

## *Hamas*

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**Name:** Hamas

**Type of Organization:**

- Political
- religious
- social service provider
- terrorist
- violent

**Ideologies and Affiliations:**

- Islamist
- jihadist
- Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated group
- pan-Islamist
- Qutbist
- Sunni

**Place of Origin:**

Gaza Strip

**Year of Origin:**

1987

**Founder(s):**

Ahmed Yassin, Mahmoud Zahar, Hassan Yousef, Abdel Aziz al-Rantisi, Mohammed Hassan Shama'a, Abdul Fattah Hassan Dukhan, Ibrahim Fares Al-Yazouri, Salah Shahada (Founder of the Qassam Brigades), Issa Al-Nashar

**Places of Operation:**

Gaza Strip, West Bank, Israel, Qatar, Egypt, Lebanon, Iran

**Overview**

*Also Known As:*

- Harakat al-Muqawana al-Islamiya (Islamic Resistance Movement);
- Al-Tiar Al-Islami (The Islamic Stream);
- Al-Athja Al-Islami (The Islamic Trend)<sup>1</sup>

*Executive Summary*

Hamas is an offshoot of the [Muslim Brotherhood](#) [1] that emerged in the Gaza Strip in the late 1980s, during the first Palestinian *intifada* (uprising) against Israel. The group's ideology blends Islamism and Palestinian nationalism and seeks the destruction of Israel and the creation of an Islamic state between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. Since 2017, Hamas claims to have severed its ties to the Brotherhood. The group also receives financial and military support from Iran. Qatar has also provided significant funding for the group.

Hamas uses its provision of social services to build support amongst grassroots Palestinians, helping it to win the 2006 Palestinian legislative elections. However, the group's engagement in politics and welfare has not tempered its commitment to terrorism. Hamas's preferred methods include suicide bombings, rocket and mortar attacks, shootings, and kidnappings. Hamas as a whole or its armed faction have been labeled terrorist organizations by the United States, Israel, the United Kingdom, the European Union, New Zealand, Australia, and Japan.

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Although Hamas formed a Palestinian Authority unity government with its rival Fatah in early 2006, the two groups continued to clash, often violently, leading Hamas to forcibly expel Fatah from the Gaza Strip in 2007. The terror group has ruled Gaza since, surviving on Iranian and Qatari aid, as well as income from the smuggling tunnels it has built beneath the Gaza-Egypt border. In 2013, the Egyptian army sealed off most of the tunnels, throwing Hamas and Gaza into a financial crisis.

Governance did not moderate Hamas. The group has been responsible for thousands of Qassam rockets fired at Israeli towns, a 2006 cross-border raid resulting in the five-year captivity of Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit, and three wars with Israel, most recently in the summer of 2014. In May 2017, Hamas unveiled a new guiding political document that seemingly accepted a Palestinian state in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and east Jerusalem. In the same document, however, Hamas reaffirmed its refusal to recognize Israel, as well as its commitments to violence and the creation of a Palestinian state in the entirety of the land between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. In October 2017, Hamas and Fatah agreed to allow the PA to reassert its authority in Gaza, but the two sides have stalled on discussions over Hamas's weapons.

Hamas has thus far refused to disarm and its leaders have remained committed to the group's strategy of so-called armed resistance. Despite the new political document and reconciliation agreement with Fatah, Hamas shows no signs of renouncing its dedication to violence or the creation of an Islamist state.

### *Doctrine*

Hamas, the Palestinian offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood, seeks to create an Islamist state of Palestine between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River, replacing Israel, which Hamas does not recognize. Like its parent organization, the Muslim Brotherhood (and unlike the secular, nationalist PLO), Hamas strives to create an Islamist state based on the principles of *sharia* (Islamic law). Hamas views the entirety of the land of Mandate Palestine—excluding the 80 percent of Palestine that became modern-day Jordan—as an Islamic birthright that has been usurped. To that end, Hamas does not recognize Israel's right to exist and has dedicated itself to violently seeking Israel's destruction. Hamas's slogan, spelled out in Article 8 of the organization's 1988 charter, sums up the terror group's belief system: "Allah is [our] target, the Prophet is [our] model, the Koran [our] constitution: Jihad is [our] path and death for the sake of Allah is the loftiest of [our] wishes."<sup>2</sup>

On May 1, 2017, Hamas unveiled a new political program to supplement its 1988 charter. The so-called Document of General Principles & Policies excised all references to the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas's origins in the movement. Hamas accepted in principle the idea of a Palestinian state along the pre-1967 boundaries if approved by a Palestinian national referendum. However, Hamas at the same time reaffirmed its refusal to recognize Israel's right to exist, and repeated its call for a Palestinian state "from the river to the sea."<sup>3</sup> The document also reaffirmed Hamas's dedication to "armed resistance" as the "strategic choice for protecting the principles and the rights of the Palestinian people."<sup>4</sup>

### *1988 Charter*

Hamas's 1988 charter outlines four important themes crucial to Hamas's doctrine:

#### Theme One: Relationship to the Muslim Brotherhood

Hamas is a direct descendent of the Muslim Brotherhood, growing out of the Brotherhood's activities in Gaza, where it began setting up charitable organizations in the 1960s. Article 2 of the charter describes the Muslim Brotherhood as "a universal organization.... the largest Islamic Movement in modern times."<sup>5</sup> Hamas is "one of the wings of the Moslem Brotherhood in Palestine."<sup>6</sup> As such, Hamas adheres to an ideology in which Islam dominates all areas of life such as "culture, creed, politics, economics, education, society, justice and judgment, the spreading of Islam, education, art, information, science of the occult and conversion to Islam."<sup>7</sup>

#### Theme Two: Palestine

According to Article 11 of the charter, Hamas declares the entirety of pre-1948 Palestine as "an Islamic Waqf [religious endowment] consecrated for future Moslem generations until Judgement Day. It, or any part of it, should not be squandered: it, or any part of it, should not be given up. Neither a single Arab country nor all Arab countries, neither any

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king or president, nor all the kings and presidents, neither any organization nor all of them, be they Palestinian or Arab, possess the right to do that. Palestine is an Islamic Waqf land consecrated for Moslem generations until Judgement Day.”<sup>8</sup>

### Theme Three: Nationalism

For Hamas, nationalism is part of its *raison d'être*, and it has intertwined nationalism with religious ideology, making it “part of the religious creed.” According to Article 12 of the charter, no need to fight is “more significant or deeper than in the case when an enemy should tread Moslem land.” The resistance and “quelling [of] the enemy become the individual duty of every Moslem, male or female.” The charter even allows for “a woman.... to fight the enemy without her husband’s permission, [as well as] the slave: without his master’s permission.”<sup>9</sup> Hamas has elevated its actions in support of its nationalist agenda—violent and non-violent alike—to the level of religious obligations. Along these lines, Hamas views its struggle against Israel as a cosmic battle of good (Islam) versus evil (Israel). Hamas’s charter is filled with language defining its mission in religious terms, casting Israel as an enemy of God. Article 28, for example, specifies: “Israel, Judaism and Jews challenge Islam and the Moslem people. ‘May the cowards never sleep.’”<sup>10</sup>

### Theme Four: Israel and “armed resistance”

Hamas recognizes the fact that Israel exists, but does not recognize its legitimacy or right to exist. The introduction to the charter quotes Muslim Brotherhood founder [Hassan al-Banna](#) [2] as saying “Israel will exist and will continue to exist until Islam will obliterate it, just as it obliterated others before it.”<sup>11</sup> Hamas upholds “armed resistance” as the only method to liberate Palestine. In Article 13 of the charter, Hamas renounces all peace plans or negotiations to resolve the issue of Palestine. Negotiations are a “contradiction to the principles of the Islamic Resistance Movement. Abusing any part of Palestine is abuse directed against [Islam]....”<sup>12</sup>

### *Hamas’s Changing Strategies*

Since Hamas joined the Palestinian Authority in 2006—and subsequently formed an independent government after its violent expulsion of the PA from Gaza – the international community has demanded that in order to gain international recognition, Hamas must renounce violence, recognize Israel, and recognize past agreements signed by the PLO. In a 2007 op-ed in the *Los Angeles Times*, Hamas’s deputy politburo chief Mousa Abu Marzouk rebuked international demands, asking, “[W]hy should any Palestinian ‘recognize’ the monstrous crime carried out by Israel’s founders and continued by its deformed modern apartheid state, while he or she lives 10 to a room in a cinderblock, tin-roof United Nations hut?”<sup>13</sup> Hamas has remained rigid in its core beliefs, but has demonstrated some flexibility in its positions and strategies.

### Hamas’s adherence to its 1988 charter

In his 2007 *Los Angeles Times* op-ed, Abu Marzouk struck a conciliatory tone regarding Hamas’s charter, referring to it as a revolutionary document that must be looked at in the context of the time when it was written. “If every state or movement were to be judged solely by its foundational, revolutionary documents or the ideas of its progenitors, there would be a good deal to answer for on all sides,” he penned.<sup>14</sup> While Marzouk’s statement does not entirely annul the charter, it suggests the possibility of a pragmatic path toward moderation in which Hamas is not bound by inflexible dogma.

However, just a year before Marzouk made this remark, Mahmoud Zahar, a co-founder of Hamas, declared that the group would “not change a single word in its covenant.”<sup>15</sup> Similarly, a senior Hamas leader, Sami Abu Zuhri, stated that the Palestinian legislative council, in preparing for the 2006 elections, would “[adhere] to the constants and strategies outlined in the [Hamas] charter.”<sup>16</sup>

### Hamas’s 2017 political document

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. The document—a supplement to Hamas’s 1988 charter—omits the original charter’s references to Jews and frames the Palestinian struggle as a nationalistic rather than religious one. Though the document accepts the idea of a Palestinian state along the pre-1967 lines, the charter continues to withhold recognition of the State of Israel. As the document outlines, Hamas continues to embrace “armed resistance” against Israel in its pursuit of the

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“liberation” of Palestine “from the river to the sea.”<sup>17</sup> The document also makes no mention of Hamas’s origins within the Muslim Brotherhood, which the group’s leaders have claimed to disavow. In March 2016, Hamas spokesman [Sami Abu Zuhri](#) [3] denied any links between Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>18</sup> Ahead of the document’s release, Hamas leaders said the new document does not replace the original 1988 charter, which remains in effect with its linkage to the Brotherhood.<sup>19</sup>

### The potential acceptance of pre-1967 lines

Hamas leaders have suggested that they may be willing to accept a state of Palestine within the areas captured by Israel in 1967 (the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, and East Jerusalem), but without the recognition of Israel. In 2006, Hamas’s Prime Minister [Ismail Haniyeh](#) [4] stated that Hamas would accept a *temporary* Palestinian state within the pre-1967 areas and a 20-year truce with Israel.<sup>20</sup>

Hamas leaders have alluded to their potential participation in and acceptance of a PLO-Israel peace accord, but only if it were approved by a popular referendum of the Palestinian people. As Hamas and the PLO negotiated their unity deal in June 2014, Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri declared that while Hamas would continue to not recognize Israel, the group would not “obstruct” any future negotiations between Israel and the PLO.<sup>21</sup>

Hamas’s offers of a temporary truce, or *hudna*, however, demonstrate that it remains committed to the long-term goal of destroying Israel, and that Hamas sees a Palestinian state as a step in that direction.

### Hudna

*Hudna* is an Arabic word for “truce” or “quiet.” Hamas co-founder Sheikh Ahmed Yassin stated in 2003 that a *hudna* does not only signify the cessation of terrorist attacks; Israel would also be expected to “release prisoners, stop killing and dismantle settlements.”<sup>22</sup>

In 2004, Hamas co-founder Abdel Azziz al-Rantisi offered a 10-year *hudna* in exchange for Israel withdrawing from all the territories captured in 1967, including east Jerusalem, saying: “we accept a state in the West Bank, including Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip. We propose a 10-year truce in return for (Israeli) withdrawal and the establishment of a state.”<sup>23</sup> Israel rejected the offer, fearing that Hamas would use the 10-year lull to rearm and Israel, having given up all of the disputed territories, would find itself a victim of renewed Hamas terrorism. Indeed, Rantisi clarified that the *hudna* offer did not signify an end to the conflict.<sup>24</sup>

Hamas offered Israel a *hudna* twice after that: in 2006 then-Prime Minister [Ismail Haniyeh](#) [4] offered a 20-year truce for a temporary state in the territories,<sup>25</sup> and in 2008 then-politburo leader [Khaled Meshaal](#) [5] called for a 10-year *hudna* in exchange for Israel’s evacuation from the territories. Meshaal told former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, that the offer of a 10-year *hudna* was “proof” of Hamas’s tacit recognition of Israel, while still avoiding any formal recognition of the Jewish state.<sup>26</sup> Despite Israel’s dismissal of the offer as a re-arming strategy for Hamas, Carter accepted the *hudna* as proof that Hamas had begun to accept Israel’s right to “live as a neighbor next door in peace.”<sup>27</sup>

During the summer of 2015, Hamas and Israel reportedly discussed a long-term ceasefire of 10 to 15 years, according to various reports. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu denied direct or indirect contacts with Hamas. Former British Prime Minister Tony Blair was reportedly meeting with Hamas to discuss a long-term truce.<sup>28</sup> Fatah condemned Blair’s rumored role and said Hamas should coordinate its ceasefire talks through the PLO.<sup>29</sup>

In September 2017, Hamas co-founder Hassan Yousef told the *Jerusalem Post* that Hamas was “prepared to make a long-term cease-fire” with Israel in exchange for lifting the blockade of Gaza instituted in 2007.<sup>30</sup>

### The gun is the ‘only response’

Despite what may be cracks in Hamas’s rigidity, the group remains committed to its foundational goals and the role in which it has cast Israel. In 2013, Haniyeh reaffirmed Hamas’s refusal to compromise or renounce violence, declaring the

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“gun” the “only response” to Israel.<sup>31</sup> He argued that Hamas would obtain its goals “only through fighting and armed resistance,” and that “no compromise should be made with the enemy.”<sup>32</sup> In May 2014, just weeks after Hamas and the PLO announced their intention to form a unity government, Abu Marzouk referred to the recognition of Israel as “a red line” that Hamas would never cross.<sup>33</sup>

Hamas and Fatah signed a reconciliation agreement in October 2017 that would allow the PA to reassert its control over Gaza. But the sides delayed negotiation on Hamas’s armed wing. Abbas had demanded that Hamas disarm, while Hamas has insisted it will maintain its weapons.<sup>34</sup>

### *Organizational Structure:*

Hamas’s leadership has historically been split between its foreign-based political bureau and its Gaza-based government, which at times find themselves at odds. Various Hamas leaders have made contradictory claims on whether the group’s military wing, the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, operates independently or under the direction of the political wing.

#### *Political bureau*

The bureau is the Hamas’s principal authority. It is headed by [Ismail Haniyeh](#) [4], who took over from Khaled Meshaal in May 2017.<sup>35</sup> The bureau was previously based in Syria until Hamas leaders fled in 2012, having endorsed the rebellion against Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. Meshaal moved to Qatar, while other Hamas leaders relocated to Egypt.<sup>36</sup> In June 2016, Meshaal announced his intention to step down by the end of the year ahead of Hamas’s internal elections.<sup>37</sup> On February 13, 2017, [Yahya Sinwar](#) [6], a founding member of the group’s armed wing, won internal elections to replace Haniyeh as Hamas’s top political leader in Gaza. Hamas also elected lawmaker Khalil al-Hayya as Gaza’s deputy political leader.<sup>38</sup>

The Shura Council (*Majlis al-Shura*) Hamas’s central consultative body, is primarily responsible for making decisions. Smaller Shura committees are employed to supervise various government activities anywhere from military operations to media relations, and then report back to the Shura council.<sup>39</sup>

#### *Gaza government*

Ismail Haniyeh is the former prime minister of Gaza’s Hamas government, responsible for the daily rule of the Gaza Strip since Hamas forcibly expelled the Palestinian Authority (PA) in 2007. In April 2014, Haniyeh stepped down and assumed the role of deputy leader of Hamas as part of a failed reconciliation agreement with the Palestine Liberation Organization.<sup>40</sup> As part of that deal, a new PA prime minister, Rami Hamdallah, assumed control of Gaza and the West Bank under a consensus government in June 2014, but the PA has since failed to extend its control over the coastal enclave. Hamas remains firmly in control of Gaza’s government institutions and security services. In October 2016, the Palestinian Legislative Council in Gaza announced that Hamdallah would no longer have authority over Gaza and that Haniyeh would replace him as prime minister.<sup>41</sup> On February 13, 2017, Hamas elected Yahya Sinwar as its political chief in the Gaza Strip, replacing Haniyeh ahead of his then-expected ascendancy to politburo chief.<sup>42</sup>

Hamas’s Gaza government has been largely shunned by a large segment of the international community, while it has struggled to pay the salaries of 40,000 municipal workers in the strip.<sup>43</sup> In 2017, the PA made several moves to pressure Hamas to reconcile. That April, the PA drastically reduced salaries of thousands of civil employees in Gaza.<sup>44</sup> PA President Mahmoud Abbas also announced that the PA would no longer pay Israel for the electricity powering the Gaza Strip. As Israel does not engage directly with Hamas, the PA had continued to pay for Israeli electricity to the coastal enclave following Hamas’s violent takeover in 2007. The PA’s announcement threatened to cut power to more than 2 million in Gaza. Hamas accused the PA of collaborating with Israel, while Hamdallah called for Hamas to turn Gaza back over to PA control.<sup>45</sup> The PA ended its electricity payments to Israel that June, citing Hamas’s failure to reimburse it for the electricity

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costs.<sup>46</sup>

In September 2017, Hamas announced its intention to dissolve its government in Gaza and called on the PA to immediately resume responsibility for the Gaza Strip. Hamas agreed to the PA's demand to hold new parliamentary elections in the West Bank and Gaza for the first time since 2006. The move followed talks in Cairo between Hamas and the Egyptian government.<sup>47</sup> That October, Hamas and Fatah signed a reconciliation agreement in Cairo to allow the PA to resume control of Gaza by December 1 and later take control of Gaza's border crossings. The sides delayed negotiation on Hamas's armed wing.<sup>48</sup>

### *Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades*

The Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades comprise Hamas's military wing. Created in 1991 with the reported aim to block negotiations between Israel and the PLO, the wing is named after a Muslim preacher who, in 1930, formed the "Black Hand," an anti-Zionist and anti-British organization.<sup>49</sup> Qassam Brigades leader [Mohammad Deif](#) [7] is widely suspected of having ordered suicide bombings and other attacks carried out by the Brigades.<sup>50</sup>

Political scientists Ilana Kass and Bard O'Neill described Hamas's relationship with the Brigades as reminiscent of Sinn Féin's relationship to the military arm of the Irish Republican Army, quoting a senior Hamas official who said, "The Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigade is a separate armed military wing, which has its own leaders who do not take their orders [from Hamas] and do not tell us of their plans in advance."<sup>51</sup> However, senior Hamas leaders have themselves pointed out that a neat separation between the political and military wing does not exist. Hamas's founder Sheikh Ahmad Yasin stated in an interview with Reuters that Hamas did not have uncoordinated wings: "we cannot separate the wing from the body. If we do so, the body will not be able to fly. Hamas is one body."<sup>52</sup> This view was supported by Hamas military commander Salah Shehadeh, who said: "the political apparatus is sovereign over the military apparatus, and a decision of the political [echelon] takes precedence over the decision of the military [echelon], without intervening in military operations."<sup>53</sup>

Deif has survived two assassination attempts, leaving him wheelchair-bound after losing his arms and legs in a July 2006 Israeli airstrike, as well as an eye in a September 2002 helicopter strike. Deif has since gone into hiding, and his deputy, Ahmad Jabari, took over the Brigades' leadership, with Deif remaining as the group's figurehead. Jabari was himself killed by an Israeli strike in November 2012, marking the beginning of Israel's Operation Pillar of Defense. Israeli authorities suspect that Deif resumed command of the Brigades after Jabari's death and that he was responsible for ordering the terrorist rocket fire attacks launched during Israel's summer 2014 conflict with Hamas.<sup>54</sup>

Hamas has an estimated 20,000 fighters, with another 20,000 in its police and security forces.<sup>55</sup> Following the 2014 reconciliation agreement between Hamas and the PLO, it was revealed that some 25,000 Hamas employees in Gaza work in the security services, and that a majority of them belong to the Qassam Brigades.<sup>56</sup> According to one Qassam official, these employees would take orders from the Brigades—and not the Ministry of Interior—after the formation of a unity government with the PLO.<sup>57</sup>

### *Financing:*

In the six years following Israel's 2005 withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, Hamas's budget reportedly grew from \$40 million to \$540 million.<sup>58</sup> Hamas's budget in 2013 was more than \$700 million, with \$260 million earmarked to the administrative costs of running Gaza.<sup>59</sup> In 2014, the Hamas government in Gaza signed a reconciliation agreement with the Palestinian Authority (PA) that called for the Hamas government to dissolve and for the PA to reassert control. The Hamas government's budget prior to its dissolution was reportedly \$530 million. As of 2016, Hamas reportedly had an approximate military budget of \$100 million, with \$40 million specifically earmarked for construction of tunnels beneath the Gaza-Israel border.<sup>60</sup>



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Hamas has since become more financially isolated as the Palestinian Authority began imposing financial sanctions on Gaza in 2017 in a bid to convince Hamas to turn over total control of the coastal enclave. As a result, Hamas has struggled to pay its municipal and military employees.<sup>61</sup>

To fill its coffers and fund its administrative and terrorist activities, Hamas turns to several sources: funding, weapons, and training from Iran; donations from the Palestinian global diaspora;<sup>62</sup> and fundraising activities in Western Europe and North America.<sup>63</sup>

### *Charities*

Global charities affiliated with Hamas collect donations on its behalf. These charities operate in countries that label Hamas a terrorist organization, and are often themselves designated as terrorist organizations when exposed by authorities. For example, Ottawa labeled the Canadian charity International Relief Fund for the Afflicted and Needy a terrorist organization, and launched a “terrorist financing investigation,” which revealed the organization’s funneling of approximately \$14.6 million worth of resources to various groups affiliated with Hamas between 2005 and 2009.<sup>64</sup>

On December 6, 2001, the United States froze the funds of the Holy Land Foundation, then the largest Muslim charity in the United States. Following a long investigation by the FBI into the activities of the organization, five of its leaders were convicted on charges of funneling money and supplies to Hamas. Hamas had previously been designated a Foreign Terrorist Organization in the United States. According to the findings of the court, the charity, which was set up in the 1980s, gave millions of dollars to charities in Gaza and the West Bank, which were Hamas social institutions.<sup>65</sup> According to an FBI report of a bugged meeting of the foundation, the then-head of the American political arm of Hamas, Mousa Abu Marzouk, stated that the Holy Land Foundation was the “primary fund-raising entity in the United States” of the Palestinian resistance movement.<sup>66</sup>

During the second intifada, Middle East charities created by Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, and other governments collected and funneled millions of dollars to Hamas and other terror organizations for so-called martyr payments.<sup>67</sup> A group of terror victims’ families took the Jordan-based Arab Bank to task for facilitating funding to Hamas terrorists through these “charities” in the first civil case against a financial institution accused of violating the U.S. Anti-Terrorism Act. On September 22, 2014, after a 10-year legal process, a U.S. jury found Arab Bank liable for helping finance about two dozen Hamas suicide bombings.<sup>68</sup>

### *Taxes and the tunnel economy*

Hamas has spent years building a network of tunnels beneath the Gazan-Egyptian border in order to smuggle weapons and other goods. According to a 2012 *Journal of Palestine Studies* report, at least 160 children have died while digging the elaborate tunnel system.<sup>69</sup> The underground smuggling tunnels between Gaza and Egypt has provided Hamas with a flow of tax revenue on smuggled goods, comprising roughly \$500 million of Hamas’s annual budget for Gaza of just under \$900 million. The Egyptian military closed the tunnels in late 2013 after it deposed the Muslim Brotherhood government, sending Gaza into an economic crisis.<sup>70</sup>

Constructing the tunnels was not a cheap endeavor, as each tunnel is believed to have cost between \$80,000 and \$200,000. To pay for the tunnels’ construction, Hamas turned to Gazan-based mosques and charities, which reportedly began offering pyramid schemes to invest in the tunnels with high rates of return. The number of tunnels reportedly grew from a few dozen in 2005, with annual revenue of \$30 million per year, to at least 500 by December 2008, with annual revenue of \$36 million per month.<sup>71</sup>

By October 2013, Egypt claimed to have destroyed 90 percent of Gaza’s smuggling tunnels. According to Ala al-Rafati, the Hamas-appointed economy minister, the resulting losses to the Gaza economy between June and October 2013 amounted to \$460 million.<sup>72</sup>

*Hamas*

*Cryptocurrencies*

Hamas seeks to bypass international financial sanctions through the use of cryptocurrencies, the movement of which is harder to trace than traditional currencies.<sup>73</sup> The Qassam Brigades website provides an animated instructional video on how to create a Bitcoin wallet—the decentralized digital method of storing Bitcoins—and make an anonymous donation to Hamas that cannot be traced by authorities. The site is available in multiple languages, including English, Arabic, French, and Russian.<sup>74</sup> To further avoid detection, Hamas’s website generates links to individual Bitcoin wallets—making each transaction unique—on its site instead of using a cryptocurrency exchange, which can be more easily tracked by authorities.<sup>75</sup>



Screenshot of the Qassam Brigades website. August 20, 2019.

