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SINGH LILIAN

From Resistance to Government Routledge

“Meticulously researched . . . This is the definitive chronicle of the Middle East crisis during the Clinton years and in the post-9/11 era” (Publishers Weekly). “Providing a fly-on-the-wall vantage of the rising diplomatic panic that sent shudders through world capitals,” Kill Khalid unfolds as a masterpiece of investigative journalism (Toronto Star). In 1997, the Israeli intelligence agency Mossad poisoned Hamis leader Khalid Mishal in broad daylight on the streets of Amman, Jordan. As the little-known Palestinian leader slipped into a coma, the Mossad agents’ escape was bungled and the episode quickly spiraled into a diplomatic crisis. A series of high-stakes negotiations followed, which ultimately saved Mishal and set the stage for his phenomenal political ascendancy. In Kill Khalid, acclaimed reporter Paul McGeough reconstructs the history of Hamis through exclusive interviews with key players across the Middle East and in Washington, including unprecedented access to Mishal himself, who remains to this day one of the most powerful and enigmatic figures in the region. A “sobering reminder of how little has been achieved during 60 years of Israeli efforts in Palestine,” Kill Khalid tracks Hamis’s political fortunes across a decade of suicide bombings, political infighting, and increasing public support, culminating in the battle for Gaza in 2007 and the current-day political stalemate (Kirkus Reviews, starred review). “A pacey, riveting, and controversial book that has all the compulsion of a Le Carré novel.” —John F. Burns, The New York Times “[A] gem of leave-no-stone-unturned reporting.” —Foreign Affairs

Hamis Bloomsbury Publishing

Efforts to separate HAMAS from its popular support and network of social and charitable organizations have not been effective in destroying the organization, nor in eradicating the will to resist among a fairly large segment of the Palestinian population. It is important to consider this Islamist movement in the context of a region-wide phenomenon of similar movements with local goals, which can be persuaded to relinquish violence or which could become more violent. Certainly an orientation to HAMAS and its base must be factored into new and more practical and effective approaches to peacemaking in the region. At the same time, HAMAS offers a fascinating glimpse of the dynamics of strategic reactions and the modification of Israeli impulses towards aggressive deterrence, as well as the evolution in the Islamist movements’ planning and operations. The Palestinian-Israeli conflict bears similarities to a long-standing civil conflict, even as it has sparked inter-Palestinian hostilities in its most recent phase.

Hamis Through a Constructivist Lens The Other Press

Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) is one of the most important yet least understood Palestinian armed factions, both in terms of its history and ideology. Labelled a terrorist organization by the US and the EU, it has grown to become the second largest armed movement in the Gaza Strip and the third largest in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Using a wealth of primary sources, this book traces the history of PIJ from its origins in the early 1980s to today. By looking at how the group was established, how it has developed in theory and practice, and how it understands religion and politics, Skare seeks to answer the key question of why the PIJ still exist despite the presence of its more powerful sister movement Hamis. In doing so, he fills an important empirical gap in the literature on Palestinian Islamism.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

This book provides a comprehensive analysis of Islamist organizations’ conceptions of political order based on a comparative case study of the Shiite Lebanese Hezbollah and the Sunni Palestinian Hamis. Connecting Islamism research, Critical Constructivist norm research, and resistance studies from the field of International Relations Theory, it demonstrates that resistance constitutes both organizations’ core norm and is relevant for their conceptions of political order. Based on primary

Arabic data the book illustrates that the core norm of resistance, deeply intertwined with both organizations’ interactions towards power preservation and the specific political context they are engaged in, characterizes Hezbollah’s and Hamis’ respective conceptions of political order and explains the differences between them. In contrast to common perceptions presented in research, politics, and the media, the book shows that in the case of both Hezbollah and Hamis the religious orientation, i.e. Shiite and Sunni Islamist political thought, plays a secondary role only when it comes to explaining Islamist organizations’ political orientation. Bringing new insights from cases that lie beyond the Western liberal world order into Critical Constructivist norm research and resistance studies, the book establishes a theoretical framework that enables scholars to comprehensively analyze Islamist organizations’ political orientation in different cases without being caught in limited analytical categories. It will be of interest to students and scholars of International Relations Theory, Middle East Studies, and Global Governance.

