imprisonment for lesser offences.⁴⁴ In December 1988, Arafat renounced and condemned "terrorism in all its forms", thus opening the way for US-PLO dialogue towards peace. The *Intifada* had been widely televised and images of young boys and men being shot at or tear-

⁴³ Edgar O' Ballance, n.18, p.80.

⁴⁴ Israeli Army Figures. Quoted in Edgar O' Ballance - n.18.

gassed by Israeli troops and other harsh measures brought the Israelis poor publicity. Also, Israeli forecasts of an early end to the *Intifada* by purely military means was proved wrong. Israeli leaders now began to accept the fact that their occupation needed a political solution as well. By the second year of the *Intifada*, 795 Palestinian had been killed, 45,000 injured and hospitalized, 611 deported and 150 Palestinian collaborators assassinated. Over 250 houses had been destroyed or sealed.⁴⁵

Gulf War (1990)

In May 1990, Arafat asked the United Nations for an international conference on the Middle-East. In August 1990, during the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Saddam Hussein linked the withdrawal of his troops to the Israeli withdrawal from Palestine. Arafat supported Iraq during the Gulf war. This led to the loss of support from the USA and Gulf countries. The PLO suffered financially and was isolated from benevolent Arab countries. Kuwait expelled over 400,00 Palestinians working in the Gulf countries and Saudi Arabia stopped financial aid to the PLO. This led to a large drop in Palestinian remittances and adversely affected the Palestinian economy.⁴⁶ It also resulted in the growth of the influence of Hamas and other Islamic groups.

In October 1990, Jewish and Palestinian worshippers clashed on Temple Mount leading to the death of 17 Palestinians by Israeli police. These killings provoked international outrage. A UN fact-finding mission was denied permission by Israel to carry out its mission in Jerusalem.

The end of the Gulf war saw Israel in a much stronger position. There was a mass influx of Jews from Soviet Russia after its collapse and the Israel government proposed more settlements and housing units for them. The US described the settlement of the immigrants in the OTs as the biggest obstacle to the convening of a Middle East peace conference. In November 1991, full diplomatic relations with Russia were established.⁴⁷ Immediately, 142,000 Russian Jewish immigrants arrived in Israel.⁴⁸ Prime Minister Shamir had planned for 19,500 housing units to accommodate these

⁴⁵ Ibid..

⁴⁶ Sara, Roy, n.42.

⁴⁷ These were broken off in 1967.

⁴⁸ Ellen Hirsh, ed. **Facts About Israel** (Israeli Information Office, Jerusalem, 1996), p.51.

fresh immigrants. This led to Palestinian objections and increased terrorists attacks by Hamas. The peace process lay dead locked till October, 1998 when President Clinton tried to bring all parties together at the Wye Plantations in October 1998. After initial successes, the Israeli Government was thrown in to turmoil over return of more land to the Palestinians. Arafat had threatened to declare an independent Palestinian State on the 4th of May 1999, but in view of the impending Israeli general elections, decided to wait for the outcome of the results. The election of Ehud Barak in May 1999, and his positive approach to peace and reconciliation augurs well for future in the region.

Summary

The *Intifada* of 1987, is seen as the first unified revolt against 20 years of Israeli occupation. It also spawned Islamic fundamentalist groups and laid the foundations of the Peace Process. Harsh Israeli actions against the Palestinians during the *Intifada* caused world wide condemnation and increased Palestinian resolve to fight Israel. It also gave impetus to Peace Movements within Israel, and raised the cost of Israeli occupation. The 'iron fist' and 'breaking the bones' policies of Sharon and Rabin only caused an escalation of the Palestinian reaction and Hamas and Islamic Jihad retaliation.

CHAPTER - II

ISLAMIC REVIVAL AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Introduction

The revival of Islam in the Arab world has been inextricably linked to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The higher the profile of Islam, the more violent the anti-Israeli sentiment. After the 1967 Six Day War, in which the Arabs were humiliated by utter defeat, there was a process of soul searching and self-flagellation throughout the Islamic world, seeking the roots of defeat. In 1968, at Cairo's Al Azhar University, it was surmised that the Arab failure was due not to Israel's superiority but to the Arabs' neglect of Islam. A return to the faith was urged as a source of inspiration and for restoring the old glory.

Another event which lent impetus to Islamic revival was the arson of the Al Aqsa Mosque in the summer of 1969, the blame for which was laid on Israel. This led to the 1969 Rabat Conference and the formation of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC).

The October 1973 war which was triggered by the Arabs during the month of Ramadan, and code named *Badr* after the famous battle of the same name won by the Prophet, was pregnant with religious symbolism. Egyptians crossed the Suez Canal shouting "God is great" and claimed they actually saw the Prophet crossing the Canal with them. Arab victory broke the myth of Israeli invincibility and gained the East Bank of the Canal. Though the war restored some Arab prestige, Israel remained the overall victor. The oil embargo that was imposed by the Arabs internationalised the conflict and only amplified the West's dependence on Arab (Islamic) oil resources. This further forced many countries to modifying their policy towards the Arab-Israeli Conflict. Infact many countries broke ties with Israel, so that their oil supplies were not cut off. Oil power contributed to a world-wide reawakening of Islam and the Muslims' renewed interest and pride in their faith. It revived their glory and pride in Islam.

Islam And Terrorism

Certain strains of Islam promote an uncompromising interpretation of the faith which divides the world into 'Muslim and infidel', and enjoins the Muslim world to wage unremitting warfare against the latter. The main focus of hatred has been the Western World. The West has been traditionally viewed by Muslims as responsible for the historical containment, humiliation, and defeat of Islam. The resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism in recent decades has given that animus new life and, through terrorism, new expression.

Islamic Terrorism/Fundamentalism

For many years terrorist incidents in Latin America and Western Europe far outstripped the number of terrorist incidents in the Islamic world. Names like the Baader Meinhoff, Red Army Faction, Irish Republican Army, Basque Separatists ETA, Tupamaros, Shining Path were familiar, and their terrorist acts of carnage shocked countries around the world. Yet, one does not hear of 'Catholic terrorism'.¹ Bernard Lewis says that the essentially political character which the Islamic religion had from its very foundation, has been retained till today.² Islam is a political religion, in that there is an intimate association between power and cult and the religion and politics. As a religion it is different from say Christianity, or Buddhism or Judaism. Christ died on the cross, Moses died before he entered the Promised Land; but Mohammed, the Prophet of Islam, in contrast, founded a state and governed it. He was a sovereign, law-maker and judge. He imposed taxes and raised armies. He waged war and he made peace. He did all the things a head of the state does. Therefore, politics, government, law, war and peace are all part of the Holy Law of Islam.

The resurgence of Islam, some times called 'fundamentalism' has one of its main grievances in the erosion of Islamic values by western 'degenerate values' brought about by modernization and secularization, and the removal of the religious quality from political and public life. Resurgent Islam expresses the

¹ Amir Taheri, *Holy Terror: The Inside Story of Islamic Terrorism*, (Hutchinson, London, 1987) p.2.

² Bernard Lewis, "The Return of Islam", *Middle East Review*, Vol.XII, No.1, Fall 1979, pp.23-31.

desire to return to an Islamic society governed by Islamic law and ruled by an Islamic state. Given this inherently religious character of politics and the inherently political character of religion, and given that Islam is the basis of authority, identity, loyalty, legitimacy of power, it is Islam that provides the most powerful critique of the old order and the most acceptable formulation of aspirations for a new. Islam has proved itself again and again, to be the most effective system of ideas, symbols, and slogans for the mobilization of the Muslim masses. Therefore, it is inevitable that when the Islamic world confronts the problem of terrorism, that problem, too assumes a religious significance. In traditional and therefore, also in resurgent fundamentalist Islam, God is the sole source of sovereignty; God is the head of the state. The state is God's state, the army is God's army, the treasury is God's treasury, and the enemy of course is God's enemy.³

Violent conflict as perceived in Islamic law and tradition, and as expressed in Islamic history, is of two main types; the conflict against the external enemy and the conflict against an internal enemy. It is in connection with the latter, that the issue of terrorism has most frequently risen. In this form, violence is called upon to defend God's state or, alternatively, to remove those who have somehow violated and usurped it. In 656 AD, the third Caliph Uthman was killed by a group who said that the Caliph was a tyrant and a usurper, that he was violating God's law, that his blood was forfeit, and therefore, those who killed him were not murderers, but the executors of God's will (this group was called the Shiites) and defenders of the 'true Islamic faith'.⁴

The life of the Prophet is the model for Muslim conduct in all matters. There are two distinct phases in his character. One as a ruler and head of state which he had formed in Medina; the other as the rebel against the existing oligarchy in Mecca. In Islamic law, thought, and history there is the 'quietist' tradition, calling for submission to authority, and the 'activist' tradition, often associated with, though no means completely identified with, Shiism. In the 11th to 13th centuries the Islamists formed a sect called the Assassins in Alamut in the

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

Elbruz Mountains of Iran under the leadership of Hasan-I-Sabbah (d.1124). Their targets were Sunni rulers and officials, as well as Crusader leaders. These Assassins that were sent out by Hasan-I-Sabbah were known as '*fidais*' or '*fidawis*' i.e. those who offer themselves up in sacrifice for the sake of their cause.

One of the earliest figures who has influenced the Islamic groups was Jamal-al-Din-al-Afghani (1838-97). His lectures and writings affected a large part of the Muslim world and Muslim groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood, Islamic Jihad, Fedayeen-I-Islam, Hezbollah, Hamas and scores of smaller groups that recruit their members in the name of Islam, and in many cases are led by religious officials. Their long-term objective is the of spread Islam, if necessary by force. Even the PLO, though a professed secular organization has 95 percent of its members who are Muslims and commences all its official letters/communiqués with the opening lines, 'in the name of Allah'.

The radical or fundamentalist Islamic group that uses terrorist acts to achieve its ultimate goals is a relatively new phenomenon with very deep roots. It is somewhat different from other forms of terrorism in that, it rejects all the contemporary ideologies in their various forms. It sees itself with no other option but to take control in the name of Islam, or die in the attempt. Considering itself as an expression of Islamic revival, which by definition, must lead to the conquest of the entire globe by the 'true faith' - it believes in the dictum that 'the end justifies the means', and as such, terrorism is therefore, one means amongst many to create a universal Islamic state and to spread the rule of Islam throughout the world. Ayotollah Badr-al-Sadr said, "The world as it is today is how others (i.e. the infidels) shaped it. We have two choices; either to accept it with submission, which means letting the Islam die, or destroy it, so that we can construct the world as Islam required it." Mostafa Chamran, wrote, "To us the East is like the West. Both are enemies. Communism is as much an enemy as are liberalism, and socialism, and democracy. We are not fighting within the rules of the world as it exists today. We reject all those rules."⁵

⁵ Taheri, n.1, p.8.

The second characteristic that differentiates the Islamic version of terrorism from other forms of terrorism, is that it is conducted and conceived as a form of a 'holy war' which can only end once total victory is achieved. Hussein Mussawi one of the leaders of the Hezbollah in Lebanon said in 1985, "We are not fighting so that the enemy recognises us and offers us something. We are fighting to wipe out the enemy. We will not take the path of shame. What is demanded is not negotiated surrender, but the enemy's total annihilation."⁶ The Islamists want to kill the enemies of Allah and to offer the infidels the choice between converting to Islam or being put to death. Ayotollah Fazl-Allah Mahelati wrote, "A believer who sees Islam trampled underfoot and who does nothing to stop it, will end up in the seventh layer of hell. But he who takes up a gun, a dagger, or even an pebble with which to harm the enemies of the faith has his place assured in heaven. An Islamic state is in a state of war until the whole world sees and accepts the light of the True Faith".⁷

However, it must be recorded that Islam is not a religion of terror, and a true understanding of Islam cannot be confined to the use of terror in its service. Islamic terrorism has however, played a constant key role in revivalist movements in the Muslim world, during the last 150 years; and despite objections from many westernized Muslims, the idea of 'murdering, maiming and menacing' the enemy for the purpose of hastening the final triumph of Islam has always held a very strong appeal among the devout Muslim masses.

The Rise Of Muslim Brotherhood

The zeal to return to true Islam led to the formation of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia by King Saud under the Wahhabi sword of Islam. To this day, this sword is emblazoned on the Saudi National Flag. The emblem of the Muslim Brotherhood formed in 1928 by Sheikh Hasan al-Banna - the precursor of Hamas, is the Koran, protected by two crossed scimitars, with the motto "And Be Ready".

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

The roots of Hamas can be traced to the Muslim Brotherhood (*Ikhwan al Muslemeen*) the greatest of modern Islamic movements, founded in 1928 in Ismailia Egypt, by a 22 year old elementary school teacher named Hassan al-Banna. He was the son of a respected orthodox Islamic scholar. At its inception, the Brotherhood was in essence a religious revivalist movement. It soon developed into a politico - religious action society, and eventually, as it gained political influence, it became more political than religious. Banna was in a sense a follower of Islamic reformers, such as Jamal-al-din-al-Afghani and Rashid Rida, but Banna simplified their arguments to a simple demand for a return to the laws of the Koran and the Tradition. By the 1930s, Banna had expanded his programme from religious revival to demands that the entire political, legal and administrative system be based on the Koran. The Brotherhood was organized on a network of branches, whose activities included social welfare, general education and religious education. It laid great stress on the Islamic call for *Jihad* in its literal sense of fighting to spread the faith.

In 1936 Banna denounced the Wafdist Government's treaty with Britain and in the following year gave active assistance to the Arab rebellion in Palestine. Intervention in Palestine helped the movement to spread outside Egypt. Branches were founded in Lebanon, Palestine, Sudan and Iraq. In 1948, the Brotherhood took active part in the First Arab-Israeli war. Banna's anti western views and confrontation with the authorities led to the organization's recourse to terrorism and assassination. In 1949 Banna himself was assassinated and the organisation banned. After a brief hiatus, the Brotherhood re-emerged in 1951. In 1952, it had the support of the Free Officers during the July coup. In 1965, Nasser launched a violent campaign against the Brotherhood, and hundreds of Muslim brothers were kept in desert camps where they perished due to thirst and hunger. But the organization survived in other countries, because of its pan -Islamic, anti-western stance. Sayyid Qutub, the Brotherhood's leading intellectual, developed a theory that the killing of traitors against Islam was not only sanctioned by Allah, but required by Islam. This teaching had a profound influence on later Islamic groups such as the Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad and Hamas. The Brotherhood was legalized by the late Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and is now Egypt's leading opposition

party. After the Iranian revolution the challenge from Islamic fundamentalism intensified in the 1980s. Following the withdrawal of Soviet troops in Afghanistan in 1989-90, militant groups were fuelled by Afghan Mujhahideen who were blooded in action against the Soviets, and joined the ranks of Muslim fundamentalist groups around the world.

Roots Of Islamic Fundamentalism

Both Shia and Sunni branches of Islam have spawned fundamentalist movements that have sought to re-establish Muslim cultural and political autonomy in the Arab states of West Asia and North Africa. These aggressive, defiant movements have sought to throw off the yoke of western influence, and they share the goal of establishing the *Sharia* as the uncontested law of the land. From the late 1980s in particular, terrorism increasingly has been used as an important method of achieving these goals.

The Emergence Of Fundamentalist Terror

Secular parties like the Fatah of the PLO have failed to give Muslims a dominant position, even in the Middle East. The great symbol of this failure has been the continued existence of the state of Israel. Fundamentalists feel that Muslims are downtrodden because they have allowed foreign ideologies and western influence to displace the cultural values, philosophy and the way of life that had once served as the foundation of a great civilization. For the fundamentalists, 'Islam is the solution' to the social, economic and moral crises of the day. However, one must stress that fundamentalism and terror do not always go hand in hand. The Muslim Brotherhood for example has been non-violent for long periods of its history and has contributed to Islamic society by establishing schools, medical clinics, orphanages and other social service institutions.

Three major events however, radicalized the Muslim world and facilitated a shift towards terrorism. First, the 1978-79 Iranian Revolution, which established a Muslim Shiite state under Ayotollah Khomeini. This produced a wave of Shiite militancy in West Asia. Iran was able to provide vital support to terrorists. The American Hostage crisis and Iran's defiance in the face of American threats and

military action, gave the Shiite revolution credibility amongst Muslims. Secondly, the events following the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon showed that the power of a few suicide bombers and terrorists fighting in the name of Islam, was able to force the multinational force to withdraw. Finally, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan led to the defeat of Soviet Communists by Islamic warriors - the Mujhahideen who were fighting the West. After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the Mujhahideen formed the core of experienced, committed Islamic fighters throughout West Asia.

Economic crises and social unrest have also played a big role in the recruitment of the 'Soldiers of Islam'. Educated young men soon became disaffected and disillusioned, as they could not find employment in the stagnant economies of West Asia. Economic deprivation and Israeli repressive policies drove many frustrated men to join the ranks of terrorist groups in the name of Islam.

Justification Of Terrorism In Islam

There is a strong political element in Islam. The basic duty of the Muslim is submission to the will of Allah, through an internal struggle with sin. Muslims are called upon to bring the behavior of the wider world into conformity with the religious teachings and moral precepts of the Koran and the *Sunna*.

At the very basic level, the use of force by the Muslim community is believed to be sanctioned by Allah, as a necessary response to the existence of evil in the world. Medieval jurists had divided the world into two spheres, *dar-al-Islam* (area where Muslim law is applied) and *dar-al-harb* (all other areas). *Jihad* properly speaking is war waged against non-Muslim countries. Sunni fundamentalists have adopted this notion to justify terrorist campaigns in Israel and elsewhere. Fellow Muslims may also be attacked if found to be non-Islamic or collaborating with the enemy. Syed Qutub in his writings stated that the Arab world had descended into a state of *Jahiliyya* or pre-Islamic ignorance characterized by the presence of false Muslims and infidels who need to be eliminated.

The most compelling justification for fundamentalist terrorism comes from Shiite theorists - especially Khomeini. Shiite justification is that Islam is confronted by an apocalyptic crisis, threatening its very survival, and Shiite believers are obliged to bear arms in self-defense. Many Shiites considered Khomeini to be the last Imam who would reverse the misfortunes of history, and lead the true believers to a decisive victory.

Radical Muslim revolutionaries who overthrew the Shah of Iran in 1979, gave birth to a wave of religious based terrorism that aimed to establish fundamentalist regimes in West Asia. Targets of these zealots have included Israeli nationals, citizens of western powers backing Israel, and more moderate Arab nations. Fired by their religious fervour, the terrorists are willing to martyr themselves for their beliefs, and suicide bombers have become a disturbing feature of the terrorist attacks launched by the fundamentalists.

The Message Of Islamic Revival

A Muslim revivalist group in South Africa defined the goals of fundamentalist Islam as under:

The Islamic resurgence precisely means a total rejection of agnostic materialism as well as of the political, intellectual, economic and cultural domination of the West. The world of Islam has already experienced the failure of the material life offered by the West. Consequently, it has a desire and inner feeling to revert back to Islam as a religion and as a system of life. The Islamic world aspires to assert its own control over its natural resources and its geographical and political boundaries, and it regards religion as the salvation for human problems.⁸

Islamic revival has the following ingredients;

- A total and unconditional rejection of the West, in all its political, intellectual, economic and cultural manifestations.
- A rejection of all aspects of Western domination over the rest of the world.
- A fundamentalist yearning of Islam to return to the sources for guidance.

⁸ Raphael Israeli, *Muslim Fundamentalism in Israel*, (Brassey's, U.K., 1993) p. 1.

- A renewed acceptance of Islam not only as a faith but also as a total system of life which conditions and controls all aspects thereof.
- A reassertion of political, territorial and economic independence and a reaffirmation that all the resources of the Muslims, mainly oil, belong to them, and to them alone; and that they are free to dispose of these resources as they see fit.
- Islam is regarded as a cure for the ills of society i.e. the message of Islam is universal. Islam encourages generosity, solidarity and social responsibility, while the west (and Israel) fosters individualism and egotistic pursuits.⁹

The Islamization of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

As one Hamas statement, pointedly asserted, 'The Palestinian cause is not about land or soil, but it is about faith and belief'.¹⁰ This is a marked change from 'Palestineization' of the Arab-Israeli conflict to 'Islamizing' the struggle. Thus Hamas has portrayed the conflict as a war not between Zionism and Palestinian nationalism, but between Islam and Judaism. Though, Islam and Islamic symbols have always played a major part in the Palestinian cause, the use of political Islam in West Asia since 1979 provides a motivation for a new type of struggle against Zionist oppression. The name of Islam is used as the predominant factor which in turn would bring about the end of the Israeli occupation of Holy Islamic places. While the Fatah and the PLO sought a political secular solution to the present conflict, Hamas and the other factions such as Islamic *Jihad* have sought an Islamic solution to resolve the issue with the commencement of a *jihad*.

Ideology

At the core of Hamas ideology is the emphasis on the Islamic essence of the Palestinian cause and the conflict. The present predicament of the Palestinians declares the Hamas Charter, is caused by the absence of Islam from the realities of life. By keeping Islam away from the battlefield with the Jews, Palestinians have been fighting a feeble war with Israel.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Handbill No. 74 of June 1990.

Both the Capitalist West and the Communist East are seen as one entity because of their support of Zionism (Russia had endorsed the creation of Israel in 1948). The Jews are some times portrayed as instruments of the West, or alternatively, as the power that is able to manipulate the West seeking to subjugate Islam and the Arabs. This line of thought was formulated to a large extent by the Muslim Brotherhood in 1930, and is shared by most modern Islamic movements.

The Islamic Caliphate in the Ottoman Empire was seen by Hamas as the unifying framework of the Islamic nation. The breakup of the Ottoman Empire and abolishment of the Caliphate is seen as a direct result of the Western led armies against the Ottomans, supported by Israel, during which the Zionists influenced the British to proclaim the Balfour Declaration of November 1917 promising the Jews a homeland in Palestine.

Hamas views the struggle against Israel not only as a question of borders but as a struggle for the very existence of Islam. For its virulent language, Hamas draws from the Koran, as well as from European anti-Semitic literature. Hamas has blamed the Jews for the control of the world media, the establishment of secret societies such as the Freemasons and Rotary, and subjugation of the political systems in the Western governments (such as the USA), for the support of Zionism. In its Charter, Hamas claims that the Jews represent Nazism in its most criminal form and that the Jews consider all non-Jews (gentiles) as animals. Hamas also emphasises the ancient rivalry between the Prophet and the Jews of Medina who were eventually defeated at Khaybar for opposing the new religion, and sees the present repression of the Palestinians as revenge for these historical defeats.

Ibrahim Quqa one of the Hamas founders says, "God has gathered the Jews in Palestine not in order that it would be a homeland for them, but to serve as their graveyard".¹¹ Just as pilgrims atone for their sins by offering a sacrifice at Mecca, so would the Jews be sacrificed in Al Aqsa by the true soldiers of Allah. Hamas sees Judaism as a religion filled with racism and aggression against others, and the

¹¹ Meir Litvak, "The Islamization of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: The Case of Hamas". *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.34, No.1, January 1998, p.152.

Jewish claim to 'the Promised Land' as a plot to usurp Palestine from Islam and its rightful inhabitants.

Historically, Muslims have always viewed Christianity as a greater challenge to Islam than Judaism. In fact, under the Ottoman Empire, Jews lived with Muslims in amity, though under some restrictions. However, owing to Hamas' conflict with Zionism, Judaism rather than Christianity has become the prime enemy for the Islamists. Hamas argues that the Jews seek to destroy the Al Aqsa Mosque in order to build their 'so called temple' over its ruins. Likewise, Hamas and the Islamists claim that various international organizations funded by Jewish money seek to eliminate and denigrate Islam and to sustain the Jewish designs against Islam.¹²

Hamas considers Palestine to be the 'heart' of Islam. God has chosen Palestine as the land of his divine missions, particularly Islam and Christianity. The Islamic sanctity of Palestine is based on several pillars. The most important of which is God's choice of the Al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem as the place for the ascension of the Prophet Mohammed to heaven, and as the first Qibla (direction of prayer) for Muslims. Al-Aqsa is considered to be the 'pearl of Palestine' and Palestine is many times referred to as the land of the ascension of the Prophet to Heaven.¹³ This distinguishes Palestine from all other Islamic lands and makes it the inheritance of all Muslims for all time. Palestine has a special bond with all Muslims as God chose Al-Aqsa in Jerusalem for Mohammed's journey to heaven in order to tie this blessed land and the Prophet to the Muslim people forever.¹⁴

The second reason for Palestine's special place in Islam says Hamas, is in its designation as a '*waqf*' by the Caliph Umar-Al-Khattab. When the Muslims armies conquered Palestine in 638, the Caliph Umar decided not to divide the conquered lands amongst the victorious soldiers as was the usual practice, but to establish it as a '*waqf*' belonging to the entire Muslim nation until the day of resurrection. Similarly in 1935, the Mufti of Jerusalem Hajj Amin-al-Husayni,

¹² Ibid., p.153.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., p.154.

endowed Palestine with special religious significance by a *fatwa* (ruling) which described Palestine as a trust (*amana*) entrusted by God to all Muslims and to the Muslims of Palestine.¹⁵

The Muslim Brotherhood from whom Hamas derives its ideology and other Islamists spoke of Palestine as the 'heart of the Arab world and the knot of the Muslim peoples'. This has become the central pillar of Hamas ideology. Palestine has thus become holy to both radical Muslims, and to radical Jews as Eretz or Biblical Israel, and neither can divide it as part of a political settlement. This is the crux of the problem of the Jewish backlash to the Peace Proposals and the ongoing bloodshed.

As per Hamas, all initiatives and so-called peaceful solutions are illusions and a waste of time. These are merely an additional way for infidels to impose themselves over faithful Muslims. Hamas feels Israel understands only the language of force and does not believe in negotiations. Therefore, peace overtures or concessions only lead to greater Jewish arrogance and intransigence. 'The Arabs are not so weak that they have to run after peace, and the Jews are not so strong as to enforce their will,' says Hamas.¹⁶ Hamas feels Muslims should not compromise and give up their rights over the whole of Palestine. The struggle against Zionism should be measured in decades and not in years. The road to victory is long, says Hamas, but its outcome has been predetermined by God. Time is part of the solution and it requires three components, Islam, following the right path, and patience/forbearance. Belief in God will liberate the Palestinians from Israel's occupation, just as it liberated the Jews from Pharaoh in Egypt from bondage, because of the Jews' faith in their God.

Hamas is opposed to any settlement regarding bartering of Palestine to Israel for peace. Since Palestine is a Muslim waqf, it belongs to the entire Islamic nation and not only to Palestinians. As such, no Muslim, now or in the future, has the right to give up even an inch of Palestine or accept its occupation by a foreign power. Recognition of Israel is a betrayal of the future generations of Muslims and

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Hamas Charter Article 13.

an insult to the martyrs who have died for Palestine from the time of the Prophet to the present day. Hamas declares that giving up even a bit of the land of Palestine means giving up part of Islam. Recognizing the 'false Jewish entity' is equivalent to a 'betrayal of God, his messenger and of the faith'. Hamas has formulated its own concept of peace, based on Islamic principles, which means complete liberation of Palestine and the establishment of an Islamic State in all of Palestine, with Islamic law (*Sharia*) and custom (*hadith*). Only under the shadow of Islam, can followers of other religions live in peace and security in Islamic Palestine, just as they lived in the past under Islamic rule (Ottoman Empire). Followers of other religions should cease fighting Islam for sovereignty in this region. Hamas therefore, offers the Jews two options under Islamic law - peaceful surrender under Islam to live as a protected minority, or a holy war until Islam's final victory. The fight against Israel is a *Jihad* for the sake of God which cannot be abandoned, to liberate Al-Aqsa, Palestine, and to hoist Allah's banner over all of Palestine.

The idea of a military *Jihad* and of martyrdom for Islam came about during the outbreak of the *Intifada* and also as a fallout of the Shiite Hezbollah suicide bombings in the 1980s in Lebanon against Western targets. Hamas states that *Jihad* is not only a collective Muslim responsibility, but also an individual obligation to Islam, with the Palestinian people in the vanguard. Since the time of the Crusades, it has been seen that the Islamic nation unites only around Palestine and therefore, Palestine is the common factor for popular movements in the Muslim world. The loss of Palestine will be the beginning of the end of Islam. The present *Jihad* is the last link in previous holy wars for the sake of Islam dating to the days of Mohammed. Of particular importance to recount are those against the Jews at Medina and Khaybar. These wars serve as a model of the deeply rooted conflict between the two religions and proof of treachery of the Jews. Muslim victories at these two battles also serve as a source of inspiration to Islamists for future victories.

The *Intifada*, which Hamas considers the first phase in the long-term *Jihad*, started from the mosques under divine will and restored the Islamic dimension of the conflict to its rightful place. Islamic consciousness has been re-injected unto

the younger masses that suffered twenty years of Israeli occupation. A spiritual revolution and military war against the enemy would regain Palestine. In its *Jihad*, Islamic dress codes, reading of the Koran, observing the Ramadan fast and hoisting of black Islamic flags and respecting the martyrs of the *Intifada* were enforced. Collaborators with Israel were killed.

Hamas casualties were equated to the martyrs from the time of the Prophet, saying 'that those who die for the sake of God, go to heaven'. Hamas martyrs were glorified. Their families were taken care of through a network of socio-economic programmes. Pictures of the martyrs were adorned with passages from the Koran, praising their deeds. Books were published narrating their brave action in which their reward in heaven and their motivation for the Islamic cause were highlighted.

Suicide attacks were given prime place of honour. Citing passages from the Koran, the *hadith* and from Muslim jurists, the writers differentiated between ordinary suicides, and martyrs who died for the sake of God in the war against non-believers and elaborated on God's love for them.

Summary

Resurgent Islam aims to root out the present weaknesses of the Islamic World and restore it to its former glory. It further aims to include the whole world and integrate it into a Muslim '*umma*' (community). Islamists consider 'Islam the Solution' and the 'Koran the Constitution' for the resolution of all problems that have been caused by the corrosive 'degenerate' Western World that wants to weaken Islam, and subjugate the followers of the 'True Faith'. Radical Islam glorifies death so that Islam may live. Here Sunni and Shiite ideology seem to meet – as Hamas, Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad use Islam to motivate volunteers for their suicide bombing campaigns against Israel and the Western powers.

Hamas considers Palestine to be the 'heart of Islam' and a land which has special significance in Islam which cannot be negotiated. Hamas and Hezbollah both got their zeal and ideology from the Iranian Revolution. Their motivation comes from the oppressive Israeli policies in the Occupied Territories, and during the Israeli

invasion of Lebanon of 1982 when many civilians were killed or uprooted from their homes. Almost all radical/fundamentalist Islamic groups can be traced to the formation of the Muslim Brotherhood Society in the 1920s.

CHAPTER - III

HAMAS

Introduction

Despite its relative youth, the Islamic Resistance Movement, commonly known by its Arabic acronym, Hamas, has become a significant force in Palestinian politics. Hamas (*Harakat al Muqwama al-Islamiyya*) was established in January 1988 and became one of the more important groups working to sustain and amplify the *Intifada*¹ (uprising or shaking off). Hamas is the Arabic work for 'zeal' or 'ardour'.

In 1977-78, Hamas, a branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, worked in the Occupied Territories (Gaza and the West Bank), and was inspired by the Brotherhood's ideology of Islamic revival. The Muslim Brotherhood which was founded in 1928 by Hassan-al-Banna in Ismailiya (Egypt) volunteered to fight in May 1948 with the Arab armies in Palestine against Iraq, where they showed courage and gained valuable guerrilla experience.² The organisation suffered crackdowns in Egypt and Syria, and began to re-establish its leadership in Jordan. In the mid-1970s the leadership formed 'The Muslim Brotherhood Society in Jordan and Palestine' by amalgamating the Muslim Brotherhood Societies of the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, and Jordan. The Brotherhood considered the 1967 defeat a 'divine revenge' against the regime and the secular forces, and vowed to go back to the path of true Islam to regain the position of power once held by Islam and the Islamic world.

Genesis of Hamas

In 1978, Hamas was registered by Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, as a non profit social organisation under the name of '*al-Mujama*'³ (Islamic congress). In the first years of its existence, the organisation concentrated on winning over people to be observant Muslims and gained influence and power in educational institutions, universities and

¹ Hamas, Islamic *Jihad* and Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (including the PLO) were the key players in directing the *Intifada*.

² Peter Mansfield Ed., *The Middle East: A Political and Economic Survey (4th Edn.)* (Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 75.

³ Ziad, Abu-Amir, *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza: Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Jihad* (Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 16.

mosques.⁴ A number of factors have led to Hamas' growing grass-roots popularity: its call for the liberation of all Palestine; a reputation for efficiency, honesty and lack of corruption, its wide ranging welfare activities, daring and successful attacks on Israeli targets, a remarkable resilience to Israeli crackdowns, and its firm yet pragmatic approach to a nationalist camp which is seen increasingly as abandoning the armed struggle (*Jihad*) against the 'Zionist Camp'.

The movement's ability not only to survive this far, but to present itself as a significant contender for the mantle of Palestinian leadership, comes from a combination of its populism and a prudent approach to inter-Arab affairs that attract support for its operations. The arrest and deportation of the Islamic *Jihad* leadership gave a boost to Hamas' leadership and continued to provide basic services through a network of clinics, schools, day care centres, mosques and small factories, and a welfare system that aided widows, orphans and cripples of the *Intifada*.

The Israeli Support to Hamas and Islamic Groups

Initially Hamas, which remained completely independent, had nothing to do with other Palestinian resistance or political groups, and was content with providing religious, social and welfare programmes for Palestinians in the OTs in order to build a power base for itself. It did openly maintain that its ultimate aim was the destruction of Israel and install an Islamic State of Palestine in its place.

At first the Israeli authorities did not consider Hamas to be dangerous, feeling it was more concerned with rhetoric than with action. In fact Israel even gave it some covert support to counter Arafat's Fatah organisation.⁵ Senior Israeli security officers described Hamas as "a surprisingly unprofessional bunch. They had no training, and acted without specific instructions". Hamas' 1988 Charter, was in many ways similar to the Iranian backed Hezbollah ideology. Hamas' zeal and enthusiasm attracted Iran which gave Hamas financial assistance from 1990 onwards.⁶ As per some Israeli sources, this

⁴ Mosques became not only recruitment centres, but also meeting places for clandestine meeting. Arms caches were hidden, as mosques were not subject to be intensive searches and demolitions by Israeli military. Mosques also added a religious fervour for the call for *Jihad* and suicide bombers.

⁵ Edgar O'Ballance *Islamic Fundamentalist Terror: The Iranian Connection*, (Macmillan, 1997), p.167.

⁶ Hamas called itself 'The Soldiers of Allah', and wore green headbands.

amounted to about \$50 million per year. Iran then began to provide Hamas arms through Syria and the Hezbollah, and even opened its training camps.⁷ It is possible that this close cooperation between Iran, Hezbollah and Hamas was the main reason for Sunni Hamas to adopt the Shiite (suicide bomber) path to paradise by resorting to a suicide bombing campaign similar to the one conducted in the 1980s by Hezbollah in Lebanon.

During 1987 and 1988, the Israelis had been quick to extend legitimacy and status to Hamas in an attempt to marginalise the PLO.⁸ Hamas leaders met Israeli leaders regularly, and gatherings of Palestinians at mosques were encouraged. Israelis were sending a message that Hamas was an organisation with which Israel could work. It must be remembered that Hamas was registered under the name of *al-Mujama* as a religious organisation with a socio-religious economic programme, for the religious revival and welfare of the population. This ill conceived Israeli policy was to cost them dear. (It sent the wrong message to Hamas) Israel accorded Hamas the status of 'partners-for-discussion'. In 1987-88, Dr. Mahmoud Zahar, the Hamas spokesman, was attending regular meetings with the Israeli Defence Minister Mr. Rabin. Sheikh Yassin and others also met with Israeli government officials as well as with representatives of the civil administration in the Gaza Strip to discuss the *Intifada* and its implications. Israel still viewed Hamas a moderate Islamic movement for social reform rather than an Islamist organisation with its stated goal being the destruction of Israel and the establishment of an Islamic State of Palestine through a holy war. In addition, Israelis did nothing to stop the large sums of money coming in from various sources for Hamas programmes. Israel instead, barred the flow of finances to the PLO.⁹ Hamas and Israel seemed to share the antipathy towards the PLO and the secular national movement.¹⁰ Though thousands of nationalist Palestinians were routinely placed under Israeli detention, Hamas supporters were left free from arrests. "There were no Hamas prisoners with us," noted an imprisoned communist activist from Ramallah.¹¹

⁷ Edgar O'Ballance, n.5, p.167.

⁸ Beverly Milton - Edwards, *Islamic Politics in Palestine*, (Tauris, 1996) p.151.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Up to this point, Arafat had not yet formally renounced terrorism, and Israel considered PLO to be a terrorist organisation.

¹¹ Beverly Milton-Edwards, n.9, p.152.

Withdrawal of Israeli Support

The attitude of Israel changed to one of confrontation after Hamas' involvement in the kidnapping and murder of two Israeli soldiers in March 1989. In April 1989, Israeli authorities arrested almost 300 Hamas members. Amongst them was the founder Sheikh Yassin who was imprisoned for life for his involvement in assassinating collaborators and brutally imposing the laws of the Uprising on the population. At the end of summer 1989, Israel announced that it was suspending all contacts with Hamas. By December, the organisation was outlawed and its membership was declared a punishable offence.¹²

Aims of Hamas

Hamas seeks the destruction of Israel in a holy war or *jihad* in order to establish Palestine as an Islamic state. It views Palestine as a religious trust or '*waqf*' that should remain under Muslim control for eternity (Article 11).¹³ Hamas ideology was formally set forth in a charter published in August 1988. A document of 36 Articles that spelled out the movement's Islamic orientation, it showed its attitude towards Israel to be much more uncompromising than that of the PLO and the nationalist mainstream. One theme of the Charter is the centrality of Islam as a framework for all Palestinian nationalistic efforts, as expressed, for example, in the declaration that "Hamas regards nationalism (Article 12) as part and parcel of religious faith", and that since "Palestine is an Islamic '*waqf*' throughout the generations until the Day of Resurrection, no portion of it may be ceded to Jews or other non-Muslims". A third theme is distrust of the Jews and their designs, often expressed in anti-Semitic terms that alleges the existence of a Jewish led international conspiracy. Another theme, is rejection of "the so-called peaceful solution", including international conferences (Article 13), and the affirmation that, "there is no solution of the Palestinian problem except by *Jihad*" (Article 13). The Charter further states that "when our enemies usurp some Islamic lands, *Jihad* becomes a binding duty on all Muslims". Two final themes are the importance of social as well as political justice, expressed as a commitment to helping the needy and looking after interests of the

¹² Ibid., p.153.

¹³ See the Hamas Charter at the end of this dissertation.

masses, and a willingness to co-exist in friendship with Palestinian nationalists and the PLO. PLO is said to constitute “a father, a brother, a relative, a friend” (Article 27), and the charter looks forward to “the day when the PLO adopts Islam as the guideline for life”.¹⁴

Goals

Hamas’ synopsis of goals was first released on 2 January 1988 in a communiqué in which the immediate objective were “release of the detainees, rejection of the settlements, the policy of expulsion, administrative detention, brutalization of civilians and detainees, the denial of travel, harassment, the spread of immorality, bribery, corruption, entrapment in the nets of the secret service, the denial of the ‘right of return’, astronomical taxes and other reprehensible occupation policies”.¹⁵ Hamas Charter would reinforce these aims, but would also keep the door open for political activity.

Hamas issued its long term goals in April 1994. The movement declared that it is not opposed to the principle of peace. In addition, it outlined a pragmatic policy position by declaring its willingness to cease military operations in the West Bank and Gaza,¹⁶ as long as the following conditions are met: 1) complete Israeli withdrawal from the Occupied Territories; 2) disarming the settlers and dismantling the settlements; 3) placing international forces on the “Green Line” established in the Occupied Territories during the 1948 and 1967 Wars; 4) free and fair general elections to determine true representation of the Palestinian people; and 5) the Council, which will be composed of electoral victors, shall represent the Palestinians in any negotiations that determine their future and that of the Occupied Territories.¹⁷

¹⁴ Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 695 as quoted in the Hamas Charter.

¹⁵ For a complete list of Palestinian deaths and injuries due to Israeli actions and other details regarding *Intifada* see Zachury Lockman and Joel Bein, eds. *Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising Against Israeli Occupation* (MERIP) (Tauris, London, 1990).

¹⁶ The Gaza strip is one of the most densely populated areas in the world. It is 50Km long and 6 Km wide and is hemmed in by the Mediterranean sea (with no port), the Sinai Peninsula, and refugees living in eight UNRWA camps. In addition, there are 18 Jewish settlements (5000 settlers). Population density is 1,730 persons per sq. km. The strip is subject to frequent closures by Israeli security forces.

¹⁷ Statement by Mousa Abu Marzouk in April 1994.

Composition

Hamas is composed of administrative, charitable political, and military elements, which have sub-divisions. The administrative wing coordinates the movement's actions. Charity work is conducted in cooperation with other Islamic centres sympathetic to Hamas. The political activity that takes place within the territories is confined to Hamas sympathizers participating in local elections. The military wing is the most active within the Occupied Territories, particularly since Hamas' main goal is battling the Israeli occupation and the peace process that divides and negotiates with Zionists.

The Hamas leadership consists of senior religious clerics, partly from within the Occupied Territories, but mostly from outside, within the framework of a supreme consultative council. Within the territories, four separate regional commands exist, three in the West Bank and one in Gaza. Each regional command is led by a commander appointed by and responsible to the Supreme Consultative Council. Subject to the Commander is a Committee that coordinates activities in each region. Although general instructions were communicated from the exiled leadership, attacks against Jewish settlers and Israeli soldiers did not require explicit approval. However, terrorist attacks on Jewish civilians inside Israel must be sanctioned by the Supreme Consultative Council. Hamas' founder, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, was also the founder of the Islamic Centre in Gaza. He was born in 1936 in the village of Jora in the northern part of the Gaza district of Mandated Palestine. He comes from a relatively prosperous middle class land-owning family. But when Yassin's family was uprooted from Palestine in 1948, it settled in a refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. The dislocation of his family had a lasting impact on Yassin and would colour his thinking and fundamentalist views. Between 1950 and 1964 Yassin worked as a teacher in government schools. In 1964 he was admitted to the English department at the University of Cairo. After completing the first year of his study, he was prevented from returning to Egypt because of his membership in the Muslim Brotherhood Society.¹⁸ Yassin had to retire in 1984 because of a physical disability leading to paralysis of both legs. He was imprisoned by Israel on 15 April 1984 on a charge of belonging to a hostile group and possession of weapons in the Occupied Territory. He was sentenced to 13 years in jail. After 10 months, he was

¹⁸ Ziad Abu-Amir, n.3, p.64.

released in May 1985 in a prisoner exchange between the Israelis and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC).

During the *Intifada* he was implicated in the killing and kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers and other violent acts against Israelis and Palestinians collaborating with them. In May 1989, Yassin was sentenced to 15 years in jail. He was released in November 1997 in an exchange of Israeli prisoners in the wake of the botched Mossad attack on Khaled Mashal in Amman, Jordan. Yassin is now in Gaza city and has vowed to carry on his fight though paralysed and half blind. He has been seen in close association with Arafat. However, after the Wye agreement of October 1998, Arafat placed Yassin under temporary house arrest to curb Hamas activities to placate Israel and the USA. He has since been released. In March 1999, a Palestinian military court sentenced Hamas activists to death for killing a Palestinian policeman in the West Bank. This led to wide spread disturbances and shootings by Palestinian security forces and may perhaps widen the rift between Fatah and Hamas.

Dr. Abd al-Aziz al Rantisi, an instructor at the Islamic University of Gaza is seen as the most prominent leader of Hamas after Yassin. In a show of solidarity with the PLO, Rantisi was the recipient of the famous 'kiss' in Gaza city, by Arafat after the Mahane Jerusalem bombing in July 1997. Some of the other known leaders of Politburo Movement, Ibrahim Ghusha the official spokesman of the Movement are M. Nazzal, Emad al Alami, Hamas representative in Iran and Khaled Mashal head of the Information Office in Jordan. Names of other leaders have not been publicised.¹⁹

Al-Qassam Brigades

Terrorist attacks are the responsibility of Hamas military wing, the Izz-al-Din al Qassam Suicide Brigade formed in 1991, it is named after the charismatic cleric name who was killed in 1935 by the British during the Palestinian Revolt. Qassam was killed in a village called Sheik Zeid during an action against Jewish settlers. Because of Qassam's (1882-1935) exploits in Syria and Palestine, he is considered a martyr for the Palestinian cause. The Hamas Brigades have control over all military and terrorist

¹⁹ Those present at the founding of Hamas on 9 December 1987 in Gaza were Ahmed Yassin, Rantisi, Ibrahim al-Yazuri (pharmacist), Salah Shihada (staff member of Islamic University of Gaza), Issaal-Nashshar (an engineer), Muhamad Sham'a (a teacher), Abd-al-Fattah Dukhan .

activity, as well as intelligence and surveillance, recruitment and training of new members. Once recruited, selected activists undergo extensive training in urban warfare as well as ideological and religious instruction in training camps located in Gaza. The al-Qassam brigades include a commander and executive council appointed by the Supreme Consultative Council. A network of small, separate cells, composed of two or three members with limited hierarchical communication and no communication between cells, ensures operational secrecy. The total number of al-Qassam Brigades is unknown, but Israel estimates that between 15 and 25 hard-core operatives are deployed in Gaza, and 25 to 30 operatives are working in the West Bank. Joint actions by Israel, the CIA and the PA have curbed Hamas actions ever since the Wye Memorandum of October 1998.

Targets

The primary target for Hamas terror is the Israeli population, both in the Occupied Territories and inside Israel. No non-Jewish individuals or institutions have yet been targeted by Hamas, apart from those who in Hamas' opinion have displayed behaviour inconsistent with Islamic Law - termed as collaborators with the Jews. Under Israeli pressure Arafat and the Palestinian Authority Police cracked down on Hamas activists and unearthed bomb making factories in July 1997, but because of the popular support that Hamas enjoys, Arafat can go only that far before his own leadership is undermined. Recently there has been an uneasy peace between the two groups in the wake of Israeli activity in Ras Al-Amud and Har Homa localities in Jerusalem.

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[Hamas terrorism has two main objectives, firstly to hold the Jewish people hostage through fear, thereby creating Israeli domestic opposition to the Occupation and gaining concessions; secondly to provoke Israeli retaliation to stir up Palestinian unrest that can then be mobilized by Hamas. Hamas actions commenced in mid 1989 with the kidnapping and killing of two Israeli soldiers. Then followed knife attacks against Israeli civilians and soldiers, drive by shootings, fire bombings, stabbings; by 1992 Hamas had killed over 20 Israeli soldiers and settlers in attacks and assassinated around 100 Palestinians for suspected collaboration with Israel. At the same time, Hamas expanded its social service network and also capitalized on the PLO's ill fated support of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. Hamas managed to secure the transfer of funds from the rich Gulf States - funds which were previously donated to the PLO. In 1992, five

Israeli soldiers were shot in Gaza and one sergeant taken hostage for the release of Yassin who was in jail. During an unsuccessful rescue attempt by the Israelis, the soldier was murdered by Hamas. In retaliation, 415 suspected Hamas and Islamic *Jihad* supporters were deported in the height of winter to Southern Lebanon (no-man's land). However, this led to international indignation and the intensification of the Qassam Brigades actions followed by the 'revolution of the knives.'²⁰

When Hamas was first formed, Israel had given it support and encouragement as a counterweight against the PLO and to force the PLO to the negotiating table. Hamas scored significant victories in various municipal and professional organisation elections in the Occupied Territories in the first half of 1992. In 1995, Sayid Abu Musameh, a high ranking Hamas official was sentenced by an Israeli Court to two years imprisonment for publishing seditious articles in a Hamas newspaper, *al-Watan*. On 1 August Israel took steps to secure the extradition of Marzouk a Hamas leader, who had been detained as a suspected terrorist upon entering the USA a week earlier. However, later, Marzouk was allowed to live in Jordan.

