



FAS Note: This is a translation of the original 1988 charter of Hamas.

A [revised](#) Hamas Document of General Principles and Policies was issued in 2017.

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

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THE CHARTER OF THE HAMAS(1)

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate

"You are the best community that has been raised up for mankind.
Ye enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency; and ye believe in Allah. And
if the People of the Scripture(2) had believed, it had been better for
them. Some of them are believers; but most of them are evil-doers.

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

Ignominy shall be their portion wheresoever they are found save
[where they grasp] a rope from Allah and a rope from man.(3) They have

incurred anger from their Lord, and wretchedness is laid upon them. That is because they used to disbelieve the revelations of Allah, and slew the Prophets wrongfully. That is because they were rebellious and used to transgress." Surat Al-Imran (III), verses 109-111.(4)

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

The Imam and Martyr Hassan al-Banna(5)

May Allah Pity his Soul

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

Sheikh Amjad Al-zahawi

May Allah Pity his Soul

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate

INTRODUCTION

Grace to Allah, whose help we seek, whose forgiveness we beseech, whose guidance we implore and on whom we rely. We pray and bid peace upon the Messenger of Allah, his family, his companions, his followers and those who spread his message and followed his tradition; they will last as long as there exist Heaven and Earth.

O, people!

In the midst of misadventure, from the depth of suffering, from the believing hearts and purified arms; aware of our duty and in response to the decree of Allah, we direct our call(6), we rally together and join each other. We educate in the path of Allah and we make our firm

determination prevail so as to take its proper role in life, to overcome all difficulties and to cross all hurdles. Hence our permanent state of preparedness and our readiness to sacrifice our souls and dearest [possessions] in the path of Allah.

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

When the thought matured, the seed grew and the plant took root in the land of reality, detached from temporary emotion and unwelcome haste, the Islamic Resistance Movement erupted in order to play its role in the path of its Lord. In so doing, it joined its hands with those of all Jihad(7) fighters for the purpose of liberating Palestine. The souls of its Jihad fighters will encounter those of all Jihad fighters who have sacrificed their lives in the land of Palestine since it was conquered(8) by the Companion(9) of the Prophet, be Allah's prayer and peace upon him, and until this very day. This is the Charter of the Islamic Resistance (Hamas) which will reveal its face, unveil its identity, state its position, clarify its purpose, discuss its hopes, call for support to its cause and reinforcement, and for joining its ranks. For our struggle against the Jews is extremely wide-ranging and grave, so much so that it will need all the loyal efforts we can wield, to be followed by further steps and reinforced by successive battalions from the multifarious Arab and Islamic world, until the enemies are defeated and Allah's victory prevails. Thus we shall perceive them approaching in the horizon, and this will be known before long:

"Allah has decreed: Lo! I very shall conquer, I and my messengers, lo! Allah is strong, almighty." Sura 58 (Al-Mujadilah), verse 21(10).

"Say: This is my way: I call on Allah with sure knowledge, I and whosoever follows me. Glory be to Allah! and I am not of the idolaters." Sura 12 (Yussuf), verse 17 (108 in Pickthall).

PART I

KNOWING THE MOVEMENT

The Ideological Aspects

Article One

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

The Link between Hamas and the Association of Muslim Brothers

Article Two

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

publications, the hidden and the evident, and all the other domains of life.

Structure and Essence

Article Three

The basic structure of the Islamic Resistance Movement consists of Muslims who are devoted to Allah and worship Him verily [as it is written]: 'I have created Man and Devil for the purpose of their worship' [of Allah]. Those Muslims are cognizant of their duty towards themselves, their families and country and they have been relying on Allah for all that.

They have raised the banner of Jihad in the face of the oppressors in order to extricate the country and the people from the [oppressors'] desecration, filth and evil.

"Nay, but we hurl the true against the false; and it does break its head and lo! it vanishes" Sura 21 (the Prophets), verse 18.

Article Four

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

Dimensions of Time and Space of the Hamas

Article Five

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

"Seest you not how Allah coins a similitude: a goodly saying, as a goodly tree, its root set firm, its branches reaching into heaven: Giving its fruit at every season by permission of its Lord? Allah coins the similitudes for mankind in order that they may reflect." Sura 14 (Abraham), verses 24-25.

