

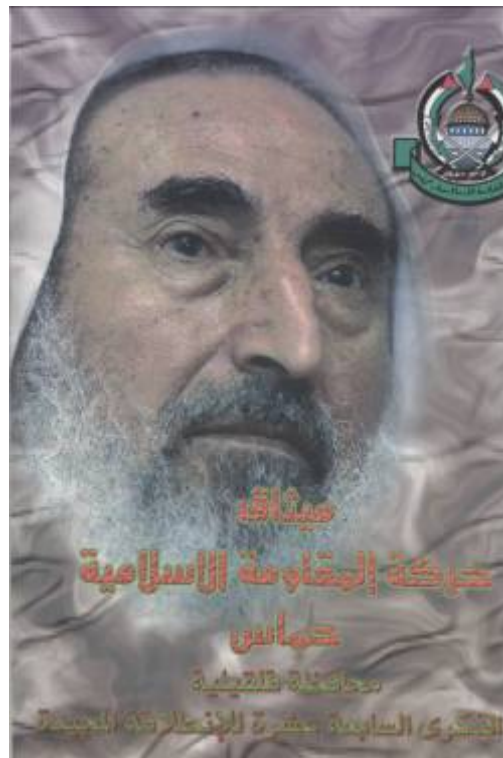


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Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center
at the Center for Special Studies (C.S.S)

The Hamas Charter (1988)

Overtly anti-Semitic and anti-West, radical Islamic in outlook, it stresses Hamas' ideological commitment to destroy the State of Israel through a long-term holy war (jihad).



The front cover of the Hamas charter, printed in Qalqilya in 2004. It shows Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, who gave the charter its final form.

Overview

▣ On January 25, 2006, the day Palestinian Legislative Council elections were held, Dr. Mahmoud al-Zahar, senior Hamas leader in the Gaza Strip and candidate for the post of foreign minister, stated that Hamas was committed to the ideology of its **1988 charter**. He noted emphatically that “the movement [would] not change a single word in its charter,” which **calls for the destruction of the State of Israel**, and would not become a purely political movement, but quite the opposite, it would continue its policy of “resistance” (i.e., terrorist attacks) (Reuters, Gaza, January 25).

▣ The **Hamas charter** referred to by Mahmoud al-Zahar was formulated during the first year of the previous round of the violent Israeli-Palestinian confrontations (1987-1993). It was edited and approved by **Ahmad Yassin**, the movement’s founder and leader (who died in a targeted killing in March 2004), and issued on August 18, 1988. It is **Hamas’s most important ideological document** and as of this writing, **copies continue to be circulated** in the Palestinian Authority-administered territories. It makes extensive use of Islamic sources (the Qur’an and hadith¹) to assure its religious Islamic basis.

▣ **The main points of the Hamas charter:**

- ✳ **The conflict with Israeli is religious and political:** The Palestinian problem is a religious-political Muslim problem and the conflict with Israel is between Muslims and the Jewish “infidels.”
- ✳ **All Palestine is Muslim land and no one has the right to give it up:** The land of Palestine is sacred Muslim land and no one, including Arab rulers, has the authority to give up any of it.
- ✳ **The importance of jihad (holy war) as the main means for the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) to achieve its goals:** An uncompromising

¹ Supplements to and clarifications of the Qur’an, originally an oral tradition, later written down and codified.

jihad must be waged against Israel and any agreement recognizing its right to exist must be totally opposed. **Jihad is the personal duty of every Muslim.**

✳ **The importance of fostering the Islamic consciousness:** Much effort must be invested **fostering and spreading Islamic consciousness** by means of **education** [i.e., religious-political **indoctrination**] in the spirit of radical Islam, based on the ideology of the **Muslim brotherhood**.

✳ **The importance of Muslim solidarity:** A great deal of importance is given to Muslim solidarity, one of whose manifestations is aid to the needy through the establishment of a network of various “charitable societies.”

✳ **In addition, the charter is rife with overt anti-Semitism:** According to the charter, the Jewish people have only negative traits and are presented as planning to take over the world. The charter uses myths taken from classical European and Islamic-based anti-Semitism.

▣ The translation of the charter, which follows below, is of the 2004 edition, published in an ornate format in **Qalqilya**² and issued to celebrate the 17th anniversary of the movement’s founding. Copies were among the documents found by IDF soldiers in the **Islamic Club** in Qalqilya on September 27, 2005.

▣ Sheikh **Ahmad Yassin’s** picture appears on the front cover of the 2004 Qalqilya edition. A picture of his temporary successor, **‘Abd al-‘Aziz Rantisi** (who died in a targeted killing in April 2004) appears on the back cover. On the insides of the front and back covers there are **pictures of prominent terrorists who died during the confrontation (*shaheeds*) and of jailed Qalqilya residents**. Some of the Qalqilya terrorists took part in suicide bombing attacks, for example, **Sa’id Hutri**, who blew himself up at the **Dolphinarium Club in Tel Aviv** on June 1, 2001, killing 21 civilians and wounding 83, the overwhelming majority of all of whom were teenagers; and **‘Abd al-Rahman Hammad**, who was head of the Hamas terrorist-operative infrastructure in Qalqilya and who planned and organized the attack.

² Various, slightly different versions can also be found on the Internet.

The Hamas charter frontispiece, 2004 Qalqilya edition

The inscription reads “The star shaheed [team] of the [Izzedine] al-Qassam Battalions of the Qalqilya district”

Suicide bomber **Sa'id Hutri**, who blew himself up at the Dolphinarium Club in Tel Aviv, killing 21 teenagers.



‘Abd al-Rahman Hammad, head of the Hamas terrorist-operative infrastructure in Qalqilya, who planned and organized the attack.



The following sections include:

- ✱ **An analysis of the Hamas charter**
- ✱ A translation (**Appendix A**)
- ✱ The original Arabic document (**Appendix B**)

Analysis of the Hamas Charter

▣ The Hamas charter is the document which sets out the movement's **ideology** as it was formulated and honed by its founders. It includes its radical Islamic world view (conceived by the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt), which has basically not changed in the 18 years of its existence.³ With regard to **Israel**, the charter's stance is **uncompromising. It views the "problem of Palestine" as a religious-political Muslim issue**, and the Israeli-Palestinian confrontation as **a conflict between Islam and the "infidel" Jews**. "Palestine" is presented as **sacred Islamic land** and it is strictly forbidden to give up an inch of it because no one (including Arab-Muslim rulers) has the authority to do so. With regard to international relations, the charter manifests an extremist worldview which is as anti-Western as Al-Qaeda and other terrorist organizations.

▣ That worldview brings in its wake **the refusal to recognize the State of Israel's right to exist as an independent, sovereign nation, the waging of a ceaseless jihad (holy war) against it and total opposition to any agreement or arrangement that would recognize its right to exist**. At the beginning of the charter there is a quotation attributed to Hassan Al-Bana,⁴ that **"Israel will arise and continue to exist until Islam wipes it out, as it wiped out what went before."**

▣ **Overt, vicious anti-Semitism, with both Islamic and Christian-European origins**, is used extensively throughout the document. The all-out holy war (jihad) against the Jewish people is legitimized by presenting the Jews in a negative light and demonizing them as wanting to take over not only the Middle East but also the rest of the world. One of the jihad's deadliest manifestations is **suicide bombing terrorism**, which was developed mainly by Hamas during the 1990s and has become its leading "strategy" in the ongoing violent Israeli-Palestinian confrontation.

³ The Hamas platform made public during the Palestinian Legislative Council election campaign was based on the charter, made relevant to the internal Palestinian arena (with great emphasis placed on the need for internal reforms). For further information see our Special Bulletin ["News of the Israeli-Palestinian Confrontation \(January 1-15, 2006\)"](#).

⁴ The founder of the Muslim Brotherhood and an important figure in the Hamas *shaheed* pantheon, apparently killed by the Egyptian security forces in 1949.

☐ The Jews are also presented as worthy of only humiliation and lives of misery. That is because, according to the charter, they angered Allah, rejected the Qur'an and killed the prophets (the relevant Qur'an verse from Surah Aal-'Imran is quoted at the **beginning of the charter**). The document also includes **anti-Semitic myths** taken from *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (mentioned in Article 32) regarding Jewish control of the media, the film industry and education (Articles 17 and 22). The myths are constantly repeated to represent the Jews as responsible for the French and Russian revolutions and for all world and local wars: "No war takes place anywhere without the Jews' being behind it" (Article 22). The charter **demonizes the Jews** and describes them as brutally **behaving like Nazis** toward women and children (Article 29).

☐ The charter views the **jihad** (holy war) as **the way to take all of "Palestine" from the Jews and to destroy the State of Israel**, and Hamas's terrorist attacks are seen as links in the jihad chain carried out during the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Article 15 states that "the jihad to liberate 'Palestine' is the personal duty [*fardh 'ayn*]" of every Muslim, an idea expounded by 'Abdallah 'Azzam.⁵

☐ The charter emphasizes the battle for Muslim hearts and minds, or, "the spread of Islamic consciousness" (*al-wa'i al-islami*), within three main spheres: the Palestinians, the Arab Muslims and the non-Arab Muslims (Article 15). The process of fostering and spreading that "Islamic consciousness" (*amaliyyat al-taw'aiyah*) is defined as its most important mission. **Clerics, educators, men of culture, those active in the media and information services and the generally educated public all have the responsibility to carry it out** (*ibid.*).

⁵ Abdallah Azzam was a Palestinian from the village of Silat al-Harithiya near Jenin, who was **Osama bin Laden's ideologue**, and later became a popular figure for Hamas. For further information see our Special Bulletin "[Who is Dr. Abdallah Azzam....](#)". His book defining jihad as the personal duty of every Muslim was published in 1984 and it is reasonable to assume it influenced the Hamas charter.

▣ **As part of the battle for hearts and minds**, the charter places a special emphasis on **education [i.e., indoctrination] in the spirit of radical Islam, based on the ideas of the Muslim Brotherhood. Fundamental changes** must be made, it states, in the educational system in the PA-administered territories: it must be “purified,” purged of “the influences of the ideological invasion brought by the Orientalists and missionaries” (Article 15), and the younger generation should be given a radical Islamic education based exclusively on the Qur’an and the Muslim tradition (the Sunnah). The means used for ideological recruitment, as detailed in the charter, are “books, articles, publications, sermons, flyers, folk songs, poetic language, songs, plays, etc.” When imbued with “correct” Islamic belief and culture, they become an important means of **raising morale** and building the psychological fixation and emotional strength necessary for a continuing “liberation campaign” (Article 19).

▣ The charter stresses the importance of Muslim **solidarity** according to the commands of the Qur’an and Sunnah, especially in view of the confrontation taking place between Palestinian society and the “terrorist Jewish enemy,” described as **Nazi-like**. One of the expressions of that solidarity is **aid to the needy** (one of whose main manifestations is the network of various “charitable societies” set up by Hamas, which integrate social activities and support of terrorism).

▣ **The charter makes a point of the ideological difference between Hamas, with its radical Islamic world view, and the secularly-oriented The Palestine Liberation Organization**, but pays lip service to the need for Palestinian unity needed to face the Jewish enemy. It notes that an Islamic world view completely contradicts The Palestine Liberation Organization’s secular orientation and the idea of a secular Palestinian state. Nevertheless, notes the charter, Hamas is prepared to aid and support every “nationalist trend” working “to liberate Palestine” and is not interested in creating schisms and disagreements (Article 27).⁶

⁶ In reality, throughout its history Hamas has **refused** to obey the Palestinian Authority leadership, both when Arafat was in charge and now under Abu Mazen. Its policy is one of independent terrorism and the refusal to disarm, and it has established itself in the PA-administered territories as a kind of alternative Palestinian Authority so that when the time comes, it will be able to take over the government, as indeed happened.



‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Rantisi, Ahmad Yassin’s successor as Hamas leader, as he appears on the back cover of the charter. Rantisi is described as dealing with policy and information, but he is shown holding a gun and there are masked terrorists in the background. Under his picture it says, “**Oh lord, take as much of our blood as will satisfy you,**” intended to encourage self-sacrifice for the sake of Allah (i.e., to encourage suicide bombing attacks).

The Hamas charter vs. its election platform

▣ A comparison of the Hamas charter and its January 3, 2006 platform during the Palestinian Legislative Council election campaign shows that **it did not moderate or disguise its commitment to the charter’s basic principles in any meaningful way.** Its radical Islamic position was reiterated in both the platform and the statements of its leaders during the campaign, as was its commitment to “resistance” (i.e., terrorism), **proof of the charter’s relevance to the present time.**

▣ Nevertheless, there is a difference between the two documents, primarily in emphases and the way certain issues are dealt with. The charter relates to Hamas’s fundamental ideological position, while the election platform stresses its desire for civilian reform in areas such as corruption, the war on unemployment, the status of women, political rights, etc. They are all dealt with as part of “Change and Reform” (*al-Taghyir wal-Islah*), Hamas’s slogan and the name of its political party during the elections.

Appendix A

Translation⁷

The Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement – Hamas⁸

Palestine, 1st day of Muharram, 1409 years after the *hejira*, August 18, 1988.⁹

In the name of Allah the merciful and compassionate

“[Ye faithful,] you are the best of nations ever given to mankind: you command the doing of good, forbid the doing of evil and believe in Allah. It would have been better for the People of the Book¹⁰ if they had [also] believed [in Allah]. [Although] some of them are believers, most of them are sinful. They will never [be able] to do you any harm, only [become] an annoyance, even if they do try to fight you, they will [immediately] flee and then they will not be rescued. Humiliation will follow them wherever they go, except if they grasp the rope Allah extends to them and the rope [Muslim] men extend to them. Allah’s wrath pours down upon them and they will be stricken with poverty, and that because they denied the signs of Allah and unjustly killed the prophets. It is their retribution for having disobeyed and transgressed (Surah [3] Aal-‘Imran, Verses 110-112).¹¹

“Israel will arise and continue to exist until Islam abolishes it, as it abolished what went before,” (the words of) the *shaheed*, imam Hassan al-Bana,¹² may Allah have mercy upon him.

⁷ The translation is based on the version distributed in Qalqilya compared with versions appearing on the Internet with minor change was added by the editor.

⁸ In the present version, the word “Hamas” appears after the full name of the movement on the front cover, and before its full name on the title page. The word “Hamas” means “zeal” in Arabic, an internal urge motivating someone to do something. In addition, Hamas is an acronym for “Islamic Resistance Movement.”

⁹ The version of the Hamas charter translated here was not written on the date noted, but it appears on most versions and therefore was added here. It related to the day Hamas was officially founded.

¹⁰ I.e., the Jews and Christians.

¹¹ In preparing this document, the following English translation of the Qur’an were used: Internet sites, *The Qur’an, A New Translation*, by M. A. S. Abdel Haleem, OUP, 2005, Oxford Classics, paperback edition with corrections, first published 2004. The final versions of Qur’an quotations were edited by the translators of the Hamas charter. We also made use of the MEMRI translation into English of the Hamas charter as it appears on their Website :

<http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP109206>

¹² Hassan al-Bana founded the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in 1928 and was its General Guide. He was killed in 1949, apparently by the Egyptian security forces as a result of the murder of Mahmoud Fahmi al-Nukrashi, the Egyptian prime minister assassinated by the terrorist wing of the Muslim Brotherhood several weeks earlier.

“The world of Islam is going up in flames. [Therefore,] each one of us must pour water, if only a drop, to extinguish [them] insofar as one can, without waiting for others.” [So said] Sheikh Amjad al-Zahawi,¹³ may Allah have mercy upon him.

In the name of Allah the merciful and compassionate

Introduction

Praise be to Allah from whom we are seeking aid, mercy and guidance, on whom we rely and to whom we pray. May a prayer and peace be upon the messenger of Allah, his family, his friends, his companions,¹⁴ those who have followed Him, those who have spread his *da'wah*¹⁵ and have kept his Sunnah,¹⁶ [may] a prayer and peace [be upon them] always, as long as heaven and earth exist. And to the matter at hand:

Listen, oh [Muslim?] people: in the midst of calamities and sea of suffering, from within the heartbeats of the true believers and the purification of [their] hands and forearms before prayer, from the awareness of duty and assent and obedience to the will of Allah, there came the call [of our movement] and a meeting was organized, an assembly was established, education¹⁷ in the path of Allah came into being, and the will [power and] firm determination to fulfill its function while overcoming all obstacles and difficulties, and [with] continued preparation and the willingness to sacrifice everything held dear for the sake of Allah.

Finally, the core [of the movement] was formed and began plowing its way through the stormy sea of hopes and wishes, of longings and heartfelt desires, dangers and obstacles, pains and challenges, at home [in Palestinian] and abroad.