Hamis Contained The New Press

Al-Zaytouna Centre for Studies and Consultations in Beirut has launched the English version of the book “The Islamic Resistance Movement Hamis: Studies of Thought and Experience,” which was co-written by a group of professors specializing in the Palestinian issue and five senior Hamis leaders. The 704-page book is edited by Dr. Mohsen Saleh. The book examines Hamis’s vision and experience in all its aspects. The work sticks to two main commitments: First, adherence to academic research methods, and the accuracy, objectivity and extensive documentation necessary to them. The second is the attempt to present Hamis as it really is, whether by the contributions of specialized researches, who are well informed of Hamis and its experience; or by the contributions of Hamis leaders, who have addressed a number of issues and presented a more comprehensive picture of the Movement. Particularly so when the available literature is insufficient to clarify all the issues being researched, especially for Western audiences interested in understanding the Palestinian issue, of which Hamis has become a key component in the past decade. The book falls in two parts. The first is a collection of eleven studies on Hamis and its experience, in which chapter one presents an overview of the movement experience and history. It discusses the background and inception, and considers Hamis a continuation of the work of the Muslim Brothers (MB) movement that began in the form of popular advocacy through a network of branches and offices beginning in 1945. Interestingly, this chapter examines events that reflect the extent of the MB movement’s participation in armed resistance as well as preaching activities, in addition to their links to the establishment of the Fatah movement, which was co-founded by MB figures. This chapter digs deeper in to the stages that Hamis underwent, especially between 1987 and 2005. The second chapter gives the reader the chance to examine Hamis’s political vision, addressing the wellsprings of Hamis’s political ideology, its approach to religion and state, law, and constitution, and its views on nationalism, secularism, and democracy. Finally, it addresses the rights of minorities in Hamis’s political thought. The chapter contains a plethora of answers to questions usually raised by those interested to learn about Hamis’s ideas, bearing in mind that it is difficult to find material that expresses Hamis’s intellectual frameworks in such a comprehensive manner, except through some of the interviews, which still are no match for the topics covered by the book. In the third chapter, we delve into Hamis’ conceptualization of the other, meaning Hamis’s view of Israel, Judaism, Jews, Zionism and Zionists, which is the basis for understanding the background and future of the conflict. The book, in the fourth and fifth chapters, continues to analyze the relationship between Hamis and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and its factions, and Hamis’s position on Islamic Palestinian movements including the Sufis and Salafis, Hizb ut-Tahrir, and the Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine (PIJ), explaining the convergences and divergences with these factions. This is based on analyzing both Hamis’s theoretical framework and policies, drawing from primary sources. The sixth chapter highlights an important issue, namely, the peace process. Naturally, readers will wonder how Hamis’s actions and visions approach the peace process. In this chapter,

