From "Total Liberation" to "Phased Liberation":
Temporality and Identity in the Provisional IRA and Hamas

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis, I examine how violent substate actors—specifically those labeled as 'terrorist'—are able to change from a strategy of total liberation to phased liberation. Using discourse analysis, shifts in political identity are examined in the Provisional IRA and Hamas. Each case study shows that the organization is undergoing an identity change from a more religiously-influenced identity to one that emphasizes national elements; this shift to a national political identity enables a move from total liberation to phased liberation. The conclusion is reached that these changes in political identity rest on changing conceptions of temporality; ultimately, it is a change in temporal understanding that drives the transformation from total liberation to phased liberation.

For all those who helped me get here

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<u>**Chapter One**</u>
Theorizing Identity Changes in Violent Substate Organizations

"Adapt or perish, now as ever, is Nature's inexorable imperative."[1] While author H.G.

Wells was referencing the entire human race, this quote remains applicable to the population

under examination in this project—those labeled as 'terrorist'. The concern of this thesis is the

adaptability of substate actors who undertake political violence, defined as the deployment of

violence to the end of attaining a political goal. Specifically, I am concerned with how violent

substate organizations are able to adapt and change their identities over time. In what ways are

these group identities adapting? What are the representational strategies that they are using now

that didn't previously exist? In the project that follows, I argue that, in my examination of the

Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) and the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), these

organizations are changing from strategies of "total liberation" to strategies of "phased

liberation"—a move from a strategy of total upheaval and liberation to one that achieves

liberation through a step-by-step process. This entails a shift in emphasis from each group's

fundamental ideology to an increased emphasis on operative ideology which is only possible

through an underlying shift in identity—in this case, from religiously-inflected and religiously-

based identities to an identity characterized by the national. I argue that the key to understanding

how the identities of the Provisional IRA and Hamas are shifting lies in each group's changing

conception of temporality. It is important to note that in this project I am mainly concerned with

how these organizations' identities are changing, not *why* they are changing; that is, my concern

lies primarily in the process of identity change over time. While I do address to some degree the

underlying mechanism of identity shift in the form of temporality, examining the underlying

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[1] Herbert George Wells, *Mind at the End of Its Tether: And The Happy Turning, a Dream of Life* (London: Didier, 1946), 19.

causes for change in conceptions of temporality for violent substate organizations is outside the scope of this thesis; however, this represents a fertile area for further research.

Before proceeding, it is necessary to unpack the term 'terrorism'. There are significant representational implications that accompany using the terms 'terrorism' and 'terrorist', most all of which are pejorative in nature. Both of the organizations under study—Hamas and the PIRA—have been labeled as terrorist organizations by both governments and academics. My concern in this thesis is not with the discursive practices of the designation of 'terrorism'; yet, it is surely important to understand how these types of organizations change over time—and in doing so, perhaps shed light into how they move from the "realm of violence" to peaceful political processes. The violence that these actors use is real, and the justifications they use to perpetuate violence need to be understood.

Political Stakes

This project holds significance in both professional and academic realms. 'Terrorism research' carries significant policy implications—it helps to set the parameters of public debate, shape the production of terrorism knowledge, and influence the formation of counterterrorism policy.[2] Because identity claims influence interests, and vice versa,[3] studying the identity construction of violent organizations with political goals can influence how policy-makers understand these types of actors and how they create policies to counter the violence used by these organizations. Understanding how violent organizations represent themselves can aid the creation of more effective counterterror policies, as well as more effective implementation of

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[2] Jeroen Gunning and Richard Jackson, "What's So 'Religious' About 'Religious Terrorism'?," *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 4, no. 3 (December 2011): 369–388; J. Zulaika and W. Douglass, *Terror and Taboo: The Follies, Fables, and Faces of Terrorism* (London: Routledge, 1996); J. Burnett and D. Whyte, "Embedded Expertise and the New Terrorism," *Journal for Crime, Conflict and the Media* 1, no. 4 (2005): 1–18.

[3] Steven Talbot, "'Us' and 'Them': Terrorism, Conflict and (O)ther Discursive Formations," *Sociological Research Online* 13, no. 1 (2008): 17.

those policies.[4] It is impossible to explain, let alone understand, why people behave the way they do without studying their beliefs and their identities; without investigation into these aspects, attempts to counter certain types of movements are doomed to fail.[5] Understanding how violent substate actors are able to construct and reconstruct their identities can also provide insight into the longevity of certain organizations. Additionally, it becomes imperative in post-conflict, divided societies, that actors be able to understand the perceptions of their former foe.[6]

In relation to analytical frameworks used in the field of political science, this thesis sheds more light on the problem illuminated by Gunning and Jackson: the problem of categorization. Distinctions between different types of terrorism—particularly the designation of 'religious terrorism'—are conceptually and empirically problematic. Categorizations that lack further qualification of historical and cultural contextualization can be misleading in assumptions about motives, causes, and behaviors of groups classified as a certain type of terrorist organization. 'Religious terrorists' in particular are generally characterized as absolutists, inflexible, unrealistic, lacking in political pragmatism, and not amenable to negotiations. Religious terrorism also consists of sacrificial or devotional acts inspired by God, such as acts of purification like martyrdom, rather than acts aimed at sending a message to or on behalf of an earthly political constituency; religious terrorist organizations also hold supposedly transcendental aims and have the capacity to evoke total commitment and fanaticism in contrast

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[4] Michael P. Arena and Bruce A. Arrigo, *The Terrorist Identity: Explaining the Terrorist Threat* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2006), 247–253; Brian A. Jackson et al., *Aptitude for Destruction: Organizational Learning in Terrorist Groups and Its Implicationss for Combating Terrorism*, vol. 1 (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2005), xi.
[5] Jeroen Gunning, "Critical Reflections on the Relationship Between Ideology and Behaviour," in *Contextualising Jihadi Thought*, ed. Jeevan Deol and Zaheer Kazmi (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 220.
[6] Marcel M. Baumann, "Understanding the Other's 'Understanding' of Violence: Legitimacy, Recognition, and the Challenge of Dealing with the Past in Divided Societies," *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 3, no. 1 (2009): 107–123; K.M. Fierke, "Terrorism and Trust in Northern Ireland," *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 2, no. 3 (December 2009): 497–511.

to other 'secular' terrorists, whose goals and attitudes are seen as measured.[7] As will be evidenced by subsequent chapters, this is not uniquely true in the cases studied here; both the Provisional IRA and Hamas espouse goals, motives, actions, and identities that straddle the religious and the national. As indicated by Gunning and Jackson, problematic categorizations lead to essentializations of an organization's identity and risk downplaying other important dimensions of an organization's identity. Additionally, Gunning and Jackson note that "…by classifying groups on the basis of beliefs, one makes the assumption that beliefs, rather than, say, organisational dynamics, past behaviour or political opportunity structure, shape behaviour. This is a profoundly problematic position."[8] For these reasons, I have attempted to situate my analyses of the Provisional IRA and Hamas within historical, political, and cultural contexts, qualifying my categories of identity by basing them on different conceptions of temporality. With this in mind, it is necessary to examine previous literature on violent substate actors and their adaptability over time.

Adaptability and Flexibility of Violent Substate Organizations

Literature on the flexibility of violent substate organizations has focused on the structural flexibility and organizational boundaries of the group,[9] as well as the ability of organizations to adjust to varying numbers of recruits over time.[10] Crenshaw's use of Organizational Process Theory seeks to explain the behavior of politically violent groups through an analysis of the

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[7] Gunning and Jackson, "What's So 'Religious' About 'Religious Terrorism'?," 370–372.
[8] Ibid., 381.
[9] J.B. Wolf, *Antiterrorist Initiatives* (New York: Plenum Press, 1989); J. Arquilla and D. Ronfeldt, *Networks and Netwars* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2001); Bruce Hoffman, "Change and Continuity in Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 24, no. 5 (2001): 417–428; Bruce Hoffman, "Al-Qaeda, Trends in Terrorism, and Future Potentialities: An Assessment," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 26, no. 6 (2003): 429–442; Mark Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Boaz Ganor, *The Counter-terrorism Puzzle: A Guide for Decision Makers* (Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2005); Brian A. Jackson, "Groups, Networks, or Movements: A Command-and-Control-Driven Approach to Classifying Terrorist Organizations and Its Application to Al Qaeda," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29, no. 3 (2006): 241–262.
[10] Alexander Gutfraind, "Understanding Terrorist Organizations with a Dynamic Model," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 32, no. 1 (2009): 45–59.

ways in which organizations manipulate purposive incentives—the pursuit of a single goal, ideological incentives, or redemptive goals. Crenshaw recognizes that these types of organizations are not static entities whose goals remained unchanged over time; they take measures to ensure their survival, adapting to circumstances and opportunities. She argues that the end goal of any politically violent substate organization is not *a priori* the ends for which it was formed, but rather the maintenance of the organization itself. In reducing the goal of a group to the single goal of organizational survival and longevity, Crenshaw seeks to explain the seemingly erratic behavior observed in violent groups.[11]

Similarly, Jackson et al. focus on organizational learning, addressing what is known about how terrorists groups learn and adapt over time and how such knowledge can be used by law enforcement and intelligence personnel in their efforts to combat terrorism. The authors utilize organizational theory to help frame questions about what organizations must do to learn; to be able to transform, an organization must be able to learn.[12] Organizational learning is a process through which a group acquires new knowledge or technology that it then uses to make better strategic decisions, improve its ability to develop and apply specific tactics, and increase its chance of success in its operations.[13] The learning process is broken down into four stages: acquiring, interpreting, distributing, and storing information and knowledge.[14] The storage process is of particular interest here—knowledge is stored in mechanisms of language, rituals and symbols that standardize knowledge; this is effective for transferring lessons to new group members. The distribution of knowledge can be through explicit knowledge, such as

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[11] Martha Crenshaw, "An Organizational Approach to the Analysis of Political Terrorism," *Orbis* 29, no. 3 (1985): 465–515; Martha Crenshaw, "Theories of Terrorism: Instrumental and Organizational Approaches," in *Inside Terrorist Organizations*, ed. David C. Rapoport (Portland, Oregon: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 13–31.

[12] Brian A. Jackson et al., *Aptitude for Destruction: Case Studies of Organizational Learning in Five Terrorist Groups*, vol. 2 (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2005), 1.

[13] Jackson et al., *Aptitude for Destruction: Organizational Learning in Terrorist Groups and Its Implicationss for Combating Terrorism*, 1:9.

[14] Ibid., 1:xi.

organization documents, and through implicit knowledge gained from experiences; operating

guidelines, such as manuals and other types of records, help codify a group's processes of

change.[15] Jackson et al. conclude that different groups learn in different ways at different times;

learning depends on the environments in which the groups operate; group culture also affects an

organization's ability to learn.[16]

Weinberg, Pedahzur, and Perliger also investigate organizational change over time in

terrorist groups, but focus on how these groups adjust strategy in the political realm. They posit

that terrorist organizations can adapt over time by rejecting violence and entering politics or by

developing a 'political wing', conducting both violent and peaceful political activities

simultaneously, "perhaps emphasizing one over the other as the need arises, or as a reading of

the changing opportunity structure suggests."[17] The authors suggest that this move is a strategic

choice made to adapt to competitive environments and as another means to achieve their goals.[18]

While these works on organization adaptation provide insight into how violent groups adjust to

circumstances, they fail to elaborate on the changing character of organization identity over time.

The aforementioned authors all address the adjusting strategy of groups; they do not address how

groups change their internal narrative and identity and the implications this holds for strategy

change.

Some insight into the changing character of organizational identity over time is provided

by David Rapoport's Four Waves Theory. Rapoport argues that modern terrorism, beginning in

the late 1870s, has occurred in four 'waves'. Each wave is driven by a distinctive central

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[15] Ibid., 1:14; Jackson et al., *Aptitude for Destruction: Case Studies of Organizational Learning in Five Terrorist Groups*, 2:186–187.

[16] Jackson et al., *Aptitude for Destruction: Organizational Learning in Terrorist Groups and Its Implicationss for Combating Terrorism*, 1:15, 45.

[17] Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur, and Arie Perliger, *Political Parties and Terrorist Groups*, Second (New York, New York: Routledge, 2009), 75.

[18] Ibid., 78, 104.

motivation that acts as an organizing principle; these waves are limited in their duration, lasting approximately 40 years, and are replaced by a new wave of terrorism. According to Rapoport, the First Wave was characterized by anarchist movements; the Second Wave, beginning in the 1920s, was characterized by anti-colonialism and fervent nationalism. The Third Wave, a wave that emerged in the late 1960s and characterized by "New Left" movements, dissipated by the late 1980s; the newest wave, the Fourth "Religious Wave", began in 1979 and continues today. In each wave, revolution is the overriding aim; however, in each wave, terrorist movements provided a distinct character to revolution.[19] Rapoport recognizes that movements within waves have 'borrowed' particular characteristics from previous waves—the First and Third Waves often linked radicalism to nationalism in order to appeal to a larger constituency—and that certain facets of identity, namely religion, have always been important to identity, in many cases overlapping with other types of identity.[20] Research by Rasler and Thompson lends support to Rapport's claim to organizational adaptation; they find that traces of earlier wave behavior are present in each wave, particularly noting the durability of nationalism.[21] The claim of the Four Waves Theory—that groups from a previous wave survive and adapt to new waves by adopting the characteristics of that new wave—provides some explanation of how violent substate actors can adjust their collective identity; however, this is only a secondary concern and does not fully account for how and why organizations are able to adapt over time.

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[19] David C. Rapoport, "The Fourth Wave: September 11 in the History of Terrorism," *Current History* 100, no. 650 (December 2001): 412–424; David C. Rapoport, "Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," *Anthropoetics* 8, no. 1 (2002): 46–73; David C. Rapoport, "Modern Terror: The Four Waves," in *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of Grand Strategy*, ed. Audrey K. Cronin and James M. Ludes (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004). Rapoport also elaborates that each of these waves are also accompanied by an evolution in military strategies and tactics.

[20] Rapoport, "Four Waves of Modern Terrorism". Rapoport's claim to the durability of religious identity is echoed by Barkun; Michael Barkun, "The Fourth Terrorism Wave: Is There A Religious Exception?," in *Terrorism, Identity, and Legitimacy: The Four Waves Theory and Political Violence*, ed. Jean E. Rosenfeld (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 93–102.

[21] Karen Rasler and William R. Thompson, "Looking for Waves of Terrorism," in *Terrorism, Identity, and Legitimacy: The Four Waves Theory and Political Violence*, ed. Jean E. Rosenfeld (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 26.

Bergesen and Lizardo recognize this common thread among terrorism research: the identities of terrorist organizations, particularly in the current era, have become more difficult to identify.[22] Brannan et al. echo this problem, noting that politically violent substate actors differ wildly across the world; subsequently, there is a need to move away from the crisis-management/problem-solving mindset toward a framework that adequately accounts for the dynamics of group identity.[23] The authors remark: "At the heart of analyzing—and then responding to—this phenomenon [of terrorism] is the simple necessity of understanding other human beings, here admittedly organized into groups having unusual and possibly intimidating characteristics."[24] Beck claims that social movement theory offers ways to conceptualize and problematize terrorism as a social movement and a form of political contention—the ability to mobilize resources, respond to political opportunities, and frame narratives can provide insight into how violent organizations can construct and reconstruct their identities. "Term framing" in particular is used to describe justifications and appeals movements use to mobilize support; the meaning groups assign to their actions is a central part of mobilization. Important to note is that the mobilizing frames of violent groups change over time after interactions with states, elites, and counter-movements.[25] Arena and Arrigo shed light on how certain symbols help groups define their 'situation'; how a group defines itself and its situation has real consequences for the setting in which they operate.[26]

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[22] Albert J. Bergesen and Omar Lizardo, "International Terrorism and the World-System," *Sociological Theory* 22, no. 1 (March 2004): 42.

[23] David W. Brannan, Philip F. Elser, and N.T. Anders Strindberg, "Talking to 'Terrorists': Towards an Independent Analytical Framework for the Study of Violent Substate Activism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 24, no. 1 (2001): 3–5.

[24] Ibid., 14.

[25] Colin J. Beck, "The Contribution of Social Movement Theory to Understanding Terrorism," *Sociology Compass* 2, no. 5 (2008): 1566–1570.

[26] Arena and Arrigo, *The Terrorist Identity: Explaining the Terrorist Threat*, 233.

Alagha's recent analysis at the socio-political movement level of Hezbollah's identity

construction provides excellent insight into how violent substate actors are able to construct and

reconstruct group identity to adapt to a changing operational environment. In examining identity

through a framework of resource mobilization—where resources are classified as religious

capital, symbolic capital, political capital, social capital, and economic capital—Alagha argues

that Hezbollah has undergone a major shift in organizational identity. After surveying the

change in key concepts and themes—tolerance and discrimination, interpretation and authority,

political violence, and cooptation, integration, and empowerment—Alagha concludes that as an

organization, Hezbollah has deconstructed their resistance identity and created a new "project

identity", focused on transforming their role and position in society and in doing so transforming

the overall social structure. This process of identity construction and reconstruction, according

to Alagha, is a continual process.[27] Alagha's work stands as an important contribution into how

and why violent substate organizations are able change and adjust their identities; however, his

discussion takes place entirely within an Islamic context—Alagha does not carry his analysis

outside of the religious dimension, explaining Hezbollah's identity construction and

reconstruction within its Shi'a framework. This is an issue I intend to address—identity

construction in both the realms of the religious and of the national.

Establishing a Framework for Analysis

In presenting my argument, I should define certain terms; to start, my use of ideology and

identity should be explained. Ideology can be defined as a system of beliefs characteristic of a

group—their 'world view' that justifies actions; it is any set of ideas by which organized groups

posit, explain, and justify the ends and means of organized socio-political action with the aim to

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[27] Joseph Alagha, *Hizbullah's Identity Construction* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

preserve, amend, uproot, or rebuild a given reality.[28] Identity then exists as the most prominent

ideological device to justify self-interested politics, distinguishing between actions that are

legitimate and intelligible and others that are not; it is the vehicle through which ideology is

expressed.[29] As von Busekist details, collective identity: is dynamic and dependent on the

context/individual entrepreneurs that construct it; maintains a particular relation to history—it

rests on a tradition or a collective, acceptable, and legitimate statement of this tradition that can

be questioned, leading to a new tradition; maintains a close relation to the system of political

values in which it exists, either through affirmation or rejection of the current political system;

and it draws borders, entailing the creation of an interior and exterior of common recognition

with established in-groups and out-groups.[30] The construction of a collective identity thus refers

to the creation, maintenance, and articulation of a group identity by an organization and its

members. Because identity constructions are often molded in response to the type of political

system governing a society, the political system can be viewed as a source of threat to a group's

collective societal identity.[31]

As stated at the outset of this project, I argue that a change from "total liberation" to

"phased liberation" is occurring due to an underlying shift in identity based on changing

conceptions of temporality. The alteration from total liberation to phased liberation evidences a

shift in emphasis from, in Seliger's terminology, foundational ideology to operational ideology.

According to Seliger, every belief system consists of description, analysis, moral prescriptions,

technical prescriptions, implements, and rejections; within each belief system, there are two

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[28] Gunning, "Critical Reflections on the Relationship Between Ideology and Behaviour," 221; Alagha, *Hizbullah's Identity Construction*, 25–26; M. Seliger, "Fundamental and Operative Ideology: The Two Principles of Political Argumentation," *Policy Sciences* 1, no. 3 (Autumn 1970): 325.

[29] Alagha, *Hizbullah's Identity Construction*, 25.

[30] Astrid von Busekist, "Uses and Misuses of the Concept of Identity," *Security Dialogue* 35, no. 1 (n.d.): 82.

[31] Talbot, "'Us' and 'Them': Terrorism, Conflict and (O)ther Discursive Formations."

"dimensions or strands of ideological argumentation can be observed in day-to-day politics. All action-oriented thought, from political philosophy to party ideology, from the outset contains pragmatic considerations."[32] The restatement of immediate goals is inevitable; no group has been able to avoid committing itself to lines of action that come into direct conflict with the basic goals and principles in its ideology. Here, a conflict occurs within the ideology itself; technical prescriptions come into conflict with moral prescriptions—all the components of ideology are active in each side of the ideological conflict, just with different emphases. The operative ideology, emphasizing technical prescriptions, diverts from the foundational ideology, which focuses on moral prescriptions. Operative ideology is developed and emphasized to justify actions taken for immediate goals—intermediate goals are continually legitimized despite how much they conflict with fundamental principles by insisting that the ultimate goal remains incontestable. As ideology is adapted to changing conditions, there are two possible routes: readapting operative principles to original specifications of fundamental principles or adapting such specifications to what is actually being done or to the alternative.[33] As Seliger comments: "To maintain or restore a tolerable balance between argumentation in terms of fundamental and operative ideology, either the principles of operative ideology which deviate from their counterparts in the dimension of fundamentals—or the balance between them—must be changed in accord with the changes that become apparent on the operative plane."[34] Conversely, the second option is to accept the implications of the deviation of actual policies from the traditional principles and subsequently rework the foundational ideology to agree.[35] Echoing Seliger's

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[32] Seliger, "Fundamental and Operative Ideology: The Two Principles of Political Argumentation," 326.
[33] Ibid., 326–328, 335.
[34] Ibid., 335.
[35] Ibid., 336.

framework, Gunning and Jackson have also argued that "…the specific action frames that organisations adopt do not necessarily correspond to their overarching ideological framework."[36]

Where there is an increase in emphasis to operative ideology, even with the maintenance of the foundational ideology, there must be a shift in identity. The two identities under examination in this thesis are that of religious and national identities. The categories of religion and nationalism are often blurred;[37] distinctly categorizing the two can be highly problematic.[38] For the purposes of this thesis, I define religion in two ways: on one hand, religion is "a quest for individual and collective salvation in a supraempirical cosmos that guides and controls our everyday world (irrespective of whether this cosmos is composed of one or more gods or forces)"[39]; on the other, religion can be defined as a moral or social force in that it is "a system of beliefs and practices that distinguishes the sacred from the profane and unites its adherents in a single moral community of the faithful."[40]

The nation exists, according to Anderson, as an imagined political community that is inherently limited and sovereign: it is imagined in that the members will never meet all of their fellow-members, yet each member exists in the minds of the others; it is limited in the fact that nations have finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations; it is imagined sovereign in that the nation destroyed the divinely-ordained monarchical realm; finally, the nation is imagined as a community because the nation is conceived as a deep, horizontal

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[36] Gunning and Jackson, "What's So 'Religious' About 'Religious Terrorism'?," 381. See also: David A. Snow, "Framing Processes, Ideology, and Discursive Fields," in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 399; Gunning, "Critical Reflections on the Relationship Between Ideology and Behaviour."

[37] Jonathan Fox and Josephine Squires, "Threats to Primal Identities: A Comparison of Nationalism and Religion as Impacts on Ethnic Protest and Rebellion," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 13, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 87, 98.

[38] Gunning and Jackson, "What's So 'Religious' About 'Religious Terrorism'?".

[39] Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 25.

[40] Ibid., 26.

comradeship.[41] Smith adds that the nation traditionally occupies a historic territory and shares

common myths and memories, public culture, and customs.[42] National identity, therefore, is

defined as "the maintenance and continual reinterpretation of the pattern of values, symbols,

memories, myths, and traditions that form the distinctive heritage of the nation, and the

identification of individuals with that heritage and its pattern."[43] Subsequently, in this context

nationalism represents a movement "for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, unity, and

identity on behalf of a population some of whose members deem it to constitute an actual or

potential nation."[44] Because nationalism and religion maintain a complex and contested

relationship, a turn to nation theory can elaborate the ways in which that relationship can be

fruitfully studied.

Nation Theory and Religion

Rogers Brubaker provides four effective categorizations of the literature examining the

relationship between nationalism and religion: the first category of literature treats religion and

nationalism as analogous phenomena; the second explores how religion helps to explain aspects

of nationalism; the third body of literature treats religion as a part of nationalism; the fourth body

of literature attempts to theorize a distinctively religious form of nationalism. These categories

are not mutually exclusive, and in many they cases overlap—these categories are not providing

different answers for the same question, but are asking different kinds of questions.[45]

Literature treating nation and religion as analogous phenomena has attempted to show

similarities between nationalism and religion; nationalism has also been characterized *as* a

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[41] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 3rd ed. (London and New York: Verso, 2006), 6–7.
[42] Smith, *Chosen Peoples*.
[43] Ibid., 24-25.
[44] Smith, *Chosen Peoples*, 24.
[45] Rogers Brubaker, "Religion and Nationalism: Four Approaches," *Nations and Nationalism* 18, no. 1 (2012): 2–20.

religion. Carlton Hayes and Anthony Smith are two authors that have examined nationalism as a new type of religion. Hayes has argued that nationalism has an emotionally mobilizing effect that is religious in nature, and maintains characteristics of other religions—faith in some external power, feelings of awe and reverence, and ceremonial rites. Nationalism even has notions of salvation and immortality, holy scripture, feasts and fasts, processions, pilgrimages and holy days, and the supreme sacrifice of dying in the name of the nation.[46] Smith posits that nationalism is a new religion in both substantive and functional terms—nationalism entails a collective notion of salvation and distinguishes between the sacred and the profane and unites a population into a single community. National heroes whose patriotic deeds are remembered by posterity are likened to prophets and posterity is seen as the equivalent of the afterlife; nationalism not only parallels other traditional religions, but also competes with them.[47] Brubaker categorizes nationalism and religion as analogous phenomena as well: he sees them both as a mode of identification, a mode of social organization, and a way of framing political claims. Nationalism and religion are ways of identifying oneself and others, sameness and difference, and identifying one's interests. Additionally, both nationalism and religion frame, channel, and organize social relations and political claims in heterogeneous societies.[48]

A second group of literature on nationalism and religion focuses on the ways in which religion helps explain nationalism—how religious ideas, institutions, practices or events help explain nationalism's origins, persistence, emotional power, content, or form. Smith has focused on how religious motifs, narratives, and symbols are transposed into the political realm; these

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[46] Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism* (New York, New York: The MacMillan Company, 1926), 95-125; Hayes, *Nationalism: A Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1960).
[47] Smith, *Chosen Peoples*.
[48] Brubaker, "Religion and Nationalism: Four Approaches"; Brubaker, *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006); Brubaker, "Ethnicity, Race, and Nationalism," *Annual Review of Sociology* 35, no. 1 (2009): 21–42.

religious themes, along with the notion of "chosen-ness", provide deep-seeded cultural resources that provide building blocks for national identity.[49] According to Anderson, nations developed from two primary cultural systems: religious communities and dynastic communities. Religious communities united people according to commonly held beliefs and through the language and script in which these beliefs were articulated; admission to membership in religious communities was predicated on the confidence of the uniqueness and sacredness of a religious community's language. Dynastic communities were able to bring diverse populations under the same rule through monarchical marriages. The decline of these communities—religious communities due to the discovery of the non-European world and the gradual demotion of the sacred language and dynastic communities due to the decline of dynastic legitimacy—allowed a national community to evolve. Underlying the decline of these two communities was a new conceptualization of time and history that allowed people to think in terms of a "nation"—what Anderson refers to as "empty time." This new understanding of time and history was based on simultaneity; despite the inability to meet everyone that comprised their community, individuals were able to perceive that others existed simultaneously in the same community.[50] "The idea of a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogenous, empty time is a precise analogue of the idea of the nation, which also is conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history."[51] Print capitalism became essential in cultivating this new temporal understanding: it provided fixity to history and language and established a common avenue for communication.[52] By designating monarchical and religious communities as cultural roots, Anderson's argument necessitates that qualities of religious communities are present in national communities.

