HAMAS

The Politics of War and Peace

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HAMAS: *The Politics of War and Peace*

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Contents

Preface

The main aim of this master thesis is to assess if Hamas should be involved in the peace negotiation process regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The primary research question that guides this thesis is: "To what extent is it possible for Hamas to become a legitimate partner in the dialogue over the peace process in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict?"

The master thesis has been written to fulfil the graduation requirements of the master Modern Middle Eastern Studies at University Leiden. I was engaged in researching and writing this dissertation from September 2019 to January 2020. The research was challenging but conducting an extensive literature review has allowed me to answer the question that was identified.

I would like to thank my supervisor prof. dr. mr. M. S. Berger for the guidance and support during this process. I also benefitted from debating issues with my fellow students, friends and family. If I ever lost interest, you kept me motived. My parents deserve a particular note of thanks: your wise counsel and wise words have served me well.

Zahra Taha

Leiden, January 6, 2019.

List of Abbreviations

ALC   Arab League Council

CC   Central Council

DOP   Declaration of Principles

DPFLP   Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

EC   Executive Committee

EU   European Union

PA   Palestinian National Authority

PFLP   Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

PLO   Palestine Liberation Organisation

PNC   Palestinian National Council

PPP   Palestine Popular Party

UN   United Nations

UNLU   Unified National Leadership of the Uprising

US   United States

1. Introduction

1.1 Problem Statement

Hamas has changed considerably over the past 30 years. The movement that arose in 1987 as a military resistance originated as a charity organisation and nowadays participates in Palestinian politics. Hamas entered Palestinian politics in 2005 when the Palestinians conducted the first free elections for the Palestinian National Authority (PA). Few expected Hamas to win the elections and Western diplomats had assessed Hamas as a radical Islamic organisation preferring violence over political participation to pursue its goals. However, Hamas won the elections and ended Fatah' domination of the PA.[1] After this victory, Hamas underwent a complex process to assert authority and control over the Gaza Strip in 2007. This complex process coincided with the transformation of Hamas from a resistance movement to a political party. This thesis focusses on this transition and aims to generate a better understanding of Hamas' performance as a political party and what has been called a 'rebel government'.[2] This study explores whether the movement can function as a partner in dialogue for peace talks in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. To this end, this thesis aims to answer the following research question:

> *To what extent is it possible for Hamas to become a legitimate partner in the dialogue regarding the peace process in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict?*

This research question arose from my personal understanding and analysis of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It is noticeable in this regard that the struggle for political representation of the Palestinians has dominated the history of the Palestinian national movement from 1948. Before 1948, the Palestinians were represented by the British mandate. After the British left, took over. However, the political field drastically changed for the Palestinians in 1968, when a restructured PLO unified the Palestinian political parties, shifting the decision-making power from Arab regimes to the Palestinians themselves. Over the years, the PLO transformed itself from a terrorist labelled organisation to the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians and a partner in peace negotiations. This status allowed the PLO to represent the Palestinians at the United Nations and enter into international agreements. In the recent years, however, the PLO

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[1] Menachem Klein, "Hamas in Power," *The Middle East Journal* 61, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 442.
[2] Benedetta Berti and Beatriz Gutiérrez, "Rebel-to-political and back? Hamas as a Security Provider in Gaza Between Rebellion, Politics and governance," *Democratization* 23, no. 6 (2016): 1059.

has lost popularity due to the outcome of its role in peace negotiations such as the Oslo Accords. The loss of popularity of the PLO helped Hamas to gain support. Nonetheless, the similarities between the PLO and Hamas are striking. Hamas shares the same ideas regarding Israel and the formation of a Palestinian state as the PLO did in its early years. They both used violence to achieve their goals, resulting in them being labelled as a terrorist organisation by the international community. From arises the question: if it could only be a a matter of time for Hamas to be sitting at the negotiating table, or are the differences insurmountable?

1.2 Literature review and Relevance

It is important to understand the different conceptions written in academic literature over Hamas, to research if Hamas can become a legitimate partner in the dialogue regarding the peace process. Studies in this question demonstrate that there are two visions within the academia regarding the nature of Hamas as well as the diplomatic strategies most appropriate for dealing with Hamas.

The first vision of academic literature assesses Hamas as a terrorist organisation which cannot be reformed. This vision includes analyses by Eli Bernmann[3] and Matthew Levitt.[4] Berman uses an economic approach to analyse Hamas, analysing it as a military group based on radical Islam that turned violent and that can be contained by economic means.[5] In his assessment, Hamas was developed to maintain the armed combat against Israel.[6] Bernman's study, however, considers only the violent actions of Hamas and cannot explain Hamas' political activities. As a result, the conclusion that Hamas is purely a military organisation is misleading because the implication that Hamas cannot be included in politics contradicts Hamas' political activities. A more detailed analysis is provided by Matthew Levitt. Levitt analyses Hamas' roots in the Muslim Brotherhood and its aim to reshape society according to an Islamic vision – namely, by means of education and social institutions.[7] He claims that the social institutions created by Hamas provide the basis for terrorist activities, arguing that Hamas' complex organisation only aims to cover and support its attacks against Israel.[8]

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[3] Eli Berman, *Hamas, Taliban, and the Jewish Underground: An Economist's View of Radical Religious Militias* (Cambridge, Mass: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2003), 3.
[4] Matthew Levitt, *Hamas: Politics, Charity and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). 39.
[5] Berman*, Hamas, Taliban, and the Jewish Underground,* 3, 10.
[6] Ibid., 11–15.
[7] Levitt*, Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*, 39.
[8] Ibid., 1.

The implication of the first vision is simple: Hamas cannot be reformed into a political party and will continue to use violence. Therefore, on this view, Hamas must be neutralised to achieve any progress in the peace negotiation process.

The second vision of academic literature reveals the group' ability to learn and to develop new strategies. This vision argues that Hamas' critical ability to maintain a powerful position is based on public support. Throughout the course of events, Hamas has pursued its goals not only through violence. After its founding in 1987, Hamas' focus was the Intifada. However, soon after, Hamas matured and separated from the Muslim Brotherhood and began to challenge the PLO's superior position in Palestine. Later, Hamas recognised the opportunities of political participation.[9] This recognition led to the foundation of a political party and participation in elections and compelled Hamas to assume political responsibility. This short depiction of the historic landmarks shows Hamas' ability to adapt – using participation, negotiation and violence to maintain its position.[10] This vision includes studies of scholars Shaul Mishal[11] and Khaled Hroub[12]. In their opinion Hamas can be seen as an organisation that can learn to refrain from violence. The studies in this category show how Hamas has changed its behaviour. The policy implication of this position is that Hamas' inclusion in politics will further support its gradual transformation into a non-violent organisation.

Next to the two different visions of academia regarding the nature of Hamas, it was noticeable that most of the academic literature analyses and discusses the transformations Hamas made and how the movement operates. Such studies include those of Björn Benner[13], Benedetta Berti and Beatriz Gutierrez[14]. Their studies aim to understand Hamas' performance as a political party and how the movement established itself as a political actor. However, there is not much research on Hamas involvement and strategies in peace talks, and how Hamas can be a legitimate partner in the peace dialogue. The studies that discuss this are mostly researching the reasons behind the refusal of Israel and the international community to engage Hamas in the internationally sanctioned peace process. But they fail to study the possibility to break through the sanctions and engage Hamas in the peace negotiations. An example of this is the study of Corinna Mullin' article Islamist Challenges to the 'Liberal Peace' Discourse: The Case

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[9] Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence* (Columbia: University Press, 2006). 129.
[10] Mishal and Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence*, 147.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Khaled Hroub, *Hamas: Political Thought and Practice* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 2000), 24.
[13] Berti and Gutiérrez, "Rebel-to-political and back?" 1069.
[14] Bjorn Brenner, *Gaza under Hamas: From Islamic Democracy to Islamist Governance* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2017), 7.

of Hamas and the Israel-Palestine Peace Process'.[15] The article argues within an ontological framework of the Western understanding of liberal peace, on which the peace process is vases.[16] But she does not study if it is possible for Hamas to actually become involved in the peace process.

This thesis intends to take on the question whether Hamas could be a partner for dialogue concerning peace. The purpose of this thesis is to reach a better understanding of why the current efforts by high-level decision makers have been insufficient to create a sustainable peace in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

1.3 Methodology

This research examines how current conflict resolution theories can feed into the current negotiation proces. We will ask if Hamas can become part of the negotiations by shaping the pollical environment in a way that would allow Hamas to redefine its resistance character and accept the political conditions.

To better understand the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the role of Hamas, this research uses theory application. The concepts 'peace-building', 'peace-negotiation', 'social-movements' and 'political actors' are studied for the use of theory application within the academic literature to answer the research question.

This research is based on academic articles and books, political speeches and interviews regarding the conflict and is based on secondary English and Dutch sources. This thesis draws on the efforts of conflict and peace theorists and practitioners whose work informs successful strategies for engaging and leveraging stakeholders in pre- and post-negotiation settings.

1.4 Thesis Overview

In order to answer the research question, this first chapter provided an overview of the thesis approach. It states the problem, methodology and relevance of this research. The second chapter provides the theoretical framework. It analyses key theories to create the theoretical foundation on which this thesis is based. The third chapter provides a historical background of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and implements findings of the key theories, in particular applying the theory of peacebuilding to research if there is room for Hamas in the peace process. The fourth chapter provides an analysis of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) and how

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[15] Corinna Mullin, "Islamist Challenges to the 'Liberal Peace' Discourse: The Case of Hamas and the Israel-Palestine 'Peace Process'," *Journal of International Studies* 2, no. 39 (2010): 537.
[16] Mullin, "Islamist Challenges to the Liberal Peace Process," 537.

they went from being labelled a terrorist organisation to a partner in dialogue. Chapter 5 analyses the formation of Hamas and its role in the conflict. Furthermore, the chapter studies the opinions of scholars on Hamas and how the theories described in the theoretical framework can help understand how Hamas can be a partner in peace. The last chapter discusses the results, provides a conclusion, states the limitations and provides recommendations for future research.

2. Theoretical Framework

To determine whether Hamas can become a legitimate partner in the dialogue over the peace process, this chapter outlines key theories about 'peacebuilding' and 'peace-negotiation' to create a theoretical foundation on which this thesis is based. The findings of the concepts are applied in the content analyses of the research question.

2.1 Peacebuilding Theory

A popular definition of peacebuilding in the field of peace practice is that peacebuilding is based on the idea that 'the means for managing conflict constrictively must be rooted in the social structure', which is 'the social, political and economic relationships of people and their institutions'.[17] Structures of conflict increase the likelihood that conflict will be dealt with through violent means.[18] However structures of peace strengthen the prospects for peaceful coexistence and decrease the likelihood of the outbreak, reoccurrence, or continuation of violent conflict.[19]

As one of the first scholars to write about peacebuilding, Johan Galtung defined it in relation to structure of peace and limited his scope to inter-state relationships. In Three Realistic Approaches to Peace (1976), he argued that peacebuilding was at the heart of conflict resolution.[20] His work regarding peacebuilding was further developed by numerous scholars and has now become widely accepted in the field. However, there has been a shift in thinking about peacebuilding in recent years. During the late 1990s, the 'peacebuilding from below' approach became popular.

The peacebuilding from below approach emphasised 'the significance of local actors and the non-governmental sector'.[21] The logic behind this approach is laid out by Adam Curle, one of the peacebuilding field's leading scholars. He argues that 'since conflict resolution by outside bodies and individuals has so far proved ineffective it is essential to consider the peace-making potential within the conflicting communities themselves'.[22] Scholars argue that external actors are most effective when they concentrate on advisory, consultative, and facilitation

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[17] Lisa Bornstein, "Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA)" *Community Development: A Case Study form Mozambique Evaluation* 16, no. 2 (2010): 166.
[18] Mark Hoffman, "Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment Methodology," *Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management* (2004): 7.
[19] Hoffman, 'Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment Methodology,' 7.
[20] Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Maill, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011), 226.
[21] Ramsbotham et al., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution,* 226.
[22] Ibid.

activities.[23] This approach focusses on local actors, resources and institutions. It emphasises local solutions to local conflicts. They argue that top-down institutionally driven peacebuilding can marginalise local interests in which customs and civil society actors and organisations may replicate what external actors are sometimes accused of.[24]

Many scholars have identified problems with peacebuilding from below.[25] For example, Timothy Donais argues in his book, Peacebuilding and Local Ownership, that activist civil society organisations may not be pro-peace but might just as easily engage in the type of factionalised, zero-sum politics that stand in the way of sustainable peacebuilding.[26]

In light of these problems, critical scholars have proposed a more cosmopolitan approach to peacebuilding, which more effectively mediates between the local, national and international levels.[27] Cosmopolitan peacebuilding emphasises social movements, social actors and issues, and social justice as a pathway to peace and leaves the political organisation of the state to the host society.[28] External assistance is only provided if conflicting parties are willing to cooperate.[29]

With the ongoing shift in thinking about peacebuilding, a consensus has begun to develop around the cosmopolitan peacebuilding concept. It has become clear that earlier approaches to peacebuilding are no longer sufficient and do not produce the kind of outcomes the international community desires.[30]

In light of this recent shift in thinking, it is important to explore whether the cosmopolitan approach to peacebuilding is effective and whether the concerns of critics are justified. For the purpose of this thesis, the decision to evaluate cosmopolitan peacebuilding reflects on the fact that both theory and practice in the field are heavily influenced by this approach and will continue to be in the future. A more detailed explanation of the cosmopolitan peacebuilding methodologies will follow when we apply it to the case of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and Hamas.