Peculiarity and Independence

Article Six

The Islamic Resistance Movement is a distinct Palestinian Movement which owes its loyalty to Allah, derives from Islam its way of life and strives to raise the banner of Allah over every inch of Palestine. Only under the shadow of Islam could the members of all regions coexist in safety and security for their lives, properties and rights(11). In the absence of Islam, conflict arises, oppression reigns, corruption is rampant and struggles and wars prevail. Allah had inspired the Muslim poet, Muhammed Iqbal(12), when he said:

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

The Universality of Hamas

Article Seven

By virtue of the distribution of Muslims, who pursue the cause of the Hamas, all over the globe, and strive for its victory, for the reinforcement of its positions and for the encouragement of its Jihad, the Movement is a universal one. It is apt to be that due to the clarity of its thinking, the nobility of its purpose and the loftiness of its objectives.

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

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

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

wherein you differ." Sura V (the Table), verse 48.

Hamas is one of the links in the Chain of Jihad in the confrontation with the Zionist invasion. It links up with the setting out of the Martyr Izz a-din al-Qassam(13) and his brothers in the Muslim Brotherhood who fought the Holy War in 1936; it further relates to another link of the Palestinian Jihad and the Jihad and efforts of the Muslim Brothers during the 1948(14) War, and to the Jihad operations of the Muslim Brothers in 1968(15) and thereafter.

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

The time(16) will not come until Muslims will fight the Jews (and kill them); until the Jews hide behind rocks and trees, which will cry: O Muslim! there is a Jew hiding behind me, come on and kill him! This will not apply to the Gharqad(17), which is a Jewish tree (cited by Bukhari and Muslim)(18).

The Slogan of the Hamas

Article Eight

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

PART II

OBJECTIVES

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

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

"...And if Allah had not repelled some men by others the earth would have been corrupted. But Allah is the Lord of kindness to [His] creatures." Sura II (The Cow), verse 251.

Article Ten

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

PART III

STRATEGIES AND METHODS

The Strategy of Hamas: Palestine is an Islamic Waqf(19)

Article Eleven

The Islamic Resistance Movement believes that the land of Palestine has been an Islamic Waqf throughout the generations and until the Day of Resurrection, no one can renounce it or part of it, or abandon it or part of it. No Arab country nor the aggregate of all Arab countries, and no Arab King or President nor all of them in the aggregate, have that right, nor has that right any organization or the aggregate of all organizations, be they Palestinian or Arab, because Palestine is an Islamic Waqf throughout all generations and to the Day of Resurrection. Who can presume to speak for all Islamic generations to the Day of Resurrection? This is the status [of the land] in Islamic Shari'a(20), and it is similar to all lands conquered by Islam by force, and made thereby Waqf lands upon their conquest, for all generations of Muslims until the Day of Resurrection. This [norm] has prevailed since the commanders of the Muslim armies completed the conquest of Syria and Iraq, and they asked the Caliph of Muslims, 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab(21). for his view of the conquered land, whether it should be partitioned between the troops or left in the possession of its population, or otherwise. Following discussions and consultations between the Caliph of Islam, 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, and the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, be peace and prayer upon him, they decided that the land should remain in the hands of its owners to benefit from it and from its wealth; but the control(22) of the land and the land itself ought to be endowed as a Waqf [in perpetuity] for all generations of Muslims until the Day of Resurrection. The ownership of the land by its

owners is only one of usufruct, and this Waqf will endure as long as Heaven and earth last. Any demarche in violation of this law of Islam, with regard to Palestine, is baseless and reflects on its perpetrators.

Lo! This is certain truth. Therefore O Muhammed, praise the name of thy Lord, the Tremendous." Sura LVI (the Event), Verse 95.23

Hamas in Palestine: Its Views on Homeland and Nationalism(24)

Article Twelve

Hamas regards Nationalism (Wataniyya) as part and parcel of the religious faith. Nothing is loftier or deeper in Nationalism than waging Jihad against the enemy and confronting him when he sets foot on the land of the Muslims. And this becomes an individual duty(25) binding on every Muslim man and woman; a woman must go out and fight the enemy even without her husband's authorization, and a slave without his masters' permission.

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

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

"...The right direction is henceforth distinct from error., And

he who rejects false deities and believes in Allah has grasped a firm handhold which will never break. Allah is Hearer, Knower." Sura II (the Cow), verse 256(26).