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[49] Smith, *Chosen Peoples*, 254–261.
[50] Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 9–36.
[51] Ibid., 26.
[52] Ibid., 37–44.

Undoubtedly these origins of a nation are political—dynastic marriages created political alliances and religious communities have their own political agendas. Yet, by calling them cultural roots, Anderson leaves implicit in his argument the idea that aspects of these communities are passed down or inherited by national communities; thus, these roots are extremely difficult to change and eliminate. For both Smith and Anderson, the Protestant Reformation played a key role in the development of nationalism and the appearance of religious language/symbols in the realm of nationalism; indeed, most of their analyses are focused on cases of nationalism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Reformation generated new ways of imagining and constructing social and political relationships as a result of restructurings and new imaginings of the religious community, promoted literacy in and standardization of vernacular languages utilized by emerging nations, and brought polity and culture into tighter alignments through the subordination of territorial churches to secular rulers.[53]

The third category of literature that Brubaker references is literature that does not see religion as something external to nationalism that helps to explain it; rather, religion and nationalism are so deeply intertwined that religion is seen as a part of the phenomenon of nationalism. Nationalism and religion become inseparable—distinguishing between national and religious communities is nearly impossible. There are two types of intertwining: the coincidence of religious and national boundaries, where the nation is imagined as all and only those who belong to a particular religion, or where local religious boundaries coincide with national boundaries, yet the religious community extends beyond the nation, and religion serves as the key diacritical marker that identifies ethnicity or nationality; the second type of intertwining involves the myths, metaphors, and symbols that religion provides to nationalism. Smith has developed this second type of intertwining in his works by exploring and examining

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[53] Brubaker, "Religion and Nationalism: Four Approaches," 6–8.

the religious infection of nationalist discourse.[54] However, Brubaker acknowledges several

conceptual and methodological difficulties in determining the actual nature of the connection

between nationalism and religion within these types of studies. The first difficulty is

determining what counts as religious language and imagery, as opposed to religiously-tinged

rhetoric or religious metaphors used in the political realm. The second issue involves

methodology in a comparative perspective, whether over time or across a number of cases—how

is salience and pervasiveness of religious language or imagery determined? The final issue

concerns analyzing the effectiveness of religiously coded nation-talk; this includes both the

delivery of such rhetoric and the reception—the problem remains in how to study the reception

of religious nation-talk.[55]

Another way of analyzing religion and nationalism involves Roger Friedland's claim that

religious nationalism is a distinctive type of nationalism. Friedland posits that nationalism is a

form of collective representation that seeks to join state, territory, and culture which can have

variable content. Religion provides a way of determining the content of nationalism; religion

provides models of authority for ordering and regulating public life. This argument focuses not

on religious inflection of political rhetoric or the religious identities of those in political

contestation—Friedman focuses on distinctly religious nationalist programs, giving particular

attention to how religion seeks to control the body and currency on the national scale. Notably

absent from these four categories of literature is a comparison of nationalism and religion in a

temporal dimension; I argue that national communities and religious communities operate on two

competing conceptions of temporality. It is a change in these conceptions of temporality—

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[54] Smith, *Chosen Peoples*; Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (New York, New York: Basil Blackwell Inc., 1986); Anthony D. Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant and Republic* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008).
[55] Brubaker, "Religion and Nationalism: Four Approaches," 11.

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Messianic time and empty, homogeneous time—that enable violent substate actors to shift

emphasis from a more religiously-founded identity to one that is more nationally-based.

Temporality and Identity

In his explanation of the foundations of the nation in empty, homogeneous time,

Anderson briefly notes the distinctions in temporality between religious communities and

national communities, referencing Walter Benjamin's concept of 'Messianic time'. These two

competing conceptions of time are crucial in determining the two different forms of collective

identity formation. As Anderson notes, messianic time is a simultaneity of past and future in an

instantaneous present, where cosmology and history are indistinguishable, and the origins or the

world and of men were essentially identical.[56] But what does this mean? Messianic

temporality—or, what I term "divine temporality"—suggests that time is non-linear; it is

discontinuous and heterogeneous.[57] There are two main elements to divine temporality: the

restorative and the utopian. The restorative is the projection of an ideal past into the future; the

utopian is the future which comes not so much from the past, but from the future of the future

itself—the utopian looks to the future in the past. These facets are not mutually exclusive, and

are always present in messianic time to different degrees. The future is not the culmination of

history, of a linear conception of progress; the future is always an interruption, a radical break

with time that fractures history—the future is *beyond* history. The present is always full of

possibilities that exist in a divine future which are not part of the present state of things; a

different possibility of the future is seen in every instant.[58] In divine temporality, history begins

from paradise, a glorified past; the future enters suddenly and ends history by returning to the

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[56] Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 24, 36.
[57] William Large, "The Messianic Idea, the Time of Capital and the Everyday," *Journal for Cultural Research* 13, no. 3–4 (October 2009): 268, 271.
[58] Ibid., 272–274.

beginning.[59] It is this particular conception of time on which religious-political identities operate. Religiously-based political identities create a community of 'believers' who hold the one 'truth' regarding both worldly and metaphysical existence and attempt to restore a state of glory that does not exist in the present. Because this type of political identity is rooted in religion, all other 'truths' and interpretations of group identity are unacceptable and inherently wrong. In the eyes of the believer, his religion holds primacy over all others; therefore, members of a community espousing a religious-political identity privilege their conception of identity over others because it is inherently true and correct.

Conversely, national identities (according to Anderson, as described above) operate on an understanding of time as continuous, homogeneous, and empty; this conception of temporality is rooted in simultaneity—what I shall refer to as "secularizing time".[60] Time is a series or chain of events arranged into a teleology associated with progress; time is linear, with the present ever-extending out of the past into a continually-postponed future that is the culmination of progress. The future is empty and the present is the addition of one event on top of the other. The future becomes the fulfillment of history; because the future is endlessly postponed, the future is an empty time in which the present continually falls—the present then becomes frozen in the past without change or difference. The past exists eternally, frozen in time, establishing a causal nexus among historical moments and tells time through a sequence of connected events. Time becomes an infinite series of 'now-points' in which experience is suspended.[61] National

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[59] Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn, 1st ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968), 253–264; Jonathan Ivry, "Stevens, Benjamin, and Messianic Time," *The Wallace Stevens Journal* 23, no. 2 (Fall 1999): 142–143, 148; Large, "The Messianic Idea, the Time of Capital and the Everyday," 271–272, 274, 278; Ari Hirvonen, "Marx and God with Anarchism: On Walter Benjamin's Concepts of History and Violence," *Continental Philosophy Review* 45, no. 4 (2012): 524, 541.
[60] Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 26–36.
[61] Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History"; Ivry, "Stevens, Benjamin, and Messianic Time," 142–13; Large, "The Messianic Idea, the Time of Capital and the Everyday," 269–274; Hirvonen, "Marx and God with Anarchism: On Walter Benjamin's Concepts of History and Violence," 520.

identities thus rest on the idea of continuity; the degradation of religious identity necessitates a conceptual transformation of time and understanding of the world. Secularizing time denotes a diminishing of divine temporality—political identity no longer seeks a project of complete overhaul and restoration and instead adheres to the view of time as a causal chain of progress. The nation, unlike religion, leaves room for compromise, allowing for multiple 'truths' about identity claims. Nationalities, unlike religions, exist on an equal playing field—no nation is inherently granted superiority other another. All nations exist as valid variations of identity.

These two competing conceptions of time—divine temporality and secularizing time— are the foundational components of religious and national identities, respectively; understanding the underlying conceptions of temporality inherent in both forms of collective identity provide insight into how actors—here, violent substate organizations—define their context and operation. Therefore, my theoretical framework, displayed in Figure 1 below, originates from a changing conception of temporality and ends at a change from total liberation to phased liberation:

Figure 1:
Theorizing Phased Liberation

| Change from divine temporality to secularizing time | → | Shift in identity (from religious to national) | → | Divergence of ideology into foundational and operative ideologies | → | Change from Total Liberation to Phased Liberation |
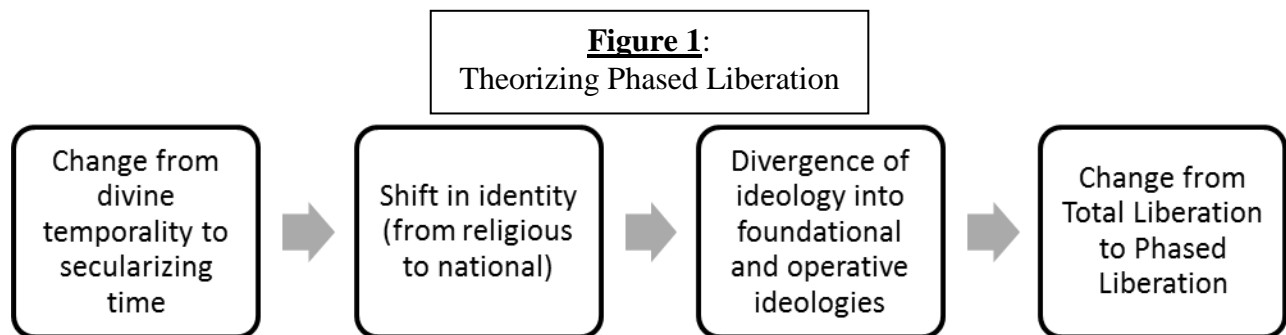
Unraveling this process calls for an explication of methodology and methods; the following sections detail the methodology of the project, justifies my choice of methods, and outlines the rest of the project.

Methodology

In order to explore identity changes in violent substate actors, this study consists of a comparative theoretical analysis of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) and the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas); more specifically, my investigation of these two movements will resemble a poststructuralist genealogy utilizing discourse analysis like that offered by Hansen in her book *Security as Practice*.[62] Analyzing discourse provides insight into how actors construct themselves;[63] additionally, genealogy has proven to be a useful research tool to study phenomena across time in International Relations.[64] This thesis functions as an exploratory endeavor into understanding the identity changes of violent substate organizations and their underlying conceptions of temporality; as such, the cases of the Provisional IRA and Hamas have been chosen for investigation. The Provisional IRA, which agreed to a cessation of violence in 2005, has conventionally been characterized as a nationalist organization; however, the traditional group narrative developed from religious underpinnings. Hamas, an organization very much still active in Palestine, is generally characterized as an overtly religious movement; only recently has the national dimension to its struggle been recognized as increasingly significant. In each case, I examine a single "Self"—the Self constructed by the PIRA and that of Hamas. These Selves are assessed according to comparative moments, or key events for each group. For each organization, I have chosen 3 key events: creation of the movement in wake of the 1969 Republican split, the 1981 Hunger Strikes, and the Good Friday/Belfast Agreement of 1998 for the PIRA; and the inception of the movement, the al-Aqsa Intifada, and the foray into Palestinian elections in 2006 for Hamas. These events are compared across three

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[62] Lene Hansen, *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006).
[63] Talbot, "'Us' and 'Them': Terrorism, Conflict and (O)ther Discursive Formations."
[64] Srdjan Vucetic, "Genealogy as a Research Tool in International Relations," *Review of International Studies* 37 (2011): 1295–1312.

issues/indicators: conceptions of territory, portrayals of death and sacrifice, and relation to an "Other". Views on territory, sacrifice, and identification in relation to an Other play an important role in understanding the "brand" of identity espoused by a group—these indicators provide insight into *how* an identity is marketed to a population. In my two case studies, these three indicators will help to illuminate expressions of nationalism and religion and the underlying conceptions of temporality.

Almost all groups possess geographical anchorings; because identity depends upon narrative, mythology, and celebration of territory and the cultural representation association with its representation, territory appears as a central motif in identity construction and mobilization.[65] Smith notes that territory plays a vital role in identity and collective memory through the process of "territorilization of memory"; as Smith explains, this "…refers to a process by which particular places evoke a series of memories, handed down through generations, and it summarizes a tendency to root memories of persons and events in particular places and through them create a field or zone of powerful and peculiar attachments."[66] Because perceptions of territory are changing and dynamic,[67] analyzing the character of a perception of territory— whether investment in land is religiously or nationally rooted—can provide insight into how the identities of actors are themselves changing. Additionally, a group's view of death and sacrifice provide insight into the character of group identity; indeed, Connolly explains that one of the most prominent ways to engage how identity plays out is to explore the relation of life to death.[68] Interpretations of death and "destiny through sacrifice"—particularly self-sacrifice—exist for

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[65] Von Busekist, "Uses and Misuses of the Concept of Identity," 92–93.
[66] Smith, *Chosen Peoples*, 134.
[67] Von Busekist, "Uses and Misuses of the Concept of Identity," 92–93.
[68] William E Connolly, *Identity/Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox*, Expanded edition (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1991), 164.

both religious and national communities;[69] the memory ascribed to self-sacrifice for a

community and its identity and the ends for which sacrifice is justified provide an excellent

window into identity construction. Because the subject of investigation in this project is the

identity of violent substate groups where death and sacrifice in some capacity is inevitable, views

of sacrifice and death play an important role as an indicator; examining a change in conceptions

of sacrifice will provide insight into identity shifts.

The final indicator pertains to each organization's identity construction in relation to an

"Other". As Connolly explains:

> An identity is established in relation to a series of differences that have become
> socially recognized. These differences are essential to its being. If they did not
> coexist as differences, it would not exist in its distinctness and solidity…Power
> plays a prominent role in this endless play of definition, counter-definition, and
> counters to counter-definitions.[70]

At its core, identity construction requires in-group and out-of-group distinctions, whereby

positive attributes of the Self are highlighted and the negative attributes of the Other are

emphasized, with the goal of creating an in-group bias.[71] Without these distinctions, the

'enemy' could not be identified; boundaries between the Self and the Other, are often

delineated according to symbolic, spatial, religious, and social referents, and in many

cases serve to dehumanize and depersonalize the Other and sustain in-group and out-

group identities.[72] Views of the Other are inseparable from a group's political context,[73]

making it an important factor in gauging identity construction and reconstruction of

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[69] Smith, *Chosen Peoples*, 218–253; Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 141–147.

[70] Connolly, *Identity/Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox*, 24.

[71] Alvaro Rodriguez-Carballeira and Federico Javaloy, "Psychosocial Analysis of the Collective Processes in the United States After September 11," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 22, no. 3 (2005): 201–216.

[72] Talbot, "'Us' and 'Them': Terrorism, Conflict and (O)ther Discursive Formations"; Brannan, Elser, and Strindberg, "Talking to 'Terrorists': Towards an Independent Analytical Framework for the Study of Violent Substate Activism," 18.

[73] Von Busekist, "Uses and Misuses of the Concept of Identity," 96–97.

violent substate actors with political ambitions. The scope of the Other in this project is restricted to that of the primary enemy—Britain for the PIRA and Israel for Hamas—and excludes any international dimensions to conceptions of the Other. While an international dimension is discussed in chapter three in regards to Hamas' call to *jihad*, this is done only to emphasize the religious nature of the obligation to jihad, and is not the primary concern. Expanding the Other to incorporate international elements remains an avenue for further study, and may possibly shed light into aspects of identity not surveyed in this thesis.

My use of discourse analysis is centered on key texts from the three periods in each group's history. The emphasis is on primary sources that have a clear articulation of identity and policy and are widely read; importantly, these texts have formal authority to define a position— they emanate from each organization as a whole and from key leaders within each movement. For my analysis of the Provisional IRA in chapter two, sources include: *Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA*, the organization's self-history and constitution; excerpts from the group's *Green Book*, a secret training manual; the 1916 Proclamation of the Irish Republic, a document frequently quoted as one of the movement's foundational texts; six Sinn Féin publications; eight public statements made by the PIRA; eleven addresses by Gerry Adams, former PIRA Army Executive and Sinn Féin President; and one speech by Sinn Féin Councillor Martin Ferris. In my survey of Hamas in chapter three, texts include: the 1988 Charter, the group's founding document; two memorandums prepared by the Hamas Political Bureau, one in the late 1990s at the request of Western diplomats in the Jordanian capital Amman and the other in 2000 just before the outbreak of the Second Initifada; statements issued by Sheikh Yassin, the organization's founder and spiritual guide, Abd al-Aziz al-Rantissi and Musa Abu Marzuq,

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former deputies of the Hamas Political Bureau, Khaled Mishal, the organization's current Head of Hamas Political Bureau, and Isma'il Haniyah, the Hamas candidate elected Palestinian Prime Minister; the 2006 Hamas election manifesto; the revised version of the Palestinian Prisoners' Document, a document drafted by Hamas prisoners in conjunction with other Palestinian prisoners to which Hamas eventually became a signatory after revisions to the original document; the Proposed National Unity Government Program, a document for government coalition put forth by Hamas; and Hamas' Cabinet Platform. These texts identify the dominant discourses of each organization over time; in addition, my discourse analysis includes a survey of secondary sources that include historical material and conceptual histories of the PIRA and Hamas to provide a broader context and understanding of the organizations and their identity discourses.

Outline of Remaining Chapters

The rest of this project consists of three chapters. Chapter Two, "Altering the Standard Republican Narrative: The Provisional IRA and Identity over Time", analyzes the foundations of the PIRA 'Standard Republican Narrative' and its evolution during the 1981 Hunger Strikes, up to the signing and acceptance of the Good Friday Agreement. Chapter Three, "From Uncompromising Religious Fervor to Pragmatic Nationalism: The Case of Hamas", contrasts the organization's identity at the time of inception with its identity during the al-Aqsa Intifada and the 2006 Palestinian General Elections. The final chapter, "Temporality and Identity Reconstruction: Towards Phased Liberation", examines the deployments of religious and national identities, highlighting the similar process occurring in the Provisional IRA and Hamas; the conclusion is reached that while the national and religious identities manifest themselves differently for each organization, the common denominator in their shift of identities is a

changing conception of temporality that influences perceptions of territory, sacrifice, and the

established Other. This change in temporality has enabled a shift from total liberation to phased

liberation. The project concludes with speculations for further research.

Chapter 2
Altering the Standard Republican Narrative:
The Provisional IRA and Identity over Time

The Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA), whose campaign against British Occupation of Northern Ireland lasted from the group's formation in 1969 to the cessation of violence in 2005, has its roots in the 1916 Easter Uprising in Dublin and the formation of the old Irish Republican Army. Since 1800, Ireland had been bound together with Great Britain under the Westminster Parliament by the Act of Union of 1800. Irish Republicanism, a movement whose goal has been an independent Irish state, has had a long history of attempting to use force to separate from Britain;[74] one of the best organized and longest lasting movements of modern times,[75] the PIRA offers an excellent case to examine changes in identity over time. As Shanahan notes: "The republican movement underwent a significant evolution over the course of almost four decades of conflict, during which time [various] articulations of its traditional ideology were subtly moulded to fit the changing circumstances."[76] There was a force towards pragmatism within the Provisional IRA; not only did their actions evolve, but I argue that there also took place a shift in political identity. The religiously-sanctioned national identity of the Standard Republican Narrative advanced by the movement is changed over the course of the PIRA's campaign so that religiously-tinged national rhetoric and objectives dissipated over time and were replaced by an immediate need to secure an emerging conception of the Irish nation and solidify the progress the PIRA made in the name of this nation.

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[74] Brendan O'Brien, *The Long War: The IRA and Sinn Fein*, 2nd ed., Irish Studies (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 9.

[75] Louise Richardson, "Britain and the IRA," in *Democracy and Counterterrorism: Lessons from the Past*, ed. Robert J. Art and Louise Richardson (Washington, D.C.: United States Insitute of Peace Press, 2007), 63.

[76] Timothy Shanahan, *The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 60.

Brief Overview: the PIRA's Lineage

The Provisional Irish Republican Army traces its heritage back to the re-adoption of violent resistance to British occupation that occurred at the beginning of the twentieth century. From the 1800s to 1912, non-violent separatism had gained ground among Irish republicans; however, Unionists in the north of Ireland opposed any movements attempting to break ties with Britain. Easter of 1916 saw a return to violent methods as the Irish Volunteers—the successors to the legacy of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the forerunner to the Irish Republican Army—seized the Dublin post office building and declared the creation of an Irish Republic.[77] Intended to spur a mass revolt, the 1916 Easter Rising was a total failure; however, popular mood among the Irish people changed following the executions of the Rising's leaders. As a result of increased support, Sinn Féin, a newly formed political party, won seats in the 1918 Westminster elections by a landslide. In the wake of the electoral victory, Sinn Féin established the Dáil Éireann, a separatist parliament, with the new Irish Republican Army as the army, dedicated to the total end of British rule and the establishment of a 32-county all-Irish republic. In 1922, after continued Republican resistance and the failure of British repression, a partial solution was reached through partition and the creation of Northern Ireland.

In 1925, four years after the Second Dáil of 1921,[78] Sinn Féin and the IRA split over the growing socialist and anti-imperialist influence in IRA thinking.[79] In 1938, the remaining members of the 1921 Dáil handed over power to the Army Council of the IRA; in 1949, Sinn Féin re-allied with the IRA under the 'supreme authority' of the Army Council.[80] 1956 marked the initiation of the Border Campaign, the Irish Republican Army's first northern-focused

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[77] O'Brien, *The Long War: The IRA and Sinn Fein*, 10; A.R. Oppenheimer, *IRA, The Bombs and The Bullets: A History of Deadly Ingenuity* (Dublin and Portland: Irish Academic Press, 2009), 19–20.
[78] O'Brien, *The Long War: The IRA and Sinn Fein*, 10–11.
[79] Oppenheimer, *IRA, The Bombs and The Bullets: A History of Deadly Ingenuity*, 23.
[80] O'Brien, *The Long War: The IRA and Sinn Fein*, 11.

campaign since partition; the campaign, seen as a failure, spurred a re-evaluation of the

movement, creating political initiatives that would eventually fracture the republicans, leading to

the creation of the Provisional Irish Republican Army as a splinter group.[81]

The perceived failure of the Border campaign provided evidence to republican dissidents

that the IRA did not possess the ability to provide adequate defense for the Irish nationalist

community, particularly in Northern Ireland; this provided justification to the larger dissident

claim that the political emphasis of the movement post-Border Campaign was detrimental to the

republican movement as a whole.[82] This internal conflict finally manifested itself in an official

schism in the IRA, creating two organizations—the Official Irish Republican Army (OIRA) and

the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA). There were five reasons for the split: first, the

Provisionals disagreed with the pre-split IRA's recognition of the Northern Irish, Irish, and

British parliaments in Stormont, Leinster House, and Westminster, respectively; second, due to

the development of extreme socialism in the old IRA, the PIRA feared the emergence of a

dictatorship; third, there were disputes over the internal methods of the movement; fourth, the

armed movement had failed to defend Belfast Catholics; finally, the old IRA (and subsequently

the OIRA) sought to work through rather than abolish the existing Stormont parliament.[83]

Consequently, the PIRA split and held its first official meeting on December 18, 1969.[84]

At its inception, the PIRA[85] laid out several objectives: to guard, honor, and uphold the

sovereignty and unity of the Republic of Ireland; to support the establishment of an Irish

Socialist Republic based on the 1916 Proclamation; and support the establishment of and uphold

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[81] Andrew Sanders, *Inside the IRA: Dissident Republicans and the War for Legitimacy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 10–15.

[82] Ibid., 37.

[83] Ibid., 45; Shanahan, *The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism*, 1.

[84] Sanders, *Inside the IRA: Dissident Republicans and the War for Legitimacy*, 41.

