

*Hamas*

---

**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**

*Executive Summary*

Hamas is an offshoot of the [Muslim Brotherhood](#) 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.

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.

## *Hamas*

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>1</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>2</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>3</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>4</sup> Hamas is "one of the wings of the Moslem Brotherhood in Palestine."<sup>5</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>6</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 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>7</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>8</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

## *Hamás*

---

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>9</sup>

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

Hamás 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](#) as saying “Israel will exist and will continue to exist until Islam will obliterate it, just as it obliterated others before it.”<sup>10</sup> Hamás upholds “armed resistance” as the only method to liberate Palestine. In Article 13 of the charter, Hamás 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>11</sup>

### *Hamás’s Changing Strategies*

Since Hamás 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, Hamás must renounce violence, recognize Israel, and recognize past agreements signed by the PLO. In a 2007 op-ed in the *Los Angeles Times*, Hamás’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>12</sup> Hamás has remained rigid in its core beliefs, but has demonstrated some flexibility in its positions and strategies.

### Hamás’s adherence to its 1988 charter

In his 2007 *Los Angeles Times* op-ed, Abu Marzouk struck a conciliatory tone regarding Hamás’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>13</sup> While Marzouk’s statement does not entirely annul the charter, it suggests the possibility of a pragmatic path toward moderation in which Hamás is not bound by inflexible dogma.

However, just a year before Marzouk made this remark, Mahmoud Zahar, a co-founder of Hamás, declared that the group would “not change a single word in its covenant.”<sup>14</sup> Similarly, a senior Hamás 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 [Hamás] charter.”<sup>15</sup>

### Hamás’s 2017 political document

On May 1, 2017, Hamás 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 Hamás’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, Hamás continues to embrace “armed resistance” against Israel in its pursuit of the “liberation” of Palestine “from the river to the sea.”<sup>16</sup> The document also makes no mention of Hamás’s origins within the Muslim Brotherhood, which the group’s leaders have claimed to disavow. In March 2016, Hamás spokesman [Sami Abu Zuhri](#) denied any links between Hamás and the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>17</sup> Ahead of the document’s release, Hamás leaders said the new document does not replace the original 1988 charter, which remains in effect with its linkage to the Brotherhood.<sup>18</sup>

### The potential acceptance of pre-1967 lines

Hamás 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, Hamás’s Prime Minister [Ismail Haniyeh](#) stated that Hamás would accept a *temporary* Palestinian state within the pre-1967 areas and a 20-year truce with Israel.<sup>19</sup>

Hamás 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 Hamás and the PLO negotiated their unity deal in June 2014, Hamás spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri declared that while Hamás would continue to not recognize Israel, the group would not “obstruct” any future negotiations between Israel and the PLO.<sup>20</sup>

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

## *Hamas*

---

### 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>21</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>22</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>23</sup>

Hamis offered Israel a *hudna* twice after that: in 2006 then-Prime Minister [Ismail Haniyeh](#) offered a 20-year truce for a temporary state in the territories,<sup>24</sup> and in 2008 then-politburo leader [Khaled Meshaal](#) 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>25</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>26</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>27</sup> Fatah condemned Blair’s rumored role and said Hamas should coordinate its ceasefire talks through the PLO.<sup>28</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>29</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 “gun” the “only response” to Israel.<sup>30</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>31</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>32</sup>

Hamis and Fatah signed a reconciliation agreement in October 2017 to 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>33</sup>

Hamis maintains “all types of legitimate resistance” are acceptable against Israel, including “armed resistance” as a means to an end—the liberation of Palestine.<sup>34</sup>

### Antisemitism

Hamis asserts its conflict is with the State of Israel, not because they are Jews but because they are occupiers. Hamis claims it “has no problem with anyone because of their religion, race, sect or idea; its key contradiction, however, is with the occupiers and aggressors.”<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, Hamis has a history of embracing and promoting antisemitism. Its 1988 charter reiterates a Quranic call for Muslims to “fight the Jews (killing the Jews)” before the arrival of Judgment Day.<sup>36</sup>

Hamis members have used “Jews” and “Israel” interchangeably. When Hamis unveiled a new dirt road near the Gaza-Israel border in August 2015, Qassam Brigades member Abu Almajd declared, “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>37</sup> In July 2014, Hamis’s representative in Lebanon, Osama Hamdan, recalled “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.”<sup>38</sup> Hamdan later defended his use of the antisemitic blood libel by declaring he had Jewish friends.<sup>39</sup> Also that month, a sermon in Gaza’s Deir al-Balah Mosque airing on Hamis’s al-Aqsa TV stated flatly Hamis’s “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>40</sup>

## *Hamas*

When Hamas unveiled its new political document in 2017, it purposely removed all references to Jews from its charter to promote the message that it opposes Israel specifically, not Jews themselves. Hamas spokesman Fawzi Barhoum said the group's message was it is "a pragmatic and civilized movement. We do not hate the Jews. We only fight who occupies our lands and kills our people."<sup>41</sup> However, Hamas members continue to include blatant antisemitism in their propaganda. In February 2018, for example, former Hamas official Mustafa al-Lidawi accused Jews of using the blood of non-Jews to prepare pastries for Purim.<sup>42</sup> In July 2019, senior Hamas official and former interior minister Fathi Hamad called on Palestinians around the world to "attack every Jew possible in all the world and kill them."<sup>43</sup> Hamas later condemned the comments, saying its fight was with Israel and not with worldwide Jewry.<sup>44</sup> Hamad again called for violence against Jews in a speech aired on Al-Aqsa TV in May 2021, when he accused Jews of spreading corruption and urged Arabs in Jerusalem to "cut off the heads of the Jews."<sup>45</sup>

### *Organizational Structure:*

Hamas is organizationally split across four sectors: the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, the Palestinian diaspora, and Israeli prisons. These subdivisions are overseen by Hamas's political bureau, which is led by Ismail Haniyeh. Hamas holds internal elections every four years to elect new leaders to oversee these bureaus, as well as for its overall political leader, local leaders, and the Shura Council, which is responsible for vetting and selecting candidates. These elections take place every four years.<sup>46</sup> 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 bureau.

#### *Political bureau*

The bureau is the Hamas's principal authority. It is headed by [Ismail Haniyeh](#), who took over from Khaled Meshaal in May 2017.<sup>47</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>48</sup> In June 2016, Meshaal announced his intention to step down by the end of the year ahead of Hamas's internal elections.<sup>49</sup> On February 13, 2017, [Yahya Sinwar](#), 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>50</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>51</sup> The Shura Council is responsible for vetting and selecting candidates to run in Hamas's internal elections to run the political bureau. These elections take place every four years.<sup>52</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>53</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>54</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>55</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>56</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>57</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>58</sup> The PA ended its electricity payments to Israel that June, citing Hamas's failure to reimburse it for the electricity costs.<sup>59</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.

## *Hamas*

---

The move followed talks in Cairo between Hamas and the Egyptian government.<sup>60</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>61</sup>

### *West Bank*

Hamas maintains a regional political bureau that oversees the affairs of Palestinians in the West Bank.<sup>62</sup> Hamas elected Saleh al-Arouri to a four-year term to lead its West Bank bureau during its 2021 internal elections.<sup>63</sup>

### *Palestinian Diaspora*

Hamas maintains a regional political bureau that oversees the affairs of Palestinians in the diaspora.<sup>64</sup> Hamas elected former political bureau chief Khaled Meshaal to a four-year term as leader of this branch in April 2021. Hamas also elevated Meshaal to position of deputy leader under Haniyeh.<sup>65</sup>

### *Prisons*

Hamas maintains a regional political bureau that oversees the affairs of Palestinians in Israeli prisons.<sup>66</sup> Hamas elected Salameh Katawi to a four-year term to lead its prisons bureau during its 2021 internal elections.<sup>67</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>68</sup> The stated goal of the Qassam Brigades is: "To contribute in the effort of liberating Palestine and restoring the rights of the Palestinian people."<sup>69</sup> Qassam Brigades leader [Mohammad Deif](#) is widely suspected of having ordered suicide bombings and other attacks carried out by the Brigades.<sup>70</sup> The Qassam Brigades claim to work as independent cells organized throughout the Gaza Strip and West Bank.<sup>71</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>72</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>73</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>74</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>75</sup>

Membership estimates of the Qassam Brigades range from several thousand to 27,000.<sup>76</sup> Hamas had an estimated 20,000 fighters, with another 20,000 in its police and security forces.<sup>77</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>78</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>79</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>80</sup> Hamas's budget in 2013 was more than \$700 million, with \$260 million earmarked to the administrative costs of running Gaza.<sup>81</sup> In 2014, the

## *Hamas*

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>82</sup>

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>83</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>84</sup> and fundraising activities in Western Europe and North America.<sup>85</sup> Hamas has also sought to use Palestinian businesses to collect and transfer money. In June 2021, for example, Israeli authorities raided two money-exchange companies in the West Bank—the Beit Al-Maqdes Company in Tulkarm and the Marish Company for Money Exchange in Hebron—accused of transferring money to Hamas. According to Israeli authorities, the two companies transferred approximately \$410,000 to Hamas members in the West Bank. According to authorities, the businesses collected the funds from Palestinian businesses in the West Bank. Hamas has also allegedly used money-exchange companies in Gaza to transfer money from Iran.<sup>86</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>87</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>88</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>89</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>90</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>91</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>92</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>93</sup>

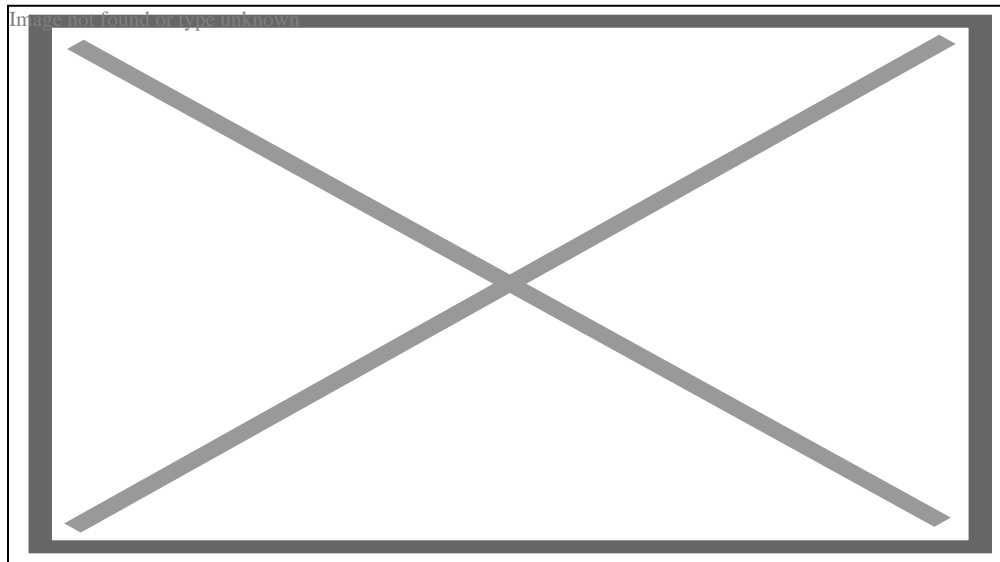
Constructing the tunnels was not a cheap endeavor, as each tunnel is believed to have cost between \$80,000 and \$200,000. To pay for the tunnels' construction, Hamas turned to Gazan-based mosques and charities, which reportedly began offering pyramid schemes to invest in the tunnels with high rates 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>94</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>95</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>96</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>97</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>98</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>99</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>100</sup> According to terrorism experts and the U.S. Treasury, Bitcoin is a small but growing medium for terror financing.<sup>101</sup> In August 2020, U.S. authorities seized more than \$1 million in cryptocurrency assets linked to Hamas’s armed wing. Hamas allegedly saw a surge in bitcoin donations during and after its 11-day conflict with Israel in May 2021. Between May 10 and May 20 that year, the Qassam Brigades’ website, [alqassam.ps](http://alqassam.ps), saw an increase in traffic and engagement. During the same period, the Qassam Brigades’ Telegram channel increased by 261,000 followers. Following the May 2021 conflict, one Hamas senior official claimed a continuous rise in the proportion of cryptocurrency in Hamas’s finances.<sup>102</sup> Israel began seizing digital cryptocurrency wallets belonging to Hamas in July 2021.<sup>103</sup>

*Foreign investors*

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>104</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>105</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 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>106</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>107</sup>



## *Hamas*

---

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>108</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>109</sup> According to Marzouk, Hamas had not received any Iranian money since 2009.<sup>110</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>111</sup> Sinwar also called Iran the “largest backer financially and militarily” of Hamas.<sup>112</sup>

As of August 2018, Iran reportedly transferred \$70 million annually to Hamas.<sup>113</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>114</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>115</sup>

Iran’s support of Hamas has since continued. Ahead of Hamas’s 11-day conflict with Israel in May 2021, Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh wrote to Iranian Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei asking the Muslim world to support Hamas.<sup>116</sup> During a July 2021 speech to Christians United For Israel, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Nikki Haley declared that during that conflict Israel not only fought against Hamas, but “against Iranian weapons, Iranian money and Iranian trained terrorists.”<sup>117</sup> As such, Haley referred to Iran as “the sugar daddy of Hamas.”<sup>118</sup>

On July 12, 2021, the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia found Iran, Syria, the IRGC, the Iranian Ministry of Intelligence and Security, and three Iranian banks—Markazi, Mell, and Saderat—liable for an October 1, 2015, Hamas terror attack that killed Israeli-American Eitam Henkin and his wife, Naama, in the West Bank. The orphaned Henkin children and the Henkins’ estate filed the lawsuit in 2019 under the terrorism exception to the U.S. Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act. The ruling was the first time a U.S. court found Markazi, Mell, or Saderat liable for a terror attack by a foreign terrorist organization against a U.S. national.<sup>119</sup>

### Qatar

Qatar has invested heavily in the Gazan economy. In October 2012, the country launched a \$254 million plan to modernize Gaza.<sup>120</sup> The country later upped its investment to \$400 million.<sup>121</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>122</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>123</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>124</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>125</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>126</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>127</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>128</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>129</sup> In July 2014, Congressmen Peter Roskam (R-IL) and John Barrow (D-GA) collected signatures from 22 of 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>130</sup> Qatar has continued to provide financial support to the Gaza Strip and provide shelter for Hamas’s leaders in the country.

## *Hamas*

---

### 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>131</sup>

Saudi Arabia has also invested in Gaza, pledging \$1 billion to rebuild infrastructure after Hamas’s 2008 war with Israel.<sup>132</sup>

### Turkey

Turkey reportedly planned to donate \$300 million to Gaza’s Hamas government in 2011,<sup>133</sup> while other reports cited that this would become an annual donation to Hamas.<sup>134</sup> Turkey has reportedly limited its financial investments in Gaza to non-governmental bodies to avoid directly providing aid to Hamas. After Israel and Turkey reestablished normalized ties in 2016, Turkey announced an investment of about \$3.5 billion for Gaza. In October 2018, the Palestinian Authority (PA) reached an agreement with Turkey for the country to boost its investments in both the PA-administered West Bank and the Hamas-run Gaza Strip.<sup>135</sup>

### *Foreign Investment*

Despite international sanctions, Hamas has invested in multiple foreign businesses and front companies. Hamas’s Shura Council and Executive Committee maintain oversight and control of Hamas’s international investment portfolio, but the group’s Investment Office oversees the day-to-day operations of Hamas’s investment portfolio. As of May 2022, Hamas’s Investment Office held assets estimated to be worth more than \$500 million, including companies operating in Sudan, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, and the United Arab Emirates.<sup>136</sup>

In September 2019, the United States sanctioned Turkey-based Zaher Jabarin, a Hamas official overseeing Hamas’s financial office. According to the U.S. Treasury Department, Jabarin developed a financial network in Turkey to allow Hamas to raise, invest, and launder money prior to transferring it to Gaza and the West Bank. The United States also sanctioned Turkey-based Redin Exchange, which was involved in transferring \$10 million to the Qassam Brigades earlier that March and had aided in the transfer of tens of millions of dollars to Hamas through Iran’s IRGC and Hezbollah since 2017.<sup>137</sup> Redin’s leadership dissolved the company shortly after the designation.<sup>138</sup>

In May 2021, an unnamed Iranian diplomat told Reuters Hamas has investment portfolios worth hundreds of millions of dollars in companies across the Middle East. According to this source, Hamas “controls about 40 companies in Turkey, UAE, Sudan, Saudi Arabia and Algeria which deal mainly in real estate and infrastructure.”<sup>139</sup> Hamas conceals approximately \$500 million in assets through these companies.<sup>140</sup> Based off this Reuters report, the Double Cheque website determined most of Hamas’s investments are managed from within Turkey.<sup>141</sup> Double Cheque identified Turkish investment company Trend GYO, which has five Turkish subsidiaries run by members of Hamas.<sup>142</sup>

On May 24, 2022, the U.S. Department of Treasury’s Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) sanctioned Trend GYO for being owned, controlled, or directed by, directly or indirectly, Hamas. According to OFAC, as of 2018 Hamas elements held about 75 percent of Trend GYO’s issued capital. The Treasury Department further charged that Hamas intended to privately issue more than \$15 million of Trend GYO’s shares to senior officials in the investment portfolio. OFAC also designated senior Investment Office officials Ahmed Sharif Abdallah Odeh and Usama Ali, as well as Turkey-based Hisham Younis Yahia Qafisheh, who aided the transfer of funds on behalf of various companies linked to Hamas’s investment portfolio. Qafisheh served as the deputy chairman of the board of Trend GYO. OFAC also sanctioned ‘Abdallah Yusuf Faisal Sabri, a Kuwait-based Jordanian national who has worked as a longtime accountant in the Hamas Finance Ministry. Additionally, OFAC designated five other companies affiliated with those designated individuals.<sup>143</sup>

### *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>144</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> “The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement,” Avalon Project, Yale Law School, August 18, 1988, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/hamas.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp).

<sup>2</sup> “Document of General Principles & Policies,” Hamas, May 1, 2017, <http://hamas.ps/en/post/678/a-document-of-general-principles-and-policies>.

<sup>3</sup> “Document of General Principles & Policies,” Hamas, May 1, 2017, <http://hamas.ps/en/post/678/a-document-of-general-principles-and-policies>.

*Hammas*

- 4 “The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement,” Avalon Project, Yale Law School, August 18, 1988, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/hamas.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp).
- 5 “The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement,” Avalon Project, Yale Law School, August 18, 1988, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/hamas.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp).
- 6 “The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement,” Avalon Project, Yale Law School, August 18, 1988, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/hamas.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp).
- 7 “The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement,” Avalon Project, Yale Law School, August 18, 1988, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/hamas.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp).
- 8 “The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement,” Avalon Project, Yale Law School, August 18, 1988, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/hamas.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp).
- 9 “The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement,” Avalon Project, Yale Law School, August 18, 1988, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/hamas.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp).
- 10 “The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement,” Avalon Project, Yale Law School, August 18, 1988, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/hamas.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp).
- 11 “The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement,” Avalon Project, Yale Law School, August 18, 1988, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/hamas.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp).
- 12 Mousa Abu Marzook, “Hammas’ Stand,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 10, 2007, <http://www.latimes.com/la-oe-marzook10jul10,0,4334205.story#axzz2wYFiHYTy>.
- 13 Mousa Abu Marzook, “Hammas’ Stand,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 10, 2007, <http://www.latimes.com/la-oe-marzook10jul10,0,4334205.story#axzz2wYFiHYTy>.
- 14 “Hammas in Their Own Words,” Anti-Defamation League, May 2, 2011, <http://www.adl.org/anti-semitism/muslim-arab-world/c/hamas-in-their-own-words.html>.
- 15 “Hammas in Their Own Words,” Anti-Defamation League, May 2, 2011, <http://www.adl.org/anti-semitism/muslim-arab-world/c/hamas-in-their-own-words.html>.
- 16 “A Document of General Principles & Policies,” Hammas Media Office, accessed May 2, 2017, <http://hamas.ps/ar/uploads/documents/06c77206ce934064ab5a901fa8bfef44.pdf>;
- “New Hammas policy document ‘aims to soften image,’” BBC News, May 1, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-39744551>.
- 17 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>.
- 18 “New Hammas policy document ‘aims to soften image,’” BBC News, May 1, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-39744551>.
- 19 “Haniyeh Calls for Formation of Palestinian State on 1967 Lines,” *Haaretz*, December 19, 2006, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/haniyeh-calls-for-formation-of-palestinian-state-on-1967-lines-1.207641>.
- 20 Elhanan Miller, “Hammas: We Will Never Recognize Israel,” *Times of Israel*, April 27, 2014, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-official-denies-group-could-recognize-israel/>.
- 21 Saud Abu Ramadan, “Interview: Hammas Head Sheikh Ahmed Yassin,” UPI, June 16, 2003, [http://www.upi.com/Business\\_News/Security-Industry/2003/06/16/Interview-Hamas-head-Sheikh-Ahmed-Yassin/UPI-87751055774665/](http://www.upi.com/Business_News/Security-Industry/2003/06/16/Interview-Hamas-head-Sheikh-Ahmed-Yassin/UPI-87751055774665/).
- 22 Matthew Tostevin, “Israel Scorns Hammas 10-Year Truce Plan,” Reuters, January 26, 2004, [http://web.archive.org/web/20040306192510/http://ads.eircom.net/hserver/acc\\_random=1408048099911/site=eircom/area=news/aamsz=135x57/pos=15](http://web.archive.org/web/20040306192510/http://ads.eircom.net/hserver/acc_random=1408048099911/site=eircom/area=news/aamsz=135x57/pos=15).
- 23 Matthew Tostevin, “Israel Scorns Hammas 10-Year Truce Plan,” Reuters, January 26, 2004, [http://web.archive.org/web/20040306192510/http://ads.eircom.net/hserver/acc\\_random=1408048099911/site=eircom/area=news/aamsz=135x57/pos=15](http://web.archive.org/web/20040306192510/http://ads.eircom.net/hserver/acc_random=1408048099911/site=eircom/area=news/aamsz=135x57/pos=15).
- 24 “Haniyeh Calls for Formation of Palestinian State on 1967 Lines,” *Haaretz*, December 19, 2006, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/haniyeh-calls-for-formation-of-palestinian-state-on-1967-lines-1.207641>.
- 25 Associated Press, “Hammas Offers Truce in Return for 1967 Borders,” NBC News, April 21, 2008, [http://www.nbcnews.com/id/24235665/ns/world\\_news-mideast\\_n\\_africa/t/hamas-offers-truce-return-borders/#.U-0eFYBdV5w](http://www.nbcnews.com/id/24235665/ns/world_news-mideast_n_africa/t/hamas-offers-truce-return-borders/#.U-0eFYBdV5w).
- 26 Associated Press, “Hammas Offers Truce in Return for 1967 Borders,” NBC News, April 21, 2008, [http://www.nbcnews.com/id/24235665/ns/world\\_news-mideast\\_n\\_africa/t/hamas-offers-truce-return-borders/#.U-0eFYBdV5w](http://www.nbcnews.com/id/24235665/ns/world_news-mideast_n_africa/t/hamas-offers-truce-return-borders/#.U-0eFYBdV5w).
- 27 Khaled Abu Toameh, “Hammas, Fatah spar over peace talks with Tony Blair,” *Jerusalem Post*, August 13, 2015, <http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Hamas-holds-talks-with-Fatah-on-recent-efforts-to-reach-truce-with-Israel-412048>.
- 28 Khaled Abu Toameh, “Hammas, Fatah spar over peace talks with Tony Blair,” *Jerusalem Post*, August 13, 2015, <http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Hamas-holds-talks-with-Fatah-on-recent-efforts-to-reach-truce-with-Israel-412048>.
- 29 Adam Rasgon, “Hammas Leader to JPost: We’re Ready For Long-Term Ceasefire With Israel,” *Jerusalem Post*, September 6, 2017, <http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Hamas-leader-to-JPost-Were-ready-for-long-term-cease-fire-with-Israel-504435>.
- 30 “Haniyeh: No Compromise, Only Armed Resistance,” *Jerusalem Post*, February 13, 2012, <http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Haniyeh-No-compromise-only-armed-resistance>.
- 31 “Haniyeh: No Compromise, Only Armed Resistance,” *Jerusalem Post*, February 13, 2012, <http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Haniyeh-No-compromise-only-armed-resistance>.
- 32 Adnan Abu Amer, “Hammas’ Abu Marzouk Says Recognizing Israel a ‘Red Line,’” *Al-Monitor*, May 5, 2014, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulseen/originals/2014/05/interview-abu-marzouk-hamas-israel-fatah-reconciliation.html>.
- 33 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>;
- Dov Lieber, “Translation of leaked Hammas-Fatah agreement,” *Times of Israel*, October 13, 2017, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/translation-of-leaked-hamas-fatah-agreement/>;
- Dov Lieber, “In deal with Fatah, Hammas 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/>.
- 34 “About Hammas,” Hammas website, accessed August 3, 2021, <https://hamas.ps/en/page/5/About-Hamas>.
- 35 “About Hammas,” Hammas website, accessed August 3, 2021, <https://hamas.ps/en/page/5/About-Hamas>.
- 36 “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).
- 37 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>.
- 38 “Top Hammas Official Osama Hamdan: Jews Use Blood for Passover Matzos,” MEMRI, July 28, 2014, <https://www.memri.org/tv/top-hamas-official-osama-hamdan-jews-use-blood-passover-matzos>.
- 39 Sarah Smith, “Hammas aide: ‘I have Jewish friends,’” *Politico*, August 4, 2014, <https://www.politico.com/story/2014/08/hamas-spokesman-osama-hamdan-i-have-jewish-friends-109708>.
- 40 Ariel Ben Solomon, “Hammas 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>.

*Hamas*

- 41 “New Hamas policy document ‘aims to soften image.’” BBC News, May 1, 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-39744551>.
- 42 Juliane Helmhold, “Former Hamas official: Jews use blood of non-Jews to prepare Purim pastry,” *Jerusalem Post*, March 2, 2018, <https://www.jpost.com/arab-israeli-conflict/former-hamas-official-jews-use-blood-of-non-jews-to-prepare-purim-pastry-544048>.
- 43 “Kill all the Jews, says senior Hamas figure,” *Times* (London), July 16, 2019, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/kill-all-the-jews-says-senior-hamas-figure-zvx9jshbb>.
- 44 “Kill all the Jews, says senior Hamas figure,” *Times* (London), July 16, 2019, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/kill-all-the-jews-says-senior-hamas-figure-zvx9jshbb>.
- 45 “Senior Hamas Official Fathi Hammad To Palestinians In Jerusalem: Buy 5-Shekel Knives And Cut Off The Heads Of The Jews,” MEMRI, May 7, 2021, <https://www.memri.org/tv/snr-hamas-official-fathi-hammad-urges-people-jerusalem-cut-off-heads-jews-knives-day-reckoning-moment-destruction>.
- 46 “Mapping Palestinian Politics,” European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed August 4, 2021, [https://ecfr.eu/special/mapping\\_palestinian\\_politics/politburo/](https://ecfr.eu/special/mapping_palestinian_politics/politburo/); Aaron Boxerman, “Khaled Mashaal tapped as Hamas’s diaspora director,” *Times of Israel*, April 12, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/khaled-mashaal-tapped-as-hamass-international-director/>.
- 47 Isabel Kershner and Majd Al Waheidi, “Hamas Picks Ismail Haniya as Leader as Power Balance Shifts to Gaza,” *New York Times*, May 6, 2017, [https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/06/world/middleeast/hamas-leader-ismail-haniya-gaza.html?\\_r=1](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/06/world/middleeast/hamas-leader-ismail-haniya-gaza.html?_r=1).
- 48 “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?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/25/world/middleeast/hamas-leader-supports-syrian-opposition.html?_r=0).
- 49 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/>.
- 50 Fares Akram, “Hamas names shadowy militant as new leader in Gaza,” Associated Press, February 13, 2017, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/9854bb8c51b14fe29f52fb943c07c14a/hamas-names-top-militant-new-leader-gaza>; Rory Jones, “Hamas Puts Militant Yahya Sinwar in Charge of Gaza,” *Wall Street Journal*, February 13, 2017, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/hamas-puts-militant-yahya-sinwar-in-charge-of-gaza-1487001168>.
- 51 Mathew Levitt, “Playing Hardball Within Hamas,” Washington Institute for Near East Policy, January 6, 2009, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/political-hardball-within-hamas-hardline-militants-calling-shots-in-gaza>.
- 52 “Mapping Palestinian Politics,” European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed August 4, 2021, [https://ecfr.eu/special/mapping\\_palestinian\\_politics/politburo/](https://ecfr.eu/special/mapping_palestinian_politics/politburo/).
- 53 Jodi Rudoren and Isabel Kershner, “Israel Warns Against Embracing Newly Reconciled Palestinian Government,” *New York Times*, June 1, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/02/world/middleeast/israel-warns-against-embracing-newly-reconciled-palestinian-government.html>.
- 54 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>.
- 55 Fares Akram, “Hamas names shadowy militant as new leader in Gaza,” Associated Press, February 13, 2017, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/9854bb8c51b14fe29f52fb943c07c14a/hamas-names-top-militant-new-leader-gaza>; Rory Jones, “Hamas Puts Militant Yahya Sinwar in Charge of Gaza,” *Wall Street Journal*, February 13, 2017, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/hamas-puts-militant-yahya-sinwar-in-charge-of-gaza-1487001168>.
- 56 Avi Issacharoff, “As Qatar solves Gaza’s wages crisis, could Hamas have Liberman to thank?,” *Times of Israel*, July 25, 2016, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/as-qatar-solves-gazas-wages-crisis-could-it-be-that-hamas-has-liberman-to-thank/>.
- 57 Isra Namey, “Gaza pay cuts deepen rift between PA and Hamas,” *Al Jazeera*, April 11, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/04/gaza-pay-cuts-deepen-rift-pa-hamas-170410101939251.html>.
- 58 Nidal al-Mughrabi, “Abbas turns screws on Hamas by cutting Gaza’s electricity,” *Reuters*, April 27, 2017, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-palestinians-gaza-abbas-idUSKBN17T1J0>.
- 59 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-pressure-hamas-idUSKBN1931XK>.
- 60 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 Daraghmech, “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>.
- 61 Hamza Hendaqi and Fares Akram, “Palestinian rivals reach preliminary deal on governing Gaza,” Associated Press, October 12, 2017, <https://apnews.com/28b183df81c41cc9e2bbd1e62361b26/Palestinian-rivals-reach-preliminary-deal-on-governing-Gaza>; Dov Lieber, “Translation of leaked Hamas-Fatah agreement,” *Times of Israel*, October 13, 2017, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/translation-of-leaked-hamas-fatah-agreement/>; 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/>.
- 62 “Mapping Palestinian Politics,” European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed August 4, 2021, [https://ecfr.eu/special/mapping\\_palestinian\\_politics/politburo/](https://ecfr.eu/special/mapping_palestinian_politics/politburo/).
- 63 Reuters and *Jerusalem Post* staff, “Haniyeh reelected to lead Hamas in internal elections – report,” *Jerusalem Post*, August 1, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/haniyeh-reelected-to-lead-hamas-in-internal-elections-report-675521>.
- 64 “Mapping Palestinian Politics,” European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed August 4, 2021, [https://ecfr.eu/special/mapping\\_palestinian\\_politics/politburo/](https://ecfr.eu/special/mapping_palestinian_politics/politburo/).
- 65 Nidal Al-mughrabi, “Hamas elects former chief Meshaal to head diaspora office,” *Reuters*, April 12, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/hamas-elects-former-chief-meshaal-head-diaspora-office-2021-04-12/>; Aaron Boxerman, “Khaled Mashaal tapped as Hamas’s diaspora director,” *Times of Israel*, April 12, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/khaled-mashaal-tapped-as-hamass-international-director/>.
- 66 “Mapping Palestinian Politics,” European Council on Foreign Relations, accessed August 4, 2021, [https://ecfr.eu/special/mapping\\_palestinian\\_politics/politburo/](https://ecfr.eu/special/mapping_palestinian_politics/politburo/).
- 67 Reuters and *Jerusalem Post* staff, “Haniyeh reelected to lead Hamas in internal elections – report,” *Jerusalem Post*, August 1, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/haniyeh-reelected-to-lead-hamas-in-internal-elections-report-675521>.

