**Name:** Muslim Brotherhood in the Palestinian Territories

**Year of Origin:** 1960s

**Founder(s):** Not determined

**Place(s) of Operation:** Gaza Strip, West Bank, Egypt, Qatar, Turkey

**Key Leaders:**
- Ismail Haniyeh – Chief of Political Bureau, Hamas
- Yahya Sinwar – Leader of Gaza Political Bureau, Hamas
- Saleh al-Aroui – Deputy leader, Hamas
- Khaled Meshaal – Former chief of Political Bureau, Hamas

**Associated Organization(s):**
- Hamas

The Muslim Brotherhood’s presence in the Palestinian territories dates back to the 1960s, when the group established a set of charities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. From the 1960s to the 1980s, the Brotherhood continued to amass support within the Palestinian territories. In 1987, a group of Brotherhood activists established a formal Palestinian branch of the Brotherhood, Hamas. Hamas maintains that it operates independently of the Brotherhood, publicly disavowing the Brotherhood in March 2016. Nevertheless, Hamas and the Brotherhood have cooperated in recent years, particularly during the Egyptian Brotherhood’s year in power. Further, Hamas continues to label itself in its charter as “one of the wings of the Moslem Brotherhood in Palestine.” According to the charter, the Brotherhood is “a universal organization…. The largest Islamic Movement in modern times.” On May 1, 2017, Hamas convened a press conference in Qatar to unveil a new policy document, the first since the release of its organizational charter in 1988. However, the revised document does not replace the

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original 1988 charter, which remains in effect with its linkage to the Brotherhood. Moreover, the new language has no bearing on Hamas’s commitment to violent “armed resistance” against Israel, and the “liberation” of all of Palestine “from the river to the sea.”

Hamas is responsible for hundreds of terrorist attacks against Israel, and is designated as a terrorist organization by the United States and the European Union, among other governments and organizations. In 2006, Hamas won Palestinian parliamentary elections in the West Bank and Gaza, to which the so-called quartet of Middle East peacemakers—the United States, European Union, United Nations, and Russia—responded by demanding that Hamas renounce violence, formally recognize the State of Israel, and abide by past agreements between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization in order to receive international recognition. Hamas has refused to comply and ousted its political opponent, Fatah, from Gaza the following year. Hamas has since run the coastal enclave separately from the Fatah-led Palestinian Authority, which maintains control over the West Bank.

Hamas’s ties to the Muslim Brotherhood have strained its relations with Egypt’s government, led by Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. Following the 2013 overthrow of Egypt’s Brotherhood government, Egypt has increasingly cracked down on Hamas. In late 2013, the Egyptian army closed most of the underground smuggling tunnels beneath the Gaza-Egypt border, resulting in the loss of millions of dollars in revenue. In 2014, Egyptian courts labeled Hamas a terrorist organization, although the designation was later overturned.

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In June 2015, Egypt’s chief prosecutor, Hisham Barakat, died in a car bombing in Cairo. The Egyptian government later accused Hamas of coordinating the assassination with the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. As part of spring 2016 discussions to repair their relationship, Egypt demanded that Hamas renounce the Brotherhood ahead of any rapprochement. In March 2016, Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri denied any links between Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood. Egypt also accuses Hamas of facilitating terrorism in the Sinai Peninsula. Despite the accusation, Egypt and Hamas have reportedly agreed to cooperate to enhance security along the Gaza-Egypt border in a joint effort to weaken ISIS’s Egyptian affiliate there, Wilayat Sinai. Hamas also worked with Egypt throughout 2017 to reach a unity agreement in October with the group’s main political opponent, Fatah, though the agreement’s implementation has since stalled.

In addition to ties with the Egyptian Brotherhood, Hamas also reportedly maintains a relationship with the Jordanian Brotherhood. Former Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal, for example, was believed to maintain a close relationship with Jordanian Brotherhood leader Hammam Saeed. Saeed has publicly supported Hamas’s violent activities, and criticized Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas for curtailing the Palestinian “armed struggle.” Israel has accused Hamas renounce the Brotherhood ahead of any rapprochement.


the Jordanian Brotherhood of providing material support to Hamas. In November 2014, Jordanian authorities arrested members of a suspected Brotherhood cell that was allegedly passing weapons and money to suspected terrorists in the West Bank.