[85] From this point forward, I will use the names Provisional Irish Republican Army/PIRA/Provisionals/Provos and Irish Republican Army/IRA interchangeably. After the split, the PIRA came to be the dominant faction of the original IRA movement and were commonly referred to simply as the IRA.

a lawful government in sole and absolute control of the Republic.[86] In seeking to achieve these

goals, the PIRA emphasized two different ideologies—socialist and nationalist.[87] The

Provisional IRA declared itself a socialist movement[88] dedicated to the establishment of a

democratic socialist Republic in Ireland;[89] yet, the organization maintained a fairly ambiguous

political and economic agenda and refused to adopt conventional models of socialist theory in

favor of a militaristic focus.[90] The nationalist agenda stressed two phases: first, to get the

British out of Ulster;[91] the second step involved the dismantling of the regime in the Irish

Republic. Sinn Féin would step into the power vacuum, ready to implement its plan for a united

Ireland, which included state ownership on industry, the establishment of farming cooperatives, a

decentralized government run by People's Committees, and Irish withdrawal from the European

Union and a ban on all foreign ownership of land.[92] Short-term objectives set by the PIRA were

intended to move towards these goals—a ceasefire with the British Army, abolition of the

Stormont Parliament, free elections to a 9-county Ulster parliament, the release of detainees, and

compensation for those injured by British Army actions.[93]

   While the military struggle[94] was at the core of the political struggle for the IRA, the

organization slowly gravitated toward the political realm. In the mid-1970s, the IRA underwent

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[86] John Horgan and Max. Taylor, "The Provisional Irish Republican Army: Command and Functional Structure," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 9, no. 3 (Autumn 1997): 1.

[87] Robin Currie, "The Irish Republican Army: A Closer Look," *The Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies* 19, no. 3 (Fall 1994): 287.

[88] The PIRA went to great lengths to emphasize that the movement was not a Marxist movement. Sanders, *Inside the IRA: Dissident Republicans and the War for Legitimacy*, 121.

[89] Ibid., 61.

[90] Tommy McKearney, *The Provisional IRA: From Insurrection to Parliament* (London: Pluto Press, 2011), 106.

[91] Currie, "The Irish Republican Army: A Closer Look"; Horgan and Taylor, "The Provisional Irish Republican Army: Command and Functional Structure," 1–2; McKearney, *The Provisional IRA: From Insurrection to Parliament*, 104.

[92] Currie, "The Irish Republican Army: A Closer Look."

[93] McKearney, *The Provisional IRA: From Insurrection to Parliament*, 108.

[94] Military strategy, a five-fold guerrilla strategy laid out in the organization's Green Book, included 1) carrying out a deadly war of attrition aimed at creating a demand from British citizens for withdrawal from Northern Ireland, 2) a bombing campaign to deter and make both short term and long term financial investments/interests unprofitable, 3)

internal reorganization and the adoption of a "Long War" strategy; realizing that a military campaign could not be won overnight, the organization gradually developed a political agenda to counter a lack of broader support and an inability to exert influence over Dublin and British popular opinion. IRA leadership, spurred by support resulting from the 1980-81 Hunger Strikes, began to explore the political avenue, and in 1986, the IRA and Sinn Féin officially ended abstentionism in the Irish Republic. After agreeing to a ceasefire in 1994, Sinn Féin and the IRA were allowed to participate in Northern Irish and British politics; however, the IRA still conducted small-scale military operations to give the perception of an "armalite and ballot box" two-pronged strategy; the organization eventually agreed to another ceasefire in 1997, leading to the Good Friday Agreement. Just under a decade later, the PIRA declared a cessation of all violence.[95]

While IRA goals seem secular in nature, there was a significant religious dimension to the Standard Republican Narrative advanced by the group. Three aspects of the IRA's narrative are particularly important here: the nature of a United Ireland, the tradition of sacrifice and martyrdom, and their view of the British and Unionists in Northern Ireland. The IRA believed that a United Irish Republic was a God-given destiny that was inherently an absolute good. A united Ireland was seen as the "holy grail" of Irish republicanism; the 1916 Proclamation itself, which the PIRA has seen as their foundational document, contained language of divine sanction for a united Ireland. The embrace of martyrdom for the national cause was also an essential element to identity of the IRA and its members. Blood sacrifice was necessary to redeem both

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making the Six Counties ungovernable except by colonial military rule, 4) sustaining the war and gaining support through national and international propaganda and publicity campaigns, and 5) defending the war of liberation by punishing criminals, collaborators, and informants. O'Brien, *The Long War: The IRA and Sinn Fein*, 23–24.
[95] McKearney, *The Provisional IRA: From Insurrection to Parliament*, 141–180.

country and self,[96] and the ideal of achieving independence through violence has been laden with

calls for Christ-like sacrifice and martyrdom.[97] Finally, because the Irish Republican Army

viewed British colonialism in Northern Ireland as unjust and immoral, it justified its armed

struggle by claiming to follow the Catholic Church's doctrine of Just War Theory.[98] To

understand how this identity has changed over time, it is necessary to see exactly how the IRA

constructed this initial vision of 'self' through conceptions of territory, sacrifice, and the 'other'.

PIRA Beginnings: Constructing a Baseline Identity

From the beginning, there was a strong Catholic influence in the Provisional IRA; not

only for the leaders[99] but for the entire movement—religion and the hope for the Republican

movement were the only things to which many of the inhabitants of the North had to cling.[100] As

its symbol the movement even chose a phoenix rising from the ashes, symbolizing a Christ-like

resurrection of the IRA from the ashes of burnt-out Catholic Belfast.[101] It is with these

foundations that the IRA formed its conception of national identity, mostly clearly iterated in

Freedom Struggle, the organization's public constitution issued in 1973.

Territory

The IRA's initial view of territory rests on its objective of a free and united Gaelic

Ireland; any form of Ireland other than a united island negates the God-given destiny of an all-

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[96] Shanahan, *The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism*, 40–46.
[97] Oppenheimer, *IRA, The Bombs and The Bullets: A History of Deadly Ingenuity*, 17.
[98] Shanahan, *The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism*, 93; Nicola Rooney, "Violent Nationalism in Catholic Communities: The Provisional IRA and ETA," *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism, 2007 ASEN Conference Special* 7, no. 3 (2007): 69–70.
[99] Provo leaders continually referred to the OIRA as 'Godless Marxists', a comment stemming as much from political analysis as from Catholic beliefs. Maria McGuire, *To Take Arms: A Year in the Provisional IRA* (London and Basingstoke: MacMillan London Limited, 1973), 31; Sanders, *Inside the IRA: Dissident Republicans and the War for Legitimacy*, 47.
[100] McGuire, *To Take Arms: A Year in the Provisional IRA*, 71–72.
[101] Shanahan, *The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism*, 14.

Ireland state.[102] According to the IRA, a united Ireland is not new; the Irish nation—united by

language, law, religion, and culture—extends over the entire island and has existed for ages.[103]

God gave the island to the entire Irish nation; for this reason, the border of Northern Ireland is an

"artificial" partition. Northern Ireland is an entity that has never existed in history, economics,

or politics—the Irish nation, as well as their territory, is necessarily indivisible.[104] Such a view

necessitated the IRA's establishment of 'free areas' in Northern Ireland, such as Free Derry;

these no-go areas for British troops became symbols of resistance to Stormont and the British

partition.[105] Within these areas, as with its vision of a united Ireland, the Provisional IRA wished

to promote a social order based on Christian principles of justice.[106] These free areas became

more integral to the IRA's plan as Stormont was abolished and the British implemented Direct

Rule; the IRA continually proposed united Ulster regional parliament in order to further its plan

for a full 32-county Ireland.[107] The Constitution, quoting Martin McGuinness, declares outright

that there can be no solution within the 6-county framework that is Northern Ireland.[108]

The IRA's rejection of a partitioned Ireland and the goal of a united Ireland stems from

the Proclamation of the Irish Republic declared in the 1916 Easter Rising. This document lays

the groundwork for the semi-religious vision of Ireland espoused by the IRA. The organization's

conception of a nation that encompasses the entire population of the island is seen in the 1916

Provisional Government's declaration of a Republic belonging to the entirety of the Irish people:

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[102] *Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA* (Dublin: Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, 1973), 47, 60.
[103] Ibid., iv–1; Sinn Féin, "History," www.sinnfein.ie/history; Shanahan, *The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism*, 67–72.
[104] *Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA*, 6.
[105] McGuire, *To Take Arms: A Year in the Provisional IRA*, 96.
[106] *Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA*, 11.
[107] Ibid., 84–60.
[108] "*There can be no solution within the context of a six county solution. The future of this country and its people is in a Democratic Socialist Republic. This is what we must strive for, fight for and if needs be die for*"; italics in original. Ibid., 92.

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> …we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State…The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and all of its parts, cherishing all of the children of the nation equally…[109]

This vision of a state—where boundaries of the Republic coincide with the boundaries of the Irish nation—is perpetuated by the IRA. Divine sanction for a free Irish state is also established by the Proclamation: "In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom."[110] The call to arms to liberate Ireland from British rule is a call sanctioned by God; the goal of a united and free Ireland are divinely protected: "We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine."[111] It is from these roots that the Provisional IRA inherits its semi-spiritual vision of Ireland's God-given destiny as a united 32-county state; anything less than this would constitute a fracture in the IRA's identity.

Sacrifice and Martyrdom

Sacrifice played a crucial role in both the identity assumed and narrative propagated by the IRA. The IRA theology of blood sacrifice entailed that death brings life to the cause, defeat brings victory, and the republican martyr redeems both country and self through sacrifice.[112] For the Provos it wasn't those who could inflict the most damage and pain that would claim victory;

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[109] The Provisional Government of the Irish Republic, "Poblacht Na hÉireann/Proclamation of the Irish Republic, 24 April 1916," April 24, 1916, CAIN Database, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Shanahan, *The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism*, 44.

those who were able to endure the most would prevail.[113] Martyrdom existed as a tradition in

Ireland, and particularly within the IRA. As Maria McGuire notes of new IRA member

education: "All Ireland's heroes were martyrs who had died for a cause…we learnt of the

glorious rising of 1916 which had ended in the execution of its leaders. In their deaths, we were

told, they had won freedom for the Irish people. Violence was the ideal, and death was the

ultimate sacrifice."[114] The IRA's national identity is one that, much like Catholicism, rewards

sacrifice—the promised land of a new united Ireland that restores the ideal of a pure and ancient

Ireland free from British contamination is only attainable through heroic self-sacrifice and the

rejection, on principle, of compromise; compromise represents defeat or surrender.[115] As

O'Doherty notes:

> Both republicanism and Catholicism in their histories of martyrdom accept that
> death can be part of the struggle. Failure is negated, because to die in the
> assertion of your belief is to advance your cause…for each, compromise is
> surrender, and death on a point of principle is victory…Catholicism and
> republicanism [both] offer a form of immortality in the memory of those who
> honour the martyrs. Many republicans in Belfast wear medallions engraved with
> the image of Mairead Farrell or other republican martyrs, as other Catholics wear
> similar medallions bearing the image of the Virgin Mary or one of the saints.
> There is always a community of practice and ritual which supports the
> believer...[i]f the cause collapses, there may be no one left to tend their graves or
> honour their memory. Conversely, if people forget to hounour the dead, the cause
> will collapse…[116]

As O'Doherty shows, Irish republicanism is championed by uncompromising sacrifice, where

martyrdom is essential to national identity. Sacrifice is directly linked to the success of the

national cause, creating a very real religious dimension to the IRA's national struggle, a

fundamentally true cause for which faith in the movement cannot falter.

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[113] Malachi O'Doherty, *The Trouble with Guns: Republican Strategy and the Provisional IRA* (Belfast, Northern Ireland: The Blackstaff Press, 1998), 39.
[114] McGuire, *To Take Arms: A Year in the Provisional IRA*, 12.
[115] O'Doherty, *The Trouble with Guns: Republican Strategy and the Provisional IRA*, 20.
[116] Ibid., 21–22.

The importance of sacrifice to the IRA's national identity is seen in the organization's secret training manual, *The Green Book*. The manual states that many of the true blows to the strength of British imperialism are not the military victories, but the sacrifices made through imprisonment, hunger strikes, and stalwartness when facing imminent execution.[117] Even after going to great lengths in describing the battery of British techniques for interrogation and torture, *The Green Book* reminds operatives why it is important to stay committed to their cause and why their suffering is not in vain:

> The best protection while being interrogated is LOYALTY to the Movement. This implies LOYALTY to all YOUR COMRADES and PROTECTION of all members of the Movement. Again commitment to the aims and objectives of the Movement, a deep and unmoving POLITICAL COMMITMENT to the ideas of the Socialist Republic, CONSTANT AWARENESS that you are a REVOLUTIONARY with a sound POLITICAL base, NOBLE JUSTIFIABLE CAUSE, and a deep and firm belief that those holding you and interrogating you are MORALLY WRONG, that you are SUPERIOR in all respects, because your cause is RIGHT and JUSTIFIED.[118]

Commitment to the movement and fellow members is vital; the pain of torture is justified by the moral righteousness of the national cause.

The IRA sees the necessity of sacrifice to its movement as a contemporary manifestation of the tradition of heroic self-sacrifice started by Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen. The tradition is epitomized by the executions of Patrick Pearse, James Connolly, and the other leaders of the 1916 Easter Rising; in their view, the Provisionals gave definitive expression to this tradition in the 1981 H-Block hunger strikes.[119] Tone and the leaders of the Easter Rising play a central role in the IRA's narrative of sacrifice and nationalism. Each year in June, Tone is honored by a remembrance ceremony at his grave; his sacrifice as a Protestant for the nation cause is used to perpetuate the IRA's conception of an Irish nation that encompasses all

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[117] Tim Pat Coogan, *The IRA*, Fully Revised and Updated (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 549.
[118] Emphasis in original; Ibid., 570–571.
[119] Shanahan, *The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism*, 40.

Irishmen, regardless of religion.[120] Tone, who knew his death was inevitable, recognized the

impact of martyrdom for the liberation of Ireland: "From the blood…of the martyrs of the

liberty of Ireland will spring…thousands to avenge their fall."[121] Public support at his grave in

Bodenstown every year shows that his message, and subsequently that of the Provisional IRA,

resonates deep in the Irish republican movement.[122]

The Easter Rising of 1916 also plays a great foundational role; the contents of the

Proclamation declared after the seizing of the Dublin Post Office demonstrates the willingness of

the members to die and the necessity of sacrifice for a free and united Ireland:

> …we [the leaders of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Ireland]
> pledge our lives to the cause of [Ireland's] freedom, of its welfare, and of its
> exaltation among the nations…In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its
> valour and discipline, and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves
> for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is
> called.[123]

The subsequent executions of the Rising's leaders, particularly of Pearse and Connolly, provide

great myths of sacrifice for the IRA.[124] Pearse in particular defined the ideal of sacrificial

martyrdom for future generations;[125] Pearse, who anticipated his own blood sacrifice in the

Easter Rising, became a central figure for the IRA—the reverence for his legacy and persona

were nearly indistinguishable from the reverence and respect given to Catholic saints.[126] Three

years prior to the 1916 Easter Rising, Pearse had written that "bloodshed is a cleansing and a

sanctifying thing, and the nation which regards it as the final horror has lost its manhood. There

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[120] *Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA*, 2.

[121] Tom Dunne, *Theobald Wolfe Tone, Colonial Outsider: An Analysis of His Political Philosophy* (Cork: Tower, 1982), 60.

[122] *Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA*, 18–19, 92.

[123] The Provisional Government of the Irish Republic, "Poblacht Na hÉireann/Proclamation of the Irish Republic, 24 April 1916."

[124] *Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA*, 5.

[125] Shanahan, *The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism*, 44.

[126] O'Doherty, *The Trouble with Guns: Republican Strategy and the Provisional IRA*, 18.

are many things more horrible than bloodshed; and slavery is one of them."[127] It is with these

legacies—of Tone, Pearse, and Connolly—that the IRA intertwines the necessity of a religious-

like sacrifice with the struggle to unite the Irish nation into one state.[128] In their Constitution, the

Provisionals explicitly make a call to honor the dead by supporting the republican cause: "At the

graves of our martyred dead we call for a dedication to Republican objectives and principles and

for a pledge of unstinted support for our efforts."[129]

The Other

The IRA saw the British—and by extension Loyalists in Northern Ireland—as a morally

unjustified presence in Ireland dating back to the 1600s; therefore resistance is not only

warranted but also morally right. According to the IRA, the 'alien' British government has

throughout history carefully fostered differences in Ireland that have divided a minority from the

majority;[130] for example, the British encouraged the creation of the Orange Order in 1795, a

sectarian secret society open to only Protestants that spread terror among Catholics, exacerbating

the religious differences between native Catholics and Protestant settlers. The British continued

to foster conflict with the Act of Union of 1800; the resulting movements for Irish emancipation

were portrayed by the British as movements not for the liberation of Ireland but as organizations

advocating sectarian violence against Protestants. With the eventual partition of Northern

Ireland, the British sought to quell the nationalists in the north by gerrymandering districts,

giving loyalists the ability to outvote nationalists. Sectarian strife carried into the 1920s as

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[127] Pearse quoted in: Shanahan, *The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism*, 43.
[128] In addition to historic myths of sacrifice, the Provisionals were quick to capitalize on newly forming Republican myths; for example, the manner in which Joe McCann, an OIRA member, died provided excellent recruitment material for not only the Officials but for the PIRA as well. See: McGuire, *To Take Arms: A Year in the Provisional IRA*, 107.
[129] *Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA*, 13.
[130] The Provisional Government of the Irish Republic, "Poblacht Na hÉireann/Proclamation of the Irish Republic, 24 April 1916."

Britain created the Ulster Special Constabulary[131] (USC) in Northern Ireland, whose recruits were fanatically anti-Catholic; as the mid-1990s progressed, non-Unionists, particularly Catholics, suffered continuing discrimination in housing and employment in addition to regular sectarian violence.[132]

The PIRA saw its emergence as a natural response to the progression of British occupation and intervention in Ireland;[133] integral to its narrative was the group's proclaimed role as 'defenders of the Catholic community' in Northern Ireland.[134] Upon entering the IRA, Maria McGuire explains that this was merely one aspect of the organization: "The Provisionals, I learnt, had taken up arms to protect the Catholic population—but more than that, they stood for a new Ireland, free of British dominance."[135] Catholic defense, however, did play a large role in early Provo operations;[136] IRA defense of St. Matthews Church in Ballymarcarret in East Belfast was essential to show that there "would be no repeat of August 1969".[137] For the IRA, the Battle of Bogside in Derry that occurred in August of 1969 boiled down to a simple narrative: a clash of Protestant and Catholic, evil and good, strong and weak—in one word, a pogrom.[138]

After the upswing in support after Bloody Sunday in 1972[139] and the implementation of direct rule, the IRA's internal narrative in relation to the British became clear: the IRA was the

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[131] Commonly referred to as the B-Specials.
[132] *Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA*, ii–8.
[133] McKearney, *The Provisional IRA: From Insurrection to Parliament*, 104.
[134] Shanahan, *The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism*, 23; Sanders, *Inside the IRA: Dissident Republicans and the War for Legitimacy*, 30, 37, 52; O'Doherty, *The Trouble with Guns: Republican Strategy and the Provisional IRA*, 35–49.
[135] McGuire, *To Take Arms: A Year in the Provisional IRA*, 16.
[136] McKearney, *The Provisional IRA: From Insurrection to Parliament*, 105.
[137] *Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA*, 16; McKearney, *The Provisional IRA: From Insurrection to Parliament*, 97–98. According to IRA accounts, more than 60,000 Orange mobs launched an all-out attack against 6,000 nationalists; *Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA*, 16.
[138] O'Doherty, *The Trouble with Guns: Republican Strategy and the Provisional IRA*, 36, 43.
[139] The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association had staged a march for January 30, 1972 in Derry to protest discrimination of Catholics in Northern Ireland; the First Battalion of the Parachute Regiment of the British Army opened fire on an unarmed crowd, killing thirteen people and wounding fourteen; McGuire, *To Take Arms: A Year in the Provisional IRA*, 86–87; the IRA labeled Bloody Sunday as a genocide by British state forces; *Freedom*

army of the people, providing realistic defense measures for the people of the North, particularly Catholics. The IRA portrayed itself as attacking the British only in a retaliatory manner[140]: "*The Republican Army about this time guaranteed to defend the people against such attacks…the I.R.A. indicated that in the event of Irish people being brutalized or shot by British troops its resources would be used to take retaliatory actions.*"[141] The British were shown by the IRA to be evil, repressive, and both overtly and covertly sectarian. In the eyes of the IRA, the British were knowingly responsible for civilian deaths; after the commencement of the IRA's bombing campaign, the British allowed a great number of civilian casualties by intentionally failing to act on bomb warnings issued by the IRA.[142] The British and their 'professional killers' also aided loyalist extremists, repressing and murdering nationalists; undercover British units assisted loyalist elements in cold-blooded assassinations of civilians,[143] most of whom were Catholic and were killed because of religious identity.[144] Referencing the violence that followed the establishment of Direct Rule, the IRA stated: "*It is blatantly obvious now that the British Army is allowing itself to be an instrument of U.D.A. sectarianism and while that position obtains, the I.R.A. has no option but to defend the beleaguered people of the north.*"[145]

The Provisionals had insisted on seeing Loyalists and Protestants in Northern Ireland as "deluded pawns of British imperialism."[146] However, the IRA still saw them as belonging to the same Irish nation that must remain united; a statement directed towards the Loyalists and Protestants after the implementation of British Direct Rule elaborates: "*It is vital, therefore, that*

Struggle by the Provisional IRA, 49–52. Many Catholics joined the PIRA--more than would have otherwise--after Bloody Sunday not to defend their community, but to seek revenge; O'Doherty, *The Trouble with Guns: Republican Strategy and the Provisional IRA*, 87.

[140] *Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA*, 20–28.
[141] Italics in original; Ibid., 24.
[142] Ibid., 34.
[143] Ibid., 36–37, 84.
[144] Shanahan, *The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism*, 32–35.
[145] Italics in original; *Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA*, 69.
[146] Richardson, "Britain and the IRA," 68.

at this critical time the Irish people should abolish the memories of past dissension and stand in

brotherly union asserting the right of the Irish people to be masters of their own destiny."[147]

This call to Protestant Loyalists to refrain from assisting British goals necessitates that Protestant

Loyalists are a part of the Irish nation envisioned by the IRA; it was the duty of the entire Irish

nation to reclaim their island from British colonialism. However, because Protestant Loyalists

were collaborating with the British, loyalist forces, such as the Royal Ulster Constabulary and

the Ulster Defence Regiment, were "illegal armies and illegal forces whose main tasks are

treasonable and as such morally wrong, politically unacceptable and ethically inexcusable".[148]

The IRA thus has a moral obligation to fight both British forces and loyalist supporters; as *The*

Green Book declares:

> Commitment to the Republican Movement is the firm belief that its struggle both
> military and political is morally justified, that war is morally justified and that the
> Army is the direct representative of the 1918 Dail Eirann Parliament, and that as
> such they are the legal and lawful government of the Irish Republic, which has the
> moral right…to claim jurisdiction over the territory…and all of its people
> regardless of creed or loyalty…The Irish Republican Army, as the legal
> representatives of the Irish people, are morally justified in carrying out a
> campaign of resistance against foreign occupation forces and domestic
> collaborators."[149]

Because its struggle is morally justified, the IRA saw itself able to carry out armed

resistance in accordance with the Catholic Church's Just War Theory: the British regime

is tyrannical, the leaders have a popular mandate for their actions, peaceful means have

not succeeded, the IRA has a real hope of success, and the resistance campaign is carried

out with a due sense of proportion.[150] The only way the British can defeat the resistance

is to eradicate the entire Irish nation; this is spelled out in the 1916 Proclamation: "The

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[147] *Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA*, 60.
[148] *The Green Book*, quoted in Coogan, *The IRA*, 545.
[149] Ibid., 544–545.
[150] Rooney, "Violent Nationalism in Catholic Communities: The Provisional IRA and ETA," 69; Shanahan, *The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism*, 93.

long usurpation of that right [of sovereignty] by a foreign people and government that has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people."[151] The IRA must fight against an immoral and unjustified force—the British and their loyalist supporters.

Hunger Strike of 1981

The Hunger Strikes of 1981 were the culmination of five years of protest in Northern Irish prisons resulting from the 1976 normalization policies instated by the British government in attempts to de-legitimize the IRA. Hunger striking itself was a great emotional weapon of the Irish Republican Movement: even the rumor of a death from a hunger strike provoked an immense emotional response from the Catholic community.[152] The 1981 strike is considered one of the most important events of the whole struggle;[153] popular support from the hunger strike led IRA and Sinn Féin leadership to adopt a parliamentary strategy—by accelerating the politicization of the IRA's struggle, the 1981 Hunger Strike spurred the IRA and Sinn Féin to end abstentionism in southern Ireland in 1986.[154] As a result of the developing political dimension of the movement, Sinn Féin published "A Scenario for Peace" in 1987, detailing their conditions for an end to the struggle. The 1981 strike—a perpetuation of the 1980 Hunger Strike—along with "A Scenario for Peace" reveals an intensification of the IRA's established identity; the events, that took place strengthened the IRA's resolve with respect to its

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[151] The Provisional Government of the Irish Republic, "Poblacht Na hÉireann/Proclamation of the Irish Republic, 24 April 1916."
[152] McGuire notes that the rumor of Billy McKee's death in 1972 incited riots, with taxies being hi-jacked and set on fire all over Belfast. McGuire, *To Take Arms: A Year in the Provisional IRA*, 121–122, 128–129.
[153] Sanders, *Inside the IRA: Dissident Republicans and the War for Legitimacy*, 130–131.
[154] McKearney, *The Provisional IRA: From Insurrection to Parliament*, 152, 157; Richard English, *Amed Struggle: The History of the IRA* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 206. Before his death, IRA member and hunger strike leader Bobby Sands had been elected member of Parliament in Westminster for the constituency of Fermanagh, South Tyrone in a by-election held on April 9, 1981; Two other republican hunger strikers, Kieran Doherty and Paddy Agnew, were elected members *in abstentia* of the Irish Parliament in general elections held in June of 1981. See: Rogelio Alonso, *The IRA and Armed Struggle* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 106.

conceptions of sacrifice, the Other, and territory, perpetuating the narrative cultivated after the

1969 split of the Provisionals.