¹³ Al-Zahawi (a Kurdish name) was a senior Sunni Muslim cleric in Iraq, who was active in the Palestinian cause and to this day is an important symbol in the global jihad. He was head of the Iraqi Association of Religious Scholars and one of the founders of the Association for the Rescue of Jerusalem, which was established with the cooperation of the World Islamic Conference. Among those present at the conference were **Sayyid Qutb**, one of the leading ideologues of Islamic fundamentalism. During the conference funds were raised to help solve the Palestinian problem. Al-Zahawi was also head of an Islamic group in Iraq called The Association of Islamic Brotherhood between 1949-1953. He apparently met Hassan al-Bana. Today there is an Islamic battalion in Iraq named after him, fighting the coalition forces.

¹⁴ The companions of the prophet, the *sahabah*: the first faithful comrades of Muhammad.

¹⁵ That is those who spread the *da'wah*, the Islamic message. In other words, those who spread the religion of Islam worldwide.

¹⁶ That is, anyone who follows the Sunnah of the prophet Muhammad appearing in the oral tradition (*hadith*) which was later written down.

¹⁷ In the copy of the Hamas charter in our possession, the text reads “Arabness,” that is, the identity of all Arabic speakers, instead of “education” but in other editions the word is “education,” and “Arabness” was probably a textual error.

The seed ripened and sprouted, and the plant took root in the soil of existence, far from the sensation of fleeting emotions and despised haste. The Islamic Resistance Movement set out to perform its duty, striding along the path of its lord.¹⁸ It held hands with every jihad warrior¹⁹ for the sake of liberating Palestine. And the souls of its jihad warriors meet those of the jihad warriors who have sacrificed their lives for the soil of Palestine since it was conquered by the companions of the prophet of Allah, may Allah's prayer and blessing of peace be upon them, and to this very day.

This is the charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas). It reveals its face, its identity, explains its position, makes its desires known, speaks of its hopes and calls [upon those who hear] for aid, to support it and join its ranks. **That is because our battle against the Jews is great and fateful, and all honest means are necessary for it.** [The battle] is the [first] step which necessitates [taking] other steps after it. [It is] a battalion, and [other] battalions from the great Arab and Muslim world must support it, one after the other, to conquer the enemy and realize the victory of Allah. This is how we will see them [i.e., the Arab/Muslim battalions] approaching from the horizon, [as it is written in the Qur'an:] "Shortly you will certainly know what he announces" [Surah [38] Sad, Verse 88], [and in addition:] "Allah wrote, indeed I will prevail, I and my messengers. Allah is strong and mighty" ([Surah 58] Al-Mujadalah, Verse 21) [and also] "Say, this is my way. I and those who follow me call I [upon you] for Allah with certainty. Glory be to Allah. I will among those who join other gods with Allah see correctly, and may the name of Allah be praised, and I will not be with those who join other gods with Allah [i.e., polytheists] ([Surah 12] Yusuf [Verse] 108).

¹⁸ In the original, "fighting the jihad."

¹⁹ In the original, *mujahideen*, that is, jihad warriors. Jihad, according to Muslim tradition, has many interpretations, among them the struggle against evil impulses, the contribution of money to Islam and fighting in an Islamic army. Jihad in the connotation of the Hamas charter means fighting a holy war for the sake of Allah to spread Islam worldwide.

Chapter One

Defining the [Hamas] movement

The ideological tenets

Article 1

The path of the Islamic Resistance Movement is the path of Islam, from which it draws its principles, concepts, terms and worldview with regard to life and man. It turns to [Islam] when religious rulings are required and asks [Islam] for inspiration to guide its steps.

The relationship between the Islamic Resistance Movement and the Muslim Brotherhood [*jama'at al-ikhwan al-muslimin*²⁰]

Article 2

The Islamic Resistance Movement is the branch of the Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine. The Muslim Brotherhood is a global organization and the largest Islamic movement in modern times. It excels in profound understanding and has an exact, fully comprehensive perception²¹ [*shumuliyyah*] of all Islamic concepts in all areas of life: understanding and thought, politics and economics, education and social affairs, law and government, spreading [i.e., indoctrinating the tenets of radical] Islam [*da'wah*] and teaching, art and the media, by that which is hidden and by martyrdom [*shahadah*] and in the other areas of life.

Structure and composition [of the organization]

Article 3

The basic structure of the Islamic Resistance Movement is founded on Muslims who have put their faith in Allah and worship him as is fit [as it is written in the Qur'an], "I created the jinns and humans only for the purpose that they worship me ([Surah 51] Al-Dhariyat [Verse] 56). They have recognized their duties towards themselves, their families and their homeland. They have feared Allah in all these matters and flown the banner of jihad in the faces of tyrants to expel them from the land [*al-bilad*], and to

²⁰ The Muslim Brotherhood movement was founded in Egypt by Hassan al-Bana in 1928. It is devoutly Muslim and has inspired all Islamic movements established to date. The relationship between Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood is close because the former's founder and spiritual leader, sheikh Ahmad Yassin, belonged to the Muslim Brotherhood at the beginning of his career and even set up a branch in Gaza.

²¹ "Fully comprehensive," that is, faith that includes all aspects of life. What is implied is a **comprehensive (i.e., totalitarian) political viewpoint dictated by the Islamic faith.**

clean [the tyrants'] pollution from the faithful, [and to remove] their malice and evil, [as it is written in the Qur'an] "No and again no, we show the truth to senselessness, and [the truth] will smash its head and it will quickly fade away, [and you will be those who cry out your distress, in punishment for the accounts you are related by]" ([Surah 21] Al-Anbiyaa [Verse] 18).

Article 4

The Islamic Resistance Movement welcomes every Muslim who adopts its worldview and its way of thinking, who adheres to its path, keeps its secrets, wishes to join its ranks to fulfill the duty [sic], and Allah will grant him his reward.

The dimensions of time and space as they relate to the Islamic Resistance Movement

Article 5

The dimension of time for the Islamic Resistance Movement is [manifested in] the adoption of Islam as a way of life. [Time] continues from the day the Islamic mission was born and the first generation of the faithful who trod the path of righteousness [*al-salaf al-salih*²²]. Allah is its purpose, the messenger [the prophet Muhammad] is its exemplary figure and the Qur'an is its constitution.²³ The dimension of space is every place Muslims are found who have adopted Islam as their way of life, in every corner of the globe. Thus it [Hamas] strikes root in the depths of the ground and spreads to encompass the sky.

"For see to what Allah has likened a good word: to a beautiful tree whose roots are firmly planted and whose branches reach the sky, and whose fruit is always given at the right time, with the permission of its master. Allah gave [such] parables to men so that they might heed" ([Surah 14] Ibrahim [Verses] 24-25).

²² This is an expression of the connection between Hamas and Salafist radicalism. It is the source of the interest in returning to the values of the first generation of Islam.

²³ For some reason, the charter uses the word *dustur* (meaning a modern, secular constitution) and not *shariy'a* (religious Muslim law). However, once the Qur'an becomes the constitution (e.g., Saudi Arabia), there is no difference between its being described as law or constitution. Thus Hamas supports an Islamic constitution whether it exists or not, making it a genuinely fundamentalist Islamic movement.

Uniqueness and Independence

Article 6

The Islamic Resistance Movement is uniquely Palestinian. It has faith in Allah and **adopts Islam as its way of life.** It acts to fly the banner of Allah over all of Palestine, because **people of all religions can live in the shadow of Islam in tranquility and security for their lives,** property and rights. However, in the absence of Islam a conflict develops that injustice, corruption grows, more conflicts are created, and [eventually] war breaks out.

How great is the Muslim poet Muhammad Iqbal,²⁴ who wrote:

“When faith is lost there is no safety and no life for anyone who does not revive religion. He who is content with life without religion has made obliteration of the self his life’s companion.”

The universality of the Islamic Resistance Movement

Article 7

Muslims who adopt the path of the Islamic Resistance Movement and act to support it, to adopt its positions and to strengthen its holy war **are spread over the face of the earth, making the movement universal.** The movement is qualified for that because of the clarity of its worldview, its noble purpose and the exalted quality of its goals.

That is how the movement should be considered, how its value should be judged and how its role should be recognized. Whoever denies its right, refrains from supporting it or whose vision is impaired and who works unceasingly to blur its role, is like someone contesting fate [as determined by Allah], and who closes his eyes to the facts, either intentionally or unintentionally. When he opens his eyes, he will realize that the events have passed him by. Then he will become exhausted in his [useless] in an effort to justify his previous position, unable to sustain it any longer [compared to someone who] preceded him [and joined the movement and] has preference [over him].

²⁴ A Indian Muslim poet and philosopher from Kashmir (1873-1938). In 1928 he published a book in English about the need for renewing the spirit of Islam called *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Although he was knighted by the British authorities in India, his publications, mostly reformist in nature, are also used by conservative Muslims to support their point of view.

[As written:] The injustice incurred by one's close relatives is more painful to the soul than a sharp, powerful blow from the sharpest sword.²⁵ [As it is written in the Qur'an]: "We brought to you [Muhammad] from on high the [holy] book [i.e., scripture] with the truth, confirming the scripture[s] that came before it and with final authority over them. Therefore, judge between them according to everything Allah brought down [to you], and do not do follow their whims which deviate from the truth which has been revealed to you. Each of you was given a law and a path. If [Allah] had so willed, he would have made you one community of believers, but he also desired to test you with what he has given to you. Therefore, aspire among yourselves to be first in good deeds, for you will all return to Allah, and then he will clarify for you all the matters you did not agree upon" ([Surah 5] Al-Ma'idah [Verse] 48).

The Islamic Resistance Movement is [also] one link in the chain of holy war in its confrontation with the Zionist invasion. [The movement] has had a strong connection with and is linked to the holy martyr [*shaheed*] Izzedine al-Qassam and his jihad warrior brethern [*mujahideen*] from among the **Muslim Brotherhood since 1936**. From there it is closely related and connected to the next link [namely] the holy war of the Palestinians, and to the **efforts and holy war of the Muslim Brotherhood in the war of 1948 and the jihad operations of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1968 and afterwards.**

Actually, the links are distant from one another [in time], and the obstacles placed before the jihad warriors by the followers of Zionism stopped the jihad from continuing. Nevertheless the Islamic Resistance Movement aspires to bring the promise of Allah to pass, no matter how long it takes. As the prophet [Muhammad], may the prayer of Allah and his blessing of peace be upon him, said: "The time [Judgment Day] will not come until Muslims fight the Jews and kill them and until the Jew hides behind the rocks and trees, and [then] the rocks and trees will say: 'Oh Muslim, oh servant of Allah, there is a Jew hiding [behind me], come and kill him,

²⁵ A line from a well-known *qassidah* (ode), a classical, rhymed form of Arabic poetry, from the Jahiliyyah era (the pre-Islamic period of ignorance and paganism), one of the seven *Mu'allaqat* (the so-called "hung" poems, written on material and hung on walls, considered the oldest collection of classical Arabic pre-Islamic poetry) written by the poet Taratfah ibn al-'Abd, following his numerous quarrels with his cousin.

except for the *gharqad* [salt-bush tree], so it is the tree of the Jews” ([Hadith] recorded in [the reliable collections of] Al-Bukhari and Muslim²⁶).

The Islamic Resistance Movement’s motto

Article 8

Allah is its purpose, the messenger [the prophet Muhammad] is its exemplary figure and the Qur’an is its constitution, jihad is its path and death for the sake of Allah is the most exalted wish.²⁷

Chapter Two

Goals

Causes and targets

Article 9

The Islamic Resistance Movement was born in an era in which Islam was absent from daily life. As a result, balances were upset, concepts were confused, values altered and evil people took power. Injustice and darkness prevailed, cowards behaved like tigers, homelands were taken by force and people were driven out and wandered purposelessly all over the earth. The Country of Truth disappeared and was replaced by the Country of Falsehood, [consequently] nothing was left in its rightful place. That is the state of affairs when Islam vanishes from the scene, everything changes, and those are the causes.

As to the goals [of the Islamic Resistance Movement], they are: a war to the death against falsehood, conquering it and stamping it out so that truth may prevail, **homelands may be returned [to their rightful owners] and the call of the muezzin may be heard from the turrets of the mosques, announcing the [re]institution of an Islamic state**, so that Muslims might return and everything return to its rightful place, with the help of Allah, [as it is written in the Qur’an:] “If Allah did not urge people not to lay hands upon one another, the land would [certainly] be in disarray,

²⁶ Hadiths are collections of the Muslim oral tradition which were written down. Those of Al-Bukhari and Muslim are among six such collections which are considered most reliable by Muslims. The tradition regarding the Jews who hid behind the rocks and trees on Judgment Day is very popular among Muslims and its only goal is to defame the Jews. The fact that the story is found in hadiths which are deemed reliable only makes the story more “authentic.”

²⁷ This has the Muslim Brotherhood’s original motto since the movement’s inception in 1928.

but Allah bestows his grace on all human beings” ([Surah 2] Al-Baqarah [Verse] 251).

Article 10

The Islamic Resistance Movement, while making its way forward, with all its might [offers] support to anyone oppressed and protects anyone who feels he was unjustly treated. It does not spare any effort to institute justice and wipe out falsehood, in word and deed, both in this place and in every place it reaches and wherever it can have influence.

Chapter Three

Strategy and means

The strategy of the Islamic Resistance Movement

Palestine is Islamic Waqf [religious endowment] land

Article 11

The Islamic Resistance Movement believes that the land of Palestine is a religious Islamic endowment [*waqf*] for all Muslims until Resurrection Day. It is forbidden to relinquish it or any part of it or give it up or any part of it. It does not belong to any Arab country, or to all the Arab countries, or to any king or president, or kings or presidents, or to any organization or organizations, whether they are Palestinian or Arab, because Palestine is sacred Islamic endowment land and belongs to Muslims until Resurrection Day. Its legal status is in accordance with Islamic law [*al-shari'ah al-islamiyyah*]. It is subject to the same law to which are subject all the territories conquered by Muslims by force, for at the time of the conquest [the Muslim conquerors] consecrated it [i.e., Palestine] as a Muslim religious endowment for all Muslim generations until Resurrection Day.

It happened thus: after the commanders of the Islamic armies conquered Al-Sham²⁸ and Iraq, they sent the Muslim Caliph, Omar bin al-Khattab, [messages] in which they consulted with him about [the fate of] the conquered land – whether to divide it among the soldiers or to leave it to its owners [or act in some other way]. After consultations and deliberations between the Muslim Caliph, Omar bin al-Khattab, and the companions of Allah’s messenger (*sahabat al-rasoul*), may Allah’s prayer and

²⁸ “Greater Syria,” which includes present day Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel and the lands of the Palestinian Authority.

blessing of peace by upon him, the decision was made whereby the land would remain in the hands of its [original] owners, who would be able to enjoy it and its fruits. With regard to [the right] of possession of the land and of the land itself, [it was decided that] it would be sacred to Muslims forever until Resurrection Day, but its owners would have the right to enjoy [only] its fruits. That endowment exists as long as the sky and earth exist.²⁹ Therefore any act performed in opposition to Muslim law with regard to Palestine is null and void, [as it is written in the Qur'an:] “For this is indeed certain truth, and therefore praise the name of your exalted lord” ([Surah 56] Al-Waqi’ah [Verses] 95-95).

The homeland and particular nationalism [*al-wataniyyah*] from the Islamic Resistance Movement’s point of view

Article 12

From the point of view of the Islamic Resistance Movement, particular nationalism [*al-wataniyyah*³⁰] is part of the religious faith. **There is nothing more serious or profound which reflects that type of nationalism than the fact that the enemy has trampled on Muslim soil. In such a situation, launching a holy war [against] him and confronting him become the personal duty [*fardh ‘ayn*] of every Muslim man and woman: the woman goes out³¹ to fight [the enemy] without her husband’s permission, and [even] the slave [is obliged to go out to fight the enemy] without the permission of his master. There is nothing like it in any other political system,³² and that is an indisputable fact.** If all the various national particularist [movements] are linked to [and characterized] by physical, human or regional factors, then the Islamic Resistance Movement is also characterized by all of the above. Moreover, and most important, it is [also] characterized by divine motives³³ which breathe life and soul into it, since it is strongly linked to the source of the spirit and [to him who] gives [it] life. It [i.e., Hamas] waves the divine banner in the sky of the homeland, strongly joining together heaven and earth, [as the widely known Muslim Arab saying states:] “When Moses came and threw down his rod, it was the end of

²⁹ That is, forever.

³⁰ *Wataniyyah* refers to the nationalism of a specific nation, while *al-qawmiyyah* refers to pan-Arabism (i.e., a supra-state Arab nationalism).

³¹ That is, she must go out.

³² Except for the Muslim régime.

³³ In the **religious**, not national sense.

magic and magicians,”³⁴ [and it is written in the Qur’an that:] “True guidance has become distinct from error; therefore, whoever rejects false gods and believes in Allah has grasped the firmest hand-hold, one that will never break, for Allah is all-hearing and all-knowing” ([Surah 2] Al-Baqarah [Verse] 256).