In 2019, the Qassam Brigades created a portal on its website to collect donations through the cryptocurrency Bitcoin.<sup>76</sup> In May 2019, U.S. authorities arrested a New Jersey man who had sent a donation of \$20 in Bitcoin through the Qassam Brigades’ website in April 2019, two months after explaining how the site worked to an undercover FBI agent. The suspect had previously sent \$100 to a Hamas member in Gaza via the wire transfer service Moneygram.<sup>77</sup> According to terrorism experts and the U.S. Treasury, Bitcoin is a small but growing medium for terror financing.<sup>78</sup>

*Foreign investment*

Iran

Iran has provided hundreds of millions of dollars to Hamas since the 1990s. In the U.S. case *Weinstein v. Iran*, the court noted that 1995-1996 “was a peak period for Iranian economic support of Hamas because Iran typically paid for results, and Hamas was providing results by committing numerous bus bombings such as the one on February 25, 1996.”<sup>79</sup>

After Hamas’s victory in the 2006 Palestinian legislative elections, Iran provided Hamas an estimated £13-15 million a month for governing expenses.<sup>80</sup> However, Iranian aid to Hamas has decreased since the outbreak of the Syrian civil war. While Iran has sided with the embattled Assad regime, Hamas has supported Syrian rebels seeking to overthrow Assad. As



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a result, Iran cut as much as £15 million a month to Hamas. In May 2013, Hamas's deputy foreign minister Ghazi Hamad acknowledged that Iran had financially supported Hamas since 2006, but was sending the group only a "tiny amount" of money to maintain ties to the Palestinian cause.<sup>81</sup> By March 2014, Iranian parliament speaker Ali Larijani said that relations between Hamas and Iran had returned to normal and that Iran continued to support Hamas as a "resistance organization."<sup>82</sup>

Senior Hamas leader Moussa Abu Marzouk said in July 2015, however, that all Iranian aid to Hamas "has stopped—both civilian aid to the Gaza Strip and military assistance to Hamas."<sup>83</sup> Marzouk said that relations between Hamas and Iran had not advanced in a direction that "interested" Hamas and accused Iranian officials later that month of lying about their support.<sup>84</sup> According to Marzouk, Hamas had not received any Iranian money since 2009.<sup>85</sup>

Hamas and Iran reportedly renewed their financial ties in 2017. That August, Hamas's political leader in Gaza, Yahya Sinwar, deemed the restored relationship as "excellent, or very excellent."<sup>86</sup> Sinwar also called Iran the "largest backer financially and militarily" of Hamas.<sup>87</sup>

As of August 2018, Iran reportedly transferred \$70 million annually to Hamas.<sup>88</sup> Israeli authorities reported in August 2019 that Iran was increasing its funding to Hamas to \$30 million per month in order to obtain more intelligence on Israel's missile stockpiles.<sup>89</sup> In November 2018, U.S. Special Envoy on Iran Brian Hook announced U.S. intentions to target Iran's funding of Hamas and Hezbollah as part of a series of renewed sanctions on Iran.<sup>90</sup>

### Qatar

Qatar has invested heavily in the Gazan economy. In October 2012, the country launched a \$254 million plan to modernize Gaza.<sup>91</sup> The country later upped its investment to \$400 million.<sup>92</sup> After Hamas and Fatah signed a reconciliation agreement in April 2014, the PA refused to pay the salaries of Hamas civil servants in Gaza. In June, Qatar stepped in and attempted to transfer hundreds of millions of dollars to Hamas through Arab Bank to pay the salaries of 44,000 civil servants, but the United States reportedly blocked the transfers.<sup>93</sup> In November 2018, Qatar transferred \$15 million to the Hamas government to pay civil servants. Israel reportedly approved the payment on condition it did not go directly to Hamas. Qatari monitors oversaw the direct distribution of the funds to civil servants. Qatar promised to pay \$90 million over a six-month period.<sup>94</sup> A U.S. lawsuit filed in June 2020 alleged Qatar provided funding to Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) through three Qatari financial institutions, the Qatar Charity, Masraf Al Rayan, and Qatar National Bank. The Qatar Charity is a member of the U.S.-sanctioned Union of Good charity network. All three institutions have links to members of the Qatari royal family. The plaintiffs are friends and family members of 10 U.S. citizens who died in terror attacks in Israel carried out by Hamas and PIJ. The lawsuit accuses Qatar of coopting "several institutions that it dominates and controls to funnel coveted U.S. dollars (the chosen currency of Middle East terrorist networks) to Hamas and PIJ under the false guise of charitable donations."<sup>95</sup> On June 26, 2020, Qatar transferred \$30 million to Hamas. The terror group claimed one-third of the amount would be distributed to 100,000 needy families.<sup>96</sup>

Further, Qatar has provided a safe haven for Hamas's political leadership since 2012. In January 2015, then-Qatari Foreign Minister referred to then-Hamas politburo chief Khaled Meshaal as the country's "dear guest."<sup>97</sup> Hamas has utilized Qatari hotels and business centers for meetings and press conferences, such its May 1, 2017, press conference at Doha's Sheraton hotel to announce the group's new political document.<sup>98</sup>

In April 2017, Yousef al-Ghariz, adviser to Qatar's ambassador to the Palestinian territories and head of the Qatari Committee for Reconstruction of the Gaza Strip told Al-Monitor that Qatar works with both Hamas and the Palestinian Authority. He also said that Qatar "doesn't get involved in any internal Palestinian political disputes."<sup>99</sup>

"Qatar can't continue to be an American ally on Monday that sends money to Hamas on Tuesday," then-Senator John Kerry said in 2009.<sup>100</sup> In July 2014, Congressmen Peter Roskam (R-IL) and John Barrow (D-GA) collected signatures from 22 of

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their colleagues on a letter to Qatar's ambassador to the United States, Mohammed Bin Abdullah al-Rumaihi, demanding Qatar end its support of Hamas.<sup>101</sup>

### Saudi Arabia

During the second intifada Saudi Arabia passed millions of dollars to Hamas terrorists under the guise of charity. The Saudi Committee in Support of the Intifada al Quds transferred hundreds of millions of dollars to the families of suicide bombers, prisoners, and those wounded in the intifada as a financial incentive for terrorism. According to a de-classified U.S. State Department memoranda, "the United States provided evidence to Saudi authorities in 2003 that Saudi Arabia's al Quds Intifadah Committee was "forwarding millions of dollars in funds to the families of Palestinians engaged in terrorist activities, including those of suicide bombers."<sup>102</sup>

Saudi Arabia has also invested in Gaza, pledging \$1 billion to rebuild infrastructure after Hamas's 2008 war with Israel.<sup>103</sup>

### Turkey

Turkey reportedly planned to donate \$300 million to Gaza's Hamas government in 2011,<sup>104</sup> while other reports cited that this would become an annual donation to Hamas.<sup>105</sup>

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<https://freebeacon.com/national-security/lawsuit-alleges-qatar-secretly-financed-terror-attacks-that-killed-americans/> [84].

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<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2009/jan/19/saudi-arabia-donate-1-billion-rebuild-gaza/> [93].

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<http://www.imemc.org/article/62607> [94].

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**Key Leaders**



**Ismail Haniyeh**  
Chief of Political Bureau, former deputy leader of Hamas, Hamas's former prime minister of Gaza, former prime minister of the Palestinian Authority



**Mousa Abu Marzouk**  
Deputy political bureau chief and fundraiser



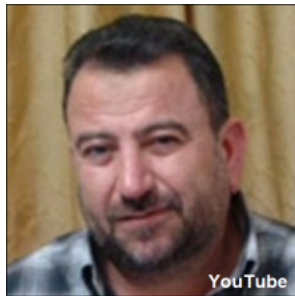
**Yahya Sinwar**  
Leader of the Gaza Strip Political Bureau for Hamas



**Mohammed Deif**  
Chief leader and commander of the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades



**Marwan Issa**  
High-ranking leader of the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades



**Saleh al-Aroui**  
Deputy leader



**Khaled Meshaal**  
Chief chairman of Hamas's political bureau



**Ahmed Yassin**  
Co-founder of Hamas - deceased



**Abdel Azziz al-Rantisi**  
Co-founder of Hamas - deceased



**Salah Shehadeh**  
Founder of the Qassam Brigades - deceased



**Yehya Ayyash**  
Bombmaker and former leader of the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades - deceased

## Hamas

### History:

- February 14, 2021:** Hamas's Sharia Judicial Council in Gaza rules that women need the permission of a male guardian to travel outside the home.  
Women's rights advocates in Gaza decry the ruling as a violation of the Palestinian Basic Law guaranteeing equality. Source: Fares Akram, "Hamas court says women need guardian's approval to travel," Associated Press, February 15, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/travel-middle-east-womens-rights-israel-gaza-strip-acc6bdb0383b43d5c13af594374ada88> [96].
- February 8, 2021:** Delegations from Hamas, Fatah, PIJ, and 11 other Palestinian factions meet in Cairo to discuss upcoming Palestinian parliamentary and presidential elections.  
The factions agree on guidelines for the upcoming elections. Hamas intends to hold internal elections before the general Palestinian elections. The agreement calls for the immediate release of all political prisoners by all sides and allows the factions to campaign in both Gaza and the West Bank. Sources: Nidal al-Mughrabi and Ali Sawafta, "Hamas and Fatah hold Egyptian-brokered reconciliation talks in Cairo," Reuters, February 8, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-palestinians-politics-election-idUSKBN2A8162> [97]; Hazem Balousha, "'Secretive' Hamas elections spark internal party row," Arab News, January 20, 2021, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1800621/middle-east> [98]; Aaron Boxerman, "Fatah and Hamas agree on terms of 1st Palestinian election in 15 years," Times of Israel, February 9, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/fatah-and-hamas-agree-on-terms-of-1st-palestinian-election-in-15-years/> [99].
- January 26, 2021:** Israeli authorities seize more than \$120,000 and goods worth hundreds of thousands of shekels that Hamas is allegedly transferring from Turkey to the West Bank.  
According to the Israeli Defense Ministry, Hamas used Turkish companies Sense Sanitary Company and Tikkno Plus Ic Ve Dis were transferring the money and goods to the West Bank. The companies are jointly owned by Hamas operatives Abdallah Fuqaha in Turkey and Ayman al-Massri in the West Bank. Source: Judah Ari Gross, "Israel seizes money, goods it says Hamas was sending from Turkey to West Bank," Times of Israel, February 15, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israel-seizes-money-goods-it-says-hamas-was-sending-from-turkey-to-west-bank/> [100].
- January 15, 2021:** Abbas announces there will be new parliamentary elections for the first time since 2006, when Hamas swept to power.  
The Palestinian Authority also announces plans to hold presidential elections in the summer. Hamas and Fatah representatives meet in Jordan to negotiate a joint platform. Source: Daoud Kuttab, "Agreement between Fatah and Hamas paves way for Palestine coalition," Arab News, January 22, 2021, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1796886/middle-east> [101].
- August 2020 - September 2020:** In early August, militants in Gaza begin sending incendiary balloons across the Gaza-Israel border.  
The balloons do not cause casualties but result in multiple fires in Israeli communities near the border. Israel responds with strikes against Hamas targets around Gaza. The fighting ends on August 31 with a ceasefire between Hamas and Israel. On September 6, Haniyeh meets with Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah in Lebanon to reaffirm the "stability" of the "axis of resistance" against Israel. The leaders also discuss regional developments such as the previous month's announcement of formal ties between Israel and the United Arab Emirates. Haniyeh and Nasrallah jointly condemn Arab normalization with Israel. Haniyeh also visits Lebanon's Ain al-Hilweh Palestinian refugee camp and announces Hamas possesses rockets that can reach Tel Aviv. Sources: Judah Ari Gross, "IDF: 100 Hamas targets bombed in past month in response to fire-balloon attacks," Times of Israel, September 1, 2020, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/idf-100-hamas-targets-bombed-in-past-month-in-response-to-fire-balloon-attacks/> [102]; "Hamas and Hezbollah leaders meet in Lebanon," Middle East Eye, September 6, 2020, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/lebanon-palestine-hezbollah-hamas-nasrallah-haniyeh-meeting> [103].
- February 2020:** Egypt reportedly blocks Haniyeh from returning to Gaza because of his unapproved trip to Iran.  
Hamas announces Haniyeh will continue to run Hamas's political bureau from Doha, Qatar, for the immediate future in order to continue traveling freely through the end of 2020 or early 2021. Sources: Khaled Abu Toameh, "Hamas leader Haniyeh decides to settle in Qatar - report," *Jerusalem Post*, February 2, 2020, <https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Hamas-leader-Haniyeh-decides-to-settle-in-Qatar-report-616253> [104]; Ahmed Fouad, "Egypt may find Gaza more appealing without Haniyeh," *Al-Monitor*, February 25, 2020, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2020/02/egypt-ban-hamas-haniyeh-return-gaza-iran-qatar.html> [105].
- January 3, 2020 - January 6, 2020:** Hamas releases a statement of condolence on January 3 after the death of Qasem Soleimani, commander of Iran's Quds Force, in a U.S. airstrike in Iraq earlier that day.  
Haniyeh makes a condolence call to Iranian Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif on January 5. On January 6, Haniyeh attends Soleimani's funeral in Tehran. Haniyeh speaks at the funeral and is photographed near Iranian Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei. Haniyeh reaffirms the Palestinians' commitment to resistance against Israel and the United States. Haniyeh also meets with Ismail Ghaani, the new head of the Quds Force. Haniyeh's trip to Tehran reportedly infuriates the Egyptian government, which had expressly forbidden him from visiting Iran. Source: "Hamas leader praises Soleimani at Tehran funeral in show of support for Iran," Times of Israel, January 6, 2020, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-leader-praises-soleimani-at-tehran-funeral-in-show-of-support-for-iran/> [106].
- December 2019:** With Egypt's permission, Haniyeh leaves the Gaza Strip for the first time in three years to attend high-level meetings in Turkey and Qatar.  
Haniyeh leads a delegation that includes Saleh al-Aroui, Maher Saleh, Mousa Abu Marzouq, Nizar Awadallah, and Izzat al-Risheq. Haniyeh arrives in Turkey on December 8 and meets with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Days after the meeting, British media reports that Hamas has continued to plan terrorist attacks from a base in Istanbul with the knowledge of the Turkish government. On December 16, Haniyeh meets with Qatari Emir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al-Thani in Doha. The delegation announces it also plans to visit Malaysia, Russia, Lebanon, Mauritania, and Kuwait. While in Istanbul, Haniyeh tells Turkish media that he is also trying to strengthen Hamas's relationship with Iran. Sources: Raf Sanchez, "Exclusive: Hamas plots attacks on Israel from Turkey as Erdogan turns blind eye," *Telegraph* (London), December 17, 2019, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/12/17/hamas-plots-attacks-israel-turkey-erdogan-turns-blind-eye/> [107]; "Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh visits Turkey, meets with Erdogan," *Jerusalem Post*, December 15, 2019, <https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Hamas-leader-Ismail-Haniyeh-visits-Turkey-meets-Erdogan-610942> [108]; Seth J. Frantzman, "Turkey and Qatar give warm embrace to Hamas leaders," *Jerusalem Post*, December 17, 2019, <https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Turkey-and-Qatar-give-warm-embrace-to-Hamas-leaders-611219> [109].
- November 2, 2019 - November 3, 2019:** Twitter suspends several English and Arabic accounts belonging to Hamas, including its official @Hamainfo and @HamainfoEn accounts.  
Twitter also suspends accounts affiliated with Hezbollah's Al-Manar TV network. The suspensions come a week after a group of U.S. congressmen wrote to Twitter to complain about the presence of Hamas and Hezbollah accounts, to which a Twitter spokesman responded that the company differentiates between the political and military wings of said groups because they have members who have been elected to

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political offices. Sources: Adam Rasgon, "Twitter suspends Hamas- and Hezbollah-affiliated handles," Times of Israel, November 3, 2019, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/twitter-suspends-hamas-and-hezbollah-affiliated-handles/> [110]; Tzvi Joffre, "Twitter Suspends Hamas, Hezbollah-Affiliated Accounts," *Jerusalem Post*, November 3, 2019, <https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Hezbollah-affiliated-TV-stations-Twitter-suspended-606663> [111]; Jackson Richman, Lawmakers accuse Twitter of allowing content from Hamas and Hezbollah, violating law," Jewish News Syndicate, October 23, 2019, <https://www.jns.org/legislators-accuse-twitter-of-allowing-content-from-hamas-and-hezbollah-violating-law/> [112].

- **November 12, 2018 - November 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. Sources: Oren Liebermann, "Biggest Israel-Gaza firefight since 2014 ends in ceasefire," CNN, November 13, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2018/11/13/middleeast/israel-gaza-tesnions-escalate-intl/index.html> [113]; Judah Ari Gross and Raoul Wootliff, "Hamas claims Liberman's resignation as a 'victory for Gaza,'" Times of Israel, November 14, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-claims-libermans-resignation-as-a-victory-for-gaza/> [114]; Raoul Wootliff, "Israel heads toward elections as Jewish Home says it will leave coalition," Times of Israel, November 16, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israel-heads-toward-elections-as-jewish-home-says-will-leave-coalition/> [115].
- **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.  
Sources: "Counter Terrorism Designations," U.S. Department of the Treasury, January 31, 2018, <https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/OFAC-Enforcement/Pages/20180131.aspx> [116]; Adam Rasgon, "Hamas Calls U.S. Designation of Haniyeh as Terrorist Violation of Int'l Law," *Jerusalem Post*, January 31, 2018, <http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Hamas-calls-US-designation-of-Haniyeh-as-terrorist-violation-of-intl-law-540354> [117].
- **October 2017:** 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. Sources: Hamza Hendaqi and Fares Akram, "Palestinian rivals reach preliminary deal on governing Gaza," Associated Press, October 12, 2017, <https://apnews.com/28b183dff81c41cc9e2bbd1e62361b26/Palestinian-rivals-reach-preliminary-deal-on-governing-Gaza> [25]; Dov Lieber, "Translation of leaked Hamas-Fatah agreement," Times of Israel, October 13, 2017, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/translation-of-leaked-hamas-fatah-agreement/> [26]; Dov Lieber, "In deal with Fatah, Hamas said to agree to halt attacks from West Bank," Times of Israel, October 15, 2017, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/in-deal-with-fatah-hamas-said-to-agree-to-halt-attacks-from-west-bank/> [27]; Isabel Kershner, "Hamas Hands Gaza Crossings to Palestinian Authority in Unity Deal Milestone," *New York Times*, November 1, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/01/world/middleeast/hamas-palestinian-authority-borders-gaza.html> [118].
- **September 2017:** Hamas announces its intention to dissolve its government in Gaza and calls on the PA to immediately resume responsibility for the Gaza Strip.  
Hamas agrees to the PA's demand to hold new parliamentary elections in the West Bank and Gaza for the first time since 2006. The move follows talks in Cairo between Hamas and the Egyptian government. Sources: Fares Akram, "Hamas invites Abbas to resume control of Gaza," Associated Press, September 20, 2017, <https://apnews.com/e8438c54e9384220a423bcd33ed7fa5c/Hamas-invites-Abbas-to-resume-control-of-Gaza>; Mohamed Daraghme, "Hamas says it accepts reconciliation demands," Associated Press, September 17, 2017, <https://apnews.com/aec26df1cc2740c791033b3637e82d27/Hamas-says-it-accepts-reconciliation-demands>; Dov Lieber, "Abbas talks reconciliation with Hamas leader, but is mum on ending sanctions," Times of Israel, September 18, 2017, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/abbas-talks-reconciliation-with-hamas-leader-but-is-mum-on-ending-sanctions/>; "Press Release issued by Hamas," Hamas website, September 17, 2017, <http://hamas.ps/en/post/965/press-release-issued-by-hamas>.
- **August 17, 2017:** A suicide bomber blows himself up in the Gaza Strip, killing a Hamas fighter.  
Hamas blames ISIS, though there is no immediate claim of responsibility. It is the first suicide bombing to target Hamas. Source: Fares Akram, "Hamas militant killed by suicide bomber in Gaza," Associated Press, August 17, 2017, <https://apnews.com/6860fc74be8c4008b0a5d8547e23ed6c/Hamas-militant-killed-by-suicide-bomber-in-Gaza>.
- **June 2017:** The PA ends payments to Israel for the Gaza Strip's electricity supply, blaming Hamas for failing to reimburse it for paying for Gaza's electricity.  
The PA calls for Hamas to return Gaza's governance back to the PA. Source: Nidal al-Mughrabi and Jeffrey Heller, "Israel reduces power supply to Gaza, as Abbas pressures Hamas," Reuters, June 12, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-palestinians-power/israel-reduces-power-supply-to-gaza-as-abbas-pressures-hamas-idUSKBN1931XK>.
- **May 6, 2017:** Meshal steps down as Hamas's political bureau chief.  
Haniyeh is elected the new head of Hamas. Sources: "Ismail Haniyeh elected new head of Hamas," Times of Israel, May 6, 2017, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/ismail-haniyeh-elected-new-head-of-hamas/>; Khalid Meshal's speech during the inauguration of the new head of Hamas political bureau, Ismail Haniya (an excerpt), Hamas website, May 6, 2017, [http://hamas.ps/en/post/694/khalid-meshal-s-speech-during-the-inauguration-of-the-new-head-of-hamas-political-bureau-ismail-haniya-\(an-excerpt\)](http://hamas.ps/en/post/694/khalid-meshal-s-speech-during-the-inauguration-of-the-new-head-of-hamas-political-bureau-ismail-haniya-(an-excerpt)).
- **May 1, 2017:** Hamas releases a new political program excising all references to the Muslim Brotherhood and accepting a temporary Palestinian state in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Jerusalem.  
The new program continues to call for "armed resistance" as its primary strategy to liberate all of Palestine from the river to the sea. Sources: "Document of General Principles & Policies," Hamas, May 1, 2017, <http://hamas.ps/en/post/678/a-document-of-general-principles-and-policies>; Patrick Wintour, "Hamas presents new charter accepting a Palestine based on 1967 borders," *Guardian* (London), May 1, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/01/hamas-new-charter-palestine-israel-1967-borders>.
- **January 2017:** Hamas and Fatah announce a reconciliation agreement and declaring plans to hold new elections. The parties do not set a timetable for moving forward.  
Source: "Fatah and Hamas to form unity government," Al Jazeera, January 18, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/01/fatah-hamas-form-unity-government-170118031339203.html>.