the author examines the stages of evolution of Hamas's political position on the peace process, whether through the movement's theoretical and intellectual frameworks, or its practices on the ground. The seventh chapter tackles in detail Hamas's vision for political and social reform in Palestine, based on the set of principles the group has committed itself to, including its insistence on political freedom for all and the rights of the Palestinian people. Hamas's political reform project is not confined to internal Palestinian matters, but also cover foreign relations, especially with Arab and Muslim countries. In addition, Hamas's social reform platform focuses on combatting poverty as the entry point for comprehensive development and reform. The eighth and ninth chapters overview at length Hamas's Arab and Islamic relations, by analyzing the determinants, objectives, and dimensions of Hamas's relations, an explaining its position towards the Arab Spring. They also examine Hamas's relations with Turkey and Iran and their evolution. The tenth chapter deals with Hamas's experience in government, following the 2006 legislative elections. This chapter explores the defects within the Palestinian political system in order to determine the environment and challenges that Hamas faced. Finally, it assesses Hamas performance in governance in the period 2006–2012. The eleventh chapter concludes the first part of the book by reviewing Western academic literature on Hamas, with a view to answer the following fundamental question: To what extent have these studies succeeded in understanding the true nature of Hamas? The second part of the book includes contributions by five senior Hamas leaders attempting to answer a miscellany of questions regarding different issues appertaining to the Movement. These include a study by Khalid Mish'al, head of Hamas Political Bureau, which is entitled "Hamas: Milestones in Thought and Experience." A second study entitled "Hamas: A Reading in the Vision and Governance Experience" is contributed by Isma'il Haniyyah, the new Hamas politburo chief and prime minister of Hamas's caretaker government. It also includes a contribution by Musa Abu Marzuq, senior Hamas leader and former politburo chief titled Hamas Assessment of the Experience; and a contribution by Usamah Hamdan on Hamas International Relations. The section also includes a paper prepared by Sami Khater, Hamas politburo member, regarding Hamas's Vision for Managing the Conflict with the "Zionist Enemy." The book includes an appendix of major documents related to Hamas and its experience since the issuance of its charter in 1987 until the memorandum of enforcement of the Palestinian reconciliation agreement between Fatah and Hamas (Al-Shati' Agreement) in 2014 besides key political documents issued in the intervening period.

Decolonizing Palestine Routledge

Hamas and Palestine: The Contested Road to Statehood analyses the Palestinian Islamist movement, Hamas, between 2005 and 2017. The book expounds how Hamas has employed a dual resistance strategy, consisting of political and armed resistance, as a mechanism to achieve, maintain, and defend its continued political viability. Hamas entered politics to transform the role of the Palestinian Authority from an administrative institution into one driving the Palestinian quest for independence. To achieve this the analysis explains how Hamas implemented a process of soft-Islamisation in Gaza. This was intended to build the institutional capacity of the Authority based on the bureaucratisation and professionalisation of key institutions, while selectively increasing the role of Islam in society. The book provides a detailed explanation of key shifts in Hamas's political behaviour as it adapts to the vagaries and vicissitudes of governing Gaza, despite the imposition of Israel's political and economic siege. Employing the Inclusion-Moderation theoretical framework, the book traces Hamas's transformation from a non-state armed group into a legitimate actor in Palestinian politics. The book's analysis also highlights the key role that Hamas's national liberation agenda has on shifting its behaviour towards adopting more moderate and inclusive policy stances. Specifically, the analysis demonstrates how Hamas has made measurable shifts in its political behaviour towards accepting the primacy of the two-state solution, and its dealings with Israel and the Peace Process. The book provides a comprehensive assessment of Hamas's time in government and its capacity to deal with the vicissitudes of governing. It is a valuable resource for students and researchers interested in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and Middle East Politics.

From Cast Lead to Protective Edge Seven Stories Press

Hamas rules Gaza and the lives of the two million Palestinians who live there. Demonized in media and policy debates, various accusations and critical assumptions have been used to justify extreme military action against Hamas. The reality of Hamas is, of course, far more complex. Neither a democratic political party nor a terrorist group, Hamas is a multifaceted liberation organization, one rooted in the nationalistic claims of the Palestinian people. Hamas Contained offers the first history of the group on its own terms. Drawing on interviews with organization leaders, as well as publications from the group, Tareq Baconi maps Hamas's thirty-year transition from fringe military resistance towards governance. He breaks new ground in questioning the conventional understanding of Hamas and shows how the movement's ideology ultimately threatens the Palestinian struggle and, inadvertently, its own legitimacy. Hamas's reliance on armed struggle as a means of liberation has failed in the face of a relentless occupation designed to fragment the Palestinian people. As Baconi argues, under Israel's approach of managing rather than resolving the conflict, Hamas's demand for Palestinian sovereignty has effectively been neutralized by its containment in Gaza. This dynamic has perpetuated a deadlock characterized by its brutality—and one that has made permissible the collective punishment of millions of Palestinian civilians.