Suicide Bombings

In September 1993, when the Israeli-Palestine Peace Accord was signed, Hamas tried its level best to derail the process, and entered into an alliance with Iran to sabotage the process. In exchange for an increase in attacks on Israeli targets, Iran promised to supply Hamas with \$30 million a year. This led to the emergence in April 1994 of the Al-Qassam Suicide Martyrs, who took their inspiration from the pro-Iranian Hezbollah (Party of God) and Islamic *Jihad* movement in Lebanon. Eager young Palestinians, frustrated with over 20 years of Israeli occupation and repression, and with no hope for any improvement, became Hamas volunteers to win a place in paradise by killing as many Israelis as possible. In nine days, four young boys turned themselves into human bombs killing 60 Israelis in Jerusalem, Ashkelon and Tel Aviv. They were all bachelors, from poor families and devout Muslims, and had experienced Israeli persecution. The bombers were recruited in mosques, schools and universities.

²⁰ Encyclopaedia of World Terrorism (ME Sharpe, New York, 1997)

The suicide bombings spread to Tel Aviv and to the centre of Jerusalem. From January 1996 onwards, following the assassination by Israel of Abu Ayyash the Hamas 'Engineer' and explosives expert, Hamas suicide bombers killed over 60 people in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Since the signing of Oslo Accords, over 200 Israelis had been killed through terrorist attacks, and this has effectively halted the peace process.

It had also split the Israeli public opinion in favour of the hawkish Likud Party following the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin by a Jewish extremist opposed to the Peace Process, in November 1995. Arafat and the PLO seemed boxed in.

Hamas Finances and Communiques

Amongst other sources, Hamas gets its funding from the following:-

- Donations from Hamas supporters and the public in general come in form of alms (zakat) or direct charity. The money collected goes to mosques, needy families, schools, health centres and small scale self-sustaining projects like production of honey and bee-keeping.
- Islamic movements abroad: Motivated by Islamic Brotherhood, countries such as Jordan, Saudi-Arabia and the Gulf States amongst others, provide Hamas with financial assistance.
- Informal donations from other countries, from Arabs in Europe and USA sympathetic to the cause. Palestinians Hamas are looked upon as Mujahidin or freedom fighters.
- Governments supportive of Hamas such as Iran, some Gulf States including Saudi Arabia who cut off donations to PLO in the wake of the 1991 Gulf War.
- Unconfirmed reports also say that Hamas has investments under "fronts" and the returns from such organisations help Hamas sustain its operations.²¹

Hamas propagates its ideology and messages to the people through promulgation of its Charter. In addition, several leaflets and communiques are published from time to time. Hamas also resorts to graffiti to express its political positions. Some examples: "The Koran is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people", "Islam is the way to return to Palestine", "Remember Khaybar , O Jews, Mohammed's Army will return!!"

²¹ Ziad Abu-Amr. n.3, p.87.

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Hamas, has emerged as a strong political and popular force, as a challenge to the well established PLO.²² In conjunction with the inflexible attitude of the Netanyahu led Likud Government in Israel, it is possible that Hamas may provide the answer - the terrorist attacks acting as a catalyst to accelerate the peace process. But Hamas wants all or nothing. Its goal of placing the "banner of Islam over every inch of Palestine", does not seem a realistic or attainable goal. Because of crackdowns by Palestinian, Israeli, and the CIA, Hamas activities have been curbed for the time being.

It is possible, that now, with the release of Sheik Yassin and increased involvement and representation of Hamas. in the political process, an unspoken or unannounced 'via-media' could be agreed to in that, a withdrawal of Israeli troops or even a demilitarised Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza.²³ Re-deployment of troops from the occupied areas in West Bank and Gaza strip could be seen as the first step towards ultimate reclamation by Hamas of the whole of Palestine. The spate of suicide bombings in Mahane Jerusalem and Ben Yehuda Street, and the continued building of settlements in Har Homa as part of 'natural growth' and security, as well as continued Israeli attempts at elimination of Hamas leaders shows that neither side has given up the struggle for its vital interests, nor given up the fight despite pressures from the USA and talks of 'peace with security' and partial withdrawals. Ariel Sharon's statements on CNN on 7 December 1997 that the Palestinians would be 'ringed' by Israeli Settlements and that the Jordan Valley would never be given up, may lead to a further erosion of Arafat's authority and an emergence of the militant arm of Hamas. Though Hamas was the recipient of Israeli support during its formative stages - Israel is now using pressure on the PLO to diminish Hamas influence and power.²⁴ This is also a

²² In recent student elections, Hamas emerged as the leading party at Najah University in Nablus, which was a traditional Fatah strong hold. The inability of the PLO leadership to stop Jewish settlements building in Jerusalem is the prime cause - especially in Har Homa and the acquisition of Arab property by Jews in Ras Al-Amud in the Centre of East Jerusalem.

²³ Hamas boycotted the first PNC elections. However, a survey conducted in Gaza showed the organisation had the support of almost 40 per cent of the Palestinians. Nearly 20,000 sympathizers took to the streets on 23 July 1997 in Hebron and 40,000 showed up after the of assassination by Israel of Hamas Bomb maker Yahya Ayyash (killed 13 Dec. 1996). The rally took place on 13 Dec. 1997 in Khan Yunis. (Source, *Middle East International*, 20 Dec. 1996, p.4).

²⁴ The Likud government under Netanyahu wanted tough action by Arafat in the arrest and elimination of Hamas terrorist activists and activities, as it said that Hamas bombs originate from the territories recently handed over to the Palestinian Authority following the Oslo II Accords. Israel had deadlocked further talks

method being used by Israel to keep the Palestinian leadership divided while it continues with its hard-line inflexible policies. However, international sympathy for Israel seems to be receding, while the situation portends another *Intifada* brewing in the Occupied Territories.

Recent Suicide Bomb Attacks

- October 1998 - Two suicide attacks to derail the Wye Plantation Talks. Foiled by Israeli security forces.
- 4 September - 1997 - Three Hamas Suicide Bombers blow themselves up in Ben Yehuda Street Market in Jerusalem, killing 14 Israelis and wounding many.
- 30 July - 1997 - Two suicide bombers kill 10 Israelis and wound many in Mahane Jerusalem Market.
- 21 March - 1997 - Suicide bomber kills three women in a Tel Aviv cafe. Many wounded.
- 23 Feb. to 4 Mar. 1996- Four suicide bombings in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv cafe. Many wounded.
- 25 June 1996 - Suicide bomber wounds three Israeli soldiers in Gaza.
- April 1996 - Eight Jews killed in Gaza Strip, bomb on bus in Afula.
- 31 Aug. and
24 July 1995 - Hamas bombs on buses in Jerusalem and Ramat Gan.
- October 14, 1994 - Israeli soldier kidnapped and killed during rescue attempt.
- October 19, 1994 - Hamas bombs bus in Tel Aviv.
- February 25, 1994 - Jewish settlers kills 29 Arabs at Hebron before being clubbed to death by survivors.

Israeli Reprisals

- October 1998 - Assassination of Awadallah brothers.
- October 1997 - Israeli assassination attempt Khaled Mashal - Hamas leader in Amman.
- January 5, 1996 - Assassination of Ayyash the Hamas bomb maker.
- October 1995 - Islamic *Jihad* leader shot in Malta.

and has threatened to move into areas under Palestinian Control to act against Hamas personnel. On 23 July 1997 a bomb factory was unearthed at Bayt Sahur (Bethlehem) with 30 kg of explosives and accessories.

Suicide attacks distinguish the third stage of Hamas terrorism. In response to the February 1994 Hebron massacre, in which a Jewish extremist gunned down Palestinian worshippers in a mosque, killing 29 and wounding 150 others, a Hamas suicide bomber attacked a commuter bus in the town of Afula. Eight Israelis were killed and 50 were wounded. Another two suicide bombers attacked an Israeli bus travelling between Afula and Tel Aviv, killing five and injuring another 30 passengers. In October 1994, al-Qassem suicide bomber boarded and blew up a bus in central Tel Aviv. He killed 22 civilians and wounded 48 others.

Stop-Start Hostilities

These attacks led to mass arrests of Hamas members and activists by Israel. In mid-1995, the US arrested Musa Abu Marzuk, Sheikh Yassin's replacement leader since 1989. At the same time, Israel demanded that the Palestinian Authority clamp down on the al-Qassem brigades, pressure Hamas' political wing into accepting a dialogue with the PLO, and a temporary halt in the use of terror against Israel.

The dialogue broke down in January 1996, when the Israelis assassinated key al-Qassem leader and explosives expert Yahiya Ayyash. Within a week, five suicide attacks in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv killed 59 people. At this point, Hamas terrorists had killed over 200 Israelis in the three years after the signing of the peace agreement in September 1993.

Hamas Concessions/Deviations:

In 1993, immediately on signing the DOP in September, Hamas called it a surrender of Palestine at the cheapest price. It rejected any solution that yielded even one inch of Palestinian land, which included holy Jerusalem and the Al-Aqsa mosque. Hamas realised that religious arguments alone would not suffice to rally most Palestinians against the DOP. Hamas however, realised also that because of Israel's strength, US backing of Israel and PLO, the Hamas' ultimate goals seemed unattainable in the near future. Most Palestinians were exhausted with the prolonged occupation by Israel and wanted an interim solution. Thus the call for a prolonged *Jihad* could be heeded to by a select group of dedicated activists rather than a majority of the Palestinian population.

The more pragmatic posture of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin called for a temporary armistice rather than a full fledged peace with Israel. Most Jurists believed that a truce should not last more than 10 years i.e. the period which the Prophet accepted in his agreement with the people of Mecca in 628 at Hdaybiyya.

Hamas laid down the following deviations from its earlier inflexible policy:-

- Israel must withdraw from all of Palestine or at least to its pre 1967 borders before Hamas could discuss a political solution.
- Hamas is open to the idea of a Palestinian state in West Bank and Gaza as long as it is a prelude to a Palestinian state in all of Palestine.
- International supervision in the territories is acceptable after Israeli withdrawal as long as it is limited in time, and does not involve direct and clear cut concessions to Israel.
- Hamas leaflets and its Charter are a reflection of Hamas ideology. Hamas leaflets were prepared in the Gaza Strip. They drew heavily on religious images and slogans. Hamas leaflets began its numbering from 21 May 1988. The aim was to undermine the authority of Israeli rule in the OTs by means of a civil revolt to force Israel to withdraw from those areas. The second goal was to prepare the groundwork for the establishment of a Palestinian State.²⁵

Hamas' religious strain shows up in the type of slogans printed in the leaflets;

- Let any hand be cut off that signs away a grain of sand in Palestine in favour of the enemies of God..... who have seized..... the blessed land.
- Every negotiation with the enemy is a regression from the Palestinian cause, concession of a principle and recognition of the usurping murderers' false claim to a land in which they were not born.
- Israel is a cancer which is spreading and is threatening the entire Islamic world. Only Islam can break the Jews and destroy their dream.

²⁵ Shaul Misal, "The *Intifada* Discourse" in Avraham Sela and Moshe Ma'oz eds, **The PLO and Israel: From Armed Conflict to Political Solution 1964-1994** (Macmillan, London, 1997) p.200.

- Allah is great - the hour of Khaybar has arrived - death to the conquerors.²⁶

In sum, Hamas believes that a political solution to the conflict with Israel would violate the religious precept of waging a holy war against the Jews. Its perception of Israel and the Jews as a religious not a national adversary rules out the possibility of a political settlement based on compromise. The alternative to the peace process with Israel is 'victory or death' according to Hamas.

Summary Of Hamas Goals/Ideology.

- Committed to Holy *Jihad* for Palestine against the Jews, until victory of Allah is implemented.
- The land must be cleansed from the impurity and viciousness of the tyrannical occupiers.
- Under Islam, co-existence with other faiths is possible.
- The Muslims are under obligation, by order of the Prophet to fight Jews and kill them wherever they can find them.
- Hamas strives to establish an entity where Allah is the goal, the Koran its constitution, *Jihad* the means. Death for the cause of Allah is the ultimate aspiration.
- Palestine is a holy Islamic endowment and is not negotiable.
- It is every Muslim's duty to carryout this *Jihad* to bring redemption to the land. Hamas considers jihad an individual's duty rather than the responsibility of the state.
- Hamas is opposed to all international conferences and negotiations and to any peaceful settlements. As sovereignty over the land is a religious act, negotiating over it means yielding some of it to the rule of the unbelievers.
- Hamas opposes the PLO secular state in Palestine, because it would be anti-Islamic. But if the PLO adopts Islam as its path, then all members of the

²⁶ Ibid.

movement will become the soldiers of liberation and will produce the fire that will smite the enemy.

- Islam is the goal, The Prophet its Model, Quran its Constitution (Article 5).

Hamas and the PLO

Since its inception, Hamas has fought the PLO for legitimacy and support of the Palestinian public. During the *Intifada*, the rift between the movements sharpened as they both tried to gain the upper hand. While the PLO leadership was based in far away Tunis, the Hamas leadership operated from the OTs. Also, Hamas was able to operate from mosques and religious schools which evaded Israeli clampdowns during the *Intifada* and had more appeal than secular and nationalistic calls by the PLO. The PLO was seen as an organisation that sought to legitimize Israeli occupation of the Palestinian people. Hamas also began to challenge Fatah's role as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. Slogans such as 'Hamas is the sole legitimate representative of the people' were often seen on the walls of Gaza city. The PLO responded with the declaration that, "each rival with the PLO is a rivalry with our homeland. The PLO is the state, not just a party within it".²⁷

During December 1992, when Israel deported almost 415 Hamas activists to Al Mahoujz in Southern Lebanon, Hamas tried to convert the international and Palestinian sympathy that the Israeli action had evoked, into political power, by trying to force the PLO to break off all negotiations with Israel. However, the PLO insisted that political involvement with Israel and other countries would finally pressure Israel to revoke its decision regarding the deportees. At first in December 1992, the PLO linked continuation of talks with the return of the Hamas deportees but later modified its stand.²⁸

Though the Hamas Charter does not leave any room for a negotiated settlement, in September 1988, Sheikh Yassin did say that following Israeli withdrawal to pre-1967 borders he could think of talking to Israel, and also participate in Palestinian elections.

²⁷ Menachem Klein, "Competing Brothers: The Web of Hams-PLO Relations" in Bruce Maddy-Weitzman and Efraim Inbar, eds, *Religious Radicalism in the Greater Middle East* (Frank Cass, London, 1997) p.115.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.115.

To stop violence against Israel, Yassin was ready for a ten year truce if Israel freed all Palestinian prisoners, stopped its action against Palestinians and cancelled its burdensome tax programme. As the PLO grew in international stature following its Declaration of Independence (1988), participation in the Madrid Peace Conferences (1991) and the Oslo Accords (1993-94), Hamas tried to open a dialogue with the PLO and be part of the political process. But when PLO initiatives were not all that successful, and Hamas won additional seats in professional or student elections, Hamas leaders assumed they could afford to stick to the hard line approach of its Charter. It was a love-hate relationship. Hamas Charter says it considers the PLO to be amongst the closest to Hamas, for it constitutes “father, a brother, a relative, a friend. Can a Muslim turn away from his father, his brother, his relative or his friend? Our homeland is one, our calamity is one, our destiny is one, and one enemy in common to both of us”.²⁹ Hamas also declared that “whoever has no brother is like a fighter who runs to battle without weapons. No falcon can take off without wings”.³⁰ Thus Hamas considers PLO and itself as wing of the movement.

By emphasizing the Islamic content of the Palestinian conflict, Hamas tried to supplant the secular PLO as the leader after over 20 years of Israeli occupation during which the PLO was proved ineffective. In a way, Hamas has ‘Palestinised’ Islam as well as ‘Islamised’ the Arab-Israeli Conflict.³¹ Despite PLO-Hamas clashes, both sides have avoided an outright civil war and so playing into Israeli hands. In 1990 there were clashes in Tulkrum. In 1991 there was heavy fighting in Nablus which led to Hamas condemning the shedding of intra-Palestinian blood. In April-June 1992, after serious clashes, both sides published the ‘Alliance of Honour’ calling for democratic solutions to all disagreements.³² During the Madrid Conference of 1991, Hamas tried to convince the PLO to pullout without success. It also asked for 40-45 percent of the seats in the PNC election, but even that was refused and the Islamists boycotted the elections. The September 1993 DOP was seen by Hamas as a surrender to Israel, in which the PLO had

²⁹ Ibid., p.114.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., p.113.

³² Ibid., p.117.

to revoke many of its clauses in the Palestinian National Covenant (1968) and give up its right to resist Israeli occupation.

Israel had pressured Arafat to join it against containment of Hamas and Islamic terrorists. This was seen as “a bridge for Israel to penetrate the Arab world. We consider this to be a great historic act of treason and a dangerous one which will begin the dissolution of this leadership which has sold the struggle, sold the blood and sold the rights of the Palestinian people”.³³ Hamas saw more eye to eye with the rejectionist front led by Iran, Iraq and the Breakaway eight factions of the PLO to include DFLP, PLFP, PFLP-GC and other smaller groups. The Palestinian struggle was being split between Arafat’s Fatah, the rejectionists and militant Islamic groups led by Hamas. Hamas was trying to build a counter-leadership to Arafat based on the assumption that “the Israeli Army will not withdraw from the Gaza Strip or the West Bank”. However, following the May 1994 withdrawal from most of Jericho and the Gaza Strip, this assumption was proved wrong. Because of these initial successes led by the PLO, and as a result of the *Intifada*, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the war over Kuwait, Hamas was unable to convince the people to behave according to its radical, puritanical interpretation of Islamic law. As per research conducted by The Centre For Palestine Research and Studies, support for Hamas in April, August and December 1994 was 15.9 percent, 13.91 and 16.6 percent, while Fatah was supported by 37.91, 39 and 93.1 percent of the population. In November 1994, 44.2 percent supported Arafat as the leader of the PA, while Sheikh Yassin received only 19.7 percent. While 53 percent of the population were satisfied with the PA’s functioning, only 21 percent felt they were not happy with Arafat’s style of functioning.³⁴ In November 1994, the PA and Hamas came to an agreement; Arafat nominated Shah Bitani, the most prominent pro-Hamas religious representative in the West Bank as head of the Palestinian Religious Courts in the West Bank, and in addition, the PA introduced an Anti-Vice section to the Palestinian police composed of and commanded by Hamas activists. This allowed Hamas to act as the watchdog of Islamic morality in Gaza. After signing the DOP in September 1993, Hamas carried out several operations against Israeli targets in Hadera and Afula (April

³³ Ibid., p.110.

³⁴ Ibid., p.118.

1994), Tel Aviv (October 1994), and (December Jerusalem 1994). These actions caused severe Israeli reactions. The redeployment of its troops was halted and closures of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip was imposed. Arafat's leadership was being undermined. He was therefore forced to use his armed Police and cooperate with the Israelis against Hamas. In 1995 he arrested almost 250 Hamas activists, closed down the *al-Watan* weekly Hamas newspaper, and jailed its editor.³⁵ He established military courts which sentenced 20 Hamas detainees to prison terms and limited the activities of Hamas spokesman Ibrahim Ghawshe. In addition, Hamas members were directed to hand in their weapons, as only the Palestinian Police were allowed to carry fire-arms. He ordered Hamas to stop attacking Israeli targets in PA areas, stop acquiring arms and explosives and not to train in Gaza. In 1996, Israel had assassinated Ayyash 'the Engineer' a Hamas bombmaker and Hamas broke the agreement with PA. It launched four suicide bomb attacks between 25 February and 4 March in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Ashkelon in which 70 Israeli were killed and about 100 injured.³⁶ Under Israeli pressure, Arafat was forced again to crackdown on Hamas. The PA even uncovered a secret Hamas cell plotting Arafat's assassination. Even charitable and educational institutions were raided. However Israel has accused Arafat of the 'revolving door' policy as far as terrorists are concerned i.e. they are taken into custody - and then released again after a short term of imprisonment.

In October 1998, after the Wye Memorandum, Arafat took the extreme step of placing Hamas leader Sheikh Yassin under house arrest as part of a crackdown to appease Israel and the USA. In March 1999, there were widespread disturbances and clashes in the West Bank when a military court sentenced a Hamas activist to death for shooting and killing a Palestinian policeman. Though Israel had first encouraged Islamic groups to erode the authority of the secular and nationalist PLO, it found that it had created a monster of its own making which rose to challenge both the PLO.

³⁵ Ibid., p.126.

³⁶ Ibid., p.129.

Additional Information on Hamas

Areas Of Operation

- Mostly Gaza Strip and, to a lesser extent, the West Bank have offices in Amman, Jordan allegedly have elaborate command structures in Britain and the United States (where fund raising and operational planning are performed), centered in Chicago, New York/New Jersey, Virginia/Washington, DC, Detroit, and Kansas City areas are known to have some representation in cities throughout Europe known to train some members, at a farm outside of Khartoum.

Leadership

- Imad al-ALAMI (representative in Iran)
- Imad AQEL (AKEL or AQAL; Qassam commander of the northern Gaza Strip; placed on Israel's wanted list 12/91; wanted for the killings of 11 soldiers, a settler, and 4 collaborators; killed by Israeli troops in Gaza City, 11/93)
- Saleh ARURI (Qassam commander in Hebron)
- Yehiya (Yaki) AYYASH (or AIASH; aka 'the Engineer' or 'the man with seven souls'; explosives expert and top HAMAS activist wanted by Israel; thought by Israel and confirmed by HAMAS to be behind a bombing campaign which has killed 77 Israelis and foreigners since the 09/93 peace accord, including the 10/94 attack in Tel Aviv; alleged by Israeli press to be a HAMAS suicide 'operator' on the West Bank, one who plans these attacks and prepares the bombers). * Assassinated by Israelis in 1996
- Adel AWDALLAH (prominent HAMAS leader in Ramallah) * Assassinated by Israelis in 1998
- Sheikh Hamed BEITAWI (preacher at Al-Aqsa in Jerusalem; one of 12/92 deportees)
- Sheikh Ahmad Bahr (or BACHIR; one of 12/92 deportees; runs an Islamic charitable society in Gaza; arrested by Palestinian Authority security forces, but quickly released, 06/95)
- Tarek DALKAMOUNI (Abdallah Azzam Unit commander)
- Hassan DEEB (HAMAS official in Gaza)
- Imad al FALOUJI (leader in Gaza; publisher al-Watan)
- Ibrahim GHOSHAH (or GOSHE; official HAMAS spokesman; stationed in Amman)
- Sheikh Jamil HAMAMI (religious leader in Jerusalem)
- Ismail HANIYAH (prominent member in Gaza; considered a moderate)
- Khaled al-HINDI (former aide to YASSIN; HAMAS leader in Gaza)
- Imam Sheikh Ahmad IBRAHIM

- Abdel Nasser Shaker ISSA (believed to plan the 1995 summer bus bombing campaign in Israel; arrested by Shin Bet 08/95; his beating during interrogation leads to a political controversy in Israel as to whether or not such methods should be allowed)
- Muhsin Abu ITA (twice jailed by Israel for being a HAMAS leader)
- Mohammed Joma Hilmig JARAD (US citizen from Chicago arrested in the West Bank 01/93; alleged by Israeli authorities to be leading HAMAS in US and to be in the territories to distribute funds for weapons; pleaded guilty to minor charges, 05/93; released 06/93)
- Sheikh Bassam JARRAR (prominent leader in El Bireh; one of 12/92 deportees; re-arrested after 04/94 suicide bombings)
- Kaman KAHN (wounded in the 04/95 bombing accident in Gaza City)
- Kamal KAHIL (alleged by Israeli press to be a HAMAS suicide 'operator' in Gaza, one who plans these attacks and prepares the bombers)
- Kamal KHEIL (or KUHAYL; killed in 04/95 bombing accident in Gaza City)
- Jamal al KHUDARI (HAMAS leader in Gaza)
- Halil KOKAH (Gaza District)
- Hamed Salem KRINAWI (Izzedine al Qassam commander; killed in 10/93 shoot-out with Israeli troops)
- Sheikh Moussa Mohamed Abu MAZOUK (or MARZUK; aka Abu 'UMAR; has lived in the U.S. since around 1981; won an immigration green card in a 1990 government lottery; runs a construction company; head of office in Virginia said to coordinate HAMAS activities in occupied territories; head HAMAS negotiator in talks with the PLO in Tunis; chairman of HAMAS politburo; also had residence in Damascus, Syria; arrested 07/95 trying to reenter the U.S. in New York on a flight from Dubai, UAE; U.S. authorities say he is picked-up because he is on its terrorist "Watch List"; Israel requests extradition, 08/95)
- Khaled MISHAAL (head of Politburo; leads the HAMAS delegation in the 12/95 reconciliation talks)
- Sheikh Sayid Abu MUSAMAH (sentenced by the Palestinian National Authority's State Security Court to two years in prison for incitement and publishing a 'seditious' article in Al Watan, 05/95; HAMAS claims he is a member of their Reconciliation Dialogue Committee, who conducts talks with the PNA; released as a goodwill gesture, 12/95)
- Abu Mohammed MUSTAFA (deported to Lebanon in 1990; currently HAMAS representative in Damascus)
- Mohammed NAZAL (Jordanian representative who runs the HAMAS office from his trading company in Amman)

- Taher QAFISHNAH (Qassam commander; shot dead by Israeli troops, reportedly after he opened fire and wounded one, 06/95)
- Abdel Aziz al-RANTISSI (cofounder; Gaza doctor; one of 12/92 deportees; became spokesman for deportees, a move which brought him much new found power and attention)
- Dr. Mahmud RUMAHI (allegedly served as conduit for funds by opening bank accounts for JARAD and SALAH in Israel)
- Moussa Saeed SAEED (KRINAWI's deputy; killed with him, 10/93)
- Sheikh Jamal SA'ID (said by Israeli security forces to be a "senior HAMAS operative who works out of Chicago," where he is the leader of the area's biggest mosque in Bridgeview, IL)
- Moneer SA'ID (has been HAMAS representative in Khartoum since 1991)
- Mohammed Abdul Hamid Khalil SALAH (aka Abu AHMED; US citizen from Chicago; arrested in Israel 01/93 and said by Israeli authorities to be distributing money to members in the occupied territories; also said to be communication link between MAZOUK and the territories; upon further investigation, Israeli authorities claim he is the HAMAS "world commander"; according to his military indictment, he is accused of: recruiting members, obtaining information on explosives, remote-controlled bombs, and chemical bombs, training 10 militants in the U.S. and transporting nearly \$1 million to the Occupied Territories for HAMAS distribution; Israel claims he implicates MAZOUK for allegedly ordering him to recruit individuals for training in the use of explosives, and to carry-out terrorist acts; sentenced by a military court to five years in prison, 12/94)
- Mohamed SHAMA'A (leader in Gaza; arrested by Palestinian Authority forces, but quickly released 06/95)
- Ahmed al SSAATI (HAMAS leader in Gaza)
- Mohammed Qassam SUWALHA (aka Abu BADR; military chief; HAMAS leader in Britain)
- Mohammed TAHA (or TAHER; described in media sources as a leading HAMAS activist in Gaza)
- Sheikh Ahmad YASSIN (aka Sheikh of the Intifada; founder and spiritual leader in Gaza District; born 1935; crippled since age 16 due to sporting accident; jailed 1st in 1983 for hiding weapons in his Gaza City mosque and sentenced to 13 years; released in 1985 in prisoner exchange; captured in Israeli commando raid in 1989; sentenced in 10/91 to life plus 15 years after admitting to Israeli charges, including plotting murder of 2 off-duty Israeli soldiers; while imprisoned, HAMAS has developed a highly disciplined chain of command for day-to-day operations, but Yassin allegedly still guides the broad strategy of the movement; reported to be in worsening health) *Released by Israel in October 1997
- Mahmud Khalid Al-ZAHHAR (Gaza doctor and HAMAS public relations official in Gaza; one of 12/92 deportees; participates in negotiations with the Palestinian

National Authority to reduce tension between HAMAS and the PNA; arrested by PNA security forces, but quickly released, 06/95; member of 12/95 reconciliation talks delegation)

- Merwan al-ZAYEGH (killed three Israelis 12/90; suspected of ordering the killing of 21 Israelis and Palestinian suspected collaborators; killed by Israeli soldiers 05/92)
- Khaled al-ZEER (Qassam commander in Hebron area; suspected of 07/93 killing of Jewish settler, and 08/93 and 09/93 killings of soldiers, as well as a number of collaborator killings; killed in a shoot-out with soldiers in Jerusalem, 11/93)

Members

- Ammar Saleh AMARNA (identified as the suicide bomber responsible for 04/94 attack in Hadera)
- Ali Ahmed Ali AMUDI (suspected in the murder of a Shin Bet agent, an Israeli soldier, and six Israeli civilians; surrendered to troops in the village of Abu Dis, 02/94, after a seven-hour siege)
- Abdel Fattah al-AWAISI (history professor at Hebron University; one of the 12/92 deportees)
- Abdallah DOWAIK (one of 12/92 deportees)
- Aziz DWEIK (prominent supporter and ex-deportee from Hebron)
- Omar FARAWANI (or FERWANA; one of 12/92 deportees; made head of the camp's medical team)
- Ibrahim NAFAR
- Abou HAMAS (aka; one of 12/92 deportees)
- Abed Rahman HAMDAN (suspected in the murder of a Shin Bet agent, an Israeli soldier, and six Israeli civilians; killed by troops in the village of Abu Dis, 02/94, after a seven- hour siege)
- Anwar HAMDAN (Arab-American, native of Al Birah, resident of Pennsylvania; arrested by Israeli authorities 03/93 for links to HAMAS, even though he had previously been interrogated by Shin Bet and released)
- Yasir Hammad al-HASSAN ALI (featured in a recruitment and training videotape on the killing of collaborators made by Qassam in the summer of 1992)
- Nasser Issa Galal HIDMI (convicted in Israel in 1993 of having undergone HAMAS training in Chicago, including how to make car bombs)
- Mohammad al-HINDI (killed carrying-out 07/93 bus attack)
- Usama IHMAID (killed in an attempted car bombing in Gaza City, 12/93)
- Radwan Ashraf MAHDI (served two prison sentences in Israel; killed 09/93 when a car bomb he was working on explodes)

- Yousef al MALLAH (sentenced by Palestinian Authority courts to seven years in Palestinian prisons for security violations; escaped from prison, 10/95; turns himself into Palestinian police in Gaza, 11/95)
- Abu MASAB (nom de guerre said by HAMAS to have carried-out the 07/95 suicide bombing)
- Abdel Karim MASALMEH (reportedly killed in the West Bank village of Deir Samet when Israeli troops fire anti-tank rockets at the house he is hiding out in, 11/95)
- Wael NASSER (alleged by Israel to have planned an averted suicide attack in Israel, 08/95; surrenders to Palestinian police in Gaza after a three-hour standoff/shoot-out, 08/95; sentenced 09/95 by the Palestinian Authority to five years in prison for "endangering state security and conspiring to violence," effectively blocking his requested extradition to Israel)
- Ibrahim NAWADEH (arrested and accused of acting as the HAMAS connection to the cell which killed TOLEDANO)
- Kamal Bani ODEH (killed carrying-out 10/93 suicide bombing)
- Ayman RADI (Palestinian policeman responsible for 12/94 suicide bombing)
- Ma'wya ROKA (killed carrying-out 06/95 suicide bombing in Gaza)
- Salim SALAMAH (one of 12/92 deportees)
- Awad SILMI (sentenced 09/95 by the Palestinian Authority to five years in prison for "endangering state security and conspiring to violence," effectively blocking the requested extradition to Israel)
- Usama Abu TAHA (sentenced by Palestinian Authority courts to 12 years in prison for security violations; escapes from prison, 10/95; turns himself in to Palestinian police in Gaza, 11/95)
- Hatem Yusuf Mahmoud ZIADA (from Jabalya regugee camp; claimed by Israeli security forces to be the leader of the HAMAS cadre arrested 12/95 in Tulkarm)

Funding

- Iran, Jordan, Sudan, Gulf States (when the PLO supported Iraq in the Gulf War, it lost their financial support, much of which was merely transferred to HAMAS, especially by Saudi Arabia) an estimated one-third of HAMAS' estimated \$30 million annual budget comes from fund-raising and propaganda activity taking place in Western Europe and North America through religious and charity organizations such as the World Islamic League known to have received funding from Ossama bin Laden, a Saudi billionaire connected to Islamic extremist groups worldwide

Publications

- Hamas (early newsletter publication, later renamed Al-Thabat: Perseverance)
- Al-Zaytuna (pro-HAMAS publication published in the United States)
- al-Watan (newspaper shut down by Israeli authorities for a short time, 05/95; announces it is shutting-down, 12/95, the same day the NISP announces it has ARAFAT's permission to issue a newspaper)

Contacts

- Sudanese junta (Hassan TOURABI)
- Iranian high-level political, religious and intelligence officials Hizbollah (Iran)
- Islamic Salvation Front (FIS; Algeria)
- Moslem Brotherhood - Jordanian branch al-Nahada (Tunisian)
- Nation of Islam (USA)
- "Front of Ten" (groups opposed to the peace process formed this group in order to coordinate their efforts)
- Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)
- Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP)
- Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command (PFLP-GC)
- Abu Musa Group (aka Palestinian National Liberation Movement - Fatah)
- Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine
- al-Saiqa,
- the Revolutionary Palestinian Communist Party
- Palestine Popular Struggle Front (PSF)
- Palestine Liberation Front (PLF) participates in the Popular Arab and Islamic Conference (PAIC; organized by Sudanese Islamist Hassan TURABI, bringing several radical Islamic groups, as well as Arab leftist and nationalist groups)

Source : Additional Details downloaded from website of Office of International Criminal Justice @ <http://www.ascp.uic.edu/gangs/hamas/leader.shtml>

Summary

Born out of the *Intifada*, in 1987-88, Hamas gained popular support because of its honesty and religious, socio-economic programmes. It was able to even gain Israeli support for a while. The fact that Hamas was able to operate from within the OTs and

strike at targets in the heart of Israeli cities speaks highly of its organisation, leadership and motivation. Hamas, at one time posed a serious leadership challenge to the secular PLO. Hamas' policy against Israel of 'no recognition, no negotiation, no re-conciliation, no surrender' reached a peak just after the Oslo Accords and immediately after the January 1996 Israeli assassination of Ayyash "The Engineer". Hamas suicide attacks also reached a crescendo soon after the controversial Israeli settlement at Har Homa (Jabal Abu Ghneim) was initiated on 18 March 1997 by the Netanyahu Government.

Israeli intelligence, and joint Israeli-CIA-PLO operations seem to have muzzled Hamas as there have been no recent attacks after October 1998 (these were only partly successful) following the Wye Plantation Agreement. Arafat seems to have gained the upper hand as even the house arrest of Sheikh Yassin in November 1998 did not evoke any major reaction from Hamas. However, there are indications that Hamas has modified its radical stand on many issues, and would welcome its integration in the political process. The policies of the newly elected Prime Minister Ehud Barak will show whether Hamas is willing to give up violence in the future and accept a partial solution instead of "all of Palestine".

CHAPTER - IV

THE ISRAELI RESPONSE

Introduction

Immediately after independence, Israel's security doctrine was basically defensive. Security policy changed dramatically, however, in the wake of the triumphant 1967 War. Israel then confronted new borders and conquered more territory. The rise of Menachem Begin's Likud government in 1977 and the elevation of Ariel Sharon as the minister of defence in 1981 marked another sharp shift in the security concept of the state, a doctrine markedly offensive in nature that ended in the 1982 fiasco in Lebanon.¹

The salient and unchanging fact of Israeli security is that Israel cannot survive the loss of a war. This was the basis of all Israeli security doctrines, beginning with the 1948-49 war of independence. For Ben-Gurion it meant that the next war would be fought in Arab territory. Indeed, territory has been the chief concern of Israel's military and political planners since the foundation of the State.

In 1955, Moshe Dayan, the chief of staff, said the term "frontier security" had little meaning in the context of Israel's geography. "The entire country is a frontier, and the whole rhythm of national life is affected by any hostile activity from the territory of neighboring states," he said.² Security for Israeli generals and military planners meant a strategy of tactical offence in order to preserve the strategic defence. The armed forces of the new state were pointedly named the 'Israel Defence Forces' (IDF), and for close to two decades the military establishment lived up to its name. The struggle for survival became a matter of territory and cease-fire lines, and a fight for political and physical space. (See Map 24 to 28).

¹ Amos Perlmutter, "Unilateral Withdrawal: Israel's Security Option", *Foreign Affairs*, Fall 1985, pp.142-153.

² Ibid.

The Six-Day War of June 1967 was consistent in its conduct with the Ben-Gurion strategy of the tactical offence. Its aftermath, however, altered Israeli security thinking in a massive way. The war radically changed the strategic map of the Middle East; Israel occupied the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, the West Bank and the Sinai - all of historic Palestine, and more. On June 10, 1967, a satisfied General Dayan called the new extended borders "ideal". Israel's defence perimeter stretched from the Suez Canal to the Jordan River and the heights above the Sea of Galilee.

Dayan's enthusiasm was premature, as he himself came to realize in his last years. The new borders presented a whole new set of problems, fraught with contradictions and dangers, which were not immediately apparent. The euphoria of the moment dictated a new defensive strategy, which could no longer be ever tactically offensive. There was no longer a need to penetrate Arab territory; there was no longer any need to defend internal strategic lines as targets, nor did the physical security of the Israeli population seem immediately threatened. For the first time, Israel had achieved physical and territorial security while allowing the IDF the space and use of external lines of defence. The entire country was no longer frontier.

The newly acquired territory on the West Bank and Gaza were to create their own problems of security. The leaders were slow to recognize, and then failed to respond to, the emerging Palestine nationalism embodied in a newly coherent Palestine Liberation Organization. In 1970, for instance, the cabinet of Prime Minister Golda Meir refused to consider a partial settlement with the new post-Nasser Egyptian government of Anwar Sadat that would have re-opened the Suez Canal. Meir and her colleagues failed miserably to respond to the rising power and reputation of the PLO among the Arabs and on the international scene.³ In fact Golda Meir said, "How can we return the Occupied Territories? There is nobody to return them to.....There was no such thing as Palestinian.....It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a

³ Ibid., p.143.

Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist.”⁴

The Meir policy, and Israel itself, suffered a rude awakening in October 1973 when Egypt and Syria surprised the IDF, as well as Israel's entire political elite, with a sudden and initially effective assault across the new borders of Israel. The lines drawn in 1967 were shown to be far from “ideal.” But the central political and ideological conflicts between Israel and the Arab world were not altered by the 1973 war, nor did the aftermath of the fighting immediately change Israeli strategy towards the West Bank. The next fundamental change in security doctrine came only with the 1977 election.⁵

The Likud coalition government, which came to power in July 1977, was totally dedicated to the realization of historical Palestine in its entirety, uncontaminated by talk of any partition. The new Prime Minister, Menachem Begin, and his Likud supporters legitimized the strategy of annexation not only in the name of security, but in the name of national religious messianism.

Begin, a devout disciple of Revisionist Zionist founder Ze'ev Jabotinsky, wanted to fulfill his mentor's two basic dreams: to extend Israel's territorial boundaries to the Jordan River and eventually to claim sovereignty over the provinces of Judea and Samaria, known to others as the West Bank. More ominously, Begin was determined to delegitimize Palestinian nationalistic aims by extending the security doctrine of settlements, laid down by Labour, to aim toward a policy of annexation, and bring about a Palestinian exodus from the West Bank.

From the beginning, Begin sought peace with Egypt in order to be free to deal with the Palestinians living in the West Bank and the PLO in Lebanon. The Peace Treaty with Egypt signed on 20 March, 1979 was indeed a revolutionary event in the region's history. He was quite willing to surrender what turned out to be economically crucial Egyptian territory, especially the oil fields of the Sinai. But on the Palestinian question, he would not budge. All the protracted, legalistic

⁴ Sunday Times, London, 15 June 1969, quoted in P. Dasgupta, *Cheated by the World: The Palestinian Experience* (Orient Longman, Delhi, 1988), p.69.

⁵ Amos Perlmutter, n.1, p.143.

machinations, which Begin practiced at Camp David, were designed to dilute, confuse and complicate the controversial provisions known as the autonomy plan, which relegated the Palestinian question to solution at a future date.

The signing of the Camp David Accords on September 17, 1978, marked an era of new stability and security. The goals of historical Zionism and Israel seemed to have been fulfilled. The territory was now secured, in the sense that Egypt, by signing the treaty, recognized the physical and political reality of Israel in formal writ – the first Arab nation to do so. In real terms, Israel's southern borders were now secure. The only threat of a challenge to Israeli power came from the existence of the PLO and its state-within-a-state in Southern Lebanon. It was a threat that could not be ignored. Ariel Sharon, once he became Defence Minister in 1981, defined a new offensive strategy, ambitious in both military and political terms. Starting in Lebanon, the military target was the destruction of the PLO state, and to make Lebanon a Christian, non-Arab state favourable to Israel. Once this was fulfilled, so the doctrine went, Israel would proceed to reconstitute Jordan as a Palestinian state.⁶

Sharon's plans were built on sand. The war he initiated in 1982 in Lebanon drew no new map, only the old divisive jumble of a Lebanon dominated by Syria and the terrorist attacks by the Hezbollah. Lebanon became Israel's 'Vietnam'.

The years of military occupation have taken a heavy toll on Israeli society, and they have largely failed to quell Arab aspirations. On the contrary, Israeli occupation only stimulated Palestinian Arab nationalism; it became a target for Palestinian anger and militancy. Israel stands to achieve greater security by ending its military occupation that only exacerbates Palestinian nationalist feelings. The termination of Israeli bureaucratic and military domination cannot help but lower the level of antagonism against Israel in the West Bank.

Israeli Security Concerns

For the purpose of this paper, Israel's external security concerns including its 'bomb in the basement' nuclear deterrent capability will not be discussed in any detail

⁶ Amos Perlmutter, n.1, p.145.

as it is of little direct relevance against terrorism, which is now the number one security concern of Israel.⁷

Today, the external security threats to Israel are assessed from Iran, Iraq, Syria and the Hezbollah. Israel enjoys secure frontiers with Egypt and Jordan. On 25 July 1994, a Peace Treaty with Jordan was signed. Neither Iran nor Iraq share a common border with Israel. However, as the Israeli attack of June 1981 against the Iraqi Osirak nuclear reactor and the Iraqi Scud attacks during the 1991 Gulf war demonstrated, the term 'secure borders' tends to lose some relevance with modern missile and aircraft systems.

Israel needs the heights of the Jordan Valley and Golan both for observation and establishment of surveillance posts as also for the deployment of an anti missile system (Arrow and Patriot) to deter aircraft and missile attacks. Though Israel has no border dispute with Lebanon, the country is in fact under the control of the Hezbollah (Southern Lebanon) and the Syrian Army in the Bekaa Valley. The threat to northern Israel has always come from terrorists of the 'PLO rejectionist front' and the Iranian backed Hezbollah. Neither the UNIFIL nor the SLA in the security zone held by the IDF has been successful in eliminating this menace. Israel has been subjected to heavy casualties from Hezbollah attacks, since its involvement in Lebanon. The newly elected Prime Minister of Israel, Ehud Barak has promised to withdraw the Israeli forces by May 2000.

Terror And Terrorists

Israel's history has been accented with bloody terrorist attacks. Terror is especially frustrating to fight because its purposes and personnel are so different from those of a regular army. Its method is to sow fear and panic, and its practitioners are shadows rather than clear targets. Some politicians tried to educate the Israeli public that the primary means to fight terror were political ones, rather than military means; others however, argued that with proper military action terror could be controlled. The public was not surprisingly, divided. The view that terrorism can be put down by military force or that its effects can be minimized has

⁷ Also see Dr. AK Pasha, "Security and Stability in the Gulf/West Asian Region," *Paper No.GSP/012/97, Centre for West Asian And African Studies, JNU, February 1997.*

been consistently supported by a large majority of the survey samples.⁸ In a 1986 and 1987 a question was asked about the effectiveness of military actions against terrorism. In 1986, 13 percent thought that it could be stopped, 72 percent said terror could be reduced, and 16 percent replied that confronting terror militarily would result in more terror. The 1987 survey used slightly different response categories, and then, 16 percent thought that terror could be deterred, 56 percent related that it could diminished, 16 percent said it would make no difference, and 12 percent felt that it would increase terror. There was no clear-cut preference for how to confront terrorism. One-third said that attacks should be initiated on terrorists and their bases before they strike, 39 percent called for defensive strikes that would prevent further attacks, and 28 percent favored reaction only after terrorist incidents. The pattern of opinion seems to have changed slightly regarding the deterrence of terrorists and collective punishment when the data of the 1987 and 1993 surveys are compared. The Israeli public seems to have mellowed somewhat regarding acting against individuals who have aided terrorists, but a larger percentage is ready to act against terrorist bases even if civilians would be hit. A quarter of the sample was prepared to support collective punishment like closures and economic sanctions.⁹

The Importance Of Jerusalem And Hebron.

Jerusalem is holy to both Arab(Al Quds) and Jew. The city was captured by the Arabs in 638. In addition, Jerusalem is holy to Christians as it is the site of Christ's crucifixion and burial. To add to this conflicting situation is the fact that the two mosques of Al Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock are built on the remnants of the foundations and the walls of the Jewish Second Temple (The Wailing Wall). Therefore, the Temple Mount or the Harm-es-Sharif is of special religious significance to both Arabs and Jews. East Jerusalem and the Temple Mount has been under Israeli Occupation since the 1967 War and an area of tension since. In 1969, a mysterious fire had almost engulfed the Al Aqsa mosque and led to

⁸ Louis Rene Beres, "Law and Politics in Israel: What Terrorism Means for the IDF Military Commander", *Strategic Digest*, Vol 28, No.6, June 1998 pp. 921-929.

⁹ Asher Arian, *Security Threatened: Surveying Israeli Public Opinion on Peace and War*, Jaffe Centre for Strategic Studies, 1995, p.67.

condemnation of the Israelis throughout the Arab world and the founding of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC). The situation in Jerusalem was exacerbated when Israel declared it the undivided capital of the Jewish state and annexed it in 1967 in defiance of international law. In 1988, a few months before Arafat declared an independent Palestinian State (in November 1988), King Hussein of Jordan relinquished his rights over the West Bank but retained his position as the guardian of the Holy Sites on the Temple Mount.

Jerusalem is also being demanded as the capital of a future Palestinian State by Arafat. The liberation of the city from Israeli occupation is the goal of Hamas as well as the Hezbollah and rejectionist states such as Iran. The increased settlement building in Har Homa district of East Jerusalem has been one of the major reasons of the escalation of violence by Hamas and a major stumbling block to the peace process. At one time, the Arabs had considered the area of Abu Dis, a suburb of Jerusalem as their capital, but Arafat has now again insisted on his claim to the Old City. The Israelis have consistently refused to consider giving up any part of the city. A proposal to share Jerusalem as a joint capital between the Jews and the Palestinians was mooted, but this was turned down by Israel as it considers Jerusalem as its "eternal and undivided capital". Though access to the Muslim holy places is not denied to the Arabs, there is always a very heavy Israeli military presence at the sites. The Arabs are subjected to searches and identity checks; and there is continued tension. The Israelis even attempted to close down the Palestinian Orient House Office in East Jerusalem, from time to time.

In 1996 the Israeli Government opened an old Hasmonean tunnel which ran under Temple Mount to tourists. This tunnel also ran very close to the Al Aqsa Mosque adding to Arab insecurity and a demand by them to shut the tunnel down to avoid any danger to the Al Aqsa mosque. Muslim objections and Israeli obduracy led to clashes between Jews and Arabs which left 76 Palestinians dead and almost 1000 Palestinians wounded. Unrest spread to other areas of the Occupied Territories and led to the deaths of 18 Israeli soldiers.

Hebron

The city of Hebron is another thorn in the path to peace. According to the

Old Testament, Abraham, the common Patriarch of the Jews and the Arabs, bought the Cave of Machpela as a family burial vault. King David reigned in Hebron for seven years before moving to Jerusalem. His son Absalom raised the banner of revolt there. The present site of the Tomb of the Patriarchs was built by King Herod and is holy to Jews and Muslims. In the tombs are said to be buried Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the Matriarchs Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah. Pious Jews lived as a minority alongside Arabs for 400 years till 1929 when an Arab mob killed 67 Jews during the Palestinian Revolt. The British evacuated the rest of the 500 Jews to Jerusalem for reasons of safety. Hebron was also the site of the first Jewish settlement by Abraham. After the 1967 War, Jewish settlers returned and expanded the settlements though greatly outnumbered by the Arabs even now. The city is filled with memorials to Jewish victims and there have been frequent clashes between Jews and Arabs. The settlement of Kiryat Arba is particularly well known for its radical Jews opposed to the 'land for peace' formula. On 18th March 1994 a Jew named Dr. Baruch Goldstein opened fire at the Tomb of The Patriarchs during Friday prayers killing many Palestinians until he was clubbed to death by the Arab worshippers. He was a member of the Gush Emunim radical Jewish group which is against giving up any part of the Holy Land to the Arabs. Under the Oslo agreements Hebron is now under Palestinian control though there is a strong Israeli presence at all times to safeguard the Israeli settlers.

