

## **QATAR, MONEY, AND TERROR**

### **Doha's Dangerous Policies**



(Source: [GECF](#))

Qatar's support for extremists undermines regional and international security

- Provides direct financial and logistical support to internationally-designated terrorist groups
- Harbors sanction-designated or wanted individuals including former Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal and Muslim Brotherhood ideologue Yusuf al-Qaradawi, as well as seven al-Qaeda financiers and three Taliban operatives

Qatari commitment to counterterrorism efforts must be complete and unequivocal

- Counterterrorism packages of 2004 and 2014 must be fully enforced
- As signatory to the 2014 Jeddah Communique—Qatari is obligated to end terror/terror financing

**Despite passing counterterrorism legislation and partaking in U.S.-led counterterrorism initiatives, *Doha continues to directly fund internationally-designated terrorist groups and harbor internationally-designated operatives.***

CEP's QATAR-HARBORS Campaign seeks to end Qatari government support for terror groups and individuals.

- Specifically, CEP is calling on Qatar to arrest, expel, or otherwise cut off support to sanction-designated or wanted individuals currently domiciled in Qatar
- CEP is also calling on Qatar to halt all support—financial, material, and strategic—to internationally-designated terrorist groups including Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood, the Nusra Front, and the Taliban.

## OVERVIEW

Qatar—a long-time U.S. ally and member of the Global Coalition to Counter ISIS—has supported and harbored international terrorist organizations and individuals. The hydrocarbon-rich Gulf country sends direct financial and material support to internationally-designated terrorist groups such as Hamas and the Nusra Front,<sup>i</sup> and knowingly permits internationally-designated or wanted terrorist leaders and financiers to operate within its borders.<sup>ii</sup> On June 5, 2017, seven countries—Bahrain, Egypt, Libya, the Maldives, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen—announced that they were severing diplomatic ties with Qatar as a result of the country’s support for terrorist and extremist groups in the region.<sup>iii</sup> In severing ties with Qatar, Saudi Arabia announced that it was working to “protect national security from the dangers of terrorism and extremism.” Bahrain and others similarly cited national security concerns and Qatar’s destabilizing activities in the region as reasons for the split.<sup>iv</sup>

The Qatari government has lent support to al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP),<sup>v</sup> Hamas,<sup>vi</sup> the Muslim Brotherhood,<sup>vii</sup> the Nusra Front,<sup>viii</sup> and the Taliban<sup>ix</sup>—including through direct money loans, ransom payments, and supplies transfers. Qatar is also currently harboring at least 12 sanction-designated or wanted individuals, including former Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal, Muslim Brotherhood ideologue Yusuf al-Qaradawi, three U.N.-sanctioned Taliban operatives, and at least seven al-Qaeda financiers.<sup>x</sup> Although these individuals have been publically sanctioned by the United States or United Nations, or are the subject of INTERPOL arrest warrants, they are able to live with impunity—and in some cases, in luxury—within Qatar.

## DIRECT GOVERNMENT FUNDING AND SUPPORT TO EXTREMISTS

The Qatari government has paid ransom demands, shipped supplies, and funneled billions of dollars of funding—to internationally-designated extremist groups throughout the Middle East and North Africa.<sup>xi</sup> These groups include al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood, the Nusra Front, and the Taliban.<sup>xii</sup>

### AL-QAEDA IN THE ARABIAN PENSINULA (AQAP)

Based in Yemen and Saudi Arabia, AQAP is known for its English-language magazine *Inspire*, as well as its involvement in both the 2009 Christmas Day bomb plot and the 2010 Times Square bomb plot. The group claimed responsibility for the massacre at the Paris offices of *Charlie Hebdo* in 2015. It has seized and controls territory across Yemen’s southern provinces, where it seeks to implement sharia (Islamic law).



**Designated by: Australia, Canada, Israel, United Kingdom, United Nations, United States**

#### **Qatari Support:**

- In 2010, an arm of the Qatari government donated funds to help rebuild a Yemeni mosque for Sheikh `Abd al-Wahhab Muhammad `Abd al-Rahman al-Humayqani, an AQAP financier later designated by the U.S. Treasury. Qatari officials also reportedly attended the opening of the mosque.<sup>xiii</sup>

- In 2012 and 2013, Qatar reportedly sent millions of dollars of ransom payments to AQAP. Those payments were believed to have directly enabled AQAP to rebuild its network and seize territory in southern Yemen.<sup>xiv</sup>

## HAMAS

The ruling terror party of the Gaza Strip, Hamas openly seeks the destruction of Israel. The group uses suicide bombings, rocket and mortar attacks, shootings, and kidnappings in pursuit of its stated objectives.