Peaceful solutions, diplomatic initiatives and international conferences

Article 13

[Diplomatic] initiatives, the so-called peaceful solutions and international conferences to find a solution to the Palestinian problem, contradict the Islamic Resistance Movement’s ideological position. Giving up any part whatsoever of [the land of] Palestine is like ignoring a part of [the Muslim] faith. Accordingly, the particular nationalism of the Islamic Resistance Movement is [also] part of its faith. On ganner of Allah over their homeland, [and it is written in the Qur’an that:] “Allah always prevails [in the end], although most people do not realize that” ([Surah 12] Yusuf [Verse] 20).

Sometimes the call is heard for an international conference to discuss a solution for the [Palestinian] problem. There are those who agree [to that proposal] and those who reject it for one reason or another. They demand the fulfillment of a certain condition or conditions in return for their agreement to hold a conference and to participate in it. The Islamic Resistance Movement is very familiar with both sides of the conferences and their [negative] positions regarding Muslim interests in the past and present. Therefore, the Movement does not consider such frameworks capable of meeting the demands [of the Palestinians] or of restoring their rights or of bringing justice to the oppressed. **Thus such conferences are but one of the means used by the infidels to prevail over Muslim land, and when have the infidels treated the faithful justly?** [as it written in the Qur’an that:] “the Jews will never be pleased with you, nor will the Christians, until you have followed their religion. Say therefore, Allah’s guidance is the only true guidance. But if you were to follow their desires after the knowledge

³⁴ It is a well-known Arabic saying, an echo of the story of Moses (and Aharon) and Pharaoh, as mentioned in the Qur’an – e.g., Surah Yunis (Surah number 10) and Surah Doha (Surah number 20) – the gist of which is that Moses, through the power invested in him by Allah managed to do away with several magicians. The sentence, in this context, is used to show that the Hamas doctrine regarding particular nationalism and its components is like Moses’ rod, which can void every other act of magic or any other act which reflects another particular nationalism, such as Zionism. Therefore, Hamas’s aim is more probably an attempt to show that through the power of Allah the Jewish religious claim on Palestine becomes invalid (even though Moses is considered a Jewish prophet).

that has come to you, then you would find no one to protect or guard you from Allah” ([Surah 2] Al-Baqarah [Verse] 120).

There is no solution to the Palestinian problem except jihad. Regarding the international initiatives, suggestions and conferences, they are an empty waste of time and complete nonsense. The Palestinian people are far too noble to have their future, rights and fate toyed with, [as the noble hadith states:] “The men of Al-Sham³⁵ are the scourge [of Allah] in his land. Through them he wreaks vengeance on whomever he wishes among his servants. It is forbidden for the hypocrites among them to overcome the true believers among them; but rather they will die in sorrow and grief” (told by Al-Tabarani³⁶ with a chain of transmitters to Muhammad, and by Ahmad [ibn Hanbal] with an incomplete chain of transmitters to Muhammad, which [i.e., the incomplete chain] may be the accurate record, but [only] Allah knows [the absolute truth]).

The three spheres

Article 14

The problem of the liberation of Palestine has three spheres: the Palestinian, the pan-Arab and the Islamic. Each has a role to play in the struggle [*siraa*] against the Zionists and [also has] duties. Neglecting one of the spheres is a terrible mistake and shameful ignorance, for Palestine is Islamic land. In it is the first of the two directions of the worshippers at prayer,³⁷ and the third [most holy place] after the first two.³⁸ It is also the destination of the night ride of the prophet of Allah, may Allah’s prayer and blessing of peace be upon him, [as it is written in the Qur’an:] “Praised be him who took his servant on a night ride from the sacred mosque to the farthest mosque [*al-masjid al-aqsa*] whose precincts we blessed, to show him some of our signs. He alone is the all-hearing, the all-seeing” ([Surah 17] Al-Israa’ [Verse] 1).

That being the case, the liberation [of Palestine] is the personal duty of every Muslim, wherever he may be. [Only] on that basis can [a solution for] the

³⁵ See Note 29, above.

³⁶ The author of important collections of *hadiths*. Three of the collections are called Al-Kabir (“The large [book]”), Al-Awsat (“The middle-size [book]”) and Al-Sadghir (“The small-size [book]”). This hadith gives the seal of authorization to the Muslim rights over “Palestine” and the right to expel the Jews from it.

³⁷ Jerusalem and Mecca, ‘*Ula al-Qiblatayn*, i.e., Jerusalem’s epithet in Islam is the first of the two directions of worshippers. That is because initially Jerusalem was turned to in prayer as it is in Judaism, but later **Mecca** was chosen as the direction.

³⁸ Mecca and Medina.

[Palestinian] problem be considered, and every Muslim must fully understand that. On the day the [Palestinian] problem is treated on that basis, [that is, on the day] when all the capabilities of the three spheres are mobilized, the current situation will change and the day of liberation will be nearer, [as is it written in the Qur'an:] "The fear of you [believers] in their [the Jews'] hearts is greater than their fear of Allah, because they are a people devoid of understanding ([Surah 59] Al-Hashr [Verse] 13).

The jihad for the sake of liberating Palestine is a personal duty

Article 15

The day enemies steal part of Muslim land, **jihad [becomes] the personal duty of every Muslim.** With regard to the usurpation of Palestine by the Jews, it is a must to **fly the banner of jihad. That means the propagation of Islamic awareness among the masses – locally [in Palestine], the Arab world and the Muslim world. The spirit of jihad must be disseminated within the [Islamic] nation, the enemies must be engaged in battle and [every Muslim must] join the ranks of the jihad warriors [mujahideen].**

It is therefore necessary that religious scholars [*'ulamaa*], educators, media personalities, the educated public and especially the younger generation and the leaders of the Islamic movement take part in [this] campaign to create awareness [i.e., indoctrination]. In addition, fundamental changes must be made in the school curricula to free them from the influences of the intellectual [western] invasion they have been subjected to by Orientalists and missionaries. That invasion took the region by surprise after Salah al-Din al-Ayoubi [Saladin] defeated the Crusader armies. The Crusaders then realized that the Muslims could not be conquered unless the way had [first] been prepared by an ideological invasion to muddle the [Muslims'] thoughts, distort their heritage and defame their ideals, and [only] then could a military invasion take place. [All] that happened in preparation for the [western] imperialist invasion, when [General] Allenby announced on his entrance to Jerusalem: "Finally the Crusades are over," and General Gouraud stood on Salah al-Din's grave and said: "Salah al-Din, we have returned." Imperialism reinforced the intellectual invasion and deepened its roots, and it still [does so]. All that paved the way for the loss of Palestine.

Therefore, what must be done is [the following:] to instill in the minds of all the Muslims generations that the problem of Palestine is religious, and on that basis

it must be dealt with. After all, there are holy sites [in Palestine] which are sacred to Islam: Al-Aqsa mosque is there, and it has an indissoluble tie to the holy mosque [in Mecca] [and will have] as long as the heaven and earth endure, because of the night ride of the prophet of Allah, may Allah's prayer and a blessing of peace be upon him, and his ascension to heaven from there, [as it says in the hadith:] "Being stationed on the frontier for the sake of Allah [for only] one day³⁹ is better than this world and everything in it. Likewise, a portion of paradise as small as [the place] which is taken by a [horseman's] whip belonging to any of you [i.e., the jihad warriors] is better than all this world and everything in it. The incursion to the ranks of the enemy and the tactical withdrawal in preparation for another attack [as part of jihad] by any Muslim are better than this world and what is in it (as recounted in [the collection of hadiths of] Al-Bukhari, Muslim, al-Tirmidhi and Ibn Majah).⁴⁰ "By the life of him in whose hands rests Muhammad's soul⁴¹ [i.e., Allah], I which I could participate in an invasion for the sake of Allah and to be killed in it, and after that [if I do not die, I will desire again] to fight and then to die, and after that [if I do not die, I will desire again] to fight and then to die" (as is told [in the collection of *hadiths* of] Al-Bukhari and Muslim).

Educating the next generations

Article 16

The coming generations raised in our region must receive an Islamic education based on carrying out the commandments of [the Islamic] religion and a conscious study of the book of Allah [the Qur'an] and of the Muslim tradition [the Sunnah] and of the prophet [Muhammad]. In addition, [in the same way] we must teach them from reliable sources of Islamic history and heritage under the instruction of specialists and scholars, and to **prepare the curricula which will create the correct outlook in the thoughts and beliefs of the Muslim [student]**. At the same time it is necessary to make a attentive study of the enemy and his material and human resources, while recognizing his weak spots and sources of power and the

³⁹ *Ribat*, that is, maintaining the stations of the military guard in the outlying regions of Islam, which were erected to defend the Islamic polity (Caliphate or Sultanate). However, this term has a larger meaning and relates to any Muslim living in territory used as or considered a front line for the Muslim holy warriors even though he or she is not necessarily engaged in battle but in another capacity deemed as supporting the battle (jihad).

⁴⁰ That is, every act performed by a Muslim for the sake of jihad is worth this world and everything in it.

⁴¹ A specific phrase of a very strong oath taken by a Muslim.

general forces supporting and standing by him. [Likewise] it is necessary to be familiar with events as they happen, to be up-to-date and to study their analyses and interpretations. It is also necessary to plan for the present and the future⁴² and to examine everything that happens so that the Muslim jihad warrior will live his life aware of his purpose, aim, path and what takes place around him, [as it is written in the Qur'an:] "My son, something whose weight is but the weight of a mustard seed,⁴³ even if it is within a rock or in the sky or in the depths of the earth, Allah will find [and bring] it [to light]. Allah is most kind and knows everything inside out. My small son, say the prayer and command what is right and forbid that which is wrong and bear everything that happens to you steadfastly. That is a sign of treating things with firmness. Do not treat people with contempt or behave arrogantly in public. Allah does not like any person behaving with arrogance" ([Surah 31] Al-Luqman [Verses] 16-18).

The role of the Muslim woman

Article 17

The role of the Muslim woman in the battle for liberation is no less important than that of the [Muslim] man, for she is the maker of men. She has a **supremely important role** in guiding the coming generations and educating them. Indeed, [our] enemies have long since understood the importance of her role. Their view toward her is that if they can guide her and raise her as they please, devoid of Islam, then they will win the battle [against us]. **Therefore you discover that they devote a great deal of continuous effort to their attempts [to achieve that] using the media, movies and curricula [which they wield] through their proxies within the Zionist organizations, the latter assuming all sorts of names and forms, such as The Organization of Freemasons,⁴⁴ Rotary clubs [i.e., Rotary International],⁴⁵ espionage groups and others, all of which are nothing more than dens of**

⁴² The version we used does not contain the word "present" but it does exist in other versions.

⁴³ For previous references to mustard seeds in religious literature, see Matthew 13:31 and 17:20, Mark 4:31 and Luke 13:19.

⁴⁴ The Freemasons are an international order which, because of its secretive nature, is often used in anti-Semitic literature as part of an international Jewish plot of the sort that appears in *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

⁴⁵ The Rotary is an international organization founded at the beginning of the 20th century in Chicago which has since opened branches all over the world. Its members are businessmen and philanthropists, and its purpose is to provide aid for the needy and to bring people of all groups and nations together. As a strong, active worldwide organization backed by rich individuals, it is tempting to say it is run by Jews and part of the anti-Semitic myth of the world Jewish conspiracy to take over the world, as noted in *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

sabotage and saboteurs. These Zionist organizations have enormous material resources which enable them to play roles inside the [i.e., in this context, Islamic] societies [keeping them functioning] without any Islamic participation in them, thus alienating [Muslims] from it. Therefore, the followers of the global Islamic movement [i.e., Muslim fundamentalists] ⁴⁶ must [all] take part in countering the plans [or plots] of those saboteurs. **On the day Islam [will be in a position to] direct life, it will eradicate the organizations [deemed] hostile to humanity and to Islam.**

Article 18

The woman in the home of a jihad warrior and a jihad warrior family, whether she is a mother or a sister, fills the most important role of taking care of the home, raising the children according to the moral ideas and values derived from Islam and educating her children to follow the precepts of [the Islamic] religion in preparation for the role in the jihad that awaits them. Therefore, **much attention must be paid to the schools and curricula of the Muslim girl's education so that she may grow up and be a proper mother, aware of her role in the battle [for the] liberation [of Palestine].**

She must also have enough perception and awareness to conduct household affairs. Being economical and avoiding waste in the family's expenses are part of the necessary requirements for surviving in the difficult conditions prevailing. Thus she must always be aware [that] the money available [to her] is like blood which must run through the veins solely for the purpose of continuing the life of young and old alike, [as it is written in the Qur'an:] "Muslim men and women who are faithful and devout, true, brave, modest, give charity, fast, are chaste and often call upon Allah – for them Allah has prepared mercy and a great reward" ([Surah 33] Al-Ahzab [Verse] 35).

The function of Islamic art in the battle for liberation

Article 19

Art has its own rules and standards, by which it is possible to determine whether it is Islamic or *jahili*.⁴⁷ The issues of Islamic liberation need **Islamic art** which will uplift the spirit without making one aspect of a person more prominent than the other; on the contrary, it must raise all aspects of the individual in a balanced, harmonious fashion.

⁴⁶ The term fundamentalist Muslims (*al-islamiyyin*) use to refer to themselves.

⁴⁷ *Jahali* refers to the period of ignorance in the Arabian peninsula before Islam, during which the belief in material artifacts (paganism) was more prevalent, prominent and appreciated than spiritual matters.

Indeed, the human being is a unique and wonderful creature, [made from] a handful of clay⁴⁸ [combined with] a spiritual soul [of Allah]. Accordingly, Islamic art relates to humans based on that basis, while *jahili* [i.e., pagan] art relates only to the body, and gives predominance to the aspect of clay.⁴⁹

Therefore, if books, articles, publications, sermons, treatises, folk songs, poetry, [patriotic] songs, plays, etc., contain the characteristics of Islamic art, they are among the elements needed for ideological recruitment. They are also the refreshing nourishment necessary to continue the journey and provide rest for the soul, for the way is long and the suffering great and the souls become weary. That is, **Islamic art renews activity, sets [things] in motion, and awakens within the soul sublime meaning and sound behavior.** There is nothing that can repair the soul if it is in retreat except the change from one state to another. These are all very serious things and not to be taken lightly, for the jihad warrior nation knows no jest.

Mutual guarantees and [Muslim] solidarity

Article 20

Muslim society is [characterized by] solidarity. Indeed, the messenger [the prophet Muhammad], may Allah's prayer and his blessing of peace be upon him, said [in the hadith]; "Blessed are the sons of the al-Ash'ariyyun tribe."⁵⁰ When they were required to make an effort either in an area where they had settled or during [long] journey, they would collect everything they had and divide it equally." That is the Islamic spirit that must prevail in Muslim society. A society facing a cruel enemy who behaves like a Nazi⁵¹ that does not distinguish between man and woman, young and old, must wrap itself in such an Islamic spirit. For our enemy relies on collective punishment. It deprives people [i.e., the Palestinians] of their homes and possessions. It hunts them down in exile and wherever they gather. [The Zionist enemy] relies on breaking bones, shooting women, children and old people, with or without a reason. He opened detention camps to throw into them many thousands of people [i.e., Palestinians], [who live there] in subhuman conditions. In addition, he destroys homes, turns children into orphans and unjustly convicts thousands of young people so that they may spend the best years of their lives in the dark pits of their jails.

⁴⁸ That is, the material aspect.

⁴⁹ That is, emphasizes the materialistic side as opposed to the spiritual side.

⁵⁰ A famous tradition relating to a tribe in the Arabian peninsula at the dawn of Islam, whose just behavior and solidarity, whatever situation they were in, became models in Islam.

⁵¹ The implied comparison between Jews and Nazis appears below as well.

The Jews' Nazism includes [brutal behavior towards Palestinian] women and children and terrifies the entire [population]. They battle against [the Palestinians'] making a living, extort their money and trample their honor. In their behavior [towards these people] they are as bad as the worst war criminals. [Their] deportation [of people] from their homeland is in fact a form of murder. Therefore, to cope with such acts, solidarity must prevail and [these people] must face the enemy as one body. Accordingly, if one member of the body complains [of an injury which has led to the development of a high fever] then the other members identify with it by watching over it all night long and partaking of the fever [to ease the member's suffering].⁵²

Article 21

Mutual social responsibility includes providing **material or moral aid to anyone in need** or participation in carrying out part of one's duties. [Therefore] members of the Islamic Resistance Movement must relate to the interests of the masses as though they were their own personal interests, and must spare no effort to realize and preserve them. They must prevent manipulations regarding everything that negatively influences the future of the [next] generations and [everything that] might harm their society. In fact, the masses are [members] of [the Islamic Resistance Movement] and [work] on their behalf, and the strength [of the Islamic Resistance Movement] stems from [the masses'] strength and [the Islamic Resistance Movement's] future is [the masses'] future. The members of the Islamic Resistance Movement must therefore take part in [the Palestinians'] joys and sorrows, espouse the demands of the masses and everything which promotes [the movement's] interest and [the Palestinian masses'] interests [at the same time]. The day such a spirit prevails, brotherhood will become more profound and there will be cooperation and mutual compassion, unity will become stronger and the ranks will stand closer together in the face of [our] enemies.