In June 2017, several Arab countries cut diplomatic ties with Qatar in response to that country’s ongoing support for Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood, and other extremist and internationally-sanctioned terrorist groups. In response, Qatari Foreign Minister Mohammed bin Abdulrahman Al Thani told the Associated Press that the country has the right to support these groups, and in a separate statement, called Hamas in particular “a legitimate resistance movement.”

On October 5, 2017, Hamas elected Saleh al-Aroui as its deputy leader. On October 12, Hamas and Fatah signed an Egyptian-brokered agreement to implement a 2011 reconciliation pact. Hamas and Fatah agreed to allow the PA to resume control of Gaza by December 1. The PA took control of Gaza’s border crossings on November 1. The sides delayed negotiation on Hamas’s armed wing as Abbas demanded that Hamas disarm, while Hamas insisted on maintaining its weapons. Hamas reportedly agreed to halt all attacks against Israel but has since participated in rocket attacks alongside Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

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Hamas and the Palestinian Authority have failed to actualize their reconciliation agreement, and Hamas continues to remain in power in the Gaza Strip. Despite its claims to have severed ties with the Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas is deeply rooted in the Brotherhood and the groups remain ideologically linked.

History:

- **1960s:** The Muslim Brotherhood establishes charities in the Gaza Strip.  

- **1971:** Future Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal joins the Muslim Brotherhood.  

- **1973:** The Brotherhood establishes the welfare organization al-Mujama in Gaza, which runs clinics, kindergartens, and educational facilities. The organization is funded by local charitable collections and Islamic organizations in Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states. Through al-Mujama, the Brotherhood becomes more politically active in Gaza.  

- **1973:** Egyptian President Anwar Sadat refuses to grant Gaza students access to Egyptian universities after students protest against Camp David negotiations. In response, the Brotherhood establishes the Islamic University of Gaza, which soon becomes one of the Brotherhood’s most important Palestinian institutions. It is the first institution of higher learning in Gaza. Secular studies are taught alongside the Brotherhood’s Islamist views. Almost all of Hamas’s key leaders ultimately pass through the university.  

- **1985 – 1986:** Future Hamas Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh heads the Muslim Brotherhood student chapter at the Islamic University.

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June 9, 1987: The Brotherhood’s Political Directorate meets in the home of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, who creates a local political branch of the Muslim Brotherhood called Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya (Hamas), the Islamic Resistance Movement.34

1989: Israel designates Hamas a terrorist organization.35

April 6, 1994: Hamas dispatches its first suicide bomber targeting Israeli civilians. Ra’id Zaqarna drives up alongside the No. 348 bus in Afula, Israel, and detonates his explosives, killing eight people and wounding 44.36

January 25, 2006: Hamas’s “Change and Reform” political party wins Palestinian Authority legislative elections, claiming 44.45 percent of the vote, while Fatah wins 41.43 percent.37

June 15, 2007: Hamas fighters successfully overrun the Palestinian Authority’s Gaza offices and rout PA forces, expelling them from Gaza. Hamas assumes de facto governance in Gaza.38

January 2011: Members of Hamas reportedly aid in a jailbreak of 34 Brotherhood activists from an Egyptian prison.39

March 2014: An Egyptian court bans all Hamas activity in Egypt due to Hamas’s connection to the Brotherhood.40

July 20, 2014: The Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan joins protests against Israel’s war with Hamas in Gaza. Jordanian Brotherhood Secretary-General Hamman Saeed praises Hamas and chastises the Arab regimes for not aiding the terrorist group.41

• **March 16, 2016:** Egypt’s Interior Ministry accuses Hamas of conspiring with the Muslim Brotherhood and coordinating the June 2015 assassination of Hisham Barakat, Egypt’s chief prosecutor. Barakat was killed in a Cairo car bombing.42

• **Late March 2016:** Hamas removes all pictures of former Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi and any other signs of Muslim Brotherhood links from its Gaza offices. The move reportedly follows a meeting between Hamas leaders and Egypt officials who demanded Hamas renounce its links with the Brotherhood as a precondition for restored relations.43 Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri later denies any links between Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood.44

• **May 1, 2017:** Hamas releases a new political document that does not include mention of the group’s origins in the Muslim Brotherhood. Though the document accepts the idea of a Palestinian state along the pre-1967 lines, Hamas withholds recognition of Israel and continues to embrace “armed resistance” against Israel in its pursuit of the “liberation” of Palestine “from the river to the sea.” Further, Hamas says the new document does not replace its 1988 charter, which emphasized the group’s ties to the Muslim Brotherhood.45

• **May 6, 2017:** Hamas’s Shura Council elects Ismail Haniyeh as the group’s new political bureau chief.46 The following day, Qatari Foreign Minister Sheikh Mohammad Bin Abdul Rahman Al Thani calls Haniyeh to congratulate him and affirm Qatar’s continuing support.