*Hamas*

- 68 Jack Khoury, “Jabari deputy likely to be Hamas’ next military commander,” *Haaretz*, November 25, 2012, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/jabari-deputy-likely-to-be-hamas-next-military-commander.premium-1.480253>; “Hamas’ Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades,” Australian National Security, accessed August 5, 2021, <https://www.nationalsecurity.gov.au/Listedterroristorganisations/Pages/HamassIzzal-Dinal-QassamBrigades.aspx>.
- 69 “About Us,” Ezzedeen Al-Qassam Brigades, accessed August 5, 2021, <https://en.alqassam.ps/page/1>.
- 70 Martin Asser, “Profile: Hamas Commander Mohammed Deif,” BBC News, September 26, 2002, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/2284055.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/2284055.stm).
- 71 “About Us,” Ezzedeen Al-Qassam Brigades, accessed August 5, 2021, <https://en.alqassam.ps/page/1>.
- 72 Ilana Kass and Bard E. O’Neill, *The Deadly Embrace: The Impact of Israeli and Palestinian Rejectionism on the Peace Process* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1997), 267.
- 73 Matthew Levitt, “Hamas from cradle to grave,” *Middle East Quarterly*, Winter 2004, <http://www.meforum.org/582/hamas-from-cradle-to-grave>.
- 74 Matthew Levitt, “Hamas from cradle to grave,” *Middle East Quarterly*, Winter 2004, <http://www.meforum.org/582/hamas-from-cradle-to-grave>.
- 75 Elhanan Miller, “Is Prime Israel Target Muhammad Deif Overseeing Hamas’s Strategy?” *Times of Israel*, July 23, 2014, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/is-prime-israel-target-muhammad-deif-overseeing-hamass-strategy/>.
- 76 “Hamas’ Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades,” Australian National Security, accessed August 5, 2021, <https://www.nationalsecurity.gov.au/Listedterroristorganisations/Pages/HamassIzzal-Dinal-QassamBrigades.aspx>.
- 77 Yasmine Saleh, “Exclusive: With Muslim Brotherhood Crushed, Egypt Sets Sights on Hamas,” Reuters, January 14, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/01/14/us-egypt-gaza-idUSBREA0D09D20140114>.
- 78 Adnan Abu Amer, “Hamas Not Giving up Military Wing, despite Agreement,” Al-Monitor, May 2, 2014, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulseen/originals/2014/05/qassam-weapons-hamas-fatah-reconciliation.htm>.
- 79 Adnan Abu Amer, “Hamas Not Giving up Military Wing, despite Agreement,” Al-Monitor, May 2, 2014, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulseen/originals/2014/05/qassam-weapons-hamas-fatah-reconciliation.htm>.
- 80 “Report: 13-fold increase in Hamas budget since 2005,” Ma’an News Agency, last updated April 24, 2011, <http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=381277>.
- 81 Nidal al-Mughrabi, “Isolated Hamas Faces Money Crisis in Gaza Strip,” Reuters, October 9, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/10/09/us-palestinian-hamas-crisis-idUSBRE99804P20131009>.
- 82 Avi Issacharoff, “Hamas spends \$100 million a year on military infrastructure,” *Times of Israel*, September 8, 2016, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-spends-100-million-a-year-on-military-infrastructure/>.
- 83 Adnan Abu Amer, “Salary saga continues for PA employees in Gaza,” Al-Monitor, April 10, 2019, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2019/04/palestinian-authority-salaries-employees-hamas-government.html>.
- 84 “Country Reports on Terrorism,” U.S. Department of State, accessed June 24, 2014, <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2007/103714.htm>.
- 85 “Country Reports on Terrorism,” U.S. Department of State, accessed June 24, 2014, <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2007/103714.htm>.
- 86 Ahmed Melhem, “Israel raids exchange companies for allegedly transferring funds to Hamas,” Al-Monitor, June 21, 2021, <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/06/israel-raids-exchange-companies-allegedly-transferring-funds-hamas>.
- 87 Olivia Ward, “Canadian Charity with Alleged Ties to Hamas Listed as ‘terrorist’ Organization,” *Toronto Star*, April 29, 2014, [http://www.thestar.com/news/world/2014/04/29/canadian\\_muslim\\_charity\\_listed\\_as\\_terrorist\\_organization.html](http://www.thestar.com/news/world/2014/04/29/canadian_muslim_charity_listed_as_terrorist_organization.html).
- 88 Terry Baynes, “Muslim charity leaders lose appeal in Hamas case,” Reuters, December 7, 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/12/08/us-crime-hamas-idUSTRE7B707L20111208>.
- 89 Glenn R. Simpson, “Holy Land Foundation Allegedly Mixed Charity Money With Funds for Bombers,” *Wall Street Journal*, February 27, 2002, <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB101476025597651120>.
- 90 Josh Lipowsky, “‘A Way to Thwart Their Funding,’” *Jewish Standard*, August 1, 2014, [http://jstandard.com/index.php/content/item/a\\_way\\_to\\_thwart\\_their\\_funding/](http://jstandard.com/index.php/content/item/a_way_to_thwart_their_funding/).
- 91 Erik Larson and Christie Smythe, “Arab Bank Found Liable for Hamas Terrorist Attacks,” *Bloomberg*, September 23, 2014, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2014-09-22/arab-bank-found-liable-for-hamas-terrorist-attacks.html>.
- 92 Nicolas Pelham, “Gaza’s Tunnel Phenomenon: The Unintended Dynamics of Israel’s Siege,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 41, no. 4 (Summer 2012), <http://palestine-studies.org/jps/fulltext/42605>.
- 93 Karin Laub and Ibrahim Barzak, “Hamas in Worst Cash Crisis since Seizing Gaza,” Associated Press, March 13, 2014, <http://news.yahoo.com/hamas-worst-cash-crisis-since-seizing-gaza-181239758.html>.
- 94 Nicolas Pelham, “Gaza’s Tunnel Phenomenon: The Unintended Dynamics of Israel’s Siege,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 41, no. 4 (Summer 2012), <http://palestine-studies.org/jps/fulltext/42605>.
- 95 Nidal al-Mughrabi, “Isolated Hamas Faces Money Crisis in Gaza Strip,” Reuters, October 9, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/10/09/us-palestinian-hamas-crisis-idUSBRE99804P20131009>.
- 96 Nathaniel Popper, “Terrorists Turn to Bitcoin for Funding, and They’re Learning Fast,” *New York Times*, August 18, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/18/technology/terrorists-bitcoin.html>.
- 97 Ezzedeen AlQassam Brigades website, accessed August 20, 2019, <https://fund.alqassam.net/>.
- 98 Nathaniel Popper, “Terrorists Turn to Bitcoin for Funding, and They’re Learning Fast,” *New York Times*, August 18, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/18/technology/terrorists-bitcoin.html>.
- 99 Ezzedeen AlQassam Brigades website, accessed August 20, 2019, <https://www.qassam.ps/>.
- 100 “Somerset County Man Charged With Attempts To Provide Material Support To Hamas, Making False Statements, And Making Threat Against Pro-Israel Supporters,” U.S. Attorney’s Office, District of New Jersey, May 22, 2019, <https://www.justice.gov/usao-nj/pr/somerset-county-man-charged-attempts-provide-material-support-hamas-making-false>.
- 101 Nathaniel Popper, “Terrorists Turn to Bitcoin for Funding, and They’re Learning Fast,” *New York Times*, August 18, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/18/technology/terrorists-bitcoin.html>.
- 102 Benoit Faucon, Ian Talley, and Summer Said, “Israel-Gaza Conflict Spurs Bitcoin Donations to Hamas,” *Wallstreet Journal*, June 2, 2021, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/israel-gaza-conflict-spurs-bitcoin-donations-to-hamas-11622633400>; Dylan Tokar, “U.S. Seizes Fake Website, Cryptocurrency Assets From Terrorist Groups,” *Wall Street Journal*, August 13, 2020, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-seizes-fake-website-cryptocurrency-assets-from-terrorist-groups-11597343549>.

*Hamas*

- 103 "Israel says it's targeting Hamas' cryptocurrency accounts," Associated Press, July 8, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/hamas-middle-east-israel-cryptocurrency-business-5fe4e70d357545ffd22a152eb4358980>.
- 104 Matthew Levitt, "Hezbollah Finances: Funding the Party of God," Washington Institute for Near East Policy February 2005, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/hezbollah-finances-funding-the-party-of-god>.
- 105 Robert Tait, "Iran Cuts Hamas Funding over Syria," *Telegraph* [U.K.], May 31, 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/palestinianauthority/10091629/Iran-cuts-Hamas-funding-over-Syria.html>.
- 106 Robert Tait, "Iran Cuts Hamas Funding over Syria," *Telegraph* [U.K.], May 31, 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/palestinianauthority/10091629/Iran-cuts-Hamas-funding-over-Syria.html>.
- 107 Elhanan Miller, "Hamis and Iran Admit Increased Cooperation," *Times of Israel*, March 12, 2014, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-and-iran-admit-increased-cooperation/>.
- 108 Jack Moore, "Iran Ceases Financial Aid to Hamas in Gaza, Officials Claim," *Newsweek*, July 28, 2015, <http://europe.newsweek.com/iran-ceases-financial-aid-hamas-gaza-official-claims-330889?rx=us>.
- 109 "Iran has stopped giving money to Hamas, top official says," *Times of Israel*, July 28, 2015, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/iran-has-stopped-giving-us-money-top-hamas-official-says/>.
- 110 "Hamis slams Iranian 'lies' of financial, military support," i24News, January 31, 2016, <http://www.i24news.tv/en/news/international/middle-east/101236-160131-hamas-slams-iranian-lies-about-financial-military-support>.
- 111 Fares Akram and Josef Federman, "New Hamas leader says it is getting aid again from Iran," Associated Press, August 28, 2017, <https://apnews.com/0427f88fe857479caa633fad5683aa96/New-Hamas-leader-says-it-is-getting-aid-again-from-Iran>.
- 112 "Hamas leader in Gaza: Ties with Iran now 'fantastic'; we're preparing battle for Palestine," *Times of Israel*, August 28, 2017, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-leader-in-gaza-ties-with-iran-now-fantastic-were-preparing-battle-for-palestine/>.
- 113 Elior Levy, "Iran's \$100 million aid to Hamas and Islamic Jihad," *Ynet News*, August 3, 2018, <https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-5321985,00.html>.
- 114 Michael Bachner and staff, "Iran said increasing Hamas funding to \$30m per month, wants intel on Israel," *Times of Israel*, August 5, 2019, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/iran-agrees-to-increase-hamas-funding-to-30-million-per-month-report/>.
- 115 Herb Keinson, "U.S. Envoy: Iran Sanctions Help Cut Streams to Hamas and Hezbollah," *Jerusalem Post*, November 15, 2018, <https://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/US-envoy-iran-sanctions-help-to-cut-fund-streams-to-Hamas-and-Hezbollah-571980>.
- 116 Tzvi Joffre, "Jerusalem Day festivities shaken by rockets, violent riots," *Jerusalem Post*, May 10, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/jerusalem-day-riots-break-out-on-temple-mount-667735>; "Palestinians say nine killed in Israeli strikes in the Gaza Strip," *Jerusalem Post*, May 10, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/israel-striking-gaza-in-response-to-rocket-barrage-directed-at-jerusalem-667776>; "Hamas chief writes to Leader, asks Muslim world to support al-Quds," *Tehran Times*, May 9, 2021, <https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/460758/Hamas-chief-writes-to-Leader-asks-Muslim-world-to-support-al-Quds>.
- 117 Jacob Kornbluh, "Nikki Haley: 'Iran is the sugar daddy of Hamas,'" *Forward*, July 18, 2021, <https://forward.com/fast-forward/473134/nikki-haley-iran-is-the-sugar-daddy-of-hamas/>.
- 118 Jacob Kornbluh, "Nikki Haley: 'Iran is the sugar daddy of Hamas,'" *Forward*, July 18, 2021, <https://forward.com/fast-forward/473134/nikki-haley-iran-is-the-sugar-daddy-of-hamas/>.
- 119 Globe Newswire, "In Historic Ruling, Court Finds Iran, Syria and Iranian Banks Responsible for Murder of American Citizen in Israel," *Yahoo News*, July 13, 2021, <https://finance.yahoo.com/news/historic-ruling-court-finds-iran-182600941.html>; "US court: Iran, Syria liable for deaths of Israeli couple in 2015 terror attack," *Times of Israel*, July 15, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/us-court-rules-iran-syria-liable-for-deaths-of-israeli-couple-in-2015-attack/>.
- 120 "Qatar Funds Major Project to Rebuild Gaza," *Reuters*, October 16, 2012, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/middle-east/qatar-funds-major-project-to-rebuild-gaza-1.470405>.
- 121 "Qatar Ups Gaza Investment to \$400 Million," *Agence France-Presse*, October 23, 2012, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/455921/hamas-qatar-ups-gaza-investment-to-400-million/>.
- 122 Elhanan Miller, "US Blocked Qatari Funds Intended for Hamas Employees," *Times of Israel*, July 15, 2014, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/us-blocked-qatari-funds-intended-for-hamas-employees/>.
- 123 Nidal al-Mughrabi, "Qatar pays Gaza salaries to ease tensions; Israel says money's not for Hamas," *Reuters*, November 9, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-palestinians-gaza/qatar-pays-gaza-salaries-to-ease-tensions-israel-says-moneys-not-for-hamas-idUSKCN1NEIET>.
- 124 Ray Hanania, "Lawsuit names Qatar's royal family in killings of 10 Americans in Israel," *Arab News*, June 11, 2020, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1688051/middle-east>; Adam Kredo, "Lawsuit Alleges Qatar Secretly Financed Terror Attacks that Killed Americans," *Washington Free Beacon*, June 10, 2020, <https://freebeacon.com/national-security/lawsuit-alleges-qatar-secretly-financed-terror-attacks-that-killed-americans/>.
- 125 Agence France-Presse, "Gaza families receive Qatari financial aid," *Yahoo! News*, June 27, 2020, <https://news.yahoo.com/gaza-families-receive-qatari-financial-aid-104017621.html>.
- 126 Peter Kovessy, "Qatar FM: Hamas leader to remain in Dohas as 'dear guest,'" *Doha News*, January 13, 2015, <https://dohanews.co/qatar-fm-hamas-leader-remain-doha-dear-guest/>.
- 127 Patrick Wintour, "Hamas presents new charter presenting a Palestine based on 1967 borders," *Guardian*, May 1, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/01/hamas-new-charter-palestine-israel-1967-borders>.
- 128 Khaled Abu Amer, "Qatar's lifeline to Gaza," *Al-Monitor*, April 3, 2017, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/03/palestine-qatar-reconstruction-committee-gaza-consensus.html>.
- 129 Jonathan Schanzer, "Opinion: Confronting Qatar's Hamas Ties," *Politico*, July 10, 2014, <http://www.politico.com/story/2013/07/congress-qatar-stop-funding-hamas-93965.html>.
- 130 "Roskam, Barrow Lead Effort Urging Qatar to Abandon Support for Hamas," Office of U.S. Representative Peter Roskam, August 2, 2013, <https://roskam.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/roskam-barrow-lead-effort-urging-qatar-to-abandon-support-for-hamas>; "End Hamas support, 24 U.S. Reps tell Qatar," *Jewish News Service*, August 7, 2013, <https://www.jns.org/news-briefs/2013/8/7/us-house-letter-calling-on-qatar-to-sever-hamas-ties-gets-24-signatures#.WfDzgFtSy70=>.
- 131 Yonah Jeremy Bob and Frank G. Runyeon, "Arab Bank found liable over Hamas attacks, US jury says," *Jerusalem Post*, September 22, 2014, <http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Arab-Bank-found-liable-over-Hamas-attacks-US-jury-says-376094>.
- 132 "Saudi Arabia to Donate \$1B to Gaza," *Washington Times*, January 19, 2009, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2009/jan/19/saudi-arabia-donate-1-billion-rebuild-gaza/>.

*Hamas*

- 
- <sup>133</sup> Saed Bannoura, "Turkey to Grant Hamas \$300 Million," *International Middle East Media Center*, December 3, 2011, <http://www.imemc.org/article/62607>.
- <sup>134</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>.
- <sup>135</sup> Adnan Abu Amer, "Turkey steps up ties with Palestinian Authority," *Al-Monitor*, October 3, 2018, <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2018/10/turkey-balancing-ties-hamas-palestinian-authority-agreements.html>.
- <sup>136</sup> "Treasury Targets Covert Hamas Investment Network and Finance Official," U.S. Department of the Treasury, May 24, 2022, <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy0798>.
- <sup>137</sup> "Treasury Targets Wide Range of Terrorists and Their Supporters Using Enhanced Counterterrorism Sanctions Authorities," U.S. Department of the Treasury, September 10, 2019, <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/sm772>.
- <sup>138</sup> Abdullah Bozkurt, "Hamas shell company in Turkey had funneled Quds Force funds to Qassam Brigades for years," *Nordic Monitor*, March 16, 2021, <https://nordicmonitor.com/2021/03/hamas-shell-company-in-turkey-had-funneled-quds-force-funds-to-qassam-brigades-for-years/>.
- <sup>139</sup> Arshad Mohammed, Jonathan Saul, John Irish, and Parisa Hafezi, "Israel's Gaza challenge: stopping metal tubes turning into rockets," *Reuters*, May 23, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israels-gaza-challenge-stopping-metal-tubes-turning-into-rockets-2021-05-23/>.
- <sup>140</sup> Arshad Mohammed, Jonathan Saul, John Irish, and Parisa Hafezi, "Israel's Gaza challenge: stopping metal tubes turning into rockets," *Reuters*, May 23, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israels-gaza-challenge-stopping-metal-tubes-turning-into-rockets-2021-05-23/>.
- <sup>141</sup> "The Double Cheque investigation: Hamas manages a covert investment portfolio using 40 global companies and assets worth hundreds of millions of dollars," *Double Cheque*, accessed November 19, 2021, <https://www.doublecheque.online/financial-institutions/hamas-money-laundry-system/hamas-manages-a-covert-investment-portfolio-using-40-global-companies>.
- <sup>142</sup> "Hamas Secret Investment Portfolio: Trend Gyo subsidiaries in Turkey," *Double Cheque*, accessed November 19, 2021, <https://www.doublecheque.online/financial-institutions/hamas-money-laundry-system/trend-gyo-subsiidiaries-in-turkey>.
- <sup>143</sup> "Treasury Targets Covert Hamas Investment Network and Finance Official," U.S. Department of the Treasury, May 24, 2022, <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/jy0798>.
- <sup>144</sup> "HAMAS- The Islamic Resistance Movement," *Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, January 1, 1993, <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFA-Archive/1993/Pages/HAMAS%20-%20The%20Islamic%20Resistance%20Movement%20-%20Jan-93.aspx>.

*Hamas*

---

**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



**Khaled Meshaal**

Head of Hamas's Diaspora Office; Deputy Leader; Former Chief of Hamas's Political Bureau



**Yahya Sinwar**

Leader of the Gaza Strip Political Bureau for Hamas



**Saleh al-Arouri**

West Bank leader



**Salameh Katawi**

Leader of Hamas's Prisons bureau



**Moussa Mohammed Abu Marzouk**

Member of Hamas's Political Bureau



**Sami Abu Zuhri**

Spokesperson



**Mohammed Deif**

Chief of Hamas's military wing, the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades



*Hamas*

---



**Marwan Issa**

Deputy commander of the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades



**Khalil al-Hayya**

Deputy leader of Gazan politburo



**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

## History:

- **Hamás marks its 35th anniversary.**  
 On December 5, Hamás unveils a new logo. The logo is a map of the entirety of Israel, Gaza, and the West Bank with an image of the Al-Aqsa Mosque with a Palestinian flag waving over it and a broken chain attached to the flagpole. “Hamás” is written in Arabic with the number 35. On December 8, Hamás releases a statement commemorating the start of the first Palestinian intifada in 1987, referring to it as a “milestone” for the Palestinian people. In the statement, Hamás rejects any compromises, security collaboration, or normalization with Israel. In a televised speech on December 12, Haniyeh emphasizes Hamás’s commitment to its political stances and strategy. He praises Hamás founder Sheikh Ahmed Yassin and other so-called martyrs. He also pledges Hamás remains committed to freeing all Palestinian prisoners. According to Haniyeh, Jerusalem remains the chief priority for Hamás and all Palestinians. On December 14, Hamás releases a statement reaffirming its commitment to “armed struggle” to “liberate” Palestine “from the river to the sea.” Hamás calls “Occupied Jerusalem and the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque” the core of its “freedom struggle” and denies any legitimate Israeli claim to Jerusalem. Hamás also claims Israeli “Judaisation” attempts in Jerusalem are doomed to fail. Despite increased Arab normalization with Israel, Hamás praises the Arab and Muslim world as “a strategic backer of the Palestinian people’s struggle for liberation and return.” On December 14, Hamás holds a rally in Gaza City, reportedly attended by hundreds of thousands. Hamás leaders promise “open confrontation” with Israel in 2023. Sinwar lambasts Abbas and the Palestinian Authority for continued security cooperation with Israel. He calls to “ignite the resistance in the West Bank.” Sinwar also threatens Hamás will soon end its prisoner-exchange talks with Israel unless there is progress. Hamás continues to hold two Israeli civilians, as well as the bodies of two Israeli soldiers killed in 2014. Sinwar threatens Hamás will “close the file for good” if Israel does not soon agree to a prisoner swap. Sources: “Hamás unveils its new 35th anniversary logo,” Hamás, December 5, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/4433/Hamas-unveils-its-new-35th-anniversary-logo>; “Remembering First Intifada, Hamás calls for supporting Palestinians’ right to self-determination,” Hamás, December 8, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/4436/Remembering-First-Intifada-Hamas-calls-for-supporting-Palestinians-right-to-self-determination>; “Haniyeh reiterates Hamás’s commitment to freedom struggle on 35th anniversary,” Hamás, December 12, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/4443/Haniyeh-reiterates-Hamas-s-commitment-to-freedom-struggle-on-35th-anniversary>; “Statement on 35th anniversary of Resistance Movement Hamás,” Hamás, December 14, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/4446/Statement-on-35th-anniversary-of-Resistance-Movement-Hamas>; Agence France-Presse, “Hamás To End Israel Prisoner Exchange Talks Unless Progress Soon,” *Barron’s*, December 14, 2022, <https://www.barrons.com/news/hamas-to-end-israel-prisoner-exchange-talks-unless-progress-soon-01671033609?tesla=y>; “Hamás marks anniversary, predicts confrontation with Israel,” Associated Press, December 14, 2022, <https://apnews.com/article/middle-east-israel-gaza-strip-mahmoud-abbas-hamas-cec0332942c787a9ecdccf2402eeec6d>.
- **November 6, 2022:** Hamás arrests two Palestinians in Gaza accused of firing four rockets toward Israel on November 3. The rockets allegedly did not contain any explosives and caused no damage. Three of the rockets fall within Gaza, while Israel’s Iron Dome system intercepts the fourth. The two Palestinians are reportedly not affiliated with Hamás. According to Palestinian reports, Hamás and other Gaza factions claim they will act against anybody who independently violates the ceasefire with Israel. Source: “Hamás Arrests Two Gaza Residents Who Fired Rockets Towards Israel,” *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), November 6, 2022, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2022-11-06/ty-article/premium/hamas-arrests-two-gaza-residents-who-fired-rockets-towards-israel/00000184-4dcd-d842-a987-dfd71990000>.
- **November 2, 2022:** On the 105th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, Hamás releases a statement calling it “one of the most historically sinful moves taken against the Palestinian people.” Hamás calls reversing the Balfour Declaration a “renewed historical responsibility and a national duty that the Arab and Muslim nations and the free peoples of the world have to take on.” Source: “Statement on 105th anniversary of ill-fated Balfour Declaration,” Hamás, November 2, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/4374/Statement-on-105th-anniversary-of-ill-fated-Balfour-Declaration>.
- **October 20, 2022:** Hamás political bureau member Fathi Hammad meets with PIJ Secretary-General Ziad al-Nakhlah in Beirut. The officials reaffirm their stance that Jerusalem is the eternal capital of Palestine, and it will remain the core of the Palestinian struggle against Israel. They also reiterate their opposition to Israeli attempts to “Judaize” or divide the Al-Aqsa Mosque. Hamás and PIJ jointly call on the Palestinian people to escalate their “resistance” against Israel until “liberation and return.” Source: “Hamás official concludes visit to Beirut,” Hamás, October 20, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/4353/Hamas-official-concludes-visit-to-Beirut>.
- **October 19, 2022:** Hamás politburo member Khalil Al-Hayya leads a Hamás delegation to Damascus to meet with Syrian President Bashar al-Assad on restoring relations between Hamás and Syria. Hamás and Assad agree to move past their previous disagreements. Hayya calls the meeting a new start for joint Palestinian-Syrian work in a welcoming Syrian environment. The United States warns against any normalization with Assad’s government. Sources: “Hamás leaders meet Assad in Damascus to ‘turn the page,’” Reuters, October 19, 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/hamas-leaders-meet-assad-damascus-turn-page-2022-10-19/>; “Hamás concludes historic visit to Syria,” Hamás, October 19, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/4351/Hamas-concludes-historic-visit-to-Syria>; Agence France-Presse, “US Denounces Syria-Hamás Reconciliation,” *Barron’s*, October 20, 2022, [https://www.barrons.com/news/us-denounces-syria-hamas-reconciliation-01666297206?refsec=topics\\_afp-news](https://www.barrons.com/news/us-denounces-syria-hamas-reconciliation-01666297206?refsec=topics_afp-news).
- **October 11, 2022 - October 13, 2022:** Hamás joins Fatah and representatives of 12 other Palestinians factions for reconciliation talks in Algiers, Algeria. Under discussion are the payment of 30,000 Hamás civil employees in Gaza, the future of Hamás’s armed wing, and Palestinian elections. On October 13, the factions sign a reconciliation agreement recognizing the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. The factions also agree to hold new presidential and legislative elections within a year. The agreement does not address the formation of a unity government. Haniyeh praises the Algeria-negotiated unity agreement. Marzouk calls on Palestinians to resist Israeli and U.S. pressure against Palestinian unity. Sources: “Palestinian groups Fatah, Hamás meet in Algeria to heal rift,” Al Jazeera, October 11, 2022, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/10/11/palestinian-groups-fatah-hamas-meet-in-algeria-to-heal-rift>; “Palestinian factions sign reconciliation agreement in Algeria,” Al Jazeera, October 13, 2022, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/10/13/palestinian-factions-sign-reconciliation-agreement-in-algeria>; “Hamás chief hails Algeria’s invitation to heal Palestinian division,” Hamás, October 13, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/4327/Hamas-chief-hails-Algeria-s-invitation-to-heal-Palestinian-division>; “Hamás calls for strenuous efforts to implement Palestinian unity deal,” Hamás, October 14, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/4330/Hamas-calls-for-strenuous-efforts-to-implement-Palestinian-unity-deal>.
- **August 5, 2022:** Hundreds of Israelis protest at the Gaza border to demand Hamás release two captive Israeli citizens and the bodies of two Israeli soldiers killed in the 2014 war. Later that day, Israel launches Operation “Breaking Dawn,” striking PIJ targets in Gaza after increasing tensions with PIJ. Eight people are killed, including a 5-year-old girl and a senior PIJ commander, according to the Palestinian Health Ministry. Hamás spokesman Fawzi Barhoum says “the Israeli enemy, who started the escalation against Gaza and committed a new crime, must pay the price and bear full responsibility for it.” Source: Fares Akram and Joseph Krauss, “Israeli strikes on Gaza kill 8, including senior militant,” Associated Press, August 5, 2022, <https://apnews.com/article/israel-strikes-gaza-rising-tensions-4539de5f30c605b3423d3472351cd638>.
- **July 27, 2022:** Israel releases drone footage of weapons depots and tunnels in Gaza near al-Shifa hospital, the Islamic University of Gaza, a U.N.-run school, a Pepsi factory, and other civilian buildings. Israel accuses Hamás of deliberately hiding weapons in civilian areas. Israeli Defense Minister Benny Gantz says “the world must be aware of this crime against humanity and must exact a heavy price from Hamás.” Hamás spokesman Hazem Qassem calls the accusations lies to justify Israeli aggression against Gaza. Source: “Israel accuses

## *Hammas*

Hammas of hiding weapons depots near civilian buildings,” Reuters, July 27, 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israel-accuses-hamas-hiding-weapons-depots-near-civilian-buildings-2022-07-27/>.