The forces which support the enemy

Article 22

[Our] enemies planned their deeds well for a long time [and managed] to achieve whatever they have, employing the factors influencing the course of events.

⁵² The reference is to a well-known hadith according to which Muslims are likened to the human body: when one of its members is hurt.

Therefore, they acted to pile up huge amounts of influential material resources, which they utilized to fulfill their dream. **Thus [the Jews], by means of their money, have taken over the international communications media: the news agencies, newspapers, publishing houses, broadcasting stations, etc. [Not only that,] they used their money to incite revolutions in various places all over the world for their own interests and to reap the fruits thereof. They were behind the French Revolution, the Communist Revolution and most of the revolutions we have heard about [that happened here and there]. They used their money to found secret organizations and scattered them all over the globe to destroy other societies and realize the interests of Zionism. [Such organizations] include the Freemasons, the Rotary clubs [sic], the Lions [Club],⁵³ The Sons of the Covenant [i.e., B'nai Brith] and others. They are all destructive espionage organizations which, by means of money, succeeded in taking over the imperialist countries and encouraged them to take over many other countries to be able to completely exploit their resources and spread corruption.**⁵⁴

[Their involvement in] local and world wars can be spoken of without fear of embarrassment. In fact, **they were behind the First World War**, through which achieved the abolishment of the Islamic Caliphate,⁵⁵ made a profit and took over many of the sources of wealth. **They [also] got the Balfour Declaration and established the League of the United [sic] Nations to be able rule the world. They were also behind the Second World War, in which they made immense profits by buying and selling military equipment, and also prepared the ground for the founding of their [own] state. They ordered the establishment of the United Nations and the Security Council [sic] which replaced the League of the United [sic] Nations, to be able to use it to rule the world. No war takes place anywhere in the world without [the Jews] behind the scenes having a hand in it [as it is written in the Qur'an:] "Whenever they fan the flames of war, Allah will extinguish them. They strive [to fill] the land with corruption, and Allah does not like the corrupt" ([Surah 5] Al-Ma'ida [Verse] 64).**

⁵³ All voluntary international organizations. The Lions, like the Rotary, was founded in the United States at the beginning of the 20th century to aid the needy all over the globe, and it has many branches. Its Website is <http://www.lionsclubs.org>.

⁵⁴ All myths based on Christian European anti-Semitism, as expressed in *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. They repeat ad nauseam the libel that the Jews want to take over the world and are responsible for every evil that exists.

⁵⁵ The Islamic Caliphate state.

In fact, the forces of imperialism in the capitalist west and Communist east support the [Zionist] enemy as stoutly as possible with both material and manpower. They alternate with one another [in giving support]. On the day Islam appears [in all its might] all the infidels will join forces to confront it for [all] the infidels are one community,⁵⁶ [as it is written in the Qur'an:] “Oh ye who believe, do not become close to those who are not of your own faith, for they will not spare any effort to corrupt you. They are happy with your misfortune and hatred [for you] burns in their mouths, but what they hide in their hearts is worse. We have made that clear to you with signs, if only you [could] understand” ([Surah 3] Aal-‘Imran [Verse] 118).⁵⁷ It is not a matter of chance that the verse ends with the words, “if only you [could] understand.”

Chapter Four

Our position regarding:

A. The [other] Islamic movements

Article 23

The Islamic Resistance Movement respects and has great estimation for the other Islamic movements. Even if it disagrees with them regarding a position or view, it agrees with them regarding [other] positions and views. It considers those movements, as long as they demonstrate good intentions and faithfulness to Allah, as acting within the realm – gate(s) – of *ijtihad*,⁵⁸ and as long as they operate within the general Islamic sphere, for every *mujtahid* [qualified Muslim religious scholar who issues independent religious edicts] has a share [in it].

Therefore, the Islamic Resistance Movement views those movements as potentially available [to be used by it], and asks Allah for [wise and right] guidance for everyone [i.e., every member of the movements]. It does not for a moment forget that it waves the banner of unity and invests much effort to bring [unity] to bear in accordance with the Qur'an and Sunnah. [For it is written in the Qur'an:] “Hold fast to the rope of Allah – all together; do not split into factions, and remember Allah's favor when he

⁵⁶ A reference to a well-known hadith. “Infidels” here also means Jews and Christians.

⁵⁷ Some of the versions of the Hamas charter read “It is not a matter of chance the verse ends with the words ‘if only you will understand.’”

⁵⁸ *Ijtihad*: the making an independent legal judgment by a qualified Muslim scholar (*mujtahid*) based on an intensive study of religious Muslim law. It means that they do not deviate from the religion of Islam and their use and actions are within the acceptable framework of Islam.

brought your hearts together when you were enemies. His kindness turned you into brothers, and saved you when you were on the brink of the pit of fire. In this way Allah makes his signs clear to you so that you may be rightly guided” ([Surah 3] Aal-‘Imran [Verse] 103).⁵⁹

Article 24

The Islamic Resistance Movement forbids the libeling and defaming⁶⁰ of individuals or groups. A true believer does not defame or curse. In addition, a distinction must be made between [defamation] and taking a stand or having an opinion or behaving in a certain way. The Islamic Resistance Movement has the right to identify a mistake and to warn [people] of it while striving to clarify the truth and adopting it in relation to any specific issue about which an objective attitude is taken [by Hamas]. Wisdom is what the true believer is searching for, and he should therefore embrace it wherever he finds it,⁶¹ [as it is written in the Qur’an:] “Allah does not like bad words to be spoken in public unless because someone has been treated unjustly. Allah is all-hearing and all-knowing. Whether you do good openly or whether you hide it or whether you show forgiveness for evil, surely Allah is most forgiving” ([Surah 4] Al-Nisaa’ [Verses] 148-149).

B. The national movements in the Palestinian arena

Article 25

[The Islamic Resistance Movement] behaves toward them with mutual respect, appreciates their circumstances and the factors surrounding and influencing them, and supports them as long as they are not loyal to the Communist east or the Christian [Crusader] west.⁶² The Islamic Resistance Movement assures anyone who immerses himself in or identifies with it that it is a jihadist and moral movement and aware in its world view and its dealings with others. It loathes opportunism and wants only good for people, be they individuals or groups. It does not strive for material gains or a good reputation or the profits that arise from that -- [as it is written in the Qur’an:] “Muster against them [the enemy] all the force you can” ([Surah 8] Al-Anfal [Verse]

⁵⁹ Mistakenly referred to in some versions of the Hamas charter as Verse 102.

⁶⁰ The original Arabic uses two words which are virtually synonymous.

⁶¹ A well-known *hadith* encouraging the Muslim believer to do his best to seek the truth. In reality it enables Hamas to take a position suitable to it in any issue.

⁶² The term “Crusaders” in Arabic (*salidi*) as a reference to Christians has negative connotations, unlike the terms *masihi* or *nasrani*, references to Christians as a religious minority.

60),⁶³ -- and in order to perform your duty so that Allah might be pleased with you. [The Islamic Resistance Movement] has no aspiration beyond that.

It reassures all the national trends [i.e., groups] operating within the Palestinian arena for the liberation of Palestine that it lends support and aid to them and will never behave otherwise in word or in deed in the present and future. [The Islamic Resistance Movement] brings [people] together and does not separate [them], protects and does not cast aside, unites and does not divide, values every good word and genuine effort and commendable endeavor. It closes the door in the face of petty disagreements and does not heed rumors and biased words; it is fully aware of the right to self defense. Anything that opposes or contradicts these positions is a libel fabricated by the enemy or by his lackeys to spread confusion, divide the ranks and create destruction through marginal issues, [as it is written in the Qur'an:] "Oh ye true believers, when a sinful person comes to you with information, investigate what he says carefully lest people be harmed inadvertently, and you regret what you have done" ([Surah 49] Al-Hujurat [Verse] 6).

Article 26

The Islamic Resistance Movement treats other Palestinian national movements positively if they are loyal to neither east nor west. However, that does not prevent it from discussing new developments locally and internationally regarding the Palestinian issue in an effective manner which reveals the degree of [their] agreement or disagreement with national interests and based on [its] Islamic worldview.

C. The Palestine Liberation Organization

Article 27

The Palestine Liberation Organization is closest to the Islamic Resistance Movement and it is [considered] father, brother, relative [and] friend. Can any Muslim shun his father or brother or relative or friend? After all, our homeland is one, our catastrophe one, our fate one and we have a common enemy.

The circumstances under which the organization [the Palestine Liberation Organization] was founded and the atmosphere of ideological confusion prevailing in the Arab world following the intellectual invasion that the Arab world was subjected

⁶³ Part of a famous verse which serves as the slogan for radical Islamic movements from the Muslim Brotherhood to the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and expresses their desire to frighten the enemy.

to, and is still influenced by, since its defeat at the hands of the Crusaders, Orientalism, [Christian] missionary [activity] and imperialism made the **Palestine Liberation Organization adopt the ideology of a secular state and that is how we see it. However, a secular ideology is diametrically opposed to a religious ideology, and eventually positions, modes of behavior and the decision-making process are all based on ideology.**

Therefore, despite our esteem for the Palestine Liberation Organization and what it is capable of developing into, and without belittling its role in the Arab-Israeli conflict, **we cannot exchange the Islamic nature of Palestine in the present or future for the adoption of secular ideas. That is because the Islamic nature of Palestine is part of our faith** and whoever does not take his faith seriously is defeated, [as it is written in the Qur'an:] "Who would despise the religion of Abraham except for the one who has made a fool of himself?" ([Surah 2] Al-Baqarah [Verse] 130).

Hence the day on which the Palestine Liberation Organization adopts Islam as its way of life we will be its soldiers and the fuel of its fire which will burn the enemy. However, until then – and we pray to Allah that it happens soon – the Islamic Resistance Movement will treat the Palestine Liberation Organization as a son treats his father, brother treats brother, relative treats relative. One suffers for the other when he is pricked by a thorn, supports him in his confrontation with his enemies and wishes he may go along the true path and [act with] wisdom.

Your brother [is also] your [guardian and supporting] brother. One who has no brother / is like someone who hastens into battle without a weapon [to guard and support him]. / Remember, a [person's] cousin serves as his [second] wing [which guards and supports] him, / hence can the falcon fly with only one wing?⁶⁴

D. Arab and Islamic states and governments

Article 28

The Christian [Crusader] conquest is evil, it does not stop at anything, it makes use of every despicable and vicious means to achieve its ends. In its infiltration and espionage operations it relies heavily on the secret organizations it gave birth to, such as the Freemasons, Rotary and Lions Club, and similar espionage

⁶⁴ These are often-quoted verses written by the seventh-century Arab poet, Rabi'ah ibn 'Amir ibn Anif, nicknamed Miskin al-Darimi.

groups. All those organizations, both covert and overt, act for the good of and are directed by Zionism. They aim to collapse society, undermine values, destroy the security of life and property, create [moral degeneration] and the annihilation of Islam. They are behind trafficking in drugs and alcohol, to make it easier for them to take over [the world] and to expand [and gain more territory].

Therefore, the Arab states bordering Israel are required to open their borders to the jihad warriors belonging to the Arab/Muslim nations, so that they may fulfill their role and join their efforts to those of the Muslim brethren in Palestine.

With regard to the other Arab/Muslim nations, they are required to facilitate the passage of the jihad warriors through their territory, which is the very least [they can do].

Nor do we forget to remind every Muslim that when the Jews conquered the holy [site] in Jerusalem in 1967 and stood on the threshold of the blessed Al-Aqsa mosque they cheered: Muhammad died and left [only] daughters.

Thus Israel with its Judaism and Jews challenges Islam and Muslims. And the cowards shall know no sleep.⁶⁵ [I.e., the Muslims will make the Jews so fearful they will not sleep at night.]

E. National and religious groups, institutions, educated people and the Arab/Muslim world

Article 29

The Islamic Resistance Movement expects these groups to stand by it and support it at various levels, to adopt its positions, support its activities and movements and acts to gain [other] support for it, so that Muslim peoples will give it [their] support, backing and a strategic depth on all levels: human, material, information, time and place. [That should be done] by organizing conferences, publishing committed pamphlets and creating mass awareness [through indoctrination] with regard to the Palestinian issue and what [dangers] it faces, what is plotted against it, and by recruiting Muslims through ideology, education and culture. Thus they [the Muslim peoples] will play a part in the decisive battle for liberation [just] as they contributed to the defeat of the Crusaders and the rout of Tatars and rescued humanity's civilization. That [victory of

⁶⁵ A quote from a hadith.

the Muslim peoples] is not difficult for Allah [to achieve], [as it is written in the Qur'an:] "Allah wrote, for I will most certainly overcome, I and my messengers. Allah is strong and powerful" ([Surah 58] Al-Mujadalah [Verse] 21).

Article 30

Writers and the educated, media people, preachers in mosques, educators and the other sectors of the Arab/Muslim world: they are all called upon to play their roles, to fulfill their duties in view of the vicious invasion of Zionism and its infiltration into most of the countries [of the world] and its material and media control, and with all its ramifications in most countries of the world.

Indeed, jihad is not limited to bearing arms and fighting the enemy face to face. A good word, a good article, an effective book, support and aid – if the intentions are pure – so that Allah's banner becomes supreme, all constitute the essence of jihad for the sake of Allah.

Whoever has prepared a warrior [to do battle] for the sake of Allah [is considered as having] fought [in the battle], and whoever remains behind [to take care of] the warrior's family [is considered as having] fought [in the battle] (as told by al-Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Daoud and al-Tirmidhi in the *hadith* collections).

F. Followers of other religions

The Islamic Resistance Movement is a humane movement

Article 31

The Islamic Resistance Movement is a humane movement which respects human rights. It is committed to the tolerance of Islam toward the followers of other religions. It is not hostile to them but only so far as they are hostile to it or whoever stands in its way to make it fail or frustrate its efforts.

Those who believe in the three [monotheistic] religions, Islam, Christianity and Judaism, can live side by side under the aegis of Islam in security and safety, for only under the aegis of Islam can there be complete security. In fact, ancient and recent history are the best proof of that. Therefore, the followers of other religions are called upon to stop fighting Islam in regard to sovereignty over this region. On the day that they become rulers, they will rule only by killing, torture and expulsion. That is because they are incapable of dealing with each other, let alone with the followers of other religions. Both the past and the present are full of examples proving that, [as

it is written in the Qur'an regarding the Jews:] "They do not ever go out as one man to fight you, except from within fortified strongholds or from behind high walls. There is much hostility among them. They seem to you to be united, but their hearts are divided because they are a people which are devoid of understanding" ([Surah 59] Al-Hashr [Verse] 14).

Islam provide rights to anyone who is eligible to have them, and prevents the rights of others from being infringed upon. [As opposed to that,] the Nazi Zionists' harsh measures taken against our people will not prolong the duration of their invasion. Indeed, the régime of injustice will last but one hour, while the régime of truth [will last] until the hour of resurrection [i.e., Judgment Day]. [As it is written in the Qur'an:] "Allah does not forbid you to respect and be just with those who do not fight you because of your faith and do not drive you out of your homes. Allah loves those who are just" ([Surah 60] Al-Mumtahinah [Verse] 8).

G. The attempt to isolate the Palestinian people

Article 32

World Zionism and the forces of imperialism are trying in a subtle way and with carefully studied planning, to remove the Arab states, one by one, from the sphere of the conflict with Zionism, eventually of isolating the Palestinian people.

The aforementioned forces have already removed Egypt to a large extent, through the treacherous Camp David accords [September 1978]. They are now trying to draw other [Arab] states into [signing] similar agreements, so that they may also be outside the conflict.

Therefore the Islamic Resistance Movement calls upon the Arab and Muslim peoples to act in all seriousness and with all diligence to frustrate that monstrous plan [or plot] and to alert the masses to the danger [inherent in] leaving the sphere of confrontation with Zionism: today it is Palestine and tomorrow part of another country [*qutr*], or other countries [*aqtar*].⁶⁶ The Zionist plan has no limit; **after Palestine [the Zionists] aspire to expand to the Nile and the Euphrates. Once they have devoured the region they arrive at, they will aspire to spread further and [then] on and on. Their plan [or plot appears] in *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and their**

⁶⁶ The Arabic term *qutr* (plural *aqtar*) denotes not merely one Arab state of many, but a region considered part of a larger Arab supra-state. It is mostly used in the Arab nationalistic ideology, which is by nature secular.

present [behavior] is [the best] proof of what we are saying. Therefore, leaving the conflict with the Zionists is [an act of] high treason and a curse which rests upon whoever [does so]. [As it is written in the Qur'an:] "Whoever retreats [while fighting the infidels] before them on that day – unless he does so to return and fight again, or to join the other warriors – will have Allah's wrath visited upon him and hell will be his abode. What a wretched fate!" ([Surah 8] Al-Anfal [Verse] 16).