The Settlements

The issue of settlements, the status of Jerusalem, and the return of refugees are the three basic points that are to be discussed at the final status talks in 1999. It is not possible to go into the legality or otherwise of the settlements or connected issues. As seen earlier, the Jews changed the demography of Palestine by setting up Kibbutzs on their arrival on Palestinian land. After the 1948 War, immigration of Jews (ingathering), was further encouraged by granting immediate Israeli citizenship to any Jew who immigrated to the newly founded State. This policy remains unchanged. The Arabs who were dispossessed of their lands because of the war were not allowed the 'right of return' granted to them by international law. At the same time, the 'ingathering' continued at a very fast pace. In only four years

from 1948-52, the population of Jews doubled to 1.3 million from 650,000. About 100,000 came in the 1970s from the Soviet Union and since 1989 over 700,000 have settled in Israel. (See Map 29 and 30).

There are two attitudes on the question of settlements as a whole and their importance to Israeli security. One train of thought is that increased settlement building bestows a permanency to the region, and as such, it is political in nature. The added benefits of security that a chain of settlements affords to the security forces is incidental. The first Kibbutz settlements were in themselves a fortified township with men women standing guard against Arab attacks. The other view is that border settlements are an important and vital element in the defence of the Nation. They advocate that a settlement should be able to withstand a surprise attack until regular forces took over the situation. This was the basis of the Sharon and Allon Plans (see Map 31) for defensive settlement building.¹⁰ In addition, as a politico-social step, the continued construction on occupied land is essential to give proper housing and infrastructure to the thousands of immigrant Jews flooding Israel. This policy also works on the old saying that "possession is nine tenths of the law". Israel feels that its retention of the Occupied Territories is a guarantee for its security. Even the 'land for peace' has the opposite 'peace with security' as a balance. Israel annexed East Jerusalem as the 'eternal' undivided capital of Israel on 28 June 1967 and does not intend to either share it or return any portion of it to the Arabs at any cost. Therefore, it justifies its increased building activity in Har Homa and Ras-al-Amud as the process of 'natural growth'. By August 1973, just before the Ramadan War, 77 settlements were in the process of expansion. Under the Likud Government of Begin, a large number of settlements were increased both in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and also on the Golan Heights. During the withdrawal from Sinai as part of the Camp David Accords, a large number of settlers were forcibly evicted by the Israeli Army from Yamit in 1982. In 1983, the number of Jewish settlements in the West Bank rose to 100, and more land was taken over by the Government. By March 1986, the total number of settlements had increased to 139, out of which 118 were in the West Bank, the rest being in the

¹⁰ Yigal Allon, "The Case for Defensible Borders", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.55, No.1, 1976, pp.38-33.

Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights. The total number of settlers increased to 70,2023. In 1990-1991, there was huge influx of immigrants from the collapsed Soviet Union (almost 1 million), and housing in the settlements was increased to accommodate them. In 1996, the situation was worsened by the new Likud Government under Mr. Netanyahu when he ordered the construction of additional housing units in the existing settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

The 1980s and 1990s witnessed two massive airlifts of Jews from Ethiopia (about 30,000). In addition a large number of Jews from Eastern Europe, West Asia and Africa, added to the growing numbers of Jews from different backgrounds and countries. To accommodate the influx, the Government began to build settlements on occupied Arab land. After the 1967 War, large areas of Arab lands were occupied or confiscated by Israel. Despite international pressure and UN Resolution 242 of 1967, calling upon Israel to vacate the Occupied Territories, Israel has continued its occupation and continued to increase the settlements as part of 'natural growth'. The sensitive areas are Jerusalem and Hebron, the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. In the areas already handed over to the Palestinians under the Oslo Accords, the existing settlements are protected by the Israeli military. Many of the settlements are built on land taken over by the Israeli State for 'security' reasons. As per the Allon plan of 1967, security settlements were built in the West Bank to preclude any attack from Jordan, Syria or Iraq. As per the Sharon plan, Palestinian enclaves are 'ringed' by Israeli security settlements so that there would not be any contiguous Palestinian area, but each Palestinian settlement area would effectively be encircled by Israeli settlements. The Israeli settlements are connected by good roads and communications and patrolled by the Israeli military. In case of an internal unrest, these Palestinian enclaves can be 'sealed' off at short notice thus effectively isolating them from each other.

Rich Jews then bought additional land in controversial areas like Ras al-Amud in East Jerusalem and gave it to Israeli Jews for them to build on. At present, there are over 139 settlements in the Occupied Territories. There are

about 150,000 Jews in the West Bank and about 5000 settlers in the Gaza Strip.¹¹ The US Middle East envoy Dennis Ross said on 13 March 1999, "We see settlement activity as very destructive to the pursuit of peace precisely because it predetermines and prejudices what ought to be negotiated"¹². US officials until now have described Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories as an "obstacle to peace".

The Gaza Strip

The acceptance by Israel of the Gaza and Jericho first option confirmed the Israeli realisation during the *Intifada* that it cannot rule the Palestinians in the OTs indefinitely. Ironically, the handing over of the Gaza strip to the Palestinians has led to an increase in terrorist activities. Israel has not yet implemented the corridor connecting West Bank to the Gaza Strip, nor has the construction of a sea port commenced. The airport which was commissioned in Gaza city in October 1998 is virtually under Israeli control. Israel sees the Gaza Strip and the West Bank differently from the point of view of its security. The Gaza Strip was effectively created by Egypt after the 1947 Armistice with Israel.¹³ Egypt did not incorporate the Strip into its borders. About 190,000 refugees which had been uprooted from Mandated Palestine, were therefore prevented from crossing into Egypt proper. It became a stronghold for PLO *fedayeen* who launched raids and terrorist attacks into Israel. After the 1967 War, it became the centre of terrorist activity though it was under Israeli occupation and control. In all key sectors - security, water, demography, heritage, economy, the Gaza Strip for Israel is more of a burden than an asset. There are no military assets in Gaza, and the ground has no tactical or strategic value. It can be easily sealed off by Israel.¹⁴ However, two aspects deserve attention. There are still about 5000 Jewish settlers and 19 settlements in the Gaza Strip. Their safety and security entails the presence of the IDF. It was in Gaza that the *Intifada* was sparked.

¹¹ Ann M.Lesch and Dan Tschirgi, **Origins And Development of The Arab-Israeli Conflict**, (Greenwood Press, 1998) p.77.

¹² **The Hindustan Times**, New Delhi, 14 March 1999, p.18.

¹³ Andrew Duncan, "Land for Peace: Israel's Choice" in Efraim Karsh, **Between War and Peace: Dilemmas of Israeli Security** (Frank Cass, London, 1996) p.59.

¹⁴ There are still more than 800,000 refugees (UNRWA, 1994) in the Gaza strip living under harsh economic conditions.

It is also the area in which Hamas has its HQ and vies for control with the PLO. The Gaza Strip has been identified as the hotbed of Hamas terrorist activity. After his release from an Israeli prison, Sheikh Yassin was flown into Gaza, where he now lives. It was in Gaza that Arafat placed Sheikh Yassin under house arrest following the signing of the Wye Memorandum in October 1998. It was also in Gaza that Arafat first set foot on Palestinian soil on his return from Tunis in 1994. The Gaza Strip allows the Palestinians access to the outside world. The Airport effectively under Israeli control was opened in October 1998 and talks for a sea-port are in progress.

The West Bank

Menachem Begin always referred to the West Bank as the (Biblical) Lands of Judea and Samaria. The area is considered of strategic importance to Israel.¹⁵ Until 1967, when Israel wrested control of the West Bank from Jordan, Israel was only 14 Km wide at its narrowest width between the Mediterranean Sea and the town of Qalquilya ('the waist'), and quite indefensible. The Jordan Valley and the Samarian Hills overlooking the Jordan River, form an effective tank barrier. Once across these heights, an enemy force can take any of the five roads that lead westwards to Tel Aviv or Jerusalem. Israel has not ruled out a future conventional war with its Arab neighbours, and upgrades its defensive plans from time to time. Jordanian territory could be used by Iraq to mount an attack on Israel. Similarly, Syria could use Jordan for an attack on Israel. Israel may have to cross into Jordan to root out terrorist bases. For these probable reasons, the West Bank is of importance to Israel.

Israeli settlements were built by Israel both for security, and political considerations. The majority of the settlements prior to 1977 were built in the Jordan valley, and on the hill crest immediately to the west. They were also established to help block the main Jericho - Jerusalem road. During Menachem Begin's Government in 1977, settlements were also built near or on Biblical areas such as Hebron, Nablus, Shilo, Ramallah, Jerusalem, and Jericho. The redeployment of Israeli Units from these 'holy and historic' areas after the Oslo Accords, have led to a 'backlash' by radical Jews and divided Israeli public opinion.

¹⁵ Joseph Alpher, **Settlements and Borders**, (Tel Aviv University, 1994), p.2.

These settlements also have strategic value in effectively isolating the areas handed over to the PA - Hebron (15% retained by Israel), Nablus, Ramallah, Tulkrum, Jenin and Bethlehem. There is a requirement for the IDF to provide security to the Jewish settlers and for the PA to control any acts of terrorism emanating from areas under its control. At present, 28 percent of the West Bank, and 97 percent of the Palestinians are under the administrative control of Mr. Arafat. In addition to the safety of settlers, control of the Jordan Valley, access to the Jordanian border, and the control of water plays an important role for Israelis and the Palestinians.¹⁶ In this area, water is more important than oil. The Yarkon-Taninim aquifer (a set of underground streams) provides about one quarter of Israel's water. It is the source of Jerusalem's water supply. Water will be an important point for discussion in the future. (see Map 31).

The Palestinian Economy

In the past decade, the Palestinians have suffered from a series of severe economic setbacks. The sharp decline in oil prices since the 1980s, especially since the mid 80s, reduced the demand for imported manpower to the rich Gulf States. The Palestinians, as well as others, suffered from the effect of diminishing job opportunities, and by depressed wages.

The *Intifada* which commenced in 1987, had a further depressing effect on the Palestinian economy. Frequent Israeli closures following terrorist attacks disrupted trade and other economic relations between Israel and Palestinians. Israel replaced Palestinian workers with labourers from Eastern Europe, Asian and African countries.

Following the liberation of Kuwait, at the end of the 1990-91 Gulf War, about 400,000 Palestinians were expelled en masse, because of Arafat's support for Saddam Hussein. Jobs in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait previously open to Palestinians, were now closed. In addition, large financial contributions from the GCC states, to the PLO were stopped.

¹⁶ Hillel I. Shuval "Towards Resolving Conflicts Over Water between Israel and Its Neighbors" in Efraim Karsh ed., n.7, p.217.

As a retaliation against Hamas suicide bombings in 1996, Israeli work permits to Palestinians have been curtailed drastically adding to unemployment and to a reduction in earnings by the Palestinians. Palestinian economy declined 20 percent in 1996, adding to a sense of frustration and despair.¹⁷ "There's a pressure cooker building up in the territories," said a visiting American official.¹⁸ Because of the depressed state of the economy, potential international investors have turned away. Arafat's promise of turning Gaza and the West Bank into the Middle East's 'Singapore' has left the Palestinians feeling cheated. Unemployment in Gaza is high as 50-60 percent.¹⁹ In the West Bank it is "only" 24 percent. After the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993, it was universally agreed that its success rested on advancing the economic situation in the Occupied Territories and doing it quickly. It is evident that the Palestinian economy has deteriorated badly since the Oslo agreements. Despite generous international aid, the two million Palestinians under the Palestinian Authority control have yet to see tangible benefits. For many, living standards have declined. One of the underlying problems stems from gross inefficiency and endemic corruption within Palestinian officials. Highly inflated security services and the ballooning bureaucracy absorb a large portion of the aid money. The corrupt and inefficient administration often discourages productive enterprise and investment within the Palestinian authority. Today it is poverty not prosperity that is the stark reality of the Palestinian Economy after Oslo. This in turn has fuelled volunteers for Islamic fundamentalist attacks against Israeli targets - mainly out of a sense of frustration and economic deprivation, born out of harsh Israeli policies. These policies were in retaliation to the *Intifada* (1987) when the 'iron fist' and 'breaking the Palestinians' bones' policies were introduced. Since March 1993, the policy of closures by Israel has crippled the Palestinian economy and heightened their frustration even more. Israel's closing of its borders with the Palestinian territories was imposed in response to terrorist attacks by Islamic fundamentalists within Israel itself. It restricts the movement of

¹⁷ Sara Roy, *The Palestinian Economy and the "Oslo Process: Decline and Fragmentation"*, The Emirates Occasional Papers, No.24, The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, (Abu Dhabi), p.2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.10.

labour and goods and distorts rational economic activity. It has resulted in growing poverty, high unemployment, rising levels of child labour, permanent unemployment for a large segment of the work force, constrained trade relations, and an increasing need for relief and social assistance.²⁰

Palestinian economy has the following characteristics:-

- A heavy dependence of the labour force on outside sources of employment (Israel, the Gulf States).
- A low degree of industrialization.
- Heavy domination by trading links with Israel, with large deficits.
- Inadequate public infrastructure and services.
- Need for economic assistance from World Bank and donor countries to build Palestinian institutional capacity, infrastructure projects, assistance in welfare, construction and technical expertise.
- Corruption and mismanagement.
- Prolonged Israeli occupation and harsh Israeli policies which took over Palestinian land and water and agricultural resources.
- Rampart terrorism and Israeli retaliation.
- Total dependence on Israel with regard to trade and labour.

By 1997, 70 percent of the Gazan labour force was working inside Israel, and 90 percent of its trade was confined to Israel.²¹ Local development was suppressed. Consumption exceeded production. The resulting deficits were filled by imports, and was linked to Israeli market conditions. Since job opportunities within the occupied territories were limited, Palestinians were forced to look elsewhere, leaving their own economy to stagnate.

The *Intifada*, the 1990-1991 Gulf War, and the Israeli closures policies since 1993, have had an adverse effect on Palestinian economy. In 1989, the

²⁰ Ibid., pp.12-14.

²¹ Ibid.

Palestinians in the Occupied Territories received \$310 million in remittances and direct aid from the Gulf. By April 1991, it was only a fraction of this amount. Unemployment reached 40 percent in the Gaza strip, which was the hot bed of Islamic movements. Even after Oslo, Israel controls 40 percent of Gaza strip and 74 percent of the West Bank. It is only in three percent (Area 'A') of the West Bank that Palestinians exercise full control. Since Israel retains full control of the borders, which in effect means total authority over movement of labour, transport and goods, it is able to dictate what goes in or out of the Occupied Territories. Since there is no sea port as yet, and the single airport in Gaza City is in effect under Israeli control. The total dominance of Israel over the Palestinian economy is obvious. The most visible impact of Israeli closure policy is seen in the rising unemployment, and permanent joblessness. The average unemployment rate in West Bank and Gaza by mid 1996 was 29 percent and climbed to almost 40 percent in Gaza and 24 percent in the West Bank. During total closures in 1997, unemployment had risen to 70 percent in Gaza and 50 percent in the West Bank. Among the Gazan work force, the number of workers in Israel fell from 80,000 just before the *Intifada* to 30,000 at the time of March 1993 closure. The value of wage incomes earned in Israel fell from \$741 million in 1992 to \$70 million in 1995.²²

The Human Impact

On 31 July 1997, the day after the Hamas double suicide bombing in Jerusalem, total closure was imposed on the Gaza Strip and internal closure in the West Bank. It was lifted on 2nd September, and re-imposed on 5th September 1997 following a triple suicide bombing in Jerusalem by Hamas. Each day of total closure cost \$1.35 million in direct household income. The losses in trade reached \$1.3 million daily or approximately \$4 to 6 million if indirect losses are included. This is between 40 to 60 percent of the total income and output of the Occupied Territories.²³

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., p.14.

Further, the Israel Government withheld payment of revenue to the PA on taxes collected by Israel on behalf of the PA to the tune of \$45 million. These were transferred finally in Oct, but the delay created major problems for local economic activity and personal welfare, as they account for almost two thirds of the PA's total revenue. These losses were compensated in some measure by World Bank aid, but in Aug 1997, the US prohibited US contribution to the Holst fund which supported emergency job creations. The number of people living below poverty line has increased to 36.3 percent in the Gaza Strip, and 10.5 in the West Bank. Beggars are a common sight.²⁴ Average income and 'buying power' have decreased considerably. Hardship is widespread. Economic stagnation and deprivation, frequent collective punishments like total closures and withholding of payments to Palestine as well as lack of foreign investments, have highlighted the sense of frustration and reduced many to abject poverty in the Occupied Territories. To many such disillusioned people, Arafat and the PLO have not been able to alleviate or improve their living conditions. In fact, after Oslo, conditions have worsened. Though total, internal, and general closures have been Israel's answer to Islamic militant attacks on Israeli targets, many of the disappointed masses have sought the solution in Islam and Islamic movements like Hamas and its socio-economic-religious agenda. Hamas' call for salvation from the mosques, its infrastructure of schools, hospitals, welfare centres and related programmes, as well as corruption free administration, is attracting more and more youth.

The Closures

Comprehensive closure prevents Palestinians resident in the West Bank and Gaza Strip from travelling into or through Israel, and prevents the movement of a significant number of Palestinians within the West Bank. Commodity shipments and persons are also prevented from crossing out of, or into the West Bank or the Gaza Strip through Rafah or the Allenby Bridge. The full closure is maintained by thorough checking of vehicles, passengers and persons on foot at Israeli checkpoints at the edge of Palestinian controlled areas, within Palestinian controlled areas, and into Israel. Those Palestinians who do not hold Israeli

²⁴ Ibid.

citizenship or Jerusalem identity cards are refused passage into Israel. Internal closure (which was lifted fully on 27 August 1997 and re-imposed on 5 September, 1997) denies Palestinians passage through checkpoints, usually from Palestinian areas into Israeli controlled areas, but wider application of this restriction also occurs, including preventing access to and from villages and towns in the West Bank (including residents of those towns). This effectively isolates cities and towns from one another. To implement the internal closure, checking of vehicles and persons is also being carried out at exits from population centers throughout the West Bank, between villages outside Areas A and within Areas B and C. Alternative access routes are regularly blocked. Residents of the major towns are regularly turned back at the entrance points to those towns by Israeli soldiers or police.

As of September 7 1997(the 250th day of the year), the following provides details on days of closure:

1.	Comprehensive closure days since 31 July 1997	39
2.	Effective closure days since 31 July 1997	30
3.	Comprehensive closure days since 1 January 1997	63
4.	Effective closure days since 1 January 1997	47
5.	Potential working and trading days since 1 January 1997	191
6.	Effective working and trading days since 1 January 1997	144
7.	Proportion of potential working and trading days lost since 1 January 1997	24.6%

“Effective closure days” refers to the actual working week. Sunday to Thursday are counted as full working days, and Friday as a half a working day, based on numbers of truckloads and workers passing through checkpoints.²⁵

²⁵ Source: UN and World Bank Local Aid Coordination Committee Secretariat August-September 1997 Fact Sheet, “Closure on the West Bank and Gaza”, pp.1-2.

The Effect of the Peace Now Movement

In November 1977 President Sadat visited Israel to make peace with Israel. The Peace Now Movement (Shalom Ackshev) was formed in 1978 when 348 reserve army officers wrote an open letter in the press to Prime Minister Menachem Begin pressing him to make concessions to the Arabs as "the time for peace has come and must not be wasted." They stated that security for Israel could only come and through peace and warned that the Likud governments policy of creeping annexation, increased settlement activity and refusal to ever think of returning the OTs of Judea and Samaria (The West Bank) in pursuance of Eretz Israel, would keep Israel in a continuous state of war. Prior to Begin's departure for Camp David, its strength was estimated at 200,000 at some of the rallies in opposition to the settlements policy. Peace Now considers the continued occupation of West Bank and Gaza as inconsistent with the objective of peace. Though the movement has steered away from any political party, it is more tuned to the Labour Party's peace initiatives. Yael Dayan, daughter of Moshe Dayan, Leah Rabin, Y. Rabin's widow, Yossi Beillin (Labour MK) and Tsali Reshef (Labour MK and founder) are prominent supporters of Peace Now. It is vehemently against the Likud government's increased settlement policy. It has drawn the wrath of Gush Enumin (Bloc of the Faithful) as well as the National Religious Party and those who believe in the retention of occupied lands as a guarantee for Israel's security, and that the return of Biblical lands to the Palestinians is against God's law.

During the Lebanon invasion of June 1982, the Peace Now rallies were the main cause of massive public pressure for the withdrawal of the IDF from Beirut. The Kahan Commission of inquiry brought out dissension within soldiers of the IDF who refused to serve in Lebanon or the OTs. After the Sabra and Shatilla massacre, almost 400,000 Peace Now supporters came out demanding the Begin government's resignation. During the *Intifada*, Peace Now tried to be the keeper of the nation's conscience, without much success. Later, Prime Minister Rabin - who was most under attack for his 'iron fist' policies during the *Intifada*, became Peace Now's biggest supporter during the Oslo Peace process. It was unfortunate and ironic that it was during a Peace Now rally in November 1995 that he was assassinated by a

Jewish radical who was against the 'land for peace' concession to the Arabs following the Oslo Accords.

Peace Now after Oslo

Every year during the anniversary of Mr. Rabin's assassination, Peace Now mobilises large rallies in his memory. However, following the spate of Hamas suicide bombings and the election of Netanyahu's Likud government promising 'peace with security', the progress of the 'peace of the brave' between Arafat and Rabin has not been advanced by the Movement. Former prime Minister Netanyahu had continued to expand settlements, and he stood firm even after the Wye Memorandum of October 1998, not to make any further concessions or troop deployments unless Arafat could guarantee the elimination of Hamas terrorism from the areas handed over to the PA. The Israelis want not only "100 percent effort" on the part of Mr. Arafat, but also "100 percent results", say the Palestinians.

Peace Now has now directed its attention on the increased public demand for the Israeli withdrawal from the security zone in southern Lebanon. It has the support of peace groups such as Four Mothers, Women in Black, Women Against the Occupation which are against any more Israeli losses in its war against the Hezbollah. Peace Now's goal is complete withdrawal of the IDF from Lebanon. To this end it has been fairly successful.

Peace Now has also maintained a 'settlements watch' programme. However, against the Likud governments policy of Netanyahu and Sharon that the expansion of settlements are necessary for natural growth and the security of existing settlements, Peace Now has been quite powerless, and its gains limited. Peace Now however, has split the Israeli public opinion between the 'No Peace' and 'Pro Peace' camps, who feel that to halt the peace process in the face of mounting terrorist attacks, is in fact, enhancing the stature of terrorist organisations like Hamas and the Hezbollah who are opposed to the Oslo Accords and to Peace.

Analysis of the Peace Process

The precedent for exchange of the term 'land for peace' was set with the Israeli - Egyptian peace treaty, and the withdrawal of Israel from the Sinai Peninsula

following the Camp David Accords of September 1978. For peace with Egypt following the Ramadan war of October 1973, Israel lost a buffer zone which ensured that any future war on Israel's southern front would be fought on Egyptian, and not on Israeli soil. There was a loss of early warning capability, and two modern Israeli airfields were also given up. Israel also lost the Abu Rudeis oil fields in the Sinai, and enraged Jewish settlers during the forcible evacuation of Yamit. Israel lost the town of Sharm el Sheikh which overlooks the strategic Tiran Straits. However, Israel gained a secure Southern front and peaceful borders with Egypt, which was valuable when it launched its 1982 Lebanese offensive.

At the 1967 Rabat conference, the PLO was accepted as 'the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people'. In November 1974, the UN recognised the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and was given an observer status at the UN. Even the European community supported the Palestinian cause. The Israel-Egyptian peace treaty was however, rejected by the PLO and the hard-line Arab states. The PLO suffered humiliation and defeat in its ouster from Lebanon in September 1982 and it continued to be the target of Israeli counter terrorist actions.

In 1982, after Israeli excesses in Lebanon, international sympathy began to veer towards the Palestinian plight. In December 1987, 20 years of Israeli occupation sparked off the *Intifada* which is considered the real beginning of the present peace process.

The Palestinian National Council in November 1988, rejected international terrorism and voted for the creation of the state of Palestine based on UNGA resolution 181 of 1947. In December 1988, Arafat accepted UNGA resolution 242 of 1967 and opened a direct dialogue with the US in Tunis on 16 December 1988. The 1991 Gulf War, deprived the PLO of the moral support and financial backing of important Gulf states. The rejectionist Arab states consisting of the breakaway PLO groups such as PFLP, PFLP-GC, PDFLP, Al Saiqia, and the Abu Nidal group were based in Damascus. Countries such as Syria, Yemen, Libya and the PLO lost the support of the Soviet Union following its collapse. This led to the emergence of the secular moderates like the Al Fatah PLO leadership led by Arafat, and the support of countries such as Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. The civil war in Lebanon also

came to an end in 1991, and Syria changed its posture from being a hard line rejectionist state to one supporting the pro US-Gulf coalition. The death of Khomeini in 1989, saw a discernible shift in Iranian foreign policy which has continued to this day in the Khatami era. The *Intifada* also spawned radical Islamist groups such as Hamas and the Islamic Jihad, sworn to the policy of confrontation with Israel. Israeli policies to put down the *Intifada* earned it international condemnation. The violation of Palestinian human rights and the Geneva Conventions were an affront to international sensibilities. The Israelis became starkly aware of the fact that a military solution to the *Intifada* was not the answer.

American pressure on Israel to desist from the Israeli settlements expansion policy and the withholding of \$10 billion dollar worth of loans had a negative impact on the Israeli economy. The rate of inflation increased to 16% and unemployment rose to 12%. The cost of keeping the peace in the OTs was escalating and even the IDF was showing cracks in the implementation of Israel's domestic policies. The rise of the Islamists gave an impetus to a similar Jewish radical groups opposed to any concessions to the Palestinians. The international and domestic pressures, as well as the changed security scenario after the collapse of the Soviet Union, pressured Israel to agree to a PLO-Jordanian Joint Delegation at the Madrid Talks commencing from October 1991. From 13 Jan 1993, the newly elected Labour government voted for direct negotiations with the PLO. Soon after, from April 1993, a series of peace talks under the auspices of Mr. Holst the Foreign Minister of Norway led to the signing of the Declaration of Principles (DOP) of 13 September 1993 in Washington.

The provisions of the Accord are well known (see Maps 33-35), and will not be discussed here. They fall well short of full independence for Palestine. The crucial areas of security and foreign affairs remain with Israel. The question of settlements, borders, the right of return of refugees and the status of Jerusalem will only be discussed in the final status talks due after May 1999 .

The Reactions to the Accord

The Accord was well accepted both by the majority of the Israelis and the Palestinians. However, the PFLP, DFLP, PFLP-GC and others (Group of Ten) rejected it along with, Iran, the Hezbollah, Hamas and Iraq. Syria through initially

critical of the move, eventually supported the Accords. Jordan signed its own peace treaty with Israel in October 1994. In Israel, out of 120 members in the Knesset, 61 voted for 50 against and 8 abstained (Shas and Likud Parties) for the Accords. The Oslo Accords were termed as the 'Peace of the Brave' but the road to Madrid and to Oslo was marred by suicide bomb attacks on Israeli targets by the militant group Hamas. This effectively stalled further progress of Israeli troop re-deployment after the Gaza Strip and Jericho were handed over to the Palestinians. Extreme Jewish reaction to the Oslo Accords led to the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin by a lone Jewish gunman. Hamas attacks and the death of Rabin, led to fresh elections in January 1996 and the defeat of the Labour Party. The hawkish Likud government led by Mr. Netanyahu came to power and his policies especially on settlements and counter-terrorism set back the Peace Process, and fuelled more Hamas attacks.

Netanyahu demanded "100 percent effort and 100 percent result" on the part of Arafat's police in curbing further terrorist attacks on Israeli targets emanating from the areas handed over to the Palestinians. In turn, Netanyahu added more fuel to the problem by starting fresh Jewish settlements in the sensitive Har Homa (Abu Ghenim) area of disputed East Jerusalem. Netanyahu also led an aggressive assassination and reprisal campaign against Hamas and the Hezbollah leading to a cycle of retributions from both groups against Israeli targets. In fact, records show that the number of casualties and terrorist attacks increased immediately after the Peace Accords were signed, and in response to Netanyahu's policies. The Jewish settlement expansion policy in particular, led to a reduction in US and international support for Israel and an increased sympathy for Arafat and the Palestinians.

The Oslo Accords and the Peace Treaty with Jordan (1994) also re-defined Israel's relations with the Arab countries. The Arab world which at one time was solidly anti-Israel, began to fragment and to establish diplomatic and economic relations with Israel. Prior to 1994, full diplomatic relations were established by Israel with China and India (1992). Morocco and Tunisia Arab state set up interests offices relations with Israel in September 1994, followed by Mauritania and Tunisia. Oman and Qatar opened trade offices in 1996 and the Vatican also

established full diplomatic relations with Israel in 1994. The March 1996 Sharm-el-Sheikh conference to curb terror also brought together Israel and the moderate Arab States in the wake of Hamas attacks.

At the end of the 1990-91 Gulf War, the USA emerged as a friend of the Arab world that was threatened by Iraqi aggression. The influence of the US with the Arab world also increased. Israel also emerged in a much stronger position with US backing. Iraq had been decisively defeated. With the waning influence and financial strength of the PLO because of the loss of financial backing by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, the PLO was eager for US influence and Arab involvement to start fresh negotiations for Arab-Israeli Peace. During November 1988, when Jordan gave up its claim to the West Bank and Arafat declared a Palestinian State, Saudi Arabia was preoccupied with Iran (it was the end of the Iran-Iraq War), the *Intifada* was in progress and Islamic Fundamentalist groups such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad were emerging in the Occupied Territories, posing a challenge to the PLO. The Arab Israeli conflict became Islamised immediately after the 1967 Six Day War, and during the 1973 Ramadan War when the Oil Weapon brought to the fore Arab power. Following the 1979 Iranian Revolution and the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the Hezbollah held centre stage.

At the end of the Gulf War, and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, many hard-line Arab countries lost the backing of the USSR. With the proclamation of the New World Order by the Bush Administration, the US became the supreme power in the world and in the region.

Saddam Hussien had linked his withdrawal from Kuwait to the withdrawal of Israel from the Occupied Territories. The US had successfully kept Israel out of the Gulf War despite Iraqi Scud attacks. At the same time, the US was seen as a friend of the Arabs, And willing to restore peace and harmony between Israelis and the Arabs. Russian support led to the Madrid Peace Talks from 1991 onwards finally leading to the (Oslo Accords) Declaration of Principles between the PLO and Israel on 13 September 1993. Though the Oslo Accords were welcomed with global hope and promise, they fell short of the high expectations of the Palestinians and their aspirations for eventual statehood.

The Agreement caused violent reactions both from radical Jews and Islamic groups such as Hamas. The assassination of Prime Minister Rabin in November 1995 by a Jew and the suicide Hamas bombing attacks against Israeli targets, led to a division in Israeli public opinion and a decline in support for the Peace Process. On 29 May 1996, following a spate of Hamas bombings, the Labour Government of Peres was voted out and Likud leader Benjamin Netanyahu became Prime Minister. The Likud Government's Policy, especially with regard to the expansion of settlements (in Jerusalem - Har Homa in March 1997) and its refusal to carry out the redeployment of Israeli Forces from areas of the West Bank deadlocked the peace process and led to a resurgence of Hamas suicide bomb attacks.

At the Wye Plantation Accords of October 1998, an attempt was made to revive the peace, but the Netanyahu Government's shaky coalition fell on the issue of handing back land to the Palestinians. Religious parties on which Netanyahu depended withdrew their support, forcing fresh elections in May 1999.

Summary

Israel has always considered its security interests as its first national concern. Being a small state, surrounded by larger hostile neighbours, it had sought to expand its borders to defensible frontiers. Israel has been unable to erase the scars of the Holocaust or of Masada. After the Oslo Accords of 1993-94, radical Muslim groups such as Hamas staged a virulent suicide bombing campaign against Israel. Jewish backlash against its own government and against the Arabs only worsened a complex security scenario. Israeli obduracy on the issues of Jerusalem, settlements, Palestinian refugees and Palestinian Statehood have antagonised and disappointed not only the world but also Israel's closest ally the USA. Israeli politics and coalition governments supported by the Religious Rights, as well as increasing expenditure on counter-terrorism restrict the concessions any government can make to the Palestinians. Israel now has a new government (since June 1999) Ehud Barak has already met with Egyptian, Palestinian, Jordanian and US leaders with a promise for peace. He is open to talks with Syria. This might lead to a stable and peaceful region, or to a resurgence of hostility from groups such as the Hamas. Only time will tell.

CONCLUSION

The rise of Political Islam amongst the Palestinians of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is a challenging new wave of Islamic life in the region. Actions of the Hezbollah in Lebanon showed that terrorism and suicide bomb attacks by Islamists fighting for Islam, were successful in ridding Lebanon of the multinational forces, but did not succeed in forcing the Israelis to withdraw from their self declared security zone in Southern Lebanon.

In the case of Hamas, which to a large extent emulated both Hezbollah ideology and suicide bombing tactics, the results were not so well defined. Hamas was very successful during the Intifada, in forming a parallel leadership and launching a series of successful attacks against Israeli targets. It also has a reputation for honesty. Its religious, socio-economic programmes were able to gain popular support. Not only that, but during its inception Hamas was initially able to get Israeli support against the secular PLO.

After the Oslo Accords were signed, Hamas suicide bomb attacks, were to a large extent responsible for the change in Government from Labour to the hard line Likud. Jewish backlash against its own Government coupled with the strain of the PLO-Hamas leadership, successfully derailed the beginnings of the Peace Process. At the Sharam-el-Sheikh anti terrorism conference in March 1996, Israeli, Arab, and US leaders vowed to work together against religious terror and extremism. There was also some loss of support for Hamas in the wake of the Rabin assassination (by a Jew), and after the Israeli assassinations of known Hamas leaders like Ayyash the 'Engineer'.

Prime Minister Netanyahu's settlement policies, especially the controversial Har Homa project in Jerusalem unleashed further suicide attacks and there was talk both of a second *Intifada* and a civil war within Israel amongst the Jews of the 'Pro-peace' and 'Anti-peace' factions.

Israeli response to Hamas was swift. Israel froze further troop re-deployments, deported Hamas activists to Lebanon during the winter, carried out

assassinations, pressurised the PLO to act against its own people within the areas handed over to the Palestinian Authority and effected severe and lasting economic closures on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The military, diplomatic and economic stranglehold seems to have worked. Though the hard line Likud Party of Prime Minister Netanyahu was voted out of power in May 1999 because of the deadlocked Peace Process, it did succeed to a large extent in forcing the PLO to act against Hamas. It is said that today Hamas is as crippled as its leader Sheikh Yassin. Israel continues to mount a costly war against the Hezbollah in Lebanon, it is still the predominant power in West Asia, it still has US backing though Mr. Clinton and Mr. Netanyahu had strained relations. Israel continues to expand its settlements and refuses to share or divide Jerusalem. The prospects of a full fledged Palestinian State with its own military seems remote, in the near future.

Newly elected Prime Minister Ehud Barak has the best of intentions in making peace. The Globes-Smith Polls on 15 July 1999, gives him the backing of 57 percent of the Israelis for his peace moves.¹ The Palestinian Authority arrested 2000² Hamas members in the past few months as precaution against Hamas reaction to the 14 July 1999 meeting between Arafat-Mubarak-Barak at the Erez crossing. Barak has to govern with an eight party coalition government with his One Israel Party. Barak said he was ready "with a painful compromise" with Syria on the Golan Heights. Further he has promised to pull out of Lebanon by May 2000.³ He has pledged to implement the Wye Memorandum of October 1998, land-for-security deal. Barak expects peace on a three track approach Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian within a time frame of 15 months.⁴ Hamas has made no comments, nor did the group carry out any attacks to disrupt the Barak-Arafat summit on 14 July, 1999. Arafat also acted prudently, and did not declare a Palestinian State on 4 May 1999 as earlier threatened, but waited for the out come of the Israeli elections. Barak has promised to negotiate, but even he cannot promise complete statehood to Arafat. There is no real defence

¹ The Asian Age, (New Delhi) 16 July 1999, p.5.

² Ibid.

³ The Asian Age (New Delhi), 17 July, 1999, p.5.

⁴ The Asian Age (New Delhi) 18 July, 1998, p.5

against a determined suicide bomber. Even Israel has not been able to achieve the 100 percent success in the fight against terrorism, that it expects from the Palestinians.

For the time being Hamas has been silent. Indications are that it may be willing for a compromise. There is no doubt that Israel, despite some Mossad failures, has been largely successful in its fight against Hamas. The implementation or otherwise of the Peace Process lies only in Israelis hands, though it has led the world to believe that only the Palestinians have the power to move the Peace Process forward, or stall it. Ehud Barak seems a man with good intentions in the same class as soldier turned statesman Yitzhak Rabin. One figure who could have mediated between Hamas and PLO Israel, King Hussein of Jordan is dead. It was Hussein who negotiated the release of Sheikh Yassin in October 1997 from an Israeli Jail. Arafat and Asad are the two veterans of the conflict. Both are in ill health and would like to achieve something substantial before they die. Though Asad has groomed his second son to replace him, and King Abdullah of Jordan seems to be following his father's footsteps, there does not seem to be any forceful leader to take the place of Arafat. It also does not seem likely that any Hamas leader can replace Arafat. Therefore, in the interest of lasting peace, it is essential that the final status talks are completed soon and that steps to give the region the lasting and just peace it deserves are implemented. The Palestinian - Israeli Conflict has gone on for much too long.

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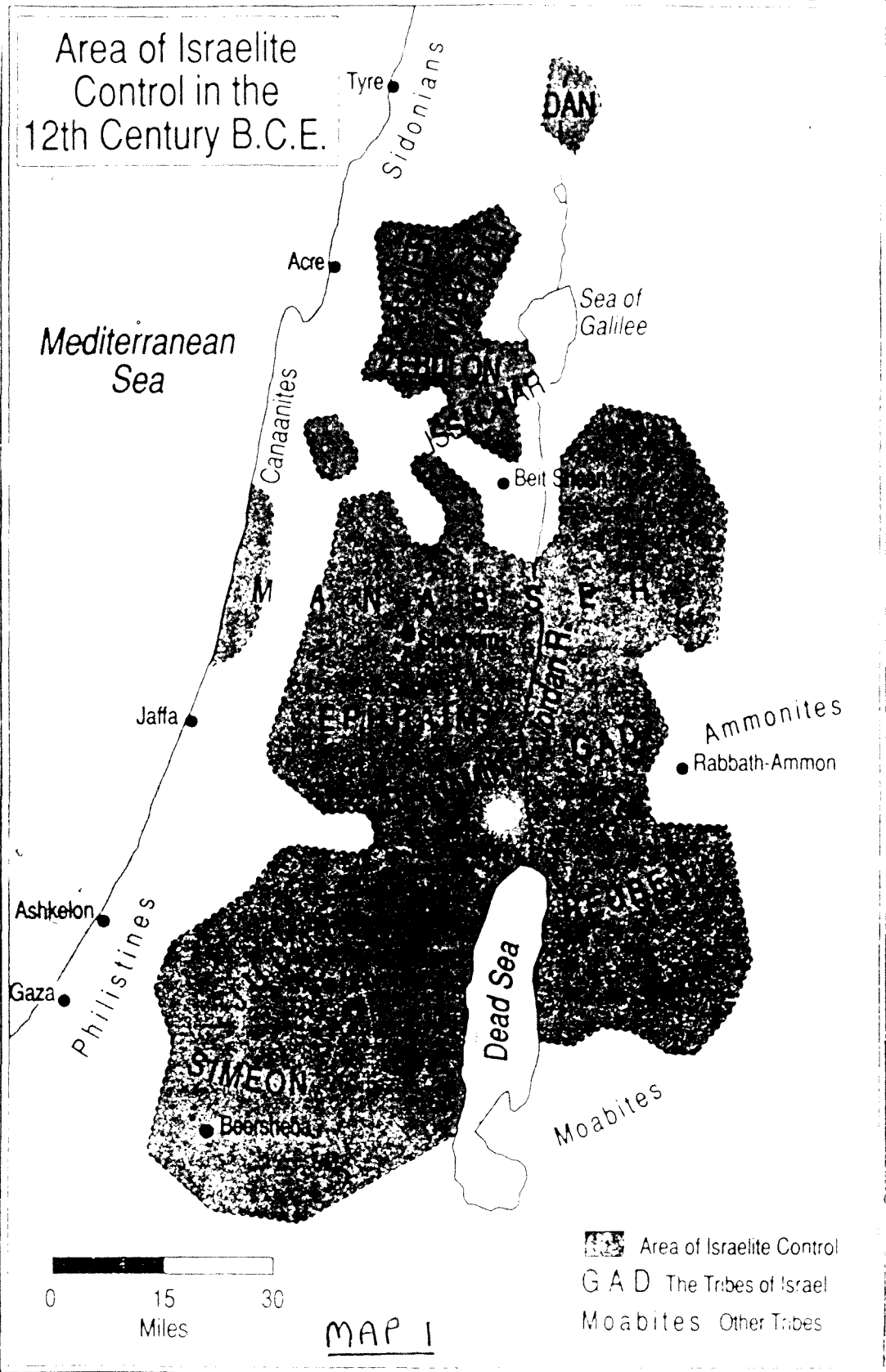
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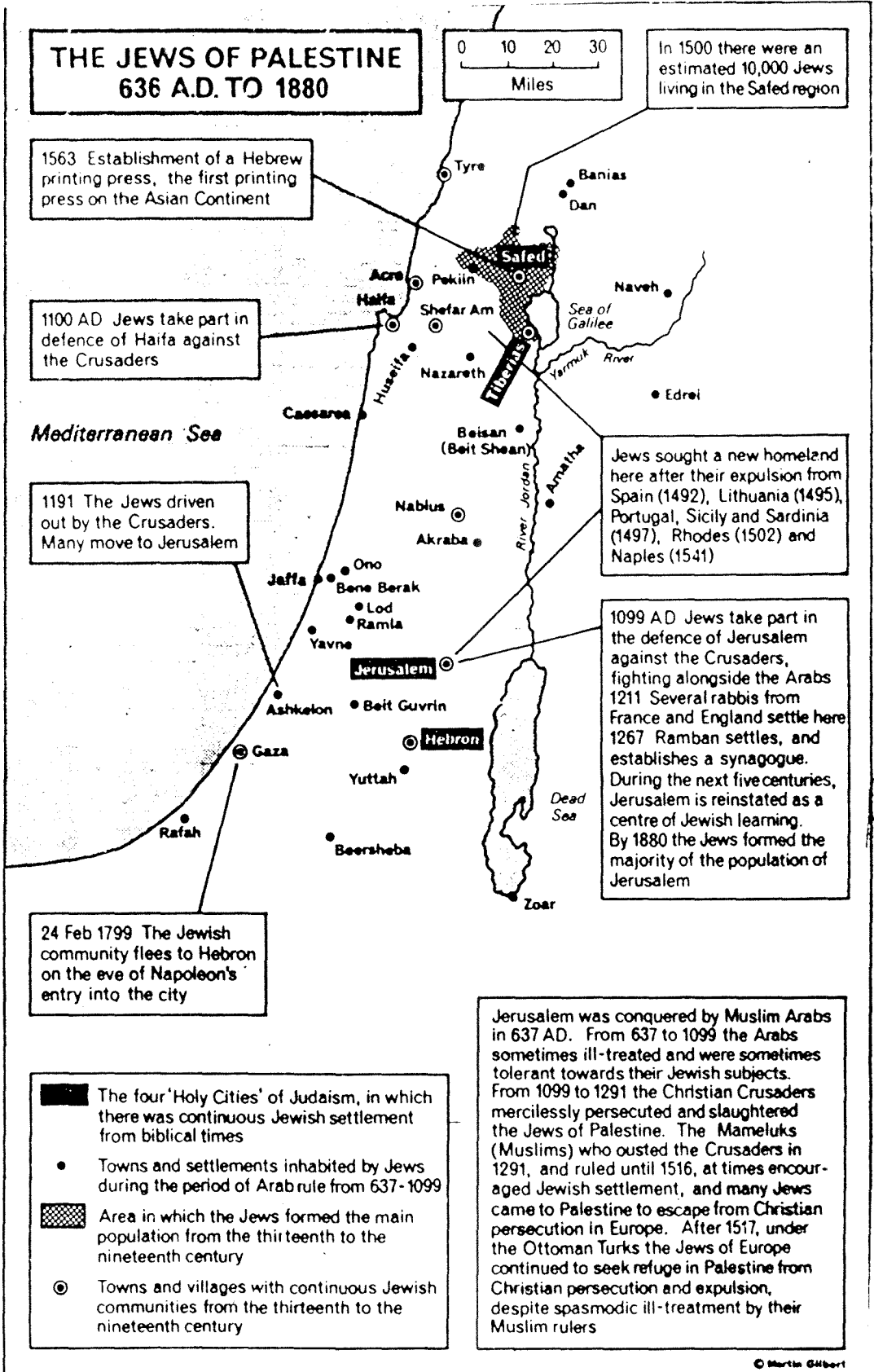
**MAPS
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Area of Israelite Control in the 12th Century B.C.E.

