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.
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.”

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.” 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.”

**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.” Hamas is “one of the wings of the Moslem Brotherhood in Palestine.” 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.”

*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.”

*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.” 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
Hamas

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.’”9

Theme Four: Israel and “armed resistance”
Hamas recognizes the fact that Israel exists, but does not recognize its legitimacy or right to exist. The introduction to the charter quotes Muslim Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna as saying “Israel will exist and will continue to exist until Islam will obliterate it, just as it obliterated others before it.”10 Hamas upholds “armed resistance” as the only method to liberate Palestine. In Article 13 of the charter, Hamas renounces all peace plans or negotiations to resolve the issue of Palestine. Negotiations are a “contradiction to the principles of the Islamic Resistance Movement. Abusing any part of Palestine is abuse directed against [Islam]…. ”11

Hamas’s Changing Strategies
Since Hamas joined the Palestinian Authority in 2006—and subsequently formed an independent government after its violent expulsion of the PA from Gaza – the international community has demanded that in order to gain international recognition, Hamas must renounce violence, recognize Israel, and recognize past agreements signed by the PLO. In a 2007 op-ed in the Los Angeles Times, Hamas’s deputy politburo chief Mousa Abu Marzouk rebuked international demands, asking, “[W]hy should any Palestinian ‘recognize’ the monstrous crime carried out by Israel’s founders and continued by its deformed modern apartheid state, while he or she lives 10 to a room in a cinderblock, tin-roof United Nations hut?”12 Hamas has remained rigid in its core beliefs, but has demonstrated some flexibility in its positions and strategies.

Hamas’s adherence to its 1988 charter
In his 2007 Los Angeles Times op-ed, Abu Marzouk struck a conciliatory tone regarding Hamas’s charter, referring to it as a revolutionary document that must be looked at in the context of the time when it was written. “If every state or movement were to be judged solely by its foundational, revolutionary documents or the ideas of its progenitors, there would be a good deal to answer for on all sides,” he penned.13 While Marzouk’s statement does not entirely annul the charter, it suggests the possibility of a pragmatic path toward moderation in which Hamas is not bound by inflexible dogma.

However, just a year before Marzouk made this remark, Mahmoud Zahar, a co-founder of Hamas, declared that the group would “not change a single word in its covenant.”14 Similarly, a senior Hamas leader, Sami Abu Zuhri, stated that the Palestinian legislative council, in preparing for the 2006 elections, would “[adhere] to the constants and strategies outlined in the [Hamas] charter.”15

Hamas’s 2017 political document
On May 1, 2017, Hamas convened a press conference in Qatar to unveil a new policy document, the first since the release of its organizational charter in 1988. The document—a supplement to Hamas’s 1988 charter—omits the original charter’s references to Jews and frames the Palestinian struggle as a nationalistic rather than religious one. Though the document accepts the idea of a Palestinian state along the pre-1967 lines, the charter continues to withhold recognition of the State of Israel. As the document outlines, Hamas continues to embrace “armed resistance” against Israel in its pursuit of the “liberation” of Palestine “from the river to the sea.”16 The document also makes no mention of Hamas’s origins within the Muslim Brotherhood, which the group’s leaders have claimed to disavow. In March 2016, Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri denied any links between Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood.17 Ahead of the document’s release, Hamas leaders said the new document does not replace the original 1988 charter, which remains in effect with its linkage to the Brotherhood.18

The potential acceptance of pre-1967 lines
Hamas leaders have suggested that they may be willing to accept a state of Palestine within the areas captured by Israel in 1967 (the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, and East Jerusalem), but without the recognition of Israel. In 2006, Hamas’s Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh stated that Hamas would accept a temporary Palestinian state within the pre-1967 areas and a 20-year truce with Israel.19

Hamas leaders have alluded to their potential participation in and acceptance of a PLO-Israel peace accord, but only if it were approved by a popular referendum of the Palestinian people. As Hamas and the PLO negotiated their unity deal in June 2014, Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri declared that while Hamas would continue to not recognize Israel, the group would not “obstruct” any future negotiations between Israel and the PLO.20

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

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

In 2004, Hamas co-founder Abdel Aziz 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.” 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.

Hamas 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, 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. 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.”

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. Fatah condemned Blair’s rumored role and said Hamas should coordinate its ceasefire talks through the PLO.

