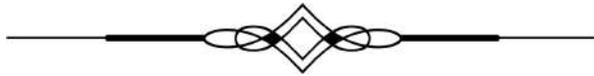


HAMAS:
The Story of Islamic Jihad
on Israel's Front Lines

HAMAS

THE STORY OF
ISLAMIC JIHAD ON
ISRAEL'S FRONT LINES



By
ILANA FREEDMAN

Center for Security Policy Press

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FOREWORD

Hamas (an Arabic language acronym for *Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʿIslāmiyyah* or the Islamic Resistance Movement) is the jihadist terror organization that is the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood. Hamas was established in the Gaza Strip in 1987, and its toxic Covenant was published a year later. Invoking the name of the Muslim Brotherhood founder, Hassan al-Banna, that document states unequivocally that the organization exists to annihilate the Jewish State of Israel and replace it with an Islamic State: *“Israel will exist and will continue to exist until Islam will obliterate it, just as it obliterated others before it” (The Martyr, Imam Hassan al-Banna, of blessed memory).”*

Designated by the U.S. Department of State as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) in 1997, Hamas consistently has used violent terror attacks against Israel, especially by its Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, in obedience to the Islamic doctrine that drives its aggression. Key members of the jihadist leadership that formed Hamas just a few years after the Oslo Accords had been signed remain in control of the group to this day. Indeed, their implacable hatred of Jews and Israel took inspiration from those agreements, which, contrary to Islamic doctrine, law, and scripture, were intended to establish a durable peace between Muslims and Jews.

In this volume, Ilana Freedman, a veteran analyst, author, and close observer of the Middle East, brilliantly addresses the motivation for Hamas’ deep hatred of Jews and Israel found in the group’s origins and ideology and the activities that flow from them. Her present work complements her 2017 CSP Press monograph, “Hamas, CAIR, and the Muslim Brotherhood: The Secret Plot to Destroy America.” While that first volume focused on the subversive activities of the many Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood front groups operating virtually unnoticed and unopposed inside the United States, “Hamas: The Story of Islamic Jihad on Israel’s Front Lines” delves deeply into the roots and development of one of Islam’s most aggressive and vicious jihad terror organizations.

To understand why Hamas targets Israel with such relentless hatred—notably, via rocket and missile attacks against Israeli civilian communities, massed assaults against Israel’s borders increasingly featuring flaming tires and burning kites and tunnels dug under the Gaza frontier for the purpose of kidnapping and/or murdering kibbutzim—Freedman begins with an explanation of the Islamic doctrine of sharia used to convince Hamas jihadis from childhood that they are obeying the highest commands of their deity.

For example, sharia’s doctrinal injunction of Sacred Space asserts that any land ever conquered or occupied by Muslims is forever *waqf*, or land endowed in perpetuity by Allah to Muslims. If ever such land is lost to non-Muslims, all Muslims the world-over, but especially those on its borders, are obligated to wage jihad to gain it back again.

Since Jews in the Holy Land were conquered by the armies of Islam in the 7th Century and forced into degrading subjugation to Muslims, or *dhimmitude*, the fact that their descendants have not only reclaimed their ancestral homeland but turned it into a militarily powerful, technologically advanced, independent, and thriving state is utterly anathema to sharia-adherent Muslims.

If any were needed, a further pretext for Hamas' genocidal ambitions toward the Jews is the jihadists' fury that the Oslo Accords were signed with the Jewish enemy. Their outrage prompted the then-Fatah and Palestinian Liberation Organization chief, Yasser Arafat, to insist that they were not actual *peace agreements* with Israel. Instead, he claimed they were, like Mohammed's notorious 628 A.D. Treaty of Hudaibiyyah, nothing more than a temporary ceasefire arrangement, to be broken the moment the forces of jihad were strong enough to return to the battlefield.

In fact, as Freedman reminds us, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin told his followers in 2003 that "Jihad is the obligation of all Muslims, both men and women," and promised that "resistance will escalate against the Zionist enemy until they leave our land."

This ambition was only intensified by Israel's complete surrender of Gaza in 2005. Hamas prevailed over Fatah the next year following elections and the employment of its now-well-honed repressive techniques of harassment, torture, and murder, resulting in its complete control over the territory. Since then, thousands of rockets and missiles have been launched from Gaza at Israeli civilian communities. Worse yet, their accuracy and range increases with every passing year. Some of that weaponry was manufactured by Hamas itself. But much of it originated in Iran and was smuggled into the Gaza Strip via sea or tunnels. This is a good illustration of the willingness of Shiites (in this case state-sponsor of terror Iran) to work in concert with a Sunni jihad group like Hamas when the target is their mutual enemy—Jews or other non-Muslims.

The ability of Hamas not only to persist, but to operate consistently at such an attack tempo, is testament to the massive external support it receives, and not all of it comes from Iran. For instance, as Freedman describes in specific, carefully documented detail, the international community—especially the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)—generously provides millions of dollars' worth of construction materials, humanitarian aid, and other assistance to Gaza every year.

Unfortunately, but entirely predictably, much of such construction materials goes to building tunnels to attack Israel. And the corrupt Hamas leadership expropriates much of the rest to support their own lavish lifestyles, complete with enormous and garish seaside villas.

The abuse of the children of Gaza may be among the most disturbing of Freedman's topics, as she documents the indoctrination of young students from the earliest grades into Islam's canonical Jew-hatred and their military training in Hamas summer camps. Instead of campfires, hiking, and swimming, Hamas boys are taught to handle machine guns, rifles, and RPGs. Girls

and boys alike take part in school plays and skits in which they act out the assassination, kidnapping, and murder of Jews.

This record of jihadist atrocities against Israel, as well as its own people, has prompted Hamas to be designated as a terrorist organization by a number of Islamic and other countries, including the United States. Its prodigious information warfare machinery has been able, nonetheless, to churn out endlessly staged photography, false narratives and other propaganda accusing Israel of supporting an “apartheid” regime and oppressing the innocent Palestinians. Hamas has thus been able to perpetuate its victim-status with a wide swath of charitable and faith-based organizations, gullible European leaders, and, most especially, sympathetic international media.

This monograph is a must-read for all who want to sort the truth from the fiction and to understand the impossible task Israel and its defense forces face as they confront the murderous rage of Hamas and those it compels to hate and fight the Jews. Bound by their faith to behave morally, even in war, Israelis daily confront wrenching choices about how to protect themselves and their homeland while confronting not only fanatical jihadist fighters, but women, children, and other civilians who, at best, are forced to act as human shields. At worst, they are willing collaborators in violating every norm of civilized society.

Ilana Freedman has done a superb job in chronicling the history, ideology, and tactics of Hamas, as well as in presenting the harsh everyday reality of life on the border that separates Israel from the savagery of this mortal enemy. The Center for Security Policy is pleased to join her in providing “Hamas: The Story of Islamic Jihad on Israel’s Front Lines” as a counterpoint to the innumerable falsehoods disseminated by those like the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions campaigners that enable Israel’s enemies—and ours.

Frank J. Gaffney, Jr.
Executive Chairman
Center for Security Policy
May 2019

INTRODUCTION

Hamas in the Middle East has been a practitioner of violent Islamic terrorism for many years. Its ferocious crusade against Israel has been the cause of thousands of deaths on both sides.

Hamas was the creation of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) in 1987. The primary goal of the new organization, as described unequivocally in its Charter (See Appendix I), was, and continues to be, the violent destruction of Israel and the creation of an Islamic state in its place. Its symbol (right) shows an image of the Dome of the Rock, the map of Israel, Gaza, and the West Bank as one geographical entity; and two crossed swords, representing the power of Islam. Underneath in Arabic is written “There is no god but Allah” and “Muhammad is the messenger of Allah” and around the image are the words “Palestine” and “Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas.” All the images and text reflect the central obsession of Hamas, to “reclaim” Jerusalem and all of Israel for Islam.

In October 1997, the U.S. State Department designated Hamas a terrorist organization in accordance with “section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), as amended.”¹

This volume will show you how Hamas became the terrorist organization it is today, and why it has targeted Israel with such unrelenting viciousness for so many years. It will explain how Hamas won a “democratic” election to give it total power over Gaza, and how it mistreats the people it is supposed to govern and support. Finally, it will explain the Great March of Return, what it is about, why so many thousands of people were injured, and what it means for the future of a Palestinian state and the State of Israel.



*Ilana Freedman
May 2019*

PART I

WHAT IS HAMAS?

In order to truly understand Hamas, it is essential to know how it became what it is today and the ideology that drives it. Following, therefore, is the story of Hamas in Gaza: how it was formed, what it believes, and how it operates.

“Hamas” is both an Arabic word that means “zeal” and an acronym for the Arabic phrase *Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiya*, which means “The Islamic Resistance Movement.” For Hamas supporters, both meanings are at the core of a belief system that was built on a single, central purpose: the destruction of the Jewish state of Israel.

This goal, combined with the fundamental hatred of Jews in general and Israelis in particular, is the driving principle that underlies all Hamas’ activities in the Middle East and beyond. It is embodied in Hamas’ founding document:

“Our struggle against the Jews is very great and very serious. It needs all sincere efforts. It is a step that inevitably should be followed by other steps. The Movement is but one squadron that should be supported by more and more squadrons from this vast Arab and Islamic world, until the enemy is vanquished and Allah’s victory is realized.”

— Introduction, *The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement*

Embedded within this core principle is the conviction that negotiations are irrelevant and, in fact, counter-productive. In April 2015, a senior Hamas official in the Gaza Strip, Ismail Radwan, made it crystal clear that Hamas does not negotiate with Israel under any circumstances. “We negotiate with the occupation only through the rifle,” he said,² repeating the clear statement of terms as set out in the Hamas Charter.

“There is no solution for the Palestinian question except through Jihad. Initiatives, proposals and international conferences are all a waste of time and vain endeavors.”

— Article Thirteen, *The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement*

Peace efforts between Israel and Hamas have therefore failed time and time again, because Hamas’ basic ideology prohibits negotiation or compromise. Radwan’s sentiments have been repeated many times by many Hamas leaders and have been key to the years of continuing failure of the peace process between Israel and her enemies.

Beginnings

In December 1987, in the shadow of an erupting *intifada*³ (uprising) against Israel and under the wing of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin* joined with other Brotherhood members to create Hamas, designated to be the violent arm of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in the region. The gathering included Abdel Aziz-Rantisi,[†] Sheikh Hassan Yousef, Mahmoud al-Zahar,[‡] Yahya Sinwar, and Rawhi Mushtaha.

Like many other jihadi organizations, Hamas is driven by a deep passion defined and ruled by hate. It denies the historic claim of the Jewish people to the land that is now Israel. It denies their 4,000-year-old history that is not only documented in the Bible, but also confirmed in the host of archaeological finds that continue to be discovered in the biblical lands to this day. These discoveries prove the constant Jewish presence in what is now Israel over a span of more than 3,000 years. Hamas even denies the extraordinarily well-documented murder of six million Jews in the Nazi Holocaust,[§] as well as Israel's right to be a sovereign Jewish state. By denying Israel's history and its sovereignty, Hamas denies the country's basic right to exist, something explicitly stated in its founding charter, which was adopted in 1988. The charter is explicit: Hamas' core mission is to destroy the Jewish state of Israel and establish a new Islamic state, ruled under sharia in "historic Palestine." (See Appendix 1 for the entire text of the Hamas charter, *The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement*.)

In Article Six of the Hamas Charter,** the founders' purpose vis à vis the Jewish state is made abundantly clear:

"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."

* Yassin was born to an Arab family in British-Mandate Ashkelon, a city on the Mediterranean Sea in what is now Israel. After Israel achieved its independence in 1948, Yassin's family fled from the fledgling Jewish state and resettled in Gaza, where he grew up. As an adult, he became a local leader in the Muslim Brotherhood (*al-Ikhwan al-Muslimeen*), Egypt's oldest and largest Islamist organization. (Source: Council on Foreign Relations, CFR Backgrounders <http://www.cfr.org/egypt/egypts-muslim-brotherhood/p23991>)

† Rantisi, a pediatrician by profession, devoted his life to the destruction of Israel. "By God," he said, "we will not leave one Jew in Palestine. We will fight them with all the strength we have." (Source: <http://www.discoverthenetworks.org/individualProfile.asp?indid=794>)

‡ On December 11, 2016, al-Zahar told a crowd of supporters that Hamas would not participate in negotiations with Israel, and that this position was non-negotiable. "Every single inch of Palestine is just ours. Palestine is not just Gaza and the West Bank; it extends from the [Jordan] River to the [Mediterranean] Sea," between which the entire state of Israel lies. <http://freebeacon.com/national-security/hamas-leader-calls-israels-destruction-says-every-inch-belongs-palestine/>

§ The Holocaust was the systematic, state-sponsored imprisonment, torture, and murder of six million Jews in Europe during World War II by the Nazi regime and its collaborators.

** The Avalon Project, Yale University. Note: all quotes from the Hamas Charter are taken from this translation, which can be found at: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/Hamas.asp

An intrinsic and essential part of its mission is the close, historic connection to the Muslim Brotherhood from which it sprang. In Article Two, the Charter links the roots of the organization to the Brotherhood and to the close, ongoing relationship that binds the two organizations together:

"The Islamic Resistance Movement is one of the wings of Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine ... which constitutes the largest Islamic movement in modern times."

Article Seven further expands that mission to include not just Israel but all Jews everywhere where it states:

"... the Islamic Resistance Movement aspires to the realization of Allah's promise, no matter how long that should take. The Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him salvation, has said: "The Day of Judgment will not come about until Muslims fight the Jews, when the Jew will hide behind stones and trees. The stones and trees will say O Muslims, O Abdullah, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him."

Hamas has justified the mission to which it has dedicated itself: to "reclaim" the land of "Palestine" (i.e., all of what is now Israel), at all costs, for the Palestinian people and for Muslims alone. At the same time, by using violence as its method of operation, it has given the Brotherhood deniability as it pursues its own global agenda of "non-violent" jihad, through money laundering to support its activities, illicit trafficking, indoctrination, propaganda, public relations, infiltration, and ultimate conquest.

Hamas shares with the Ikhwan a religious zeal that demands adherence to sharia and rejects the secular lifestyle as lived in the West. Members of Hamas understand that Islamic doctrine makes it their duty to reclaim all the lands in which Muslims once lived and return them to Islam. In Article Fifteen, this is added to their goals. Although still focusing on the destruction of Israel, the goal is now represented as universal and includes the United States.

Thus, the underlying principle driving Hamas from its inception has been the destruction of Israel in particular and of Jews and non-believers everywhere. The paranoia that accompanies this concept is so strong, it is reflected not once but three times in the Hamas Charter, where it singles out some of the most highly esteemed international service organizations in the world as subversive Zionist organizations. The most explicit of these appears in Article Seventeen:

... their lackeys who are infiltrated through Zionist organizations under various names and shapes, such as Freemasons, Rotary Clubs, espionage groups and others, which are all nothing more than cells of subversion and saboteurs. These organizations have ample resources that enable them to play their role in societies for the purpose of achieving the Zionist targets and to deepen the concepts that would serve the enemy. These organizations operate in the absence of Islam and its estrangement among its people. The Islamic peoples should perform their role in confronting the conspiracies of these saboteurs.

The day Islam is in control of guiding the affairs of life, these organizations, hostile to humanity and Islam, will be obliterated.

Another reference appears in Section 22:

"With their money they [Zionists] formed secret societies, such as Freemasons, Rotary Clubs, the Lions and others in different parts of the world for the purpose of sabotaging societies and achieving Zionist interests."

— *Hamas Charter, Section 22*

And a third time in its section on women in Hamas:

"The Zionist invasion is a vicious invasion. It does not refrain from resorting to all methods, using all evil and contemptible ways to achieve its end. It relies greatly in its infiltration and espionage operations on the secret organizations it gave rise to, such as the Freemasons, The Rotary and Lions clubs, and other sabotage groups."

— *Hamas Charter, Section 28*

If any doubt still lingers about its ultimate and all-consuming paranoia, or the methods it has chosen to use to accomplish its goals, one need only read Hamas' slogan (identical to the Brotherhood's own motto), as written in Article 8 of its Charter:

"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."

In 1995, the U.S. designated Hamas as a terrorist organization pursuant to Executive Order 12947 and as a foreign terrorist organization in 1997. In 2001, the Treasury Department named Hamas a "specially designated global terrorist" under Executive Order 13224.

PART II

THE HISTORY OF HAMAS

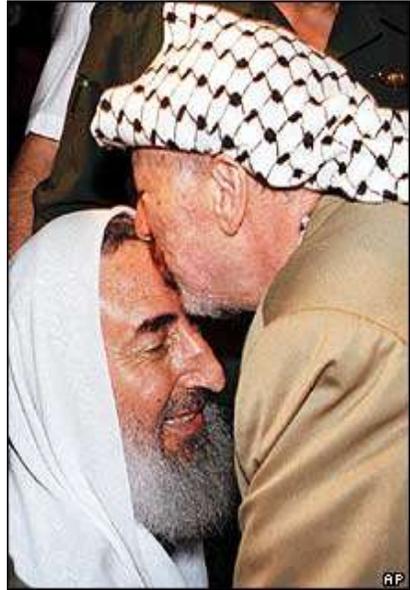
Driven by its mission in the Middle East, Hamas has focused its activities there on violent attacks against Israeli targets, both military and civilian. Its first attack against Israel occurred in 1989, when it abducted and murdered two Israeli soldiers, then buried them where they could be later dug up and used to ransom Hamas members who were in Israeli prisons.

The Israel Defense Forces immediately arrested Ahmed Yassin and sentenced him to two life terms in prison. But the sentence was rescinded eight years later in a 1997 prisoner exchange, arranged in a negotiation between Israel and the King of Jordan. Yassin was returned to Gaza. Although crippled and confined to a wheelchair, he continued to direct Hamas' terrorist attacks, calling for "jihad and resistance," and declaring, "Israel must disappear from the map."⁴

In January 2003, Yassin told his followers, "Jihad is the obligation of all Muslims, both men and women," and promised that "resistance will escalate against the Zionist enemy until they leave our land."⁵

Yassin was killed in a targeted Israeli airstrike on his vehicle in Gaza on March 22, 2004. He was immediately succeeded by Abdel Aziz al-Rantisi, a fellow co-founder of Hamas, who led Hamas for only twenty-four days before he, like Yassin, was killed in a targeted Israeli airstrike.

Although Hamas' tactical base of operations has always been in Gaza, its top leadership operates from Qatar. Khaled Mashal, who succeeded Abdel Aziz al-Rantisi after his assassination, was Hamas' top political leader and frequently its public face until he stepped down in 2017.



Sheikh Ahmed Yassin greeted by Yasser Arafat following his release from Israeli prison in 1997. (PHOTO: AP)

Assassination Attempt

Following Rantisi's assassination, the leadership of Hamas moved out of Gaza. In 1997, Mashal was living in Jordan. On July 30 of that year, Hamas carried out a pair of deadly bombings in Jerusalem's famous Mahane Yehuda market. Sixteen people were killed and 178 were wounded. In an editorial in the Jordanian weekly *Almajd*, editor Fahad Rimawi wrote: "We praise and glorify the double heroic act which two Palestinian 'mujahadins' performed in the Mahane Yehuda market in Jerusalem. These two holy martyrs illuminated the night in Jerusalem ... and gave meaning to Arab heroism. We do not hide our happiness upon this act."⁵

In retaliation, Israel made a decision to resume assassinating Hamas leaders. As a part of this mission, Mossad, Israel's intelligence agency, carried out an assassination attempt on Mashal in Jordan, where two Mossad agents grabbed him outside his office and sprayed a lethal dose of a substance thought to be fentanyl in his ear. Jordan's King Hussein demanded that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who had ordered the attack, provide the antidote to save Mashal's life, who lay in a coma at the King Hussein hospital. Hussein threatened to cancel the historic peace treaty between the two nations if the antidote was not provided. The antidote was provided and Mashal's life was saved. The two Mossad agents were captured, but later released back to Israel in a prisoner exchange that included Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, the leader of Hamas.

In a 2008, interview, Mashal said his near-death experience "made me more positive about life. I became more courageous in the face of death. My faith became stronger that a man does not die until his time comes. That is, I will die when God decides, not when Mossad decides. It also made me more resolute in fulfilling my responsibilities."⁶

Fraudulent Democracy

In January 2006, upon the insistence of the U.S. and over Israeli objections, elections were held in Gaza and the West Bank. Former US President Jimmy Carter, who had offered to monitor the election process, assured the world they were "honest, fair, strongly contested, without violence, and with the results accepted by winners and losers. Among the 62 elections that have been monitored by... the Carter Center, these are among the best in portraying the will of the people."⁷

In the end, Hamas won with 44.45% of the vote to Fatah's 41.43%,⁸ and assumed power in Gaza on February 18, 2006. According to the plan agreed upon before the election, the government was supposed to be shared jointly with the Palestinian Authority, but the collaboration foundered and

* Pronouncements by Moslem religious leaders defending suicide attacks
<http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/mfa-archive/1998/pages/pronouncements%20by%20moslem%20religious%20leaders%20defendi.aspx>

collapsed within a year, as Hamas embarked on a campaign of harassment, torture, and murder against its opponents in order to assume total control over Gaza.

What followed the elections was far from either honest or fair and was certainly not peaceful. Hamas' brutal and deadly intimidation tactics that its activists used against Fatah members were horrific. Hamas pursued PA supporters mercilessly, pushing them off buildings, murdering them in their shops and offices in ad hoc assassinations, and dragging their dead bodies through the streets behind processions of cars and motorcycles.



Hamas members drag the body of an executed "traitor" through the streets in a motorcycle cavalcade in August 2014. (PHOTO: REUTERS/SUHAIB SALEM)

In December 2015, Dr. Ammar Dwaik, General Director of the Palestinian organization, the Independent Commission for Human Rights, revealed that torture was being used on political and other prisoners in the Palestinian detention camps. "The Independent Commission for Human Rights received 292 complaints from citizens regarding torture, maltreatment, and physical assault in the West Bank, and 928 in the Gaza Strip this year ... most of the types of torture and physical assaults take place during demonstrations, detention, and interrogations in detention centers in order to extract confessions. ... Whippings, hanging a person from his hands while they are tied behind his back, verbal abuse, sleep deprivation and whipping the soles of feet are means used by officers and [PA] security force personnel in order to pressure the detained and force them to confess during their interrogation in Palestinian detention centers."⁹

In 2007, Hamas assumed complete control of Gaza and turned the largely secular region into an Islamic enclave, governed under strict sharia. It was the first and last “democratic” election to be held in Gaza, which Hamas has used ever since as its power base as well as a launching pad for attacks on Israeli military positions and civilian population centers.

Hamas boycotted another round of elections in 2012 but announced on its official website that it would participate in the October 2016 elections in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. The 2016 elections were canceled,



Hamas fighters prepare to summarily execute men accused of “spying” for Israel in August 2014. (PHOTO: REUTERS)

however, due to concerns that ensuring free and fair elections in Gaza was impossible. The continued power struggle between Hamas in Gaza and Fatah in the West Bank foiled any attempts at democracy for either.