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- October 13, 2016:**The Palestinian Legislative Council in Gaza announces that PA Prime Minister Rami Hamdallah would no longer have authority over Gaza and Haniyeh would replace him as prime minister in Gaza.  
Sources: Becca Noy, "Ismail Haniyeh named prime minister in Gaza," Jerusalem Online, <http://www.jerusalemonline.com/news/middle-east/the-arab-world/ismail-haniyehs-comeback-24198>; Ahmad Abu Amer, "Hamas calls for return of Haniyeh government," Al-Monitor, October 21, 2016, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/10/hamas-return-haniyeh-government-gaza.html>.
- June 10, 2016 - June 20, 2016:**Meshaal announces that he will not seek reelection.  
Sources: Shlomi Eldar, "Hamas elections will mark end of Meshaal era," Al-Monitor, June 16, 2016, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/06/khaled-meshaal-hamas-political-bureau-ismail-haniyeh-shura.html>; Jack Moore, "Hamas Leader Khaled Meshaal to Step Down: Reports," *Newsweek*, June 16, 2016, <http://www.newsweek.com/hamas-leader-khaled-meshaal-step-down-reports-470564>; Nidal Al-Mughrabi, "Hamas chief Meshaal wants to step down: political sources," Reuters, September 23, 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-palestinians-hamas-vote-idUSBRE88M08720120923>; Avi Issacharoff, "Inside Hamas, a bitter and very personal battle for control," Times of Israel, March 19, 2016, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/inside-hamas-a-bitter-and-very-personal-battle-for-control/>; Dov Lieber, "Khaled Mashaal to step down as Hamas leader - report," Times of Israel, June 15, 2016, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/khaled-mashaal-to-step-down-as-hamas-leader-report/>.
- April 1, 2016:**The Qassam Brigades releases photos of four Israelis it claims it's 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 two living captives. Hamas also denies it is negotiating with Israel for their return. Source: Diaa Hadid, "Hamas Releases Photographs Said to Show Captured Israelis," *New York Times*, April 1, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/02/world/middleeast/hamas-releases-photographs-said-to-show-captured-israelis.html>.
- 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. An Egyptian lawyer Tarek Mahmoud files to have Hamas declared a terrorist organization. Sources: "Muslim Brotherhood conspired with Hamas to kill prosecutor, Egypt claims," *Guardian* (London), March 6, 2016, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/06/muslim-brotherhood-hamas-prosecutor-egypt-assassinated-hisham-barakat>; "Egyptian court to consider ruling Hamas a terrorist organization," *Journal of Turkish Weekly* (Ankara), March 9, 2016, <http://www.turkishweekly.net/2016/03/09/news/egyptian-court-to-consider-ruling-hamas-a-terrorist-organization/>.
- July 9, 2015:**The Israeli government reveals Hamas is holding captive two Israeli citizens in Gaza. Avraham Mengistu, an Ethiopian-Israeli in his 20s, crossed into Gaza on September 7, 2014. The government did not reveal the identity of the other man except that he is an Arab-Israeli. An unidentified Hamas member says Hamas released Mengistu when they realized he was not a soldier and he left through a tunnel to Egypt. Source: Isabel Kershner, "Israel Says Hamas Is Holding Two Citizens in Gaza," *New York Times*, July 9, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/10/world/middleeast/mengistu-gaza-israel.html> [119].
- June 2015:**In early June, media reports surface of senior Hamas members meeting with Egyptian security officials in a bid to improve relations. According to media reports, Hamas demands that Egypt open its Rafah border crossing with Gaza, while Egypt demands unspecified confidence-building measures from Hamas. Hamas reportedly agrees to some of Egypt's demands. On June 6, an Egyptian appeals court cancels a February court ruling listing Hamas as a terrorist organization. Egyptian lawyer Ashraf Farahat, who initially brought the case forward earlier in the year, says that he will request Egypt's Foreign Ministry label Hamas a terrorist organization. On June 10, Egyptian Foreign Ministry spokesman Badr Abdel Atty reveals that Egypt is attempting to renew reconciliation talks between Hamas and Fatah and to renew Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. On June 13, Egypt opens the Rafah border crossing with Gaza to two-way traffic for the first time in three months. Seven trucks filled with building materials cross into Gaza. It is the first time since 2007 Egypt has allowed a commercial shipment to pass through Rafah. Between June 21 and June 30, Israeli intelligence reports Hamas amassing armed troops along the Gazan-Israeli border. During the same time, U.S. and Israeli media report that Hamas and Israel are engaged in direct talks on a long-term truce. On June 30, ISIS releases a video statement to "the tyrants of Hamas" threatening to overthrow the terrorist group's Gaza rule because it is not Islamic enough. Source: Jack Khoury, "Egypt Intel Officials Meet Hamas in Bid to Mend Rift," *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), June 10, 2015, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/middle-east/premium-1.660452> [120]; Stephen Kalin and Nidal al-Mughrabi, "Egyptian court cancels Hamas listing as terrorist organization: sources," Reuters, June 6, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/06/06/us-egypt-hamas-idUSKBN00M0BZ20150606> [121]; Stuart Winer, "Egypt said working to reconcile divided Fatah, Hamas," Times of Israel, June 10, 2015, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/egypt-said-working-to-reconcile-divided-fatah-hamas/> [122]; Nidal al-Mughrabi, "Egypt opens Rafah crossing into Gaza in sign of easing tensions," Reuters, June 13, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/06/13/us-palestinians-egypt-gaza-idUSKBN00T0BM20150613> [123]; Avi Issacharoff, "Hamas masses troops on Israeli border, trains for new round of fighting," Times of Israel, June 28, 2015, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-masses-troops-on-border-trains-for-new-round-of-fighting/> [124]; Abraham Rabinovich, "Israel, Hamas In Talks to Achieve Long-Term Cease-Fire Agreement," *Washington Free Beacon*, June 22, 2015, <http://freebeacon.com/national-security/israel-hamas-in-talks-to-achieve-long-term-cease-fire-agreement/> [125]; Ali Abdelaty, Dan Williams, and Nidal al-Mughrabi, "Islamic State threatens to topple Hamas in Gaza," Reuters, July 1, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/07/01/uk-palestinians-islamicstate-hamas-idUKKCN0PA2TT20150701>; Reuters, "ISIS Threatens Hamas in Gaza," *New York Times*, July 1, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/video/world/middleeast/100000003775446/isis-threatens-hamas.html> [126].
- May 2015:**ISIS-aligned extremist groups, united under the banner Supporters of the Islamic State, claim responsibility for four bombings targeting Hamas interests across Gaza. A spokesman says they "will stay like a thorn in the throat of Hamas, and a thorn in the throat of Israel." Source: Dia Hadid and Majd Al Waheidi, "ISIS Allies Target Hamas and Energize Gaza Extremists," *New York Times*, June 30, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/01/world/isis-allies-target-hamas-and-energize-gaza-extremists.html> [127].
- April 2015:**After Hamas security forces detain suspected pro-ISIS leader Adnan Mayit, his followers fire rockets at Israel. In response, Hamas arrests more of his followers and later kills extremist leader Younis Hounor. Source: Dia Hadid and Majd Al Waheidi, "ISIS Allies Target Hamas and Energize Gaza Extremists," *New York Times*, June 30, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/01/world/isis-allies-target-hamas-and-energize-gaza-extremists.html> [127].
- January 31, 2015:**An Egyptian court labels Hamas's Qassam Brigades a terrorist organization. Hamas condemns the ruling as a "political, dangerous decision that serves only the Zionist occupation." A Qassam Brigades spokesman says Egypt could no longer act as a mediator between Hamas and Israel. On February 28, 2015, a second Egyptian court labels Hamas a terrorist organization and bans its activities in the country. Hamas condemns the ruling, which it claims "serves the Israeli occupation," and says it will

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have no effect on Hamas's operations. Source: Michael Georgy, "Egyptian court bans Hamas' armed wing, lists it as terrorist organization," Reuters, January 31, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/31/us-egypt-hamas-idUSKBN0L40BS20150131> [128]; Michael Georgy, "Egyptian court bans Hamas' armed wing, lists it as terrorist organization," Reuters, January 31, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/31/us-egypt-hamas-idUSKBN0L40BS20150131> [128].

- **June 2014 - August 2014:** Third Israel-Gaza War.

On June 12, three Israeli teenagers, one of whom is an American citizen, go missing in the West Bank. Israel accuses Hamas of orchestrating their kidnapping. On June 30, the bodies of the three teenagers are found in a valley close to the West Bank city of Hebron. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu blames Hamas for the murders. On July 2, a Palestinian teenager is abducted, his burnt corpse later discovered in east Jerusalem. Palestinian officials, including PA President Mahmoud Abbas, assert that the teenager was the victim of far-right Jews incensed at the deaths of the three Israeli teenagers. On July 7, Hamas's Qassam Brigades launch dozens of mortars, Qassam rockets, and Grad rockets at Israeli civilian centers in southern Israel. A Qassam spokesman tells Al-Monitor that Hamas has set numerous traps for Israeli soldiers in Gaza, while the group releases a video in which it prepares rockets. On July 8, Israel launches Operation Protective Edge, aimed at striking Hamas and ending the ongoing rocket fire from Hamas in Gaza. Israel launches a ground invasion on July 17 in response to continued rocket fire and the discovery of underground terror tunnels beneath the Israeli-Gazan border. On July 22, the European Union condemns Hamas's indiscriminate rocket fire and calls on Hamas and all terrorist groups in Gaza to disarm. On August 1, Israel declares an end to a 72-hour negotiated ceasefire after an attack on its soldiers in Rafah, during which three soldiers are killed. The Israeli army later announces that the soldier was killed in combat. On August 4, Israel announces a limited truce to allow for humanitarian aid to be delivered to Gaza. Two attacks on Israelis in Jerusalem leave one person dead and an Israeli soldier wounded. According to Hamas-affiliated Gazan officials, 1,831 Palestinians were killed and 1.8 million Gaza residents displaced as a result of the Israeli operation. Sixty-four Israeli soldiers and three civilians were also reportedly killed since the beginning of the latest violence. On August 5, an Egyptian-negotiated 72-hour ceasefire takes hold. Israeli and Palestinian negotiators head to Cairo to begin negotiating a longer truce. Hamas denies involvement after rockets sent from Gaza hit civilian centers in southern Israel on August 13, and a new five-day ceasefire goes into effect. On September 19, as Israel and Hamas near the deadline for the five-day ceasefire and negotiations on a permanent ceasefire, the Qassam Brigades launch 29 rockets into Israel, with two landing in Tel Aviv, four in Beer Sheva, and three near Sderot. Source: Yaakov Lappin, "Shin Bet Reveals Identity of Two Main Suspected Kidnappers," *Jerusalem Post*, June 26, 2014, <http://www.jpost.com/Defense/Shin-Bet-reveals-identity-of-two-main-kidnappers-360738> [129]; Peter Beaumont, "Bodies of three missing Israeli teenagers found in West Bank," *Guardian* (London), June 30, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/30/bodies-missing-israeli-teenagers-found-west-bank> [130]; Ali Sawafta, "Violent protests spread to Israel after burial of Palestinian teen," Reuters, July 6, 2014, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2014/07/05/uk-palestinians-israel-idUKKBN0FA05S20140705> [131]; Adnan Aby Amer, "Hamas Readies for Israeli Ground Offensive with Tunnels, Traps," Al-Monitor, July 9, 2014, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulseen/originals/2014/07/palestine-gaza-hamas-preparations-israel-ground-offensive.html> [132]; "Operation Protective Edge: Israel bombs Gaza in retaliation for rockets," *Guardian* (London), July 8, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/08/operation-protective-edge-israel-bombs-gaza-in-retaliation-for-rockets> [133]; Jodi Rudoren and Anne Barnard, "Israeli Military Invades Gaza, With Sights Set on Hamas Operations," *New York Times*, July 17, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/18/world/middleeast/israel-gaza-strip.html> [134]; "EU Council Conclusions on the Middle East Peace Process," European Union Delegation to the United Nations - New York, July 22, 2014, [http://www.eu-un.europa.eu/articles/en/article\\_15300\\_en.htm](http://www.eu-un.europa.eu/articles/en/article_15300_en.htm) [135]; Harriet Sherwood, Jason Burke, Daniel Boffey, "Soldier believed captured by Hamas was killed in action, says Israeli army," *Guardian* (London), August 3, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/02/israel-rejects-talks-gaza-attacks-end> [136]; Nidal Al-Mughrabi and Maayan Lubell, "Israel's seven-hour Gaza truce ends; violence hits Jerusalem," Reuters, August 4, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/08/04/us-mideast-gaza-idUSKBN0G008720140804> [137]; "Israel-Hamas Cease-Fire Holding, Truce Talks to Open in Cairo," Voice of America, August 5, 2014, <http://www.voanews.com/content/israel-hamas-begin-72-hour-truce-gaza/1971724.htm> [138]; Greg Botelho, Antonia Mortensen, and Reza Sayah, "Gaza CeaseFire in Question after Rockets, Airstrikes," CNN, August 13, 2014, <http://www.cnn.com/2014/08/13/world/meast/mideast-crisis/index.html> [139]; Frederik Pleitgen, Jethro Mullen, and Laura Smith-Spark, "29 Rockets in 20 Minutes: Israel, Hamas Cease-Fire Breaks down," CNN, August 19, 2014, <http://www.cnn.com/2014/08/19/world/meast/mideast-crisis/index.html> [140].

- **April 23, 2014:** Hamas and the PLO announce a new unity agreement that would lead to new Palestinian Authority elections.

Source: Jodi Rudoren and Michael R. Gordon, "Palestinian Rivals Announce Unity Pact, Drawing U.S. and Israeli Rebuke," *New York Times*, April 23, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/24/world/middleeast/palestinian-factions-announce-deal-on-unity-government.html> [141].

- **November 2012:** Second Israel-Gaza War.

On November 14, Israel launches Operation Pillar of Defense to quell Hamas rocket fire from Gaza. That same day, Israel assassinates Ahmed Jabari, the operational commander of Hamas's Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigade, who had allegedly planned Gilad Shalit's 2006 capture. On November 15, Egyptian Prime Minister Hisham Kandil announces his intent to make an official visit to Gaza. At the same time, Egypt's then-president Mohammed Morsi, of the Muslim Brotherhood movement, reopens the Rafah Crossing between Egypt and Gaza to allow wounded Gazans into Egypt. Toward the end of Pillar of Defense, Iran's IRGC admits to transferring technology to Hamas to allow them to "quickly" build long-range missiles. During Israel's eight-day operation, the Israeli army hits more than 1,450 targets in Gaza, killing more than 130 people. Egypt brokers a ceasefire between Hamas and Israel on November 21, and Meshal thanks Iran for supporting Hamas with weapons and financing. After the ceasefire takes hold, Israeli spy satellites spot an Iranian cargo vessel in an Iranian port loading rockets and other weapons that analysts say could be bound for Gaza. Source: "Factbox: Gaza Targets Bombed by Israel," Reuters, November 21, 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/21/us-palestinians-israel-gaza-idUSBRE8AK0H920121121> [142]; "Egypt PM to Visit Gaza Friday, Says Hamas Spokesperson," Aswat Masriya, November 15, 2012, <http://en.aswatmasriya.com/news/view.aspx?id=0f062799-4585-42eb-9aac-0fec3b594ce6> [143]; Abdel-Rahman Hussein, "Mohamed Morsi's Approach to Gaza Air Strikes Falls Short for Many Egyptians," *Guardian* [U.K.], November 15, 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/nov/15/mohamad-morsi-gaza-israel-egypt> [144]; "Iran Reportedly Admits Helping Gaza Militants Produce Long-Range Missiles," CBS News, November 21, 2012, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/iran-reportedly-admits-helping-gaza-militants-produce-long-range-missiles/> [145]; Peter Beaumont, "Ahmed al-Jabari: the Hamas 'general' who kept out of the limelight," *Guardian* (London), November 14, 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/nov/14/ahmed-al-jaabari-hamas-general> [146]; "Israel and Hamas Reach Gaza Cease-Fire Agreement," CBS News, November 21, 2014, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/israel-and-hamas-reach-gaza-cease-fire-agreement/> [147]; Yasmine Saleh and Nidal al-Mughrabi, "Hamas-Israel ceasefire takes hold but mistrust runs deep," Reuters, November 21, 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/21/us-palestinians-israel-hamas-idUSBRE8AD0WP20121121> [148]; Uzi Mahnaimi, "Israel Vows to Destroy Iranian Rockets Destined for Gaza," *Sunday Times* (London), November 25, 2012, [http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/world\\_news/Middle\\_East/article1167684.ece](http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/world_news/Middle_East/article1167684.ece) [149].

- **October 2012:** Hamas fires an anti-aircraft missile at an Israeli military aircraft for the first time.

Authorities suspect the weapons came from Libya, where more than 1,000 missiles disappeared from military stockpiles after the fall of the Gadhafi regime in 2011. Source: Alex Fishman, "Hamas Launches Anti-Aircraft Missile From Gaza Against Israeli Military," *Al-Monitor*, October 16, 2012, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulseen/security/01/10/hamas-fires-antiaircraft-missile.html> [150].

- **October 2012:** The emir of Qatar becomes the first head of state to visit Gaza since Hamas took de facto control of that

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territory in 2007.

“Emir of Qatar Become First Head of State to Visit Gaza since Hamas Took Control,” Huffington Post UK, October 23, 2012, [http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2012/10/23/emir-of-qatar-historic-visit-to-hamas-gaza\\_n\\_2004960.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2012/10/23/emir-of-qatar-historic-visit-to-hamas-gaza_n_2004960.html).

- **January 2012 - February 2012:**In January, Hamas’s leaders flee their base in Syria because of the ongoing civil war, leaving for Egypt and Qatar.  
In February, Hamas breaks with the Assad regime and publicly supports the Syrian opposition. Source: “Hamas Political Chiefs Exit Syria,” BBC News, February 28, 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-17192278>; Fares Akram, “In Break, Hamas Supports Syrian Opposition,” *New York Times*, February 24, 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/25/world/middleeast/hamas-leader-supports-syrian-opposition.html>.
- **October 2011:** Hamas frees kidnapped Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit after Israel agrees to release 1,027 Palestinian prisoners in exchange.  
Among the Palestinian prisoners freed by Israel is Ahlam Ahmad al-Tamimi, who was serving 16 life sentences for her role in Hamas’s August 2001 suicide bombing of the Sbarro pizzeria in Jerusalem. Tamimi is deported to Jordan. Sources: Jeffrey Heller and Nidal al-Mughrabi, “Israel and Hamas Agree Prisoner Swap to Free Shalit,” Reuters, October 11, 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/10/11/us-israel-palestinians-shalit-idUSTRE79A58R20111011> [151]; “Individual Charged in Connection With 2001 Terrorist Attack in Jerusalem That Resulted in Death of Americans,” U.S. Department of Justice, March 14, 2017, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/individual-charged-connection-2001-terrorist-attack-jerusalem-resulted-death-americans> [152]; Avi Issacharoff and Aimee Amiga, “Prisoners Deported Under Shalit Deal Arrive in Turkey, Syria, Jordan, and Qatar,” *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), October 19, 2011, <https://www.haaretz.com/1.5201410> [153].
- **May 2011:** Hamas and Fatah sign a reconciliation accord, which falls apart soon thereafter.  
Source: Ethan Bronner, “Fatah and Hamas Sign Palestinian Reconciliation Pact,” *New York Times*, May 4, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/05/world/middleeast/05palestinians.html>.
- **December 2008 - January 2009:** First Israel-Gaza War.  
Hamas ends a six-month ceasefire with Israel on December 18, a day before it officially expires. On December 27, in response to Hamas rocket fire, Israel launches Operation Cast Lead, a three-week-long military offensive in the Gaza Strip. The Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports that Hamas operatives regularly launch rockets into Israel “from, within or near residential and public buildings, including schools, mosques and hospitals.... [as well as] from densely populated areas and protected sites.” Retaliatory strikes from Israel lead to damage to Palestinian infrastructure. By the second day of the operation, an Israeli defense official states that Israel has “harmed [Hamas’s] capabilities in a major way, in a number of aspects,” which includes the targeted killing of the head of Hamas special forces Ismail al-Ja’abari. During the operation, the Israeli Air Force targets the homes of Hamas commanders, which act as weapon warehouses and Hamas headquarters. Israel further blames Hamas for reportedly using its citizens as human shields, declaring that Hamas militants put Palestinian civilians in danger by basing military activities in towns and villages, firing rockets from populated areas, and taking cover in civilian infrastructure after firing. Israel declares a unilateral ceasefire on January 17. The next day, Hamas and other Palestinian groups fighting in Gaza also declare a one-week ceasefire. Sporadic rockets attacks and Israeli reprisals nonetheless continue. According to the Palestinian Center for Human Rights, Cast Lead results in 1,417 Palestinian casualties, 926 of them civilians. The IDF claims the number of Palestinian deaths to be 1,166, with 709 of these being “Hamas terror operatives.” Thirteen Israelis are killed during the fighting, three of them civilians. According to Israeli Arab reporter Khaled Abu Toameh, it is difficult to distinguish between Palestinian civilians and Hamas militiamen, as “Hamas [orders] its gunmen to take off their uniforms to avoid being detected by the IDF.” Sources: “Timeline: The Evolution of Hamas,” CNN, December 30, 2008, <http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/meast/12/30/hamas.profile/>; “Timeline - Israeli-Hamas violence since truce ended,” Reuters, January 5, 2009, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-palestinians-israel-gaza-timeline-idUKTRE50423320090105>; “Rights group names 1,417 Gaza war dead,” *Washington Times*, March 19, 2009, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2009/mar/19/rights-group-names-1417-gaza-war-dead-1/>; Yaakov Lappin, “IDF Releases Cast Lead Casualty Numbers,” *Jerusalem Post*, March 26, 2009, <http://www.jpost.com/Israel/IDF-releases-Cast-Lead-casualty-numbers>; “Operation Cast Lead,” Institute for Middle East Understanding, January 4, 2012, <http://imeu.org/article/operation-cast-lead>; “Israel/Gaza Operation ‘Cast Lead’: 22 Days of Death and Destruction,” Amnesty International, 2009, 67, 76, <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE15/015/2009/en/8f299083-9a74-4853-860f-0563725e633a/mde150152009en.pdf>; Khaled Abu Toameh, “Analysis: Trumpets of Victory Strike False Note,” *Jerusalem Post*, January 19, 2009, <http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Analysis-Trumpets-of-victory-strike-false-note>; Taghreed el-Khodary and Isabel Kershner, “Warnings Not Enough for Gaza Families,” *New York Times*, January 5, 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/06/world/middleeast/06scene.html>; “One Year After: Gaza Early Recovery and Reconstruction Needs Assessment,” United Nations Development Programme, accessed 21, 27, 42, 49, 57, 60, 89, 90, 91, <http://www.undp.ps/en/newsroom/publications/pdf/other/gazaoneyear.pdf>; Amos Harel and Avi Issacharoff, “IDF surprises Hamas with largest Gaza operation since 1967; at least 225 killed,” *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), December 28, 2008, <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/idf-surprises-hamas-with-largest-gaza-operation-since-1967-at-least-225-killed-1.260365>; Hanan Greenberg, “IDF Ponders Response to Rocket Fire,” *Ynet*, January 18 2009, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3658356,00.html>; “Five rockets’ fired into Israel,” BBC News, February 28, 2009, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/7916555.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7916555.stm).
- **2007:** Israel creates a maritime blockade of Gaza in response to ongoing rocket fire from Gaza into southern Israeli communities along the Gaza border.  
Source: Samira Shackle, “Israel Tightens Its Blockade of Gaza for ‘Security Reasons,’” *Middle East Monitor*, October 14, 2013, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/blogs/lifestyle/7813-israel-tightens-its-blockade-of-gaza-for-security-reasons>.
- **June 2007:** Following factional fighting with Fatah, Hamas brings much of Gaza under its control on June 14.  
Abbas dissolves the PA government and dismisses Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh, who rejects Abbas’ action. On June 15, Hamas fighters successfully overrun the Palestinian Authority’s Gaza offices and expel PA forces from Gaza. Hamas assumes de facto governance in Gaza. Sources: “Timeline: The Evolution of Hamas,” CNN, December 30, 2008, <http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/meast/12/30/hamas.profile/>; Conal Urquhart, Ian Black, and Mark Tran, “Hamas Takes Control of Gaza,” *Guardian* (London), June 15, 2007, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/jun/15/israel4>.
- **June 25, 2006:** A group of Palestinian terrorists representing multiple terrorist groups, reportedly including Hamas, cross the Gaza border into Israel using an underground tunnel.  
The assailants target an IDF military outpost, killing two soldiers and taking 19-year-old Corporal Gilad Shalit hostage. Hamas denies involvement. Sources: Tim Butcher, “Soldier Kidnapped and Two Killed in Gaza Tunnel Attack,” *Telegraph* (London), June 26, 2006, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/israel/1522370/Soldier-kidnapped-and-two-killed-in-Gaza-tunnel-attack.html>; Steven Erlanger, “Tensions Rise After Israeli Is Kidnapped,” *New York Times*, June 26, 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/26/world/middleeast/26cnd-mideast.html>.
- **May 2006:** Tensions between Hamas and Fatah prompt Hamas to establish its own 3,000-man strong security force



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under the control of the Hamas-led Interior Ministry.

Later in the month, Fatah, Hamas, and PIJ convene a conference to resolve disagreements and agree on a common position regarding Israel. Source: Tim Youngs and Ben Smith, "Hamas and the seizure of Gaza," U.K. House of Commons, July 7, 2007, <http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/research/briefing-papers/RP07-60/hamas-and-the-seizure-of-gaza>.