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.

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. He argued that Hamas would obtain its goals “only through fighting and armed resistance,” and that “no compromise should be made with the enemy.”

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.

Hamas 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.

Hamas maintains “all types of legitimate resistance” are acceptable against Israel, including “armed resistance” as a means to an end—the liberation of Palestine.

Antisemitism

Hamas asserts its conflict is with the State of Israel, not because they are Jews but because they are occupiers. Hamas 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.” Nonetheless, Hamas 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.

Hamas members have used “Jews” and “Israel” interchangeably. When Hamas 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.” In July 2014, Hamas’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.” Hamdan later defended his use of the antisemitic blood libel by declaring he had Jewish friends. Also that month, a sermon in Gaza’s Deir al-Balah Mosque airing on Hamas’s al-Aqsa TV stated flatly Hamas’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.”
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.” 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. 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.” Hamas later condemned the comments, saying its fight was with Israel and not with worldwide Jewry. 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.”

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. 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. 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. In June 2016, Meshaal announced his intention to step down by the end of the year ahead of Hamas’s internal elections. 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.

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. 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.

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. 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. On February 13, 2017, Hamas elected Yahya Sinwar as its political chief in the Gaza Strip, replacing Haniyeh ahead of his then-expected ascendency to politburo chief.

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. 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. 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. The PA ended its electricity payments to Israel that June, citing Hamas’s failure to reimburse it for the electricity costs.

In September 2017, Hamas announced its intention to dissolve its government in Gaza and called on the PA to immediately resume responsibility for the Gaza Strip. Hamas agreed to the PA’s demand to hold new parliamentary elections in the West Bank and Gaza for the first time since 2006.
The move followed talks in Cairo between Hamas and the Egyptian government.\textsuperscript{60} 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.\textsuperscript{61}

**West Bank**

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

**Palestinian Diaspora**

Hamas maintains a regional political bureau that oversees the affairs of Palestinians in the diaspora.\textsuperscript{64} 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.\textsuperscript{65}

**Prisons**

Hamas maintains a regional political bureau that oversees the affairs of Palestinians in Israeli prisons.\textsuperscript{66} Hamas elected Salameh Katawi to a four-year term to lead its prisons bureau during its 2021 internal elections.\textsuperscript{67}

**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.\textsuperscript{68} The stated goal of the Qassam Brigades is: “To contribute in the effort of liberating Palestine and restoring the rights of the Palestinian people.”\textsuperscript{69} Qassam Brigades leader Mohammad Deif is widely suspected of having ordered suicide bombings and other attacks carried out by the Brigades.\textsuperscript{70} The Qassam Brigades claim to work as independent cells organized throughout the Gaza Strip and West Bank.\textsuperscript{71}

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.”\textsuperscript{72} 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.”\textsuperscript{73} 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.”\textsuperscript{74}

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.\textsuperscript{75}

Membership estimates of the Qassam Brigades range from several thousand to 27,000.\textsuperscript{76} Hamas had an estimated 20,000 fighters, with another 20,000 in its police and security forces.\textsuperscript{77} 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.\textsuperscript{78} 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.\textsuperscript{79}

**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.\textsuperscript{80} Hamas’s budget in 2013 was more than $700 million, with $260 million earmarked to the administrative costs of running Gaza.\textsuperscript{81} In 2014, the
Hamas government in Gaza signed a reconciliation agreement with the Palestinian Authority (PA) that called for the Hamas government to dissolve and for the PA to reassert control. The Hamas government’s budget prior to its dissolution was reportedly $530 million. As of 2016, Hamas reportedly had an approximate military budget of $100 million, with $40 million specifically earmarked for construction of tunnels beneath the Gaza-Israel border.\(^{82}\)

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.\(^{83}\) Hamas has relied heavily on Qatari aid to pay its municipal salaries. By 2023, Hamas reportedly paid approximately $34.5 million per month in salaries, largely relying on international donors to cover the expense. As of July 2023, however, Hamas reportedly was unable to pay its 50,000 municipal employees because of delays in a monthly payroll grant from Qatar.\(^{84}\)

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;\(^{85}\) and fundraising activities in Western Europe and North America.\(^{86}\) 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.\(^{87}\)

**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.\(^{88}\)

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.\(^{89}\) 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.\(^{90}\)