Hamas Rocket Assaults on Israel

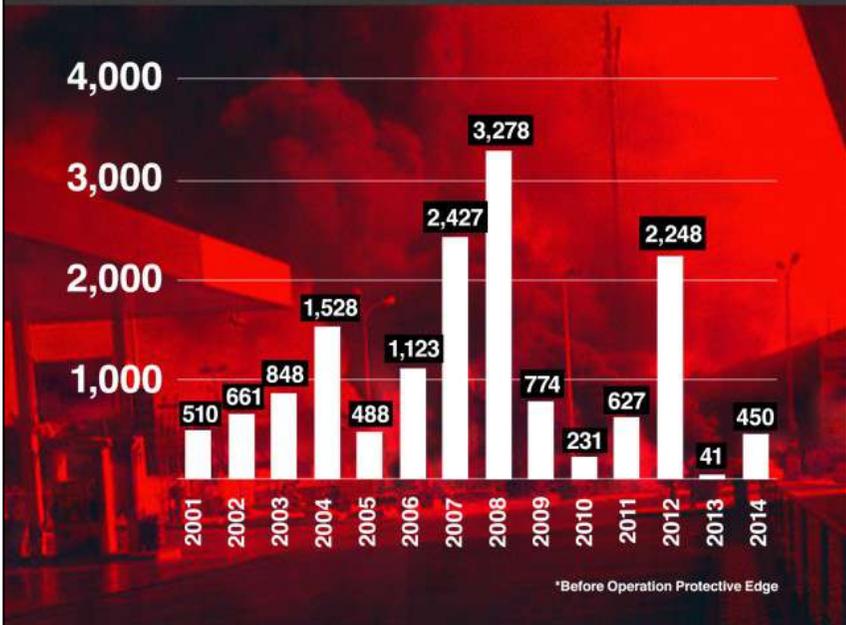
Even before the 2006 elections, Israel had been the target of rockets and mortars from Gaza, aimed at population centers and military targets in southern Israel. Once Hamas took control of Gaza, these attacks spiked dramatically.

Between 2001 and 2006, 4,035 rockets and mortars were fired at Israeli targets. Between 2005 and the summer of 2014, Hamas and Islamic Jihad terrorists launched more than 11,000 rockets at Israeli civilians. Operation Protective Edge in 2014 saw another 4,700 rockets fired. All had been smuggled in whole or in part through Hamas’ tunnels.

In the three successive years that followed, Israel took 6,828 rockets from Gaza. In the 36 months between January 2012 and the end of 2015, more than 2,530 rockets and mortars fired from Gaza hit Israeli civilian areas, sparking wars in 2012 and 2014. In short, since 2001, Israel has received more than 15,000 rockets and mortars from Gaza, an average of over 3 rocket attacks every day.

Considering that Israel is less than 11,000 square miles and could fit comfortably within the shores of Lake Michigan, it is a wonder that its government has been able to tolerate such an onslaught against its sovereignty and its people for so long.

Rocket Attacks On Israel From the Gaza Strip



ISRAEL FOREIGN MINISTRY

Hamis Culture—The Two Faces of Hamas

Hamis is an organization that, like the god Janus of Greek mythology, has two faces that it shows to the world simultaneously. One is the face that the world sees in Gaza, armed and dedicated to the eradication of the State of Israel from the map of the Middle East through the violence of terrorism. Hamis generates headlines with brutal terrorist attacks against Israel from Gaza and from within Israeli territory. Its attacks are indiscriminate and savage. It targets Israeli men, women, and children with its weapons of choice—rockets, guns, knives, axes, bombs, suicide bombers, vehicles, and even huge rocks and concrete blocks.



Roman coin depicting 2-faced Janus. (FINEARTAMERICA.COM)

Hamas built its reputation on the brutal murders of Israeli soldiers and then using their bodies to ransom Palestinians in Israeli prisons. Hamas has also shown it is ready to sacrifice its own women and children, using them as human shields or suicide bombers, and using the numbers of dead and wounded in its propaganda to prove its status as “victim” to Israeli “aggression.”

The second face of Hamas is cynically intended to appear kindly and civilized, to harmonize with politically correct, democratic society, which in its Charter it professes to despise. It manifests its finer qualities through “charitable” organizations, offering what it calls “social services.” But the truth behind Hamas’ kinder face is disappointing. As the Council on Foreign Affairs states in a background report, “most Gazans receive social services from U.N. agencies and humanitarian organizations,”¹⁰ rather than from Hamas.

In reality, the most important functions of Hamas’ community service program are enforcing sharia, requiring conservative dress codes in schools, ensuring the separation of girls and boys in school, banning alcohol, warning against “inappropriate” behavior” and dealing “appropriately” with offenders.¹¹ Hamas imposes summary executions devoid of due process against people it deems as traitors and enemies.



All girls classes in Gaza are mandated by Hamas and begin at age 9. (GETTY IMAGES)

The Myths That Hamas Uses to Define Itself to the World

A number of myths have attached themselves to Hamas as the result of many years of continuous propaganda. Among the most often repeated and fundamentally misleading myths propagated by Hamas is that, organizationally, Hamas is divided into distinct divisions—military, social, and religious—each of which operates independently of the others. Such a structure, if it existed, would give credible deniability to those divisions not directly involved in terrorist activities.

The reality, however, is that the “divisions” of Hamas are all interconnected and dependent upon each other for both support and funding. Yassin

made this unity very clear on May 12, 1998, when he told a reporter from Reuters: "We can not separate the wing from the body. If we do so, the body will not be able to fly. HAMAS is one body."¹²

A partial exception to this is the Hamas' Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, which provides Hamas with a paramilitary capability and operates discreetly. It takes credit for having killed more than 500 Israelis in some 350 terrorist attacks since 1993. Operationally, the Brigades enjoy a measure of independence, but orders still come from the top.

Another myth, as mentioned earlier, is that Hamas expends a great deal of its efforts on providing support for the population that it governs, through the social services that it provides to them. The media frequently refer to Hamas' social service activities with praise. WorldPolicy.org, for example, wrote the following about Hamas' activities in this area:

*"Though it continues to war with Israel and its enormous army, Hamas has a long history of providing the Palestinian people with much needed services. Promoting community and even charity, the group has established and supported schools, orphanages, mosques, medical centers, and food banks."*¹³

The bias of these comments is clear from the reference to Israel's "enormous" army¹⁴ and its emphasis on Hamas' charitable works. In 2014, however, Nathan J. Brown reported quite a different story in the July 18 edition of the *Washington Post*:

"Outsiders sometimes see Hamas as something like an American big-city machine that trades jobs and welfare benefits in return for political loyalty and votes—though a machine with an armed wing.

*"Hamas does have an armed wing, and other parts of the organization attempt to provide some social services, but the number of Palestinians who benefit from those services is small."*¹⁵

Hamas' Misuse of International Funding

Over the years, Hamas has received millions of dollars from international funding sources. These funds have represented as much as 95% of civilian economic funding, much of it for reconstruction and for humanitarian aid.¹⁶ Funding originally came from formal sources including the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) and the European Commission, as well as from individual countries. A substantial portion of this funding, however, has been diverted to pay for military and terrorist operations.

In the summer of 2016, for example, Muhammad el-Halabi, a member of Hamas and manager of World Vision, a Christian humanitarian aid group working in Gaza, was accused of siphoning off \$7.2 million a year from the charity's accounts. According to the indictment, the funds, earmarked to help feed the children of Gaza, were instead redirected to Hamas and the Izz ad-

Din al Qassam Brigades, through a devious system of fictitious humanitarian projects and inflated, fraudulent receipts.¹⁷

A later report revealed that more than half of World Vision's funds had been transferred by al-Halabi to Hamas to help fund its terrorist operations. The Shin Bet, Israel's domestic intelligence agency, also accused el-Halabi of undergoing Hamas training in the early 2000s. It claimed that he was planted at World Vision in 2005 by Hamas, where he eventually became operations manager of the Gaza branch.

As a result of the arrest, the charity's funds were frozen by the Israeli government, and 150 workers were laid off.¹⁸

Israel's 'Blockade' of Gaza

In 2014, during the six-week war between Israel and Hamas in Gaza, Hamas complained loudly that Israel's blockade of Gaza* was keeping desperately needed food, medicine, and reconstruction supplies from reaching Gaza. Hamas' statement was a lie. It ignored the fact that Israel was, in fact, delivering massive amounts of food, water, medicine, and other humanitarian goods to Gaza through the Israel Ministry of Defense's Coordination of Government Activities in the Territories (COGAT).¹⁹

During the short period of "cease fire" between August 11 and August 15, for example, approximately 270 trucks, carrying 5,580 tons of goods and supplies, were delivered to Gaza through the Kerem Shalom crossing



Convoy of trucks carrying humanitarian aid and commercial products passing through the Shalom Gate between Israel and Gaza in September 2014. (IRIN/ERICA SILVERMAN)

* A second blockade Egypt also maintains on its common border with Gaza gets little publicity.

between Israel and Gaza. Included in the convoys were 133 trucks with 2,820 tons of food, in addition to 10 trucks carrying 100 tons of medicine and medical supplies. Israel also imported millions of gallons of diesel and gasoline for domestic use in Gaza.²⁰

In that same year, 4,680 trucks carrying 181 thousand tons of gravel, iron, cement, wood and other supplies passed through Kerem Shalom.²¹ Between July 8 and August 14, 2014, 3,324 trucks entered Gaza from Israel. In addition, on August 13, Israel's medical emergency organization Magen David Adom²² (MDA) transferred 18 Palestinian patients at the Erez Crossing, which included sick and wounded individuals, from Gaza to Turkey via Ben Gurion Airport.

Insufficient PR vs. Effective PR

Unfortunately, two factors influenced the sizable, anti-Israel public opinion regarding the responsibility for Gaza's dire situation. The first was Israel's own limited attention to public relations that kept much of the world uninformed about its massive humanitarian efforts on behalf of the Gazans living under Hamas. The second was Hamas' own powerful and highly effective efforts to get its own version of the story out into the mass media.

Few people around the world knew, for example, that only a small portion of the construction supplies delivered to Gaza by Israel and intended for reconstruction of homes and infrastructure destroyed in the war, was actually used for the benefit of people of Gaza. Likewise, much of the food, medicines, and other humanitarian supplies intended for the people of Gaza was instead distributed to Hamas troops and supporters.

Few people knew that Israel had set up a field hospital to treat the Palestinian sick and wounded. Or worse, that on August 11, 2014, despite the desperate need that the summer's war with Israel had created for the people of Gaza, a war in which 11,000 Gazans had been wounded, *USA Today* reported, "Hamas is not permitting Palestinians to be treated at an Israeli military field hospital and its blood bank politely declined Israeli blood donation offers."²³

On July 3, 2016, after a landmark agreement was reached only days before to mend relations between Israel and Turkey after a six-year rift, a Turkish ship landed in the Israeli port of Ashdod,²⁴ loaded with 11,000 tons of "humanitarian aid" that included food, clothing, and toys. The ship arrived in time for the people of Gaza to celebrate Eid al-Fitr festival, which marks the conclusion of a month of dawn-to-sunset fasting during the month of Ramadan.

In spite of all these Israeli efforts to provide assistance to the people of Gaza, the myth of Israel preventing vital goods from reaching them continues to be promoted by Hamas and believed by much of the world.

Hamás' 'Terror Tunnels'

Central to Hamas' strategy against Israel has been the construction of a strategic network of tunnels that run in a web deep underneath Gaza as well as under the borders of Israel and well into Israeli sovereign territory. In the early years of tunnel construction in Gaza, the tunnels were largely used to smuggle goods from Egypt, including food, commercial goods, weapons, drugs, construction equipment, and even exotic animals for Gaza's now defunct zoo*. Later, tunnels were constructed from Gaza to the Israeli border and beyond to facilitate infiltration and terror attacks. Israel calls these the "terror tunnels." As time passed, the tunnels became increasingly sophisticated. Finding and destroying them became an Israeli military obsession.

Hamas readily uses young boys to help build their tunnels. In fact, they prize children for their small size and "nimbleness," which enables them to work in the tight spaces that are difficult for grown men to negotiate. In 2012, *The Journal of Palestine Studies*²⁵ reported that 160 children had died building Hamas' tunnels.²⁶ Following the international outcry that occurred when these numbers were published,²⁷ the number of child deaths was hastily changed to indicate that 160 *people* (not *only* children) died constructing the tunnels.[†]

Information about the tunnels is closely held by the leaders of Hamas. In fact, it was reported that dozens of people who were involved in the construction were murdered by Hamas in order to prevent them from leaking information about the tunnels to Israel.²⁸

During Protective Edge, IDF combat engineers destroyed 32 such tunnels—some reaching hundreds of yards into Israel. These tunnels would have allowed Hamas terrorists to carry out two types of operations that deeply concern Israel: attacks on civilian populations, and kidnappings of IDF soldiers, who would be taken back to Gaza through the tunnels in order to serve as bargaining chips in future negotiations.

During the 2014 war, Israel claimed to have destroyed 32 tunnels, including 14 that extended beneath Israeli territory. According to a *Jerusalem Post* article, a report attributed to an anonymous Palestinian source revealed that "Hamas has been reinforcing its tunnel offensive used against Israel by means of diverted cement and building materials that recently entered Gaza for reparation efforts following Operation Protective Edge in 2014."²⁹

Following the war, the World Bank reported that \$1.409 billion³⁰ of the \$5 billion pledged to Gaza at the 2014 "Cairo Conference on Palestine: Reconstructing Gaza" had been disbursed to Gaza. The money was intended to help finance the reconstruction of homes and infrastructure damaged or

* Gaza's zoo was considered the world's worst zoo. When it was finally evacuated, only 15 animals remained of what was once a collection of hundreds, most of which starved to death. (See "Animals Rescued from "World's Worst Zoo," National Geographic. <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/2016/09/saving-animals-gaza-strip-khan-younis-zoo/>)

† Ibid.

destroyed in the war. Because Hamas' primary focus is on increasing weapons arsenals and expanding its network of terror tunnels, however, Hamas actually spent hundreds of thousands of dollars each month on tunnel infrastructure and manpower to implement its program, rather than disperse it for reconstruction.

Between October 2015 and May 2016, Israel delivered 4,824,000 tons of building materials into Gaza. It is estimated that 95% of these materials, intended for reconstruction of homes and infrastructure destroyed in the war, was diverted to reconstruct the terror tunnels into Israeli territory.³¹ Dore Gold, who was senior adviser to Israeli Prime Ministers Ariel Sharon and Benjamin Netanyahu, as well as Israel's Ambassador to the U.N. and Director-General of Israel's Foreign Ministry, told the U.N. World Humanitarian Summit in Istanbul that only five or six of every hundred sacks of cement that are sent into Gaza are set aside for civilian reconstruction.³²

In 2015, the U.S. House of Representatives unanimously approved a bipartisan amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act. The "Tunnels Amendment" was intended to grant \$40 million into the project to enhance Israeli investments and accelerate research and development into tunnel detection. The bill was signed by President Obama in November 2015, including the Tunnels Amendment (section 1279).

When Hamas terrorist Bilal Razaineh, 24, was captured after crossing into Israel from Gaza in November 2016, it was an intelligence coup for Israel. Razaineh is the brother of Mustafa Razaineh, head of Hamas's internal security organization in northern Gaza, and he acted as a courier between senior Hamas operatives in Gaza. He revealed critical details about tunnel construction and Hamas operations, including information about how, during the 2014 war, senior Hamas officers hid in Gaza's Kamal Adwan hospital, and how they directed the fighting from there as well as from the private homes of civilians.³³

Responding to the Terror Tunnel Threat

In April 2018, Israel revealed the existence of a terror detection lab that was inaugurated in 2016. Using a multi-disciplinary approach linking technology, engineering, and intelligence, the laboratory was able to locate and oversee the destruction of five terrorist tunnels in the first part of 2018.³⁴ Its mission is to combine innovative technological research, engineering, and operational expertise into new discovery and mapping techniques, to better identify and destroy new tunnels as they are being built, rather than waiting until they emerge at the surface. The team includes geophysicists from the Ministry of Energy, as well as researchers from the Technion, one of Israel's premier universities, technology and research experts, including physicists, engineers, intelligence and geologists, and from state-owned Rafael Advanced Defense Systems.

Of the five tunnels discovered in 2018, the last to be discovered and destroyed was the longest and deepest of any that had been built by Hamas

before. It was part of a wider tunnel system that branched out under Gaza and extended beneath Israel. It could have been used by a large number of Hamas terrorists, who would be sent to carry out terror attacks inside Israeli territory. Moreover, IDF Spokesperson Brig.-Gen. Ronen Manelis called it a “significant tunnel of high quality” and revealed that it was “ready for use.”³⁵

IDF intelligence and military planners have been aware of the threat that these tunnels pose for several years, but relevant technologies have been elusive. Even in technology-driven Israel, the lack of the necessary tunnel discovery technology makes this one of the IDF’s highest priority R&D projects.

PART III

HAMAS' CULTURE OF LIES AND HATE

Hamas' obsession with the destruction of Israel and the elimination of the Jews drives its fixation on the tunnels and the war effort, considering it a higher priority than the welfare and economic recovery of the people of Gaza. Overall, Gaza has a 43.6% unemployment rate in the general population,³⁶ and among university graduates, the highest in the world,³⁷ while 80 percent of Gaza residents depend on some form of humanitarian assistance from charities and humanitarian aid organizations.³⁸ Hamas' policy of diverting funds away from economic stimulation has systematically stifled growth and destroyed jobs, although Hamas blames Israel for the economic crisis.³⁹

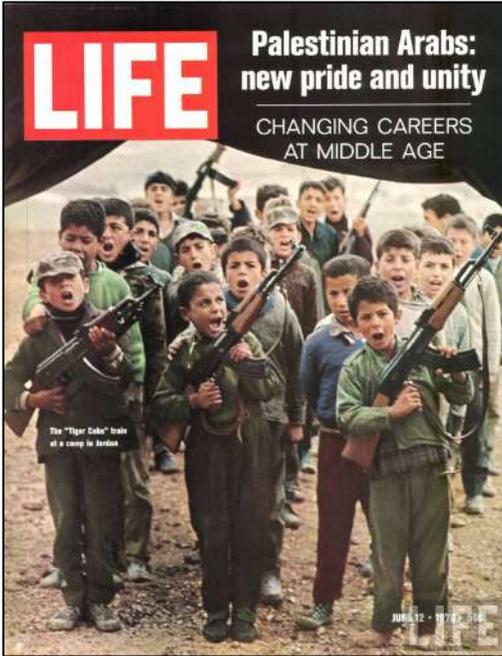
A quick look at the numbers in 2016⁴⁰ shows how Hamas' military budget has actually spent much of the funds that were designated for rebuilding homes and infrastructure in Gaza. Hamas' view of "infrastructure" clearly not only includes but prioritizes its terror tunnels.

- \$100 million spent overall on military infrastructure
- \$40 million spent on tunnel digging
- \$530 million was Hamas' last known budget since 2014
- 1,500 Hamas operatives employed in tunnel digging
- \$250-\$400 paid monthly to Hamas tunnel diggers⁴¹

In a September 2016 New York Times article, a 23-year-old Gazan calling himself simply Akram was quoted as saying that there is "a Gaza City under the ground, and we have nothing up here."⁴²

Hamas' Child Soldiers

Hamas has made no secret that it trains children in warfare and inculcates in them a hatred of Jews and a love of jihad. Using children as combatants is not a new phenomenon—it goes back decades—nor has it been a secret. The June 12, 1978, issue of Life magazine featured a cover story on the "tiger cubs," child fighters of the "Palestinian Arabs."⁴³ According to the article, boys as young as eight-years-old were receiving guerilla training "at a refugee camp in Amman. There they run obstacle courses, learn handling of Chinese and Russian weapons, including machine guns and rocket launchers, and practice firing automatic rifles 'with live ammunition.'"⁴⁴



LIFE Magazine cover for June 21, 1978, issue.

Hamas teaches its children from the cradle that the Jews are the enemy and that the highest mission is to die for Allah while murdering Jews. In order to build its military strength and inspire its young to this goal, Hamas gives paramilitary training to its youth, including the very young. Where summer camp for most children features swimming, hiking, and other sports, Hamas boys spend their summers training to be fighters and killers in the war against Israel. According to one instructor, the students are trained in the use of rifles, machine guns, and RPGs. The program emphasizes to the boys “the purpose of the paramilitary training” which is “designed to encourage Gazan teens to follow in the footsteps of the suicide martyrs.”⁴⁵ In 2014, Hamas graduated 13,000 Muslim teenagers from its youth paramilitary camps. Ismail Haniyeh, then de-facto Prime Minister of Hamas, declared on Hamas Al-Aqsa TV:

*“These summer camps emphasize that the Islamic enterprise, the Palestinian enterprise and the human Arabic enterprise are on the rise, in a state of renewal and in a state of victory, great and powerful, and that the Zionist enterprise is in its regression, decline and weakening, along with all of its allies and those who stand at its side. There is no future for the Zionist entity on the soil of Palestine. I say that it does not suffice to say that we do not recognize Israel. Rather, we say this with a shout and as a slogan during the summer camps [of the ‘Generation’ of Return]: There is no future for Israel on the soil of Palestine!”**

A combination of paramilitary training and indoctrination in Hamas’ radical ideology, the summer program was described in 2013 by senior Hamas figure Khalil Al-Hayya:

“We aim through these camps to connect the right-of-return to their hearts and to indoctrinate the youth to return to occupied Palestine.”

* As quoted from Hamas Al-Aqsa TV September 6, 2013. At <https://www.idfblog.com/hamas/2013/06/13/training-children-for-terror-hamas-summer-camps-aim-to-indoctrinate-youth/at>

At a graduation ceremony in Gaza, Ismail Haniyeh, congratulated the graduating class, saying,

*"This is a generation which knows no fear. It is the generation of the missile, the tunnel, and suicide operations."*⁴⁶



Teenagers at Hamas "summer camp" learn to use automatic weapons. (MEMRI)

From a child's earliest days, the lesson is taught that the Jewish state has to be destroyed so that Muslims can "return" to what they call "Palestine." Because it is well-known that the Israelis are reluctant to engage militarily against children, these little soldiers are trained to fight an enemy that will hesitate to harm them. Their strategy is to instill the hatred of Israel and use it for both propaganda purposes and inspiration for combat. In 1985, and again in 1998, al-Ahram published an interview with Palestinian cartoonist, Nagi El-Ali, for a series called "50 Years of Arab Dispossession," in which he said of Israel's 1982 campaign in Lebanon:

*"I saw for myself how afraid the Israeli soldiers were of the children. A child of ten or eleven had sufficient training to carry and use an RBG rifle. The situation was simple enough. The Israeli tanks were in front of them and the weapon was in their hands. The Israelis were afraid to go into the camps, and if they did, they would only do so in daylight."*⁴⁷

What El-Ali failed to mention, and maybe he did not understand, was Israel's policy of not engaging civilians militarily, if at all possible to avoid it, or the natural reluctance of Israeli soldiers, not unlike that of American soldiers, to engage children in battle. Israelis consider this a strength, dictated by morality, law, and what is known as the Spirit of Zahal (*ru-ach* - רוּחַ - *tza-hal*), the code of conduct for the Israeli military which requires that every soldier must show respect for the human dignity of every person).