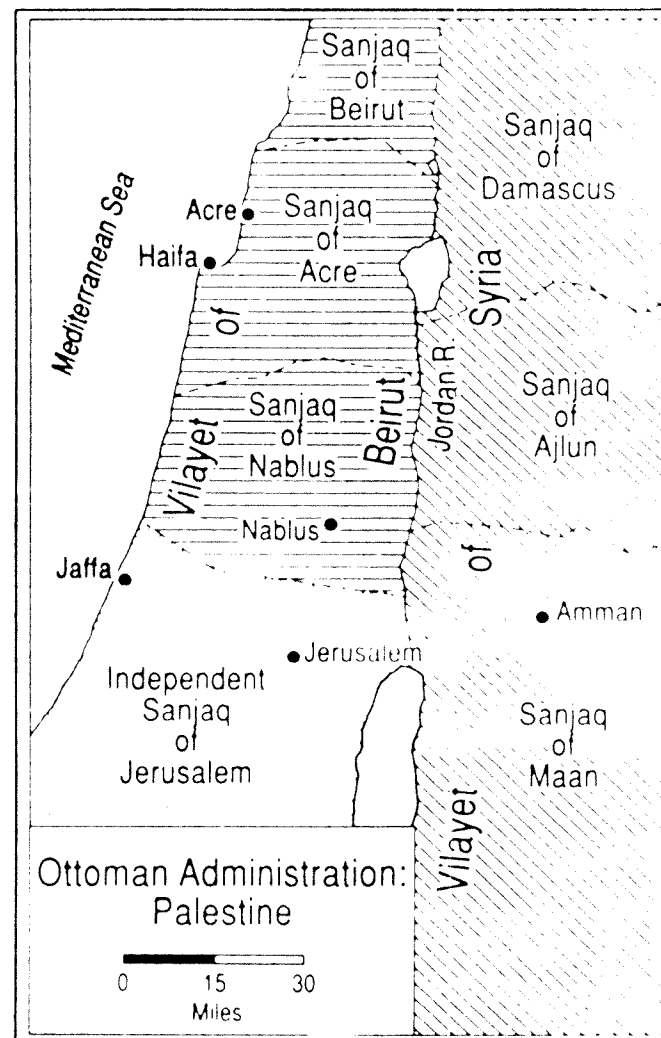
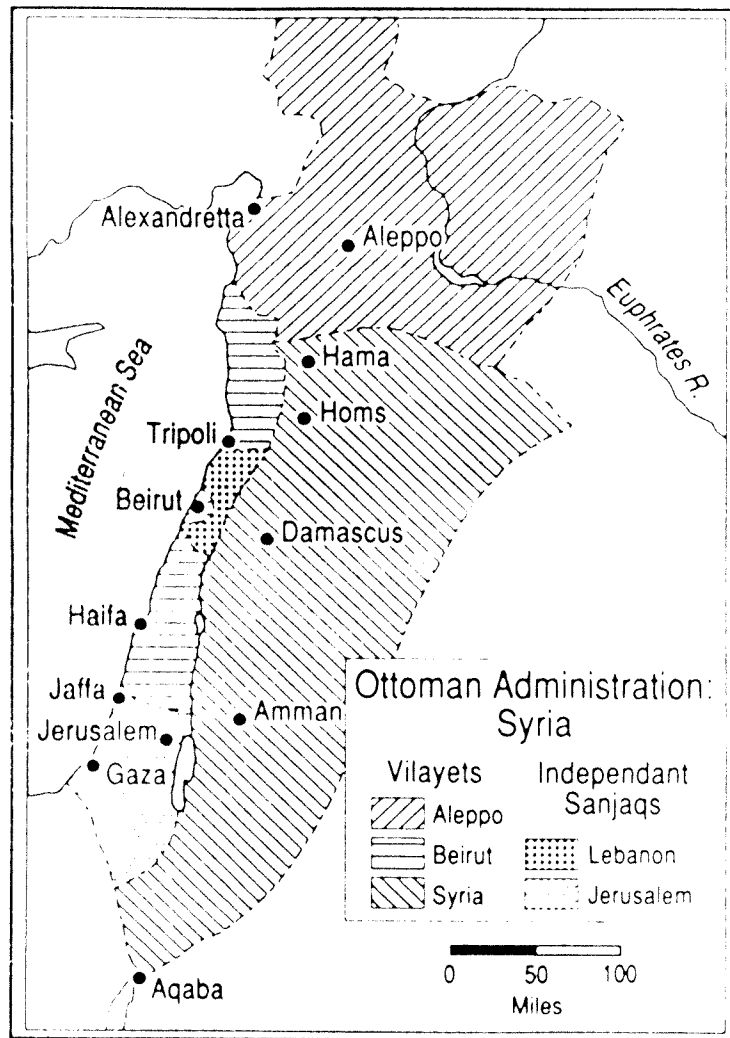


MAP 1

MAP 1

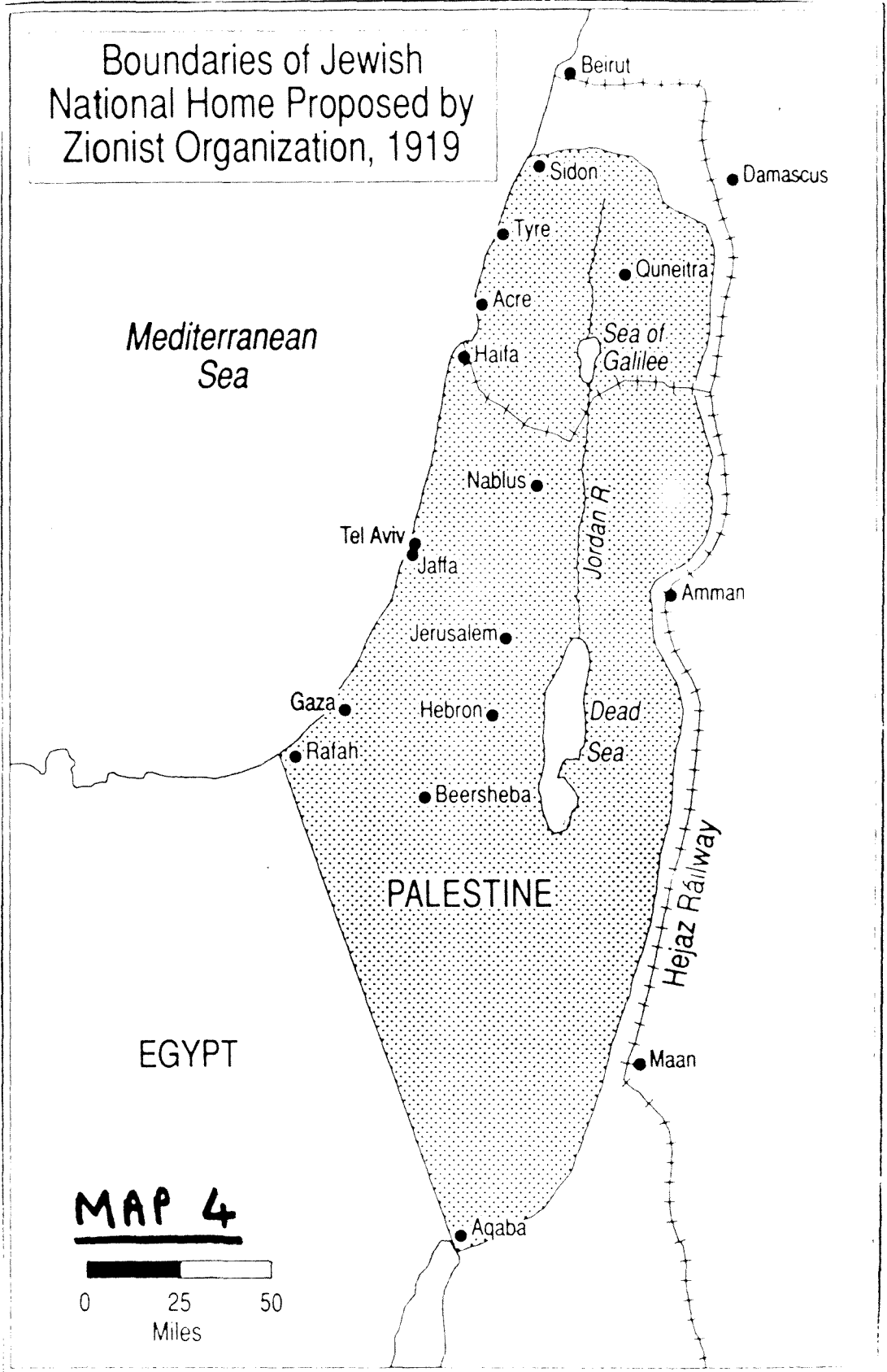


MAP 2

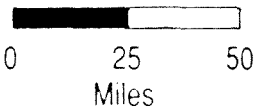


MAP 3

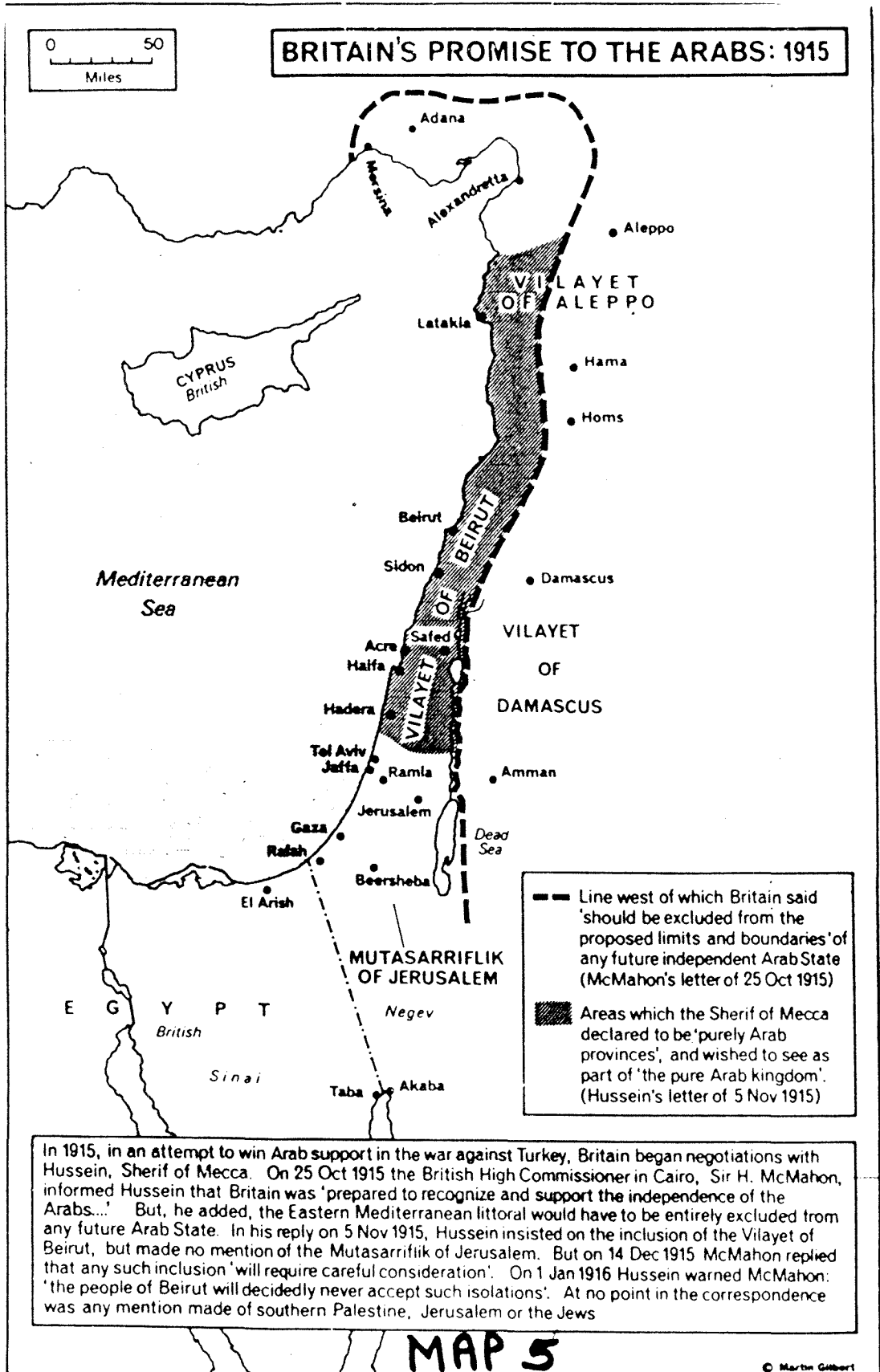
Boundaries of Jewish
National Home Proposed by
Zionist Organization, 1919



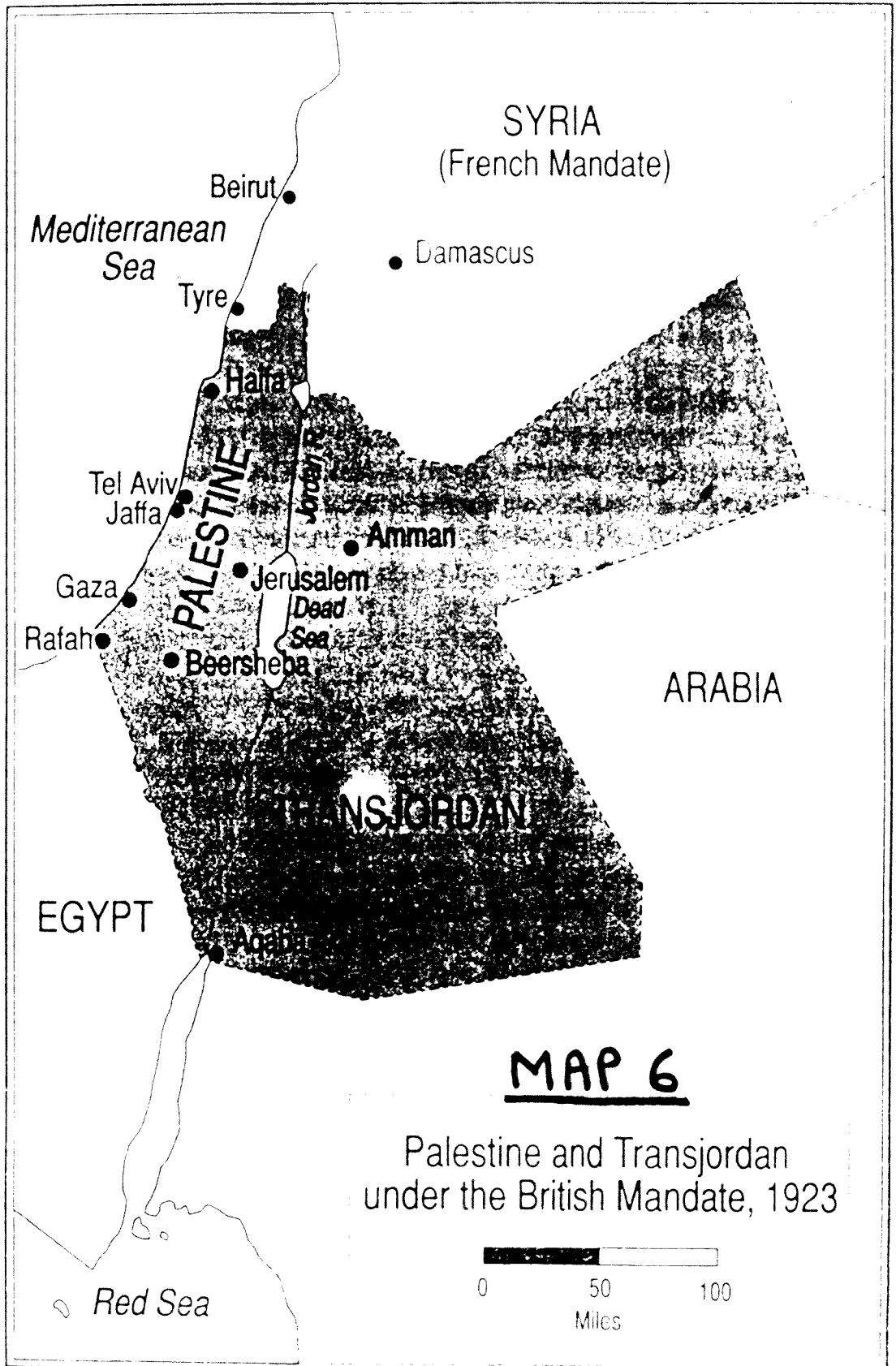
MAP 4



MAP-4



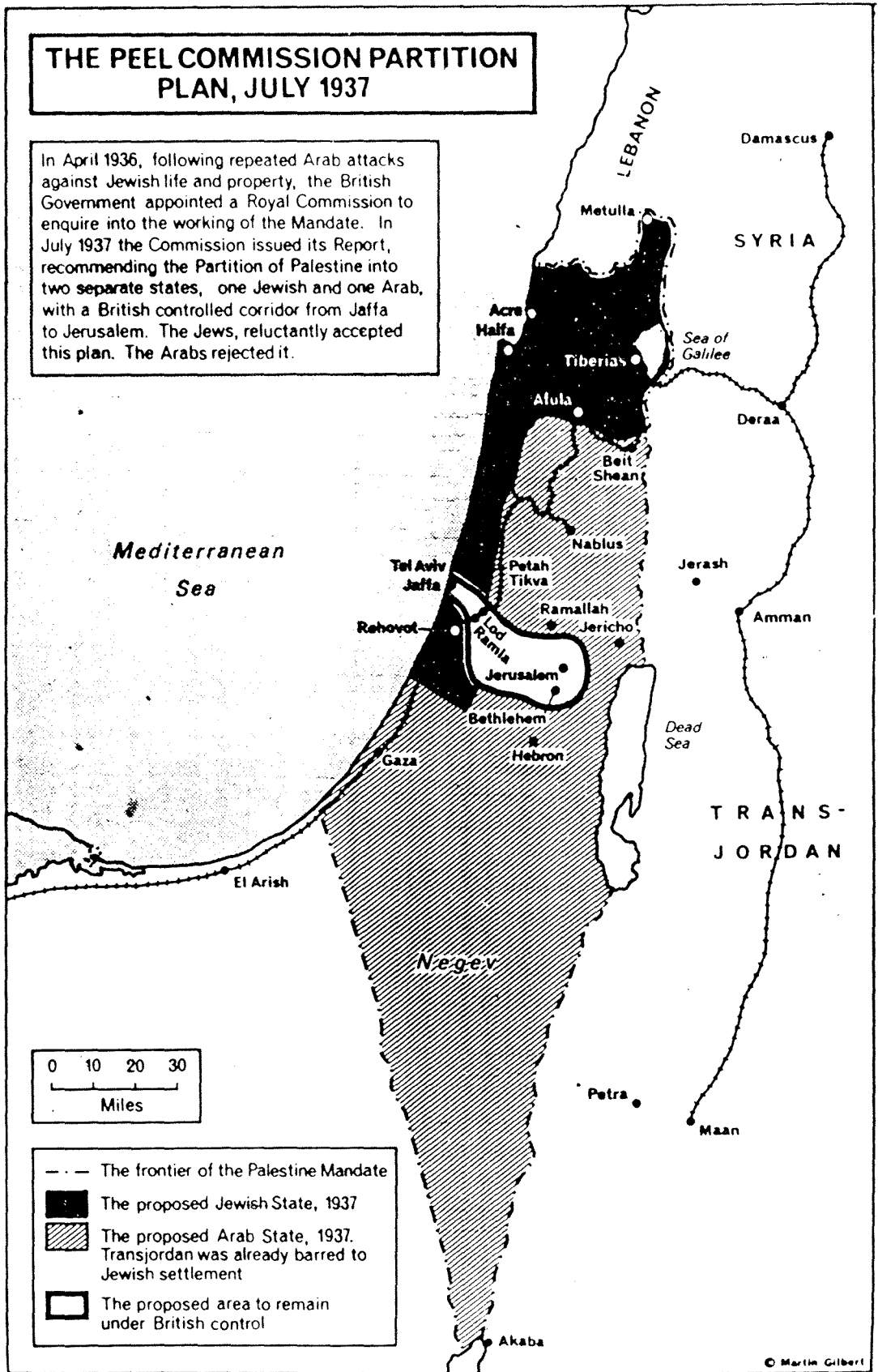
MAP-5



MAP 6

THE PEEL COMMISSION PARTITION PLAN, JULY 1937

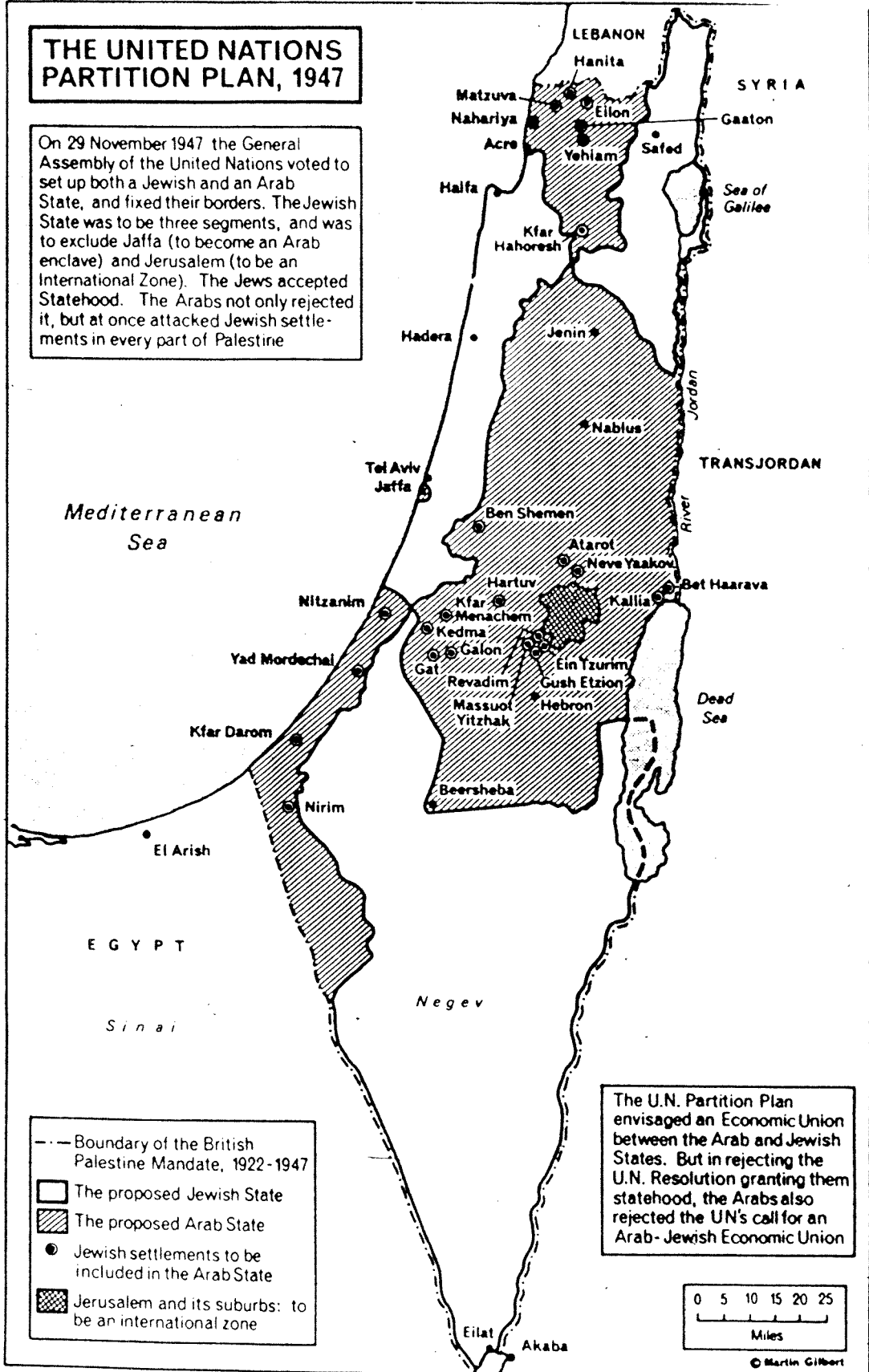
In April 1936, following repeated Arab attacks against Jewish life and property, the British Government appointed a Royal Commission to enquire into the working of the Mandate. In July 1937 the Commission issued its Report, recommending the Partition of Palestine into two separate states, one Jewish and one Arab, with a British controlled corridor from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The Jews, reluctantly accepted this plan. The Arabs rejected it.



MAP-7

THE UNITED NATIONS PARTITION PLAN, 1947

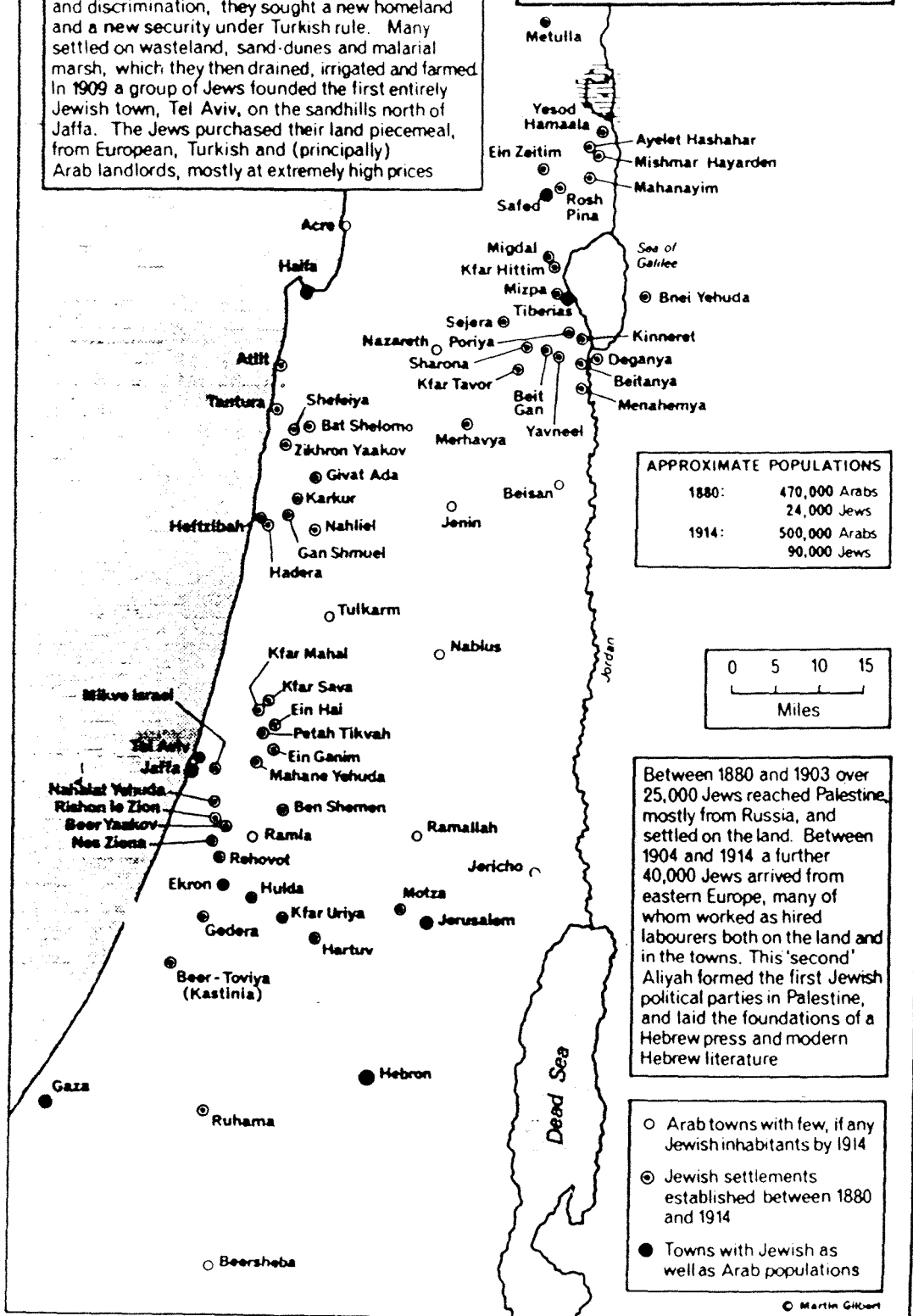
On 29 November 1947 the General Assembly of the United Nations voted to set up both a Jewish and an Arab State, and fixed their borders. The Jewish State was to be three segments, and was to exclude Jaffa (to become an Arab enclave) and Jerusalem (to be an International Zone). The Jews accepted Statehood. The Arabs not only rejected it, but at once attacked Jewish settlements in every part of Palestine



MAP 8

Between 1880 and 1914 over sixty thousand Jews entered Palestine, mostly from Russia, Galicia, Rumania and Poland. The victims of persecution and discrimination, they sought a new homeland and a new security under Turkish rule. Many settled on wasteland, sand-dunes and malarial marsh, which they then drained, irrigated and farmed. In 1909 a group of Jews founded the first entirely Jewish town, Tel Aviv, on the sandhills north of Jaffa. The Jews purchased their land piecemeal, from European, Turkish and (principally) Arab landlords, mostly at extremely high prices

JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN PALESTINE 1880 - 1914

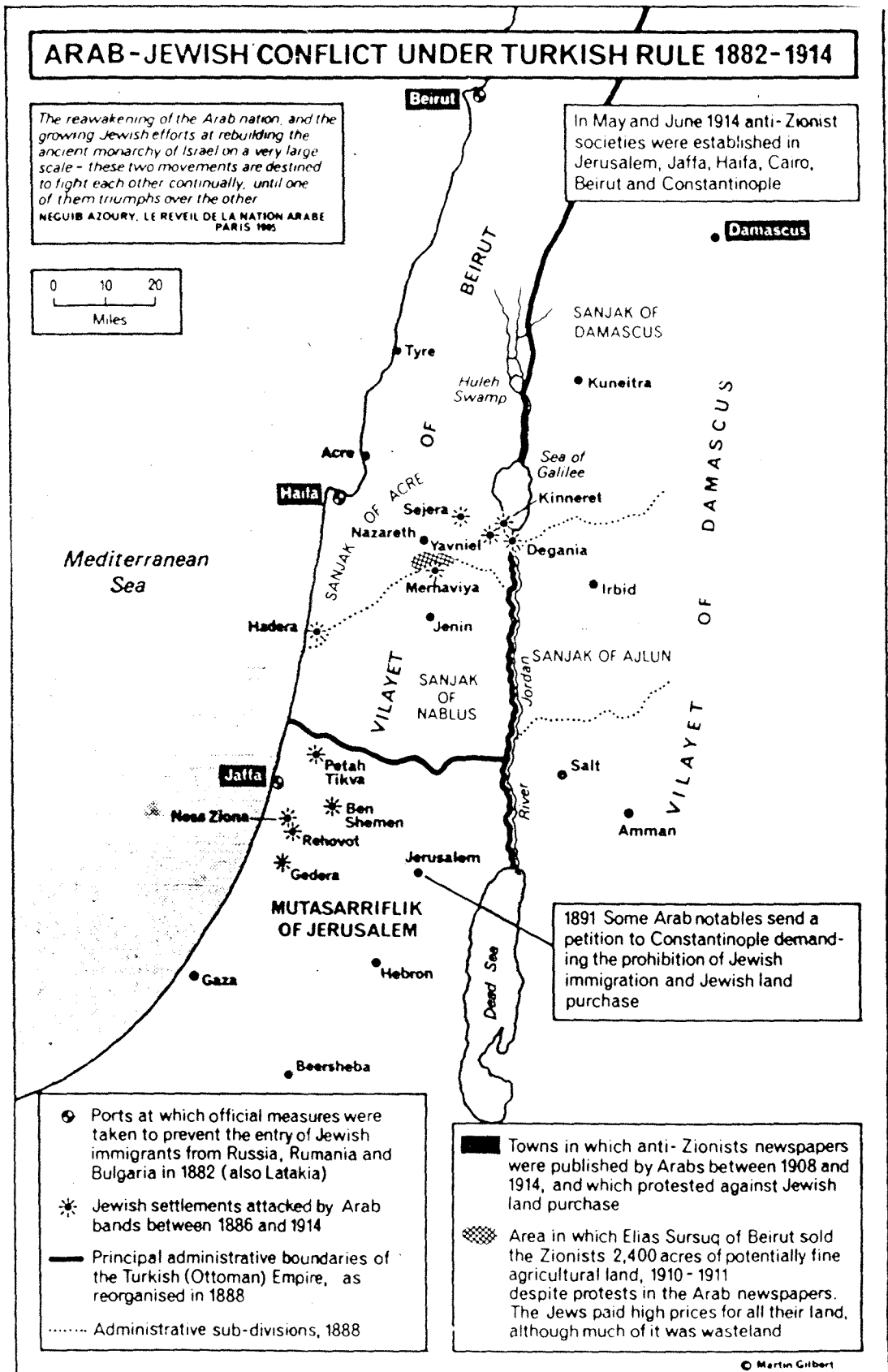
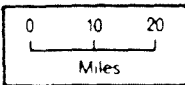


MAP 8A

ARAB-JEWISH CONFLICT UNDER TURKISH RULE 1882-1914

The reawakening of the Arab nation, and the growing Jewish efforts at rebuilding the ancient monarchy of Israel on a very large scale - these two movements are destined to fight each other continually, until one of them triumphs over the other
 NEGUIB AZOURY, LE REVEIL DE LA NATION ARABE PARIS 1905

In May and June 1914 anti-Zionist societies were established in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa, Cairo, Beirut and Constantinople



- Ports at which official measures were taken to prevent the entry of Jewish immigrants from Russia, Rumania and Bulgaria in 1882 (also Latakia)
- ★ Jewish settlements attacked by Arab bands between 1886 and 1914
- Principal administrative boundaries of the Turkish (Ottoman) Empire, as reorganised in 1888
- Administrative sub-divisions, 1888

- Towns in which anti-Zionist newspapers were published by Arabs between 1908 and 1914, and which protested against Jewish land purchase
- ▨ Area in which Elias Sursuq of Beirut sold the Zionists 2,400 acres of potentially fine agricultural land, 1910-1911 despite protests in the Arab newspapers. The Jews paid high prices for all their land, although much of it was wasteland

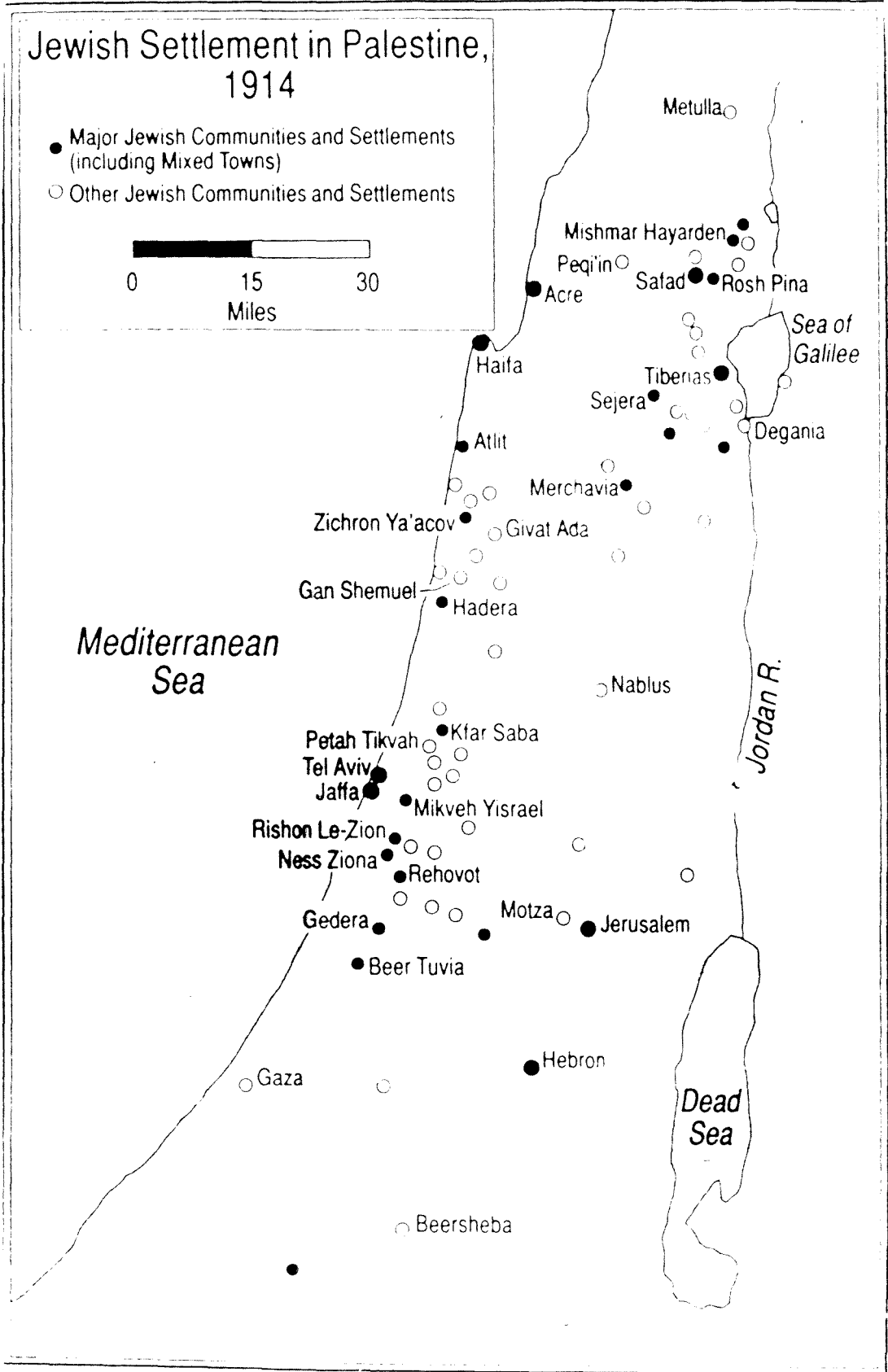
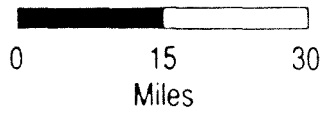
1891 Some Arab notables send a petition to Constantinople demanding the prohibition of Jewish immigration and Jewish land purchase

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MAP 8B

Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1914



- Major Jewish Communities and Settlements (including Mixed Towns)
- Other Jewish Communities and Settlements

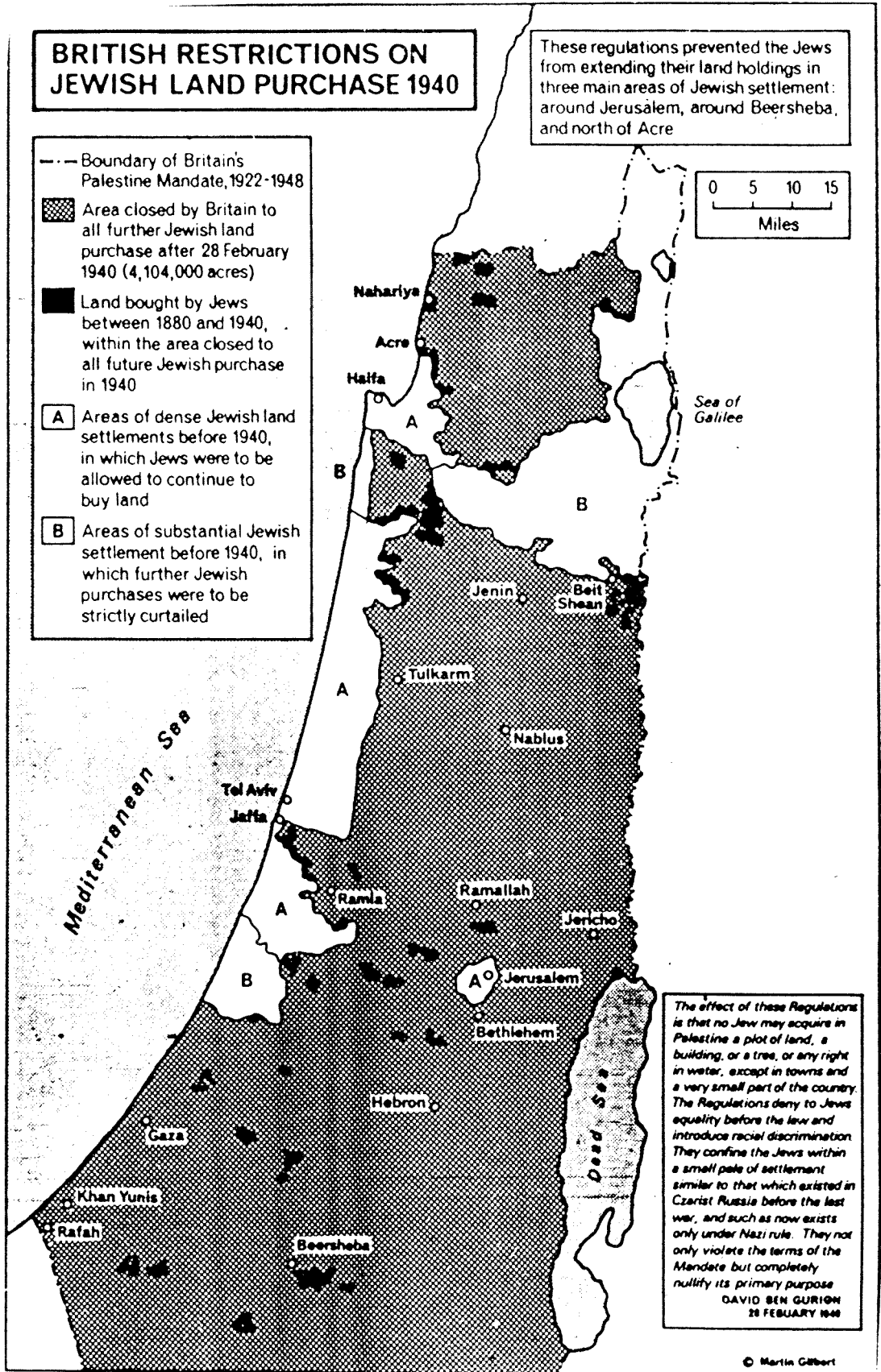
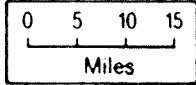


MAP 8C

BRITISH RESTRICTIONS ON JEWISH LAND PURCHASE 1940

These regulations prevented the Jews from extending their land holdings in three main areas of Jewish settlement: around Jerusalem, around Beersheba, and north of Acre

- Boundary of Britain's Palestine Mandate, 1922-1948
-  Area closed by Britain to all further Jewish land purchase after 28 February 1940 (4,104,000 acres)
-  Land bought by Jews between 1880 and 1940, within the area closed to all future Jewish purchase in 1940
- A** Areas of dense Jewish land settlements before 1940, in which Jews were to be allowed to continue to buy land
- B** Areas of substantial Jewish settlement before 1940, in which further Jewish purchases were to be strictly curtailed



The effect of these Regulations is that no Jew may acquire in Palestine a plot of land, a building, or a tree, or any right in water, except in towns and a very small part of the country. The Regulations deny to Jews equality before the law and introduce racial discrimination. They confine the Jews within a small pale of settlement similar to that which existed in Czarist Russia before the last war, and such as now exists only under Nazi rule. They not only violate the terms of the Mandate but completely nullify its primary purpose.
 DAVID BEN GURION
 28 FEBRUARY 1940

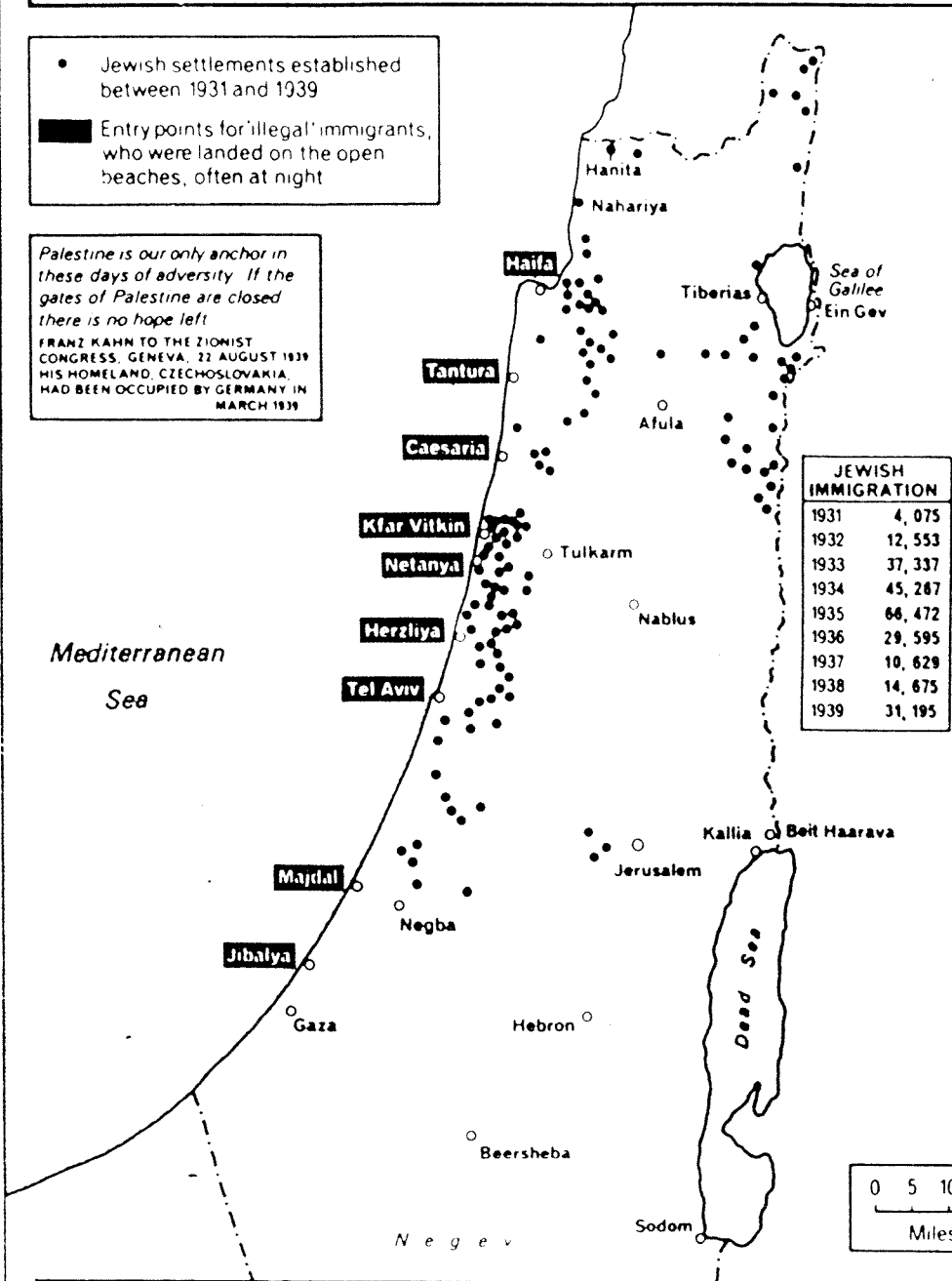
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MAP 8D

JEWISH SETTLEMENTS AND IMMIGRATION, 1931 - 1942

- Jewish settlements established between 1931 and 1939
- Entry points for 'illegal' immigrants, who were landed on the open beaches, often at night

Palestine is our only anchor in these days of adversity. If the gates of Palestine are closed there is no hope left.
 FRAMZ KAHN TO THE ZIONIST CONGRESS, GENEVA, 22 AUGUST 1939
 HIS HOMELAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HAD BEEN OCCUPIED BY GERMANY IN MARCH 1939



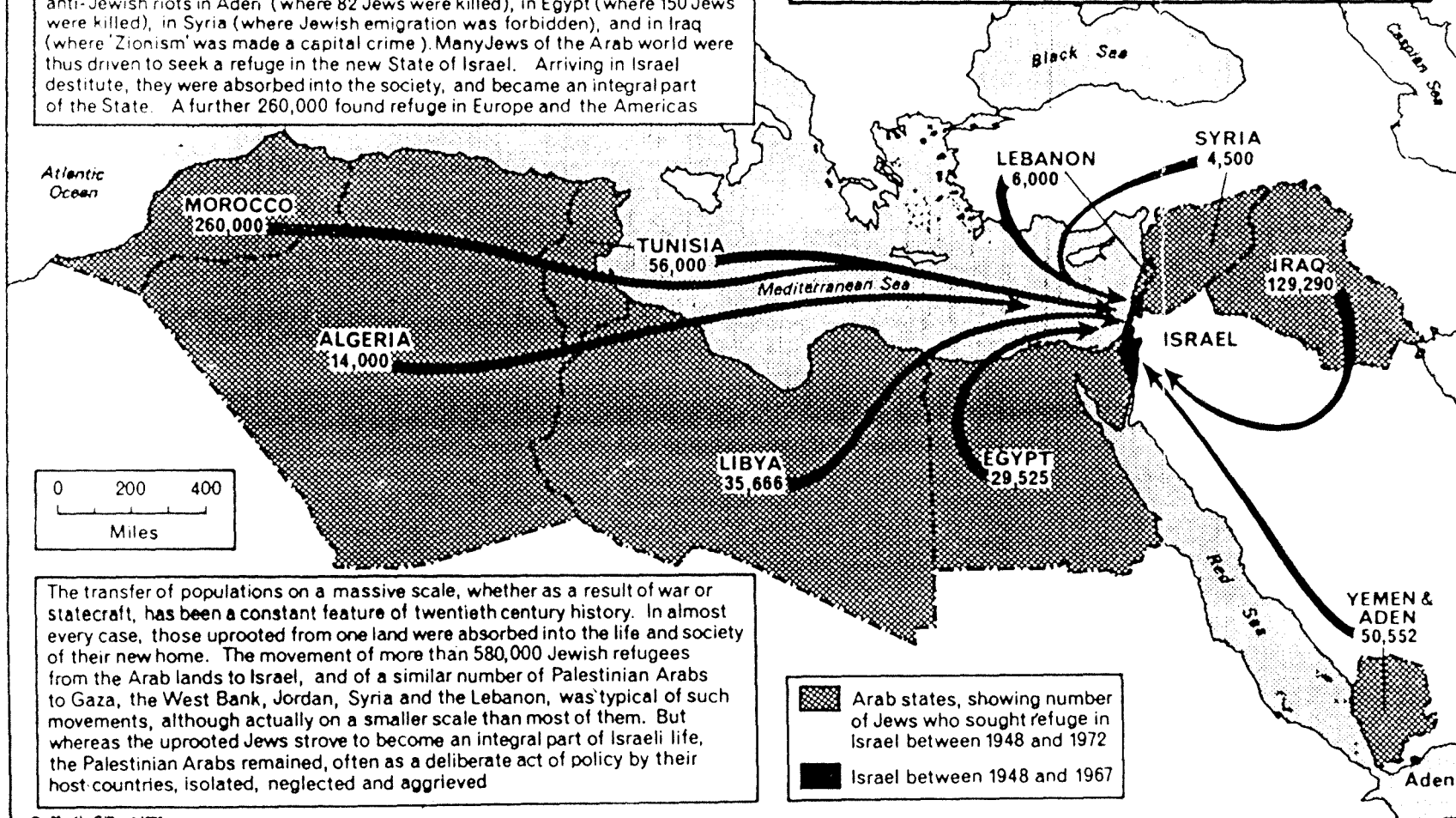
Despite the Arab riots of 1929, Jewish immigration continued to grow, and Jewish settlements were founded throughout Palestine. The Arab leaders protested against this new influx of immigrants and refugees, and following a new Arab campaign in 1936, the British authorities introduced a strict limit to Jewish immigration (a maximum of 8,000 between August 1937 and March 1938). As a result of still more Arab pressure, the British published their Palestine White Paper on 17 May 1939. Only 10,643 Jews were allowed to enter in 1940, 4,592 in 1941 and 4,206 in 1942, at a time when the fierce German persecution of Jews in Europe made the need for a place of refuge a desperate one. Between July 1934 and September 1939 the Zionists disembarked 15,000 'illegal' immigrants on the Palestine coast, from a total of 43 ships. On 4 September 1939 two 'illegal' immigrants were killed when their ship was fired on by a British cutter. Later 'illegals' were deported to Cyprus and Mauritius.