The Contested Road to Statehood Seven Stories Press

"This report evaluates patterns of arrest and detention conditions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, 25 years after the Oslo Accords granted Palestinians a degree of self-rule over these areas and more than a decade after Hamas seized effective control over the Gaza Strip. Human Rights Watch detailed more than two dozen cases of people detained for no clear reason beyond writing a critical article or Facebook post or belonging to the wrong student group or political movement."--Publisher website.

From Islamic Democracy to Islamist Governance Pluto Press (UK)

This book investigates the many faces of Hamas and examines its ongoing evolution as a resistance organisation in the context of the Israel/Palestine conflict. Specifically, the work interrogates Hamas' interpretation, reinterpretation and application of the twin concepts of muqawama (resistance) and jihad (striving in the name of God). The text frames the movement's capacity to accrue popular legitimacy through its evolving resistance discourses, centred on the notion of jihad, and the practical applications thereof. Moving beyond the dominant security-orientated approaches to Hamas, the book investigates the malleable nature of both resistance and jihad including their social, symbolic, political and ideological applications. The diverse interpretations of these concepts allow Hamas to function as a comprehensive social movement. Where possible, this volume attempts to privilege first-order or experiential knowledge emanating from the movement itself, its political representatives, and the Palestinian population in general. Many of these accounts were collected by the author during fieldwork in the Middle East. Not only does this work present new primary data, but it also investigates a variety of contemporary empirical events related to Palestine and the Middle East. This book offers an alternative way of viewing the movement's popular legitimacy grounded in theoretical, empirical and ethnographic terms. This book will be of much interest to students of Hamas, political violence, critical terrorism studies, Middle Eastern politics, security studies and IR in general.

Insurgency in the Holy Land Cornell University Press

HamasFrom Resistance to GovernmentSeven Stories Press

Hamas and Palestine Yale University Press

The Islamic Resistance Movement's (Hamas) big win in the elections to the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) marks the end of Fatah's political hegemony. Having trumped Fatah in the elections, Hamas faces several domestic and foreign challenges. Having inherited the ruins of the Oslo Agreement, including the beleaguered Palestinian Authority (PA), a Hamas-led government cannot deliver on its elections promises of rooting out corruption and reforming the Palestinian Authority without massive funding from foreign donors. Unless Hamas renounces violence, acknowledges the right of Israel to exist, and accepts previous agreements between the PLO and Israel, it will be politically isolated by Western countries (USA, EU), ignored by most Arab states, and shunned by Israel. This places Hamas at a crossroads: it must either comply with the demands of renouncing violence and accept a process of political 'integration' or defy political and economic sanctions that will isolate the new leadership and inflict damage on their people and economy. This paper examines the prospects before Hamas and the political options facing the new leadership in the quest for Palestinian statehood.

The Uncertain Future of Unarmed Resistance Rowman & Littlefield Publishers

revised and updated edition!... a key resource in English for any serious assessment of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.'--Publishers Weekly (starred review)/One must understand Hamas in order to understand the current state of the Israeli--Palestinian conflict. Hamas: A History from Within provides an unrivaled account of Hamas's history, structure, and objectives, largely in its own words. A grassroots organization that commands wide respect among Palestinians for its incorruptibility, Hamas is divided into two main sections: one is responsible for establishing schools, hospitals, and religious institutions; the other for military action and terror attacks carried out by its armed underground wing the Izzedine al-Qassam Brigades. Tamimi's longtime relationships and extensive interviews with Hamas's leading members allow him to create a more intimate portrait of Hamas, in its own words and from its own members, than has yet been available in English.

حركة المقاومة الإسلامية حماس: دراسات في الفكر والتجربة Cambridge University Press

A study of the evolving 'national styles' of conducting insurgencies and counter-insurgency, as influenced by transnational trends, ideas and practices.