- **March 2006 - April 2006:** On March 3, a Hamas delegation visits Moscow to meet Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov and other Russian government and religious officials.  
It is the first Hamas state visit outside of the MENA region since Hamas joins the Palestinian Authority. On March 12, Israel closes Gaza's Erez Crossing into Israel as Hamas and Fatah negotiate forming a new Palestinian Authority government. On March 29, Hamas's Ismail Haniyeh is sworn in as the new Palestinian Authority prime minister. The United States and Canada say they will have no contact with the Hamas-led PA government. The United States and European Union suspend aid to the Palestinian Authority on April 7. Sources: Steven Lee Myers and Greg Myre, "Hamas Delegation Visits Moscow for a Crash Course in Diplomacy," *New York Times*, March 4, 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/03/04/international/middleeast/04hamas.html>; Nicolas Pelham, "Gaza's Tunnel Phenomenon: The Unintended Dynamics of Israel's Siege," *Journal for Palestine Studies* 41, no. 4 (2012): 6-31, <http://www.palestine-studies.org/jps/fulltext/42605>; "Timeline: The Evolution of Hamas," CNN, December 30, 2008, <http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/meast/12/30/hamas.profile/>; "TIMELINE: Key events since 2006 Hamas election victory," Reuters, June 20, 2007, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2007/06/20/us-palestinians-timeline-idUSL1752364420070620>.
- **January 2006:** Hamas participates in Palestinian Authority legislative elections for the first time.  
In the January 25 elections, Hamas's "Change and Reform" political party wins 44.45 percent of votes, while Fatah wins only 41.43 percent. On January 31, the so-called Quartet of Mideast peacemakers (the United States, European Union, United Nations, and Russia) demands that Hamas renounce violence, recognize the State of Israel, and adhere to past Palestinian agreements as a condition for recognition by the international community. Sources: The Second Legislative Elections: Results for the Electoral Lists: The Allocation of Seats," Central Elections Commission Palestine, accessed June 23, 2014, <http://www.elections.ps/tabid/818/language/en-US/Default.aspx>; "Quartet: Hamas Must Change Policy," CNN, January 31, 2006, <http://www.cnn.com/2006/WORLD/meast/01/30/hamas.funding/>.
- **April 17, 2004:** A joint suicide bomb attack by Hamas and Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade kills an Israeli border guard and wounds three others at the Erez Crossing in Gaza.  
Hours later, an Israeli airstrike kills Hamas co-founder Abdel Azziz al-Rantisi, who had assumed leadership of Hamas after Yassin's death. Source: Conal Urquhart, "Israeli Missile Attack Kills New Hamas Chief," *Guardian* (London), April 18, 2004, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/apr/18/israel>.
- **March 2004:** On March 14, Hamas and the Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade claim responsibility for two attacks at the Israeli port of Ashdod that collectively 10 Israelis.  
On March 22, an Israeli airstrike kills Hamas leader Ahmed Yassin. Sources: "Timeline: The Evolution of Hamas," CNN, December 30, 2008, <http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/meast/12/30/hamas.profile/>; James Bennet, "Leader of Hamas Killed by Missile in Israeli Strike," *New York Times*, March 22, 2004, <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/03/22/world/leader-of-hamas-killed-by-missile-in-israeli-strike.html>.
- **August 2003:** On August 19, a suicide bomber blows up a bus killing at least 20 Israelis.  
Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) claim responsibility. On August 21, Israel kills Hamas leader Ismail Abu Shanab. On August 23, the United States freezes the assets of six Hamas leaders, including Ahmed Yassin, and five international charities that aid Hamas. Source: James Bennet, "With Cease-Fire Crumbling, Israel Refuses to Suspend Raids Against Palestinians," *New York Times*, August 24, 2003, <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/08/24/world/with-cess-fire-crumbling-israel-refuses-to-suspend-raids-against-palestinians.html>.
- **June 12, 2003:** A Hamas suicide bomber disguised as an ultra-orthodox Jew blows up a Jerusalem bus, killing 16 Israelis.  
Source: "Timeline: The Evolution of Hamas," CNN, December 30, 2008, <http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/meast/12/30/hamas.profile/> [154].
- **March 27, 2002:** Twenty-five-year-old Abdel-Basset Odeh, disguised as a woman, blows himself up at the Park Hotel in the Israeli city of Netanya, killing 30 people and wounding nearly 150 more during a Passover Seder in an attack claimed by Hamas.  
The bombing comes as the Arab League meets to discuss its Arab Peace Initiative, which Hamas had rejected. Two days later, Israel launches Operation Defensive Shield to eliminate terrorist strongholds in the West Bank by retaking PA-held territories. Sources: Joel Brinkley, "Mideast Turmoil: Mideast; Bomb Kills At Least 19 in Israel as Arabs Meet Over Peace Plan," *New York Times*, March 28, 2002, <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/03/28/world/mideast-turmoil-mideast-bomb-kills-least-19-israel-arabs-meet-over-peace-plan.html>; "Terrorist Attack against the Park Hotel in Netanya (2002)," Israel Security Agency, accessed August 5, 2014, <http://www.shabak.gov.il/English/History/Affairs/Pages/theParkHotelinNetanya.aspx>; "Operation Defensive Shield (2002)," Ynet, March 12, 2009, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3685678,00.html>.
- **1999:** Jordan's King Abdullah closes Hamas's headquarters in that country.  
Source: "Timeline: The Evolution of Hamas," CNN, December 30, 2008, <http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/meast/12/30/hamas.profile/> [154].
- **February 1996 - March 1996:** A series of Hamas suicide bombings in Israel kill more than 50 people.  
Source: "Timeline: The Evolution of Hamas," CNN, December 30, 2008, <http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/meast/12/30/hamas.profile/>.
- **February 25, 1996:** Twin Hamas bus bombings in Jerusalem kill 40 people, including American students Sara Duker and Matt Eisenfeld.  
Hamas claims responsibility. In 2006, the Duker and Eisenfeld families win a \$327 million settlement in a U.S. court battle accusing Iran of sponsoring the 1996 Hamas bus bombings. Source: Rachel Gottlieb, "Parents Of Two Bombing Victims Take On Iran," *Hartford Courant*, February 9, 1999, [http://articles.courant.com/1999-02-09/news/9902090099\\_1\\_gaza-strip-bombing-killed](http://articles.courant.com/1999-02-09/news/9902090099_1_gaza-strip-bombing-killed) [155].
- **January 5, 1996:** Israel assassinates Yahya Ayyash, aka "The Engineer," who built bombs used in a number of Hamas attacks.  
Hamas and Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat hail Ayyash as a "martyr." Source: Joel Greenberg, "Arafat Accuses Israel of Killing a Palestinian Bomb Maker," *New York Times*, January 8, 1996, <http://www.nytimes.com/1996/01/08/world/arafat-accuses-israel-of-killing-a-palestinian-bomb-maker.html> [156].
- **April 6, 1994:** Hamas dispatches its first suicide bomber against Israeli civilians.

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Nineteen-year-old Ra'id Zaqarna drives up alongside the No. 348 bus in Afula, Israel, and detonates his explosives, killing eight and wounding 44. Hamas claims the new tactic is in response to the February 25 massacre of 29 Palestinians at Hebron's Ibrahimi Mosque by radical Israeli settler Baruch Goldstein. Source: Clyde Haberman, "Arab Car Bomber Kills 8 in Israel, 44 Are Wounded," *New York Times*, April 7, 1994, <http://www.nytimes.com/1994/04/07/world/arab-car-bomber-kills-8-in-israel-44-are-wounded.html> [157].

- **September 13, 1993:** Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat sign the Oslo Accords in Washington, D.C.  
Hamas rejects the Accords, refusing to recognize the State of Israel. Sources: "Oslo explained," Al Jazeera, September 13, 2013, <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2013/9/13/oslo-accords-explained.html>; Ghazi Hamad, "Walking a tight rope - Hamas and the Oslo Accords," Palestine Report, September 17, 2003, <http://www.palestinereport.ps/article.php?article=24>.
- **April 17, 1993:** Hamas rigs a car to explode at a restaurant near the Israeli settlement of Mehola in the West Bank. The explosion kills two Arabs and wounds eight Israeli soldiers and an Arab civilian. Source: "Car Bomb in West Bank Kills 2 Arabs; 8 Israelis Wounded," *New York Times*, April 17, 1993, <http://www.nytimes.com/1993/04/17/world/car-bomb-in-west-bank-kills-2-arabs-8-israelis-wounded.html> [158].
- **1989:** An Israeli court convicts Hamas leader Ahmed Yassin of ordering Hamas members to kidnap and kill two Israeli soldiers.  
Source: "Timeline: The Evolution of Hamas," CNN, December 30, 2008, <http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/meast/12/30/hamas.profile/> [154].
- **August 18, 1988:** Hamas publishes its official charter calling for the destruction of the State of Israel and its replacement with an Islamic state of Palestine.  
The charter also calls for Muslims to "fight the Jews (killing the Jews)" before the arrival of Judgment Day. Source: "The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement," Avalon Project, Yale Law School, accessed December 26, 2014, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/hamas.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp) [9].
- **December 14, 1987:** Hamas issues its first manifesto, which emphasizes the spiritual imperative of Hamas's mission: "Our sons and youths who love the eternal life more than our enemies love this life... Our people know the way of sacrifice and martyrdom and are generous in this regard." Source: Paola Caridi, *Hamas: From Resistance to Government*, (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2012), 53.
- **December 9, 1987:** The Political Directorate of the Muslim Brotherhood meets in the home of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, who creates a local political branch of the Muslim Brotherhood called *Harakat al-Muqawwama al-Islamiyya* (Hamas), the Islamic Resistance Movement.  
Source: Jonathan Masters, "Hamas," Council on Foreign Relations, November 27, 2012, <http://www.cfr.org/israel/hamas/p8968> [159].

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### **Violent history:**

#### *Violent activities:*

Hamas maintains that “all types of legitimate resistance are practiced to end the oppressions and injustices imposed by Israel” and that it is Hamas’s right to “resist with all means, including armed resistance, guaranteed by divine and international laws,” according to its English-language website.<sup>106</sup> Hamas has employed various violent tactics against Israeli military and civilian targets.

In May 2017, Hamas unveiled a new political platform that continued to call for “armed resistance” as Hamas’s primary strategy to liberate all of Palestine from the river to the sea.<sup>107</sup>

#### *Suicide Bombings*

Hamas began using suicide bombings as a tactic against Israeli citizens on April 6, 1994, when a suicide bomber operating on behalf of Hamas drove alongside a bus in Afula, Israel, and blew up his car, killing eight people.<sup>108</sup> Hamas claimed at the time that the new tactic was in response to the February 25 massacre of 29 Palestinians at Hebron’s Ibrahimi Mosque by radical Israeli settler Baruch Goldstein.<sup>109</sup>

Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, Hamas has continued to dispatch suicide bombers to kill Israeli civilian and military targets, collectively killing hundreds of people. A 2007 study in the *Journal of Economic Perspectives* found that Hamas was responsible for roughly 40 percent of suicide attacks during the Second Intifada, which collectively killed more than 1,000 people.<sup>110</sup> Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal reportedly banned the tactic in 2005, but a music video imploring the return of suicide bombings reportedly aired on Hamas television in February 2016.<sup>111</sup>

#### *Second Intifada*

Between September 2000 and March 2004, Hamas carried out 425 terrorist attacks in Israel, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank. This included 52 suicide bombings, which killed 377 people and wounded 2,076 civilians and soldiers.<sup>112</sup> Other attacks included shootings, stabbings, mortars, and bombings.<sup>113</sup>

#### *Beneath the Gaza-Egypt border*

Hamas has built a network of tunnels beneath the Gaza-Israel border for use in cross-border attacks, such as the June 2006 raid that resulted in the deaths of two soldiers and the abduction of Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit.<sup>114</sup> Israel claimed to have destroyed 32 of these tunnels during its 2014 war with Hamas. The tunnels reportedly cost Hamas \$100 million to build.<sup>115</sup>

In August 2015, Hamas released a propaganda video of its members digging underground tunnels beneath Gaza, fighting Israeli soldiers, and a simulated takeover of an IDF base.<sup>116</sup> In April 2016, Israeli media reported that Hamas had employed over 1,000 people to rebuild the tunnel infrastructure. Hamas was reportedly spending hundreds of thousands of dollars per month to rebuild the tunnels.<sup>117</sup> According to Ismail Haniyeh in January 2016, Hamas fighters “are digging twice as much as the number of tunnels dug in Vietnam.”<sup>118</sup> A series of tunnel collapses in early 2016 killed several Hamas workers. Some Hamas operatives have blamed Israel for the collapses.<sup>119</sup> Israel is reportedly working with the United States to develop a system dubbed the “Underground Iron Dome” to detect and destroy the underground tunnels.<sup>120</sup>

In early April 2016, Israel blocked private cement transfers to Gaza after claiming that Hamas had been diverting shipments for its own use, likely the reconstruction of its underground tunnel network. Hamas threatened the situation will “explode” if Israel doesn’t lift the ban. The United Nations’ Middle East envoy condemned “those who seek to gain through the deviation of materials” as “stealing from their own people and adding to the suffering of Palestinians in Gaza.”<sup>121</sup>

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### *Military capabilities & arsenal:*

Prior to 1996, Hamas's arsenal included only a few AK-47 rifles and a single rocket-propelled grenade. That year, Ahmed Jaabari began to overhaul Hamas's artillery, according to Reuters. Jaabari took command of Hamas's armed wing in 2002. Israel assassinated Jaabari in 2012.<sup>122</sup> In September 2013, the Qassam Brigades held a military parade displaying machine guns, sniper rifles, anti-tank RPGs, and revealing for the first time Hamas's possession of SA-7 anti-aircraft missiles.<sup>123</sup> In July 2015, the group created a military training camp for 25,000 new recruits, some as young as 15.<sup>124</sup>

The Israel Defense Forces (IDF) estimated that Hamas had approximately 10,000 rockets in its arsenal at the beginning of July 2014.<sup>125</sup> By the end of that month, Hamas had fired more than 2,600 rockets at Israel, while the Israeli military estimated it destroyed an additional 3,000 rockets.<sup>126</sup> The IDF estimated Hamas still had approximately 5,000 rockets left.<sup>127</sup> By the end of the 2014 war, Hamas had fired approximately 4,600 rockets into Israel. Israeli intelligence estimated in March 2016 that Hamas had restored its rocket arsenal to its pre-2014 war levels of approximately 12,000.<sup>128</sup>

Hamas has relied on underground tunnels beneath Gaza's borders with Egypt and Israel. During Hamas's 50-day war with Israel during the summer of 2014, Hamas used these tunnels to stage raids inside Israel. Many of the tunnels into Israel were destroyed during the war, but Hamas has since sought to rebuild them. The Israeli military revealed in February 2016 that Hamas was "investing considerable resources" into rebuilding the tunnels.<sup>129</sup> By March 2016, Israeli authorities estimated that Hamas had rebuilt at least 10 tunnels into Israel. Almost a dozen of these tunnels collapsed on the Hamas fighters digging them in early 2016, killing at least 10 Hamas members.<sup>130</sup>

Hamas also has as many as 1,200 tunnels beneath the Gaza-Egypt border. The tunnels are used to smuggle commodities as well as weapons into Gaza.<sup>131</sup> In September 2015, Egypt began flooding many of these tunnels to cut off Hamas smuggling.<sup>132</sup> Israeli Energy Minister Yuval Steinitz confirmed in February 2016 that Israel had requested Egypt act against the tunnels.<sup>133</sup> Hamas has also reportedly used the Egyptian tunnels to transport aid to ISIS's Sinai Province group.<sup>134</sup>

As of October 2017, Hamas reportedly maintained an armed force of 25,000.<sup>135</sup> Hamas's armed faction remained a point of contention in reconciliation negotiations with Fatah, which has demanded that Hamas disarm. Hamas agreed to halt all violence against Israel as part of the October agreement, but Hamas and Fatah delayed further discussion of Hamas's armed faction.<sup>136</sup>

In 2020, Gaza militants began utilizing a new tactic called balloon bombs, sending clusters of balloons floating over the Gaza-Israel border with rudimentary explosives attached. Some of the balloons carry signs such as "Happy birthday" or "I Love You" to draw onlookers. Approximately one-third of the balloons crossing the border carry explosives while the rest act as decoys, according to Israeli officials. Balloons have included homemade explosives, grenades, and RPG warheads. Gaza militants have praised the balloons because they are inexpensive and regional winds will carry them farther into Israel.<sup>137</sup> The balloons reportedly have the support of all Palestinian factions in the Gaza Strip, including Hamas. As of September 2020, the balloons had not caused any casualties but had resulted in multiple fires in Israeli communities near the Gaza border.<sup>138</sup> In addition to the balloons, Hamas has continued to expand its rocket arsenal. In September 2020, Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh announced Hamas had rockets capable of striking Tel Aviv and beyond from the Gaza Strip.<sup>139</sup>

### *Violent Activities:*

- **1993:** Hamas rigs a car to explode at a restaurant near the Israeli settlement of Mehola in the West Bank. The explosion kills two Arabs and wounds eight Israeli soldiers and an Arab civilian.<sup>140</sup>
- **April 6, 1994:** Hamas dispatches its first suicide bomber against Israeli civilians. 19-year-old Ra'id Zaqarna drives up alongside the No. 348 bus in Afula, Israel, and detonates his explosives, killing eight and wounding 44.<sup>141</sup> Hamas claims

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the new tactic is in response to the Goldstein massacre.

- **February 25, 1996:** Twin Hamas bus bombings in Jerusalem kill 40 people, including American students Sara Duker and Matt Eisenfeld. Hamas claims responsibility.<sup>142</sup>
- **February 1996 - 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.<sup>143</sup>
- **September 2000 - March 2004:** Hamas carries out 425 terrorist attacks, including 52 suicide bombings, which collectively leave 377 people dead and 2,076 civilians and soldiers wounded.<sup>144</sup> A 2007 study in the *Journal Of Economic Perspectives* found that Hamas was responsible for 40 percent of suicide attacks during the Second Intifada, which collectively killed more than 1,000 people.<sup>145</sup>
  - **June 1, 2001:** A Hamas suicide bomber blows up outside the Dolphinarium discotheque in Tel Aviv, killing 21 people and wounding 120.<sup>146</sup>
  - **August 9, 2001:** Ahlam Ahmad al-Tamimi drives Izz al-Din Shuheil al-Masri from the West Bank village of Aqabah and to the Sbarro pizza restaurant in Jerusalem where he sets off his explosives, killing 15 and wounding 130. Two U.S. nationals are among the fatalities and four U.S. nationals are among the wounded. Hamas claims responsibility. Tamimi reports on the bombing for Palestinian televised news. In 2003, Tamimi is sentenced to 16 life sentences for her role in the bombing. In October 2011, Tamimi is freed with more than 1,000 other prisoners and deported to Jordan after a prisoner swap for captured IDF soldier Gilad Shalit.<sup>147</sup>
  - **March 27, 2002:** Twenty-five-year-old Abdel-Basset Odeh, disguised as a woman, blows himself up at the Park Hotel in the Israeli city of Netanya, killing 30 and wounding almost 150 others during a Passover Seder. Hamas claims responsibility.<sup>148</sup>
  - **November 1, 2002:** A Hamas suicide bomber blows up the No. 20 Egged bus in Jerusalem, killing 11 people and wounding 50 others.<sup>149</sup>
  - **June 11, 2003:** A Hamas suicide bomber disguised as an ultra-Orthodox Jew blows up the No. 14A Egged bus in Jerusalem, killing 17 people and wounding over 100.<sup>150</sup>
  - **August 19, 2003:** A suicide bomber blows up the No. 2 Egged bus in Jerusalem, killing at least 23 people and wounding over 130. Hamas and Islamic Jihad claim responsibility.<sup>151</sup>
  - **March 14, 2004:** Hamas and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade claim responsibility for a double attack at the Israeli port of Ashdod that kills 10 Israelis.<sup>152</sup>
- **2001-2008:** From 2001 through May 2008, Hamas launches more than 3,000 Qassam rockets and 2,500 mortar attacks at Israeli targets.<sup>153</sup>
- **2005-2006:** According to the Israeli Foreign Ministry, 757 rockets land in Israel from Gaza between the 2005 disengagement and June 2006.<sup>154</sup>
- **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 IDF military outpost, killing two soldiers and taking 19-year-old Corporal Gilad Shalit hostage.<sup>155</sup> Hamas denies participation.<sup>156</sup>
- **July 2006:** The kidnapping of Gilad Shalit leads to Israel's Operation Summer Rains, during which Hamas hits Israel with hundreds of rockets.<sup>157</sup>
- **2007:** Hamas's assumption of power in the Gaza does not moderate the group's ideology or actions, and the year begins with Hamas rocket fire into Israel.<sup>158</sup> The group also remains at odds with Fatah, and the two factions violently clash:
  - **January:** Factional fighting claims the lives of 33 Palestinians, and members of the Hamas-led Interior Ministry's police force, the "Executive Force," kill a Fatah commander and his bodyguards in his Gaza home. Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas outlaws the Hamas-controlled Interior Ministry's police force, calling for its 6,000 members to become part of the Fatah-loyal PA security forces.<sup>159</sup> Hamas perceives this as "a green light to

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those who seek to shed the blood of the Executive Force members,” according to Interior Ministry spokesman Khaled Abu Helal, who adds that the Executive Force will “deal firmly” with any attackers.<sup>160</sup>

- **March:** Despite the announcement of a unity government in March, Hamas and Palestinian Authority forces continue tit-for-tat battles.<sup>161</sup>
  - **May:** During May alone, Hamas claims responsibility for approximately 300 Qassam rockets launched against Israel.<sup>162</sup>
  - **June:** Hamas fighters overrun the Palestinian Authority’s Gaza offices and forcibly expel Fatah from the strip.<sup>163</sup> The international community condemns Hamas’s coup, but the terror group promises to remain in power.
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- **December 2008 - January 2009:** On December 27, in response to Hamas rocket fire, Israel launches Operation Cast Lead, a three-week-long military offensive in the Gaza Strip. The Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports that Hamas operatives regularly launch rockets into Israel “from, within or near residential and public buildings, including schools, mosques and hospitals.... [as well as] from densely populated areas and protected sites.” Israel accuses Hamas of using its citizens as human shields, firing rockets from populated areas, and taking cover in civilian infrastructure. On January 18, Hamas and other Palestinian groups fighting in Gaza declare a one-week ceasefire. Sporadic rockets attacks and Israeli reprisals continue after the declarations.<sup>164</sup>
  - **2011:** During the year, Hamas kidnaps approximately 20 Palestinian civilians and 30 political party members in Gaza. In March, a Hamas-led IED attack wounds a government employee in Jerusalem; and in April, Hamas fires an anti-tank missile at a school bus, killing an Israeli teenager.<sup>165</sup>
  - **2012:** Hamas launches more than 750 rockets into Israeli territory before Israel launches a major retaliatory ground operation in November.<sup>166</sup>
  - **2013:** *The Times of Israel* reports that Hamas has shifted from smuggling weapons into Gaza via Egypt and has developed a domestic industry capable of manufacturing rockets that are able to reach targets up to 50 miles away, including Tel Aviv.<sup>167</sup>
  - **2014:** Hamas continues to call for violence against Israelis, while firing—or allowing others to fire—rockets into Israel from Gaza. Hamas members also continue trying to carry out terror attacks in Israel.
    - **February:** Israeli forces arrest a 15-member Hamas cell suspected of planting explosives along an Israeli highway between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.<sup>168</sup>
    - **June-August:** Following the murder of three Israeli teenagers, for which Israel holds Hamas responsible, Hamas and other extremist groups resume rocket fire from Gaza into Israel. Israel responds with air bombardments and a subsequent ground invasion of Gaza. Despite attempts to negotiate a ceasefire, Hamas violates each ceasefire shortly after they come into force.<sup>169</sup>
    - **July 7, 2014:** The Qassam Brigades launch dozens of mortars, Qassam rockets, and Grad rockets at Israel. A Brigades spokesman tells *Al-Monitor* that Hamas has set numerous traps for Israeli soldiers in Gaza, while the group releases a video in which it prepares rockets.<sup>170</sup>
    - **August:** A 72-hour ceasefire goes into effect on August 5. Hamas has fired more than 2,200 rockets into Israel during the three-month conflict and is accused of launching attacks from civilian areas and encouraging Gaza’s civilians to ignore Israeli evacuation warnings, effectively turning Gaza’s population into human shields. The Israel Defense Forces destroys 32 tunnels underneath the Gaza-Israel border that Hamas uses to move terrorists and weapons.<sup>171</sup> Shortly before the ceasefire goes into effect, an Indian television reporter records footage of Hamas preparing and firing rockets outside of a hotel where foreign journalists are staying. According to NDTV, the report airs after its crew leaves Gaza because Hamas “has not taken very kindly to any reporting of its rockets being fired. But just as we reported the devastating consequences of Israel’s offensive on Gaza’s civilians, it is equally important to report on how Hamas places those very civilians at risk by firing rockets deep from the heart of civilian zones.”<sup>172</sup>



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This follows other reports that Hamas has fired rockets from civilian areas, such as al-Shifa Hospital in Gaza City,<sup>173</sup> while threatening journalists to deter them from covering such activities.