- **June 28, 2022:** Hamas releases a video of captive Israeli citizen Hisham al-Sayid in a hospital bed, wearing an oxygen mask. The video is titled, “Footage of the soldier in the army of occupation, Hisham al-Sayid, detained by the Qassam Brigades.” The office of Israeli Prime Minister Naftali Bennett condemns Hamas for distributing a video of an ill person. The office says al-Sayid and another Israeli Hamas is holding captive are mentally ill and the Palestinian group is in violation of international law. Source: Wafaa Shurafa, “Hamas releases video of captive Israeli in hospital bed,” Associated Press, June 28, 2022, <https://apnews.com/article/middle-east-israel-bedouin-gaza-strip-hamas-40b613b261ce8b80db5ae6d6b6858f4e>.
- **June 23, 2022:** On June 23, Haniyeh and a Hamas delegation arrive in Beirut for a multi-day trip to meet with Lebanese government officials, including President Michel Aoun and Prime Minister Najib Mikati, and Palestinian faction leaders. Haniyeh is also scheduled to give a speech to the Islamic National Conference in Beirut. On June 22, Haniyeh meets with Hezbollah Secretary-General Hassan Nasrallah in Beirut to discuss the “axis of resistance” to Israel and boosting their groups’ ties. Sources: Jack Khoury, “Hezbollah’s Nasrallah Meets Hamas Chief Haniyeh in Beirut to Discuss anti-Israel Alliance,” *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), June 23, 2022, <https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/2022-06-23/ty-article/premium/hezbollahs-nasrallah-meets-hamas-chief-haniyeh-in-beirut-to-discuss-anti-israel-alliance/00000181-8faf-dca5-a5c1-9faf517d0000>; “Hamas chief arrives in Beirut,” *Hammas*, June 21, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/4105/Hamas-chief-arrives-in-Beirut>; “Hamas Delegation Arrives in Beirut,” Al Manar TV, June 21, 2022, <https://english.almanar.com.lb/1627595>; “Hamas head Ismail Haniyeh arrives with delegation in Beirut,” *Jerusalem Post*, June 21, 2022, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/article-709986>.
- **June 21, 2022:** Reuters reports unidentified Hamas officials have confirmed the group has decided to restore its ties with Syria and the two sides have held high-level meetings. Source: “Hamas to restore Syria ties after 10 years of dispute, sources say,” Reuters, June 21, 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/hamas-restore-syria-ties-after-10-years-dispute-sources-say-2022-06-21/>.
- **June 20, 2022:** Hamas calls for universities around the world to boycott Israeli universities because of “their involvement in the policy of occupation, settlement, and aggression” against “Palestinian land and people.” Hamas’s call is in response to a decision by Israel’s Committee of University Heads to accept Ariel University in the West Bank after years of exclusion. Sources: “Hamas calls for boycotting Zionist universities,” *Hammas*, June 20, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/4102/Hamas-calls-for-boycotting-Zionist-universities>; Tobias Siegal, “After decade of refusal, Ariel University accepted into key education organization,” *Times of Israel*, June 20, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/after-decade-of-refusal-ariel-university-accepted-into-key-education-organization/>; Or Kashti, “In About-face, Israeli University Heads Decide to Admit Settlement University to Joint Body,” *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), April 10, 2021, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2021-04-10/ty-article/premium/israeli-university-heads-decide-to-admit-settlement-university-to-joint-body/0000017f-e107-d75c-a7ff-fd8f0cd30000>.
- Sources within the Israeli Ministry of Justice accuse Facebook of easing its restrictions on Hamas since the May 2021 conflict between Hamas and Israel. According to Israeli media, Hamas incitement on Facebook has increased over the past year. One of the sources accused Facebook of refusing to “remove content that supported firing rockets into Israel” because the social-media platform had begun to equate conflicts between Hamas and Israel as conflicts between two countries, rather than one country and a terrorist group. The sources claim individuals from Facebook’s parent company, Meta, corroborated Facebook’s new stance toward Hamas. The accusations followed a May 2022 incident where Meta refused to block a Hamas-affiliated group from the platform following an April order from a Tel Aviv court. Sources: Chen Maanit, “Israel Accuses Facebook of Allowing Hamas to Publish Incitement,” *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), June 23, 2022, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2022-06-23/ty-article/premium/facebook-giving-hamas-free-range-to-post-incitement-justice-ministry-sources-claim/00000181-8f67-d3b2-af9f-df7fb2540000>; Chen Maanit, “Meta Refuses to Block Facebook Page That Israeli Court Says Incites Terror,” *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), May 26, 2022, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/2022-05-26/ty-article/premium/meta-refuses-to-block-facebook-page-israeli-court-says-incites-terror/00000181-0086-d251-a58d-159fc4470000>.
- **May 7, 2022 - May 8, 2022:** On May 7, the Hezbollah-affiliated Al-Mayadeen TV station reports Palestinian terror groups had threatened to resume terror attacks inside Israel if Israel begins targeting Palestinian militant leaders. Hamas leaders dismiss the Israeli threats. According to Al-Mayadeen, Hamas’s military wing threatens an “unprecedented response” and a “regional earthquake” if Israel harms any Hamas leaders. The group promises to resume suicide bombings and “burn the cities of the center” of Israel and launch “massive missile strikes.” Egyptian government sources reportedly dismiss the possibility Israel will resume targeted killings of Hamas leaders. On May 8, in the aftermath of an April 29 Hamas attack on the West Bank settlement of Ariel that killed one and an unclaimed May 5 attack in the Israeli city of Elad that killed three, the *Times of London* reports Israeli officials had told foreign allies the Jewish state would restart targeted killings of Hamas leaders abroad if such attacks continued. The *Times* speculates Israel would target Arouri and Zaher Jabarin, responsible for financing Hamas’s international networks. Sources: Anshel Pfeffer, “Israel ‘will assassinate Hamas leaders if terror attacks continue,’” *Times* (London), May 8, 2022, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/israel-will-assassinate-hamas-leaders-if-terror-attacks-continue-m7xc9cnln>; Khaled Abu Toameh, “Terror groups threaten rocket strikes if Israel resumes targeted killings,” *Jerusalem Post*, last updated May 8, 2022, <https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/article-706080>; “Hamas vows suicide bombings, ‘unprecedented response’ if Israel targets its leaders,” *Times of Israel*, May 7, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-vows-suicide-bombings-unprecedented-response-if-israel-targets-its-leaders/>.
- **April 30, 2022:** During a speech in Gaza, Sinwar calls on Palestinians to ready their rifles or—if they do not have guns—cleavers, axes, and knives. After the speech, Israel’s Channel 12 news station reports Israeli diplomatic and security officials had relayed a message to Sinwar that the combination of his calls to violence and an April 29 Hamas attack on the West Bank settlement of Ariel gave Israel the freedom to respond militarily in Gaza. In their message, the Israelis also reportedly labeled Sinwar a “terror supporter” and warned he would be dealt with appropriately. Source: “Israel said to threaten Hamas chief Sinwar as calls for his head grow louder,” *Times of Israel*, May 6, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israel-said-to-threaten-action-against-hamas-chief-sinwar-over-terror-cheerleading/>.
- **April 30, 2022:** Reports emerge that Turkey has expelled a handful of Hamas members from the country. A Palestinian official tells *Israel Hayom* that Turkey has deported dozens of identified Hamas members at Israel’s request in recent months. According to the Palestinian official, the Turkish government told Hamas “economic interests” were at play and Hamas had violated its agreement not to conduct terrorist activities from Turkey. The Lebanese newspaper *Al-Akhbar* confirms the report. Source: “Turkey extradites Hamas members to Israel,” *i24News*, April 27, 2022, <https://www.i24news.tv/en/news/middle-east/levant-turkey/1651051066-turkey-extradite-hamas-members-to-israel>; Dana Ben-Shimon, “‘Turkey deporting Hamas members at Israel’s request,’” *Israel Hayom* (Tel Aviv), April 27, 2022, <https://www.israelhayom.com/2022/04/27/turkey-deporting-hamas-members-at-israels-request/>.
- **April 2, 2022 - April 5, 2022:** Following the killing of three PIJ members in a firefight with Israeli forces in the West Bank on April 2, Hamas reportedly prevents PIJ from launching rockets into Israel because it does not want to encourage a larger Israeli operation into Gaza. Israeli media reports on April 5 PIJ wanted to launch the rockets in revenge for the killings but Hamas exerted pressure because it wanted its next engagement with Israel to be on its own terms, not because PIJ drew it into a conflict. Sources: “Hamas said to have stopped Islamic Jihad from firing rockets to avenge dead members,” *Times of*

*Hamas*

Israel, April 5, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-said-to-have-stopped-islamic-jihad-from-firing-rockets-to-avenge-dead-members/>.

- Hamas praises—but does not claim credit for—a series of attacks that kill at least 11 people, including a March 22 ISIS attack in Beersheba that killed four and wounded two on the anniversary of Yassin’s death.  
Following an April 7 shooting that killed at least three and wounded seven in Tel Aviv, Hamas promises “resistance” against Israel will continue to escalate. Hamas and PIJ officials pledge an explosion of violence during the Muslim holy month of Ramadan. Sources: “Statement on 45th anniversary of Palestinian Land Day,” Hamas, March 30, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/3975/Statement-on-45th-anniversary-of-Palestinian-Land-Day>; Ilan Ben Zion, “Palestinian gunman kills 5 in 3rd attack in Israel in a week,” Associated Press, March 30, 2022, <https://apnews.com/article/islamic-state-group-business-arrests-tel-aviv-security-services-14e763c7eef8868cea5de78b1292362d>; Aaron Boxerman, “Palestinian terror groups praise ‘heroic’ Tel Aviv attack, but don’t claim credit,” Times of Israel, April 8, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/palestinian-terror-groups-praise-heroic-tel-aviv-attack-but-dont-claim-credit/>; “Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, other groups, threaten violence during Ramadan,” Jewish News Syndicate, April 8, 2022, <https://www.jns.org/hamas-palestinian-islamic-jihad-other-groups-threaten-violence-during-ramadan/>.
- **March 16, 2022:** During a meeting in Beirut between Arouri and PIJ Secretary-General Ziad al-Nakhalah, the two leaders jointly call for escalating “resistance operations” against Israel in the West Bank and Jerusalem until “the liberation of Palestine.”  
With increased Jewish visitations to the Temple Mount expected during the coming Jewish holidays, Hamas and PIJ call on Palestinians to “thwart” the planned “incursions.” Source: Khaled Abu Toameh, “Hamas, Islamic Jihad call to step up attacks in West Bank, Jerusalem,” *Jerusalem Post*, March 16, 2022, <https://www.jpost.com/arab-israeli-conflict/article-701471>.
- **January 22, 2022:** Hamas's Badran acknowledges Hamas has received a proposal from the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) to restore Palestinian unity.  
Badran says Hamas is studying the proposal. Source: “Statement: Hamas receives initiative by DFLP to heal division,” Hamas, January 22, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/3881/Statement-Hamas-receives-initiative-by-DFLP-to-heal-division>.
- **January 1, 2022:** Hamas refuses to allow the Palestinian Authority to hold the second phase of Palestinian municipal elections, scheduled for March 26, in the Gaza Strip.  
Senior Hamas official Husam Badran says Hamas had demanded written guarantees Abbas would not cancel the election at the last minute. The Palestinian Central Elections Commission says Hamas’s demands are political and it does not have the authority to make such decisions. Hamas also boycotted the first phase of the municipal elections in December 2021. Source: Khaled Abu Toameh, “Hamas says rejects municipal elections in Gaza,” *Jerusalem Post*, January 3, 2022, <https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/article-691423>.
- Israel reportedly threatens to assassinate Arouri if Hamas continues to carry out operations in the West Bank.  
Hamas responds, “the killing of any of its leaders would ignite a new war that Israel will not be able to handle.” Source: “Israel threatens to assassinate senior Hamas leader Saleh Al-Arouri,” Middle East Monitor, December 23, 2021, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20211223-israel-threatens-to-assassinate-senior-hamas-leader-saleh-al-arouri/>.
- Reports circulate in Israeli media that Hamas has created an official branch in Lebanon led by Arouri.  
The Lebanon branch was allegedly responsible for a pair of rockets fired toward Israel from Lebanon during the May 2021 war between Israel and Hamas. According to news reports, Hamas decided to create the Lebanon branch after its 2014 conflict with Israel because Hezbollah declined to intervene on Hamas’s behalf. Based in Tyre, Lebanon, the branch reportedly recruits Palestinians living in Lebanon. Hezbollah has allegedly agreed to allow the branch to operate, though it reportedly maintains veto power over its actions. Source: “Hamas said to form Lebanon branch to open new front against Israel,” Times of Israel, December 3, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-said-to-form-lebanon-branch-to-open-new-front-against-israel/>.
- - : Hamas co-founder Hassan Yousef visits the family of Fadi Abu Shkhaydam, who killed one and wounding four in a November 21 shooting attack in Jerusalem before police killed him. Yousef praises Abu Shkhaydam in a speech streamed on Facebook, declaring Hamas “will march forward, and there is no force in this land that can break our will.”  
In mid-December, Israeli police arrest Yousef along with other Hamas supporters. On January 2, Israeli police announce Yousef will soon be charged in an Israeli military court with incitement to terror and supporting a terrorist group. Source: Aaron Boxerman, “Senior West Bank Hamas official to be charged with incitement, supporting terror,” Times of Israel, January 2, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/senior-west-bank-hamas-official-to-be-charged-with-incitement-supporting-terror/>.
- **November 22, 2021 - November 26, 2021:** Israel’s Shin Bet security organization announces it has broken up a Hamas cell in the West Bank with more than 50 members.  
The Shin Bet seizes at least four explosive belts, weapons, and an undisclosed amount of money. According to the Shin Bet, the cell was planning “to carry out terror attacks in a number of formats in the West Bank and Jerusalem, as well as the possibility of carrying out bombings in Israel.” The Shin Bet accuses Hamas deputy leader Arouri and Zacharia Najib—released during the 2011 Gilad Shalit prisoner swap—of leading the cell from Turkey. Israeli Foreign Minister Yair Lapid calls on the Turkish government to close Hamas’s offices in the country. Lapid calls on the nations of the world to act like the United Kingdom, which had announced earlier in the month it would designate Hamas in its entirety as a terrorist organization. The U.K. designation goes into effect on November 26. Sources: Judah Ari Gross, “Shin Bet: Forces thwart major Hamas terror plans, nab more than 50 cell members,” Times of Israel, November 22, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/shin-bet-forces-thwart-major-hamas-terror-plans-nab-dozens-of-members/>; “After Jerusalem killing and 50 terror arrests, Lapid urges Turkey to shut down Hamas,” Times of Israel, November 23, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/after-jerusalem-killing-and-50-terror-arrests-lapid-urges-turkey-to-shut-down-hamas/>; “Islamist terrorist group Hamas banned in the UK,” U.K. Home Office, November 26, 2021, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/islamist-terrorist-group-hamas-banned-in-the-uk>.
- **November 19, 2021:** Calling Hamas “fundamentally and rabidly anti-Semitic,” U.K. Home Secretary Priti Patel announces her government will soon designate Hamas in its entirety as a terrorist entity.  
The United Kingdom had previously proscribed only the Qassam Brigades, which Patel says created an “artificial distinction.” Hamas releases a statement condemning the United Kingdom for supporting “the aggressors at the expense of the victims.” Hamas accuses the United Kingdom of an “historical sin” in its support of the 1917 Balfour Declaration, which supported the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The Hamas statement reaffirms the group’s commitment to the belief international law grants Palestinians the right to “armed resistance.” On November 28, Hamas announces it is conferring with British lawyers to pursue legal action against the British government to cancel the designation. Sources: “Hamas reacts with fury as Britain moves to ban group,” Al Jazeera, November 19, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/11/19/uk-moves-to-ban-hamas-as-terrorist-organisation/>; “Hamas: UK government plans to proscribe entirety of organisation using anti-terrorism law,” Sky News, November 19, 2021, <https://news.sky.com/story/hamas-uk-government-plans-to-proscribe-entirety-of-organisation-using-anti-terrorism-law-12472726>; “Statement on UK home secretary’s designation of Hamas as ‘terrorist organization,’” Hamas, November 19, 2021, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/3734/Statement-on-UK-home-secretary-s-designation-of-Hamas-as-terrorist-organisation/>; “Hamas to take legal action against UK for declaring it terror group,” Middle East Monitor, November 29, 2021, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20211129-hamas-to-take-legal-action-against-uk-for-declaring-it-terror-group/>.

*Hammas*

- **September 10, 2021:** Qatar cancels a plan to send a \$500 million aid package to Gaza and the Hamas government after the Palestinian Authority backs out of an agreement for PA banks to transfer funds to Hamas employees.  
According to Qatari envoy to Gaza Mohammed al-Emadi, the banks feared inviting sanctions for financing a terrorist group. The cancellation comes as Israeli media reports Prime Minister Naftali Bennett believes a new round of violence with Hamas is inevitable and is composing military plans. Source: Times of Israel Staff and Agence France-Presse, “Qatari envoy says cash transfer to Gaza off after PA backs out of deal,” Times of Israel, September 10, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/qatari-envoy-says-cash-transfer-to-gaza-off-after-pa-backs-out-of-deal/>.
- **August 29, 2021 - August 30, 2021:** On August 29, Abbas meets with Israeli Defense Minister Benny Gantz to discuss security, economic, civil, and diplomatic affairs.  
On August 30, Hamas and PIJ condemn the meeting as “a stab in the back of the Palestinian people and what they have sacrificed. It is a betrayal of the blood of the martyrs,” according to a Hamas statement. A Hamas spokesman accuses Abbas of weakening the Palestinian rejection of normalization with Israel. Sources: Aaron Boxerman, “Hamas, Islamic Jihad condemn Abbas for ‘reprehensible’ meeting with Gantz,” Times of Israel, August 30, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-islamic-jihad-condemn-abbas-for-reprehensible-meeting-with-gantz/>; “Hamas denounces Abbas’s meeting with Gantz,” Hamas website, August 30, 2021, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/3577/Hamas-denounces-Abbas-s-meeting-with-Gantz>.
- **August 27, 2021:** Haniyeh and Meshaal travel to Jordan to attend the funeral of former Hamas spokesman Ibrahim Ghosheh, who passed away at the age of 85.  
Hamas thanks Jordan for allowing the Hamas leaders to attend the funeral. Haniyeh also rejects any proposal to settle Palestinian refugees in Jordan. Haniyeh declares the only solution for Palestinian refugees is to settle them in the lands inside Israel from which they were expelled in 1948. Sources: “Hamas rejects Jordan settlement projects,” Middle East Monitor, August 28, 2021, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20210828-hamas-rejects-jordan-settlement-projects/>; “Hamas thanks Jordan for allowing Haniyeh, Meshaal entry to attend funeral,” Middle East Monitor, August 27, 2021, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20210827-hamas-thanks-jordan-for-allowing-haniyeh-meshaal-entry-to-attend-funeral/>.
- **August 8, 2021:** A Saudi court sentences 69 Palestinian and Jordanian Hamas members and supporters to prison on charges of affiliating with a terrorist organization and fundraising on its behalf.  
Sentences ranged from three to 21 years. The 69 men were arrested in March 2018. Among those sentenced are Hamas’s representative in Saudi Arabia, Mohammed al-Khudairi, and his son Hani, both of whom were arrested in 2019 while Mohammed al-Khudairi was undergoing prostate cancer treatment in Saudi Arabia. The elder Khudairi was sentenced to 15 years while his son was sentenced to three. Amnesty International has called for their release. Hamas condemns the sentences while praising the court for acquitting some of the accused. Sources: Khaled Abu Toameh, “69 Hamas members sentenced to prison in Saudi Arabia,” *Jerusalem Post*, August 8, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/69-hamas-members-sentenced-to-prison-in-saudi-arabia-676171>; “Hamas shocked by Saudi rulings against Palestinian detainees,” Hamas website, August 8, 2021, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/3552/Hamas-shocked-by-Saudi-rulings-against-Palestinian-detainees/>; “Saudi Arabia sentences dozens of Palestinians, Jordanians,” Al Jazeera, August 9, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/8/9/saudi-arabia-prison-terms-to-dozens-of-palestinians-jordanians>.
- **August 2, 2021:** On August 5, Haniyeh attends the inauguration of Iranian President Ebrahim Raisi in Tehran.  
Following the inauguration, Haniyeh and a senior Hamas delegation meet with Raisi to offer their congratulations and brief him on Hamas’s activities. Sources: Aaron Boxerman, “Hamas, Islamic Jihad leaders arrive in Tehran for Iran president’s inauguration,” Times of Israel, August 5, 2021, [https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog\\_entry/hamas-islamic-jihad-leaders-arrive-in-tehran-for-iran-presidents-inauguration/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/hamas-islamic-jihad-leaders-arrive-in-tehran-for-iran-presidents-inauguration/); “Hamas chief meets Iranian President in Tahrán, offers congrats on inauguration,” Hamas website, August 7, 2021, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/3548/Hamas-chief-meets-Iranian-President-in-Tahrán-offers-congrats-on-inauguration>.
- **August 1, 2021:** Hamas announces Haniyeh’s election to a second term as the group’s political chief.  
Source: Nidal Al-mughrabi, “Haniyeh re-elected as chief of Palestinian Islamist group Hamas,” Reuters, August 1, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/haniyeh-re-elected-chief-palestinian-islamist-group-hamas-2021-08-01/>.
- **July 27, 2021:** Human Rights Watch accuses Hamas and other Palestinian militant groups of war crimes during the May 2021 conflict with Israel for indiscriminately firing 4,000 unguided rockets at Israeli population centers in violation of the “prohibition against deliberate or indiscriminate attacks against civilians.”  
The bulk of Human Rights Watch’s report accuses Israel of war crimes for the deaths of 62 Palestinian civilians. Human Rights Watch says it will release a more in-depth report on Hamas war crimes during the conflict within the following month. Source: Josef Federman, “Human Rights Watch: Israeli war crimes apparent in Gaza war,” Associated Press, July 27, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/middle-east-israel-crime-war-crimes-human-rights-watch-4dbb4e7b915346ce6aca778f12a4359b>.
- **July 24, 2021:** Hamas and PIJ condemn the African Union’s decision to grant Israel observer status after a two-decade ban.  
Hamas says the move “enhances the legitimacy of the occupation on our land, and gives it more opportunities to continue its plans to erase Palestinian rights and continue its brutal crimes.” Source: Khaled Abu Toameh, “Hamas, Islamic Jihad condemn Israel’s African Union observer status,” *Jerusalem Post*, July 24, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/arab-israeli-conflict/hamas-islamic-jihad-condemn-israels-african-union-observer-status-674799>.
- **July 15, 2021:** Israeli security forces arrest dozens of members of a Hamas student cell in Turmus Aya in the West Bank who were visiting the destroyed home of Muntasir Shalabi, a U.S. citizen who was charged for the May 2, 2021, murder of 19-year-old yeshiva student Yehuda Guetta.  
The IDF accuses some of the students of involvement in money transfers, incitement, and other Hamas activities in the West Bank. The students are enrolled in the West Bank’s Birzeit University. Hamas condemns the arrests. Sources: “IDF detains dozens of Hamas-affiliated operatives in joint operation,” *Jerusalem Post*, July 15, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/idf-detains-dozens-of-hamas-affiliated-operatives-in-joint-operation-673890>; “Israel arrests dozens of Hamas-linked students in West Bank,” Associated Press, July 15, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/middle-east-israel-arrests-philanthropy-west-bank-c09a40721df449148dff63ce12099118>.
- **July 12, 2021:** The U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia finds Syria, Iran, the IRGC, the Iranian Ministry of Intelligence and Security, and three Iranian banks—Markazi, Mellī, and Saderat—liable for an October 1, 2015, Hamas terror attack that killed Israeli-American Eitam Henkin and his wife Naama in the West Bank.  
The orphaned Henkin children and the Henkins’ estate filed the lawsuit in 2019 under the terrorism exception to the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act. The ruling is the first time a U.S. court has found Markazi, Mellī, or Saderat liable for a terror attack by a foreign terrorist organization against a U.S. national. Sources: Globe Newswire, “In Historic Ruling, Court Finds Iran, Syria and Iranian Banks Responsible for Murder of American Citizen in Israel,” Yahoo News, July 13, 2021, <https://finance.yahoo.com/news/historic-ruling-court-finds-iran-182600941.html>; “US court: Iran, Syria liable for deaths of Israeli couple in 2015 terror attack,” Times of Israel, July 15, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/us-court-rules-iran-syria-liable-for-deaths-of-israeli-couple-in-2015-attack/>.

*Hamass*

- 
- **July 7, 2021:** Israel begins seizing digital cryptocurrency wallets belonging to Hamas.  
Source: "Israel says it's targeting Hamas' cryptocurrency accounts," Associated Press, July 8, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/hamas-middle-east-israel-cryptocurrency-business-5fe4e70d357545fd22a152eb4358980>.
  - **June 26, 2021:** Hamas launches its annual Vanguard of Liberation camps in Gaza, which provide military training for children over 10 years old.  
The camps include computer simulations to fire anti-tank missiles and shoot Israeli soldiers and police at the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. The camps are organized by the Qassam Brigades. Hamas claims the camps are justified under international law, which guarantees the right to self-defense, including armed resistance. Sources: "Press Release for the Vanguard of Liberation Camps – The Sword of Al-Quds," Hamas website, June 27, 2021, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/3481/Press-Release-for-the-Vanguard-of-Liberation-Camps-The-Sword-of-Al-Quds>; "At annual summer camps, Hamas trains kids to fire guns, kidnap soldiers," Times of Israel, July 3, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/at-annual-summer-camps-hamas-trains-kids-to-fire-guns-kidnap-soldiers/>.
  - **June 21, 2021:** Israel agrees to allow a limited resumption of agricultural imports into Gaza as ceasefire meetings with U.N. mediators continue.  
Hamas rejects what Israel calls a "conditional" measure. Sinwar declares U.N.-sponsored ceasefire talks have failed and states, "It seems the occupation did not understand our message. We will practice popular resistance." A meeting of Palestinian factions in Gaza is scheduled for later in the day. Sinwar says they will take steps to "exert more pressure through popular resistance." Sources: Khaled Abu Toameh and Tovah Lazaroff, "Hamas head Sinwar says no progress on ceasefire after meeting UN envoy," *Jerusalem Post*, June 21, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/hamas-head-sinwar-says-no-progress-on-ceasefire-after-meeting-un-envoy-671625>; Nidal Al-mughrabi and Rami Ayyub, "Israel allows some Gaza exports, Hamas demands more amid fragile truce," Reuters, June 21, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israel-allows-some-gaza-exports-one-month-after-truce-2021-06-21/>.
  - **June 20, 2021:** The German government agrees to ban Hamas's flag.  
The decision comes after multiple antisemitic incidents—including attacks on synagogues, the burning of Israeli flags, and proliferation of antisemitic slurs—during pro-Palestinian rallies in May. Source: Wesley Dockery, "German government agrees to ban Hamas flag after antisemitic incidents," Deutsche Welle, June 20, 2021, <https://www.dw.com/en/german-government-agrees-to-ban-hamas-flag-after-antisemitic-incidents/a-57970705>.
  - **June 16, 2021 - June 17, 2021:** Haniyeh travels to Morocco and meets with the speakers of the country's parliament and opposition politicians.  
Hamas has previously criticized Morocco for a December 2020 decision to improve relations with Israel. Source: "Hamas chief meets top politicians in Morocco after Gaza conflict," Reuters, June 17, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/hamas-chief-meets-party-leaders-morocco-visit-2021-06-17/>.
  - **June 15, 2021:** A poll by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research finds Palestinian support for Hamas increased after its May conflict with Israel.  
According to the poll of 1,200 Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, 77 percent believe Hamas won the May conflict. The same number said they believe Hamas fought the war to defend Jerusalem and its holy sites, rather than as part of an internal struggle with Abbas's Fatah party. The poll also finds 53 percent of Palestinians believe Hamas is "most deserving of representing and leading the Palestinian people," while only 14 percent prefer Fatah. Source: Joseph Krauss, "Poll finds dramatic rise in Palestinian support for Hamas," Associated Press, June 15, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/hamas-middle-east-science-32095d8e1323fc1cad819c34da08fd87>.
  - **June 8, 2021 - June 9, 2021:** Israel raids two money-exchange companies in the West Bank—the Beit Al-Maqdes Company in Tulkarm and the Marish Company for Money Exchange in Hebron—over suspicions they are transferring money to Hamas.  
According to Israeli authorities, the two companies transferred approximately \$410,000 to Hamas members in the West Bank. Source: Ahmed Melhem, "Israel raids exchange companies for allegedly transferring funds to Hamas," Al-Monitor, June 21, 2021, <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/06/israel-raids-exchange-companies-allegedly-transferring-funds-hamas>.
  - **June 2, 2021:** Israeli authorities arrest senior Hamas member Jamal Tuile at his home in Ramallah.  
Source: "Israeli security arrests senior Hamas official in Ramallah," *Jerusalem Post*, June 2, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/israeli-security-arrests-senior-hamas-official-in-ramallah-669856>.
  - **May 31, 2021:** On May 22, Matthias Schmale, head of the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) office in Gaza, tells Israeli media he does not dispute Israel's strikes in Gaza during its recent conflict with Hamas were "precise."  
The interview sparks protest across Gaza. Schmale issues a statement of apology on May 25. On June 2, Hamas and other Palestinian factions in Gaza declare Schmale and UNRWA's deputy Gaza chief, David de Bold, persona non grata, claiming Schmale was "a major reason for the suffering of thousands of Palestinian refugees and UNRWA employees in the Gaza Strip." UNRWA recalls Schmale to Jerusalem and temporarily places Deputy Commissioner-General Leni Stenseth in charge of UNRWA's Gaza team. Sources: Nidal Al-mughrabi, "UN Gaza relief chief called in by bosses after comments over Israeli air strikes," Reuters, June 2, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/un-gaza-relief-chief-called-by-bosses-after-comments-over-israeli-air-strikes-2021-06-02/>; Khaled Abu Toameh, "Palestinians declare UNRWA Gaza director 'persona non grata,'" *Jerusalem Post*, June 2, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/palestinians-declare-unrwa-gaza-director-persona-non-grata-669915>.
  - **May 25, 2021 - May 26, 2021:** On May 25, the United States pledges \$75 million toward reconstruction efforts in Gaza, provided the money does not benefit Hamas.  
Egypt and Qatar also pledge \$500 million each toward Gaza's reconstruction. On May 26, Sinwar states Hamas will not touch "a single cent intended for reconstruction and humanitarian efforts," while claiming Hamas has never taken any international aid money intended for Gaza. He further states Hamas has sufficient money provided by Iran to fund its militant activities. Sources: "Blinken pledges \$75m in US assistance to Palestinians," Al Jazeera, May 25, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/5/25/netanyahu-vows-very-powerful-response-if-ceasefire-broken>; "Qatar pledges \$500m for Gaza reconstruction," Al Jazeera, May 26, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/5/26/qatar-pledges-500-million-to-gaza-reconstruction>; "Hamas Chief Says His Group Has 'Sufficient' Money Provided by Iran," Iran International, May 27, 2021, <https://iranintl.com/en/iran-in-brief/hamas-chief-says-his-group-has-sufficient-money-provided-iran>; "Hamas leader says group won't touch Gaza reconstruction aid," Al Jazeera, May 26, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/5/26/hamas-leader-says-group-wont-touch-gaza-aid>.
  - **May 22, 2021:** Hamas holds a military parade in Gaza City to celebrate its perceived victory.  
Sinwar makes his first public appearance to visit the family of Hamas commander Bassem Issa, who was killed during the fighting. A senior Hamas commander tells Israeli media a new round of fighting would begin if Israel targets Sinwar or Deif. Hours after the ceasefire goes into effect, Haniyeh says from Qatar that Hamas will continue "fighting for Jerusalem." He also refers to Deif as "the hero of Jerusalem." Haniyeh also praises Iran for its role during the conflict providing "money, weapons and technical support." Sources: Wafaa Shurafa and Samy Magdy, "Hamas defiant with military parade, appearance of top leader," Associated Press, May 22, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/hamas-israel-middle-east-health-coronavirus-pandemic-6ea82ef3966ccd0cee3dce815730d130>; "Hamas's Sinwar emerges to claim victory; group warns against hits on leaders," Times of Israel, May 22, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamass-sinwar-emerges-to-claim-victory-group-warns-against-hits-on-leaders/>;
-

*Hamass*

Tobias Siegal, "Hamass Haniyeh vows to destabilize Jerusalem, thanks Iran for support," *Jerusalem Post*, May 22, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/hamass-haniyeh-vows-to-destabilize-jerusalem-thanks-iran-for-support-668791>.