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.\(^{91}\) 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.\(^{92}\)

**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.\(^{93}\) 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.\(^{94}\)

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.\(^{95}\)
Hamas

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.\(^96\)

**Cryptocurrencies**

Hamas seeks to bypass international financial sanctions through the use of cryptocurrencies, the movement of which is harder to trace than traditional currencies.\(^97\) 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.\(^98\) 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.\(^99\)

In 2019, the Qassam Brigades created a portal on its website to collect donations through the cryptocurrency Bitcoin.\(^100\) 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.\(^101\) According to terrorism experts and the U.S. Treasury, Bitcoin is a small but growing medium for terror financing.\(^102\) 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, 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.\(^103\) Israel began seizing digital cryptocurrency wallets belonging to Hamas in July 2021.\(^104\)

**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.”\(^105\)

After Hamas’s victory in the 2006 Palestinian legislative elections, Iran provided Hamas an estimated £13-15 million a month for governing expenses.\(^106\) 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. 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.”

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.” 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. According to Marzouk, Hamas had not received any Iranian money since 2009.

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.” Sinwar also called Iran the “largest backer financially and militarily” of Hamas.

As of August 2018, Iran reportedly transferred $70 million annually to Hamas. 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. 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.

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. 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.” As such, Haley referred to Iran as “the sugar daddy of Hamas.”

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, Melli, 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, Melli, or Saderat liable for a terror attack by a foreign terrorist organization against a U.S. national.

Qatar

Qatar has invested heavily in the Gazan economy. In October 2012, the country launched a $254 million plan to modernize Gaza. The country later upped its investment to $400 million. 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. 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. 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.” 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.

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.” Hamas has utilized Qatari hotels and business centers for meetings and press conferences, such as its May 1, 2017, press conference at Doha’s Sheraton hotel to announce the group’s new political document.

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.”
Hamas

“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.\textsuperscript{130} 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-Rumaithi, demanding Qatar end its support of Hamas.\textsuperscript{131} Qatar has continued to provide financial support to the Gaza Strip and provide shelter for Hamas’s leaders in the country.

As of 2023, Qatar reportedly provided $30 million per month in stipends for families, fuel for electricity, and aid in paying municipal salaries. As of May 2023, Qatar had provided half of a $5 million grant to Hamas to pay municipal salaries. Qatar reportedly suspended payments that June. By July, Hamas reportedly was unable to pay its 50,000 municipal employees because of delays in a monthly payroll grant from Qatar. Hamas had not paid salaries since May and faced a new economic crisis, Hamas financial sources told international media. Hamas called on Qatar to increase its payroll grant from $5 to $7 million to cover increased spending and debt repayment.\textsuperscript{132} Talks between Hamas and Qatar to resume the funding were reportedly frozen as of mid-September 2023. Gaza media reported Qatari envoy Mohammed al-Emadi had “conveyed a clear message” to Hamas, explaining that “Qatar cannot always” transfer funds to the Strip, and a “permanent and better solution” was required.\textsuperscript{133}

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 memorandum, “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.’”\textsuperscript{134}

Saudi Arabia has also invested in Gaza, pledging $1 billion to rebuild infrastructure after Hamas’s 2008 war with Israel.\textsuperscript{135}

Turkey

Turkey reportedly planned to donate $300 million to Gaza’s Hamas government in 2011.\textsuperscript{136} While other reports cited that this would become an annual donation to Hamas,\textsuperscript{137} 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.\textsuperscript{138}

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.\textsuperscript{139}

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.\textsuperscript{140} Redin’s leadership dissolved the company shortly after the designation.\textsuperscript{141}

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.”\textsuperscript{142} Hamas conceals approximately $500 million in assets through these companies.\textsuperscript{143} Based off this Reuters report, the Double Cheque website determined most of Hamas’s investments are managed from within Turkey.\textsuperscript{144} Double Cheque identified Turkish investment company Trend GYO, which has five Turkish subsidiaries run by members of Hamas.\textsuperscript{145}

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-
Hamas

based 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.146

Also Known As:

- Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiya (Islamic Resistance Movement);
- Al-Tahr al-Islami (The Islamic Stream);
- Al-Athja al-Islami (The Islamic Trend)147

---

Hamas


63 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/.