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[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid., 236.
[25] Timothy Donais, *Peacebuilding and Local Ownership: Post-Conflict Consensus-Building (Studies in Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding* (Londen, Routledge, 2012), 50.
[26] Ramsbotham et al., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution,* 236.
[27] Ramsbotham et al., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution,* 236.
[28] Kristoffer Liden, "Building Peace Between Local and Global Politics: The Cosmopolitan Ethics of Liberal Peacebuilding" *International Peacekeeping* 16, no. 5 (2009): 621.
[29] Liden, "Building Peace Between Local and Global Politics," 621.
[30] Kenneth Bush, "Hands on PCIA: A Handbook for Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment" *The Federation of Canadian Municipalities* (2008): 3.

2.2 Peace-Negotiations Theory

The peacebuilding theory states that the cosmopolitan peacebuilding approach emphasis social movements, social actors and issues, and social justice as a pathway to peace. To facilitate this pathway to peace, negotiations between the actors are essential. Negotiations are evidence of a commitment to peace. They are proof that two parties are committed to establish the right climate for negotiations to end violent political conflict and that the pursuit of negotiated settlement is needed to sustain any peace process.[31] In practice, the circumstances in which parties are willing to enter into negotiations vary widely. As far as the assumed relationship between political settlements and peace is concerned, even the converse relationship does not necessarily hold—the consequence of failure of the parties to reach a negotiated settlement may not be the renewed outbreak of violent conflict.[32] What is acceptable in one political context may prove insufficient in another.

The failure of negotiations to end protracted violent political conflicts is typically attributed to a variety of factors, most commonly the pursuit of irreconcilable aims by the major antagonists, obstinate political leadership, and the stage of the conflict. The inverse of these propositions is that successful negotiation depends on a readiness of the parties to compromise, political leadership capable of developing a relationship with the other side, and the right timing. In particular, numerous writers have focussed on the process of refining the positions of the parties to achieve an outcome that meets the aspirations of all of the parties.[33] In the language of conflict resolution, this is referred to as a 'win-win' solution, or more realistically, a formula that gives more to the parties than a simple splitting of the difference between their positions. Other studies have focussed on the importance of developing trust between those engaged in the negotiations, that is, on breaking down what is sometimes labelled the psychological dimension of the conflict.[34]

Another approach in negotiations is that in some situations, negotiation is an undesirable principle. In particular, it is frequently asserted that governments should not negotiate with terrorists. It is important to take this perspective into account.[35] Opposition to peace process usually includes the demand that there should be no negotiations with any groups that have not completely and fully repudiated violence, or, if such negotiations have already begun, that they

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[31]Adrian Guelke, "Negations and Peace Process," *Contemporary Peace-making: Conflict, Peace Processes and Post-war Reconstruction*, ed. John Darby and Roger Mac Ginty (Londen: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 53.

[32] Guelke, "Negations and Peace Process," 53.

[33] John W. Burton, *Deviance, Terrorism and War: The Process of Solving Unsolved Social and Political Problems* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), 10.

[34] John P. Lederach, *Building Peace* (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1997). 17.

[35] Guelke, "Negations and Peace Process," 55.

should be ended forthwith. One reasons why such demands are made so fervently is the belief that the initiation of negotiations with such groups, regardless of the outcome of any talks, confers an unwarranted measure of legitimacy on them.[36]

This approach is applicable for Hamas. Hamas uses violence in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Therefore, some scholars view Hamas as a terrorist organisation. This approach is further analysed in Chapter 5.

Phases of a negotiated settlement by Adrian Guelke

To research the peace negotiations in the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict, this thesis will use the theory of conflict scholar and professor Adrian Guelke. The decision to evaluate the peace-negotiations theory reflects the fact that Guelke used this theory for a similar research. He studied how the Irish Republican Army (IRA) became a partner in dialogue in Irish independent process. The story of the IRA can be compared to Hamas because of their reputation as terrorist organisations.

According to Guelke, A pre-condition to come to a peace settlement is that the parties involved enter into negotiations about that settlement. This proves the main obstacle. Enemies that harbour deep-rooted hatred for the actions or ideologies of the other will not be inclined to sit with the other as equals. Additionally, conflict studies scholar John Lederach argues that the unwillingness of both parties to enter negotiation in the early stages of a conflict may be explained by the belief of both parties in their ability to achieve their aims through other means, typically physical coercion.[37] Moreover, Guelke argues that opposite parties should entail the application of agreed normative political principles. However, settlements that do not rest on a normative foundation that is separate from the political and power considerations are unlikely to last.[38] This is also evident in the phases that typically accompany the negotiated settlement of a violent political conflict. In his article *Negotiations and Peace Process*, Adrian Guelke discusses seven phases with conditions in a peace negotiation process:

1. The pre-talks;
2. The secret talks;
3. The opening of multilateral talks;
4. Negotiating a settlement;
5. Gaining endorsement;

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[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid., 57.
[38] Ibid., 56.

6. Implementing the settlement's provisions;

7. The institutionalisation of the new dispensation.[39]

The seven phases of negotiations will provide as a model for this thesis of how Hamas could enter peace negotiations to end the conflict. The order of the phases of the model is not meant to imply a strict separation. In practice, different phases overlap.[40]

Pre-talks: A motive for insurgents to seek negotiations through pre-talks is that it gives them a measure of legitimacy by underscoring both the political nature of their demands and by the implication that the conflict cannot be ended without their participation in a settlement. From the other side, a government may calculate that it is better to engage insurgents in negotiation at an early stage to deal with their demands from a position of relative strength. However, negotiations that take place in such circumstances rarely, if ever, produce positive results.[41]

Secret talks: The desire not to accord legitimacy to the other side and the fear of the reaction of supporters are two reasons the first stage in a peace process tends to take the form of secret talks. Communications through a third party or contact at a level of officials in the case of government side are common in this phase. What distinguishes this phase from the previous one is that by this point, both parties usually have a strong desire for an exit from the conflict.[42]

Multilateral talks: Formality is necessary to provide a public assurance of the commitment of the parties to the successful outcome of the process.[43] Moreover few conflicts are so simple that the two sides that engaged in secret talks to end the violence are also in a position to construct a comprehensive political settlement that will command widespread acceptance. Other parties need to be drawn into the process if the objective is to achieve a lasting settlement. Some of them may have to be involved even to achieve the minimal objective of sustaining a temporary truce. This phase shares the perception of the cosmopolitan peace approach regarding effectively mediation between local, national and international levels.[44]

Settlement: This phase emphasises that the existence of inclusive negotiations by no means guarantees movement towards a political settlement. Particularly if there is little

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[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid., 63.
[41] Guelke, "Negations and Peace Process," 57.
[42] Ibid., 58.
[43] Ibid.., 59.
[44] Ramsbotham et al., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, 236.

likelihood of a return to violent conflict on a scale unacceptable to both sides. Even if the two sides share the desire for an end to the conflict through a negotiated settlement, this may prove beyond their capabilities.[45] The important strategic choice for the achievement of negotiations towards a settlement is whether the parties should seek to create a comprehensive and detailed blueprint or just the outline of a settlement. These options represent opposite ends of a spectrum. A related issue is whether the parties should set a time limit to negotiations. An advantage of the detailed approach is that the settlement is less likely to unravel as a result of disagreements over the interpretation of it provisions. A disadvantage is that the time needed to reach such a settlement may threaten the peace process by causing one or other of the parties to suspect that the purpose of the talks is not to reach a settlement.[46]

Endorsement: According to this phase, elections usually constitute an important element in the negotiated settlement of peace process, as they can legitimise a new dispensation. Elections of a new legislature and a new president may perform the dual function of providing retrospective endorsement of the settlement and its partial implementation.[47]

Implementation: If the terms of the negotiated settlement are less detailed, then difficulties are likely to be at the stage of implementation. Overcoming these obstacles may present a much larger challenge for the parties and external mediators than arriving at the broad outlines of a settlement had been. The process of implementation may have effect on how a particular political settlement turns out because of its impact on the balance of power among the parties.[48] Shifts in this balance during the implementation stage may consolidate the settlement by making it apparent that one side has won. The normative rationale of the settlement may be undermined by the actual balance of power in a situation, which results in the settlement being implemented in a way that falls short of what one side or other, as well as the outside world, sees as legitimate.[49]

Institutionalisation: The final stage in any settlement is the point at which it becomes apparent that the new order has taken root. A necessary condition for institutionalisation is that the settlement is perceived as legitimate by the international community. The appearance of stability and peace may sway international opinion regarding the legitimacy of a new pollical dispensation even if it does not accord fully with international norms of governance.[50] What might appear to some to be ground-breaking settlement involving the creation of novel political

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[45] Ibid., 60.
[46] Ibid., 61.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Guelke, "Negations and Peace Process," 61.
[49] Ibid., 62.
[50] Ibid.

structure to accommodate the different parties may appear to others to be a desperate attempt to reconcile mutually incompatible positions and far from being politically principled, to rest on the unstable foundations of the existing balance of power among the parties.[51]

Conclusion

This chapter provided insight into the concepts of 'peacebuilding' and 'peace-negotiations'. The thesis considers the arguments of the cosmopolitan approach about what motivates actors to engage in peacebuilding in the conflict and examines the perspectives of scholars and the international community. It will use the seven phases of peace negotiation theory to analyse how peace agreements work in practice.

In the following chapter, these concepts are applied to the situation of the Arab/Palestinian-Isaeli conflict, the PLO and Hamas

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[51] Ibid., 63.

3. The Arab/Palestinian – Israel Conflict

To assess if and how Hamas can become a partner in dialogue in the peace process for the Palestinian–Israeli conflict, it is important to present a brief historical outline of the conflict. This chapter also uses the peace negotiation theory of Adrian Guelke to assess what kind of activities in general have been implemented regarding peacebuilding.

3.1 The British Mandate period and the Birth of Israel

The Palestinian–Israeli conflict has been one of the most protracted conflicts of modern times. Its continuation is seen as a threat to global security, and its resolution is viewed by global leaders as a strategic priority crucial to long-term peace and stability in the Middle East.[52] Efforts to resolve the conflict have featured prominently on the global agenda. The international community has expended considerable time and energy trying to bridge the difference between Israel and the Palestinians.[53]

The history and issues surrounding the Palestinian–Israeli conflict can be interpreted in several ways depending on the narrative and the perspective. The Palestinian and Israeli narratives come from their history, self-identity and perceived ideas about the motivations and goals of the other side.[54] For many, the Palestinian–Israeli conflict is a struggle of national identity from two nationalist movements; the Zionist and the Palestinians, located in the same territory. The conflict is usually framed as a territorial dispute which has led to a narrative of ownership and dispossession, with each side denying the rights, claims and legitimacy of the other.[55]

When the British government handed its mandate for Palestine over to the United Nations in 1946, the UN General Assembly opted to divide the territory into two states. Resolution 181 of 29 November 1947 recommended the creation of independent Arab and Jewish states and a special international regime for the city of Jerusalem.[56] The partition plan, a four-part document attached to the resolution, provided for the termination of the mandate, the progressive withdrawal of British armed forces and the delineation of boundaries between the two states and Jerusalem.[57] Although the provisions of the majority plan were far from

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[52] Joel Peters, "Introduction: Understanding the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," *The Routledge Handbook on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, ed. Joel Peters and David Newman (London: Routlegde, 2013), 1.
[53] Ibid., 1.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] William L. Cleveland and Martin Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East* (Colorado: Westview Press, 2013), 244.
[57] General Assembly Resolution 181, *Future government of Palestine*, A/RES/181(II) (29 November 1947) https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/7F0AF2BD897689B785256C330061D253

perfect, they nevertheless offered the possibility of independent Arab and Jewish states within Palestine.[58] Zionist leaders endorsed the report: Arab leaders rejected it.[59]

When the roll call was taken on November 29, 1947, there were thirty-three votes in favour, thirteen against, and ten abstentions: The General Assembly approved of the partition of Palestine into separate Arab and Jewish states and accorded international status to Jerusalem.[60]

Throughout months of negotiations, the Palestine Arab community was curiously marginal to the discussion. Ever since the British had dismantled the Arab Higher Committee and the Supreme Muslim Council in 1936, the Palestine Arabs had been without effective leadership. In the absence of unified leadership from within Palestine, the responsibility for presenting the Palestine Arab case came to rest with the recently established Arab League and its member states. The ruling elite of those regimes adopted a hard-line stance on the Palestine issue as a means to demonstrate their anti-imperialism and to assert their newfound independence in foreign policy. On behalf of the Palestinians, they rejected all attempts at compromise, including the UN partition plan, assuring the Arabs of Palestine that they stood ready to defend them military.[61]

The disorder within Palestine was intensified by Britain's refusal to assist in the implementation of the UN partition plan. Britain did not wait for the General Assembly's vote and immediately announced in September 1947 that the Palestine mandate would be terminated on May 15, 1948. In the months between the announcement and the final British withdrawal, Palestine was plunged into chaos. This was the period of intercommunal war during which the Jewish forces sought to secure the territory allotted to the Jewish state in the UN resolution.[62]

Throughout the intercommunal war, the British administration made little effort to enforce order, concentrating instead on preparations for its withdrawal. There had been no formal transfer of powers from the mandate authority to a new local government for the simple reason that there was no government of Palestine. Britain had failed to create political institutions in its mandate, instead leaving the Arab and Jewish communities to struggle for supremacy.[63] The direct outcome was an increase of violence between the Arab and Jewish communities in Palestine. This violence turned into an interstate war between the new state of Israel and the armies of the neighbouring Arab states following the British withdrawal and

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[58] See Appendix 1 for the Map of the UN Proposal for the Partition of Palestine.
[59] Cleveland and Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East,* 245.
[60] Ibid., 245-246.
[61] Cleveland and Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East,* 246.
[62] Ibid*.,* 246.
[63] Ibid., 246-247.