- **July 9, 2015:** The Israeli government reveals Hamas is holding captive two Israeli citizens in Gaza. Avraham Mengistu, an Ethiopian-Israeli in his 20s, crossed into Gaza on September 7, 2014. The government did not reveal the identity of the other man except that he is an Arab-Israeli. An unidentified Hamas member says Hamas released Mengistu when they realized he was not a soldier and he left through a tunnel to Egypt. Mengistu remains in captivity.<sup>174</sup>
- **July 28, 2015:** Jordan state security court sentences 12 to prison for a Hamas plot to carry out violent attacks in the West Bank. Four of the defendants were sentenced in absentia to 15-year sentences. The other eight received sentences of one to five years. The defendants reportedly received training in Jordan and Gaza on bomb-making.<sup>175</sup>
- **August 26, 2015:** Hamas posts a video online of its members digging underground tunnels beneath Gaza, fighting Israeli soldiers, and a simulated takeover of an IDF base.<sup>176</sup>
- **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.<sup>177</sup>
- **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.<sup>178</sup>
- **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.<sup>179</sup>
- **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.<sup>180</sup>
- **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.<sup>181</sup>
- **December 9, 2018:** A drive-by shooting at a bus stop in the Ofra settlement in the West Bank wounds seven, including a 30-weeks pregnant woman. Doctors perform an emergency delivery, but the baby dies later that week. On December 12, Israeli forces locate the gunman, Saleh Barghouti, who dies during an arrest raid in the West Bank. Hamas's Qassam Brigades claim responsibility for the attack and praise Barghouti as a martyr.<sup>182</sup>
- **May 3-5, 2019:** On May 3, PIJ snipers wound two Israeli soldiers along the Gaza border during weekly protests. Israeli forces retaliate with a strike on a Hamas post near the border, killing two. PIJ and Hamas launch almost 700 rockets into Israel over the course of three days, killing at least four Israeli civilians and wounding dozens more. Most of the rockets are intercepted or fall in open areas, but at least 50 rockets reportedly hit Israeli population centers. Israel retaliates with airstrikes on more than 350 targets in Gaza. The airstrikes kill at least 29, including fighters from Hamas and PIJ, as well as civilians, according to Hamas, though Israeli military officials say some Palestinian civilians were actually killed by misfired Hamas rockets. It is reportedly the most violent conflict between the two sides since the 2014 war. PIJ threatens to launch a full-scale war with Israel. On May 5, Israel restarts its tactic of targeted assassinations after a five-year lull and kills Hamed Ahmed al-Khodary, a senior Hamas finance official accused of funneling Iranian money to PIJ and Hamas. Egypt negotiates a new ceasefire that goes into effect that night. Hamas claims that though this round of violence is over, the conflict will continue.<sup>183</sup>
- **March - June 2020:** Ahead of Israel's parliamentary elections, militants in the Gaza Strip begin sending explosives-filled balloons floating across the Gaza-Israel border. Approximately one-third of the balloons carry some type of explosive device while the rest act as decoys.<sup>184</sup>
- **August 2020:** On August 6, militants in Gaza resume sending clusters of balloon bombs over the Gaza-Israel border.

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On August 8, Lebanese media reports that Hamas and other factions informed Egyptian mediators that the period of calm along the Gaza-Israel border would soon end as militants called for an “escalation.” On August 9, militants launch a rocket toward southern Israel. Israel’s anti-missile system intercepts the rocket. On August 10, Hamas launches several rockets into the sea as a warning to Israel. On August 11, Israel closes the Karam Abu Salem commercial border crossing between Israel and Gaza. A spokesman calls the continued balloon bombs a message of anger to Israel over conditions in Gaza. The balloons do not result in casualties but cause several fires in Israeli communities near the Gaza border. Israel launches strikes against Hamas targets in Gaza in response to the balloon attacks. Between August 12 and August 30, Israel strikes 100 Hamas targets, according to the Israeli military. On August 31, Hamas and Israel agree to a new ceasefire brokered by Qatar, the Egyptian military, and the United Nations.<sup>185</sup>

<sup>106</sup> “About Hamas,” Hamas website, accessed November 7, 2016, <http://hamas.ps/en/page/2/> [160].

<sup>107</sup> “Document of General Principles & Policies,” Hamas, May 1, 2017, <http://hamas.ps/en/post/678/a-document-of-general-principles-and-policies> [10]; Patrick Wintour, “Hamas presents new charter accepting a Palestine based on 1967 borders,” *Guardian* (London), May 1, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/01/hamas-new-charter-palestine-israel-1967-borders> [87].

<sup>108</sup> Clyde Haberman, “Arab Car Bomber Kills 8 in Israel, 44 Are Wounded,” *New York Times*, April 7, 1994, <http://www.nytimes.com/1994/04/07/world/arab-car-bomber-kills-8-in-israel-44-are-wounded.html> [157].

<sup>109</sup> Clyde Haberman, “Arab Car Bomber Kills 8 in Israel, 44 Are Wounded,” *New York Times*, April 7, 1994, <http://www.nytimes.com/1994/04/07/world/arab-car-bomber-kills-8-in-israel-44-are-wounded.html> [157].

<sup>110</sup> Efraim Benmelech and Claude Berrebbi, “Human Capital and the Productivity of Suicide Bombers,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 21, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 223–38, [http://www.kellogg.northwestern.edu/faculty/benmelech/html/BenmelechPapers/Human\\_Capital\\_Suicide\\_Bombers.pdf](http://www.kellogg.northwestern.edu/faculty/benmelech/html/BenmelechPapers/Human_Capital_Suicide_Bombers.pdf) [161];

“Victims of Palestinian Violence and Terrorism since September 2000,” Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed June 14, 2017, <http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/foreignpolicy/terrorism/palestinian/pages/victims%20of%20palestinian%20violence%20and%20terrorism%20sinc.aspx> [162].

<sup>111</sup> Patrick Martin, “Hamas’s new leadership may return to suicide bombings,” *Globe and Mail* (London), February 12, 2016, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/hamas-new-leadership-may-return-to-suicide-bombings/article28751340/> [163].

<sup>112</sup> “Hamas terrorist attacks,” Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, March 22, 2004, <http://embassies.gov.il/MFA/FOREIGNPOLICY/Terrorism/Palestinian/Pages/Hamas%20terror%20attacks%2022-Mar-2004.aspx> [164].

<sup>113</sup> “Victims of Palestinian Violence and Terrorism since September 2000,” Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed November 7, 2016, <http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Terrorism/Palestinian/Pages/Victims%20of%20Palestinian%20Violence%20and%20Terrorism%20sinc.aspx> [165].

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**Designations:**

**Designations by the U.S. Government:**

August 29, 1995: The Department of the Treasury lists Mousa Mohammed Abu Marzouk as a Specially Designated Terrorist (SDT) under Executive Order 12947, prohibiting financial transactions between US persons or charities and the designated SDT.<sup>186</sup>



January 24, 1995: The US Department of the Treasury designates Hamas a Specially Designated Terrorist Organization (SDTO) under, prohibiting financial transactions between US persons or charities and the designated SDTO.<sup>187</sup> On this same date, the Department of the Treasury also lists Shaykh Ahmad Yasin (a.k.a. Sheikh Ahmed Yassin) as a Specially Designated Terrorist (SDT) under Executive Order 12947, prohibiting financial transactions between US persons or charities and the designated SDT.<sup>188</sup>

October 8, 1997: The Department of State lists Hamas as a Foreign Terrorist Organization under section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act. This freezes any of the designated FTO's assets in U.S. financial institutions, bans admission of members to U.S., and bans providing "material support or resources" to the designated entity.<sup>189</sup>

August 22, 2004: The Department of the Treasury lists Khalid Mishaal (a.k.a. Khaled Meshaal) as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT) under Executive Order 13224, which blocks all property in the US or under possession of control of US persons, bans any property-related transactions by US persons or within US, including giving or receiving contributions to the entity.<sup>190</sup>

March 18, 2010: The Department of the Treasury designates Al-Aqsa TV as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist pursuant to Executive Order 13224 as the station is controlled and financed by Hamas. According to Treasury, Al-Aqsa TV is "a primary Hamas media outlet and airs programs and music videos designed to recruit children to become Hamas armed fighters and suicide bombers upon reaching adulthood."<sup>191</sup>

January 31, 2018: The Department of State and Department of the Treasury designate Ismail Haniyeh as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT) under Executive Order 13224.<sup>192</sup>

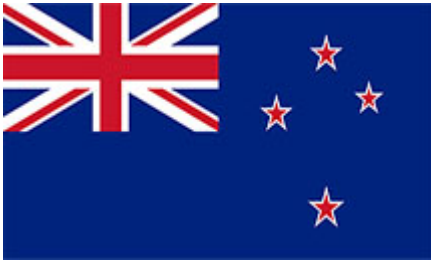
**Designations by Foreign Governments and Organizations:**



European Union— 15 member states froze Hamas' assets on September 11, 2003.<sup>193</sup>

European Union— Office Journal of the European Union froze Hamas's European assets under Article 2(3) of Regulation (EC) No. 2580/2001 on December 21, 2005.<sup>194</sup>

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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, which freezes the assets of terrorist entities and makes it a criminal offense to participate in or support the activities of the designated terrorist entity.<sup>195</sup>



United Kingdom—listed the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades as a Terror Group under the Terrorism Act 2000 in March 2001.<sup>196</sup>



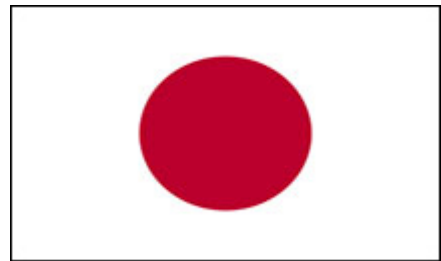
Canada—listed Hamas as a terrorist entity on November 27, 2002.<sup>197</sup>



Australia—listed the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades as a terrorist organization on November 9, 2003.<sup>198</sup>



Israel—listed Hamas as a terrorist organization.<sup>199</sup> Designated the Gaza-based, Hamas-controlled Al-Aqsa TV station as a terrorist entity on March 6, 2019.<sup>200</sup>



Japan—listed Hamas as a terrorist organization.<sup>201</sup>



Jordan—banned Hamas.<sup>202</sup>



Egypt—banned Hamas on March 4, 2014.<sup>203</sup> Egypt's Urgent Matters Court designated Hamas's armed wing a terrorist organization in January 2015 and Hamas as a terrorist group that February.<sup>204</sup> An appeals court canceled the designation in June 2015.<sup>205</sup>

*Hamas*



Paraguay—announced the designation of Hamas as a global terrorist organization on August 19, 2019.<sup>206</sup>

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- <sup>196</sup> James Brokenshire MP, “Proscribed Terror Groups or Organizations,” The Office for Security and Counter-Terrorism in the Home Office, last updated September 15, 2014, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/proscribed-terror-groups-or-organisations--2> [249].
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- <sup>198</sup> “Listed terrorist organisations,” Australian National Security, accessed February 23, 2015, <http://www.nationalsecurity.gov.au/Listedterroristorganisations/Pages/default.aspx> [251].
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<sup>206</sup> Presidencia Paraguay, Twitter post, August 19, 2019, 10:09 a.m.,

[https://twitter.com/PresidenciaPy/status/1163452948615237633?ref\\_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1163452948615237633&ref\\_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.timesofisrael.com%2Fparaguay-recognizes-hamas-hezbollah-as-terror-groups-drawing-israeli-praise%2F](https://twitter.com/PresidenciaPy/status/1163452948615237633?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1163452948615237633&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.timesofisrael.com%2Fparaguay-recognizes-hamas-hezbollah-as-terror-groups-drawing-israeli-praise%2F) [257]; Michael Bachner, "Paraguay recognizes Hamas, Hezbollah as terror groups, drawing Israeli praise," Times of Israel, August 19, 2019, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/paraguay-recognizes-hamas-hezbollah-as-terror-groups-drawing-israeli-praise/> [258].



*Hamas*

**Associations:**

**Ties to entities designated by the U.S. or foreign governments:**

*Terror Groups*



Hezbo

llah [259]

Hamas and Hezbollah have at times cooperated, though the groups have split somewhat 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, a Hezbollah source told Al-Monitor in 2013.<sup>207</sup> During the July 2014 conflict between Israel and Hamas, Hamas reportedly invited Hezbollah to join in its rocket campaign against Israel.<sup>208</sup> In November 2015, leaders of Hamas and Hezbollah met in Beirut to discuss paramilitary coordination against Israel and ISIS.<sup>209</sup> In January 2015, Hamas military leader Mohammed Deif reportedly called for Hezbollah and Hamas to unite in battling Israel.<sup>210</sup> After the Gulf Cooperation Council designated Hezbollah a terrorist organization in March 2016, Hamas signed an Iranian statement of support for Hezbollah.<sup>211</sup>



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,<sup>212</sup> and a suicide bombing the following month at Gaza's Erez Crossing that killed a border guard and wounded three others.<sup>213</sup> The Brigade has also joined Hamas in launching rockets at Israel over the years, most recently during the July 2014 conflict.<sup>214</sup>

*Hamas*



Palest

inian 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.<sup>215</sup> Hamas denied any participation, but it was later revealed that the group—as well as members of Palestinian Islamic Jihad—were involved in the operation.<sup>216</sup>

Hamas and PIJ announced a formal agreement in 2012 to combine forces in their fight against Israel.<sup>217</sup> The following year, the two groups announced plans to create a joint command and a new political vision for Gaza.<sup>218</sup> PIJ and Hamas have since continued to coordinate politically and militarily.<sup>219</sup> The two groups announced in December 2019 they would join forces against Israel in the next round of conflict with the Jewish state.<sup>220</sup>



ISIS [260]

Hamas has reportedly used its underground tunnel system beneath the Gaza-Egypt border to transport aid to ISIS’s Sinai-based affiliate, Wilayat Sinai.<sup>221</sup> Hamas has also reportedly provided military training and medical aid to ISIS militants in the Sinai. In 2016, Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal called for a suspension of contacts with Wilayat Sinai as Hamas has moved to reconcile with Egypt. Despite this, the al-Qassam Brigades have continued their coordination with the ISIS affiliate.<sup>222</sup> 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.<sup>223</sup> The Times of Israel reported in February 2017 that “dozens” of top Hamas commanders had defected to Wilayat Sinai in the past three years.<sup>224</sup>

Relations between Hamas and Wilayat Sinai deteriorated in early 2018. That January, Wilayat Sinai released a 22-minute execution video of an alleged Hamas collaborator. Also in the video, an ISIS agent identified as Abu Kazem al-Maqdisi called on ISIS supporters to attack Hamas in Gaza because the group failed to stop U.S. President Donald Trump’s recognition of Jerusalem as Israel’s capital in December 2017. Hamas spokesman Salah Bardawil dismissed the declaration of war as an Israeli plot “in which Arab tools participate to distort the resistance.”<sup>225</sup>

Countries

*Hamas*



Iran

Iran has long been a benefactor of Hamas, providing weapons, training, and money. Though Hamas is a primarily Sunni organization, Iran's support transcended the Shiite-Sunni divide based on a common enemy in Israel.<sup>226</sup> During the 1990s, Iran was a key financier of Hamas terrorism, providing financial rewards for bombings and higher rewards for higher death tolls.<sup>227</sup> In 1993, Iran pledged \$30 million in annual support to Hamas. Iran also provided military training and weaponry such as improvised explosive devices, anti-tank munitions, and UAVs.<sup>228</sup> Following Hamas's electoral victory in the January 2006 Palestinian elections, Iran equipped Hamas with an estimated \$23 million a month in financial and military aid, including for governing expenses.<sup>229</sup>

The Syrian civil war drove a wedge between Hamas and Iran, as Hamas had voiced support for rebel forces while Iran supports Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. As a result, Iran reportedly cut approximately \$10 million a month to Hamas,<sup>230</sup> reducing the group's funding to a "tiny amount" to maintain ties and its support of the Palestinian cause.<sup>231</sup> Ghazi Hamad, Hamas's deputy foreign minister, remarked in May 2013: "I cannot deny that since 2006 Iran supported Hamas with money and many [other] things. But the situation is not like the past. I cannot say that everything is normal."<sup>232</sup>

The overthrow of Egypt's pro-Hamas, Brotherhood-controlled government in 2013 left Hamas without a major ally, leading the group to restore its relationship with Iran out of necessity. In 2014, Hamas and Iranian officials began to repair ties. In January 2014, senior Hamas official Bassem Naim claimed that ties between the two "had never been conclusively severed" and that several recent meetings had led to "a marked improvement and progression in the relationship."<sup>233</sup> Taher al-Nounou, an aide to Hamas Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh, said relations were "almost back to how they were before."<sup>234</sup> That March, Iranian parliament speaker Ali Larijani said that relations between Hamas and Iran had returned to normal and that Iran continues to support Hamas as a "resistance organization."<sup>235</sup>

During the July 2014 Hamas-Israel conflict, Iranian officials admitted that Iran had transferred technology to Hamas to allow the terror group to build its own rockets. "Once upon a time, they [Hamas] needed the arms manufacture know-how and we gave it to them" and Hamas can now "meet their own needs for weapons," Larijani said.<sup>236</sup> Senior Hamas leader Moussa Abu Marzouk said in July 2015 that all Iranian aid to Hamas's political and military wings had ceased.<sup>237</sup> He further accused Iranian officials of lying about support for Hamas, which he said had not received any Iranian money since 2009.<sup>238</sup>

Despite this reported breakdown in relations, leaders of Hamas's military wing have reportedly continued to receive funding from the Iranian government. British-Arab daily *Asharq al-Awsat* reported in April 2016 that Iran's [Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps](#) [261] (IRGC) intended to send Hamas forces into Iraq to aid in the liberation of Mosul from ISIS.<sup>239</sup> Ahmed Yousef, a Hamas leader and political adviser to former Hamas Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh, confirmed in January 2016 that Iranian aid to the Qassam Brigades slowed but never stopped completely. According to Yousef, Iran publicly supports Palestinian "resistance forces" as a challenge to the United States and Israel.<sup>240</sup> After the slowdown in Iranian funding following the Syrian fallout, Hamas military leaders reportedly continued to receive more than \$45 million annually from the IRGC, though the figure reportedly represents a decrease in funding. According to anonymous Palestinian leaders cited in Arab media, the relationship between Iran and Hamas's military wing may have diminished somewhat, but it has never ended.<sup>241</sup>

In August 2017, Hamas's political leader in Gaza, Yahya Sinwar, announced that Iran and Hamas had renewed their ties. Sinwar told reporters that ties between Iran and Hamas were "excellent, or very excellent."<sup>242</sup> Sinwar also called Iran the "largest backer financially and militarily" of Hamas.<sup>243</sup> Calling Iranian military support to Hamas "strategic," Sinwar told reporters that Iran is aiding Hamas in building its "military strength in order to liberate Palestine."<sup>244</sup>

Less than two weeks after Hamas and rival Fatah signed a reconciliation agreement on October 12, 2017, a Hamas delegation traveled to Tehran to meet with Iranian parliamentary speaker Ali Larijani and other government leaders. Hamas official Saleh Arouri told Iranian media that Hamas would neither give up its weapons nor sever its relationship with Iran.<sup>245</sup> According to Arouri, the visit to Tehran is "a sign of our strong will" for maintaining ties with Iran.<sup>246</sup>

Haniyeh traveled to Iran in January 2020 attend the funeral of Qasem Soleimani, the commander of the Quds Force of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps who died in a U.S. airstrike on January 3, 2020. Haniyeh was only one of a handful of people to speak at the funeral. He praised Iran and pledged that the Palestinian resistance would continue. Haniyeh also stood close to Iranian Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei, signaling that Hamas was attempting to restore its relations with Iran. Prior to the funeral, Haniyeh made a condolence call to Iranian Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif, who pledged that Iran would continue to back "the Palestinian people's rights and resistance in defense of its land and holy sites."<sup>247</sup>



North Korea

Hamas has allegedly received arms from North Korea. The link first became public after a cargo of North Korean weapons was seized in Bangkok airport in 2009. Investigators later confirmed that the cargo was destined for Iran, from where it was to be smuggled to Lebanon and Gaza. Western security sources also suspect that North Korea has offered Hamas advice on the building of tunnels, which has enabled Hamas to smuggle weapons and fighters in and out of Gaza. In July 2014, reports indicated that Hamas was attempting to buy arms and communication equipment from North Korea in order to continue attacks on Israel. The deal was reportedly worth hundreds of thousands of dollars.<sup>248</sup>

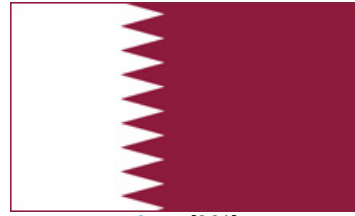
**Ties to other entities:**

*Hamas*



[Jordan](#) [262]

Hamas's leadership based itself in Jordan in the 1990s, and former Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal is himself a Jordanian citizen. In September 1997, Israel reportedly attempted to poison Meshaal, but supplied the antidote after Jordan threatened to reverse its 1994 peace treaty with Israel.<sup>249</sup> In 1999, Jordan banned Hamas and arrested several of its leaders.<sup>250</sup> Jordan expelled Meshaal and three other Hamas representatives that November.<sup>251</sup> After a 10-day trip to Jordan in July 2012, Meshaal claimed that Hamas and the Jordanian government had reconciled, though Hamas had committed to not involve Jordan's Palestinian population in its activities. According to Meshaal, the new relationship focused on four principles: "The safety and stability of Jordan; Hamas's non-intervention in internal Jordanian affairs; Hamas' non-intervention in affairs concerning the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan; and finally on Palestinian-Jordanian relations."<sup>252</sup> In 2013, Jordan reportedly refused a Hamas request to reopen its offices in the kingdom.<sup>253</sup> In October 2011, Israel released more than 1,000 Palestinian prisoners in an exchange with Hamas for captured IDF soldier Gilad Shalit. Among those released was Jordanian citizen [Ahlam Ahmad al-Tamimi](#) [263], who was serving 16 life sentences for her role in coordinating Hamas's August 2001 suicide bombing of the Sbarro pizzeria in Jerusalem. The bombing killed 15 and wounded 130. Tamimi was deported to Jordan after her release.<sup>254</sup>



[Qatar](#) [264]

The emir of Qatar became the first head of state to visit Gaza after Hamas's 2007 coup.<sup>255</sup> Since then, Qatar has invested hundreds of millions of dollars in Gaza, pledging \$400 million to Gaza in 2012.<sup>256</sup> After Hamas and Fatah signed a reconciliation agreement in April 2014, the PA refused to pay the salaries of Hamas civil servants in Gaza, and in response Qatar attempted to transfer hundreds of millions of dollars to Hamas to pay the salaries of 44,000 civil servants. The United States reportedly blocked the transfers.<sup>257</sup> Qatar has also hosted former Hamas politburo chief Khaled Meshaal since he left Syria in 2012.<sup>258</sup> Qatari officials have referred to Meshaal as a "dear guest."<sup>259</sup> In June 2017, several Hamas leaders left Qatar amid rumors that the government had expelled them under international pressure. Hamas denied that the government had forced the Hamas leaders to leave.<sup>260</sup> Qatari Foreign Minister Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman Al Thani called Hamas a "legitimate resistance movement" and defended Hamas's presence in the country as a "political representation of the Hamas movement" meant to promote Palestinian unity.<sup>261</sup> Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh met with Qatari Emir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al-Thani in Doha on December 16, 2019. The Hamas delegation reported received a warm reception from Al-Thani.<sup>262</sup> In February 2020, Hamas announced Haniyeh would continue to run Hamas's political bureau from Doha, for the immediate future in order to continue traveling freely through the end of 2020 or early 2021.<sup>263</sup> During the July 2014 conflict between Hamas and Israel, Qatar and Turkey were considered Hamas's closest international allies.<sup>264</sup> Qatar drafted a ceasefire proposal in July 2014 that adopted most of Hamas's demands, and without consideration of Israel's.<sup>265</sup> Because of their close ties to Hamas, the United States invited Turkey and Qatar to a Paris meeting in mid-July 2014 to discuss a ceasefire between Hamas and Israel. The move drew accusations from the Palestinian Authority and Egypt, suggesting that the United States was attempting to sideline them.<sup>266</sup> Following the October 2017 reconciliation agreement between Hamas and Fatah, rumors emerged that Hamas was dissatisfied with Qatar's role in the reconciliation talks. Hamas released a statement denying the rumors and praising its relationship with Qatar, which Hamas said has played a "pioneering role" in Gaza that "contributed significantly to prevent the collapse of the Gaza Strip during the years of siege."<sup>267</sup> A U.S. lawsuit filed in June 2020 alleged Qatar provided funding to PIJ and Hamas through three Qatari financial institutions, the Qatar Charity, Masraf Al Rayan, and Qatar National Bank. The Qatar Charity is a member of the U.S.-sanctioned Union of Good charity network. All three institutions have links to members of the Qatari royal family. The plaintiffs are friends and family members of 10 U.S. citizens who died in terror attacks in Israel carried out by PIJ and Hamas. The lawsuit alleges Qatar Charity allegedly worked with Masraf Al Rayan bank and Qatar National Bank to forward Hamas and PIJ millions of dollars. It further accuses the Qatari government of coopting "several institutions that it dominates and controls to funnel coveted U.S. dollars (the chosen currency of Middle East terrorist networks) to Hamas and PIJ under the false guise of charitable donations."<sup>268</sup> On June 26, 2020, Qatar transferred \$30 million to Hamas. The terror group claimed one-third of the amount would be distributed to 100,000 needy families.<sup>269</sup> Since 2018, Qatar has provided \$20 million per month—or \$240,000,000 a year—in aid to the Gaza Strip. The aid has helped Hamas pay salaries of its civil servants, as well as pay for electricity costs and food assistance programs. On January 31, 2021, the Qatari government announced it would increase its annual assistance to \$360 million in the coming year. Despite concerns that Hamas would misuse the money, Israel has agreed to the Qatari aid to stem a humanitarian crisis in Gaza.<sup>270</sup>