68 Mohamed Daraghmeh, “Hamas says it accepts reconciliation demands,” Associated Press, September 17, 2017,
Hamas

https://qnews.com/a/26d/1ce2740c791033b363ff62d27/I/hamas-says-it-accepts-reconciliation-demands/


91 Josh Lopowsky, “’A Way to Thwart Their Funding,’ ” Jewish Standard, August 1, 2014, http://jstandard.com/index.php/content/item/a-way_to_thwart_their_funding/.


Hamas

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/.
Hamas


“Palestinians left without aid as Hamas, Qatar squabble over delays,” Jerusalem Post, last updated September 17, 2023, https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/article-759366.


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
Deputy chair of Hamas’s political bureau; 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:

- On October 7, a day after the 50th anniversary of the Yom Kippur War and as Israel is marking the Jewish holidays of Simchat Torah and Shabbat, Hamas launches a massive attack on Israel as Hamas fighters blow up part of the border fence and then use bulldozers to widen the gap before sending hundreds of fighters into Israel on motorbikes.

At the same time, Hamas launches thousands of rockets as far north as Tel Aviv. The Hamas fighters spread into more than a dozen Israeli communities and military bases within 15 miles of the Gaza border. At least 800 people in Israel are killed and more than 1,000 are wounded in the first three days. Hamas takes at least 100 Israelis hostage in Gaza while PIJ announces it is holding at least 30 Israeli hostages. Hostages include military officers as well as children and the elderly. An Israeli military spokesman calls the attack Israel’s “9/11” and admits that Hamas caught training in Israel by surprise. Israel begins responding with airstrikes in Gaza. On October 8, Hamas issues an official declaration of war, as fighting continues to expel Hamas infiltrators from southern communities and military bases. Sources close to Hamas tell Reuters the group prepared for the operation for two years by constructing and training mock settlements in Gaza.

---

**September 24, 2023:**

Senior officials of Hamas, PIJ, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) meet in Beirut and agree to increase coordination and violent activities to “deal with Israel’s aggression.”


---

**August 31, 2023:**

Following an August 22 Israeli security cabinet meeting to discuss a series of recent terror attacks, Netanyahu announces the government does not provide further details, but on August 27 Aroui warns Israel against resuming targeted assassinations of terrorist leaders. Aroui resuming the assassinations could spark a regional war. Aroui says Hamas is preparing for a regional war alongside other parties, noting recent threats by Hezbollah leaders against Israel. On August 28, reports circulate in Lebanese media that Israel intends to target Hamas leaders—Aroui specifically—inside Lebanon. Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah warns of a strong Hezbollah “reaction” if Israel targets any Palestinian, Lebanese, Syrani, or Iranian individual in Lebanon. Lebanese newspaper Nidaa al-Watan reports on August 28 that an intelligence delegation from a “friendly Arab country” plans to advise Hamas to have Aroui leave Lebanon. Sources: “Security cabinet meets as far-right advocates sharp crackdown in West Bank,” Times of Israel, August 22, 2023, https://www.timesofisrael.com/security-cabinet-meets-as-far-right-advocates-sharp-crackdown-in-west-bank/; “Senior Hamas official threatens ‘regional war’ if Israeli resonues targeted killings,” Times of Israel, August 27, 2023, https://www.timesofisrael.com/senior-hamas-official-threatens-regional-war-if-israel-resumes-targeted-kilings/; Tzvi Joffre, “Nasrallah warns Israel against targeting Hamas leaders in Lebanon.”

---

**July 6, 2023:**

On July 3, PA President Mahmoud Abbas calls for reconciliation talks between 14 Palestinian factions, including Hamas, PIJ, and Fatah, to end the rift between the factions and create unity in Palestinian governance.

On July 18, Hamas forces raid the Al Awda mosque in Rafa and arrest PIJ-affiliated Sheikh Yahya Mansour. Mansour claims Hamas militants beat him with chairs and broke his hand during the raid. On July 20, Hamas militants hang the group’s flags outside the mosque. That same day, PA security forces arrest Hamas senior West Bank official Mustafa Abu Arra after summoning him for interrogation. Abu Arra was reportedly present in Jenin when protesters expelled two Fatah officials from a July 5 funeral following Israel’s operation in Jenin earlier that month. Abu Arra is transferred to a hospital because of his deteriorating health. During the Palestinian Authority releases Abu Arra on July 23, Hamas and other Palestinian factions hold a public meeting in Gaza and agree to the July 30 reconciliation talks in Cairo. Khalil al-Hayya says Hamas will participate in the talks and do “everything it can for the success of the meeting.”