According to the *ruach tzahal*:

*"Every human has value that is not a condition of origin, religion, nationality, sex, position or role. ... The soldier will NOT use a weapon or force in order to hurt people who are not fighting, or prisoners, and will do his/her utmost to prevent hurting their life, body, dignity or property."*⁴⁸

Over the years, Hamas has tried to send child bombers to kill Israeli soldiers and have sometimes succeeded. In 2004, two 17-year-olds blew themselves up at the Israeli port of Ashdod, killing 10 Israelis. On March 16 of the same year, Israeli troops stopped an 11-year-old boy allegedly trying to smuggle explosives at the Hawara checkpoint near Nablus in Israel. He had been told he was carrying auto parts. That same year, Israeli police arrested three boys, aged 12, 13 and 15, who were en route to carry out a shooting attack in Israel.⁴⁹



On December 18, 2012, Hamas' Al-Quds TV aired an interview with Zaher Jabarin, a senior Hamas commander, who said that Hamas is working "day and night" to educate Palestinian children in Gaza to become suicide bombers. So eager are the children to die for the cause, he said, that "The Palestinian youngsters, the resistance and Jihad warriors, fight and quarrel over performing a courageous suicide operation."⁵⁰



Palestinian teenager Hussam Abdo, sent into Israel wearing a suicide belt, was saved by Israeli soldiers. (WWW.HAARETZ.COM)

In 2004, following an incident in which Hussam Abdo, a mentally challenged teenager wearing an 18-pound bomb in a suicide vest, was stopped and disarmed by Israeli security personnel, Dore Gold said, "No matter how many times Israel learns of the use of children for suicide

bombings, it is shocking on each occasion. Israelis do not understand how Palestinians are willing to sacrifice their own children in order to kill ours."⁵¹

Hamas PR Strategy: 'First Story Out Wins'

Given Hamas' long history of violence, and despite its being labeled by many countries as a terrorist organization, it has managed to remain largely immune from both scrutiny and censure, even as it works diligently to destroy its primary adversary. The success of Hamas' campaign is due, in large part, to two factors:

The first is its covert protection by the Muslim Brotherhood and the various groups through which it operates. The MB fully supports Hamas' violent agenda and provides cover for the organization wherever it can.

The second is Hamas' long history of highly effective propaganda, including the use of inflammatory photos, news stories, and reports, however false, that show Israel as the evil aggressor and Hamas (and the Palestinian people whom it claims to represent) as the victims. By spreading its misleading messages as widely as possible, Hamas has been able to elicit sympathy from a sizeable, if uninformed, international public.

Hamas, the 'Victim'

Unlike the Islamic State, which boasts of its brutal excesses and broadcasts its barbarism through well-publicized videos and glossy, online magazines, *Dabiq* and *Rumiyah*, Hamas portrays itself as a "victim of Israeli aggression." Despite its history of relentless, unprovoked shelling of Israeli population centers, its construction of "terror tunnels" under sovereign Israeli territory, its kidnapping and murdering of Israeli soldiers, its brutality against its own people, and its use of civilians, hospitals, and schools as shields against Israeli retaliatory bombs, Hamas claims to be the clear victim of an Israeli policy of "atrocities" against Palestinians.

First Story Out Wins

One of the most effective PR techniques has been its use of a strategy, which the author calls "First Story Out Wins." This tactic has been in use for many years, with Hamas preempting and exploiting the media as a tool to drive anti-Israel propaganda and to elevate its own image as both a victim and a protector of the Palestinian people.

An example of the "first story out wins" tactic occurred in June 2006, when seven members of the Ghaliya family were killed in an explosion on a crowded Gaza beach. Hamas was immediately on the scene with a camera crew and a press release, accusing Israeli naval patrols that were carrying out exercises off-shore, of targeting the crowd on the beach. At first, Israel took responsibility for a stray missile, until forensics proved that shrapnel found in surviving Gazans, who were sent to Israeli hospitals for treatment, was not from Israeli weapons. Rather they were from a Hamas land mine, hidden in the sandy beach against possible intrusion by the Israeli military.

Hamas nevertheless allowed Gazan civilians to go there to swim and picnic, then used their deaths as propaganda.



Member of Ghaliya family cries over bodies of her relatives on Gaza beach.
(PHOTO: PEOPLE'S HEALTH MOVEMENT)

In the end, it was Hamas' pre-emption of the story that people remembered and believed. The world did not wait for the forensics. It was the story heard first that people remembered and the Ghaliya family was, in the eyes of the international community, the victim of the Israelis, not of Hamas.

Making it Up

Hamas uses the same techniques in the larger sphere of their global operations, as they try to damage Israel on the international stage. In 2014, for example, a photo posted on Twitter showed the corpse of a girl, with her upper body mangled and her severed head lying several feet away.

The Tweet came from an account called "Palestine Photos." Appearing with this photo was the caption "Israeli Air Force kills children in Gaza," translated into Russian, French, and Arabic.*

The Tweet was a lie. It failed to mention that this photo was actually lifted from a Hollywood horror film called "The Final Destination 4."⁵² In fact, the scene in the movie⁵³ (see photos on next page) clearly shows the "victim" to be a woman (not a little girl) decapitated by flying debris as part of the movie's plot line.

Despite the readily available documentation on the film, this phony photograph has been circulated widely on social media, with the incriminating caption blaming the Israeli Air Force for "killing" this "child." Hamas' message illustrates, loud and clear, that Israel is committing atrocities against

* The screenshot of the tweet was captured by StandWithUs.com.

Palestinian children ... and that the “first story out wins” because it is the one people believe.

Another ploy is shown in staged photographs. One that achieved wide circulation purports to show an Israeli soldier pinning a small Palestinian girl to the ground with his foot while her sister sits on the ground next to her, crying. But the notations in red show how many errors there are in the picture, errors that prove the photograph was staged. The uniform was not Israeli military issue and neither was the weapon. The photograph was produced⁵⁴ to “prove” Israeli inhumanity towards even small Palestinian children. But few people are aware of these details, and despite its having been discredited, the photo (without the notations) continues to make the rounds on social media, adding fuel to Hamas’ anti-Israel propaganda campaign.



Two frames from the horror film “The Final Destination” show a tire hitting and beheading a character in the film. Hamas used the frame that followed these (see Twitter posting above) in its propaganda to accuse Israel of murdering children. (SOURCE: FILM CLIP AT [HTTP://FINAL-DESTINATION-MOVIE.WIKIA.COM/WIKI/NADIA_MONROY](http://FINAL-DESTINATION-MOVIE.WIKIA.COM/WIKI/NADIA_MONROY))

‘Dead Baby’ Parade

The real horrors of war, and the tragedies that they bring to ordinary people who are caught in the middle, are no deterrent to Hamas when seeking propaganda to support its message.

One approach frequently used by Hamas, in conjunction with “first story out wins,” is the use of dead babies in their public relations to support their claims of atrocities against them. Taking a leaf out of Hizballah’s book, as they wrote it in the 2006 war with Israel in Lebanon (see photo), dead babies are paraded around for the press to record. The baby in this photograph was held up for the photographers in at least seven different photo shoots that lasted for several hours under the hot Mediterranean sun.⁵⁵

A notable example of Hamas’ adaptation of this tactic occurred in November 14, 2012 during Gaza’s engagement with Israel, when the infant child of a BBC reporter, who was based in Gaza, was killed. The *Washington Post* ran a front-page story with a photo of the man holding his dead baby in his arms. The caption read: “Jihad Masharawi weeps as he holds the body of his 11-month-old son, Ahmad, at al-Shifa hospital after an Israeli airstrike in Gaza City.” The implication was clear. Based on the reports, the young son of this BBC reporter had been killed by an Israeli bombing.



Dead baby held up for photo shoot at Cfar Qana in Lebanon, 2006.

(PHOTO: [HTTP://LITTLEGREENFOOTBALLS.COM/WEBLOG/PICTURES/20070209QANAPRESS.JPG](http://LITTLEGREENFOOTBALLS.COM/WEBLOG/PICTURES/20070209QANAPRESS.JPG))

Only it wasn’t true. In March 2013, four months later, the U.N. office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights reported that the baby was “killed by what appeared to be a Palestinian rocket that fell short of Israel.”⁵⁶ The retraction was a short, back page item to which few paid any attention. It didn’t matter that it was true, because “first story out wins.”



In the summer of 2014, war broke out again between Israel and Hamas in Gaza. Hamas complained of Israeli “atrocities” and “war crimes” and this was the story that the world heard first and believed.

A year later, US News published a very different account, which, of course, drew very little attention:

"During last year's six-week Gaza war – also known as Operation Protective Edge – the Israelis made significant efforts to comply with the strictures of the law of international armed conflict. Hamas did the opposite, deliberately increasing the risk to noncombatants and increasing civilian casualties. However due to uncritical press coverage that highlighted the fact of civilian deaths rather than how they came about, Hamas was able to seize control of the narrative in the media. As a result, according to taskforce chair, retired Air Force Gen. Charles Wald, "Hamas thinks they won this thing" even though they were decisively defeated on the ground."⁵⁷

"First story out wins" has been used repeatedly by Hamas in Gaza and the West Bank. In the larger arena of world opinion, this tactic does much to form the international view of Israel. Accusations of "mistreatment" of Palestinians, are often expanded to vicious accusations of "war crimes" and "genocide," while Hamas portrays its own condition as that of "victim."

On May 14, 2018, during Hamas' explosive "March of Return" along the Gaza-Israeli border, Hamas claimed that an 8-month-old Palestinian baby girl had died from inhaling tear gas launched by Israeli soldiers, and showed photographs and video clips of the grieving mother weeping over the infant in her arms.⁵⁸ Although Hamas plays shamelessly on the natural sympathy Westerners have for babies and small children, one might legitimately ask, what kind of parent brings an infant to a violent demonstration? According to reports, many did.

Later, it became clearer when an unnamed doctor in Gaza claimed that the baby had a pre-existing heart condition and he did not believe it was tear gas that killed her. This was confirmed by a hospital report that showed that the baby had "heart defects since birth" and that she had suffered a "severe stop in blood circulation and respiration."⁵⁹

But it was the baby's cousin, Mahmoud Omar, 20, who made the most damning revelation, when he said that his family had been paid the equivalent of \$2,200 by Hamas leader Yahya Sinwar himself to lie about the baby's death.⁶⁰ Omar explained that the family had been told to say that the baby's death was due to tear gas from Israeli soldiers. In the end, the Health Ministry removed the baby's name from the list of "martyrs." *The New York Times* reported that "The Ghandour family acknowledged that Layla suffered from



Eight-month-old Leila al-Ghandour's mother holds her dead child at the morgue in Gaza. (MAHMUD HAMS/AFP/GETTY IMAGES)

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patent ductus arteriosus, a congenital heart disease commonly described as a hole in the heart.” But what the public heard and remembered was that she had died from inhaling tear gas⁶¹ deployed by the IDF.

“First story out wins” is a simple and highly effective tactic. Tell the story immediately, whether or not it is true. Then tell it over and over again until it is universally accepted as truth.

U.N. Complicit in the Lies

This is particularly effective in the United Nations, where global policy is formed and where Israel has received far more condemnation than its small size and democratic government would reasonably warrant.

In 2015, for example, the U.N. General Assembly adopted 20 resolutions against Israel’s “human rights abuses.” In the same year, it adopted only three against all other countries. These were against Syria, Iran, and North Korea, countries where human rights do not exist at all and officially sanctioned torture and mass murder are common.⁶² These numbers were similar in 2016, with twenty General Assembly resolutions against Israel, and only four against the rest of the world.⁶³ In addition, U.N. Women, UNESCO, the World Health Organization (WHO), and the Security Council all added their names to the list of U.N. Israel-bashers, passing anti-Israel resolutions and ignoring the horrendous human rights violations by the governments of Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and many others. Such unbalanced condemnations by so many nations against one democratic government demonstrate the power of such an anti-Israel propaganda campaign by organizations like Hamas.

Hitler’s head of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, has been quoted as saying, “If you tell a lie big enough and keep repeating it, people will eventually come to believe it.” The quote may be apocryphal, but Hamas seems to have taken it to heart.

Hamas’ Use of Human Shields

The crimes committed by Hamas are not only against Israel, but also against its own people. In times of conflict with Israel, Hamas has embedded its rocket launchers in heavily populated areas, knowing that Israel is reluctant to bomb civilian targets. There is ample photographic evidence that Hamas fires its rockets and missiles from inside its own cities, in heavily populated civilian areas. Hamas has used civilian buildings such as homes, hospitals, mosques, and schools to store its weapons, and has fired its rockets from lots and backyards that are adjacent to private homes, schools, and hospitals. In the summer of 2014, UNRWA announced that it had discovered weapons stored in its own U.N. schools.⁶⁴

As a result, it has been Israel’s policy to bomb areas from which rockets and missiles are launched, but to also warn civilians to leave their homes when their neighborhoods are about to be bombed. These warnings have

come from leaflets dropped from drones, by telephone, and by text messages, all in Arabic.

Hamas is clearly not averse to using its own people as human shields. Gazan civilians have reported that they have been forced by Hamas to remain in their homes, despite the warnings they have received from Israel that their neighborhoods will be targeted. It is well known that Israeli pilots have been known to turn back rather than fire on civilians in such situations.⁶⁵ So civilians are encouraged, pressured, and sometimes forced to stay in their homes, as deterrents to Israeli air attacks.⁶⁶



Rocket fired from deep inside Gaza City. (REUTERS/AMIR COHEN)

According to an article in the *Washington Free Beacon*, "Hamas' Interior Ministry has ordered residents of the Gaza Strip to remain in their houses if they are about to be bombed by the Israelis, a move that effectively turns citizens into human shields and is intentionally meant to boost the casualty rate, according to a copy of the order published by Hamas."⁶⁷

An official Arabic statement, supported this report: "The interior ministry warned citizens about Israel sending messages telling them to leave their houses. ... The ministry [is] calling all our people not to deal or pay attention to the psychological warfare carried out by the occupation through rumors that broadcast across his media and delivering publications and communications on the phones of citizens, and the lack of response for each of these means, which aims to weaken the domestic front in light of great steadfastness of our people to face the aggression."⁶⁸

On July 8, 2014, however, during Operation Protective Edge, the deterrent was not enough, and the IAF attacked the house of Odeh Kaware, a

senior Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades terrorist operative from the Kaware clan in Khan Yunis. The Israeli newspaper Haaretz (July 9, 2014) reported that the house was being used “as an operations room by a company commander in the Hamas brigade in Khan Yunis.”⁶⁹ Despite the fact that the roof of this house was crowded with adults and children the raid was carried out. But this was not the whole story.

“After the attack an Egyptian media website reported that eye witnesses told the Turkish news agency Anadolu that the IDF had warned the members of the household of Odeh Kaware, a senior terrorist operative in the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, to vacate the house because it was going to be attacked.⁷⁰ Israel’s warning went unheeded and the house was bombed. According to the report, seven Palestinians were killed in the attack and several others were wounded.”⁷¹

In compelling Gazans, including children, to stay in their homes, despite the warnings from Israel that they will be bombed, Hamas commits war crimes against its own people.* In this case, Palestinian media reported “many civilians had gathered around the house and mounted the roof to serve as human shields for the Hamas operative and to prevent the IDF from attacking.”⁷²



Gazans, including children (circled) gather on roof of the Karawe home in Khan Yunis in order to deter Israeli bomb attack. (WATAN TV, JULY 9, 2014)

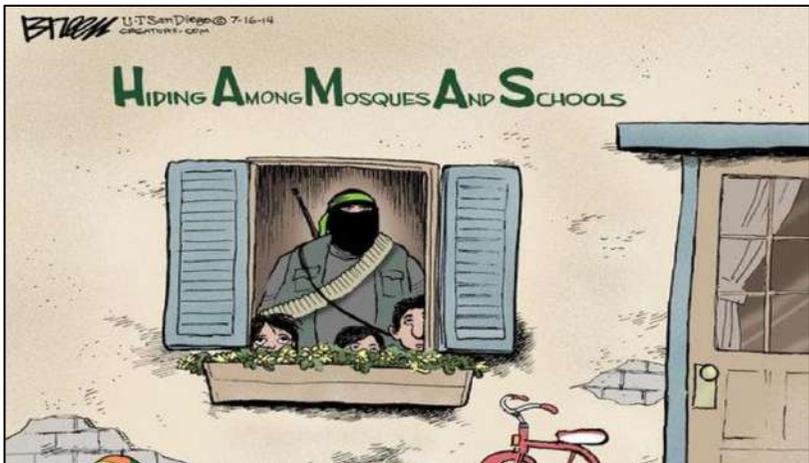
* In international humanitarian law (IHL), the term “human shields” concerns “civilians or other protected persons, whose presence or movement is aimed or used to render military targets immune from military operations.” The use of human shields both in international armed conflicts (IACs) and in non-international armed conflicts (NIACs) is considered a violation of customary international law (*von Leeb*, 15 ILR 395, n.1; ICRC, Rule 97). Treaty law directly prohibits such practice in IACs (GCIV 28; API, art. 51(7)) and indirectly in NIACs. <http://opiniojuris.org/2014/08/01/guest-post-use-human-shields-international-criminal-law/>

Hamas' calculations were wrong. The strategic necessity to destroy the operations center outweighed Israel's aversion to taking innocent lives. Considering the number of people who were gathered on the roof, and how tightly they were packed together, the relatively low number of casualties speaks to that concern and the precision of the Israeli strike.

Hamas' tactic of using civilians to shield buildings with their own bodies was used in both Operation Cast Lead (Dec 2008-Jan 2009) and Operation Protective Edge (July-August 2014). Such tactics demonstrate Hamas' cynical disregard for the lives of its own people. Using them to either deter a particular attack of which it was warned by Israel, or to achieve a high civilian body count, enhances the PR story that Hamas will present to the world to demonize Israel in accordance with its ideology and strategic plan.

Hamas Foments Violence on the West Bank

Israel's Shin Beth (domestic security agency) reported that, in the first half of 2016 alone, Hamas was working "nonstop" to destabilize the West Bank by encouraging and planning increased attacks on Israelis. The escalation, which began in October 2015 with a rash of stabbings, was responsible for over 300 attacks against Israeli civilians and soldiers including 180 stabbings, more than 90 shootings, and 20 vehicular ramming attacks. 240 additional attacks were thwarted by Shin Bet and other Israeli security forces. According to Shin Bet, between January and June 2016, the security forces were able to prevent eleven suicide bombings, ten kidnappings, and over 60 attempted shootings. Most of these, Shin Bet director Nadav Argaman reported, were planned by Hamas: "Hamas makes nonstop attempts to undermine stability in the West Bank."⁷³



Cartoon by Steven Breem, published by USNews.com to illustrate an article on the Israel-Gaza war in 2014.

PART IV

FUNDING HAMAS

For most of its operations, Hamas has depended almost entirely on foreign funding. In 2009, Dr. Rachel Ehrenfeld documented the process of financial aid to date and confirmed that much of Hamas' funding had come directly from the international community.

"The United Nations Relief and Works Agency, the U.N. agency for Palestinian refugees, raises money for Gaza through its Website, with payments going through WorldPay (part of the Royal Bank of Scotland Group), the Arab Bank PLC in Gaza and HSBC in Amman, Jordan. Those funds come in addition to UNRWA's annual budget of \$400 million.

"The \$7 billion to \$10 billion that the Palestinian Authority has received [between 1993 and 2009] has come from the European Union, the U.N., the U.S., Saudi Arabia and other Arab League countries. France alone has sent more than \$3 billion. This influx of cash has done little to advance the development of a viable Palestinian state or of peace in the region. Rather, it has helped to fuel the Palestinian leadership's terrorist agenda, and kept the Palestinian people oppressed and disenfranchised."⁷⁴

The apparent disregard of the Palestinian leadership for the welfare of the Palestinian people is deplorable, as is the lack of oversight from the contributing nations and the U.N. As the Palestinian leaders get rich, the people they claim to represent live in squalor, without jobs or hope for the future. The divide between the rich and the poor is extreme, and a middle class barely exists. Nevertheless, the need for an endless stream of revenues that can be used to support Hamas' terrorist agenda against Israel is essential.

Terror Financing

The financing of terrorist organizations and operations involves the moving of massive amounts of money, often in the form of cash, around the globe. Not only does this process involve partners who share the Islamic doctrine that supports terror as an acceptable tactic to use against its perceived enemies, but also requires the parties to use extraordinary methods to ensure the secrecy of the transactions and the intricate web of players. It was therefore decided very early on that cooperating banks were essential to protect both Hamas and the individuals and organizations that were providing support for its operations.

Al-Taqwa Bank

In 1988, one year after the founding of Hamas, another secret meeting was held, this time in the home of Ahmed Ben Bella, a former president of Algeria. The meeting was attended by “major figures in some of the world’s most violent groups, and the purpose was to create a funding mechanism that would help them all. The outcome of the meeting was al-Taqwa Bank.”⁷⁵ Among those attending were Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman (infamously known as the “Blind Sheikh,” who was the mastermind behind the 1993 bomb attack on the World Trade Center in New York), Youssef Nada (a major Muslim Brotherhood leader), and Sayyed Mohammad Hussein Fadlallah (a leading Lebanese Shi’ite scholar and teacher, sometimes called the “spiritual mentor” of Hezbollah). Other founders included Muslim convert Ahmad (Albert) Huber (who once declared the Iranian leader to be the “living continuation of Adolf Hitler”)⁷⁶, and Nazi activist Francois Genoud, (a banker for Arab militants, a key manager of assets for Nazis facing trial for war crimes after World War II, and defender of terrorists).^{77 78}

In a March 15, 1995 article in Salon magazine, Italian investigators were quoted as calling al-Taqwa “the most important financial structure of the Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic terrorist organizations.”⁷⁹ It was, in fact, among the largest financial resources for al-Qaeda, Hamas, and other designated terrorist groups. According to the U.S. Treasury, in 1997 the bank processed \$60 million for Hamas alone.⁸⁰

The bank operated out of a small apartment on the Swiss border, but its activities straddled the border between the two countries, with offices in Lugano, Switzerland and Campione d’Italia, Italy. The bank also had key branches in Liechtenstein and the Bahamas, which served as offshore tax havens for its clients.⁸¹

The Salon article reported that it had received a previously “unpublished list” of shareholders in al-Taqwa Bank. The article labeled the bank as “part of a network of financial companies named by the Bush administration as a major source and distributor of funds” for al Qaeda and other terrorist groups. The 18-page shareholders register listed 745 names of al-Taqwa shareholders. Among them were, to name just a few:

- Yousuf Abdullah al-Qaradawi, the Egyptian senior jurist of the Muslim Brotherhood who served as the bank’s sharia advisor
- Five members of al-Qaradawi’s family⁸²
- Huta and Iman bin Laden, sisters of Osama bin Laden
- Ghalib Mohammad bin Laden, one of Osama bin Laden’s brothers⁸³
- Members of the Kuwaiti royal family
- Unnamed members of Hamas⁸⁴

The list linked the bank with a number of officially designated terrorist groups, including al Qa’eda, the Muslim Brotherhood, and Hamas. Among them were Youssef Nada (“Nada”) and Ahmed Idris Nasreddin (“Nasreddin”), both co-founders of the al-Taqwa Bank and partners in a number of

financial operations connected with the funding for terrorist organizations.⁸⁵ The authenticity of the list, which contained 745 names on an 18-page register, was confirmed by both American and al-Taqwa officials.⁸⁶ Moreover, DIGOS (Division of General Intelligence and Special Operations) discovered links between al-Taqwa and a number of known terrorist organizations, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Hamas, the Algerian Armed Islamic Group (GIA) and the Egyptian Gama'a al-Islamiya, in addition to former Afghan mujahedin in bin Laden's camps, and terrorist groups in Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, and Sudan.

In 1995, journalists Paolo Fusi and Martin Stoll wrote that DIGOS had told Swiss federal prosecutor Carla Del Ponte, "The Nada group comprises the most important financial structure of the Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic terrorist organizations."⁸⁷

By 1997, al-Taqwa Bank was thought to have acquired \$229 million in capital assets,⁸⁸ and Hamas had transferred at least \$60 million through al-Taqwa to the West Bank and Gaza.⁸⁹ As the world moved into an era of proliferating international terrorism, al-Taqwa Bank was implicated, directly and indirectly, with the 1991 assassination of Egyptian diplomat Alaa al-Din Nazmi in Geneva, and the 1998 bombings of U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, among others. Jordan accused the bank of funding the Islamic State of Iraq (precursor to the Islamic State), led by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, by providing funds for planning terrorist attacks on tourists during the Year 2000 bicentennial celebrations.

The bank hid much of its activity through use of *hawala* banking, an Islamic money transfer system based on an informal word-of-mouth network that keeps no records, depends on trust between agents, and leaves no paper trail to incriminate its clients. This global system is used by Islamic organizations and individuals as a way to move money around without having to pay interest or leave behind evidence of the transaction.