*Hamas*



Turkey [265]

Turkey and Hamas maintain close political and financial ties. According to a December 2019 report in British media, Hamas has continued to use Istanbul as a planning base for terrorist activities. At least a dozen Hamas members moved to Istanbul in 2019, according to Israeli and Egyptian intelligence. This includes U.S.-designated financiers such as Kamal Awad, and military leaders who planned spats of suicide bombings in Israel in the 1990s. Turkey has continued to deny that Hamas is a terrorist organization. Turkish intelligence agents reportedly maintain close contact with Hamas operatives in Istanbul.<sup>271</sup>

The Turkish government has welcomed Hamas's leadership in the country for high-level meetings with Turkish officials, including Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. The meeting included Hamas political leader Ismail Haniyeh, who left the Gaza Strip for the first time in three years.<sup>272</sup> The meeting also included Hamas deputy leader Saleh al-Arouri. Both Arouri and Haniyeh are under U.S sanctions and have rewards for their arrest. Nonetheless, they moved about freely in Turkey. Following the meeting, Erdoğan told media that Turkey "will keep on supporting our brothers in Palestine."<sup>273</sup>

Turkey has also provided Hamas with financial support. The country reportedly planned to donate \$300 million to Gaza's Hamas government in 2011,<sup>274</sup> while other reports cited that this would become an annual donation to Hamas.<sup>275</sup> In February 2017, Israel arrested Muhammad Murtaja, the Gaza coordinator of the Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA), on charges of fundraising for Hamas's military wing.<sup>276</sup> A year later in February 2018, Israeli authorities arrested a Turkish citizen and an Arab-Israeli suspected of fundraising and laundering money on behalf of Hamas.<sup>277</sup> Following that arrest, a Hamas official in Lebanon praised Turkey's "loyalty" to the Palestinian people.<sup>278</sup>

During the July 2014 conflict between Hamas and Israel, Qatar and Turkey were considered Hamas's closest international allies.<sup>279</sup> Qatar drafted a ceasefire proposal in July 2014 that adopted most of Hamas's demands, and without consideration of Israel's.<sup>280</sup> Because of their close ties to Hamas, the United States invited Turkey and Qatar to a Paris meeting in mid July 2014 to discuss a ceasefire between Hamas and Israel. The move drew accusations from the Palestinian Authority and Egypt that the United States was attempting to sideline them.<sup>281</sup>

On August 12, 2015, then-political chief Khaled Meshaal met with Turkish leaders in Ankara, Turkey. The specifics of the meeting were not publicly revealed.<sup>282</sup> Arab media reported in December 2015 that Hamas's top leader in Turkey had been expelled under U.S. and Israeli pressure as the Turkish and Israeli governments moved toward reconciliation. Hamas denied the reports.<sup>283</sup> Later that month, Hamas denied rumors that Turkey intended to take control of Gaza.<sup>284</sup> In the June 2016 reconciliation agreement between Israel and Turkey, the Turkish government agreed not to allow fundraising for Hamas within its territory.<sup>285</sup> Hamas rejected the reconciliation agreement, but reportedly acceded to Turkish demands that it not react.<sup>286</sup>

Despite Turkey's agreements to curb Hamas activities in the country, senior Hamas leaders based in Istanbul have reportedly continued to direct terror operations in Jerusalem and the West Bank from the Turkish city. A Hamas official in Istanbul, Zacharia Najib, reportedly ordered failed assassination attempts on Israeli government officials in February 2019. Najib provided weapons, training, and funding to a Hamas member in Jerusalem who was arrested before he could carry out the plot. A Turkish diplomat at the time called Hamas a legitimate political party and denied it had any links to terrorism.<sup>287</sup>



Muslim Brotherhood [1]

The Muslim Brotherhood has built grassroots support among Palestinians with the creation of charities in the Gaza Strip in 1960.<sup>288</sup> Hamas was created in 1987 as the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood in Gaza.<sup>289</sup> More than two decades later, Hamas continues to enjoy close ties to the Brotherhood. Hamas members were suspected of aiding in a jailbreak of Brotherhood activists, including former Egyptian president Mohammed Morsi, in 2011.<sup>290</sup> The Brotherhood-controlled Egyptian government in 2013 reportedly provided Hamas with support and turned a blind eye to illegal smuggling beneath the Egypt-Gaza border. After the downfall of the Brotherhood-controlled government that year, the Egyptian army closed off most of the tunnels, resulting in the loss of millions of dollars in revenue for the Hamas government and an economic crisis in Gaza.<sup>291</sup>

In January 2014, Cairo publicly hosted the first conference of Tamarud ("Rebellion"), a new anti-Hamas youth group.<sup>292</sup> In March 2014, Egypt banned all activities by Hamas following a lawsuit against the group due to its connections to the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>293</sup>

In March 2016, Egypt's Interior Ministry accused Hamas of conspiring with the Muslim Brotherhood and coordinating the June 2015 assassination of Hisham Barakat, Egypt's chief prosecutor, in a Cairo car bombing. Later that month, Hamas removed all pictures of former Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi and any other signs of Muslim Brotherhood links from its Gaza offices. The move reportedly came after a meeting between Hamas leaders and Egypt officials who demanded Hamas renounce its links with the Brotherhood before Egypt would restore relations with Hamas.<sup>294</sup> Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri later denied any links between his group and the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>295</sup>

In May 2017, Hamas released a new guiding political document, which made no mention of the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>296</sup>

*Hamas*



PLO/Fatah/Palestinian Authority

Hamas has remained separate from the PLO, emerging in the late 1980s when the PLO began to moderate its positions in order to launch a peace process with Israel. In 1996, Hamas contemplated joining the Palestinian Authority government but ultimately decided to remain apart.<sup>297</sup>

In the power-vacuum that followed PLO leader Yasser Arafat's death in 2004, Hamas ran in the January 2006 PA legislative elections and won a majority in the PA Legislative Council. After a year of clashes between Hamas and Fatah gunmen, Hamas expelled the PA's forces from Gaza and took control of the coastal strip. In April 2014, the PLO and Hamas signed a reconciliation agreement and pledged to form a unity government.<sup>298</sup> The move helped derail U.S.-led peace talks between Israel and the PLO.

The sides failed to implement the reconciliation agreement, however, resulting in a continued split between the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank and Hamas in Gaza. At least five reconciliation agreements to date have failed. Hamas and the PA argue over who would retain control of Gaza's border crossings and assume responsibility for paying the salaries of civil servants.<sup>299</sup>

Hamas agreed to join the PLO in 2011 and 2014 under failed reunification deals with the Fatah-led PA. On November 2, 2016, Khaled Meshaal called for Hamas to join the PLO. In response, a senior PLO member told Israeli media that the PLO wants to bring Hamas under its wings.<sup>300</sup>

In January 2017, after unofficial talks in Moscow hosted by Russia, Hamas and Fatah announced an agreement to form a unity government.<sup>301</sup> The parties agreed to form a new National Council that includes Palestinians in exile, and hold new elections. Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) and other violent Palestinian factions agreed to the reconciliation, but the parties did not set a timetable for moving forward.<sup>302</sup>

In June 2017, in a move to pressure Hamas to reconcile, the PA ended payments to Israel for the Gaza Strip's electricity supply. The PA blamed Hamas for failing to reimburse it for paying for Gaza's electricity. The PA called for Hamas to return Gaza's governance back to the PA.<sup>303</sup> That September, Hamas announced its intention to dissolve its government in Gaza and called on the PA to immediately resume responsibility for the Gaza Strip. Hamas agreed to the PA's demand to hold new parliamentary elections in the West Bank and Gaza for the first time since 2006. The move followed talks in Cairo between Hamas and the Egyptian government.<sup>304</sup>

In October 2017, 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 and later take control of Gaza's border crossings. The sides delayed negotiation on Hamas's armed wing.<sup>305</sup>



Syria

Syria has long acted as a conduit between Hamas and its Iranian benefactor, allowing weapons and money to cross its borders. Hamas's political leadership was based in Damascus until 2012, when it relocated due to the ongoing Syrian civil war.<sup>309</sup>



Saudi Arabia

Hamas officials held meetings in July 2015 with the Saudi leadership in what some analysts suspect were attempts to sway Hamas away from Iran and build a Sunni coalition against the Persian country.<sup>306</sup> Also that summer, Saudi Arabia also reportedly attempted to mediate reconciliation between Hamas and Egypt.<sup>307</sup> In August 2015, citing Hamas meetings with Saudi Arabia's king and meetings with Egyptian leaders, Hamas officials told Israel's *Haaretz* newspaper that the group had been successfully elevating its international status.<sup>308</sup>

## Hamas

### Political connections to U.S. or global leaders:



#### United States

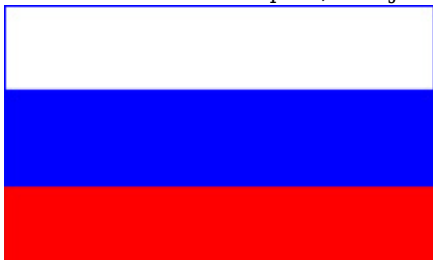
Hamas is designated as a terrorist organization by the U.S. government, which has refused to recognize the legitimacy of the Hamas government in Gaza. Since Hamas and the PLO signed a unity deal in April 2014, however, the U.S. State Department announced its willingness to work with a unity government, as the cabinet is made up of technocrats unaffiliated with Hamas.<sup>310</sup> Members of the U.S. Congress have since called for cutting U.S. aid to the Palestinian Authority because of the unity deal.<sup>311</sup>

Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter met with Hamas's political chief Khaled Meshaal in 2008 in an attempt to broker peace. During a press conference, Meshaal said Hamas accepts a Palestinian state with the June 4, 1967, borders with east Jerusalem as its capital.<sup>312</sup> Meshaal also offered Israel a 10-year *hudna*, which he told Carter was proof of Hamas's tacit recognition of Israel.<sup>313</sup> Meshaal and other Hamas leaders have since denied agreeing to the 1967 lines.



#### Iran

In March 2014, Iranian parliament speaker Ali Larijani announced the restoration of ties between Hamas and Iran and that Iran continues to support Hamas as a "resistance organization."<sup>314</sup> During the July 2014 Hamas-Israel conflict, Iranian officials admitted that Iran had transferred technology to Hamas to allow the terror group to build its own rockets. "Once upon a time, they [Hamas] needed the arms manufacture know-how and we gave it to them" and Hamas can now "meet their own needs for weapons," Larijani said.<sup>315</sup>



#### Russia

Russia is a member of the Quartet of Middle East Peacemakers and has signed on to the Quartet's demands that Hamas recognize Israel, renounce terrorism, and accept past agreements before it receives international recognition. Russia has attempted to push Hamas toward these goals by inviting Hamas government representatives to Moscow for official meetings.

In March 2006, a Hamas delegation visited Moscow for three days of meetings with Russian officials, including Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov.<sup>316</sup> It was the first Hamas state visit outside of the Islamic world since Hamas joined the Palestinian Authority. Hamas viewed the invitation as a way to foil American and Israeli attempts to isolate it, while Russian officials used the visit to try to convince Hamas to accept the Quartet's demands of recognizing Israel, renouncing violence, and accepting past agreements.<sup>317</sup>

## *Hamas*

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In May 2010, Russian President Dmitry Medvedev met with Hamas political chief Khaled Meshaal in Damascus. Israel condemned the meeting, during which Medvedev called for the release of captured Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit and for Hamas to reconcile with Fatah.<sup>318</sup>

In response to Israeli criticism, Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Andrei Nesterenko said his country has “regular” contacts with Hamas, and “all other members of the Quartet on the Middle East maintain contacts with Hamas leaders in one way or another, although they are reluctant to admit this publicly, for some reason.” During a November 2015 press conference, Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Bogdanov called Hezbollah and Hamas “legitimate societal-political forces.”<sup>319</sup>



*Qatar*

In 2012, the emir of Qatar became the first head of state to visit Gaza after Hamas’s 2007 coup.<sup>320</sup> Since then, Qatar has invested hundreds of millions of dollars into Gaza, pledging \$400 million to Gaza in 2012.<sup>321</sup> After Hamas and Fatah signed a reconciliation agreement in April 2014, the PA refused to pay the salaries of Hamas civil servants in Gaza, and in response Qatar attempted to transfer hundreds of millions of dollars to Hamas to pay the salaries of 44,000 civil servants, but the United States reportedly blocked the transfers.<sup>322</sup>



*Saudi Arabia*

During the summer of 2015, Hamas officials held meetings with King Salman and other Saudi leaders.<sup>323</sup> Observers viewed Salman’s meetings with Hamas an attempt to sway the terror group away from Iran’s influence.<sup>324</sup>



*Turkey*

Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s ruling Justice and Development Party supports what analysts call “other neo-Islamist allies.”<sup>325</sup> This has resulted in Turkey investing millions of dollars into Gaza’s Hamas government, (detailed in the financial support section). Turkey reportedly planned to donate \$300 million to Gaza’s Hamas government in 2011,<sup>326</sup>

*Hammas*

while other reports cited that this would become an annual donation to Hamas.<sup>327</sup> During the July 2014 conflict between Hamas and Israel, Qatar and Turkey were considered Hamas's closest international allies.<sup>328</sup>

*Europe*

In May 2006, after Hamas won Palestinian Authority legislative elections, Sweden granted a visa to PA Refugee Minister Atef Adawan, a Hamas member, to attend a conference in Sweden. After the conference, Adawan allegedly traveled to Norway where he met with Kaare Eltervaag, the head of the Norwegian Foreign Ministry's Middle Eastern affairs. Afterward, he traveled to Germany where he met with Bundestag representative Detlef Dzembitzki, a member of the Social Democratic Party.<sup>329</sup>

<sup>207</sup> Haytham Mouzahem, "Hezbollah-Hamas Relations 'Good' Despite Beirut Bombing Accusations," *Al-Monitor*, August 27, 2013, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulseen/originals/2013/08/hezbollah-hamas-relations-beirut-bombing-accusations.html> [266].

<sup>208</sup> Ariel Ben Solomon, "Hamas Invites Hezbollah to Join in Fighting against Israel," *Jerusalem Post*, July 30, 2014, <http://www.jpost.com/Operation-Protective-Edge/Hamas-invites-Hezbollah-to-join-in-fighting-against-Israel-369379> [267].

<sup>209</sup> Khaled Abu Toameh, "Hamas and Hezbollah leaders meet in Beirut to discuss Palestinian 'intifada,'" *Jerusalem Post*, November 22, 2015, <http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Hamas-and-Hezbollah-leaders-meet-in-Beirut-to-discuss-Palestinian-Intifada-434948> [268].

<sup>210</sup> "Hamas calls on Hezbollah to unite fight against Israel," *Reuters*, January 22, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/22/us-israel-palestinians-hezbollah-idUSKBN0KV10920150122> [269].

<sup>211</sup> Maayan Groisman, "PA envoy to Iran signs statement of support for Hezbollah," *Jerusalem Post*, March 10, 2016, <http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Palestinian-Authoritys-envoy-to-Iran-signs-statement-of-support-for-Hezbollah-447476> [270].

<sup>212</sup> "Timeline: The Evolution of Hamas," *CNN*, December 30, 2008, <http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/meast/12/30/hamas.profile/> [154].

<sup>213</sup> Conal Urquhart, "Israeli Missile Attack Kills New Hamas Chief," *Guardian* [U.K.], April 18, 2004, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/apr/18/israel> [271].

<sup>214</sup> Elhanan Miller, "Fatah Joins Hamas and Islamic Jihad in Missile Launches," *Times of Israel*, July 10, 2014, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/moderate-fatah-joins-hamas-and-islamic-jihad-in-missile-launches/> [272].

<sup>215</sup> Tim Butcher, "Soldier Kidnapped and Two Killed in Gaza Tunnel Attack," *Telegraph* [U.K.], June 26, 2006, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/israel/1522370/Soldier-kidnapped-and-two-killed-in-Gaza-tunnel-attack.html> [166].

<sup>216</sup> Steven Erlanger, "Tensions Rise After Israeli Is Kidnapped," *New York Times*, June 26, 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/26/world/middleeast/26cnd-mideast.html>; "Q&A: Gilad Shalit Capture," *BBC News*, June 24, 2010, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/6238858.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/6238858.stm) [273].

<sup>217</sup> Elhanan Miller, "Gaza's Hamas and Islamic Jihad Formally Join Forces to Fight Israel," *Times of Israel*, October 10, 2012, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/gazas-hamas-and-islamic-jihad-formally-join-forces-to-fight-israel/> [274].

<sup>218</sup> Elhanan Miller, "Hamas and Islamic Jihad to Form Joint Command," *Times of Israel*, September 17, 2013, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-and-islamic-jihad-to-form-joint-command/> [275].

<sup>219</sup> Yaniv Kubovich, "Analysis Iran's Fighting Force in Gaza, Calling and Firing the Shots: This Is Islamic Jihad in Palestine," *Haaretz*, June 17, 2018, <https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/iran/premium-what-is-islamic-jihad-in-palestine-iran-s-fighting-force-in-gaza-calling-and-firing-the-shots-1.6158730> [276]; "Hamas meets with Islamic Jihad's leadership, concludes with unified stances," *Hamas*, November 2, 2018, <http://hamas.ps/en/post/1660/hamas-meets-with-islamic-jihad%E2%80%99s-leadership-concludes-with-unified-stances> [277].

<sup>220</sup> Khaled Abu Toameh, "Hamas, Islamic Jihad agree to stand together in future fight with Israel," *Jerusalem Post*, December 20, 2019, <https://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Hamas-PJ-agree-to-stand-together-in-future-confrontation-with-Israel-611458> [278].

<sup>221</sup> Avi Issacharoff, "Under Egypt's nose, Hamas boosts cooperation with IS in Sinai," *Times of Israel*, March 6, 2016, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/under-egypts-nose-hamas-boosts-cooperation-with-is-in-sinai/> [183].

<sup>222</sup> Avi Issacharoff, "Inside Hamas, a bitter and very personal battle for control," *Times of Israel*, March 19, 2016, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/inside-hamas-a-bitter-and-very-personal-battle-for-control/> [279]; Avi Issacharoff, "Rising new Hamas leader is all too familiar to Israel," *Times of Israel*, December 18, 2015, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/rising-new-hamas-leader-is-all-too-familiar-to-israel/> [280].

<sup>223</sup> Avi Issacharoff, "Hamas, Islamic State resume close cooperation despite pressure from Cairo," *Times of Israel*, January 15, 2017, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-islamic-state-resume-close-cooperation-despite-pressure-from-cairo/> [281].

<sup>224</sup> Avi Issacharoff, "Elite Hamas commanders defecting to Islamic State," *Times of Israel*, February 7, 2017, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/elite-hamas-fighters-defecting-to-islamic-state/> [282].

<sup>225</sup> Vasudevan Sridharan, "Islamic State issues threats against Hamas with brutal execution video," *International Business Times*, January 5, 2018, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/islamic-state-issues-threats-against-hamas-brutal-execution-video-1653878> [283].

<sup>226</sup> "Palestinian Territories/Gaza," *United Against Nuclear Iran*, accessed January 18, 2017, <http://www.unitedagainstanucleariran.com/report/palestinian-territoriesgaza> [284].

<sup>227</sup> Matthew Levitt, "Hezbollah Finances: Funding the Party of God," *Washington Institute for Near East Policy* February



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- <sup>326</sup> Saed Bannoura, " Turkey to Grant Hamas \$300 Million," International Middle East Media Center, December 3, 2011, <http://www.imemc.org/article/62607> [94].
- <sup>327</sup> Zvi Bar'el, " Turkey May Provide Hamas with \$300 Million in Annual Aid," *Haaretz*, January 28, 2012, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/turkey-may-provide-hamas-with-300-million-in-annual-aid-1.409708> [95].
- <sup>328</sup> Mirren Gidda, " Hamas Still Has Some Friends Left," *Time*, July 25, 2014, <http://time.com/3033681/hamas-gaza-palestine-israel-egypt/> [304]; Jonathan Schanzer, " Hamas's BFFs," *Foreign Policy*, August 4, 2014, [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/08/04/hamas\\_s\\_bffs\\_turkey\\_qatar\\_israel\\_gaza?wp\\_login\\_redirect=0](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/08/04/hamas_s_bffs_turkey_qatar_israel_gaza?wp_login_redirect=0) [305].
- <sup>329</sup> " Hamas Minister meets German MEP thanks to Swedish visa," European Jewish Congress, May 18, 2006,

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<http://www.eurojewcong.org/20/480-hamas-minister-meets-german-mep-thanks-to-swedish-visa.html> [337].



## *Hamas*

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### **Media Coverage:**

#### *Arab media*

English-language Arab media may focus more on the plight of the Gazans than in Western media, but Hamas is typically recognized as a militant organization, similar to what appears in Western coverage.