• **June 2017:** Several Arab countries cut diplomatic ties with Qatar in response to that country’s ongoing support for Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood, and other extremist and terrorist groups. Qatari Foreign Minister Mohammed bin Abdulrahman Al Thani tells the Associated Press that the country has the right to support these groups and calls Hamas in particular “a legitimate resistance movement.”47


October 2017: On October 5, Hamas elects Saleh al-Arouri as its deputy leader. Hamas and Fatah hold a series of meetings in Cairo between October 10 and October 11. On October 12, the two groups sign an Egyptian-brokered agreement to implement a 2011 reconciliation pact. Hamas and Fatah agree to allow the PA to resume control of Gaza by December 1. The PA takes control of Gaza’s border crossings on November 1. The sides delay negotiation on Hamas’s armed wing. Abbas demands that Hamas disarm, while Hamas insists it will maintain its weapons. Hamas reportedly agrees to halt all attacks against Israel.

January 31, 2018: The U.S. government designates Haniyeh as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist. Hamas condemns the designation as a violation of international law.

Violent Activities:

Per its charter, Hamas is dedicated to the total destruction of Israel. The group has engaged in multiple forms of violence against Israel, from suicide bombings to rocket attacks.

April 6, 1994: Hamas dispatches its first suicide bomber to target Israeli civilians.


19-year-old Ra’id Zaqarna. Zaqarna drives up alongside the No. 348 bus in Afula, Israel, and detonates his explosives, killing eight people and wounding 44.51

- **February – March 1996**: A series of Hamas suicide bombings in Israel kill more than 50 people. Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat condemns the bombings and the PA arrests 140 Hamas suspects.52

- **2000 – 2005**: Hamas is responsible for 39.9 percent of 151 suicide attacks during the second intifada.53

- **June 25, 2006**: A group of Palestinian terrorists from multiple groups, including Hamas, cross the Gaza border into Israel using an underground tunnel and attack an Israeli military outpost, killing two soldiers and taking 19-year-old Corporal Gilad Shalit hostage. Hamas denies participation.54 In July, Israel launches Operation Summer Rain in response to Hamas’s cross-border attack. During the resulting war, Hamas hits Israel with hundreds of rockets.55

- **2001 – 2008**: Hamas launches more than 3,000 Qassam rockets and 2,500 mortar attacks at Israeli targets.56

- **2008 – 2009**: Hamas’s continues to fire rockets into Israel.57 Hamas breaks a ceasefire with Israel in December 2008. In response, Israel launches Operation Cast Lead, a three-week long military offensive. According to the Palestinian Center for Human Rights, Cast Lead results in 1,417 Palestinian casualties, 926 of them civilians.58 The Israel
Defense Forces claims the number of Palestinian deaths to be 1,166, with 709 of these being “Hamas terror operatives.”

- **2012:** Hamas launches more than 750 rockets into Israeli territory before Israel launches a major retaliatory ground operation in November.
- **June – August 2014:** Hamas and Israel engage in a three-month conflict during which Hamas launches more than 2,000 rockets into Israel.
- **November 2014:** Jordanian authorities arrest 31 people after receiving intelligence from Israel that they are part of a Brotherhood cell. The suspects are accused of passing weapons and money to suspected terrorists in the West Bank.
- **June 2015:** Egypt’s chief prosecutor, Hisham Barakat, is killed in a car bombing in Cairo. The Egyptian government later accuses Hamas of coordinating the attack with the Muslim Brotherhood.
- **August 26, 2015:** Hamas posts a video online of its members digging underground tunnels beneath Gaza and fighting Israeli soldiers. The video also includes a simulated takeover of an IDF base.
- **April 1, 2016:** The Qassam Brigades releases photos of four Israelis it claims to be holding in Gaza. The photos are of two living soldiers and the bodies of Hadar Goldin and Oron Shaul, both of whom were killed during the 2014 war. Hamas does not identify the living captives. Hamas also denies that it is negotiating with Israel for their return.