- **May 10, 2021 - May 21, 2021:** Hamas joins with PIJ in launching more than 4,000 rockets toward Israel, killing 13 and wounding more than 300.  
 On May 20, Hamas and Israel agree to a ceasefire, which goes into effect at 2 a.m. on May 21. Israel says the ceasefire is unconditional and rewards calm with calm. Hamas claims it extracted concessions from Israel at the Temple Mount but does not specify further. Haniyeh praises Hamas's "victory" and claims the group destroyed Israel's attempts at normalization and integration with the Arab world. Haniyeh vows Hamas will maintain its focus on Jerusalem "until Al-Aqsa Mosque is liberated." In Al-Manara Square in Ramallah in the West Bank, protesters chant the name of Hamas military leader Mohammed Deif and proclaim, "Put sword against sword, we are Mohammed Deif's men." Thousands reportedly rally outside of Deif's home in Khan Younis in Gaza, chanting "victory" and waving Hamas flags. PIJ official Ali Barakeh calls the conflict a defeat for Netanyahu and "a victory to the Palestinian people." According to Gaza's Hamas-run Health Ministry, 232 people died in Gaza and more than 1,900 were wounded during the conflict. Israel claims at least 120 of those people killed belonged to Hamas and 25 belonged to PIJ. Israel reports 12 people, including two foreign workers, died in Israel during the conflict and more than 300 were wounded. Sources: Aaron Boxerman and staff, "Hamas chief says war foils Israel's attempts at Arab coexistence, normalization," *Times of Israel*, May 21, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamass-chief-says-war-foils-israels-attempts-at-arab-coexistence-normalization/>; Nidal Al-mughrabi, Jonathan Saul, and Rami Ayyub, "Israel and Hamas both claim victory as ceasefire holds," *Reuters*, May 21, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/gaza-truce-between-israel-hamass-begins-mediated-by-egypt-2021-05-20/>; "Live Updates: As Israel-Hamas Cease-Fire Holds, Gazans Survey Wreckage," *New York Times*, last updated May 21, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/live/2021/05/21/world/israel-hamass-news>.
- **May 9, 2021:** Haniyeh writes to Khamenei asking for the Muslim world to support *al-Quds*—Jerusalem.  
 Haniyeh writes that Hamas will never abandon its "path to victory" in support of creating an independent Palestine with al-Quds as its capital. Source: "Hamas chief writes to Leader, asks Muslim world to support al-Quds," *Tehran Times*, May 9, 2021, <https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/460758/Hamass-chief-writes-to-Leader-asks-Muslim-world-to-support-al-Quds>.
- **May 1, 2021:** Israeli media reports Iran allegedly agreed to pay Hamas \$30 million per month for intelligence on Israeli missile capabilities.  
 According to the reports, Hamas leaders agreed in late April to provide Iran with capabilities and location of Israel's missile systems in exchange for the money. Source: "Iran Reportedly Agreed To Pay Hamas For Intelligence On Israeli Missiles," *Iran International*, May 11, 2021, <https://iranintl.com/en/iran-in-brief/iran-reportedly-agreed-pay-hamass-intelligence-israeli-missiles>.
- **April 29, 2021:** Abbas indefinitely postpones Palestinian elections, scheduled for May 22.  
 Hamas and PIJ boycott the PLO meeting in which Abbas announces the delay. Abbas cites Israel's refusal to allow Palestinians in east Jerusalem to vote as the reason for the postponement, but local analysts suspect the delay is because Abbas fears a Hamas political victory. Hamas parliamentary bloc spokesman Mushir al-Masry calls for Abbas's dismissal and the revocation of all agreements made with him. Masry warns Abbas will face serious consequences for delaying the elections. Moussa Abu Marzouk warns the delay will negatively affect Palestinian reconciliation efforts. Sources: Adnan Abu Amer, "Hamas rallies opposition to Abbas after elections pushed back," *Al-Monitor*, April 29, 2021, <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/05/hamass-rallies-opposition-abbas-after-elections-pushed-back>; "Fatah intensifies efforts to postpone elections fearing a Hamas win," *Middle East Monitor*, April 20, 2021, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20210420-fatah-intensifies-efforts-to-postpone-elections-fearing-a-hamass-win/>; "Hamas: Delaying election will affect future of Palestine reconciliation," *April 28, 2021*, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20210428-hamass-delaying-election-will-affect-future-of-palestine-reconciliation/>.
- **April 24, 2021:** After 36 rockets are launched into Israel overnight by smaller militant groups in Gaza, PIJ and Hamas issue a statement to Egypt that they are not looking for escalation with Israel.  
 Source: Jack Khoury, "Hamas, Islamic Jihad Not Seeking Escalation With Israel, Gazan Official Says," *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), April 24, 2021, <https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/palestinians/.premium-hamass-islamic-jihad-not-seeking-escalation-with-israel-gazan-official-says-1.9742459>.
- **April 12, 2021:** Hamas elects Meshaal to lead its office in the diaspora and names him second-in-command of Hamas.  
 Haniyeh remains Hamas's overall leader. Sources: Nidal Al-mughrabi, "Hamas elects former chief Meshaal to head diaspora office," *Reuters*, April 12, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/hamass-elects-former-chief-meshaal-head-diaspora-office-2021-04-12/>; Aaron Boxerman, "Khaled Mashaal tapped as Hamas's diaspora director," *Times of Israel*, April 12, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/khaled-mashaal-tapped-as-hamass-international-director/>.
- **March 29, 2021:** Hamas submits its list of legislative candidates in Palestinian legislative elections.  
 Hamas's candidates run under the slogan, "Jerusalem unites us." Hamas political bureau member Khalil al-Hayya tops the list, which also includes Hassan Salameh, a commander Qassam Brigades who was arrested in 1996 and sentenced to 48 life terms plus 30 years for participation in a series of suicide bombings in Israel. The list also includes Nael Barghouti, who was sentenced to life in prison in 1978, released in the 2011 Gilad Shalit prisoner exchange after 34 years, and then rearrested in 2014 for violating the terms of his release. Source: Khaled Abu Toameh, "Hamas presents list of candidates for parliamentary election," *Jerusalem Post*, March 29, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/hamass-presents-list-of-candidates-for-parliamentary-election-663540>.
- **March 25, 2021:** Hamas and the Palestinian Authority agree to establish a national unity government after the upcoming Palestinian parliamentary elections in May.  
 Source: "PA and Hamas to establish 'national unity government,'" *Middle East Monitor*, March 26, 2021, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20210326-pa-and-hamass-to-establish-national-unity-government/>.
- **Hamas holds secretive internal elections in Gaza.**  
 On March 9, reports emanate from Gaza that Sinwar had lost re-election as Gaza's political chief to Nizar Awadallah, the former head of Hamas's advisory Shura Council. However, some Palestinian sources tell Israeli media that the vote is not final, and a second round would take place. On March 10, Sinwar wins re-election in a runoff vote. Sources: Agence France-Presse, "Hamas To Pick New Gaza Chief This Week: Party Sources," *Barron's*, March 9, 2021, <https://www.barrons.com/news/hamass-to-pick-new-gaza-chief-this-week-party-sources-01615298711?tesla=y>; Khaled Abu Toameh, "Hamas leader Sinwar ousted in secret vote – report," *Jerusalem Post*, March 9, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/hamass-elects-new-leader-in-gaza-661454>; Nidal al-Mughrabi, "Sinwar re-elected as Hamas chief in Gaza," *Reuters*, March 10, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN2B2259>.
- **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>.

*Hammas*

- **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 Sawaf, "Hamas and Fatah hold Egyptian-brokered reconciliation talks in Cairo," Reuters, February 8, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-palestinians-politics-election-idUSKBN2A8162>; Hazem Balousha, "'Secretive' Hamas elections spark internal party row," Arab News, January 20, 2021, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1800621/middle-east>; 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/>.
- **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 West Bank-based company Sense Sanitary Company and Turkish company Tikkno Plus Ic Ve Dis to transfer 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. Sources: 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/>; Ami Rojkes Dombe, "Once again, funds illegally transferred from Turkey to Hamas in Gaza," *Israel Defense* (Kfar Saba), February 15, 2021, <https://www.israeldefense.co.il/en/node/48341>.
- **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>.
- **- :** 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/>; "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>.
- 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-6162531>; 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>.
- **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/>.
- 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-Arouri, 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 Erdoğan. 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/>; "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>; 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>.
- **November 2, 2019 - November 3, 2019:** Twitter suspends several English and Arabic accounts belonging to Hamas, including its official @Hamasinfa and @HamasinfaEn 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 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/>; Tzvi Joffe, "Twitter Suspends Hamas, Hezbollah-Affiliated Accounts," *Jerusalem Post*, November 3, 2019, <https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Hezbollah-affiliated-TV-stations-Twitter-suspended-606663>; 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/>.
- **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>; Judah Ari Gross and Raoul Wooltiff, "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/>; Raoul Wooltiff, "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/>.



*Hammas*

- **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>; 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>.
- **Hammas 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>; Dov Lieber, "Translation of leaked Hamas-Fatah agreement," Times of Israel, October 13, 2017, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/translation-of-leaked-hamas-fatah-agreement/>; 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/>; 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>.
- **Hammas 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, <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>.
- **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:** Meshaal 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>.](http://hamas.ps/en/post/678/a-document-of-general-principles-and-policies;Patrick Wintour, )
- **Hammas 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>.
- **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>.](http://www.jerusalemonline.com/news/middle-east/the-arab-world/ismail-haniyehs-comeback-24198;Ahmad Abu Amer, )
- **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.timesofisrael.com/khaled-meshaal-to-step-down-as-hamas-leader-report/>.](http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/06/khaled-meshaal-hamas-political-bureau-ismail-haniyeh-shura.html;Jack Moore, )
- **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.

*Hammas*

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>.
- 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>; 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>; 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/>; 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>; 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/>; 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-cessate-fire-agreement/>; 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/10000003775446/isis-threatens-hamas.html>.
- 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>.
- 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>.
- **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 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>, 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>.
- - : 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>; 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>; Ali Sawafat, "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>; 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>; "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>; 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>; "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); 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>; 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>; "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->

*Hammas*

[gaza/1971724.htm](http://www.cnn.com/2014/08/13/world/meast/mideast-crisis/index.html); 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>; 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>.

- **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>.
- **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 Meshaal 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>; "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>; 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>; "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/>; Peter Beaumont, "Ahmed al-Jabari: the Hamas 'general' who kept out of the limelight," *Guardian* (London), November 14, 2012, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/nov/14/ahmed-al-jaabari-hamas-general>; "Israel and Hamas Reach Gaza Cease-Fire Agreement," CBS News, November 21, 2012, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/israel-and-hamas-reach-gaza-cease-fire-agreement/>; 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>; 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).
- **Hammas 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, "Hammas 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>.
- **The emir of Qatar becomes the first head of state to visit Gaza since Hamas took de facto control of that 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).
- **- : 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>.
- **Hammas 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>; "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>; 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>.
- **Hammas 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>.
- **- : 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 Armed 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->

## *Hammas*

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).

- **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>.
- **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>.
- **Tensions between Hamas and Fatah prompt Hamas to establish its own 3,000-man strong security force 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>.
- **- : 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>.
- **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>.
- **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>.
- **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-cease-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/>.
- **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,

*Hammas*

---

<http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3685678,00.html>.

- 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/>.
- - : 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).
- **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>.
- **April 6, 1994:** Hamas dispatches its first suicide bomber against Israeli civilians. Nineteen-year-old Ra'id Zaqrna 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>.
- **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>.
- 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/>.
- **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).
- **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, *Hammas: 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* (Hammas), the Islamic Resistance Movement. Source: Jonathan Masters, "Hammas," Council on Foreign Relations, November 27, 2012, <http://www.cfr.org/israel/hamas/p8968>.

*Hamas*

---

**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>145</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>146</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>147</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>148</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>149</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>150</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>151</sup> Other attacks included shootings, stabbings, mortars, and bombings.<sup>152</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>153</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>154</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>155</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>156</sup> According to Ismail Haniyeh in January 2016, Hamas fighters “are digging twice as much as the number of tunnels dug in Vietnam.”<sup>157</sup> A series of tunnel collapses in early 2016 killed several Hamas workers. Some Hamas operatives have blamed Israel for the collapses.<sup>158</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>159</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>160</sup>

*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>161</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>162</sup> In July 2015, the group created a military training camp for 25,000 new recruits, some as

## *Hammas*

---

young as 15.<sup>163</sup>

The Israel Defense Forces (IDF) estimated that Hamas had approximately 10,000 rockets in its arsenal at the beginning of July 2014.<sup>164</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>165</sup> The IDF estimated Hamas still had approximately 5,000 rockets left.<sup>166</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>167</sup>

Hammas 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>168</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>169</sup>

Hammas 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>170</sup> In September 2015, Egypt began flooding many of these tunnels to cut off Hamas smuggling.<sup>171</sup> Israeli Energy Minister Yuval Steinitz confirmed in February 2016 that Israel had requested Egypt act against the tunnels.<sup>172</sup> Hamas has also reportedly used the Egyptian tunnels to transport aid to ISIS's Sinai Province group.<sup>173</sup>

As of October 2017, Hamas reportedly maintained an armed force of 25,000.<sup>174</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>175</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>176</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>177</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>178</sup>

### *Violent Activities:*

- **June 18, 2022:** Militants in Gaza fire a rocket toward Ashkelon in southern Israel, which the Israeli military intercepts. Israel blames Hamas for launching the rocket and launches retaliatory strikes against multiple Hamas targets in Gaza. No casualties are reported on either side. Hamas spokesman Hazem Qassem declines comment on the rocket fired from Gaza and directs reports to Hamas's armed wing, which also declines comment. Hazzem calls the Israeli airstrikes a "helpless attempt to end the revolutionary actions spreading across Palestine." Following the Israeli airstrikes, Hamas raises its flag at an observation post near the Gaza border overlooking the Israeli town of Netiv Ha'asara.<sup>179</sup>
- **May 24, 2022:** Israel charges five Palestinian Jerusalem residents with multiple terrorism offenses for belonging to a West Bank Hamas cell the Shin Bet arrested in April. Led by prominent Hamas operative and east Jerusalem resident Rashid Rashak, cell members Mansour Safadi, Safian Ajlouni, Hamza Abu Naab, and Mohammed Salima allegedly planned to kill Israeli rightwing politician Itamar Ben Gvir, kidnap soldiers, and bomb Jerusalem's light rail. According to the Shin Bet, Rashak had set up a network of supports to foment unrest in Jerusalem's Old City and contributed to recent violence in the city. During the April arrests, the Shin Bet seized a drone allegedly intended to be used to attack the light rail.<sup>180</sup>
- **April 2022:**
  - **April 14:** Hamas issues a call for Palestinians to mobilize at the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem to "protect it from the colonial settler extremist groups" allegedly planning to hold animal sacrifices there over the Passover holiday.<sup>181</sup>
  - **April 15:** Israeli police storm the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, after reportedly coming under attack from fireworks and stones. Police clash with stone-throwing protesters and arrest more than 400 people. Hamas calls for "popular mobilization" at the mosque against Israel.

*Hamas*

182

- **April 17:** During the convergence of Easter Sunday, Passover, and Ramadan, a group of Israeli rightwing activists gather at the Temple Mount and Israeli police enter the compound in response to ensuing clashes and further allegations of Palestinians storing weapons in the mosque. Hamas condemns Israel for attacking Palestinian worshippers.<sup>183</sup>
- **April 18:** Israel’s Iron Dome defense system intercepts a rocket launched from Gaza. Neither Hamas nor PIJ claim responsibility for the attack.<sup>184</sup>
- **April 19:** Israeli jets strike a Hamas “weapons manufacturing site” in Gaza. There are no reported casualties. Media reports circulate of PIJ fighters preparing underground tunnels for incursions into Israel. A PIJ official tells Agence France-Presse the group has defensive and offensive tunnel systems for use in “taking Israeli soldiers captive, repelling Israeli ground offensives and carrying out various field operations.” Thanking Iran, PIJ spokesman Abu Hamza says PIJ has replenished its supply of rockets since the May 2021 conflict with Israel. Hamas publishes video of its members firing surface-to-air missiles at Israeli jets the night before. Israel reports the missiles caused no damage.<sup>185</sup>
- **April 20-21:** During a meeting of Hamas leaders, Sinwar calls for the prevention of “independent” initiatives such as the April 18 rocket attack. Sinwar says any action must be coordinated by all of Gaza’s factions as well as its political leadership. Israeli police stop a group of Israeli rightwing activists from marching through Jerusalem’s Old City. Hamas calls the march a provocation. At approximately 10:30 p.m., militants in Gaza launch a rocket toward the southern Israeli town of Sderot, striking a parked car and a wall near a home. There are no reported casualties. Israel’s Iron Dome system intercepts anti-aircraft fire. After midnight, Israeli jets target a Hamas air defense military post and an underground site used for the storage of chemical materials for rocket engines. Later in the morning, Gaza militants attempt to launch another rocket into Israel but it lands inside Gaza. No groups claim responsibility for the overnight rockets but Israeli security officials reportedly suspect PIJ. Hamas spokesman Hazem Qasim says the Israeli strikes will only increase Hamas’s support for “our people in Jerusalem, and the protection of our holy sites, no matter the cost.”<sup>186</sup>
- **April 22, 2022:** Militants fire two rockets from Gaza toward southern Israel. One of the rockets lands near a residential building in northern Gaza while the second reaches Israeli territory but causes no damage. On April 24, Israel closes the main Erez Crossing between Gaza and Israel to pressure Hamas to rein in militants. Hamas condemns the move as collective punishment.<sup>187</sup>
- **April 24-25, 2022:** At night on April 24, unidentified militants fire a rocket from Lebanon into Israel. The rocket lands in an open area near Kibbutz Matzuva, close to the border, without causing damage or injuries. The Israeli army responds by launching dozens of artillery shells into southern Lebanon on April 25. UNIFIL calls for restraint on both sides. There are no claims of responsibility for the Lebanese rocket fire, but Israeli military sources suspect Palestinian factions in Lebanon. Some officials specifically accuse Hamas of orchestrating the Lebanese rocket as well as other recent violence emanating from Gaza and the West Bank. Israeli officials accuse Hamas’s military leadership abroad of encouraging shooting and stabbing attacks in the West Bank.<sup>188</sup>
- **April 29, 2022:** Two Palestinian men approach the western entrance to the West Bank settlement of Ariel in a Suzuki with Israeli license plates. The two men exit the vehicle and begin firing submachine guns at a security guard who uses his body to shield his fiancée, who is also on guard duty. One of the attackers then stabs the guard before they drive away. The security guard, identified as 23-year-old Vyacheslav Golev, dies from his wounds. Hamas, PIJ, and Hezbollah praise the attack. On April 30, a video allegedly produced by the Fatah-affiliated al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades circulates the Internet, claiming responsibility while authorities do not confirm the video’s authenticity. Palestinian media identifies the attackers as Yousef Assi and Yahya Marei. Israeli forces arrest the two on April 30 in the West Bank town of Qarawat Bani Hassan. That day, Sinwar calls on Palestinians to ready their rifles or—if they do not have guns—cleavers, axes, and knives. On May 2, the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades claims responsibility for the Ariel attack and identifies Assi and Marei as members. Hamas promises more attacks.<sup>189</sup>
- **March 31, 2022:** In response to a widescale Israeli anti-terrorism operation in the West Bank, Hamas threatens to meet “escalation with escalation” and warns of a “comprehensive explosion.” The Israeli operations followed multiple terror attacks over the course of two weeks that killed 11 Israelis.<sup>190</sup>
- **March 18, 2022:** Israel indicts four east Jerusalem residents with suspected links to Hamas. One suspect is arrested with approximately \$155,000 in cash, vehicles, and other assets seized, as well as the freezing of bank accounts belonging to the Jerusalem charity Lajnat Zakat al-Quds, which is suspected of funneling money to Hamas. One of the accused, Khaled Sabah, was appointed in 2019 by senior Hamas officials in Turkey as the terror group’s treasurer in Jerusalem, according to the indictment. Sabah and his sons, Musab and Munib Sabah, allegedly conducted firearms training in Turkey in preparation for a potential attack.<sup>191</sup>
- **March 7, 2022:** A knife-wielding assailant stabs and wounds two Israeli police officers on the Temple Mount. The officers shoot and kill the attacker. Hamas claims responsibility.<sup>192</sup>



## *Hamas*

- **January 1, 2022:** Militants in Gaza launch two rockets toward the Mediterranean Sea, which explode off the coast of Tel Aviv. Palestinian armed factions in Gaza claim inclement weather caused the rockets to inadvertently launch. PIJ reportedly evacuates in Gaza and raises its alert level in preparation for Israeli retaliation. Israel launches retaliatory airstrikes against Hamas security posts and a training camp. Hamas's Aqsa TV reports militants fired two surface-to-air missiles toward Israeli planes in retaliation for the airstrikes. Israel's military confirms the launch of one missile at one of its planes but reports it did not inflict damage. There are no casualties reported on either side.<sup>193</sup>
- **December 29, 2021:** Gunfire from Gaza wounds an Israeli civilian contractor near Kibbutz Nahal Oz in southern Israel near the Gaza security fence. The Israeli military returns tank fire toward Hamas outposts in Gaza, wounding three.<sup>194</sup>
- **December 28, 2021:** Media reports emerge of a joint PIJ and Hamas week-long joint military drill, called "Rukn a-Shadid 2," to practice confronting Israeli forces. According to Palestinian media reports, the drills are meant to "convey political and military messages to Israel and the other mediators" that Hamas and other Gaza terror groups are losing patience with efforts to reach a long-term ceasefire with Israel. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Popular Resistance Committees also participate in the drills.<sup>195</sup>
- **December 10, 2021:** An alleged Hamas weapons cache in the Burj Shamali Palestinian refugee camp in Tyre, Lebanon, explodes. There are conflicting reports of casualties. The state-run National News Agency reports an unspecified number of deaths, while other reports say there are up to 12 people killed and 12 wounded. Reuters reports 12 people are wounded but also that there are no fatalities, according to local media and civil defense workers on the scene, as well as a security source. The state prosecutor in southern Lebanon asks security agencies and arms experts to inspect the arms storage site. A Palestinian official denies there were weapons stored in the camp. The following day, a Hamas representative tells the Lebanese *Al-Akhabar* newspaper the weapons were for "defense" and the explosion was caused by a fire. A Hamas statement says the fire was caused by an electrical fault in a warehouse containing oxygen and gas cylinders for coronavirus patients, as well as detergents and disinfectants. According to resident reports, a fire started in a diesel tanker and spread to a nearby mosque controlled by Hamas, triggering the explosion of weapons stored inside.<sup>196</sup>
- **November 21, 2021:** Hamas member Sheikh Fadi Abu Shkhaydam starts shooting at the Chain Gate in Jerusalem's Old City, killing one and wounding four before police shoot and kill him. Abu Shkhaydam was known around Jerusalem for sermons and protests against Jewish tour groups at the Western Wall compound. Some people reportedly referred to him as a senior Hamas official in Jerusalem. Hamas praises the "heroic Jerusalem operation" and refers to Abu Shkhaydam as a "heroic martyr." According to Israeli security, Shkhaydam had visited Turkey prior to the attack and allegedly received instructions from Hamas leaders in that country. Abu Shkhaydam's family denies he had met with Hamas in Turkey, instead claiming he had gone to visit his son who is studying in the country. On February 1, 2022, Israel demolishes Abu Shkhaydam's family home in the Shuafat refugee camp in east Jerusalem while the camp's residents throw stones at Israeli security forces. Hamas condemns the demolition as an act of "thuggery" and praises the ensuing violent confrontation with Israeli security forces. Hamas pledges to continue "resistance by all means."<sup>197</sup>
- **November 9, 2021:** A Hamas military court sentences two Gazans to death by hanging for collaborating with Israel. According to human rights groups, Hamas has sentenced more than 130 people to death and executed approximately 25 since it took over Gaza in 2007.<sup>198</sup>
- **September 26, 2021:** Israeli forces launch five arrest raids on Hamas cells in the West Bank. During ensuing firefights, two Israeli soldiers are critically wounded while five Hamas militants are killed. Hamas acknowledges four of its operatives were killed and calls on Palestinians in the West Bank to Hamas called on Palestinians in the West Bank "to escalate resistance against the occupier in all areas."<sup>199</sup>
- **September 6-10, 2021:** On September 6, six prisoners escape from Israel's high-security Gilboa Prison using an underground tunnel they dug from the floor of a cell. Among the escapees are five members of PIJ. The sixth escapee is identified as Zakaria Zubeidi, a member of the Fatah-affiliated Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade. PIJ, Hamas, and Fatah praise the escape of the "heroes" from Gilboa. On September 7, militants in Gaza launch incendiary balloons into Israel in support of the escaped prisoners. In response, Israeli airstrikes target a Hamas rocket workshop and a military compound in Gaza. On September 10, Hamas declares a "Day of Rage" in support of the prisoners. Hamas's Ismail Radwan says the group "will not rest" until all Palestinian prisoners are free.<sup>200</sup>
- **September 4, 2021:** Hamas launches more than a dozen incendiary balloons into Israel. A Hamas spokesman says the group is determined to "break the siege," referring to the Egyptian-Israeli blockade of Gaza.<sup>201</sup>
- **August 28-29, 2021:** Hundreds of Palestinians march to the Gaza-Israel border to protest the blockade of the coastal strip. During the protests, armed groups in Gaza launch incendiary balloons into Israel. On August 29, Israel strikes target a Hamas weapons manufacturing complex and a suspected Hamas tunnel.<sup>202</sup>
- **August 21-23, 2021:** On August 21, gunmen in Gaza fire toward the Israeli border, wounding an Israeli border patrol officer who dies of his injuries a week later. Israel launches airstrikes against Hamas targets in Gaza. On August 22, Israeli Prime Minister Naftali Bennett says Israel will settle the score with anyone who attacks its soldiers. On August 23, Egypt indefinitely closes its border to Gaza, citing security concerns.<sup>203</sup>

*Hamas*

- 
- **August 12, 2021:** Human Rights Watch issues a report accusing Hamas of committing war crimes during its May 2021 conflict with Israel by indiscriminately “launching thousands of unguided rockets towards Israeli cities.” Human Rights Watch also concludes a Hamas rocket fell short during the conflict and killed seven civilians in Gaza.<sup>204</sup>
  - **August 6, 2021:** Gaza militants launch incendiary balloons into southern Israel, causing at least four brushfires in Israel near the Gaza border. On August 7, Israel launches airstrikes against a Hamas rocket launching site and a Hamas compound. There are no reports of damage or casualties from the Israeli strikes.<sup>205</sup>
  - **July 25, 2021:** Hamas-linked militants launch incendiary balloons into southern Israel, causing multiple fires. “Time is running out” is written on one of the balloons. In response, Israel launches airstrikes against multiple buildings in a Hamas military base in Gaza “adjacent to civilian sites, including a school,” according to the IDF. The Israeli military also targets “infrastructure and utilities used for activities” of Hamas. Israel also reduces Gaza’s fishing zone by half from 12 to six miles. “Further restrictions on Gaza will only generate an explosion in the face of the occupation,” Hamas spokesperson Abd al-Latif al-Qanou threatens “an explosion in the face of the occupation” if Israel further tightens restrictions on Gaza.<sup>206</sup>
  - **July 25, 2021:** Hamas police raid the al-Nuseirat Refugee Camp in Gaza’s Deir al-Balah and allegedly beat 27-year-old Imad Tawil. According to the Independent Commission for Human Rights, Tawil complains of chest pains a half hour after he is beaten and is taken to a hospital where he later dies. The European Union and Palestinian rights groups condemn the incident and call for an independent investigation.<sup>207</sup>
  - **July 23, 2021:** Hamas security forces fire on a car allegedly speeding through a security checkpoint in Gaza City, killing one of two passengers. The Hamas-run Interior Ministry says the security forces fired two warning shots at the vehicle when it did not slow down as it approached the checkpoint. Passenger Hassan Abu Zayed is wounded in the car and taken to a hospital where he dies of his wounds. A doctor contracted by the Independent Commission for Human Rights says there are discrepancies in the Hamas account of the incident. The European Union and Palestinian rights groups condemn the incident and call for an independent investigation.<sup>208</sup>
  - **July 22, 2021:** An explosion at a weapons storage facility in a multi-story home in Gaza City’s Al-Zawiya market kills one and wounds 14, including six children. The explosion damages neighboring homes and shops. Initial reports say the weapons facility belongs to PIJ, which issues a statement it will “rise up to its responsibilities” after the explosion. Later reports claim the facility belongs to Hamas. Palestinian NGOs in Gaza call for a thorough investigation and for Hamas and other groups to cease storing weapons in civilian areas. Palestinian writer Fadel Al-Manasfeh says Hamas uses popular markets for its ammunition warehouses because it knows Israel does not target such places.<sup>209</sup>
  - **June 2021:** Ahead of a planned June 15 ultranationalist Israeli march in Jerusalem’s Old City, Hamas calls on Palestinians to show “valiant resistance” and “rise up in the face of the occupier and resist it by all means to stop its crimes and arrogance.” The march was originally scheduled for Jerusalem Day on May 10 but postponed because of the Gaza conflict. A Hamas spokesman calls the planned march “like an explosive that will cause a new campaign to protect Jerusalem and the Al-Aqsa Mosque to ignite.” Egypt reportedly requests Hamas not cause an escalation that would embarrass Cairo. Hamas responds all options remain on the table, but escalation could be avoided “if the event doesn’t get out of control.”<sup>210</sup>
    - **June 17:** Hamas continues to send incendiary balloons into Israel, claiming they are a legitimate “popular action” against Israel and should not be considered a ceasefire violation. The balloons start at least eight fires in southern Israel’s Eshkol and Sha’ar Hanegev regions. Moussa Abu Marzouk says Hamas could further escalate, but Hamas limits its strikes to the incendiary balloons. Israel targets Hamas rocket launcher sites and other military targets overnight. IDF Chief of Staff Lieutenant General Aviv Kohavi warns Israeli military officials to prepare for another round of fighting with Hamas.<sup>211</sup>
    - **June 15-16:** Israeli soldiers clash with Palestinian protesters along the Gaza border. In Jerusalem, the march proceeds as planned as hundreds of Israeli ultranationalists parade through the Old City chanting nationalist slogans. Some also chant “Death to Arabs,” which the Israeli government condemns. At the same time, Hamas launches incendiary balloons into southern Israel from Gaza, causing at least 20 fires. It is Hamas’s first cross-border attack since a ceasefire ended 11 days of fighting in May. In response, Israel launches airstrikes against Hamas targets in the coastal strip on June 16. Israel claims to strike Hamas “military compounds . . . used as facilities and meeting sites for terror operatives” in Hamas’s Khan Yunis and Gaza Brigades. Palestinian media report some property damage but no casualties from the strikes. Hamas incendiary balloons start at least 24 fires. According to Egyptian mediators, Hamas is not interested in a major escalation.<sup>212</sup>
  - **May 2021:**
    - **May 20:** IRGC Quds Force commander Ismail Ghaani writes to Deif to praise Hamas’s actions during the conflict. Ghaani addresses Deif as a “living martyr” and writes he is confident of Hamas’s victory. After an eight-hour lull in rocket fire overnight, Hamas and PIJ renew their campaign with salvos targeting Ashkelon, Ashdod, Beersheba, and neighboring communities. Rockets strike homes in Ashkelon and Ashdod, wounding one. An anti-tank missile strikes an empty military bus in southern Israel, wounding one. The Israeli military claims to strike at least three homes in Gaza’s Khan Yunis and Rafah belonging to Hamas commanders. As of May 20, Hamas and PIJ have
-

*Hamas*

---

launched more than 4,000 rockets toward Israel. Hamas and PIJ claim only 20 of their fighters have been killed in the fighting while Israel claims it has killed 130 fighters from both groups. An Egyptian intelligence official says a ceasefire is likely by the end of the week. Israel's security cabinet approves a truce for "quiet in exchange for quiet." A Hamas official confirms a truce will go into effect at 2 a.m. the following day.<sup>213</sup>