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MAP 8E

In 1945 there were more than 870,000 Jews living in the Arab world. Many of their communities dated back 2,500 years. Throughout 1947 and 1948 these Jews were subjected to continual pressure and persecution. There were anti-Jewish riots in Aden (where 82 Jews were killed), in Egypt (where 150 Jews were killed), in Syria (where Jewish emigration was forbidden), and in Iraq (where 'Zionism' was made a capital crime). Many Jews of the Arab world were thus driven to seek a refuge in the new State of Israel. Arriving in Israel destitute, they were absorbed into the society, and became an integral part of the State. A further 260,000 found refuge in Europe and the Americas.

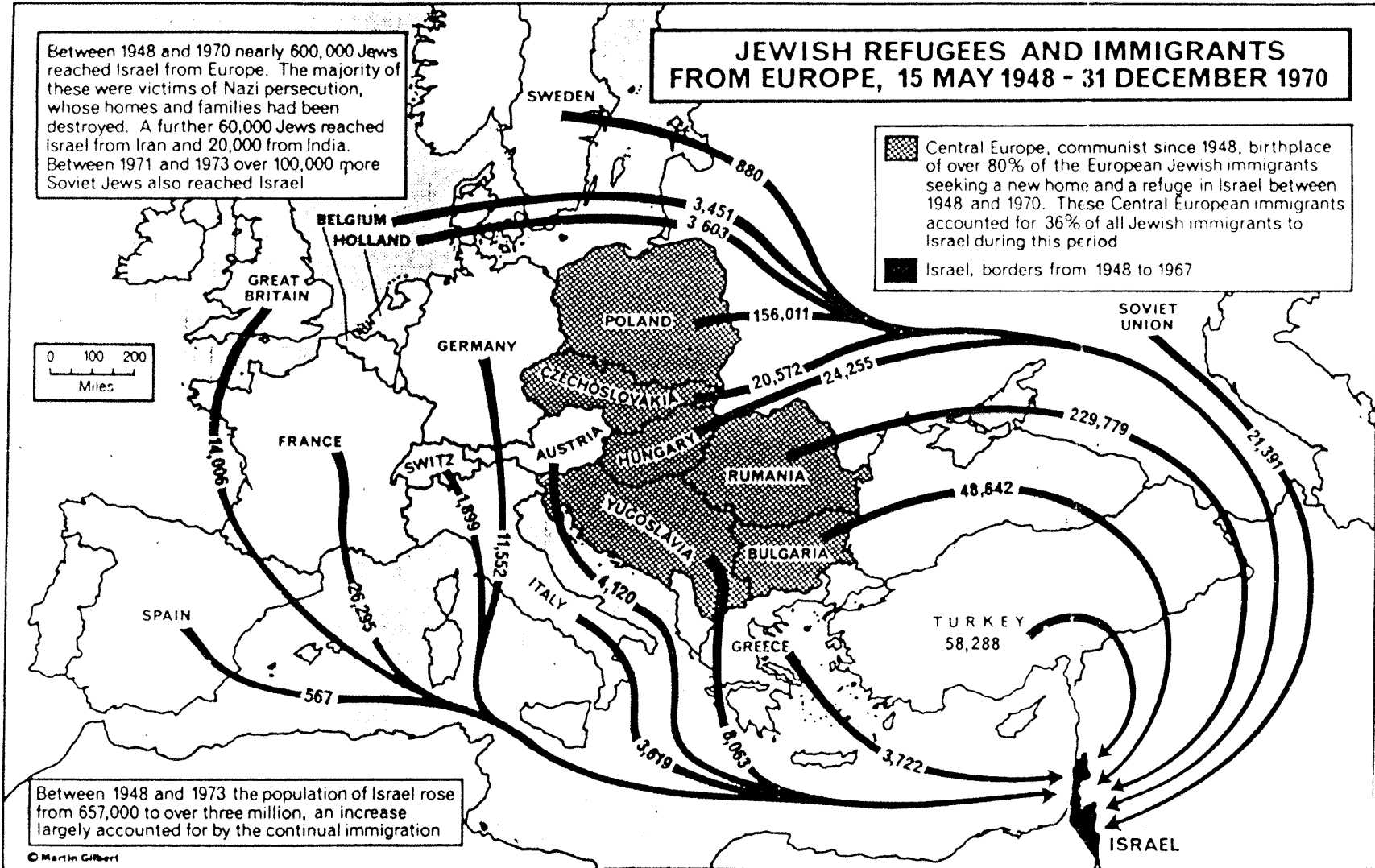
JEWISH REFUGEES TO ISRAEL FROM ARAB LANDS MAY 1948 - MAY 1972



The transfer of populations on a massive scale, whether as a result of war or statecraft, has been a constant feature of twentieth century history. In almost every case, those uprooted from one land were absorbed into the life and society of their new home. The movement of more than 580,000 Jewish refugees from the Arab lands to Israel, and of a similar number of Palestinian Arabs to Gaza, the West Bank, Jordan, Syria and the Lebanon, was typical of such movements, although actually on a smaller scale than most of them. But whereas the uprooted Jews strove to become an integral part of Israeli life, the Palestinian Arabs remained, often as a deliberate act of policy by their host countries, isolated, neglected and aggrieved.

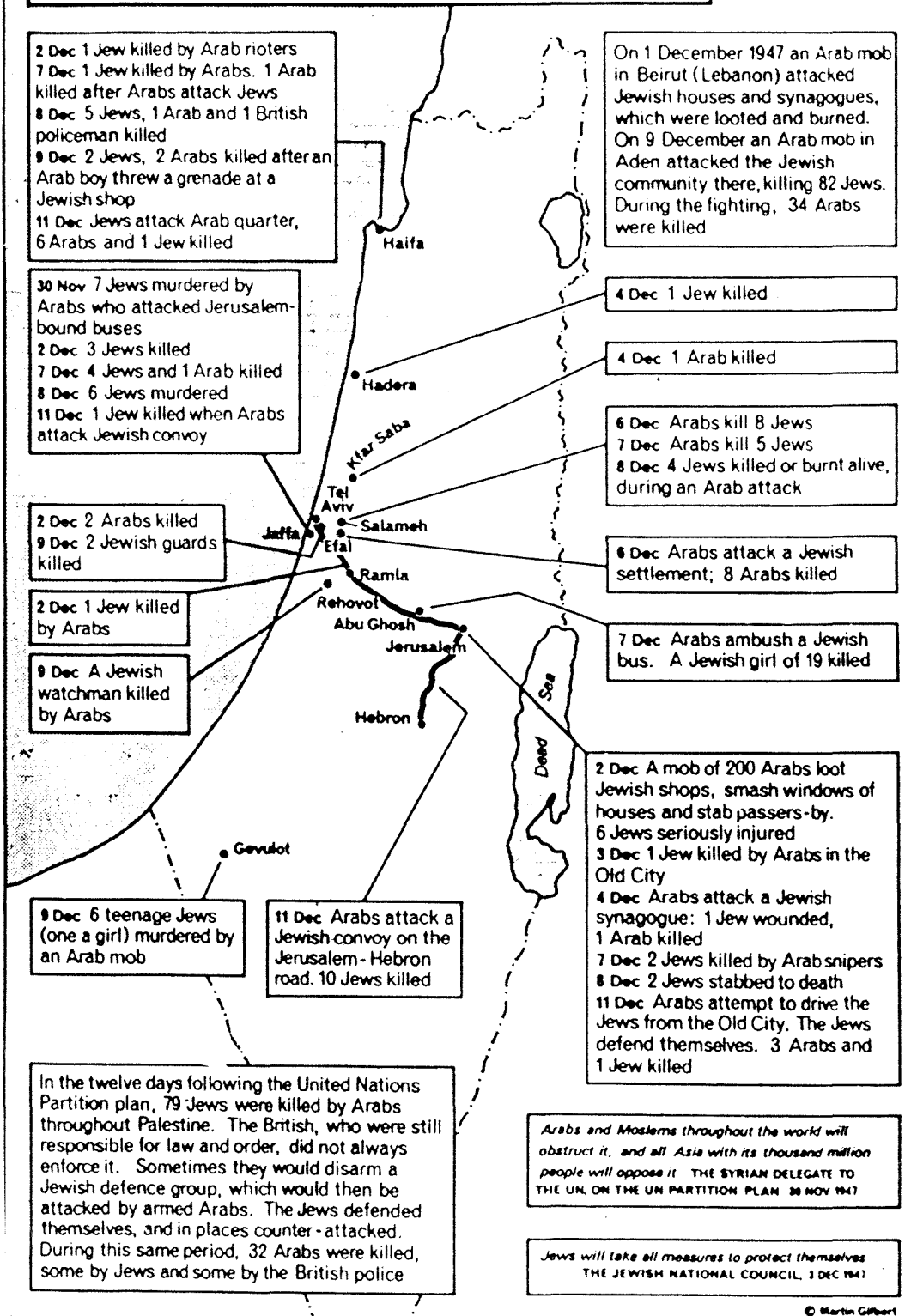
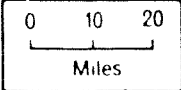
 Arab states, showing number of Jews who sought refuge in Israel between 1948 and 1972
 Israel between 1948 and 1967

MAP 8F



MAP 8G

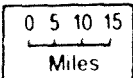
**THE IMMEDIATE RESPONSE TO THE UNITED NATIONS PARTITION PLAN
30 NOVEMBER - 11 DECEMBER 1947**



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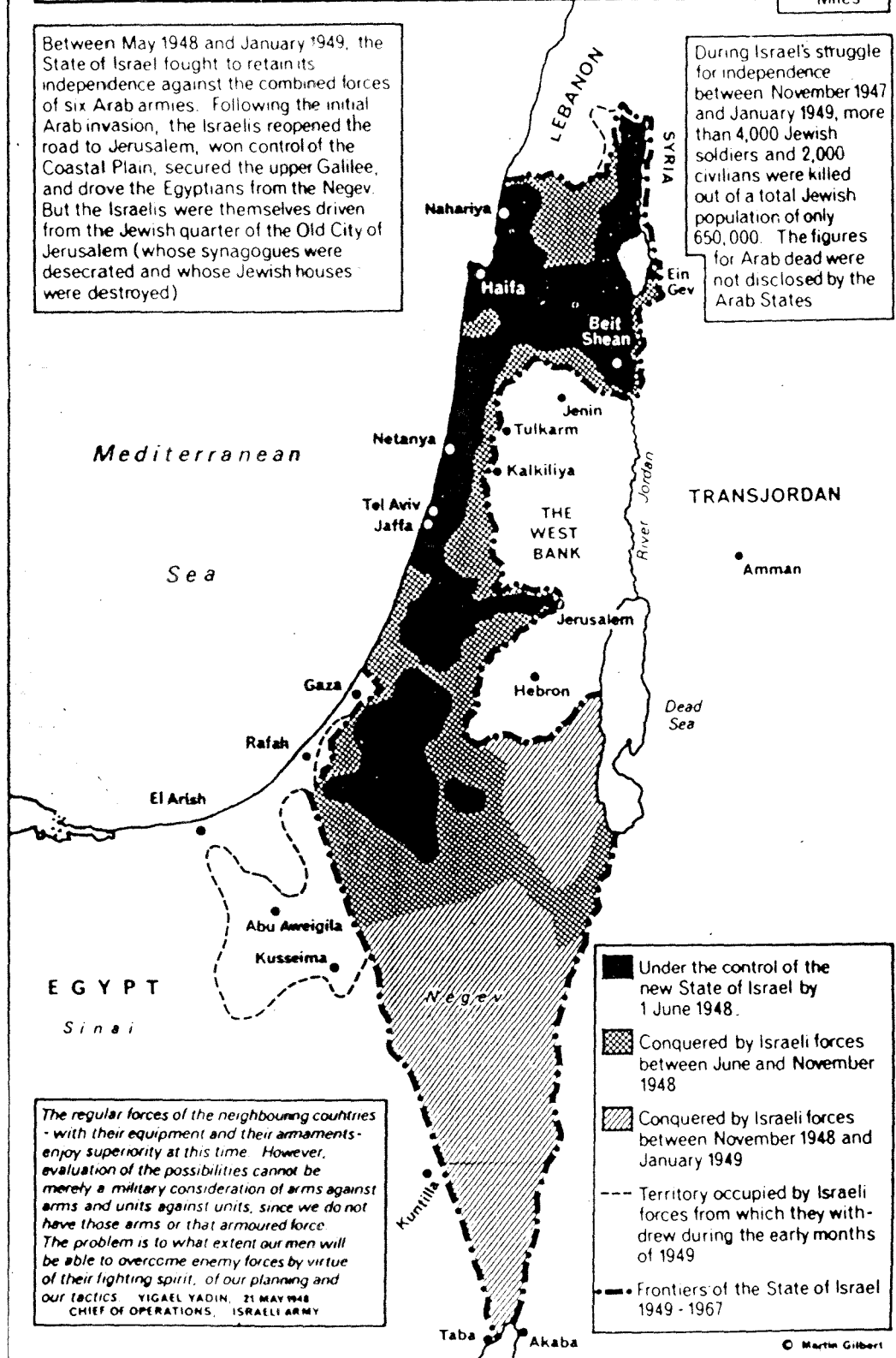
MAP-9

THE ISRAELI WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, 1948 - 1949



Between May 1948 and January 1949, the State of Israel fought to retain its independence against the combined forces of six Arab armies. Following the initial Arab invasion, the Israelis reopened the road to Jerusalem, won control of the Coastal Plain, secured the upper Galilee, and drove the Egyptians from the Negev. But the Israelis were themselves driven from the Jewish quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem (whose synagogues were desecrated and whose Jewish houses were destroyed)

During Israel's struggle for independence between November 1947 and January 1949, more than 4,000 Jewish soldiers and 2,000 civilians were killed out of a total Jewish population of only 650,000. The figures for Arab dead were not disclosed by the Arab States

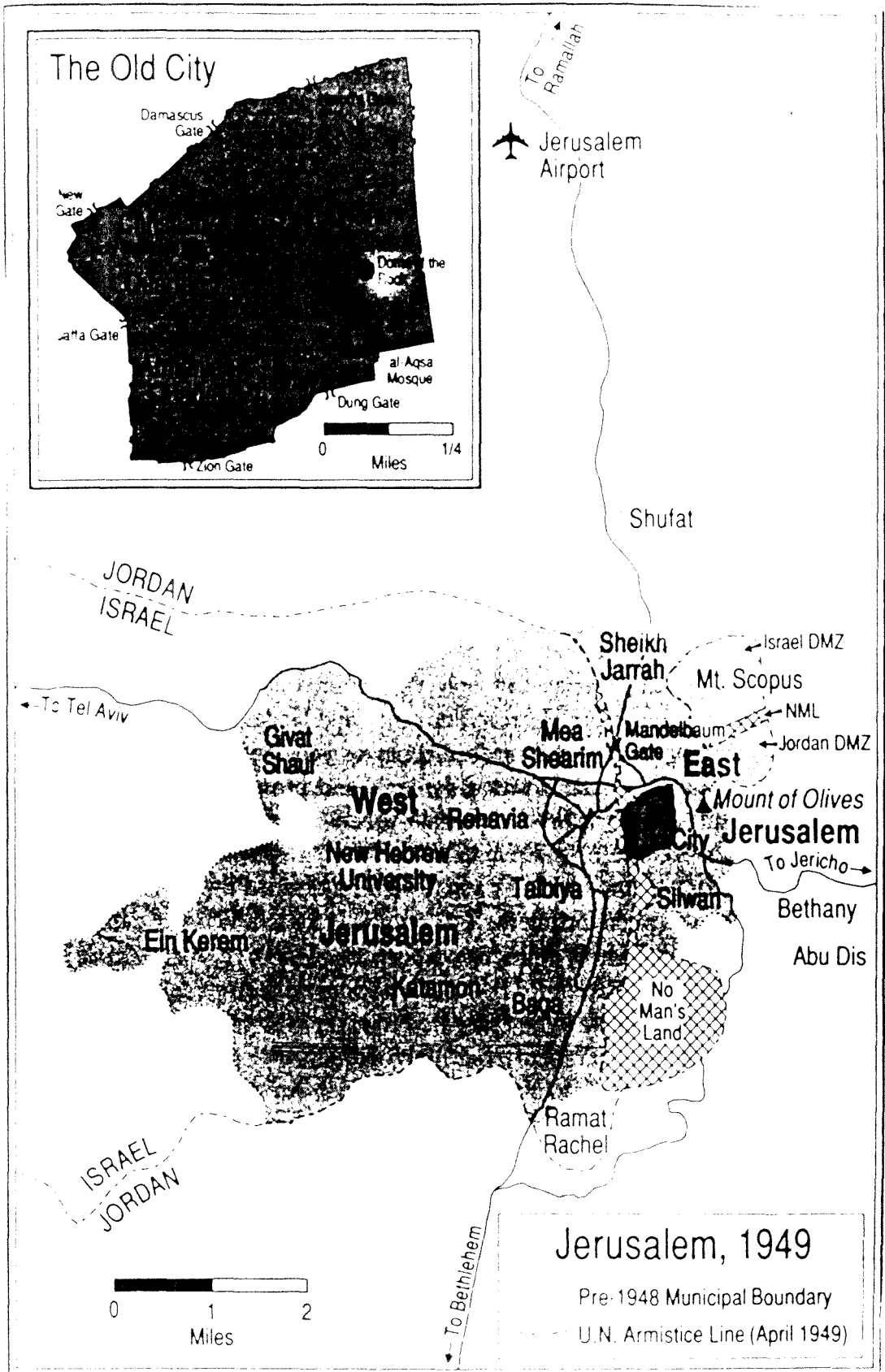


The regular forces of the neighbouring countries - with their equipment and their armaments - enjoy superiority at this time. However, evaluation of the possibilities cannot be merely a military consideration of arms against arms and units against units, since we do not have those arms or that armoured force. The problem is to what extent our men will be able to overcome enemy forces by virtue of their fighting spirit, of our planning and our tactics. YIGAL YADIN, 21 MAY 1948, CHIEF OF OPERATIONS, ISRAELI ARMY

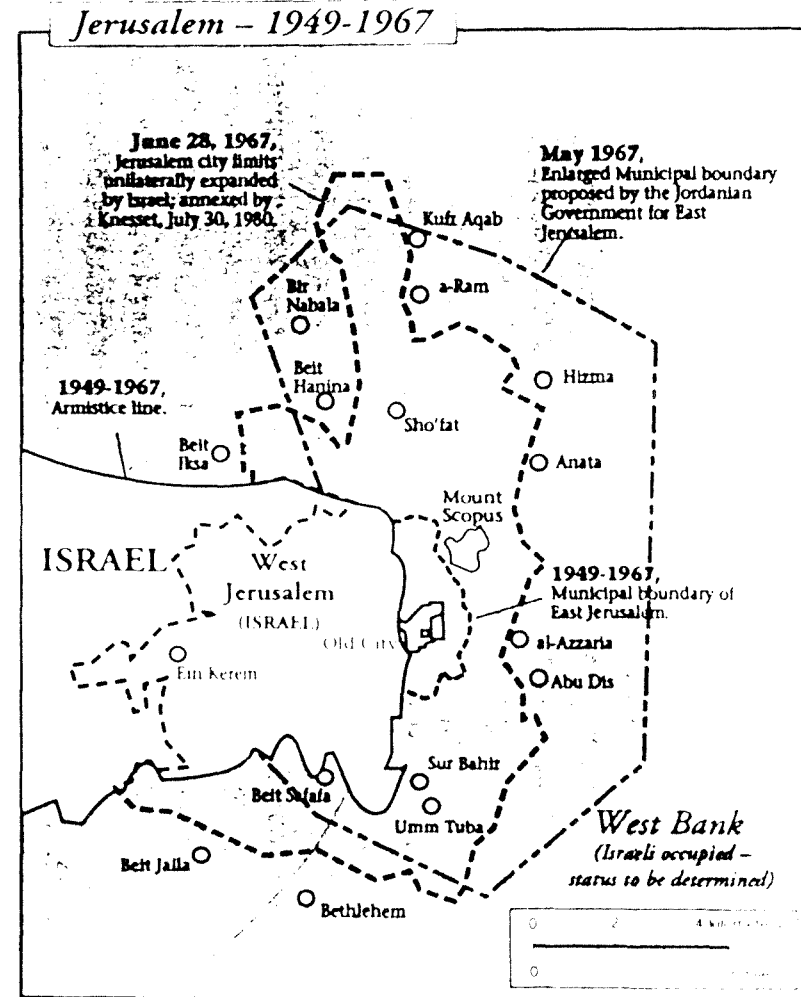
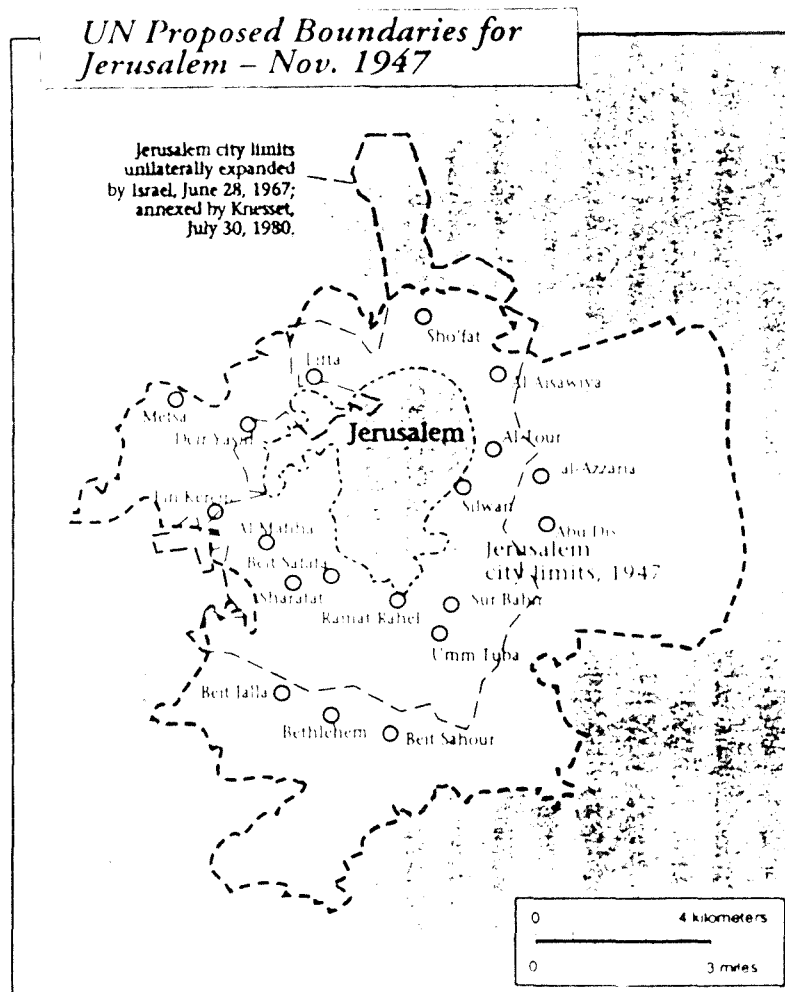
- Under the control of the new State of Israel by 1 June 1948.
- ▨ Conquered by Israeli forces between June and November 1948
- ▧ Conquered by Israeli forces between November 1948 and January 1949
- - - Territory occupied by Israeli forces from which they withdrew during the early months of 1949
- Frontiers of the State of Israel 1949 - 1967

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MAP - 10






MAP-11

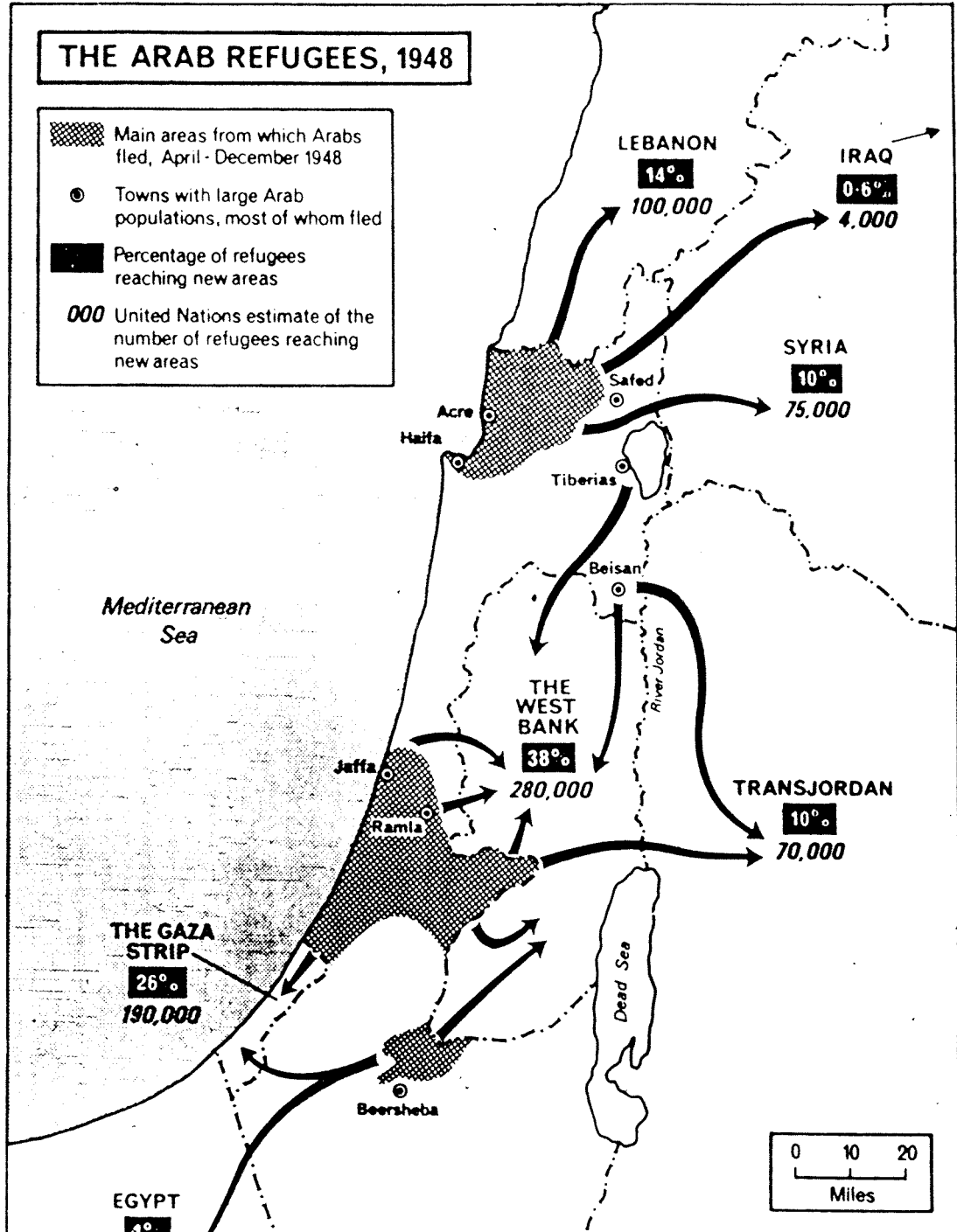


Source: Foundation for Middle East Peace, *Report on Israeli Settlement in the Occupied Territories*, March 1997. 5. Used by permission of the Foundation for Middle East Peace. By Andy Hemstreet

MAP 12

THE ARAB REFUGEES, 1948

-  Main areas from which Arabs fled, April - December 1948
-  Towns with large Arab populations, most of whom fled
-  Percentage of refugees reaching new areas
- 000** United Nations estimate of the number of refugees reaching new areas



The United Nations Partition Plan envisaged an Arab as well as a Jewish State. Most Arab refugees fled to the areas of the potential Arab State. But one of these areas, the Gaza Strip, was occupied by Egypt in 1948. Another, the West Bank, was occupied by Transjordan in 1948, and annexed in 1950

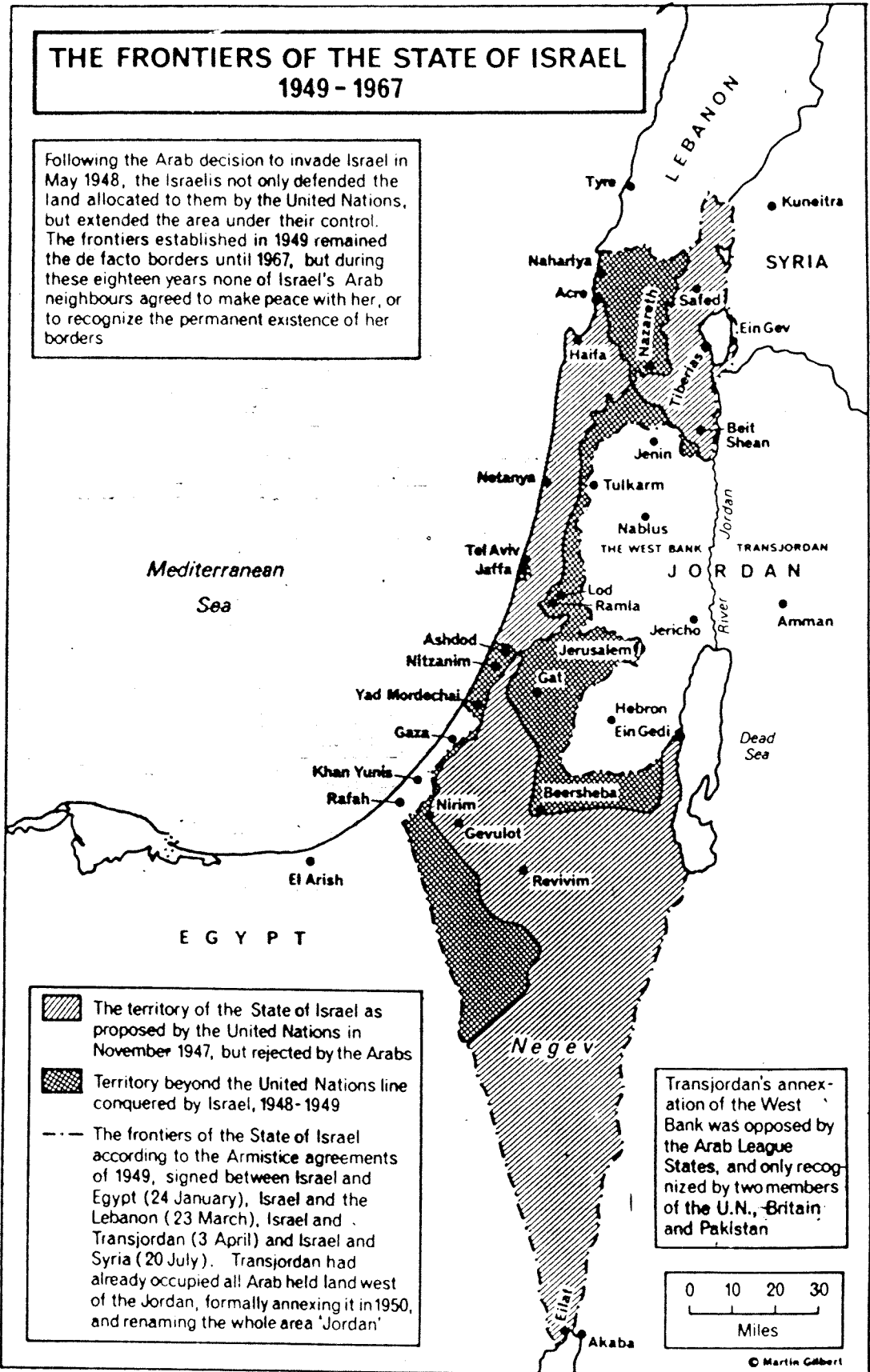
The United Nations estimated that over 725,000 Arabs fled from Palestine between April and December 1948. The Israelis estimated that between 550,000 and 600,000 Arabs fled. Many Arabs were encouraged to leave by their own political leaders, who promised them that they would soon be able to return to their homes, once Israel had been destroyed. But over 160,000 Arabs either remained in Israel or returned to their homes in Israel during 1949




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MAP 13

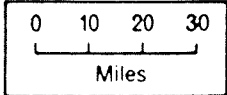
THE FRONTIERS OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL 1949 - 1967

Following the Arab decision to invade Israel in May 1948, the Israelis not only defended the land allocated to them by the United Nations, but extended the area under their control. The frontiers established in 1949 remained the de facto borders until 1967, but during these eighteen years none of Israel's Arab neighbours agreed to make peace with her, or to recognize the permanent existence of her borders.



-  The territory of the State of Israel as proposed by the United Nations in November 1947, but rejected by the Arabs
-  Territory beyond the United Nations line conquered by Israel, 1948-1949
-  The frontiers of the State of Israel according to the Armistice agreements of 1949, signed between Israel and Egypt (24 January), Israel and the Lebanon (23 March), Israel and Transjordan (3 April) and Israel and Syria (20 July). Transjordan had already occupied all Arab held land west of the Jordan, formally annexing it in 1950, and renaming the whole area 'Jordan'

Transjordan's annexation of the West Bank was opposed by the Arab League States, and only recognized by two members of the U.N., Britain and Pakistan



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MAP 14

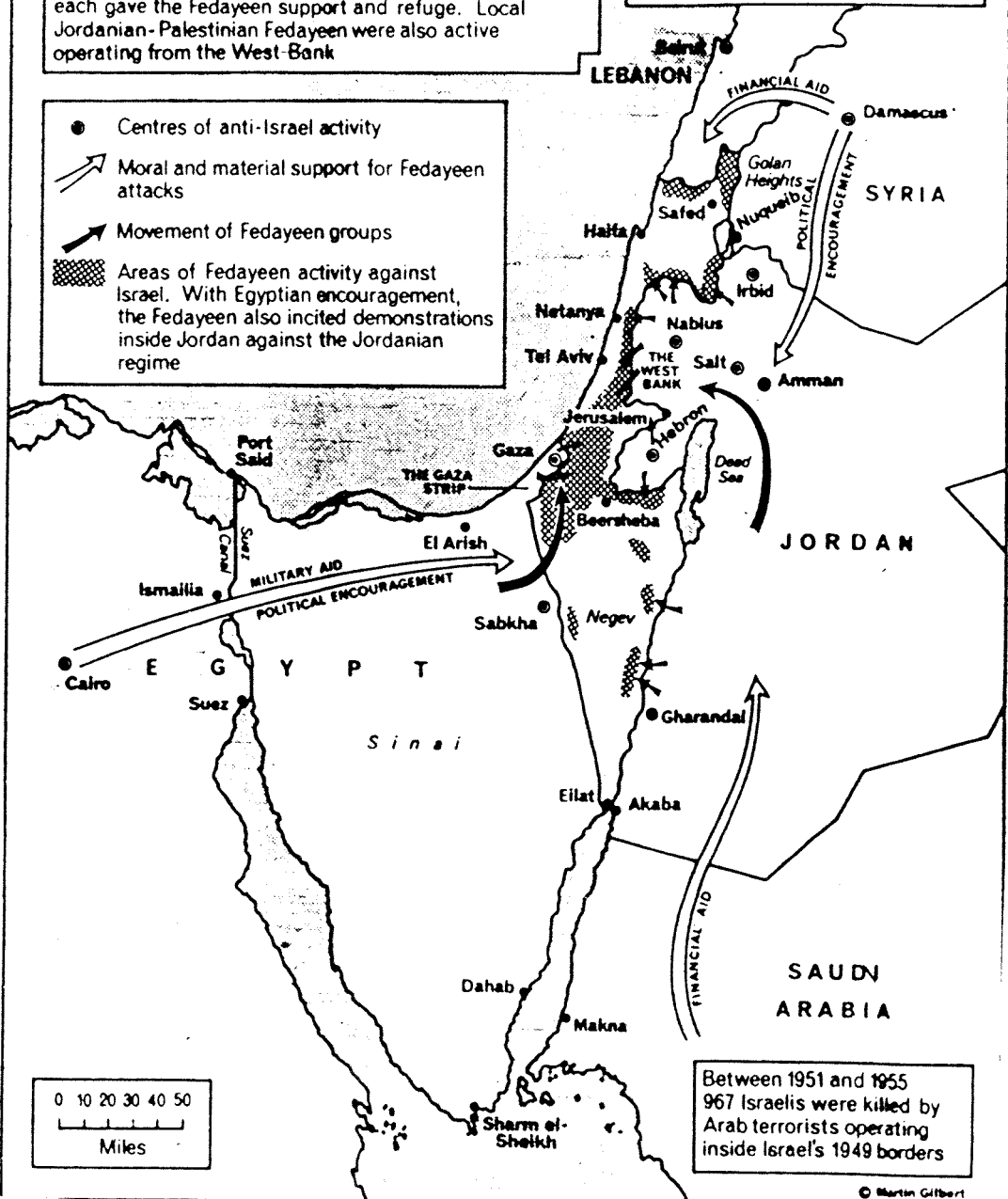
TERRORIST RAIDS INTO ISRAEL 1951 - 1956

Palestinian terrorist groups, or **Fedayeen**, began systematic raids into Israel from 1950. Towards the end of 1954, the Egyptian Government supervised the formal establishment of Palestinian terrorist groups in the Gaza strip and north-eastern Sinai. Throughout 1955 an increasing number of raids were launched into Israel. From 1951 to 1956, Israeli vehicles were ambushed, farms attacked, fields boobytrapped and roads mined. Fedayeen from Gaza also infiltrated into Jordan, and operated from there. Saudi Arabia, Syria and Lebanon each gave the Fedayeen support and refuge. Local Jordanian-Palestinian Fedayeen were also active operating from the West Bank

ISRAELI DEATHS AS A RESULT OF FEDAYEEN ATTACKS

YEAR	FROM	ISRAELI DEAD
1951	JORDAN	111
	EGYPT	26
1952	JORDAN	114
	EGYPT	48
1953	JORDAN	124
	EGYPT	34
1954	JORDAN	117
	EGYPT	50
1955	JORDAN	37
	EGYPT	241
1951-55	SYRIA	55
	LEBANON	6

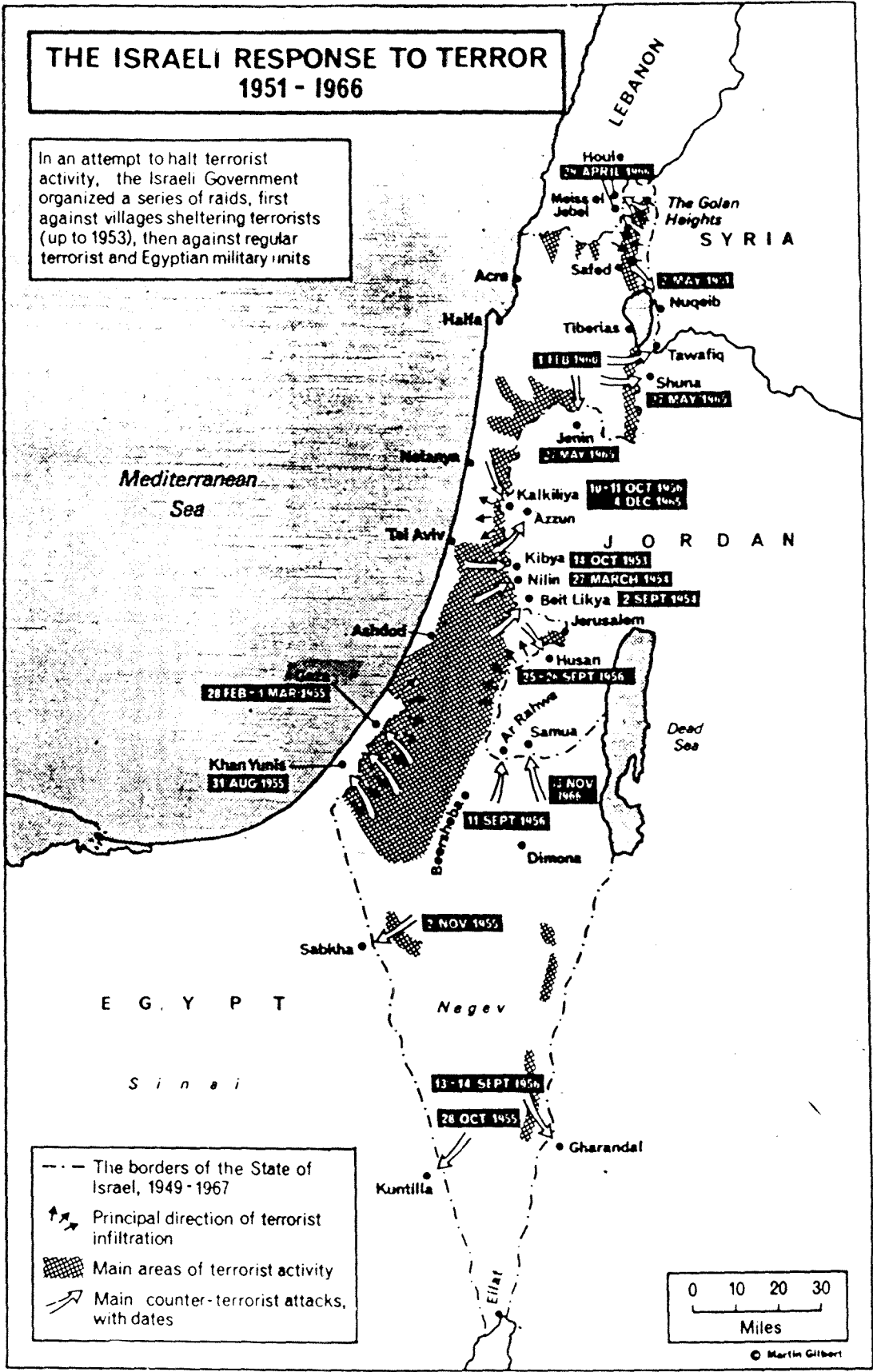
- Centres of anti-Israel activity
- ↗ Moral and material support for Fedayeen attacks
- ↘ Movement of Fedayeen groups
- ▨ Areas of Fedayeen activity against Israel. With Egyptian encouragement, the Fedayeen also incited demonstrations inside Jordan against the Jordanian regime



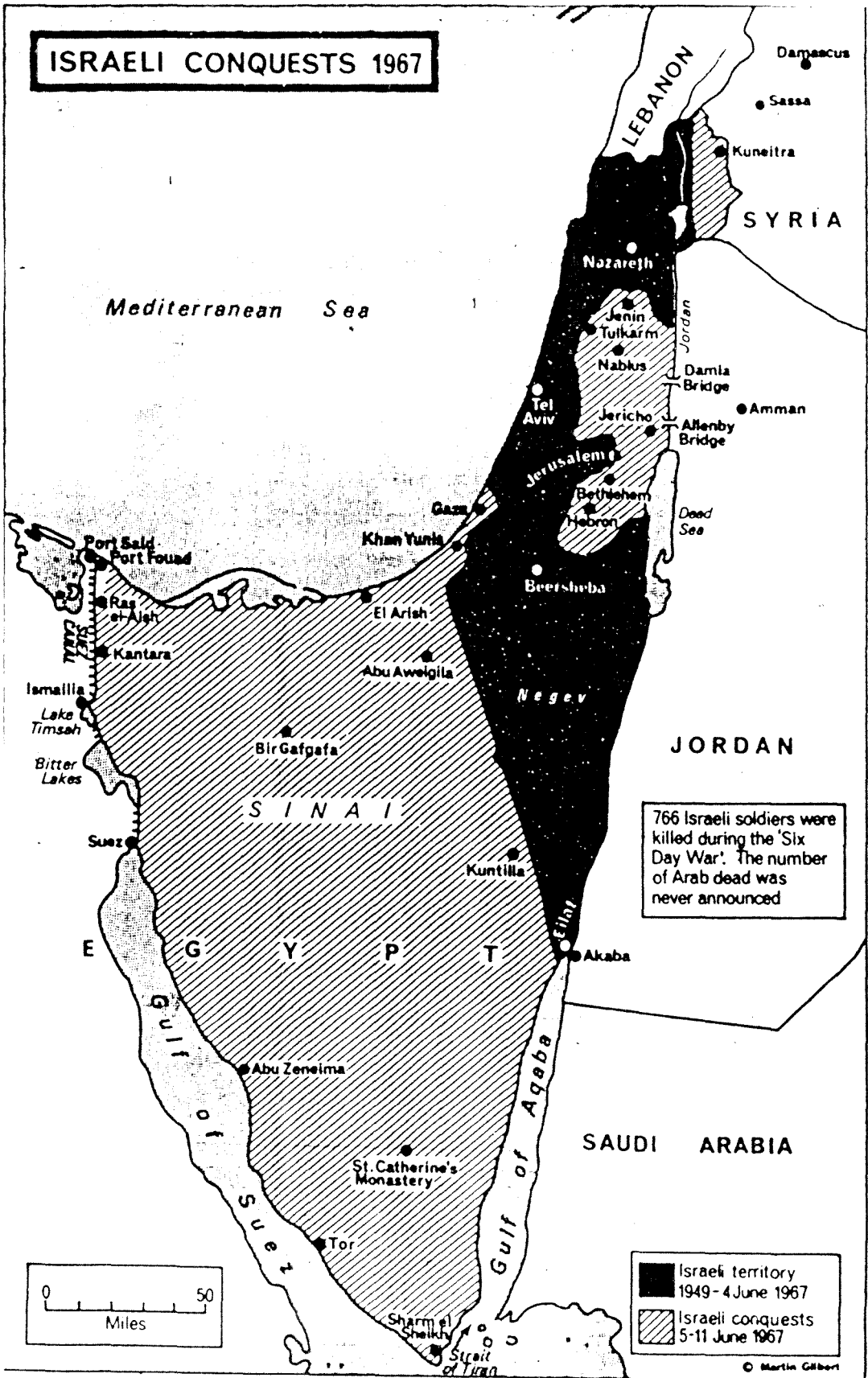
MAP 15

THE ISRAELI RESPONSE TO TERROR 1951 - 1966

In an attempt to halt terrorist activity, the Israeli Government organized a series of raids, first against villages sheltering terrorists (up to 1953), then against regular terrorist and Egyptian military units

