



The Red Minaret Memoirs of Ibrahim Ghusheh (Ex-spokesman of Hamas)

English Version

Translated by
Prof. Dr. Hassan Ibrahim
Ms. Salma al-Houry

Language Editing by Ms. Rana Sa'adah

Reviewed by Mr. Tom Charles



The Red Minaret: Memoirs of Ibrahim Ghusheh (Ex-spokesman of Hamas)

المئذنة الحمراء: سيرة ذاتية

Al-Mi'dhanah al-Hamra': Sirah Dhatiyyah

This is the English version of the Arabic book originally published by al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations in 2008.

First published in 2013 by:

Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations

P.O. Box: 14-5034, Beirut, Lebanon

Tel: + 961 1 803 644

Tel-fax: + 961 1 803 643

Email: info@alzaytouna.net

Website: www.alzaytouna.net

ISBN 978-9953-572-24-6

© All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means without the prior written permission of the publisher. For further information regarding permission(s), please write to: info@alzaytouna.net

The views expressed in this book are those of the authors alone. They do not necessarily reflect views of al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations.

Designed by:

Ms. Marwa Ghalayini

Printed by:

53 dots Dar El Kotob s.a.l +961 1 853753

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	3
List of Abbreviations	7
Introduction	9
Chapter One: Childhood Memories from Birth to 1948	
My Childhood Environment	13
Childhood Memories	
Memories from the Palestine War	
The Relationship with Christians	
Jerusalem's Markets	
The Relationship with Jews	24
Education	
Economic Life	26
Chapter Two: The 1948 War and Its Aftermath, to 1954	
Memories of the 1948 War	29
The Move to Jericho	30
Return to Jerusalem	33
Affiliation with the Muslim Brotherhood	34
The Emergence of Hizb ut-Tahrir	35
The Assassination of King 'Abdullah	38
Some of the Brotherhood Movement's Activities	39
Chapter Three: The Fifties	
Memories of Jerusalem	47
Al-Menshiyyah Incident	49
The Matriculation Exam and Moving to Egypt to Study	51
Together with the Palestinian and Jordanian Brothers in Egypt	53
The Brothers and the Beginnings of the Palestine Liberation	
Movement (Fatah)	
The Stance vis-à-vis the Tripartite Aggression of 1956	
Conditions in Jordan	64
Evaluating Nasser's Era	66
Other Activities	70

Chapter Four: The Sixties	
Work in the East Ghor Canal	75
Syria's Secession from the Union with Egypt	78
Work in the Kuwait Municipality	79
The Establishment of the PLO and Its Relationship with Fatah	80
Hani Bsiso	82
Chapter Five: The Late Sixties and Early Seventies	
Working in Jordan on Khalid Ibn al-Walid Dam	87
The 1967 War	
Work Inside the Brotherhood and the Corrective Movement	94
Al-Karamah Battle	96
The Events of September 1970	98
Chapter Six: The Seventies	
The Return to Jordan and the King Talal Dam Project	105
The October 1973 War	
Work in the Jordan Engineers Association	110
Developments in Lebanon	
Iran's Islamic Revolution	117
Chapter Seven: The Eighties	
Engagement in the Private Sector	131
Tourism	
The Activities of the MB Movement in Jordan	135
The 1987 Intifadah	139
Dedication to the Palestine Apparatus	141
Chapter Eight: The Period 1990–1991	
Hamas and its Relationship with Fatah and the PLO	145
The Iraqi Occupation of Kuwait and Its Repercussions	148
Conditions in Jordan and the Role of the MB Movement	155
Appointment as the Official Spokesman of Hamas	158
Dialogue with the PFLP and DFLP	159
The National Islamic Conference	
Second Encounter Between Hamas and Fatah	160
Tehran's Conference to Support the Intifadah	162
The Meeting of the Ten Palestinian Factions	163



Chapter Nine: The Period 1992–1993	
Membership of the Preparatory Committee of the IAF	169
Skirmishes with Fatah in GS	170
The Events of Marj al-Zuhur	171
Meeting with 'Arafat and the Relationship with Fatah	172
The Khartoum Dialogue with Fatah, 1993	175
Rules Governing Hamas' Status in Jordan	176
Launching of Hamas' External Contacts	176
Oslo Accords	179
The Palestinian Ten-Faction Coalition	180
Chapter Ten: The Period 1994–1996	
Forms of opposition to Oslo	185
The Revenge Operations Against the Ibrahimi Mosque	
Massacre and Their Repercussions	187
The Departure of Musa Abu Marzuq and 'Imad al-'Alami from Jo	rdan191
Fatah-Hamas Negotiations	194
The Killing of Yahya 'Ayyash and Its Repercussions	195
Turkey's Visit	199
Chapter Eleven: The Period 1997–1998	
The Major Events of 1997	203
Friction with the Intelligence Department	203
Assassination Attempt on Khalid Mish'al	205
Developments in Jordan During 1998	221
Sheikh Ahmad Yasin's Tour	
Chapter Twelve: Detention in Jordan and Expulsion to Qatar,	1999
Arrest of a Number of Hamas Leaders in Jordan	231
Deportation to Qatar	240
Chapter Thirteen: The Period 2000–2001	
Developments in the Relationship with Damascus	247
Visit to Algeria	
Resuming Relations with Jordan	
Tehran Visit	
A Saudi Invitation to Perform 'Umrah	
Rearrangement Within Hamas	250