Where Arab media differs is in the opinion pages, where Hamas and the Palestinians may be shown in a more favorable light. In a June 2014 op-ed in *Al Arabiya*, for example, journalist Bakir Oweida declares, “How unlikely it is that Hamas would kidnap three Israeli settlers just weeks after signing a unity agreement with Fatah,” and blames Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu for using the incident to hamper the reconciliation process.<sup>330</sup>

#### *Media intimidation*

During the most recent conflict between Israel and Hamas in July 2014, numerous reports alleged that Hamas restricted media coverage of its activities in Gaza, threatening reporters against covering terrorist activities and allowing only footage of wounded Gazans. The absence of photos of Hamas rockets did not go unnoticed by others in the media. The Jewish Telegraphic Agency’s Uriel Heilman questioned *The New York Times’* lack of coverage, in particular. Heilman concluded that Western media largely ignored or made few references to reports of Hamas’s usage of Gaza’s al-Shifa Hospital as its base or Hamas’s execution of suspected collaborators.<sup>331</sup> He cited a tweet from freelance Italian journalist Gabriele Barbati that backed allegations of Hamas’s threatening of journalists: “Out of #Gaza far from #Hamas retaliation: misfired rocket killed children yday in Shati. Witness: militants rushed and cleared debris (July 29).”<sup>332</sup>

Uriel Heilman’s piece earned a response from *The New York Times’* vice president for corporate communications, Eileen Murphy, who defended her paper’s omissions: “Our photo editor went through all of our pictures recently and out of many hundreds, she found 2 very distant poor quality images that were captioned Hamas fighters by our photographer on the ground. It is very difficult to identify Hamas because they don’t have uniforms or any visible insignia; our photographer hasn’t even seen anyone carrying a gun. I would add that we would not withhold photos of Hamas militants. We eagerly pursue photographs from both sides of the conflict, but we are limited by what our photographers have access to.”<sup>333</sup>

A July 31, 2014 *Jerusalem Post* piece reported that Hamas had threatened international reporters to prevent reporting on the terror group’s use of human shields and use of civilian sites from which to launch rockets.<sup>334</sup> According to the *Post*, Hamas interrogated French journalist Radjaa Abu Dagga, threatening to throw him out of Gaza.<sup>335</sup> The French newspaper *Liberation* printed a report on Abu Dagga’s ordeal, but Abu Dagga requested its removal.<sup>336</sup> Hamas also told RT correspondent Harry Fear to leave Gaza after he tweeted that Hamas had fired rockets at Israel from nearby his hotel, and that the group was using human shields in Gaza’s al-Wafa hospital.<sup>337</sup>

While examining a July 20 photo essay in *The New York Times*, the Weekly Standard’s Noah Pollak discovered that of the seven images in the compilation, three were of distressed Gaza civilians, one was of smoke rising over Gaza, and three were of the Israel Defense Forces, including tanks and attack helicopters. “The message is simple and clear: the IDF is attacking Gaza and harming Palestinian civilians,” Pollak wrote.<sup>338</sup> He questioned whether the *Times* had become an anti-Semitic mouthpiece or if it had been intimidated by Hamas. “These journalists must be terrified—and they also must know that the best way to ensure their safety is to never run afoul of the terrorists in whose hands their fates lie,” wrote Pollak.<sup>339</sup>

Hamas issued media guidelines, which, according to a translation by the Middle East Media Research Institute, ordered Gazans to refer to all dead as “innocent civilians” and to avoid posting pictures of terrorists online.<sup>340</sup> Among Hamas’s guidelines, according to the translation, includes this directive: “avoid publishing pictures of rockets fired into Israel from [Gaza] city centers. This [would] provide a pretext for attacking residential areas in the Gaza Strip. Do not publish or share photos or video clips showing rocket launching sites or the movement of resistance [forces] in Gaza.”<sup>341</sup>

## *Hamas*

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The media guidelines also included rules for Palestinian activists, including, "Do not publish photos of military commanders. Do not mention their names in public, and do not praise their achievements in conversations with foreign friends!"<sup>342</sup>

Notwithstanding the lack of photographic evidence, Western pundits recognized Hamas's violent actions, while simultaneously chastising Israel for civilian casualties. Bob Schieffer called out Hamas during one episode of his "Face The Nation" television show: "In the Middle East, the Palestinian people find themselves in the grip of a terrorist group that has embarked on a strategy to get its own children killed in order to build sympathy for its cause, a strategy that might actually be working, at least in some quarters."<sup>343</sup>

### *Western media*

Though the United States labels Hamas a terrorist organization, media coverage of the group largely replaces the "terrorist" label with that of "militant." Reuters, for example, will use the "terrorist" and "terrorism" labels only for quoted material. According to the Reuters handbook: "*Terrorism and terrorist should not be used as single words in inverted commas (e.g. terrorist) or preceded by so-called (e.g. a so-called terrorist attack) since that can be taken to imply that Reuters is making a value judgment.... Terror as in terror attack or terror cell should be avoided on stylistic grounds.*"<sup>344</sup>

Outside of the United States, some Western media outlets take a softer stance on Hamas. In a June 2014 photo essay on Hamas summer camps that train teenagers for subversive activities, the *Daily Mail* referred to Hamas solely as "a political organization," despite the photographic evidence it provided to the contrary.<sup>345</sup> In another example from British media, *The Guardian* profiled Hamas's new government spokeswoman, Isra al-Modallal, in November 2013. *The Guardian* wrote that al-Modallal was educated in England, is the first woman to hold such a position, and wants to promote human rights.<sup>346</sup> The author makes no mention of Hamas's violent activities, nor the contradictions between the group's ideology and al-Modallal's dedication to human rights. The author does quote al-Modallal saying she would have no contact with Israeli media.<sup>347</sup>

Despite failing to label Hamas a terrorist organization, Western media largely recognize the organization as a violent militant group, and regularly note that Hamas is dedicated to the destruction of Israel. In recent coverage of the group, the BBC noted Hamas's "long record of attacks and its refusal to renounce violence."<sup>348</sup> Western columnists typically deride Hamas, while still imploring Israel to ease restrictions on the Palestinian civilian population. While U.S. media outlets such as the Associated Press and Reuters will mention Hamas's ideology, the previously mentioned *Daily Mail* and *Guardian* articles lack a broader context for the issues on which they report. *The Guardian* demonstrates this further in a January 2014 piece on Hamas-Iran reconciliation talks, failing to provide any context—beyond a throw-away reference to the Muslim Brotherhood as Hamas's "ideological parent"—of Iran's sponsorship of terrorism or of Hamas's pro-terror ideology.<sup>349</sup>

### *Israeli media*

Israeli media tend to report on Hamas in line with the Israeli government's designation of the group, namely, referring to Hamas as a terrorist organization. Given Hamas's proximity – especially after its 2007 takeover of Gaza – Israeli media frequently report on the activities of Hamas leaders in Gaza and abroad. This coverage includes speeches and other actions that could affect the region.

<sup>340</sup> Bakir Oweida, "Netanyahu's Flagrant Bigotry on Palestinian Unity," Al Arabiya, June 22, 2014, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/views/news/middle-east/2014/06/22/Netanyahu-s-flagrant-bigotry-on-Palestinian-unity.html> [338].

<sup>341</sup> Uriel Heilman, "The Images Missing from the Gaza War," JTA, July 31, 2014, <http://www.jta.org/2014/07/31/news-opinion/the-images-missing-from-the-gaza-war> [339].

<sup>342</sup> Uriel Heilman, "The Images Missing from the Gaza War," JTA, July 31, 2014, <http://www.jta.org/2014/07/31/news-opinion/the-images-missing-from-the-gaza-war> [339].

<sup>343</sup> Uriel Heilman, "NYT on Why It Hasn't Shown Photos of Hamas Fighters: We Don't Have Any," JTA, July 31, 2014, <http://www.jta.org/2014/07/31/news-opinion/nyt-on-why-no-photos-of-hamas-fighters-we-dont-have-any-1> [340].

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<sup>334</sup> Lahav Harkov, "Journalists Threatened by Hamas for Reporting Use of Human Shields," *Jerusalem Post*, July 31, 2014, <http://www.jpost.com/Operation-Protective-Edge/Journalists-threatened-by-Hamas-for-reporting-use-of-human-shields-369619> [341].

<sup>335</sup> Lahav Harkov, "Journalists Threatened by Hamas for Reporting Use of Human Shields," *Jerusalem Post*, July 31, 2014, <http://www.jpost.com/Operation-Protective-Edge/Journalists-threatened-by-Hamas-for-reporting-use-of-human-shields-369619> [341].

<sup>336</sup> Lahav Harkov, "Journalists Threatened by Hamas for Reporting Use of Human Shields," *Jerusalem Post*, July 31, 2014, <http://www.jpost.com/Operation-Protective-Edge/Journalists-threatened-by-Hamas-for-reporting-use-of-human-shields-369619> [341].

<sup>337</sup> Lahav Harkov, "Journalists Threatened by Hamas for Reporting Use of Human Shields," *Jerusalem Post*, July 31, 2014, <http://www.jpost.com/Operation-Protective-Edge/Journalists-threatened-by-Hamas-for-reporting-use-of-human-shields-369619> [341].

<sup>338</sup> Noah Pollak, "All The News Hamas Sees Fit to Print," *Weekly Standard*, July 20, 2014, [http://www.weeklystandard.com/blogs/all-news-hamas-sees-fit-print\\_796823.html](http://www.weeklystandard.com/blogs/all-news-hamas-sees-fit-print_796823.html) [342].

<sup>339</sup> Noah Pollak, "All The News Hamas Sees Fit to Print," *Weekly Standard*, July 20, 2014, [http://www.weeklystandard.com/blogs/all-news-hamas-sees-fit-print\\_796823.html](http://www.weeklystandard.com/blogs/all-news-hamas-sees-fit-print_796823.html) [342].

<sup>340</sup> "Hamas Interior Ministry to Social Media Activists: Always Call the Dead 'Innocent Civilians'; Don't Post Photos of Rockets Being Fired From Civilian Population Centers," Middle East Media Research Institute, July 17, 2014, <http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/8076.htm> [343].

<sup>341</sup> "Hamas Interior Ministry to Social Media Activists: Always Call the Dead 'Innocent Civilians'; Don't Post Photos of Rockets Being Fired From Civilian Population Centers," Middle East Media Research Institute, July 17, 2014, <http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/8076.htm> [343].

<sup>342</sup> "Hamas Interior Ministry to Social Media Activists: Always Call the Dead 'Innocent Civilians'; Don't Post Photos of Rockets Being Fired From Civilian Population Centers," Middle East Media Research Institute, July 17, 2014, <http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/8076.htm> [343].

<sup>343</sup> Jack Mirkinson, "Bob Schieffer Has Some Very...Strong Opinions About Gaza," *Huffington Post*, July 29, 2014, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/07/29/bob-schieffer-gaza\\_n\\_5630519.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/07/29/bob-schieffer-gaza_n_5630519.html) [344].

<sup>344</sup> Sean Maguire, "When Does Reuters Use the Word Terrorist or Terrorism?" Reuters Editors, June 13, 2007, <http://blogs.reuters.com/reuters-editors/2007/06/13/when-does-reuters-use-the-word-terrorist-or-terrorism/> [345].

<sup>345</sup> "Summer Camp Hamas Style: Palestinian Boys Take Part in Training Camps," *Daily Mail*, June 10, 2014, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2653860/Summer-camp-Hamas-style-young-boys-endure.html> [346].

<sup>346</sup> Harriet Sherwood, "Yorkshire-Educated Woman Becomes First Female Hamas Spokesperson," *Guardian* [U.K.], November 7, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/07/yorkshire-educated-woman-female-hamas-spokesperson> [347].

<sup>347</sup> Harriet Sherwood, "Yorkshire-Educated Woman Becomes First Female Hamas Spokesperson," *Guardian* [U.K.], November 7, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/07/yorkshire-educated-woman-female-hamas-spokesperson> [347].

<sup>348</sup> "Profile: Hamas Palestinian movement," BBC News, July 14, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-13331522> [348].

<sup>349</sup> Harriet Sherwood, "Hamas and Iran Rebuild Ties Three Years after Falling out over Syria," *Guardian* [U.K.], January 9, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jan/09/hamas-iran-rebuild-ties-falling-out-syria> [286].

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*Hamas*

**Rhetoric:**



[349]

[\*Ismail Haniyeh, September 6, 2020\*](#) [349]

*Addressing a crowd in the Ain al-Hilweh Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon:*

“Not long ago, our rockets only reached metres from Gaza’s borders. Today, the resistance in Gaza possesses rockets that can reach Tel Aviv and beyond Tel Aviv.”<sup>350</sup>



[350]

[\*Hamas statement, June 6, 2020\*](#) [350]

“The anniversary of the Arab setback comes this year amidst a new setback as Arab and Islamic states are running to normalise relations with the Israeli enemy.

Reinforcing resistance “is the only way to wipe out the consequences of the setback.”

The Israeli annexation plan “will be defeated by the Palestinian freedom fighters.”<sup>351</sup>



[351]

[\*Qassam Brigades statement, December 13, 2018\*](#) [351]

“From the heroic Barkan operation to the Ofra operation, the Qassam Brigades are undertaking a new battle.”<sup>352</sup>



[352]

[\*Abdelatif al-Qanou, spokesman, December 13, 2018\*](#) [352]

“The heroic Silwad operation is a response to the Zionist occupation’s crimes and behavior in the occupied West Bank. The West Bank’s youth and men will remain rebels against the occupation and continue to clash with it until it is banished.” (Tweet)<sup>353</sup>



[353]

[\*Sami Abu Zuhri, spokesman, March 8, 2016\*](#) [353]

“Hamas congratulates the three heroic operations this evening, in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, and Jaffa, and considers this proof of the failure for all these theories to abort the Intifada (uprising), which will continue until the realization of its goals...Hamas celebrates the martyrs that have ascended through these operations, and confirms that their pure blood will, God willing, be the fuel for escalating the Intifada.”<sup>354</sup>



[354]

[\*Husam Badran, spokesman, March 3, 2016\*](#) [354]

“The next phase of the ‘Jerusalem intifada’ will cause great fear among settlers, who will no longer enjoy security... In the next days, the West Bank’s settlers will witness additional surprises from Hamas.”<sup>355</sup>



[355]

[\*Ismail Haniyeh, deputy leader, March 2016\*](#) [355]

“We will continue along the path of resistance in all its aspects, including the armed struggle.”<sup>356</sup>

[\*Hossam Badran, spokesman, August 2015\*](#) [356]

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[356]

“The resistance efforts are carried out by individual actors in the West Bank, and the shooting and stabbing of soldiers and settlers represent a significant change that will have implications for the future. Hamas supports these operations and encourages their perpetrators. It believes that their continuation is an important step for ensuring that dealings with the Israeli occupation return to their natural status, as a prelude to an overall direct confrontation.”<sup>357</sup>



[357]

[Anonymous Hamas official, August 2015 \[357\]](#)

“We’ve never taken sides, but we have our say on what’s happening. Iran is a friend. It was once a very close friend, and we don’t forget that. But today there are efforts to normalize ties once again. This is facing some hurdles from both sides.”<sup>358</sup>



[358]

[Abu Almajd, Qassam Brigades member, August 2015 \[358\]](#)

*On the unveiling of a Hamas-designed dirt road near the Gaza-Israel border:*

“We built this road in spite of the Jews. Now we are closer to the Jews, only meters between. The Jews’ road is straight, and the Jakar road is straight. We can watch each other during cease-fires and during wars.”<sup>359</sup>



[359]

[Sami Abu Zuhri, Hamas spokesman, March 2015 \[359\]](#)

“All the Israeli parties are alike to us. They may disagree on many things but what unite them is their constant denial of the rights of the Palestinians and their will to continue the aggression against our people.”<sup>360</sup>



[360]

[Bassem Naim, political bureau deputy chief, March 2015 \[360\]](#)

“Iran reconfirmed its support for the resistance during the meeting, thus restoring warmth to the relationship between Hamas and Iran, which had cooled due to regional events.”<sup>361</sup>



[361]

[Sami Abu Zuhri, Hamas spokesman, January 31, 2015 \[361\]](#)

*Hamas statement in response to an Egyptian court decision banning the Qassam Brigades:*

“We reject the Egyptian court’s decision against Qassam Brigades. It is a political, dangerous decision that serves only the Zionist occupation.”<sup>362</sup>



[362]

[Sami Abu Zuhri, Hamas spokesman, January 2015 \[362\]](#)

*In reference to the EU’s appeal against the ruling that Hamas should be removed from the terror list:* “[The EU appeal] reflects the European bias to the Israeli occupation and it provides the occupation with a legitimacy to kill Palestinian civilians.”<sup>363</sup>

[Sami Abu Zuhri, Hamas spokesman, November 2014 \[363\]](#)

“[Israeli officials are] legitimate targets for the resistance.”<sup>364</sup>



*Hamas*

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[363]

[Sami Abu Zuhri, Hamas spokesman, November 2014 \[364\]](#)

*In reference to the November 18, 2014 terror attack at the Har Nof synagogue in Jerusalem in which four Jews and one Druze policeman were killed: “The operation in Jerusalem is a response to the murder of the martyr Yusuf Ramouni and to the series of crimes by the occupier at Al-Aqsa and Hamas calls to continue these operations. Hamas calls for more operations like it.”<sup>365</sup>*



[364]

[Sami Abu Zuhri, Hamas spokesman, September 2014 \[365\]](#)

*In reference to the summer 2014 kidnapping of three Israeli teenagers: “Hamas praises the role martyrs Abu Aysha and Kawasme played in chasing down Israeli settlers and we stress that their assassination will not weaken the resistance.”<sup>366</sup>*



[365]

[Khaled Meshaal, Hamas political bureau chief, August 25, 2014 \[366\]](#)

*“What is the difference between what Netanyahu, [Israeli Defense Minister Moshe] Yaalon, and [Israel Defense Forces chief of staff Benny] Gantz are doing—killing thousands of civilians, children, women, entire neighborhoods, targeting mosques, destroying hospitals and [United Nations Relief and Works Agency] schools—what's the difference between that and what the Nazis did in the 1930s and '40s? And what Hitler did. This is the real holocaust.”<sup>367</sup>*



[366]

[Sami Abu Zuhri, Hamas spokesman, August 2014 \[367\]](#)

*“We did not start this war. It was imposed on us. We will defend ourselves as long as the Israeli occupation chooses to fight us.”<sup>368</sup>*



[367]

[Sami Abu Zuhri, Hamas spokesman, August 2014 \[368\]](#)

*“We are ready for all options, including peaceful ones through mediators, whether they are Egyptians or others. We are also ready for the resistance choice, which is based on exhausting the occupation and putting it under pressure until it accepts our demands.”<sup>369</sup>*



[368]

[Sami Abu Zuhri, Hamas spokesman, August 2014 \[369\]](#)

*In reference to how he “navigates” the Gaza Strip in times of war: “I do my best to move naturally and stay among the ordinary people. It is natural to sacrifice ourselves the same way our people do, or even more than them. We have to be on the frontline and we will stay this way; I myself will continue to do this. I will remain similar to my brothers whatever the costs are.”<sup>370</sup>*



[369]

*Hamas*



[Sami Abu Zuhri, Hamas spokesman, August 2014](#) [370]

“The Palestinian delegation is united on all the demands of the Palestinian fighters, which are the demands of the Palestinian people.”<sup>371</sup>

[370]



[Sami Abu Zuhri, Hamas spokesman, August 2014](#) [371]

“There are also military goals related to the destruction of Israeli deterrence and power and showing that the power of this occupation is no more than a big lie.”<sup>372</sup>

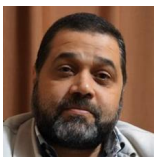
[371]



[Sami Abu Zuhri, Hamas spokesman, July 2014](#) [372]

“The fact that people are willing to sacrifice themselves against Israeli warplanes in order to protect their homes, I believe this strategy is proving itself.”<sup>373</sup>

[372]



[Osama Hamdan, Hamas's representative in Lebanon, July 2014](#) [373]

“We all remember how the Jews used to slaughter Christians, in order to mix their blood in their holy matzot. This is not a figment of imagination or something taken from a film. It is a fact, acknowledged by their own books and by historical evidence. It happened everywhere, here and there.”

[373]

“The Israelis concentrate on killing children. I believe that this is engraved in the historical Zionist and Jewish mentality, which has become addicted to the killing of women and children.”<sup>374</sup>



[Sami Abu Zuhri, Hamas spokesman, July 2014](#) [374]

“All Israelis have now become legitimate targets.”<sup>375</sup>

[374]



[Hamas sermon in Gaza's Deir al-Balah Mosque, airing on Hamas's al-Aqsa TV station, July 2014](#) [375]

“Our doctrine in fighting you [the Jews] is that we will totally exterminate you. We will not leave a single one of you alive, because you are alien usurpers of the land and eternal mercenaries. Research the history, my brothers. Wherever the Jews lived, they spread corruption.”<sup>376</sup>

[375]



[Mohammed Deif, July 2014](#) [376]

“[Israeli soldiers face Palestinian soldiers] craving to die.”<sup>377</sup>

[376]

*Hamas*

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[377]

[\*Moussa Mohammed Abu Marzouk, May 2014 \[377\]\*](#)

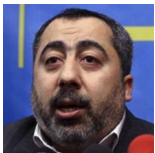
“ Hamas will not recognize Israel. This is a red line that cannot be crossed. ”<sup>378</sup>



[378]

[\*Moussa Abu Marzouk, deputy head of Hamas’s political bureau, May 2014 \[378\]\*](#)

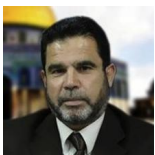
“ Hamas will not recognize Israel. This is a red line that cannot be crossed. ”<sup>379</sup>



[379]

[\*Taher Nunu, Hamas government spokesman, April 2014 \[379\]\*](#)

“ The issue of Hamas recognizing Israel is a complete nonstarter. ”<sup>380</sup>



[380]

[\*Salah Bardaweel, Hamas official, February 2014 \[380\]\*](#)

“ The biggest disaster would be to recognize Israel as a Jewish state. This would pave the way for the expulsion of more Palestinians from their historic land. ”<sup>381</sup>



[381]

[\*Mahmoud al-Zahar, member of Hamas’s politburo in Gaza, January 2014 \[381\]\*](#)

“ Hamas is not politically isolated. Do not exaggerate the difficulties with Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood is not finished. ”<sup>382</sup>



[382]

[\*Ismail Haniyeh, Hamas prime minister, January 2014 \[382\]\*](#)

“ Beware this generation. This is a generation which knows no fear. It is the generation of the missile, the tunnel and the suicide operations. ”<sup>383</sup>



[383]

[\*Moussa Mohammed Abu Marzouk, October 2013 \[383\]\*](#)

“ We want all the rifles to be pointed at Israel. ”<sup>384</sup>



[384]

[\*Moussa Abu Marzouk, deputy head of Hamas’s political bureau, October 2013 \[384\]\*](#)

“ We want all the rifles to be pointed at Israel. ”<sup>385</sup>

*Hamas*

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[Ismail Haniyeh, Hamas prime minister, March 2013](#) [385]

“We will fight on all fronts and pay the necessary price to obtain their freedom.”<sup>386</sup>

[385]



[Ismail Haniyeh, Hamas prime minister February 2013](#) [386]

Hamas can obtain its goals “only through fighting and armed resistance and no compromise should be made with the enemy.”<sup>387</sup>

[386]



[Khaled Meshaal, chief of Hamas's political bureau, November 2012](#) [387]

“The popularly elected Egyptian leadership is giving everyone a lesson. The Egyptian leadership has shown that it is taking a new course and adopting a new vision. The era when Israel did what it pleased is over.”<sup>388</sup>

[387]



[Khaled Meshaal, chief of Hamas's political bureau, November 2012](#) [388]

“The weapons of Palestinian resistance were partially manufactured inside the Gaza Strip, and the rest was supplied by certain countries, including Iran.”<sup>389</sup>

[388]



[Khaled Meshaal, chief of Hamas's political bureau, November 2012](#) [389]

“Israel committed itself to lift the blockade of the Gaza Strip and stop killings. The latest Israeli aggression showed that resistance is the ideal choice for establishing a Palestinian state. The results we have achieved are a victory for all Palestinians and a victory for the Arab nation.”<sup>390</sup>

[389]



[Ismail Haniyeh, then-Hamas-designated disputed prime minister of the Palestinian Authority, February 2012](#) [390]

Hamas can obtain its goals “only through fighting and armed resistance and no compromise should be made with the enemy.”<sup>391</sup>

[390]



[Ismail Haniyeh, Hamas prime minister, January 2012](#) [391]

“I do not see anywhere in the Arab world where the Islamists will not take over.”<sup>392</sup>

[391]



[Ismail Haniyeh, January 2012](#) [392]

“I do not see anywhere in the Arab world where the Islamists will not take over.”<sup>393</sup>

[392]

*Hamas*



[393]

[\*Ismail Haniyeh, Hamas prime minister, December 14, 2011 \[393\]\*](#)

“Today we say it clearly. Armed resistance and armed struggle are the strategic way to liberate the Palestinian land from the sea to the river.”<sup>394</sup>



[394]

[\*Ismail Haniyeh, Hamas prime minister, May 2011 \[394\]\*](#)

*On the assassination of Osama bin Laden:*

“We condemn the assassination of an Arab holy warrior. We regard this as a continuation of the American policy based on oppression and the shedding of Muslim and Arab blood.”<sup>395</sup>



[395]

[\*Atallah Abu al-Subh, former Hamas minister of culture, April 8, 2011 \[395\]\*](#)

“Whoever is killed by a Jew receives the reward of two martyrs, because the very thing that the Jews did to the prophets was done to him... The Jews are the most despicable and contemptible nation to crawl upon the face of the Earth, because they have displayed hostility to Allah... Allah will kill the Jews in the hell of the world to come, just like they killed the believers in the hell of this world... The Jews kill anyone who believes in Allah. They do not want to see any peace whatsoever on Earth.”<sup>396</sup>



[396]

[\*Hamas Ministry for Refugee Affairs, February 2011 \[396\]\*](#)

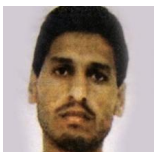
“We cannot agree to a programme that is intended to poison the minds of our children... Holocaust studies in refugee camps is a contemptible plot and serves the Zionist entity with a goal of creating a reality and telling stories in order to justify acts of slaughter against the Palestinian people.”<sup>397</sup>



[397]

[\*Akram Abdullah Kassem, one of the Hamas prisoners released in exchange for Gilad Shalit, 2011 \[397\]\*](#)

“I’m demanding to the resistance not to spare any effort to kidnap more soldiers. The Jews only understand one language—the language of force.”<sup>398</sup>



[398]

[\*Mohammed Deif, Statement in “The Path of Glory,” an official Hamas booklet marking the group’s 23rd anniversary, December 2010 \[398\]\*](#)

“The al-Qassam Brigades ... are better prepared to continue on our exclusive path to which there is no alternative, and that is the path of jihad and the fight against the enemies of the Muslim nation and mankind.... We say to our enemies: you are going on the path to extinction (zawal), and Palestine will remain ours including Al-Quds (Jerusalem), Al-Aqsa (mosque), its towns and villages from the (Mediterranean) Sea to the (Jordan) River, from its North to its South. You have no right to even an inch of it.” (Statement in “The Path of Glory,” an official Hamas booklet marking the group’s 23rd anniversary)<sup>399</sup>

[\*Mahmoud al-Zahar, member of Hamas’s politburo in Gaza, June 15, 2010 \[399\]\*](#)



*Hamas*

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“We have liberated Gaza, but have we recognized Israel? Have we given up our lands occupied in 1948? We demand the liberation of the West Bank, and the establishment of a state in the West Bank and Gaza, with Jerusalem as its capital - but without recognizing [Israel]. This is the key - without recognizing the Israeli enemy on a single inch of land...”