Therefore, all forces and resources must be pulled together to confront this vicious Nazi Mongol invasion, lest homelands be lost, residents expelled, corruption spread all over the earth and all religious values destroyed. Therefore every man must know that he will bear responsibility before Allah, [as it is written in the Qur'an:] "Whoever does a good deed, although it may be as small as a grain, will realize his [reward in the afterworld], and whoever does an evil deed, although it may be as small as a grain, will realize his [reward in the afterworld]" ([Surah 99] Al-Zalzalah [Verses] 7-8).

Regarding the scope of conflict with world Zionism, the Islamic Resistance Movement sees itself as the spearhead or a step on the road [to victory]. It joins its efforts to the efforts of those who are active in the Palestinian arena and [expects] that additional steps will be taken at the level of the Arab/Muslim world. It is [best] prepared for the next stage [of the conflict] with the Jews, the war mongers, [as it is written in the Qur'an:] "We have sown enmity and hatred among them until Resurrection Day. Whenever they kindle the fire of war, Allah will extinguish it. They seek to fill the land with corruption, but Allah does not love those who corrupt" ([Surah 5] Al-Ma'idah [Verse] 64).

Article 33

The Islamic Resistance Movement starts off from these general views, which are coordinated and compatible with the laws of nature.[In addition,] it sails through the river of divine destiny [toward] confrontation with the enemy and the waging of a holy war against him to protect Muslim person, civilization and holy places, foremost among them is the blessed Al-Aqsa mosque. [All that is said and all that is done] to urge on the Arab and Muslim peoples, their governments and popular and official groups, to fear Allah in their outlook on and their dealing with the Islamic Resistance Movement. They should also, as Allah so wishes, support and back it and give it aid again and again until Allah's supreme rule has been established. [In that way,] the

ranks will close and the jihad warriors will join together. Then the masses will set out and come from all over the Muslim world, answering the [Muslim religious] call of duty, again and again making the call to jihad heard, the call that will rend the heavens, and its voice will echo until liberation has been achieved. Thus the invaders will be defeated and the victory of Allah will come to pass, [as it is written in the Qur'an:] "Allah will provide aid for all those who come to his aid, for Allah is strong and mighty" ([Surah 22] Al-Hajj [Verse] 40).

Chapter Five

Historical proof throughout history [sic] regarding the confrontation with the aggressors

Article 34

Palestine is the heart of the globe, the place where the continents meet, the place that has attracted the greedy [aggressors] since the dawn of history. The prophet, may Allah's prayer and blessing of peace be upon him, mentions in his noble hadith in which he addressed his revered companion, Mu'adh bin Jabel: "Mu'adh, Allah will enable you to conquer Al-Sham after my death, from El-'Arish to the Euphrates, its men, women and handmaidens will be [permanently] stationed at the frontier until Judgment Day. Whoever among chooses [to dwell permanently in] one of the shores of Al-Sham or Jerusalem, will be in a [permanent] state of jihad until Resurrection Day."

Indeed, many times a greedy [aggressor] coveted Palestine and took it by surprise with columns [of soldiers] to satisfy their greed. Thus the huge armies of the Crusaders invaded it in the name of their faith and flew the banner of the Cross over it. They succeeded in defeating the Muslims for quite a while, and the Muslims only succeeded in reconquering it after they gathered together under the banner of their [own] religion. Then they joined forces and cried [the Muslim battle cry] *Allahu Akbar*, and set out to fight for almost two decades as jihad warriors under the command al Salah al-Din al-Ayyoubi, and were manifestly victorious:⁶⁷ The Crusaders were defeated and Palestine was liberated, [as it is written in the Qur'an:]

⁶⁷ Fath Mubin – mentioned in Surah 48 (Al-Fath) Verse 1 – it has positive connotations apparently linked to Muhammad's victory after the Hudaibiyyah agreement, a 10-year cease-fire agreement signed in 628 AD (and lasting until 630 AD) between the prophet Muhammad and his enemy -- the infidels of (his own) Quraysh tribe, as a result of which he was later very successful on the battlefield.

“Tell the infidels, you will be defeated and brought together in hell. How terrible [will] the resting place [there be]” ([Surah 3] Aal-‘Imran [Verse] 12).

That is the only way to liberate [Palestine]. There is no doubt as to the true proof of history. It is one of the laws of the universe and one of the rules of existence. Only iron can break iron, and [the infidels’] false and faked faith can be overcome only by the true Islamic faith. Religious faith can only be confronted by religious faith. Eventually, justice will prevail, since justice is [always] triumphant, [as it is written in the Qur’an:] “We have already given our word to our servants the messengers, that they are those who will indeed be triumphant and that our battalions are the ones that will prevail” ([Surah 37] Al-Saffat [Verse] 171-173).

Article 35

The Islamic Resistance Movement has given to the defeat of the Crusaders at the hands of Salah al-Din al-Ayyoubi and the wresting of Palestine from their hands very deep thought, as it has done to the overthrow of the Mongols at ‘Ayn Jalout⁶⁸ when their force was broken by Qutuz and Al-Zahir Baybars,⁶⁹ who thus rescued the Arab [sic] world from the Mongol invasion which destroyed every vestige of human culture. [The Islamic Resistance Movement] takes those things seriously and draws inspiration and learns lessons from [all of] them. To be sure, the current Zionist invasion was preceded by Crusader invasions from the west and Mongol invasions from the east. As the Muslims withstood those invasions and made plans to confront them and [eventually] defeated them, thus it has the capability to face the Zionist invasion and to defeat it [as well]. That is not difficult for Allah, if intentions are pure and resolve is honest, and if the Muslims learn the lessons of the past, shed the influences of intellectual invasion and follows the practice of their ancestors.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ I.e., Ein Harod in the Jezreel Valley in the northern part of the State of Israel.

⁶⁹ Saif al-Din Qutuz was the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt from 1257 AD until his death in 1260 AD. The commander of his army, Al-Zahir Baybars (1223-1277 AD) defeated the Mongols at the battle of Ayn Jalout.

⁷⁰ *Aslafihim* in the original: the first generation of distinguished Muslims, considered the ideal figures for devout Muslims, especially radical Muslims in the modern world.

Conclusion

The Islamic Resistance Movement [consists of] soldiers [for the cause]

Article 36

While making its way forward, the Islamic Resistance Movement again emphasizes to all the [Palestinian] people, and to all Arab and Islamic peoples, that it is not seeking glory for itself, material gain or social status. It is not directed against any one of our people since it does not wish to compete with any one of them or try to take his place, nothing of the kind. Moreover, it will not in any way oppose any Muslim or those non-Muslims who wish it well, here [in Palestine] or any other place. It will only serve as a support for any group or organization active against Zionist enemy and its lackeys.

The Islamic Resistance Movement regards Islam as its way of life. Islam is its faith [and ideology] which it professes. Whoever regards Islam as the way of life, either here or elsewhere, be it an organization, group, state or any other body, the Islamic Resistance Movement will serve as its soldiers and nothing else. We ask Allah to guide us and to guide [others] through us [along the straight path] and judge us and our people with the truth, [as it is written in the Qur'an:] "Our sovereign, judge between us and our people with the truth, for you are the best of judges" ([Surah 7] Al-A'raf [Verse] 89).

Our final prayer [is]: Praise be to Allah, lord of the universe.⁷¹

⁷¹ The usual closing words of Muslim speeches or sermons given in mosques.

Appendix B

The Hamas Charter Original



بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

﴿كُنْتُمْ خَيْرَ أُمَّةٍ أُخْرِجَتْ لِلنَّاسِ تَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَتَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَتُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَلَوْ آمَنَ أَهْلُ الْكِتَابِ لَكَانَ خَيْرًا لَهُمْ مِنْهُمُ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَأَكْثَرُهُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ لَنْ يَضُرُّوكُمْ إِلَّا أَذًى وَإِنْ يُقَاتِلُواكُمْ يُوَلُّوكُمْ الْأَذْبَارَ ثُمَّ لَا بُنْصَرُونَ، ضُرِبَتْ عَلَيْهِمُ الذِّلَّةُ أَيْنَ مَا تُثْقَلُوا إِلَّا بِحَبْلٍ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَحَبْلٍ مِنَ النَّاسِ وَبَيَّأُوا بِغَضَبٍ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَضُرِبَتْ عَلَيْهِمُ الْمَسْكَنَةُ ذَلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ كَانُوا يَكْفُرُونَ بِآيَاتِ اللَّهِ وَيَقْتُلُونَ الْأَنْبِيَاءَ بِغَيْرِ حَقٍّ ذَلِكَ بِمَا عَصَوْا وَكَانُوا يَعْتَدُونَ﴾ (آل عمران: ١١٠ - ١١٢)

«ستقوم إسرائيل وستظل قائمة إلى أن يبطلها الإسلام كما أبطل ما قبلها.»

الإمام الشهيد حسن البنا، رحمه الله.

«إن العالم الإسلامي يحترق، وعلى كل منا أن يصب ولو قليلاً من الماء ليطفئ ما يستطيع أن يطفئه دون أن ينتظر غيره.»
الشيخ أمجد الزهاوي، رحمه الله.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

المقدمة

الحمد لله نستعينه ونستغفره ونستهديه ونتوكل عليه، ونصلي ونسلم
على رسول الله، وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم ومن والآله، ودعا بدعوته واستن
بسنته، صلاةً وتسليماً دائماً ما دامت السماوات والأرض ويعد:

أيها الناس:

من وسط الخطوب، وفي خضم المعاناة، ومن نبضات القلوب المؤمنة
والسواعد المتوضئة، وإدراكاً للواجب، واستجابة لأمر الله، كانت الدعوة
وكان التلاقي والتجمع، وكانت العروبة على منهج الله، وكانت الإرادة
المصممة على تأدية دورها في الحياة، متخطية كل العقبات، متجاوزة
مصاعب الطريق، وكان الإعداد المتواصل، والاستعداد لبذل النفس
والنفيس في سبيل الله.

وكان أن تشكلت النواة وأخذت تشق طريقها في هذا البحر المتلاطم من
الأماني والأمال، ومن الأشواق والتمنيات، والمخاطر والعقبات، والآلام
 والتحديات في الداخل والخارج.

ولما نضجت الفكرة، ونمت البذرة وضربت النبتة بجذورها في أرض
الواقع، بعيداً عن العاطفة المؤقتة، والتسرع المذموم انطلقت حركة
المقاومة الإسلامية لتأدية دورها ماضية في سبيل ربها، تتشابه
سواعدها مع سواعد كل المجاهدين من أجل تحرير فلسطين، وتلتقي
أرواح مجاهديها بأرواح كل المجاهدين الذين جادوا بأنفسهم على أرض
فلسطين، منذ أن فتحها صحابة رسول الله ﷺ وحتى يومنا هذا.

وهذا ميثاق حركة المقاومة الإسلامية (حماس)، يجلي صورتها ويكشف
عن هويتها، ويبين موقفها، ويوضح تطلعاتها، ويتحدث عن آمالها، ويدعو

إلى مناصرتها ودعمها، والالتحاق بصفوفها، فمعركتنا مع اليهود جد كبيرة وخطيرة، وتحتاج إلى جميع الجهود المخلصة، وهي خطوة لا بد من أن تتبعها خطوات، وكتيبة لا بد من أن تدعمها الكتائب تلو الكتائب من هذا العالم العربي والإسلامي المترامي الأطراف حتى يندحر الأعداء، ويتنزل نصر الله.

هكذا نلمحهم في الأفق قادمين ﴿وَلَتَعْلَمُنَّ نَبَأَهُ بَعْدَ حِينٍ﴾ (ص: ٨٨).

﴿كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَأَغْلِبَنَّ أَنَا وَرُسُلِي إِنَّ اللَّهَ قَوِيٌّ عَزِيزٌ﴾ (المجادلة: ٢٦).

﴿قُلْ هَذِهِ سَبِيلِي أَدْعُو إِلَى اللَّهِ عَلَى بَصِيرَةٍ أَنَا وَمَنِ اتَّبَعَنِي وَسُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ وَمَا أَنَا مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ﴾ (يوسف: ١٠٨).

الباب الأول التعريف بالحركة

■ المنطلقات الفكرية :

المادة الأولى:

حركة المقاومة الإسلامية: الإسلام منهجها، منه تستمد أفكارها ومفاهيمها وتصوراتها عن الكون والحياة والإنسان، واليه تحتكم في كل تصرفاتها، ومنه تستلهم ترشيد خطاها.

■ صلة حركة المقاومة الإسلامية بجماعة الإخوان المسلمين :

المادة الثانية:

حركة المقاومة الإسلامية جناح من أجنحة الإخوان المسلمين بفلسطين. وحركة الإخوان المسلمين تنظيم عالمي، وهي كبرى الحركات الإسلامية في العصر الحديث، وتمتاز بالفهم العميق، والتصور الدقيق والشمولية التامة لكل المفاهيم الإسلامية في شتى مجالات الحياة، في التصور والاعتقاد، في السياسة والاقتصاد، في التربية والاجتماع، في القضاء والحكم، في الدعوة والتعليم، في الفن والإعلام، في الغيب والشهادة وفي باقي مجالات الحياة.

■ البنية والتكوين :

المادة الثالثة:

تتكون البنية الأساسية لحركة المقاومة الإسلامية من مسلمين أعطوا ولاءهم لله، فعبدوه حق عبادته ﴿وَمَا خَلَقْتُ الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسَ إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُونِ﴾ (الذاريات: ٥٦) وعرفوا واجبهم تجاه أنفسهم وأهليهم ووطنهم، فأتقوا الله في كل ذلك، ورفعوا راية الجهاد في وجه الطغاة لتخليص البلاد والعباد من دنسهم وأرجاسهم وشرورهم. ﴿بَلْ نَقْذِفُ بِالْحَقِّ عَلَى الْبَاطِلِ فَيَدْمَغُهُ فَإِذَا هُوَ زَاهِقٌ﴾ (الأنبياء: ١٨).

المادة الرابعة:

ترحب حركة المقاومة الإسلامية بكل مسلم اعتقد عقيدتها، وأخذ بفكرتها، والتزم منهجها، وحفظ أسرارها، ورغب أن ينخرط في صفوفها لأداء الواجب، وأجره على الله.

■ البعد الزمني والمكاني لحركة المقاومة الإسلامية :

المادة الخامسة:

بعد حركة المقاومة الإسلامية الزماني: باتخاذها الإسلام منهج حياة لها، يمتد إلى مولد الرسالة الإسلامية، والسلف الصالح، فالله غايتها والرسول قدوتها والقرآن دستورها. ويعدّها المكاني: حيثما تواجد المسلمون الذين يتخذون الإسلام منهج حياة لهم، في أي بقعة من بقاع الأرض، فهي بذلك تضرب في أعماق الأرض وتمتد لتعانق السماء. ﴿أَلَمْ تَرَ كَيْفَ ضَرَبَ اللَّهُ مَثَلًا كَلِمَةً طَيِّبَةً كَشَجَرَةٍ طَيِّبَةٍ أَصْلُهَا ثَابِتٌ وَفَرْعُهَا فِي

السَّمَاءِ تُؤْتِي أُكْلَهَا كُلَّ حِينٍ بِإِذْنِ رَبِّهَا وَيَضْرِبُ اللَّهُ الْأَمْثَالَ لِلنَّاسِ لَعَلَّهُمْ
يَتَذَكَّرُونَ ﴿٢٤-٢٥﴾ (إبراهيم)

■ التميز والاستقلالية:

المادة السادسة:

حركة المقاومة الإسلامية حركة فلسطينية متميزة، تعطي ولاءها لله، وتتخذ من الإسلام منهج حياة، وتعمل على رفع راية الله على كل شبر من فلسطين، ففي ظل الإسلام يمكن أن يتعايش أتباع الديانات جميعاً في أمن وأمان على أنفسهم وأموالهم وحقوقهم، وفي غياب الإسلام ينشأ الصراع، ويستشري الظلم وينتشر الفساد وتقوم المنازعات والحروب.

ولله در الشاعر المسلم محمد إقبال، حيث يقول:
إذا الإيمان ضاع فلا أمان ولا دنيا لمن لم يحيي ديناً ومن رضي الحياة
بغير دين فقد جعل الضياء لها قريناً.

■ عالمية حركة المقاومة الإسلامية:

المادة السابعة:

بحكم انتشار المسلمين الذين يנהجون منهج حركة المقاومة الإسلامية في كل بقاع العالم، ويعملون على مناصرتها، وتبني مواقفها، وتعزيز جهادها، فهي حركة عالمية، وهي مؤهلة لذلك لوضوح فكرتها، ونبل غايتها، وسمو أهدافها.