---

**July 3, 2023 - July 5, 2023:** On July 3, Israeli forces launch a large-scale operation in the Jenin refugee camp, the first such operation in 20 years. According to an IDF spokesperson, at least 50 shooting attacks have come from Jenin. During the 48-hour operation, the IDF seizes hundreds of weapons caches and explosives and detains 120 people. Firefighters report when the IDF begins searching a home, Hamas militants and one Israeli soldier are killed. At least five of the Palestinians are identified as militants. IDF forces begin withdrawing on July 4. In the days after the operation, the Palestinian Authority begins arresting PIJ commanders in Jenin. On July 5, Fatah officials are held a public mass funeral for those killed during the Jenin operation. On July 6, Hamas and PIJ release a joint statement.
Hamas

praising Palestinians’ “steadfastness” against Israeli forces in Jenin and calling for a “comprehensive national approach” to confront Israel.


- Haniyeh leads a Hamas delegation to Tehran on June 19 to meet with senior Iranian leaders.


- May 24, 2023: The Hamas-affiliated Islamic Bloc wins 25 seats on the 51-seat student council at Bir Zeit University in the West Bank.

Patah’s The Martyr Yasser Arafat Bloc wins 20 seats. It is the second in a row Hamas won student council elections at the university. The vote comes a week after the Hamas-affiliated Islamic Bloc won student council elections at An-Najah University in Nablus. Speaking at a May 27 event marking the PLO’s 59th anniversary, Abbas declares attempts to replace the PLO will fail. Sources: Khaled Abu Toameh, “Hamas wins student council election at Bir Zeit University,” Jerusalem Post, May 24, 2023, https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/article-744135; “Abbas says any attempts to replace the PLO will fail,” Jewish News Syndicate, May 28, 2023, https://www.jns.org/jns/hamas/23/5/28/291104/;

- May 14, 2023: Hamas releases a document, addressed to the world’s foreign ministers, marking the 75th anniversary of the Nakba (“Catastrophe” of Israel’s creation) reaffirming the Palestinian right to “resist” Israel by any means.


- April 8, 2023 - April 10, 2023: Haniyeh meets with Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah in Beirut to discuss coordinated “resistance” against Israel.


- March 9, 2023: The Iraq-based Islamic Fatwa Council issues a fatwa declaring Hamas responsible for “its own reign of corruption and terror against Palestinian civilians within Gaza.”

The council declares “it prohibited to pray for, join, support, finance or fight on behalf of Hamas.”

Muhammad Ali Al-Maqdisi, a cleric and spokesman for the Najaf-based council, sends a statement to Fox News holding Hamas responsible for atrocities “perpetrated against Palestinian civilians within Gaza.” The council declares “it prohibited to pray for, join, support, finance or fight on behalf of Hamas.”

The council also states, “Hamas is an organization ‘stands with the oppressed Palestinian people.’ The UAE Fatwa Council and the Council of Senior Scholars of Saudi Arabia have previously issued similar rulings, but the Iraqi council declaration marks the first time an accredited Islamic legislative body has specifically declared Hamas illegitimate according to Islamic law. Source: Ruth Marks Eglash, “In groundbreaking ruling, Middle Eastern Islamic council declares ‘fatwa’ against Hamas,” Fox News, March 12, 2023, https://www.foxnews.com/world/in-groundbreaking-ruling-middle-eastern-islamic-council-declares-fatwa-against-hamas;

- February 21, 2023 - February 22, 2023: On February 21, U.S. Senators Rick Scott, Cindy Hyde-Smith, and Mike Braun reintroduce the Stop Taxpayer Funding of Hamas Act. The legislation seeks to ensure no American taxpayer dollars are authorized to the Gaza Strip until the president certifies to Congress that these funds can be spent without benefitting terrorist organizations.

