

JQ1830  
.A 98  
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2007

AZZAM TAMIMI

# HAMAS

## A HISTORY FROM WITHIN



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First published in 2007 by

OLIVE BRANCH PRESS  
An imprint of Interlink Publishing Group, Inc.  
46 Crosby Street  
Northampton, Massachusetts 01060  
www.interlinkbooks.com

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**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Tamimi, Azzam.

Hamas : a history / by Azzam Tamimi.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-56656-689-6 (pbk.)

1. Harakat al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyah--History. 2. Islam and politics. I. Title.

JQ1830.A98H3778 2007

324.25695'3083--dc22

2007006828

*Cover image:* A Hamas supporter holds a copy of the Quran during a rally in front of the Palestinian parliament in Gaza City. (AP Photo/Khalil Hamra) © 2007 The Associated Press. All rights reserved.

*Book design* by Juliana Spear

Printed and bound in the United States of America

To request our complete 40-page full-color catalog, please call us toll free at 1-800-238-LINK, visit our website at [www.interlinkbooks.com](http://www.interlinkbooks.com), or write to Interlink Publishing, 46 Crosby Street, Northampton, MA 01060  
e-mail: [info@interlinkbooks.com](mailto:info@interlinkbooks.com)

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## APPENDIX VI

## CHANGE AND REFORM LIST

( Hamas Election Manifesto for the Legislative Elections held on 25 January 2006 )

In the name of Allah Most Gracious Most Merciful

*"I only desire [your] betterment to the best of my power; and my success [in my task] can only come from Allah. In Him I trust, and unto Him I look."*

—Sura Hud 11:88

**Election Manifesto for the Elections of the  
Palestinian Legislative Council 2006**

## INTRODUCTION

On the basis of the belief that we stand at one of Islam's greatest fronts; in fulfillment of our responsibility toward our struggling people and their sacred and just cause; stemming from our duty to contribute to reforming the Palestinian reality so as to ease the suffering of our valiant people, bolster their steadfastness, and protect them from the ills of corruption; and in the hope of reinforcing national unity and bolstering internal Palestinian ranks, we have taken the decision to participate in the Palestinian legislative elections of 2006.

The Change and Reform List believes that its participation in the legislative elections at this time and in the shade of the reality endured by the Palestinian cause falls within the framework of the comprehensive program for the liberation of Palestine, the return of the Palestinian people to their lands and homes, and the establishment of the Palestinian independent state with Jerusalem its capital. This participation is intended to be an act of support for the program of resistance and intifada

to which our people have happily resorted as a strategic option to end the occupation.

The Change and Reform List seeks to build an advanced Palestinian civil society that is based on political pluralism and the alternation of power and seeks to direct the Palestinian political system and its political reform program in a manner that would accomplish the national rights of the Palestinian people while bearing in mind the existence of the heavy, detested, and oppressive occupation of our land and people and taking into consideration its overt interventions in every single detail of Palestinian life.

Our list's program is hereby submitted as a gesture of loyalty to our forbearing masses who see in this approach a wholesome alternative, who consider the Hamas movement a hope for a better future, and who see in this list an honest leadership for a better tomorrow, God-willing.

The Almighty Allah says: "Verily, this is My Way leading straight: follow it; follow not [other] paths: they will scatter you about from His [great] Path; thus does He command you, that you may be righteous" (Sura al-An'am 6: 153).

## 1. OUR ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES

Our list (the Change and Reform List) adopts a number of invariables that stem from the Islamic frame of reference. We believe these invariables to be unanimously agreed upon not only by our Palestinian people but also by our Arab and Islamic umma. These invariables are:

1. Islam and its civilizational achievements constitute our frame of reference and way of life with all its political, economic, social, and legal dimensions.
2. Historic Palestine is part of the Arab and Islamic land; the Palestinian people's right to it does not diminish with the passage of time and no military or alleged legal procedures alter this fact.
3. The Palestinian people are united as one wherever they may be living and are an inseparable part of the Arab and Islamic umma. ("Verily, this

umma [brotherhood] of yours is a single umma, and I am your Lord and Cherisher: therefore serve Me [and no other]" [Sura al-Anbiya' 21:92].)

4. Our Palestinian people are still living through the phase of national liberation; they have the right to endeavor to regain their rights and end the occupation using all available means, including armed resistance. We must dedicate all our resources to supporting the steadfastness of our people and provide them with all the necessary means of defeating the occupation and establishing the independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital.