Peaceful Solutions [Peace] Initiatives and International Conferences

Article Thirteen

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

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

And the Jews will not be pleased with thee, nor will the

Christians, till thou follow their creed. 'Say: Lo! the guidance of Allah [himself] is the Guidance. And if you should follow their desires after the knowledge which has come unto thee, then you would have from Allah no protecting friend nor helper." Sura 2 (the Cow) verse 120.

There is no solution to the Palestinian problem except by Jihad. The initiatives, proposals and International Conferences are but a waste of time(27), an exercise in futility. The Palestinian people are too noble to have their future, their right and their destiny submitted to a vain game. As the Hadith has it:

"The people of Syria are Allah's whip on this land; He takes revenge by their intermediary from whoever he wishes among his worshippers. The Hypocrites among them are forbidden from vanquishing the true believers, and they will die in anxiety and sorrow." (Told by Tabarani, who is traceable in ascending order of traditionaries to Muhammed, and by Ahmed whose chain of transmission is incomplete. But it is bound to be a true hadith, for both story tellers are reliable. Allah knows best(28).)

The Three Circles

Article Fourteen

The problem of the liberation of Palestine relates to three circles: the Palestinian, the Arab and the Islamic. Each one of these circles has a role to play in the struggle against Zionism and it has duties to fulfill. It would be an enormous mistake and an abysmal act of ignorance to disregard anyone of these circles. For Palestine is an Islamic land where the First Qibla(29) and the third holiest site(30) are located. That is also the place whence the Prophet, be Allah's prayer and peace upon him, ascended to Heavens(31).

"Glorified be He who carried His servant by night from the Inviolable Place of worship(32) to the Far Distant Place of Worship(33), the neighborhood whereof we have blessed, that we might show him of our tokens! Lo! He, only He, is the Hearer, the Seer." Sura XVII (al-Isra,)(34), verse 1.

In consequence of this state of affairs, the liberation of that land is an individual duty binding on all Muslims everywhere(35). This is the base on which all Muslims have to regard the problem; this has to be understood by all Muslims. When the problem is dealt with on this basis, where the full potential of the three circles is mobilized, then the current circumstances will change and the day of liberation will come closer.

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

The Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine is an Individual Obligation(36)

Article Fifteen

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

The 'ulama as well as educators and teachers, publicity and media men as well as the masses of the educated, and especially the youth and the elders of the Islamic Movements, must participate in this raising of consciousness. There is no escape from introducing fundamental changes in educational curricula in order to cleanse them from all vestiges of the ideological invasion which has been brought about by orientalist and missionaries. That invasion had begun overtaking this area following the defeat of the Crusader armies by Salah a-Din el Ayyubi(37). The Crusaders had understood that they had no way to vanquish the Muslims unless they prepared the grounds for that with an ideological invasion which would confuse the thinking of Muslims, revile their heritage, discredit their ideals to be followed by a military invasion. That was to be in preparation for the Imperialist invasion, as in fact [General] Allenby(38) acknowledged it upon his entry to Jerusalem: "Now, the Crusades are over." General Gouraud(39) stood on the tomb of Salah a-Din and declared: 'We have returned, O Salah-a-Din!' Imperialism has been instrumental in boosting the ideological invasion and deepening its roots, and it is still pursuing this goal. All this had paved the way to the loss of Palestine. We must imprint on the minds of generations of Muslims that the Palestinian problem is a religious one, to be dealt with on this premise. It includes Islamic holy sites such as the Aqsa Mosque, which is inexorably linked to the Holy Mosque(40) as long as the Heaven and earth will exist, to the journey of the Messenger of Allah(41), be Allah's peace and blessing upon him, to it, and to his ascension from it(42).

"Dwelling one day in the Path of Allah is better than the entire world and everything that exists in it. The place of the whip of one among you in Paradise is better than the entire world and everything that exists in it. [God's] worshipper's going and coming in the Path of Allah is better than the entire world and everything that exists in it...." (Told by Bukhari, Muslim, Tirmidhi and Ibn Maja)(43)

I swear by that who holds in His Hands the Soul of Muhammed! I indeed wish to go to war for the sake of Allah! I will assault and kill, assault and kill, assault and kill (told by Bukhari and Muslim(44)).