وعلى هذا الأساس يجب أن ينظر إليها، ويقدر قدرها، ويعترف بدورها، ومن غمطها حقها، وضرب صفحاً عن مناصرتها أو عميت بصيرته

فاجتهد في طمس دورها، فهو كمن يجادل القدر، ومن أغمض عينيه عن رؤية الحقائق بقصد أو بغير قصد، فسيضيق وقد تجاوزته الأحداث وأعيته الحجج في تبرير موقفه، والسابقة لمن سبق.

وظلم ذوي القربى أشد مضاضة على النفس من وقع الحسام المهند. ﴿وَأَنْزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ الْكِتَابَ بِالْحَقِّ مُصَدِّقًا لِمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ مِنَ الْكِتَابِ وَمُهَيِّمًا عَلَيْهِ فَاحْكُم بَيْنَهُم بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ وَلَا تَتَّبِعْ أَهْوَاءَهُمْ عَمَّا جَاءَكَ مِنَ الْحَقِّ لِكُلِّ جَنَّةٍ لَنَا مِنْكُمْ شَرْعَةٌ وَمِنْهَا جَاءَ وَلَوْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ لَجَعَلَكُمْ أُمَّةً وَاحِدَةً وَلَكِنْ لِيَبْلُوَكُمْ فِي مَا آتَاكُمْ فَاسْتَبِقُوا الْخَيْرَاتِ إِلَى اللَّهِ مَرْجِعُكُمْ جَمِيعًا فَيُنَبِّئُكُمْ بِمَا كُنتُمْ فِيهِ تَخْتَلِفُونَ﴾ (المائدة: ٤٨). وحركة المقاومة الإسلامية حلقة من حلقات الجهاد في مواجهة الغزوة الصهيونية تتصل وترتبط بانطلاقة الشهيد عز الدين القسام وإخوانه المجاهدين من الإخوان المسلمين عام ١٩٣٦، وتمضي لتتصل وترتبط بحلقة أخرى تضم جهاد الفلسطينيين وجهود وجهاد الإخوان المسلمين في حرب ١٩٤٨ والعمليات الجهادية للإخوان المسلمين عام ١٩٦٨ وما بعده.

هذا وإن تباعدت الحلقات وحالت دون مواصلة الجهاد العقبات التي يضعها الدائرون في فلك الصهيونية في وجه المجاهدين، فإن حركة المقاومة الإسلامية تتطلع الى تحقيق وعد الله مهما طال الزمن، والرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: «لا تقوم الساعة حتى يقاتل المسلمون اليهود فيقتلهم المسلمون حتى يختبئ اليهودي من وراء الحجر والشجر، فيقول الحجر والشجر: يا مسلم يا عبد الله، هذا يهودي خلفي تعال فاقتله، إلا الغرقد فإنه من شجر اليهود».

(رواه البخاري ومسلم)

■ شعار حركة المقاومة الإسلامية :

المادة الثامنة :

الله غايتها، والرسول قدوتها، والقرآن دستورها، والجهاد سبيلها، والموت في سبيل الله أسمى أمانيتها.

الباب الثاني

الأهداف

■ البواعث والأهداف :

المادة التاسعة :

وجدت حركة المقاومة الإسلامية نفسها في زمن غاب فيه الإسلام عن واقع الحياة، ولذلك اختلّت الموازين، واضطربت المفاهيم، وتبدلت القيم وتسلط الأشرار، وساد الظلم والظلام، وتنمّر الجبناء، واغتصبت الأوطان، وشرد الناس، وهاموا على وجوههم في كل بقعة من بقاع الأرض، وغابت دولة الحق وقامت دولة الباطل، ولم يبق شيء في مكانه الصحيح، وهكذا عندما يغيب الإسلام عن الساحة يتغير كل شيء وتلك هي البواعث.

أما الأهداف: فهي منازلة الباطل وقهره ودحره، ليسود الحق، وتعود الأوطان، وينطلق من فوق مساجدها الأذان معلناً قيام دولة الإسلام، ليعود الناس والأشياء كل إلى مكانه الصحيح، والله المستعان.

﴿وَكُلُوا دَقْعُ اللَّهِ النَّاسَ بَعْضُهُمْ لِبَعْضٍ لَفَسَدَتِ الْأَرْضُ وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ ذُو فَضْلٍ عَلَى الْعَالَمِينَ﴾ (البقرة: ٢٥١).

المادة العاشرة:

وحركة المقاومة الإسلامية، وهي تشق طريقها، سند لكل مستضعف، ونصير لكل مظلوم، بكل ما أوتيت من قوة، لا تدخر جهداً في إحقاق الحق وإبطال الباطل بالقول والفعل في هذا المكان وفي كل مكان يمكنها أن تصل إليه وتؤثر فيه.

الباب الثالث

الاستراتيجية والوسائل

استراتيجية حركة المقاومة الإسلامية

■ فلسطين أرض وقف إسلامي:

المادة الحادية عشرة:

تعتقد حركة المقاومة الإسلامية أن أرض فلسطين أرض وقف إسلامي على أجيال المسلمين إلى يوم القيامة، لا يصح التفريط بها أو بجزء منها أو التنازل عنها أو عن جزء منها، ولا تملك ذلك دولة عربية أو كل الدول العربية، ولا يملك ذلك ملك أو رئيس، أو كل الملوك والرؤساء، ولا تملك ذلك منظمة أو كل المنظمات سواء كانت فلسطينية أو عربية، لأن فلسطين أرض وقف إسلامي على الأجيال الإسلامية إلى يوم القيامة.

هذا حكمها في الشريعة الإسلامية، ومثلها في ذلك مثل كل أرض فتحها المسلمون عنوة، حيث وقفها المسلمون زمن الفتح على أجيال المسلمين إلى يوم القيامة. وكان ذلك أن قادة الجيوش الإسلامية، بعد

ان تم لهم فتح الشام والعراق قد ارسلوا لخليفة المسلمين عمر بن الخطاب يستشيرونه بشأن الأرض المفتوحة، هل يقسمونها على الجند، ام يبقونها لأصحابها، ام ماذا؟ وبعد مشاورات ومداومات بين خليفة المسلمين عمر بن الخطاب وصحابة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم استقر قرارهم ان تبقى الأرض بأيدي أصحابها ينتفعون بها ويخيراتهم، اما رقبة الأرض، اما نفس الأرض فوقف على اجبال المسلمين إلى يوم القيامة وامتلاك أصحابها امتلاك منفعة فقط، وهذا الوقف باق ما بقيت السماوات والأرض، وأي تصرف مخالف لشريعة الإسلام هذه بالنسبة لفلسطين فهو تصرف باطل مردود على أصحابه.

﴿إِنَّ هَذَا لَهُوَ حَقُّ الْيَقِينِ فَسَبِّحْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ الْعَظِيمِ﴾ (الواقعة : ٩٥ - ٩٦).

■ الوطن والوطنية من وجهة نظر حركة المقاومة الإسلامية بفلسطين :

المادة الثانية عشرة:

الوطنية من وجهة نظر حركة المقاومة الإسلامية جزء من العقيدة الدينية، وليس أبلغ في الوطنية ولا أعمق من أنه وطن العدو أرض المسلمين فقد صار جهاده والتصدي له فرض عين على كل مسلم ومسلمة. تخرج المرأة لقتاله بغير إذن زوجها، والعبد بغير إذن سيده. ولا يوجد مثل ذلك في أي نظام من النظم الأخرى وتلك حقيقة لا مرأ فيها. وإذا كانت الوطنيات المختلفة ترتبط بأسباب مادية وبشرية وإقليمية، فوطنية حركة المقاومة الإسلامية لها كل ذلك، ولها فوق ذلك وهو الأهم أسباب ريانية تعطيها روحاً وحياة، حيث تتصل بمصدر الروح وواهب الحياة. رافعة في سماء الوطن الراية الإلهية لتربط

الأرض بالسمااء برياط وثيق.

إذا جاء موسى والقي العصا فقد بطل السحر والساحر
﴿قَدْ تَبَيَّنَ الرُّشْدُ مِنَ الْغَيِّ فَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ بِالطَّاغُوتِ وَيُؤْمِنْ بِاللّهِ فَقَدْ اسْتَمْسَكَ بِالْعُرْوَةِ
الْوُثْقَى لَا انْفِصَامَ لَهَا وَاللّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ﴾ (البقرة: ٢٥٦)

■ الحلول السلمية، والمبادرات، والمؤتمرات الدولية:

المادة الثالثة عشرة:

تتعارض المبادرات، وما يسمى بالحلول السلمية والمؤتمرات الدولية لحل
القضية الفلسطينية مع عقيدة حركة المقاومة الإسلامية، فالتصريح
في أي جزء من فلسطين تصريح في جزء من الدين، فوطنية حركة
المقاومة الإسلامية جزء من دينها، على ذلك تربي أفرادها، وترفع راية
الله فوق وطنهم يحاهدون.

﴿وَاللّهُ غَالِبٌ عَلَى أَمْرِهِ وَلَكِنَّ أَكْثَرَ النَّاسِ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ﴾ (يوسف: ٢١)

وتنار من حين لاخر الدعوة لعقد مؤتمر دولي للنظر في حل القضية،
فيقبل من يقبل ويرفض من يرفض لسبب أو لاخر مطالب بتحقيق
شرط أو شروط، ليوافق على عقد المؤتمر والمشاركة فيه، وحركة المقاومة
الإسلامية لمعرفتها بالأطراف التي يتكون منها المؤتمر، وماضي وحاضر
مواقفها من قضايا المسلمين لا ترى أن تلك المؤتمرات يمكن أن تحقق
المطالب أو تعيد الحقوق، أو تنصف المظلوم، وما تلك المؤتمرات إلا نوع
من انواع تحكيم اهل الكفر في ارض المسلمين، ومتى انصف اهل الكفر
اهل الإيمان؟

﴿وَلَنْ تَرْضَى عَنْكَ الْيَهُودُ وَلَا النَّصَارَى حَتَّى تَتَّبِعَ مِلَّتَهُمْ قُلْ إِنَّ هُدَى اللَّهِ هُوَ

الهُدَى وَلَكِنْ اتَّبَعْتَ أَهْوَاءَهُمْ بَعْدَ الَّذِي جَاءَكَ مِنَ الْعِلْمِ مَا لَكَ مِنَ اللَّهِ مِنْ وَكِيٍّ
وَلَا نَصِيرٍ ﴿البقرة: ١٢٠﴾.

ولا حل للقضية الفلسطينية إلا بالجهاد، أما المبادرات والطروحات
والمؤتمرات الدولية، فمضيعة للوقت، وعبث من العبث، والشعب
الفلسطيني أكرم من أن يعبت بمستقبله، وحقه ومصيره، وفي الحديث
الشريف:

« أهل الشام سوط في أرضه ينتقم بهم ممن يشاء من عباده وحرام
على منافقيهم أن يظهروا على مؤمنيهم ولا يموتوا إلا همًا وغمًا ».
(رواه: الطبراني مرفوعًا وأحمد موقوفًا، ولعله الصواب ورواهما ثقات والله أعلم).

■ الدوائر الثلاث :

المادة الرابعة عشرة:

قضية تحرير فلسطين تتعلق بدوائر ثلاث، الدائرة الفلسطينية،
والدائرة العربية، والدائرة الإسلامية، وكل دائرة من هذه الدوائر الثلاث
لها دورها في الصراع مع الصهيونية، وعليها واجبات، وأنه لمن الخطأ
الفادح، والجهل الفاضح، إهمال أي دائرة من هذه الدوائر، ففلسطين
أرض إسلامية، بها أولى القبيلتين وثالث الحرمين الشريفين، مسرى
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم .

﴿سُبْحَانَ الَّذِي أَسْرَى بِعَبْدِهِ لَيْلًا مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ الْأَقْصَى الَّذِي
بَارَكْنَا حَوْلَهُ لِنُرِيَهُ مِنْ آيَاتِنَا إِنَّهُ هُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْبَصِيرُ﴾ (الإسراء: ١).

ولما كان الأمر كذلك فتحريرها فرض عين على كل مسلم حيثما كان،
وعلى هذا الأساس يجب أن ينظر إلى القضية، ويجب أن يدرك ذلك
كل مسلم.

ويوم تعالج القضية على هذا الأساس الذي تعبأ فيه إمكانات الدوائر الثلاث، فإن الأوضاع الحالية ستتغير، ويقترب يوم التحرير.
﴿لَأَنْتُمْ أَشَدُّ رَهْبَةً فِي صُدُورِهِمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ ذَلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ قَوْمٌ لَا يَفْقَهُونَ﴾
(الحشر: ١٣).

■ الجهاد لتحرير فلسطين فرض عليه :

المادة الخامسة عشرة:

يوم يغتصب الأعداء بعض أرض المسلمين فالجهاد فرض عين على كل مسلم. وفي مواجهة اغتصاب اليهود لفلسطين لا بد من رفع راية الجهاد، وذلك يتطلب نشر الوعي الإسلامي في أوساط الجماهير محلياً وعربياً وإسلامياً، ولا بد من بث روح الجهاد في الأمة ومنازلة الأعداء والالتحاق بصفوف المجاهدين.

ولا بد من أن يشترك في عملية التوعية العلماء ورجال التربية والتعليم، ورجال الإعلام ووسائل النشر، وجماهير المثقفين، وعلى الأخص شباب الحركات الإسلامية وشيوخها، ولا بد من إدخال تغيرات جوهرية على مناهج التعليم، تخلصها من آثار الغزو الفكري، الذي لحق بها على أيدي المستشرقين والمبشرين، حيث أخذ ذلك الغزو يذهب المنطقة بعد أن دحر صلاح الدين الأيوبي جيوش الصليبيين، فقد أدرك الصليبيون، أنه لا يمكن قهر المسلمين، إلا بأن يمهد لذلك بغزو فكري، يبلبل فكرهم، ويشوه تراثهم، ويطلعن في مثلهم؛ وبعد ذلك يكون الغزو بالجنود، وكان ذلك تمهيداً للغزو الاستعماري حيث أعلن النبي عند دخول القدس قائلاً: الآن انتهت الحروب الصليبية، ووقف الجنرال غورو على قبر صلاح الدين قائلاً «ها قد عدنا يا صلاح الدين». وقد ساعد الاستعمار

على تعزيز الغزو الفكري، وتعميق جذوره، ولا يزال، وكان ذلك كله ممهداً لضياع فلسطين.

ولا بد من ربط قضية فلسطين في أذهان الأجيال المسلمة على أنها قضية دينية ويجب معالجتها على هذا الأساس، فهي تضم مقدسات إسلامية حيث المسجد الأقصى، الذي ارتبط بالمسجد الحرام رباطاً لا انفصام له ما دامت السماوات والأرض بإسراء رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ومعراجه منه.

« رباط يوم في سبيل الله خير من الدنيا وما عليها، وموضع سوط أحدكم من الجنة، خير من الدنيا وما عليها، والروحة يروحها العبد في سبيل الله، والغدوة خير من الدنيا وما عليها » (رواه: البخاري ومسلم والترمذي وابن ماجه).

« والذي نفس محمد بيده لوددت أن أغزو في سبيل الله فأقتل ثم أغزو فأقتل ثم أغزو فأقتل » (رواه: البخاري ومسلم).

■ تربية الأجيال :

المادة السادسة عشرة:

لا بد من تربية الأجيال الإسلامية في منطقتنا تربية إسلامية تعتمد أداء الفرائض الدينية، ودراسة كتاب الله دراسة واعية، ودراسة السنة النبوية، والاطلاع على التاريخ والتراث الإسلامي من مصادره الموثقة، وبتوجيهات المتخصصين وأهل العلم، واعتماد المناهج التي تكون لدى المسلم تصوراً سليماً في الفكر والاعتقاد مع ضرورة الدراسة الواعية عن العدو وإمكاناته المادية والبشرية، والتعرف على مواطن ضعفه وقوته،

ومعرفة القوى التي تناصره، وتقف إلى جانبه، مع ضرورة التعرف على الأحداث الجارية، ومواكبة المستجدات، ودراسة التحليلات والتعليقات عليها، مع ضرورة التخطيط والمستقبل، ودراسة كل ظاهرة من الظواهر، بحيث يعيش المسلم المجاهد عصره على علم بغايته وهدفه وطريقه وما يدور حوله.