The 1981 Hunger Strikes have their roots in the criminalization of Republican prisoners

by Britain and the removal of political status. In protest, Republican prisoners refused to wear

prison-issued uniforms or perform prison work; prisoners lived in their cells wrapped only in a

blanket, escalating the protest by smearing excrement on the walls. As a last resort, the

protestors turned to hunger striking in order to have their demands met.[155]

Sacrifice

The 1981 Hunger Strike perpetuated the IRA's linking of sacrifice to the success of the

movement—defeat of the British would be delivered through perseverance. The hunger strike

was designed in such a way that death for the hunger strikers, particularly for Bobby Sands, was

nearly guaranteed.[156] Through their sacrifice for the national cause, the strikers, and by

extension the IRA, were able to claim higher moral ground; through the selflessness of giving

their own lives for the good of the lives of the Irish people, the strikers could guarantee success

for the national struggle.[157] As Bell explains about the hunger strike, it was "in a sense very

Irish, very Irish Catholic, very much a national tool where the powerful could be shamed by the

self-sacrifice of the weak…The *act* of the strike was vital to the Irish. The sacrifice paid, not the

results."[158] The IRA, and to a wider extent Irish republicans, saw the prison struggle as a

continuation of the liberation struggles, and that the hunger strikers were proudly bearing the

standard sacrificial standard set by Tone, Pearse, and Connolly, who stood in open defiance of

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[155] The prisoners maintained five demands: 1) the right to wear their own clothes 2) the right not to do prison work
3) free association with fellow prisoners 4) a fifty percent remission of sentences and 5) normal visits, parcels, and
educational and recreation facilities Alonso, *The IRA and Armed Struggle*, 104; English, *Armed Struggle: The
History of the IRA*, 194; J. Bowyer Bell, *The Secret Army: The IRA*, Revised Third (New Brunswick and London:
Transaction Publishers, 1997), 495; Coogan, *The IRA*, 489.
[156] Ed Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002), 208.
[157] Alonso, *The IRA and Armed Struggle*, 103.
[158] Bell, *The Secret Army: The IRA*, 493–494.

the tyrannical British regime.[159] The IRA's national ideal gave purpose to the hunger-strikers, who had no reservations about giving their life to this important cause. Hunger-striker Francis Hughes is quoted as saying: "I don't mind dying, as long as it is not in vain, or stupid."[160]

Perhaps the most crucial element connecting the sacrifice of the hunger strike to the IRA's nation-wide struggle was the fact that the strikers were ordinary men who were not destined for martyrdom; their zeal for the national struggle and their circumstances drove them to extreme measures. As strikers died from fasting, others came to replace them, rising from obscurity to republican legend.[161] The death of Bobby Sands, leader of the 1981 Hunger Strikes, had significant impact—it was Sands' ordinariness that gave his sacrifice for the national cause such great power. After Sands' death on May 5, 1981, after 66 days of striking, nationalist areas of Belfast erupted into riots and his funeral became one of the largest political demonstrations in living memory of Northern Ireland, as tens of thousands of nationalists came from all over Ireland to pay homage.[162] Like Patrick Pearse seven decades prior, Bobby Sands became a virtual saint, showing the IRA that there still existed the ability to transform a member of republican struggle into a national martyr who lived on in the hearts and memories of the Irish people.[163,164] The hunger strikers created an intensification of nationalist feeling not only within IRA ranks but throughout all of Ireland. For English, the comparison of the 1981 Hunger Strike to the 1916 Easter Rising for the IRA is unavoidable: "In this, as in much else, there are

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[159] The prison struggle is put into this republican historical context by H-Block OC Brendan Hughes, who is quoted in: English, *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA*, 192.
[160] Ibid., 198.
[161] Ibid., 198–201.
[162] Ibid., 196; Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, 208–209.
[163] O'Doherty, *The Trouble with Guns: Republican Strategy and the Provisional IRA*, 22.
[164] English notes that there was a profoundly religious, Catholic dimension to the hunger strike as well-- in that IRA prisoners were routinely identified with Christ. Most notably, Sands, at the pinnacle of these comparisons, invoked the words of Christ from John 15:13 when Father Denis Faul attempted to persuade him to end his hunger strike: 'Greater love hath no man that that he lay down his life for his friends. English, *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA*, 210.

unavoidable echoes between 1981 and 1916. Icon-generating, quasi-religious martyrdom, the

republican reaping of benefits from the technical defeat, the Pyrrhic nature of the British victory

and the intensification of Irish nationalist sentiment all point to such a comparison."[165] It is here

in the hunger strike that the IRA's metaphysical link between sacrifice and the success of the

national struggle comes to a distinct realization; the hunger strike created an intensification of

nationalist feeling that allowed the IRA to maintain its narrative of and identity in relation to the

British.

The Other

The hunger strike, which started on March 1, 1981, allowed the IRA to continue to

portray itself and its struggle in the moral right and the British as treacherous, immoral, and

unjust, particularly after the revocation of political prisoner status for IRA captives. As

O'Doherty explains of the IRA's continuing narrative: "The British then were the enemy…they

would let men die rather than give them their own clothes."[166] British Prime Minister Margaret

Thatcher in particular became 'enemy number one' for the IRA, claiming the status of a

republican hate-figure of Cromwellian proportions.[167] The IRA was well aware of the Thatcher

administration's policy, however; upon meeting with six of the hunger strikers, Gerry Adams

informed them that it was likely Thatcher would let them die.[168] Quick to capitalize, a 1981

statement made by Richard O'Rawe, the IRA's Public Relations Officer, blamed the British for

legalized murder of the strikers.[169] Continually rejecting British proposals during the strikes

because they failed to meet the full demands of the prisoners,[170] the IRA maintained its

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[165] Ibid., 211.
[166] O'Doherty, *The Trouble with Guns: Republican Strategy and the Provisional IRA*, 197.
[167] English, *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA*, 207.
[168] Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, 213.
[169] Alonso, *The IRA and Armed Struggle*, 102; English, *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA*, 203.
[170] Alonso, *The IRA and Armed Struggle*, 111; English, *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA*, 202.

established identity by refusing compromise with the British. In his diary, Bobby Sands adequately summarizes the IRA's continuing narrative of the British: "I am a political prisoner because I am a casualty of a perennial war that is being fought between the oppressed Irish people and an alien, oppressive, unwanted regime that refuses to withdraw from our land."[171]

The 1987 Sinn Féin document "A Scenario for Peace," published after the end of abstentionism in the south prompted by the political success of the Hunger Strike,[172] re-affirms the view held by Sinn Féin and the IRA. The British are labeled as conquering oppressors who deny the Irish people the ability to exercise control over their political destiny. British colonial interference remains the major stumbling block to any sort of peace; therefore the British must leave Ireland in its entirety. The document also reiterates the movement's view of loyalists as proxies for British action: "…we [Sinn Féin and the IRA] believe that loyalism derives an artificial psychological strength from the British presence, from the Union."[173] In the IRA's view, the portrayal of loyalists as the real enemy to the IRA benefited both the British and the loyalists—Loyalist refusal to enter in to dialogue and their disillusionment with the British government perpetuated conflict and negated Westminster as the true cause of conflict. Britain is still seen as the true enemy and initiator of conflict; loyalists are seen as a disillusioned part of the Irish nation that needs to recognize their false connection with the British government. The artificial partition of Northern Ireland represents a physical manifestation of this fictitious and imagined association.[174]

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[171] Bobby Sands, *The Diary of Bobby Sands* (Dublin: Sinn Féin, 1981), 7.
[172] In addition to electoral success, the 1981 Hunger Strike made it clear that any future political settlement would have to involve the IRA and Sinn Féin. McKearney, *The Provisional IRA: From Insurrection to Parliament*, 135.
[173] Sinn Féin, "A Scenario for Peace" (Sinn Féin, May 1987), www.sinnfein.ie.
[174] Ibid.

Territory

"A Scenario for Peace" rearticulates the IRA and Sinn Féin's vision of a united Ireland, as well as the nation that inhabits it—throughout history Ireland has been one unit, and the existence of the Irish nation has never been disputed; the partition exists as a tool of the British to deny the Irish right to self-determination to continue the cycle of British oppression and domination, Irish resistance, followed by an increase in British oppression. The deluded claims of an Irish minority to maintain British rule are not valid against the "express wishes of the vast majority of the Irish people."[175] The only solution to the British colonial conflict in Ireland is the end of partition, the repealing of the Government of Ireland Act, and a public declaration that the statelet of Northern Ireland is no longer part of the United Kingdom.[176]

The IRA's identity during and subsequent to the 1981 Hunger Strike closely resembles the group's identity during the early years of its operation post-1969: partition must be ended to attain the Irish nation's God-given destiny of a United Ireland; sacrifice and martyrdom are necessary means to attain this goal; and the British exist as an immoral and unjustified presence in Ireland, casting an illusion of legitimacy over a minority of the Irish nation who act as loyalist proxies. However, a shift in identity occurs within the IRA/Sinn Féin—acceptance of the Good Friday Agreement indicates a fracture in the IRA's Standard Republican Narrative.

The Good Friday/Belfast Agreement

The Good Friday Agreement was reached on April 10, 1998 in Belfast; in essence, the agreement was "a simple piece of work dependent on a two-way pact that allowed each side to gain a little and both to concede on previously dearly held principles."[177] Through referendum votes in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland remained

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[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.
[177] McKearney, *The Provisional IRA: From Insurrection to Parliament*, 186.

constitutionally linked to the British government while simultaneously abolishing the

discriminatory relationships that existed in the Six-County state. The agreement also marked an

end to abstentionism in the north for Sinn Féin and the IRA.[178] The IRA and Sinn Féin's

acceptance of the Good Friday Agreement[179] necessarily entailed a deviation from the

movement's original identity; this is seen in their revised conceptions of territory, sacrifice, and

the British and Loyalists as Others.

Territory

Rhetoric surrounding the Good Friday agreement still advocated a 32-county Irish

republic and an end of the union with Britain as the best way to eradicate the inequalities of the

island of Ireland[180]—the northern state was founded to deny the right of the Irish people

independence and to deny fundamental civil, national, and democratic rights to Irish nationalists

in the North.[181] Any kind of effort from the British to use the peace negotiations to create a new

Stormont or fortify partition would be unacceptable; the two different political realities created

by the partition complicate all efforts towards peace.[182] The removal of the North's union and

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[178] Ibid., 189–214; Coogan, *The IRA*, 771.
[179] From Sinn Féin: "So while the Agreement is not a settlement, it is a basis for advancement…Sinn Fein will subscribe to what we view as positive in the Agreement…"; Gerry Adams, "Speech by Gerry Adams to the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, 18 April 1998," April 18, 1998, CAIN Database, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/. Similarly, the IRA announces: "The leadership of Oglaigh na hEireann have considered carefully the Good Friday Document. It remains our position that a durable peace settlement demands the end of British rule in Ireland and the exercise of the right of the people of Ireland to nation self-determination. Viewed against our republican objectives or any democratic analysis, the document clearly falls short of presenting a solid basis for a lasting settlement. In our view the two imminent referenda [on the Agreement, north and south] do not constitute the exercise of national self-determination…However, the Good Friday document does mark a significant development." Irish Republican Army, "Irish Republican Army (IRA) Statement on Decommissioning, (30 April 1998)" (An Phoblacht/Republican News, April 30, 1998), CAIN Database, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/.
[180] Sinn Féin, "A Bridge to the Future" (Sinn Féin, March 8, 1998), www.sinnfein.ie; Sinn Féin, "Sinn Féin 6 County Assembly Election Manifesto 1998: For Real Change - Building a New Ireland" (Sinn Féin, 1998), www.sinnfein.ie.
[181] Adams, "Speech by Gerry Adams to the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, 18 April 1998."
[182] Sinn Féin, "A Bridge to the Future."

Irish reunification would always be a goal of the Irish Republican Army and Sinn Féin; rejection of the British partition and rule of the 6-county statelet would never fade.[183]

However, talk of a 32-county republic by the IRA and Sinn Féin at this point was fundamentally different: a 32-county, united Irish republic was the ideal, but was not the only model for peace in Ireland; the choice is up to the people of the island, and the decision should be made in an all-Ireland context.[184] All-Ireland dimensions were an essential element;[185] whereas previously the IRA and Sinn Féin demanded a 32-county Ireland and nothing less, the movement now required that any agreement at minimum included powerful all-Ireland political bodies, a political change in British jurisdiction, and an undiluted definition of national territory in the Irish Republic's constitution.[186] Gerry Adams explicitly acknowledges the shortcomings of the Agreement to the movement's original goals: "These changes [stemming from the Good Friday Agreement] may fall short at this time, as I acknowledge, of Sinn Féin's objectives. We will continue to pursue these objectives and I am confident that they will be achieved."[187] Similar statements issued by the IRA indicate confidence in the eventual achievement of a united and independent Ireland yet ultimately acceptance of the Good Friday Agreement.[188]

[183] Adams, "Speech by Gerry Adams to the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, 18 April 1998."
[184] Sinn Féin, "A Bridge to the Future."
[185] Gerry Adams, "Gerry Adams Presidential Address to Sinn Féin Ard Fheis 1998" (Speech presented at the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, Ireland, May 10, 1998), www.sinnfein.ie; Gerry Adams, "Annual Bodenstown Speech 1998: Address by Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams" (Speech presented at the Wolfe Tone Commemoration, Bodenstown, Ireland, June 21, 1998), www.sinnfein.ie; Irish Republican Army, "Text of an Interview with an IRA Spokesperson, 1 September 1998" (An Phoblacht/Republican News, September 3, 1998), CAIN Database, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/.
[186] Sinn Féin, "A Bridge to the Future"; Adams, "Gerry Adams Presidential Address to Sinn Féin Ard Fheis 1998"; Adams, "Annual Bodenstown Speech 1998: Address by Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams."
[187] Sinn Féin, "A Bridge to the Future."
[188] Irish Republican Army, "Irish Republican Army (IRA) New Year Message, 6 January 1999" (An Phoblacht/Republican News, January 6, 1999), CAIN Database, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/; Irish Republican Army, "Easter Statement by the Irish Republican Army (IRA), 31 March 1999," March 31, 1999, CAIN Database, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/.

The Agreement clearly had not removed the partition,[189] and acceptance of the partition

by the IRA and Sinn Féin entailed at the very least an implicit recognition of the existence of the

state of Northern Ireland and its association Britain as a member of the United Kingdom—as

long as the majority in Northern Ireland so desired.[190] Tommy McKearney, a former member of

the IRA, notes the shock of an IRA/Sinn Féin compromise: "That Sinn Féin had accepted an

arrangement based on an internal Northern Irish settlement was a stunning compromise. That

this was accompanied by another raft of concessions such as arms decommissioning and support

for policing was an astonishing ideological summersault by Irish Republicans."[191] Clearly, the

movement's view had changed; at the annual Wolfe Tone Commemoration in 1998, Gerry

Adams displays softer rhetoric than earlier republican demands for a united Irish state, instead

calling for an Ireland "free from division in which all of the people are applying our collective

energy, our wisdom and our intelligence to building a new future."[192] The goal of a 32-county

wide struggle and united Irish state still existed;[193] however, the current compromise would have

been inconceivable a decade earlier under the IRA's more religiously-based identity.

Sacrifice

Whereas sacrifice for the movement had traditionally been seen as necessary to the

achievement of the IRA's goals, and in the process granting the goals further justification,

sacrifices made for the cause were now being used to justify peace through the Good Friday

Agreement, which clearly fell short of original aims. Upon reaching the Agreement, Gerry

Adams proclaimed to the April 1998 Sinn Féin Ard Fheis that the Good Friday milestone echoed

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[189] McKearney, *The Provisional IRA: From Insurrection to Parliament*, 189.
[190] Ibid., 186; Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, 484.
[191] McKearney, *The Provisional IRA: From Insurrection to Parliament*, 187.
[192] Adams, "Annual Bodenstown Speech 1998: Address by Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams."
[193] Sinn Féin, "Sinn Féin 6 County Assembly Election Manifesto 1998: For Real Change - Building a New Ireland";
Gerry Adams, "Gerry Adams Presidential Address to Sinn Féin Ard Fheis 1999" (Speech presented at the Sinn Féin
Ard Fheis, Ireland, 1999), www.sinnfein.ie; Sinn Féin, "Defending the Good Friday Agreement" (Sinn Féin,
September 23, 1999), www.sinnfein.ie.

the same clamor of freedom surrounding those who sacrificed themselves declaring the Republic in 1916.[194] Nearly one month later, Adams addressed the Ard Fheis again declaring: "This is the day that James Connolly was executed here in this city eighty two years ago. It is a good day for us to recommit ourselves to our republican ideals and the struggles which lie ahead of us."[195] Adams invokes the memory of Irish martyrs to celebrate and justify an agreement that clearly fell short of the movement's objectives; the narrative delivered by Sinn Féin and the IRA presented the Good Friday Agreement as a reward to the sacrifice of members. Adams' 1998 speech at Bodenstown opens by drawing parallels between Wolfe Tone's struggle and sacrifice and that of the IRA and Sinn Féin: "Today the Irish nation owes a great debt to Tone and the United Irishmen and Irishwomen of 1798. They brought together the disparate elements, the tributaries that flow into the river of the Irish mind, and created a national consciousness."[196] According to Adams, this is what the IRA and Sinn Féin and the IRA have attempted to do; the same address ends with Adams stating that the Good Friday Agreement brings about the same hope given by Tone's martyrdom: "It is particularly appropriate that we celebrate the life of Wolfe Tone here today, 200 years since the 1798 rebellion. Hope and history rhyme again."[197] Referencing this speech in an address to the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis in 1999, Adams extends tribute to not only past generations of IRA volunteers, but to all generations, and particularly today's volunteers for their sacrifices that helped bring about the Good Friday Agreement.[198]

Statements published by the IRA throughout 1998 and 1999 echo the message from Adams and Sinn Féin. In an interview with an IRA spokesman in September of 1998, the movement reiterates that the sacrifices of members were integral to the struggle:

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[194] Adams, "Speech by Gerry Adams to the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, 18 April 1998."
[195] Adams, "Gerry Adams Presidential Address to Sinn Féin Ard Fheis 1998."
[196] Adams, "Annual Bodenstown Speech 1998: Address by Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams."
[197] Ibid.
[198] Adams, "Gerry Adams Presidential Address to Sinn Féin Ard Fheis 1999."

> Over many generations IRA volunteers have given their lives and their personal freedom for this cause. This particular phase of the struggle has been the first which has passed unabated over successive generations. This unbroken pursuit of our objectives is testimony to the courage, commitment and discipline of both our volunteers and our supports throughout this phase of the struggle. That commitment remains intact."[199]

These sacrifices were necessary for the Good Friday Agreement to be reached, as stated in the IRA's 1999 New Year statement: "We pay particular tribute to all those Volunteers who have died over the past decades of struggle. Without their efforts and sacrifice the current opportunity for a just resolution to the conflict would not exist."[200] This message is seen again in the IRA's Easter 1999 statement: "On this 83rd anniversary of the Easter Rising we commemorate all those who have given their lives for Irish freedom. Without their efforts and sacrifice the current opportunity for a just resolution to the conflict would not exist."[201] Here, consistent with the message of its political wing Sinn Féin, the IRA justifies the Good Friday Agreement—clearly failing to achieve their goals—through the sacrifice of their volunteers. The movement's view of sacrifice to perpetuate the struggle had changed; the peace of the Good Friday Agreement was necessary to end republican sacrifice and suffering. Gerry Adams adequately summarizes this view: "All sections of our people have suffered profoundly in this conflict. That suffering is a matter of deep regret but makes the difficult process of removing conflict all the more imperative."[202]

The Other

Accepting the Good Friday Agreement additionally shows an alteration in the IRA's conception of the British and loyalists/unionists, and by extension its narrative of Self. The

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[199] Irish Republican Army, "Text of an Interview with an IRA Spokesperson, 1 September 1998."
[200] Irish Republican Army, "Irish Republican Army (IRA) New Year Message, 6 January 1999."
[201] Irish Republican Army, "Easter Statement by the Irish Republican Army (IRA), 31 March 1999."
[202] Gerry Adams, "Keynote Statement by Sinn Féin President, Gerry Adams, 16 November 1999," November 16, 1999, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/.

organization saw the Agreement as an indication that British policy had failed; for the IRA and

Sinn Féin, the document had the potential to redefine the relationship between Ireland and Great

Britain.[203] At the outset of Good Friday negotiations, the movement portrayed the British and

the unionists, particularly the Ulster Unionist Party, as actors obstructing successful negotiations,

diluting the potential for real change.[204] Throughout negotiations, and even after the signing of

the Good Friday Agreement, British policy and the perpetuation of unionist ability in Northern

Ireland to veto a united Ireland remained the cause of conflict for the republican movement;[205]

however, there was great care to differentiate between the British and the unionists: "When Irish

Republicans talk about British interference and the British presence we do not mean the unionist

people. They are an important and valued part of our society. We want to make peace with the

unionists, to work with you, to accommodate and celebrate our diversity as equals."[206] The

unionists in the north were seen as impediments to progress[207] whose politics were wedded to

domination, inequality, and opposition to a democratic peace settlement.[208] The Ulster Unionist

Party in particular rejected Sinn Féin compromises to implement the agreed upon political

institutions of the Good Friday document—this resistance to change remained the greatest threat

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[203] Adams, "Speech by Gerry Adams to the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, 18 April 1998."
[204] Irish Republican Army, "IRA's New Year Message," *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, January 8, 1998, www.anphoblacht.com; Gerry Adams, "Imaginative Approach Is Vital - 19 January 1998" (Irish News, January 19, 1998), www.sinnfein.ie; Sinn Féin, "A Bridge to the Future"; Sinn Féin, "Defending the Good Friday Agreement."
[205] Sinn Féin, "A Bridge to the Future"; Irish Republican Army, "IRA's New Year Message"; Adams, "Speech by Gerry Adams to the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, 18 April 1998"; Adams, "Gerry Adams Presidential Address to Sinn Féin Ard Fheis 1998"; Adams, "Annual Bodenstown Speech 1998: Address by Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams"; Martin Ferris, "Annual Bodenstown Specch 1999: Address by Sinn Féin Councillor Martin Ferris" (Speech presented at the Wolfe Tone Commemoration, Bodenstown, Ireland, June 1999), www.sinnfein.ie; Irish Republican Army, "Irish Republican Army (IRA) Statement, 21 July 1999," July 21, 1999, CAIN Database, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/; Sinn Féin, "Defending the Good Friday Agreement."
[206] Adams, "Speech by Gerry Adams to the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, 18 April 1998."
[207] Irish Republican Army, "Irish Republican Army (IRA) New Year Message, 6 January 1999"; Adams, "Gerry Adams Presidential Address to Sinn Féin Ard Fheis 1999"; Sinn Féin, "Breaking the Impasse: A Sinn Féin Declaration" (Sinn Féin, June 30, 1999), CAIN Database, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/; Sinn Féin, "Defending the Good Friday Agreement."
[208] Irish Republican Army, "Irish Republican Army (IRA) New Year Message, 6 January 1999."

to the republican movement.[209] The motivations of the unionist leaders and their credibility were

called into question; the IRA and Sinn Féin placed primary blame on the British government,

who refused to confront the ability of the unionist to veto.[210]

Much of this rhetoric seems to be consistent with previous iterations: the British

government and its loyalist supports were the barrier to any possible developments.[211] However,

the acceptance of the Good Friday Agreement required a mutual recognition, particularly

between the IRA and unionists—a previously unimaginable element.[212] Mutual recognition was

a requirement enforced by the Agreement; as Adams tells, it was a necessity for the Irish people

to work together: "There is a common need: to recognise the integrity of the other; to be at

peace with each other; to understand the way we have hurt one another; to listen to one another;

to be patient with one another; the find common ground; to celebrate our difference as diversity.

And as equals."[213] This mutual recognition between the IRA/Sinn Féin and unionists in

Northern Ireland carried significant ramifications for the movement's conception of Self. The

organization's original identity dictated that the Irish nation—encompassing the entire island,

North and South—would if given the opportunity vote as one unit for Irish unification.

However, the acceptance of the Good Friday agreement meant that Gerry Adams and the IRA

would accept two different votes North and South, carrying equal weight;[214] this represents a

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[209] Sinn Féin, "Defending the Good Friday Agreement"; Adams, "Imaginative Approach Is Vital - 19 January 1998."

[210] Irish Republican Army, "Irish Republican Army (IRA) Statement, 21 July 1999"; Sinn Féin, "Defending the Good Friday Agreement"; Gerry Adams, "Address by Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams, to the Second Annual Congress of Ógra Shinn Féin, 2 October 1999," October 2, 1999, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/; Gerry Adams, "Statement by Sinn Féin on Commitment to the Agreement, 18 October 1999" (Sinn Féin, October 18, 1999), CAIN Database, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/; Gerry Adams, "Statement by Sinn Féin President, Gerry Adams in New York, 21 October 1999" (Speech, New York, October 21, 1999), http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/.

[211] English, *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA*, 298–299.

[212] McKearney, *The Provisional IRA: From Insurrection to Parliament*, 187; Coogan, *The IRA*, 769.

[213] Adams, "Speech by Gerry Adams to the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, 18 April 1998". Adams drives this point home the following month in his May address to the Ard Fheis; Adams, "Gerry Adams Presidential Address to Sinn Féin Ard Fheis 1998."

[214] Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, 272.

clear change in the identity of the IRA/Sinn Féin. Irish unity, and the unity of the IRA self, was

still an aspiration, but as McKearney recognizes, was not a goal worth shedding the blood, sweat

and tears that would be involved in opposing the Unionist opinion.[215] That the IRA would allow

the future of a united Ireland to rest on two equal votes entailed an acknowledgment that two

distinct nations may inhabit Ireland.[216] It is this acknowledgement that drove Sinn Féin to

abandon absetentionsim in Northern Ireland in 1998.[217] Subsequently, the political wing

refocused into becoming an all-inclusive movement, much like the United Irish Movement of

1798, in order to win over unionists to the goal of a united Ireland.[218] To this end, the IRA

committed to gradual decommissioning.[219]

Conclusion

The analysis in this chapter I have argued that the IRA experienced a change in identity

over the course of their nearly forty-year campaign; in examining its conceptions of territory,

sacrifice, and the Other across three key events—formation in wake of the 1969 split, the 1981

Hunger Strike, and the Good Friday Agreement—it is evident that there was a break from the

movement's original identity. In its formative years, the Provisional IRA sought a United

Ireland, the God-given destiny of an Irish nation that existed across the entire Ireland; religious-

like sacrifice and martyrdom were necessary to advance and achieve the objective of expelling

the British and creating a united Irish republic. The British and their 'loyalist pawns' were seen

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[215] McKearney, *The Provisional IRA: From Insurrection to Parliament*, 188.