5. All the Palestinian refugees and deportees have the right to return to their lands and properties. The right to self-determination and all our national rights are considered inalienable rights; they are fixed and cannot be compromised by any political concessions.

6. Full adherence to our people's inalterable and genuine rights to the land, Jerusalem, the holy places, water, [control of our own] borders, and a fully sovereign Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital.

7. Reinforcing and protecting national Palestinian unity is one of the priorities of national Palestinian action.

8. The issue of the prisoners and the detainees tops the list of the priorities of Palestinian action.

## 2. DOMESTIC POLICY

At the level of the domestic policy that governs Palestinian political life with all its dimensions, we aspire to accomplish the following priorities, which we believe guarantee a future befitting the struggle and sacrifices of our people and that would bolster their steadfastness in pursuit of comprehensive liberation and the aspired reform:

1. Preserving national Palestinian invariables and resisting any attempt to compromise or concede them.

2. Preserving the Palestinian presence in Jerusalem and supporting it politically, economically, socially, and culturally; resisting the enemy's

attempts to Judaize Jerusalem; and protecting the Islamic and Christian Palestinian holy sites from Zionist desecration.

3. Safeguarding political liberties, pluralism, the freedom to form political parties, resorting for arbitration to the ballot boxes, and the peaceful alternation of power are considered the best framework for regulating Palestinian political activity, and guaranteeing reform, combating corruption, and building an advanced Palestinian civil society.

4. Deepening the bonds of national unity, adopting dialogue, and resorting to logic in addressing internal disputes and prohibiting fighting and all forms of the use of force or the threat to use it within the domestic framework.

5. Establishing respect for public liberties (freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of movement, freedom of work, etc.) as the living reality of the Palestinian people.

6. Palestinian blood is one of the taboos within Palestinian society; dialogue is the only acceptable method for resolving internal Palestinian disputes.

7. Prohibiting political detention and rejecting the suppression of the freedom of speech.

8. Protecting the institutions of civil society and vitalizing their role in development and in monitoring and inspection.

9. Correcting and rationalizing the role of the security agencies in protecting the security of the citizen, ending erroneous and arbitrary practices, guaranteeing the liberties of citizens, protecting private and public properties, and making these agencies accountable to the Palestinian Legislative Council.

10. Security collaboration, or so-called security coordination, with the occupation is a crime against the homeland and against religion; it should be severely punished.

11. Protecting the resistance and vitalizing its role in resisting the occupation and accomplishing the mission of liberation.

12. Building the decent Palestinian citizen who is proud of his or her religion, land, freedom, and dignity and who is willing to sacrifice the precious and the dear in the Cause of Allah.

13. Vitalizing resistance against the construction of the apartheid wall of separation until it is brought down; all available means should be employed, including international institutions and courts of justice.

14. Guaranteeing the rights of minorities and respecting them in all aspects of society as equal citizens.

15. Public funds of all types are the property of the Palestinian people and should be used in financing comprehensive Palestinian development in a geographically fair manner that would serve social justice and discourage abuse, extravagance, looting, corruption, and embezzlement.

16. Prisoners, the wounded, and martyrs are the symbols of Palestinian sacrifice; caring for them and their families and seeking the release of the prisoners top the priorities in our national agenda.

17. Raising the efficiency of the institutions that specialize in supporting prisoners and their families and the families of martyrs and the wounded. Prisoners and martyrs will be treated as if they were still employed and will be paid a stipend equivalent to the salary they would have received from employment in the civil service.

18. Preserving Palestinian Islamic and Christian endowment properties, protecting them from aggression and manipulation and developing them in a manner that would conform to the moral and material value of these endowments, which are spread across the whole of Palestine.

19. Restoring the relationship between the PLO and the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) in a manner that serves the national Palestinian objectives and respects the organizations' respective fields of specialization.

### 3. EXTERNAL RELATIONS

1. Consolidate relations with the Arab and Islamic world in all fields for being the strategic depth of Palestine and opening up to the rest of the world's countries.

2. Revitalize the role of the Arab and Islamic masses in supporting the resistance of our people against occupation and in rejecting normalization with it.

3. Reject racial, territorial, or sectarian claims that seek to divide the umma.

4. Establish balanced political relations with the family of nations in a manner that would guarantee an active participation in the international community, preserve the unity of the umma and [achieve] its advancement, protect the rights [of the umma] and its causes, foremost of which is the Palestinian cause, and deter any aggression toward it.