The bank also used "correspondent accounts," which are accounts set up between banks to facilitate financial transactions on behalf of another bank. This was particularly useful in international transactions using currency exchange and helped to further obfuscate the paper trail. Although the al-Taqwa Bank became the subject of several investigations, the convoluted structure of Nada's network, combined with the use of *hawala* money transfer practices, made discovering the paths through which the money flowed too complex to unravel. The investigation came to a halt. In 2001, the Bahamian government rescinded al-Taqwa's license, although the network continued to function.⁹⁰

On November 7, 2001, just days after 9/11, President George W. Bush declared al-Taqwa Bank a terrorist financier and froze its assets, saying, "al-Taqwa is an association of offshore banks and financial management firms that have helped al-Qaida shift money around the world."⁹¹

In 2002, the United States and Italy took a joint action "to block the assets of twenty-five individuals and entities based on their support for terrorism. This action furthers international efforts to shut down identified

terrorist financing networks using targeted freezing actions under domestic and international law.”⁹²

A raid was subsequently carried out on the offices of al-Taqwa in Switzerland and Liechtenstein, and the villas of Youssef Nada and Ahmed Huber, where they found a document that came to be known as “The Project.” Although the document was found in Nada’s lavish home, he denied any knowledge of it, and could not explain why it was there. The document was very revealing, however, and showed the underlying Islamic intent of the bank and its founders. “The Project” was a 14-page document which outlined a 12-point plan to create “a global vision of a worldwide strategy for Islamic policy,” to “establish an Islamic State,” and “to nourish a sentiment of rancor with respect to the Jews and refuse all coexistence.”

On March 18, 2002, *Newsweek* carried an article about the bank, which concluded:

*“al-Taqwa, which means ‘Fear of God,’ was launched...by leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood, a secret society devoted to the creation of a worldwide Islamic government. The Brotherhood wanted to create a financial institution in which devout Muslims could invest their money. It would operate under strict Islamic law, which prohibits banks from charging interest. But investigators believe the convoluted structure of al-Taqwa made it easy to use as a money-laundering mechanism.”*⁹³

Al-Taqwa bank also financed the final eighteen months of Ayatollah Khomeini’s exile in France before his 1979 return to Tehran. The airplane flight that took him back was financed by Youssef Nada—an interesting side note that illustrates the fundamental unity between Sunni and Shi’a when it comes to Dar al-Islam vs Dar al-Harb (Islam vs the non-Muslim world).

In the end, no charges were made against the al-Taqwa Bank or any of its officers, and in February 2015, the bank, and its offices in Italy, Liechtenstein, the Bahamas, Switzerland, Austria, and Tunisia were all removed from the list of Designated Global Terrorists by the U.S. government without explanation. The complex network of financial activity to support Hamas and other terrorist organizations no doubt continues in this and other forms throughout the world. The hand of the Muslim Brotherhood is clearly behind much of it, facilitated by people like Youssef Nada, who reaffirmed his lifelong loyalty to the Ikhwan and its agenda in a 2008 interview: “I am honored to be part of the “Muslim Brotherhood. ... I have been a member of the Muslim Brotherhood since I was 17 years old and will be until I die.”⁹⁴ All of his activities in Islamic financial institutions bear witness to that.

Hamas and Iran

Hamas has expended a lot of effort developing other sources of revenues. Among the most successful of these has been the support which it receives from Iran, although the relationship between the two has been

uneven at best. On and off, over the years, Iran has supplied Hamas with large shipments of weapons and ammunition, in addition to operational funding.

That Iran has continued in recent years to supply Hamas with heavy arms is undisputed. On March 5, 2014, for example, Israeli naval commandos intercepted the "Klos-C" merchant ship, sailing under the Panama flag and carrying arms bound for Hamas. Israel had tracked the weapons for several



A portion of the M-302 missiles found hidden beneath a shipment of concrete aboard the Klos-C. (IDF PHOTO)

months from Damascus to Tehran and then to a port in southern Iran, where they were placed on the Klos-C. From there the ship sailed to Iraq, where containers of cement were

added in an effort to hide the weapons. While on its way to Sudan, the ship was intercepted by the Israeli Navy.⁹⁵ Under shipping containers labeled "concrete," they found 150 containers containing 40 advanced Syrian M-302 missiles, 180 120mm mortar shells, and approximately 400,000 7.62mm bullets, all bound for Gaza.⁹⁶

In August 2015, it was reported that Iran was continuing to transfer funds, advanced weaponry, and electronic equipment to Hamas. Iran reportedly also trained Hamas operatives to infiltrate Israeli territory and airspace.⁹⁷ Although U.N. Resolution 1747 prohibits Iran from engaging in arms smuggling, this was only one example in Iran's long history of trying to send weapons into the region to inflame an already volatile and dangerous situation.⁹⁸ The Klos-C was a dramatic reminder of the lengths to which Iran will go to keep its hand in the business of Middle East terrorism, and, its willingness to cross the Shi'a/Sunni divide in order to support Hamas' war against the Jews.

In February 2016, Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman Hossein Jaber Ansari assured the media that Iran was continuing to fund Hamas. Supporting Hamas' fight against Israel continues unabated, he said, because, for Iran, it is a "pivotal and basic ... principled policy."⁹⁹ This directly contradicted a statement from Hamas, however, that appeared in London-based daily *al-Sharq al-Awsat*. The paper published the transcript of a telephone conversation in which Moussa Abu Marzouk is reported to have said, "We haven't gotten anything from [Iran] since 2009, and everything [the Iranians] are saying is a lie."¹⁰⁰

In October 2016, however, the Congressional Research Service reported that, "Iran has apparently sought to rebuild the relationship with Hamas by

providing missile technology that Hamas used to construct its own rockets, and by helping it rebuild tunnels destroyed in the [2014] conflict with Israel."¹⁰¹ When a Hamas delegation visited Iran for a week, the members met with officials from various offices. Among them was Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps Qods Force (IRGC-QF) commander Qasem Suleimani. A member of the delegation quoted Suleimani saying, "Iran was a staunch supporter of the Palestinian resistance before the nuclear deal, and it will remain so after the deal."¹⁰² Hamas later reported on its "successful and positive meetings with Iranian officials."¹⁰³

There is, unfortunately, too little clarity regarding the relationship between Shi'a Iran and Sunni Hamas, but their shared interest in the destruction of Israel far outweighs their religious differences, and in fact points to the expediency that often rules relationships in this complicated part of the world.

Sunni-Shi'a Collaboration

Hamas' history of Iranian support challenges the long-held myth that Sunni and Shi'a Muslims cannot work together because of their ideological differences. In the affairs of the Muslim world, expedience often trumps ideology, and while the relations between Iran and Hamas have been rocky, Iran has been and continues to be a supporter of Hamas because of their shared goals vis à vis its common enemy, Israel.

For Hamas, however, Iranian support has not been enough. Early on, Hamas leaders saw the need for raising additional funds to support its program of war against Israel. For this, Hamas turned to the West and international aid organizations. The United Nations Relief and Works Organization (UNRWA) has provided \$400 million annually, and the European Union, the U.S. government, Saudi Arabia, and other Muslim countries provided between \$7 and \$10 billion between 1993 and 2009.¹⁰⁴ Even Israel has contributed cash to the Hamas government. In June 2007, after Hamas had taken over the leadership of Gaza, Israel delivered more than \$51 million in Israeli shekels under the condition that the funds would not go to Hamas, but such promises "are dubious at best."¹⁰⁵

But as early as 1987, the year Hamas was founded by the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in Gaza, Hamas began developing a sophisticated and secret network of hundreds of organizations, businesses, and student groups in the United States to fund its terrorist activities in the Middle East.¹⁰⁶

PART V

BUILDING A PALESTINIAN COALITION

After the failure of the joint government in Gaza in 2007, a seemingly endless series of efforts was undertaken to promote another try at a Fatah/Hamas coalition. But neither the 2008 Sa'ana Declaration, the 2009 Cairo talks, nor the 2010 Damascus talks resulted in any real progress.

Then in 2011, new talks resulted in a signed agreement to form a transitional caretaker government. The agreement was signed by Fatah President Mahmoud Abbas and Hamas leader Kaled Mashal. But, by June 2011, the talks once again faltered over a dispute about which group the Prime Minister would come from. As a result, further talks were postponed indefinitely.



Palestinian Ambassador to Russia Abed al-Hafeez Nofal (L) and Hamas leader Moussa Abu Marzouk in Moscow on January 17, 2017. (AFP PHOTO/ALEXANDER NEMENOV)

In February 2012, another agreement was signed in Doha. The parties claimed that they had overcome their political differences, saying, "We agreed that the period of calm would be not only in the Gaza Strip, but also in the West Bank. ... We also agreed on a peaceful popular resistance [against Israel], the establishment of a Palestinian state along the 1967 borders and that the peace talks would continue if Israel halted settlement construction and accepted our conditions."¹⁰⁷

But in less than a month, the talks once again stalled. Fatah accused Hamas of setting up roadblocks and arresting scores of Fatah members. Then, in May 2012, the two parties signed another agreement regarding new elections, voter registration, and the setting up of a new government. On November 29, 2012, the United Nations General Assembly passed Resolution

67/19, granting Palestine non-member observer status at the U.N. On January 9, 2013, it was announced that Khaled Mashal and Mahmoud Abbas held new reconciliation talks in Cairo.

A year later, Fatah and Hamas signed a new reconciliation agreement, calling for a unity government within five weeks, followed by presidential and parliamentary elections within 6 months. On June 2, 2014, President Abbas swore in the new unity government, headed by the incumbent PM, Rami Hamdallah, while growing conflicts with Israel, discontinued peace talks, and new sanctions on Gaza, did little to provide relief to an increasingly complicated situation.

Efforts by several countries were initiated to resolve the impasse. At the end of 2016, a new round of talks was initiated in Doha, but little progress was made, until January 17, 2017, when another round of talks was held in Moscow. These resulted in the surprising announcement that the two enemies, with the assistance of Russia, would once again try to form a unity government.

In October 2017, the two sides met again in Cairo to hammer out another reconciliation agreement. The agreement stipulated that legislative, presidential, and national council elections would be conducted within one year and required both parties to form an interim government to be followed by elections. The Israeli reaction was swift. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu wrote, "Israel opposes any reconciliation in which the terrorist organization Hamas does not disarm and end its war to destroy Israel."¹⁰⁸ Other conditions included recognition of the state of Israel, the cessation of all terrorist attacks against Israel, including the building of "terror tunnels" in Gaza. It was academic. Hamas would not renounce its war against Israel, nor would it agree to recognize the Jewish state.

In the spring of 2017, Khaled Mashal introduced a "new" charter or covenant, which declares that Hamas "does not wage a struggle against the Jews because they are Jewish but wages a struggle against the Zionists who occupy Palestine."¹⁰⁹ Most telling is the paragraph which stated that Hamas "considers the establishment of a fully sovereign and independent Palestinian state, with Jerusalem as its capital along the lines of 4 June 1967, with the return of the refugees and the displaced to their homes from which they were expelled, to be a formula of national consensus." It is telling because it includes "the return of the refugees ... to their homes from which they were expelled."¹¹⁰

Because the State of Israel is founded on the principles of Zionism, the fulfillment of the "right of return" for Palestinians would therefore effectively destroy the Jewish state, with the influx of more than seven million Palestinians into the tiny Jewish state. The new covenant is therefore no improvement on the old. The cosmetic changes, changing "Jewish" and "Jews" to "Zionists," does not fix what is essentially wrong with the earlier document. It is at its core an antisemitic and anti-Israel covenant outlining for the membership of Hamas the underlying dream of destroying Israel and "driving the Jews into the sea." (For a translation of both documents, see Appendix I and Appendix II.)

In 2017, the attempt to create a joint government between the PA and Hamas failed again, another indication that the divide between the two Palestinian groups would be difficult if not impossible to overcome. On March 14, 2018, a failed assassination attempt on the Palestinian Authority Prime Minister Rami Hamdallah and the head of the PA's intelligence services Majid Faraj brought negotiations to a screeching halt and put an end to reconciliation efforts once again. Although Hamas rushed to blame Israel for the attack, the explosion made any chance of immediate reconciliation between Hamas and the PA highly unlikely. Hamas' security forces offered to investigate the attack, but PA President Mahmoud Abbas refused their assistance.

In a speech to PA leaders, Abbas said, "We do not want an investigation or information from them. We do not want anything from them, because we are fully aware that Hamas is the one who stands behind that incident and carried it out."¹¹¹

Geography Defines Probability for Success

Having a single government rule over a divided geography has rarely been successful over the long run. It didn't work in the division of Pakistan, which was created by the British in 1947, when it was separated from India into two parts. The new country was known as East Pakistan and West Pakistan, and the two parts were separated by a distance of 2,300 miles of land under Indian sovereignty. This arrangement lasted only 23 years until East Pakistan broke away and became Bangladesh in 1970.

It also did not work when Egypt and Syria created a union called the United Arab Republic, which was supposed to be a single country comprised of Egypt in the south and Syria in the north, separated by Israel and Lebanon in between. The United Arab Republic collapsed within only three years, lasting only from 1958 to 1961.

A "unified Palestine" would still be divided, because the West Bank and Gaza are separated at its closest point by a 25-mile land mass known as Israel. In 2011, President Barack Obama ordered Israel to recognize the 1976 borders as the final boundaries of the new Palestinian state. "The Palestinian people must have the right to govern themselves, and reach their potential, in a sovereign and contiguous state."¹¹² But Obama failed to acknowledge that the only way to create a "contiguous" state for the Palestinians would be to divide Israel into two parts by building a connecting road between the West Bank and Gaza that would effectively split the Jewish state. Either way, one state or the other would be in two parts and a divided Israel would never be acceptable to the Jewish state.

Another clearly irreconcilable issue is that both Hamas and Fatah want to lead the new state and the day-to-day friction over ideology, politics, tactics, and strategies would most likely once again cause the new government to fail very quickly.

What impact would a "unified Palestine" have on America? For as long as such a union would last, it would give Fatah access to Hamas' well-

established network in the U.S. Fatah is not a more “moderate” version of Hamas. Encouraged by Hamas, Fatah was the creator of the “stabbing intifada” which began in Israel in September 2015 and lasted for two years. During that period, there were hundreds of attacks against Israelis: 169 stabbing attacks and 103 attempted stabbings; 126 shootings; 51 vehicular (ramming) attacks; and one vehicle (bus) bombing. The so-called “stabbing intifada” resulted in the murder of 46 Israelis and the wounding of 649 others, including four Palestinians.¹¹³ Later, in 2018, a new epidemic of stabbings and car rammings took more than 76 Israeli lives. While all of these attacks took place in Israel proper, including the West Bank, some were inspired and funded by Hamas, as well as the PA.

The Palestinian Authority (PA) / Fatah’s Misuse of Foreign Funding

Fatah does not share Hamas’ disavowal of violence in the United States, although until now it has devoted its efforts to attacks in Israel against Israelis. Hamas is funded by Muslim Brotherhood supporters, including Qatar and Turkey, as well as by Iran and its global network of support. Fatah, on the other hand, lacks such a global network, and receives far less support from abroad. Until the summer of 2018, it depended on the U.S. and groups like the Palestine Reform and Development Plan Trust Fund (PRDPTF), a collaboration among Australia, France, Japan, Kuwait, Norway, and the United Kingdom, for much of its funding. Since the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1994, Washington the United States has been the largest donor of aid to the Palestinians, providing the Palestinians with more than \$5.2 billion “in the areas of democracy and governance; education; health; private enterprise; security assistance; water and sanitation; and infrastructure.”¹¹⁴ Palestinian economists estimate that, over the last 20 years, the PA has received more than \$25 billion in international aid.¹¹⁵ For example, between 1993 and 2009, the Palestinian Authority received between \$7 and \$10 billion from the European Union, the United Nations, the United States, Saudi Arabia, and other Arab League countries. “This influx of cash has done little to advance the development of a viable Palestinian state or of peace in the region. Rather, it has helped to fuel the Palestinian leadership’s terrorist agenda, and kept the Palestinian people oppressed and disenfranchised.”¹¹⁶

Over time, donations from overseas have added up. Fatah supplements these contributions by taxing its population. Following the money trail has proven to be difficult, though, because Palestinian leaders have been artful in cooking the books and have diverted large amounts of international aid into personal accounts.

Yasser Arafat, founder of Fatah and its first leader, set the tone for all the corruption that was to follow. Within three years of the PA’s establishment, Palestinian auditors found that nearly 40 percent of the PA budget had been diverted away from the Palestinian economy and into the illicit accounts of its leaders.¹¹⁷ Between 1994, when he assumed power, until his

death in 2005, Arafat managed to steal some \$3 billion, which he hid in Swiss bank accounts.

A search of social media today reveals the corruption of senior Fatah officials at the highest levels, including (and especially) the Abbas family and the Palestinian elite, who have turned the manipulation of the political and financial systems to their own benefit at the expense of the people they claim to be serving. In 2016, a Panamanian law firm leaked documents revealing that Abbas and his two sons “used power and influence to control the two major Palestinian economic boards (Arab Palestinian Investment Company and Palestinian Investment Fund) and built a West Bank economic empire worth more than \$300 million. Abbas’ authoritarian rule has allowed his family’s Falcon consortium to dominate the West Bank’s commerce and labor markets including owning shopping centers, media and insurance companies and distributing food, cigarettes, cosmetics and other consumer items. Falcon touches every aspect of Palestinian commercial life.”¹¹⁸ Moreover, Abbas’ two sons, Tareq Abbas and Yasser Abbas, are also multi-millionaires. Tareq owns luxury properties in Amman, Beirut and London. Yasser made his fortune by capitalizing on his monopoly of U.S.-made cigarettes, which he sold in the West Bank.¹¹⁹

‘Pay for Slay’ Lifetime Pensions for Terrorists

Beyond the rampant corruption among the Palestinian elite, among of the most egregious uses of foreign aid are the payments by the PA of lifetime pensions to terrorists who attack Israelis. Like Hamas, the PA diverts significant portions of the foreign financial aid to payments of sizable stipends to its terrorists and their families, supporting for life to terrorists who kill Israelis. They call them martyrs who “pave the way for the liberation of Palestine.”¹²⁰ In 2017 alone, the Palestinian Authority paid its terrorists and their families some \$350 million. Regardless of whether the victims are military or civilian, adults or small children, or whether the terrorist is killed, injured, or imprisoned while committing the attack, the terrorist's relatives are paid a monthly cash stipend that is equal to several times the average monthly wage for Palestinians.

The PA stipends benefit some 35,000 families of Palestinians killed, wounded, or jailed in the conflict with Israel, many of whom were involved in terrorism. Israel has repeatedly criticized the Palestinian Authority Martyrs Fund as encouraging terrorism in this way. But like Hamas, Fatah takes care of its own at the expense of its people. And because money is fungible, it does not matter from which accounts this money is paid.¹²¹ The U.S. has been footing the bill in one way or another for a very long time.

The Taylor Force Act

So, in August 2018, the United States passed the Taylor Force Act, named for an American killed in Tel Aviv by a Palestinian terrorist in 2016. The legislation ended America's unqualified funding of the Palestinian Authority, unless the Palestinian government would agree to adhere to several stipulations, including the termination of financial transfers to terrorists, and denouncing and investigating Palestinian terrorist attacks. Abbas responded by digging his heels in, saying, "If we are left with one penny," said Abbas, "we will spend it on the families of the prisoners and martyrs ... [who] pave the way for the liberation of Palestine."¹²²

And finally, the PA's leaders have been famous for providing handsomely for themselves. As in Gaza, the great divide between rich and poor in the West Bank is dramatic.¹²³ Like Hamas, the PA diverts funds intended for the construction of infrastructure and an economy that could support its people. Throughout the West Bank, as in Gaza, luxury lives side by side with squalor. The U.N. refugee camps stand as open sores that have been allowed—even required—to remain nearly seventy years after they were created.



Home of Palestinian businessman Mohamed Abdel-Hadi. (JCPA) ...



Not far from the luxurious homes of the wealthy, the U.N.'s Balata Refugee Camp near Nablus.

PART VI

THE ‘GREAT MARCH OF RETURN’

On March 30, 2018, a new chapter of Hamas terrorism against Israel was opened. On that Friday, 30,000 Palestinian men, women, and children marched to the border fence separating Israel from their homes in Gaza. Hamas billed the protest as a “peaceful demonstration, declaring that the purpose of this march was to show support for the Palestinians’ so-called “right of return.” While Hamas leaders had predicted that at least 100,000 Gazans would join the demonstration, they nevertheless called it a success. It was the first of a series of Friday marches that followed throughout 2018 and beyond the time of publication of this volume.

But what Hamas first tried to promote as a “peaceful” march turned, by design, into a riot of hate and violence that included throwing rocks and Molotov cocktails, rolling burning tires at the Israeli soldiers on the other side of the fence, and gunfire. “Peaceful” demonstrators turned into a bloodthirsty mob that jeered and chanted endlessly, “Kill the Jews!” No less serious was the implicit threat that the mob presented, and that was, in fact, its purpose: that they would succeed in swarming the fence and overwhelming the Israeli forces on the other side. This was the purpose of their March of Return, and the mission continued far beyond its original mandate.

The Origin of the ‘Right of Return’

When Israel was founded, implicit in its charter was a “right of return” for Jews living in the diaspora (outside of Israel), to “return” to the Jewish state, from which their ancestors were captured by the Romans, enslaved, and shipped to all parts of the Roman Empire in 40 AD. While it may be argued that this 2,000-year absence, however caused, cannot be translated into



Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, President Bill Clinton, and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat at Camp David Summit.
(ISRAELI MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS)

a “right of return” in today’s world, Jewish history is reconfirmed nearly every day by new archaeological and historical findings that tie Jews to both the ancient and modern history of what is now Israel. They prove, in fact, that there has always been a Jewish presence in what is now Israel, cementing in history the Jewish claim to the land. This rationale was adopted by the new government of Israel in May 1948 and has been maintained by every Israeli government since.

The United Nations supported this in principle in December 1948 when they adopted Resolution 194 (III), relating to refugees and resolving that “refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible.”¹²⁴ The Palestinians coopted the phrase, although the organizations that they developed such as the PLO and Hamas did not have “peace with their neighbors” at heart when they demanded their own “right of return” to the homes they left in 1948.

For them, the “right of return” refers to their belief that millions of Palestinian “refugees” now have the “right” to return to the homes from which their families fled or were driven more than 70 years ago during the Israeli war of Independence in 1948.

Peace between Israel and the Palestinians has always seemed possible, at least to leaders in the West. Attempts in Madrid and Oslo to forge a “Middle East peace” showed promise, but all of them ultimately failed. In July 2000, a new Middle East peace summit was brokered by President Bill Clinton¹²⁵ and joined by Israel’s Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, but it too failed.

Many assumed that the reason the talks failed this time was the inability of the parties to agree on the final status of Jerusalem. In July 2001, however, after Clinton left the presidency, he gave an interview to *Newsweek*’s Michael Hirsh, in which the former President revealed the true reason the talks failed. According to Clinton, the key issue that derailed a successful conclusion to the talks was Arafat’s demand for a “right of return” for millions of Palestinian “refugees” to Israel.¹²⁶ Although these negotiations were thought to have met “95% of Arafat’s demands,” the final demand for the “right of return” would have meant the collapse of the Jewish state, were it to absorb millions of hostile Arabs into its population and, for the Israelis, it was a deal breaker. Arafat walked away from the table and instead of peace, the 2nd *Intifada* (uprising in Arabic) began in September 2000.