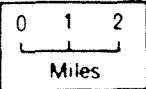


MAP 16

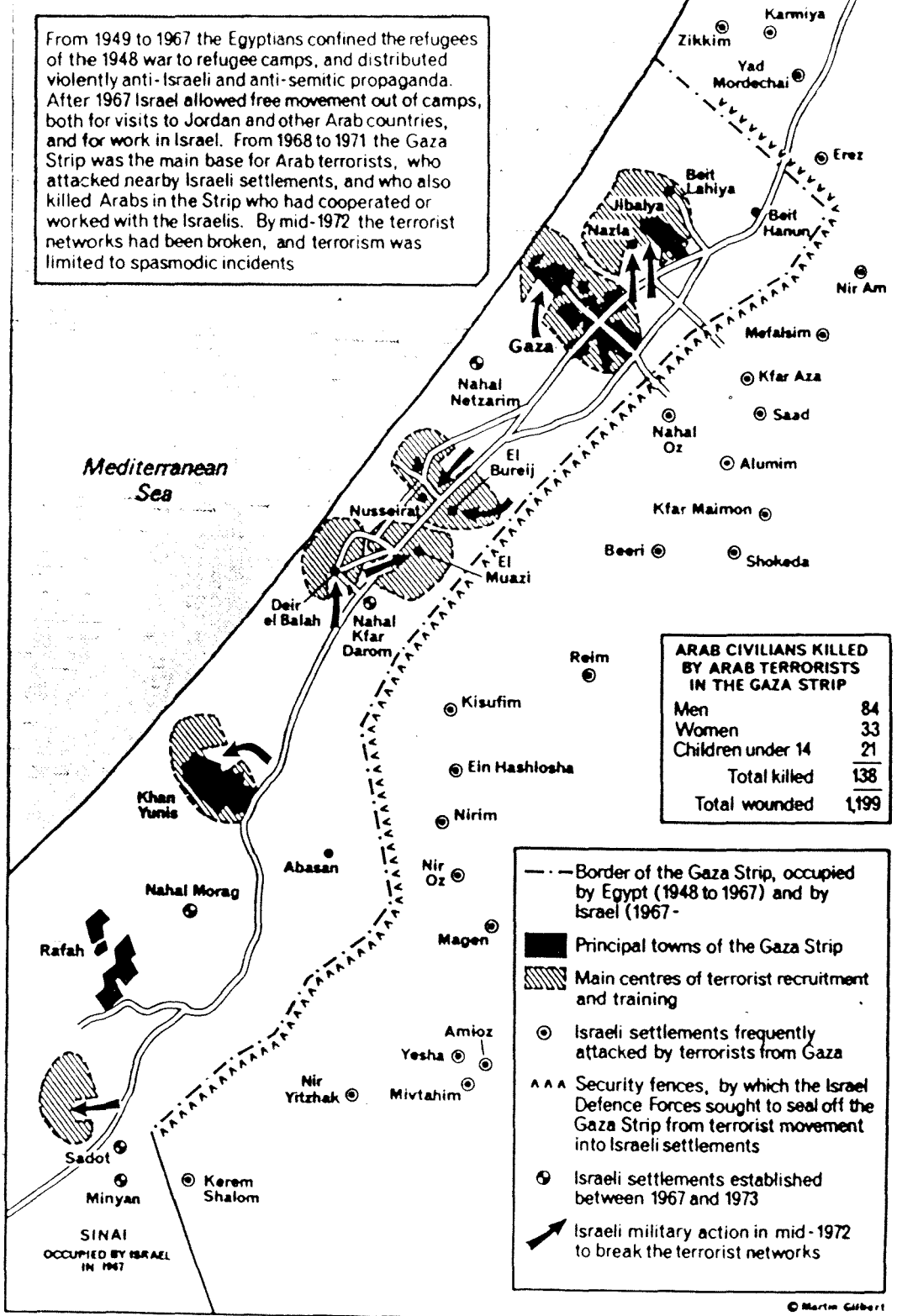


MAP 17

THE GAZA STRIP: A BASE FOR TERROR 1967 - 1972



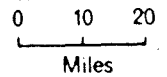
From 1949 to 1967 the Egyptians confined the refugees of the 1948 war to refugee camps, and distributed violently anti-Israeli and anti-semitic propaganda. After 1967 Israel allowed free movement out of camps, both for visits to Jordan and other Arab countries, and for work in Israel. From 1968 to 1971 the Gaza Strip was the main base for Arab terrorists, who attacked nearby Israeli settlements, and who also killed Arabs in the Strip who had cooperated or worked with the Israelis. By mid-1972 the terrorist networks had been broken, and terrorism was limited to spasmodic incidents



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MAP 18

TERRORIST ACTIVITY AGAINST ISRAEL JUNE 1967 - DECEMBER 1968



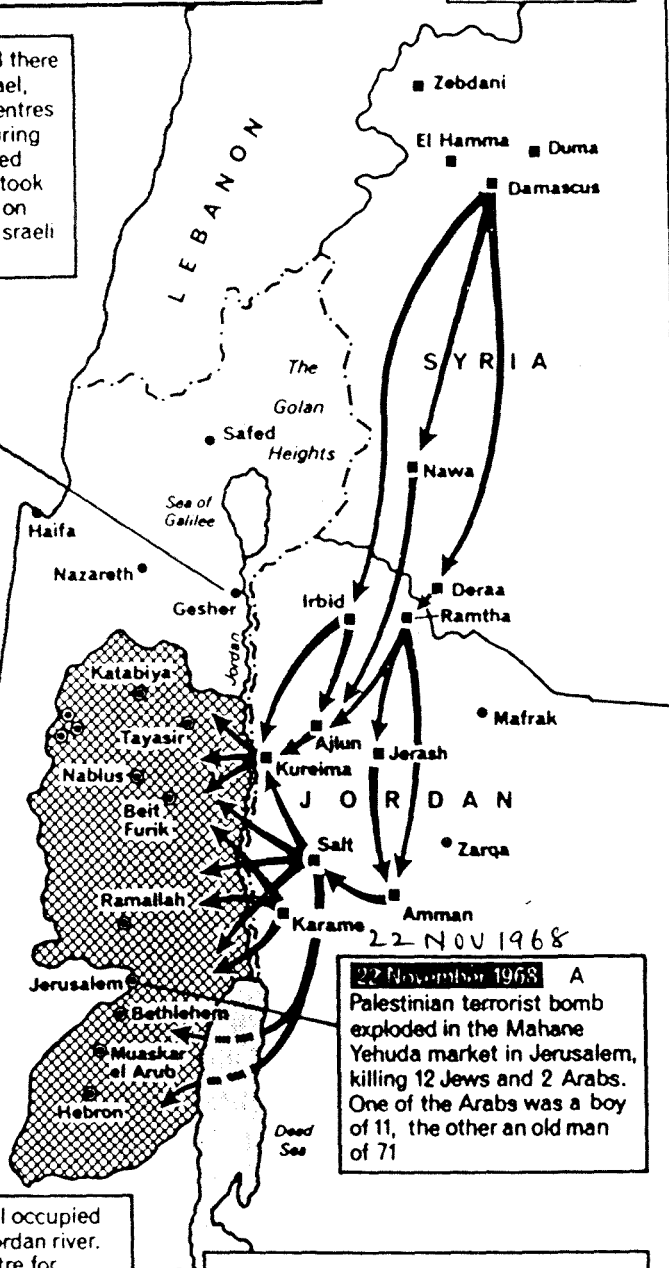
Between June 1967 and December 1968 there were 159 terrorist raids deep inside Israel, mostly directed against busy civilian centres such as bus stations and markets. During this period 47 Israeli civilians were killed and 330 injured. A further 1029 raids took place in border areas. In these, and on the counter-terrorist operations, 234 Israeli soldiers were killed and 785 injured

AN ISRAELI CIVILIAN SETTLEMENT 1968: A TYPICAL BORDER STORY
 22 Jan: Bazooka shelling, 2 wounded
 11 Feb: Shelling
 12 Feb: 2 soldiers wounded clearing mines
 15 Feb: Shelling. Dining hall, milking shed and childrens' home damaged
 13 June: Shelling. 6 farmers wounded. Crops, fields set on fire

As a result of the Six Day War, Israel occupied the Jordanian territory west of the Jordan river. Before 1967 this area had been a centre for Palestinian terrorist raids into Israel. From June 1967 to December 1968 the terrorists sought to establish permanent bases inside the Israeli occupied West Bank, hoping to advance from sporadic terrorism to mass guerilla activity. Syria assisted their training. Iraq and Jordan facilitated their transport. Egypt and Algeria encouraged recruitment. By December 1968 the Israelis had defeated all but a small handful of these West Bank terrorists, the majority of whom were captured and imprisoned

22 November 1968 A Palestinian terrorist bomb exploded in the Mahane Yehuda market in Jerusalem, killing 12 Jews and 2 Arabs. One of the Arabs was a boy of 11, the other an old man of 71

- Israel's borders, 1967 - 1973
- ▨ The West Bank, administered by Israel, June 1967 -
- Terrorist training and transit camps outside Israel
- ↙ Main terrorist routes
- ⊙ Centres used by terrorists inside the West Bank



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MAP 19

**TERRORISM INSIDE ISRAEL:
SOME EXAMPLES, 1969 - 1972**

Between June 1967 and March 1971, 120 Israeli civilians and 183 soldiers were killed by terrorists inside Israel. A further 1,574 were wounded. (The terrorists claimed 8,575 Israeli dead). During the same period, Israeli troops killed 1,873 terrorists inside Israel, and captured over 3,000, all of whom were imprisoned (there is no death penalty in Israel)

Our basic aim is to liberate the land from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River. We are not concerned with what took place in June 1967, or in eliminating the consequences of the June war. The Palestine revolution's basic concern is the uprooting of the Zionist entity from our land and liberating it.... supported by the iron fist of the Arab masses
YASSIR ARAFAT, IN AMMAN, REPORTED IN 'FATEH' 3 AUGUST 1970

22 OCT 69
22 October 1969 2 Jews killed when a terrorist bomb blew up a house

22 May 70
22 May 1970 Eight children (aged 6 to 9 years) killed when a terrorist shell struck their bus

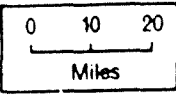
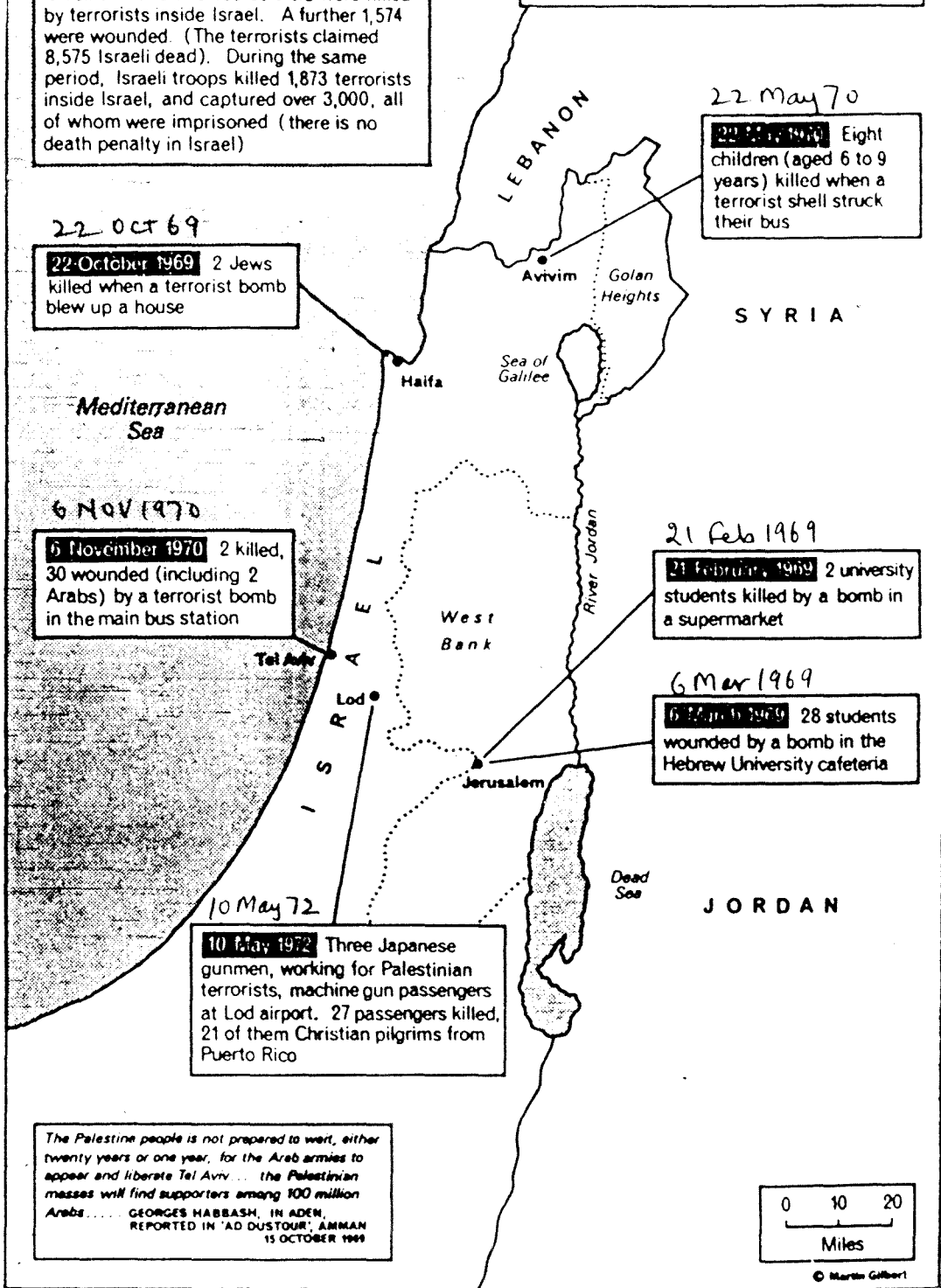
6 NOV 1970
6 November 1970 2 killed, 30 wounded (including 2 Arabs) by a terrorist bomb in the main bus station

21 Feb 1969
21 February 1969 2 university students killed by a bomb in a supermarket

6 Mar 1969
6 March 1969 28 students wounded by a bomb in the Hebrew University cafeteria

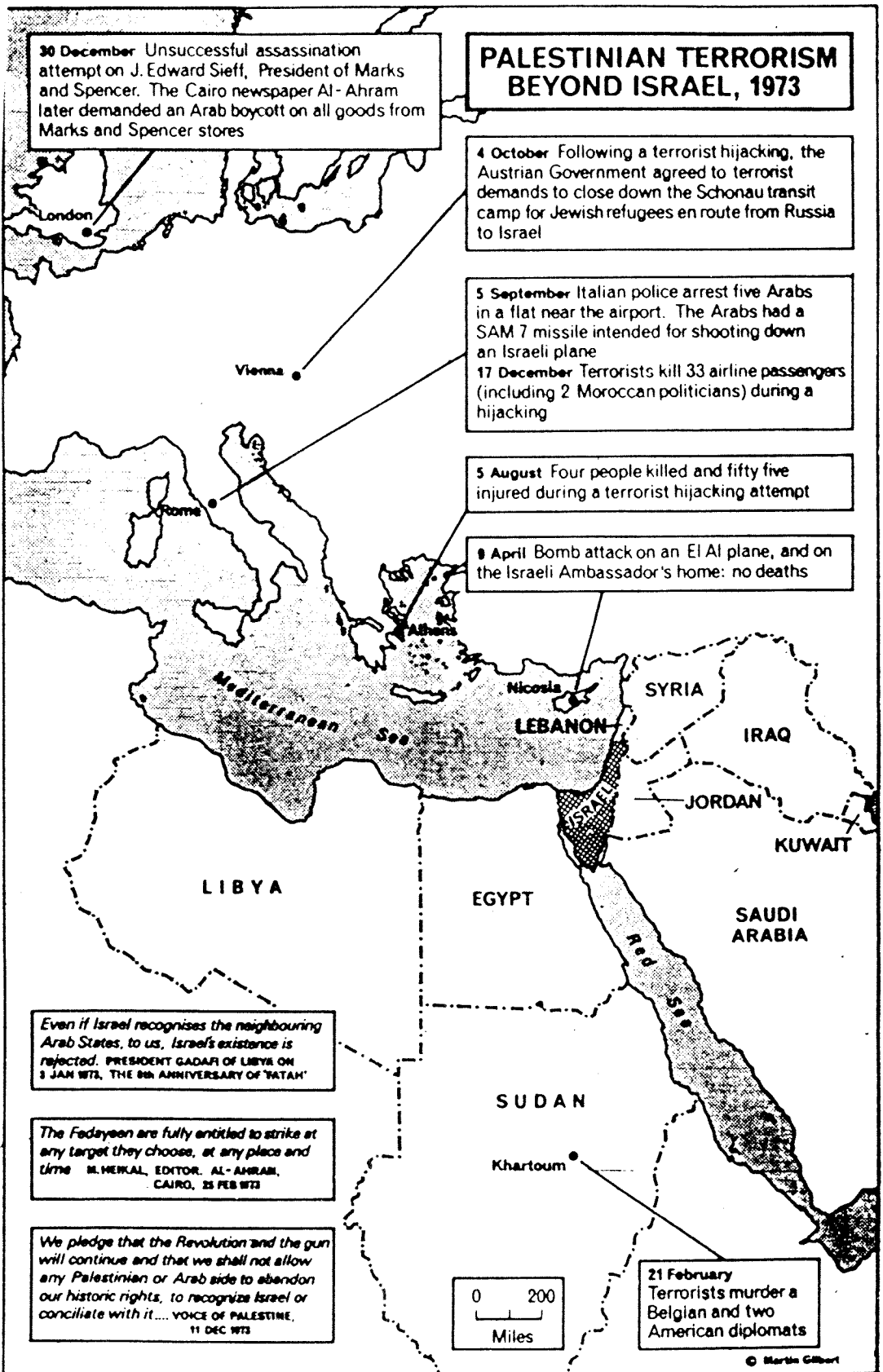
10 May 72
10 May 1972 Three Japanese gunmen, working for Palestinian terrorists, machine gun passengers at Lod airport. 27 passengers killed, 21 of them Christian pilgrims from Puerto Rico

The Palestine people is not prepared to wait, either twenty years or one year, for the Arab armies to appear and liberate Tel Aviv... the Palestinian masses will find supporters among 100 million Arabs....
GEORGES HABBASH, IN ADEN, REPORTED IN 'AD DUSTOUR', AMMAN 15 OCTOBER 1969



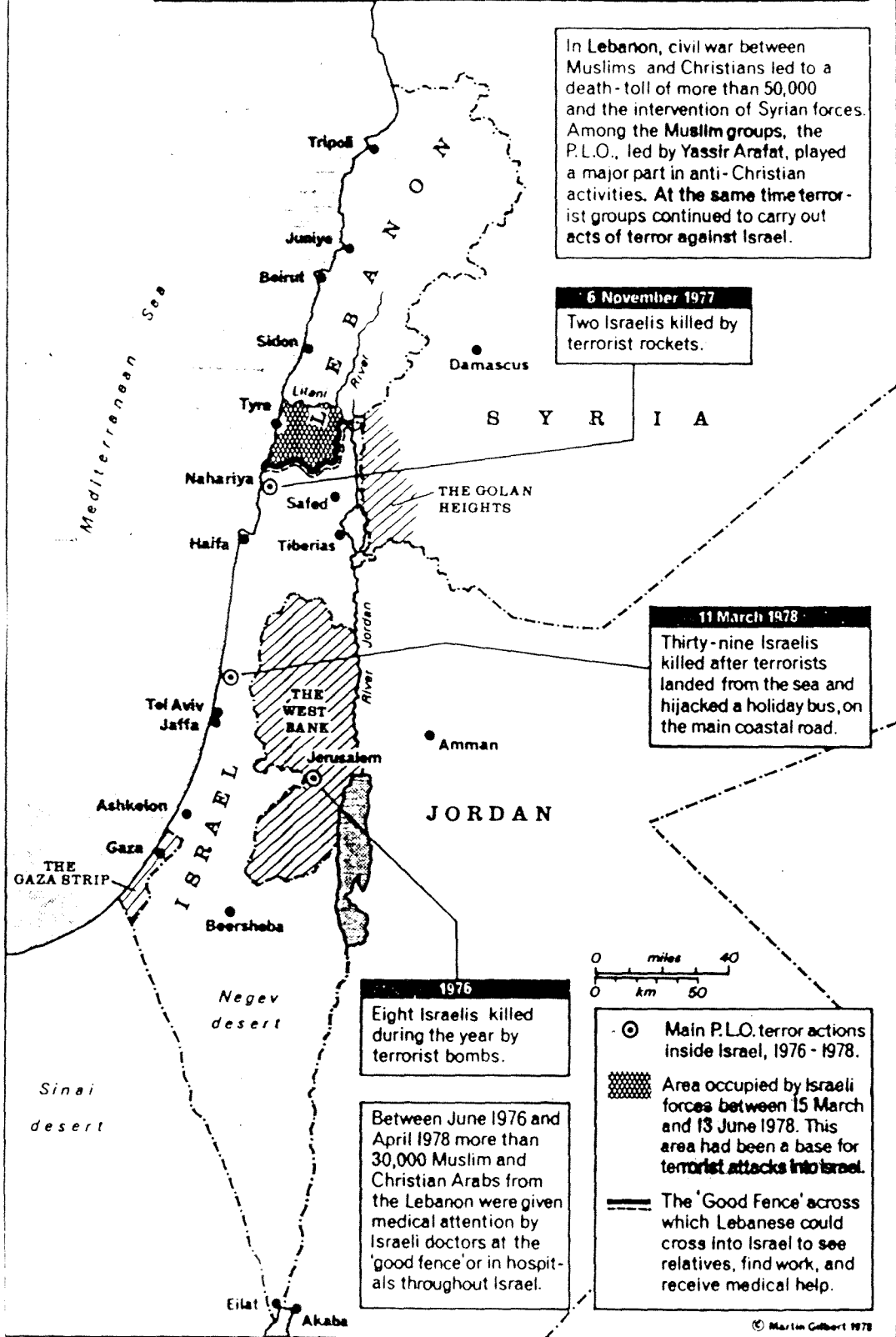
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MAP 20



MAP 21

ISRAEL, THE P.L.O., AND THE LEBANON, 1976 - 1978



MAP 22

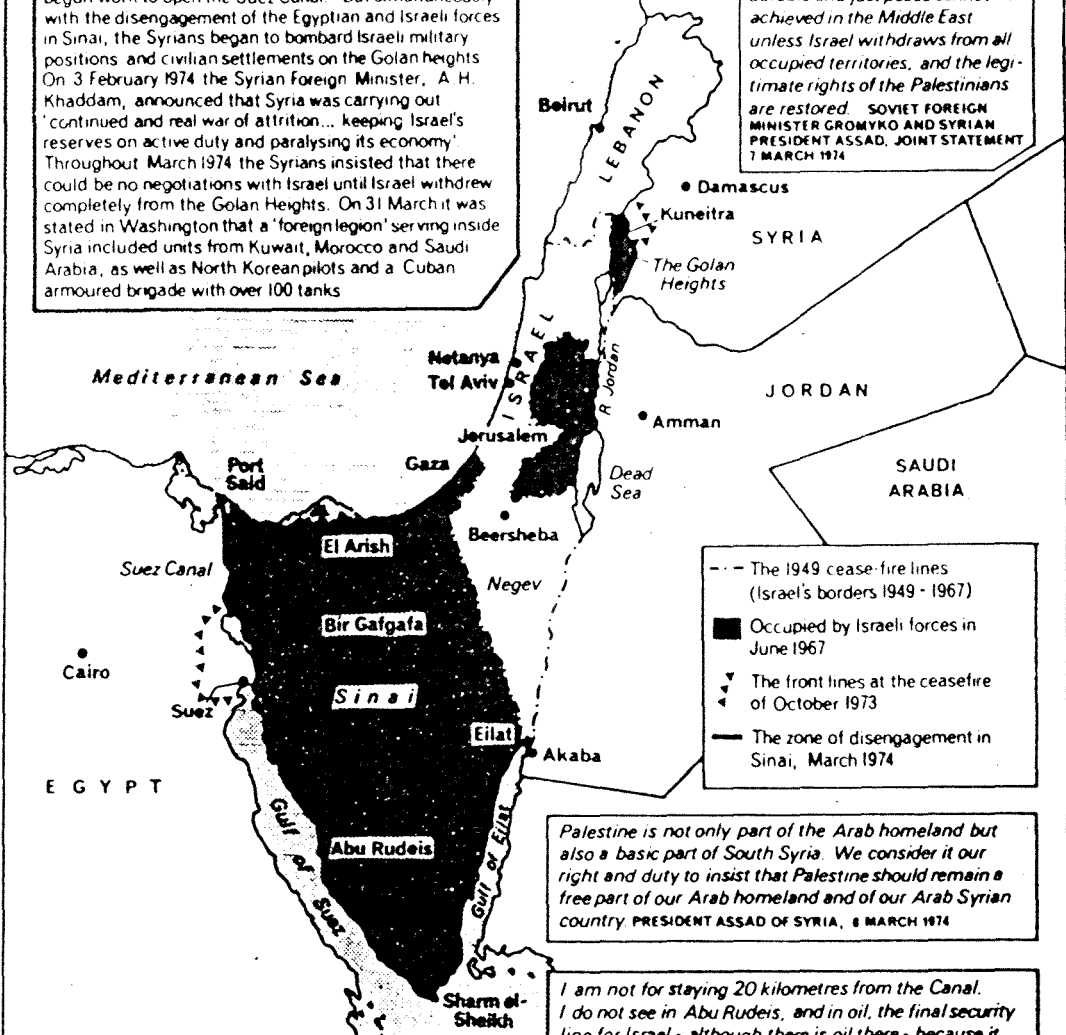
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THE ARAB - ISRAELI CONFLICT: AIMS AND OPINIONS NOVEMBER 1973 - MARCH 1974

On 2 February 1974 the Egyptians announced that they had begun work to open the Suez Canal. But simultaneously with the disengagement of the Egyptian and Israeli forces in Sinai, the Syrians began to bombard Israeli military positions and civilian settlements on the Golan heights. On 3 February 1974 the Syrian Foreign Minister, A. H. Khaddam, announced that Syria was carrying out 'continued and real war of attrition... keeping Israel's reserves on active duty and paralysing its economy'. Throughout March 1974 the Syrians insisted that there could be no negotiations with Israel until Israel withdrew completely from the Golan Heights. On 31 March it was stated in Washington that a 'foreign legion' serving inside Syria included units from Kuwait, Morocco and Saudi Arabia, as well as North Korean pilots and a Cuban armoured brigade with over 100 tanks.

The war is not over yet. We must admit that our territory has not yet been liberated and we have another fight before us for which we must prepare. GENERAL GAMASSY, EGYPTIAN CHIEF OF STAFF, 4 MARCH 1974

The Soviet Union and Syria reaffirm that the establishment of a durable and just peace cannot be achieved in the Middle East unless Israel withdraws from all occupied territories, and the legitimate rights of the Palestinians are restored. SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO AND SYRIAN PRESIDENT ASSAD, JOINT STATEMENT 7 MARCH 1974



--- The 1949 cease-fire lines (Israel's borders 1949 - 1967)
 ■ Occupied by Israeli forces in June 1967
 ▲ The front lines at the ceasefire of October 1973
 — The zone of disengagement in Sinai, March 1974

Palestine is not only part of the Arab homeland but also a basic part of South Syria. We consider it our right and duty to insist that Palestine should remain a free part of our Arab homeland and of our Arab Syrian country. PRESIDENT ASSAD OF SYRIA, 8 MARCH 1974

I am not for staying 20 kilometres from the Canal. I do not see in Abu Rudeis, and in oil, the final security line for Israel - although there is oil there - because it means also control of the Suez Canal. I can see all the reasons for wanting control on the Gulf of Eilat, but I cannot think we will have peace with Egypt while we control not only the entrance to Eilat but also the entrance to Suez. M. DAYAN, ISRAELI DEFENCE MINISTER, 10 MARCH 1974

We stick to our stand that Israel should withdraw from all Arab territories she occupied since June 1967, and say that there can be no peace in this area without complete withdrawal. We also need not say that Arab Jerusalem, that precious jewel on the forehead of this homeland, will never and under no circumstances come under any sovereignty other than absolute Arab sovereignty. KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN, 2 DEC 1973

For the Syrians, the occupied territories means not only the Golan Heights, but Jerusalem, and even Tel Aviv. U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE, HENRY KISSINGER, 11 MARCH 1974

...we will not descend from the Golan, we will not partition Jerusalem, we will not return Sharm el-Sheikh, and we will not agree that the distance between Netanya and the border shall be 18 kilometres.... But if we want a Jewish State we have to be prepared to compromise on territory. GOLDA MEIR, ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER, 20 DEC 1973

...the talk in Israel about a demilitarized Sinai should stop. If they want a demilitarized Sinai, I shall be asking for a demilitarized Israel! PRESIDENT SADAT OF EGYPT, 'TIME' MAGAZINE, 25 MARCH 1974

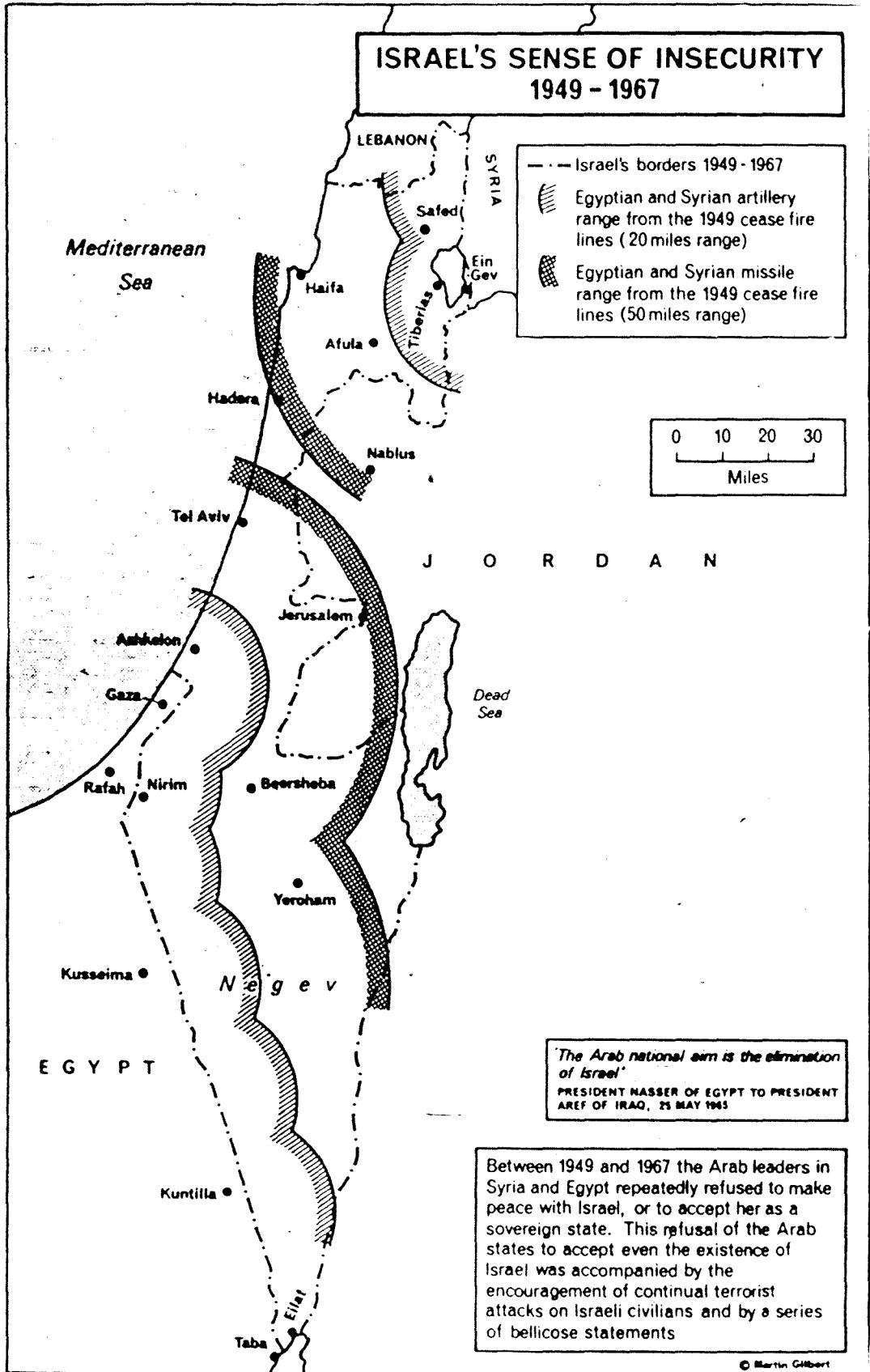
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MAP 23



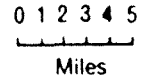
MAP 24

ISRAEL'S SENSE OF INSECURITY 1949 - 1967



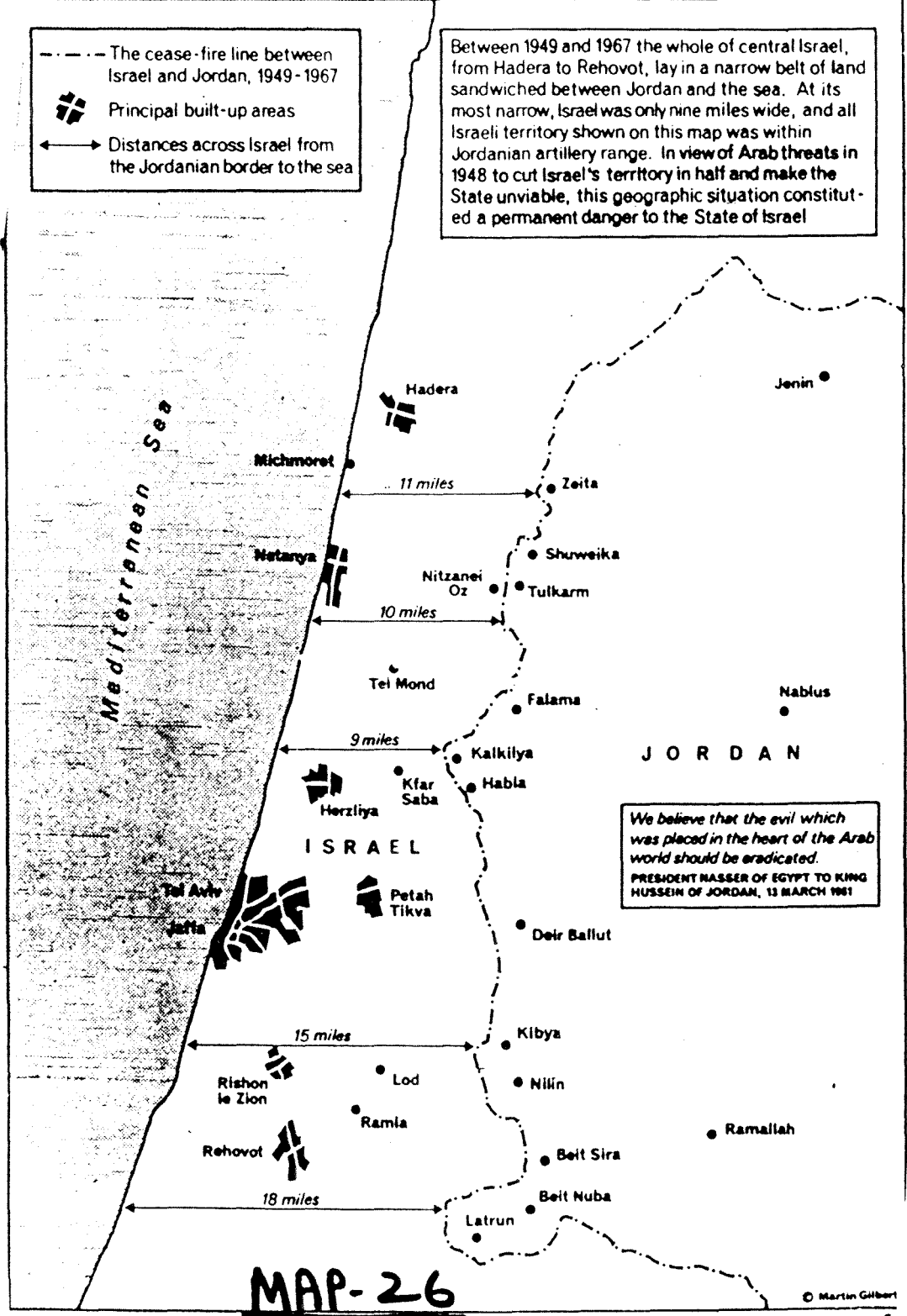
MAP 25

CENTRAL ISRAEL AND THE JORDAN BORDER 1949-1967



- The cease-fire line between Israel and Jordan, 1949-1967
- Principal built-up areas
- ←→ Distances across Israel from the Jordanian border to the sea

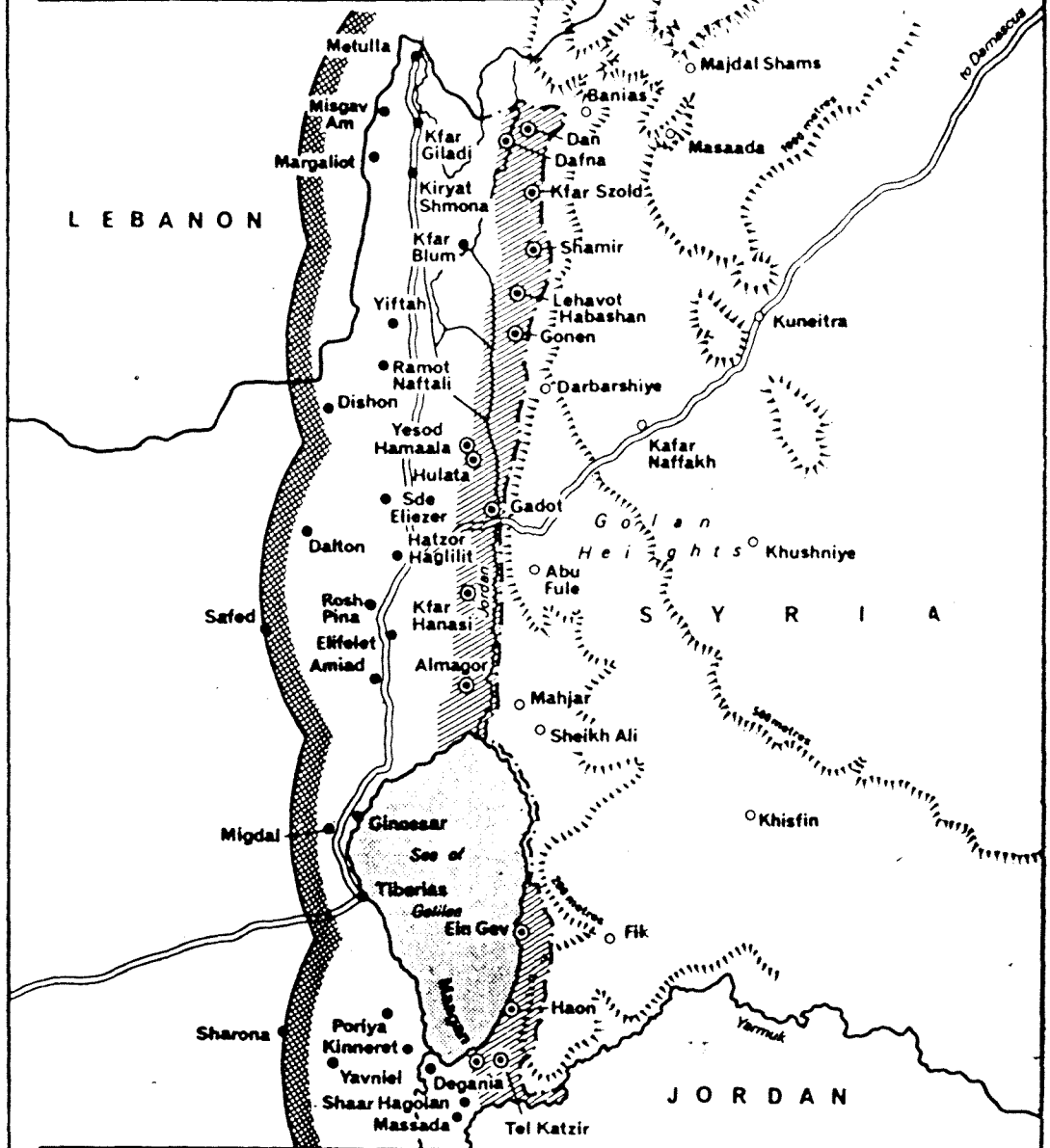
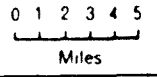
Between 1949 and 1967 the whole of central Israel, from Hadera to Rehovot, lay in a narrow belt of land sandwiched between Jordan and the sea. At its most narrow, Israel was only nine miles wide, and all Israeli territory shown on this map was within Jordanian artillery range. In view of Arab threats in 1948 to cut Israel's territory in half and make the State unviable, this geographic situation constituted a permanent danger to the State of Israel



We believe that the evil which was placed in the heart of the Arab world should be eradicated.
PRESIDENT NASSER OF EGYPT TO KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN, 13 MARCH 1961

MAP-26

NORTHERN ISRAEL AND THE GOLAN HEIGHTS 1949 - 1967



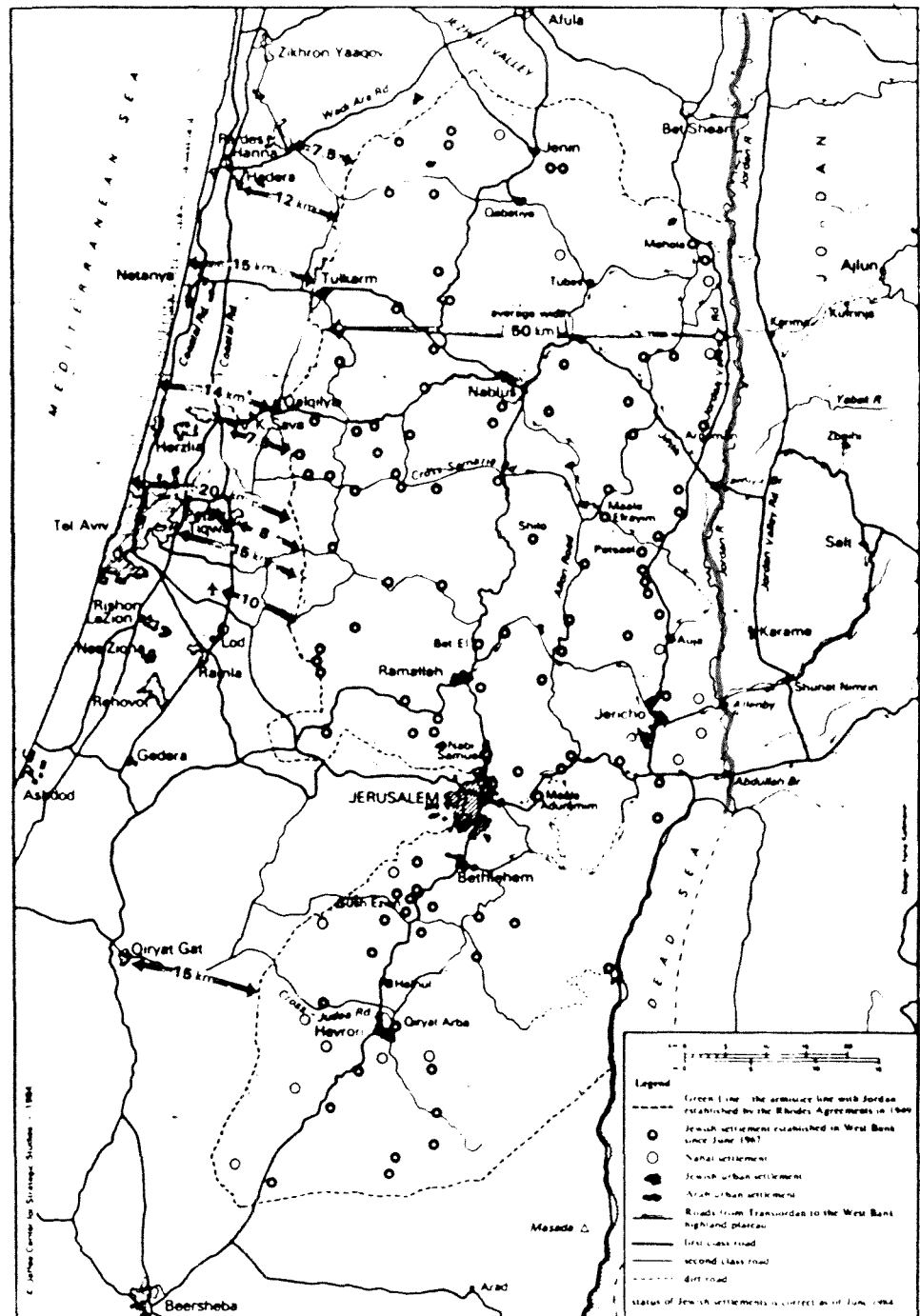
At the cease fire of 1949, Syria retained control of the Golan heights, which had been part of Syria since 1923. But instead of transforming this bleak region by cultivation, the Syrian Government fortified it, and used it as a base for repeated bombardments of Israeli settlements. Sixteen of these settlements were within two miles of the border. Despite the constant danger from bullets, mines and shells, the farmers continued to work their fields, while women and children accepted the dangers as a part of daily life

- The borders of Israel from 1949 to 1967
- ⋄ The Golan Heights: contour lines
- ▨ Area within two miles of the Syrian border
- ⊙ Israeli settlements within two miles of the Syrian border
- ⊘ Syrian artillery range (ten miles)
- Israeli towns and settlements within Syrian artillery range of only 10 miles (Not all settlements are shown)

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MAP 27

Jewish Settlements on the West Bank: Main Axes and Distances



The Jordan Valley settlements can be integrated together with regular forces into a defensive deployment. The highland plateau settlements, by virtue of their location in key areas that control the points where axes of advance from the east enter the eastern slopes of the highland plateau, hinder any enemy attempt to seize these axes and offer convenient bases for IDF movement in wartime.

Principal roads in the West Bank: the map indicates the five main longitudinal axes linking the Jordan Valley to the highland plateau. The distance between axes is 10-20 km. The map also shows the main routes that lead westward from Jordanian territory. Direct distances are also shown from the Green Line to vital objectives in central Israel.

MAP 28

The Charter of the Hamas

THE CHARTER OF ALLAH: THE PLATFORM OF THE ISLAMIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (HAMAS)

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate

You are the best community that has been raised up for mankind. Ye enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency; and ye believe in Allah. And if the People of the Scripture had believed, it had been better for them. Some of them are believers; but most of them are evil-doers.

They will not harm you save a trifling hurt, and if they fight against you they will turn and flee. And afterward they will not be helped.