Israel's declaration of independence on 14 May 1948. The fighting ended in early 1949, with Israel signing cease-fire agreements with Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria, but no official peace agreements were discussed or signed.[64]

By the end of the war, Israel had increased its territory by 21%[65] in relation to the boundaries set out by the UN partition plan, and the Palestinians had lost any hope of an independent state. Jordan took control of the West Bank and Egypt took the Gaza Strip. Above all, the war raised the Palestinian refugee question.[66]

The outcome of the 1948 war created a cycle of conflict in the Middle East: a further five Arab-Israeli wars (the 1956 Suez Crisis, the Six Day/June War of 1967, the Yom Kippur/October War of 1973 and the Lebanon wars of 1982 and 2006) a history of terrorism and political violence and military raids. The Palestinian–Israeli conflict and the Palestinian issue became submerged within the wider context of Arab–Israeli rivalry.[67] With this Arab-Israeli rivalry, the questions of the Palestinian national rights became largely marginalised. The Six Day/June War can be seen as an example of this. This conflict escalated as a result of friction along the Israeli-Syrian border and had little to do with Palestinian rights. The UN Security Council Resolution of 242, drawn up in the aftermath of the war, forms the basis of the Palestinian–Israeli peace process but fails to address the question of Palestinian national right.[68] The resolution focusses on both the rights of all states in the region to live within secure and recognised borders and the return of territories captured by Israel in the war exchange for peace.

The impact of the 1967 war and Israel's victory created a new set of geopolitical and demographic realities and had far-reaching consequences for the political dynamics of both Israel and the Arab world.[69] For the Arab world, it was a humiliating defeat and a reminder of its weakness in the face of Israel's military power.[70] The war profoundly altered Palestinian circumstances and attitudes. Not only had the Arab states failed to liberate Palestine, they had managed to lose additional areas of Palestinian territory to Israel.[71] For Israel, the 1967 war created a new sense of confidence and strength. The victory had a strong impact on all spheres of Israel's life and society.[72] Israel's capture of the West Bank provided it with important

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[64] Ahron Bregman, *A History of Israel* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 65-68.
[65] See Appendix 2 for the Map Territories captured by Israel 1948-49.
[66] J. Peters, "Introduction," 2.
[67] Ibid.
[68] General Assembly Resolution 242, *Secret Council*, S/RES/242 (22 November 1967) https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/7D35E1F729DF491C85256EE700686136
[69] J. Peters, "Introduction," 2.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Cleveland and Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East,* 335.
[72] Bregman, *A History of Israel*, 123.

strategic depth. For many Israelis, especially from the right-wing and religious parts of society, the West Bank is part of the Greater Land of Israel, the biblical lands of Judea (south) and Samaria (north). Today, over 300,000 Israelis live in settlements in the West Bank. The future of the settlements has become a key issue in the peace process, critically impacting discussions on the future geographic contours and territorial dimensions of a Palestinian state.[73]

3.2 Peace Negotiations till 1975

Years of Arab-Israeli negotiations produced many peace plans but little peace. During the British Mandate over Palestine (1920–48), Britain tried and failed to create a shared sense of 'Palestinian' nationhood among Jews and Arabs. The United General Assembly's division of Palestine into an Arab state and a Jewish state was a popular solution among the Jews, who saw it as successful effort towards a Jewish-state. However, the Arabs rejected it in principle, as they saw it as the European Jewish colonisation of Palestinian Arab land.[74]

When Israel declared its independence on May 1948, the surrounding Arab states invaded. This first Arab–Israeli war ended in 1949 with individual agreements between Israel and Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, mediated by United States. This led to the General Armistice Agreement (GAA).[75] This agreement specifically states the borders of 1949 constituted ceasefire lines only and were not in any sense political or territorial boundaries. These borders, known as the 1949 lines, left Gaza under control of the Egyptians and parts of the West Bank under control of Jordan and Israel. [76] They reduced the Palestinians to playing a secondary role as refugees. The responsibility of their fate lay in the hands of the Arab states.

After the first Arab–Israeli war, several attempts failed to achieve peace treaties. In 1956, Britain, France and Israel coordinated an attack on Egypt, also known as the Suez Crisis. The Europeans were forced to withdraw under international pressure. However, Israel refused to evacuate the captured Egyptian Sinai and the Gaza Strip.[77] Like the 1948 war, the Suez Crisis ended without political resolution. The decade that followed saw few attempts at Arab–Israeli negotiations and much escalation in tension.

The failure of the international community to mediate a resolution to the crisis led to an Israeli attack against Egyptian airfields on 5 June 1967. The war quickly spread to the

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[73] J. Peters, "Introduction," 2.
[74] Laura Zittrain Eisenberg, "The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process, 1967-1993" *The Routledge Handbook on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, ed. Joel Peters and David Newman (London: Routlegde, 2013), 83.
[75] Raphael Israeli, *Jerusalem Divided: The Armistice Regime 1947-1967* (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2013), xii.
[76] Eisenberg, "The Israeli-Palestinian peace process," 83.
[77] Ibid., 84.

Jordanian–Israeli and Syrian–Israeli fronts. In the ensuing six days, Israel defeated the armies of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria and, most importantly, conquered and occupied significant territory from them.[78] Diplomats sensed a new quid pro quo in the offing: Israel would return the areas taken in 1967 and in exchange the Arab states would recognise the State of Israel and make peace with it.[79] On 19 June, the Israeli cabinet voted to return the Sinai to Egypt and the Golan to Syria in exchange for full peace treaties. As Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Dayan famously said, Israel was just 'waiting for a phone call' from Arab leaders ready to make the deal.[80] Humiliated by their crushing defeat, Arab leaders met in Khartoum, Sudan in September 1967 and decided upon a common response. They vowed that there would be 'no peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with Israel.'[81] Backed by the Soviet Union, they demanded an unconditional Israeli withdrawal and an immediate return to the lines of 4 June 1967.[82] However, the United States agreed with Israel that it should not return land without receiving some political gain.

As a result of interference of the international community, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 242 on November 1967. This resolution became a benchmark for every attempt at Arab–Israeli peace after 1967.[83] But crucial ambiguities in the text led to legalistic wrangling among the parties. The Arabs believed that the resolution obliged Israel to withdraw from *all of the* territories captured in the 1967 war. Israel argued that the resolution required withdrawal from *some* of those territories, allowing for some border modifications.[84] The failure of the resolution to refer directly to the Palestinians or seriously address any of their claims provided another source of future complication.[85] In fact, 'Palestine' does not appear in the resolution, and 'Palestinians' can be inferred only in the reference to 'refugees.'[86] Immediately upon passage of Resolution 242, The UN Secretary-General appointed Swedish Ambassador Gunnar Jarring to confer with the Arabs and Israelis and to forge a consensus among them for making 242 operational.[87] Unfortunately, his efforts failed due to differing interpretations of the Resolution. Jarring finally issued a formal peace proposal in February

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[78] See Appendix 3 for the Map of occupied territories Israel after the 1967 war.
[79] Eisenberg, "The Israeli-Palestinian peace process," 84.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Bregman, *A History of Israel*, 123.
[82] Eisenberg, "The Israeli-Palestinian peace process," 85.
[83] James L. Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 178.
[84] Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*," 181.
[85] Ibid., 85.
[86] Bregman, *A History of Israel*, 128.
[87] Eisenberg, "The Israeli-Palestinian peace process," 85.

1971, but the negative responses from Israel and the Arab states revealed serious differences.[88] Thus another Arab-Israeli war ended without political progress.

On 6 October 1973 (the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur), Egypt and Syria launched a successful surprise attack on Israeli front lines. When the two sides accepted a ceasefire on October 23, Israel still held the 1967 territories. Israel recognised that military might alone could not guarantee its security indefinitely and was willing to consider diplomatic tactics.[89]

The 1973 war can be seen as the opening of the Egyptian–Israeli peace process. The UN Security Council passed Resolution 228, which called upon the parties to enter into negotiations for its implementation.[90] Henry Kissinger, President Nixon's secretary of state, orchestrated a conference in Geneva in December 1973. This was the first time in twenty-five years that delegations from Egypt, Jordan and Israel gathered in the same room. Syria and Lebanon did not attend. Kissinger created a blueprint that became one of the preferred options promoted by other would-be Middle East peacemakers during the following decades.[91]

The post 1967 period did not lack for diplomatic initiatives. The War of 1967 and its outcome marked the beginning Arab states' acceptance of coexisting with Israel. However, this was not enough to produce a negotiated peace.[92] More importantly, these efforts were directed at resolving the wide Arab-Israeli conflict and not at the Palestinian question of statehood. The leading example of acceptance of Israel were the efforts made by Egypt. In 1977, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat broke ranks with the Arab world to make peace with Israel. The 1978 Camp David Agreements and the 1979 Israeli–Egyptian peace treaty contained provisions for talks on autonomy for the Palestinians in the West Bank, but those talks quickly failed.[93] The Palestinians lacked representation in the diplomatic initiatives during this period. The diplomacy was concerned more about the status of the West Bank than with the Palestinian people.[94] The question of Palestinian self-determination and statehood re-emerged in the 1970s to take centre stage on the global agenda.

Conclusion: Peacebuilding and Peace-Negotiations in the Arab-Israeli conflict

According to the theory of Adrian Guelke, described in Chapter 2, the unwillingness of both parties to enter negotiations is explained by their ability to achieve their aims through other

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[88] Ibid.,
[89] Bregman, *A History of Israel*, 156.
[90] Eisenberg, "The Israeli-Palestinian peace process," 86.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid., 81.
[93] J. Peters, "Introduction," 3.
[94] Ibid.,

means. From this chapter, we can conclude that the Arab states, the Palestinians and the Israelis were not ready to enter negotiations in 1948–1975, due to the lack of willingness. The lack of willingness derives from the perpetual conflict between the Jewish group that seeks to maintain its superiority and the Palestinian group that seeks to free itself from the tyranny. Both communities deny each other recognition as a legitimate entity. In the early period, neither side was interested in talking to each other. The Arab states avoided meetings in which their representatives would be seated with Israelis—initially on the grounds that they did not recognise Israel as a legitimate and co-equal state, and later arguing that normalisation was a concession they were not ready to make until Israel had withdrawn from Arab land. Even on moments when such recognition was existent, and there was a willingness to negotiate, the problem was that these did not coincide. The different motives of the Arab/Palestinians and the Israelis to enter into peace talks lessened the chance of such a coincidence.

Another important finding of this chapter is that conflict resolution by outside bodies, third party mediation, failed so far. According to peacebuilding scholar Adam Curle, it is essential to consider the potential within the communities themselves. Since third party negotiation in many cases has proven to be ineffective, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict. Curle's argues that top-down institutionally driven peacebuilding can marginalise local interest. To illustrate, when the Arab states represented the Palestinians in peace-negotiations and accepted Resolution 242, the Palestinians became marginalised. This resolution referred only to the Palestinians as 'refugees'.

It is clear from this chapter that Arab-Israeli diplomacy between 1967 and 1975 evinced many of the characteristics that obstructed the peace process in previous decades, such as negotiating at cross-purposes, appearing flexible while not in fact intending to compromise, refusing to scale back demands, the negotiators being unable to deliver on the promises they made, deep-seated distrust, hostility, and fear among the people and often among the leaders, and the tendency to manipulate peace talks with the goal of pleasing a powerful third party from whom favours or patronage are desired. Negotiations that take place in such circumstances rarely, if ever, produce positive results.