- **May 18-19:** After a six-hour lull in rocket fire, Gaza militants continue to launch rockets toward Israeli cities. Hamas threatens to strike Tel Aviv. On May 18, a mortar shell strikes a packing house in Israel's Eshkol region, killing two Thai foreign workers and wounding 10 others. Rockets also target the Erez pedestrian crossing and Keren Shalom crossing into Gaza, wounding one Israeli soldier and forcing both crossings to close. The crossings are used to bring food and aid into Gaza. Hamas claims to fire multiple rockets toward six Israeli air force bases overnight. The Israeli military says there is no indication any of its bases were struck by rockets. At least 50 rockets are fired toward Israel, 10 of which fall within Gaza. The military strikes a PIJ cell preparing a rocket attack from central Gaza. The IDF claims to kill at least 10 members of Hamas and PIJ in overnight airstrikes in Khan Younis and Rafah in Gaza. The IDF also strikes several targets overnight in the upscale Rimal neighborhood of Gaza City, where many Hamas commanders reportedly live. Israeli planes also target Hamas's network of underground tunnels in Gaza. Israeli media reveals the military has targeted Deif at least twice during the conflict, but he escaped both attempts. In Iran, IRGC commander Hossein Salami addresses a group of anti-Israel protesters in Tehran, declaring Iran will continue its "unwavering support for the Palestinian people." In Iraq, a spokesman for the Iran-backed militia Harakat Hezbollah al-Nujaba declares his group is ready to join with Hamas in confronting Israel. As of May 19, Hamas and PIJ have launched almost 3,700 rockets since the beginning of the conflict. The fighting kills at least 217 in Gaza and wounds 1,400, according to the Hamas-run Health Ministry. The Israeli military says at least 160 Hamas and PIJ operatives have been killed since the start of the fighting. According to Israel's Magen David Adom, the fighting has killed 12 in Israel and wounded more than 330.<sup>214</sup>
- **May 17:** The French and Egyptian governments issue a joint call for a ceasefire. U.S. officials reportedly tell Israeli leaders to begin winding down operations in Gaza. Israel kills Hussam Abu Harbeed, PIJ's northern division commander, in Gaza.<sup>215</sup>
- **May 16:** Israel targets the home of Yahya Sinwar in Khan Yunis. He is reportedly unharmed. Militants fire at least 150 rockets toward southern Israel, striking buildings in Ashkelon and Ashdod, including a synagogue. At least 66 people are wounded in the strikes. Two rockets destroy five cars and a house in Ashkelon, while another lands near a supermarket in Beersheba. No injuries are reported in those strikes. Israeli airstrikes on Gaza continue, killing at least two and wounding 25, according to the Hamas-run Health Ministry. Israeli airstrikes target a Hamas tunnel system, which collapses and brings down houses above, killing 42. Israel says civilian casualties are unintentional. Since the beginning of the conflict, at least 192 have been killed in Gaza and 1,125 injured. Hamas and PIJ have launched more than 2,000 rockets and missiles since the beginning of the conflict. The United States and United Nations say they are working on a ceasefire agreement. The head of Israel's southern command says Israel could target Sinwar, Deif, and other top Hamas leaders.<sup>216</sup>
- **May 15:** Hamas and PIJ continue to launch missiles toward Israeli cities. An Israeli airstrike destroys a building in Gaza hosting the offices of the Associated Press, Al Jazeera, and other media outlets. Israel accuses Hamas of using civilian infrastructure, including the building hosting press offices, as shields. Israel presents evidence that Hamas military intelligence units were operating in the building. Hamas launches dozens of missiles and rockets towards Tel Aviv, Beersheba, Ashdod, and Sderot, killing one in the Tel Aviv suburb of Ramat Gan and raising the death toll in Israel to 10. Militants fire at least 120 rockets that night at southern Israel. Almost 300 rockets are fired throughout the day, about 40 of which fall inside Gaza.<sup>217</sup>
- **May 14:** Rioters from Lebanon approach the Israeli border and are repelled by Israeli forces. The rockets are fired from Syria, one falls into the sea or open areas of the Golan. There are no injuries or immediate claims of responsibility. IDF aircraft target a PIJ anti-tank missile operative, two Hamas anti-tank missile positions, and a Hamas surface-to-surface rocket position in Gaza. As of nightfall on May 14, more than 2,000 rockets have been fired toward Israel in five days of fighting. Approximately half of those projectiles are intercepted while 350 fall inside of Gaza. The Hamas-run health ministry claims 126 Palestinians have been killed in five days of fighting, including 31 minors, while 950 are wounded. Israeli casualties rise to eight dead, including two children. Hamas reportedly passes messages to Israel that it is interested in a ceasefire. Israeli media reports increasing chances of a ceasefire over the weekend.<sup>218</sup>
- **May 13-14:** Israel strikes at least five Hamas cells preparing to launch anti-tank guided missiles. Israel's targets the home of Hamas military commander Iyad Tayib, which the IDF says was being used for terrorist purposes. A rocket strikes a building in Tel Aviv, wounding five Israeli civilians. Hamas spokesman Abu Ubaida claims Hamas has launched rocket strikes on Israel bigger than any seen since the 1948 Independence War. Rocket fire kills an Israeli soldier and a 5-year-old in Israel. As of May 13, at least 46 Israelis are wounded and seven are killed since the beginning of the conflict. In Gaza, the death toll reaches at least 109. Hamas and PIJ confirm 20 deaths between the two groups. In those four days, Israel claims to strike more than 700 Hamas targets in Gaza, including 50 Hamas fighters and 10 senior commanders. Hamas begins sending armed drones into Israel while continuing to target southern Israel, Tel Aviv, and Jerusalem with rockets. The drones are either shot down or blown up in the air. That night, Israel mobilizes air and ground forces to strike inside Gaza. The Israeli military denies it is an invasion, insisting its forces are firing artillery from the Israeli side of the border. Egypt sends mediators to Israel to discuss a ceasefire. Hamas rejects a proposal for a three-hour lull in the fighting to further discussions. Abu Ubaida says Hamas

## *Hamas*

---

views a potential Israeli ground invasion as an opportunity “to increase our catch” of dead or captive soldiers. Overnight, Israel conducts airstrikes on some 150 targets around Gaza while infantry near the Gaza-Israel border—but staying on the Israeli side—strike nearby Hamas positions. The IDF claims to damage several kilometers of Hamas’s underground tunnels. According to some reports, Israel intentionally leaked misinformation of a ground invasion to draw Hamas into positions around and beneath the border for aerial bombardment.<sup>219</sup>

- **May 12:** Hamas and PIJ continue to fire rockets toward Israeli cities. Israeli strikes reportedly kill 16 Hamas militants, including senior commanders. Rockets target Sderot and other Israeli communities near the Gaza border. A rocket strikes a home in Sderot, wounding three. A Kornet anti-tank guided missile strikes a Jeep in Israel’s Netiv Ha’Asara, north of Gaza, killing a soldier and wounding three others. Hamas claims to fire 130 rockets in a single barrage. Israeli strikes kill six Hamas military commanders. Israeli operations also kill 13 members of Hamas’s weapons manufacturing staff. Israel strikes a building in southern Gaza allegedly housing Hamas’s military intelligence offices. Three senior Hamas officials, Gaza Brigade commander Bassam Issa, Khan Younis Brigade commander Rafa Salama, and Hamas intelligence chief Mohammed Yazouri, are also killed. Israeli media reports more than 1,200 rockets have been launched at Israel since the start of fighting on Monday, though 200 fell within Gaza. Israel’s missile defense systems reportedly intercept 80 to 90 percent of the rockets. Israel destroys Hamas’s central bank and internal security headquarters in Gaza. Moussa Abu Marzouk reportedly tells Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Bogdanov Hamas is ready for a ceasefire if Israel ends its military campaign and the international community pressures Israel to end “military actions” at the al-Aqsa Mosque.<sup>220</sup>
- **May 11:** Hamas claims to launch 137 rockets within a five-minute span toward the Israeli cities of Ashkelon and Ashdod, just south of Tel Aviv. Israel claims one-third of the rockets from Gaza had fallen short and landed inside the coastal enclave, resulting in increased Palestinian casualties. An Israeli strike in Gaza kills a Hamas commander and three PIJ commanders. The strike primarily targets Sameh Fahim Al-Mamlouk, a senior PIJ military commander. The other two PIJ fighters killed are field commanders who oversaw the group’s rocket attacks. Rockets strike homes in the Israeli city of Ashkelon, killing two and wounding dozens of others, marking the first Israeli fatalities in the conflict. A rocket strike outside a home in Rishon Lezion kills one inside and a neighbor dies from a heart attack after the strike.<sup>221</sup>
- **May 10:** Palestinians in Jerusalem throw rocks at an Israeli car, causing the driver to lose control. Hamas launches more than 150 rockets from the Gaza Strip toward Israeli border communities, with some reaching as far as Jerusalem and the nearby settlement of Beit Shemesh. One rocket strikes a house near Jerusalem, lightly wounding those inside. Hamas claims responsibility for the rocket fire, saying it is “in retaliation to [Israel’s] crimes and aggression on the holy city and brutality against our people in Sheikh Jarrah and Al Aqsa Mosque.” Hamas demands Israel remove its forces from both the Temple Mount and the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood and sets a deadline of that evening. PIJ joins in launching rockets and posts a video online of an anti-tank missile striking an Israeli car near Gaza, wounding one. In response, Israel launches Operation Guardians of the Wall, launching airstrikes on Hamas targets in the Gaza Strip. At least nine people are killed and two wounded in Gaza. Israeli authorities claim the strikes killed eight Hamas operatives while the Palestinian Health Ministry in Gaza claimed the Israeli strikes killed 21 people, including 10 children. Hamas spokesman Abu Ubaida warns Hamas will increase its attacks if Israel increases theirs. U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken calls for an immediate end to rocket attacks on Israel. Rocket attacks from Gaza continue into May 11 as the death toll rises to two Israelis and 26 in Gaza. At least 30 are wounded in southern Israel.<sup>222</sup>
- **May 9:** As Israelis rally in Jerusalem on to mark Jerusalem Day, celebrating the 1967 capture of east Jerusalem from Jordan, riots break out on the Temple Mount as hundreds of Palestinians reportedly throw rocks and firecrackers at security forces. Israeli police storm the Temple Mount in response. The protests coincide with an expected Israeli supreme court decision on the eviction of Palestinians from their homes in the east Jerusalem neighborhood of Sheikh Jarrah. The decision is delayed because of the rioting. Haniyeh writes to Iranian Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei asking the Muslim world to support Hamas.<sup>223</sup>
- **December 2020:** On December 29, PIJ announces widescale military drills, reportedly organized by Iran, in preparation for a future conflict with Israel. PIJ launches eight rockets into the sea off of Gaza’s coast. The drill includes Hamas and smaller armed groups.<sup>224</sup>
- **August 2020:** On August 6, militants in Gaza resume sending clusters of balloon bombs over the Gaza-Israel border. 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>225</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>226</sup>

*Hamas*

- 
- **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>227</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>228</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>229</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>230</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>231</sup>
  - **October 1, 2015:** Gunmen kill American-Israeli citizen Eitam Henkin and his wife, Naama Henkin, in their car between the settlements of Itamar and Elon Moreh, near the Palestinian village of Beit Furik in the West Bank. The Henkins' four children in the car are unharmed. Hamas praises the attack. Israeli authorities arrest Yahia Muhammad Naif Abdullah Hajj Hamad, Samir Zahir Ibrahim Kusah, Karem Lufti Fatahi Razek, and Zir Ziad Jamal Amar for the attack. According to an Israeli indictment, the four attackers initially intended to kidnap the Henkins but killed them instead when Eitam Henkin attempted to fight them off. The four are found guilty. In April 2019, the Henkins' children and estate file a U.S. lawsuit against Syria and Iran for providing Hamas with material support. In July 2021, a U.S. court finds Syria, Iran, the IRGC, the Iranian Ministry of Intelligence and Security, and three Iranian banks financially liable for the Hamas attack.<sup>232</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>233</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>234</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>235</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>236</sup>
  - **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>237</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.
-

*Hamas*

- 
- **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>238</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>239</sup> This follows other reports that Hamas has fired rockets from civilian areas, such as al-Shifa Hospital in Gaza City,<sup>240</sup> while threatening journalists to deter them from covering such activities.
  - **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>241</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>242</sup>
  - **February:** Israeli forces arrest a 15-member Hamas cell suspected of planting explosives along an Israeli highway between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.<sup>243</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>244</sup>
  - **2012:** Hamas launches more than 750 rockets into Israeli territory before Israel launches a major retaliatory ground operation in November.<sup>245</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>246</sup>
  - **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>247</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>248</sup> The group also remains at odds with Fatah, and the two factions violently clash:
    - **June:** Hamas fighters overrun the Palestinian Authority’s Gaza offices and forcibly expel Fatah from the strip.<sup>249</sup> The international community condemns Hamas’s coup, but the terror group promises to remain in power.
    - **May:** During May alone, Hamas claims responsibility for approximately 300 Qassam rockets launched against Israel.<sup>250</sup>
    - **March:** Despite the announcement of a unity government in March, Hamas and Palestinian Authority forces continue tit-for-tat battles.<sup>251</sup>
    - **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>252</sup> Hamas perceives this as “a green light to 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>253</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>254</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>255</sup> Hamas denies participation.<sup>256</sup>
-

*Hamas*

- **2005-2006:** According to the Israeli Foreign Ministry, 757 rockets land in Israel from Gaza between the 2005 disengagement and June 2006.<sup>257</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>258</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>259</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>260</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>261</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>262</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>263</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>264</sup>
  - **March 31, 2002:** A suicide bomber kills 15 people and wounds 33 at the Matza restaurant in Haifa. Hamas claims responsibility and identifies the bomber as a man from Jenin.<sup>265</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>266</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>267</sup>
  - **June 1, 2001:** A Hamas suicide bomber blows up outside the Dolphinarium discotheque in Tel Aviv, killing 21 people and wounding 120.<sup>268</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>269</sup>
- **February 25, 1996:** Twin Hamas bus bombings in Jerusalem kill 40 people, including American students Sara Duker and Matt Eisenfeld. Hamas claims responsibility.<sup>270</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>271</sup> Hamas claims the new tactic is in response to the Goldstein massacre.
- **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>272</sup>

<sup>145</sup> "About Hamas," Hamas website, accessed November 7, 2016, <http://hamas.ps/en/page/2/>.

<sup>146</sup> "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>.

<sup>147</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>.

<sup>148</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>.

<sup>149</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);

"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>.

<sup>150</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/>.

*Hamas*

- 151 “Hamis terrorist attacks,” Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, March 22, 2004, <http://embassies.gov.il/MFA/FOREIGNPOLICY/Terrorism/Palestinian/Pages/Hamis%20terror%20attacks%2022-Mar-2004.aspx>.
- 152 “Victims of Palestinian Violence and Terrorism since September 2000,” Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed November 7, 2016, <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Terrorism/Palestinian/Pages/Victims%20of%20Palestinian%20Violence%20and%20Terrorism%20since.aspx>.
- 153 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>.
- 154 Yasmine Saleh and Lin Noueihed, “Israel, Hamas Militants Begin 72-Hour Truce,” Chicago Tribune, August 5, 2014, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/chi-israel-hamas-gaza-truce-20140804-story.html>;  
Yardena Schwartz, “Israel Is Building a Secret Tunnel-Destroying Weapon,” *Foreign Policy*, March 10, 2016, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/10/israel-is-building-a-secret-tunnel-destroying-weapon-hamas-us-gaza/>.
- 155 “Watch: Hamas reveals ‘commando tunnel unit’ in new propaganda clip,” Jerusalem Post, August 27, 2015, <http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/WATCH-Hamas-reveals-commando-tunnel-unit-in-new-propaganda-clip-413421>.
- 156 “Report: Hamas taps over 1,000 terror operatives to dig Gaza tunnels,” *Jerusalem Post*, April 7, 2016, <http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Report-Hamas-taps-over-1000-terror-operatives-to-dig-Gaza-tunnels-450556>.
- 157 Yardena Schwartz, “Israel Is Building a Secret Tunnel-Destroying Weapon,” *Foreign Policy*, March 10, 2016, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/10/israel-is-building-a-secret-tunnel-destroying-weapon-hamas-us-gaza/>.
- 158 Noam Rotenberg, “Exclusive: Hamas operatives fear entering tunnels, believe Israel behind collapses,” *Jerusalem Post*, March 3, 2016, <http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Exclusive-Hamas-operatives-fear-entering-tunnels-believe-Israel-behind-collapses-446836>.
- 159 Yardena Schwartz, “Israel Is Building a Secret Tunnel-Destroying Weapon,” *Foreign Policy*, March 10, 2016, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/10/israel-is-building-a-secret-tunnel-destroying-weapon-hamas-us-gaza/>.
- 160 Michael Kaplan, “Hamas Threatens Gaza Could ‘Explode’ Under Israel’s Cement Ban,” *International Business Times*, April 5, 2016, <http://www.ibtimes.com/hamas-threatens-gaza-could-explode-under-israels-cement-ban-2348691>;  
“Israel halts cement deliveries into Gaza following allegations of diversion; UN envoy urges rapid resolution,” UN News Centre, April 4, 2016, [http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=53603#.Vw\\_3efkrKM8](http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=53603#.Vw_3efkrKM8).
- 161 Nidal al-Mughrabi, “Analysis-Hamas homemade rocket industry bypasses crumbling supply lines,” Reuters, July 15, 2014, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2014/07/15/uk-palestinians-israel-hamas-analysis-idUKKBN0FK23220140715>.
- 162 Adnan Abu Amer, “Hamas Tests Anti-Aircraft Missiles,” Al-Monitor, February 19, 2014, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulseen/originals/2014/02/gaza-hamas-qassam-aircraft-missiles-israel-strela.html>.
- 163 Agence France-Presse, “Hamas opens military camp for 25,000 Gazans aged 15 and up,” Times of Israel, July 25, 2015, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-gives-25000-gazans-combat-training/>.
- 164 Jim Michaels, “Israel: Hamas Still Has 5,000 Rockets in Its Arsenal,” *USA Today*, July 29, 2014, <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2014/07/29/israel-hamas-rockets-gaza-tunnels/13316973/>.
- 165 Jim Michaels, “Israel: Hamas Still Has 5,000 Rockets in Its Arsenal,” *USA Today*, July 29, 2014, <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2014/07/29/israel-hamas-rockets-gaza-tunnels/13316973/>.
- 166 Jim Michaels, “Israel: Hamas Still Has 5,000 Rockets in Its Arsenal,” *USA Today*, July 29, 2014, <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2014/07/29/israel-hamas-rockets-gaza-tunnels/13316973/>.
- 167 Avi Issacharoff, “Hamas has replenished its rocket arsenals, Israeli officials say,” Times of Israel, March 4, 2016, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-has-replenished-its-rocket-arsenals-israeli-officials-say/>.
- 168 Shira Rubin, “Hamas tunnels: ‘We can hear them digging beneath our feet,’ say Israelis on Gaza border,” *International Business Times*, February 11, 2016, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/hamas-tunnels-we-can-hear-them-digging-beneath-our-feet-say-israelis-gaza-border-1543205>.
- 169 Mahmud Hams, “Hamas is Tunneling its Way Into Israel Again,” *Newsweek*, March 8, 2016, <http://www.newsweek.com/hamas-tunnels-israel-palestine-gaza-434428>.
- 170 Shira Rubin, “Hamas tunnels: ‘We can hear them digging beneath our feet,’ say Israelis on Gaza border,” *International Business Times*, February 11, 2016, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/hamas-tunnels-we-can-hear-them-digging-beneath-our-feet-say-israelis-gaza-border-1543205>.
- 171 “Egypt floods Gaza tunnels used for smuggling,” Al Jazeera, September 18, 2015, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/09/egypt-floods-gaza-tunnels-150918193805896.html>.
- 172 “Steinitz: ‘Egypt floods Hamas tunnels, in part due to Israel’s request,’” *Jerusalem Post*, February 6, 2016, <http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Steinitz-Egypt-floods-Hamas-tunnels-in-part-due-to-Israelis-request-444040>.
- 173 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/>.
- 174 Nidal al-Mughrabi and Omar Fahmy, “Palestinian rivals Fatah, Hamas sign reconciliation accord,” Reuters, October 12, 2017, <https://ca.reuters.com/article/topNews/idCAKBN1CH0F5-OCATP>.
- 175 Dov Lieber, “Veneer of positivity fades in Palestinian unity talks as tough issues surface,” Times of Israel, October 16, 2017, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/veneer-of-positivity-fades-in-palestinian-unity-talks-as-tough-issues-surface/>; 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/>.
- 176 Steve Hendrix, Hazem Balousha, and Ruth Eglash, “Gaza militants target Israel with party balloons bearing bombs,” *Washington Post*, March 8, 2020, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\\_east/gaza-palestinian-balloon-bombs-israel/2020/03/08/d2069346-54d5-11ea-80ce-37a8d4266c09\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/gaza-palestinian-balloon-bombs-israel/2020/03/08/d2069346-54d5-11ea-80ce-37a8d4266c09_story.html).
- 177 Mohammad Habosh, “Gaza’s balloon bombs spark new cycle of violence,” Al-Monitor, August 14, 2020, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2020/08/hamas-gaza-balloons-israel-truce-understandings.html>.
- 178 “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>.
- 179 “Palestinian rocket fire draws Israeli air strikes in Gaza,” Reuters, June 18, 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/palestinian-rocket-fire-draws-israeli-air-strikes-gaza-2022-06-18/>; Emanuel Fabian and staff, “After IDF strike, Hamas defiantly raises flag at post overlooking Gaza border town,” Times of Israel, June 18, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/terrorists-watching-us-hamas-lookout-hit-by-idf-had-long-worried-border-residents/>.



*Hammas*

- 180 Raffi Berg, "Israel says Hamas plot to kill prominent politician in Jerusalem thwarted," BBC News, May 24, 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-61562543>; Emanuel Fabian, "Shin Bet foils Hamas plot to assassinate MK Ben Gvir, bomb Jerusalem rail with drone," Times of Israel, May 24, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/shin-bet-foils-hamas-plot-to-assassinate-mk-ben-gvir-bomb-jerusalem-rail-with-drone/>.
- 181 "Hamas calls for popular mobilization to thwart Zionist 'animal slaughter' at Al-Aqsa," Hamas, April 14, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/3997/Hamas-calls-for-popular-mobilization-to-thwart-Zionist-animal-slaughter-at-Al-Aqsa>.
- 182 "Hamas calls for popular mobilization to defend Al-Aqsa Mosque," Hamas, April 15, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/4000/Hamas-calls-for-popular-mobilization-to-defend-Al-Aqsa-Mosque>; "Jerusalem: Over 150 hurt in clashes at al-Aqsa Mosque compound," BBC News, April 15, 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-61105497>.
- 183 "Hamas condemns attacking Palestinian worshippers at Al-Aqsa," Hamas, April 17, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/4006/Hamas-condemns-attacking-Palestinian-worshippers-at-Al-Aqsa>; "Tensions flare as Israeli police enter Al-Aqsa Mosque again," Al Jazeera, April 17, 2022, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/4/17/israel-police-enter-al-aqsa-mosque-arrest-two>.
- 184 Joseph Krauss, "Gaza militants fire rocket into Israel as tensions soar," Associated Press, April 18, 2022, <https://apnews.com/article/middle-east-jerusalem-israel-west-bank-d7a308e3c0872ac01a51d745626e7303>; "Jerusalem Calms After Israeli-Palestinian Clashes at Holy Site," *New York Times*, April 19, 2022, <https://www.nytimes.com/live/2022/04/15/world/jerusalem-al-aqsa-mosque#al-aqsa-mosque-clashes>.
- 185 Agence France-Presse, "Gaza militants prepare tunnels as next conflict looms," France 24, April 19, 2022, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20220419-gaza-militants-prepare-tunnels-as-next-conflict-looms>; Emanuel Fabian, "Hamas shows off attempt to knock down Israeli jets," Times of Israel, April 19, 2022, [https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog\\_entry/hamas-shows-off-attempt-to-knock-down-israeli-jets/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/hamas-shows-off-attempt-to-knock-down-israeli-jets/).
- 186 Jack Koury, "Hamas Asks Gaza Factions to Avoid 'Independent' Rocket Fire at Israel, Sources Say," *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), April 19, 2022, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-hamas-asks-gaza-factions-to-avoid-independent-rocket-fire-at-israel-sources-say-1.10751678>; Dov Lieber, Anas Baba, and Fatima AbdulKarim, "Israel Airstrikes Target Gaza After Rocket Fire Amid Jerusalem Tensions," *Wall Street Journal*, April 21, 2022, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/israeli-police-block-jewish-marchers-from-jerusalem-flashpoints-11650478517>; Emanuel Fabian and staff, "IDF hits Hamas sites during pair of overnight raids in response to Gaza rocket fire," Times of Israel, April 21, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/idf-said-to-strike-hamas-targets-in-gaza-in-response-to-second-rocket-in-48-hours/>.
- 187 Rina Bassist, "Rockets launched at Israel from Lebanon, Gaza," Al-Monitor, April 25, 2022, <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2022/04/rockets-launched-israel-lebanon-gaza>; Steve Hendrix and Sarah Dadouch, "Israel shells Lebanon after rocket attack in western Galilee," *Washington Post*, April 25, 2022, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/04/25/israel-rocket-lebanon-aqsa-palestinian-jerusalem-galilee-unrest/>.
- 188 Amos Harel, "Analysis | Hamas Likely Behind the Rocket Fire From Lebanon to Israel. A Wide-scale Conflict Is Still Far Off," *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), April 25, 2022, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium.HIGHLIGHT-hamas-likely-behind-lebanon-rocket-fire-to-israel-a-major-conflict-is-still-far-off-1.10761870>; Emanuel Fabian and staff, "IDF fires dozens of shells at targets in Lebanon after rocket attack on Israel," Times of Israel, April 25, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/explosion-heard-near-northern-border-amid-reports-of-rocket-fired-from-lebanon/>; "UNIFIL STATEMENT ON ROCKET AND RETURN FIRE ON 25 APRIL 2022," UNIFIL, April 25, 2022, <https://unifil.unmissions.org/unifil-statement-rocket-and-return-fire-25-april-2022>; Rina Bassist, "Rockets launched at Israel from Lebanon, Gaza," Al-Monitor, April 25, 2022, <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2022/04/rockets-launched-israel-lebanon-gaza>.
- 189 Anna Ahronheim, "Security forces catch Palestinian terrorists who killed guard outside Ariel," *Jerusalem Post*, last updated May 1, 2022, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/article-705500>; Aaron Boxerman, "Hamas claims deadly Ariel terror shooting, vows it 'won't be the last,'" Times of Israel, May 2, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-claims-ariel-terror-shooting-vows-it-wont-be-the-last/>; Khaled Abu Toameh, "Terror groups laud Ariel 'heroic operation,' call for escalating attacks," *Jerusalem Post*, April 30, 2022, <https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/article-705537>; "Israel said to threaten Hamas chief Sinwar as calls for his head grow louder," Times of Israel, May 6, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israel-said-to-threaten-action-against-hamas-chief-sinwar-over-terror-cheerleading/>.
- 190 Aaron Boxerman and Emanuel Fabian, "Hamas threatens to ramp up violence after Palestinian gunmen killed in IDF raid," Times of Israel, March 31, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-threatens-to-ramp-up-violence-after-palestinian-gunmen-killed-in-idf-raid/>.
- 191 Emanuel Fabian, "4 East Jerusalem residents charged with Hamas ties, planning attacks during Ramadan," Times of Israel, March 19, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/4-east-jerusalem-residents-charged-with-hamas-ties-planning-attacks-during-ramadan/>.
- 192 "Two police officers injured in stabbing attack near Temple Mount," *Jerusalem Post*, March 7, 2022, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/article-700582>.
- 193 "Palestinian rockets explode off Tel Aviv coast, military says," Reuters, January 2, 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/palestinian-rockets-explode-off-tel-aviv-coast-military-says-2022-01-01/>; Emanuel Fabian and staff, "Islamic Jihad said on alert, evacuates bases after Gaza rockets land off Tel Aviv," Times of Israel, January 1, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/islamic-jihad-said-on-alert-evacuates-bases-after-gaza-rockets-land-off-tel-aviv/>.
- 194 "Palestinian rockets explode off Tel Aviv coast, military says," Reuters, January 2, 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/palestinian-rockets-explode-off-tel-aviv-coast-military-says-2022-01-01/>; Ilan Ben Zion, "Israel strikes Gaza after gunfire wounds civilian near fence," Associated Press, December 29, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/business-gaza-strip-middle-east-mahmoud-abbas-west-bank-6fdf1b036aeaf9d46701ca60643d52c>; "Israeli civilian injured by gunfire from Gaza; IDF shells Hamas posts in response," Times of Israel, December 29, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israeli-civilian-injured-by-gunfire-from-gaza-idf-shells-hamas-posts-in-response/>.
- 195 Shahr Klaiman, "Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad stage military drill in Gaza," Jewish News Syndicate, December 28, 2021, <https://www.jns.org/hamas-palestinian-islamic-jihad-stage-military-drill-in-gaza/>.
- 196 "Statement on warehouse blast in Lebanon's Palestinian refugee camp," Hamas, December 11, 2021, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/3789/Statement-on-warehouse-blast-in-Lebanon-s-Palestinian-refugee-camp>; "Blast in Palestinian camp in south Lebanon injures about a dozen," Reuters, December 11, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/explosion-rocks-south-lebanon-palestinian-camp-2021-12-10/>; "Hamas source says weapons cache that exploded in southern Lebanon was 'for defense,'" Times of Israel, December 11, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-says-weapons-cache-that-exploded-in-southern-lebanon-was-for-defense/>; Emanuel Fabian and agencies, "Several killed as explosions rock alleged Hamas weapons cache in southern Lebanon," Times of Israel, December 10, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/explosions-rock-alleged-hamas-weapons-cache-in-southern-lebanon/?fbclid=IwAR2DuPGYE-8CzA1QfbNkIwUvJL3xHfFvAvrDZtcBEaug7R04xydot-4h9YJA>.
- 197 Anna Ahronheim and Eliav Breuer, "One dead, four injured in terrorist attack in Jerusalem's Old City," *Jerusalem Post*, November 21, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/terrorist-attack-reported-at-jerusalems-old-city-685571>; Khaled Abu Toameh, "Who was the Islamic 'scholar' who carried out the Jerusalem attack?," *Jerusalem Post*, November 22, 2021, [https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/who-was-the-islamic-scholar-who-carried-out-the-jerusalem-attack-685588?\\_ga=2.208174480.369480656.1636311589-1969581575.1579377799&utm\\_source=ActiveCampaign&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_content=Who+was+the+Islamic++scholar++who+carried+out+the+Jerusalem+attack%3F&utm\\_campaign=Joint+press+statement+by+Hamas+Movement+and+Popular+Front+for+Liberation+of+Palestine](https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/who-was-the-islamic-scholar-who-carried-out-the-jerusalem-attack-685588?_ga=2.208174480.369480656.1636311589-1969581575.1579377799&utm_source=ActiveCampaign&utm_medium=email&utm_content=Who+was+the+Islamic++scholar++who+carried+out+the+Jerusalem+attack%3F&utm_campaign=Joint+press+statement+by+Hamas+Movement+and+Popular+Front+for+Liberation+of+Palestine); "Joint press statement by Hamas Movement and Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine," Hamas, November 22, 2021, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/3740/Joint-press-statement-by-Hamas-Movement-and-Popular-Front-for-Liberation-of-Palestine>; Rina Bassist, "Israel calls on Ankara to close Hamas offices in Turkey," Al-Monitor, November 23, 2021, <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/11/israel-calls-ankara-close-hamas-offices-turkey>; Mohammed Hamada, "Statement on demolishing home of martyr Abu