Educating the [Young] Generations

Article Sixteen

We must accord the Islamic [young] generations in our area, an Islamic education based on the implementation of religious precepts, on the conscientious study of the Book of Allah; on the Study of the Prophetic Tradition(45), on the study of Islamic history and heritage from its reliable sources, under the guidance of experts and scientists(46); and on singling out the paths which constitute for the Muslims sound concepts of thinking and faith. It is also necessary to study conscientiously the enemy and its material and human potential; to detect its weak and strong spots, and to recognize the powers that support it and stand by it. At the same time, we must be aware of current events, follow the news and study the analyses and commentaries on it, together with drawing plans for the present and the future and examining every phenomenon, so that every Muslim, fighting Jihad, could live out his era aware of his objective, his goals, his way and the things happening round him.

"O my dear son! Lo! though it be but the weight of a grain of mustard-seed, and though it be in a rock, or in the heavens, or in the earth, Allah will bring it forth. Lo! Allah is subtile. Aware. O my dear son! Establish worship and enjoin kindness and forbid inequity and persevere, whatever may befall thee. Lo! that is of the steadfast heart of things. Turn not thy cheek in scorn

toward folk, nor walk with pertness in the land. Lo! Allah loves not braggarts and boasters." Sura XXXI (Luqman), verses 16-18.

The Role of Muslim Women

Article Seventeen

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

Article Eighteen

The women in the house and the family of Jihad fighters, whether they are mothers or sisters, carry out the most important duty of caring for the home and raising the children upon the moral concepts and values

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

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

The Role of Islamic Art in the War of Liberation

Article Nineteen

Art has rules and criteria by which one can know whether it is Islamic or Jahiliyya(47) art. The problems of Islamic liberation underlie the need for Islamic art which could lift the spirit, and instead of making one party triumph over the other, would lift up all parties in

harmony and balance.

Man is a strange and miraculous being, made out of a handful of clay and a breath of soul; Islamic art is to address man on this basis, while Jahili art addresses the body and makes the element of clay paramount. So, books, articles, publications, religious exhortations, epistles, songs, poems, hymns, plays, and the like, if they possess the characteristics of Islamic art, have the requisites of ideological mobilization, of a continuous nurturing in the pursuance of the journey, and of relaxing the soul. The road is long and the suffering is great and the spirits are weary; it is Islamic art which renews the activity, revives the movement and arouses lofty concepts and sound planning. The soul cannot thrive, unless it knows how to contrive, unless it can transit from one situation to another. All this is a serious matter, no jesting. For the umma(48) fighting its Jihad knows no jesting.

Social Solidarity

Article Twenty

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

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

This is the Islamic spirit which ought to prevail in any Muslim society. A society which confronts a vicious, Nazi-like enemy, who does not differentiate between man and women, elder and young ought to be the first to adorn itself with this Islamic spirit. Our enemy pursues the

style of collective punishment of usurping(49) people's countries and properties, of pursuing them into their exiles and places of assembly. It has resorted to breaking bones, opening fire on women and children and the old, with or without reason, and to setting up detention camps where thousands upon thousands are interned in inhuman conditions. In addition, it destroys houses, renders children orphans and issues oppressive judgements against thousands of young people who spend the best years of their youth in the darkness of prisons. The Nazism of the Jews does not skip women and children, it scares everyone. They make war against people's livelihood, plunder their moneys and threaten their honour. In their horrible actions they mistreat people like the most horrendous war criminals. Exiling people from their country is another way of killing them. As we face this misconduct, we have no escape from establishing social solidarity among the people, from confronting the enemy as one solid body, so that if one organ is hurt the rest of the body will respond with alertness and fervor.

Article Twenty One

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

The Powers which Support the Enemy

Article Twenty Two

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

As regards local and world wars, it has come to pass and no one objects, that they stood behind World War 1, so as to wipe out the Islamic Caliphate(50). They collected material gains and took control of many sources of wealth. They obtained the Balfour Declaration(51) and established the League of Nations in order to rule the world by means of that organization. They also stood behind World War II, where they collected immense benefits from trading with war materials, and prepared for the establishment of their state. They inspired the establishment of

the United Nations and the Security Council to replace the League of Nations, in order to rule the world by their intermediary. There was no war that broke out anywhere without their fingerprints on it:

"...As often as they light a fire for war, Allah extinguishes it. Their efforts is for corruption in the land and Allah loves not corrupters." Sura V (Al-Ma'ida - the Tablespread), verse 64(52).