5. Emphasize at all international levels in all world forums the illegitimacy of the occupation and all that comes out of it.

6. Consider occupation to be the ugliest form of terrorism and resisting it with all means a right that is guaranteed by Divine religions and internal law.

7. Call on all the good peoples and powers in the world to join together in an alliance to establish a just world peace that is based on ridding the world of all forms of occupation and of the remnants of colonialism and preventing foreign intervention in peoples' internal affairs.

8. Restore respect for the Palestinian rights in Arab and international circles, especially the right to be free from occupation, the right of the refugees to return home, and the right to establish a fully sovereign Palestinian state and to press for the issuance of resolutions and positions that support these rights.

9. Call on the international community to contribute effectively to rebuilding the towns and villages and to providing them with the necessary infrastructure.

10. Reject conditional grants that are only given in exchange for compromising our national principles and earnestly seek honorable alternatives.

#### 4. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM & FIGHTING CORRUPTION

1. Eliminate all forms of corruption; consider it a main contributing factor to weakening the internal Palestinian front and to undermining the foundations of national unity, and pursue investigations into administrative and financial corruption in order to bring the culprits to justice.

2. Enhance transparency, monitoring, auditing, and accountability in dealing with matters pertaining to the budget in all of its phases (planning, preparation, discussion, endorsement, and implementation).

3. Modernizing administrative rules and systems in a manner that would enhance the efficiency of administrative departments so as to provide services with ease and comfort at all levels.

4. Implement the concepts of decentralization, the delegation of authority, and shared decision making.

5. Reformulate the policy of employment in the civil service in a manner that would guarantee equal opportunities for all the children of the Palestinian people on the basis of their qualifications and would eliminate nepotism, partisan favoritism, and red tape in appointments and promotions in all government departments and public agencies.

6. Form a national parliamentary committee to inspect the dispensing of Palestinian endowment funds, both Islamic and Christian, in order to guarantee proper conduct and enable to accomplish its goals.

7. Fight slackness in government performance and the wastage of public funds and endeavor to bolster a sense of responsibility at all levels of

employment. ("Each of you is a shepherd [guardian] and each of you is responsible for his flock"—as stated in a Prophetic hadith).

8. Adopt the policy of [calling to account those in authority questioning them] "where have you acquired this from?" in order to call to account those employed in the civil service.

#### 5. LEGISLATIVE POLICY AND JUDICIAL REFORM

1. Establish Islamic Shari'a as the main source of legislation in Palestine.

2. Emphasize the separation among the three powers: the legislative, the executive, and the judiciary.

3. Revitalize the role of the Constitutional Court.

4. Seek to enact legislations that would take into consideration the specific values and heritage of the Palestinian people.

5. Establish a judicial training institute.

6. Restructure the Supreme Judicial Council so that its members are elected from among the judges of Palestine on the basis of qualifications and experience with no consideration for political or social factionalism or personal interests.

7. Enact laws aimed at vitalizing judiciary inspection so as to achieve effective auditing within the judiciary at all levels.

8. Enact laws that would bar the politicization of the general prosecution and would ensure the observance of the parameters of qualification, inspection, review, and accountability.

9. Amend the law pertaining to civil and commercial trials and the law of penal procedures so as to prevent the prolonging of court procedures, limit the number of adjourned cases, and determine an upper time limit for each type of case and for the period of adjournment.

10. Reinforce democracy and shura in the various fields and positions and achieve effective participation.

11. End the government's encroachment on the constitution: issuing temporary laws, repetitive amendments, delaying the implementation of laws, or other forms of abuses.

12. Reject any legislations or agreement with the enemy that contravene the rights of our Palestinian people.

## 6. PUBLIC LIBERTIES AND CITIZEN RIGHTS

1. Implement the principle that citizens are equal before the law and that they are equal in rights and duties.

2. Provide each citizen with security and with protection for his or her life and properties; no citizen should be subjected to arbitrary detention or torture or revenge.

3. End the intervention of security agencies in the issuing of licenses for publications, research centers, and public opinion polling institutions, as well as their intervention in employment.

4. Reinforce the culture of dialogue and respect for all opinions that do not contradict the people's faith or their cultural heritage and construct an information policy based on the principles of freedom of thought and expression, fairness and the accommodation of diversity, pluralism, and the right to free choice.

5. Protect the rights of people with special needs (the prisoners and their families, the families of martyrs, women, children, the disabled, and the poor).