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April 18, 2016: A bomb explodes on board a Jerusalem bus, wounding 21 people in an attack later claimed by Hamas. On April 20, a 19-year-old Palestinian man wounded in the explosion dies from his wounds.66

May 29, 2018: Hamas and PIJ fire at least 28 mortars at communities in southern Israel. The Israeli military responds by bombing Gaza facilities belonging to Hamas and PIJ. There are no casualties reported on either side. It is reportedly the largest confrontation between Hamas and Israel since the 2014 war.67

October 7, 2018: A Palestinian gunman attacks the Barkan Industrial Park in the West Bank, killing two and wounding one. The attacker, identified as industrial park employee Ashraf Naalwa, reportedly binds two Israeli employees and shoots them at close range, killing them both. Naalwa flees afterward. On December 13, Israeli forces in the West Bank locate Naalwa, who dies in an ensuing firefight. After his death, Hamas’s Qassam Brigades identifies Naalwa as a member and claim responsibility for the attack.68

November 12-14, 2018: Hamas and PIJ fire more than 450 rockets into Israel, killing one and wounding dozens. After Israel responds with airstrikes in Gaza, the groups agree to a ceasefire on November 13. Israeli Defense Minister Avigdor Liberman resigns on November 14 in protest of the ceasefire, briefly destabilizing Israel’s governing coalition. Hamas claims the move as a victory.69

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Ties to Extremist Groups:

Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigade
Hamas and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigade carried out several joint terrorist operations during the second intifada, including a March 2004 attack at the port of Ashdod that killed 10 Israelis, and a suicide bombing the following month at Gaza’s Erez Crossing that killed a border guard and wounded three others. The Brigade has also joined Hamas in launching rockets at Israel over the years, most recently during the July 2014 conflict.

Hezbollah
Hamas and Hezbollah have at times cooperated, though the groups have recently split over competing allegiances in the Syrian civil war. Despite tensions between Hamas and Hezbollah over the Syrian civil war, relations between the two groups are reportedly still good, according to a Hezbollah source in 2013. During the July 2014 conflict between Israel and Hamas, Hamas reportedly invited Hezbollah to join in its rocket campaign against Israel. In November 2015, leaders of Hamas and Hezbollah met in Beirut to discuss paramilitary coordination against Israel and ISIS.

ISIS
Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has declared ISIS and Hamas “branches of the same poisonous tree.” Netanyahu went on to say: “When it comes to their ultimate goals, Hamas is

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ISIS and ISIS is Hamas. And what they share in common, all militant Islamists share in common.”

Leaders of Wilayat Sinai, ISIS’s affiliate in Egypt’s Sinai Peninsula, have allegedly met with Hamas to discuss military coordination. Hamas has also reportedly used its fledgling drone program to spy on Egyptian military positions on behalf of Wilayat Sinai, and has also allegedly smuggled weapons to the group through underground tunnels. In December 2015, Israeli media reported that Hamas pays Wilayat Sinai tens of thousands of dollars a month to smuggle weapons into Gaza. In February 2016, an ISIS fighter wrote to leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi to protest the growing ties between Hamas and Wilayat Sinai. The fighter, a Gazan named Abu ‘Abdallah Al-Muhajir, confirmed reports of cross-border weapons smuggling and Hamas’s medical and logistical aid to Wilayat Sinai. Al-Muhajir further accused Wilayat Sinai of acting as a Hamas pawn.

Israeli media reported in January 2017 that Wilayat Sinai had opened a media propaganda office in the Gaza Strip. Hamas has also reportedly continued to provide medical aid to wounded ISIS fighters from the Sinai. The Times of Israel reported in February 2017 that “dozens” of top Hamas commanders had defected to Wilayat Sinai in the past three years.