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

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

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

PART IV

Our Position Vis-a-Vis the Islamic Movements

Article Twenty Three

The Hamas views the other Islamic movements with respect and appreciation. Even when it differs from them in one aspect or another or

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

The Hamas regards those movements as its stock holders and asks Allah for guidance and integrity of conduct for all. It shall not fail to continue to raise the banner of unity and to exert efforts in order to implement it, [based] upon the [Holy] Book and the [Prophet's] Tradition(53).

"And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate. And remember Allah's favor unto you how ye were enemies and He made friendship between your hearts so that ye became as brothers by His grace; and (how) ye were upon the brink of an abyss of fire, and He did save you from it. Thus Allah makes clear His revelations unto you, that happily ye may be guided." Sura III (Al-'Imran), verse 102(54).

Article Twenty Four

Hamas will not permit the slandering and defamation of individuals and groups, for the Believers are not slanderers and cursers(55). However, despite the need to differentiate between that and the positions and modes of conduct adopted by individuals and groups whenever the Hamas detects faulty positions and modes of conduct, it has the right to point to the mistake, to denigrate it, to act for spelling out the truth and for adopting it realistically in the context of a given problem. Wisdom is roaming around, and the Believer ought to grasp it wherever he can find it.

"Allah loves not the utterance of harsh speech save by one who has been wronged. Allah is ever Hearer, Knower. If you do good openly or keep it secret, or give evil, lo! Allah is forgiving, powerful." Sura IV (Women), verses 147-148(56).

The National (wataniyya) Movements in the Palestinian Arena

Article Twenty Five

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

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

self-defense.

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

"O ye who believe! If an evil-liver bring you tidings(57), verify it, lest ye smite some folk in ignorance and afterward repent of what ye did." Sura XLIX (al Hujurat, the Private Apartments), verse 6.

Article Twenty Six

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

The Palestine Liberation Organization

Article Twenty Seven

The PLO is among the closest to the Hamas, for its constitutes a father, a brother, a relative, a friend. Can a Muslim turn away from his father, his brother, his relative or his friend? Our homeland is one, our calamity is one, our destiny is one and our enemy is common to both of us. Under the influence of the circumstances which surrounded the founding of the PLO, and the ideological confusion which prevails in the Arab world as a result of the ideological invasion which has swept the Arab world since

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

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

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

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

The Arab and Islamic States and Governments

Article Twenty-Eight

The Zionist invasion is a mischievous one. It does not hesitate to take any road, or to pursue all despicable and repulsive means to fulfill its desires. It relies to a great extent, for its meddling and spying activities, on the clandestine organizations which it has established, such as the Free Masons, Rotary Clubs, Lions, and other spying associations. All those secret organizations, some which are overt, act for the interests of Zionism and under its directions, strive to demolish societies, to destroy values, to wreck answerableness(58), to totter virtues and to wipe out Islam. It stands behind the diffusion of drugs and toxics of all kinds in order to facilitate its control and expansion.

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

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

"Muhammed is dead, he left daughters behind."(59)

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

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

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

Article Twenty Nine

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

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

Article Thirty

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

Jihad means not only carrying arms and denigrating the enemies.

Uttering positive words, writing good articles and useful books, and lending support and assistance, all that too is Jihad in the path of Allah, as long as intentions are sincere to make Allah's banner supreme.

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

The Members of Other Religions

The Hamas is a Humane Movement

Article Thirty One

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

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

"They will not fight you in body safe in fortified villages or

from behind wells. Their adversity among themselves is very great. Ye think of them as a whole whereas their hearts are diverse. That is because they are a folk who have no sense." Sura 59 (al-Hashr, the Exile), verse 14.

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

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

The Attempts to Isolate the Palestinian People

Article Thirty Two

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

Hamas is calling upon the Arab and Islamic peoples to act seriously and tirelessly in order to frustrate that dreadful scheme and to make the masses aware of the danger of coping out of the circle of

struggle with Zionism. Today it is Palestine and tomorrow it may be another country or other countries. For Zionist scheming has no end, and after Palestine they will covet expansion from the Nile to the Euphrates. Only when they have completed digesting the area on which they will have laid their hand, they will look forward to more expansion, etc. Their scheme has been laid out in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and their present [conduct] is the the best proof of what is said there.