**Designated by: Australia, Canada, Egypt, EU, Israel, Japan, Jordan, New Zealand, United Kingdom, United States**

**Qatari Support:**

- Qatar’s financial support of Hamas dates back to at least 2008, when Doha reportedly pledged \$250 million to Hamas one year after the terror group violently seized control of the Gaza Strip.<sup>xv</sup>
- In 2012, Qatar’s then-emir Sheik Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani pledged more than \$400 million to Hamas to fund the construction of housing complexes and roads.<sup>xvi</sup>
- In July 2016, the Qatari government announced that it would give \$30 million to Hamas in order to help pay the salaries of Gazan public sector workers. The following month, Hamas’s deputy leader Ismail Haniyeh said that Qatar’s donations would also go toward paying Hamas’s “military personnel.”<sup>xvii</sup>
- Qatar continues to host Khaled Meshaal, who served as Hamas’s leader from 2004 until May 2017. In 2015, Qatar’s Foreign Minister Khalid bin Mohammed Al Attiyah referred to Meshaal—then the leader of Hamas—as a “dear guest of Qatar.”<sup>xviii</sup>
- In early May 2017, Hamas announced updates to its charter at a press conference at the Sheraton Hotel in Doha.<sup>xix</sup>

“We support all Palestinian people. We believe Hamas is a very important part of the Palestinian people.”  
—Emir Tamim Al Thani, September 2014

## MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

The Muslim Brotherhood—founded in Egypt in 1928—is a transnational Islamist organization with branches worldwide. In the 1950s, Brotherhood theologian Sayyid Qutb legitimized the use of violent jihad—and the killing of secular Muslims—in order to implement sharia. Analysts argue that the Brotherhood’s ideology has spawned groups such as al-Qaeda and ISIS.

**Designated by: Bahrain, Egypt, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Syria, United Arab Emirates**

**Qatari Support:**

- The Qatari government lent or gave the Muslim Brotherhood a total of \$7.5 billion during Mohammed Morsi’s tenure as President of Egypt, between June 2012 and July 2013.<sup>xx</sup>



- During this time, Qatar’s then-Prime Minister Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim bin Jaber Al Thani personally transferred as much as \$850,000 to the Brotherhood.<sup>xxi</sup>
- The Doha-owned media outlet Al Jazeera has provided the Brotherhood with overwhelmingly positive press attention, particularly during the Arab Spring and Morsi’s rise and fall from power. In July 2013, 22 Egyptian-based Al Jazeera employees quit due to what they perceived as the company’s biased, pro-Brotherhood agenda.<sup>xxii</sup>
- Brotherhood ideologue Yusuf al-Qaradawi continues to live freely in Qatar while preaching extremist messaging. Qaradawi is banned by the United States, United Kingdom, and France, and is the subject of an INTERPOL warrant for his arrest.<sup>xxiii</sup>

## **NUSRA FRONT a.k.a. JABHAT FATEH AL-SHAM**



The Nusra Front, a.k.a. Jabhat Fateh al-Sham, is a territory-controlling jihadist insurgent group operating in Syria. Long known as al-Qaeda’s Syrian affiliate, the group claimed to have formally renounced ties to its mother group in July 2016. The Nusra Front has carried out military campaigns, kidnappings, suicide bombings, and assassinations, and is reported to receive the highest number of foreign fighters in Syria after ISIS. It currently operates under an Islamist umbrella organization known as Hay’at Tahrir al-Sham (Assembly for the Liberation of Sham).