*Hammas*

- Shkhydam,” Hamas, February 1, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/3898/Statement-on-demolishing-home-of-martyr-Abu-Shkhydam>; Agence France-Presse, “Israeli forces destroy home of Palestinian assailant,” France 24, February 1, 2022, <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20220201-israeli-forces-destroy-home-of-palestinian-assailant>.
- 198 Aaron Boxerman, “Hamas hands death sentence to two alleged collaborators with Israel,” Times of Israel, November 9, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-hands-death-sentence-to-two-alleged-collaborators-with-israel/>.
- 199 Ali Sawafta and Rami Ayyub, “Israeli troops kill five Hamas gunmen in West Bank raids: military,” Reuters, September 26, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israeli-forces-kill-4-palestinians-west-bank-raids-palestinian-health-ministry-2021-09-26/>.
- 200 “Six Palestinian prisoners escape Israeli jail through tunnel,” BBC News, September 6, 2021, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-58460702>; Khaled Abu Toameh, “Gilboa Prison escapees: The ‘sheriff’ of Jenin and the ‘emir’ of Islamic Jihad,” *Jerusalem Post*, September 8, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/arab-israeli-conflict/gilboa-prison-escapees-the-sheriff-of-jenin-and-the-emir-of-islamic-jihad-678846>; Laurie Kellman, “Israel strikes Gaza as Palestinians celebrate prison break,” Associated Press, September 7, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/middle-east-business-israel-hamas-israel-palestinian-conflict-32e270ef175bf3518b31cfb3d20b6a75>; “Army, police on high alert for Hamas ‘day of rage’ in support of escapees,” Times of Israel, September 10, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/army-police-on-high-alert-as-hamas-calls-day-of-rage-to-support-escapees/>; “Day of Rage: ‘We will not rest until prisoners are free’ – Hamas,” *Jerusalem Post*, September 10, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/day-of-rage-we-will-not-rest-until-prisoners-are-free-hamas-679137>.
- 201 “Hamas operatives launch incendiary balloons into Israel,” Associated Press, September 4, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/technology-middle-east-africa-israel-hamas-6538690359c8de18ef78d34139d05535>.
- 202 “Israel bombs Hamas sites in Gaza over fire balloons – military,” Reuters, August 29, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israel-bombs-hamas-sites-gaza-over-fire-balloons-military-2021-08-29/>.
- 203 “Egypt closes Rafah border crossing to Gaza after Israel-Hamas escalation,” *Jerusalem Post*, August 23, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/egypt-closes-rafah-border-crossing-to-gaza-strip-report-677450>; Michael Starr and Tal Spungin, “Border policeman dies from Gaza riot shooting injury,” *Jerusalem Post*, August 30, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/border-policeman-dies-from-gaza-riot-shooting-injury-677482>.
- 204 Ilan Ben Zion, “Rights group says Hamas rockets at Israel a clear war crime,” Associated Press, August 12, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/middle-east-business-israel-race-and-ethnicity-racial-injustice-1032a5117375ba8c0cdfb6d62ce02ad>.
- 205 “Israel strikes Hamas sites in Gaza in response to fire balloons – military,” Reuters, August 7, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israel-strikes-hamas-sites-gaza-response-fire-balloons-military-2021-08-07/>.
- 206 Aaron Boxerman and Judah Ari Gross, “IDF strikes Gaza after incendiary balloons spark fires in south,” Times of Israel, July 25, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/idf-strikes-gaza-after-incendiary-balloons-spark-fires-in-south/>; Edmund DeMarche, “Israel says it struck Hamas military base after arson balloon launch,” Fox News, July 26, 2021, <https://www.foxnews.com/world/israel-says-it-struck-hamas-military-base-after-arson-balloon-launch>; Aaron Boxerman and Judah Ari Gross, “Israel restricts Gaza fishing zone after arson balloons spark fires in south,” Times of Israel, July 25, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/gaza-arson-balloons-spark-3-fires-in-south-in-first-attack-in-weeks/>.
- 207 Aaron Boxerman, “EU ‘appalled’ by alleged killing of 2 Gazans by Hamas security forces,” Times of Israel, July 27, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/eu-appalled-by-alleged-killing-of-2-gazans-by-hamas-security-forces/>.
- 208 Aaron Boxerman, “EU ‘appalled’ by alleged killing of 2 Gazans by Hamas security forces,” Times of Israel, July 27, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/eu-appalled-by-alleged-killing-of-2-gazans-by-hamas-security-forces/>.
- 209 Tzvi Joffe, “1 killed, 10 injured in explosion at Gaza City market,” *Jerusalem Post*, July 22, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/explosion-at-market-in-gaza-city-injuries-reported-674567>; Khaled Abu Toameh, “Palestinians accuse Hamas of storing weapons in residential areas,” *Jerusalem Post*, July 24, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/palestinians-accuse-hamas-of-storing-weapons-in-residential-areas-674793>.
- 210 Patrick Kingsley, Isabel Kershner, and Adam Rasgon, “Israeli Aircraft Bomb Gaza Just Days Into New Government,” *New York Times*, June 16, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/15/world/middleeast/israel-coalition-hamas.html>; Ilan Ben Zion, “Israeli airstrikes target Gaza sites, first since cease-fire,” Associated Press, June 16, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/jerusalem-israel-middle-east-israel-palestinian-conflict-9a3a1cb047227999330dd44bb080e6c8>; “Incendiary balloons from Gaza spark fires in south ahead of Jerusalem flag march,” Times of Israel, last updated June 16, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/incendiary-balloons-from-gaza-spark-fires-in-south-ahead-of-jerusalem-flag-march/>.
- 211 Patrick Kingsley, Adam Rasgon, and Isabel Kershner, “Israel and Hamas Scale Down the Conflict, Avoiding Another War,” *New York Times*, June 17, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/16/world/middleeast/israel-hamas-gaza-cessate-fire.html>; “Gaza incendiary balloons spark 8 fires in Israel as assault from Strip continues,” Times of Israel, June 17, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/gaza-incendiary-balloons-spark-8-fires-in-israel-as-assault-from-strip-continues/>; Judah Ari Gross, “IDF hits Hamas sites across Gaza after arson attacks; warning sirens near border,” Times of Israel, June 17, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/idf-strikes-hamas-sites-in-gaza-in-response-to-arson-attacks-report/>; Edmund DeMarche, “Top Israeli military official warns about renewed fighting with Hamas: report,” Fox News, June 18, 2021, <https://www.foxnews.com/world/top-israeli-military-official-warns-about-renewed-fighting-with-hamas-report>.
- 212 Patrick Kingsley, Isabel Kershner, and Adam Rasgon, “Israeli Aircraft Bomb Gaza Just Days Into New Government,” *New York Times*, June 16, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/15/world/middleeast/israel-coalition-hamas.html>; Ilan Ben Zion, “Israeli airstrikes target Gaza sites, first since cease-fire,” Associated Press, June 16, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/jerusalem-israel-middle-east-israel-palestinian-conflict-9a3a1cb047227999330dd44bb080e6c8>; “Incendiary balloons from Gaza spark fires in south ahead of Jerusalem flag march,” Times of Israel, last updated June 16, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/incendiary-balloons-from-gaza-spark-fires-in-south-ahead-of-jerusalem-flag-march/>; Patrick Kingsley, Adam Rasgon, and Isabel Kershner, “Israel and Hamas Scale Down the Conflict, Avoiding Another War,” *New York Times*, June 17, 2021, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/16/world/middleeast/israel-hamas-gaza-cessate-fire.html>; “Gaza incendiary balloons spark 8 fires in Israel as assault from Strip continues,” Times of Israel, June 17, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/gaza-incendiary-balloons-spark-8-fires-in-israel-as-assault-from-strip-continues/>; Judah Ari Gross, “IDF hits Hamas sites across Gaza after arson attacks; warning sirens near border,” Times of Israel, June 17, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/idf-strikes-hamas-sites-in-gaza-in-response-to-arson-attacks-report/>.
- 213 Seth J. Frantzman, “IRGC head praises Hamas commander Deif as ‘living martyr’ – analysis,” *Jerusalem Post*, May 20, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/arab-israeli-conflict/irgc-head-praises-hamas-commander-deif-as-living-martyr-analysis-668656>; Fares Akram and Joseph Krauss, “Israel unleashes strikes as expectations for truce rise,” Associated Press, May 20, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/gaza-israel-middle-east-israel-palestinian-conflict-caac81bc36fe9be67ac2f7c27000c74b>; Anna Ahronheim, “Rocket fire continues despite talk of an imminent ceasefire,” *Jerusalem Post*, May 20, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/arab-israeli-conflict/rocket-strikes-ashkelon-house-leaving-26-year-old-with-light-injuries-668657>; “Hamas says Gaza truce with Israel to begin at 2 a.m on Friday,” Reuters, May 20, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israeli-cabinet-approves-gaza-truce-yedioth-ahronoth-reporter-says-2021-05-20/>.
- 214 Fares Akram and Ravi Nessiman, “Palestinians go on strike as Israel-Hamas fighting rages,” Associated Press, May 18, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/hamas-gaza-middle-east-israel-palestinian-conflict-ab0bfc2b25d2a03756fb0c084fca1a3d>; Judah Ari Gross and Staff, “Hamas says it targeted air force bases in barrages toward south, central Israel,” Times of Israel, May 19, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-says-it-targeted-air-force-bases-in-barrages-toward-south-central-israel/>; Jackie Northam, “Israeli Warplanes Pound Hamas Tunnels In Gaza,” NPR, May 19, 2021, <https://www.npr.org/2021/05/19/998152164/israeli-warplanes-pound-hamas-tunnels-in-gaza>; Anna

*Hamas*

- Ahronheim, "IDF plans 'intensive' strikes against Hamas tunnel network," *Jerusalem Post*, May 19, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/arab-israeli-conflict/rocket-barrage-renews-after-night-of-quiet-idf-continues-striking-hamas-668391>; Anna Ahronheim, "Israel says 160 terrorists killed in Gaza since beginning of operation," *Jerusalem Post*, May 18, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/idf-ships-eliminate-targets-off-coast-of-gaza-strip-report-668385>; Judah Ari Gross, "IDF twice tried, failed to kill Hamas military chief Muhammad Deif last week," *Times of Israel*, May 19, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/idf-twice-tried-failed-to-kill-hamas-military-chief-muhammad-deif-last-week/>; "IRGC Commander Pledges Iran's Unwavering Support for Palestinian Nation," *Fars News Agency*, May 20, 2021, <https://www.farsnews.ir/en/news/1400023000178/IRGC-Commander-Pledges-Iran-s-Unwavering-Sppr-fr-Palesinian-Nain>; "Iraqi Resistance Forces Voice Readiness for Direct War against Israel," *Fars News Agency*, May 19, 2021, <https://www.farsnews.ir/en/news/14000229000537/Irai-Resisance-Frces-Vice-Readiness-fr-Direc-War-agains-Israel>.
- 215 Agence France-Presse, "Macron, El-Sisi agree 'absolutely necessary' to end Israel-Gaza hostilities: Elysee," *Arab News*, May 17, 2021, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1860071/middle-east>; Ellen Knickmeyer, Amer Madhani, and Lisa Mascaro, "AP source: US encouraging Israel to wind down Gaza offensive," *Associated Press*, May 19, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/europe-middle-east-israel-palestinian-conflict-government-and-politics-d313985ade629d9c33e9147e07712180>; "Israeli air strike kills Islamic Jihad commander in Gaza," *Reuters*, May 17, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israeli-air-strike-kills-islamic-jihad-commander-gaza-militant-group-says-2021-05-17/>.
- 216 Ibrahim Dahman, Abeer Salman, Kareem Khadder, Mohammad Tawfeeq, Ben Wedeman, and Hadas Gold, "Israeli strikes hit home in Gaza refugee camp, media offices as conflict intensifies," *CNN*, last updated May 16, 2021, <https://www.cnn.com/2021/05/15/middleeast/israel-palestinian-conflict-intl/index.html>; Lahav Harkov, "Israel showed US 'smoking gun' on Hamas in AP office tower, officials say," *Jerusalem Post*, May 16, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/israel-showed-us-smoking-gun-on-hamas-in-ap-office-tower-officials-say-668303>; "Wide scale Hamas rocket barrage scores direct hits in Ashkelon, Ashdod," *Jerusalem Post*, May 16, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/rocket-barrages-from-gaza-continue-to-slam-into-israel-sunday-668287>; Tovah Lazaroff, "Guterres to UNSC: We're working on a Gaza ceasefire, violence must stop," *Jerusalem Post*, May 16, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/arab-israeli-conflict/guterres-to-uns-c-were-working-on-a-gaza-cease-fire-violence-must-stop-66831>; Nidal Al-mughrabi and Jeffrey Heller, "Israel air strikes kill 42 Palestinians, rockets fired from Gaza," *Reuters*, May 16, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israel-bombs-hamas-gaza-chiefs-home-fighting-enters-seventh-day-2021-05-15/>; "Top IDF general says Hamas chiefs Deif and Sinwar 'remain in Israel's sights,'" *Times of Israel*, May 17, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/top-general-says-idf-will-continue-to-try-kill-hamas-senior-leaders/>.
- 217 Ibrahim Dahman, Abeer Salman, Kareem Khadder, Mohammad Tawfeeq, Ben Wedeman, and Hadas Gold, "Israeli strikes hit home in Gaza refugee camp, media offices as conflict intensifies," *CNN*, last updated May 16, 2021, <https://www.cnn.com/2021/05/15/middleeast/israel-palestinian-conflict-intl/index.html>; "Wide scale Hamas rocket barrage scores direct hits in Ashkelon, Ashdod," *Jerusalem Post*, May 16, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/rocket-barrages-from-gaza-continue-to-slam-into-israel-sunday-668287>; Nidal Al-mughrabi and Jeffrey Heller, "Israel air strikes kill 42 Palestinians, rockets fired from Gaza," *Reuters*, May 16, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israel-bombs-hamas-gaza-chiefs-home-fighting-enters-seventh-day-2021-05-15/>.
- 218 Judah Ari Gross, "IDF: Overnight bombardment targeted Hamas's tunnel network under Gaza City," *Times of Israel*, May 14, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/idf-overnight-bombardment-targeted-hamas-tunnel-network-under-gaza-city/>; "450 bombs in 35 minutes: This is how the IDF tricked Hamas," *Arutz Sheva*, May 14, 2021, <https://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/306223>; Israel Defense Forces, Twitter post, May 14, 2021, 1:46 a.m., <https://twitter.com/IDF/status/1393082846324088833>; Israel Defense Forces, Twitter post, May 14, 2021, 9:01 a.m., <https://twitter.com/IDF/status/1393189744771837952>; Israel Defense Forces, Twitter post, May 14, 2021, 3:15 p.m., <https://twitter.com/IDF/status/139328389100019300>; Israel Defense Forces, Twitter post, May 14, 2021, 3:38 p.m., <https://twitter.com/IDF/status/1393289683153600516>; "3 projectiles from Syria fall in open area in Golan Heights; none injured," *Times of Israel*, May 14, 2021, [https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog\\_entry/3-projectiles-from-syria-fall-in-open-area-in-golan-heights-none-injured/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/3-projectiles-from-syria-fall-in-open-area-in-golan-heights-none-injured/); Emanuel Fabian, "Gaza health ministry says 126 Palestinians killed in conflict," *Times of Israel*, May 14, 2021, [https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog\\_entry/gaza-health-ministry-says-126-palestinians-have-been-killed-in-operation-guardian-of-the-walls/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/gaza-health-ministry-says-126-palestinians-have-been-killed-in-operation-guardian-of-the-walls/); Jacob Magid, "Gaza ceasefire appears increasingly likely over weekend — diplomatic sources," *Times of Israel*, May 14, 2021, [https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog\\_entry/a-ceasefire-seeming-increasingly-likely-over-weekend-diplomatic-sources/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/a-ceasefire-seeming-increasingly-likely-over-weekend-diplomatic-sources/); Nidal Al-mughrabi and Stephen Farrell, "Israel pounds Gaza to curb Palestinian militants but rockets still fly," *Reuters*, May 14, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israel-fires-artillery-into-gaza-amid-persistent-palestinian-rocket-attacks-2021-05-13/>.
- 219 Anna Ahronheim and Tzvi Joffe, "Soldier killed as cabinet okays more attacks," *Jerusalem Post*, May 13, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/four-dead-from-latest-wave-of-rockets-aimed-at-central-israel-667902>; Anna Ahronheim and Tzvi Joffe, "IDF strikes four anti-tank missile cells in Gaza as rockets pound Tel Aviv," *Jerusalem Post*, May 13, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/israel-striking-gaza-in-response-to-rocket-barrage-directed-at-jerusalem-667776>; Nidal Al-mughrabi and Rami Ayyub, "Gaza conflict intensifies with rocket barrages and air strikes," *Reuters*, May 13, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/biden-expects-spiralling-israel-gaza-conflict-end-soon-2021-05-12/>; Anna Ahronheim, "IDF: Air and ground troops attacking in Gaza Strip," *Jerusalem Post*, May 14, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/israel-striking-gaza-in-response-to-rocket-barrage-directed-at-jerusalem-667776>; Nidal Al-mughrabi and Jeffrey Heller, "Israel fires artillery into Gaza, Palestinian rocket attacks persist," *Reuters*, May 13, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israel-fires-artillery-into-gaza-amid-persistent-palestinian-rocket-attacks-2021-05-13/>; Josef Federman and Fares Akram, "Israel threatens Gaza ground invasion despite truce efforts," *Associated Press*, May 13, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/israel-palestinians-conflict-violence-spreads-1ad9613de6ad16c4d248da9934cf0412>.
- 220 "Hamas says it fired 130 rockets into Israel in latest barrage," *Times of Israel*, May 12, 2021, [https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog\\_entry/hamas-says-it-fired-130-rockets-into-israel-in-latest-barrage/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/hamas-says-it-fired-130-rockets-into-israel-in-latest-barrage/); "3 hurt, one seriously as rocket hits home in Sderot; another hits Ashkelon house," *Times of Israel*, May 12, 2021, [https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog\\_entry/3-hurt-one-seriously-as-rocket-hits-home-in-sderot-another-hits-ashkelon-house/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/3-hurt-one-seriously-as-rocket-hits-home-in-sderot-another-hits-ashkelon-house/); "Military issues names and photos of 6 Hamas commanders killed in airstrikes," *Times of Israel*, May 12, 2021, [https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog\\_entry/military-issues-names-and-photos-of-6-hamas-commanders-killed-in-airstrikes/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/military-issues-names-and-photos-of-6-hamas-commanders-killed-in-airstrikes/); "TV: Some 1,200 rockets have been launched from Gaza so far," *Times of Israel*, May 12, 2021, [https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog\\_entry/tv-some-1200-rockets-have-been-launched-from-gaza-so-far/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/tv-some-1200-rockets-have-been-launched-from-gaza-so-far/); Staff and Aaron Boxerman, "Hamas official tells Russia: We're ready for ceasefire with Israel," *Times of Israel*, May 12, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-official-tells-russia-were-ready-for-ceasefire-with-israel/>.
- 221 Aaron Boxerman, "IDF kills 4 Islamic Jihad, Hamas commanders in targeted strikes in Gaza," *Times of Israel*, May 11, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israeli-military-kills-3-islamic-jihad-commanders-in-targeted-strike/>; Nidal Al-mughrabi and Jeffrey Heller, "Israel strikes kill senior Hamas commander, Palestinians fire rockets," *Reuters*, May 12, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/35-killed-gaza-3-israel-violence-escalates-2021-05-12/>; Judah Ari Gross and Aaron Boxerman, "2 women killed by rockets in Ashkelon amid massive barrages from Gaza," *Times of Israel*, May 11, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/2-killed-by-rockets-in-ashkelon-amid-massive-barrages-from-gaza/>.
- 222 Felicia Schwartz and Dov Lieber, "Israel Strikes Hamas Targets After Rockets Fired at Jerusalem," *Wall Street Journal*, May 10, 2021, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/israeli-military-says-rockets-fired-from-gaza-toward-jerusalem-11620646448>; "Islamic Jihad releases footage of anti-tank missile attack," *Times of Israel*, May 10, 2021, [https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog\\_entry/islamic-jihad-releases-footage-of-anti-tank-missile-attack/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/islamic-jihad-releases-footage-of-anti-tank-missile-attack/); "Secretary Antony J. Blinken And Jordanian Foreign Minister Ayman Safadi Before Their Meeting," U.S. Department of State, May 10, 2021, <https://www.state.gov/secretary-antony-j-blinken-and-jordanian-foreign-minister-ayman-safadi-before-their-meeting/>; Nidal Al-mughrabi and Jeffrey Heller, "Israel airstrikes kill 20 in Gaza, Palestinians say, after militants fire rockets at Jerusalem," *Reuters*, May 10, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/israel-airstrikes-kill-20-gaza-palestinians-say-after-militants-fire-rockets-2021-05-10/>.
- 223 Tzvi Joffe, "Jerusalem Day festivities shaken by rockets, violent riots," *Jerusalem Post*, May 10, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/jerusalem-day-riots-break-out-on-temple-mount-667735>; "Palestinians say nine killed in Israeli strikes in the Gaza Strip," *Jerusalem Post*, May 10, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/israel>

*Hammas*

- striking-gaza-in-response-to-rocket-barrage-directed-at-jerusalem-667776; " Hamas chief writes to Leader, asks Muslim world to support al-Quds," *Tehran Times*, May 9, 2021, <https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/460758/Hamas-chief-writes-to-Leader-asks-Muslim-world-to-support-al-Quds>.
- 224 Nidal al-Mughrabi, "Gaza militants fire rockets into the sea in first joint exercise," *Reuters*, December 29, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east-africa/gaza-militants-fire-rockets-into-sea-first-joint-exercise-2020-12-29/>.
- 225 Mohammad Habosh, "Gaza's balloon bombs spark new cycle of violence," *Al-Monitor*, August 14, 2020, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2020/08/hamas-gaza-balloons-israel-truce-understandings.html>; Aaron Boxerman and Judah Ari Gross, "After Gaza incendiary balloon attacks, Israel strikes Hamas observation post," *Times of Israel*, August 10, 2020, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/after-gaza-incendiary-balloon-attacks-israel-strikes-hamas-observation-post/>; Jack Khoury and Almog Ben Zikri, " Hamas Official: Balloon Bombs From Gaza Are Message to Israel Over Stalled Negotiations," *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), August 8, 2020, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-hamas-official-gaza-balloon-bombs-are-message-to-israel-over-stalled-negotiations-1.9057676>; "Israel targets Hamas in Gaza in response to fire-bomb balloons," *France 24*, August 13, 2020, <https://www.france24.com/en/20200813-israel-targets-hamas-in-gaza-in-response-to-fire-bomb-balloons>; 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/>.
- 226 Steve Hendrix, Hazem Balousha, and Ruth Eglash, "Gaza militants target Israel with party balloons bearing bombs," *Washington Post*, March 8, 2020, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\\_east/gaza-palestinian-balloon-bombs-israel/2020/03/08/d2069346-54d5-11ea-80ce-37a8d4266c09\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/gaza-palestinian-balloon-bombs-israel/2020/03/08/d2069346-54d5-11ea-80ce-37a8d4266c09_story.html).
- 227 Jacob Magid, "Two soldiers wounded by gunfire on Gaza border; IDF hits Hamas post, killing 2," *Times of Israel*, May 3, 2019, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/idf-nabs-gazan-armed-with-knife-who-breached-border-fence-into-israel/>; "As ceasefire goes into effect, Netanyahu says Gaza campaign not over," *Times of Israel*, May 6, 2019, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/as-ceasefire-goes-into-effect-netanyahu-says-gaza-campaign-not-over/>; "Islamic Jihad threatens to escalate Gaza violence to all-out war," *Times of Israel*, May 5, 2019, [https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog\\_entry/israelic-jihad-threatens-to-escalate-gaza-violence-to-all-out-war/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/israelic-jihad-threatens-to-escalate-gaza-violence-to-all-out-war/); Felicia Schwartz, "Gaza, Israel Reach Cease-Fire After Days of Deadly Clashes," *Wall Street Journal*, May 6, 2019, [https://www.wsj.com/articles/gaza-israel-reach-cease-fire-after-days-of-deadly-clashes-11557133042?mod=hp\\_lead\\_pos5](https://www.wsj.com/articles/gaza-israel-reach-cease-fire-after-days-of-deadly-clashes-11557133042?mod=hp_lead_pos5); Richard Spencer, "Israel and Gaza reach ceasefire after days of violence," *The Times* (London), May 6, 2019, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/edition/world/israel-on-brink-of-war-after-gaza-rocket-strikes-g3mh57md9>; "The Latest: Hamas says it doesn't want a new war with Israel," *Associated Press*, May 5, 2019, <https://www.apnews.com/7965a592ba4b4e79ad93276ff97a1159>.
- 228 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/>; Ruth Eglash and Loveday Morris, "Two Israelis shot dead in West Bank attack as Hamas claims earlier attacks," *Washington Post*, December 13, 2018, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\\_east/israel-hunts-down-palestinians-behind-pair-of-attacks-as-3-day-old-victim-is-buried/2018/12/13/88a34a68-feab-11e8-83c0-b06139e540e5\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.9df174daf37d](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/israel-hunts-down-palestinians-behind-pair-of-attacks-as-3-day-old-victim-is-buried/2018/12/13/88a34a68-feab-11e8-83c0-b06139e540e5_story.html?utm_term=.9df174daf37d).
- 229 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>; 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/>; 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/>.
- 230 "Manhunt after two Israelis killed at West Bank factory," *BBC News*, October 8, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-45783482>; 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/>; Ruth Eglash and Loveday Morris, "Two Israelis shot dead in West Bank attack as Hamas claims earlier attacks," *Washington Post*, December 13, 2018, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\\_east/israel-hunts-down-palestinians-behind-pair-of-attacks-as-3-day-old-victim-is-buried/2018/12/13/88a34a68-feab-11e8-83c0-b06139e540e5\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.9df174daf37d](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/israel-hunts-down-palestinians-behind-pair-of-attacks-as-3-day-old-victim-is-buried/2018/12/13/88a34a68-feab-11e8-83c0-b06139e540e5_story.html?utm_term=.9df174daf37d).
- 231 Bethann McKernan, "Gaza militants pelt Israel with rockets in biggest attack in years," *Independent* (London), May 29, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/gaza-rocket-attack-israel-hamas-palestinians-protest-idf-a8373556.html>; "Live Updates: Why Israel Agreed to Hamas' Request to End Fighting," *Haaretz* (Jerusalem), May 31, 2018, <https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/why-israel-agreed-gaza-cease-fire-with-hamas-1.6131634>.
- 232 Judah Ari Gross and staff, "Israeli mother and father shot dead in West Bank terror attack," *Times of Israel*, October 1, 2015, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/two-seriously-wounded-in-west-bank-terror-attack/>; Stuart Winer, "Terrorists initially intended to kidnap Henkins — prosecution," *Times of Israel*, November 19, 2015, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/terrorists-initially-intended-to-kidnap-henkins-prosecution/>; Yonah Jeremy Bob, "Henkin family files \$360m. lawsuit against Iran, Syria for parents' murder," *Jerusalem Post*, April 25, 2019, <https://www.jpost.com/arab-israeli-conflict/henkin-family-sues-iran-syria-for-360m-for-murders-587789>; "US court: Iran, Syria liable for deaths of Israeli couple in 2015 terror attack," *Times of Israel*, July 15, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/us-court-rules-iran-syria-liable-for-deaths-of-israeli-couple-in-2015-attack/>.
- 233 Amos Harel, Jack Khoury, Yair Ettinger, and Nir Hasson, " Hamas Claims Responsibility for Jerusalem Bus Bombing," *Haaretz*, April 20, 2016, <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/1.715554>; " Hamas claims responsibility for Jerusalem bus bombing," *Jerusalem Post*, April 20, 2016, <http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Hamas-claims-responsibility-for-Jerusalem-bus-bombing-451891>.
- 234 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>.
- 235 "Watch: Hamas reveals 'commando tunnel unit' in new propaganda clip," *Jerusalem Post*, August 27, 2015, <http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/WATCH-Hamas-reveals-commando-tunnel-unit-in-new-propaganda-clip-413421>.
- 236 Karin Laub, "Jordan court sentences 12 in alleged Hamas plot," *Associated Press*, July 28, 2015, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/2dd4c8c21bc741eca2dd7caed5a2d921/jordan-court-sentences-12-alleged-hamas-plot>.
- 237 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>; Stuart Winer, " Hamas refuses to swap Israeli civilian for imprisoned operative — report," *Times of Israel*, February 5, 2017, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-refuses-to-swap-israeli-civilian-for-imprisoned-operative-report/>.
- 238 Yasmine Saleh and Lin Noueihed, "Israel, Hamas Militants Begin 72-Hour Truce," *Chicago Tribune*, August 5, 2014, <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/chi-israel-hamas-gaza-truce-20140804-story.html>.
- 239 Sreenivasan Jain, "NDTV Exclusive: How Hamas Assembles and Fires Rockets," *NDTV*, August 5, 2014, <http://www.ndtv.com/article/world/ndtv-exclusive-how-hamas-assembles-and-fires-rockets-571033>.
- 240 "Finnish TV Reporter at Gaza's Al Shifa Hospital: 'It's True That Rockets Are Launched Here From the Gazan Side Into Israel' (VIDEO)," *Algemeiner*, August 1, 2014, <http://www.algemeiner.com/2014/08/01/finnish-tv-reporter-at-gazas-al-shifa-hospital-its-true-that-rockets-are-launched-here-from-the-gazan-side-into-israel-video/>.
- 241 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>.

*Hammas*

- 242 “U.S. calls Hamas attack ‘barbaric’ violation of Gaza ceasefire: CNN,” Reuters, August 1, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/08/01/us-mideast-gaza-whitehouse-idUSKBN0G143S20140801>.
- 243 Mitch Ginsburg, “Hamas Cell Planned Bomb Attack on Major J’lem-TA Road,” *Times of Israel*, February 24, 2014, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-cell-planned-roadside-bombing-on-major-jlem-ta-route/>.
- 244 Stuart Winer, “Hamas Manufacturing Rockets That Threaten Tel Aviv,” *Times of Israel*, July 15, 2013, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-manufacturing-rockets-that-threaten-tel-aviv/>.
- 245 Matthew Kalman, “Massed Israeli Troops Poised for Invasion of Gaza,” *Independent* [U.K.], November 15, 2012, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/massed-israeli-troops-poised-for-invasion-of-gaza-8316615.html>.
- 246 “Chapter 6. Foreign Terrorist Organizations,” U.S. Department of State, July 31, 2012, <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2011/195553.htm>.
- 247 “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?\\_r=1&hp](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/06/world/middleeast/06scene.html?_r=1&hp); “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*, 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).
- 248 Isabel Kershner, “Hamas Military Wing Fires Rockets at Israel,” *New York Times*, April 24, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/24/world/middleeast/24cnd-mideast.html>.
- 249 Conal Urquart, Ian Black, and Mark Tran, “Hamas Takes Control of Gaza,” *Guardian* [U.K.], June 15, 2007, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/jun/15/israel4>.
- 250 “The Hamas terror war against Israel,” Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, March 2011, <http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/terrorism/palestinian/pages/missile%20fire%20from%20gaza%20on%20israeli%20civilian%20targets%20aug%202007.aspx>.
- 251 Conal Urquart, Ian Black, and Mark Tran, “Hamas Takes Control of Gaza,” *Guardian* [U.K.], June 15, 2007, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/jun/15/israel4>.
- 252 Richard Boudreaux and Maher Abukhater, “Abbas Bans Hamas Police Force,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 7, 2007, <http://articles.latimes.com/2007/jan/07/world/fg-palestinian7>.
- 253 Richard Boudreaux and Maher Abukhater, “Abbas Bans Hamas Police Force,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 7, 2007, <http://articles.latimes.com/2007/jan/07/world/fg-palestinian7>.
- 254 “The Hamas terror war against Israel,” Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, March 2011, <http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/terrorism/palestinian/pages/missile%20fire%20from%20gaza%20on%20israeli%20civilian%20targets%20aug%202007.aspx>.
- 255 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>.
- 256 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>.
- 257 “The Hamas terror war against Israel,” Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, November 30, 2008, <http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/terrorism/pages/missile%20fire%20from%20gaza%20on%20israeli%20civilian%20targets%20aug%202007.aspx>.
- 258 “Israel At ‘War to the Bitter End,’ Strikes Key Hamas Sites,” Fox News, December 29, 2008, <http://www.foxnews.com/story/2008/12/29/israel-at-war-to-bitter-end-strikes-key-hamas-sites>.
- 259 Tzippe Barrow, “Hamas, the Islamic Resistance Movement,” *CBN News*, March 8, 2011, <https://www.cbn.com/cbnnews/insideisrael/2011/March/Hamas-the-Islamic-Resistance-Movement/>.
- 260 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); “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>.
- 261 “Timeline: The Evolution of Hamas,” CNN, December 30, 2008, <http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/meast/12/30/hamas.profile/>.
- 262 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>; “Suicide bombing of No 2 Egged bus in Jerusalem-19-Aug-2003,” Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed November 7, 2016, <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFA-Archive/2003/Pages/Suicide%20bombing%20of%20No%202%20Egged%20bus%20in%20Jerusalem%20-%201.aspx>.
- 263 “Timeline: The Evolution of Hamas,” CNN, December 30, 2008, <http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/meast/12/30/hamas.profile/>; “Suicide bombing of Egged bus No 14A in Jerusalem-11-Jun-2003,” Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed November 7, 2016, <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFA-Archive/2003/Pages/Suicide%20bombing%20of%20Egged%20bus%20No%2014A%20in%20Jerusalem%20-%20.aspx>.
- 264 “Suicide bombing of No 20 Egged bus in Kiryat Menahem- Jerusalem,” Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed November 7, 2016, <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFA-Archive/2000/Pages/Suicide%20bombing%20of%20No%2020%20Egged%20bus%20in%20Kiryat%20Menah.aspx>.
- 265 “Suicide bomber kills 14 in northern Israeli city,” CNN, March 31, 2002, <http://edition.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/meast/03/31/haifa.bombing/>.
- 266 “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>.
- 267 Brian Whitaker, “Who carried out suicide bombing?,” *Guardian* (London), August 9, 2001, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/aug/10/israel2>; Frimet Roth, “Nine years after the Sbarro attack,” *Jerusalem Post*, August 9, 2010, <http://www.jpost.com/Israel/Nine-years-after-the-Sbarro-massacre>; Khaled Abu Toameh, “Female terrorist hosts talk show on Hamas TV,” *Jerusalem Post*, March 1, 2012, <https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Female-terrorist-hosts-talk-show-on-Hamas-TV>; “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>; Avi Issacharoff and Aimee Amiga, “Prisoners Deported

*Hamas*

---

Under Shalit Deal Arrive in Turkey, Syria, Jordan, and Qatar,” *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), October 19, 2011, <https://www.haaretz.com/1.5201410>.