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

"Who so on that day turns his back to them, unless manoeuvring for battle or intent to join a company, he truly has incurred wrath from Allah, and his habitation will be hell, a hapless journey's end." Sura 8 (Al-Anfal - spoils of war), verse 16.

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

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

Within the circle of the conflict with world Zionism, the Hamas regards itself the spearhead and the avant-garde. It joins its efforts to all those who are active on the Palestinian scene, but more steps need to be taken by the Arab and Islamic peoples and Islamic associations throughout the Arab and Islamic world in order to make possible the next round with the Jews(60), the merchants of war.

"We have cast among them enmity and hatred till the day of

Resurrection. As often as they light a fire for war, Allah extinguishes it. Their effort is for corruption in the land, and Allah loves not corrupters." Sura V (Al-Ma'idah - the Table spread), verse 64(61).

Article Thirty Three

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

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

PART FIVE

THE TESTIMONY OF HISTORY

Confronting Aggressors Throughout History

Article Thirty Four

Palestine is the navel of earth, the convergence of continents, the object of greed for the greedy, since the dawn of history. The Prophet, may Allah's prayer and peace be upon him, points out to that fact in his noble hadith(62) in which he implored his venerable Companion, Ma'adh ibn Jabl, saying:

"O Ma'adh, Allah is going to grant you victory over Syria after me, from Al-Arish to the Euphrates, while its men, women, and female slaves will be dwelling there until the Day of Resurrection. Those of you who chose [to dwell] in one of the plains of Syria or Palestine(63) will be in a state of Jihad to the Day of Resurrection."

The greedy have coveted Palestine more than once and they raided it with armies in order to fulfill their covetousness. Multitudes of Crusades descended on it, carrying their faith with them and waving their Cross. They were able to defeat the-Muslims for a long time, and the Muslims were not able to redeem it until they sought the protection of their religious banner; then, they unified their forces, sang the praise of their God and set out for Jihad under the Command of Saladin al-Ayyubi, for the duration of nearly two decades, and then the obvious conquest took place when the Crusaders were defeated and Palestine was liberated(64).

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

This is the only way to liberation, there is no doubt in the testimony of history. That is one of the rules of the universe and one of

the laws of existence. Only iron can blunt iron, only the true faith of Islam can vanquish their false and falsified faith. Faith can only be fought by faith. Ultimately victory is reserved to the truth, and truth is victorious.

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

Article Thirty Five

Hamas takes a serious look at the defeat of the Crusades at the hand of Saladin the Ayyubid and the rescue of Palestine from their domination; at the defeat of the Tatars at Ein Jalut (65) where their spine was broken by Qutuz(66) and Al-Dhahir Baibars(67), and the Arab world was rescued from the sweep of the Tatars which ruined all aspects of human civilization. Hamas has learned from these lessons and examples, that the current Zionist invasion had been preceded by a Crusader invasion from the West; and another one, the Tatars, from the East. And exactly as the Muslims had faced those invasions and planned their removal and defeat, they are able to face the Zionist invasion and defeat it. This will not be difficult for Allah if our intentions are pure and our determination is sincere; if the Muslims draw useful lessons from the experiences of the past, and extricate themselves from the vestiges of the [western] ideological onslaught; and if they follow the traditions of Islam.

EPILOGUE

The Hamas are Soldiers

Article Thirty Six

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

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

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

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

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

NOTES

* From Y. Alexander and H. Foxman (eds.), The 1988-1989 Annual on Terrorism. Netherlands, Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1990).

1. Hamas, the acronym for the Islamic Resistance Movement; (Harakat Muqawama Islamiyya) literally means "enthusiasm," "zeal," "fanaticism," which is quite descriptive of their mode of operation.
2. This is the classical Muslim designation for Jews and Christians whose scriptures had been acknowledged by Islam, except that they were accused of having forged parts of their holy texts, thus making the divine message of the Quran, which supplanted them, an updated imperative.
3. This means that unless the Scriptuary peoples, (specifically the Jews), grasp and keep the Covenant which the Prophet had made with them in Medinah, ignominy shall be their fate.
4. Translation follows Muhammed Marmaduke Pickthall's The meaning of the Glorious Koran, Mentor Books, N.Y., (no date). According to this translation, the verses in question are 110-112.
5. Hassan al-Banna was the founder of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt in the 1920's. The Hamas claim affiliation with that movement.
6. Da'wa, is the "call", the "Mission," which successive Islamic movements have used as a euphemism for their indoctrination and missionary set up. The Journal of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt is also call Da'wa.
7. Holy War for the cause of Islam.
8. "Faith" is used here in the traditional Islamic sense of conquest by and for the sake of Islam. Hence the sanctity of the conquered land as part of Dar-al-Islam, the Abode of Islam.
9. Palestine was conquered by Umar ibn al-Khattab, one of the Prophet's

closest and ablest companions and the second Caliph of Islam (634-644).