**Designated by: Australia, Canada, France, New Zealand, EU, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United Nations, United States**

### **Qatari Support:**

- In 2015, Qatari government officials began meeting with Nusra Front leaders—including leader Abu Muhammad al-Golani—to hint that the group might receive Qatari support if it cut ties with al-Qaeda, according to Nusra and Qatari sources cited by Reuters. The Nusra Front did exactly that in July 2016. Less than two weeks later, the *Financial Times* quoted Syrian activists and rebels who alleged that Qatar had been sending weapons, supplies, and money to the Nusra Front “for weeks.” The United States retained the designated status of the Nusra Front—adding its new alias “Jabhat Fateh al-Sham”—reaffirming that the group “remains al-Qa’ida’s affiliate in Syria.”<sup>xxiv</sup>
- Qatar has allowed Nusra Front commanders to fundraise inside the country, according to U.S. and Arab government officials.<sup>xxv</sup>
- The Qatari government has reportedly negotiated hostage ransom transactions between the Nusra Front and various governments.<sup>xxvi</sup>
- Since at least 2013, Doha itself has reportedly made several ransom payments to the Nusra Front. In one instance in October 2013, Doha paid more than \$100 million to the terror group, according to Lebanese and Turkish sources.<sup>xxvii</sup>
- The Qatari government has funneled guns and money to Ahrar al-Sham, a Nusra Front ally that operates alongside the group under the new umbrella coalition for Islamist Syrian rebels, Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham.<sup>xxviii</sup>

“[Qatar is] promising Nusra more support, i.e. money, supplies etc., once they let go of the Qaeda ties.” – Unnamed Qatari government official, March 2015

## TALIBAN

The Taliban is an Afghanistan- and Pakistan-based jihadist insurgent group that has carried out numerous deadly terrorist attacks in the region, including the shooting of Malala Yousafzai in Pakistan’s Swat Valley in October 2012, the December 2015 assault on Kandahar Air Field which left 50 dead, and the December 2014 massacre at the army-run school in Peshawar that killed 148 people, 132 of whom were schoolchildren. Taliban insurgents and ISIS militants in eastern Afghanistan have cooperated against the Afghan government since mid-2016.



**Designated by:** Canada, EU, France, Kazakhstan, New Zealand, Russia, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United Nations, United States

### Qatari Support:

- Doha hosts the Taliban’s “political office,” which the group opened in June 2013. The Taliban has referred to the office as the only entity where Taliban negotiations are authorized to take place.<sup>xxix</sup>
- In May 2014, Qatar received five Taliban operatives who had been transferred from Guantanamo Bay. Three of the five operatives were—and still are—under U.N. sanctions and several are believed to have reengaged in terrorist activities since arriving in Qatar, according to the U.S. Committee on Armed Services. Qatar reportedly subsidizes housing and provisions of these U.N.-sanctioned militants in one of Doha’s most exclusive neighborhoods.<sup>xxx</sup>

## HARBORING TERRORIST LEADERS AND FINANCIERS

### Leaders

Qatar harbors internationally-designated and banned terrorist leaders, including former Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal,<sup>xxxi</sup> Muslim Brotherhood ideologue Yusuf al-Qaradawi,<sup>xxxii</sup> and three U.N.-sanctioned Taliban operatives.<sup>xxxiii</sup> Many of these individuals are reported to live in extravagance in Doha’s most exclusive neighborhoods.<sup>xxxiv</sup>



### **KHALED MESHAAL: FORMER LEADER OF HAMAS**

**Designated by:** United States

- Led Hamas from 2004 to May 2017. Meshaal oversaw Hamas’s transition from a guerilla terrorist organization into a terrorist/political hybrid.
- Has held press conferences at internationally-owned businesses in Qatar, including the Four Seasons hotel in Doha.<sup>xxxv</sup>
- Meshaal resides “in the most luxurious hotel in the most beautiful district [in Qatar],” according to an Egyptian television host.<sup>xxxvi</sup>



- Reported to own four towers and a commercial center on a seven-acre plot in Qatar, developed by a domestic real estate agency.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

“Meshaal is a dear guest of Qatar [who] is living [here] among his relatives.” – Foreign Minister Dr. Khalid bin Mohammed Al Attiyah, January 2015

### **YUSUF AL-QARADAWI: MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IDEOLOGUE**

Banned from: France, United States, United Kingdom. Subject of an INTERPOL alert calling for his arrest.