268 “Tel-Aviv suicide bombing at the Dolphin disco-1-Jun-2001,” Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed November 7, 2016, <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFA-Archive/2001/Pages/Tel-Aviv%20suicide%20bombing%20at%20the%20Dolphin%20disco%20-%201-.aspx>.

269 “Timeline: The Evolution of Hamas,” CNN, December 30, 2008, <http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/meast/12/30/hamas.profile/>.

270 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).

271 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>.

272 “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>.

*Hamas*

**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>273</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>274</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>275</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>276</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>277</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>278</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>279</sup>

*Designations by Foreign Governments and Organizations:*

- **European Union—** 15 member states froze Hamas' assets on September 11, 2003.<sup>280</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>281</sup>
- **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>282</sup>
- **United Kingdom—** listed the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades as a Terror Group under the Terrorism Act 2000 in March 2001.<sup>283</sup> The United Kingdom proscribed Hamas in its entirety as a terrorist organization on November 26, 2011.<sup>284</sup>
- **Canada—** listed Hamas as a terrorist entity on November 27, 2002.<sup>285</sup>
- **Australia—** listed the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades as a terrorist organization on November 9, 2003.<sup>286</sup> Australia designated Hamas in its entirety as a terrorist organization on March 4, 2002.<sup>287</sup>
- **Israel—** listed Hamas as a terrorist organization.<sup>288</sup> Designated the Gaza-based, Hamas-controlled Al-Aqsa TV station as a terrorist entity on March 6, 2019.<sup>289</sup>
- **Japan—** listed Hamas as a terrorist organization.<sup>290</sup>
- **Jordan—** banned Hamas.<sup>291</sup>
- **Egypt—** banned Hamas on March 4, 2014.<sup>292</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>293</sup> An appeals court canceled the designation in June 2015.<sup>294</sup>
- **Paraguay—** announced the designation of Hamas as a global terrorist organization on August 19, 2019.<sup>295</sup>

<sup>273</sup> "Resource Center: Sanctions," U.S. Department of the Treasury, August 29, 1995, <http://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/SDN-List/Documents/sdnew95.txt>.

<sup>274</sup> "Executive Order 12947," U.S. Department of the Treasury, January 23, 1995, <http://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/Documents/12947.pdf>.

<sup>275</sup> "Resource Center: Sanctions," U.S. Department of the Treasury, August 29, 1995, <http://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/SDN-List/Documents/sdnew95.txt>.

<sup>276</sup> "Foreign Terrorist Organizations," U.S. Department of State, May 8, 2009, <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm>.

<sup>277</sup> "U.S. Designates Five Charities Funding Hamas and Six Senior Hamas Leaders as Terrorist Entities," U.S. Department of the Treasury, August 22, 2003, <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/js672.aspx>.

<sup>278</sup> "Treasury Designates Gaza-Based Business, Television Station for Hamas Ties," U.S. Department of the Treasury, March 18, 2010, <https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/tg594.aspx>.

<sup>279</sup> "Counter Terrorism Designations," U.S. Department of the Treasury, January 31, 2018, <https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/OFAC-Enforcement/Pages/20180131.aspx>; "State Department Terrorist Designations of Ismail Haniyeh, Harakat al-Sabireen, Liwa al-Thawra, and Harakat Sawa'd Misr (HASM)," U.S. Department of State, January 31, 2018, <https://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2018/01/277792.htm>.

*Hamas*

- 
- 280 “EU Blacklists Hamas Political Wing,” BBC News, September 11, 2003, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/3100518.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3100518.stm).
- 281 “Council Decision,” Office Journal of the European Union, December 23, 2005, [https://web.archive.org/web/20060107142924/http://europa.eu.int/lex/lex/LexUriServ/site/en/oj/2005/l\\_340/l\\_34020051223en00640066.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20060107142924/http://europa.eu.int/lex/lex/LexUriServ/site/en/oj/2005/l_340/l_34020051223en00640066.pdf).
- 282 “Designated Individuals and Organization,” New Zealand Terrorism Suppression Act 2002, last updated October 9, 2014, <http://www.police.govt.nz/advice/personal-community/counterterrorism/designated-entities/lists-associated-with-resolutions-1267-1989-1988>.
- 283 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>.
- 284 “Islamist terrorist group Hamas banned in the UK,” U.K. Home Office, November 26, 2021, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/islamist-terrorist-group-hamas-banned-in-the-uk>.
- 285 “Currently Listed Entities,” Public Safety Canada, November 27, 2002, <http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/ntnl-scrtr/entr-trrrsm/lstd-ntts/crrnt-lstd-ntts-eng.aspx#2023>
- 286 “Listed terrorist organisations,” Australian National Security, accessed February 23, 2015, <http://www.nationalsecurity.gov.au/Listedterroristorganisations/Pages/default.aspx>.
- 287 “Australia lists all of Hamas as a terrorist group,” Reuters, March 4, 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/australia-lists-all-hamas-terrorist-group-2022-03-04/>.
- 288 “Israel At ‘War to the Bitter End,’ Strikes Key Hamas Sites,” Fox News, December 29, 2008, <http://www.foxnews.com/story/2008/12/29/israel-at-war-to-bitter-end-strikes-key-hamas-sites>; “Profile: Hamas Palestinian Movement,” BBC News, last updated July 11, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13331522>.
- 289 “Israel blacklists Hamas station said to use on-air cues to recruit terrorists,” Times of Israel, March 6, 2019, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israel-blacklists-hamas-station-said-to-use-on-air-cues-to-recruit-terrorists/>.
- 290 “Israel At ‘War to the Bitter End,’ Strikes Key Hamas Sites,” Fox News, December 29, 2008, <http://www.foxnews.com/story/2008/12/29/israel-at-war-to-bitter-end-strikes-key-hamas-sites>; “Profile: Hamas Palestinian Movement,” BBC News, last updated July 11, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13331522>.
- 291 “Israel At ‘War to the Bitter End,’ Strikes Key Hamas Sites,” Fox News, December 29, 2008, <http://www.foxnews.com/story/2008/12/29/israel-at-war-to-bitter-end-strikes-key-hamas-sites>; “Profile: Hamas Palestinian Movement,” BBC News, last updated July 11, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13331522>.
- 292 Yasmine Saleh, “Court Bans Activities of Islamist Hamas in Egypt,” Reuters, March 4, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/03/04/us-egypt-hamas-idUSBREA230F520140304>.
- 293 Joshua Berlinger and Ian Lee, “Egyptian court designates Hamas as a terror organization, state media says,” CNN, February 28, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/02/28/middleeast/egypt-hamas-terror-designation/>.
- 294 “Egyptian court cancels Hamas listing as terrorist organization: sources,” Reuters, June 6, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-hamas-idUSKBN00M0BZ20150606>.
- 295 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/paraguay-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/paraguay-recognizes-hamas-hezbollah-as-terror-groups-drawing-israeli-praise%2F); 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/>.
-



*Hamas*

---

**Associations:**

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

*Terror Groups*

- **Hezbollah**

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>296</sup> During the July 2014 conflict between Israel and Hamas, Hamas reportedly invited Hezbollah to join in its rocket campaign against Israel.<sup>297</sup> In November 2015, leaders of Hamas and Hezbollah met in Beirut to discuss paramilitary coordination against Israel and ISIS.<sup>298</sup> In January 2015, Hamas military leader Mohammed Deif reportedly called for Hezbollah and Hamas to unite in battling Israel.<sup>299</sup> After the Gulf Cooperation Council designated Hezbollah a terrorist organization in March 2016, Hamas signed an Iranian statement of support for Hezbollah.<sup>300</sup>
- **Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade**

Hamis 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>301</sup> and a suicide bombing the following month at Gaza's Erez Crossing that killed a border guard and wounded three others.<sup>302</sup> The Brigade has also joined Hamas in launching rockets at Israel over the years, most recently during the July 2014 conflict.<sup>303</sup>
- **Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)**

On June 25, 2006, a group of Palestinian terrorists from multiple groups, including Hamas, crossed the Gaza border into Israel using an underground tunnel and attacked an IDF military outpost, killing two soldiers and taking 19-year-old Corporal Gilad Shalit hostage.<sup>304</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>305</sup> Hamas and PIJ announced a formal agreement in 2012 to combine forces in their fight against Israel.<sup>306</sup> The following year, the two groups announced plans to create a joint command and a new political vision for Gaza.<sup>307</sup> PIJ and Hamas have since continued to coordinate politically and militarily.<sup>308</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>309</sup>

In May 2021, Hamas and PIJ jointly launched more than 4,000 rockets toward Israel during an 11-day conflict that left 13 dead in Israel and more than 230 dead in Gaza. Israel claimed at least 120 of those people killed in Gaza belonged to Hamas and 25 belonged to PIJ. Both Hamas and PIJ claimed victory in the conflict, which ended with an Egypt-negotiated ceasefire.<sup>310</sup>

Hamis and PIJ continued to elevate their coordination in 2022. On March 16 that year, Hamas's Saleh al-Arouri met in Beirut with PIJ Secretary-General Ziad al-Nakhalah. The two leaders jointly called for escalating "resistance operations" against Israel in the West Bank and Jerusalem until "the liberation of Palestine." With increased Jewish visitations to the Temple Mount expected during the coming Passover holiday, Hamas and PIJ called on Palestinians to "thwart" the planned "incursions."<sup>311</sup> Later that year, on October 20, a Hamas delegation met with Nakhalah in Beirut. The officials reaffirmed their stance that Jerusalem is the eternal capital of Palestine, and it will remain the core of the Palestinian struggle against Israel. They also reiterate their opposition to Israeli attempts to "Judaize" or divide the Al-Aqsa Mosque. Hamas and PIJ jointly call on the Palestinian people to escalate their "resistance" against Israel until "liberation and return."<sup>312</sup>
- **ISIS**

Hamis has reportedly used its underground tunnel system beneath the Gaza-Egypt border to transport aid to ISIS's Sinai-based affiliate, Wilayat Sinai.<sup>313</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>314</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>315</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>316</sup>

## *Hamas*

---

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>317</sup>

### *Countries*

- **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 Shi'ite-Sunni divide based on a common enemy in Israel.<sup>318</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>319</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>320</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>321</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>322</sup> reducing the group's funding to a "tiny amount" to maintain ties and its support of the Palestinian cause.<sup>323</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>324</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>325</sup> Taher al-Nounou, an aide to Hamas Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh, said relations were "almost back to how they were before."<sup>326</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>327</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>328</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>329</sup> He further accused Iranian officials of lying about support for Hamas, which he said had not received any Iranian money since 2009.<sup>330</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](#) (IRGC) intended to send Hamas forces into Iraq to aid in the liberation of Mosul from ISIS.<sup>331</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>332</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>333</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>334</sup> Sinwar also called Iran the "largest backer financially and militarily" of Hamas.<sup>335</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>336</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*

---

Hamas would neither give up its weapons nor sever its relationship with Iran.<sup>337</sup> According to Arouri, the visit to Tehran is “a sign of our strong will” for maintaining ties with Iran.<sup>338</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>339</sup>

In April 2021, Iran reportedly agreed to pay Hamas \$30 million per month for intelligence on Israeli missile capabilities, including their locations.<sup>340</sup> On May 9, Haniyeh wrote to Khamenei asking for the Muslim world to continue its support of al-Quds as Hamas remains dedicated to achieving an independent Palestine with al-Quds as its capital.<sup>341</sup> After Hamas and Israel engaged in an 11-day conflict in May 2021, Haniyeh praised Iran’s role in funding Hamas. According to Haniyeh, Iran “did not hold back with money, weapons and technical support” during the conflict.<sup>342</sup> The following week, Sinwar declared Hamas has “sufficient financial resources... a large part of which are from Iran.”<sup>343</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>344</sup>

### *Ties to other entities:*

- **Jordan**

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>345</sup> In 1999, Jordan banned Hamas and arrested several of its leaders.<sup>346</sup> Jordan expelled Meshaal and three other Hamas representatives that November.<sup>347</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>348</sup> In 2013, Jordan reportedly refused a Hamas request to reopen its offices in the kingdom.<sup>349</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](#), 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>350</sup>

- **Qatar**

The emir of Qatar became the first head of state to visit Gaza after Hamas’s 2007 coup.<sup>351</sup> Since then, Qatar has invested hundreds of millions of dollars in Gaza, pledging \$400 million to Gaza in 2012.<sup>352</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>353</sup>

## *Hamas*

Qatar has also hosted former Hamas politburo chief Khaled Meshaal since he left Syria in 2012.<sup>354</sup> Qatari officials have referred to Meshaal as a “dear guest.”<sup>355</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>356</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>357</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>358</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>359</sup> Murtaja was sentenced to nine years in prison in 2018.<sup>360</sup>

During the July 2014 conflict between Hamas and Israel, Qatar and Turkey were considered Hamas’s closest international allies.<sup>361</sup> Qatar drafted a ceasefire proposal in July 2014 that adopted most of Hamas’s demands, and without consideration of Israel’s.<sup>362</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>363</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>364</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>365</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>366</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>367</sup> After an 11-day conflict between Israel and Hamas in May 2021, Qatar’s emir met with Haniyeh in Doha and pledged continued support for the Palestinian people.<sup>368</sup> After Hamas’s 11-day war with Israel that month, Qatar pledged \$500 million in aid toward Gaza’s reconstruction.<sup>369</sup> Hamas’s Gaza leader, Yahya Sinwar, pledged Hamas would not touch any international aid pledged toward Gaza’s reconstruction.<sup>370</sup> On November 30, 2021, Hamas, Qatar, and Egypt announced a new deal for Qatar to pay the salaries of Hamas’s public servants in Gaza. Under the plan, Qatar will send up to \$10 million worth of fuel each month to Egypt, which will transfer the fuel to Gaza for Hamas to resell to Palestinian gas stations and use the proceeds to pay its civil servants.<sup>371</sup>

- **Turkey**

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>372</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>373</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>374</sup>

## *Hammas*

---

Turkey has also provided Hamas with financial support. The country reportedly planned to donate \$300 million to Gaza's Hamas government in 2011,<sup>375</sup> while other reports cited that this would become an annual donation to Hamas.<sup>376</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>377</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>378</sup> Following that arrest, a Hamas official in Lebanon praised Turkey's "loyalty" to the Palestinian people.<sup>379</sup>

During the July 2014 conflict between Hamas and Israel, Qatar and Turkey were considered Hamas's closest international allies.<sup>380</sup> Qatar drafted a ceasefire proposal in July 2014 that adopted most of Hamas's demands, and without consideration of Israel's.<sup>381</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>382</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>383</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>384</sup> Later that month, Hamas denied rumors that Turkey intended to take control of Gaza.<sup>385</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>386</sup> Hamas rejected the reconciliation agreement, but reportedly acceded to Turkish demands that it not react.<sup>387</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>388</sup> In 2018, Hamas reportedly created a secret cyberwarfare and counter-intelligence headquarters in Istanbul. The British *Times* newspaper revealed details of the network in October 2020. Reportedly, Gaza-based Hamas agent Samakh Saraj runs the network without the knowledge of Turkish officials and separately from Hamas's offices in the city. According to the *Times*, the network coordinates cyber-operations against Hamas's enemies in the Arab world, including the Palestinian Authority and Middle Eastern and European embassies of countries such as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. The network also surveils and sometimes interrogates Hamas members suspected of disloyalty.<sup>389</sup>

In August 2020, Turkey reportedly began granting citizenship to a dozen high-ranking Hamas members in the country. According to the *Telegraph*, those receiving citizenship are "the most senior Hamas operatives outside of Gaza. [They] are actively raising funds and directing operatives to carry out attacks in the present day." The Turkish government refused comment and called the accusations baseless.<sup>390</sup> In February and August of 2020, Turkey's government hosted Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh and other Hamas leaders. The United States condemned Turkey's "continued outreach" to Hamas.<sup>391</sup> Turkey denies Hamas maintains an office in the country. In December 2020, Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh wrote to Erdoğan and other regional leaders to warn against any normalization with Israel.<sup>392</sup> In January 2021, Israel demanded Turkey close Hamas's offices in the country as a condition of the two countries' reconciliation. Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu responded Israel should halt its annexations of Palestinian land if it wants normalization.<sup>393</sup>

Hamas has also used Turkey-based agents and Turkish companies to transfer money and goods to the West Bank and Gaza. In January 2021, Israeli authorities seized more than \$120,000 from the bank accounts of four individuals and two companies allegedly part of a scheme to transfer money from Hamas operatives in Turkey to the West Bank using West Bank-based company Sense Sanitary Company and Turkish company Tikno Plus Ic Ve Dis. The companies are jointly owned by Hamas operatives Abdallah Fuqaha in Turkey and Ayman al-Massri in the West Bank.<sup>394</sup> That month, Israel demanded Turkey end Hamas's military activities in Istanbul before the two could countries fully restore diplomatic ties.<sup>395</sup>

During Hamas's 21-day conflict with Israel in May 2021, Turkish officials issued statements seemingly in support of Hamas. Erdoğan referred to Israel as a "terror state," while Vice President Fuat Oktay called on Muslim nations to "take a clear stance" against Israel's strikes on the Gaza Strip.<sup>396</sup> Though Turkey was not a party to ceasefire talks during that conflict, Erdoğan maintained open communications with Hamas's leaders and reassured Haniyeh of Turkey's continued support for the Palestinian people.<sup>397</sup>

## Hamas

On November 20, 2021, Haniyeh praised Turkey for its “critical” role providing political support for Hamas and the Palestinian cause.<sup>398</sup> On November 21, Hamas member Sheikh Fadi Abu Shkhaydam killed one and wounded four during a shooting attack in Jerusalem’s Old City. According to Israeli security, Shkhaydam had visited Turkey prior to the attack and allegedly received instructions from Hamas leaders in that country. Shkhaydam’s family denied he had met with Hamas in Turkey, instead claiming he had gone to visit his son who is studying in the country.<sup>399</sup> On November 22, Israel’s Shin Bet security organization announced it had broken up a Hamas cell in the West Bank and seized explosive belts, weapons, and an undisclosed amount of money. The Shin Bet accused Arouri and Zacharia Najib—released during the 2011 Gilad Shalit prisoner swap—of directing the cell from Turkey. Israeli Foreign Minister Yair Lapid called on the Turkish government to close Hamas’s offices in the country.<sup>400</sup> In response, Erdoğan has sent mixed messages to Israel, with whom Turkey was earlier that month negotiating for the release of two Israeli tourists accused of espionage in Turkey. A November 24 statement from Erdoğan accused Israel of “oppressive” policies regarding the Palestinians and his government “must work with all our might to preserve the status and sanctity of Jerusalem, the capital of Palestine.”<sup>401</sup>

With new U.S. and Israeli governments taking office in 2021, Turkey began sending reconciliatory signals to Israel. On November 29, without referencing Hamas, Erdoğan announced Turkey would seek to improve its relations with Israel.<sup>402</sup> That December, a senior Turkish official told *Al-Monitor* that ending Hamas’s operations in Turkey “is not even an option open for negotiation for us.”<sup>403</sup> In February 2022, Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu declared Turkey would not turn its back on the Palestinians to improve relations with Israel.<sup>404</sup> Nonetheless, the two countries exchanged high-level diplomatic delegations that month ahead of a planned March 2022 visit to Turkey by Israeli President Isaac Herzog. Israeli officials have continued to stress that any normalization between the countries must include limiting Hamas’s activities in Turkey.<sup>405</sup>

In late April 2022, a Palestinian official told *Israel Hayom* that Turkey had deported dozens of identified Hamas members at Israel’s request in recent months. According to the Palestinian official, the Turkish government told Hamas “economic interests” were at play and Hamas had violated its agreement not to conduct terrorist activities from Turkey. The Lebanese newspaper *Al-Akhbar* confirmed the report.<sup>406</sup> In early November 2022, Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu rejected an October Israeli request to expel Hamas leaders living in Turkey. According to Cavusoglu, Turkey does not see Hamas “as a terrorist organization.”<sup>407</sup>

- **Muslim Brotherhood**

The Muslim Brotherhood has built grassroots support among Palestinians with the creation of charities in the Gaza Strip in 1960.<sup>408</sup> Hamas was created in 1987 as the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood in Gaza.<sup>409</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>410</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>411</sup>

In January 2014, Cairo publicly hosted the first conference of Tamarud (“Rebellion”), a new anti-Hamas youth group.<sup>412</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>413</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>414</sup> Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri later denied any links between his group and the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>415</sup>

In May 2017, Hamas released a new guiding political document, which made no mention of the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>416</sup>

- **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>417</sup>

## *Hamas*

---

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>418</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>419</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>420</sup>

In January 2017, after unofficial talks in Moscow hosted by Russia, Hamas and Fatah announced an agreement to form a unity government.<sup>421</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>422</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>423</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>424</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>425</sup>

On October 13, 2022, Hamas, Fatah, and representatives of 12 other Palestinians factions signed a reconciliation agreement in Algeria recognizing the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. The factions also agreed to hold new presidential and legislative elections within a year. The agreement did not address the formation of a unity government. Haniyeh praised the Algeria-negotiated unity agreement, calling it a "day of joy" for the Palestinian people and a "day of sadness for the Zionist entity (Israel)."<sup>426</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>427</sup> Also that summer, Saudi Arabia also reportedly attempted to mediate reconciliation between Hamas and Egypt.<sup>428</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>429</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>430</sup> On June 21, 2022, Reuters reported unidentified Hamas officials confirmed the group had decided to restore its ties with Syria and the two sides had held high-level meetings.<sup>431</sup> Those overtures resulted in an October 19, 2022, meeting in Damascus between a Hamas delegation and Syrian President Bashar al-Assad on restoring relations between Hamas and Syria. Hamas and Assad agreed to move past their previous disagreements while the Hamas delegation called the meeting a new start for joint Palestinian-Syrian work in a welcoming Syrian environment.<sup>432</sup>

### *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>433</sup> Members of the U.S. Congress have since

## *Hamás*

---

called for cutting U.S. aid to the Palestinian Authority because of the unity deal.<sup>434</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>435</sup> Meshaal also offered Israel a 10-year *hudna*, which he told Carter was proof of Hamas's tacit recognition of Israel.<sup>436</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>437</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>438</sup>

On August 5, 2021, Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh attended the inauguration of Iranian President Ebrahim Raisi in Tehran.<sup>439</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>440</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>441</sup>

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>442</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>443</sup>

- **Qatar**

In 2012, the emir of Qatar became the first head of state to visit Gaza after Hamas's 2007 coup.<sup>444</sup> Since then, Qatar has invested hundreds of millions of dollars into Gaza, pledging \$400 million to Gaza in 2012.<sup>445</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>446</sup>

- **Saudi Arabia**

During the summer of 2015, Hamas officials held meetings with King Salman and other Saudi leaders.<sup>447</sup> Observers viewed Salman's meetings with Hamas an attempt to sway the terror group away from Iran's influence.<sup>448</sup>

- **Turkey**

Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's ruling Justice and Development Party supports what analysts call "other neo-Islamist allies."<sup>449</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>450</sup> while other reports cited that this would become an annual donation to Hamas.<sup>451</sup> During the July 2014 conflict between Hamas and Israel, Qatar and Turkey were considered Hamas's closest international allies.<sup>452</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



*Hamas*

---

Bundestag representative Detlef Dzembitzki, a member of the Social Democratic Party.<sup>453</sup>

---

- 296 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>.
- 297 Ariel Ben Solomon, "Hamis 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>.
- 298 Khaled Abu Toameh, "Hamis 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>.
- 299 "Hamis calls on Hezbollah to unite fight against Israel," Reuters, January 22, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/22/us-israel-palestinians-hezbollah-idUSKBN0KV1O920150122>.
- 300 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>.
- 301 "Timeline: The Evolution of Hamas," CNN, December 30, 2008, <http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/meast/12/30/hamas.profile/>.
- 302 Conal Urquhart, "Israeli Missile Attack Kills New Hamas Chief," *Guardian* [U.K.], April 18, 2004, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2004/apr/18/israel>.
- 303 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/>.
- 304 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>.
- 305 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).
- 306 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/>.
- 307 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/>.
- 308 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>; "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>.
- 309 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-PIJ-agree-to-stand-together-in-future-confrontation-with-Israel-611458>.
- 310 Aaron Boxerman and staff, "Hamas chief says war foils Israel's attempts at Arab coexistence, normalization," *Times of Israel*, May 21, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-chief-says-war-foils-israels-attempts-at-arab-coexistence-normalization/>.
- 311 Khaled Abu Toameh, "Hamas, Islamic Jihad call to step up attacks in West Bank, Jerusalem," *Jerusalem Post*, March 16, 2022, <https://www.jpost.com/arab-israeli-conflict/article-701471>.
- 312 "Hamas official concludes visit to Beirut," *Hamas*, October 20, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/4353/Hamas-official-concludes-visit-to-Beirut>.
- 313 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/>.
- 314 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/>; 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/>.
- 315 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/>.
- 316 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/>.
- 317 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>.
- 318 "Palestinian Territories/Gaza," *United Against Nuclear Iran*, accessed January 18, 2017, <http://www.unitedagainstnucleariran.com/report/palestinian-territoriesgaza>.
- 319 Matthew Levitt, "Hezbollah Finances: Funding the Party of God," *Washington Institute for Near East Policy* February 2005, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/hezbollah-finances-funding-the-party-of-god>.
- 320 "Palestinian Territories/Gaza," *United Against Nuclear Iran*, accessed January 18, 2017, <http://www.unitedagainstnucleariran.com/report/palestinian-territoriesgaza>.
- 321 Rushdi Abu Alouf, "Gazans squeezed by triple taxes as Hamas replaces lost income," *BBC News*, June 20, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-36274631>; Robert Tait, "Iran Cuts Hamas Funding over Syria," *Telegraph* (London), May 31, 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/palestinianauthority/10091629/Iran-cuts-Hamas-funding-over-Syria.html>.
- 322 Rushdi Abu Alouf, "Gazans squeezed by triple taxes as Hamas replaces lost income," *BBC News*, June 20, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-36274631>.
- 323 Robert Tait, "Iran Cuts Hamas Funding over Syria," *Telegraph* (London), May 31, 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/palestinianauthority/10091629/Iran-cuts-Hamas-funding-over-Syria.html>.
- 324 Robert Tait, "Iran Cuts Hamas Funding over Syria," *Telegraph* [U.K.], May 31, 2013, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/palestinianauthority/10091629/Iran-cuts-Hamas-funding-over-Syria.html>.
- 325 Harriet Sherwood, "Hamas and Iran Rebuild Ties Three Years after Falling out over Syria," *Guardian* (London), January 9, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jan/09/hamas-iran-rebuild-ties-falling-out-syria>.