10. The translation of the verse is Pickthall's, op. cit.

11. Under Islam, Jews (and other Scriptuaries for that matter) are indeed assured the status of Ahl-a-dhimma (protected people), which guarantees their lives and properties as long as they submit to the rule of Islam, pay the poll-tax (jizya) and conform to the restrictions imposed upon them by Islamic rule.

12. A prominent Indian-Muslim thinker and theologian.

13. See the Authors Introduction for the context of Qassam's role in Palestine in the 1930's.

14. In the 1948 War of Israel's Independence, the Muslim Brothers played a meaningful role. See the Author's Introduction.

15. During the "War of Attrition" which followed the Arab defeat of 1967, groups of the Muslim Brothers purportedly participated in attacks against Israel.

16. Reference is made to the Day of judgement. This tradition (Hadith), which is imputed to the Prophet, has been often quoted in Islamic literature, old and modern. The Egyptian troops who launched the assault on the Bar-Lev Line in October 1973, were equipped with "booklets of guidance" which included, inter alia, this same quotation.

17. Some sort of desert tree, probably the wild orache.

18. Bukhari and Muslim are the authors of the two most authoritative and widely accepted collections of hadith (traditions of the Prophet).

19. Waqf is a religious endowment. There are various kinds: family and private waqfs, whose proceeds accrue to the members of the donor's family, and after the death of the last descendant go to a charitable purpose; public endowments set apart for a charitable or religious purpose. The Holy land is regarded, like all lands conquered forcibly by Islam, as unalienable property belonging to the Muslim public.

20. Shari'a is the Holy Law of Islam.

21. The Second Caliph of Islam (634-644) after the death of the Prophet. Under his reign the Islamic Empire, including Palestine, was established and expanded.

22. "Raqba" in Arabic could mean either control, supervision, guardianship, or could be read "raqaba" and meaning the slaves working on the land.

23. In Pickthall's version, it is verses 95-96.

24. On the meaning of watan and wataniyya see the Author's Introduction.

25. Fard 'ayn, is an individual duty under Islamic Law, to distinguish from "Fard Kifaya," which is a collective duty. Fard 'ayn is an absolute duty which overrides other considerations such as the duties of a wife towards her husband and of a slave towards his master.

26. It is significant that the first sentence of this verse -"There is no compulsion in religion," which the Muslims often cite as a proof of tolerance in Islam, was dropped from this quotation, indicating the absolute, unshared and uncompromising truth of Islam, the "right direction."

27. The heads of the Hamas, notably Sheikh Yasin of Gaza, when interviewed by the media on their solution to the Palestinian problem, have termed diplomatic demarches as a "waste of time."

28. This is an allusion to the traditional Islamic method of scholarly examination of hadiths of the Prophet in order to ascertain their veracity.

29. Jerusalem was declared by the Prophet as the Qibla (direction of prayer) for the Believers in Medina, apparently as a gesture towards the Jews there, whom he hoped to convert them to his faith. However, after he broke with the Jews, and when he conquered Mecca, this became the Qibla of all Muslims. But Jerusalem retained its exalted title as the First Qibla.

30. The two holiest shrines of Islam are in Mecca, where the Black Stone of the Ka'ba is located, and Medina where the Prophet lived and died. Third in line is the Haram-al-sharif on Temple Mount in Jerusalem where the Prophet is believed to have ascended to the Seven Heavens (Mi'raj).

31. The Masra is the point of departure for the Prophet's Journey to Heavens.

32. This is recognized in Islamic tradition as Mecca.

33. The "far-distant place," in Arabic "Al-Aqsa" has been referred to Jerusalem by Islamic tradition, hence the Aqsa Mosque is located on the purported spot of Muhammed's visit.

