# Hamic Resistance Movement A movement

Studies of

# Thought & Experience

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Dr. Mohsen Mohammad Saleh

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#### List of Abbreviations

AKP Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi)

CIDI Information and Documentation of Israel

COGAT Coordinator of Government Activities in the Territories (WB and GS) Unit

CSIS Center for Strategic and International Studies

DFLP Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine

EGIS Egyptian General Intelligence Services

EU European Union

FIDA Palestine Democratic Union

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

GDDS General Data Dissemination System

GDP Gross Domestic Product

GS Gaza Strip

IAF Islamic Action Front

ICRC International Committee of the Red Cross

Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief

(İnsan Hak ve Hürriyetleri ve İnsani Yardım Vakfı)

IMF International Monetary Fund

INSS Institute for National Security Studies

JMCC Jerusalem Media and Communications Centre

KSA Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

LPDC Lebanese-Palestinian Dialogue Committee

MB Muslim Brothers

Mossad Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations

MPs Members of Parliament

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

OIC Organization of Islamic Cooperation

PA Palestinian Authority

PCC Palestinian Central Council

PCHR Palestinian Center for Human Rights

PCP Palestinian Communist Party

PFLP Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

PIJ Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine

PKK Kurdistan Workers Party (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan)

PLC Palestinian Legislative Council

PLF Palestine Liberation Front

PLO Palestine Liberation Organization

PNC Palestinian National Council

PPP Palestinian People's Party

PPSF Palestinian Popular Struggle Front

RPCP Revolutionary Palestinian Communist Party

SCAF Supreme Council of the Armed Forces

Shabak Israel Security Agency—ISA

TIKA Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency

UAE United Arab Emirates

UC University of California

UK United Kingdom

UN United Nations

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

UNLU Unified National Leadership of the Uprising—Qawim

US United States of America

WB West Bank

WHO World Health Organization

#### **List of Contributors**

#### 'Adnan Abu 'Amer

Head of the Department of Political Science at Ummah University-Open Learning in Palestine, who has supervised and judged numerous dissertations. A regular contributor in Arabic and foreign-language newspapers and websites, who published 20 books on politics and history, including: *Al-Harakah al-Islamiyyah fi Filastin* (The Islamic Movement in Palestine); and *Thagharat fi Jidar al-Jaysh al-Israeli* (Breaches in the Wall of the Israeli Army); He has translated several books from Hebrew to Arabic, including: *Durus Mustakhlasah min Harb Lubnan al-Thaniyah* (*Tammuz 2006*) (Lessons Derived from the Second War on Lebanon). He has participated in numerous academic conferences in Palestine and abroad.

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He has a doctorate degree in history from the University of Westminster. He served as the head of *Shura* Council of the Islamic League in Britain (2003–2005), chairman of the Palestinian Forum in Britain for three consecutive terms (2006–2013), and is a member of the executive office and media officer for the Palestine Scholars Association in the Diaspora since 2009, and a member of the board of trustees of the Qatar Charity in Britain since 2012. Among his published works: *Al-Tuyur al-Khodor* (Green Birds); and *Al-Idarah fi 'Asr al-Rasul* (Administration Under Prophet Mohammad (SAAWS)); in addition to several research papers, articles, and reports published in newspapers and magazines. He is a regular commentator on television programs.

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An associate professor in the Department of Political Science at the International Islamic University Malaysia. He was a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Science at the National University of Singapore. He was also a visiting professor at George Washington University, US and Waikato University, New Zealand. He published more than 60 articles, book chapters, book reviews in peer-reviewed international journals, and books. Among his most recent publications is "Arab Spring," in Emad El-Din Shahin (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Islam and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. He is a frequent commentator on current issues on international broadcasting and print media.

#### Isma'il Haniyyah

Deputy President of Hamas, he was born at Al-Shati' refugee camp in Gaza Strip in 1963. He holds a degree in Arabic Literature from the Islamic University in Gaza. He was the head of the Islamic bloc and president of the Student Council at the university. He worked in the same university, and after the release of Sheikh Ahmad Yasin in 1997, he became his chief of staff. After Hamas won the majority

of seats of the Palestinian Legislative Council in 2006, he served as prime minister of the Palestinian Authority and headed the tenth and eleventh governments. After the Palestinian internal crisis, he continued to serve as caretaker prime minister in Gaza Strip until the formation of the National Unity Government on 2/6/2014.