[399]

“Our plan for this stage is to liberate any inch of Palestinian land, and to establish a state on it. Our ultimate plan is [to have] Palestine in its entirety. I say this loud and clear so that nobody will accuse me of employing political tactics. We will not recognize the Israeli enemy.”<sup>400</sup>



[\*Sami Abu Zuhri, Hamas spokesman, August 2009\*](#) [400]

*In reference to the U.N.'s suggestion to include what Zuhri calls the “so-called Holocaust” in Gaza’s school curriculum: “We think it’s more important to teach Palestinians the crimes of the Israeli occupation.”*<sup>401</sup>

[400]



[\*Younis al-Astal, Hamas spiritual leader, August 2009\*](#) [401]

Adding the Holocaust to UNRWA’s curriculum in Gaza would be “marketing a lie and spreading it... I do not exaggerate when I say this issue is a war crime, because of how it serves the Zionist colonizers and deals with their hypocrisy and lies.”<sup>402</sup>

[401]



[\*Sami Abu Zuhri, Hamas spokesman, August 2009\*](#) [402]

Abu Zuhri objected to adding the “so-called Holocaust” to Gaza’s curriculum. “We think it’s more important to teach Palestinians the crimes of the Israeli occupation.”<sup>403</sup>

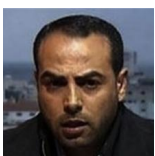
[402]



[\*Fawzi Barhoum, Hamas spokesperson, December 27, 2008\*](#) [403]

“Hamas will continue the resistance until the last drop of blood.”<sup>404</sup>

[403]



[\*Ayman Taha, Hamas co-founder, December 22, 2008\*](#) [404]

“It is our right as an occupied people to defend ourselves from the occupation by all means possible including suicide attacks.”<sup>405</sup>

[404]



[\*Ismail Haniyeh, Hamas prime minister, October 2008\*](#) [405]

“We are witnessing the collapse of the American Empire.”<sup>406</sup>

[405]



[\*Khaled Meshaal, Hamas political bureau chief, March 2008\*](#) [406]

“We don’t deny the Holocaust, but we believe the Holocaust was exaggerated by the Zionist movement to whip people.”<sup>407</sup>

*Hamas*

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[406]



[407]

[\*Khaled Meshaal, March 2008 \[407\]\*](#)

"We agree on the [Palestinian] state with the borders of June 4, 1967, Jerusalem as its capital, fully sovereign without settlements, the right of return, but without the recognition of Israel."<sup>408</sup>



[408]

[\*Khaled Meshaal, March 2008 \[408\]\*](#)

"We don't deny the Holocaust, but we believe the Holocaust was exaggerated by the Zionist movement to whip people."<sup>409</sup>



[409]

[\*Ismail Haniyeh, Hamas prime minister, November 26, 2007 \[409\]\*](#)

"Let the whole world hear us: We will not relinquish a centimeter of Palestine, and we will not recognize Israel."<sup>410</sup>



[410]

[\*Ahmad Bahar, speaker of the Palestinian Legislative Council, April 20, 2007 \[410\]\*](#)

"This is Islam, that was ahead of its time with regards to human rights in the treatment of prisoners, but our nation was tested by the cancerous lump, that is the Jews, in the heart of the Arab nation..."<sup>411</sup>



[411]

[\*Ahmad Bahar, speaker of the Palestinian Legislative Council, April 20, 2007 \[411\]\*](#)

"Be certain that America is on its way to utter destruction, America is wallowing [in blood] today in Iraq and Afghanistan, America is defeated and Israel is defeated, and was defeated in Lebanon and Palestine... Make us victorious over the community of infidels... Allah, take the Jews and their allies, Allah, take the Americans and their allies... Allah, annihilate them completely and do not leave anyone of them."<sup>412</sup>



[412]

[\*Yusef al-Sharafi, Hamas representative, April 12, 2007 \[412\]\*](#)

"...the Jewish faith does not wish for peace nor stability, since it is a faith that is based on murder: 'I kill, therefore I am'... Israel is based only on blood and murder in order to exist, and it will disappear, with Allah's will, through blood and Shahids [martyrs]."<sup>413</sup>



[413]

[\*Moussa Mohammed Abu Marzouk, 2007 \[413\]\*](#)

"Why should any Palestinian 'recognize' the monstrous crime carried out by Israel's founders and continued by its deformed modern apartheid state..."<sup>414</sup>

[\*Ismail Haniyeh, then-Hamas-designated disputed prime minister of the\*](#)

***Hamas***

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[414]

[\*Palestinian Authority, December 2006 \[414\]\*](#)

“We have joined this movement to become martyrs, and not ministers.”<sup>415</sup>



[415]

[\*Ismail Haniyeh, then-Hamas-designated disputed prime minister of the Palestinian Authority, December 2006 \[415\]\*](#)

“The arrogant of the world and the Zionists... want us to recognize the usurpation of the Palestinian lands and stop jihad and resistance and accept the agreements reached with the Zionist enemies in the past. I'm insisting from this podium that these issues won't materialize. We will never recognize the usurper Zionist government and will continue our jihad-like movement until the liberation of Jerusalem.”<sup>416</sup>



[416]

[\*Ismail Haniyeh, then-Hamas-designated disputed prime minister of the Palestinian Authority, October 6, 2006 \[416\]\*](#)

“I tell you with all honesty, we will not recognize Israel, we will not recognize Israel, we will not recognize Israel.”<sup>417</sup>



[417]

[\*Ismail Haniyeh, then-Hamas-designated disputed prime minister of the Palestinian Authority, October 6, 2006 \[417\]\*](#)

The Palestinians face an “unethical and unjust siege led by the United States administration.”<sup>418</sup>



[418]

[\*Ismail Haniyeh, then-Hamas-designated disputed prime minister of the Palestinian Authority, August 2006 \[418\]\*](#)

“We will never recognize the usurper Zionist government and will continue our jihad-like movement until the liberation of Jerusalem.”<sup>419</sup>



[419]

[\*Ismail Haniyeh, then-Hamas-designated disputed prime minister of the Palestinian Authority, August 2006 \[419\]\*](#)

“They (Israelis) assume the Palestinian nation is alone. This is an illusion. ... We have a strategic depth in the Islamic Republic of Iran.”<sup>420</sup>



[420]

[\*Ismail Haniyeh, then-Hamas-designated disputed prime minister of the Palestinian Authority, June 2006 \[420\]\*](#)

Haniyeh: “Now I have a question. In addition to being prime minister, I am also the Minister of Youth and Sports. I used to play football myself. What do I have to do to receive an invitation from (German) Chancellor Angela Merkel to attend the World Cup games?”

Spiegel Online: “For that to happen, you would also have to recognize Israel's right to exist and renounce violence.”

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Haniyeh: "Then I'd rather watch the World Cup on television."<sup>421</sup>



[421]

[\*Ismail Haniyeh, then-Hamas-designated disputed prime minister of the Palestinian Authority, May 2006\*](#) [421]

"We are a nation that sacrifices all of itself for resistance to the occupation. Our people know that we only have an enemy and it is the Israeli occupiers. We must fight only the occupation."<sup>422</sup>



[422]

[\*Ismail Haniyeh, then-Hamas-designated disputed prime minister of the Palestinian Authority, May 2006\*](#) [422]

The United States an "enemy of Islam and Muslims."<sup>423</sup>



[423]

[\*Khaled Meshaal, Hamas political bureau chief, March 2006\*](#) [423]

"The Israeli state is the aggressor and the occupier. The Palestinians are the victims, so who should recognize whom?"<sup>424</sup>



[424]

[\*Khaled Meshaal, Hamas political bureau chief, February 6, 2006\*](#) [424]

"We will stop targeting Israeli civilians when Israel stops its aggression against Palestinian civilians."<sup>425</sup>



[425]

[\*Khaled Meshaal, Hamas political bureau chief, February 6, 2006\*](#) [425]

"As far as the Holocaust is concerned, there is no one who denies that the Jewish people suffered great injustices. Nevertheless, it is necessary to scientifically analyze the event and determine the scope of the Holocaust."<sup>426</sup>



[426]

[\*Khaled Meshaal, Hamas political bureau chief, February 3, 2006\*](#) [426]

"Before Israel dies, it must be humiliated and degraded. Allah willing, before they die, they will experience humiliation and degradation every day."<sup>427</sup>



[427]

[\*Khaled Meshaal, Hamas political bureau chief, February 3, 2006\*](#) [427]

"We say to this West, which does not act reasonably, and does not learn its lessons: By Allah, you will be defeated."<sup>428</sup>



[428]

[\*Khaled Meshaal, Hamas political bureau chief, February 3, 2006\*](#) [428]

"We say to this West, which does not act reasonably, and does not learn its lessons: By Allah, you will be defeated. You will be defeated in Palestine, and your defeat there has already begun. True, it is Israel that is being defeated there, but when Israel is defeated,

*Hamas*

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[428] its path is defeated, those who call to support it are defeated, and the cowards who hide behind it and support it are defeated. Israel will be defeated, and so will whoever supported or supports it... America will be defeated in Iraq. Wherever the [Islamic] nation is targeted, its enemies will be defeated, Allah willing. The nation of Muhammad is gaining victory in Palestine. The nation of Muhammad is gaining victory in Iraq, and it will be victorious in all Arab and Muslim lands.”<sup>429</sup>



[\*Khaled Meshaal, Hamas political bureau chief, February 3, 2006\*](#) [429]

[429]

“Before Israel dies, it must be humiliated and degraded. Allah willing, before they die, they will experience humiliation and degradation every day. America will be of no avail to them. Their generals will be of no avail to them. The last of their generals has been forgotten. Allah has made him disappear. He's over. Gone is that Sharon, behind whose back they would hide and find shelter, and with whom they would feel relatively secure. Today they have frail leaders, who don't even know where our Lord placed them. Allah willing, we will make them lose their eyesight, we will make them lose their brains.”<sup>430</sup>



[\*Mahmoud al-Zahar, member of Hamas's politburo in Gaza, January 25, 2006\*](#) [430]

[430]

“[Hamas] will not change a single word in its covenant [which explicitly calls for the destruction of Israel].”<sup>431</sup>



[\*Ismail Haniyeh, future Hamas-designated disputed prime minister of the Palestinian Authority, January 20, 2006\*](#) [431]

[431]

“The constants and the strategy of Hamas do not change according to circumstances. Hamas will stay faithful to jihad, to resistance, to guns, to Palestine and to Jerusalem.”<sup>432</sup>



[\*Sami Abu Zuhri, Hamas spokesman, 2006\*](#) [432]

[432]

*In reference to the illegal smuggling of over \$800,000 into the Gaza Strip:* “I was bringing a sum of money which was donated by our people abroad for the Palestinian people. If bringing support for my people is a crime then I am very proud of this crime.”<sup>433</sup>



[\*Ismail Haniyeh, future Hamas-designated disputed prime minister of the Palestinian Authority, January 2006\*](#) [433]

[433]

“The Americans and the Europeans say to Hamas: either you have weapons or you enter the legislative council. We say weapons and the legislative council. There is no contradiction between the two.”<sup>434</sup>



[\*Mahmoud al-Zahar, member of Hamas's politburo in Gaza, 2006\*](#) [434]

[434]

Hamas's armed wing “will remain, they will grow, they will be armed more and more until the complete liberation of all Palestine.”<sup>435</sup>

[\*Mahmoud al-Zahar, member of Hamas's politburo in Gaza, October 11, 2005\*](#)



*Hamas*

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[435]

“The Taliban are 1,000 times more honorable than the American occupation and its collaborators... We are not a copy of the Taliban... Judge us according to what we are. Everyone must stop blaming the Taliban for things that in fact characterize the people of the West, who seek to turn the international community into a swamp of corruption and destruction, and to spread abomination and disease in the name of absolute freedom....”

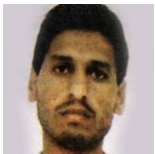
“We are part of Allah's promise that Islam will enter Palestine and every home in the world, with a revelation of the power of Allah the Omnipotent, and a revelation of the inferiority of the infidels. Hamas is leading this plan in Gaza, the West Bank, and the 1948 territories, and the Muslim Brotherhood is leading it everywhere else. This is part of Allah's predestination.”<sup>436</sup>



[436]

[\*Mushir al-Masri, Hamas spokesman, September 16, 2005\*](#) [436]

“We have come here in multitudes to proclaim that Hirbiya and Ashkelon will be taken by the mujahideen. We have come here to say that the weapons of the resistance that you see here will remain, Allah willing, so that we can liberate Palestine - all of Palestine - from the Sea to the River, whether they like it or not.”<sup>437</sup>



[437]

[\*Mohammed Deif, military leader, August 2005\*](#) [437]

*In response to Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas's appeal that Hamas disarm after Israel's 2005 withdrawal from the Gaza Strip:*

“We tell the Zionists who have tarnished our soil, we tell you that all of Palestine will become a hell.” (Video released on the Internet)<sup>438</sup>



[438]

[\*Mohammed Deif, military leader, August 2005\*](#) [438]

*In response to Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas's appeal that Hamas disarm after Israel's 2005 withdrawal from the Gaza Strip:*

“To the brothers of the Palestinian Authority, the liberation of Gaza has been realised thanks to the sincere actions of the Mujahidin, and as a consequence our weapons will stay in our hands... We warn all those who try to touch the weapons of those who liberated Gaza: These arms must be used to free our occupied motherland.”<sup>439</sup>



[439]

[\*Abdel Aziz Rantisi, Hamas leader, March 28, 2004\*](#) [439]

“We knew that Bush is the enemy of God, the enemy of Islam and Muslims. America declared war against God. Sharon declared war against God, and God declared war against America, Bush and Sharon.”<sup>440</sup>



[440]

[\*Hamas statement, released after the assassination of Hamas leader Ahmed Yassin, March 25, 2004\*](#) [440]

“The Zionists didn't carry out their operation without getting the consent of the terrorist American Administration, and it must take responsibility for this crime. All the Muslims of the world will be honored to join in on the retaliation for this crime.”<sup>441</sup>

***Hamis***



[Mahmoud al-Zahar, member of Hamas's politburo in Gaza, January 15, 2004](#)

[441]

"She is not going to be the last because the march of resistance will continue until the Islamic flag is raised, not only over the minarets of Jerusalem, but over the whole universe."<sup>442</sup>



[Ahmed Yassin, Hamas founder, January 30, 2003](#) [442]

[442]

"America is implementing Zionist Israeli policy to serve the Zionist project in Palestine. The battle America is undertaking is designed to allow Israel to remain in the Palestinian homeland.... Zionist Israeli and Jewish policy is to strike every power emerging in the Arab and Muslim world... Any country that develops power threatening to this entity (Israel), they want to smash it."<sup>443</sup>



[Ahmed Yassin, Hamas founder, January 10, 2003](#) [443]

[443]

"Suicide attacks and jihad reinforce national unity in the ranks.... Our voice is one of struggle, of jihad and of suicide.... Iraq could win if it equipped its citizens with explosive belts and turned them into human bombs."<sup>444</sup>



[Ahmed Yassin, Hamas founder, June 2002](#) [444]

[444]

"We reject this US domination and this frantic war. From our side, we concentrate on striking blows to it here in Palestine, with the aim of ironing out the Jewish entity in Palestine, which is the cause of trouble in the world... America... always works in favor of the existence of the Israeli entity... This is mainly due to the Zionist-Christian conviction and the 70 million Americans who follow the Protestant creed, which is in favor of Jews against the Muslims. The same applies to most of Britain's population... Because the Israeli and American enemies are ravaging the earth; they do not believe in anything besides power. The Ummah must adopt the principle of Jihad and fighting the enemies."<sup>445</sup>



[Ahmed Yassin, Hamas founder, March 2001](#) [445]

[445]

"The Movement within two months [after the intifada broke] was able to launch qualitative operations that shook the world... there are qualitative Jihad operations such as those in Natanya and Khadera. We are proud of such operations and the next days will witness better and bigger ones... I say that the final battle will result in our victory and that this land will reject this enemy similar to its predecessors..."<sup>446</sup>



[Moussa Mohammed Abu Marzouk, 1994](#) [446]

[446]

Appearing on Lebanese television, announcing Hamas's responsibility for a suicide attack within Israel: "Death is a goal for every Muslim."<sup>447</sup>



[Hamis Communiqué, October 1988](#) [447]

[447]

"The Jews: killed the prophets... slaughtered the innocent... imprisoned our pious... No peace with the murderers!"<sup>448</sup>

*Hamas*



[448]

[\*Hamas Communiqué, September 1988\*](#) [448]

“The Nazi Jews tried different methods... Let everyone know that Hamas... is only against Jews and those twisted in their manner... it realizes the Jews' methods in trying to cause hostility and friction between people... We should lend punches to the Jews wherever possible [to commemorate Muhammad's defeat of one of the Jewish tribes of Arabia].”<sup>449</sup>



[449]

[\*Hamas Charter, 1988\*](#) [449]

“‘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.”<sup>450</sup>



[450]

[\*Hamas Charter, 1988\*](#) [450]

“Israel, Judaism and Jews challenge Islam and the Moslem people. ‘May the cowards never sleep.’”<sup>451</sup>



[451]

[\*Hamas Manifesto, 1987\*](#) [451]

“Our sons and youths who love the eternal life more than our enemies love this life.... Our people know the way of sacrifice and martyrdom and are generous in this regard.”<sup>452</sup>



[452]

[\*Hamas website, Date unknown\*](#) [452]

“The US failure to uphold values of human rights, equal rights, respect for international law and a shared sense of solidarity with the oppressed in the case of Palestine demonstrates the big chasm between President Obama's rhetoric and the reality he engenders through his unethical support to Israel.”<sup>453</sup>



[453]

[\*Hamas website, Date unknown\*](#) [453]

“Israel is not a normal state. It is a settler colonial state that was created during and after mass expulsion and dispossession of the Palestinian people. Sixty-seven years on, millions of Palestinians remain victim of occupation, exile and dispersion. Recognizing Israel effectively means legitimizing what Israel has done to the Palestinian people and legitimizing all Zionist claims upon which Israel was created.”<sup>454</sup>

<sup>350</sup> “Hamas and Hezbollah leaders meet in Lebanon,” Middle East Eye, September 6, 2020, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/lebanon-palestine-hezbollah-hamas-nasrallah-haniyeh-meeting> [103].

<sup>351</sup> “Hamas: Normalising ties with Israel is the ‘new Palestinian setback,’” Middle East Monitor, June 6, 2020, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20200606-hamas-normalising-ties-with-israel-is-the-new-palestinian-setback/> [454].

<sup>352</sup> Adam Rasoon, “Hamas spokesman praises ‘heroic’ West Bank terror attack,” Times of Israel, December 13, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-spokesman-praises-heroic-west-bank-terror-attack/> [229].

<sup>353</sup> Adam Rasoon, “Hamas spokesman praises ‘heroic’ West Bank terror attack,” Times of Israel, December 13, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-spokesman-praises-heroic-west-bank-terror-attack/> [229].

<sup>354</sup> Jack Moore, “Hamas Hails Surge of Israel Attacks That Left U.S. Tourist Dead as ‘Heroic,’” Newsweek, March 9, 2016, <http://www.newsweek.com/hamas-lauds-surge-israel-attacks-killed-us-tourist-heroic-435009> [455].

*Hammas*

- <sup>355</sup> Maayan Groisman, "Hammas: Infiltrations into Israeli settlements to manifest the next phase of the 'intifada,'" *Jerusalem Post*, March 4, 2016, <http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Hamas-Infiltrations-into-Israeli-settlements-to-manifest-the-next-phase-of-the-intifada-446905> [456].
- <sup>356</sup> Jack Khoury, "Hammas Denies Links With Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and Elsewhere," *Haaretz*, March 23, 2016, <http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/.premium-1.710423> [15].
- <sup>357</sup> Adnan Abu Amer, "Hammas: Israel security measures won't stop attacks on settlers," *Al-Monitor*, August 25, 2015, [http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/08/west-bank-hamas-armed-attacks-israel-security-measures.html?utm\\_source=Al-Monitor+Newsletter+%5BEnglish%5D&utm\\_campaign=32314a85b0-August\\_26\\_2015&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=0\\_28264b27a0-32314a85b0-102352589](http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/08/west-bank-hamas-armed-attacks-israel-security-measures.html?utm_source=Al-Monitor+Newsletter+%5BEnglish%5D&utm_campaign=32314a85b0-August_26_2015&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_28264b27a0-32314a85b0-102352589) [457].
- <sup>358</sup> "Ali Hashem, "Hammas caught between Tehran and Riyadh," *Al-Monitor*, August 23, 2015, [http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/08/iran-hamas-ties-saudi-arabia.html?utm\\_source=Al-Monitor+Newsletter+%5BEnglish%5D&utm\\_campaign=fa9f4c6af6-August\\_24\\_2015&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=0\\_28264b27a0-fa9f4c6af6-102352589](http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/08/iran-hamas-ties-saudi-arabia.html?utm_source=Al-Monitor+Newsletter+%5BEnglish%5D&utm_campaign=fa9f4c6af6-August_24_2015&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_28264b27a0-fa9f4c6af6-102352589) [458].
- <sup>359</sup> Jodi Rudoren, "A Dirt Road in Gaza, Devised by Hammas as a Message to Israel," *New York Times*, August 4, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/05/world/middleeast/a-dirt-road-in-gaza-intended-to-send-a-message.html> [459].
- <sup>360</sup> "Exit polls show Israel rivals in dead heat," *Al Jazeera*, March 18, 2015, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/03/israel-likud-zionist-union-neck-neck-150317200757434.html> [460].
- <sup>361</sup> Adnan Abu Amer, "Hammas hopes to expand regional relations," *Al-Monitor*, March 26, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/03/hamas-region-relations-saudi-arabia-egypt.html> [461].
- <sup>362</sup> Michael Georgy, "Egyptian court bans Hammas' armed wing, lists it as terrorist organization," *Reuters*, January 31, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/31/us-egypt-hamas-idUSKBN0L40BS20150131> [128].
- <sup>363</sup> "EU to Appeal Against Ruling that Hammas Should Be Off Terror List," *Irish Times*, January 19, 2015, <http://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/europe/eu-to-appeal-against-ruling-that-hamas-should-be-off-terror-list-1.2071714> [462].
- <sup>364</sup> "Hammas Says Israeli Leaders Are 'Legitimate Targets'," *Times of Israel*, November 21, 2014, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-says-israeli-leaders-are-legitimate-targets/> [463].
- <sup>365</sup> Lazar Berman, "Hammas spokesman said to have harassed female foreign reporter," *Times of Israel*, December 7, 2014, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-spokesman-said-to-have-harassed-female-foreign-reporter/> [464].
- <sup>366</sup> Ali Sawafta, "Israel says its troops kill Hammas men accused of slaying teens," *Reuters*, September 23, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/09/23/us-palestinians-israel-idUSKCN0H109H20140923> [465].
- <sup>367</sup> Michael Isikoff, "In Personal Plea, Top Hammas Leader Calls on Obama to Stop 'Holocaust' in Gaza," *Yahoo News*, August 25, 2014, <http://news.yahoo.com/in-personal-plea-top-hamas-leader-calls-on-obama-to-stop-holocaust-in-gaza-180315615.html> [466].
- <sup>368</sup> Amelia Smith, "Hammas spokesperson Sami Abu Zuhri on Israel's targeted assassinations, lifting the siege on Gaza and Egypt's role in the crisis," *Middle East Monitor*, August 11, 2014, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/resources/interviews/13395-hamas-spokesperson-sami-abu-zuhri-on-israels-targeted-assassinations-lifting-the-siege-on-gaza-and-egypts-role-in-the-crisis> [467].
- <sup>369</sup> Amelia Smith, "Hammas spokesperson Sami Abu Zuhri on Israel's targeted assassinations, lifting the siege on Gaza and Egypt's role in the crisis," *Middle East Monitor*, August 11, 2014, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/resources/interviews/13395-hamas-spokesperson-sami-abu-zuhri-on-israels-targeted-assassinations-lifting-the-siege-on-gaza-and-egypts-role-in-the-crisis> [467].
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