34. This Sura is also known as the "Children of Israel."

35. See footnote 25 above.

36. See footnote 25 above.

37. Salah-a-din, or Saladin, a Muslim Kurd who ruled the Ayyubid Kingdom at the time of the Crusaders, has become renowned after the defeat he inflicted on the Crusades in the decisive Hittin battle (1187) and his second conquest of Jerusalem for Islam (1189). In the modern world of Islam his memory has been revived and cultivated as part of the struggle against Zionism, which is usually likened, in contemporary Arab/Muslim literature, to the Medieval Crusades.

38. General Allenby took over Palestine from the Ottomans during World War 1, to usher in the era of the British Mandate over Palestine which lasted until 1948. No reference could be found by the author to anything said by the British General relating his takeover of Jerusalem with the Crusades.

39. The Arabic original speaks about General "Guru," which is probably a rendering of General Gouraud, the first French High Commissioner in Syria, who is reputed to have uttered that statement.

40. According to Islamic tradition, this was the place of the prophet's point of departure for his Journey from Mecca to Jerusalem. See footnotes 26-31 above.

41. See footnote 30 above.

42. See footnotes 29-31 above.

43. All Hadith collectors and transmitters, see footnote 18 above.

44. See footnote 18 above.

45. Reliance on the Quran and the Sunna (tradition of the prophet) is characteristic of fundamentalist Islamic movements, who hold in low esteem

the other three of the *usul-a-Din* (the Foundation of the Faith, the Sources of the *Sharira* Law), namely *Qiyas* (analogy), *Ijma'* (consensus) and *Ada* (local customs).

46. Scientists here are *Ahl-el-Ilm-ulama* (the Doctors of the Holy Law).

47. *Jahiliyya* is the era of ignorance which preceded the coming of the Prophet Muhammed, an era usually depicted in terms of oppression, lawlessness, ungodliness, injustice and darkness, until the Prophetic Message Muhammed brought light unto the Arabs of Arabia. Thereafter, any reversion to anti-Islamic or a-Islamic rule, any renegation of Islam or act of Apostasy by Muslims in all domains of life, have been described by Islamic fundamentalist literature as a return to "*Jahiliyya*."

48. The *umma* is the universal congregation of all Muslims.

49. Reference is made to Israel's occasional actions among Palestinian populations across its borders.

50. The dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire signalled indeed the end of the Caliphate.

51. The famous letter of Lord Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, dated 2 November 1917, in which he pledged Britain's help to establish a Jewish Homeland in Palestine, which was to be given as a mandate to the British after the war.

52. This is only part of the verse which refers specifically to the Jews and says, *inter alia*, "we have cast among them enmity and hatred till the Day of Resurrection."

53. See Footnote 45 above.

54. In Pickthall's translation, it is verse 103.

55. In view of what was said above about the Jews, as individuals and as a group, it appears that they are the exception to this rule.

56. In Pickthall's translation, they are verses 148-9.

57. The reference is to a man who brought false news of a revolt of the subject Jews at Khaybar.

58. The term used is "Dhimam," the plural of "Dhimma," the very word in Islamic tradition, which defined the status of Jews (and Christians) under Islam. these People were protected and safe if they paid a special Capital tax and recognized the hegemony of Islam.

59. It is impossible to ascertain what this claim is based on. There is a popular Arabic song which denigrated those who failed to rear sons and only left behind daughters.

60. Despite their protestation to the contrary, the Hamas uses Jews and Zionism interchangeably. The thrust of their assault is against Zionism, but by introducing incidentally anti-semitic themes, such as the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," which preceded the birth of Zionism, they expose their real intent against Jews in general.

61. This verse explicitly talks about the Jews in its first part which is not quoted here.

62. A tradition related to the Prophet and indicating that he did or said or approved of a particular thing. Since the Prophet is taken to be the most noble of men and his life is a model to be emulated, knowing the Hadith and acting upon it is regarded as one of the loftiest pursuits in

Islam.

63. The term used is "Bayt al-maqdas," namely the Holy House. This term was used to denominate Jerusalem and then, by extension, all Palestine:

64. See footnote 37.

65. The battle of Ein Jalut (1260) is the one that arrested the advance of the Mongols in the Middle East when they were defeated by the Muslim Mameluks under Baibars (1223-1277).

66. A Mameluke king of Egypt (1259-1260).

67. See footnote 65 above.

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