***Naqba*—The Seeds of Hate**

May 14, 1948, was an eventful day. In the morning, the British pulled their last remaining personnel from the British Mandate of Palestine, which they had ruled since 1920. In the afternoon David Ben Gurion declared the

creation of the State of Israel and became its first Prime Minister. In the evening, Egyptian planes began an assault on Tel Aviv, and Israel's War of Independence began.

The Palestinians call that day *al-naqba* (meaning "the catastrophe") because it recalls the event that triggered the flight of hundreds of thousands of Arab residents from the brand-new state and led to their inability to return in victory. It is estimated that more than 700,000 Arabs fled the war¹²⁷ that began immediately after the state was founded, when Arab armies from Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, and Syria, joined by troops from Saudi Arabia fighting under Egyptian command, attacked the tiny new state. The goal of the Arabs was to block the U.N. Partition Resolution (which divided the former British Mandate into Jewish and Arab portions) and to prevent the establishment of the Jewish state.

Israel barely had an army, and what they did have was largely manned by civilians, but they were faced with the military might of five Arab states. Despite those overwhelming odds, Israel prevailed, and a final armistice was reached between Israel and the Arab states in July 1949.¹²⁸

Trading Populations with Widely Differing Outcomes

At the same time Palestinian Arabs were fleeing Israel, some 800,000 Jews living in Muslim countries were forced to flee their homes in the face of threats and pogroms. The large majority of those went to Israel, where they were welcomed into towns and transition communities throughout the country. Over time, they were completely absorbed into Israel's population.

On the other hand, the Arabs who bolted from the new state of Israel were relegated to refugee status in the Arab countries to which they fled and placed in squalid U.N.-run "refugee camps" throughout the region, where many were forced to stay, some for generations. Many of the remaining refugees and their offspring are still living in these camps more than 70 years later.¹²⁹

In 1949, the United Nations rewarded the Palestinians with their own refugee agency (UNRWA), "to carry out direct relief and works programs for Palestine refugees."¹³⁰ The Agency began operations on 1 May 1950 and made Palestinians the only refugees in the world whose status was inherited from generation to generation. So, although some 750,000 Arab refugees originally fled from the new state of Israel in 1948, some 8 million "Palestinians" now claim refugee status and the "right of return." Included in this "right of return" are those among the original 750,000 Arabs who are still alive who fled from Israel when the war broke out, as well as their children, their grandchildren, and even their great-grandchildren, plus all their extended families. In establishing this strange protection of refugee offspring, the U.N. created a new and separate class of refugee. No other group of refugees in the world is so broadly defined.

It is estimated that fewer than 30,000 of the original refugees are still alive, but there are, according to UNRWA, an estimated 5.9 million

Palestinian “refugees” eligible for U.N. support and the “right of return.” Some are still living in squalor in U.N. “refugee” camps, which have been maintained for nearly 70 years. According to UNRWA, there are today 1.5 million people living in “58 recognized Palestine refugee camps in Jordan, Lebanon, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, including East Jerusalem.”¹³¹

The rest are now scattered around the world. If these uniquely defined “refugees” were allowed to “return,” they would swamp the Jewish state, whose entire population—including Arabs—is only a little more than 8 million. In size, Israel is smaller than the state of Vermont. Israel would be committing national suicide were it to accept the terms of Palestinian “right of return.”

March 30—The First March

The March of Return was part of a Hamas plan to undermine and destroy the state of Israel. Hamas was, of course, duplicitous, because even as it promoted this as a “peaceful demonstration,” a sermon broadcast on Hamas television before the march was explicit:

“We are here to embrace the blessed land with our hearts and our eyes ... which is being trampled by those accursed descendants of apes and pigs, the remnants of the brutal, savage, and barbaric colonialism, which continues to drain our resources.”

— *Words from Friday sermon from Gaza, broadcast by Hamas’ Al-Aqsa TV on the day of the march*

Hamas claimed that the “March of Return” was being organized by a civilian organization and that it would be a peaceful demonstration. But it rapidly became clear that the *force majeure* behind the “peaceful” march was Hamas itself, and the words of the sermon were intended to be inflammatory.

Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh himself participated in the march and incited the crowd. He told the demonstrators that the Palestinians “will never recognize the Zionist entity and will never give up on Palestinian land, [or] Jerusalem; [the city] is ours and there is no solution [to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict]...”

But as the first day of the march approached, Hamas was warned. As soon as the plans for the demonstration became known, Israel made it clear its security forces would not tolerate a mob of tens of thousands of people swarming the border with the intention of breaking through the fence and overcoming and killing Israeli soldiers and Jewish residents in nearby towns.

On the first day, most of the Gazan women and children stayed in encampments, which were set up several hundred yards from the border fence, and they celebrated with picnics and parties, while vendors sold ice cream and sandwiches. From their vantage point they could watch groups of young Palestinian boys and men as they approached the border fence in multiple

places, throwing stones and Molotov cocktails at the Israeli soldiers on the other side, and trying to break through the border fence.¹³²

At one point, on that first march, Hamas sent a 7-year-old girl right up to the border fence—Hamas' tiniest terrorist. The Israeli soldiers, however, picked her up and took her out of harm's way. The IDF then made arrangements to get her back to her parents safely, the army reported.¹³³

During that day, there were six separate attempts to breach the security fence in order to create openings that would enable thousands of Palestinians to swarm into Israel and overwhelm the soldiers. The Israelis, acting under orders responded first with rubber bullets and tear gas, and then with live fire. At the end of the day, it was reported that 17 Palestinian demonstrators had been killed, and more than 1,400 wounded. It was the most violent confrontation between Israel and Gaza since the last Gaza war in 2014.

Not insignificant was the admission by Hamas that among those who had died, five had been members of its armed wing, the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades. Israel raised that number to twelve, and identified them all, releasing their photographs under the heading "The Terrorists of the Violent Riots." They also released videos that showed Palestinian snipers shooting at soldiers and showed proof that all of those killed were engaged in violence against their soldiers when they died.

Israel stated that the action was defensive and made it quite clear that it would not allow tens of thousands of Palestinian demonstrators to threaten Israeli sovereignty by bringing down Israel's border fence and entering en masse into sovereign Israeli territory. Were any other nation's borders so threatened by an angry swarm of 30,000 people in a hostile demonstration sponsored by their government, it would be considered an act of war. In this context, Israel acted with extraordinary restraint.

Historical Markers

The first "peaceful demonstration" marked the 42nd anniversary of "land day," which Palestinians observe every year to commemorate the Israeli government's expropriation of Arab-owned land on March 30, 1976. That day is observed every year with violent, anti-Israel demonstrations in Gaza and throughout the West Bank.

March 30, 2018, however, had even greater significance for Palestinians because the day marked the beginning of 45 days of demonstrations and, no doubt, bloody violence, leading up to the 70th Anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948 and the opening of the American Embassy in Jerusalem. For Israelis, it was to be a day of celebration. But the Arabs call it the anniversary of the "Naqba" or "catastrophe."

As dramatic as the demonstrations in Gaza were on March 30, 2018, what happened afterward was even more stunning. Palestinian Authority leader Mahmoud Abbas immediately declared a day of mourning for those killed and wounded and demanded U.N. protection for the "defenseless" Palestinians. He blamed injuries and the loss of Palestinian lives entirely on

The Terrorists of the Violent Riots

Hamdan Abu Amshu



25 years old, resident of Beit Hanoun, active operative of the Hamas terror organization

Ahmad Odeh



19 years old, resident of Gaza City active operative of the Hamas terror organization's Shati Battalion

Jihad Frina



35 years old, resident of Sheikh Radwan Company Commander in the Hamas terror organization's military wing

Sarif Abu Odeh



25 years old, resident of Beit Hanoun active operative of the Hamas terror organization's military wing in the Beit Hanoun Battalion

Mosa'ab Salal



23 years old, resident of Zou'ida, active operative of the Hamas terror organization's military wing. Neutralized by IDF troops

Jihad Zuhier Salimon Abu Amro



30 years old, resident of Bani Safaha, active operative of the al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades

Ebrahim Abu Sha'er



29 years old, resident of Rafah, active operative of the Islamic Jihad

Abdel Ebrahim Abdel



20 years old, resident of Latta, active operative of the Hamas terror organization's military wing

Muhammad Abu Amro



27 years old, resident of Shubayya, Tulkarm, active operative of the Hamas terror organization's tunnel-digging division

Muhammad Rahmi



33 years old, resident of Shuja'iyah Tulkarm, active operative of the Hamas terror organization

(PHOTO: IDF SPOKESMAN)

Israel, holding it “fully responsible” for the carnage. He totally ignored the obvious threat that a violent mob of 30,000 hostile people rushing toward the wire fence border presented to the Israeli soldiers beyond it, and to the sovereign nation they were protecting.

On March 31, ignoring those facts, the United Nations Security Council drafted a statement that affirmed “the right to peaceful protest” and expressed the council’s “sorrow at the loss of innocent Palestinian lives.” It called for “respect for international human rights law and international humanitarian law, including protection of civilians.” It made no mention of what international law suggests when the “civilians” are violent and intent on destruction of a sovereign state. It completely ignored the danger that the so-called “peaceful demonstration” presented to Israel. Despite the pressure to pass the condemnation, the draft was squelched by a United States veto.

The Perfect Storm

Three separate but inextricably linked events next brought the region into the center of an enormous whirlwind that was likely to significantly affect the future of the Middle East and beyond.

U.S. Recognition of Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel. The announcement by President Donald Trump on December 6, 2017, that the United States would officially recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and that its embassy would soon be moved from Tel Aviv set off an international furor. This decision was based on The Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995, passed but never acted upon, by a succession of U.S. presidents. Trump’s decision finally to act on Congress’ law to recognize the reality in Israel generated far-reaching and dramatic reactions, from governments in Europe, Asia, and throughout the Middle East. Muslim states in particular rose up in rage. Most dramatically, Hamas essentially declared war on Israel, and began to rally the people of Gaza to march on Jerusalem.

The May 14th Opening of the U.S. Embassy in Jerusalem. The Embassy officially opened on the same day Hamas planned to rush the border, May 14, 2018. The U.S. sent a delegation of more than 800 representatives from the Trump administration and Congress, as well as other VIPs. The building was prepared and Jerusalem was in a state of high alert against any efforts to disrupt the proceedings.

In addition to the presence of so many high-level Americans in Jerusalem, there were warnings of an impending attack by Iran across Israel’s northern border, even as Hamas prepared to lead a massive procession of Gazans to swarm and overwhelm its southern border. Israel, despite its powerful presence in the world of international politics, technology, and military power, is barely the size of Vermont, and would fit easily into Lake Michigan. It is a tiny country existing in a sea of enemies that wish the Jewish nation gone. But in the end, Jerusalem was relatively quiet that day, and the opening of the Embassy occurred without event.



Israel and the Muslim World. (Israel is the tiny country in the white circle.)

The Hamas March of Return

On April 9, 2018, at a large public rally to inaugurate the “Monument of Return” east of Gaza City, Hamas leader Ismael Haniyeh stood in front of a huge poster of great peaceful protesters who helped change the world—Martin Luther King, Jr., Nelson Mandela, and Mahatma Gandhi—and told the crowd that “this peaceful, civilized, and popular march has achieved important goals, and we are still in the beginning.” He promised that the protests “will continue day after day and Friday after Friday until May 15.”¹³⁴

On Friday, March 30, Hamas officially began its campaign to assault the Gaza-Israeli border to demand their “right of return.” Every Friday after that, Hamas brought tens of thousands of men, women, and children to challenge the border. Many, particularly teenage boys, young men, and even children, have been brought to the border with weapons of various kinds, including wire cutters for breaking through the border fence, burning kites and balloons to ignite Israeli fields and forests, thousands of

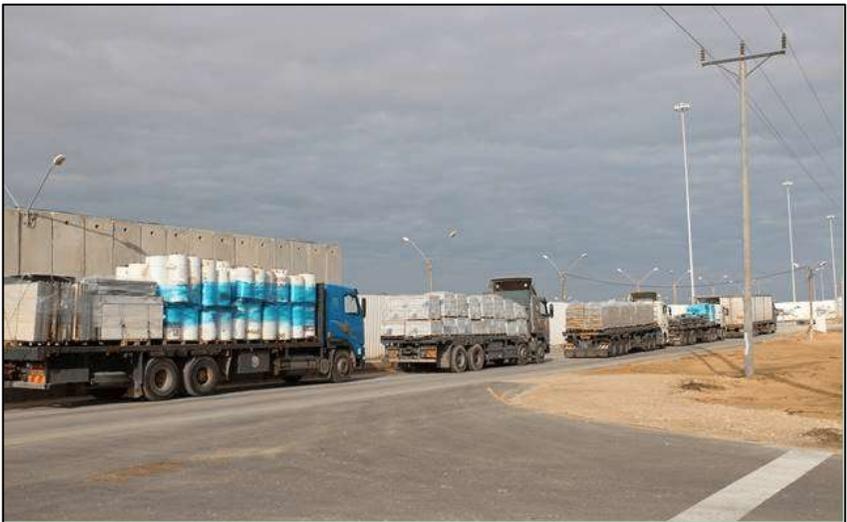


(SOURCE: Hamas)

burning tires to obscure their efforts to infiltrate into Israel, sling shots capable of launching large and potentially lethal stones, hand grenades, and guns. Every week the danger grew.

On the night of May 4, dozens of young men from Gaza broke into the Palestinian side of the Kerem Shalom border crossing between Israel and the Gaza Strip. It is through this gate that convoys of large trucks pass into Gaza, loaded with humanitarian goods from Israel every day. But on that night, the crossing was sabotaged and much of the infrastructure was damaged or destroyed. In their frenzy to demolish everything Israeli, the Palestinians also wrecked the very pipelines that carry gas and oil into Gaza, disrupting the delivery of fuel to hospitals, schools, and homes. They also destroyed the conveyer equipment, which transfers the massive shipments of food, water, and other aid that comes from Israel to Gaza.

The Kerem Shalom border crossing was closed for a short time following the destruction in order to repair the damage.



Hundreds of large Israeli trucks line up daily at the Kerem Shalom transfer gate to deliver humanitarian goods to the people of Gaza. Most of the construction materials like those seen here are stolen by Hamas and used to build the terror tunnel. (PHOTO: COGAT)

Demonstrations Continue

On each successive Friday, following the first March 30 demonstration, the demonstrations intensified in their violence, although instead of growing, the number of demonstrators diminished to about 10,000. The growing violence included:

- burning thousands of tires in order to create a thick oily black curtain to obscure multiple attempts to break through the border fence. (The immense clouds of smoke also generated the potential

for a massive environmental disaster, the extent of which was still to be determined as this book was written].*

- kites were attached to flaming Molotov cocktails, carried into Israel by prevailing winds from the Mediterranean Sea, to ignite Israeli wheat fields and create “millions of shekels worth of damage” to Israeli property.
- countless attempts to breach the fence by cutting it, climbing it, even burning it in order to break through and attack the Israeli soldiers.

As the confrontation along the border intensified, Israeli soldiers fired tear gas, rubber bullets, and, as a last resort, live fire. And as the death toll mounted among the Palestinians, the demonstrations became increasingly violent and dangerous.

May 14: The First ‘Great March of Return’

By May 14, the weekly marches had become a tinder box. But the widely publicized “Great March of Return” that was to have brought a million Palestinians from Gaza to Jerusalem fizzled and failed. Hamas had called for them to overwhelm the border that separates Gaza from Israel, to march together all the way to Jerusalem, capture and kill Israelis along the way, and claim the city and the land of Israel for Palestine. Once there, they planned to stake their claim to city, declare a Palestinian state, and “drive the Jews into the sea.” While these plans were grandiose and driven by blinding hatred of the Jewish state, there is no question that Hamas tried to convince the people of Gaza that it could be done and stirred them into a frenzy of hate and lust for revenge.

Israel, on the other hand, would do whatever necessary to thwart these plans. If Hamas’ plan was even partially fulfilled, the people of Gaza would meet a military force determined to protect its country at all costs, and the results were likely to be much bloodshed and a great loss of life.

But it didn’t happen.

The night before the scheduled march, Israel dropped thousands of flyers across Gaza, warning the residents not to join the march and not to be “Hamas’ puppets.” In the end, for whatever reason, fewer than fifty thousand people showed up.

Israel’s domestic intelligence agency, Shin Bet, released a statement revealing evidence that much of this new violence, carried out under the guise

* During the following week, Israel put an embargo on tire imports into Gaza, even as a request was made to the Israeli government from Gaza for more tires. Muhammad Hamdan, a spokesman for the PA Transportation Ministry said, “There is no doubt stopping tire imports will have a negative effect on Palestinians in Gaza, especially considering there is shortage of them there.” <https://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Palestinian-official-Israel-bans-Gaza-tire-imports-549171>

of mass demonstrations, had been funded by Iran in an effort to fulfill its own goal of destroying the state of Israel.¹³⁵

Shin Bet also revealed it had learned from interrogations of captured terrorists that Hamas had warned its own fighters to stay back from the security fence during the mass demonstrations, in order to avoid getting shot. But Hamas actively encouraged Palestinian women, children, and teens to approach the border, to be the first line of defense.

An unidentified Palestinian man, who was arrested by the Israeli security forces when he attempted to break through the border fence, was interrogated by Israel security forces. His interview was taped. During his interrogation, he revealed that Hamas encouraged women to go right up to the fence, telling them, "You are a woman, go forward, the [Israeli] army does not shoot women. ... They tell young children to go forward; the army does not shoot young children. They tell the child to go forward and he does."¹³⁶

Hamas put out its own statement, confirming this revelation: "There is a prohibition for Hamas operatives to approach the border, from a fear that they will be killed or captured by IDF troops, unless the security fence falls and then they must enter, armed, into Israel under the cover of the masses and carry out terror attacks."¹³⁷

By the end of the day, at least 62 people were reported dead, and an estimated 2,700 people, including many civilians, were injured or wounded. Hamas later revealed that least 50 of those killed were members of Hamas. Despite the huge outcry from local and foreign press, only twelve were civilians. In an interview on Arabic television, Hamas official Dr. Salah Al-Bardawil made it clear: "In the last round of confrontations, if 62 people were martyred, 50 of them were Hamas."¹³⁸

Hamas had announced earlier that the protests would not end after the Naqba demonstrations as planned but would continue through the weeks to come. Yet late in the day, Hamas did something that caught almost everyone by surprise. Hamas members went from camp to camp and told the people to go home. Instead of demonstrations on the following day, they said they would reserve that day for the funerals of those killed in the riots.

The previous zealotry with which Hamas pushed its citizens into the battleground seemed to be absent. It sounded more like an effort to recalculate the costs and possibly to rethink Hamas strategies for the future.

Hamas' 'Peaceful' Demonstration

Even with the lower-than-expected numbers of rioters, there were several attempts to crash through the border fence that day. One cell of eight young Hamas fighters tried to breach the fence in northern Gaza. They threw pipe bombs and grenades at the troops and the fence, but were driven back by IDF soldiers using anti-riot methods. All eight were shot and killed. They were later found to have been carrying hand grenades, a handgun, wire cutters, and crowbars.¹³⁹

On the evening of May 14, following the violent demonstrations and the failure of Hamas to breach the border fence, Khalil al-Hayya, a senior leader in Hamas, said, “We say clearly today to all the world that the peaceful march of our people lured the enemy into shedding more blood,” as though the high casualty count was something to be proud of, and the full responsibility for the casualties rested with Israel.¹⁴⁰

Al-Hayya failed to mention that the “peaceful” demonstrators had come equipped with hand grenades, guns, knives, fire bombs, flaming kites, hundreds of burning tires, and rocket launchers. In one video, when an Israeli drone was seen dropping leaflets, a man in the crowd pulled an AK-47 from under his robe and fired a volley of shots into the air that brought it down.

In fact, prior to the May 14th demonstration, two Palestinian Facebook pages and a forum explicitly instructed Gazans to murder and kidnap Israelis once they had broken through the fence and entered Israeli territory.¹⁴¹

Hamas’ own Facebook page gave a very graphic picture of how cynical and dishonest Hamas’ claims truly were.

The Facebook page instructed protesters to “act in accordance with the demand to bring a knife or a gun and to hide it under their clothes and not use it except where there is need to capture soldiers or residents of Israel.” The posting assured the demonstrators that once they had breached the border fence, bulldozers would break through and hold them down so the Palestinians could rush through. They implied that this alone would cause the Israeli soldiers to run. It promised that they would then be free to wreak havoc on the soldiers they caught and the residents of the nearby towns, which in some cases were mere yards from the border.¹⁴²

But there were no bulldozers to break down the fences; children were sent in their stead, and the fence was not breached.

Casualties. Between March 30 and July 1, according to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Human Affairs (OCHA),¹⁴³ at least 143 Gazans had been killed and 15,343 had been wounded by Israeli forces since the protests began on 30 March. On June 2, the Gaza health ministry released their data regarding injuries. According to their report, at least 3,900 people had been injured by live bullets and another 500 by rubber-coated steel bullets, while more than 6,500 suffered from excessive tear gas inhalation.¹⁴⁴

Viral Palestinian Social Media PSA Prior to Nakba Day Riots:

Monday morning we'll begin with a gathering at 10:00 AM along the Jacher route, from Beit Hanoun until Rafah. A starting time will be announced, and after this time all demonstrators will starting going in one mass, with a strong heart, towards the fence until it is knocked down. The march will be accompanied by loudspeakers that will rally the crowd and prevent the group from being dispersed. The advance will be made behind bulldozers that will take down the fence clearing a path through it for the demonstrators.

The protesters are asked to **please act in accordance with the demand to bring a knife or a gun** and to hide it under their clothes and not use it except where there is need to capture soldiers or residents of Israel. It is requested not to kill them but to hand them over to the resistance forces [Hamis terrorists], as this is an important bargaining chip which Israel is afraid of.

It is necessary to take action and chase the snipers from their positions. It is necessary to expose their positions and plan actions against them carefully. Don't concern yourself with the wounded for the dead - that will be taken care of by the medical teams. Your job is to act wisely on the ground and follow instructions."

StandWithUs

Hamas' War of Fire

In a new twist, Hamas found an ingenious and deadly weapon to use against Israel: fire! This is not the first time that enemies of Israel have used fire against its perceived enemy. Forest fires have been an offensive weapon against Israel for many years. But they were typically set by matches and timed fire-starters, sometimes with accelerants. And never had the use of fire been deployed by so many people in such an organized manner.

At the beginning of May, Hamas began to deploy their newest weapons: balloons and kites carrying flaming rags—and later explosives—tied to their tails. These devices were carried by prevailing westerly winds into Israeli territory, where they would explode and spread flaming debris over Israeli crops and forests. Hamas sent children and teens to the border to deploy hundreds of these weapons, knowing Israeli soldiers were unlikely to shoot them.

These devices are notoriously difficult to spot in the sky and extremely dangerous when they reach the ground, particularly during Israel's rainless summer months when everything on the ground is dry and highly flammable.

So as Israeli soldiers stood helplessly by, under strict orders not to shoot children, young Gazans sent hundreds of the devices across the border. The IDF tried to bring them down with drones and special rockets, but enough of them got through to start large raging fires throughout southern Israel. In early July, Hamas, in a new low in depravity, released a rare falcon with a flaming rag attached to its leg. The bird was later found in Israel caught in a tree and burned to death.

By the middle of July, thousands of acres of Israeli farmland, forests, and nature preserves had been destroyed by these weapons from hell, deployed

largely by young boys and teens. They also killed tens of thousands of animals caught in the flames, and caused millions of dollars of damage, as well as a wide swath of ecological destruction throughout the entire region.

The obvious antidote is one Israel refused to use: the shooting of children and teens preparing to launch a flaming kite or balloon. Instead, Israeli soldiers aimed their bullets near them but did not hit them, enabling the balloons to sail over the border unimpeded and ignite new areas of Israeli land.