﴿يَا بُنَيَّ إِنَّهَا إِنْ تَكُ مِثْقَالَ حَبَّةٍ مِنْ خَرْدَلٍ فَتَكُنْ فِي صَخْرَةٍ أَوْ فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ أَوْ فِي الْأَرْضِ يَأْتِ بِهَا اللَّهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَطِيفٌ خَبِيرٌ يَا بُنَيَّ أَقِمِ الصَّلَاةَ وَأْمُرْ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَانْهَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَأَصْبِرْ عَلَى مَا أَصَابَكَ إِنَّ ذَلِكَ مِنْ عَزْمِ الْأُمُورِ وَلَا تُصَعِّرْ خَدَّكَ لِلنَّاسِ وَلَا تَمْشِ فِي الْأَرْضِ مَرَحًا إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ كُلَّ مُخْتَالٍ فَخُورٍ﴾

(لقمان : ١٦-١٨)

■ دور المرأة المسلمة :

المادة السابعة عشرة:

للمرأة المسلمة في معركة التحرير دور لا يقل عن دور الرجل فهي مصنع الرجال، ودورها في توجيه الأجيال وتربيتها دور كبير، وقد أدرك الأعداء دورها وينظرون إليها على أنه إن أمكنهم توجيهها وتنشئتها النشأة التي يريدون بعيداً عن الإسلام فقد ربحوا المعركة، ولذلك تجدهم يعطون محاولاتهم جهداً متواصلاً من خلال الإعلام والأفلام، ومناهج التربية والتعليم بوساطة صنائعهم المندمجين في منظمات صهيونية تتخذ أسماء وأشكالاً متعددة كالماسونية، ونوادي الروتاري، وفرق التجسس وغير ذلك، وكلها أوكار للهدم والهدامين، وتتوفر لتلك المنظمات الصهيونية إمكانات مادية هائلة، تمكنها من لعب دورها وسط المجتمعات، بغية تحقيق المنظمات عملها في غيبة الإسلام عن الساحة،

وغريته بين اهله. وعلى الإسلاميين أن يؤدوا دورهم في مواجهة مخططات أولئك الهدامين، ويوم يملك الإسلام توجيه الحياة يقضي على تلك المنظمات المعادية للإنسانية والإسلام.

المادة الثامنة عشرة:

والمرأة في البيت المجاهد والأسرة المجاهدة أما كانت أو اختاً لها الدور الأهم في رعاية البيت وتنشئة الأطفال على المفاهيم والقيم الأخلاقية المستمدة من الإسلام، وتربية أبنائها على تأدية الفرائض الدينية استعداداً للدور الجهادي الذي ينتظرهم، ومن هنا لا بد من العناية بالمدارس والمناهج التي تبنى عليها البنت المسلمة، لتكون أما صالحة واعية لدورها في معركة التحرير.

ولا بد لها من أن تكون على قدر كافٍ من الوعي والإدراك في تدبير الأمور المنزلية، فالالاقتصاد والبعد عن الإسراف في نفقات الأسرة من متطلبات القدرة على مواصلة السير في الظروف الصعبة المحيطة، وليكن نصب عينيها أن النقود المتوافرة عبارة عن دم يجب ألا يجري إلا في العروق لاستمرار الحياة في الصغار والكبار على حد سواء.

﴿إِنَّ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَالْمُسْلِمَاتِ وَالْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتِ وَالْقَانِتِينَ وَالْقَانِتَاتِ وَالصَّادِقِينَ وَالصَّادِقَاتِ وَالصَّابِرِينَ وَالصَّابِرَاتِ وَالْخَاشِعِينَ وَالْخَاشِعَاتِ وَالْمُتَصَدِّقِينَ وَالْمُتَصَدِّقَاتِ وَالصَّائِمِينَ وَالصَّائِمَاتِ وَالْحَافِظِينَ فُرُوجَهُمْ وَالْحَافِظَاتِ وَالذَّاكِرِينَ اللَّهَ كَثِيرًا وَالذَّاكِرَاتِ أَعَدَّ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ مَغْفِرَةً وَأَجْرًا عَظِيمًا﴾

(الأحزاب: ٣٥).

■ دور الفن الإسلامي في معركة التحرير:

المادة التاسعة عشرة:

للفن ضوابط ومقاييس بها يمكن أن يعرف هل هو فن إسلامي أم جاهلي؟ وقضايا التحرير الإسلامية بحاجة إلى الفن الإسلامي الذي يسمو بالروح ولا يغلب جانباً في الإنسان على جانب آخر، ولكن يسمو بجميع الجوانب في توازن وانسجام. والإنسان تكوين عجيب غريب من قبضة الطين ونفخة الروح، والفن الإسلامي يخاطب الإنسان على هذا الأساس، والفن الجاهلي يخاطب الجسد ويغلب جانب الطين.

فالكتاب، والمقالة، والنشرة، والموعظة، والرسالة، والزجل، والقصيدة الشعرية، والأنشودة، والمسرحية وغير ذلك، إذا توافرت فيه خصائص الفن الإسلامي، فهو من لوازم التعبئة الفكرية، والغذاء المتجدد لمواصلة المسيرة، والترويح عن النفس، فالطريق طويل والعناء كثير، والنفوس تمل، والفن الإسلامي يجدد النشاط، ويبعث الحركة، ويثير في النفس المعاني الرفيعة والتدبير السليم.

لا يصلح النفس إن كانت مدبرة إلا التنقل من حال إلى حال. كل ذلك جد لا هزل معه، فالأمة المجاهدة لا تعرف الهزل.

■ التكافل الاجتماعي:

المادة العشرون:

المجتمع المسلم مجتمع متكافل والرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم

يقول: « نَعَمْ القوم الأشعريون كانوا إذا جاهدوا في حضر أو سفر جمعوا ما عندهم ثم قسموه بينهم بالسوية ». وهذه الروح الإسلامية هي التي يجب أن تسود في كل مجتمع مسلم، والمجتمع الذي يتصدى لعدو شرس نازي في تصرفاته لا يفرق بين رجل وامرأة أو كبير وصغير، هو أولى أن يتحلى بروح الإسلام هذه. وعدونا يعتمد أسلوب العقاب الجماعي، سلب الناس أوطانهم وممتلكاتهم، ولا حقهم في مهاجرهم وأماكن تجمعهم فاعتمد تكسير العظام، وإطلاق النار على النساء والأطفال والشيوخ بسبب ويدون سبب، وفتح المعتقلات ليزج فيها بالآلاف المؤلفة في ظروف لا إنسانية، هذا فضلاً عن هدم المنازل وتيتيم الأطفال، وإصدار الأحكام الظالمة على آلاف الشباب ليقضوا زهرة شبابهم في غياهب السجون.

وقد شملت نازية اليهود النساء والأطفال، فالترجيع للجميع، يحاربون الناس في أرزاقهم ويبتزون أموالهم ويدوسون كرامتهم، وهم بأعمالهم الفظيعة يعاملون الناس كأعنف ما يكون مجرمو الحرب، والإبعاد عن الوطن نوع من أنواع القتل. وفي مواجهة هذه التصرفات لا بد من أن يسود التكافل الاجتماعي بين الناس، ولا بد من مواجهة العدو كجسد واحد إذا اشتكى منه عضو تداعى له سائر الجسد بالسهر والحمى.

المادة الحادية والعشرون:

ومن التكافل الاجتماعي تقديم المساعدة لكل محتاج، سواء كانت مادية أو معنوية، أو المشاركة في إنجاز بعض الأعمال، على عناصر حركة المقاومة الإسلامية أن ينظروا إلى مصالح الجماهير نظرتهم إلى مصالحهم الخاصة. وعليهم ألا يدخروا جهداً في سبيل تحقيقها والمحافظة عليها وعليهم أن يحولوا دون التلاعب بكل ما يؤثر في

مستقبل الأجيال أو يعود على مجتمعهم بالخسارة، فالجماهير منهم ولهم، وقوتها قوة لهم، مستقبلها مستقبلهم. على عناصر حركة المقاومة الإسلامية أن يشاركوا الناس في أفراحهم وأتراحهم وأن يتبنوا مطالب الجماهير وما يحقق مصالحها ومصالحهم، ويوم تسود هذه الروح تتعمق الألفة ويكون التعاون والتراحم وتتوثق الوحدة ويقوى الصف في مواجهة الأعداء.

■ القوى التي تدعم العدو :

المادة الثانية والعشرون:

خطط الأعداء منذ زمن بعيد، وأحكموا تخطيطهم كي يتوصلوا إلى ما وصلوا إليه، أخذين بالأسباب المؤثرة في مجريات الأمور، فعملوا على جمع ثروات مادية هائلة ومؤثرة، سخروها لتحقيق حلمهم، فبالأموال سيطروا على وسائل الإعلام العالمية، من وكالات أنباء، وصحافة، ودور نشر، وإذاعات، وغير ذلك. وبالأموال فجروا الثورات في مختلف بقاع العالم، لتحقيق مصالحهم وجني الثمار، فهم من وراء الثورة الفرنسية والثورة الشيوعية ومعظم ما سمعنا ونسمع عن ثورات هنا وهناك.

وبالأموال كينوا المنظمات السرية التي تنتشر في مختلف بقاع العالم، لهدم المجتمعات، وتحقيق مصالح الصهيونية، كالماسونية، ونواصي الروتاري، والليونز، وأبناء العهد وغير ذلك، وكلها منظمات تجسسية هدامة، وبالأموال تمكنوا من السيطرة على الدول الاستعمارية، ودعواها إلى استعمار كثير من الأقطار، لكي يستنزفوا ثروات تلك الأقطار وينشروا فيها فسادهم.

وعن الحروب المحلية والعالمية حدث ولا حرج، فهم من خلف الحرب العالمية الأولى، حيث تم لهم القضاء على دولة الخلافة الإسلامية، وجنوا الأرباح المادية، وسيطروا على كثير من موارد الثروة وحصلوا على وعد بلفور وانشأوا عصبة الأمم المتحدة ليحكموا العالم من خلال تلك المنظمة، وهم من خلف الحرب العالمية الثانية، حيث جنوا الأرباح الطائلة من تجارتهم في مواد الحرب، ومهدوا لإقامة دولتهم، وأوعزوا بتكوين هيئة الأمم المتحدة ومجلس الأمن بدلاً من عصبة الأمم المتحدة ولحكم العالم من خلال ذلك.

وما من حرب تدور هنا أو هناك إلا وأصابهم تلعب من خلفها ﴿كُلَّمَا أَوْقَدُوا نَارًا لِلْحَرْبِ أَطْفَأَهَا اللَّهُ وَيَسْعَوْنَ فِي الْأَرْضِ فَسَادًا وَاللَّهُ لَا يُحِبُّ الْمُفْسِدِينَ﴾ (المائدة: ٦٤).

فالقوى الاستعمارية في الغرب الرأسمالي والشرق الشيوعي، تدعم العدو بكل ما أوتيت من قوة، مادياً، وبشرياً، وهي تتبادل الأدوار، ويوم يظهر الإسلام تتحد في مواجهته قوى الكفر، فملة الكفر واحدة. ﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَتَّخِذُوا بَطَانَةً مِنْ دُونِكُمْ لَا يَأْلُونَكُمْ خَبَالًا وَدُّوا مَا عَنِتُّمْ قَدْ بَدَتِ الْبَغْضَاءُ مِنْ أَفْوَاهِهِمْ وَمَا تُخْفِي صُدُورُهُمْ أَكْبَرُ قَدْ بَيَّنَّا لَكُمُ الْآيَاتِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تَعْقِلُونَ﴾ (آل عمران: ١١٨).

وليس عبثاً أن تختتم الآية بقوله تعالى ﴿إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تَعْقِلُونَ﴾.

الباب الرابع مواقفنا من

(أ) الحركات الإسلامية:

المادة الثالثة والعشرون:

تنظر حركة المقاومة الإسلامية إلى الحركات الإسلامية الأخرى نظرة احترام وتقدير، فهي إن اختلفت معها في جانب أو تصور، اتفقت معها في جوانب وتصورات، وتنظر إلى تلك الحركات إن توافرت النوايا السليمة والإخلاص لله بأنها تندرج في باب الاجتهاد، ما دامت تصرفاتها في حدود الدائرة الإسلامية وكل مجتهد نصيب.

وحركة المقاومة الإسلامية تعتبر تلك الحركات رصيда لها، وتسأل الهداية والرشاد للجميع، ولا يفوتها أن تبقى رافعة لراية الوحدة، وتسعى جاهدة إلى تحقيقها على الكتاب والسنة.

﴿واعتصموا بحبل الله جميعاً ولا تفرقوا واذكروا نعمة الله عليكم إذ كنتم أعداء فألف بين قلوبكم فأصبحتم بنعمته إخواناً وكنتم على شفا حفرة من النار فأنقذكم منها كذلك يبين الله لكم آياته لعلكم تهتدون﴾ (آل عمران: ١٠٢).

المادة الرابعة والعشرون:

لا تجيز حركة المقاومة الإسلامية الطعن أو التشهير بالأفراد أو الجماعات فالمؤمن ليس بطعان ولا لعان، مع ضرورة التفريق بين ذلك وبين المواقف والتصرفات. فلحركة المقاومة الإسلامية الحق في بيان الخطأ والتنفير منه، والعمل على بيان الحق وتبنيهِ في القضية المطروحة بموضوعية، فالحكمة ضالة المؤمن يأخذها أنى وجدها.

﴿لَا يُحِبُّ اللَّهُ الْجَهْرَ بِالسُّوءِ مِنَ الْقَوْلِ إِلَّا مَنْ ظَلَمَ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ سَمِيعًا عَلِيمًا، إِنَّ تَبَدُّوا خَيْرًا أَوْ تُخَفُّوهُ أَوْ تُعْفُوا عَنْ سُوءٍ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ عَفُوًّا قَدِيرًا﴾
(النساء: ١٤٨-١٤٩).

(ب) الحركات الوطنية على الساحة الفلسطينية:

المادة الخامسة والعشرون:

تبادلها الاحترام، وتقدر ظروفها، والعوامل المحيطة بها، والمؤثرة فيها، وتشد على يدها ما دامت لا تعطي ولاءها للشرق الشيوعي أو الغرب الصليبي وتؤكد لكل من هو مندمج بها أو متعاطف معها بأن حركة المقاومة الإسلامية حركة جهادية أخلاقية واعية في تصورها للحياة، وتحركها مع الآخرين، تمقت الانتهازية ولا تتمنى إلا الخير للناس أفراداً وجماعات، لا تسعى إلى مكاسب مادية، أو شهرة ذاتية وما يتوافر لها ﴿وَأَعِدُّوا لَهُمْ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ﴾ (الأنفال: ٦٠) لأداء الواجب، والفوز برضوان الله، لا مطمع لها غير ذلك.

وتطمئن كل الاتجاهات الوطنية العاملة على الساحة الفلسطينية، من أجل تحرير فلسطين، بأنها لها سند وعون، ولن تكون إلا كذلك، قولاً وعملاً حاضراً ومستقبلاً، تجمع ولا تفرق، تصون ولا تبدد، توحد ولا تجزئ، تثمن كل كلمة طيبة، وجهد مخلص، ومساعد حميدة، تغلق الباب في وجه الخلافات الجانبية، ولا تصغي للشائعات والأقوال المغرضة، مع إدراكها لحق الدفاع عن النفس.

وكل ما يتعارض أو يتناقض مع هذه التوجهات فهو مكذوب من الأعداء أو السائرين في ركابهم بهدف البلبلة وشق الصفوف والتلهي بأمور جانبية.

﴿ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِن جَاءَكُمْ فَاسِقٌ بِنَبَأٍ فَتَبَيَّنُوا أَنْ تُصِيبُوا قَوْمًا بِجَهَالَةٍ فَتُصْبِحُوا عَلَىٰ مَا فَعَلْتُمْ نَادِمِينَ ﴾ (الحجرات : ٦).

المادة السادسة والعشرون:

حركة المقاومة الإسلامية وهي تنظر إلى الحركات الوطنية الفلسطينية - التي لا تعطي ولاءها للشرق أو للغرب - هذه النظرة الإيجابية. فإن ذلك لا يمنعها من مناقشة المستجدات على الساحة المحلية والدولية، حول القضية الفلسطينية مناقشة موضوعية تكشف عن مدى انسجامها أو اختلافها مع المصلحة الوطنية على ضوء الرؤية الإسلامية.

٦) منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية:

المادة السابعة والعشرون:

منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية من اقرب المقربين إلى حركة المقاومة الإسلامية. ففيها الأب أو الأخ أو القريب أو الصديق، وهل يحضو المسلم اباد أو اخاد أو قريبه أو صديقه. فوطننا واحد ومصائبنا واحد ومصيرنا واحد وعدونا مشترك. وتأثراً بالظروف التي احاطت بتكوين المنظمة، وما يسود العالم العربي من بلبلة فكرية، نتيجة للغزو الفكري الذي وقع تحت تأثيره العالم العربي منذ اندحار الصليبيين، وعزز الاستشراق والتبشير والاستعمار. ولا يزال، تبنت المنظمة فكرة الدولة العلمانية وهكذا نحسبها. والفكرة العلمانية مناقضة للفكرة الدينية مناقضة تامة.