6. Protect media institutions and guarantee the right of journalists to acquire information and to publish it.

7. Protect the freedom to form trade unions, preserve the independence of the trade unions, and avoid all forms of despotism.

8. Recognize political groups, encourage them and benefit from their role and support the various institutions of civil society.

9. Adopt the principle of equal opportunities and appointing the right person to the right position.

## 7. EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Since education is the foundation necessary to build the generation capable of envisioning the future of the homeland and accomplishing the dream of freedom, liberation, and independence, our list will seek to do the following:

1. Observe the foundations on which the philosophy of education in Palestine is based. These include the principle that Islam is a comprehensive system that applies to all aspects of life and that dignifies the human being, striking a balance between individual and community rights.

2. Implement mandatory education and expand secondary education in both branches, the vocational and the academic.

3. Develop the curricula and teaching methods in conformity with the philosophy and objectives of education in Palestine and according to the needs of each age.

4. Pay attention to the humanities and focus on languages, especially the Arabic language at various levels of education.

5. Establish the ethics of the teaching profession, respect the rights of the teachers, and develop their skills.

6. Enact legislations aimed at protecting the teaching and academic process in universities and higher education institutions from abuse, unfairness, and favoritism.

7. Establish and develop institutions that specialize in providing care to the talented, high achievers, and those with extraordinary capabilities.

8. Develop the foundations of higher education and support scientific research, including the establishment of the Palestinian Scientific Research Center.
9. End the practice of using school facilities for multiple terms a day and increase the number of schools.
10. Reduce the number of students per class and the number of students per teacher at all levels of education, especially the elementary level.
11. Encourage the formation of student unions and provide them with support and with the appropriate climate so as to perform well and so as to maintain schools and universities as bastions of national action.
12. Provide all schools with athletic and cultural facilities as well as with laboratories and computers.
13. Provide schools across the homeland with the resources so as to teach various disciplines by attracting migrant Palestinian talents and training those who live inside the homeland.
14. Encourage field trips and internal tourism and include them in the educational requirements, especially as part of the national curriculum.
15. Encourage private educational institutions at all levels (pre-university) because of the savings they contribute to the state budget and the competition they provoke within the educational sector as a whole.
16. Permit the licensing of quality nonprofit private universities so as to encourage competition, which in turn results in more qualified graduates and keeps students at home, providing substantial savings to our economy.
17. Attend to vocational, technical, and agricultural education and training.
18. Develop the educational strategies that focus on qualification and shun all forms of favoritism in employment. The quality of those graduating from the educational system will be considered first and foremost.

19. Support the Needy University Students' Fund and develop its mechanisms so as to increase its transparency and objectivity and deliver aid to those who deserve it.

#### 8. ON THE SUBJECT OF PREACHING AND PROVIDING RELIGIOUS GUIDANCE

1. Improve the efficiency of preachers and religious guides, equate their status with that of their peers in other ministries, provide them with rewarding incentives, and formulate fair rules and guidelines.
2. End all forms of security intervention in this apparatus, enable working scholars to perform their roles, and end the policy of exclusion.
3. Review the Law of Admonition and Guidance so that those with the necessary knowledge and the qualifications may perform their religious and national duties.
4. Care for the mosques, build more of them, and reinvigorate their missionary and educational role in society.
5. Attend to the issues pertaining to hajj and 'umra [pilgrimage] in order to enable pilgrims to perform their rituals with ease and comfort.

#### 9. SOCIAL POLICY

1. Support the correct foundation and cohesion of the Palestinian family so as to constitute the solid foundation of our social values and moral ethics.
2. Establish social solidarity and encourage and expand the existing social protection network so as to guarantee the social and political stability of both the family and society and bolster the elements of steadfastness.
3. Provide social services (education, healthcare, and social security) and other public services to all citizens without discrimination, favoritism, or partisanship.



4. Unify the pension system so as to achieve equality and fairness among pensioners.

5. With regard to Personal Status Law and Shari'a Courts:

—It is necessary to enact a single law derived from Shari'a texts and from the recognized jurisprudential schools and to opt for what best suits the needs of the Palestinian Muslim society in the modern era.

—Enact legislation pertaining to the Shari'a courts of various levels, to be implemented in a unified manner (in Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip), including the laws of endowment, inheritance, and non-Muslim sects.

—Seek a reasonable representation of the Shari'a courts in the Palestinian Constitutional Court.