This chapter provided a clear outline of the early stages of the conflict and the attempts that were made in peace negotiations. It demonstrated how the Palestinians lacked representation in diplomatic initiatives before 1967. This information is important because the lack of Palestine representation led to the rise of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO). The next chapter analyses how they became important for the Palestinians.

4. The Palestine Liberation Organisation

The previous chapter provided a historical outline of the Arab-Israeli conflict. One of the most important findings was the lack of willingness among the parties to engage in the peace process. The chapter also demonstrated that the Palestinian people lacked representation. This chapter analyses how the lack of representation of the Palestinians led to the PLO and provides a better understanding of their role in the peace negation process regarding the Palestinian–Israeli conflict. The first part of this chapter analyses how the PLO was established and how they became the representation of the Palestinian people. The second part discusses how the PLO went from a terrorist-labelled organisation to a partner in dialogue regarding the Palestinian–Israeli conflict. The last part of this chapter will analyse how the Oslo Agreements resulted in a loss of popularity for the PLO and an increase of support for Hamas among the Palestinian people. Causing a shift in the representation of the Palestinian self-determination.

4.1 The Establishment of the PLO and Early Developments 1967-1975

The PLO is a political secular umbrella organisation claiming to represent the world's Palestinians who lived in mandated Palestine before the creation of the state of Israel.[95] While the PLO may speak with one political voice, it is composed of many individual groups. The organisation has traditionally been the primary body of Palestinian nationalism, as well as the internationally recognised representative of the Palestinian people and the formal representative in all peace talks. Prior to this, the PLO was considered to be a terrorist organisation by the United States and Israel. The organisation engaged in a protracted guerrilla war against Israel from 1960 till 1980, before entering into peace negotiations in 1990s.

The PLO was established in 1964 on the initiative of the League of Arab States with the intention to centralise the leadership of various Palestinian groups that previously had operated as resistance movements.[96] The aim of establishing the PLO was to create an organisational framework, which integrates social, political and military activities that protected the Palestinian entity. The issue of the Palestinian entity arose through the initiative of the United Arab Republic at the 31 session of the Arab League Council (ALC) on March 29, 1959.[97] The first operative decision for the formation of an organisation that represented the Palestinians

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[95] Khaled Hroub, *Hamas A Beginners Guide* (London: Pluto Press, 2010), 81.
[96] Salem Barahmeh, "The Palestinians, the PLO and Political Representation: the Search for Palestinian Self-Determination," *The International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence* (2013): 7.
[97] Moshe Shemesh, "The Founding of the PLO 1964," *Middle Eastern Studies* 20, no. 4 (October 1984): 105, accessed on December 4, 2019, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4283033

was taken by the Arab summit in January 1964. The meeting took place on the initiative of Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasser in Cairo.[98] In February 1964, the Palestinian lawyer and diplomat Ahmad al-Shuqayri was appointed as the representative of the Palestinians in the Arab League.[99] This decision turned the question of the Palestinian entity from a subject for debate into a fact.[100] Following this decision, Al-Shuqayri gained the support of Nasser to establish a Palestinian army and prepared a mandatory conscription law. This law enabled a Palestinian government to collect soldiers from Gaza to form a resistance force. Al-Shuqayri presented a draft to the Palestinian National Covenant to form the Palestine Liberation Organisation.[101]

Organisational Developments of the PLO

The most important political institutions of the PLO are the Palestinian National Council (PNC), the Central Council (CC) and the Executive Committee (EC). The PNC is the supreme authority for formulating policies and programs for the PLO.[102] The CC works as an intermediary between the executive committee of the PLO and the PNC. The EC is the second most important body within the PLO. The PNC elects the members of the EC, who in turn elect a Chairman. The EC is responsible for the organisational activities of the PLO and forms the equivalent of a cabinet.[103] It is the official representative of the Palestinian nation in the international arena and prepares the budget and regulates the activities of the PLO according to the policies.[104] The official military organisation of the PLO is the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA), which was established in 1964.[105]

An important event that changed the objectives of the PLO was the Six Day War of 1967. This event resulted in the total defeat and destruction of the Arab armies and changed the balance of power in the region. Moreover, the Six Day War created disappointment within the PLO that the Arab nations were militarily insufficient to liberate Palestine. The PLO realised that they would not reach their objectives under the shadow of the Arab states, since the Arab states could no longer fight on behalf of the Palestinians and accepted UN resolution 242.[106]

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[98] Shemesh, "The Founding of the PLO in 1964," 121.
[99] Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*," 201.
[100] Shemesh, "The Founding of the PLO in 1964," 121.
[101] Laurie Brand, "Nasir's Egypt and the Reemergence of the Palestinian National Movement," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 17, no. 2 (1988): 40.
[102] Cheryl A. Rubenberg, "The Civilian Infrastructure of the Palestine Liberation Organization: An Analysis of the PLO in Lebanon Until June 1982," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 12, no. 3 (1983): 56.
[103] Rubenberg, "The Civilian Infrastructure of the Palestine Liberation Organization," 57.
[104] Ibid., 58.
[105] Ibid., 59.
[106] United Nations Secretariat, 2003. The Question of Palestine and United Nations.
http://www.un.org/Depts/dpi/palestine/ch3.pdf

Disillusioned with the Arab leadership, the PLO concluded that the Palestinians themselves would have to assume the responsibly for liberating their homeland.[107] In March 1968, Yasser Arafat, the leader of the Fatah party, took control over the leadership of the PLO. Arafat transformed and restricted the PLO's internal and external modes of operation. He transformed refugees into fighters, restored the name of Palestine in the international community and expressed openness to diplomacy.[108] Arafat marked a new era in the history of the PLO by implementing a change in their objectives: preserving the PLO's political status and progress made in the international arena, and 'inducing movement towards resolving the Palestinian problem through a weakening of Israeli political will.' Under his leadership, terrorism against Israel became the key element of Palestinian resistance movement.[109] He used guerrilla tactics as means to negotiate.[110]

The emergence of an armed and organised Palestinian resistant movement after 1968 renewed the Palestinians' sense of themselves as a distinct national entity deserving of same recognition as Israel. Yet at the same time, Palestinian militancy sharpened political division among the Arab states upon whose support the resistance movement ultimately depended.[111] The PLO had settled in Arab countries (Jordan and Lebanon) around Israel but the presence of Palestinian activist posed danger to the domestic order of those countries. One result of the confrontation between the Arab states and the PLO was the Black September of 1970.[112] Jordan attacked the PLO headquarters and terminated their activities within the country. This was a full scale war between the PLO and an Arab regime, which caused PLO to move to Lebanon.[113] The move to Lebanon had many implications on the organisation and political structure of PLO. The PLO found a safe refuge there and launched a more militant and autonomous guerrilla war. As Middle Eastern scholar el-Khazen argues: 'It was in Lebanon that the PLO could become an organisation possessing all the elements of a nation-state in exile'.[114] Nevertheless, this ended with the success of the Israeli siege of August 1982, and the entire leadership was evacuated from Beirut. Therefore, the organisation had to undergo a tremendous change. This was the first war fought between Israel and the PLO and caused both the leadership and the

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[107] United Nations Secretariat, 2003. The Question of Palestine and United Nations.
http://www.un.org/Depts/dpi/palestine/ch3.pdf
[108] Mamdouh Nofal, "Yasir Arafat, the Political Player: A Mixed Legacy," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 35, no. 2 (2006): 23-37.
[109] Barug Kimmerling and Joel S. Migdal, *The Palestinian People: a History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 255.
[110] Yezid Sayigh, "The Palestinian Armed Struggle: Means and End," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 16 no. 1 (1986): 95-112.
[111] Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*," 343.
[112] Ibid.,
[113] Farid el-Khazen, "The Rise and Fall of the PLO." *The National Interest* no. 10 (1987): 40. Accessed December 5, 2019.
https://www.jstor.org/stable/42894480
[114] El-Khazen, "The Rise and Fall of the PLO," 41.

masses the be expelled from the heart of Palestine. As a result of these events, the headquarters of the PLO was transferred to Tunis and guerrilla fighters were distributed among the Arab states.[115]

4.2 The PLO: A Partner in Dialogue

The passing of UN Security Council Resolution 242 remained the cornerstone of all subsequent peace efforts, with promising breakthroughs in 1974–5, 1977–9 and 1991. However, the peace process between 1967 and 1993 remained largely immobilised by the conflicting perspectives and behaviours that had obstructed Arab–Israeli peace for generations.[116]

A recurring obstacle in peace negotiations was the refusal of Israel and the PLO to recognise one another's legitimacy.[117] Israel tried to solve the Palestinian problem in dialogues with Jordan's King Hussein and refused to talk to the PLO, whose attacks on Israeli civilians led Israel to classify it as a terrorist organisation. The PLO and Israel spent several decades denying each other's legitimacy.[118] In the late 1980s, however, the PLO adopted a stance that suggested a willingness to coexist with Israel if the latter withdrew to its pre-1967 borders.

The Madrid Conference in 1991 launched a promising new process. The peace conference was hosted by Spain and co-sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union. It was an attempt by the international community to revive the Palestinian–Israeli peace process through negotiations. It involved Israel and the Palestinians, as well as Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. The Palestinian team was part of joint Palestinian and Jordanian delegation and consisted of Palestinians from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Although Israel agreed to Palestinian representation at the 1991 Madrid Conference, it insisted upon the inclusion of non-PLO Palestinians only and threatened not to attend the conference otherwise. However, the Palestinian delegation was in constant communication with the PLO leadership in Tunis.[119] During the conference, PLO figures were present backstage to instruct the Palestinian delegation.[120]

The conference was followed by bilateral negotiations held on 3 November. A subsequent bilateral meeting took place in Washington on 9 December 1991. On 28 of January

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[115] Sayigh, "The Palestinian Armed Struggle: Means and End," 98-99.
[116] Laura Zittrain Eisenberg, "The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process, 1967-1993" *The Routledge Handbook on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, ed. Joel Peters and David Newman (London: Routlegde, 2013), 81.
[117] Eisenberg, "The Israeli-Palestinian peace process," 82.
[118] Ibid., 83.
[119] Clyde Habermand, "Palestinians Says His Delegation Will Assert PLO Ties at Talks," *The New York Times* (October 22, 1991) accessed on December 5, 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/1991/10/22/world/palestinian-says-his-delegation-will-assert-plo-ties-at-talks.html
[120] Preamble: Madrid Conference, website PNA, archived on December 19, 2003. https://web.archive.org/web/20031219142434/http://www.pna.gov.ps/Peace_Process/Peace_files/madrid.asp

1992, multilateral negotiations about regional cooperation were started in Moscow. The purpose of the conference was to serve as an opening forum for the participants and had no power to impose solutions or veto agreements. However, the symbolic significance of the Madrid conference far outweighed its accomplishments.[121] Part of the problem was that the Israeli were reluctant to give up any ground to the Palestinians. For Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's intention, as he later put it, was to 'conduct negotiations on autonomy (for the Palestinians) for ten years, and in the meantime we would have reached a total of half a million people in Judaea and Samaria', which would make it impossible, as Shamir saw it, to negotiate the area.[122] The Palestinians also failed to show flexibility and would not move from their traditional positions. Indeed, if the Israeli hoped that by insisting on having local Palestinians rather than the PLO at the negotiation table they would face a more moderate leadership, then they were wrong, Dr Haider Abd al-Shafi form Gaza and Hanan Ashrawi from Ramallah and others were uncompromising and insisted on discussing the most sensitive issues. [123]   In short term, the Madrid Conference was more about public gestures than substantive discussions However, the gathering in Madrid should not be overlooked: it was a significant step in bringing Israelis and Palestinians to a new level of contact.[124]

Israel and the PLO: The Breakthrough of 1993

In late summer 1993 Palestinian and Israeli delegates gathered in Washington to attend the eleventh round of the peace talks. The talks had become stalemated, and little was expected of this new session. For that very reason, the sudden disclosure of a secret agreement reached between representatives of the Israeli government and the PLO took the world by surprise.