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He was born in the village of Silwad in Palestine in 1956, he moved with his family to Kuwait in 1967 where remained until the First Gulf War in 1990. He holds a degree in physics from Kuwait University in 1979. He led the Palestinian Islamic movement at the university under the name the "Islamic Right List," which contended in the election for the leadership of the Palestinian Student Union in Kuwait. He is one of the founders of Hamas and has been member of its politburo since its establishment. He headed the politburo of the movement since late 1995, and was reelected several times afterwards most recently in 2013.

#### Mohsen Mohammad Saleh

He has a doctorate degree in Modern and Contemporary History since 1993. An associate professor of Palestine studies, he has been the General Manager of al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations since 2004, the editor of the annual *Palestinian Strategic Report* (nine volumes), and the editor of annual *al-Watha'iq al-Filastiniyyah* (Palestinian Documents) series (five volumes). Former head of Department of History and Civilization at the International Islamic University (IIUM), Malaysia, and former executive manager of Middle East Studies Centre in Amman. He is the author of 13 books, and the editor of more than 70 books; and the editor of the Strategic Assessment series. He has published many articles in refereed scholarly journals and magazines. He presented papers at innumerable academic local and international conferences and seminars.

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He has a doctorate degree in Industrial Engineering (1992) from the United States. Born at the Rafah refugee camp in Gaza, he descends from a family from the village of Yibna in Palestine.

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Integral Chair for the Study of Imam al-Ghazali's Work at the Holy *al-Aqsa* Mosque and Al-Quds University, and a professor of philosophy and Islamic studies at Al-Quds University in Jerusalem, Palestine, since 1996. He Graduated from Boston University, US, in 1993 with a dissertation on the evolution of Imam al-Ghazali's theory of knowledge. Taught at the IIUM (1993–1996), then at Al-Quds University since 1996. He was visiting professor at the Fulbright Program at the Florida Atlantic University (2003–2004) and at Bard College in the State of New York. Among his Arabic books is *Tahqiq Fatawa al-Ghazali* (Verification of al-Ghazali Rulings) (1996).

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#### Talal 'Atrissi

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## Acknowledgement to Prof. Ibrahim Abu Rabi'

Credit for the idea behind this book is owed to the late Prof. Ibrahim Abu Rabi', who was one of the foremost experts on contemporary Islamic movements, and aprofessor in US and Canadian universities. Prof. Abu Rabi', proposed writing a book on Hamas's thought and experience, one that would be academic and objective, presenting things as they are, i.e., the movement would be expressing itself by itself. Besides, contributing several other studies by specialized objective academics.

We made the first steps with Prof. Abu Rabi' in the planning of the book and contacting researchers, but he passed away in Amman on 2/7/2011, before writing the chapter he promised to write, and before co-editing any of the book's texts. His death was a huge loss, but we continued the work hoping to have finally achieved the goal we had set out to reach.

May Allah shower Prof. Ibrahim Abu Rabi' with mercy and accept him in the ranks of the good doers.

The Editor

Dr. Mohsen Mohammad Saleh

#### This Book

The Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas is a prominent Palestinian resistance movement. It enjoyed, and continues to enjoy, broad popularity in the Palestinian arena. Hamas adopts Islam as a creed, way of life, and a code. It belongs to the school of Muslim Brothers movement.

Credit for the idea behind this book is owed to the late Prof. Ibrahim Abu Rabi'. 17 academicians, researchers and senior Hamas leaders participated in writing the chapters of this book.

This book is indeed one of the most specialized references regarding Hamas thought and experience, and it is an indispensable source for those interested in studying the Movement. It committed itself to the methodologies of academic research and all this entails in terms of accuracy, objectivity, and documentation. The contributions by several Hamas leaders shed additional and up-to-date light on a number of controversial issues surrounding Hamas and its experience.

Dr. Mohsen Mohammad Saleh

Islamic Resistance Movement

# Hamas Studies of Thought & Experience