Reinterpreting Resistance in Palestine Routledge

The conflict between Palestinians and Israelis has heightened since 2001, even as any perceived threat to Israel from Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, or even Syria, has declined. Israel, according to Chaim Herzog, Israel's sixth President, had been "born in battle" and would be "obliged to live by the sword." Yet, the Israeli government's conquest and occupation of the West Bank and Gaza brought about a very difficult challenge, although resistance on a mass basis was only taken up years later in the First Intifada. Israel could not tolerate Palestinian Arabs' resistance of their authority on the legal basis of denial of self-determination,² and eventually preferred to grant some measures of self-determination while continuing to consolidate control of the Occupied Territories, the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza. However, a comprehensive peace, shimmering in the distance, has eluded all. Inter-Israeli and inter-Palestinian divisions deepened as peace danced closer before retreating. Israel's stance towards the democratically elected Palestinian government headed by HAMAS in 2006, and towards Palestinian national coherence-legal, territorial, political, and economic-has been a major obstacle to substantive peacemaking. The reasons for recalcitrant Israeli and HAMAS stances illustrate both continuities and changes in the dynamics of conflict since the Oslo period (roughly 1994 to the al-Aqsa Intifada of 2000). Now, more than ever, a long-term truce and negotiations are necessary. These could lead in stages to that mirage-like peace, and a new type of security regime. The rise in popularity and strength of the HAMAS (Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya, or Movement of the Islamic Resistance) Organization and its interaction with Israel is important to an understanding of Israel's "Arab" policies and its approach to counterterrorism and counterinsurgency. The crisis brought about by the electoral success of HAMAS in 2006 also challenged Western powers' commitment to democratic change in the Middle East because Palestinians had supported the organization in the polls. Thus, the viability of a two-state solution rested on an Israeli acknowledgement of the Islamist movement, HAMAS, and on Fatah's ceding power to it. Shifts in Israel's stated national security objectives (and dissent over them) reveal HAMAS' placement at the nexus of Israel's domestic, Israeli-Palestinian, and regional objectives. Israel has treated certain enemies differently than others: Iran, Hizbullah, and Islamist Palestinians (whether HAMAS, supporters of Islamic Jihad, or the Islamic Movement inside Israel) all fall into a particular rubric in which Islamism-the most salient and enduring socio religious movement in the Middle East in the wake of Arab nationalism-is identified with terrorism and insurgency rather than with group politics and identity. The antipathy to religious fervor was somewhat ironic in light of Israel's own expanding "religious" (haredim) groups.

Hamas Routledge

This publication is an examination of the Palestinian Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS). IT describes the international relations theory of constructivism, which is focused on the role of normative structure in the actions of a state. Normative structure consists of behavioral norms and identity. Liberal and realist theoretical frameworks cannot adequately explain the fact that HAMAS continue to behave like a resistance movement despite the fact that the 2006 Legislative Election has provided it with an avenue for change. The Constructivist approach points to an examination of the group's normative structure in order to provide explanation. The normative structure of HAMAS is first codified in the "Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement." It is later reinforced during the First and Second (al-Aqsa) "Intifadas." The 2006 election of HAMAS to a parliamentary majority should have been a transformative event for the organization. Instead both regional and international actors enacted policies that reinforced norms and identity consistent with a resistance movement. It has also shielded HAMAS from domestic accountability. The publication recommends that the international community pressure the Palestinian National Authority to return to a unity government arrangement with HAMAS, Israel end its embargo of Gaza, and that Israel accept HAMAS' offer of a temporary cease fire. This policy is more likely to either cause HAMAS to modify its norms and behaviors or allow it to fail due to its own inadequacies.