No one, not even Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, knew in the beginning that a secret, unofficial channel was operating between the Israelis and the PLO.[125] The circumstances that brought Israeli and PLO officials together in Oslo, in the winter and spring of 1993, originated outside normal diplomatic channels. In the course of the conducting studies in the occupied territories, the director of a Norwegian research institute discovered that certain well-placed Palestinians and Israeli government officials were receptive to the idea of direct PLO-Israeli negotiations. Following an exchange of information, the Norwegian government volunteered to provide facilities of secret talks, and the two parties agreed to participate. It

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[121] Gregory Harms and Todd M. Ferry, *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Canada: Pluto Press, 2005), 153.
[122] As cited in Robert Slater. *Rabin of Israel, Warrior for Peace* (London: Harpercollins, 1996). 105.
[123] Bregman, *A History of Israel,* 234.
[124] Harms and Ferry, *The Palestine-Israel Conflict*, 153.
[125] Bregman, *A History of Israel,* 237.

opened in London where Abu Ala'a, a PLO official, and an Israeli academic by the name of Yair Hirschfeld got together.[126]

Back in Tunis, where the headquarters of the PLO had been based, Abu Ala'a reported to Arafat and to Mahmoud Abbas. They saw no objection to the meeting between Abu Ala'a and the Israeli professor. As Abbas later explained: 'There were no risks in it for us. If the dialogue proved to be fruitful we would have achieved something we were after, and if it turned out to be just small talk with an academic this could not hurt us'.[127] The unofficial talks in Norway continued throughout early 1993 and gradually became more focused, the aim being to try and produce a Declaration of Principles (DOP) as a framework for a future Palestinian-Israeli agreement.[128] It was an astounding document. Stunning both for its unexpectedness and is contents: the agreement provided for mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO and laid the foundations for Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The reasons that prompted the two parties to depart from their established positions rested with a combination of factors. Following the Gulf War of 1991, the PLO entered a period of political and economic disarray. As its funds dried up, the organisation was forced to close offices and to dismiss large numbers of functionaries Yasser Arafat tilt toward Iraq cost the organisation dearly and led to criticism of his leadership. Within the occupied territories, and especially in the Gaza Strip, the PLO's claim to political primacy came under renewed challenge from Hamas. The PLO leaders, fearful of being overtaken by the appeal of Hamas, looked to negotiations with Israel as a way of retaining their dominance. The attitude of the US government was another factor that drove the PLO to explore direct talks with the Israelis. The new administration of President Bill Clinton was preoccupied with domestic affairs and had a distinctly pro-Israeli bias.[129]

From the perspective of the Israeli government, the prospects of endless violence and occupation was unacceptable. The Intifada had shown the Israeli public the depth of the Palestinian nationalism and had served to make many Israelis aware, for the first time, of the oppressive features of the occupation. The growing strength of Hamas, with its ties to other Islamic opposition groups throughout the region, concerned Israeli leaders and gave them cause to consider negotiations with the PLO.[130]

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[126] Ibid., 238.
[127] Mahmoud Abbas, *Trough the Secret Channels* (Reading, UK: Garnet Publishing, 1995), 114.
[128] Bregman, *A History of Israel,* 240.
[129] Cleveland and Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East,* 466.
[130] Ibid., 467.

The two agreements were hammered out in the forests near Oslo. The first was a document of mutual recognition in which Israel recognised the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and. In return, the PLO recognised Israel right to exist in peace and security, renounced the use of terror and violence, and pledged to remove the clauses in the PLO charter that called for the elimination of the state of Israel.[131]

The second agreement, formally known as the Declaration of Principles on Palestinian Self-Rule but commonly referred to as Oslo I, outlined a five-year program for interim Palestinian autonomy in the occupied territories. Although Israel would retain overall sovereignty throughout the terms of the agreement, the period was divided into several stages, each of which granted increasing administrative responsibility to the Palestinians.[132]

It needs to be emphasised that Oslo I was not a peace treaty but an interim agreement. In essence, the PLO accepted the notion of interim phase without any advance agreements on what the features of the permanent settlement would be. Israel simply recognised the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinians and agreed to negotiate with it. The PLO, however, had fully recognised Israel' right to exist. [133]

The declaration postponed a number of crucial issues for the interim discussions, prominent among them the future status of East Jerusalem and the Israeli settlements and the crucial question of Palestinian sovereignty. Yet for all the hard bargaining still to come, it appeared that the Israelis and Palestinians had, through direct negotiations, taken a major step toward peaceful coexistence.[134] Arab leaders, though upset at their total exclusion from the Norway talks, cautiously endorsed the proposal. [135] On September 13, 1993, Israeli and PLO leaders assembled on the White House lawn to participate in a ceremony that would have been unimaginable weeks earlier.

However, the agreements proved problematic to implement and the permanent status negotiations failed by early 2001, practically assuring the immediate return to violence. After 2001, international and regional diplomacy was limited to crisis management. The Palestinian-Israeli peace negotiations were strongly characterised by secrecy and exclusion, whether of key individuals, political parties, military figures, political leaders or civil society.

The Oslo Agreements did not lead to peace between the Palestinians and Israel. But peace negotiations do not always definitely resolve the underlying conflict issues, and the

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[131] Ibid.
[132] Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 236-237.
[133] Cleveland and Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 467.
[134] Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 236-237.
[135] Cleveland and Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 467.

outcome of a peace process is not necessarily peace, even if the parties sign a peace agreement.[136] This is applicable for the Madrid Conference and the Oslo Agreements. These negotiations did not establish peace but did open up a dialogue between the PLO and Israel. Thus, important progress was made.

4.3 The First Intifada: A New Era of the Conflict

The breakthrough between the PLO and Israel did not caused a breakthrough in the Palestinian–Israeli conflict. Rather, two important events occurred at the end of the 1980s. The first was the outbreak of protests in occupied territories in December 1987, called the Intifada. The Intifada erupted, first in the Gaza Strip then in the West Bank, surprising both Israel and the PLO leadership. The second was the formation of a new resistance movement named Hamas.[137]

There are a number of reasons for the outbreak of the First Intifada: the poverty the Palestinians had been living under and the feelings of humiliation arising from living under occupation.[138] Furthermore, the effect of four decades of defeat, colonial suppression, land expropriations and occupation laid the groundwork for an uprising. The uprising was triggered by a 'traffic accident' on December 9, 1987 in the Gaza Strip. An Israeli truck collided with a car in Gaza, killing all four Palestinian passengers. Demonstrations began in Gaza and quickly spreading to East Jerusalem and the West Bank. The outbreak of the Intifada marked the next significant transition in the Palestinian–Israeli conflict.[139] During the First Intifada, the Israelis imposed various forms of closure and extended curfews, withheld public services and restricted Palestinian access to the necessities of everyday live.[140] The Israeli army also responded harshly to this non-violent resistance.

Meanwhile, representatives of the local Palestinian leadership of Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP), and the communist Palestine Popular Party (PPP) met in the West Bank. They decided to establish their own organisation with a framework of local 'inside' leadership that would lead the uprising, without the guidance of their 'outside' leadership abroad. Within two weeks, the various representatives agreed to unite and establish a unified framework called

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[136] Anthony Wanis-St. John, "Peace process, Secret Negotiations and Civil Society: Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion," in *International Peace and Conflict Resolution* 13 (February 2008): 3.
[137] Khaled Hroub, "Hamas," *The Routledge Handbook on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, ed. Joel Peters and David Newman (London: Routlegde, 2013), 237.
[138] Rami Nasrallah, "The First and Second Palestinian Intifadas," *The Routledge Handbook on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, ed. Joel Peters and David Newman (London: Routlegde, 2013), 56.
[139] J. Peters, "Introduction," 3.
[140] Nasrallah, "The First and Second Palestinian Intifadas," 57.

the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU). All of their orders, manifestos, and proclamations were issued under the shared slogan 'No voice is louder than the voice of the *Intifada*.' During the first Intifada, the UNLU played the central role in mobilising support.[141] Membership in the UNLU frequently rotated, making it difficult for the occupation authorities to apprehend the leaders.[142]

The rise of Hamas

On January 14, 1988, the Muslim Brotherhood in Gaza called for the Palestinian people to stand up against the occupation. This manifesto is considered the founding statement of Hamas, the Islamic Resistance Movement. Hamas quickly became involved in street confrontations against the occupation.[143] The leadership of Hamas refused to become involved with the UNLU national framework. Hamas considered all of historical Palestine to be an Islamic *waqf* (a land that cannot be given away, sold, or entitled to another entity) belonging to the Palestinians, and thus called for resistance to expel the Israeli occupation and establish an Islamic state. It rejected any type of political settlement with Israel and also rejected the principle of two states.

The first Intifada allowed Hamas to evolve from a non-violent religious organisation into popular militant movement whose major focus became resisting the Israeli occupation. Hamas grew strong and succeeded in creating its own name. However, it posed concerns in how to compete with the PLO over the leadership and representation of the Palestinians. Hamas strove to maintain a position and strategy distinctive from that of the PLO, which, since 1989, was seeking to achieve Palestinian rights through peace talks and not exclusively through armed struggle.[144] The PLO saw the Intifada as a tactic of coercion to achieve more favourable negotiation position in the hope of reaching a peace deal that would conclude with the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel.[145] For Hamas, by contrast, the Intifada represented a long-term resistance project that was no mere limited tool for achieving 'small' political gains. During the first Intifada, Hamas criticised the PLO and Fatah for 'exploiting' these uprisings to attain political ends that would lead to the recognition of Israel.[146]

Hamas strongly opposed the Declaration of Principles between the PLO and Israel. However, the implementation of the Oslo Agreements, starting in 1994 with the establishment of the Palestinian Authority (PA), first in Gaza and the West Bank city of Jericho, then in other

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[141] Ibid.," 58.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid., 59.
[144] Khaled Hroub, "Hamas," 236.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.

parts of the West Bank, restructured the Palestinian political landscape with respect to leadership rivalry and legitimacy and also shifted the nature of the relationship with Israel radically; Israel and the PA had now become 'peace partners', whereas Hamas was side-lined as an 'enemy of peace'.[147]

The post-Oslo political developments slowed, and even temporarily halted, Hamas' rise and expansion. Exhausted because of the long years of the Intifada, many Palestinians pinned high hopes on the Oslo process and looked away from Hamas. The new security regime, which heavily involved the PA, drastically affected Hamas' military activism, posing hard questions as to the rationale and effectiveness of its resistance strategy as a whole. The regional and international atmosphere was also unfavourable to Hamas as optimism prevailed that Oslo would lead to an end to the conflict.[148] In response, Hamas toned down its military activities but kept up its verbal criticism of Oslo. The years following the signing of Oslo seemed to prove Hamas' view correct, as hopes in Oslo gradually evaporated, allowing for the reigniting of Hamas' 'resistance project'.[149]

The frustrations among the Palestinians of the failed Oslo Agreements led to a second Intifada, the al-Aqsa Intifada. This uprising left Israelis and Palestinians bitterly divided. Cooperative ventures and dialogue between Israeli and Palestinian civil society, which had flourished during the Oslo years, quickly evaporated. Strategies of peace and coexistence were replaced by confrontation, containment, and separation. Violence on a scale heretofore unwitnessed took root.[150]

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[147] Ibid., 237.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid., 236.
[150] Peters, "Introduction," 5.

Conclusion: Peace-negotiations with the PLO

The historical evidence shows that the early PLO did not succeed in representing the Palestinians, as a result of the lack of commitment of its leaders under the dictate of Arab states. The intention of the Arab states was to use the movement as a political tool to keep the Palestinians under control. However, the end of the Six Day War marked a new beginning for the PLO. After the defeat of the Arab states, the PLO was transformed into an organisation that could stand on its own. During the era of Yasser Arafat, the organisation was fully transformed into a political entity with all the function of a nation state.

With the Declarations of Principles of 1993, the PLO became a partner in dialogue. In the following, we test the phases of peace-negotiations, by Adrian Guelke, with the PLO. The first phase 'pre-talks' is visible during the Madrid Conference of 1991. This conference opened the door for negotiations between the Palestinians and Israel. However, the conference failed to include the PLO. The isolation of insurgents forms a characteristic of this phase. In addition, John Lederbach describes in 'Building Peace' that sometimes governments refuse to talk to insurgents. However, Israel could not ignore the PLO if they wanted to stop the conflict. The desire to not accord each other legitimacy is a reason that the first stage in a peace process tends to take form in 'secret' and 'multilateral' talks. Communication through a third party is common in this phase. Implementing these two phases on peace-negotiations with the PLO, leaves us with the Oslo Agreements. The Oslo Agreements were designed with help of the international community and both parties recognised each other's legitimacy. Resulting in the phase of 'settlement' and 'implementation'. If the terms of the negotiated settlement are less detailed, then difficulties are likely to be at the stage of implementation. For that reasons, the Oslo Agreements proved difficult to implement. Both parties acknowledged that what they agreed fell far short of a final settlement. This was reflected in their agreeing to a timetable for the negotiation of final settlement, which proved unsustainable almost from the outset. Shifts in this balance during the implementation stage may consolidate the settlement by making it apparent that one side has won. The normative rationale of the settlement may be undermined by the actual balance of power in a situation, which results in the settlement being implemented in a way that falls short of what one side or other, as well as the outside world, sees as legitimate. This proves to be the case with the PLO and Israel.

Next to the peace-negotiation process of the PLO, this chapter also demonstrated that the failing Oslo Agreements led to the rise of a new player, Hamas. Comparisons between the PLO and Hamas became clear. Both organisations emerged as a response to a lack of faith in representation: the PLO towards the Arab States for accepting Resolution 242 and Hamas

towards the PLO because of the Oslo Agreements. Both organisations started out with a no-negotiation attitude towards Israel, both organizations resorted to violence and terrorism to oppose Israel. The PLO later, accepted Israel and gained a role in peace negotiations.