Because the one thing the Israelis would not do, even at such a cost, was to shoot children—even those involved in such a cynical form of terrorism—the reign of terror by fire continued.

In mid-July, IDF Chief of Staff General Gadi Eizenkot and Member of Knesset* Naftali Bennet faced off on the subject of the fire attacks at a cabinet meeting in Jerusalem. Bennet asked, "Why not shoot anyone who fires an aerial weapon at our towns and against the terror cells? Why shoot next to them and not at them? There is nothing legally preventing this—we are talking about terrorists in every way."

General Eizenkot responded, "I do not think that shooting boys and children, who are the ones who launch the balloons and the kites, is correct. It is against my operational and moral position," he said.¹⁴⁵

While the arguments continued in Jerusalem, the fire war was unrelenting along the Gaza border. The Israelis who live in communities near the

border continued to live under the threat of both rocket fire from Gaza and just plain fire. Yet their resilience was remarkable. Despite the threat, they stayed and were defiant. In the face of tremendous loss of agricultural lands, they adopted the motto, "They burn, We plant." To this end, they initiated a program of planting thousands of young fruit trees to renew the land where their orchards formerly stood.



(GLOBALKASHMIR.NET)

Gazans deploy balloons with the message in Hebrew, "When life here is like death, we will continue to live by the border." The balloon was booby-trapped with an explosive device.

* Israel's parliament

With all of Israel's leading-edge technology, the simple solution to the war of flaming kites was off-limits, and Hamas could claim a victory over Israel with a simple weapon that anyone can make at home.

But the battle continued. Every week, Gazans appeared at the border with new weapons with which to attack Israel. Replacing bombs and guns with flaming kites and balloons has been a boon to those who would destroy Israel. Their very primitiveness has created a dilemma for Israel, one that has resulted in the destruction of thousands of acres of valuable crops, forests, and wildlife.

Then, on July 14, Hamas began firing rockets into Israeli communities, as well. Between late Friday night until well into Saturday, Hamas launched nearly 200 rockets into Israel. Residents were instructed by the IDF to remain no more than 15 seconds from the air raid shelters that are in every Israeli community. In response, the Israeli Air Force carried out air raids on 40 Hamas targets. It was the largest such raid since the Israel-Gaza war in the summer of 2014. Israel also announced that it was closing the transfer point at Kerem Shalom, stopping the delivery of fuel and gas supplies to the Gaza Strip, although still allowing medicines and food to go through the gate.¹⁴⁶

The border battles between Israel and Hamas continued through the end of 2018 and into 2019. The weekly marches, supplemented by fire and rocket attacks on southern Israel, did not stop. Although the Israeli troops were tasked to protect the border and not to initiate a conflict with the Palestinians in Gaza, they used established crowd-control techniques against the large congregation of rioters gathered on the Gaza side. But when activism turned into terrorism, when chants turned into grenades and sniper fire, the IDF responded appropriately, with live fire.

On January 11, 2019, 13,000 Palestinians in Gaza swarmed the border fence. They burned tires, threw rocks, fire-bombs, and hand grenades toward the Israeli troops and tried to breach the security fence. A 43-year-old Palestinian woman was shot and killed.¹⁴⁷



Lighting an incendiary kite in Gaza (l) and the devastating results in Israel (r).
(REUTERS/AMIR COHEN)

On February 1, 2019, at least 8,000 Gazans rioted along the border, throwing rocks and explosive devices at Israeli troops. Hamas' health ministry reported that two Arab teenagers were killed by Israeli troops during the riots. Another 17 were shot and wounded.

On the one-year anniversary of the first March of Return, Hamas promised a million-man march on the Israeli border. Barely 40,000 showed up. Still, 40,000 people along a 40-mile-long border can present a substantial threat if the people become unruly or violent. In the end, the demonstration was generally peaceful, and the day passed without beginning a war. But the year was costly to the people of Gaza. In the course of the first year of demonstrations along the Israel-Gaza border, according to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), as of March 22, 2019, 195 Palestinians (including 41 children) were killed and close to 29,000 people injured.

Hamas' use of the people of Gaza as human shields in order to incite violence against Israel was seen clearly in the weekly demonstrations.

The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center produced a report on the ongoing situation that contained the following analysis:

"The large number of fatalities from the terrorist organizations on the front line demonstrates that the violence against the IDF near the border is not "popular," as the false Palestinian propaganda wishes to convey. It is orchestrated by Hamas and significantly involves operatives of Hamas's military wing or operatives affiliated with Hamas. It also shows that the IDF soldiers do not shoot indiscriminately at "innocent" demonstrators but instead, in most cases, target and hit specific terrorist operatives. It should be noted that the Gaza Strip Health Ministry, whose reports are used as a source for media outlets worldwide (as well as in Israel), does not provide information on the organizational affiliation of the fatalities, thus helping to convey a false idea of killing "innocent" demonstrators by the IDF."¹⁴⁸

Egypt Tries to Broker a New Peace Deal Between Hamas and Israel

In October 2018, Egypt tried again to facilitate a deal that would result in an "understanding" between Israel and Hamas that would put a halt to all the violence coming from the Gaza Strip, including the launching of incendiary balloons and rockets, as well as the violent demonstrations that were occurring at the border fence every week.

In the weeks that followed, Egyptian negotiators met with Israeli officials as well as Palestinian Authority officials in the West Bank. On December 28, a team of Egyptian intelligence officials went to Gaza to meet with leaders of Hamas.¹⁴⁹ According to sources, they discussed the possibility of a Hamas-Israel cease fire agreement and the possibility of reconciliation with Fatah in the West Bank.¹⁵⁰ As with all the efforts that came earlier, this one did not ultimately succeed in reaching a lasting solution.

In the first weeks of 2019, the divisions between Hamas in Gaza and Fatah in the West Bank flared up once again. And once again, the Egyptians tried to help mend the breach. But, as before, the talks first showed promise, then reverted back to military confrontations between Hamas and Israel, and between Hamas and Fatah.

On March 14, Hamas launched a long-range J-80 rocket that hit a house in the Israeli community of Mishmeret north of Tel Aviv, injuring seven people, including young children.¹⁵¹ Hamas immediately claimed that the launch was a mistake, but Israel launched a retaliatory strike on some one hundred targets in Gaza, including the Hamas headquarters and offices of Hamas leader Ismail Haniya. From Israel's point of view, the fact that the rocket was aimed at central Israel was sufficient reason to respond with force.

Only two days later, Hamas changed its story, saying that the rocket had been fired under pressure from Iran. Hamas also claimed that Iran had bypassed Hamas leadership and ordered an Islamic Jihad cell in the Gaza Strip to carry out the attack.¹⁵² (Islamic Jihad is a rival terrorist group that operates in the Gaza Strip.) However, Israel holds Hamas responsible for all terrorist attacks that emanate from Gaza, so the retaliation was justified.

Within days, two more rockets were fired into southern Israel, and Hamas once again claimed they were "mistakes." Nevertheless, Israel launched another series of aerial attacks on Gaza targets. This was followed by a precarious cease-fire.

As this book is being completed, the Friday marches continue, and Hamas has renewed its launching of fire balloons and kites like the ones that set southern Israel ablaze in 2018. Hamas claims it does not want a war with Israel. But as 2019 begins, it seems to be doing everything possible to start one.

PART VII

HAMAS' FUTURE

Hamas in early 2019 stands at an historical crossroads of its own making. Even as it observes an annual day commemorating the “*naqba*” the day on which Israel was founded, Hamas has created its own *naqba*, one from which it may not be able to escape. This new catastrophe has grown out of its obsessive hatred of Israel and the Jewish people, so consuming that it has used it as a rationale for victimizing its own people in Gaza in order to fulfill its genocidal fantasies. Hamas now faces a future in which its choices are increasingly limited. And the people of Gaza may have had more than enough.

A government that uses its own people as disposable assets to further its political agenda is one that may soon face their wrath as they reach a point beyond desperation. Hamas has systematically stolen from the people of Gaza—their water, food, funds earmarked for reconstruction and infrastructure, even electricity—to further its own demented obsession. There may be a point beyond which all of its rhetoric of hate, that Hamas has been using to keep Gazans under control, will not be enough to stop the people of Gaza from finally rising up against their oppressors.

On March 14, a new dynamic appeared in Gaza. Protests broke out in the streets of Jabaliya and spread south to Rafah, as hundreds of Gazans protested against Hamas policies that left them impoverished and unable to provide for their families. Activists called for relief from the crushing poverty in which Hamas had put them. Some of the protesters maintained that, although members of Hamas do not suffer but are well fed and taken care of, the general population of Gaza suffers from deep and debilitating poverty. The demonstrations, promoted through Facebook, used slogans like “We want to live,” “The revolt of the hungry,” and “Down with price hikes.”

One of the organizers from Jabaliya who is now in hiding said, “We did not march to overthrow Hamas, but only demanded of those ruling us to ease the burdens of daily life.”¹⁵³

Hamas responded to what gave all appearances of a popular revolt with force and brutality. Demonstrators were beaten, their homes were raided, and over 1,000 people were jailed—not only demonstrators, but also journalists and human rights workers. Two workers from the Palestinian Independent Commission for Human Rights were badly beaten and detained. Fatah protested that some of its officials were also beaten and detained.¹⁵⁴

Although they deny it, claiming that torture is illegal, there are many reports of brutality that can only be called torture against their own people whose only crime was protesting against Hamas’ brutality and neglect.¹⁵⁵

There is ample evidence of Hamas’ brutality against its own people, that Hamas has used civilians as human shields and their homes, hospitals,



The poverty in Gaza is catastrophic. Heat and power cuts, caused by Hamas' intentional mismanagement (diverting necessary funds from civilian projects to Hamas war machine), force these Palestinians to the beach, and into the polluted waters of the Mediterranean Sea. Gaza pours more than 21 million gallons of raw sewage into the Mediterranean every day. Swimming in waters polluted by the feces of the horses and mules they share it with and the raw sewage that pours into it from the broken waste disposal infrastructure that Hamas has refused to repair, this is what their 'recreation' looks like.

(PHOTO: GULF NEWS)

mosques, and schools as storehouses for its weapons and explosives. It has delivered its bombs and rockets in ambulances and other emergency vehicles and fired them from the backyards and adjacent lots of private homes. It has brutally murdered its perceived enemies arbitrarily and without any form of due process. It has forced civilians to remain in their homes after they have received warnings from Israel about imminent bombing attacks. And it has poisoned the minds of its children to seek death rather than life.

Hamas' "Great March of Return" is another of its endless and deeply cynical ploys to use the people of Gaza to further its own agenda, to gain the attention of the international press, to enhance its power in the Muslim world, and to generate funding from its patrons.



Two very young Palestinian boys in paramilitary uniforms talk on official Palestinian television about killing Jews. (MEMRI)

The loss of so many lives, and the wounding of so many civilians seems to be a small price to pay for Hamas to pursue its driving goal: the destruction of Israel.

Misbegotten Goals, Bad Choices, Bad Outcomes

The chances that Hamas will prevail against Israel are slim to none. The possibility that Israel would agree to allow eight million Palestinians into Israel is likewise nil. Hamas' benefactor, Iran, is, at the beginning of 2019, in trouble itself, deep in a grass-roots uprising that is growing stronger every day, while the government is reported to be fracturing, devoting all its energies to foreign plots and the development of nuclear weapons, and leaving its own people in deep economic distress. Like Hamas, Iran has an uncertain future before it.

In Gaza, the demonstrations that are happening now may be a precursor to a greater rebellion against Hamas' cruel neglect over the last 12 years, since coming to absolute power in Gaza. Hamas' leaders may have finally exhausted the sufferance of the people they were supposed to govern, and the ultimate outcome may be something other than they planned. But at the time of this writing, Hamas is steadfast in its course, stands stubbornly behind its aim to annihilate Israel and claim the land for Islam, and is willing to continue using the people of Gaza for their own purposes. Opposition is being brutally quashed, but this may only raise the stakes and force the impoverished and desperate people of Gaza to bolder and more dangerous escalation. Before

Hamas ruled Gaza, it had a largely secular and diverse population. There were jobs, and food, and electricity, and clean water. All that has changed. It is all gone. It is possible that it won't be long before the people are ready to take it back.

The "March of Return" is the largest effort Hamas has ever made to mobilize the people of Gaza against Israel. And yet, although it continues more than a year after it began, it nevertheless failed because Hamas could not achieve the desired result—invading Israel and marching triumphantly to Jerusalem.

Despite the fiery kite campaign that ignited and destroyed so much Israeli land, Israelis have already begun to reclaim their scorched lands and making them green again. In the spring of 2019, flowers were already blooming in the fields that were devastated only months before. If Israeli soldiers refuse to fire on children, that is a moral concept they may never be willing to compromise. But Israel will find another way to successfully end the campaign of balloons and kites. It will not defeat them.

All in all, it is not likely to end well, not for Hamas, not for the people of Gaza, and not for the Palestinians' dream for a country of their own.

Because they cannot have Israel. The State of Israel is firmly established as a vibrant member of the international community, and it is here to stay. Moreover, it now has an ally in the United States that is firmer and more resolute in its support than ever before. This powerful partnership will make it even less likely that the Palestinians will achieve their dream of driving the Israelis into the sea and claiming their land. The burning hatred that the Palestinians have harbored since Israel's founding will bring them nothing but further tragedy.

The stark contrast between Israel's vibrant society and Gaza's bleak future presents a great challenge to the region. This challenge will be resolved only when people of good will and open minds come together in a sincere effort to find a peaceful solution, and one that can actually last.

Israel is eager for peace, but peace will not come without a partner. Hamas has once again chosen the wrong path. There will always be dates on the Palestinians' calendar memorializing some painful event in their history that can be used to incite anger against Israel, like the one they call "*naqba*." Every such date provides another opportunity for Hamas to mobilize the people of Gaza to riot, to attack, to kill, and, quite possibly, to ultimately destroy itself.

Hamas leaders have some hard choices ahead, but if their past performance gives us any clue, they will not be able to make them in a way that will benefit the people of Gaza or, in the long run, even themselves. They will revert to what they know best—terrorism born of hatred and the need for revenge for all the perceived crimes against them by "the Zionists."

Israel's clear technological superiority over Hamas' relatively primitive military systems puts the terrorist organization at a severe disadvantage. Israel has already damaged a significant part of Gaza's infrastructure in two earlier wars, striking at the core of Hamas operations that are embedded in

and around the critical infrastructure of Gaza. Hamas declined to repair it, using earmarked international funding instead to fund terrorist tunnels.

The likelihood that Hamas will disavow its ideology in favor of some kind of real detente is unlikely. If it continues to abuse its own people, civil unrest may grow. One Gazan, who broke through the fence and was arrested by Israeli security officers, told them in a recorded interrogation, "People wear out and get fed up. I'm one of those people. ... Hamas is the one sending us Facebook and text messages to go, and at the mosques they yell and hand out flyers calling us to go to the fence." He continued, "When there's [electric] power, and the televisions are on, all you see is the March of Return, the march, the march. ... They're the ones controlling the Strip, ruling it. Everything that happens goes through them. ... Hamas organizes these riots so the people won't revolt."

Hamas may soon run out of options as its people run out of theirs. With no water to drink, no fuel to cook and heat with, no medicines, and only a few hours of electricity every day, Gazans may feel they have little to lose. Desperate people do desperate things. If Hamas imposes an even stronger hand to keep the current demonstrations in check, its leaders may find themselves on the receiving end of a serious and deadly revolt. And revolt is exactly what has been brewing in recent days.

Israel, on the other hand, is strong and has no doubt learned much about what they can expect from Hamas' changing strategies. Israel is generally good at applying the lessons learned and may well provide Hamas with some unsettling surprises in the next round of confrontations.

The situation is complicated and not likely to become less so in the near future. The best the West can hope for is that the failure of the "March of Return" will somehow provide a lesson to Hamas that will change its path in a less hostile direction.

What is most likely, however, is that, not having learned any lesson at all that would lead it to a peaceful solution, Hamas' leaders will go in the opposite direction, impose even harsher measures on the people of Gaza, continue to funnel money into its terror machine and ignore the essential needs of the people it is supposed to govern. Hamas will continue to carry out its attacks in Israel in any way it can. The barrage of hundreds of rockets into Israel's towns and cities, as well as its obvious support for the flaming kite campaign, are both signs that *this* is the direction Hamas will take. In short, Hamas may be leading the enclave directly into another disastrous war with Israel, one it cannot win. Israel is tired of war. It is very possible that the next war with Hamas may be a deciding one and may lead to the end of Hamas' dream of power and victory over Israel.

In the days following the Israeli election on April 9, 2019, U.S. President Donald Trump has promised to deliver the "Deal of the Century," referring to a peace deal that he believes will finally bring an end to the generations of warfare between the Palestinians and Israel. But if this "Deal of the Century" does not take into account the burning rage that fuels the Palestinians' rage

and depends upon the good will of the Palestinians who wish to destroy Israel, this deal, like the others that came before it, is likely to fail.

The Middle East has always been a conundrum to the rest of the world. By the time this book is published, we will all know the terms of the President's plan and, as a result, may be much wiser in understanding what is most likely to happen next in this tiny corner of the world. One thing is clear, though: If the iron grip of Hamas in Gaza continues to force its vision for the destruction of Israel at the expense of all the people of the region—Gazans and Israelis alike—peace in this region will remain an elusive dream that will drain the resources of everyone involved.

POSTSCRIPT

Since Hamas is unlikely to change its course, and the West, particularly Western Europe and the Muslim nations of the world, generally support its activities, Hamas will no doubt continue to turn to its supporters for financial assistance. In the United States, Hamas has developed a strong, if secret, network of support from a large web of loosely connected organizations. Set up by the Muslim Brotherhood,¹⁵⁶ the same organization that founded Hamas, the network is dedicated to the aims of Hamas. Never has Hamas needed it more than it does now.

Since the end of the 2008 Holy Land Foundation trial that linked many Islamic organizations in the United States to Hamas terror funding, the Muslim Brotherhood front groups in America have fundamentally changed their methods of operation. Instead of sending most of what they collected to support Hamas' activities in Gaza, they now keep most of the funds they raise inside the U.S. for the support of the Muslim communities in America. The money is used to build mosques, madrassas, and communities that continue to encroach into non-Muslim areas with increasing speed. American Muslims, many now university-educated, are prospering in America's free economy and willing to donate truly astounding amounts of money to the growth of their communities. They have also made inroads into local, regional, and national government in ways we could never have imagined even a decade ago.



For more information about the secret network in America that supports Hamas, see "Hamas, CAIR, and the Muslim Brotherhood: The Plot to Destroy America," by Ilana Freedman.

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APPENDIX I: Hamas Covenant 1988

The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement

18 August 1988

In The Name Of The Most Merciful Allah

“Ye are the best nation that hath been raised up unto mankind: ye command that which is just, and ye forbid that which is unjust, and ye believe in Allah. And if they who have received the scriptures had believed, it had surely been the better for them: there are believers among them, but the greater part of them are transgressors. They shall not hurt you, unless with a slight hurt; and if they fight against you, they shall turn their backs to you, and they shall not be helped. They are smitten with vileness wheresoever they are found; unless they obtain security by entering into a treaty with Allah, and a treaty with men; and they draw on themselves indignation from Allah, and they are afflicted with poverty. This they suffer, because they disbelieved the signs of Allah, and slew the prophets unjustly; this, because they were rebellious, and transgressed.” (Al-Imran—verses 109-111).

Israel will exist and will continue to exist until Islam will obliterate it, just as it obliterated others before it” (The Martyr, Imam Hassan al-Banna, of blessed memory).

“The Islamic world is on fire. Each of us should pour some water, no matter how little, to extinguish whatever one can without waiting for the others.” (Sheikh Amjad al-Zahawi, of blessed memory).

In The Name Of The Most Merciful Allah

Introduction

Praise be unto Allah, to whom we resort for help, and whose forgiveness, guidance and support we seek; Allah bless the Prophet and grant him salvation, his companions and supporters, and to those who carried out his message and adopted his laws – everlasting prayers and salvation as long as the earth and heaven will last. Hereafter:

O People: Out of the midst of troubles and the sea of suffering, out of the palpitations of faithful hearts and cleansed arms; out of the sense of duty, and in response to Allah’s command, the call has gone out rallying people together and making them follow the ways of Allah, leading them to have determined will in order to fulfill their role in life, to overcome all obstacles, and surmount the difficulties on the way. Constant preparation has continued and so has the readiness to sacrifice life and all that is precious for the sake of Allah.

Thus it was that the nucleus (of the movement) was formed and started to

pave its way through the tempestuous sea of hopes and expectations, of wishes and yearnings, of troubles and obstacles, of pain and challenges, both inside and outside.

When the idea was ripe, the seed grew and the plant struck root in the soil of reality, away from passing emotions, and hateful haste. The Islamic Resistance Movement emerged to carry out its role through striving for the sake of its Creator, its arms intertwined with those of all the fighters for the liberation of Palestine. The spirits of its fighters meet with the spirits of all the fighters who have sacrificed their lives on the soil of Palestine, ever since it was conquered by the companions of the Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him salvation, and until this day.

This Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), clarifies its picture, reveals its identity, outlines its stand, explains its aims, speaks about its hopes, and calls for its support, adoption and joining its ranks. Our struggle against the Jews is very great and very serious. It needs all sincere efforts. It is a step that inevitably should be followed by other steps. The Movement is but one squadron that should be supported by more and more squadrons from this vast Arab and Islamic world, until the enemy is vanquished and Allah's victory is emanating.

Thus we see them coming on the horizon "and you shall learn about it hereafter" "Allah hath written, Verily I will prevail, and my apostles: for Allah is strong and mighty." (The Dispute – verse 21).

"Say to them, This is my way: I invite you to Allah, by an evident demonstration; both I and he who followeth me; and, praise be unto Allah! I am not an idolator." (Joseph – verse 107).

Hamas (means) *strength and bravery* –(according to) Al-Mua'jam al-Wasit: c1.

Definition of the Movement

Ideological Starting-Points

Article One:

The Islamic Resistance Movement: The Movement's program is Islam. From it, it draws its ideas, ways of thinking and understanding of the universe, life and man. It resorts to it for judgment in all its conduct, and it is inspired by it for guidance of its steps.

The Islamic Resistance Movement's Relation With the Muslim Brotherhood Group:

Article Two:

The Islamic Resistance Movement is one of the wings of Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine. Muslim Brotherhood Movement is a universal organization which constitutes the largest Islamic movement in modern times. It is maintained

by its deep understanding, accurate comprehension and its complete embrace of all Islamic concepts of all aspects of life, culture, creed, politics, economics, education, society, justice and judgment, the spreading of Islam, education, art, information, science of the occult and conversion to Islam.

Structure and Formation

Article Three:

The basic structure of the Islamic Resistance Movement consists of Muslims who have given their allegiance to Allah whom they truly worship, - “I have created the jinn and humans only for the purpose of worshipping” – who know their duty towards themselves, their families and country. In all that, they fear Allah and raise the banner of Jihad in the face of the oppressors, so that they would rid the land and the people of their uncleanness, vileness and evils.

“But we will oppose truth to vanity, and it shall confound the same; and behold, it shall vanish away.” (Prophets – verse 18).

Article Four:

The Islamic Resistance Movement welcomes every Muslim who embraces its faith, ideology, follows its program, keeps its secrets, and wants to belong to its ranks and carry out the duty. Allah will certainly reward such one.

Time and Place Extent of the Islamic Resistance Movement:

Article Five:

Time extent of the Islamic Resistance Movement: By adopting Islam as its way of life, the Movement goes back to the time of the birth of the Islamic message, of the righteous ancestor, for Allah is its target, the Prophet is its example and the Koran is its constitution. Its extent in place is anywhere that there are Muslims who embrace Islam as their way of life everywhere in the globe. This being so, it extends to the depth of the earth and reaches out to the heaven.