وعلى الأفكار تُبنى المواقف والتصرفات، وتتخذ القرارات.
ومن هنا، مع تقديرنا لمنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية - وما يمكن أن
تتطور إليه - وعدم التقليل من دورها في الصراع العربي الإسرائيلي،
لا يمكننا أن نستبدل إسلامية فلسطين الحالية والمستقبلية لنتبنى
الفكرة العلمانية، فإسلامية فلسطين جزء من ديننا ومن فرط في
دينه فقد خسر. ﴿وَمَنْ يَرْغَبْ عَنْ مِلَّةِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِلَّا مَنْ سَفِهَ نَفْسَهُ﴾ (البقرة: ١٣٠).
ويوم تتبنى منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية الإسلام كمنهج حياة،
فنحن جنودها ووقود نارها التي تحرق الأعداء. فبالى أن يتم ذلك -
ونسأل الله أن يكون قريباً - فموقف حركة المقاومة الإسلامية من
منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية هو موقف الابن من أبيه والأخ من أخيه
والقريب من قريبه، يتألم لأنه إن أصابته شوكة، ويشد أزره في مواجهة
الأعداء ويتمنى له الهداية والرشاد.

أخاك أخاك إن من لا أخاً له كساع إلى الهيجا بغير سلاح
وان ابن عم المرء - فاعلم جناحه وهل ينهض البازي بغير جناح.

(د) الدول والحكومات العربية والإسلامية:

المادة الثامنة والعشرون:

الغزوة الصليبية غزوة شرسة، لا تتورع عن سلوك كل الطرق مستخدمة
جميع الوسائل الخسيسة والخبيثة لتحقيق أغراضها، وتعتمد اعتماداً
كبيراً في تغلغلها وعمليات تجسسها على المنظمات السرية التي انبثقت
عنها كالماسونية، ونوادي الروتاري والليونز، وغيرها من مجموعات
التجسس وكل تلك المنظمات السرية منها والعلنية تعمل لصالح

الصهيونية ويتوجيه منها، وتهدف إلى تقويض المجتمعات وتدمير القيم وتخريب الذمم، وتدهور الأخلاق، والقضاء على الإسلام وهي من خلف تجارة المخدرات والمسكرات على اختلاف أنواعها ليسهل عليها السيطرة والتوسع.

والدول العربية والمحيطية بإسرائيل مطالبة بفتح حدودها أمام المجاهدين من أبناء الشعوب العربية والإسلامية ليأخذوا دورهم ويضموا جهودهم إلى جهود إخوانهم من الإخوان المسلمين بفلسطين. أما الدول العربية والإسلامية الأخرى فمطالبة بتسهيل تحركات المجاهدين منها وإليها وهذا أقل القليل.

ولا يفوتنا أن نذكر كل مسلم بأن اليهود عندما احتلوا القدس الشريف عام ١٩٦٧ ووقفوا على عتبات المسجد الأقصى المبارك هتفوا قائلين: محمد مات خلف بنات.

فإسرائيل بيهوديتها ويهودها تتحدى الإسلام والمسلمين فلا نامت أعين الجبناء.

(هـ) التجمعات الوطنية والدينية والمؤسسات والمثقفين والعالم العربي والإسلامي:

المادة التاسعة والعشرون:

تأمل حركة المقاومة الإسلامية أن تقف تلك التجمعات إلى جانبها، على مختلف الأصعدة، تؤيدها،

وتتبني مواقفها، وتدعم نشاطاتها وتحركاتها، وتعمل على كسب التأييد لها لتجعل من الشعوب الإسلامية سنداً وظهيراً لها وبعداً استراتيجياً

على كل المستويات البشرية والمادية والإعلامية، الزمانية والمكانية، من خلال عقد المؤتمرات، ونشر الكتيبات الهادفة وتوعية الجماهير حول القضية الفلسطينية، وما يواجهها ويدبر لها وتعبئة الشعوب الإسلامية فكرياً وتربوياً وثقافياً، لتأخذ دورها في معركة التحرير الفاصلة، كما أخذت دورها في هزيمة الصليبيين وفي دحر التتار وإنقاذ الحضارة الإنسانية، وما ذلك على الله بعزيز.

﴿كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَأَغْلِبَنَّ أَنَا وَرُسُلِي إِنَّ اللَّهَ قَوِيٌّ عَزِيزٌ﴾ (المجادلة: ٢١)

المادة الثلاثون:

الأدباء والمنقضون ورجال الإعلام والخطباء ورجال التربية والتعليم وباقي القطاعات على اختلافها في العالم العربي والإسلامي، كل أولئك مدعوون إلى القيام بدورهم. وتأدية واجبهم نظراً لشراسة الغزوة الصهيونية، وتغلغلها في كثير من البلاد وسيطرتها المادية والإعلامية، وما يترتب على ذلك في معظم دول العالم. فالجهاد لا يقتصر على حمل السلاح ومنازلة الأعداء. فالكلمة الطيبة، والمقالة الجيدة، والكتاب المفيد، والتأييد والمناصرة، كل ذلك إن خلصت النوايا لتكون راية الله هي العليا فهو جهاد في سبيل الله. من جهز غازياً في سبيل الله فقد غزا، ومن خلف غازياً في أهله بخير فقد غزا. (رواه البخاري ومسلم وأبو داود والترمذي).

(٩) أهل الديانات الأخرى : حركة المقاومة الإسلامية حركة إنسانية :

المادة الحادية والثلاثون :

حركة المقاومة الإسلامية حركة إنسانية، ترمي الحقوق الإنسانية، وتلتزم بسماحة الإسلام في النظر إلى أتباع الديانات الأخرى، لا تعادي منهم إلا من ناصبها العدا، أو وقف في طريقها ليعيق تحركها أو يبدد جهودها.

وفي ظل الإسلام يمكن أن يتعايش أتباع الديانات الثلاث الإسلام والمسيحية واليهودية في أمن وأمان، ولا يتوافر الأمن والأمان إلا في ظل الإسلام. والتاريخ القريب والبعيد خير شاهد على ذلك. وعلى أتباع الديانات الأخرى أن يكفوا عن منازعة الإسلام في السيادة على هذه المنطقة. لا تهم يوم يسودون فلا يكون إلا التقتيل والتعذيب والتشريد. فهم يضيقون ذرعاً ببعضهم البعض فضلاً عن أتباع الديانات الأخرى. والماضي والحاضر ملينان بما يؤكد ذلك.

﴿ لَا يُقَاتِلُونَكُمْ جَمِيعًا إِلَّا فِي قُرَى مُحَصَّنَةٍ أَوْ مِنْ وَرَاءِ حُذُرٍ بِأَسْهُمٍ بَيْنَهُمْ شَدِيدٌ تَحْسِبُهُمْ جَمِيعًا وَقُلُوبُهُمْ شَتَّى ذَلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ قَوْمٌ لَا يَعْقِلُونَ ﴾

(الحشر : ١٤)

والإسلام يعطي كل ذي حق حقه، ويمنع الاعتداء على حقوق الآخرين، والممارسات الصهيونية النازية ضد شعبنا لا تطيل عمر غزوتهم فدولة الظلم ساعة ودولة الحق إلى قيام الساعة.

﴿ لَا يَنْهَاكُمُ اللَّهُ عَنِ الَّذِينَ لَمْ يُقَاتِلُوكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ وَلَمْ يُخْرِجُوكُمْ مِنْ دِيَارِكُمْ أَنْ تَبَرُّوهُمْ وَتُقْسِطُوا إِلَيْهِمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُقْسِطِينَ ﴾ (المتحنة : ٨).

(أ) محاولة الانفرد بالشعب الفلسطيني :

المادة الثانية والثلاثون:

تحاول الصهيونية العالمية، والقوى الاستعمارية بحركة ذكية وتخطيط مدروس، أن تخرج الدول العربية واحدة تلو الأخرى من دائرة الصراع مع الصهيونية، لتنفرد في نهاية الأمر بالشعب الفلسطيني.

وقد أخرجت مصر من دائرة الصراع إلى حد كبير جداً باتفاقية كامب ديفيد الخيانية، وهي تحاول أن تجر دولاً أخرى إلى اتفاقيات مماثلة، لتخرج من دائرة الصراع.

وحركة المقاومة الإسلامية تدعو الشعوب العربية والإسلامية إلى العمل الجاد الدؤوب لعدم تمرير ذلك المخطط الرهيب، وتوعية الجماهير إلى خطر الخروج من دائرة الصراع مع الصهيونية، فاليوم فلسطين وغداً قطر آخر أو أقطار أخرى، والمخطط الصهيوني لا حدود له، ويعد فلسطين يطمعون في التوسع من النيل إلى الفرات، وعندما يتم لهم هضم المنطقة التي يصلون إليها، يتطلعون إلى توسع آخر وهكذا، ومخططهم في بروتوكولات حكماء صهيون وحاضرهم خير شاهد على ما نقول.

فالخروج من دائرة الصراع مع الصهيونية خيانة عظمى، ولعنة على فاعليها.

﴿وَمَنْ يُؤْمَرْ بِدُورَةٍ إِلَّا مَتَحَرِّقًا لِقِتَالٍ أَوْ مَتَحَبِّزًا إِلَى فِتْنَةٍ فَقَدْ بَاءَ بِغَضَبٍ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَمَأْوَاهُ جَهَنَّمُ وَبَشَّ الْمَصِيرُ﴾ (الأنفال: ١٦).

ولا بد من تجميع كل القوى والطاقت لمواجهة هذه الغزوة النازية التتريّة الشرسة، وإلا كان ضياع الأوطان، وتشريد السكان، ونشر الفساد في الأرض، وتدمير كل القيم الدينية، وليعلم كل إنسان أنه أمام الله

مسؤول.

﴿فَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ خَيْرًا يَرَهُ وَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ شَرًّا يَرَهُ﴾ (الزلزلة: ٧-٨).
وفي دائرة الصراع مع الصهيونية العالمية، تعتبر حركة المقاومة الإسلامية نفسها رأس حربة أو خطوة على الطريق، وهي تضم جهودها إلى جهود كل العاملين على الساحة الفلسطينية، ويبقى أن تتبع ذلك خطوات على مستوى العالم العربي والإسلامي، فهي المؤهلة للدور المقبل مع اليهود تجار الحروب.

﴿وَأَلْقَيْنَا بَيْنَهُمُ الْعَدَاوَةَ وَالْبَغْضَاءَ إِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ كُلَّمَا أَوْقَدُوا نَارًا لِلْحَرْبِ أَطْفَأَهَا اللَّهُ وَيَسْعَوْنَ فِي الْأَرْضِ فَسَادًا وَاللَّهُ لَا يُحِبُّ الْمُفْسِدِينَ﴾ (المائدة: ٦٤)

المادة الثالثة والثلاثون:

وحركة المقاومة الإسلامية وهي تنطلق من هذه المفاهيم العامة المتناسقة والمتساوقة مع سنن الكون كما تتدفق في نهر القدر في مواجهة الأعداء ومجاهدتهم دفاعاً عن الإنسان المسلم والحضارة الإسلامية والمقدسات الإسلامية، وفي طليعتها المسجد الأقصى المبارك، لتهيب بالشعوب العربية والإسلامية وحكوماتها وتجمعاتها الشعبية والرسمية أن تتقي الله في نظرتها لحركة المقاومة الإسلامية، وفي تعاملها معها، وأن تكون لها كما أرادها الله سنداً وظهيراً يمدّها بالعون والمدد تلو المدد، حتى يأتي أمر الله. وتلحق الصفوف بالصفوف، ويندمج المجاهدون بالمجاهدين، وتنطلق الجموع من كل مكان في العالم الإسلامي ملبية نداء الواجب، مرددة حي على الجهاد، نداء يشق عنان السماء، ويبقى متردداً حتى يتم التحرير، ويندحر الغزاة ويتنزل نصر الله.

﴿وَلَيَنْصُرَنَّ اللَّهُ مَنْ يَنْصُرُهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَقَوِيٌّ عَزِيزٌ﴾ (الحج: ٤٠).

الباب الخامس

شهادة التاريخ عبر التاريخ في مواجهة المعتدين

المادة الرابعة والثلاثون:

فلسطين صرة الكرة الأرضية، وملتقى القارات، ومحل طمع الطامعين، منذ فجر التاريخ والرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم يشير إلى ذلك في حديثه الشريف الذي يناشد به الصحابي الجليل معاذ بن جبل، حيث يقول: «يا معاذ، إن الله سيفتح عليكم الشام من بعدي، من العريش إلى الفرات، رجالها، ونساؤها وأماؤها مرابطون إلى يوم القيامة، فمن اختار منكم ساحلاً من سواحل الشام أو بيت المقدس، فهو في جهاد إلى يوم القيامة».

وقد طمع الطامعون بفلسطين أكثر من مرة فدهموها بالجيوش، لتحقيق أطماعهم، فجاءتها جحافل الصليبيين يحملون عقيدتهم ويرفعون صليبهم، وتمكنوا من دحر المسلمين ردحاً من الزمن، ولم يسترجعها المسلمون إلا عندما استظلوا برايتهم الدينية، واجمعوا أمرهم، وكبروا ربههم وانطلقوا مجاهدين، بقيادة صلاح الدين الأيوبي قرابة عقدين من السنين فكان الفتح المبين واندحر الصليبيون وتحررت فلسطين.

﴿قُلْ لِلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا سُبُلٌ وَتُحْشَرُونَ إِلَىٰ جَهَنَّمَ وَبَشِّرِ الْمُبَادِلِ﴾ (المرزوق ١١)

وهذه هي الطريقة الوحيدة للتحرير، ولا شك في صدق شهادة التاريخ. وتلك سنة من سنن الكون وناموس من نواميس الوجود، فلا يفل الحديد إلا الحديد، ولا يغلب عقيدتهم الباطلة المزورة إلا عقيدة الإسلام الحق، فالعقيدة لا تنازل إلا بالعقيدة، والغلبة في نهاية الأمر للحق والحق غلاب.

﴿وَلَقَدْ سَبَقَتْ كَلِمَتُنَا لِعِبَادِنَا الْمُرْسَلِينَ، إِنَّهُمْ لَهُمُ الْمَنْصُورُونَ، وَإِنْ جُنَدُنَا
لَهُمُ الْغَالِبُونَ﴾ (الصافات: ١٧١ - ١٧٣).

المادة الخامسة والثلاثون:

تنظر حركة المقاومة الإسلامية إلى هزيمة الصليبيين على يد صلاح الدين الأيوبي واستخلاص فلسطين منهم، وكذلك هزيمة التتار في عين جالوت، وكسر شوكتهم على يد قطز والظاهر بيبرس، وإنقاذ العالم العربي من الاجتياح التتري المدمر لكل معاني الحضارة الإنسانية، تنظر إلى ذلك نظرة جادة، تستلهم منها الدروس والعبر، فالغزوة الصهيونية الحالية سبقتها غزوات صليبية من الغرب، وأخرى تترية من الشرق، فكما واجه المسلمون تلك الغزوات وخططوا لمنازلتها وهزموها يمكنهم أن يواجهوا الغزوة الصهيونية ويهزموها، وليس ذلك على الله بعزيز إن خلصت النوايا وصدق العزم واستفاد المسلمون من تجارب الماضي وتخلصوا من آثار الغزو الفكري، واتبعوا سنن أسلافهم.

الخاتمة

حركة المقاومة الإسلامية جنود

المادة السادسة والثلاثون:

وحركة المقاومة الإسلامية وهي تشق طريقها لتؤكد المرة تلو المرة لكل أبناء شعبنا، والشعوب العربية والإسلامية أنها لا تبغي شهرة ذاتية، أو مكسباً مادياً، أو مكانة اجتماعية، وإنما ليست موجهة ضد أحد من أبناء شعبنا لتكون له منافساً أو تسعى لأخذ مكانته، ولا شيء من ذلك على الإطلاق، وهي لن تكون ضد أحد من أبناء المسلمين أو المسالمين لها من غير المسلمين في هذا المكان وفي كل مكان، ولن تكون إلا عوناً لكل التجمعات والتنظيمات العاملة ضد العدو الصهيوني والدائرين في فلكه.

وحركة المقاومة الإسلامية تعتمد الإسلام منهج حياة. وهو عقيدتها و به تدين، ومن اعتمد الإسلام منهج -نية، سواء كان هنا أو هناك، تنظيماً كان أو منظمة أو دولة أو أي تجمع آخر، فحركة المقاومة الإسلامية له جنود ليس إلا. نسأل الله أن يهدينا وأن يهدي بنا وأن يفتح بيننا وبين قومنا بالحق.

﴿رَبَّنَا افْتَحْ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَ قَوْمِنَا بِالْحَقِّ وَأَنْتَ خَيْرُ الْفَاتِحِينَ﴾ (الأعراف: ٨٩).

وأخر دعوانا أن الحمد لله رب العالمين.