5. Hamas and The Road to Negotiations

The previous chapter demonstrated how the PLO became the representatives of the Palestinian people after the Six Day war of 1967. The PLO transformed from a terrorist labelled organisation to a partner in the peace negotiation process. The PLO was involved in the Oslo Agreements and eventually signed the accords. Important findings of the previous chapter are related to the establishment of Hamas and the striking similarities with the PLO. This chapter will further examine the establishment of Hamas and its role in the Palestinian-Israel conflict. It presents a brief historic outline and analyses how Hamas was established. It demonstrates how Hamas transformed from a charity organisation into a resistant movement and later into a pollical actor. Furthermore, it studies Hamas' attitudes towards the Middle Eastern and Western countries. This will provide an understanding in what kind of political environment Hamas' operates. Last, this chapter uses the theory of cosmopolitan peacebuilding to research if Hamas can be a partner in peace.

5.1 Historical Background

This paragraph analyses the rise of Hamas and the transformations the organisation has gone through. It also researches the structure of the organisation. With this knowledge, the following paragraph deals with Hamas' strategy with regard to its political policy.

From charity organisation to resistance movement

The formation of Hamas occurred during an emergency meeting by the Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood, following a traffic 'accident' at the Jabalia refugee camp. During this emergency meeting, the Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood decided to transform the charity organisation *Mujama al-Islamiyyah* into the resistance movement *Harakat al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyyah*, or Hamas. This was done only a few days after the outburst of the First Intifada. The years of frustration and depressing living conditions resulting from Israel's politics in the territories can be seen as the driving forces behind the intifada.[151] Life in the Palestinian territories had become increasingly unbearable, while Palestinian nationalism and Islamic revivalism fuelled the resentment against Israeli occupation.[152] The First Intifada lasted until 1993, when the Oslo

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[151] Floor Janssen, "Hamas and its Positions Towards Israel: Understanding the Islamic Resistance Organisation Through the Concept of Framing," *Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael* (January 2009): 14. accessed on May 14, 2019.
[152] Azzam Tamimi, *Hamas. Unwritten Chapters, (*London: Hurst & Company, 2007), 12.

Accords were signed between Israel and the PLO. According to the agreements, Israel would withdraw its troops, and the Palestinians were entitled to self-government. This led to the founding of the PA, which formed the official administration of the Palestinian territories.[153]

With the Oslo Accord as the source of the PA's legitimacy, Hamas opposed the elections for the PA held in 1996. This opposition was primarily because participation in the elections would mean Hamas' recognised the Oslo Accords.[154] The Oslo peace process caused Hamas to adapt to the new circumstances.[155] Decisions were no longer driven by violence; instead, they were driven by an analysis of the requirements needed to maintain the organisation's new position in the Palestinian political sphere. Meanwhile, the PA struggled to keep militant Palestinian factions from attacking Israeli targets. The second Intifada broke out, and (unlike the First Intifada) it turned into armed confrontation.[156] To put an end to the second Intifada, a new round of peace talks was opened when Israel announced its withdrawal from the Gaza Strip in 2005. For the Palestinians, it was clear that their resistance against occupation had been successful. The Palestinians in Gaza, led by Hamas, celebrated the liberation. Hamas's approach of violent attacks against Israel forced the withdrawal, thus leading to Hamas' popularity.

Hamas' shifting political orientation and the rising tensions in Gaza

Despite Hamas' refusal to take part in the 1996 PA elections, it never refused the tool of elections.[157] When the PA decided to hold elections in 2005, Hamas political circumstances were more favourable, leading the group to take part.[158] When Hamas decided to participate in the elections of 2006 and managed to win by an absolute majority from Fatah, tensions between both parties increased.[159] Although Hamas won the elections against Fatah, the outcome was not honoured by the international community and Fatah.[160] With the full support and funding of the international community, led by the US, Fatah established a parallel government with the power to render the legitimate government powerless.[161] Mahmud Abbas was given the authority to appoint a new constitutional court that served as an arbitrator in disputes between him and the government.

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[153] Janssen, "Hamas and its Positions Towards Israel," 14.
[154] Ibid., 17.
[155] Hroub, *Hamas a Beginner's Guide,* 49-50.
[156] Janssen, "Hamas and its Positions Towards Israel," 18.
[157] Hroub, *Hamas a Beginner's Guide,* 63.
[158] Janssen, "Hamas and its Positions Towards Israel," 25.
[159] David Schenker, "Syria, Hamas, and the Gaza Crisis," The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, July 2006, accessed on November 30, 2019, http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/syria-hamas-and-the-gaza-crisis
[160] Cleveland and Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 483-484.
[161] Tamimi, *Hamas Unwritten Chapters*, 228-230.

The constitutional court would consist of nine judges who were given the powers to resolve a dispute between Mahmud Abbas and the new Hamas government. In addition, Fatah members were appointed to four key posts, namely: the head of the anti-corruption committee, the leader of the PA, the main administrator of parliament and the director of salaries and pension funds. Hamas described these actions as a "bloodless coup" with the aim of overthrowing the Hamas government.[162]

Hamas decided to form a government under the leadership of Ismail Haniya, who in theory was the rightful winner of the elections. However, this was different in practice. The US stated that they did not recognize the Hamas government. They would provide support if Hamas agreed to three requirements. First Hamas had to recognize Israel, they had to distance themselves from violence and finally Hamas had to accept all previous Palestinian-Israeli agreements.[163] These three conditions were unacceptable to Hamas. According to the movement, the problem was precisely with Israel and not with the Palestinians. When it became clear that Hamas was not going to agree to the conditions, the US, the EU and Israel took joint action and Hamas was completely excluded from the political arena. Countries from all over the world were urged not to recognise the Hamas government. This soon led to problems for the Palestinian economy. [164]

Tensions between Hamas and Fatah worsened after Hamas took control over the Gaza Strip. A number of Fatah commanders were executed. In an attempt to resolve the conflict between Fatah and Hamas, an agreement was reached in February between the two parties in Mecca.[165] The agreement was signed by Mahmoud Abbas on behalf of Fatah and Khaled Mashal on behalf of Hamas. This led to a government with a national unity on 17 March 2007. Ismail Haniya became the prime minister. The posts Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance went to Fatah member Azzam al-Ahmad and Salam Fayyad. In total, Hamas obtained ten ministries and Fatah five. However, this government was already dissolved on 14 June 2007 by Abbas, who also declared a state of emergency.[166] Haniya declared Abbas' decision to dissolve the government unacceptable and therefore did not resign.[167] In the meantime, the PA ran a fierce campaign against Hamas. The fight between Hamas and Fatah continued.

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[162] Ibid., 225.
[163] Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestinian Conflict,* 255.
[164] Shikaki, "With Hamas in Power," 7.
[165] International Crisis Group, "After Mecca: Engaging Hamas' International Crisis Group," (February 2007): 1-2, accessed on November 30, 2019, http://www.ciaonet.org.proxy-ub.rug.nl/record/4716?search=1
[166] Ibid.,
[167] Ian Black and Mark Tran, "Hamas takes control over Gaza," *The Guardian* (June 2010) accessed on November 30, 2019. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/jun/15/israel4

According to Levitt, the fact that Hamas won the 2006 elections from Fatah must be understood in the context of the deteriorated situation in Palestine and as a protest against the PA, not as an attempt of Hamas to actively participate in politics.[168] Levitt defines Hamas as an obstacle, and he proposes that the correct approach in achieving peace is to neutralise the movement.[169] However, looking at the political circumstances, it was impossible for Hamas to participate in politics. Levitt approach towards Hamas does not consider that Hamas' decision-making process is also pragmatic under certain circumstances, not necessarily leading to military or terrorist actions in all cases.[170] Inside Hamas, the momentum shifted from moderate leaders, who were more willing to participate in politics, to hardliner leaders, who more willing to use violence to maintain the movement's position.[171] This led to an increase of violence and an Israeli response, operation Cast Lead, from December 2008 to January 2009. The operation degraded Hamas' militant capabilities and its administrative infrastructure for ruling the Gaza Strip, but the operation failed to deprive Hamas of power and left the organisation in an operational state.[172]

Whereas Levitt describes Hamas as a terrorist organisation, the studies of Mishal and Hroub explains that Hamas is more than a terrorist organisation.[173] The studies of Mishal and Hroub reveal Hamas' difficulties in adapting its maximalist position to current developments. Because the movement is always striving to maintain its position, it uses its radical agenda, together with violence, whenever these methods promise to further expand its power and public support.[174] Mishal states that the problems preventing Hamas from abandoning violence is twofold. First, Hamas' leadership consists of a hardliner faction that maintains the radical agenda and prefers violence – despite the moderate leaders, who are more willing to engage in political participation.[175] Second, besides the maintenance of its position in Palestine, Hamas needs to preserve its identity as a resistance movement. This makes it difficult for it to simply participate in politics, as this is contrary to its objectives.

This historical overview demonstrates that the historical and political events described above have strongly influenced Hamas' strategy. Hamas became more pragmatic and was willing to adapt its fundamentalist ideology in favour of a more political orientation.

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[168] Levitt, *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*, 6.
[169] Matthew Levitt, "Hamas in the Spotlight, "*The Washington Institute for Near East Policy* (2008), http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=1137 (accessed May 14, 2019), 236.
[170] Matthew Levitt, "Hamas in the Spotlight, "*The Washington Institute for Near East Policy* (2008), http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC06.php?CID=1137 (accessed May 14, 2019), 236.
[171] Matthew Levitt, "Hamas in the Spotlight,
[172] Mishal and Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence*, 140.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid., 94.
[175] Ibid., 73–76,

Structure of Hamas: The fragmentation of the political and military branch

The transition of Hamas to a political orientation, which took place in the 1990s, has ensured that Hamas' religious motivation shifted to a pragmatic motivation with an emphasis on social change. The opinions within Hamas about the strategies and tactics are varied. For example, there are often different opinions within the party regarding the PLO, political participation and attitude towards Israel.[176] Hamas has always consisted of two segments – namely, a social movement and a military organisation. The social movement is concerned with education, welfare and other services. The military branch of Hamas is dedicated to resistance against Israel. This strategy has been used since 1990, when the movement was restructured into a separate military and political wing. These two wings reflect the internal division within the movement between the hardliner faction and the moderates.[177] T

here is not much information published about the leadership and internal structure of Hamas, and such information is kept secret as much as possible by the movement in order to maintain operational security. However, the more popular Hamas has become among the Palestinian population, the more questions arose about the movement's decision-making process. This has put pressure on Hamas to provide insight into its organisational structure. Mishal describes Hamas' military wing as being formed by the Izz ad-Din al-Qassem Brigades.[178] These brigades operate mainly in secret. For safety reasons, Hamas maintains distance between the operation of its different wings. By distancing itself from the military wing, the political and social wing can legally request charity funds and foreign aid.[179] Middle Eastern and Conflict Studies scholar Jeroen Gunning describes in his article, 'Peace with Hamas', that the political and military wings are two separate though interlocked wings.[180] He argues that political wing is to a certain extent responsible for the actions of the military wing. However, he claims that there is no doubt about the fact that there are two functionally and spatially distinguishable wings.[181] The logic by each which wing operates are different. The military wing's behaviour is dictated by concerns about operational efficiency; and the political wing's behaviour by concerns about popularity and legitimacy.[182]

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[176] Aaron D. Pina, "Fatah and Hamas: The New Palestinian Factional Reality," *Electronic Rapport* (March, 2010) accessed on November 30, 2019, http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RS22395.pdf
[177] Leonard Weinberg, Ami Pedahzur and Arie Perliger, *Political Parties and Terrorist Groups*, (New York: Routledge Press, 2010).
[178] Mishal en Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas*, 16.
[179] Mishal and Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas*, 88; Levitt, *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism*, 6.
[180] Jeroen, Gunning, 'Peace with Hamas? The Transforming Potential of Political Participation', *International Affairs* 80, no. 2 (2004), 236.
[181] Gunning, "Peace with Hamas?" 236.
[182] Ibid.

In addition to the separate segments within Hamas, the leadership of the movement is divided over three geographical areas: The West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the areas in exile. The members of Hamas in local areas choose their re-presenter for the "Regional Council". These members are called usra (families).[183] A usra consists of members and a regional leader. The Regional Council elects' members for the "National Shura Council", which in turn elects members for the "Executive Council". The purpose of the political organisation is to outline an overall strategy for Hamas. In addition, it sets up specialized committees responsible for various Hamas activities, such as social affairs, education, membership and PR. The leadership of the political organisation lies with Yahya Sinwar.[184] His responsibilities consist of Hamas leadership in Gaza, Hamas delegations abroad and leadership of the Judea and Samaria districts.

5.2 Hamas as a Political factor

To gain more insight in the political field Hamas operates, this paragraph analyses Hamas as political factor. The paragraph researches the relationship between Hamas and other Middle Eastern countries and the relationship with the West.