[216] Shanahan, *The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism*, 75–76.

[217] Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, 481.

[218] Adams, "Speech by Gerry Adams to the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, 18 April 1998"; Adams, "Gerry Adams Presidential Address to Sinn Féin Ard Fheis 1998"; Ferris, "Annual Bodenstown Specch 1999: Address by Sinn Féin Councillor Martin Ferris."

[219] Adams, "Keynote Statement by Sinn Féin President, Gerry Adams, 16 November 1999"; Irish Republican Army, "Irish Republican Army (IRA) Statement, 17 November 1999," November 17, 1999, CAIN Database, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/; Gerry Adams, "Statement by Mr. Gerry Adams on Decommissioning, 22 November 1999" (Sinn Féin, November 22, 1999), CAIN Database, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/; Irish Republican Army, "IRA Announce a Representative to Meet with IICD" (An Phoblacht/Republican News, December 2, 1999), www.sinnfein.ie.

as immoral and unjust; the IRA emerged as a righteous national force, providing defense for nationalists and Catholics, taking the role of a necessary resistance movement. This view is perpetuated and accented by the 1981 Hunger Strike; the legend of previous martyrs like Tone, Pearse, and Connolly were manifested by Bobby Sands and the other H-Block hunger strikers. The British were reified as an evil presence initiating legalized murder; the event strengthened the movement's resolve for a United Ireland, extending the struggle into the political realm. However, the acceptance of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998 signaled a break from the IRA and Sinn Féin's original identity. Through the Good Friday Agreement, the movement accepted not only the possibility of further partition, but also the possibility of a nation that did not encompass a population in the north; this came as a result of the mutual recognition needed to institute the Agreement—the IRA and Sinn Féin compromised, shifting perceptions of the loyalists and unionists in the north. The British were still thought to be the root cause of conflict, yet decommissioning by the IRA negated any claims to a Just War against an immoral occupying force. Finally, instead of perpetuating the struggle, martyrdom—and ending sacrifice—was seen as justification to accept peace through the Good Friday Agreement. For the IRA, its religiously-underpinned national identity became fractured; this change in the Standard Republican Narrative represents a diminishing in the religious underpinnings of nationalism. The emphasis on national political identity creates conditions where phased liberation is possible; this is seen in the IRA's move to secure partial, immediate goals in the name of the nation. However, as will be seen in the final chapter, this process is underscored by a change in conceptions of temporality. Here, the religiously-tinged rhetoric of the IRA's nationalism is subsumed under the need to secure the actual Irish nation and the movement's accomplishments; this process— which allows for phased liberation—is examined further in my next case study: Hamas.

<u>**Chapter 3**</u>:
From Uncompromising Religious Fervor to Pragmatic Nationalism:
The Case of Hamas

The Islamic Resistance Movement (*Harakat al-Muqawamat al-Islamiyya*), better known

by its Arabic acronym 'Hamas',[220] represents the latest manifestation of Palestinian

nationalism;[221] however, as the organization's name indicates, it is also a religious movement.

Because the religious and national goals of Hamas are so intertwined and inseparable and never

maintain the same balance of each within the movement on a daily basis,[222] there exist distinct

problems in labeling Hamas as purely a 'national' or a 'religious' movement.[223] The Movement

maintains a focus on preserving national rights of Palestinians, but strategically defines itself

religiously—Islam is used to more generally set the parameters of acceptable debate, informing

views toward not only the state but also their educational and social efforts.[224] However, there is

no doubt that Hamas has adopted a pragmatic, *realpolitik* approach to recent political

developments, most notably its decision to participate in the 2006 Palestinian general

elections.[225] This chapter argues that this change in behavior resulted in a subtle shift in identity

from an overtly-religious movement with secondary national goals to a movement focused on

obtaining immediate-to-intermediate national gains acceptable within a broader frame of political

Islam.

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[220] The Arabic term *hamas* is also defined as "zeal".
[221] Helga Baumgarten, "The Three Faces/Phases of Palestinian Nationalism, 1948-2005," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 34, no. 4 (Summer 2005): 25–48.
[222] Khaled Hroub, *Hamas: A Beginner's Guide* (Ann Arbor: Pluto Press, 2006), 26–27.
[223] Gunning and Jackson, "What's So 'Religious' About 'Religious Terrorism'?," 376; Issam Aburaiya, "Islamism, Nationalism, and Western Modernity: The Case of Iran and Palestine," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 22, no. 1 (March 2009): 57–68.
[224] Jeroen Gunning, *Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 167, 125.
[225] Michael Irving Jensen, *The Political Ideology of Hamas: A Grassroots Perspective*, trans. Sally Laird (London and New York: I.B. Taurus & Co. Ltd., 2009), 36.

Background: The Origins of the Islamic Resistance Movement

The decision to form Hamas was not a sudden, self-conscious decision—it was a group that evolved over time from other organizations, finally emerging in the wake of 1987 and the First *Intifada*.[226] The leaders of Hamas were greatly influenced by the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. The Muslim Brotherhood believed that Islam was a complete system that dictated every aspect of life; it offered this system as an alternative to the Westernization, secularization, and materialism they believed was threatening the Arab world. During an expansive phase, the Brotherhood established a Palestinian Wing in Jerusalem in 1946; this group would eventually fight in the 1948 Arab-Israeli War.[227]

Despite the major loss of Palestinian territory after the Arab Israeli War, the West Bank and Gaza remained under Arab control—the former controlled by Jordan while Egypt occupied the latter. The Muslim Brotherhood maintained good relations with the Hashemite Kingdom, yet the organization's relationship with the Egyptian government developed into a problematic one.[228] Nasser's regime in Egypt began cracking down on the Muslim Brotherhood, forcing many branches of the Brotherhood to operate underground; this included the Gaza Branch of the Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood, which resorted to underground operations from 1949 to 1967.[229]

Underground operations continued after Israel's defeat of Syria, Jordan, and Egypt in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War; victorious, Israel gained control of and occupied Gaza, the West Bank, the Golan Heights, and the Sinai Peninsula. As a result of the occupation, the Brotherhood sought to restructure Palestinian society through Islam; however, the Palestinian population

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[226] Ziad Abu-Amr, "Hamas: A Historical and Political Background," *Journal of Palestinian Studies* 22, no. 4 (Summer 1993): 11.

[227] Are Knudsen, "Crescent and Sword: The Hamas Enigma," *Third World Quarterly* 26, no. 8 (2005): 1374–1376.

[228] Abu-Amr, "Hamas: A Historical and Political Background," 7.

[229] Knudsen, "Crescent and Sword: The Hamas Enigma," 1374–1376.

sought the secular liberation from the foreign Israeli occupation. After several unsuccessful attempts, the Muslim Brotherhood used this period to develop and restructure the social system.[230] Gradually gaining power over the majority of mosques in and expanding to other areas of the Gaza Strip,[231] the Islamic Center eventually controlled all of the Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood's religious organizations and institutions, spreading influence primarily through Palestinian mosques.[232] Societies in the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, and Jordan were soon merged into a single organization called The Muslim Brotherhood Society in Jordan and Palestine; this helped consolidate the influence and power of the Muslim Brotherhood and the Islamic Center.

The immediate event that led to the creation of Hamas was the outbreak of the First Intifada. Sporadic riots in the Palestinian territories grew into a widespread uprising, and several groups, including the Islamic Jihad and Fatah, emerged to coordinate much of the resistance in the early stages of the struggle. A day after the Intifada erupted, the first meeting of Hamas's eventual founders was held in the house of Sheikh Yassin; here the organization was created.[233] Hamas, established as a military organization to fight the Israeli Army and their occupation during the Intifada as well as provide security to monitor and arrest Palestinian informants, drug dealers, and prostitutes,[234] was created as an independent entity so that it did not compromise the cause of Palestinian liberation; if Hamas were to fail, the Muslim Brotherhood and its affiliates could disclaim all credit.[235] The organization officially emerged as an actor in January of

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[230] Abu-Amr, "Hamas: A Historical and Political Background," 7.
[231] Knudsen, "Crescent and Sword: The Hamas Enigma," 1376–1377.
[232] During Israeli occupation, Gaza and the West Bank experienced a proliferation of mosques. From 1967 to 1987, the West Bank expanded from 400 mosques to 750; the number of mosques in Gaza tripled from 200 to 600. Abu-Amr, "Hamas: A Historical and Political Background," 8.
[233] Ibid.,7-10.
[234] Zaki Chehab, *Inside Hamas: The Untold Story of the Militant Islamic Movement* (New: Nation Books, 2007), 23–24.
[235] Abu-Amr, "Hamas: A Historical and Political Background," 11.

1988.[236] Throughout Hamas's initial development, nationalism and religion played important roles. Hamas was a radical offshoot of a larger national movement embodied by the First Intifada; yet its roots in the Muslim Brotherhood and the utilization of religious institutions to grow in size and support indicate that the organization emerged through a combination of religious and nationalist forces. Hamas sees itself not merely as an Islamist party, but as the vanguard of the Palestinian national movement.[237] This view is expressed clearly in Hamas' foundational document—the 1988 Charter.

The Emergence of Hamas' Identity: The 1988 Charter

Hamas's overall goals and ideology are laid out in its charter, issued in August of 1988. The organization's main objective is to replace the Jewish state of Israel with Islamist Palestinian state; to achieve this, Hamas aims to counter what it perceives as the secularization and Westernization of Palestinian society by restructuring Palestinian society and politics through Islam. After achieving a Palestinian state, the group seeks to lead an international pan-Islamist movement. Hamas portrays the struggle as both a clash of Palestinian nationalism and Israeli Zionism and as a broader existential religious war between the Muslims and the Jews. The Charter presents Islam as an alternative to other ideologies in Palestine—acting in particular as a foil to the ideology put forth by the Palestinian Liberation—that have failed to produce desirable results.[238] Hamas' system of Islam is seen as the only model for solving the Palestinian crisis; in fact, Islam is an all-encompassing system that provides answers for the condition of not only Palestine, but also for the broader Islamic world.[239] Despite careful and conscious adjustment to

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[236] Knudsen, "Crescent and Sword: The Hamas Enigma," 1377–1378.
[237] Paul Scham and Osama Abu-Irshaid, *Hamas: Ideological Rigidity and Political Flexibility*, Special Report (United States Insitute of Peace, June 2009).
[238] Jensen, *The Political Ideology of Hamas: A Grassroots Perspective*, 48; Baumgarten, "The Three Faces/Phases of Palestinian Nationalism, 1948-2005."
[239] Jensen, *The Political Ideology of Hamas: A Grassroots Perspective*, 47.

its political program in recent years, the Charter, where religion and the religious idea are the supreme values,[240] has continued to define Hamas in Western eyes.[241]

The Charter depicts Hamas as a link in the long chain of jihad against Israeli occupation; Chapter 1 Article 7 of the Charter traces this lineage from the martyr 'Izz al-Din al-Qassam and his *mujahid* brothers in 1936, to the jihad of the Palestinians and the Muslim Brotherhood in the war of 1949, to the jihad waged in 1968 by the Muslim Brotherhood.[242] History is detailed according to the struggle of Islam;[243] accordingly, the national struggle is rooted in Islam: "Nationalism, from the point of view of the Islamic Resistance Movement, is part and parcel of religious ideology. There is not a higher peak in nationalism or depth in devotion than jihad when an enemy lands on the Muslim territories."[244] Chapter 3 Article 12 of the Charter, from which this excerpt is drawn, continues:

> If other nationalisms have material, humanistic, and geographic ties, then the Islamic Resistance Movement's nationalism has all of that and, more important, divine reasons providing it with life and spirit where it is connected with the originator of the spirit and lifegiver, raising in the heavens the divine banner to connect earth and heavens with a strong bond.[245]

The Charter explicitly ties nationalism to religion, providing religious justifications to the national struggle. Exploring the Charter's conception of territory, the Other, and sacrifice will elaborate this relationship.

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[240] Menachem Klein, "Hamas in Power," *Middle East Journal* 61, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 451.
[241] Scham and Abu-Irshaid, *Hamas: Ideological Rigidity and Political Flexibility*, 4.
[242] Islamic Resistance Movement, "Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine," in *Princeton Readings in Islamist Thought: Texts and Contexts from al-Banna to Bin Laden*, ed. Roxanne L. Euben and Muhammad Qasim Zaman (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009), 368.
[243] Jensen, *The Political Ideology of Hamas: A Grassroots Perspective*, 47–59.
[244] Islamic Resistance Movement, "Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine," 370.
[245] Ibid., 370–371.

Territory

The Hamas Charter articulates the Palestinian national project for statehood in overtly Islamic terms.[246] The movement sees itself as a national movement unlike any other; its adherence to Islam casts is as the true Palestinian national movement: "The Islamic Resistance Movement is an outstanding type of Palestinian movement. It gives its loyalty to Allah, adopts Islam as a system of life, and works toward raising the banner of Allah on every inch of Palestine."[247] At the core of Hamas' struggle is its view that Palestine is a *waqf*—an Islamic endowment from God to all Muslims. This is stated outright in Chapter 3 Article 11: "The Islamic Resistance Movement [firmly] believes that the land of Palestine is an Islamic waqf (trust) upon all Muslim generations till the day of Resurrection. It is not right to give it up or any part of it."[248] Because Palestine exists as a gift directly from God, no one possesses the authority to give up all or any part of the land;[249] as expressed in Chapter 3 Article 13, Hamas sees giving up any part of Palestine as equivalent to surrendering part of its religion—the notion is completely unthinkable.[250] Furthermore, the *waqf* of Palestine contains the al-Aqsa mosque, the third holiest site in Islam, where the Prophet Muhammad ascended to Heaven. The movement references this dimension in Chapter 3 Article 5 of the Charter: "We must instill in the minds of the Muslim generation that the Palestinian cause is a religious cause. It must be solved on this basis because it contains Islamic sanctuaries…"[251]

The fact that, according to Hamas, Palestine is an endowment to *all* Muslims, and not just Palestinians, the importance of the land extends beyond the borders of historic Palestine. This is

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[246] Rashmi Singh, "The Discourse and Practice of 'Heroic Resistance' in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Case of Hamas," *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 13, no. 4 (December 2012): 52.
[247] Islamic Resistance Movement, "Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine," 367.
[248] Ibid., 370.
[249] Ibid.
[250] Ibid., 371.
[251] Ibid., 373.

seen in Chapter 1 Article 5: "As for the geographic dimension, it is wherever Muslims—those

who adopt Islam as a system of life—are found, in any region on the face of the earth.

Therefore, it establishes a firm foundation in the depths of the earth and reaching high in the

heavens."[252] Palestine is portrayed as a sacred land of importance to both Palestine and the

national cause and to all Muslims and the larger project of Islamic restoration. The larger

significance of Palestine is reiterated in Chapter 5 Article 34 of the Charter: "Palestine is the

heart of the earth, the meeting of the continents, and the lure of the avaricious since the dawn of

history."[253] The Hamas Charter creates an image of a Palestine that is integral to both the

Palestinian nation and the larger Islamic community; however, it is first and foremost a

religiously-sanctioned land; to liberate the territory, Palestinian society must be sufficiently

Islamized in the in the face of an occupying infidel: Israel.[254]

The Other

Because Hamas views Palestine as a *waqf* and an integral and inalienable part of the

Muslim homeland, it cannot be ruled by non-Muslims; therefore, Jewish rule in any Palestine is

unjustifiable, and the state of Israel has no right to exist.[255] The Charter warns of the dangers of

non-Muslim rule in Chapter 1 Article 6: "In the absence of Islam, discord takes form, oppression

and destruction are rampant, and wars and battles take place."[256] It is out of this context that

Hamas formed; Israeli occupation is an evil presence that has attempted to wipe out the universal

good of Islam. As Chapter 2 Article 9 elaborates, this evil must be combatted:

> The Islamic Resistance Movement evolved in a time where the lack of the Islamic
> Spirit has brought about distorted judgment and absurd comprehension. Values
> have deteriorated the plague of evil folk and oppression and darkness have

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[252] Ibid., 367.
[253] Ibid., 384.
[254] Hroub, *Hamas: A Beginner's Guide*, 33.
[255] Scham and Abu-Irshaid, *Hamas: Ideological Rigidity and Political Flexibility*, 7.
[256] Islamic Resistance Movement, "Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine," 367.

become rampant, cowards have become ferocious. Nations have been occupied, their people expelled and fallen on their faces [in humiliation] everywhere on earth. The nation of truth is absent and the nation of evil has been established; as long as Islam does not take its rightful place in the world arena, everything will continue to change for the worse. The goal of the Islamic Resistance movement therefore is to conquer evil, break its will, and annihilate it so that truth may prevail, so that the country may return to its rightful place, and so that the call may be broadcast over the minarets [lit. mosques] proclaiming the Islamic state.[257]

Furthermore, Chapter 4 Article 28 of the Charter reminds the Islamic community of the recent embarrassments that Muslims have faced at the hands of the Jews: "We should not lose this opportunity to remind every Muslim that when the Jews occupied immaculate Jerusalem in 1967, they stood on the stairs of the blessed Masjid al-Aqsa loudly chanting: 'Muhammad has died and left girls behind.' So Israel with its Jewishness and its Jewish population challenges Islam and Muslims."[258] These passages, which construct the Israel Jews as an existential threat to Islam, are echoed by a number of allusions to the 'Crusading West' throughout the Charter.[259] While these references seek to convey the overarching threat that Israeli evil and the Jewish presence in Palestine pose to the whole of Islam, Chapter 3 Article 20 of the Charter illuminates the national dimension, detailing specific offenses against the Palestinian people:

> Our enemy uses the method of collective punishment, robbing people of their land and property, and chasing them in their migration and places of gathering. They purposely break (bodily) bones; fire (live ammunition directly) at women, children, elders (sometimes) with a reason or without a reason; create concentration camps to place thousands (of people) in inhuman conditions, not to mention the demolition of homes, orphaning of children, and issuance of tyrannical laws on thousands of youth so they spend their best years in the obscurity of prisons. The Nazism of Jews has included women and children. Terror is for everyone, they frighten people in their livelihood, take their wealth, and threaten their honor. They, with their shocking actions, treat people worse than they treat the worst of war criminals.[260]

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[257] Ibid., 369.
[258] Ibid., 381.
[259] See: Chapter 2 Article 15, Chapter 3 Article 22, and Chapter 4 Article 25 of the Charter; Ibid., 373, 377, 379.
[260] Ibid., 376.

Hamas shows that the Israelis are vicious and do not refrain from using "low and despicable methods to fulfill its obligations".[261] They are depicted as "businessmen of war"[262] and are also responsible for the drug and alcohol trade, a result of their ability to control and expand.[263] This expansion, however, is not limited to Palestine: "Today it is Palestine, and tomorrow it will be another country, and then another; the Zionist plan has no bounds, and after Palestine they wish to expand from the Nile River to the Euphrates. When they totally occupy it they will look toward another…"[264] In portraying Israel as territorially insatiable, the Charter seeks to convey a sense of urgency to all Muslims, presenting Palestine as a 'patient zero', the initial manifestation of Zionist aggression that will inevitably spread to other Islamic lands. As such, the Israelis constitute both a worldly and an existential threat that is not limited to Palestine and is thus a danger to all Muslims. The duality of the Jewish Zionist threat is expressed in Chapter 4 article 32: "It is necessary to gather all forces and abilities to face the Tartarian Nazi invasion, otherwise loss of the homeland, exile of the population, a prompting of evil on earth and destruction of all religious values [will take place]."[265]

The Charter offers a fairly comprehensive view of the Israelis as an evil presence that seeks to dominate and humiliate both the Palestinian nation and the wider Islamic community. It is important to note at this point that Hamas makes no distinction between Judaism, Zionism, and Israeli nationalism,[266] effectively combining the religious and the political dimensions into one enemy. In fact, the political dimension is dictated by the religious dimension: the larger existential threat to Islam determines the routes of political action that are available. The

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[261] Chapter 4 Article 28, Ibid., 380.
[262] Chapter 4 Article 32, Ibid., 383.
[263] Chapter 4 Article 28, Ibid., 381.
[264] Chapter 4 Article 32, Ibid., 383.
[265] Ibid.
[266] Jensen, *The Political Ideology of Hamas: A Grassroots Perspective*, 51.

national struggle against Israel is necessarily a spiritual revolution against the Jews to restore the Islamic identity in Palestine;[267] for this reason, political resolutions with Israel are impossible.[268] The only solution to the crisis of Palestine and Islam is through the strengthening and perseverance of Islam; as the Charter elaborates, this has been the model of Muslim victory in ages past: "The current Zionist invasion was preceded by many invasions of the Crusading West and others, including the Tartars from the east. Just as Muslims confronted those invasions and prepared for fighting and defeating them, they should be able to confront and defeat the Zionist invasion."[269] As in the past, victory can only be achieved through the sacrifice associated with the execution of jihad.

Sacrifice

Hamas' view of sacrifice revolves around the concept of jihad;[270] jihad is central to Hamas' fight for the Palestinian state.[271] As the charter states, "Allah is its goal. The Messenger is its Leader. The Qur'an is its Constitution. Jihad is its methodology, and Death for the sake of Allah is its most coveted desire."[272] At its core, the Arabic word *jihad* means 'struggle'; the

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[267] Meir Litvak, "'Martyrdom Is Life': Jihad and Martyrdom in the Ideology of Hamas," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 33, no. 8 (2010): 722–723.

[268] Scham and Abu-Irshaid, *Hamas: Ideological Rigidity and Political Flexibility*, 8.

[269] Chapter 5 Article 35, Islamic Resistance Movement, "Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine," 385.

[270] Hamas derives much of its philosophy on resistance from the Sayyid Qutb's works on jihad and the active opposition against and noncooperation with the existing order; however, the idea of jihad detailed in the Hamas Charter can be traced back to the works of premodern Islamic scholar Ibn Taymiyyah. Koch notes that examining historic texts, like the works of Taymiyya, can provide a greater understanding of the historical foundations and ideologies of particular cases [Bettina Koch, "Yesterday's Tyrranicide, Today's Terrorist? Historic Acts of 'Terror' in Islam and in the West in Light of the Contemporary Debates on Terrorism," in *International Relations, Culture and Global Finance*, ed. Akis Kalaitzidis (Athens, Greece: Athens Institute for Education and Research, 2011), 111–126]. For Qutb's conception of jihad, refer to: Sayed Qutb, "Jihad in the Cause of God," in *Voices of Terror*, ed. Walter Laqueur (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, Inc., 2004), 394–397. For Ibn Taymiyyah's interpretation of jihad, see: Ibn Taymiyyah, *Ibn Taymiyyah Expounds on Islam: Selected Writings of Shaykh al-Islam Taqi ad-Din Ibn Taymiyyah on Islamic Faith, Life, and Society*, trans. Muhammad 'Abdul-Haqq Ansari (Riyadh: General Administration of Culture and Publication, 2000), 534–565.

[271] Singh, "The Discourse and Practice of 'Heroic Resistance' in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Case of Hamas," 532.

[272] Chapter 1, Article 8, Islamic Resistance Movement, "Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine," 369.

overarching concept of religious jihad can be broken down into two more distinct, yet interrelated, concepts: the lesser jihad and the greater jihad. The greater jihad involves the spiritual struggle that each Muslim must undergo to abide by the rules of Islam; the lesser jihad "refers to the duty of all Muslims to defend, by all means at their disposal—participation in combat, financial assistance, or encouragement—their religion when it is under attack."[273] It is this latter form of jihad which the Hamas Charter advocates.

The Charter, however, does not merely prescribe jihad—it is the only solution to the Palestinian problem[274] and represents the only path to true peace; those who choose any path other than jihad only perpetuate the domination of oppression.[275] As evidenced in the discussion of territory and the Other, jihad is justified by two interrelated issues: the designation of Palestine as a *waqf* and the occupation and rule of Palestine by non-Muslims. Chapter 1 Article 15 encapsulates both the abstract justification of jihad and the particular Palestinian case: "When an enemy occupies some of the Muslim lands, jihad becomes obligatory for every Muslim. In the struggle against the Jewish occupation of Palestine, the banner of jihad must be raised."[276] The national and religious dimensions of jihad are embodied by the Charter's reference to 'Izz al-Din al-Qassam, after whom Hamas named its 'Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades of its Military Wing. Al-Qassam, leader of the Haifa branch of the Muslim Brotherhood in the 1930s, led a movement that assassinated Jews and British officials in the name of jihad. He was killed in a clash—intended to be the start of a guerrilla war—with British forces in northern Samaria;

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[273] Phillip Migaux, "The Roots of Islamic Radicalism," in *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda*, ed. Gerard Chaliand and Amau Blin (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 265. David Cook has asserted that "greater jihad" was conceived in the nineteenth century as a Muslim apologetic invention [David Cook, "The 'Greater Jihad' and the 'Lesser Jihad'," in *Understanding Jihad* (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 32–48; however, for the sake of this essay, jihad will be considered to be comprised of both the "greater jihad" and the "lesser jihad".

[274] Chapter 3 Article 13, Islamic Resistance Movement, "Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine," 371.

[275] Litvak, "'Martyrdom Is Life': Jihad and Martyrdom in the Ideology of Hamas," 721.