“Dost thou not see how Allah putteth forth a parable; representing a good word, as a good tree, whose root is firmly fixed in the earth, and whose branches reach unto heaven; which bringeth forth its fruit in all seasons, by the will of its Lord? Allah propoundeth parables unto men, that they may be instructed.” (Abraham – verses 24-25).

Characteristics and Independence:

Article Six:

The Islamic Resistance Movement is a distinguished Palestinian movement, whose allegiance is to Allah, and whose way of life is Islam. It strives to raise the banner of Allah over every inch of Palestine, for under the wing of Islam followers of all religions can coexist in security and safety where their lives, possessions and rights are concerned. In the absence of Islam, strife will be rife, oppression spreads, evil prevails and schisms and wars will break out.

How excellent was the Muslim poet, Mohamed Iqbal, when he wrote:

“If faith is lost, there is no security and there is no life for him who does not adhere to religion. He who accepts life without religion, has taken annihilation as his companion for life.”

The Universality of the Islamic Resistance Movement:

Article Seven:

As a result of the fact that those Muslims who adhere to the ways of the Islamic Resistance Movement spread all over the world, rally support for it and its stands, strive towards enhancing its struggle, the Movement is a universal one. It is well-equipped for that because of the clarity of its ideology, the nobility of its aim and the loftiness of its objectives.

On this basis, the Movement should be viewed and evaluated, and its role be recognized. He who denies its right, evades supporting it and turns a blind eye to facts, whether intentionally or unintentionally, would awaken to see that events have overtaken him and with no logic to justify his attitude. One should certainly learn from past examples.

The injustice of next-of-kin is harder to bear than the smite of the Indian sword.

“We have also sent down unto thee the book of the Koran with truth, confirming that scripture which was revealed before it; and preserving the same safe from corruption. Judge therefore between them according to that which Allah hath revealed; and follow not their desires, by swerving from the truth which hath come unto thee. Unto every of you have we given a law, and an open path; and if Allah had pleased, he had surely made you one people; but he hath thought it fit to give you different laws, that he might try you in that which he hath given you respectively. Therefore strive to excel each other in good works; unto Allah shall ye all return, and then will he declare unto you that concerning which ye have disagreed.” (The Table, verse 48).

The Islamic Resistance Movement is one of the links in the chain of the struggle against the Zionist invaders. It goes back to 1939, to the emergence of the martyr Izz ad-Din al Kissam Brigades and his brethren the fighters, members of Muslim Brotherhood. It goes on to reach out and become one with another chain that includes the struggle of the Palestinians and Muslim Brotherhood in the 1948 war and the Jihad operations of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1968 and after.

Moreover, if the links have been distant from each other and if obstacles, placed by those who are the lackeys of Zionism in the way of the fighters obstructed the continuation of the struggle, the Islamic Resistance Movement aspires to the maintaining of Allah’s promise, no matter how long that should take. The Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him salvation, has said:

“The Day of Judgment will not come about until Muslims fight the Jews (killing the Jews), when the Jew will hide behind stones and trees. The stones and

trees will say O Muslims, O Abdulla, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him. Only the Gharkad tree would not do that because it is one of the trees of the Jews.” (related by al-Bukhari and Muslim).

The Slogan of the Islamic Resistance Movement:

Article Eight:

Allah is its target, the Prophet is its model, the Koran its constitution: Jihad is its path and death for the sake of Allah is the loftiest of its wishes.

Objectives

Incentives and Objectives:

Article Nine:

The Islamic Resistance Movement found itself at a time when Islam has disappeared from life. Thus rules shook, concepts were upset, values changed and evil people took control, oppression and darkness prevailed, cowards became like tigers: homelands were usurped, people were scattered and were caused to wander all over the world, the state of justice disappeared and the state of falsehood replaced it. Nothing remained in its right place. Thus, when Islam is absent from the arena, everything changes. From this state of affairs the incentives are drawn.

As for the objectives: They are the fighting against the false, defeating it and vanquishing it so that justice could prevail, homelands be retrieved and from its mosques would the voice of the mu’azen emerge declaring the establishment of the state of Islam, so that people and things would return each to their right places and Allah is our helper.

“...and if Allah had not prevented men, the one by the other, verily the earth had been corrupted: but Allah is beneficent towards his creatures.” (The Cow – verse 251).

Article Ten:

As the Islamic Resistance Movement paves its way, it will back the oppressed and support the wronged with all its might. It will spare no effort to bring about justice and defeat injustice, in word and deed, in this place and everywhere it can reach and have influence therein.

Strategies and Methods

Strategies of the Islamic Resistance Movement: Palestine Is Islamic Waqf:

Article Eleven:

The Islamic Resistance Movement believes that the land of Palestine is an Islamic Waqf consecrated for future Muslim generations until Judgment Day. It, or any part of it, should not be squandered: it, or any part of it, should not be given up. Neither a single Arab country nor all Arab countries, neither any king or

president, nor all the kings and presidents, neither any organization nor all of them, be they Palestinian or Arab, possess the right to do that. Palestine is an Islamic Waqf land consecrated for Muslim generations until Judgment Day. This being so, who could claim to have the right to represent Muslim generations till Judgment Day?

This is the law governing the land of Palestine in the Islamic Sharia and the same goes for any land the Muslims have conquered by force, because during the times of (Islamic) conquests, the Muslims consecrated these lands to Muslim generations till the Day of Judgment.

It happened like this: When the leaders of the Islamic armies conquered Syria and Iraq, they sent to the Caliph of the Muslims, Umar bin-el-Khatab, asking for his advice concerning the conquered land – whether they should divide it among the soldiers, or leave it for its owners, or what? After consultations and discussions between the Caliph of the Muslims, Umar bin-el-Khatab and companions of the Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him salvation, it was decided that the land should be left with its owners who could benefit by its fruit. As for the real ownership of the land and the land itself, it should be consecrated for Muslim generations till Judgment Day. Those who are on the land, are there only to benefit from its fruit. This Waqf remains as long as earth and heaven remain. Any procedure in contradiction to Islamic Sharia, where Palestine is concerned, is null and void.

“Verily, this is a certain truth. Wherefore praise the name of thy Lord, the great Allah.” (The Inevitable – verse 95).

Homeland and Nationalism from the Point of View of the Islamic Resistance Movement in Palestine:

Article Twelve:

Nationalism, from the point of view of the Islamic Resistance Movement, is part of the religious creed. Nothing in nationalism is more significant or deeper than in the case when an enemy should tread Muslim land. Resisting and quelling the enemy become the individual duty of every Muslim, male or female. A woman can go out to fight the enemy without her husband’s permission, and so does the slave: without his master’s permission.

Nothing of the sort is to be found in any other regime. This is an undisputed fact. If other nationalist movements are connected with materialistic, human or regional causes, nationalism of the Islamic Resistance Movement has all these elements as well as the more important elements that give it soul and life. It is connected to the source of spirit and the granter of life, hoisting in the sky of the homeland the heavenly banner that joins earth and heaven with a strong bond.

If Moses comes and throws his staff, both witch and magic are annulled.

“Now is the right direction manifestly distinguished from deceit: whoever therefore shall deny Tagut, and believe in Allah, he shall surely take hold with a

strong handle, which shall not be broken; Allah is he who heareth and seeth.” (The Cow – Verse 256).

Peaceful Solutions, Initiatives and International Conferences:

Article Thirteen:

Initiatives, and so-called peaceful solutions and international conferences, are in contradiction to the principles of the Islamic Resistance Movement. Abusing any part of Palestine is abuse directed against part of religion. Nationalism of the Islamic Resistance Movement is part of its religion. Its members have been fed on that. For the sake of hoisting the banner of Allah over their homeland they fight. “Allah will be prominent, but most people do not know.”

Now and then the call goes out for the convening of an international conference to look for ways of solving the (Palestinian) question. Some accept, others reject the idea, for this or other reason, with one stipulation or more for consent to convening the conference and participating in it. Knowing the parties constituting the conference, their past and present attitudes towards Muslim problems, the Islamic Resistance Movement does not consider these conferences capable of emanating the demands, restoring the rights or doing justice to the oppressed. These conferences are only ways of setting the infidels in the land of the Muslims as arbitrators. When did the infidels do justice to the believers?

“But the Jews will not be pleased with thee, neither the Christians, until thou follow their religion; say, The direction of Allah is the true direction. And verily if thou follow their desires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, thou shalt find no patron or protector against Allah.” (The Cow – verse 120).

There is no solution for the Palestinian question except through Jihad. Initiatives, proposals and international conferences are all a waste of time and vain endeavors. The Palestinian people know better than to consent to having their future, rights and fate toyed with. As in said in the honourable Hadith:

“The people of Syria are Allah’s lash in His land. He wreaks His vengeance through them against whomsoever He wishes among His slaves It is unthinkable that those who are double-faced among them should prosper over the faithful. They will certainly die out of grief and desperation.”

The Three Circles:

Article Fourteen:

The question of the liberation of Palestine is bound to three circles: the Palestinian circle, the Arab circle and the Islamic circle. Each of these circles has its role in the struggle against Zionism. Each has its duties, and it is a horrible mistake and a sign of deep ignorance to overlook any of these circles. Palestine is an Islamic land which has the first of the two kiblals (direction to which Muslims turn in praying), the third of the holy (Islamic) sanctuaries, and the point of departure for Mohamed’s midnight journey to the seven heavens (i.e. Jerusalem).

“Praise be unto him who transported his servant by night, from the sacred temple of Mecca to the farther temple of Jerusalem, the circuit of which we have blessed, that we might show him some of our signs; for Allah is he who heareth, and seeth.” (The Night-Journey – verse 1).

Since this is the case, liberation of Palestine is then an individual duty for every Muslim wherever he may be. On this basis, the problem should be viewed. This should be emanating by every Muslim.

The day the problem is dealt with on this basis, when the three circles mobilize their capabilities, the present state of affairs will change and the day of liberation will come nearer.

“Verily ye are stronger than they, by reason of the terror cast into their breasts from Allah. This, because they are not people of prudence.” (The Emigration – verse 13).

The Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine is an Individual Duty:

Article Fifteen:

The day that enemies usurp part of Muslim land, Jihad becomes the individual duty of every Muslim. In face of the Jews’ usurpation of Palestine, it is compulsory that the banner of Jihad be raised. To do this requires the diffusion of Islamic consciousness among the masses, both on the regional, Arab and Islamic levels. It is necessary to instill the spirit of Jihad in the heart of the nation so that they would confront the enemies and join the ranks of the fighters.

It is necessary that scientists, educators and teachers, information and media people, as well as the educated masses, especially the youth and sheikhs of the Islamic movements, should take part in the operation of awakening (the masses). It is important that basic changes be made in the school curriculum, to cleanse it of the traces of ideological invasion that affected it as a result of the orientalisks and missionaries who infiltrated the region following the defeat of the Crusaders at the hands of Salah el-Din (Saladin). The Crusaders maintained that it was impossible to defeat the Muslims without first having ideological invasion pave the way by upsetting their thoughts, disfiguring their heritage and violating their ideals. Only then could they invade with soldiers. This, in its turn, paved the way for the imperialistic invasion that made Allenby declare on entering Jerusalem: “Only now have the Crusades ended.” General Guru stood at Salah el-Din’s grave and said: “We have returned, O Salah el-Din.” Imperialism has helped towards the strengthening of ideological invasion, deepening, and still does, its roots. All this has paved the way towards the loss of Palestine.

It is necessary to instill in the minds of the Muslim generations that the Palestinian problem is a religious problem and should be dealt with on this basis. Palestine contains Islamic holy sites. In it there is al-Aqsa Mosque which is bound to the great Mosque in Mecca in an inseparable bond as long as heaven and earth speak of Isra (Mohammed’s midnight journey to the seven heavens) and Mi’raj (Mohammed’s ascension to the seven heavens from Jerusalem).

“The bond of one day for the sake of Allah is better than the world and whatever there is on it. The place of one’s whip in Paradise is far better than the world and whatever there is on it. A worshipper’s going and coming in the service of Allah is better than the world and whatever there is on it.” (As related by al-Bukhari, Muslim, al-Tarmdhi and Ibn Maja).

“I swear by the holder of Mohammed’s soul that I would like to invade and be killed for the sake of Allah, then invade and be killed, and then invade again and be killed.” (As related by al-Bukhari and Muslim).

The Education of the Generations:

Article Sixteen:

It is necessary to follow Islamic orientation in educating the Islamic generations in our region by teaching the religious duties, comprehensive study of the Koran, the study of the Prophet’s Sunna (his sayings and doings) and learning about Islamic history and heritage from their authentic sources. This should be done by specialized and learned people, using a curriculum that would healthily form the thoughts and faith of the Muslim student. Side by side with this, a comprehensive study of the enemy, his human and financial capabilities, learning about his points of weakness and strength, and getting to know the forces supporting and helping him, should also be included. Also, it is important to be acquainted with the current events, to follow what is new and to study the analysis and commentaries made of these events. Planning for the present and future, studying every trend appearing, is a must so that the fighting Muslim would live knowing his aim, objective and his way in the midst of what is going on around him.

“O my son, verily every matter, whether good or bad, though it be the weight of a grain of mustard-seed, and be hidden in a rock, or in the heavens, or in the earth, Allah will bring the same to light; for Allah is clear-sighted and knowing. O my son, be constant at prayer, and command that which is just, and forbid that which is evil: and be patient under the afflictions which shall befall thee; for this is a duty absolutely incumbent on all men. Distort not thy face out of contempt to men, neither walk in the earth with insolence; for Allah loveth no arrogant, vain-glorious person.” (Lokman – verses 16-18).

The Role of the Muslim Woman:

Article Seventeen:

The Muslim woman has a role no less important than that of the Muslim man in the battle of liberation. She is the maker of men. Her role in guiding and educating the new generations is great. The enemies have realized the importance of her role. They consider that if they are able to direct and bring her up they way they wish, far from Islam, they would have won the battle. That is why you find them giving these attempts constant attention through information campaigns, films, and the school curriculum, using for that purpose their lackeys who are infiltrated through Zionist organizations under various names and shapes, such as Freemasons, Rotary Clubs, espionage groups and others, which are all nothing

more than cells of subversion and saboteurs. These organizations have ample resources that enable them to play their role in societies for the purpose of achieving the Zionist targets and to deepen the concepts that would serve the enemy. These organizations operate in the absence of Islam and its estrangement among its people. The Islamic peoples should perform their role in confronting the conspiracies of these saboteurs. The day Islam is in control of guiding the affairs of life, these organizations, hostile to humanity and Islam, will be obliterated.

Article Eighteen:

Woman in the home of the fighting family, whether she is a mother or a sister, plays the most important role in looking after the family, rearing the children and imbuing them with moral values and thoughts derived from Islam. She has to teach them to perform the religious duties in preparation for the role of fighting awaiting them. That is why it is necessary to pay great attention to schools and the curriculum followed in educating Muslim girls, so that they would grow up to be good mothers, aware of their role in the battle of liberation.

She has to be of sufficient knowledge and understanding where the performance of housekeeping matters are [sic] concerned, because economy and avoidance of waste of the family budget, is one of the requirements for the ability to continue moving forward in the difficult conditions surrounding us. She should put before her eyes the fact that the money available to her is just like blood which should never flow except through the veins so that both children and grown-ups could continue to live.

“Verily, the Muslims of either sex, and the true believers of either sex, and the devout men, and the devout women, and the men of veracity, and the women of veracity, and the patient men, and the patient women, and the humble men, and the humble women, and the alms-givers of either sex who remember Allah frequently; for them hath Allah prepared forgiveness and a great reward.” (The Confederates – verse 25).

The Role of Islamic Art in the Battle of Liberation:

Article Nineteen:

Art has regulations and measures by which it can be determined whether it is Islamic or pre-Islamic (Jahili) art. The issues of Islamic liberation are in need of Islamic art that would take the spirit high, without raising one side of human nature above the other, but rather raise all of them harmoniously in an equilibrium.

Man is a unique and wonderful creature, made out of a handful of clay and a breath from Allah. Islamic art addresses man on this basis, while pre-Islamic art addresses the body giving preference to the clay component in it.

The book, the article, the bulletin, the sermon, the thesis, the popular poem, the poetic ode, the song, the play and others, contain the characteristics of Islamic art, then these are among the requirements of ideological mobilization, renewed food for the journey and recreation for the soul. The road is long and suffering is

plenty. The soul will be bored, but Islamic art renews the energies, resurrects the movement, arousing in them lofty meanings and proper conduct. “Nothing can improve the self if it is in retreat except shifting from one mood to another.”

All this is utterly serious and no jest, for those who are fighters do not jest.

Social Mutual Responsibility:

Article Twenty:

Muslim society is a mutually responsible society. The Prophet, prayers and greetings be unto him, said: “Blessed are the generous, whether they were in town or on a journey, who have collected all that they had and shared it equally among themselves.”

The Islamic spirit is what should prevail in every Muslim society. The society that confronts a vicious enemy which acts in a way similar to Nazism, making no differentiation between man and woman, between children and old people – such a society is entitled to this Islamic spirit. Our enemy relies on the methods of collective punishment. He has deprived people of their homeland and properties, pursued them in their places of exile and gathering, breaking bones, shooting at women, children and old people, with or without a reason. The enemy has opened detention camps where thousands and thousands of people are thrown and kept under sub-human conditions. Added to this, are the demolition of houses, rendering children orphans, meting cruel sentences against thousands of young people, and causing them to spend the best years of their lives in the dungeons of prisons.

In their Nazi treatment, the Jews made no exception for women or children. Their policy of striking fear in the heart is meant for all. They attack people where their breadwinning is concerned, extorting their money and threatening their honor. They deal with people as if they were the worst war criminals. Deportation from the homeland is a kind of murder.

To counter these deeds, it is necessary that social mutual responsibility should prevail among the people. The enemy should be faced by the people as a single body which if one member of it should complain, the rest of the body would respond by feeling the same pains.

Article Twenty-One:

Mutual social responsibility means extending assistance, financial or moral, to all those who are in need and joining in the execution of some of the work. Members of the Islamic Resistance Movement should consider the interests of the masses as their own personal interests. They must spare no effort in achieving and preserving them. They must prevent any foul play with the future of the upcoming generations and anything that could cause loss to society. The masses are part of them and they are part of the masses. Their strength is theirs, and their future is theirs. Members of the Islamic Resistance Movement should share the people’s joy and grief, adopt the demands of the public and whatever means by which they could be realized. The day that such a spirit prevails, brotherliness would deepen,

cooperation, sympathy and unity will be enhanced and the ranks will be solidified to confront the enemies.

Supportive Forces Behind the Enemy:

Article Twenty-Two:

For a long time, the enemies have been planning, skillfully and with precision, for the achievement of what they have attained. They took into consideration the causes affecting the current of events. They strived to amass great and substantive material wealth which they devoted to the realization of their dream. With their money, they took control of the world media, news agencies, the press, publishing houses, broadcasting stations, and others. With their money they stirred revolutions in various parts of the world with the purpose of achieving their interests and reaping the fruit therein. They were behind the French Revolution, the Communist revolution and most of the revolutions we heard and hear about, here and there. With their money they formed secret societies, such as Freemasons, 2 Clubs, the Lions and others in different parts of the world for the purpose of sabotaging societies and achieving Zionist interests. With their money they were able to control imperialistic countries and instigate them to colonize many countries in order to enable them to exploit their resources and spread corruption there.

You may speak as much as you want about regional and world wars. They were behind World War I, when they were able to destroy the Islamic Caliphate, making financial gains and controlling resources. They obtained the Balfour Declaration, formed the League of Nations through which they could rule the world. They were behind World War II, through which they made huge financial gains by trading in armaments and paved the way for the establishment of their state. It was they who instigated the replacement of the League of Nations with the United Nations and the Security Council to enable them to rule the world through them. There is no war going on anywhere, without having their finger in it.

“So often as they shall kindle a fire for war, Allah shall extinguish it; and they shall set their minds to act corruptly in the earth, but Allah loveth not the corrupt doers.” (The Table – verse 64).

The imperialistic forces in the Capitalist West and Communist East, support the enemy with all their might, in money and in men. These forces take turns in doing that. The day Islam appears, the forces of infidelity would unite to challenge it, for the infidels are of one nation.

“O true believers, contract not an intimate friendship with any besides yourselves: they will not fail to corrupt you. They wish for that which may cause you to perish: their hatred hath already appeared from out of their mouths; but what their breasts conceal is yet more inveterate. We have already shown you signs of their ill will towards you, if ye understand.” (The Family of Imran – verse 118).

It is not in vain that the verse is ended with Allah’s words “if ye understand.”

Our Attitudes Towards:

Islamic Movements:

Article Twenty-Three:

The Islamic Resistance Movement views other Islamic movements with respect and appreciation. If it were at variance with them on one point or opinion, it is in agreement with them on other points and understandings. It considers these movements, if they reveal good intentions and dedication to Allah, that they fall into the category of those who are trying hard since they act within the Islamic circle. Each active person has his share.

The Islamic Resistance Movement considers all these movements as a fund for itself. It prays to Allah for guidance and directions for all and it spares no effort to keep the banner of unity raised, ever striving for its realization in accordance with the Koran and the Prophet's directives.

“And cleave all of you unto the covenant of Allah, and depart not from it, and remember the favor of Allah towards you: since ye were enemies, and he reconciled your hearts, and ye became companions and brethren by his favor: and ye were on the brink of a pit of fire, and he delivered you thence. Allah declareth unto you his signs, that ye may be directed.” (The Family of Imran – Verse 102).

Article Twenty-Four:

The Islamic Resistance Movement does not allow slandering or speaking ill of individuals or groups, for the believer does not indulge in such malpractices. It is necessary to differentiate between this behavior and the stands taken by certain individuals and groups. Whenever those stands are erroneous, the Islamic Resistance Movement preserves the right to expound the error and to warn against it. It will strive to show the right path and to judge the case in question with objectivity. Wise conduct is indeed the target of the believer who follows it wherever he discerns it.

“Allah loveth not the speaking ill of anyone in public, unless he who is injured call for assistance; and Allah heareth and knoweth: whether ye publish a good action, or conceal it, or forgive evil, verily Allah is gracious and powerful.” (Women – verses 147-148).

B. Nationalist Movements in the Palestinian Arena:

Article Twenty-Five:

The Islamic Resistance Movement respects these movements and appreciates their circumstances and the conditions surrounding and affecting them. It encourages them as long as they do not give their allegiance to the Communist East or the Crusading West. It confirms to all those who are integrated in it, or sympathetic towards it, that the Islamic Resistance Movement is a fighting movement that has a moral and enlightened look of life and the way it should cooperate with the other (movements). It detests opportunism and desires only the good of people, individuals and groups alike. It does not seek material gains, personal fame, nor does it look for a reward from others. It works with its own resources

and whatever is at its disposal “and prepare for them whatever force you can,” for the fulfillment of the duty, and the earning of Allah’s favor. It has no other desire than that.

The Movement assures all the nationalist trends operating in the Palestinian arena for the liberation of Palestine, that it is there for their support and assistance. It will never be more than that, both in words and deeds, now and in the future. It is there to bring together and not to divide, to preserve and not to squander, to unify and not to throw asunder. It evaluates every good word, sincere effort and good offices. It closes the door in the face of side disagreements and does not lend an ear to rumors and slanders, while at the same time fully realizing the right for self-defense.

Anything contrary or contradictory to these trends, is a lie disseminated by enemies or their lackeys for the purpose of sowing confusion, disrupting the ranks and occupy them with side issues.