Hamas and the Middle East

According to Khaled Hroub, professor of Middle Eastern Studies at Northwestern University in Qatar and author of the book Hamas a Beginner's Guide, Hamas' strategy is based on establishing relationships with Arab and Islamic countries in order to create support for the Palestinians and to soften its image as a 'terrorist organisation'.[185] The movement has succeeded in finding strong allies and these allies play an important role in helping Hamas mobilize and fund.[186] The countries in the Arab region that are known for having strong opinions about Israel' politics, have a stronger relationship with Hamas.[187] These countries include: Iran, Syria, Sudan, Lebanon and Libya.[188]. Iran is the country that openly supports Hamas most politically. Hamas almost enjoys full diplomatic status in Tehran.[189] The Iranian

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[183] Jean-Pierre Filiu, "The Origins of Hamas: Militant legacy or Israeli tool? *Journal of Palestine Studies* 41, no. 3 (Spring 2012): 59. DOI: 10.1525/jps.2012.xli.3.54

[184] Peter Beaumony, "Hamas elects Hardlinder Yahya Sinwar as its Gaza Strip Chief," *The Guardian* (February 13, 2017) accessed on November 30, 2019.

[185] Hroub, *Hamas a Beginner's Guide*, 93.

[186] International Crisis Group, "Dealing with Hamas," (January 2004) accessed December 12, 2019, https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/israelpalestine/dealing-hamas

[187] Hroub, *Hamas a Beginner's Guide*, 20.

[188] Ibid.

[189] Amjad Atallah et al., "Dangerous Ambitions: The Challenges of Iran and Hamas," *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy* (May 2006): 19, Accessed December 12, 2019, https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/dangerous-ambitions-the-challenges-of-iran-and-hamas

movement Hezbollah, has a special relationship with Hamas. Hezbollah supplies ammunition to Hamas and teaches the Hamas fighters military skills.[190]

Hamas also has good ties with Qatar. After the elections of 2006, Qatar welcomed Hamas and asked the international community to deal with Hamas as a political group which represents the Palestinians.[191] Over the past decades Qatar provided shelter to several prominent Hamas affiliates.[192] The relation between Qatar and Hamas was reinforced especially between 2008 and 2009 after several expression of mutual support, and especially after Qatar condemned the Gaza blockade imposed by the United States.[193] Former Qatari Emir Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani was the first head of state who visited Gaza after Hamas took power in 2012. During his visited he announced that Qatar would devolve $400 million for aid and reconstruction work. So far, Qatar has disbursed over $1 billion to the rebuilding efforts, thereby ranked as the biggest donor for the Gaza Strip.[194]

Hamas' relationship with Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait is different. These countries attempt to maintain a reasonable relationship with Hamas to counterbalance the threatening Iranian / Syrian influence on Hamas. In addition, Egypt has a special relationship with Hamas. The country has tried several times to mediate between Hamas and Israel in order to achieve a ceasefire.[195] Egypt has an interest in peace and security in the neighbouring Gaza Strip. It also tries to keep Palestinian Islamism under control so that Egyptian security is not threatened.[196]

Outside the Arab region, Hamas also has relations with Pakistan, Malaysia, Indonesia and Turkey. Hamas delegations visit these countries frequently to appeal for support for the Palestinians and Hamas. Then there is also a group of countries that regard Hamas as a threat to their internal security. Countries that fall into this group are Jordan, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. [197]

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[190] Kim Cragin, *Sharing the Dragon Teeth: Terrorist Groups and the Exchange of New Technologies* (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation 2007), 63.
[191] M. Rabbani, "Qatar: Aspirations & Relations," *Political Analysis From the Middle East & North Africa*, no. 4 (2012): 43.
[192] D. Barnett, "Hamas terrorist in Qatar helps Hebron terror cell plan kidnappings," *The Long War Journal*, (January 2013).
[193] A. Abu Amer, "Hamas ties to Qatar have Cost" *Al-monitor* (April 2013).
https://web.archive.org/web/20160616195431/http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/04/hamas-qatar-relationship-independence.html
[194] D. Lieber, "Why does Qatar support Hamas?" *The Times of Israel* (September 2014) accessed from
http://www.timesofisrael.com/why-does-qatar-support-hamas/
[195] Saïd K. Aburish, *Nasser: The Last Arab* (London: Duckworth, 2004), 180.
[196] Laurie Brand, "Nasir's Egypt and the Reemergence of the Palestinian National Movement." 32.
[197] International Crisis Group, "Dealing with Hamas,".

Hamas and the West

Hamas holds the West responsible for the emergence of the State Israel. Great Britain in particular is seen as responsible for the persistent and bloody conflict that arose after they left their mandate state and Israel was formed.[198] In addition, Hamas accuses the West of unconditional support for Israel at the expense of the Palestinian people and believes that the support of the West to Israel made Israel one of the most powerful military powers in the region.[199] According to Khaled Hroub, the West is not exerting enough pressure on Israel. He describes that even the United Nations Resolutions on Palestine do not exert pressure because they are drafted in such a way that ultimately Israel' interests are always placed above those of the Palestinians.[200]

Besides the troubled relationship with Great Britain, the relationship with the United States and Hamas is also difficult. The United States made it very hard for Hamas to rule and form a government when they won the elections of 2006.[201] For example, a consensus was reached between the United States, Russia, the European Union, the UN, Israel and the Palestinian Authority to prevent negotiations with Hamas. The Bush government refused to recognize Hamas.[202] The former US Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, said the following about this in the Financial Times: 'The US cannot fund a government that is run by an organisation that it lists as a terrorist organisation. It is just a practical matter'.[203] However, the US did not succeed in making Hamas lose its popularity in Palestine.[204]

The negative perception of Hamas towards the West is therefore not only a matter of the legacy of the mandate past. Hamas condemns the current Western policy with regard to Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Hamas and Israel

Hamas views Israel as a colonial state established as a result of western colonialism and imperialism.[205] In the early years of its formation Hamas' view of Israel was loaded with religious significance, claiming that Israel was the culmination of a Jewish onslaught against

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[198] Hroub, *Hamas a Beginners Guide*, 104.

[199] Ibid., 106.

[200] Ibid.

[201] Glenn E. Robinson, "A War Examined Gaza 2014: Hamas' Strategic Calculus," *Parameters: Journal of the US Army War College* 44, no. 4 (January 2015) accessed on November 30, 2019.

[202] Glenn E. Robinson, "A War Examined Gaza 2014: Hamas' Strategic Calculus,"

[203] Daniel Dombey And Harvey Morris, "EU urges Hamas to recognize Israel," *Financial Times* (January 2006) accessed on November 3, 2019, ://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/1255d222-91fe-11da-bab9-0000779e2340.htm

[204] Mahjoob Zweiri, "The Hamas Victory: Shifting Sands or Major Earthquake," *Third World Quarterly* 27, no. 4 (2006): 681.

[205] Hroub, *Hamas a Beginner's guide,* 40.

Muslims.[206] According to Middle Eastern scholar Floor Janssen' report Hamas and its Position Towards Israel, the early ideology of Hamas was two-fold: the complete liberation of Palestine from the Israeli occupation trough (armed) resistance, and subsequently the establishment of an Islamic state on Palestinian soil.[207] Janssen states that Hamas addressed the conflict entirely in religious terms and made no efforts to distinguish between Jews and Zionists.

However, the discourse of Hamas has become more developed. It views on Israel have been recast within the parameters of occupation, with the resistance directed against Israel' aggression, not its religion.[208] Khaled Hroub claims that there is a visible thread of Hamas its thinking that offers the possibility of recognising Israel but only if Israel reciprocated positively.[209]

It is important to understand how the position towards Israel reflects the ways Hamas has framed its message to its public during the first Intifada, blending religious and nationalist goals into one ideology.[210] However matters changed after the Oslo Agreements were signed.[211] During the mid-1990s, Hamas witnessed a relatively calm public mood hopeful of a peace solution for the ongoing conflict. Nonetheless, Hamas reject the Oslo Agreements in its documents. Despite the attitude regarding Oslo, in practice Hamas reacted moderately and non-violently. Hamas had no choice but to accept the nature of the PA and to adjust to the changed situation. Hamas acted moderately, even softening its religious ideology in an effort to appeal to the Palestinian public. Hamas manage to frame its position about Israel in such a way that it responded directly to changed circumstances. The movements thinking is communicated effectively by it leadership, which not only reflects Hamas' official policies, but also adapts to the present reality.[212]

It is not inconceivable that Hamas would recognise Israel. However, according to Hroub, most of the conditions that would create a conductive climate for such a step lie in the hand of Israelis. As long as Israel refuses to acknowledge the basic rights of the Palestinian people, Hamas will find it impossible to recognize Israel.[213] Throughout its history Hamas has shown it is capable of asserting itself at all times in every circumstance. But due to the current

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[206] Ibid.
[207] Janssen, "Hamas and its Positions Towards Israel," 92.
[208] Hroub, *Hamas a Beginner's Guide,* 40.
[209] Ibid.
[210] Janssen, "Hamas and its Positions Towards Israel," 93.
[211] Ibid., 164.
[212] Ibid., 93.
[213] Hroub, *Hamas a Beginner's Guide,* 41.

situation in Gaza, it is highly unlikely that Hamas will renounce its methods of resistance or recognize Israel in the near future. [214]

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[214] Janssen, "Hamas and its Positions Towards Israel," 93.

5.5 Conclusion: Cosmopolitan Peacebuilding versus Hamas

The opinions and views among scholars in the literature on Hamas as an organisation are diverse. Their differences of opinion primarily stem from the issue of Hamas' pragmatism and the extent to which the movement is willing to adapt its fundamentalist ideology to the political situation. The findings of the aforementioned studies demonstrate that Hamas' use of violence depends on the degree to which such violence helps the organisation maintain its power position in Palestine as well as on the personal influence of the prevailing leadership.

From this chapter, it is clear that Hamas has undergone many changes. These changes can be explained by the fact that Hamas reacted to events that took place in Palestine, such as the Intifadas and the decision to participate in the 2006 elections, the outcome of which was not recognised by the US and the international community. This could be explained on the basis of the cosmopolitan-peacebuilding approach.

The cosmopolitan-peace approach derives from the perpetual-peace vision, since it presents the guiding of a principle of a universal hospitality law, meaning that the more the principle of hospitality extends, the closer the human race would be to a cosmopolitan condition.[215] In his article 'Sovereignty, Rights and Justice,' Chris Brown describes that the peace process of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict derives from the theory of 'perpetual peace'.[216] According to this theory, war could be avoided through the establishment of a republican political order at a state level and through the creation of a 'federation of free states' at an international level.[217]

According to Mandy Turner' article 'Building Democracy in Palestine: Liberal Peace Theory and the Election of Hamas,' it was not until the 'ideological reorientation' of the 1990s, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, that policies that had derived from these theories became core priorities for the United States and Europe.[218] In their rejection of the monopoly of violence supposedly enjoyed by the sovereign state and of the instrumental rationality deemed necessary to elect and uphold a liberal, secular, 'democratic' government, Islamist movements came to be seen as posing the greatest threat to the international order in general, and in particular to the US primacy within that order.[219] This could be seen as a reason for the US not to recognise the outcome of the elections in 2006, for Hamas is an Islamic movement.

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[215] Ersoy, Tugce. "Single State in Palestine: Constitutional Patriotism as a Conceptual Framework." *Bulletin of Palestine Studies* no.1 (Summer 2017): 48.

[216] Chris Brown, *Sovereignty, Rights and Justice.* (Cambridge: Polity, 2002). 45.

[217] Brown, 'Sovereignty, Rights and Justice', 45.

[218] Mandy Turner, 'Building Democracy in Palestine: Liberal Peace Theory and the Election of Hamas', in *Democratization* 13, no. 5 (2006): 743.

[219] Stephen Holmes, 'Futurology', London Review of Books 28, no. 19 (2006): 13–16.

Criticisers of the cosmopolitan-peacebuilding approach argue that the assumption of the foundation for peace is a liberal democratic polity and a market-oriented economy. As a result, peacebuilding involves the imposition of Western ideas on non-Western countries.[220] It is also overly focussed on political and economic factors and cannot properly deal with social factors.[221] From this perspective, 'peacebuilding resembles an updated version of the colonial-era belief that the European imperial powers had a duty to "civilise" dependent populations and territories'.[222]

An important factor of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is the western international political influences of the peace negotiation process—particularly that which underpins the concept of 'liberal peace' on which the Palestinian-Israel peace process is predicated.[223] This issue makes it hard for Hamas to be included in peace negotiations. In viewing the peace process as a discourse, it becomes clear that the function of peace has more to do with contracting a certain image of the west and Israel and imposing the western version of peace, than with looking at a solid solution for the conflict.

According to the peace-process discourse, peace between Israel and a future Palestinian state does not depend on recognising and addressing the underlying causes of the 'conflict,' since doing so might result in a 'compromise on the foundational norms of the liberal state'.[224]

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[220] Roland Paris, 'Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism,' in *International Security*, vol. 22, no. 4 (1997): 56.

[221] Ibid.