Some Major Events in 2000	251
Developments in 2001	252
Return to Jordan	255
The Events of 11/9/2001	263
Documents	269
Index	277

List of Abbreviations

DFLP Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine

GID General Intelligence Department

GS Gaza Strip

IAF Islamic Action Front

KSA Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

MB Muslim Brotherhood PA Palestinian Authority

PFLP Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

PFLP-GC Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command

PIJ Palestine Islamic Jihad

PLC Palestinian Legislative Council
PLO Palestine Liberation Organization

PNC Palestinian National Council PSS Preventive Security Service

UNRWA United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees

in the Near East

WB West Bank

Introduction

Praise be to *Allah* Who has granted me help in writing these memoirs at 70 years of age; an age that *Allah* has bestowed on me, and during which I have lived in contentment under His protection. I thank Him for His infinite blessings; foremost among them, those of belief and of the Holy Qur'an. During those years, I have walked in the steps of the Honored Messenger who likened the period of a lifetime to a man who sought shade under a tree, then got up and went on his way. I ask *Allah* that, on the Day of Resurrection, He will give me shelter under His shade on the Day when there will be no shade but His.

First of all, I dedicate this book to the martyrs who met their death fighting in *Allah*'s way, in defense of the land of the Isra' and Mi'raj (Prophet Muhammad's journey by night and ascension to the heavens). And I ask *Allah* Most High to let me follow their path; He is the All-hearing, ready to answer prayers.

I also dedicate this book to my brothers in the Call to Islam and in the Movement; with whom I have worked and whom I have loved for *Allah*'s sake; as we worked together to offer a successful Islamic model that would realize the hope of the *Ummah* (Muslim Nation) to liberate dear Palestine and establish a divine and fair system for all of humanity. In such a system, humanity will breathe freedom, social justice and respect of man, having uprooted oppression, corruption and repression.

Furthermore, I dedicate this book to my small family. To my dear wife who stood by me and supported me whenever I was exposed to danger, expulsion, prison or house arrest. And to my dear sons and daughters who also endured hardship with me. May *Allah* reward them all for that, in this life and in the Hereafter.

I thank the dear brothers who encouraged me to publish these memoirs and worked on their production. Among them dear Brother ('A.) who worked with me in all seriousness and determination during four continuous months, and Brother 'Abd al-'Aziz, and all those who helped prepare and publish them. I ask *Allah* to reward them for all that they had done.

Within its folds, this book carries only factual events that I have lived through, ever since I opened my eyes to this world in our old house in al-Sa'diyyah neighborhood in Jerusalem, adjacent to the "Red Minaret." This minaret was the highest structure that I could see when I was a youngster, playing with other children in the neighborhood, and when I became a student at elementary and secondary levels. I later left Jerusalem and headed to Cairo where, over a period



of six years, I studied engineering, developing a passion which became the profession that I have practiced over the course of 30 years in Jordan. There, I dedicated myself to the building of the East Ghor Canal (now known as the King 'Abdullah Canal), Khalid Ibn al-Walid Dam and King Talal Dam, Jordan's greatest project. I also had my private work, designing structures, buildings, factories, mosques and schools with proficiency, integrity and dedication. Then in Kuwait, I devoted myself to working in its municipality and in Kuwait's towers, as well as other projects.

As a member of the Jordan Engineers Association, I pride myself on having worked with dear brothers on establishing a serious and clean syndicate working system, securing benefits for all, which are now granted to tens of thousands of engineers. In the Syndicate's halls and corridors, I learned team work, honest competition and freedom of work and expression, which I hope will soon flow in the veins of dear Jordan and in the other Arab and Muslim countries.

I worked in various regions of Jordan, in particular, in its middle and north. So I got to know its mountains and valleys, walking them with my feet, and washing my face with the waters of the Zarqa and Yarmouk Rivers, when their waters were clean and sparkling; before the curse of pollution got to them. In Jordan, I was subjected to oppression from some people, for no reason except that I loved both Jordan and Palestine, and I hated oppression and the ugly Israeli occupation of the blessed land. It is this land where I wish to pray in its *al-Aqsa* Mosque once more before I die. This is the land that I left 40 years ago, and have not seen since. I pray that one day it will be liberated, and one of my children or grandchildren will enter it and realize my final wish, Insha'*Allah* (God Willing).

May Allah grant success to this endeavor.

Ibrahim Ghusheh

This Book

This book is not merely the autobiography of Mr. Ibrahim Ghusheh, it is also a living testimony of the Palestinian and Jordanian Muslim Brothers' experience over a fifty years span.

Ibrahim Ghusheh was the official spokesman for Hamas during the period 1991–1999. His memoirs provide rich material and information published for the first time. These are the memoirs of a man who was present during the political decision-making of the Hamas Movement, especially in the first twelve years following its inception.

Ghusheh's memoirs are characterized by their clarity and candor. They bring to light many of Hamas' stands and viewpoints regarding a number of issues, which could be considered points of controversy among researchers, in particular during the period leading to al-Aqsa Intifadah.

Without a doubt, this book is indispensable for all those interested in Palestine studies and the contemporary history of the Palestinian issue.

The Red Minaret

Memoirs of Ibrahim Ghusheh

(Ex-Spokesman of Hamas)



Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies & Consultations مركز الزيتونة للدراسات والاستشارات

P.O. Box: 14-5034 Beirut - Lebanon Tel: +961 1 803 644 | Tel-Fax: +961 1 803 643 info@alzaytouna.net | www.alzaytouna.net