[276] Islamic Resistance Movement, "Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine," 372–373.

however, due to his religious status and his self-sacrifice for the Palestinian cause, al-Qassam's

fall in battle elevated him to the status of hero for both religion and nation, becoming the model

for the duty of jihad in the name of Palestinian liberation.[277] Al-Qassam and his Muslim

brethren righteously "raised the banner of jihad in the face of the transgressors to free country

and folk from [the transgressors'] filth, impurity, and evil."[278] Hamas makes clear that it is

facing a similar evil in the form of Israel and the Jews, and that the Palestinian nation must purge

their territory of the wicked Israel presence. Yet the Charter maintains that it is incumbent upon

all Muslims to carry out jihad, and that liberating Palestine through jihad is a religious

obligation.[279]

Hamas also makes clear that jihad is not purely limited to military confrontation, as

evidenced by Chapter 4 Article 30 of the Charter: "Jihad is not only carrying weapons and

confronting the enemy. The good word, excellent article, beneficial book, aid, and support if

intentions are pure, so that the banner of Allah is the most high, are each a jihad for the sake of

Allah."[280] Political ambitions and the deliberate re-Islamization of Palestinian society are

necessary steps in the struggle to reclaim the holy land.[281] Jihad represents the efforts of entire

communities—the Palestinian nation and the Islamic community—toward a common end that

seats Palestinian nationalism in the larger context of Islam: repelling the Israelis from

Palestinian national territory, thereby re-sanctifying Palestine. Chapter 3 Article 13 explicitly

states nationalism's subordinate relationship to religion: "The nationalism of the Islamic

Resistance Movement is part of its religion, in that it educates its members, and they perform

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[277] Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 16.

[278] Chapter 1 Article 3, Islamic Resistance Movement, "Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine," 366.

[279] See: Chapter 3 Articles 12 and 14 and Chapter 4 Article 28; Ibid., 370, 372, 380–381.

[280] Ibid., 381–382.

[281] Singh, "The Discourse and Practice of 'Heroic Resistance' in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Case of Hamas," 533.

jihad to raise the banner of Allah over their nation."[282]   Hamas' depiction of all Palestinians

living in the occupied territories as *mujahideen*—warriors on the path of God that are waging

jihad—underscores this point; Hamas' use of the Islamic term implies that all Palestinians

involved in the national struggle are religious warriors fulfilling a religious purpose and Islamic

duty by resisting Israeli occupation.[283]

Moreover, jihad is not confined to a specific time period; it is "…a call bursting forth into

the heights of the Heavens, reverberating until the liberation is complete and the invaders are

rolled back and the victory of Allah descends."[284]   The campaign of jihad is carried out until full

victory over the enemy is achieved, regardless of how long it may take; if the Muslim generation

at the time of the foreign invasion took place was weak, neglected its Islamic obligations, or

suffered oppression, the duty of jihad is incumbent on all individuals in future generations until

the end of time. If the goal of jihad is not attained by the fighting minority, the duty to pursue it

is transferred to all Muslims—all Muslims are considered guilty for the loss of territory. The fact

that victory may be far away does not matter—every generation has a duty to carry out jihad,

even if it is only to preserve the spirit of jihad for future generations until Allah makes victory

possible. Laxity in the practice of jihad is reprehensible.

At its inception, Hamas sees itself as a natural, defensive response to Israeli and Jewish

occupation and domination of the holy land of Palestine. Its jihad is defensive on two

justifications: the usurpation and dispossession of Palestine by Zionists and the war against

Islam waged by the Jews.[285]   The movement claims in its Charter that it never attacks those of

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[282] Islamic Resistance Movement, "Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine," 371.
[283] Singh, "The Discourse and Practice of 'Heroic Resistance' in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Case of Hamas," 540–541.
[284] Chapter 4 Article 33, Islamic Resistance Movement, "Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine," 384.
[285] Litvak, "'Martyrdom Is Life': Jihad and Martyrdom in the Ideology of Hamas," 718–720, 723.

other faiths unless they display hostility or stand in the path of progress.[286] Evident in Hamas'

conception of 'Self' is the dichotomy in classical Islam: *dar al-Islam* (the abode of peace) and

dar al-harb (the abode of war).[287] Only Islam can produce peace—people of other religious can

live in peace only under Islam; when others rule "there will only be murdering, punishing, and

banishing…"[288] Hamas' vision of national identity does not necessarily exclude non-Islamic

peoples; however, clearly primacy is given to the Islamic dimension of national identity. All

people are to submit to Islam in some manner; indeed, the national question is subordinate to

Islam—religion frames the Palestinian national problem.

The al-Aqsa Intifada

The Second Intifada—deemed the al-Aqsa Intifada—allowed Hamas to solidify its status

as a central actor and political force in Palestine.[289] The Intifada has its beginnings in Ariel

Sharon's walkabout of holy sites in Israel in 2000; Sharon, a highly detested figure in Palestinian

society, made an unannounced visit to the al-Aqsa mosque, a poorly timed move that

exacerbated tensions from the breakdown of Camp David negotiations. His visit to the third

holiest site in Islam outraged Palestinian Muslims, spurring riots and Israeli military retaliation.

Among others, Hamas took to arms to combat Israel.[290] The al-Aqsa Intifada saw both the

violent intertwining of religion and nationalism and the gradual emphasis on national ideas over

religious ideas. The three indicators of territory, sacrifice, and Other show these patterns.

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[286] Chapter 4 Article 31, Islamic Resistance Movement, "Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine," 382.

[287] Singh, "The Discourse and Practice of 'Heroic Resistance' in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Case of Hamas," 532–533.

[288] Chapter 4 Article 31, Islamic Resistance Movement, "Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) of Palestine," 382.

[289] Gunning, *Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence*, 49–50; Chehab, *Inside Hamas: The Untold Story of the Militant Islamic Movement*, 29, 47, 80; Azzam Tamimi, *Hamas: Unwritten Chapters* (London: Hurst & Company, 2007), 198–207.

[290] Beverley Milton-Edwards and Stephen Farrell, *Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 2010), 87–88; Gunning, *Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence*, 199.

Territory

Hamas' conception of Palestine at this time still maintains a significant Islamic element; however, the view of a national Palestinian state that encompasses the 1967 territories, and not the entirety of historic Palestine that includes the 1948 territories that constitute the Israeli state. In a memo published prior to the outbreak of the Intifada in 2000, the Hamas Political Bureau reiterates Palestine's Islamic significance: "Inasmuch as the Palestinian issue is an Arab issue it is also Islamic; it is of concern to every Muslim on the face of the earth because Palestine is an Islamic endowment land that embraces within it the first of the two Qiblas and the third most important mosque, which the Prophet peace be upon him visited during his night journey to the Upper Heavens."[291] In a 2002 interview with Milton-Edwards and Farrell, Abd al-Aziz al-Rantisi, then deputy leader in Gaza, also imports Palestine's religious dimension and the need to retake the territory: "In the name of Allah we will fight the Jews and liberate our land in the name of Islam. We will rid this land of the Jews and with Allah's strength our land will be returned to us and the Muslim peoples of the world…"[292]

However, considerable care is taken in describing Palestine as the only legitimate battlefield[293]: "Hamas's military action is confined to the land of Palestine, both that occupied in 1948 and that occupied in 1967…Hamas is keen on confining to Palestine the arena of confrontation with the Zionist occupation; it would not want to extend the battlefield to any other arena."[294] Sheikh Yassin reiterates this view after the September 11 attacks on the United States, stating that "We in Hamas: our battle is on the Palestinian land. We are not ready to move our

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[291] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix II: The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas): Memo Prepared by the Hamas Political Bureau in 2000," in *Hamas: Unwritten Chapters*, by Azzam Tamimi (London: Hurst & Company, 2007), 261.

[292] Milton-Edwards and Farrell, *Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement*, 4.

[293] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix I: This Is What We Struggle For," in *Hamas: Unwritten Chapters*, by Azzam Tamimi (London: Hurst & Company, 2007), 250.

[294] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix II: The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas): Memo Prepared by the Hamas Political Bureau in 2000," 261, 264.

battle out of the occupied Palestinian territories."[295] Hamas begins to emphasize the distinctly

Palestinian national dimension of the struggle for the territory; where the call to action and jihad

in the Charter extended beyond the boundaries of Palestine, the movement's leaders stress that

the struggle must be confined to historic Palestine. Furthermore, Hamas gives particular

attention to not just the Islamic community but explicitly to the national dimension of Palestinian

society: "The movement believes in the necessity of combining all efforts in the Palestinian

arena in order to establish a wholesome Palestinian society that enjoys freedom, equality and

political pluralism within the framework of the basic identity and the sublime values of the

Palestinian society and the Arab and Islamic Ummah."[296] Hamas' rhetoric places the national

quality of Palestine on nearly equal footing with the religious quality of Palestine; more

importantly, the possibility of partial liberation, previously unacceptable due to the Charter's

prescription of jihad, becomes a distinct possibility. According to Sheikh Yassin, Hamas'

involvement in the Second Intifada sought to create a Palestinian state in the territories that were

seized by Israel in the Arab-Israeli War of 1967; Hamas would not rule out the possibility of a

state comprised of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as long as it was considered the first phase

in establishing a state encompassing all of historic Palestine.[297]

Sacrifice

Sacrifice for Hamas still centered on liberating Palestine from the illegal occupation.[298]

"Resistance, with all its forms, is aimed at ending the occupation and will not stop until it is

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[295] Milton-Edwards and Farrell, *Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement*, 89.
[296] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix II: The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas): Memo Prepared by the Hamas Political Bureau in 2000," 262–263.
[297] Shaul Mishal, "The Pragmatic Dimension of the Palestinian Hamas: A Network Perspective," *Armed Forces & Society* 29, no. 4 (Summer 2003): 578.
[298] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix I: This Is What We Struggle For," 248.

defeated and ended."[299] Hamas declares in its 2000 memo that the peace process and the Oslo

Accords have not improved Palestinian conditions, and thus armed resistance remains a

necessity;[300] Hamas remains the true source of righteous resistance whose members make great

sacrifices to preserve jihad and advance the cause:

> The movement emerged as the principal armed faction to continue the resistance
> and the jihad against the Zionist occupation, a task for which it made enormous
> sacrifices, offering scores of martyrs and hundreds of prisoners and
> detainees…The movement proved capable of adapting to political and security
> changes, both internally and externally, in a manner that preserved the
> movement's jihad project and its political and social programmes.[301]

Hamas remained committed to its strategy of comprehensive jihad, yet increasing emphasis is

given to the national dimension of the struggle;[302] the religious ends of the Islamic call to arms is

downplayed by the national goals and the primacy of the Palestinian sphere of conflict. The

national Palestinian dimension of conflict "is summed up in maintaining the jihad and the

resistance, continuing to adhere to the national rights and fundamentals and keeping the flame of

jihad alight so as to keep the issue alive within the national program whose basis is resistance

and the existential antagonism of occupation…"[303] However, the struggle still extends to the

Islamic community: "All Muslims, both as individuals and communities, shoulder the duty of

contributing whatever they can afford to the task of liberating Palestine."[304]

Although first utilized by Hamas in 1993, the al-Aqsa Intifada saw a drastic increase in

the use of suicide operations that escalated the conflict and its death toll;[305] the suicide bomber

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[299] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix II: The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas): Memo Prepared by the Hamas Political Bureau in 2000," 261.
[300] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix I: This Is What We Struggle For," 249.
[301] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix II: The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas): Memo Prepared by the Hamas Political Bureau in 2000," 258–259.
[302] Ibid., 255.
[303] Ibid., 261.
[304] Ibid.
[305] Milton-Edwards and Farrell, *Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement*, 89; Gunning, *Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence*, 207–220; Eli Alshech, "Egoistic Martyrdom and Hamas' Success in the 2005

and the use of suicide operations embody the inseparable nature of religion and nationalism present in Hamas during the al-Aqsa Intifada. Suicide operations, defined by Hamas as 'martyrdom operations', are the ultimate manifestations of jihad for the organization. Martyrdom has been sanctified by Islam since the religion's beginnings; the martyr (*shahid*)— one who bears witness to faith by sacrificing his life for it, dying for God—infuses new blood and new light into society.[306] Martyrdom "reflects an elevated transaction in which Allah buys the soul and the property of the believer, who thereby earns a place in paradise."[307,308] Throughout Islamic history, the martyr has fought "…for Muslim lands, hounour, property and family and if he dies whilst doing so, he is by virtue of fulfilling his religious duties guaranteed a place in paradise."[309,310]

Hamas is believed to be the first Sunni organization to employ suicide bombing as a strategy;[311] because the enemy was Israel—an aggressive and oppressive presence in Palestine—Hamas' defensive jihad imparted a sense of existential urgency that facilitated the use of suicide attacks. The suicide bomb became a large component of Hamas' politics of identity, merging

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Municipal Elections: A Study of Hamas Martyrs' Ethical Wills, Biographies, and Eulogies," *Die Welt Des Islams* 48 (2008): 25.

[306] Meir Hatina, "The 'Ulama' and the Cult of Death in Palestine," *Israel Affairs* 12, no. 1 (January 2006): 29–31; Singh, "The Discourse and Practice of 'Heroic Resistance' in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Case of Hamas," 540.

[307] Hatina, "The 'Ulama' and the Cult of Death in Palestine," 36.

[308] Martyrdom is bound with perhaps the most important pillar of religion—commanding the right and forbidding the wrong; this moral duty implies the acceptability of self-sacrifice in carrying out this obligation: Ibid., 33–34. For more insight into the origins of Hamas' justification for self-sacrifice and bidding the right and forbidding the wrong, see: Ibn Taymiyyah, *Ibn Taymiyyah Expounds on Islam: Selected Writings of Shaykh al-Islam Taqi ad-Din Ibn Taymiyyah on Islamic Faith, Life, and Society*, 533–548.

[309] Singh, "The Discourse and Practice of 'Heroic Resistance' in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Case of Hamas," 541.

[310] The historic model of martyrdom is that of Hussein, grandson of 'Ali, the last Rightly Guided Caliph; his death in Karbala in 680 at the hands of the Umayyad army provides great symbolic wealth for both Sunni and Shi"ite movements; Hatina, "The 'Ulama' and the Cult of Death in Palestine," 32.

[311] Tamimi, *Hamas: Unwritten Chapters*, 171. Suicide attacks were originally limited to the Shi'ite realm, first in Iran and then in Lebanon, where the strategy was imported to Palestine from Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad [Hatina, "The 'Ulama' and the Cult of Death in Palestine," 31, 35]; for a more in-depth examination of the Shi'ite exportation of a culture of martyrdom to Sunni radicalism, see: Emmanuel Sivan, "Sunni Radicalism in the Middle East and the Iranian Revolution," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 21, no. 1 (February 1989): 1–30.

theological elements with the national political agenda—the act of killing in the name of a moral/religious code is certainly a political statement. Underlying Hamas' use of martyrdom operations is the goal of reinforcing a particular Palestinian identity.[312] The suicide bomber, generally highly regarded in Palestinian society, represents the highest commitment to the struggle against Israel.[313] Once a martyr is selected by Hamas, he is viewed both as a national hero and a sacred figure whose ideology is seen as the key to divine election and guidance. In portraying martyrs as the medium through which God is revealed to the people, Hamas generates a 'cult of saints' that helps perpetuate the national and religious struggle against Israel.[314]

The al-Aqsa Intifada witnessed a greater sanctification of suicide attacks than the operations of the 1990s that reinforced the religious dimension to the national struggle.[315] For each of its martyrs, Hamas posthumously publishes three types of documents: a one to two page ethical will where the martyrs convey their moral and ethical advice to loved ones; a two to five page biographical sketch of the martyr; and, in some cases, a transcript of a eulogy recited at the martyr's funeral. During the Second Intifada, Hamas actively and deliberately edited and scripted these documents—these documents were increasingly standardized, simplified, and infused with religious content, creating what Alshech terms a 'martyrology': "[a] corpus of writings designed to describe and commemorate the martyrs' lives and deeds."[316] Hamas created this martyrology to the distinct end of reinforcing the Islamic nature of Palestinian national identity.

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[312] Hatina, "The 'Ulama' and the Cult of Death in Palestine," 33, 36–37.
[313] Chehab, *Inside Hamas: The Untold Story of the Militant Islamic Movement*, 85–101.
[314] Alshech, "Egoistic Martyrdom and Hamas' Success in the 2005 Municipal Elections: A Study of Hamas Martyrs' Ethical Wills, Biographies, and Eulogies," 40–42.
[315] Hatina, "The 'Ulama' and the Cult of Death in Palestine," 40.
[316] Alshech, "Egoistic Martyrdom and Hamas' Success in the 2005 Municipal Elections: A Study of Hamas Martyrs' Ethical Wills, Biographies, and Eulogies," 29.

However, the national dimension of Palestinian identity is not downplayed—much of the Islamic sentiment of martyrdom began to be actively transferred to the national realm. While martyrdom and the term *shahid* are clearly Islamic in origin, Hamas has used the term in a national context. Religion provides the framework for sacrifice and martyrdom, yet the *shahid* also dies for the nation and the homeland.[317] There is a distinct duality of religion and nationalism evidenced by Hamas' martyr documents—the documentation stresses martyrdom as a means of attaining paradise (in many cases with paradise an end in itself) and as a method of liberating the land and freeing the nation; the distribution of these particular documents cast suicide bombers as both politico-national heroes and as pious, sacred figures.[318] By appealing to both religious and national symbols, martyrs created a bridge of common identification that resonates with Palestinians under occupation, an identification that is defined by closures, curfews, checkpoints, home demolitions, targeted assassinations, military incursion, and the security barrier/wall of separation.[319] Martyrdom is a particularly effective tool for solidifying Hamas' vision of Palestinian identity—it sets a standard for group membership through moral devotion to the group's identity and the group's cause while casting doubt on other ideologies.[320] Suicide operations are able to reinforce both national and religious aspects of the Palestinian identity according to Hamas; martyrdom entails the personal guarantee of pleasure in paradise and a collective insurance for the emancipation of the political entity.[321] Hamas' suicide bombings are not singularly religious acts—they create a form of 'deathly citizenship' that

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[317] Singh, "The Discourse and Practice of 'Heroic Resistance' in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Case of Hamas," 541.

[318] Alshech, "Egoistic Martyrdom and Hamas' Success in the 2005 Municipal Elections: A Study of Hamas Martyrs' Ethical Wills, Biographies, and Eulogies," 32–33, 38.

[319] Charles T. Lee, "Suicide Bombing as Acts of Deathly Citizenship? A Critical Double-Layered Inquiry," *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 2, no. 2 (August 2009): 160.

[320] Alshech, "Egoistic Martyrdom and Hamas' Success in the 2005 Municipal Elections: A Study of Hamas Martyrs' Ethical Wills, Biographies, and Eulogies," 38–39.

[321] Hatina, "The 'Ulama' and the Cult of Death in Palestine," 34.

critically intertwines national life and death with other nationals' life and death—either both live, or both die.[322] Martyrdom is an expression of both religious and national identity; the dimension of religious salvation and national redemption are inextricably intertwined. The act is carried out on both the national and religious fronts: martyrdom operations function both for the promise of heaven as a symbol of renewal and for the reviving of the collective spirit and soul of those who continue to exist in the earthly world;[323] they reflect the victory of the Muslim soul and its faith and spirituality over the national enemy of Israel.[324]

The destruction of a suicide attack symbols a drastic rebirth and exercise of citizenship for both communities. Furthermore, the actual body of the martyr is tied not only to religion, but to the collective nation. The territory of the nation can be seen as a metaphorical dimension of one's body: as one moves around his country, there is a of feeling being at home, a comfort similar to that experienced inside the body. The nation-state offers a metaphoric home where one feels located and embodied. For Palestinians, who lack the 'home' of a nation-state, the body is in a constant state of dislocation. By exploding oneself into pieces, the martyr physically reproduces the image of a Palestine that has been shattered into fragments by Israeli settlements; the act of martyrdom makes intact the idealized Palestine in his mind.[325] Such violent acts of martyrdom send a message not only to Israel, but also to the group's members and potential new recruits;[326] Hamas and its martyrs attempt to negotiate the nature and makeup of the future Palestinian state[327] by injecting metaphysical content into the domestic structure, creating a

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[322] Lee, "Suicide Bombing as Acts of Deathly Citizenship? A Critical Double-Layered Inquiry," 149, 161.
[323] Ibid., 158.
[324] Litvak, "'Martyrdom Is Life': Jihad and Martyrdom in the Ideology of Hamas," 724.
[325] Lee, "Suicide Bombing as Acts of Deathly Citizenship? A Critical Double-Layered Inquiry," 157–158.
[326] Alshech, "Egoistic Martyrdom and Hamas' Success in the 2005 Municipal Elections: A Study of Hamas Martyrs' Ethical Wills, Biographies, and Eulogies," 40; Milton-Edwards and Farrell, *Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement*, 139.
[327] Alshech, "Egoistic Martyrdom and Hamas' Success in the 2005 Municipal Elections: A Study of Hamas Martyrs' Ethical Wills, Biographies, and Eulogies," 48.

parallel discourse of nation and religion in political liberation.[328] Suicide bombers act as the

bridge between temporal corporal existence and life in the Hereafter,[329] binding nationalism and

religion into the Palestinian identity.

It is worth noting Hamas' evolution of the use of the label 'martyr' over the course of the

al-Aqsa Intifada: *istish'hadi* came to supplant *shahid* when referring to those who actively

sought to sacrifice themselves in jihad against the Israeli state. The use of *shahid* came to denote

a non-combatant/civilian casualty at the hands of the Israeli army; the term transitioned from a

label for active sacrifice to one that conveyed victimhood and passivity. The martyr, both the

istish'hadi and the *shahid*, now represented a subset of mujahideen (to which Hamas labeled all

Palestinians, as detailed above); this allowed Hamas to reinforce jihad in both violent and

nonviolent forms—since all Palestinians were mujahideen, and all those who died were either

shahid or *istish'hadi*, Hamas became able to ground both active and passive methods of

resistance in the concept of jihad.[330]

The Other

Hamas' Political Bureau memo from 2000 makes clear Israel's opposition to Palestinian

religious and national self-determination: "At every phase since the Haifa conference of 1947, it

was absolutely clear that the Zionist project was absolutely and radically contradictory to our

religious beliefs and national interests."[331] However, Hamas' rhetoric in the memo has changed

from that seen in the Charter, stating that the conflict is *not* religiously-based: "The conflict with

the Zionists is not linked to their religious affiliation but is because they occupy our land,

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[328] Hatina, "The 'Ulama' and the Cult of Death in Palestine," 34.
[329] Alshech, "Egoistic Martyrdom and Hamas' Success in the 2005 Municipal Elections: A Study of Hamas Martyrs' Ethical Wills, Biographies, and Eulogies," 42.
[330] Singh, "The Discourse and Practice of 'Heroic Resistance' in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Case of Hamas," 541–542.
[331] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix II: The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas): Memo Prepared by the Hamas Political Bureau in 2000," 259.

desecrate our shrines and violate our people."[332] Furthermore, the leadership states that:

"Hamas considers the conflict with the Zionist project a civilisational and existential conflict that

cannot be ended without eliminating its cause, which is the establishment of the racist colonial

Zionist entity in the land of Palestine."[333] This Zionist project is based on: convergent Western

colonial interests in the region and Zionist ambitions in Palestine which are often justified by

ideological myths of Jewish and Christian Zionists; expansionism that uproots Palestinian

people, replacing them with settlers through all means of terrorism, and threatens the entire

Muslim and Arab world; the non-acceptance of coexistence with others, making peace

settlements pointless; and the obstruction of the project of Arab and Islamic unity.[334]

While Hamas still portrays Israel as a threat to Islam, the organization's focus is much

more on the immediate presence in Palestine and Israeli obstruction of Palestinian, Arab, and

Muslim cooperation towards the goal of a Palestinian state. The Political Bureau's memo from

the late 1990s portrays the this-worldly focus fairly succinctly: "The motivation of the

movement's struggle has been expressed by its founder and leader Sheikh Ahmad Yassin: 'the

movement struggles against Israel because it is the aggressing, usurping and oppressing state that

hoists the rifle in the face of our sons and daughters day and night.'"[335] The transition from an

emphasis on the religiously-rooted existential threat to the worldly and immediate threat posed

by Israel to the Palestinian nation serves as an indication to the possibility of moderation towards

Israel. While Hamas would still reject any attempt to enter political negotiations for peace

agreements with Israel as long as the Israeli occupation continued, opportunities for talking,

given a full Israeli withdrawal from at least the West Bank and Gaza, would not be ruled out.

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[332] Ibid., 261.
[333] Ibid., 260.
[334] Ibid.
[335] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix I: This Is What We Struggle For," 247.

However, this assumed that any agreement with Israel would take a temporary form that denoted neither peace (*salam*) nor final conciliation (*sulh*).[336]

Hamas' language surrounding Israel at the time of the Second Intifada indicates that Israel is being viewed through a much more national prism, as opposed to the religious framing of Israel seen in the Charter. Israel's occupation is no longer deemed illegal according to purely religious reasons; instead, the illegality of the occupation is framed in terms of United Nations Resolutions: "Recognition that the Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967 is illegal can be clearly read in UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338."[337] A detailed list of Israeli wrongdoings provided by a public memo by the movement shows Hamas' concern for the immediate problems of the Palestinian nation (list reproduced as in text):

1. The territories occupied in 1967 are still occupied.
2. As never before, the West Bank and Gaza have been carved, mutilated and turned into isolated densely populated islands or cantons, administered on behalf of the Israelis by the PA [Palestinian Authority].
3. Existing Jewish settlements have continued to expand and new ones have been erected.
4. Jerusalem is being expanded and de-Arabised.
5. Large areas of land have been confiscated to allow for the construction of bypass roads for the exclusive use of Israelis and especially settlers who illegally live on confiscated Arab land.
6. Thousands of Palestinians continue to be detained in Israeli prisons.
7. Various forms of collects punishment continue to be adopted including the demolition of homes, the closure of entire areas, and the enforcement of economic blockades, the destruction of Palestinian infrastructure and the uprooting of trees and crops.
8. The economic situation is much worse than ever before.[338]

This list has been reproduced in full to highlight one import aspect: the lack of reference to Islam. In contrast to the Charter, which presents Israeli actions as an affront to both the Palestinian people and the entirety of Islam, this memo conspicuously omits any reference of an Israeli threat to Islam.