Nonetheless, ISIS supporters in the Gaza Strip have promised to be a “thorn in the throat of Hamas” and targeted the group in several bombings throughout 2015. In June 2015, ISIS in Syria released a video statement threatening to topple Hamas based on accusations that Hamas is

80 Alex Fishman, “Hamas is funding Islamic State in Sinai,” YNet News, December 14, 2015, [http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4739234,00.html](http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4739234,00.html).
not sufficiently religious. Hamas has at times violently cracked down on ISIS supporters in Gaza.85

**Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)**

On June 25, 2006, a group of Palestinian terrorists from multiple groups, including Hamas, crossed the Gaza border into Israel using an underground tunnel and attacked an IDF military outpost, killing two soldiers and taking 19-year-old Corporal Gilad Shalit hostage.86 Hamas denied any participation, but it was later revealed that the group—as well as members of Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)—were involved in the operation.87 Hamas and PIJ announced a formal agreement in 2012 to combine forces in their fight against Israel.88 The following year, the two groups announced plans to create a joint command and a new political vision for Gaza.89 In 2018, Hamas and PIJ jointly claimed responsibility for hundreds of rocket attacks on Israel.90

**Designations by Governments and Organizations:**

**United States**

January 24, 1995: The U.S. Department of the Treasury designates Hamas as a Specially Designated Terrorist Organization (SDTO), prohibiting financial transactions between U.S. persons or charities and the designated SDTO.91

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October 8, 1997: The Department of State lists Hamas as a Foreign Terrorist Organization under section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act.  

Australia
Australia listed Hamas’s armed wing, the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, as a terrorist organization on November 9, 2003.  

Egypt
Egypt banned Hamas on March 4, 2014. Egypt’s Urgent Matters Court designated Hamas’s armed wing a terrorist organization in January 2015 and Hamas as a terrorist group that February. An appeals court canceled the designation in June 2015.  

European Union
The European Union designated Hamas’s armed wing, the Izz al-Din al-Qassem Brigades, a terrorist organization on December 27 2001.  


Israel
Israel has designated Hamas as a terrorist organization.  

Japan
Japan has designated Hamas as a terrorist organization.\(^{100}\)

Jordan
Jordan has banned Hamas.\(^{101}\)

New Zealand
New Zealand listed the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades as a Terrorist Entity on October 11, 2011 under the Terrorism Suppression Act of 2002.\(^{102}\)

United Kingdom
The United Kingdom listed Hamas’s armed wing, the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, as a Terror Group under the Terrorism Act 2000 in March 2001.\(^{103}\)

In Their Own Words:

Hamas Document of General Principles & Policies, May 2017
“There shall be no recognition of the legitimacy of the Zionist entity.”\(^{104}\)

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“Resistance and jihad for the liberation of Palestine will remain a legitimate right, a duty and a n honour for all the sons and daughters of our people and our Ummah.”

Hamas Document of General Principles & Policies, May 2017
“Resisting the occupation with all means and methods is a legitimate right guaranteed by divine laws and by international norms and laws. At the heart of these lies armed resistance, which is regarded as the principle choice for protecting the principles and the rights of the Palestinian people.”

Husam Badran, Hamas official in Qatar, May 2016
“Although we come from the same ideological line as the Muslim Brotherhood, we are a Palestinian liberation movement. Our decisions come from our own advisory boards and the Hamas leadership.”

Mahmoud al-Zahar, member of Hamas’s politburo in Gaza, January 2014
“Hamas is not politically isolated. Do not exaggerate the difficulties with Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood is not finished.”

Hamas Charter, 1988
“Israel will exist and will continue to exist until Islam will obliterate it, just as it obliterated others before it’ - The Martyr, Imam Hassan al-Banna [founder of the Muslim Brotherhood], of blessed memory.”

Hamas Charter, Article 2, 1988
“The Islamic Resistance Movement is one of the wings of Moslem Brotherhood in Palestine. Moslem Brotherhood Movement is a universal organization which constitutes the largest Islamic movement in modern times. It is characterised by its deep understanding, accurate comprehension and its complete embrace of all Islamic concepts of all aspects of life, culture,

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creed, politics, economics, education, society, justice and judgement, the spreading of Islam, education, art, information, science of the occult and conversion to Islam.”

Hamas Charter, Article 7, 1988
“The Islamic Resistance Movement is one of the links in the chain of the struggle against the Zionist invaders. It goes back to 1939, to the emergence of the martyr Izz al-Din al Kissam and his brethren the fighters, members of Moslem Brotherhood. It goes on to reach out and become one with another chain that includes the struggle of the Palestinians and Moslem Brotherhood in the 1948 war and the Jihad operations of the Moslem Brotherhood in 1968 and after.”