6. Preserve the social fabric of the Palestinian people and public morality, guarantee that social principles are not violated, and prevent any measures or legislations that may undermine them.

7. Support the social institutions that care for the various marginalized sections of society such as women, children, orphans, the poor, and those with special needs.

8. Develop educational and vocational training centers and institutions to care for prisoners when still in captivity and then when freed so as to integrate them into society and enable them to contribute to the development of the homeland.

9. Provide comprehensive educational and healthcare to the families of martyrs and prisoners and all the needy segments of society.

10. Revitalize, organize, and develop the zakat committees.

11. Combat poverty by pursuing justice in wealth distribution, and encourage charitable associations and lift restrictions that may impede their activities.

12. Develop systems of social security so as to help eliminate poverty and maintain social harmony in the Palestinian society.

13. Combat narcotics and intoxicants and all forms of bad behavior through education, awareness programs, and exercising legal measures.

14. Support institutions that care for the disabled and those with special needs and develop programs to facilitate their integration into society.

15. Adopt a clear policy to care for the human element inside various departments by developing the labor force and providing workers with job security and psychological stability.

16. Revitalize reconciliation committees and support them financially, for they play an important role in resolving disputes among members of the community and in restoring climates of amicability and harmony among feuding parties.

#### 10. CULTURAL AND MEDIA POLICY

Because of the significant role played by cultural institutions and the media in forming the convictions and thoughts of citizens and hence the identity of the umma, our list will pursue the following:

1. Base media policy on the principles of the freedoms of thought and expression and on the value of honesty.

2. Immunize the citizens, especially young people, against corruption, Westernization, and intellectual invasion.

3. Facilitate the work of journalists and the mass media and guarantee the right of the masses to learn the truth.

4. End the intervention of security agencies in the issuing of licenses for publications, research centers, and public opinion polling institutions.
5. Elevate the level of public knowledge and awareness of rights, duties, responsibilities, and their consequences.
6. Revitalize the public sector media and liberate them from factionalism, increasing professionalism and transparency in their programs.
7. Found a public foundation, and encourage the founding of private ones, to specialize in Palestinian heritage, modern history, and holy places.
8. Direct the official media to contribute to the advancement of Palestinian society and bolster its steadfastness. These media will be turned into pulpits expressing truthfully the struggle of the Palestinian people and the nobility of their cause. They will be encouraged to provide a spacious platform for politicians, thinkers, and journalists to raise the issues freely but without infringing on the national principles.

#### 11. WOMEN, CHILDREN, AND THE FAMILY

1. Protect and care for children, emphasizing their right to a proper upbringing, nutrition, physical and psychological care, guidance, and education.
2. The Palestinian woman is a partner in jihad and resistance as well as in building and development.
3. Guarantee women rights and establish the legislative framework for supporting them, and endeavor to enable women to contribute in social, economic, and political development.
4. Shield women with Islamic education by making them aware of their legitimate rights, and affirm women's independent personalities, based on chastity, decency, and observance.

5. Revitalize the role of voluntary women's institutions, which are a significant section of civil society.
6. Establish units in the countryside to teach women carpet and mat weaving, spinning, and other such crafts, in order to provide rural women with job opportunities.
7. Encourage the utilization of women's resources in the public sphere and highlight the role of women in building society.
8. Support the stability of the family by:
  - developing legislation specific to the working woman with the aim of achieving family stability and generational protection;
  - showing solidarity with families whose houses have been demolished or whose children have been detained or are on the run;
  - providing adequate health clinics and hospitals so as to supply healthcare to families and attend to all the needs of maternity and childhood;
  - protecting women from all forms of abuse and exploitation that demean them or treat them as if they were bodies and nothing else, as in advertising or as in the case of forcing them to perform illicit activities.

#### 12. YOUTH ISSUES

1. Expand the founding of youth institutions and develop those that already exist so as to guarantee building a wholesome youth personality and to encourage dialogue among the youth.
2. Support sports and cultural clubs, put an end to interventions in their affairs, and combat negative phenomena within them.

3. Support and encourage the talented and the innovative among the youth in diverse fields and provide them with job opportunities in their respective fields.
4. Care for the youth and immunize them against corruption and immorality.
5. Provide the youth, especially university graduates, with honorable and appropriate job opportunities.
6. Enhance the participation of the youth in political, social, and cultural activities and in constructive arts.
7. Support sports teams' participation in local, Arab, Islamic, and international tournaments and construct sports halls and playgrounds to serve this end.