As a result of an increased emphasis on the national dimension of the struggle over the religious dimension, Hamas leaves open the possibility of détente with Israel; this is evident as

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[336] Mishal, "The Pragmatic Dimension of the Palestinian Hamas: A Network Perspective," 578.
[337] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix I: This Is What We Struggle For," 248.
[338] Ibid., 249.

early as 1993. In accordance with letters written by Sheikh Yassin from prison in October 1993,

the organization's official position is that, should Israel unconditionally withdraw from the West

Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip and allow the Palestinian people to be at full liberty

and exercise self-determination, Hamas would be willing to agree to a truce for 10 or 20 years.[339]

A 1994 political initiative by Moussa Abu Marzuq, then-chairman of the Political Bureau,

offered a truce on 4 terms: 1) unconditional Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank, Gaza Strip,

and East Jerusalem; 2) the dismantling of settlements and removal of all settlers from the West

Bank, Gaza Strip, and [East] Jerusalem; 3) compensation to the Palestinian people for their

losses and victimization resulting from occupation; and 4) the holding of free general legislative

elections for the Palestinian people at home and abroad to choose their real leadership and

representatives. Importantly, this did not include the recognition of Israel or UN Security

Council Resolution 242.[340] Even Mahmoud al-Zahar, co-founder and one of the more radical

leaders of Hamas, stated in 1995: "We will never recognize Israel but it might be possible that a

truce (*muhudana*) would prevail between us for days, months, or years…"[341] In the

memorandum entitled *This Is What We Struggle For*, Hamas reiterates the position offered by

Marzuq in 1994:

> Hamas would be willing to consider a cease-fire agreement with the Israelis if
> they agree to end their occupation of all the territories occupied in the aftermath
> of the six-day war in 1967. This would entail the cessation of all hostilities on the
> part of Hamas in exchange for the following concession on the part of Israel: 1.
> the withdrawal of Israeli occupation troops from the West Bank and Gaza Strip; 2.
> the evacuation of all Jewish settlements illegally erected and populated by Jewish
> immigrants on Palestinian lands seized by force in both the West Bank and Gaza;
> 3. the release of all Palestinian prisoners in Israeli detention; 4. the recognition of
> the Palestinian people to self-determination…However, Hamas would enter into
> negotiations about the details of the settlement only once the Israelis have agreed

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[339] Wendy Kristianasen, "Challenge and Counterchallenge: Hamas's Response to Oslo," *Journal of Palestinian Studies* 28, no. 3 (Spring 1999): 23.
[340] Scham and Abu-Irshaid, *Hamas: Ideological Rigidity and Political Flexibility*, 9.
[341] Mishal, "The Pragmatic Dimension of the Palestinian Hamas: A Network Perspective," 577.

to the aforementioned terms that are aimed at bringing about a full withdrawal from all the territories occupied in 1967.[342]

The movement is not against the principle of peace; but the peace it seeks is one that returns Palestinian people their rights and independence and sovereignty over their land. The agreements between the Israelis and certain Palestinian factions are unacceptable concessions— they grant the enemy the right to exist and bestow legitimacy on them, and allow them to expand.[343]

For Hamas, a temporary truce would take the form of a *hudna*; Sheikh Yassin first proposed a *hudna* after his release from Israeli prison in 1997.[344] According to Muslim scholars, *hudna* is defined as "an agreement to cease hostilities with combatants for a period of time with or without mutual stipulations."[345] *Hudna* can only be established if 4 conditions are met: 1) the signatory to it must be the Imam or his deputy; 2) there must be a distinct advantage for the Muslim side; it is not permissible if the Muslims do not obtain a clear advantage over the other party; 3) it must be free of ill-conceived conditions, such as Muslim captives remaining in enemy hands; and 4) it must be confined to a definite period of time. *Hudna* without a specific time constraint entails the nullification of jihad.[346] According to Sheikh Hassan Youssef, a prominent Hamas leader in the West Bank:

> The term *hudna*…articulates the status of conflict with the enemy…It expresses the continuity of the conflict…but does not convey an end to the conflict. Hence *hudna* is a political and military endeavor linked to an appraisal of the situation and the realistic facts, and is buttressed by calculation of the lofty interests of the *umma* [the Muslim community] and the people. *Hudna* does not appear in Islamic history and jurisprudence in the context of capitulation and surrender to

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[342] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix I: This Is What We Struggle For," 251, 252.
[343] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix II: The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas): Memo Prepared by the Hamas Political Bureau in 2000," 263.
[344] Jensen, *The Political Ideology of Hamas: A Grassroots Perspective*, 34.
[345] Scham and Abu-Irshaid, *Hamas: Ideological Rigidity and Political Flexibility*, 10.
[346] Ibid.; Tamimi, *Hamas: Unwritten Chapters*, 156–158.

the enemy. Nor does it appear in the context of concessions of land, holy sites and legitimate rights.[347]

Justified through the historical precedents of the Prophet Muhammad[348] and of Salah al-Din and other Muslim rulers during the Crusades, *hudna*—agreed to because of Muslim military weakness and a concern for the well-being of the Islamic community—is always followed by the resumption of war and the subsequent defeat of Islam's enemies.[349]

In a 1998 interview with Jensen, Hamas leader Abu Shanab stressed that *hudna* is a strategic choice. It is an alternative to establishing a permanent peace with Israel; while Hamas would accept a state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip if Israel withdrew to the 1967 borders, this would only be a temporary solution that stays within the framework of political Islam. *Hudna* does not entail an explicit recognition of Israel; however, it does imply de facto recognition of the state of Israel.[350] In the same 1998 interview with Jensen, Abu Shanab explicates:

> The state exists [Israel]. De facto it [Israel] is there, and we would not create problems for our neighbors and ourselves if we had a *hudna*. The concept of *hudna* is completely legitimate within the framework of Islam and would hold for at least this generation. Despite the fact that it does not give us all our rights, we hope for God's forgiveness. This takes us to the limits of what we can do. We have fought. We have fought up to this point. So we will keep to a *hudna* and live in peace and let others live in peace…"[351]

Al-Zahar stated four years later in 2002 that everyone in Hamas was very much ready for a *hudna* (contingent on Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders). In 2004, Abd al-Aziz al-Rantisi proposed a 10 year *hudna* based on Israeli withdrawal and the establishment of a Palestinian

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[347] Scham and Abu-Irshaid, *Hamas: Ideological Rigidity and Political Flexibility*, 11.
[348] Most notably the Treaty of Hudaybiyya in 629 C.E. with adversaries in Mecca and treaties with the Jews of al-Medina.
[349] Mishal, "The Pragmatic Dimension of the Palestinian Hamas: A Network Perspective," 577–578; Litvak, "'Martyrdom Is Life': Jihad and Martyrdom in the Ideology of Hamas," 721; Scham and Abu-Irshaid, *Hamas: Ideological Rigidity and Political Flexibility*, 9; Tamimi, *Hamas: Unwritten Chapters*, 156–158.
[350] Jensen, *The Political Ideology of Hamas: A Grassroots Perspective*, 35–36.
[351] Ibid., 145.

state at the 1967 borders.[352] Hamas has stressed that its offer of a *hudna* differs from Palestinian Liberation Organization agreements in four ways: 1) the *hudna* would offer no recognition to Israel and no historical concessions (recognition renders any accord null and void); 2) PLO agreements are intended to constitute a permanent settlement, while *hudna* is restricted to a certain time; 3) the right of return to the rest of historic Palestine is not relinquished; and 4) the *hudna* would be conditioned on the Palestinians' continued ability to prepare for a future stage of the conflict.[353]

At the time of the al-Aqsa Intifada, Islam is still the ideological frame of reference for Hamas' conception of identity;[354] however, Islam no longer incorporates the entirety of their vision for Palestinian national identity:

> Hamas believes that the arena of Palestinian national action is spacious enough for all visions and opinions concerning resistance against the Zionist project…No matter how much difference there may be in positions or opinions as to how to act in the arena of national action, Hamas believes that no one has the right under any circumstances to use weapons or resort to violence to settle disputes or impose views or opinions within the Palestinian arena.[355]

Islam remains the ideal climate for coexistence,[356] but is not the only qualifier for true membership in the Palestinian nation. Whereas in the Charter all other religions, as well as Palestinian nationalism, were subordinate to Islam, nationalism during the Second Intifada seems to supersede religion. For example, Hamas explicitly recognizes Christians as equal members in the Palestinian nation:

> As for the Christians living in Palestine, Hamas considers them to be partners who share the homeland and who have been subjected at the hands of the occupation

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[352] Ibid., 40; Litvak, "'Martyrdom Is Life': Jihad and Martyrdom in the Ideology of Hamas," 727–728.
[353] Scham and Abu-Irshaid, *Hamas: Ideological Rigidity and Political Flexibility*, 11.
[354] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix I: This Is What We Struggle For," 247–252; Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix II: The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas): Memo Prepared by the Hamas Political Bureau in 2000," 253.
[355] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix II: The Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas): Memo Prepared by the Hamas Political Bureau in 2000," 262.
[356] Ibid., 265.

authities; they have participated in confronting the occupation and in opposing its racist policies; and they are an inseparable part of the Palestinian people with full rights and full responsibilities.[357]

Clearly, the relationship between religion and nationalism in Hamas' narrative of identity has shifted. A more nationally-based rhetoric focused on immediate threats to the Palestinian people emerges, supplanting to a large degree the existential rhetoric of the Israeli threat to Islam. This pattern becomes even clearer when examining Hamas' rhetoric surrounding the 2006 Palestinian General Elections.

2006 Gaza Elections

Building off success in local elections of 2005, Hamas sought to gain more political power and show that the Israeli unilateral withdrawal was a result of their armed struggle. However, as the 2006 general elections approached, Hamas faced several dilemmas: whether to hold to the ideology of its Charter or, at the very least, not block the possibility of implementing it; whether entering the political system meant abandoning armed resistance; whether or not participation in elections granted legitimacy to the Oslo Accords; what type of slate of candidates to put out; and whether or not to become more flexible in discourse. After great deliberation, Hamas decided to place senior leaders—notably Isma'il Haniyah, Mahmud al-Zahar, and Hamid Beitawi—on the ballot as candidates along with prominent figures from its charitable and religious-educational institutions, wives of prisoners and men killed by Israel, and professionals with ties to Hamas, who in many cases were not full-fledged activists.[358] As Klein notes: "The result was a party of that did not advocate the rule of religious figures but which was certainly a party of religious people. It was composed of officials and activists employed by Hamas and its

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[357] Ibid.
[358] Klein, "Hamas in Power," 446–448.

associated organizations, yet ones who did not play manifestly religious roles."[359] The party

provided the movement's leaders with principal political weight yet ran on a platform that

diverted significantly from the Charter.[360]

The result was a landslide victory in the January elections—Hamas won 74 seats in the

132-seat parliament,[361] nearly 58 percent of the seats in the Palestinian Legislative Council.[362]

Khaled Mishal, now head of Hamas, stated that the movement's victory was never in doubt:

"Hamas has been elected mainly because of its immovable faith in the inevitability of

victory…"[363] Religion, as Mishal indicates, was important to Hamas' electoral success; indeed

its political platform mentions the drive to strengthen Islam and nationalism: "Our programme is

our course toward strengthening Islamic-national unity along the path of full liberation; our

program is the programme of the entire people and the entire homeland."[364] However, religion

does not dictate the entirety, nor even the majority, of the stances found in the Change and

Reform List. Hamas has shown great pragmatism and moderation in wake of the 2006 elections;

the tone of the election manifesto is wildly different from that of the Charter.[365] Whereas the

Charter casts jihad as the only means to Palestinian liberation, the election manifest declares that

'all means are necessary' to achieve liberation, implicitly including a de facto recognition of

Israel.[366] The Charter has rarely been referenced by Hamas leadership or spokespersons; in fact,

Khaled Mishal does not see the Charter as an expression of the movement's overall vision, a

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[359] Ibid., 448; see also: Gunning, *Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence*, 146–166.
[360] Klein, "Hamas in Power," 448.
[361] Milton-Edwards and Farrell, *Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement*, 259; Jensen, *The Political Ideology of Hamas: A Grassroots Perspective*, 1.
[362] Scham and Abu-Irshaid, *Hamas: Ideological Rigidity and Political Flexibility*, 3.
[363] Khaled Mish'al, "We Will Not Sell Our People or Principles for Foreign Aid," *The Guardian*, March 31, 2006, http://www.guardian.co.uk.
[364] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix VI: Change and Reform List," in *Hamas: Unwritten Chapters*, by Azzam Tamimi (London: Hurst & Company, 2007), 294.
[365] Hroub, *Hamas: A Beginner's Guide*, 39.
[366] Jensen, *The Political Ideology of Hamas: A Grassroots Perspective*, 147–148.

vision that has developed over the course of time.[367] However, Hamas has not revoked its

Charter; any failures to reference it in election documents is an acknowledgement of

inconsistency in rhetoric—an inconsistency that is a product of conscious change and

modification of lines of thought.[368] With national demands taking precedence over religious

ideals and demands,[369] Hamas shows a further transition from an identity based solely in religion

to an identity where nationalism, informed by religion, dictates the movement's means to

achieving Palestinian liberation. This is seen clearly in Hamas' views on territory, sacrifice, and

Israel surrounding the election.

Territory

The Change and Reform list calls for the return of the Palestinians to their lands and

homes and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its

capital.[370] Yet, Hamas' election rhetoric shows a reluctant acceptance of a two-state solution;[371]

the majority of the movement's recent political texts, including the election platform, distinguish

the 1967 territories as the basis for struggle—a direct contradiction of the Charter's call to

liberate the 1948 territories.[372] A rhetorical emphasis on the territories of 1967 represents a

fracture in the religious conception of Palestine as a *waqf*—accepting a state that does not

encompass the entirety of historic Palestine would have previously been unthinkable under the

Charter. However, the Islamic dimension to Palestine is not completely omitted: "Historic

Palestine is part of the Arab and Islamic land; it is the right of the Palestinian people that never

vanishes with the progression of time and no military or alleged legal procedures alter this

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[367] Tamimi, *Hamas: Unwritten Chapters*, 147, 149.
[368] Klein, "Hamas in Power," 450.
[369] Khaled Hroub, "A 'New Hamas' Through Its New Documents," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 35, no. 4 (Summer 2006): 7.
[370] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix VI: Change and Reform List," 275.
[371] Hroub, *Hamas: A Beginner's Guide*, 22; Klein, "Hamas in Power," 457.
[372] Klein, "Hamas in Power," 451, 453.

fact."[373] The organization maintains that it will reject all territorial claims that would seek to

divide the Islamic community. In addition, Hamas, committed to the "[f]ull adherence to [the

Palestinian] people's inalterable and genuine rights in the land, Jerusalem, the holy places, water,

borders and a fully sovereign Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital"[374], seeks to establish

Islamic Shari'ah as the main source of legislation in Palestine; the organization stresses the

necessity of enacting a single law derived from Shari'ah.[375] Important to note is that Hamas is

advocating a state at the 1967 borders where Shari'ah would be the major influence over

legislation, not the *only* influence over legislation. The Palestinian Prisoners' Document[376]

reiterates the election manifesto's emphasis on a state at the 1967 borders, stating that any

settlement must include "…the right [for Palestinians] to establish their independent state with

al-Quds al-Shareef [East Jerusalem] as its capital on all territories occupied in 1967…"[377] This

sentiment is echoed in Article 3 where the document recognizes "[t]he right of the Palestinian

people to resist and to uphold the option of resistance of occupation by various means and

focusing resistance in territories occupied in 1967 in tandem with political action, negotiations

and diplomacy whereby there is broad participation from all sectors in the popular resistance."[378]

The theme of a national state at the 1967 borders is continued in the Proposed National

Unity Government Program, a document for government coalition put forth by Hamas (and

eventually rejected) after its electoral victory. Article 5 of the program calls for the ending of

occupation and settlements and a complete withdrawal from lands occupied by Israel in 1967,

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[373] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix VI: Change and Reform List," 275.
[374] Ibid., 276.
[375] Ibid., 276–284; for elaboration on how Hamas wishes to construct a state in accordance with Shari'ah, see:
Gunning, *Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence*, 55–94.
[376] Hamas approved the revised version of the document; Scham and Abu-Irshaid, *Hamas: Ideological Rigidity and
Political Flexibility*, 15.
[377] Article 1, "The National Conciliation Document of the Prisoners" (al-Quds Newspaper, June 28, 2006),
MidEastWeb for Coexistence, http://www.mideastweb.org.
[378] Ibid.

including Jerusalem; in fact, the entire proposal revolves around the concept of a two-state solution without even so much as a hint toward the liberation of the entire land of historic Palestine or the destruction of Israel. Aside from Article 2, which upholds the right of Palestinian refugees to return to the 1948 territories, all references in the government proposal are to the territories occupied in 1967. The two-state solution is also evident in Hamas' Cabinet Platform—Haniyah emphasizes Palestinian geographical unity and the need to link the two halves—the West Bank and Gaza—of the homeland politically. He makes no reference to the rest of historic Palestine.[379] The rhetoric of an Islamic state has largely disappeared from Hamas' documentation and discourse at this point in time.[380] Importantly, however, any acceptance of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza by Hamas is seen as no more than a necessary and pragmatic step towards a Palestinian state that encompasses all of historic Palestine;[381] the liberation of the 1967 territories is merely a stage in the liberation of Palestine as a whole.[382] Not only is the view of Palestine as a *waqf* explicitly absent from Hamas' rhetoric, but the liberation of Palestine is no longer a process of struggle leading to the event of complete Palestinian liberation—it has become a process that must occur in stages. This is captured by Mahmoud al-Zahar's statement in an interview in 2007: "At the moment we can't establish an Islamic state because we Palestinians have no state. As long as we don't have a state, we will try to form an Islamic society."[383] Al-Zahar's statement portrays the necessity of securing at least some form of a Palestinian state—even though it may fall short of the organization's overarching goal.

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[379] Hroub, "A 'New Hamas' Through Its New Documents," 17, 22.
[380] Hroub, *Hamas: A Beginner's Guide*, 20–21.
[381] Singh, "The Discourse and Practice of 'Heroic Resistance' in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Case of Hamas," 533.
[382] Klein, "Hamas in Power," 444.
[383] Chris McVittie, Andy McKinlay, and Rahul Sambaraju, "Social Psychology, Religion and Inter-Group Relations: Hamas Leaders' Media Talk About Their Vision for the Future," *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 21 (2011): 520.

Sacrifice

Sacrifice and struggle surrounding the 2006 elections moves drastically away from the references of jihad found earlier in the movement's history; the only reference to jihad in the Change and Reform list[384] states that "[t]he Palestinian woman is a partner in jihad and resistance as well as in building in development."[385] The election manifesto stresses that all means must be utilized to achieve national liberation:

> Our Palestinian people are still living through a phase of national liberation; they have the right to endeavor to regain their rights and end the occupation using all available means including armed resistance. We must dedicate all our resources to support the steadfastness of our people and provide it with all the necessary means of defeating the occupation and establishing the independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital.[386]

In contrast with the vision of sacrifice espoused by Hamas during the al-Aqsa Intifada, the election manifesto downplays the religious aspect;[387] while the Second Intifada saw an inseparability of the religious and national dimensions of sacrifice, Hamas greatly emphasize the national dimension of sacrifice at the time of the election: "The prisoners, the wounded and the martyrs are the symbol of Palestinian sacrifice; caring for them and their families and seeking the release of the prisoners top the priorities in our national agenda."[388] This national dimension is complimented by a sense of immediate urgency to alleviate the burden of sacrifice and support those affected by the sacrifice of others: "Raising the efficiency of the institutions that specialise in supporting the prisoners and their families and the families of the martyrs and the wounded [constitutes a priority]. The prisoner and the martyr will be treated as if they were still in

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[384] It must be noted that this is Tamimi's translation of the document; others, notably Hroub, have stated that Hamas omits any reference to jihad in the document. See: Hroub, "A 'New Hamas' Through Its New Documents."

[385] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix VI: Change and Reform List," 286.

[386] Ibid., 276.

[387] There is still a religious element to sacrifice, as the movement seeks to build "the decent Palestinian human being who is proud of his or her religion, land, freedom and dignity and who is willing to sacrifice the precious and the dear in the Cause of Allah." However, sacrifice in the name of Islam remains greatly overshadowed by sacrifice in the name of the Palestinian national cause; Ibid., 277.

[388] Ibid., 278.

employment and will be paid a stipend equivalent to the salary they would receive from employment in civil service."[389] This includes comprehensive educational and health care and residential complexes and villages from allocated public property for families of martyrs and prisoners.[390] This sense of immediacy is expressed again in the Palestinian Prisoner's document, where a desirable national unity government should "…provide best possible care for the sectors that carried the burden of steadfastness, resistance and the Intifada and who were victims of Israeli aggression. In particular, this refers to the families of martyrs, prisoners and injured and the owners of demolished homes and properties, destroyed by the occupation, and the unemployed and graduates."[391]

Jihad and its messianic elements have been relegated to a secondary level in exchange for the prospect of establishing a state in the here and now;[392] moreover, military resistance is notably downplayed and virtually absent in comparison to the attention given to civilian aspects of government in the election platform.[393] As Marzuq elaborates: "Alleviating the debilitative conditions of occupation, and not an Islamic state, is at the heart of our mandate (with reform and change as its lifeblood)."[394] However, Mishal imparts that martyrdom and the armed struggle have not been abandoned: "There is no path except that of martyrdom—armed resistance and martyrdom operations. This is what will support Gaza. This is what will lift the oppression from you."[395] While martyrdom and sacrifice still maintain their religious groundings, sacrifice for the nation is given much more weight in rhetoric.

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[389] Ibid.
[390] Ibid., 284, 287.
[391] Article 6, "The National Conciliation Document of the Prisoners."
[392] Litvak, "'Martyrdom Is Life': Jihad and Martyrdom in the Ideology of Hamas," 727.
[393] Hroub, "A 'New Hamas' Through Its New Documents," 10; Gunning, *Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence*, 175–182.
[394] Musa Abu Marzuq, "What Hamas Is Seeking," *The Washington Post*, January 31, 2006, http://washingtonpost.com.
[395] Quoted in: Milton-Edwards and Farrell, *Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement*, 134–135.

The Other

Hamas' conception of Israel during the 2006 election period continued to become much more national and moderate in character; while Hamas has attempted to deal with Israel within the framework of political Islam—specifically the institution of *tahidyyah* and the increased push for *hudna*—policies have been enacted towards national ends. The Israeli threat to Islam is distinctly absent. Negotiations with Israel over national questions are not out of the question;[396] yet, in adherence with its Islamic roots and the attempt to maintain the Islamic dimension to its increasingly national identity, Hamas frames talks in Islamic terms. The *tahidiyyah* of 2005 exemplifies the use of religious framework to national ends.

Before his assassination in March of 2004, Sheikh Yassin had indicated that Hamas may be willing to allow a *tahidiyyah*, or period of calm initiated by a unilateral ceasefire.[397] In 2008, with the assistance of Egyptian mediation, Hamas agreed to the *tahidiyyah* originally initiated in 2005 by Mahmoud Abbas after his election to President of the Palestinian Authority to allow Israel to evacuate its Gaza Strip settlements and to enable Palestinians to conduct local elections in 2005 and general elections in 2006.[398] Hamas' leaders—namely Ismai'l Haniyah and Mahmoud al-Zahar—made sure to elaborate that this was an Israeli withdrawal without an agreement; any agreement with Israel would be boycotted. However, if the withdrawal was unilateral on the side of Israel, Hamas would allow its members to integrate into the PA bodies in the Gaza Strip; additionally, Hamas made clear that the right of return is a national, individual

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[396] Klein, "Hamas in Power," 450.

[397] Milton-Edwards and Farrell, *Hamas: The Islamic Resistance Movement*, 108–109.

[398] Klein, "Hamas in Power," 445; Scham and Abu-Irshaid, *Hamas: Ideological Rigidity and Political Flexibility*, 3, 12, 18; Gunning, *Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence*, 222; The ceasefire eventually deteriorated in June 2008, leading to an Israeli offensive on December 27, 2008; two unilateral ceasefires were eventually reached on January 17, 2009: Scham and Abu-Irshaid, *Hamas: Ideological Rigidity and Political Flexibility*, 3, 18.

right that negotiators have no right to concede or exchange for collective return.[399] The ceasefire was a means to secure improvements to Palestinian life in the here and now; importantly, the *tahidiyyah* was not equivalent to a *hudna*—any *hudna* must meet the four stipulations detailed above.[400]

The increase in a national focus to dealing with Israel entailed, as alluded to earlier, an increase in concern over the wellbeing of Palestinian national life in the immediate present. Language surrounding the elections centered on 'occupation' and the deteriorating quality of life—not on some existential threat posed to Islam. According to Hamas, occupation has deteriorated the quality of life for Palestinians and has resulted in high poverty and unemployment levels, as well as a lack of basic security.[401] Marzuq details the particular detriments of Israeli occupation to the Palestinian nation: "The realities of occupation include humiliating checkpoints, home demolitions, open-ended administrative detentions, extrajudicial killings and thousands of dead civilians."[402] Hamas seeks to advance the national cause "while bearing in mind the existence of heavy, detested and oppressive occupation in our land and people and taking into consideration its overt interventions in every single detail of Palestinian life."[403] Furthermore, the organization considers occupation to be "the ugliest form of terrorism and resisting it with all means [is] a right that is guaranteed by Divine religions and internal law."[404] All of these themes are also seen in the Palestinian Prisoners' Document.[405]

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[399] Klein, "Hamas in Power," 454, 455; Litvak, "'Martyrdom Is Life': Jihad and Martyrdom in the Ideology of Hamas," 728.