According to Scott’s office, the bill is a response to a State Department admission that American taxpayer dollars could potentially fund Hamas terrorists through Palestinian aid. On February 22, the Washington Free Beacon publishes claims the State Department has spent $41,000 in September 2022 to Fares Al-Arab, a Gaza-based organization that has a history of partnering with the Hamas government. The State Department grant is for a 15-month training program for employed and unemployed Palestinian journalists to focus on developing English language skills. According to the Free Beacon report, Fares Al-Arab had worked on a housing project with Hamas in 2021, among other interactions with the group. Sources: “Sen. Rick Scott Leads Reintroduction of Stop Taxpayer Funding of Hamas Act,” Senator Rick Scott Homepage, February 21, 2023, https://www.rickschumer.senate.gov/2023/2/sen-rick-scott-leads-reintroduction-of-stop-taxpayer-funding-of-hamas-act; Alana Goodman, “State Department Gives $41K to Charity That Partners With Terrorists,” Washington Free Beacon, February 22, 2023, https://washingtonfreedom.org/national-security/state-department-gives-41k-to-charity-that-partners-with-terrorists;

- February 9, 2023: Haniyeh heads a Hamas delegation to Cairo for meetings with high-level Egyptian security officials to discuss Palestinian unity and maintaining calm in Gaza and the West Bank.


- Hamas marks its 35th anniversary.
Hamas

On December 5, Hamas 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. “Hamas” is written in Arabic with the number 35. On December 8, Hamas 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, Hamas rejects any compromises, security collaboration, or normalization with Israel. In a televised speech on December 12, Haniyeh emphasizes Hamas’s commitment to its political stances and strategy. He praises Hamas founder Sheikh Ahmed Yassin and other so-called martyrs. He also pledges Hamas remains committed to freeing all Palestinian prisoners. According to Haniyeh, Jerusalem is the chief priority for Hamas and all Palestinians. On December 14, Hamas releases a statement reaffirming its commitment to “armed struggle” to “liberate” Palestine “from the river to the sea.” Hamas calls “Occupied Jerusalem and the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque” the core of its “freedom struggle” and denies any legitimate Israeli claim to Jerusalem. Hamas also claims Israeli “Judaization” attempts in Jerusalem are doomed to fail. Despite increased Arab normalization with Israel, Hamas praises the Arab and Muslim world as “a strategic backer of the Palestinian people’s struggle for liberation and return.” On December 14, Hamas holds a rally in Gaza City, reportedly attended by hundreds of thousands. Hamas 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 Hamas will soon end its prisoner-exchange talks with Israel unless there is progress. Hamas continues to hold two Israeli civilians, as well as the bodies of two Israeli soldiers killed in 2014. Sinwar threatens Hamas will “close the file for good” if Israel does not soon agree to a prisoner swap. Sources: “Hamas unveils its new 35th anniversary logo,” Hamas, December 5, 2022, https://hamas.ps/en/post/4433/Hamas-unveils-its-new-35th-anniversary-logo; “Remembering First Intifada, Hamas calls for supporting Palestinians’ right to self-determination,” Hamas, December 8, 2022, https://hamas.ps/en/post/4436/Remembering-First-Intifada-Hamas-calls-for-supporting-Palestinians-right-to-self-determination; “Haniyeh reiterates Hamas’s commitment to freedom struggle on 35th anniversary,” Hamas, 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 Hamas,” Hamas, December 14, 2022, https://hamas.ps/en/post/4456/Statement-on-35th-anniversary-of-Resistance-Movement-Hamas


Hamas 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 fell within Gaza, while Israel’s Iron Dome system intercepts the fourth. The two Palestinians are reportedly not affiliated with Hamas. According to Palestinian reports, Hamas and other Gaza factions claim they will act against anybody who independently violates the ceasefire with Israel. Source: “Hamas arrests Two Palestinians Residents Who Fired Rockets Towards Israel,” Haaretz (Tel Aviv), November 6, 2022, https://www.haaretz.com/issubscriber/?articleID=6477265

Hamas political bureau member Fathi Hammad meets with PIJ Secretary-General Ziad al-Nakhalah 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 “Judaise” 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.” Source: “Hamas official concludes visit to Beirut,” Hamas, October 20, 2022, https://hamas.ps/en/post/4353/Hamas-official-concludes-visit-to-Beirut.