Ignominy shall be their portion wheresoever they are found save [where they grasp] a rope from Allah and a rope from man. They have incurred anger from their Lord, and wretchedness is laid upon them. That is because they used to disbelieve the revelations of Allah, and slew the Prophets wrongfully. That is because they were rebellious and used to transgress." Surat Al-Imran (III), verses 109-111

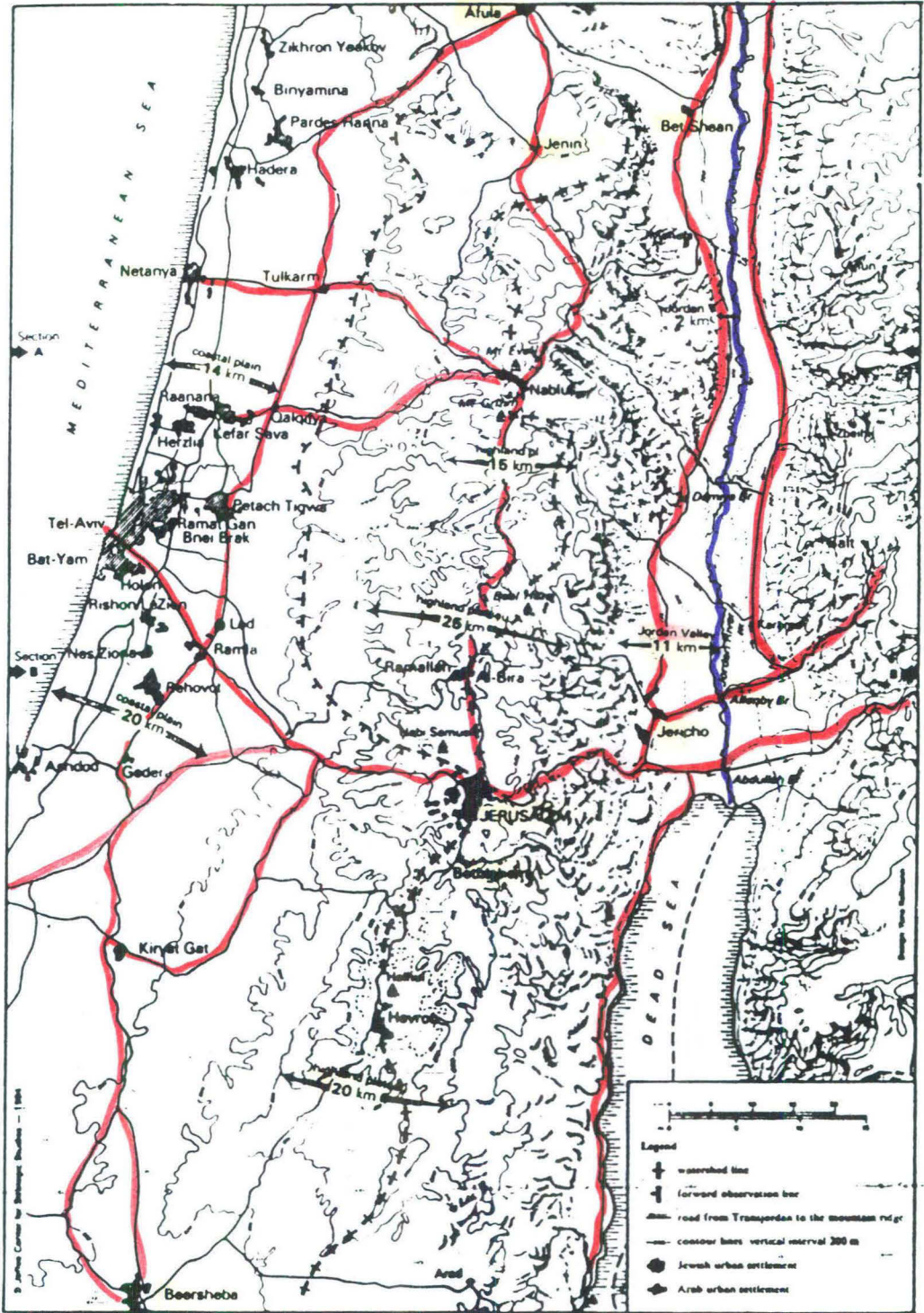
Israel will rise and will remain erect until Islam eliminates it as it had eliminated its predecessors.

The Islamic World is burning. It is incumbent upon each one of us to pour some water, little as it may be, with a view of extinguishing as much of the fire as he can, without awaiting action by the others.

INTRODUCTION

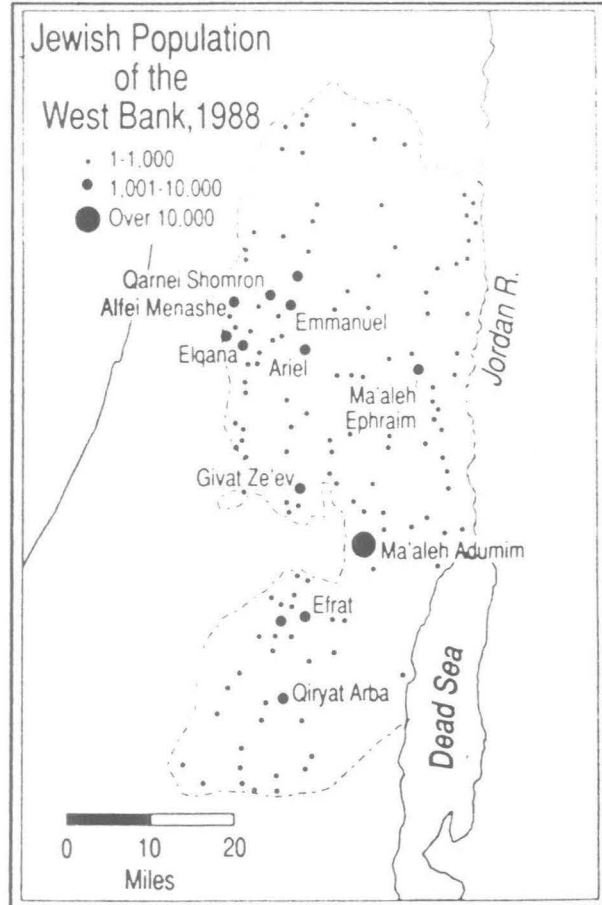
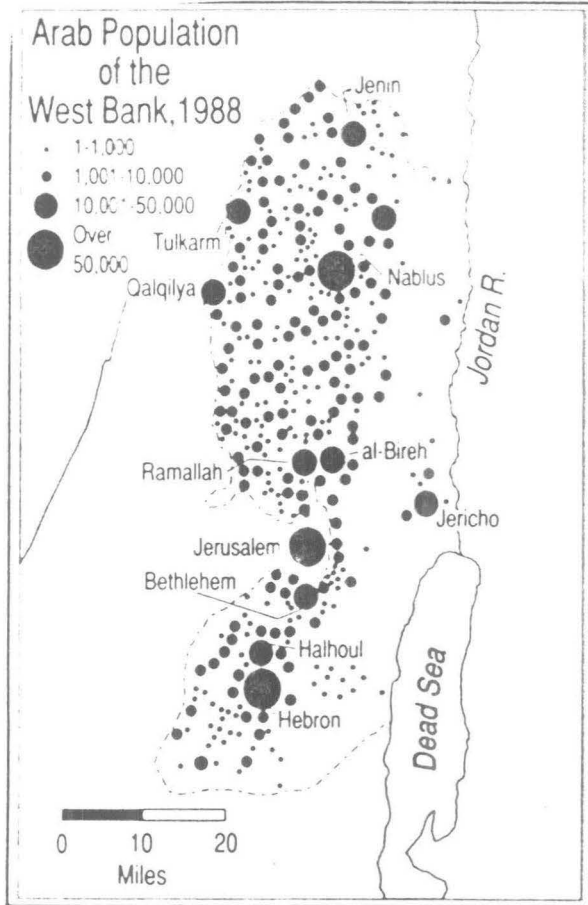
Grace to Allah, whose help we seek, whose forgiveness we beseech, whose guidance we implore and on whom we rely. We pray and bid peace upon the Messenger of

Topographic Map of West Bank and Israel

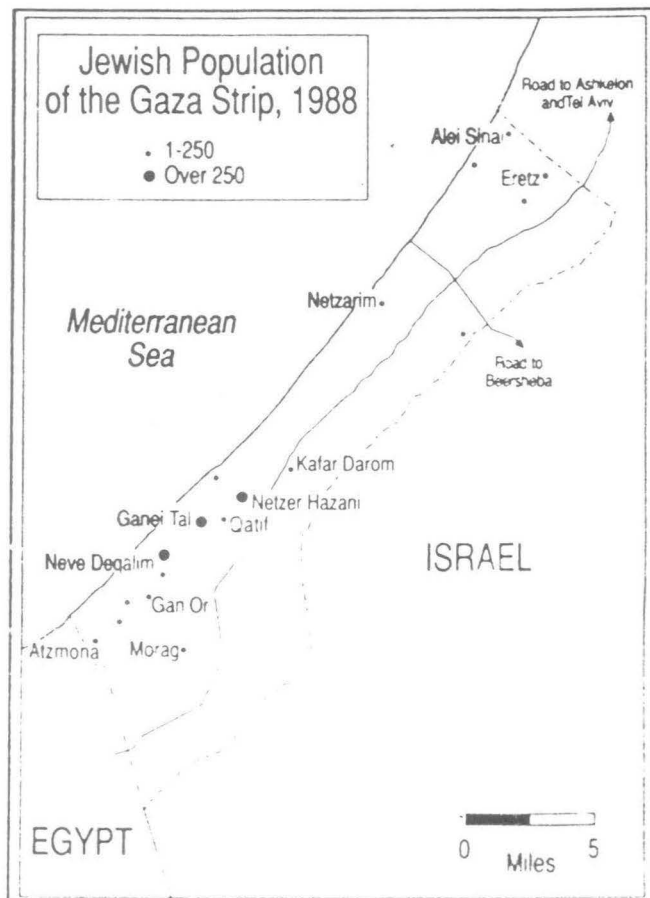
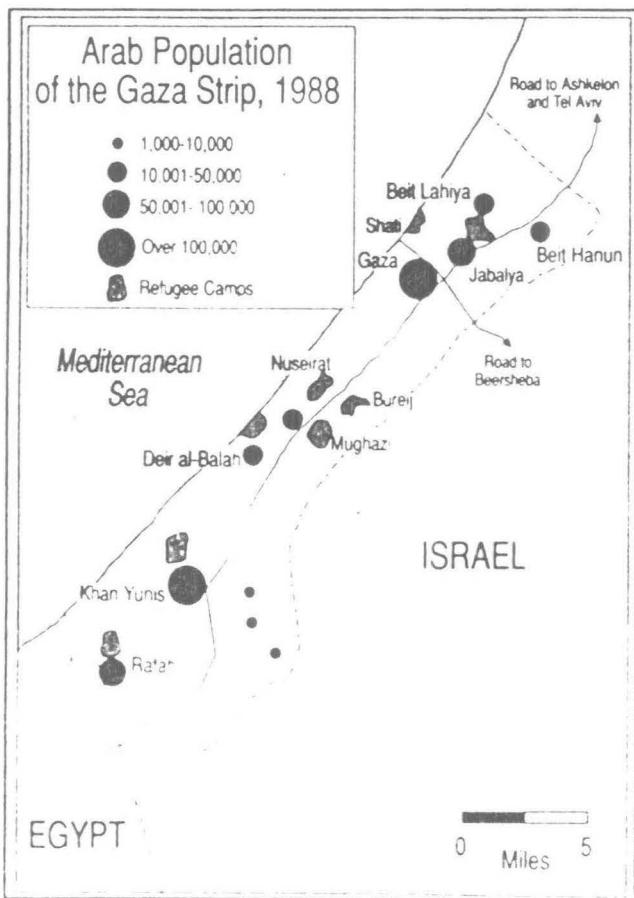


The areas most readily defensible against an aggressor approaching from the east are the eastern slopes of the highland plateau. These slopes provide control, through observation and firepower, over the western slopes of the East Bank and the Jordan Valley. The West Bank also affords observation and firepower control over the Coastal Plain. The westernmost line of hills which provides control of this nature is marked on the map as the forward observation line.

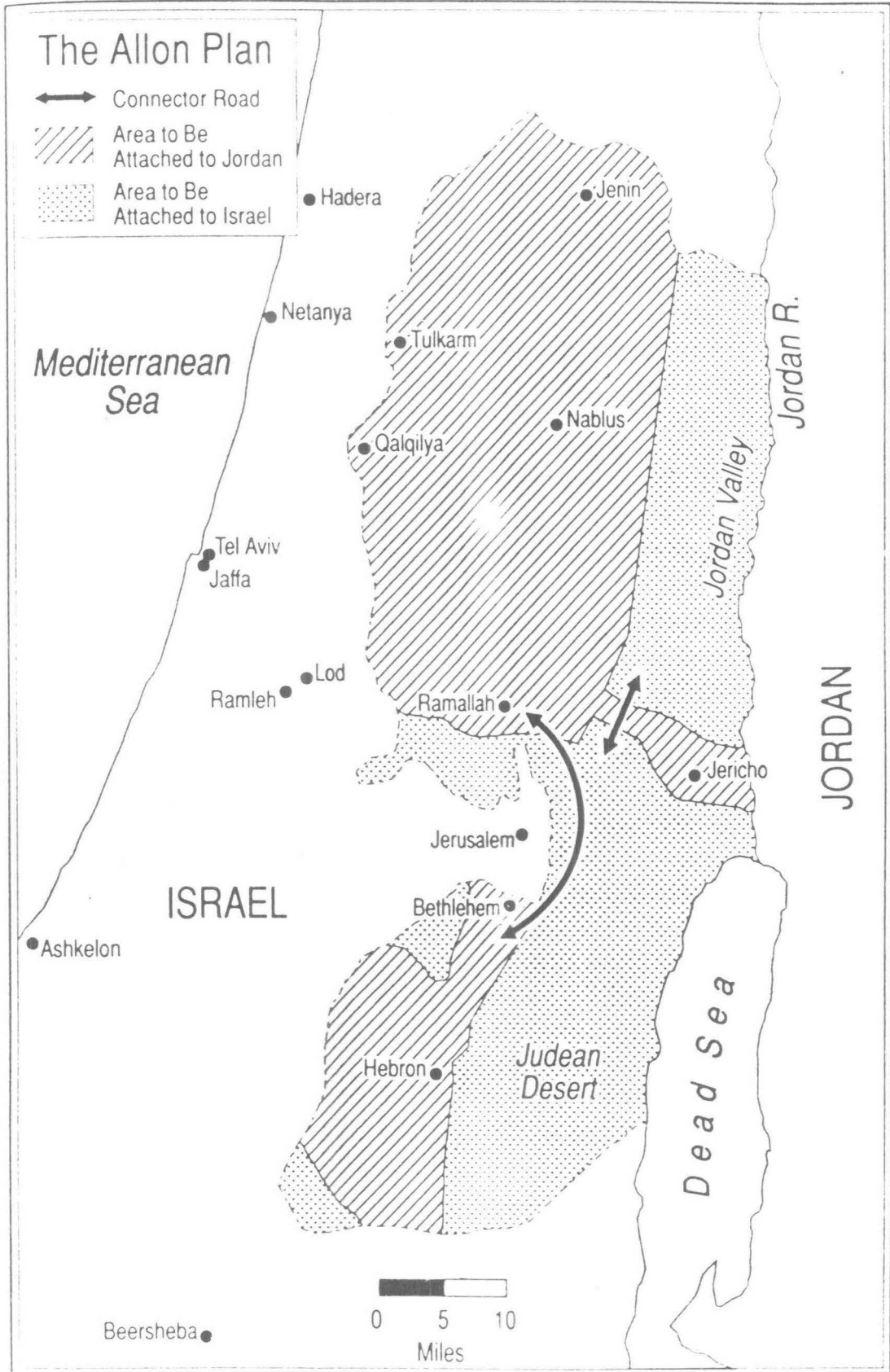
MAP-29



MAP-31

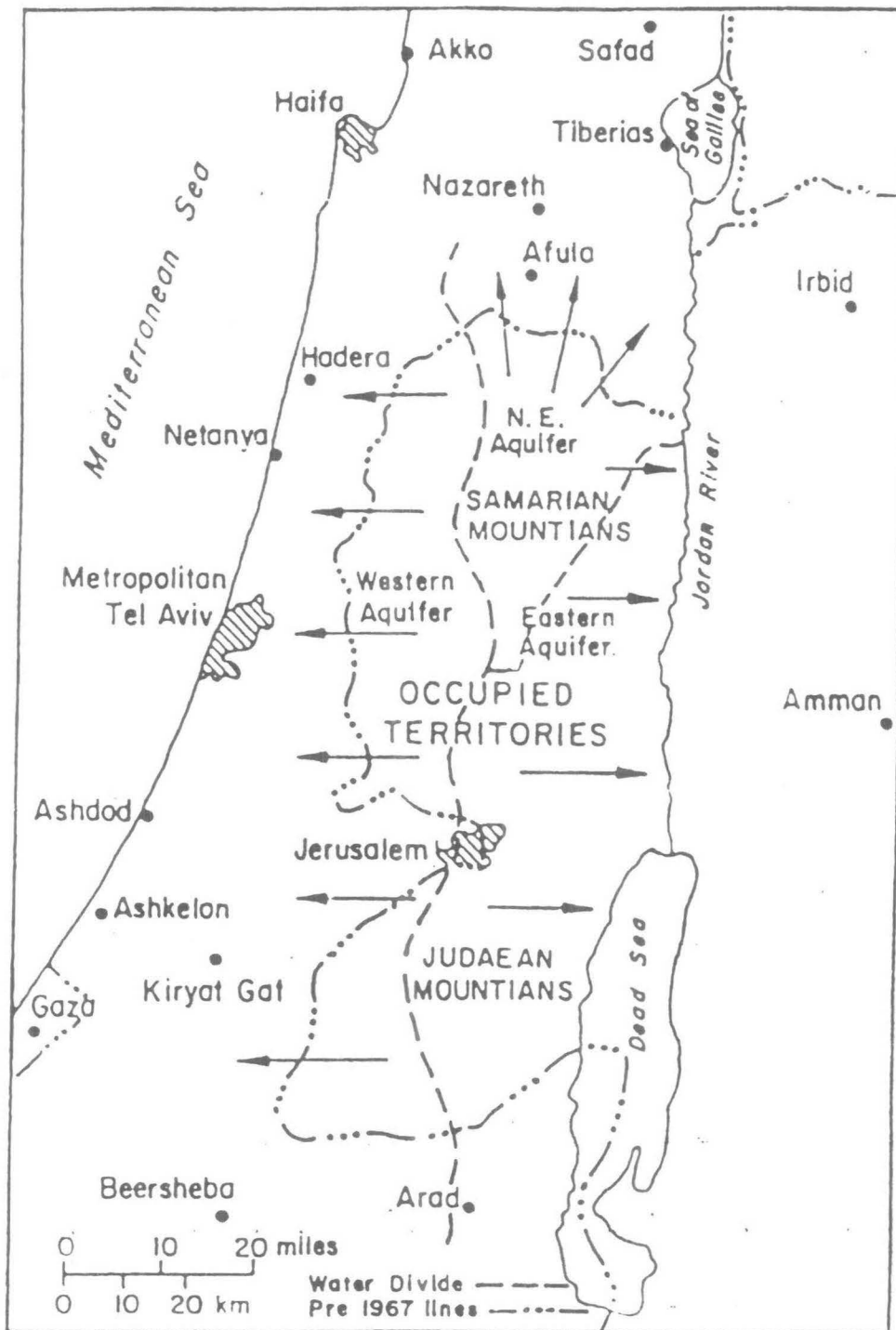


MAP 31



MAP 32

FIGURE 1
THE MOUNTAIN AQUIFER: A SCHEMATIC PRESENTATION



MAP-33

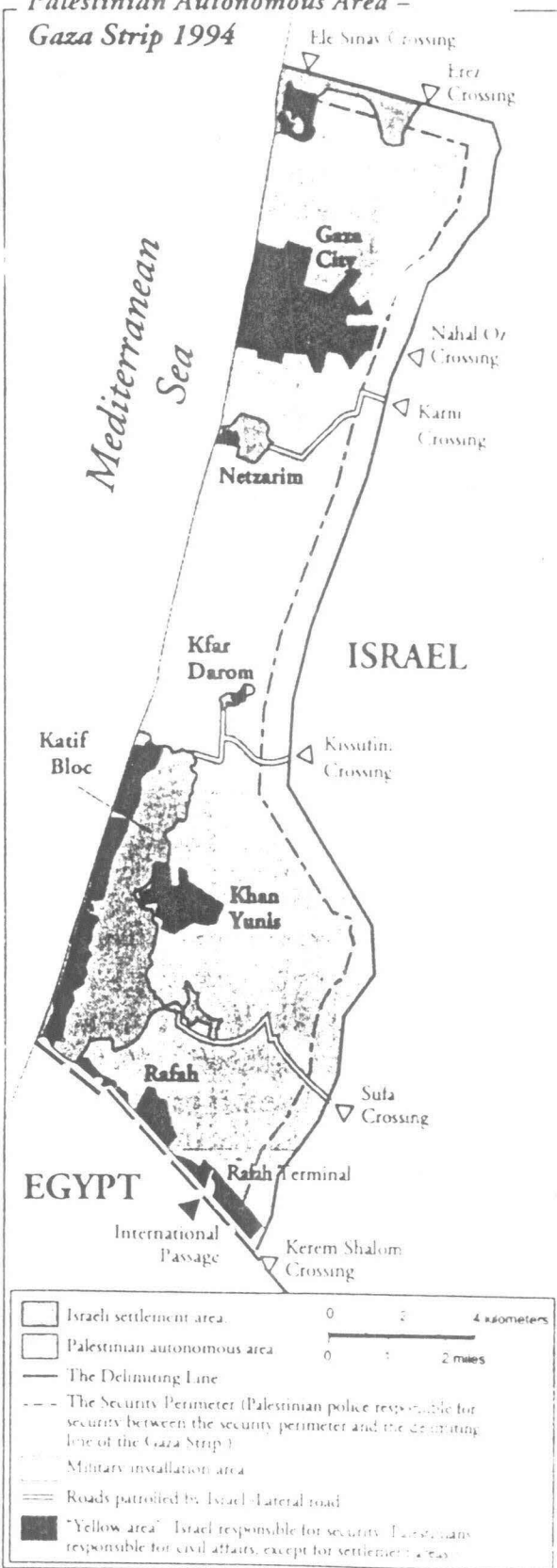
The West Bank, 1994

*Oslo II Map
Outlining Areas A, B, and C*



MAP 34

*Palestinian Autonomous Area -
Gaza Strip 1994*



MAP 35

The Golan Heights after 1967



MAP 36

Allah, his family, his companions, his followers and those who spread his message and followed his tradition; they will last as long as there exist Heaven and Earth.

O, people! In the midst of misadventure, from the depth of suffering, from the believing hearts and purified arms; aware of our duty and in response to the decree of Allah, we direct our call, we rally together and join each other. We educate in the path of Allah and we make our firm determination prevail so as to take its proper role in life, to overcome all difficulties and to cross all hurdles. Hence our permanent state of preparedness and our readiness to sacrifice our souls and dearest [possessions] in the path of Allah.

Thus, our nucleus has formed which chartered its way in the tempestuous ocean of creeds and hopes, desires and wishes, dangers and difficulties, setbacks and challenges, both internal and external.

When the thought matured, the seed grew and the plant took root in the land of reality, detached from temporary emotion and unwelcome haste, the Islamic Resistance Movement erupted in order to play its role in the path of its Lord. In so doing, it joined its hands with those of all Jihad fighters for the purpose of liberating Palestine. The souls of its Jihad fighters will encounter those of all Jihad fighters who have sacrificed their lives in the land of Palestine since it was conquered by the Companion of the Prophet, be Allah's prayer and peace upon him, and until this very day. This is the Charter of the Islamic Resistance (Hamas) which will reveal its face, unveil its identity, state its position, clarify its purpose, discuss its hopes, call for support to its cause and reinforcement, and for joining its ranks. For our struggle against the Jews is extremely wide-ranging and grave, so much so that it will need all the loyal efforts we can wield, to be followed by further steps and reinforced by successive battalions from the multifarious Arab and Islamic world, until the enemies are defeated and Allah's victory prevails. Thus we shall perceive them approaching in the horizon, and this will be known before long: "Allah has decreed: Lo! I very shall conquer, I and my messenger, lo! Allah is strong, almighty.:"

PART I - KNOWING THE MOVEMENT

The Ideological Aspects

Article One

The Islamic Resistance Movement draws its guidelines from Islam; derives from it its thinking, interpretations and views about existence, life and humanity; refers back to it for its conduct; and is inspired by it in whatever step it takes.

The Link between Hamas and the Association of Muslim Brothers

Article Two

The Islamic Resistance Movement is one of the wings of the Muslim Brothers in Palestine. The Muslim Brotherhood Movement is a world organization, the largest Islamic Movement in the modern era. It is characterized by a profound understanding, by precise notions and by a complete comprehensiveness of all concepts of Islam in all domains of life: views and beliefs, politics and economics, education and society, jurisprudence and rule, indoctrination and teaching, the arts and publications, the hidden and the evident, and all the other domains of life.

Structure and Essence

Article Three

The basic structure of the Islamic Resistance Movement consists of Muslims who are devoted to Allah and worship Him verily [as it is written]: "I have created Man and Devil for the purpose of their worship" [of Allah]. Those Muslims are cognizant of their duty towards themselves, their families and country and they have been relying on Allah for all that. They have raised the banner of Jihad in the face of the oppressors in order to extricate the country and the people from the [oppressors'] desecration, filth and evil.

Article Four

The Movement welcomes all Muslims who share its beliefs and thinking, commit themselves to its course of action, keep its secrets and aspire to join its ranks in order to carry out their duty. Allah will reward them.

Dimensions of Time and Space of the Hamas

Article Five

As the Movement adopts Islam as its way of life, its time dimension extends back as far as the birth of the Islamic Message and of the Righteous Ancestor. Its ultimate goal is Islam, the Prophet its model, the Qur'an its Constitution. Its special dimension extends wherever on earth there are Muslims, who adopt Islam as their way of life; thus, it penetrates to the deepest reaches of the land and to the highest spheres of Heavens.

Peculiarity and Independence

Article Six

The Islamic Resistance Movement is a distinct Palestinian Movement which owes its loyalty to Allah, derives from Islam its way of life and strives to raise the banner of Allah over every inch of Palestine. Only under the shadow of Islam could the members of all regions coexist in safety and security for their lives, properties and rights. In the absence of Islam, conflict arises, oppression reigns, corruption is rampant and struggles and wars prevail. Allah had inspired the Muslim poet, Muhammad Iqbal, when he said:

When the Faith wanes, there is no security
There is no this-worldliness for those who have no faith
Those who wish to live their life without religion
Have made annihilation the equivalent of life.

The Universality of Hamas

Article Seven

By virtue of the distribution of Muslims, who pursue the cause of the Hamas, all over the globe, and strive for its victory, for the reinforcement of its positions and for the encouragement of its Jihad, the Movement is a universal

one. It is apt to be that due to the clarity of its thinking, the nobility of its purpose and the loftiness of its objectives.

It is in this light that the Movement has to be regarded, evaluated and acknowledged. Whoever denigrates its worth, or avoids supporting it, or is so blind as to dismiss its role, is challenging Fate itself. Whoever closes his eyes from seeing the facts, whether intentionally or not, will wake up to find himself overtaken by events, and will find no excuses to justify his position. Priority is reserved to the early comers.

Oppressing those who are closest to you, is more of an agony to the soul than the impact of an Indian sword.

"And unto thee have we revealed the Scripture with the truth, confirming whatever scripture was before it, and a watcher over it. So judge between them by that which Allah hath revealed, and follow not their desires away from the truth which has come unto thee. For each we have appointed a divine law and a traced-out way. Had Allah willed, He could have made you one community. But that He may try you by that which he has given you [He has made you as you are]. So vie with one another in good works. Unto Allah, you will all return. He will then inform you of that wherein you differ."

Hamas is one of the links in the Chain of Jihad in the confrontation with the Zionist invasion. It links up with the setting out of the Martyr Izz a-din al-Qassam and his brothers in the Muslim Brotherhood who fought the Holy War in 1936; it further relates to another link of the Palestinian Jihad and the Jihad and efforts of the Muslim Brothers during the 1948 War, and to the Jihad operations of the Muslim Brothers in 1968 and thereafter.

But even if the links have become distant from each other, and even if the obstacles erected by those who revolve in the Zionist orbit, aiming at obstructing the road before the Jihad fighters, have rendered the pursuance of Jihad impossible; nevertheless, the Hamas has been looking forward to implement Allah's promise whatever time it might take. The prophet, prayer and peace be upon him, said:

The time will not come until Muslims will fight the Jews (and kill them); until the Jews hide behind rocks and trees, which will cry: O Muslim! there is a Jew hiding behind me, come on and kill him! This will not apply to the Gharqad, which is a Jewish tree (cited by Bukhari and Muslim). The Slogan of the Hamas

Article Eight

Allah is its goal, the Prophet its model, the Qur'an its Constitution, Jihad its path and death for the cause of Allah its most sublime belief.

PART II - OBJECTIVES

Motives and Objectives

Article Nine

Hamas finds itself at a period of time when Islam has waned away from the reality of life. For this reason, the checks and balances have been upset, concepts have become confused, and values have been transformed; evil has prevailed, oppression and obscurity have reigned; cowards have turned tigers, homelands have been usurped, people have been uprooted and are wandering all over the globe. The state of truth has disappeared and was replaced by the state of evil. Nothing has remained in its right place, for when Islam is removed from the scene, everything changes. These are the motives.

As to the objectives: discarding the evil, crushing it and defeating it, so that truth may prevail, homelands revert [to their owners], calls for prayer be heard from their mosques, announcing the reinstatement of the Muslim state. Thus, people and things will revert to their true place.

Article Ten

The Islamic Resistance Movement, while breaking its own path, will do its utmost to constitute at the same time a support to the weak, a defense to all the oppressed. It will spare no effort to implement the truth and abolish evil, in speech and in fact, both here and in any other location where it can reach out and exert influence.

PART III - STRATEGIES AND METHODS

The Strategy of Hamas: Palestine is an Islamic Waqf

Article Eleven

The Islamic Resistance Movement believes that the land of Palestine has been an Islamic Waqf throughout the generations and until the Day of Resurrection, no one can renounce it or part of it, or abandon it or part of it. No Arab country nor the aggregate of all Arab countries, and no Arab King or President nor all of them in the aggregate, have that right, nor has that right any organization or the aggregate of all organizations, be they Palestinian or Arab, because Palestine is an Islamic Waqf throughout all generations and to the Day of Resurrection. Who can presume to speak for all Islamic Generations to the Day of Resurrection? This is the status [of the land] in Islamic Shari'a, and it is similar to all lands conquered by Islam by force, and made thereby Waqf lands upon their conquest, for all generations of Muslims until the Day of Resurrection. This [norm] has prevailed since the commanders of the Muslim armies completed the conquest of Syria and Iraq, and they asked the Caliph of Muslims, 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, for his view of the conquered land, whether it should be partitioned between the troops or left in the possession of its population, or otherwise. Following discussions and consultations between the Caliph of Islam, 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, and the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, be peace and prayer upon him, they decided that the land should remain in the hands of its owners to benefit from it and from its wealth; but the control of the land and the land itself ought to be endowed as a Waqf [in perpetuity] for all generations of Muslims until the Day of Resurrection. The ownership of the land by its owners is only one of usufruct, and this Waqf will endure as long as Heaven and earth last. Any demarche in violation of this law of Islam, with regard to Palestine, is baseless and reflects on its perpetrators.

Hamas in Palestine: Its Views on Homeland and Nationalism

Article Twelve

Hamas regards Nationalism (Wataniyya) as part and parcel of the religious faith. Nothing is loftier or deeper in Nationalism than waging Jihad against the enemy and confronting him when he sets foot on the land of the Muslims. And this becomes an individual duty binding on every Muslim man and woman; a woman must go out and fight the enemy even without her husband's authorization, and a slave without his masters' permission.

This [principle] does not exist under any other regime, and it is a truth not to be questioned. While other nationalisms consist of material, human and territorial considerations, the nationality of Hamas also carries, in addition to all those, the all important divine factors which lend to it its spirit and life; so much so that it connects with the origin of the spirit and the source of life and raises in the skies of the Homeland the Banner of the Lord, thus inexorably connecting earth with Heaven.

When Moses came and threw his baton, sorcery and sorcerers became futile.

Peaceful Solutions, [Peace] Initiatives and International Conferences

Article Thirteen

[Peace] initiatives, the so-called peaceful solutions, and the international conferences to resolve the Palestinian problem, are all contrary to the beliefs of the Islamic Resistance Movement. For renouncing any part of Palestine means renouncing part of the religion; the nationalism of the Islamic Resistance Movement is part of its faith, the movement educates its members to adhere to its principles and to raise the banner of Allah over their homeland as they fight their Jihad: "Allah is the all-powerful, but most people are not aware."

From time to time a clamoring is voiced, to hold an International Conference in search for a solution to the problem. Some accept the idea, others reject it, for one reason or another, demanding the implementation of this or that condition, as a prerequisite for agreeing to convene the Conference or for participating in it. But the Islamic Resistance Movement, which is aware of the [prospective] parties to this conference, and of their past and present positions towards the problems of the Muslims, does not believe that those conferences are capable of responding to demands, or of restoring rights or doing justice to the oppressed. Those conferences are no more than a means to appoint the nonbelievers as arbitrators in the lands of Islam. Since when did the Unbelievers do justice to the Believers?

"And the Jews will not be pleased with thee, nor will the Christians, till thou follow their creed. 'Say: Lo! the guidance of Allah [himself] is the Guidance. And if you should follow their desires after the knowledge which has come unto thee, then you would have from Allah no protecting friend nor helper.'" Sura 2 (the Cow), verse 120



There is no solution to the Palestinian problem except by Jihad. The initiatives, proposals and International Conferences are but a waste of time, an

exercise in futility. The Palestinian people are too noble to have their future, their right and their destiny submitted to a vain game. As the hadith has it:

"The people of Syria are Allah's whip on this land; He takes revenge by their intermediary from whoever he wished among his worshipers. The Hypocrites among them are forbidden from vanquishing the true believers, and they will die in anxiety and sorrow." (Told by Tabarani, who is traceable in ascending order of traditionaries to Muhammad, and by Ahmed whose chain of transmission is incomplete. But it is bound to be a true hadith, for both story tellers are reliable. Allah knows best.)

The Three Circles

Article Fourteen

The problem of the liberation of Palestine relates to three circles: the Palestinian, the Arab and the Islamic. Each one of these circles has a role to play in the struggle against Zionism and it has duties to fulfill. It would be an enormous mistake and an abysmal act of ignorance to disregard anyone of these circles. For Palestine is an Islamic land where the First Qibla and the third holiest site are located. That is also the place whence the Prophet, be Allah's prayer and peace upon him, ascended to heavens.

"Glorified be He who carried His servant by night from the Inviolable Place of worship to the Far Distant Place of Worship, the neighborhood whereof we have blessed, that we might show him of our tokens! Lo! He, only He, is the Hearer, the Seer." Sura XVII (al-Isra'), verse 1

In consequence of this state of affairs, the liberation of that land is an individual duty binding on all Muslims everywhere. This is the base on which all Muslims have to regard the problem; this has to be understood by all Muslims. When the problem is dealt with on this basis, where the full potential of the three circles is mobilized, then the current circumstances will change and the day of liberation will come closer.

"You are more awful as a fear in their bosoms than Allah. That is because they are a folk who understand not." Sura LIX, (Al-Hashr, the Exile), verse 13

The Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine is an Individual Obligation

Article Fifteen

When our enemies usurp some Islamic lands, Jihad becomes a duty binding on all Muslims. In order to face the usurpation of Palestine by the Jews, we have no escape from raising the banner of Jihad. This would require the propagation of Islamic consciousness among the masses on all local, Arab and Islamic levels. We must spread the spirit of Jihad among the [Islamic] Umma, clash with the enemies and join the ranks of the Jihad fighters.

The 'ulama as well as educators and teachers, publicity and media men as well as the masses of the educated, and especially the youth and the elders of the Islamic Movements, must participate in this raising of consciousness. There is no escape from introducing fundamental changes in educational curricula in order to cleanse them from all vestiges of the ideological invasion which has been brought about by orientalist and missionaries. That invasion had begun overtaking this area following the defeat of the Crusader armies by Salah a-Din el Ayyubi. The Crusaders had understood that they had no way to vanquish the Muslims unless they prepared the grounds for that with an ideological invasion which would confuse the thinking of Muslims, revile their heritage, discredit their ideals, to be followed by a military invasion. That was to be in preparation for the Imperialist invasion, as in fact [General] Allenby acknowledged it upon his entry to Jerusalem: "Now, the Crusades are over." General Gouraud stood on the tomb of Salah a-Din and declared: "We have returned, O Salah-a-Din!" Imperialism has been instrumental in boosting the ideological invasion and deepening its roots, and it is still pursuing this goal. All this had paved the way to the loss of Palestine. We must imprint on the minds of generations of Muslims that the Palestinian problem is a religious one, to be dealt with on this premise. It includes Islamic holy sites such as the Aqsa Mosque, which is inexorably linked to the Holy Mosque as long as the Heaven and earth will exist, to the journey of the Messenger of Allah, be Allah's peace and blessing upon him, to it, and to his ascension from it.

"Dwelling one day in the Path of Allah is better than the entire world and everything that exists in it. The place of the whip of one among you in Paradise is better than the entire world and everything that exists in it. [God's] worshiper's going and coming in the Path of Allah is better than the entire world and everything that exists in it." (Told by Bukhari, Muslim Tirmidhi and Ibn Maja)

I swear by that who holds in His Hands the Soul of Muhammad! I indeed wish to go to war for the sake of Allah! I will assault and kill, assault and kill, assault and kill (told by Bukhari and Muslim).

Article Sixteen

We must accord the Islamic [young] generations in our area, an Islamic education based on the implementation of religious precepts, on the conscientious study of the Book of Allah; on the Study of the Prophetic Tradition, on the study of Islamic history and heritage from its reliable sources, under the guidance of experts and scientists, and on singling out the paths which constitute for the Muslims sound concepts of thinking and faith. It is also necessary to study conscientiously the enemy and its material and human potential; to detect its weak and strong spots, and to recognize the powers that support it and stand by it. At the same time, we must be aware of current events, follow the news and study the analyses and commentaries on it, together with drawing plans for the present and the future and examining every phenomenon, so that every Muslim, fighting Jihad, could live out his era aware of his objective, his goals, his way and the things happening round him.

"O my dear son! Lo! though it be but the weight of a grain of mustard-seed, and though it be in a rock, or in the heavens, or in the earth, Allah will bring it forth. Lo! Allah is subtle. Aware. O my dear son! Establish worship and enjoy kindness and forbid inequity, and persevere, whatever may befall thee. Lo! that is of the steadfast heart of things. Turn not thy cheek in scorn toward folk, nor walk with pertness in the land. Lo! Allah loves not braggarts and boasters." Sura XXXI (Luqman), verses 16-18

The Role of Muslim Women

Article Seventeen

The Muslim women have a no lesser role than that of men in the war of liberation; they manufacture men and play a great role in guiding and educating the [new] generation. The enemies have understood that role, therefore they realize that if they can guide and educate [the Muslim women] in a way that would distance them from Islam, they would have won that war. Therefore, you can see them making consistent efforts [in that direction] by way of publicity and movies, curricula of education and culture, using as their intermediaries their craftsmen who are part of the various Zionist Organizations which take on all sorts of names and shapes such as: the Freemasons, Rotary Clubs, gangs of spies and the like. All of them are nests of saboteurs and sabotage. Those Zionist organizations control vast material resources, which enable them to fulfill their mission amidst societies, with a view of implementing Zionist goals and sowing the concepts that can be of use to the enemy. Those organizations operate [in a situation] where Islam is absent from the arena and alienated from its people. Thus, the Muslims must fulfill their duty in confronting the schemes of those saboteurs. When Islam will retake possession of [the means to] guide the

life [of the Muslims], it will wipe out those organizations which are the enemy of humanity and Islam.

Article Eighteen

The women in the house and the family of Jihad fighters, whether they are mothers or sisters, carry out the most important duty of caring for the home and raising the children upon the moral concepts and values which derive from Islam; and of educating their sons to observe the religious injunctions in preparation for the duty of Jihad awaiting them. Therefore, we must pay attention to the schools and curricula upon which Muslim girls are educated, so as to make them righteous mothers, who are conscious of their duties in the war of liberation. They must be fully capable of being aware and of grasping the ways to manage their households. Economy and avoiding waste in household expenditures are prerequisites to our ability to pursue our cause in the difficult circumstances surrounding us. Therefore let them remember at all times that money saved is equivalent to blood, which must be made to run in the veins in order to ensure the continuity of life of our young and old.

"Lo, men who surrender unto Allah, and women who surrender and men who believe and women who believe, and men who obey and women who obey, and men who speak the truth and women who speak the truth and men who persevere (in righteousness) and women who persevere and men who are humble and women who are humble, and men who give alms and women who give alms, and men who fast and women who fast, and men who guard their modesty and women who guard [their modesty], and men who remember Allah much and women who remember Allah has prepared for them forgiveness and a vast reward." Sura 33 (Al-Ahzab, the Clans), verse 35

The Role of Islamic Art in the War of Liberation

Article Nineteen

Art has rules and criteria by which one can know whether it is Islamic or Jahiliyya art. The problems of Islamic liberation underlie the need for Islamic art which could lift the spirit, and instead of making one party triumph over the other, would lift up all parties in harmony and balance.

Man is a strange and miraculous being, made out of a handful of clay and a breath of soul; Islamic art is to address man on this basis, while Jahili art addresses the body and makes the element of clay paramount. So, books, articles, publications, religious exhortations, epistles, songs, poems, hymns, plays, and

the like, if they possess the characteristics of Islamic art, have the requisites of ideological mobilization, of a continuous nurturing in the pursuance of the journey, and of relaxing the soul. The road is long and the suffering is great and the spirits are weary; it is Islamic art which renews the activity, revives the movement and arouses lofty concepts and sound planning. The soul cannot thrive, unless it knows how to contrive, unless it can transit from one situation to another. All this is a serious matter, no jesting. For the umma fighting its Jihad knows no jesting.

Social Solidarity

Article Twenty

Islamic society is one of solidarity. The Messenger of Allah, be Allah's prayer and peace upon him, said:

What a wonderful tribe were the Ash'aris! When they were overtaxed, either in their location or during their journeys, they would collect all their possessions, and then would divide them equally among themselves.

This is the Islamic spirit which ought to prevail in any Muslim society. A society which confronts a vicious, Nazi-like enemy, who does not differentiate between man and woman, elder and young ought to be the first to adorn itself with this Islamic spirit. Our enemy pursues the style of collective punishment of usurping people's countries and properties, of pursuing them into their exiles and places of assembly. It has resorted to breaking bones, opening fire on women and children and the old, with or without reason, and to setting up detention camps where thousands upon thousands are interned in inhuman conditions. In addition, it destroys houses, renders children orphans and issues oppressive judgements against thousands of young people who spend the best years of their youth in the darkness of prisons. The Nazism of the Jews does not skip women and children, it scares everyone. They make war against people's livelihood, plunder their moneys and threaten their honor. In their horrible actions they mistreat people like the most horrendous war criminals. Exiling people from their country is another way of killing them. As we face this misconduct, we have no escape from establishing social solidarity among the people, from confronting the enemy as one solid body, so that if one organ is hurt the rest of the body will respond with alertness and fervor.

Article Twenty-One

Social solidarity consists of extending help to all the needy, both materially and morally, or assisting in the execution of certain actions. It is incumbent upon the members of the Hamas to look after the interests of the masses the way they would look after their own interests. They must spare no effort in the implementation and maintenance of those interests, and they must avoid playing with anything that might effect the future generations or cause damage to their society. For the masses are of them and for them, their strength is [ultimately] theirs and their future is theirs. The members of Hamas must share with the people its joys and sorrows, and adopt the demands of the people and anything likely to fulfill its interests and theirs. When this spirit reigns, congeniality will deepen, cooperation and compassion will prevail, unity will firm up, and the ranks will be strengthened in the confrontation with the enemy.

The Powers which Support the Enemy

Article Twenty-Two

The enemies have been scheming for a long time, and they have consolidated their schemes, in order to achieve what they have achieved. They took advantage of key elements in unfolding events, and accumulated a huge and influential material wealth which they put to the service of implementing their dream. This wealth [permitted them to] take over control of the world media such as news agencies, the press, publication houses, broadcasting and the like. [They also used this] wealth to stir revolutions in various parts of the globe in order to fulfill their interests and pick the fruits. They stood behind the French and the Communist Revolutions and behind most of the revolutions we hear about here and there. They also used the money to establish clandestine organizations which are spreading around the world, in order to destroy societies and carry out Zionist interests. Such organizations are: the Freemasons, Rotary Clubs, Lions Clubs, B'nai B'rith and the like. All of them are destructive spying organizations. They also used the money to take over control of the Imperialist states and made them colonize many countries in order to exploit the wealth of those countries and spread their corruption therein.

As regards local and world wars, it has come to pass and no one objects, that they stood behind World War I, so as to wipe out the Islamic Caliphate. They collected material gains and took control of many sources of wealth. They obtained the Balfour Declaration and established the League of Nations in order to rule the world by means of that organization. They also stood behind World War II, where they collected immense benefits from trading with war materials and prepared for the establishment of their state. They inspired the establishment of the United Nations and the Security Council to replace the League of Nations, in order to rule the world by their intermediary. There was no war that broke out anywhere without their fingerprints on it:

"...As often as they light a fire for war, Allah extinguishes it. Their efforts are for corruption in the land and Allah loves not corrupters." Sura V (Al-Ma'ida - the Tablespread), verse 64

The forces of Imperialism in both the Capitalist West and the Communist East support the enemy with all their might, in material and human terms, taking turns between themselves. When Islam appears, all the forces of Unbelief unite to confront it, because the Community of Unbelief is one.

"Oh ye who believe! Take not for intimates others than your own folk, who would spare no pain to ruin you. Hatred is revealed by [the utterance of] their mouth, but that which their breasts hide is greater. We have made plain for you the revelations if you will understand." Sura III, (Al-Imran), verse 118

It is not in vain that the verse ends with God's saying: "If you will understand."

PART IV

Our Position Vis-a-Vis the Islamic Movements

Article Twenty-Three

The Hamas views the other Islamic movements with respect and appreciation. Even when it differs from them in one aspect or another or on one concept or another, it agrees with them in other aspects and concepts. It reads those movements as included in the framework of striving [for the sake of Allah], as long as they hold sound intentions and abide by their devotion to Allah, and as long as their conduct remains within the perimeter of the Islamic circle. All the fighters of Jihad have their reward.

The Hamas regards those movements as its stock holders and asks Allah for guidance and integrity of conduct for all. It shall not fail to continue to raise the banner of unity and to exert efforts in order to implement it, [based] upon the [Holy] Book and the [Prophet's] Tradition.

"And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah; do not separate. And remember Allah's favor unto you how ye were enemies and He made friendship between your hearts so that ye became as brothers by His grace; and (how) ye were upon the brink of an abyss of fire, and He did save you from it. Thus Allah makes clear His revelations unto you, that happily ye may be guided." Sura III (Al-'Imran), verse 102

Article Twenty-Four

Hamas will not permit the slandering and defamation of individuals and groups, for the Believers are not slanderers and cursers. However, despite the need to differentiate between that and the positions and modes of conduct adopted by individuals and groups whenever the Hamas detects faulty positions and modes of conduct, it has the right to point to the mistake, to denigrate it, to act for spelling out the truth and for adopting it realistically in the context of a given problem. Wisdom is roaming around, and the Believer ought to grasp it wherever he can find it.

"Allah loves not the utterance of harsh speech save by one who has been wronged. Allah is ever Hearer, Knower. If you do good openly or keep it secret, or give evil, lo! Allah is forgiving, powerful." Sura IV (Women), verses 147-148

The National (wataniyya) Movements in the Palestinian Arena

Article Twenty-Five

[Hamas] reciprocated its respect to them, appreciates their condition and the factors surrounding them and influencing them, and supports them firmly as long as they do not owe their loyalty to the Communist East or to the Crusader West. We reiterate to every one who is part of them or sympathizes with them that the Hamas is a movement of Jihad, or morality and consciousness in its concept of life. It moves forward with the others, abhors opportunism, and only wishes well to individuals and groups. It does not aspire to material gains, or to personal fame, nor does it solicit remuneration from the people. It sets out relying on its own material resources, and what is available to it, [as it is said] "afford them the power you can avail yourself of." [All that] in order to carry out its duty, to gain Allah's favor; it has no ambition other than that.

All the nationalist streams, operating in the Palestinian arena for the sake of the liberation of Palestine, may rest assured that they will definitely and resolutely get support and assistance, in speech and in action, at the present and in the future, [because Hamas aspires] to unite, not to divide; to safeguard, not to squander; to bring together, not to fragment. It values every kind word, every devoted effort and every commendable endeavor. It closes the door before marginal quarrels, it does not heed rumors and biased statements, and it is aware of the right of self-defense.

Anything that runs counter or contradicts this orientation is trumped up by the enemies or by those who run in their orbit in order to create confusion, to divide our ranks or to divert to marginal things.

"O ye who believe! If an evil-liver bring you tidings, verify it, lest ye smite some folk in ignorance and afterward repent of what ye did." Sura XLIX (al Hujurat, the Private Apartments), verse 6

Article Twenty-Six

The Hamas, while it views positively the Palestinian National Movements which do not owe their loyalty to the East or to the West, does not refrain from debating unfolding events regarding the Palestinian problem, on the local and international scenes. These debates are realistic and expose the extent to which [these developments] go along with, or contradict, national interests as viewed from the Islamic vantage point.