“O true believers, if a wicked man come unto you with a tale, inquire strictly into the truth thereof; lest ye hurt people through ignorance, and afterwards repent of what ye have done.” (The Inner Apartments – verse 6).

Article Twenty-Six:

In viewing the Palestinian nationalist movements that give allegiance neither to the East nor the West, in this positive way, the Islamic Resistance Movement does not refrain from discussing new situations on the regional or international levels where the Palestinian question is concerned. It does that in such an objective manner revealing the extent of how much it is in harmony or contradiction with the national interests in the light of the Islamic point of view.

C. The Palestinian Liberation Organization:

Article Twenty-Seven:

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is the closest to the heart of the Islamic Resistance Movement. It contains the father and the brother, the next of kin and the friend. The Muslim does not estrange himself from his father, brother, next of kin or friend. Our homeland is one, our situation is one, our fate is one and the enemy is a joint enemy to all of us.

Because of the situations surrounding the formation of the Organization, of the ideological confusion prevailing in the Arab world as a result of the ideological invasion under whose influence the Arab world has fallen since the defeat of the Crusaders and which was, and still is, intensified through orientalists, missionaries and imperialists, the Organization adopted the idea of the secular state. And that is how we view it.

Secularism completely contradicts religious ideology. Attitudes, conduct and decisions stem from ideologies.

That is why, with all our appreciation for The Palestine Liberation

Organization – and what it can develop into – and without belittling its role in the Arab-Israeli conflict, we are unable to exchange the present or future Islamic Palestine with the secular idea. The Islamic nature of Palestine is part of our religion and whoever takes his religion lightly is a loser.

“Who will be adverse [sic] to the religion of Abraham, but he whose mind is infatuated? (The Cow – verse 130).

The day The Palestine Liberation Organization adopts Islam as its way of life, we will become its soldiers, and fuel for its fire that will burn the enemies.

Until such a day, and we pray to Allah that it will be soon, the Islamic Resistance Movement’s stand towards the PLO is that of the son towards his father, the brother towards his brother, and the relative to relative, suffers his pain and supports him in confronting the enemies, wishing him to be wise and well-guided.

“Stand by your brother, for he who is brotherless is like the fighter who goes to battle without arms. One’s cousin is the wing one flies with – could the bird fly without wings?”

D. Arab and Islamic Countries:

Article Twenty-Eight:

The Zionist invasion is a vicious invasion. It does not refrain from resorting to all methods, using all evil and contemptible ways to achieve its end. It relies greatly in its infiltration and espionage operations on the secret organizations it gave rise to, such as the Freemasons, The Rotary and Lions clubs, and other sabotage groups. All these organizations, whether secret or open, work in the interest of Zionism and according to its instructions. They aim at undermining societies, destroying values, corrupting consciences, deteriorating character and annihilating Islam. It is behind the drug trade and alcoholism in all its kinds so as to facilitate its control and expansion.

Arab countries surrounding Israel are asked to open their borders before the fighters from among the Arab and Islamic nations so that they could consolidate their efforts with those of their Muslim brethren in Palestine.

As for the other Arab and Islamic countries, they are asked to facilitate the movement of the fighters from and to it, and this is the least thing they could do.

We should not forget to remind every Muslim that when the Jews conquered the Holy City in 1967, they stood on the threshold of the Aqsa Mosque and proclaimed that “Mohammed is dead, and his descendants are all women.”

Israel, Judaism and Jews challenge Islam and the Muslim people. “May the cowards never sleep.”

E. Nationalist and Religious Groupings, Institutions, Intellectuals, The Arab and Islamic World:

The Islamic Resistance Movement hopes that all these groupings will side

with it in all spheres, would support it, adopt its stand and solidify its activities and moves, work towards rallying support for it so that the Islamic people will be a base and a stay for it, supplying it with strategic depth an all human material and informative spheres, in time and in place. This should be done through the convening of solidarity conferences, the issuing of explanatory bulletins, favorable articles and booklets, enlightening the masses regarding the Palestinian issue, clarifying what confronts it and the conspiracies woven around it. They should mobilize the Islamic nations, ideologically, educationally and culturally, so that these peoples would be equipped to perform their role in the decisive battle of liberation, just as they did when they vanquished the Crusaders and the Tatars and saved human civilization. Indeed, that is not difficult for Allah.

“Allah hath written, Verily I will prevail, and my apostles: for Allah is strong and mighty.” (The Dispute – verse 21).

Article Thirty:

Writers, intellectuals, media people, orators, educators and teachers, and all the various sectors in the Arab and Islamic world – all of them are called upon to perform their role, and to fulfill their duty, because of the ferocity of the Zionist offensive and the Zionist influence in many countries exercised through financial and media control, as well as the consequences that all this lead to in the greater part of the world.

Jihad is not confined to the carrying of arms and the confrontation of the enemy. The effective word, the good article, the useful book, support and solidarity – together with the presence of sincere purpose for the hoisting of Allah’s banner higher and higher – all these are elements of the Jihad for Allah’s sake.

“Whosoever mobilizes a fighter for the sake of Allah is himself a fighter. Whosoever supports the relatives of a fighter, he himself is a fighter.” (related by al-Bukhari, Muslim, Abu-Dawood and al-Tarmadhi).

F. Followers of Other Religions: The Islamic Resistance Movement Is A Humanistic Movement:

Article Thirty-One:

The Islamic Resistance Movement is a humanistic movement. It takes care of human rights and is guided by Islamic tolerance when dealing with the followers of other religions. It does not antagonize anyone of them except if it is antagonized by it or stands in its way to hamper its moves and waste its efforts.

Under the wing of Islam, it is possible for the followers of the three religions – Islam, Christianity and Judaism – to coexist in peace and quiet with each other. Peace and quiet would not be possible except under the wing of Islam. Past and present history are the best witness to that.

It is the duty of the followers of other religions to stop disputing the sovereignty of Islam in this region, because the day these followers should take over there will be nothing but carnage, displacement and terror. Everyone of them is at

variance with his fellow-religionists, not to speak about followers of other religionists. Past and present history are full of examples to prove this fact.

“They will not fight against you in a body, except in fenced towns, or from behind walls. Their strength in war among themselves is great: thou thinkest them to be united; but their hearts are divided. This, because they are people who do not understand.” (The Emigration – verse 14).

Islam confers upon everyone his legitimate rights. Islam prevents the incursion on other people’s rights. The Zionist Nazi activities against our people will not last for long. “For the state of injustice lasts but one day, while the state of justice lasts till Doomsday.”

“As to those who have not borne arms against you on account of religion, nor turned you out of your dwellings, Allah forbiddeth you not to deal kindly with them, and to behave justly towards them; for Allah loveth those who act justly.” (The Tried – verse 8).

The Attempt to Isolate the Palestinian People:

Article Thirty-Two:

World Zionism, together with imperialistic powers, try through a studied plan and an intelligent strategy to remove one Arab state after another from the circle of struggle against Zionism, in order to have it finally face the Palestinian people only. Egypt was, to a great extent, removed from the circle of the struggle, through the treacherous Camp David Agreement. They are trying to draw other Arab countries into similar agreements and to bring them outside the circle of struggle.

The Islamic Resistance Movement calls on Arab and Islamic nations to take up the line of serious and persevering action to prevent the success of this horrendous plan, to warn the people of the danger emanating from leaving the circle of struggle against Zionism. Today it is Palestine, tomorrow it will be one country or another. The Zionist plan is limitless. After Palestine, the Zionists aspire to expand from the Nile to the Euphrates. When they will have digested the region they overtook, they will aspire to further expansion, and so on. Their plan is embodied in the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion,” and their present conduct is the best proof of what we are saying.

Leaving the circle of struggle with Zionism is high treason and cursed be he who does that. “for whoso shall turn his back unto them on that day, unless he turneth aside to fight, or retreateth to another party of the faithful, shall draw on himself the indignation of Allah, and his abode shall be hell; an ill journey shall it be thither.” (The Spoils – verse 16). There is no way out except by concentrating all powers and energies to face this Nazi, vicious Tatar invasion. The alternative is loss of one’s country, the dispersion of citizens, the spread of vice on earth and the destruction of religious values. Let every person know that he is responsible before Allah, for “the doer of the slightest good deed is rewarded in like, and the doer of the slightest evil deed is also rewarded in like.”

The Islamic Resistance Movement consider itself to be the spearhead of the circle of struggle with world Zionism and a step on the road. The Movement adds its efforts to the efforts of all those who are active in the Palestinian arena. Arab and Islamic Peoples should augment by further steps on their part; Islamic groupings all over the Arab world should also do the same, since all of these are the best equipped for the future role in the fight with the warmongering Jews.

“... and we have put enmity and hatred between them, until the day of resurrection. So often as they shall kindle a fire of war, Allah shall extinguish it; and they shall set their minds to act corruptly in the earth, but Allah loveth not the corrupt doers.” (The Table – verse 64).

Article Thirty-Three:

The Islamic Resistance Movement, being based on the common coordinated and interdependent conceptions of the laws of the universe, and flowing in the stream of destiny in confronting and fighting the enemies in defense of the Muslims and Islamic civilization and sacred sites, the first among which is the Aqsa Mosque, urges the Arab and Islamic peoples, their governments, popular and official groupings, to fear Allah where their view of the Islamic Resistance Movement and their dealings with it are concerned. They should back and support it, as Allah wants them to, extending to it more and more funds till Allah’s purpose is achieved when ranks will close up, fighters join other fighters and masses everywhere in the Islamic world will come forward in response to the call of duty while loudly proclaiming: Hail to Jihad. Their cry will reach the heavens and will go on being resounded until liberation is achieved, the invaders vanquished and Allah’s victory comes about.

“And Allah will certainly assist him who shall be on his side: for Allah is strong and mighty.” (The Pilgrimage – verse 40).

The Testimony of History

Across History in Confronting the Invaders:

Article Thirty-Four:

Palestine is the navel of the globe and the crossroad of the continents. Since the dawn of history, it has been the target of expansionists. The Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him salvation, had himself pointed to this fact in the noble Hadith in which he called on his honorable companion, Ma’adh ben-Jabal, saying: O Ma’ath, Allah throw open before you, when I am gone, Syria, from Al-Arish to the Euphrates. Its men, women and slaves will stay firmly there till the Day of Judgment. Whoever of you should choose one of the Syrian shores, or the Holy Land, he will be in constant struggle till the Day of Judgment.”

Expansionists have more than once put their eye on Palestine which they attacked with their armies to fulfill their designs on it. Thus it was that the Crusaders came with their armies, bringing with them their creed and carrying their Cross. They were able to defeat the Muslims for a while, but the Muslims were

able to retrieve the land only when they stood under the wing of their religious banner, united their word, hallowed the name of Allah and surged out fighting under the leadership of Salah ed-Din al-Ayyubi. They fought for almost twenty years and at the end the Crusaders were defeated and Palestine was liberated.

“Say unto those who believe not, Ye shall be overcome, and thrown together into hell; an unhappy couch it shall be.” (The Family of Imran – verse 12).

This is the only way to liberate Palestine. There is no doubt about the testimony of history. It is one of the laws of the universe and one of the rules of existence. Nothing can overcome iron except iron. Their false futile creed can only be defeated by the righteous Islamic creed. A creed could not be fought except by a creed, and in the last analysis, victory is for the just, for justice is certainly victorious.

“Our word hath formerly been given unto our servants the apostles; that they should certainly be assisted against the infidels, and that our armies should surely be the conquerors.” (Those Who Rank Themselves – verses 171-172).

Article Thirty-Five:

The Islamic Resistance Movement views seriously the defeat of the Crusaders at the hands of Salah ed-Din al-Ayyubi and the rescuing of Palestine from their hands, as well as the defeat of the Tatars at Ein Galot, breaking their power at the hands of Qataz and Al-Dhaher Bivers and saving the Arab world from the Tatar onslaught which aimed at the destruction of every meaning of human civilization. The Movement draws lessons and examples from all this. The present Zionist onslaught has also been preceded by Crusading raids from the West and other Tatar raids from the East. Just as the Muslims faced those raids and planned fighting and defeating them, they should be able to confront the Zionist invasion and defeat it. This is indeed no problem for the Almighty Allah, provided that the intentions are pure, the determination is true and that Muslims have benefited from past experiences, rid themselves of the effects of ideological invasion and followed the customs of their ancestors.

The Islamic Resistance Movement is Composed of Soldiers:

Article Thirty-Six:

While paving its way, the Islamic Resistance Movement, emphasizes time and again to all the sons of our people, to the Arab and Islamic nations, that it does not seek personal fame, material gain, or social prominence. It does not aim to compete against any one from among our people, or take his place. Nothing of the sort at all. It will not act against any of the sons of Muslims or those who are peaceful towards it from among non-Muslims, be they here or anywhere else. It will only serve as a support for all groupings and organizations operating against the Zionist enemy and its lackeys.

The Islamic Resistance Movement adopts Islam as its way of life. Islam is its creed and religion. Whoever takes Islam as his way of life, be it an

organization, a grouping, a country or any other body, the Islamic Resistance Movement considers itself as their soldiers and nothing more.

We ask Allah to show us the right course, to make us an example to others and to judge between us and our people with truth. “O Lord, do thou judge between us and our nation with truth; for thou art the best judge.” (Al Araf – Verse 89).

The last of our prayers will be praise to Allah, the Master of the Universe.

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/Hamas.asp

APPENDIX II: The Political Charter

In the name of God the merciful
The Islamic resistance movement Hamas (IRMH)

Thank Allah, the god of people, our prayers and peace be upon our Prophet Mohammed the master of missionaries and the imam of the mujahideen, and peace to his family and partners, all of them.

The IRMH published since its establishment, and during its jihad journey, considering it one of the items of the Palestinian national movements, different charters clarifying their point of view and their political vision.

And in this charter, the movement shows its principals and destinations in which it depends on to build its vision, its speech and to determine its behavior and political performance.

The definition of the movement:

1. The IRMH is a liberation, Islamic and Palestinian national resistance movement. It aims to liberate Palestine and to fight against the Zionist Project, its reference is Islam in its principles and goals.

Palestine's Land:

2. Palestine, with its historical known borders from Jordan's river in the east to the Mediterranean Sea in the west, from Ras Al Nakora in the north to Om Al Rashrash in the south, this land is Palestinian and a united regional unit. Displacing Palestinians and creating a Zionist entity does not cancel the right of Palestinians to their entire land and does not validate the Zionist entity to violate this land.
3. Palestine is an Arab and Islamic land, it is holy and blessed and it has a special place in the heart of all Arabs and Muslims.

Palestine's People:

4. The Palestinians are the Arab citizens who lived in Palestine before 1947. Anyone who was displaced or stayed in Palestine, anyone who was born from an Arab Palestinian father after 1947, inside or outside the country is Palestinian.
5. The Palestinian personality is an original quality, does not disappear, and it is transmitted from a father to children. The displacement that happened to Palestinians from the Zionist occupation does not make them lose their

personality and belonging, as well as, having another nationality does not make them lose their identification or national rights.

6. Palestinians make up one nation, with all Palestinians inside the country and abroad, and with all its items religious, cultural or political.

Islam and Palestine:

7. Palestine is in the center of the Islamic and Arab world and it retains a special importance. In Palestine is the al-Aqsa Mosque, which Allah blesses, and it is the holy land that god blesses as well. It is the first destinations for Muslims, and Prophet Mohammed's place where he started his journey to the sky and heaven and the Nativity of Jesus. It is the land of thousands and thousands of all prophets and messenger who passed in history and it is the land of the people who have the right to stay until Allah finishes this existence.
8. Hamas understands Islam in all its details, and it is appropriate for all places and times in its neutral spirituality, and Hamas believes that it is the religion of peace and forgiveness, and under its shadow all different religious followers live safe and in safety. As well as it believes that Palestine was and will stay as an example of coexistence, forgiveness and civilian innovation.
9. Hamas believes that the message of Islam came with morals of justice, truth, dignity and freedom, and is against injustice in all its shapes, and criminalizes the criminals whatever their sex, color, religion or nationality are. Islam is against all shapes of religious extremism, sectarian extremism and ethnic extremism, and it is the religion that teaches its followers to fight against the tyranny and help weak people and it teaches its followers to sacrifice their time, money and themselves in the defense of their dignity, land, people and holy places.

Jerusalem:

10. Jerusalem city is the capital of Palestine, it has its religious, historical and civilian place in an Arab, Islamic and human way, and all its Islamic and Christian holy places headed by Al Aqsa mosque is a non-negotiable right for Palestine, Arab and the Islamic nations. We do not surrender it or give any part of it, and all the occupation's procedures in Jerusalem such as Judaization, settlement of the city as well as the forgery of the truth, are illegal.

Refugees and the Right of Return:

11. The Palestinian cause is basically a cause of an occupied land and displaced people, and the right of return for all Palestinians who were displaced from the 1948 or 1967 lands, which means from the whole of Palestine. Palestinians have the natural right to go back to their land,

which is a personal and general right for all Palestinians. Confirming this right is all the religions, human rights and international law, and it is non-negotiable for anyone, whether Palestinian, Arab or foreign.

12. Hamas refuses all projects that aim to destroy the refugees' cause, including all attempts to naturalize them as citizens in other countries and alternative home projects. Hamas considers the compensation for Palestinians after displacing them and occupying their land as an essential right, established after their return, and it does not cancel or reduce their [physical] right of return.

The Zionist Project:

13. The Zionist Project is a racist, aggressive and separatist project based on violating others' rights and is against Palestine's people and its vision for freedom, liberation, sovereignty and the return of the refugees. And the Israeli state is the tool of this project and its foundation.
14. The Zionist Project does not just attack the Palestinian people, it attacks the Arab and Islamic nations as well, and it establishes a real danger and gravely threatens its security and interest. At the same time, the project is against the future of the union, development and liberation of that nation. The Zionist Project threatens international peace and security, as well as the interests of humanity and stabilization.
15. Hamas differentiates between Jews as people of the holy book, and Judaism as a religion and the occupation and the Zionist Project as something separate, and it sees that the conflict is with the Zionist Project not with the Jewish people because of their religion. And Hamas does not have a conflict with the Jews because they are Jews, but Hamas has a conflict with the Zionists, occupiers and aggressors, and will fight anyone who tries to attack the Palestinian people or occupy their land whatever their religion, nationality or identity may be.
16. Hamas refuses the persecution of any human being or violation of any human right because of religion, ethnicity, sector or nationality. Hamas sees that the Jewish problem and the "anti-Semitism" and the injustice against the Jewish people is a phenomenon related to European history, not to the history of Arabs and Muslims or their heritage. The basic cause of the formation of the Zionist movement was the phenomenon of anti-Semitism. The Zionist movement was able to occupy Palestine with the help of the western colony, and this movement is the most dangerous model of settler occupation, which was removed whole world and should be removed from Palestine.

The Position on the Occupation and the Political Arrangement:

17. The Balfour Declaration and the British mandate convention on Palestine is illegal, and the U.N. decision for Palestine's division, and all its

consequences and other conventions similar to it and the creation of Israel was illegal from the beginning, and it is against the Palestinian's rights, its determination, human rights, international law and the right of sovereignty.

18. We do not recognize the Zionist state. All shapes of occupation, settlements, Judaization and the forgery of truth are illegal. These rights do not dissolve with time.
19. We do not leave any part of the Palestinian's land, under any circumstances, conditions or pressure, as long as the occupation remains. Hamas refuses any alternative which is not the whole liberation of Palestine, from the river to the sea. And the creation of the Palestinian independent state with its sovereignty, with Jerusalem as its capital, on the borders of the 4th of June 1967, with the return of the refugees to their homes from where they were displaced is a common national consensual formula, and it does not mean the recognition of the Zionist state or the surrendering of Palestinian rights.
20. Hamas refuses all conventions or initiatives and any projects that aim to destroy the Palestinian cause or take away the rights of the Palestinian people.
21. Hamas confirms that no peace in Palestine should be agreed on, based on injustice to the Palestinians or their land. Any arrangements based on that will not lead to peace, and the resistance and Jihad will remain as a legal right, a project and an honor for all our nations' people.

The Resistance and the Liberation:

22. The liberation of Palestine is the Palestinians' duty in the first place, and the Arab and Islamic nation's duty in general, and it is a human responsibility according to human justice and rights. And all the organizations and institutes such as: Palestinian, Arab, Islamic or human are all integrated organizations with no problems or disharmony.
23. The resistance against the occupation, with all different tool or instruments, is a legal right legalized by religious, traditional or international law, and especially the armed resistance that is the strategic option to protect our principles and get back our rights.
24. Hamas refuses to hinder the resistance or its weapons and confirms the right of our people to develop resistance tools and equipments. Hamas confirms that the resistance leadership can decide the level of resistance and can utilize a variety of the different tools and way to administrate the conflict, without compromising the resistance.

The Political System:

25. The real state is the fruit of the liberation, and there is no alternative to the creation of the Palestinian state, with its sovereignty on the entire Palestinian land with Jerusalem as its capital.
26. Hamas believes in administering of the Palestinian relations under the belief of pluralism, democracy, bilateral conversations and partnerships, which makes stronger the union of the Palestinian line to achieve our national goals and the aspirations of our people.
27. The PLO is a national diagram for Palestinian people inside the country and abroad, which we should keep, with the importance of its development and reconstruction on a democratic basis, including the participation of all the parts and organizations of the Palestinian people, which conserve Palestinian rights.
28. Hamas confirms the importance of building Palestinian national organizations and references, using a democratic basis, starting with free and fair elections, and on the basis of resistance and national partnership, with a program and a clear strategy, confirming our rights and to achieve the aspirations of our people.
29. The Hamas movement confirms its total rejection of Oslo's conventions, its consequences and its results, which made contradictory compromises of the benefits of the Palestinians.
30. The Hamas movement confirms that the role of the Palestinian Authority must be in the service of the Palestinian people, and its security in order to protect the people's rights and the national project.
31. Hamas confirms the importance of the independence of the Palestinian decision, and not to relate it to any external issues, and confirms at the same time, the responsibility of Arabs and Muslims and their duty to liberate Palestine from the Zionist occupation.
32. The different parts of the Palestinian community: personalities, idols and civilian social institutes, the youth, students, women and workers unions, who work to achieve the national goals, are an important resource for the social construction and for the resistance and liberation project.
33. The role of the Palestinian woman is a basis for the construction of today and the future, as it was always in the making of Palestinian history, and it is a central role in the resistance, liberation project and the construction of the political system.

The Arab and Islamic Nation:

34. Hamas believes in the union of the nation with all its items such as religious, ethnic and sectarian, and it sees the importance in avoiding anything which may destroy this union.

35. Hamas believes that the Palestinian cause is the central cause for the Arab and Islamic nation.
36. Hamas believes in cooperation with all the countries that support the Palestinian people's rights and refuses to be involved the internal issues of other countries, or their conflicts and problems. Hamas adopts the policy of opening relations with different countries of the world, especially Arab and Islamic nations, and it aims to build stable relations, which aim to unify the needs of the Palestinian cause, the interests of the Palestinian people and the interest, development and security of the nation.

The Human and International Side:

37. The Palestinian cause is a cause with an international and human dimension, and it is a civilian and human mission to be in solidarity and to support it, which reflects human morals, justice and equality.
38. The liberation of Palestine from a legal and human regard is a project that encompasses the needs of self-defense, and it is the natural right of the people to achieve sovereignty.
39. Hamas believes in the morals of cooperation, justice, freedom, respect and people's determination in its relations with the world's countries and people.
40. Hamas welcomes the positions of the commissions and countries that recognize the rights of Palestinian people and condemns any side or organizations that support the Zionist state, or help in covering their crimes and aggressions against the Palestinians.
41. Hamas refuses any attempts of dominance over Arab and Islamic nations, as well as any attempts of dominance over other nations and people of the world, and condemns any type of colonization, occupation, injustice and aggression in the world.

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