### 13. HOUSING POLICY

1. Allocate certain public property lands for the establishment of residential complexes and villages to distribute them among low-earning citizens, especially those whose homes have been demolished, or impoverished families and the families of martyrs and detainees.
2. Address the shortage of housing for low earners and the crowding in housing, especially inside the Gaza Strip and some areas within the West Bank.
3. Encourage the construction of functional housing complexes that are annexed to public service institutions, such as schools, hospitals, universities, and other general facilities.
4. Distribute charitable housing equitably so as to encourage benefactors to continue funding such projects.
5. Stimulate the construction sector by funding housing projects and public building projects in order to speedily contribute to:

- solving the problem of unemployment among the Palestinians who used to be employed in Israel, most of whom possess experience and talents in construction;
  - reduce the rent the government pays for its buildings, and consequently alleviate some of the burden borne by the budget and divert the resources to other priorities;
  - develop social services by providing new premises or expanding existing ones, especially in the sectors of education and healthcare.
6. Provide housing for junior civil servants and low earners at cost price or with interest-free loans, encourage housing contracts and remedying cases of insolvency.
  7. Adopt structural and regional plans for Palestinian towns and villages.

### 14. HEALTH POLICY

1. Reform the health insurance system and make it available to all citizens, starting with the poor, who are in more need.
2. Set a schedule for achieving medical sufficiency in all fields to prevent the expenditure of public funds on treatment abroad.
3. Expand the services of primary healthcare and public health centers to facilitate medical treatment and ease the burden on citizens in villages and small towns.
4. Develop public health services that will surpass in quality the services provided by the private sector.
5. Draw the necessary plans to expand the construction of fully integrated hospitals, depending on the needs of different regions.
6. Achieve a balance in specializations and expertise in hospitals and an equitable distribution of qualified personnel and equipment in all regions.

7. Provide incentives that reward doctors, nurses, and other workers in the health sector who work in rural areas as well, as those with rare specializations in the health sector.
8. Encourage private and specialized health services.
9. Elevate the standard of the health sector (doctors, pharmacists, nurses, and health administrators) to meet the needs and requirements of the Palestinian society.
10. Provide appropriate health facilities to care for the wounded and disabled who were injured during the Palestinian jihad, without discrimination among the different segments of the Palestinian people.
11. Provide free and appropriate healthcare to the families of martyrs, the wounded, invalids, and captives.
12. Endeavor to provide a clean environment by developing the culture of public cleanliness, planting trees along the roads and in public parks, and encouraging private and public gardening.
13. In coordination with international agencies, protect the environment, stop Palestinian environmental deterioration, and resist the continuing pollution of the Palestinian lands as a result of the practices of the occupation and the Zionist settlements, and expose these practices at the international level.
14. Maintain the Gaza coast so that it remains clean, pleasant, and suitable for summer vacationing and tourism, stop infringements such as refuse dumping and prevent pollution caused by the pumping of household and industrial drainage into the sea.
15. Follow up the studies on getting rid of the environmental disaster caused by the existence of treatment pools to the north of the Gaza Strip, allocate new land to increase the number of "refuse dumping sites" in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, and establish projects to make use of the refuse.

## 15. AGRICULTURAL POLICY

1. Develop the agricultural sector and animal resources in order first to achieve food security for the Palestinian people, and subsequently a surplus in production for export purposes.
2. Endeavor to categorize lands in Palestine, determine their agricultural uses, such as for growing citrus, grains, fruits, etc., and enacting the necessary legislation for developing them.
3. Restructure and revitalize the farmers' union across all the provinces so as to contribute to implementing agricultural policies aimed at advancing this important sector.
4. Endeavor to adopt an agricultural credit system to replace the interest-based system and encourage in-kind agricultural loaning.
5. Endeavor to improve coordination among the concerned agencies within the agricultural sector with regard to policy making, production, manufacture, and marketing, and seek to open up Arab and international markets for Palestinian agricultural produce as part of the available preferential treatment agreements.
6. Create the necessary infrastructure for agricultural development by promoting comprehensive rural development.
7. Encourage the establishment of food-processing projects that make use of leftovers; develop the quality of locally produced seeds, insecticides, and fertilizers.
8. Attend to the fishing industry and protect the rights of fishermen.
9. Regulate the import, marketing, and use of insecticides and agricultural or veterinary medications; ration the use of chemical fertilizers, and provide agricultural guidance services.