[400] Klein, "Hamas in Power," 454; Scham and Abu-Irshaid, *Hamas: Ideological Rigidity and Political Flexibility*, 17; Tamimi, *Hamas: Unwritten Chapters*, 166–168.

[401] Marzuq, "What Hamas Is Seeking."

[402] Ibid.

[403] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix VI: Change and Reform List," 275.

[404] Ibid., 279.

[405] See Introduction and Article 12, "The National Conciliation Document of the Prisoners."

More so now than during the al-Aqsa Intifada, Hamas expresses an interest in entering into dialogue with Israel. However, as Marzuq declares, any dialogue must place Hamas and Israel on equal ground: "The terms of dialogue should be premised on justice, mutual respect, and integrity of the parties…We will exert good-faith efforts to remove the bitterness that Israel's occupation has succeeded in creating, alienating a generation of Palestinians."[406] Again, any talks for Hamas would be contingent on steps towards securing a state at the 1967 borders; Haniyah elaborates: "No plan will ever work without guarantee, in exchange for an end to hostilities by both sides, of a total Israeli withdrawal from all land occupied in 1967, including East Jerusalem; the release of all our prisoners; the removal of all settlers from all settlements; and recognition of the right of refugees to return."[407] The terms of negotiation for Hamas are clearly national in nature; Mishal explains, in direct opposition to the language of the Charter, that the conflict is not over religion:

> Our message to the Israelis is this: we do not fight you because you belong to a certain faith or culture. Jews have lived in the Muslim world for 13 centuries in peace and harmony; they are in our religion 'the people of the book' who have a covenant from God and His Messenger Muhammad (peace be upon him) to be respected and protected. Our conflict with you is not religious but political. We have no problems with Jews who have not attacked us—our problem is with those who came to our land, imposed themselves on us by force, destroyed our society and banished our people.[408]

Mishal's statement shows that Hamas' national concerns have subsumed nearly the entire religious dimension of the struggle. Any peace talks with Israel would clearly be carried out through a national framework. However, no talks with Israel would entail an outright recognition of Israel. Whereas a denial of recognition originated from religious claims—the

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[406] Marzuq, "What Hamas Is Seeking."
[407] Isma'il Haniyah, "A Just Peace or No Peace," *The Guardian*, March 31, 2006, http://www.guardian.co.uk.
[408] Mish'al, "We Will Not Sell Our People or Principles for Foreign Aid."

infringement of non-Muslims on a sacred Islamic land—the justification for non-recognition

rests on national principles. Marzuq continues:

> We shall never recognise the right of any power to rob us of our land and deny us our national rights. We shall never recognise the legitimacy of a Zionist state created on our soil in order to atone for somebody else's sins or solve somebody else's problem. But if you are willing to accept the principle of a long-term truce, we are prepared to negotiate the terms. Hamas is extending a hand of peace to those who are truly interested in a peace based on justice.[409]

However, outright recognition does not necessarily exclude, as mentioned previously, a

de facto recognition of Israel's existence. Khaled Mishal, quoted in 2007 by *The Guardian*, has

said that the problem is not that there is an entity called Israel—Israel is a state and will remain a

state; the real issue is that there is no Palestinian state.[410] Ahmad Yousuf, senior aide to Isma'il

Haniyah, has echoed Mishal's sentiment:

> Israel is there, it is part of the United Nations and we do not deny its existence. But we still have rights and land there which have been usurped and until these matters are dealt with we will withhold our recognition. Like Fatah before them Hamas is capable of a transition moving from armed struggle to negotiator of peace. However, while being transformed Hamas insists on changing the discourse of the Palestinian-Israel conflict by insisting that the core of the conflict is related to Israel's illegal occupation of Palestinian lands and that an occupied people has the right to resist occupation.[411]

The influx of nationalism over religion in Hamas' identity has allowed for an implicit, de facto

recognition of Israel, as well as the possibility for a two-state solution. Mishal and al-Zahar have

still rejected direct talks with Israel on permanent status agreements on the grounds that such

talks would constitute recognition of the occupation of the 1948 territories;[412] however,

temporary partial agreements would be acceptable to consolidate national gains thus far.

According to Hamas, any partial agreement with Israel would serve as a stage in a process

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[409] Ibid.
[410] Jensen, *The Political Ideology of Hamas: A Grassroots Perspective*, 145.
[411] Ibid., 148.
[412] Klein, "Hamas in Power," 454.

towards the liberation of Palestine in its entirety—the right of return to the 1948 territories will not be sacrificed.[413]

One final theme that emerges in Hamas' stance towards Israel is one of 'national responsibility'. This is particularly evident in Hamas' Cabinet Platform, laid out by Isma'il Haniyah on March 26, 2007 in a speech before the newly elected parliament after the collapse of the national unity plan. The Cabinet Platform sought to signal to Israel Hamas' nonbelligerency and expectations of smooth interactions in 'necessary contacts in all mundane affairs' while still emphasizing the Palestinian's legitimate right to resist occupation based on Palestinian suffering from Israeli policies. Nowhere is the destruction of Israel ever mentioned; Haniyah even mentions the necessity of working through the Palestinian Authority.[414]

The election documents present Hamas' broadest vision of Palestinian society and 'Self', focusing on the domestic scene[415] with few religious references.[416] The organization still espouses Islam as its overall framework and as "…a comprehensive system that attends to all aspects of life and that dignifies the human being striking a balance between individual rights and community rights."[417] The Palestinian nation exists as a distinct entity, residing within the larger context of Islam; this is a position maintained throughout Hamas' existence, but the point must be elaborated: whereas the Charter creates inseparability between religion and nationalism where religion clearly dominates—the national identity is the religious identity—the election documents evidences a relationship quite the inverse. Hamas' internal narrative has changed over time so that the organization's identity shifts from an overtly religious movement with subsidiary national goals to a group whose identity is religiously national, with the national

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[413] Ibid.
[414] Hroub, "A 'New Hamas' Through Its New Documents," 20–22.
[415] Ibid., 9–10.
[416] Gunning, *Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence*, 167–172.
[417] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix VI: Change and Reform List," 282.

dimension taking primacy. Hamas' vision of Palestinian identity and its emphasis on the

national allows for an equal status for all religions in Palestine. Increased attention to Christian

Palestinians from Hamas acts as evidence to this point. According to Marzuq, Hamas has

"forged genuine and lasting relationships with Christian candidates [chosen for the 2006

elections]."[418] In its election manifesto, Hamas guarantees the rights of minorities and respects

them on the basis of equal citizenship in the Palestinian nation; furthermore, the group prioritizes

not only the protection of Islamic holy sites, but also Christian holy sites from Israeli

desecration.[419]

Hamas discourse of the Palestinian identity now emphasizes subsets of the population

that are not Islamic, deploying a more inclusive identity category of 'Palestinian' than a purely

Islamic identity, facilitating the claim that an Islamic state would be one in which a diversity of

practices would be possible.[420] This change in identity is underscored by al-Zahar's statement in

a 2007 interview: "As soon as we have a state, then everyone will have their freedom.

Christians will remain Christians, parties could even be secular or even Communist."[421] Islam

may still be the answer for Hamas, but it is no longer the sole informing factor; for example, the

national unity platform contains few religious references, and those that do exist are primarily

linked to support for the national cause.[422] The Hamas Cabinet Platform directly develops and

refines the notion of citizenship in the organization's eyes:

> The government also undertakes to protect the rights or every citizen and to
> firmly establish the principle of citizenship without any discrimination on the
> basis of creed, belief or religion, or political affiliation…We stress the need to

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[418] Marzuq, "What Hamas Is Seeking."
[419] Hamas Political Bureau, "Appendix VI: Change and Reform List," 276–277.
[420] McVittie, McKinlay, and Sambaraju, "Social Psychology, Religion and Inter-Group Relations: Hamas Leaders' Media Talk About Their Vision for the Future," 525.
[421] Ibid., 520.
[422] Article 12 calls for asserting the Islamic dimension in support for the just cause of the Palestinian people; Article 13 calls for cordial relations with Arab, Islamic, and other states; Article 37, while not explicitly mentioning Islam, calls for the strengthening of "cultural institutions". Hroub, "A 'New Hamas' Through Its New Documents," 19.

reinforce the spirit of tolerance, cooperation, [and] coexistence among the Muslims, the Christians, and the Samaritans in the framework of citizenship that does not discriminate against any on the basis of religion or creed.[423]

This idea of citizenship and Palestinian identity transcends the narrower allegiances associated with Hamas' traditional Islamism. The Cabinet Platform signaled a change not only in the group's policy, but also its identity: continuity with gradual change rather than a radical break with the past.[424]

Conclusion

Hamas' identity has undergone significant change and adjustment since the movement's inception; as seen with the Provisional IRA in the previous chapter, the religiosity of identity of Hamas has been subsumed by nationalism. This chapter has detailed this identity shift across the organization's changing conceptions of the territory of Palestine, sacrifice in the name of the cause, and Israel throughout time. In the eyes of Hamas, the meaning of Palestine has evolved. In its initial years, the organization viewed Palestine as an Islamic endowment from God to all Muslims—a *waqf*. Palestine's religious significance persisted through the al-Aqsa Intifada, yet the idea of a national state at the 1967 borders began to emerge, creating a fissure in the Hamas' Islamic conception of a unitary Palestine. A more national perception of the Palestinian homeland is evident at the time of the 2006 elections: Hamas emphasizes the 1967 borders as boundaries for a Palestinian state; while there still exists a religious dimension, the rhetoric of an Islamic state is blatantly absent. Sacrifice at Hamas' inception takes the form of jihad, an explicitly religious undertaking to counter an existential threat that could also accomplish the secondary national goal. The Second Intifada saw an intensification of the importance of sacrifice and an inextricable combination of religion and nationalism, embodied by the

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[423] Ibid., 23.
[424] Ibid., 20.

martyrdom of the suicide bomber and the drive to redeem both religious and national communities. Hamas' conception of sacrifice during the time period of the 2006 elections no longer stresses jihad as the sole form of sacrifice for the cause; instead, not only are alternative means of sacrifice necessary, but great emphasis is given to *alleviating* sacrifice. Finally, Hamas' view of the Israeli threat has changed over time. The Israelis initially represented an existential threat to all of Islam—the threat to Palestinians was merely a component of the larger religious crisis facing Islam; however, in the years surrounding the 2006 elections, Hamas had enacted a ceasefire, offered conditions for a 10 year truce in the form of a *hudna*, and de facto recognized the existence of Israel, with a focus on Israeli evil in the form of occupation and its detriment to the immediate needs of the Palestinian people. The shift of identity in Hamas away from an overtly religious identity to one grounded firmly in nationalism allowed the organization to secure intermediate and immediate goals—a key component of phased liberation. As will be seen in the final chapter, both Hamas' and the IRA's ability to experience an identity change, and ultimately a move from total to phased liberation, rests on changing conceptions of temporality.

<u>Chapter Four</u>:
Temporality and Identity Reconstruction:
Towards Phased Liberation

As the previous two chapters have explained, both Hamas and the IRA over the course of their operation, underwent a change in identity—from an identity where religious elements dominated the national elements to an identity that privileged the national. At the outset of the 1969 Republican split, the Provisional IRA espoused an identity that maintained substantial religious underpinnings. A united Ireland was seen as a God-given destiny for the Irish people and acted as the 'holy grail' for Irish Republicanism. Sacrifice took the form of a Republican theology of blood sacrifice: death brought life to the cause, defeat brought victory, and the martyr, through sacrifice, redeemed both self and country. The British were seen as an immoral and evil presence in Ireland who had corrupted certain Irishmen, now called Loyalists and Unionists; this moral declaration was exemplified by the IRA's claim to defend the Belfast Catholics according to the Catholic Church's doctrine of Just War. By the time of the Good Friday Agreement, the IRA's identity had diminished in religious quality. A 32-county united Ireland was ideal, but not the only solution for peace; the recognition of partition and the fracturing of Ireland represented a break from the religiously-tinged view of Ireland as a united territory given by God. Sacrifice, instead of perpetuating the struggle, came to justify peace and the Good Friday Agreement, a settlement that clearly fell short of the group's original aims. The Agreement also entailed a degree of mutual recognition on the national level—the Unionists and Loyalists possibly belonged to a national identity separate of that envisioned by the IRA. Religious aspects of the IRA's internal narrative and identity eroded over time and were consumed by the national dimension. A similar process is seen in the transformation of Hamas' identity over time.

At its emergence, Hamas' conception of Palestinian territory rested on purely religious foundations—Palestine existed as a *waqf*, an Islamic endowment from God to all Muslims that encompassed not only the Israeli-occupied 1967 borders, but also the borders of 1948; surrendering any part of the land was unforgivable. Israel and the Jewish presence constituted a threat to not just Palestinians, but to the entire Islamic community. Because of Palestine's religious significance and the Jewish rule over it, struggle must take the form of jihad; this sacrifice is incumbent upon all Muslims. This overtly Islamic identity had seen significant change; the iteration of identity at the time of the 2006 Palestinian general elections evidences the primacy of nationalism to Hamas' identity. The language of Palestine as a *waqf* had nearly disappeared completely; emphasis was given to establishing a Palestinian national state at the 1967 borders, and not the entirety of historic Palestine that consisted of the 1948 borders. Importantly, a state at the 1967 borders was seen as a stage in the eventual liberation of the 1948 territories. References to jihad were markedly absent in the rhetoric surrounding the 2006 elections; while martyrdom still represented the path to victory, Hamas' focus was now on alleviating the burden of sacrifice paid for the national cause. Mutual recognition between Hamas and Israel came to the forefront; Israel was no longer portrayed as a religious encroachment, and while there would be no formal recognition of Israel, Hamas indicated a de facto recognition of the existence of the Israeli state.

These identity shifts, summarized in Table 1 below, have allowed each organization to manage a divergence in ideology, a divergence that entails the expression of both the foundational ideology and an operational ideology. It is this duality in ideology—resulting from the shifts from religious to national political identity—that allows both the IRA and Hamas to move from a strategy of "total liberation" to a strategy of "phased liberation".

Table 1		Religious to Nationalist: Identity Change Across Time in the IRA and Hamas		
	Organization	Event 1: Group Emergence	Event 2: 1981 Hunger Strikes/al-Aqsa	Event 3: Belfast Agreement/2006 Elections
Territory	IRA	United Ireland is God-given destiny; partition is artificial	Partition remains unacceptable	De facto recognition of partition/Northern Ireland
	Hamas	Palestine as a *waqf*	Palestine still an Islamic land; view of a partial of state emerges	National state at 1967 borders emphasized
Sacrifice	IRA	Redeems individual and collective; perpetuates/justifies struggle	Intensification of sacrifice, national/religious importance	Sacrifice justifies partial settlements
	Hamas	Redeems individual and collective; perpetuates/justifies struggle	Persistence of *jihad;* Suicide operations for religion and nation	Continued martyrdom, material suffering emphasized
the Other	IRA	Morally unjustified	Evil and murderous	Mutual recognition
	Hamas	Oppressors and affront to Islam	Truce (*hudna*) possible	De facto recognition of Israel

However, as stated at the beginning of this project, a strategy of phased liberation—possible through an identity shift that creates a separation in ideology for day-to-day events—rests on a changed conception of temporality. Each organization's shift in identity is rooted in a changed understanding of their operation in political time. What follows is a discussion of temporality and organizational identity across the conceptions of territory, sacrifice, and the Other—and how they constitute a move from total liberation to phased liberation. The chapter concludes by looking forward in a discussion of the limitations, implications, and avenues for continued research found in this project.

Identity and Temporality

As laid out in the introductory chapter of this thesis, religious identities and national identities are based on quite different conceptions of temporality—religious identities are based on divine temporality while national identities are rooted in secularizing time. The changing conceptions of territory, sacrifice, and the Other of both the IRA and Hamas evidence this change in temporal foundations.

Territory and Temporality

The initial conceptions of territory of each organization are quite clearly linked to divine temporality. Both organizational conceptions are imbued with a distinctly religious character and rest on a restorative notion. For the IRA, a united Ireland has existed as one unit for ages until British domination erected an artificial partition. The organization's struggle, therefore, is to restore its peoples land to the utopia that was the previously-existing and unified entity of Ireland. A similar but more overtly religious view is found within Hamas at the time of its emergence in the late 1980s. Palestine, for Hamas, had existed as an endowment from God since the advent of Islam as a religion; it existed most harmoniously under Islamic rule in the form of the Islamic Caliphate. This existence however, was ruined by invasion of the Crusading West, the latest incarnation of which is Jewish Zionism in Palestine. Thus, the struggle exists to restore Palestine to Muslim rule where peace can flourish. Both organizations sought the full liberation of their territories; anything less than full control over the land was deemed unacceptable.

The temporal formations of territory in the period of time surrounding each organization's second key event remain consistent to a degree. Chapter Two's examination of the IRA's territorial narrative in wake of the 1981 Hunger Strike reveals an intensification of the group's view of Ireland as a single unit; ending the British partition remains the only route to

lasting peace. Hamas' rhetoric surrounding the al-Aqsa Intifada places the national importance

of Palestine on equal ground with the religious significance of the territory. Participation in the

Intifada intended to not only highlight the religious dimension, but also, and perhaps more

importantly, to secure a Palestinian state at the 1967 borders. This possibility of partial

liberation over the land signals a move towards homogenous, empty time.

By the time of the Good Friday Agreement and the 2006 Parliamentary Elections, the

IRA and Hamas, respectively, exhibit views of territory that adhere closely to the concept of

secularizing time. The IRA's adherence to the Good Friday Agreement, and the subsequent vote

to maintain the partition of Northern Ireland, entailed not only a recognition of the legitimacy of

the partition but also a concession of territory. This was followed by the reiteration of the goal to

achieve a united Ireland; the acceptance of the Good Friday Agreement merely constituted a step

in the struggle to the eventual reality of a united Ireland. Instead of one act of total liberation,

the unification of Ireland could occur in stages; Irish unification would be the culmination of

steps of progress in the form of smaller, interconnected victories, like the Good Friday

Agreement. The same temporality is seen in Hamas' rhetoric of Palestine near the 2006

elections. The group's stress on the 1967 territories as the initial stage in achieving a state that

encompasses all of historic Palestine indicates an emphasis on the "here and now" and the ability

to build off of immediate victories. Each organization's ultimate goal is postponed into the

future and becomes the culmination of continuous, interlinked moments of progress.

Sacrifice and Temporality

The changing meaning attributed to sacrifice and martyrdom by the IRA and Hamas also

indicated a change from divine temporality to secuarlizing time. For both organizations,

sacrifice at the beginning of their campaigns was a means to perpetuate the struggle until the

future—ultimate victory—interrupted the present and ushered in an era that broke radically from

the current condition. Martyrdom represented a way to redeem the glory of the past for both the

individual and the collective. The 1981 Hunger Strike and the al-Aqsa Intifada witnessed

martyrdom that bridged together the temporality of the divine and that of secularizing time. The

bodies of both the hunger-strikers and of the suicide bombers combined not only the religious

and the national dimensions of the struggle, but also two different conceptions of temporality.

The hunger-strikers and suicide bombers tied elements of divine temporality with elements of

secularizing time: the redemptive acts tied to the struggle for a future that fractured history was

inextricably tied to the fact that they were momentary points of progress in a larger campaign,

the culmination of which is ultimate victory. The hunger-strikers and suicide bombers

themselves represented an interlinked chain of progress—as one dies, another rises to replace

him—towards an immediate goal; yet, at the same time, martyrdom perpetuated the struggle in

the hopes that their acts would create a condition for the future of full victory to enter the present

abruptly. Conceptions of sacrifice around each organization's third key event display a direct

link to the teleology of secularizing time. The IRA portrayed the Good Friday Agreement as the

result of its members' sacrifice, a positive achievement and intermediate goal on the road to a

united Ireland. Hamas viewed sacrifice at the time of the 2006 Palestinian general elections as a

condition that necessitated immediate alleviation; this is presented as a necessary stage of

progress to creating a Palestinian state at the 1967 Borders.

Temporality and the Other

  In each movement's formative years, the Other is portrayed as an evil, unjust, and

immoral presence; the Other is the obstacle that prevents a return to the glory of the past and the

restoration of utopia in an inharmonious present. The IRA presents Great Britain as the force

that has destroyed and fractured the Irish people and whose past actions are alive in the present.

Likewise, Israel has impeded Hamas' vision of Islamic restoration in Palestine; their transgressions have created a dystopian present where Islam has been humiliated. The 1981 Hunger Strike saw an intensification of the IRA's initial view of Great Britain; the al-Aqsa Intifada witnessed the possibility of a *hudna*; a 10 year truce, still within the framework of Islam, signaling a move towards mutual recognition between Hamas and Israel and representing an intermediate step in a progression of time that ends with a peaceful Palestinian state. Each organization's change to secularizing time is seen during the Good Friday Agreement and the 2006 elections in Palestine. Mutual recognition occurred for the IRA and Hamas with their corresponding Others; both groups conceded de facto recognitions of the existence of Northern Ireland and Israel. These acknowledgements by the groups were seen as a necessary evil; de facto recognition functioned as a point of progress toward each organization's ultimate goal, despite the temporal setbacks and postponements of those goals.

From Total Liberation to Phased Liberation

These changes in conceptions of temporality have made possible a change in overarching strategy for both the IRA and Hamas—a move from total liberation to phased liberation. The emphasis on operative ideology—an ideological divergence resulting from identity shifts and evidenced by both the IRA's and Hamas' strategy to consolidate partial gains in the immediate present—has led to an overarching change from total liberation to phased liberation. In summary, underlying this transformation from total liberation to phased liberation, as alluded to throughout the project, are changing conceptions of temporality; the ideas of community and identity, whether religious or national, subsequently construct and reconstruct meaning around temporality. Changing conceptions of time have allowed identity, and thus the strategy of

liberation, to change—the new conception of secularizing time has given emphasis to national political identities over religious political identities, which has given primacy to operational ideology and resulted in phased liberation.

Total liberation, rooted in divine temporality, consists of three main aspects. First, the struggle for liberation is seen as a 'zero-sum' game; both the IRA's and Hamas' initial identities have indicated an emphasis on foundational ideology with only two possible outcomes for the fight: total victory or total defeat. Therefore, secondly, no concessions can be made to the opponents that sacrifice any part of the ultimate goal. Third, taking the previous two aspects into account, anything less than the fully achieved objectives becomes unacceptable. Total liberation rests on the idea that the struggle continues until total victory is brought radically into the present, upheaving the current order and establishing a more desirable, peaceful outcome derived from a vision of lost glory. Conversely, a strategy of phased liberation springs from secularizing time. Ultimate victory is the culmination of the progress of series of partial, smaller 'stepping-stone' victories; each smaller victory builds off of the previous one, creating a chain of success that ends in complete liberation. Negotiations are necessary under a strategy of phased liberation to solidify partial gains. As a result of settling for partial goals, complete liberation is inevitably postponed. Both the IRA and Hamas, in focusing on securing immediate national victories and agreeing to partial concessions from the British and Israelis, respectively, have experienced a change from a total liberation strategy to a strategy of phased liberation.

Looking Forward

There are several consequences that may arise from a change in representational strategies by politically violent organizations; most notably, there arises a tension within a group over adhering to its origins and what is actually feasible in corresponding to what its constituents

deal with daily. How these organizations reconcile different conceptions of temporality, identity, ideology, and action will undoubtedly play a role in the longevity of the organization. Additionally, over the course of operation, the IRA and Hamas have evidenced a turn towards pragmatism; the pragmatism resulting from identity shifts may serve to explain why more extremist groups have challenged the IRA and Hamas. For example, Hamas has recently been challenged by more radical Islamic groups in Palestine who are gradually attempting to ideologically undermine and attack the organization.[425] The IRA also witnessed the splintering off of the Real IRA and the Continuity IRA;[426] in fact, the Provisional IRA split from the original IRA movement over its trend towards moderation. Identity shifts may shed light into the advent of splinter groups. Furthermore, examining how these types of organizations alter their identity could provide insight into how groups shake the label of 'terrorist' and become legitimately accepted political actors. This would necessitate a simultaneous analysis of the discursive practice of the labeling of terrorists to see whether an identity change coincides with an increase in legitimate recognition from states.

Like any study, this thesis has several limitations. First, with only two case studies, the theoretical framework presented in this project is difficult to generalize. The inclusion of only three indicators to survey across time does not provide a full enough presentation of identity; however, as stated in chapter one, this study is largely exploratory in nature. Building off of this thesis necessitates the inclusion of other politically violent organizations to see if a similar process of identity reconstruction is occurring. Additionally, further work in this area might explore the international dimensions to a group's conflict and shifting identity structures. The

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[425] Singh, "The Discourse and Practice of 'Heroic Resistance' in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Case of Hamas," 544.
[426] Sanders, *Inside the IRA: Dissident Republicans and the War for Legitimacy*, 190–261.

scope of this thesis has been restricted to the domestic scene; however, domestic dynamics surely are not the only forces at play.

Finally, further research should take into account both how actors reconstruct their identities and the reasons why change is occurring. This project has attempted to prioritize the processes of how actors are changing; only after looking into the practice of how organizations adapt identity is it possible to ask what is driving the change. How these organizational identities are reconstructed has implications for why they are being changed, just as understanding why identities shift provides a spectrum of possibilities for how they can change over time—subject to what forces that are themselves in flux. A discussion of temporality must inevitably continue—not just the changing conceptions of temporality discussed here, but also the political effect of the passage of time itself. When taken together, these lingering questions provide fertile ground for further research; this thesis serves as a necessary first step to a better understanding of the persistence of identity in political organizations.

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