Kill Khalid Bold Type Books

In *Decolonizing Palestine*, Somdeep Sen rejects the notion that liberation from colonialization exists as a singular moment in history when the colonizer is ousted by the colonized. Instead, he considers the case of the Palestinian struggle for liberation from its settler colonial condition as a complex psychological and empirical mix of the colonial and the postcolonial. Specifically, he examines the two seemingly contradictory, yet coexistent, anticolonial and postcolonial modes of politics adopted by Hamas following the organization's unexpected victory in the 2006 Palestinian Legislative Council election. Despite the expectations of experts, Hamas has persisted as both an armed resistance to Israeli settler colonial rule and as a governing body. Based on ethnographic material collected in the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Israel, and Egypt, *Decolonizing Palestine* argues that the puzzle Hamas presents is not rooted in predicting the timing or process of its abandonment of either role. The challenge instead lies in explaining how and why it maintains both, and what this implies for the study of liberation movements and postcolonial studies more generally.

The Question of Transformation مركز الزيتونة للدراسات والاستشارات

Jerusalem without God leads the reader through the streets, malls, suburbs, traffic jams, and squares of Jerusalem's present moment, into the daily lives of the men and women who inhabit it. Caridi brings contemporary Jerusalem alive by describing it as a place of sights and senses, sounds and smells, but she also shows us a city riven by the harsh asymmetry of power and control embodied in its lines, limits, walls, and borders. She explores a cruel city, where Israeli and Palestinian civilians sometimes spend hours in the same supermarkets, only to return to the confines of their respective districts, invisible to each other.

Arbitrary Arrest and Torture Under the Palestinian Authority and Hamas HamasFrom Resistance to Government

Hamas is designated a terrorist organization by Israel, the EU, the USA and the UN. It has made itself notorious for its violent radicalism and uncompromising rejection of the Jewish state. So after its victory in the 2006 elections the world was watching. How would Hamas govern? Could an Islamist group without any experience of power - and with an unwavering ideology - manage to deal with day-to-day realities on the ground? Bjorn Brenner investigates what happened after the elections and puts the spotlight on the people over whom Hamas rules, rather than on its ideas. Lodging with Palestinian families and experiencing their daily encounters with Hamas, he offers an intimate perspective of the group as seen through local eyes. The book is based on hard-to-secure interviews with a wide range of key political and security figures in the Hamas administration, as well as with military commanders and members of the feared Qassam Brigades. Brenner has also sought out those that Hamas identifies as local trouble makers: the extreme Salafi-Jihadis and members of the now more quiescent mainstream Fatah party led by Mahmoud Abbas. The book provides a new interpretation of one of the most powerful forces in the Israel-Palestine arena, arguing that the Gazan Islamists carry a potential to be much more flexible and pragmatic than anticipated - if they

would think they stand to gain from it. Gaza under Hamas investigates the key challenges to Hamas's authority and reveals why and in what ways ideology comes second to power consolidation. [The Islamic Resistance Movement](#) Createspace Independent Pub

This report describes how the Israel Defense Force fought an adaptive hybrid adversary in a dense urban setting under intense public scrutiny during its wars in Gaza and draws lessons from the Israeli experience for the U.S. Army and the joint force.

Inconsistencies and Paradoxes ABC-CLIO

When the radical Islamist group Hamas was elected to lead Palestine in 2006, the Western world was shocked. How had the majority of Palestinians come to support an extremist organization and how would the group's new political power affect the larger Israel/Palestine conflict? Italian journalist and historian Paola Caridi offers a clear-eyed account of how the conditions in this war-torn region led to the rise of Hamas and an unbiased look at the complex feelings that Palestinians have toward getting behind a government that supports violent resistance. By breaking from the sensationalist journalism surrounding the elections, Caridi is able to tell the story of a movement caught between the desire to resist its oppressor and the need to provide support for a refugee people. Caridi, informed by years of on-the-ground research and interviews with residents of Gaza and leaders of Hamas, covers the history of Gaza from its golden age as a port city to the formal birth and slow militarization of Hamas. This English-language translation brings the reader to present-day Palestine by offering a never-before-seen chapter on Operation Cast Lead, the shocking WikiLeaks disclosures, and the Cairo Revolution. Hamas paints a picture, with intelligence, dexterity, and heart, of a people trapped in the most historic of political battles and reveals the strange complexities behind the controversy by explaining one of the key players in the search for peace and justice that runs through the central crisis of the Middle East today.

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