10. Encourage the reclamation of lands and support their farming and irrigation.

11. Develop animal resources and bridge the gap between demand and supply.

12. Monitor the performance of the Coastal Water Authority to ensure that it best serves the interests of the homeland and citizens.

#### 16. ECONOMIC, FISCAL, AND MONETARY POLICY

The Almighty Allah says: "Those who, when they spend, are not extravagant and not niggardly, but hold a just [balance] between those [extremes]" (Sura al-Furqan 25:67).

The Almighty also says: "Allah will deprive usury of all blessing, but will give increase for deeds of charity; for He loves not creatures ungrateful and wicked" (Sura al-Baqarah 2:67).

1. Achieve economic and monetary independence and disengage with the Zionist entity and its economy and currency by ending the subordination to it and issuing a Palestinian currency.

2. Review economic and fiscal legislations and regulations.

3. Foster the appropriate legal and procedural environment to encourage investment and enact additional vital economic laws, such as the law of preventing monopoly and the law of customs.

4. Endeavor to establish a "resisting economy" and encourage self-dependency; shun extravagance and abuse; avoid unproductive projects or those that damage social and moral matrices, such as nightclubs, gambling parlors, etc.

5. Thoroughly consider the wide distribution of projects so as to protect them and lessen the likelihood that the enemy will strike these projects or impose siege or sanctions.

6. Reconsider international economic agreements, taking into consideration the special circumstances of the Palestinian economy. The following are among the most important agreements that will be reviewed:

—Paris economic agreement

—Free trade agreement with the United States of America

—Partnership agreement with the European Union

—Economic cooperation agreements with Egypt and Jordan

7. Develop economic and trade relations with the Arab and Islamic world by concluding preferential trade agreements that will contribute to the development of Palestinian economy and assist it in ending its subordination to the Israeli economy.

8. Formulate economic policies (fiscal, monetary, operational, commercial, industrial, and agricultural) that seek (during the term of the PLC, which lasts four years) to accomplish balanced economic development, bolster local resources, protect vulnerable groups, preserve social solidarity, stabilize prices and wages, combat poverty, reduce unemployment, keep inflation under control, achieve economic growth, and improve individual standard of living.

9. Develop the infrastructure to meet the requirements of the industrial, agricultural, and public services sectors; concentrate on training and qualifying the Palestinian labor force so as to fulfill the needs of the Palestinian market, and consequently solve the problem of dependence on the Israeli market for employment.

10. Protect public property and assets and utilize them in a manner that brings general benefit to current and future generations. This requires implementing an ambitious program of fiscal and administrative reform in PNA agencies and departments, and using international aid to best achieve the objectives of comprehensive development, in order to end extravagance and misappropriation and thus achieve social justice.

11. Review the prices of gas and other petroleum products and of electricity, telephone, and water so as to alleviate the burden borne by citizens.

12. Attend to Palestinian production sectors by implementing the recommendations of serious scientific studies, especially those that seek to develop the internal resources of the Palestinian economy.

13. Develop the Palestinian trade and customs policy so as to correspond with the development needs of the Palestinian economy and the objectives of Palestinian foreign trade.

14. Reformulate the income tax law to make tax and therefore ease the burden on low earners; and amend indirect taxation in the Palestinian economy and reduce the value added tax so as to correspond to the Palestinian growth level.

#### 17. QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO LABOR AND LABORERS

1. Respect, develop, and encourage the activities of trade unions and specialized professional associations.

2. Set a minimum wage for the various labor sectors so as to guarantee an acceptable standard of decent living.

3. Implement a serious national plan to deal with unemployment. The plan should rely on developing the local resources of the Palestinian economy and the appropriate use of funds (whether local or through international aid).

4. Disseminate labor culture and awareness of rights and duties among all workers in the various sectors using different legitimate means and methods.

5. Include workers in all sectors in the comprehensive health insurance system.

6. Develop labor law to guarantee the rights of laborers, including their right to form and join unions, and to ensure justice for workers in all production sectors.

7. Link workers' wages and salaries to the inflation index.

#### 18. TRANSPORT AND PASSAGES

1. Repair and modernize all roads throughout the homeland.

2. Construct new roads connecting towns and villages; citizens displaced reserve the right to be compensated.

3. Affirm the importance of active and free communication between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

4. Open free passages between Palestine and Egypt and between Palestine and Jordan and reject any degree of foreign intervention in these passages.