*Hamas*

- 326 Harriet Sherwood, "Hamis and Iran Rebuild Ties Three Years after Falling out over Syria," *Guardian* (London), January 9, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jan/09/hamas-iran-rebuild-ties-falling-out-syria>.
- 327 Elhanan Miller, "Hamis and Iran Admit Increased Cooperation," *Times of Israel*, March 12, 2014, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-and-iran-admit-increased-cooperation/>.
- 328 Agence France-Presse, "Iran gave Hamas its rocket know-how, official boasts", Yahoo News, July 24, 2014, <http://news.yahoo.com/iran-gave-hamas-rocket-know-official-boasts-190726914.html>.
- 329 Jack Moore, "Iran Ceases Financial Aid to Hamas in Gaza, Officials Claim," *Newsweek*, July 28, 2015, <http://europe.newsweek.com/iran-ceases-financial-aid-hamas-gaza-official-claims-330889?rx=us>.
- 330 "Hamis slams Iranian 'lies' of financial, military support," i24News, January 31, 2016, <http://www.i24news.tv/en/news/international/middle-east/101236-160131-hamas-slams-iranian-lies-about-financial-military-support>.
- 331 Maayan Groisman, "Report: Iran looks to deploy Hamas in the battle to liberate Mosul from ISIS," *Jerusalem Post*, April 25, 2016, <http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Iran-News/Report-Iran-to-deploy-Hamis-in-the-battle-for-the-liberation-of-Mosul-from-ISIS-452253>.
- 332 Ahmad Abu Amer, "Will Iran deal mean more money for Hamas?," *Al-Monitor*, January 27, 2016, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/01/gaza-hamas-resistance-iran-support.html>.
- 333 Ariel Ben Solomon, "Palestinian sources say Hamas seeking to repair relations with Iran, report says," *Jerusalem Post*, June 30, 2016, <http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Palestinian-sources-say-Hamis-seeking-to-repair-relations-with-Iran-report-says-459228>.
- 334 Fares Akram and Josef Federman, "New Hamas leader says it is getting aid again from Iran," Associated Press, August 28, 2017, <https://apnews.com/0427f88fe857479caa633fad5683aa96/New-Hamis-leader-says-it-is-getting-aid-again-from-Iran>.
- 335 "Hamis leader in Gaza: Ties with Iran now 'fantastic'; we're preparing battle for Palestine," *Times of Israel*, August 28, 2017, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-leader-in-gaza-ties-with-iran-now-fantastic-were-preparing-battle-for-palestine/>.
- 336 "Hamis leader in Gaza: Ties with Iran now 'fantastic'; we're preparing battle for Palestine," *Times of Israel*, August 28, 2017, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-leader-in-gaza-ties-with-iran-now-fantastic-were-preparing-battle-for-palestine/>.
- 337 "Hamis deputy leader says to continue Iran ties, armed fight," Reuters, October 22, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-palestinians-hamis-iran/hamas-deputy-leader-says-to-continue-iran-ties-armed-fight-idUSKBN1CR0MP>.
- 338 "Hamis Never to Recognize Israel: Official," Tasnim News Agency, October 24, 2017, <https://www.tasnimnews.com/en/news/2017/10/24/1554570/hamas-never-to-recognize-israel-official>.
- 339 "Hamis 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/>.
- 340 "Iran Reportedly Agreed To Pay Hamas For Intelligence On Israeli Missiles," *Iran International*, May 11, 2021, <https://iranintl.com/en/iran-in-brief/iran-reportedly-agreed-pay-hamas-intelligence-israeli-missiles>.
- 341 "Hamis chief writes to Leader, asks Muslim world to support al-Quds," *Tehran Times*, May 9, 2021, <https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/460758/Hamis-chief-writes-to-Leader-asks-Muslim-world-to-support-al-Quds>.
- 342 Press TV, Twitter post, May 22, 2021, 10:40 a.m., <https://twitter.com/PressTV/status/1395751344535969794>; Tobias Siegal, "Hamis' Haniyeh vows to destabilize Jerusalem, thanks Iran for support," *Jerusalem Post*, May 22, 2021, <https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/hamas-haniyeh-vows-to-destabilize-jerusalem-thanks-iran-for-support-668791>.
- 343 "Hamis Chief Says His Group Has 'Sufficient' Money Provided By Iran," *Iran International*, May 27, 2021, <https://iranintl.com/en/iran-in-brief/hamas-chief-says-his-group-has-sufficient-money-provided-iran>.
- 344 Con Coughlin, "Hamis and North Korea in Secret Arms Deal," *Telegraph* (London), July 26, 2014, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/palestinianauthority/10992921/Hamis-and-North-Korea-in-secret-arms-deal.html>.
- 345 "Netanyahu in Spotlight as Assassination Plot Unravels," CNN, October 5, 1997, <https://web.archive.org/web/20080308162315/http://www.cnn.com/WORLD/9710/05/israel/>.
- 346 Mike O'Connor, "Jordan Acts To Enforce Hamas Ban," *Washington Post*, September 23, 1999, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1999/09/23/jordan-acts-to-enforce-hamas-ban/1742998a-7a9c-4e62-8eb1-25fedf4f7f3e/>.
- 347 "Jordan Frees Four Jailed Hamas Leaders and Expels Them," *New York Times*, November 22, 1999, <http://www.nytimes.com/1999/11/22/world/jordan-frees-four-jailed-hamas-leaders-and-expels-them.html>.
- 348 Elhanan Miller, "13 years after king booted it out, Hamas leader says his group has reconciled with Jordan," *Times of Israel*, July 9, 2012, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/jordan-has-reconciled-with-hamas-khaled-mashaal-says/>.
- 349 Khaled Abu Toameh, "King Abdullah Says No to Hamas," *Gatestone Institute*, September 17, 2013, <https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/3978/king-abdullah-hamas>.
- 350 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>; "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>; 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>.
- 351 "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).
- 352 "Qatar Ups Gaza Investment to \$400 Million," Agence France-Presse, October 23, 2012, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/455921/hamas-qatar-ups-gaza-investment-to-400-million/>.
- 353 Elhanan Miller, "US Blocked Qatari Funds Intended for Hamas Employees," *Times of Israel*, July 15, 2014, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/us-blocked-qatari-funds-intended-for-hamas-employees/>.
- 354 Abdullah Rebyh, "Qatar denies it plans to expel Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal," Associated Press, January 12, 2015, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/04fc2928f3e04a77a1fdd45c24085397/qatar-denies-it-plans-expel-hamas-leader-khaled-mashaal>.
- 355 Peter Kovessy, "Qatar FM: Hamas leader to remain in Doha as 'dear guest,'" *Doha News*, January 13, 2015, <https://dohanews.co/qatar-fm-hamas-leader-remain-doha-dear-guest/>.

*Hamas*

- 356 Sue Surkes and agencies, “Hamas commander involved in kidnap of Israeli teens expelled from Qatar,” *Times of Israel*, June 5, 2017, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-chief-said-involved-in-kidnap-of-israeli-teens-faces-expulsion-from-qatar/>;  
“Press release issued by Hamas concerning the claims of media outlets regarding the Qatari list,” Hamas website, June 5, 2017, <http://hamas.ps/en/post/771/press-release-issued-by-hamas-concerning-the-claims-of-media-outlets-regarding-the-qatari-list>.
- 357 “Qatari FM: For Arabs, Hamas is a resistance movement,” *Al Jazeera*, June 10, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/06/qatari-fm-arabs-hamas-resistance-movement-170610224850422.html>.
- 358 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>.
- 359 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-6162531>; 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>.
- 360 Ami Rojkes Dombé, “Report: Turkish government agency providing funds to Hamas,” *Israel Defense* (Kfar Saba), February 10, 2021, <https://www.israeldefense.co.il/en/node/48273>.
- 361 Mirren Gidda, “Hamas Still Has Some Friends Left,” *Time*, July 25, 2014, <http://time.com/3033681/hamas-gaza-palestine-israel-egypt/>; 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).
- 362 Avi Issacharoff, “Qatar’s Ceasefire Offer Adopts Most Hamas Demands,” *Times of Israel*, July 19, 2014, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/qatars-ceasefire-offer-adopts-most-hamas-demands/>.
- 363 Khaled Abu Toameh, “Palestinian Authority Blasts Kerry for ‘Appeasing’ Qatar, Turkey at Ramallah’s Expense,” *Jerusalem Post*, July 28, 2014, <http://www.jpost.com/Operation-Protective-Edge/Palestinian-Authority-blasts-Kerry-for-appeasing-Qatar-Turkey-at-Ramallahs-expense-369091>.
- 364 “Hamas: No rift with Qatar over Fatah reconciliation,” *Al Jazeera*, October 22, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/10/hamas-rift-qatar-fatah-reconciliation-171022152847114.html>.
- 365 Ray Hanania, “Lawsuit names Qatar’s royal family in killings of 10 Americans in Israel,” *Arab News*, June 11, 2020, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1688051/middle-east>; Adam Kredó, “Lawsuit Alleges Qatar Secretly Financed Terror Attacks that Killed Americans,” *Washington Free Beacon*, June 10, 2020, <https://freebeacon.com/national-security/lawsuit-alleges-qatar-secretly-financed-terror-attacks-that-killed-americans/>.
- 366 Agence France-Presse, “Gaza families receive Qatari financial aid,” *Yahoo! News*, June 27, 2020, <https://news.yahoo.com/gaza-families-receive-qatari-financial-aid-104017621.html>.
- 367 “Qatar pledges \$360 million in aid to Hamas-ruled Gaza,” *Associated Press*, January 31, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/world-news-israel-qatar-militant-groups-gaza-strip-49a1591f50b183920b5d4310c2098683>.
- 368 Serdar Bitmez and Halime Afra Aksoy, “Qatar ruler, Hamas chief discuss reconstruction of Gaza,” *Anadolu Agency*, May 23, 2021, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/qatar-ruler-hamas-chief-discuss-reconstruction-of-gaza/2251871>.
- 369 “Qatar pledges \$500m for Gaza reconstruction,” *Al Jazeera*, May 26, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/5/26/qatar-pledges-500-million-to-gaza-reconstruction>.
- 370 “Hamas leader says group won’t touch Gaza reconstruction aid,” *Al Jazeera*, May 26, 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/5/26/hamas-leader-says-group-wont-touch-gaza-aid>.
- 371 “Hamas announces deal for Qatar to subsidize Gaza public employees,” *Times of Israel*, November 30, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-announces-deal-for-qatar-to-subsidize-gaza-public-employees/>; Fares Akram, “Hamas: Qatar paying public salaries by sending fuel to Gaza,” *Associated Press*, November 30, 2021, <https://apnews.com/article/business-africa-israel-egypt-qatar-167abbe0cf82ab374e3fc1c0c84ca1fa>; Nidal Al-Mughrabi, “Hamas official says Qatar enables fuel-to-cash scheme for Gaza civil servants,” *Reuters*, November 22, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/hamas-official-says-qatar-enables-fuel-to-cash-scheme-gaza-civil-servants-2021-11-22/>.
- 372 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/>.
- 373 “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>.
- 374 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/>.
- 375 Saed Bannoura, “Turkey to Grant Hamas \$300 Million,” *International Middle East Media Center*, December 3, 2011, <http://www.imemc.org/article/62607>.
- 376 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>.
- 377 Yona Jeremy Bob and staff, “Israel arrests head of Turkish humanitarian group in Gaza for financing Hamas,” *Jerusalem Post*, March 21, 2017, <https://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Head-of-Turkish-aid-group-in-Gaza-arrested-by-Israel-funneled-humanitarian-funds-to-Hamas-484771>.
- 378 Judah Ari Gross, “Shin Bet accuses Turkey of allowing Hamas to raise, launder money,” *Times of Israel*, February 12, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/arab-israeli-man-turkish-citizen-arrested-for-helping-to-fund-hamas/>.
- 379 Mahmut Geldi, “Hamas spokesman hails Turkish ‘loyalty’ to Palestine,” *Anadolu Agency*, March 1, 2019, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/hamas-spokesman-hails-turkish-loyalty-to-palestine/1406697>.
- 380 Mirren Gidda, “Hamas Still Has Some Friends Left,” *Time*, July 25, 2014, <http://time.com/3033681/hamas-gaza-palestine-israel-egypt/>; 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).
- 381 Avi Issacharoff, “Qatar’s Ceasefire Offer Adopts Most Hamas Demands,” *Times of Israel*, July 19, 2014, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/qatars-ceasefire-offer-adopts-most-hamas-demands/>.
- 382 Khaled Abu Toameh, “Palestinian Authority Blasts Kerry for ‘Appeasing’ Qatar, Turkey at Ramallah’s Expense,” *Jerusalem Post*, July 28, 2014, <http://www.jpost.com/Operation-Protective-Edge/Palestinian-Authority-blasts-Kerry-for-appeasing-Qatar-Turkey-at-Ramallahs-expense-369091>.
- 383 “Hamas chief meets Turkish leaders in Ankara,” *Middle East Eye*, August 13, 2015, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/hamas-chief-meets-turkish-leaders-ankara-458667089>.
- 384 Khaled Abu Toameh, “Source: Top Hamas operative has left Turkey following heavy US, Israeli pressure,” *Jerusalem Post*, December 21, 2015, <http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Source-Top-Hamas-operative-has-left-Turkey-following-heavy-US-Israeli-pressure-437969>.

*Hamas*

- 385 Lee Gancman, "Hamis denies rumors of Turkish designs on Gaza," Times of Israel, December 29, 2015, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-denies-rumors-of-turkish-designs-on-gaza/>.
- 386 Herb Keion, "Israel, Turkey officially reconcile: Netanyahu says Gaza blockade to remain," *Jerusalem Post*, June 27, 2016, <http://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Politics-And-Diplomacy/Netanyahu-Israel-to-uphold-Gaza-blockade-after-Turkey-deal-457868>.
- 387 Stuart Winer, "Hamis rejects Israel-Turkey deal, but heeds Turkish call not to make a fuss," Times of Israel, June 28, 2016, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/behind-the-scenes-hamis-rejects-israel-turkey-reconciliation/>.
- 388 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/>.
- 389 Anshel Pfeffer, "Hamis uses secret cyberwar base in Turkey to target enemies," *Times* (London), October 22, 2020, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/hamas-running-secret-cyberwar-hq-in-turkey-29mz50sxs>.
- 390 Tuvan Gumrukcu, "Turkey gave Hamas members passports, Israel says," Reuters, August 26, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-israel-hamis/turkey-gave-hamis-members-passports-israel-says-idUSKBN25M1XW>; Cody Levine, "Turkey gave citizenship to Hamas members planning terror attacks – report," *Jerusalem Post*, August 15, 2020, <https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/turkey-gave-citizenship-to-hamis-members-planning-terror-attacks-report-638731>.
- 391 "U.S. slams Turkey's Erdogan for hosting Hamas," Reuters, August 25, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-turkey-hamis/u-s-slams-turkeys-erdogan-for-hosting-hamis-idUSKBN25L29N>.
- 392 "Turkey's ties to Hamas risk hindering normalization with Israel," Arab News, January 19, 2021, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1795236/middle-east>.
- 393 "Israel demands Turkey close Hamas office as condition for improving ties," Middle East Monitor, January 19, 2021, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20210119-israel-demands-turkey-close-hamis-office-as-condition-for-improving-ties/>.
- 394 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-hamis-was-sending-from-turkey-to-west-bank/>; Ami Rojkes Dombé, "Once again, funds illegally transferred from Turkey to Hamas in Gaza," *Israel Defense* (Kfar Saba), February 15, 2021, <https://www.israeldefense.co.il/en/node/48341>.
- 395 "Turkey's ties to Hamas risk hindering normalization with Israel," Arab News, January 19, 2021, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1795236/middle-east>.
- 396 "Turkey calls on Muslims to take clear stance over Gaza," Reuters, May 13, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/turkey-calls-muslims-take-clear-stance-over-gaza-2021-05-13/>.
- 397 Mehmet Tosun, "Turkey's Erdogan speaks over phone with Palestinian president, Hamas chief," Anadolu Agency, May 10, 2021, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/turkey-s-erdogan-speaks-over-phone-with-palestinian-president-hamis-chief/2235820>.
- 398 "Turkey's role 'critical' for Palestinian cause at political level," *Daily Sabah* (Istanbul), November 21, 2021, <https://www.dailysabah.com/politics/turkeys-role-critical-for-palestinian-cause-at-political-level/news>.
- 399 Khaled Abu Toameh, "Who was the Islamic 'scholar' who carried out the Jerusalem attack?," *Jerusalem Post*, November 22, 2021, [https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/who-was-the-islamic-scholar-who-carried-out-the-jerusalem-attack-685588?\\_ga=2.208174480.369480656.1636311589-1969581575.1579377799&utm\\_source=ActiveCampaign&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_content=Who+was+the+Islamic++scholar++who+carried+out+the+Jerusalem+attack%3F&utm\\_campaign=](https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/who-was-the-islamic-scholar-who-carried-out-the-jerusalem-attack-685588?_ga=2.208174480.369480656.1636311589-1969581575.1579377799&utm_source=ActiveCampaign&utm_medium=email&utm_content=Who+was+the+Islamic++scholar++who+carried+out+the+Jerusalem+attack%3F&utm_campaign=); Rina Bassist, "Israel calls on Ankara to close Hamas offices in Turkey," Al-Monitor, November 23, 2021, <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/11/israel-calls-ankara-close-hamis-offices-turkey>.
- 400 Judah Ari Gross, "Shin Bet: Forces thwart major Hamas terror plans, nab more than 50 cell members," Times of Israel, November 22, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/shin-bet-forces-thwart-major-hamis-terror-plans-nab-dozens-of-members/>; "After Jerusalem killing and 50 terror arrests, Lapid urges Turkey to shut down Hamas," Times of Israel, November 23, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/after-jerusalem-killing-and-50-terror-arrests-lapid-urges-turkey-to-shut-down-hamis/>.
- 401 "In fresh broadside, Erdogan slams Israel's 'oppressive' treatment of Palestinians," Times of Israel, November 24, 2021, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/in-fresh-broadside-erdogan-slams-israels-oppressive-treatment-of-palestinians/>.
- 402 "Erdogan says Turkey will move to improve ties with Egypt, Israel," Al-Monitor, November 29, 2021, <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/11/erdogan-says-turkey-will-move-improve-ties-egypt-israel>.
- 403 Pinar Tremblay, "Turkey not yet ready to give up on Muslim Brotherhood," Al-Monitor, December 12, 2021, <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2021/12/turkey-not-yet-ready-give-muslim-brotherhood>.
- 404 "Turkey says it will not abandon Palestinian support for closer ties to Israel," Reuters, February 8, 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/turkey-says-it-will-not-abandon-palestinian-support-closer-ties-israel-2022-02-08/>.
- 405 Barak Ravid, "Israeli president plans to accept invitation to visit Erdo'an," Axios, January 26, 2022, <https://www.axios.com/israeli-president-herzog-invitation-turkey-erdogan-237c4572-cb03-4b73-8d3f-dc3a4f6cffe1.html>; "Turkey sending senior officials to Israel ahead of Herzog visit," Reuters, February 15, 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/turkey-sending-senior-officials-israel-ahead-herzog-visit-2022-02-15/>.
- 406 "Turkey extradites Hamas members to Israel," i24News, April 27, 2022, <https://www.i24news.tv/en/news/middle-east/levant-turkey/1651051066-turkey-extradite-hamis-members-to-israel>; Dana Ben-Shimon, "Turkey deporting Hamas members at Israel's request," *Israel Hayom* (Tel Aviv), April 27, 2022, <https://www.israelhayom.com/2022/04/27/turkey-deporting-hamis-members-at-israels-request/>.
- 407 Media Line, "Turkey refuses Israel's request to deport Hamas terrorists," *Jerusalem Post*, November 13, 2022, <https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/article-722299>; "Turkiye rejects Israel's request to deport Hamas leaders," Middle East Monitor, November 10, 2022, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20221110-turkiye-rejects-israels-request-to-deport-hamis-leaders/>.
- 408 Paola Caridi, *Hamis: From Resistance to Government*, (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2012), 53.
- 409 "The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement," Avalon Project, Yale Law School, accessed August 13, 2014, [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/hamas.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp).
- 410 "Morsi Faces Court over Egypt Prison Break," Al Jazeera, January 28, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/01/morsi-arrives-trial-over-egypt-jailbreak-20141287589134944.html>.
- 411 Karin Laub and Ibrahim Barzak, "Hamis in Worst Cash Crisis since Seizing Gaza," Associated Press, March 13, 2014, <http://news.yahoo.com/hamas-worst-cash-crisis-since-seizing-gaza-181239758.html>.
- 412 Yasmine Saleh, "Court Bans Activities of Islamist Hamas in Egypt," Reuters, March 4, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/03/04/us-egypt-hamis-idUSBREA230F520140304>.
- 413 "Court in Egypt bans Palestinian group Hamas," BBC News, March 4, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-26432122>.

*Hammas*

- 414 “Hammas removes picture of Morsi, Muslim Brotherhood in Gaza,” Middle East Monitor, March 22, 2016, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/middle-east/24610-hamas-removes-picture-of-morsi-muslim-brotherhood-in-gaza>.
- 415 Jack Khoury, “Hammas Denies Links With Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and Elsewhere,” *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), March 23, 2016, <http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/.premium-1.710423>.
- 416 “Document of General Principles & Policies,” Hammas, May 1, 2017, <http://hamas.ps/en/post/678/a-document-of-general-principles-and-policies>; Patrick Wintour, “Hammas 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>.
- 417 Jonathan Schanzer, “The Challenge of Hammas to Fatah,” Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Spring 2003, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-challenge-of-hamas-to-fatah>.
- 418 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>.
- 419 Adnan Abu Amer, “Another Hammas-Fatah reconciliation agreement bites the dust,” *Al-Monitor*, March 1, 2016, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/03/palestinian-reconciliation-hamas-fatah-qatar-meeting.html>.
- 420 Dov Lieber, “Hammas looks to join PLO, marking major unification step,” *Times of Israel*, November 2, 2016, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-head-makes-unprecedented-call-for-group-to-join-plo/>.
- 421 Agence France-Presse, “Hammas, Fatah announce deal to form Palestinian unity government,” *Times of Israel*, January 17, 2017, [http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-fatah-agree-to-form-palestinian-unity-government/?utm\\_source=The+Times+of+Israel+Daily+Edition&utm\\_campaign=47ba7211d8-EMAIL\\_CAMPAGN\\_2017\\_01\\_18&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_term=0\\_adb46cec92-47ba7211d8-55118405](http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-fatah-agree-to-form-palestinian-unity-government/?utm_source=The+Times+of+Israel+Daily+Edition&utm_campaign=47ba7211d8-EMAIL_CAMPAGN_2017_01_18&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_adb46cec92-47ba7211d8-55118405).
- 422 “Fatah and Hammas to form unity government,” *Al Jazeera*, January 18, 2017, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/01/fatah-hamas-form-unity-government-170118031339203.html>.
- 423 Nidal al-Mughrabi and Jeffrey Heller, “Israel reduces power supply to Gaza, as Abbas pressures Hammas,” *Reuters*, June 12, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-palestinians-power/israel-reduces-power-supply-to-gaza-as-abbas-pressure-hamas-idUSKBN1931XK>.
- 424 Fares Akram, “Hammas 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 Daraghmech, “Hammas 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 Hammas 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 Hammas,” *Hammas website*, September 17, 2017, <http://hamas.ps/en/post/965/press-release-issued-by-hamas>.
- 425 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>; Dov Lieber, “Translation of leaked Hammas-Fatah agreement,” *Times of Israel*, October 13, 2017, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/translation-of-leaked-hamas-fatah-agreement/>; Dov Lieber, “In deal with Fatah, Hammas 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/>.
- 426 “Palestinian groups Fatah, Hammas meet in Algeria to heal rift,” *Al Jazeera*, October 11, 2022, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/10/11/palestinian-groups-fatah-hamas-meet-in-algeria-to-heal-rift>; “Palestinian factions sign reconciliation agreement in Algeria,” *Al Jazeera*, October 13, 2022, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/10/13/palestinian-factions-sign-reconciliation-agreement-in-algeria>; “Hammas chief hails Algeria’s invitation to heal Palestinian division,” *Hammas*, October 13, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/4327/Hamas-chief-hails-Algeria-s-invitation-to-heal-Palestinian-division>; Agence France-Presse, “Palestinian rivals Hammas and Fatah sign reconciliation deal in Algiers,” *France 24*, October 14, 2022, <https://www.france24.com/en/middle-east/20221013-palestinian-rivals-hamas-and-fatah-sign-reconciliation-deal-in-algiers>.
- 427 David D. Kirkpatrick and Ben Hubbard, “King Salman of Saudi Arabia Meets With Hammas Leaders,” *New York Times*, July 17, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/18/world/middleeast/king-salman-of-saudi-arabia-meets-with-hamas-leaders.html>.
- 428 “Egypt rejects Saudi mediation to restore relations with Hammas,” *Middle East Monitor*, July 21, 2015, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/africa/19932-egypt-rejects-saudi-mediation-to-restore-relations-with-hamas>; “Hammas plans another visit to Saudi and improved relations with Egypt,” *Middle East Monitor*, July 27, 2015, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/middle-east/20051-hamas-plans-another-visit-to-saudi-and-improved-relations-with-egypt>.
- 429 Jack Khoury, “Hammas Considers Gaza War a Failure, Favors Diplomacy,” *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), August 6, 2015, <http://www.haaretz.com/beta/.premium-1.669751>.
- 430 “Hammas Political Chiefs Exit Syria,” *BBC News*, February 28, 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-17192278>.
- 431 “Hammas to restore Syria ties after 10 years of dispute, sources say,” *Reuters*, June 21, 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/hamas-restore-syria-ties-after-10-years-dispute-sources-say-2022-06-21/>.
- 432 “Hammas leaders meet Assad in Damascus to ‘turn the page,’” *Reuters*, October 19, 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/hamas-leaders-meet-assad-damascus-turn-page-2022-10-19/>; “Hammas concludes historic visit to Syria,” *Hammas*, October 19, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/4351/Hamas-concludes-historic-visit-to-Syria>; Agence France-Presse, “US Denounces Syria-Hamas Reconciliation,” *Barron’s*, October 20, 2022, [https://www.barrons.com/news/us-denounces-syria-hamas-reconciliation-01666297206?refsec=topics\\_afp-news](https://www.barrons.com/news/us-denounces-syria-hamas-reconciliation-01666297206?refsec=topics_afp-news).
- 433 Lesley Wroughton and Patricia Zengerle, “U.S. Says to Work With, Fund Palestinian Unity Government,” *Reuters*, June 2, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/06/02/us-palestinian-unity-usa-idUSKBN0ED1VQ20140602>.
- 434 Lesley Wroughton and Patricia Zengerle, “U.S. Says to Work With, Fund Palestinian Unity Government,” *Reuters*, June 2, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/06/02/us-palestinian-unity-usa-idUSKBN0ED1VQ20140602>.
- 435 “Hammas: No Plan to Recognize Israel,” *CNN*, April 21, 2008, <http://edition.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/meast/04/21/carter.hamas/index.html>.
- 436 “Hammas Offers Truce in Return for 1967 Borders,” *Associated Press*, April 21, 2008, [http://www.nbcnews.com/id/24235665/ns/world\\_news-mideast\\_n\\_africa/t/hamas-offers-truce-return-borders/#.U-0eFYBdV5w](http://www.nbcnews.com/id/24235665/ns/world_news-mideast_n_africa/t/hamas-offers-truce-return-borders/#.U-0eFYBdV5w).
- 437 Elhanan Miller, “Hammas and Iran Admit Increased Cooperation,” *Times of Israel*, March 12, 2014, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-and-iran-admit-increased-cooperation/>.
- 438 Agence France-Presse, “Iran gave Hammas its rocket know-how, official boasts,” *Yahoo News*, July 24, 2014, <http://news.yahoo.com/iran-gave-hamas-rocket-know-official-boasts-190726914.html>.
- 439 Aaron Boxerman, “Hammas, Islamic Jihad leaders arrive in Tehran for Iran president’s inauguration,” *Times of Israel*, August 5, 2021, [https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog\\_entry/hamas-islamic-jihad-leaders-arrive-in-tehran-for-iran-presidents-inauguration/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/liveblog_entry/hamas-islamic-jihad-leaders-arrive-in-tehran-for-iran-presidents-inauguration/).

*Hamas*

- 
- 440 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>.
- 441 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>.
- 442 "Israeli 'Disappointment' over Russia-Hamas Meeting," CNN, May 13, 2010, <http://www.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/meast/05/13/israel.russia.hamass/>.
- 443 "Russia Says Hezbollah, Hamas Aren't Terrorist Groups," *Moscow Times*, November 16, 2015, <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/news/article/russia-says-hezbollah-hamas-arent-terrorist-groups/549136.html>.
- 444 "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).
- 445 "Qatar Ups Gaza Investment to \$400 Million," Agence France-Presse, October 23, 2012, <http://http://tribune.com.pk/story/455921/hamas-qatar-ups-gaza-investment-to-400-million/>.
- 446 Elhanan Miller, "US Blocked Qatari Funds Intended for Hamas Employees," *Times of Israel*, July 15, 2014, <http://www.timesofisrael.com/us-blocked-qatari-funds-intended-for-hamas-employees/>.
- 447 Elhanan Miller, "In Hamas's embrace of Sunni Saudi Arabia, a slap to Iran," *Times of Israel*, July 21, 2015, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/in-hamass-embrace-of-sunni-saudi-arabia-a-slap-to-iran/>.
- 448 David D. Kirkpatrick and Ben Hubbard, "King Salman of Saudi Arabia Meets with Hamas Leaders," *New York Times*, July 17, 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/18/world/middleeast/king-salman-of-saudi-arabia-meets-with-hamas-leaders.html>.
- 449 Mirren Gidda, " Hamas Still Has Some Friends Left," *Time*, July 25, 2014, <http://time.com/3033681/hamas-gaza-palestine-israel-egypt/>.
- 450 Saed Bannoura, "Turkey to Grant Hamas \$300 Million," International Middle East Media Center, December 3, 2011, <http://www.imemc.org/article/62607>.
- 451 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>.
- 452 Mirren Gidda, " Hamas Still Has Some Friends Left," *Time*, July 25, 2014, <http://time.com/3033681/hamas-gaza-palestine-israel-egypt/>; 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).
- 453 " Hamas Minister meets German MEP thanks to Swedish visa," European Jewish Congress, May 18, 2006, <http://www.eurojewcong.org/20/480-hamas-minister-meets-german-mep-thanks-to-swedish-visa.html>.

## *Hamas*

---

### 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>454</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>455</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>456</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>457</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>458</sup> According to the *Post*, Hamas interrogated French journalist Radjaa Abu Dagga, threatening to throw him out of Gaza.<sup>459</sup> The French newspaper *Liberation* printed a report on Abu Dagga’s ordeal, but Abu Dagga requested its removal.<sup>460</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>461</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>462</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>463</sup>

Hamis 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>464</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>465</sup>

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>466</sup>

## Hamas

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>467</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>468</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>469</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>470</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>471</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>472</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>473</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>454</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>.

<sup>455</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>.

<sup>456</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>.

<sup>457</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>.

<sup>458</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>.

<sup>459</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>.

<sup>460</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>.

<sup>461</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>.

<sup>462</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).

<sup>463</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).

<sup>464</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>.

<sup>465</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>.



*Hamas*

- 
- <sup>466</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>.
- <sup>467</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).
- <sup>468</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/>.
- <sup>469</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>.
- <sup>470</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>.
- <sup>471</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>.
- <sup>472</sup> “Profile: Hamas Palestinian movement,” BBC News, July 14, 2014, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-13331522>.
- <sup>473</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>.
-

*Hamas*

---

**Rhetoric:**

*Fawzi Barhoum, August 5, 2022*

“The Israeli enemy, who started the escalation against Gaza and committed a new crime, must pay the price and bear full responsibility for it.”<sup>474</sup>

*Izzat al-Rishq, member of political bureau, May 8, 2022*

“Sovereignty and legitimacy over historic Palestine resides only with the Palestinian people, who will protect every inch of their homeland, above all Jerusalem and the Al-Aqsa Mosque, and will continue comprehensive resistance until liberation, return, and establishing their independent state with Jerusalem as its capital.”<sup>475</sup>

*Hamas statement, May 4, 2022*

“We renew our call for the Palestinian people to visit the Al-Aqsa Mosque and be on high alert in Jerusalem in order to defend their identity, religion, and first Qibla. The Israeli occupation must know that all attempts aimed at dividing the Al-Aqsa compound temporally and spatially and Judaizing Muslim holy sites will not pass and will not achieve its malicious goals.”<sup>476</sup>

*Hamas statement, May 2, 2022*

“[The Qassam Brigades] declare its pride in its fighters, the blessed sons of Qassam in the occupied West Bank, who are still wielding the ‘Sword of Jerusalem.’”<sup>477</sup>

*Yahya Sinwar, Gaza political leader, April 30, 2022*

“Let everyone who has a rifle, ready it. And if you don’t have a rifle, ready your cleaver or an axe, or a knife.”<sup>478</sup>

---

<sup>474</sup> Fares Akram and Joseph Krauss, “Israeli strikes on Gaza kill 8, including senior militant,” Associated Press, August 5, 2022, <https://apnews.com/article/israel-strikes-gaza-rising-tensions-4539de5f30c605b3423d3472351cd638>.

<sup>475</sup> “Hamis rejects Israeli occupation PM’s statements on sovereignty over Jerusalem, Al-Aqsa,” Hamas, May 8, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/4027/Hamas-rejects-Israeli-occupation-PM-s-statements-on-sovereignty-over-Jerusalem-Al-Aqsa>.

<sup>476</sup> “Hamis warns Israeli occupation against allowing Israeli settlers to storm Al-Aqsa,” Hamas, May 4, 2022, <https://hamas.ps/en/post/4021/Hamas-warns-Israeli-occupation-against-allowing-Israeli-settlers-to-storm-Al-Aqsa>.

<sup>477</sup> Aaron Boxerman, “Hamis claims deadly Ariel terror shooting, vows it ‘won’t be the last,’” Times of Israel, May 2, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-claims-ariel-terror-shooting-vows-it-wont-be-the-last/>.

<sup>478</sup> “Israel said to threaten Hamas chief Sinwar as calls for his head grow louder,” Times of Israel, May 6, 2022, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israel-said-to-threaten-action-against-hamas-chief-sinwar-over-terror-cheerleading/>.