- Qaradawi’s fatwas (legal rulings) have called for the murder of U.S. civilians and troops in Iraq, the execution of homosexuals, and the killing of Jews “down to the very last one.”<sup>xxxviii</sup>
- Spearheads the Qaradawi Centre for Research and Modern Thought at Qatar’s Education City, a “multiversity” campus started by the Qatari royal family. The University comprises Western universities including Carnegie Mellon, Cornell, Georgetown, Northwestern, Texas A&M, and Virginia Commonwealth.<sup>xxxix</sup>



**FAZL MOHAMMAD MAZLOOM**  
Designated by: United Nations  
Taliban’s former Deputy Minister of Defense

**NURULLAH NURI**  
Designated by: United Nations  
Taliban’s former military commander

**ABDUL-HAQ WASSIQ**  
Designated by: United Nations  
Taliban’s former Deputy Director General of Intelligence

## **Financiers**

According to former Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence David Cohen, Qatar is a “permissive terrorist financing environment” that enables “private fundraising networks” to operate within its borders.<sup>xl</sup> Below are some of the designated or wanted members of those networks, all of whom are al-Qaeda financiers:

**ABD AL-RAHMAN BIN 'UMAYR AL-NU'AYMI**

**Designated by:** European Union, Turkey, United Kingdom, United Nations, United States



- Has transferred millions of dollars to al-Qaeda affiliates in Iraq, Syria, Somalia, and Yemen.<sup>xli</sup>
- At one point, provided \$2 million per month to ISIS's forerunner, al-Qaeda in Iraq.<sup>xlii</sup>
- Close associate of Qatar's ruling Al Thani family. Holds prominent positions in several government-backed organizations.<sup>xliii</sup>

**KHALIFA MUHAMMAD TURKI AL-SUBAIY**

**Designated by:** United Nations, United States

- Has funneled hundreds of thousands of dollars to al-Qaeda senior leaders in South Asia, including 9/11 mastermind Khalid Sheikh Mohammed.<sup>xliv</sup>
- Arrested and jailed in Qatar in March 2008. Designated by the U.S. that July. Released by Qatari authorities two months after the U.S. designation with no further charges.<sup>xlv</sup>

**ABD AL-AZIZ BIN KHALIFA AL-ATTIYAH**

**Wanted by:** Lebanon



- Has funneled money to al-Qaeda and Nusra Front operatives in Lebanon.<sup>xlvi</sup>
- Has solicited donations for the Nusra Front over social media.<sup>xlvii</sup>
- Has voiced support for Osama bin Laden and ISIS on Twitter.<sup>xlviii</sup>
- In November 2014, a Lebanese court found Attiyah guilty in absentia for providing financial support to terrorist organizations. The Qatari government has dismissed those charges as politically motivated.<sup>xlix</sup>

**SALIM HASAN KHALIFA RASHID AL-KUWARI**

**Designated by:** United States

- Channeled hundreds of thousands of dollars to al-Qaeda through an Iran-based network.<sup>i</sup>
- Facilitated the travel of extremist recruits abroad and secured the release of al-Qaeda detainees in Iran.<sup>ii</sup>
- Reportedly employed by Qatar's Ministry of Interior even after his 2011 designation.<sup>iii</sup>

**ABDALLAH GHANIM MAFUZ MUSLIM AL-KHAWAR**

**Designated by:** United States

- Aided Kuwari in channeling hundreds of thousands of dollars to al-Qaeda through an Iran-based network.<sup>iiii</sup>
- Facilitated travel for militants to Afghanistan for jihad.<sup>liv</sup>
- Detained by Qatar in early 2011. Designated by the U.S. that July. Released by Qatari authorities three months after the U.S. designation—with no further charges.<sup>lv</sup>

**ABD AL-LATIF BIN ABDLLAHA SALIH MUHAMMAD AL-KAWARI**

**Designated by: United States, United Nations**

- Transferred funds to al-Qaeda. Responsible for providing Qatari-based financiers with proof that their funds were delivered to the terror group.<sup>lvi</sup>

**SA'D BIN SA'D MUHAMMAD SHARIYAN AL KA'BI**

**Designated by: European Union, Hong Kong, Pakistan, United Kingdom, United Nations, United States**

- Solicited donations for the Nusra Front over social media.<sup>lvii</sup>
- Facilitated a Nusra Front hostage exchange.<sup>lviii</sup>



## **SNAPSHOT OF QATARI COUNTERTERRORISM LEGISLATION AND INITIATIVES**

Qatar has passed various counterterrorism laws since 2004. Today, Qatari authorities have available a wide range of legal tools in the fight against terrorism, both domestic and international. Below are the pillars of Qatari counterterrorism law:

### **Law on Combatting Terrorism (2004)**

- Permits the state to prosecute individuals involved in terror-related activities, including providing training, weaponry, financing, material support, and associating with groups.<sup>lix</sup>

### **Qatar Authority for Charitable Activities, or QACA (2004)**

- The QACA screens financial transactions made by Qatari charitable organizations in order to detect and thwart terrorism financing.<sup>lix</sup>

### **Qatar Financial Information Unit, or QFIU (2004)**

- Housed in the Qatar Central Bank, the QFIU requires Qatari financial institutions to report suspicious financial transactions. The FIU is tasked with preparing this information for presentation to law enforcement.<sup>lxi</sup>

### **Combating Money Laundering and Terrorist Finance Law (2010)**

- Outlines penalties for money laundering and terrorism financing, which includes imprisonment and fines.<sup>lxii</sup>
- Requires Qatar's Public Prosecutor to freeze the funds of individuals designated by the U.N. Security Council.<sup>lxiii</sup>

### **Jeddah Communique (2014)**

- Qatar signed onto this U.S.-led initiative alongside several other Gulf States, pledging joint action in defeating terrorism and terrorist financing. Specifically, the Communique calls on signatories to "[end] impunity and [bring terrorist] perpetrators to justice."<sup>lxiv</sup>

Qatar has adopted numerous pieces of counterterrorism legislation, but the government refuses to fully enforce it. As Doha partakes in U.S.-led counterterrorism initiatives, the government simultaneously delivers funds and supplies to internationally-designated terrorist organizations and harbors internationally-designated operatives. As former Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence David Cohen has said, there are extremist operatives in Qatar "that have not been acted against under Qatari law."<sup>lxv</sup> In May 2016, Senator Mark Kirk (R-IL) wrote in a letter to Secretary of the Treasury that "the Qatari government should do much more to match Jeddah Communique's words with deeds."<sup>lxvi</sup> As former Secretary of State John Kerry has said, Qatar "can't continue to be an American ally on Monday that sends money to Hamas on Tuesday."

## **POLICY PRESCRIPTIONS**

In order to combat terrorism and terrorist financing, Qatar will need to fully enforce its own counterterrorism policies. Qatar would also do well to bolster its existing counterterrorism framework, including by designing, maintaining, and publicizing its own terrorist-designation system. The United States should recognize that pressuring Qatar to adopt this political will—and make any strides to its existing framework—is paramount to a strong and effective counterterrorism strategy.

"[In America] they look at some movements as terrorist movements. In our part of the region, we don't." —Emir Tamim Al Thani, September 2014

Specifically, the United States must incentivize Doha to:

- Arrest or expel all wanted and internationally-designated individuals inside its borders, including the 12 people outlined by CEP's QATAR-HARBORS campaign
- Expel or arrest all members of the Hamas and Taliban delegations currently domiciled inside Qatar
- Halt all direct support—financial, material, and strategic—to internationally-designated terrorist organizations
- Draft, publicize, and maintain a list of designated terrorist entities
- Submit designated entities to the ramifications outlined in Qatar's existing counterterrorism legislation
- End ransom payments to terrorist organizations abroad

<sup>i</sup> “Qatar says gives \$30 million to pay Gaza public sector workers,” Reuters, July 22, 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-palestinians-gaza-qatar-idUSKCN1021AQ>; Dov Lieber, “Haniyeh seeks to pay Hamas ‘military personnel’ with Qatar’s money,” Times of Israel, August 2, 2016, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/haniyeh-seeks-to-pay-hamas-military-personnel-with-qatars-money/>; Miriam Karouny, “Insight - Syria’s Nusra Front may leave Qaeda to form new entity,” Reuters, March 4, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-mideast-crisis-nusra-insight-idUKKBNOM00G620150304>.