5. Endeavor to open the port and the airport so as to contribute to the development of the Palestinian economy and facilitate communication among the children of the one people, inside and outside.

#### CONCLUSION

The blessed al-Aqsa Intifada has created new facts on the ground that have rendered the Oslo program a thing of the past, and different parties, including the Zionist occupation, have already spoken about "burying Oslo." Our people today are more united, more aware, and more invincible. Hamas is approaching the elections having, with the help of Allah and in cooperation with all the honorable ones, reinforced the method of resistance and engraved it in the minds, hearts, and souls of our people.

Brothers and sisters the voters,  
This is our manifesto, which we submit to you. We share your ambition and place our hand in yours. We do not claim to create miracles and we do not possess a magic wand.

However, together we aim and proceed toward achieving our national project along the path toward our greater goals: a single, free, and guided umma.

Brothers and sisters the voters,  
Responsibility is mutual; righteous deeds are rewarded by the Almighty Allah.

Our approach relies on trustworthy and qualified representatives who pledge sincerity to Allah and loyalty to Him, to the people, and to the cause. So, rest assured that they will fulfill their promises and prove to be truthful to their slogans.

Brothers and sisters the voters,  
When you stand before the ballot box, remember your responsibility when you meet the Almighty Allah. You are entrusted with your vote in choosing your representative to the Legislative Council. When this representative speaks and discusses issues pertaining to religion, to the homeland, and to future, he or she acts on your behalf. So make sure you make the right choice, through which you aim to please your Lord and your Prophet, peace be upon him. "Truly the best of persons for you to employ is the [one] who is strong and trustworthy."

Yes, make the right choice for your happiness and the happiness of your people, God-willing. "Islam is the Solution."

This is our path toward change and reform.

Our program is our means to rebuild the society that has been destroyed by occupation and to protect its resistance. Our program is our course toward bolstering Islamic-national unity along the path of full liberation. Our program is the program of the entire people and the entire homeland.

(And say: "Work [righteousness]: soon will Allah observe your work, and His Messenger, and the Believers: soon will you be brought back to the Knower of what is hidden and what is open: then will He show you the truth of all that you did" [Sura al-Tawbah 9:105].)

Brothers and sisters the voters,  
Your vote is a testimony, so testify nothing but the truth.

## Notes

NOTE: Unless otherwise noted, all translations from the Arabic by Azzam Tamimi.

## INTRODUCTION

- <sup>1</sup> Published in 2000 by the Institute of Palestine Studies (IPS) in Washington, DC. This is a slightly updated version of his Arabic work, *Hamas: Al-fikr wa al-mumarah al-ijasiyah*, published in 1996 by IPS in Beirut.
- <sup>2</sup> Matthew Levitt, *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).
- <sup>3</sup> Erlanger's review appeared in the 23 June 2006 edition of the *International Herald Tribune* entitled: "Hamas as a Terror 'Apparatus.'"
- <sup>4</sup> Barry Rubin, "A Review that Speaks Volumes," the *Jerusalem Post* 26 June 2006.
- <sup>5</sup> Hassam al-Banna, *Bayna-l-ams wal-yawm* (Between yesterday and today) (Beirut: Al-Risalah, 1975), 250-251.

## 1. THE BEGINNINGS

- <sup>1</sup> Sheikh Ahmad Yassin's testimony was broadcast by Aljazeera Arabic satellite channel between 17 April and 5 June 1999. The interviews were recorded with the sheikh during his visit to Qatar in the spring of 1998. This reference is henceforth referred to as "Yassin's Aljazeera testimony." The series of eight recorded interviews were conducted by Aljazeera anchor Ahmad Mansur for his weekly program "Shaid 'Ala Al-'Asr" (Witness To the Age). The full transcript is also available in a book edited by Ahmad Mansur, *Al-Shaykh Ahmad Yassin, shahid 'ala 'asr al-intifada* (Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, a Witness to the Age of the Intifada) (Beirut: Arab Scientific Publishers and Dar Ibn Hazm, 2003).
- <sup>2</sup> The first three leaders named have already been assassinated by the Israelis. The first to be liquidated was Salah Shihadah, in the early hours of 23 July 2002. An Israeli F-16 dropped a 1,000-pound bomb on the apartment building where he lived in the densely populated neighborhood of al-Daraj, killing him, his wife, and several others. Sheikh Ahmad Yassin was killed on 22 March 2004 as he left a mosque after dawn, when an Apache helicopter fired rockets, killing him, his guards, and several