The Palestine Liberation Organization

Article Twenty Seven

The PLO is among the closest to the Hamas, for it constitutes a father, a brother, a relative, a friend. Can a Muslim turn away from his father, his brother, his relative or his friend? Our homeland is one, our calamity is one, our destiny is one and our enemy is common to both of us. Under the influence of the circumstances which surrounded the founding of the PLO, and the ideological invasion which has swept the Arab world since the rout of the Crusades, and which has been reinforced by Orientalism and the Christian Mission, the PLO has

adopted the idea of a Secular State, and so we think of it. Secular thought is diametrically opposed to religious thought. Thought is the basis for positions, for modes of conduct and for resolutions. Therefore, in spite of our appreciation for the PLO and its possible transformation in the future, and despite the fact that we do not denigrate its role in the Arab-Israeli conflict, we cannot substitute it for the Islamic nature of Palestine by adopting secular thought. For the Islamic nature of Palestine is part of our religion, and anyone who neglects his religion is bound to lose.

"And who forsakes the religion of Abraham, save him who befools himself?" Sura II (Al-Baqra - the Cow), verse 130

When the PLO adopts Islam as the guideline for life, then we shall become its soldiers, the fuel of its fire which will burn the enemies. And until that happens, and we pray to Allah that it will happen soon, the position of the Hamas towards the PLO is one of a son towards his father, a brother towards his brother, and a relative towards his relative who suffers the other's pain when a thorn hits him, who supports the other in the confrontation with the enemies and who wishes him divine guidance and integrity of conduct.

Your brother, your brother! Whoever has no brother, is like a fighter who runs to the battle without weapons. A cousin for man is like the best wing, and no falcon can take off without wings.

Article Twenty-Eight

The Zionist invasion is a mischievous one. It does not hesitate to take any road, or to pursue all despicable and repulsive means to fulfill its desires. It relies to a great extent, for its meddling and spying activities, on the clandestine organizations which it has established, such as the Freemasons, Rotary Clubs, Lions, and other spying associations. All those secret organizations, some which are overt, act for the interests of Zionism and under its directions, strive to demolish societies, to destroy values, to wreck answerableness, to totter virtues and to wipe out Islam. It stands behind the diffusion of drugs and toxics of all kinds in order to facilitate its control and expansion.

The Arab states surrounding Israel are required to open their borders to the Jihad fighters, the sons of the Arab and Islamic peoples, to enable them to play their role and to join their efforts to those of their brothers among the Muslim Brothers in Palestine.

The other Arab and Islamic states are required, at the very least, to facilitate the movement of the Jihad fighters from and to them. We cannot fail to remind every Muslim that when the Jews occupied Holy Jerusalem in 1967 and stood at the doorstep of the Blessed Aqsa Mosque, they shouted with joy:

"Muhammad is dead, he left daughters behind."

Israel, by virtue of its being Jewish and of having a Jewish population, defies Islam and the Muslims.

"Let the eyes of the cowards not fall asleep."

National and Religious Associations, Institutions, the Intelligentsia, and the Arab and Islamic Worlds

Article Twenty-Nine

Hamas hopes that those Associations will stand by it on all levels, will support it, adopt its positions, boost its activities and moves and encourage support for it, so as to render the Islamic peoples its backers and helpers, and its strategic depth in all human and material domains as well as in information, in time and space. Among other things, they hold solidarity meetings, issue explanatory publications, supportive articles and tendentious leaflets to make the masses aware of the Palestinian issue, the problems it faces and of the plans to resolve them; and to mobilize the Islamic peoples ideologically, educationally and culturally in order to fulfill their role in the crucial war of liberation, as they had played their role in the defeat of the Crusades and in the rout of the Tartars and had saved human civilization. How all that is dear to Allah!

"Allah has decreed: Lo! I verily shall conquer, I and my messengers. Lo! Allah is strong, Almighty." Sura LVIII (Al-Mujadilah), verse 21

Article Thirty

Men of letters, members of the intelligentsia, media people, preachers, teachers and educators and all different sectors in the Arab and Islamic world, are all called upon to play their role and to carry out their duty in view of the wickedness of the Zionist invasion, of its penetration into many countries, and its control over material means and the media, with all the ramifications thereof in most countries of the world.

Jihad means not only carrying arms and denigrating the enemies. Uttering positive words, writing good articles and useful books, and lending support and assistance, all that too is Jihad in the path of Allah, as long as intentions are sincere to make Allah's banner supreme.

"Those who prepare for a raid in the path of Allah are considered as if they participated themselves in the raid. Those who successfully rear a raider in their home, are considered as if they participated themselves in the raid."
(Told by Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Dawud and Tirmidhi)

The Members of Other Religions

The Hamas is a Humane Movement

Article Thirty-One

Hamas is a humane movement, which cares for human rights and is committed to the tolerance inherent in Islam as regards attitudes towards other religions. It is only hostile to those who are hostile towards it, or stand in its way in order to disturb its moves or to frustrate its efforts.

Under the shadow of Islam it is possible for the members of the three religions: Islam, Christianity and Judaism to coexist in safety and security. Safety and security can only prevail under the shadow of Islam, and recent and ancient history is the best witness to that effect. The members of other religions must desist from struggling against Islam over sovereignty in this region. For if they were to gain the upper hand, fighting, torture and uprooting would follow; they would be fed up with each other, to say nothing of members of other religions. The past and the present are full of evidence to that effect.

"They will not fight you in body safe in fortified villages or from behind wells. Their adversity among themselves is very great. Ye think of them as a

whole whereas their hearts are diverse. That is because they are a folk who have no sense." Sura 59 (al-Hashr, the Exile), verse 14

Islam accords his rights to everyone who has rights and averts aggression against the rights of others. The Nazi Zionist practices against our people will not last the lifetime of their invasion, for "states built upon oppression last only one hour, states based upon justice will last until the hour of Resurrection."

"Allah forbids you not those who warred not against you on account of religion and drove you not out from your houses, that you should show them kindness and deal justly with them. Lo! Allah loves the just dealers." Sura 60 (Al-Mumtahana), verse 8

The Attempts to Isolate the Palestinian People

Article Thirty-Two

World Zionism and Imperialist forces have been attempting, with smart moves and considered planning, to push the Arab countries, one after another, out of the circle of conflict with Zionism, in order, ultimately, to isolate the Palestinian People. Egypt has already been cast out of the conflict, to a very great extent through the treacherous Camp David Accords, and she has been trying to drag other countries into similar agreements in order to push them out of the circle of conflict.

Hamas is calling upon the Arab and Islamic peoples to act seriously and tirelessly in order to frustrate that dreadful scheme and to make the masses aware of the danger of coping out of the circle of struggle with Zionism. Today it is Palestine and tomorrow it may be another country or other countries. For Zionist scheming has no end, and after Palestine they will covet expansion from the Nile to the Euphrates. Only when they have completed digesting the area on which they will have laid their hand, they will look forward to more expansion, etc. Their scheme has been laid out in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and their present [conduct] is the best proof of what is said there.

Leaving the circle of conflict with Israel is a major act of treason and it will bring curse on its perpetrators.

"Who so on that day turns his back to them, unless maneuvering for battle or intent to join a company, he truly has incurred wrath from Allah, and his

habitation will be hell, a hapless journey's end." Sura 8 (al-Anfal - Spoils of War), verse 16

We have no escape from pooling together all the forces and energies to face this despicable Nazi-Tatar invasion. Otherwise we shall witness the loss of [our] countries, the uprooting of their inhabitants, the spreading of corruption on earth and the destruction of all religious values. Let everyone realize that he is accountable to Allah.

"Whoever does a speck of good will bear [the consequences] and whoever does a speck of evil will see [the consequences]."

Within the circle of the conflict with world Zionism, the Hamas regards itself the spearhead and the avant-garde. It joins its efforts to all those who are active on the Palestinian scene, but more steps need to be taken by the Arab and Islamic peoples and Islamic associations throughout the Arab and Islamic world in order to make possible the next round with the Jews, the merchants of war.

"We have cast among them enmity and hatred till the day of Resurrection. As often as they light a fire for war, Allah extinguishes it. Their effort is for corruption in the land, and Allah loves not corrupters." Sura V (Al-Ma'idah - the Table spread), verse 64

Article Thirty-Three

The Hamas sets out from these general concepts which are consistent and in accordance with the rules of the universe, and gushes forth in the river of Fate in its confrontation and Jihad waging against the enemies, in defense of the Muslim human being, of Islamic Civilization and of the Islamic Holy Places, primarily the Blessed Aqsa Mosque. This, for the purpose of calling upon the Arab and Islamic peoples as well as their governments, popular and official associations, to fear Allah in their attitude towards and dealings with Hamas, and to be, in accordance with Allah's will, its supporters and partisans who extend assistance to it and provide it with reinforcement after reinforcement, until the Decree of Allah is fulfilled, the ranks are over-swollen, Jihad fighters join other Jihad fighters, and all this accumulation sets out from everywhere in the Islamic world, obeying the call of duty, and intoning "Come on, join Jihad!" This call will tear apart the clouds in the skies and it will

continue to ring until liberation is completed, the invaders are vanquished and Allah's victory sets in.

"Verily Allah helps one who helps Him. Lo! Allah is strong, Almighty." Sura XXII (Pilgrimage), verse 40

PART V - THE TESTIMONY OF HISTORY

Confronting Aggressors Throughout History

Article Thirty-Four

Palestine is the navel of earth, the convergence of continents, the object of greed for the greedy, since the dawn of history. The Prophet, may Allah's prayer and peace be upon him, points out to that fact in his noble hadith in which he implored his venerable Companion, Ma'adh ibn Jabl, saying:

"O Ma'adh, Allah is going to grant you victory over Syria after me, from Al-Arish to the Euphrates, while its men, women, and female slaves will be dwelling there until the Day of Resurrection. Those of you who chose [to dwell in one of the plains of Syria or Palestine will be in a state of Jihad to the Day of Resurrection."

The greedy have coveted Palestine more than once and they raided it with armies in order to fulfill their covetousness. Multitudes of Crusades descended on it, carrying their faith with them and waving their Cross. They were able to defeat the Muslims for a long time, and the Muslims were not able to redeem it until they sought the protection of their religious banner; then, they unified their forces, sang the praise of their God and set out for Jihad under the Command of Saladin al-Ayyubi, for the duration of nearly two decades, and then the obvious conquest took place when the Crusaders were defeated and Palestine was liberated.

"Say (O Muhammad) unto those who disbelieve: ye shall be overcome and gathered unto Hell, an evil resting place." Sura III (Al-Imran), verse 12

This is the only way to liberation, there is no doubt in the testimony of history. That is one of the rules of the universe and one of the laws of existence. Only iron can blunt iron, only the true faith of Islam can vanquish their false and falsified faith. Faith can only be fought by faith. Ultimately, victory is reserved to the truth, and truth is victorious.

"And verily Our word went forth of old unto Our Borden sent [to warn]. That they verily would be helped. And that Our host, they verily would be the victors." Sura 38 (Al-saffat), verses 171-3

Article Thirty-Five

Hamas takes a serious look at the defeat of the Crusades at the hand of Saladin the Ayyubid and the rescue of Palestine from their domination; at the defeat of the Tatars at Ein Jalut where their spine was broken by Qutuz and Al-Dhahir Baibars, and the Arab world was rescued from the sweep of the Tatars which ruined all aspects of human civilization. Hamas has learned from these lessons and examples, that the current Zionist invasion had been preceded by a Crusader invasion from the West; and another one, the Tatars, from the East. And exactly as the Muslims had faced those invasions and planned their removal and defeat, they are able to face the Zionist invasion and defeat it. This will not be difficult for Allah if our intentions are pure and our determination is sincere; if the Muslims draw useful lessons from the experiences of the past, and extricate themselves for the vestiges of the [western] ideological onslaught; and if they follow the traditions of Islam.

EPILOGUE

The Hamas are Soldiers

Article Thirty-Six

The Hamas, while breaking its path, reiterates time and again to all members of our people and the Arab and Islamic peoples, that it does not seek fame for itself nor material gains, or social status. Nor is it directed against any one member of our people in order to compete with him or replace him. There is nothing of that at all. It will never set out against any Muslims or against the non-Muslims who make peace with it, here or anywhere else. It will only be of help to all associations and organizations which act against the Zionist enemy and those who revolve in its orbit.

Hamas posits Islam as a way of life, it is its faith and its yardstick for judging. Whoever posits Islam as a way of life, anywhere, and regardless of whether it is an organization, a state, or any other group, Hamas are its soldiers, nothing else.

We implore Allah to guide us, to guide through us and to decide between us and our folk with truth.

"Our Lord! Decide with truth between us and our folk, for Thou are the best of those who make decisions." Sura VII (Al-A'raf - the Heights), verse 89

Our last call is: Thanks to Allah, the Lord of the Universe.

(From Rafael Yisraeli, in Y. Alexander and H. Foxman, eds., The 1988-1989 Annual on Terrorism (The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers)

**Appendix B. Nass al-risala
al-maftuha allati wajjaha hizb
allah ila al-mustad'afin fi
lubnan wa al-'alam**

*Text of Open Letter Addressed by Hizb Allah to the Downtrodden
in Lebanon and in the World*

February 16, 1985

Text of open letter addressed by Hizb Allah to downtrodden in Lebanon and the world, pointing out in its projections and path on occasion of the first anniversary of the martyrdom of Raghīb Harb, the symbol of Islamic resistance and the paramount martyr.

Dated February 15, 1985.

"In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate: Those who put their trust in God, His prophet, and the faithful are God's party and they shall prevail. God almighty is always true."

Dedication

To the torch that burned bright, lit for the downtrodden in Lebanon the path to free and honorable life and burned with the blaze of his innocent blood the tyranny and myth of the Zionist entity;

To the pioneer who was faithful to his kinsmen, who offered them the model for *jihad* and who did not spare his own life until he died a martyr in supporting them and a witness to the injustice of world arrogance and its insolence;

To the symbol of the triumphant Islamic resistance and of the splendid uprising through which our kinsmen are still recording their most magnificent Husaini [Shi'ite] epics in the South and in Western al-Biqāf,

To him who scattered America's dreams in Lebanon and who resisted the Israeli occupation, carrying the banner of action under the

patronage of 'Abd Allah Khomeini, the leader jurisprudent whom he always liked to describe as the amir [prince] of the Muslims;

To paramount martyr Raghīb Harb, may God be pleased with him, on whose anniversary we present this open letter to the downtrodden in the world, including in its lines the revolutionary Islamic political line embodied by the happy martyr and his brothers so that it may act as a clear path and guide to all the strugglers in Lebanon. We beseech God, may He be praised, to grant us steadfastness, to strengthen us, and to give us victory over the tyrants.

God's peace, mercy, and blessings be with you.

Hizb Allah

In the name of God, the compassionate and the merciful:

Say, "the truth is from your Lord"; let him who will, believe and let him who will, reject [it]; for the wrongdoers we have prepared a fire whose [smoke and flames], like the walls and roof of a tent, will hem them in; if they implore relief, they will be granted water like melted brass that will scald their faces. How dreadful the drink! How uncomfortable a couch to recline on!

God is always true.

Who Are We and What Is Our Identity?

Free downtrodden men,

We are the sons of Hizb Allah's nation in Lebanon. We greet you and address the entire world through you: notables, institutions, parties, organizations and political, humanitarian, and information associations. We exclude nobody because we are eager for all to hear our voice, understand our word, comprehend our projections, and study our plan.

We, the sons of Hizb Allah's nation, consider ourselves a part of the Islamic nation in the world, which is facing the most tyrannical arrogant assault from both the East and the West—an assault intended to deprive this nation of the content of the message with which God has blessed it so that it may be the best nation known to the world; a nation that encourages virtue and discourages vice and that believes in God. The assault is also aimed at usurping this nation's wealth and resources, at exploiting the capabilities and skills of its sons, and at controlling all its affairs.

We, the sons of Hizb Allah's nation, whose vanguard God has given victory in Iran and which has established the nucleus of the world's central Islamic state, abide by the orders of a single wise and just command currently embodied in the supreme Ayatollah Ruhollah al-Musavi al-Khomeini, the rightly guided imam who combines all

the qualities of the total imam, who has detonated the Muslim's revolution, and who is bringing about the glorious Islamic renaissance.

Therefore, we in Lebanon are not a closed organizational party nor a narrow political framework. Rather, we are a nation tied to the Muslims in every part of the world by a strong ideological and political bond, namely Islam, whose message God completed at the hands of the last of His prophets, Muhammad, may God's peace and prayers be upon him and upon his kinsmen. God has established Islam as a religion for the world to follow, saying in the venerable Quran: "Today I have perfected your religion for you, and I have completed My blessing upon you, and I have approved Islam."

Therefore, what befalls the Muslims in Afghanistan, Iraq, the Philippines, or elsewhere befalls the body of our Islamic nation of which we are an indivisible part and we move to confront it out of a religious duty primarily and in the light of a general political visualization decided by the leader jurisprudent.

The main sources of our culture are the venerable Quran, the infallible Sunna, and the decisions and religious opinions made by the jurisprudent, who is the authority on tradition among us. These sources are clear, uncomplicated, and accessible to all without exception and they need no theorization or philosophy. All they need is abidance and application.

As to our military power, nobody can imagine its dimensions because we do not have a military agency separate from the other parts of our body. Each of us is a combat soldier when the call of *jihad* demands it and each of us undertakes his task in the battle in accordance with his lawful assignment within the framework of action under the guardianship of the leader jurisprudent. God is behind us, supporting us with His care, putting fear in our enemies' hearts, and giving us His dear and resounding victory against them.

Arrogant World Is in Agreement on Fighting Us

Free downtrodden men,

The countries of the tyrannical arrogant world in the West and the East have agreed to fight us and have been instigating their agents against us, trying to distort our reputation and to fabricate lies against us in a malicious attempt to drive a wedge between us and good and downtrodden men and in an endeavor to dwarf and deface the important major accomplishments we have made at the level of our confrontation with the United States and its allies.

Through its local agents, the United States has tried to give people the impression that those who have put an end to its arrogance

in Lebanon, who drove it out humiliated and frustrated, and who crushed its plot against the downtrodden in this country are no more than a handful of fanatics and terrorists who are only concerned with blowing up drinking, gambling, and entertainment spots and other such activities.

But we are confident that such insinuations will never deceive our nation because the entire world knows that whoever thinks of confronting the United States and world arrogance does not resort to such peripheral acts that preoccupy them with the tail and make them forget the head.

America behind All Our Catastrophes

We are moving in the direction of fighting the roots of vice and the first root of vice is America. All the endeavors to drag us into marginal action will be futile when compared with the confrontation with the United States.

Imam Khomeini, the leader, has repeatedly stressed that America is the reason for all our catastrophes and the source of all malice. By fighting it, we are only exercising our legitimate right to defend our Islam and the dignity of our nation.

We declare frankly and clearly that we are a nation that fears only God and that does not accept tyranny, aggression, and humiliation. America and its allies and the Zionist entity that has usurped the sacred Islamic land of Palestine have engaged and continue to engage in constant aggression against us and are working constantly to humiliate us. Therefore, we are in a state of constant and escalating preparedness to repel the aggression and to defend our religion, existence, and dignity.

They have attacked our country, destroyed our villages, massacred our children, violated our sanctities, and installed over our heads criminal henchmen who have perpetrated terrible massacres against our nation. They are still supporting these butchers who are Israel's allies and preventing us from determining our destiny with our free will.

Their bombs fell on our kinsmen like rain during the Zionist invasion of our country and the Beirut blockade. Their planes raided our civilians, children, women, and wounded day and night whereas the areas of the agent Phalangists remained safe from the enemy's bombardment and a center for directing and guiding the enemy forces.

We appealed to the world's conscience but heard nothing from it and found no trace of it.

This conscience that we missed in the days of tribulation is the

same conscience that was mobilized and alerted when the criminal Phalangists were blockaded in the city of Zahle in al-Biqa' and when the allies of Israel in Dair al-Qamar, in al-Shuf, were besieged. We were horrified and then realized that this world conscience stirs only at the request of the strong and in response to the interests of arrogance.

The Israelis and Phalangists massacred several thousands of our fathers, children, women, and brothers in Sabra and Chatila in a single night but no practical renunciation or condemnation was expressed by any international organization or authority against this heinous massacre that was perpetrated in coordination with the NATO forces, who, only a few days, rather hours, earlier, had departed from the camps that the defeated [Palestinians] agreed to put under the protection of the wolf in response to the maneuver of Philip Habib, the U.S. fox.

Those criminal attacks came only to reaffirm our firm belief that "you will find that those most hostile to the faithful are the Jew and the idolators."

We Have No Alternative to Confrontation

Thus, we have seen that aggression can be repelled only with sacrifices and dignity gained only with the sacrifice of blood, and that freedom is not given but regained with the sacrifice of both heart and soul.

We have opted for religion, freedom, and dignity over humiliation and constant submission to America and its allies and to Zionism and their Phalangist allies. We have risen to liberate our country, to drive the imperialists and the invaders out of it, and to determine our fate by our own hands.

We could not endure more than we have endured. Our tragedy is more than ten years old and all we have seen so far are the covetous, hypocritical, and incapable.

Zionist-Phalange Coordination

Nearly 100,000 is the number of the victims of the crimes perpetrated against us by America, Israel, and the Phalange.

Nearly one half million Muslims have been displaced and their quarters of al-Nab'a, Burj Hammud, al-Dikwana, Tall al-Za'tar, Sibniya, al-Ghawarina and in Jabail have been almost totally destroyed. Our kinsmen staying in Jabail are still exposed to the tragedy without a single international organization moving to rescue them.

The Zionist occupation continues to usurp the lands of the Muslims, extending over more than one-third of Lebanon's area in prior coordination and full agreement with the Phalange, who have denounced the attempts to confront the invading forces and have taken part in implementing some of Israel's schemes so as to complete Israel's plan and to give it what it wishes in return for its leading them to power.

Thus, butcher Bashir al-Jumayyil had attained the presidency with the help of Israel, of the Arab oil countries, and of the Muslim deputies who are subservient to the Phalange. He gained this presidency in the wake of a skillful maneuver to beautify his image in a surgery room called the Salvation Committee—a committee that is no more than an American-Israeli bridge over which the Phalange crossed to oppress the downtrodden.

But our people were not willing to endure this humiliation and they wiped out the dreams of the Zionists and their allies. But America persisted in its rashness and brought Amin al-Jumayyil to succeed his buried brother. Amin's first accomplishment was to destroy the homes of the evacuees, to attack the Muslims' mosques, to order the army to demolish the quarters of the downtrodden on the heads of their occupants, to enlist the help of NATO forces against us, and to conclude the ill-fated May 17 accord that turned Lebanon into an Israeli protectorate and an American colony.

Our Basic Enemies

Our people could not withstand all this treason and decided to confront the imams of infidelity of America, France, and Israel. The first punishment against these forces was carried out on April 18 and the second on October 29, 1983. By that time, a real war had started against the Israeli occupation forces, rising to the level of destroying two main centers of the enemy's military rulers. Our people also escalated their popular and military Islamic resistance to the point where they forced the enemy to make its decision on phased withdrawal—a decision that Israel was compelled to adopt for the first time in the history of the so-called Arab-Israeli conflict.

For the sake of the truth, we declare that the sons of Hizb Allah's nation have come to know well their basic enemies in the area: Israel, America, France, and the Phalange.

Our Objectives in Lebanon

Our sons are now in a state of ever-escalating confrontation against these enemies until the following objectives are achieved:

Israel's final departure from Lebanon as a prelude to its final obliteration from existence and the liberation of venerable Jerusalem from the talons of occupation.

The final departure of America, France, and their allies from Lebanon and the termination of the influence of any imperialist power in the country.

Submission by the Phalange to just rule and their trial for the crimes they have committed against both Muslims and Christians with the encouragement of America and Israel.

Giving all our people the opportunity to determine their fate and to choose with full freedom the system of government they want, keeping in mind that we do not hide our commitment to the rule of Islam and that we urge to choose the Islamic system that alone guarantees justice and dignity for all and prevents any new imperialist attempt to infiltrate our country.

Friends

These are our objectives in Lebanon and these our enemies. As for our friends, they are all the world's downtrodden peoples and all those who fight our enemies and who are eager not to harm us, be they individuals, parties, or organizations. We especially address this letter to them to say:

O partisans and organized people, wherever you are in Lebanon and whatever your ideas, we agree with you on major and important goals embodied in the need to topple the American domination of the country, to expel the Zionist occupation that bears down heavily on the people's lives, and to strike all the Phalangist endeavors to control government and administrative affairs, even though we may disagree with you on the methods and level of confrontation.

Come, let us rise above quarreling over minor issues and let us open wide the doors of competition for achieving the major goals.

It is not important that a certain party control the street. What is important is that the masses interact with this party.

It is not important that many military parades be held for the citizens. What is important is to increase the operations against Israel.

It is not important that we draft statements and call for conferences. What is important is that we turn Lebanon into a graveyard for American schemes.

You carry ideas that do not stem from Islam. This should not prevent cooperation between us for these objectives, especially since we feel that the motives urging you to engage in the struggle are fundamentally Islamic motives emanating from the injustice inflicted

upon you by tyranny and the oppression exercised against you by it. Though formed through non-Islamic ideas, these motives must inevitably revert to their essence when you find that revolutionary Islam is the force leading the struggle and confronting oppression and arrogance.

However, we shall accept no provocation, instigation, or aggression from you against our security or our dignity, we are obliged with you to deal with any problem with the good word first, and we are eager not to let you obstruct our movement toward our objectives.

You will find us eager to open up to you. You will also find that our relationship with you will grow stronger the closer our ideas move toward each other, the more we feel that your decisionmaking is independent, and the more the interest of Islam and the Muslims dictates that this relationship be bolstered and developed.

O downtrodden partisans,

You have sought what is right but have missed it, and those who seek what is right and miss it are not like those who seek what is false and hit it.

Therefore, we extend our hand to you and tell you sincerely: "O our people, answer God's summoner" and "Respond to God and the Messenger when He calls you unto that which will give you life."

We Are Committed to Islam But We Do Not Impose It by Force

O free, downtrodden people,

We are a nation committed to the message of Islam and a nation that wishes the downtrodden and all people to study this divine message because it will bring about justice, peace, and serenity in the world.

God, may He be praised, says: "Let there be no compulsion in religion; Right stands out clearly from wrong; whoever rejects evil and believes in God has grasped the most trustworthy handhold, that never breaks. And God hears and knows all things. God is the Protector of those who have faith, from the depths of darkness He will lead them forth into light. Of those who reject faith, the patrons are the evil ones; from light they will lead them forth into the depths of darkness. They will be companions of the fire, to dwell therein [forever]."

Therefore, we do not wish to impose Islam on anybody and we hate to see others impose on us their convictions and their systems. We do not want Islam to rule in Lebanon by force, as the political Maronism is ruling at present.

But we stress that we are convinced of Islam as a faith, system,

thought, and rule and we urge all to recognize it and to resort to its law. We also urge them to adopt it and abide by its teachings at the individual, political, and social levels.

If our people get the opportunity to choose Lebanon's system of government freely, they will favor no alternative to Islam.

Therefore, we urge adoption of the Islamic system on the basis of free and direct selection by the people, not the basis of forceful imposition, as some people imagine.

We declare that we aspire to see Lebanon as an indivisible part of the political map opposed to America, world arrogance, and world Zionism and to see Lebanon ruled by Islam and its just leadership.

This is the aspiration of a nation, not of a party, and the choice of a people, not of a gang.

Our Minimum Aspiration in Lebanon

Therefore, the minimum we shall accept in terms of achieving this aspiration, which we are lawfully charged to achieve, is:

Rescuing Lebanon from subservience to either the West or the East, expelling the Zionist occupation from its territories finally and adopting a system that the people establish of their free will and choice.

Why Do We Confront the Existing Regime?

This is our visualization and these are our projections of what we want in Lebanon. In the light of this visualization and these projections, we confront the existing regime due to two main considerations:

1. Because it is a protégé of world arrogance and a part of the political map that is hostile to Islam.
2. Because it is a fundamentally oppressive structure that no reform or patchwork improvement would do any good and that must be changed from the roots "and whosoever judges not according to what God has sent down, they are the evildoers."

Our Position toward Opposition

We determine our stance vis-à-vis any opposition to the Lebanese regime in light of the two above-mentioned considerations.

We consider any opposition moving within red lines imposed by the arrogant forces a superficial opposition that will ultimately agree with the existing regime.

Any opposition moving within the sphere of protecting and safe-

guarding the constitution currently in force and not committed to making fundamental changes in the system's roots is also a superficial opposition that will not achieve the interests of the oppressed masses.

Moreover, any opposition moving within the positions where the regime wants it to move is an imaginary opposition that serves only the regime.

On the other hand, we are not at all interested in any projection for political reform within the framework of the rotten sectarian system, just exactly as we are not interested in the formation of any cabinet or the participation of any figure in any ministry representing a part of the oppressive regime.

Words to Christians in Lebanon

O honorable, downtrodden men,

We wish to address through you a few words to the Christians in Lebanon, especially to the Maronites:

The policy followed by the leaders of political Maronism through the "Lebanese Front" and the "Lebanese Forces" is incapable of achieving peace and stability for the Christians in Lebanon because it is a policy founded on bigotry, sectarian privileges, and alliance with imperialism and Israel.

The Lebanese tragedy has proven that the sectarian privileges are one of the main causes of the big explosion that has brought about the collapse of the country and that the alliance with America, France, and Israel did the Christians no good when they needed the support of these forces.

Moreover, the time has come for the fanatical Christians to come out of the tunnel of sectarian loyalty and of the illusions of monopolizing privileges at the expense of others. It is time for them to respond to the divine call and to resort to reason instead of arms and to conviction instead of sect.

We are confident that Christ, God's prophet, peace be upon him, is innocent of the massacres perpetrated by the Phalange in his name and yours and innocent of the stupid policy adopted by your leaders to oppress you and oppress us.

Muhammad, God's prophet, peace and mercy be upon him, is also innocent of those who are counted as Muslims and who do not observe God's law and who do not seek to apply God's rules to you and to us.

If you reconsider your calculations and you realize that your interest lies in what you decide with your own free will and not in what is

imposed on you with iron and fire, then we will renew our call to you in response to God's words: "Say, 'O people of the Book! Come to common terms as between us and you; that we worship none but God; that we associate no partners with him; that we erect not, from among ourselves, lords and patrons other than God.' If then they turn back, say: 'Bear witness that we (at least) are Muslims.'"

O Christians of Lebanon,

If you find it too much for the Muslims to share with you some government affairs, then God also finds it an excess for us to do so because the Muslims would be taking part in a government that is unjust to you and to us and that is not founded on the basis of the Shari'a that was completed by the last of the prophets.

If you want justice, then who is more just than God, who has revealed from heaven the message of Islam alongside the prophets so that they may rule among men justly and may give each his due right?

If somebody has misled you, exaggerated matters for you, and made you afraid of reactions on our part to the crimes the Phalange have committed against us, then this is completely unjustifiable because peaceful Christians are still living among us without being disturbed by anybody.

If we are fighting the Phalange, it is because they are blocking your view of the truth, they turn you away from the way of God, and they desire on the earth improper deviation and they have waxed proud with great insolence.

We wish you well and we call you to Islam so that you may enjoy this world and the hereafter. If you refuse, then all we want of you is to uphold your covenants with the Muslims and not to participate in aggression against them.

O Christians,

Free your thoughts of the residues of hateful sectarianism, liberate your minds from the shackle of fanaticism and insularity, and open your hearts to our invitation to you to join Islam because in it lies your salvation and happiness and your good in this world and in the hereafter.

We extend this invitation of ours to all the downtrodden non-Muslims. As for those who belong to Islam denominationally, we urge them to observe it practically and to rise above fanaticism that is hateful to the religion.

We assure all that this is the age of the victory of Islam and of right and of the defeat of infidelity and falsehood. Join with right before the day comes when the unjust bites his own hand and says: I wish I had followed the prophet's path and I wish I had not taken so and so

for a companion because he has misled me, and the devil always lets man down.

Our Story with World Arrogance

Honorable, downtrodden men,

As for our story with world arrogance, we shall sum it up for you in these words: we believe that the struggle of principles between the United States and the Soviet Union ended forever a long time ago. The two sides have failed to achieve happiness for mankind because the idea they have offered mankind, though assuming the different forms of capitalism and communism, agrees in material content and fails to deal with the problems of mankind.

Neither western capitalism nor eastern socialism has succeeded in establishing the rules of the just and serene society, nor have they been able to establish a balance between the individual and society or between human nature and public interest.

The two sides have mutually recognized this fact and have realized that there is no more place for ideological struggle between the two camps. They have both turned to struggle for influence and interest, hiding from public opinion behind the mask of disagreement on principles.

In the light of this understanding, we believe that the ideological struggle between the two camps has been folded forever and been replaced by the struggle for influence and interests between the countries of the arrogant world that are led today by America and the Soviet Union.

Consequently, the oppressed countries have become the struggle's bone of contention and the oppressed peoples have become its fuel.

While we consider the struggle between the two superpowers a natural outcome of the material content that motivates each of them, we cannot agree to have this struggle conducted at the expense of the interests of the downtrodden and the expense of their wealth and rights.

Therefore, we stand against any western or eastern imperialist intervention in the affairs of the oppressed and of their countries and we confront every ambition and intervention in our affairs.

While denouncing America's crimes in Vietnam, Iran, Nicaragua, Grenada, Palestine, Lebanon, and other countries, we also denounce the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the intervention in Iran's affairs, the support for Iraqi aggression, and so forth.

In Lebanon and in the Palestine area, we are mainly concerned with confronting America because it is the party with the greatest

influence among the countries of world arrogance, and also with confronting Israel, the ulcerous growth of world Zionism. Therefore, we are concerned with confronting America's allies in NATO who have gotten embroiled in helping America against the area's peoples. We warn the countries that have not gotten involved yet against being dragged into serving American interests at the expense of our nation's freedom and interests.

Israel Must Be Wiped Out of Existence

As for Israel, we consider it the American spearhead in our Islamic world. It is a usurping enemy that must be fought until the usurped right is returned to its owners.

This enemy poses a great danger to our future generations and to the destiny of our nation, especially since it embraces a settlement-oriented and expansionist idea that it has already begun to apply in occupied Palestine and it is extending and expanding to build Greater Israel, from the Euphrates to the Nile.

Our struggle with usurping Israel emanates from an ideological and historical awareness that this Zionist entity is aggressive in its origins and structure and is built on usurped land and at the expense of the rights of a Muslim people.

Therefore, our confrontation of this entity must end with its obliteration from existence. This is why we do not recognize any cease-fire agreement, any truce, or any separate or nonseparate peace treaty with it.

We condemn strongly all the plans for mediation between us and Israel and we consider the mediators a hostile party because their mediation will only serve to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Zionist occupation of Palestine.

Therefore, we reject the Camp David treaty, the [King] Fahd plan, the Fez plan, the Reagan plan, the Brezhnev plan, the French-Egyptian plan, and any plan including even tacit recognition of the Zionist entity.

We underline in this regard our condemnation of all the deviant countries and organizations that chase after capitulationist solutions with the enemy breathlessly and that agree to "barter land for peace." We consider this a betrayal of the Muslim Palestinian people's blood and of the sacred Palestinian cause.

On the other hand, we view the recently voiced Jewish call for settlement in south Lebanon and the immigration of the Ethiopian Jews and others to occupied Palestine as a part of the expansionist Israeli scheme in the Islamic world and as an actual indicator of the

danger emanating from the recognition of or coexistence with this entity.

Escalating Islamic Resistance

When speaking of usurping Israel, we must pause before the phenomenon of Islamic resistance that sprang from the occupied Lebanese territories to impose a new historic and cultural turn on the course of the struggle against the Zionist enemy.

The honorable Islamic resistance that has inscribed and continues to inscribe the most magnificent sagas against the Zionist invasion forces, that has destroyed by the faith of its strugglers the myth of invincible Israel, that has been able to place the usurping entity into a real dilemma as a result of the daily military, economic, and human attrition it inflicts on this entity, forcing its leaders to acknowledge the severe resistance they face at the hands of the Muslims. . . .

This Islamic resistance must continue, grow, and escalate, with God's help, and must receive from all Muslims in all parts of the world utter support, aid, backing, and participation so that we may be able to uproot this cancerous germ and obliterate it from existence.

While underlining the Islamic character of this resistance, we do so out of compatibility with its reality, which is clearly Islamic in motive, objective, course, and depth of confrontation. This does not at all negate its patriotism, but confirms it. On the contrary, if this resistance's Islamic character were effaced, its patriotism would become extremely fragile.

Appeal for Broad Islamic Participation

We take this opportunity to address a warm appeal to all Muslims in the world, urging them to share with their brothers in Lebanon the honor of fighting the occupying Zionists, either directly or by supporting and assisting the strugglers, because fighting Israel is the responsibility of all Muslims in all parts of the world and not just the responsibility of the sons of Mount 'Amil and Western al-Biqaf.

With the blood of its martyrs and the struggle of its heroes, the Islamic resistance has been able to force the enemy for the first time in the history of the conflict against it to make a decision to retreat and withdraw from Lebanon without any American or other influence. On the contrary, the Israeli withdrawal decision has revealed real American worry and has formed a historic turning point in the course of the struggle against the usurping Zionists.

Through their Islamic resistance, the strugglers—the women with rocks and boiling oil for their weapons, the children with their shouts and their bare fists for their weapons, the old men with their weak bodies and their thick sticks for their weapons, and the youth with their rifles and their firm and faithful will for their weapons—have all proven that if the nation is allowed to manage its affairs freely, it is capable of making miracles and of changing the imaginary fates.

Policy of Government Avariciousness and Treasonous Negotiation

Let us pause a little before the government parades that emerge seasonally in an attempt to mislead the people into believing that the government supports the resistance against the occupation to declare clearly:

Our people have come to loathe verbal and media support and to despise those who offer it. If some statements have been issued by some pillars of the existing regime, let nobody imagine that the masses are unaware of the fact that these statements do not represent the position of the entire regime, especially since the regime is not about to throw its army into the battle to share the honor of liberation.

As for the [regime's] financial support for the resistance, it is insignificant and it has not reached the strugglers in the form of weapons, munitions, combat costs, and so forth.

Our people reject the policy of avariciousness at the expense of the resistance. The day will come when all those who have traded in the blood of our heroic martyrs and who have glorified themselves at the expense of the strugglers' wounds will be judged.

We cannot but stress that the policy of negotiating with the enemy is high treason against the resistance that the regime claims to support and aid and that the regime's determination to enter into negotiations with the enemy was nothing but a plot aimed at recognizing the legitimacy of the Zionist occupation and giving it privileges for the crimes it has committed against the downtrodden in Lebanon.

We add that the Islamic resistance, which declared its refusal to abide by any results emanating from the negotiations, reaffirms that the struggle will continue until the Zionists withdraw from the occupied territories as a prelude to their obliteration from existence.

International Forces and Suspect Role

The international forces that world arrogance is trying to deploy in the Muslims' territories from which the enemy will withdraw so

that they may form a security barrier obstructing the resistance movement and protecting the security of Israel and of its invasion forces are collusive and rejected forces. We may be forced to deal with them exactly as we deal with the Zionist invasion forces.

Let all know that the commitments of the imposed Phalangist regime are not in any way binding to the Islamic resistance strugglers. Other countries must think carefully before they get immersed in the swamp in which Israel has drowned.

Defeatist Arab Regimes

As for the Arab regimes falling over themselves for reconciliation with the Zionist enemy, they are decrepit regimes incapable of keeping up with the nation's ambitions and aspirations and they cannot think of confronting the Zionist entity usurping Palestine because these regimes came into existence under a colonialist guardianship that played the major role in the creation of these eroded regimes.

Some reactionary rulers, especially in the oil countries, are not reluctant to turn their countries into military bases for America and Britain and are not ashamed to rely on foreign experts, appointing them to top official positions. They are implementing the policies set for them by the White House circles to smuggle their countries' wealth and divide it among the imperialists by various means.

Some of them claim to be protectors of the Islamic Shari'a so that they may cover up their treason and may justify their submission to America's will while at the same time considering the entry of a single revolutionary Islamic book into their country something banned and prohibited.

As a result of the defeatist policy followed by these reactionary regimes vis-à-vis Israel, the latter has been able to persuade many of them that it has become a fait accompli that cannot go unrecognized, not to mention the necessity of acknowledging the need to ensure its security.

This defeatist policy is what encouraged the buried al-Sadat to commit his high treason and proceed to conclude peace with Israel and sign the humiliation treaty with it.

The policy of defeatism is what is now governing the movement of the Gulf Cooperation Council, the Jordan-Egypt axis, Iraq, and the Arafat organization.

The defeatist policy toward America is what is directing the position of the reactionary rulers toward the war of aggression imposed on the Islamic Republic of Iran and is standing behind the boundless

financial, economic, and military support for the agent Saddam out of the belief that the Zionized al-Tikriti regime can destroy the Islamic Revolution and can prevent the dissemination of its revolutionary blaze and concepts. This defeatist policy is what motivates the reactionary regimes to keep their peoples ignorant, to water down and dissolve their Islamic identity, and to suppress in their countries any Islamic movement opposed to America and its allies. It is also the policy that causes these regimes to fear the awakening of the downtrodden and to prevent their involvement in political affairs because of the big danger posed to the survival of these regimes by awareness on the part of peoples of the corruption of their governments and of their suspect ties and by sympathy from these peoples for the liberation movements in all parts of the Islamic world and of the world generally.

We find in the reactionary Arab regimes a barrier blocking the development of the awareness and unity of the Islamic peoples and we consider these regimes responsible for obstructing the attempts to keep the wound open and the struggle continued against the Zionist enemy.

We have great hope in the Muslim peoples that clearly have begun to complain in most of the Islamic countries and have been able to infiltrate into the world of revolutions to learn from its experiences, especially from the triumphant Islamic Revolution. The day will come when all these brittle regimes will collapse under the blows of the oppressed, as the throne of the tyrant in Iran has already collapsed.

While waging a ferocious battle against America and Israel and their schemes in the area, we cannot but warn these regimes of working against the nation's rising tide of resistance to imperialism and Zionism. These regimes must learn from the Islamic resistance in Lebanon great lessons in determination on fighting the enemy and on defeating it.

We also warn these regimes against getting involved in new capitulationist plans and in aggressive schemes aimed against the young Islamic Revolution because such involvement will lead the leaders of these regimes to the same fate faced by Anwar al-Sadat and by Nuri al-Sa'id [last Iraqi prime minister under the monarchy] and others before them.

International Front for Oppressed

We address all the Arab and Islamic peoples to declare to them that the Muslims' experience in Islamic Iran left no one any excuse since

it proved beyond all doubt that bare chests motivated by faith are capable, with God's help, of breaking the iron and oppression of tyrannical regimes.

Therefore, we urge the peoples to unite their ranks, to chart their objectives, and to rise to break the shackle that curbs their will and to overthrow the agent governments that oppress them.

We strongly urge on all the oppressed of the world the need to form an international front that encompasses all their liberation movements so that they may establish full and comprehensive coordination among these movements in order to achieve effectiveness in their activity and to focus on their enemies' weak points.

Considering that the imperialist world with all its states and regimes is uniting today in fighting the oppressed, then the oppressed must get together to confront the plots of the forces of arrogance in the world.

All the oppressed peoples, especially the Arab and Muslim peoples, must realize that Islam alone is capable of being the idea to resist aggression, since experiences have proven that all the positive ideologies have been folded forever in the interest of American-Soviet détente and other forms of détente.

It is time for us to realize that all the western ideas concerning man's origin and nature cannot respond to man's aspirations or rescue him from the darkness of misguidedness and ignorance. Only Islam can bring about man's renaissance, progress, and creativity because "he lights with the oil of an olive tree that is neither eastern nor western, a tree whose oil burns, even if not touched by fire, to light the path. God leads to His light whomever He wishes."

God Is with Unity of Muslims

O Muslim peoples,

[Beware the malicious imperialist sedition that seeks to divide your unity, to sow division among you, and to arouse Sunni and Shi'i sectarian fanaticism.]

Know that colonialism was able to control the wealth of the Muslims only after it divided and fragmented their ranks, instigating the Sunnis against the Shi'a and the Shi'a against the Sunnis, entrusting this task afterward to its agents among the mediators of the countries, to evil 'ulama at times, and to leaders that colonialism imposed on the people.

God is with the unity of the Muslims and this unity is the rock on which the schemes of the arrogant are smashed and the hammer that crushes the plots of the oppressors.

Do not allow the policy of "divide and rule" to be practiced in your countries and fight this policy by rallying behind the venerable Quran: "Hold fast, all together, by the rope that God [stretches out for you], and be not divided."

"As for those who divide their religion and break up into sects . . ." "Remember God's favor on you, for you were enemies and He joined your hearts in love, so that by His grace, you became brothers; and you were on the brink of the pit of fire, and He saved you from it."

O 'Ulama of Islam

As for you, O 'ulama of Islam, your responsibility is as big as the tragedies that have befallen the Muslims. You are best qualified to perform your duty of leading the nation toward Islam and of alerting it to the plots that its enemies are hatching in order to dominate this nation, plunder its wealth, and enslave it.

There is no doubt that you are aware that the Muslims look up to you in your capacity as bearers of the trust given by God's prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, and as heirs of the prophets and the messengers. Be the hope and offer the good example by declaring what is right and by standing in the face of the oppressors and the tyrants. Be the model in rising above the frippery of this world's life ornaments and by yearning for paradise and martyrdom for the sake of God.

You have in God's prophet a good example of how he starved with the people and how he ate when they ate, of how he led the faithful in prayer, and how he led them in the arenas of the *jihad*.

He was their refuge in their hard times, he warmed their lives with his instructions and solutions, and they followed him with confidence and assurance.

O Muslim 'Ulama,

Imam Khomeini, the leader, has stressed-repeatedly the need to [rest of sentence indistinct]. If they find out that a shopowner is not upright, they say that so and so is not upright and if they find that a merchant cheats, they say that so and so is a cheat. But if they find, God forbid, that a religious 'alim is not upright, then they will say that religion is not right.

O Muslim 'Ulama,

Because of this and other things, your responsibility is very heavy. Ask for God's help to perform this duty and beseech God, may He be praised, with the invocation Imam 'Ali, may God be pleased with him: "God, we do not ask you for a light burden but for strong backs." You will then find out that the nation is most responsive to your appeals, instructions, and leadership.

Know that the imperialist is aware of the importance of your posi-

tion in the nation and that this is why he has directed his strongest stabs to the hearts of the struggler *'ulama*, hatching an infernal plot to conceal Imam Musa al-Sadr when this imperialist felt that the imam was an insurmountable obstacle in the face of his aggressive schemes, killing the Islamic philosopher Shaikh Murtada Mathari, and executing Ayatollah Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr, the great Islamic authority, when the imperialist felt the danger imam's stance posed—a danger embodied in Imam Baqir's words: "Fuse with Imam Khomeini as he has fused with Islam." The imperialist is lurking for every religious *'alim* performing his Islamic duty in the best manner possible.

On the other hand, imperialism has been penetrating the Muslims with glib preachers who have no fear of God, who offer religious interpretation where there can be no interpretation, who sanction peace with Israel, prohibit fighting it, and justify the treason of the oppressive rulers.

The imperialist would not have done all this if it were not for the importance of the religious *'ulama's* influence over the people.

Therefore, one of your most important responsibilities, O Muslim *'ulama*, is to educate the Muslims to abide by the dictates of Islam, to point out to them the political line they should follow, to lead them toward glory and honor, and to devote attention to the religious institutes so that they may graduate leaders faithful to God and eager to uphold religion and the nation.

Final Word Regarding International Organizations

Finally, a word must be said regarding international organizations and institutions, such as the United Nations, the Security Council, and others.

We note that these organizations are not podiums for the oppressed peoples generally and that they continue to be ineffective due to the domination of their decisions by the states of world arrogance, whether in terms of the implementation or the obstruction of such decisions.

The veto enjoyed by a number of states is nothing but a proof of the soundness of what we are saying.

Therefore, we do not expect anything to come out of these organizations would serve the interest of the oppressed and we urge all the self-respecting countries to adopt the plan to abolish the veto right enjoyed by the states of arrogance.

We also urge these countries to embrace the plan to expel Israel from the United Nations by virtue of its being a usurping and ille-

gal entity, in addition to its being an entity hostile to mankind's inclinations.

Free, downtrodden people,

These are our visualizations and objectives and these are the rules that govern our course.

Those who accept us by accepting right, and God is the best friend of what is right. As for those who reject us, we will endure until God issues his judgment on us and on the oppressors.

God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you.

Hizb Allah