<sup>ii</sup> Peter Kovessy, “Qatar FM: Hamas leader to remain in Doha as ‘dear guest’,” Doha News, January 13, 2015, <https://dohanews.co/qatar-fm-hamas-leader-remain-doha-dear-guest/>; Shabina S. Khatri, “Egypt demands extradition of Sheikh Yusuf Al Qaradawi from Qatar,” Doha News, February 5, 2014, <https://dohanews.co/egypt-demands-extradition-of-sheikh-yusuf-al-qaradawi-from-qatar/>; “Report on the Inquiry into: The Department of Defense’s May 2014 Transfer to Qatar of five law-of-war detainees in connection with the recovery of a captive U.S. soldier,” Committee on Armed Services, December 9, 2015, [https://armedservices.house.gov/sites/republicans.armedservices.house.gov/files/wysiwyg\\_uploaded/Report%20on%20the%20Inquiry%20into%20the%20Taliban%20Five%20Transfer\\_0.pdf](https://armedservices.house.gov/sites/republicans.armedservices.house.gov/files/wysiwyg_uploaded/Report%20on%20the%20Inquiry%20into%20the%20Taliban%20Five%20Transfer_0.pdf); “Treasury Designates Al-Qa’ida Supporters in Qatar and Yemen,” U.S. Department of the Treasury, December 19, 2013, <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/jl2249.aspx>; “Treasury Designates Twelve Foreign Terrorist Fighter Facilitators,” U.S. Department of the Treasury, September 24, 2014, <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/jl2651.aspx>; Andrew Gilligan, “Minister’s family ties to terror,” Telegraph (London), November 1, 2014, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/qatar/11203140/Ministers-family-ties-to-terror.html>; “Treasury Designates Financial Supporters of Al-Qaida and Al-Nusra Front,” U.S. Department of the Treasury, August 5, 2015, <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/jl0143.aspx>.

<sup>iii</sup> Hilary Whiteman and Katie Hunt, “Saudi Arabia, UAE, others cut ties with Qatar: Live updates,” CNN, June 5, 2017, <http://www.cnn.com/2017/06/05/middleeast/qatar-diplomatic-rift-live-blog/index.html>; “Arab powers sever Qatar ties, citing support for militants,” Reuters, June 5, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-gulf-qatar-idUSKBN18W0DQ>.

<sup>iv</sup> Tamara Qjblawi, Mohammed Tawfeeq, and Elizabeth Roberts, “Qatar rift: Saudi, UAE, Bahrain, Egypt cut diplomatic ties,” CNN, June 5, 2017, <http://www.cnn.com/2017/06/05/middleeast/saudi-bahrain-egypt-uae-qatar-terror/index.html>; “Statement of the Kingdom of Bahrain on the severance of diplomatic relations with the State of Qatar,” Kingdom of Bahrain Ministry of Foreign Affairs, June 5, 2017, <http://www.mofa.gov.bh/Default.aspx?tabid=7824&Itemid=7473&language=en-US>.

<sup>v</sup> David Andrew Weinberg, “Terrorist Financing: Kidnapping, Antiquities Trafficking, and Private Donations,” Foundation for Defense of Democracies, November 17, 2015, 8, <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA18/20151117/104202/HHRG-114-FA18-Wstate-WeinbergD-20151117.pdf>.

<sup>vi</sup> “Qatar says gives \$30 million to pay Gaza public sector workers,” Reuters, July 22, 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-palestinians-gaza-qatar-idUSKCN1021AQ>; Dov Lieber, “Haniyeh seeks to pay Hamas ‘military personnel’ with Qatar’s money,” Times of Israel, August 2, 2016, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/haniyeh-seeks-to-pay-hamas-military-personnel-with-qatars-money/>.

<sup>vii</sup> “Egypt returns \$2 billion to Qatar in sign of growing tensions,” Reuters, September 19, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-qatar-deposits-idUSBRE9810N020130919>.

<sup>viii</sup> Miriam Karouny, “Insight - Syria’s Nusra Front may leave Qaeda to form new entity,” Reuters, March 4, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-mideast-crisis-nusra-insight-idUKKBNOM00G620150304>; “Syrian Nusra Front announces split from al-Qaeda,” BBC news, July 29, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-36916606>; Erika Solomon, “Outside Help Behind Rebel Advances in Aleppo,” *Financial Times*, August 8, 2016, <https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:1pPIFlb05uUJ:https://www.ft.com/content/da076830-5d77-11e6-a72a-bd4bf1198c63+cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us>.

<sup>ix</sup> “Q&A: Afghan Taliban open Doha office,” BBC News, June 20, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-22957827>; Associated Press, “Taliban reaffirms authority of its Qatar ‘political office,’” Dawn, January 25, 2016, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1235165>.

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