[222] Paris, 'International Peacebuilding and the 'Mission Civilisatrice',' 637.

[223] Mullin, "Islamist Challenges to Liberal Peace Process, 544.

[224] Oliver Richmond and Jason Franks, "The Impact of Orthodox Terrorism Discourses on the Liberal Peace: Internalisation, Resistance, or Hybridisation?" *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. 2. (2009): 201-218, accessed on December 5. 2019. 10.1080/1753915090301 0574.

Conclusion

This final chapter discusses the most significant findings of the present study and answers the research question: To what extent is it possible for Hamas to become a legitimate partner in the dialogue regarding the peace process in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict? The analysis of the Arab/Palestinian-Israel conflict, the PLO and Hamas shows a complex situation.

From analysing the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict in the period 1948-1975, it is clear that the Palestinians lacked official representation. The Arab states fought for their own interest against Israel. Evidently, the Arabs and the Israelis were not ready to enter peace negotiations. According to the theory of Adrian Guelke, the unwillingness of both parties to accept each other's legitimacy hindered meaningful peace negations. Arab-Israeli diplomacy between 1967 and 1975 evinced many of the characteristics that obstructed the peace process in previous decades, such as negotiating at cross-purposes, appearing flexible while actually not intending to compromise, refusing to scale back demands, being unable to deliver on the promises made, deep-seated distrust and hostility. Negotiations that take place in such circumstances rarely, if ever, produce positive results.

The Arab states decided that the Palestinian people should have an organisation to represent them. This led to the establishment of the PLO in 1967. Under the leadership of Yasser Arafat, the PLO transformed into a political entity with all the functions of a nation state. The PLO was first viewed as a terrorist organisation by the international community due to its guerrilla war against Israel. However, the declaration of Principle of 1993 changed this. By acknowledging the state of Israel, the PLO became a partner in peace negotiations: they became the party that represented the Palestinians. Nevertheless, the PLO lost its popularity among the Palestinians when they signed the promising Oslo Agreements. Unfortunately, the Oslo Agreements did not change the harsh conditions under which the Palestinian people lived. The dissatisfaction among the Palestinians led to the outbreak of the first Initifada (1987-1991) and second Intifada (2000-2005).

With the outbreak of the first Intifada, the Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood decided to form an Islamic resistance movement named Hamas. The movement was reoriented in the early 1990s by separating its military and political wing. They decided to participate in the 2006 elections and eventually won. Over the years, the movement has undergone many changes. These changes can be explained by the fact that Hamas responded to events that took place in

Palestine and demonstrate that Hamas is a political power that must be dealt with in order to revitalise the peace process.

As shown in chapter 5, the opinions among scholars are diverse. Their differences of opinion primarily revolve around the issue of Hamas' unwillingness to refrain from using violence. The findings of the aforementioned studies demonstrate that Hamas' use of violence depends on the degree to which such violence helps the organisation maintain its power position in Palestine; Hamas continuously adapts its politics to sustain the public support it needs to maintain its position in Palestine. The demand of recent analyses for a new approach toward a dialogue with Hamas and including the movement in the peace process Hamas remains valid. Thus, implying that the conditions on the ground can be influenced and that the situation there gives Hamas little or no incentive to use violence. The modalities of engagement involve including Hamas in the dialogue for peace.

So, to what extent is it possible for Hamas to become a legitimate partner in the dialogue regarding the peace process of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict? Will there be a chance for Hamas, as there was for the PLO?

There exist good reasons to believe that it is possible to engage Hamas in the peace negotiations process. An important factor is that Hamas' representation derives from the victory of the 2006 elections, whereas the PLO derived its representativeness from the recognition by the US and Israel and then through the victory of the first Palestinian elections of 1997. So, Hamas has currently a more representative foundation than the PLO. In addition to this, the thesis demonstrates the similarities between the PLO and Hamas. For example, both organisations emerged as a response to a lack of faith in representation—the PLO towards the Arab States for accepting Resolution 242, and Hamas towards the PLO because of the Oslo Agreements. Both organisations started out with a no-negotiation attitude towards Israel; both organizations resorted to violence and terrorism to oppose Israel. The PLO later accepted Israel and gained a role in the peace negotiations. There are more similarities than differences between the PLO and Hamas. The main difference between the two parties, though, is that PLO is secular and Hamas Islamic. Therefore, it could be only a matter of time for Hamas to be involved in peace negotiations if history repeats itself.

Nevertheless, one could question what kind of negotiations would lead to achieve peace. Looking at the history, such an outcome is definitely possible: it would not be the first time an organisation labelled terrorist became a partner in dialogue. An important aspect for becoming a partner in dialogue is that Hamas has to recognise the state of Israel. Likewise, Israel has to see Hamas as a political party instead of a terrorist organisation. However, Hamas' Islamic

nature could prove to be difficult. Chapter 5 demonstrates that peace-negotiations regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict are strongly influenced by western politics, particularly the concept of 'liberal peace'. This issue makes it harder for Hamas to be included in peace negotiations. In viewing the peace process as a discourse, it becomes clear that the peace-negotiations should be more focussed on finding a solid solution for the conflict then imposing the western and Israeli version of peace.

This thesis followed Galtung's cosmopolitan-peace approach. As stated, this approach is based on the idea that 'the means for managing conflict constrictively must be rooted in the social structure,' which is 'the social, political and economic relationships of people and their institutions.' Having the economic, social, political and cultural inequalities between the Palestinians and the Israelis in mind, the prospects of consolidating a positively defined peace are less likely. Not addressing the structural inequalities in peace negotiations leads to increasing violence even when an armed conflict ends with a peace agreement. While this is a prospect of peace, it is also limiting the potential of the peace process. Looking at previous attempts made by the PLO for the negotiation of peace, many agreements were signed but none of them ended the conflict. Although the agreements form a prospect of peace, they are also limiting the potential of the very peace process.

A final conclusion is that consolidating peace is a process that takes time and must be allowed to take time—maybe even more than a generation, given that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has been going on for over 70 years and even longer in other forms.

One important advance of this thesis is the way it connects Middle Eastern studies with conflict (resolution) studies. Future studies should continue to merge these two fields to find better and more sustainable approaches to the research peace-negotiation process for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Map of the UN Proposal for the Partition of Palestine, 1947.
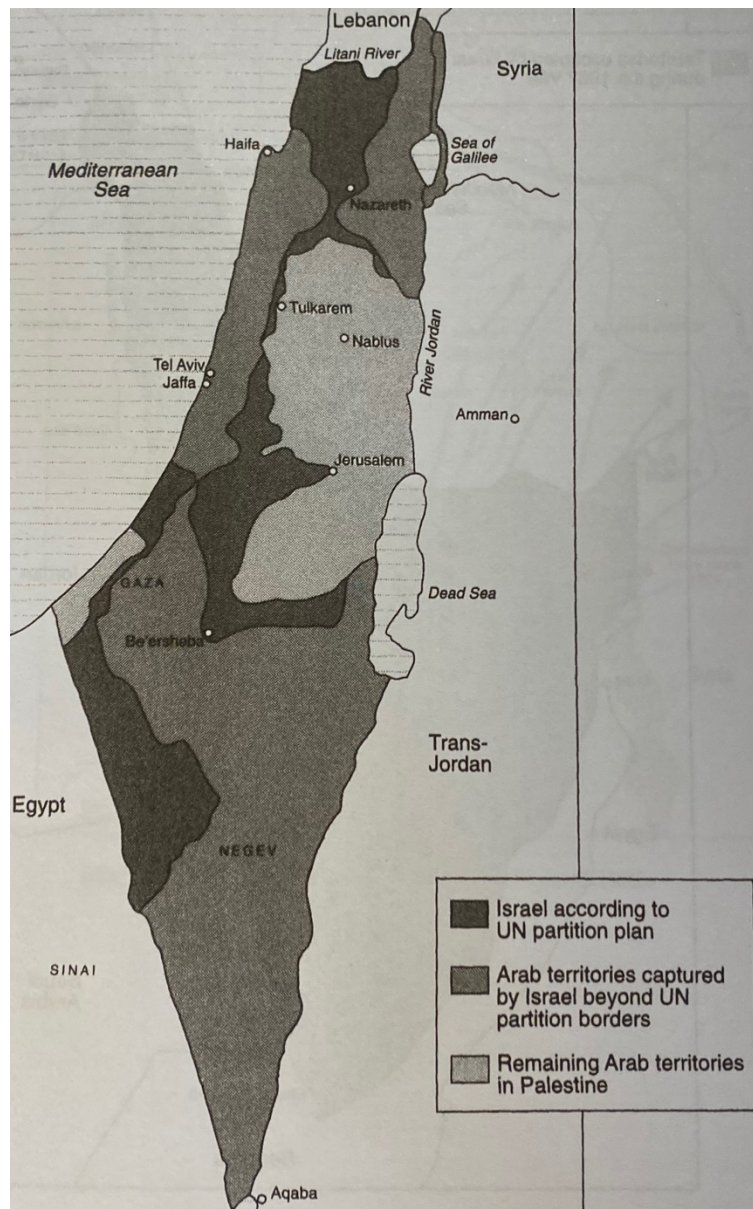

Map 1: UN Proposal for the Partition of Palestine, 1947.

Source: Data adapted from Cleveland and Bunton, *A History of the Modern Middle East*
(Colorado Westview Press, 2013), 245.

Appendix 2: Map Territories captured by Israel 1949-48

The map legend shows:
- Israel according to UN partition plan
- Arab territories captured by Israel beyond UN partition borders
- Remaining Arab territories in Palestine

Map 2: Territories captured by Israel 1949-48

Source: Data adapted from Simha Flapan, *The Birth of Israel: Myths and Realities* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987), 50.

Appendix 3: Map of Occupied Territories After Israel the 1967 War
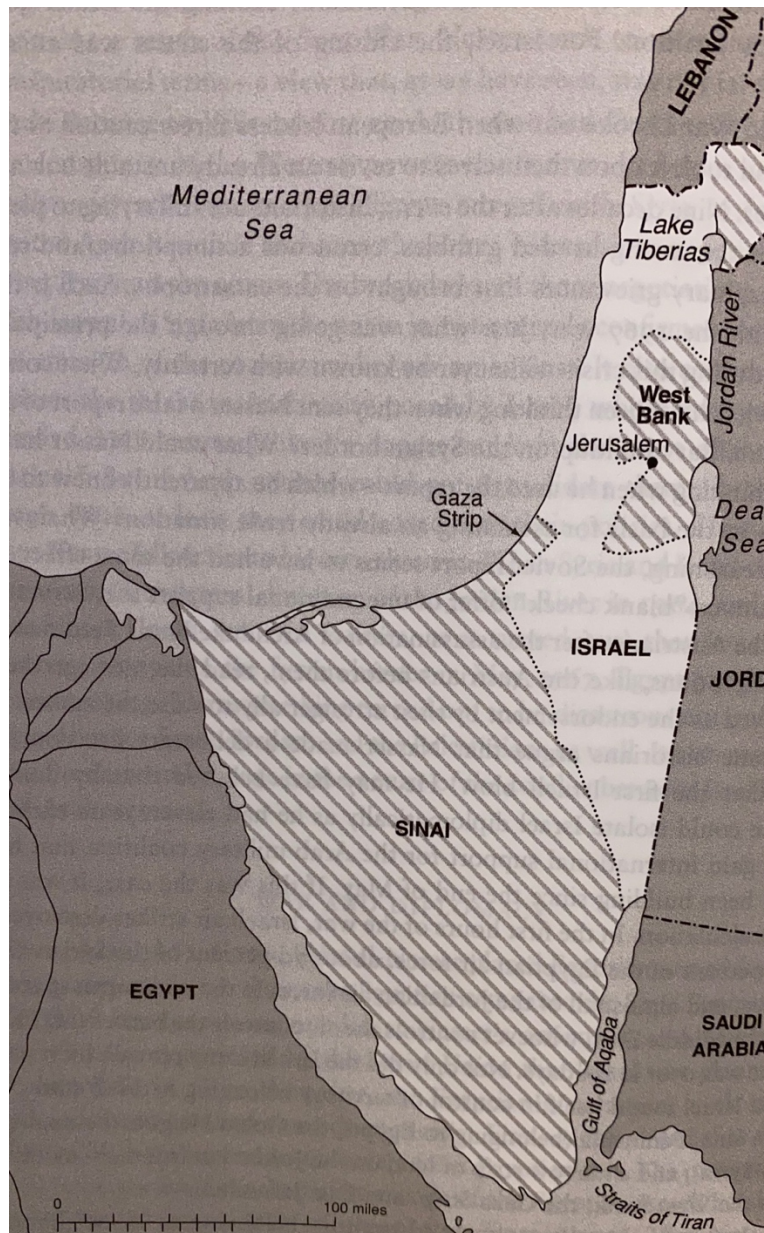
Map 3: Occupied Territories Israel after the 1967 war

Source: Data adapted from James L. Gelvin *The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 176.