August 5, 2022: Hundreds of Israelis protest at the Gaza border to demand Hamas 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. Hamas spokesman Fawza Barhoum says “the Israeli enemy, who started the escalation against Gaza and committed and crime, must pay full responsibility for it.” Source: Fares Akram and Joseph Krauss, Associated Press, August 5, 2022, https://apnews.com/article/israel-strikes-gaza-rising-tensions-4539de5f30c6065b3423d472351cd68;

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.
Hamas


**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 confirms Hamas for distributing a video of an ill prisoner. 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: Wafaas Shuara, “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-89edf35261e0c8b89dc86a60d66686f4e.


**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-resume-syria-ties-after-10-years-dispute-sources-say-2022-06-21/.


**Sources within the Israeli Ministry of Justice accuse Facebook of easing its restrictions on Hamas, as 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 removing 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 an April 2022 incident where Meta refused to block a Hamas post. 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-00000181-868f-3d3b-2a9f-df7f25480000; Chen Maanit, “Meta Refuses to Block Facebook Page That Israeli Court Says Incites Terror,” Haaretz (Tel Aviv), May 26, 2022, https://www.haaretz.co.il/israel-news/2022-05-26ty-article-premium/meta-refuses-to-block-facebook-page-israel-court-says-incites-terror-00000181-0086-d251-a5d-1596c4470000.

**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 a Russian military wing that 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 Aroui 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.timesofisrael.com/israel-will-assassinate-hamas-leaders-if-terror-attacks-continue-m7xc9cnln; 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/; Chen Maanit, “Meta Refuses to Block Facebook Page That Israeli Court Says Incites Terror,” Haaretz (Tel Aviv), May 26, 2022, https://www.haaretz.co.il/israel-news/2022-05-26ty-article-premium/meta-refuses-to-block-facebook-page-israel-court-says-incites-terror-00000181-0086-d251-a5d-1596c4470000.

**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 reported Hamas 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-sinar-over-terror-cherleading/.

**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 Turkish newspaper Al-Ahiyar confirms the report. Source: “Turkey extradites Hamas members to Israel,” i24News, April 27, 2022, https://www.i24news.tv/en/news/middle-east/levant-turkey/1655105866-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-israeli-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.
Hamas

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 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-attacks-tel-aviv-security-services-147d7a3c3a9f4354758f2d2d313a180a; 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/.


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 visitsations 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/ara-israeli-conflict/article-701471.


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 Hamza 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.middletownmonitor.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/.


**Hamas**

Secretary’s designation of Hamas as a terrorist organization; “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/.

- **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 Qatar envoy to Gaza Mohammed al-Emadi, the banks feared inviting sanctions for financing a terror 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 27, 2021:** Haniyeh and Meshal 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, Meshal entry to attend funeral,” Middle East Monitor, August 27, 2021, https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20210827-hamas-thanks-jordan-for-allowing-haniyeh-meshal-entry-to-attend-funeral/.


- **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 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, Melli, and Saderat—liable for an October 1, 2015, Hamas terror attack that killed Israeli-American Etiam 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, Melli, or Saderat liable for a terror attack by a foreign terrorist organization against a U.S. national. Sources: Globe Newswire, “In
**Hamas**

Hamas is a Palestinian nationalist political and armed movement. It is a part of the Islamic resistance movement, which seeks to liberate Palestine from Israeli occupation.

---


---


---


---


---

**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/](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 Krauskopf, “Poll finds dramatic rise in Palestinian support for Hamas,” Associated Press, June 15, 2021, [https://apnews.com/article/hamas-middle-east-science-329095de132961c1a96b344d0f8d87](https://apnews.com/article/hamas-middle-east-science-329095de132961c1a96b344d0f8d87).

---


---


---


---


---

**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
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.


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/hamas-presents-list-of-candidates-for-parliamentary-election-663540.


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.
**Hamas**


- **February 8, 2021:** Delegations from Hamas, Fatah, PIJ, and 11 other Palestinian factions meet in Cairo to discuss upcoming Palestinian parliamentary and presidential elections.


- **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.


- **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/ifd-100-hamas-targets-bombed-in-past-month-in-response-to-fire-balloons-attacks/; “Hamas and Hezbollah leaders meet in Lebanon,” Middle East Eye, September 6, 2020, https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/lebanon-palestine-hizbullah-hamas-nasrallah-haniyeh-meeting.

  - Egypt reportedly blocks Haniyeh from returning to Gaza because of his unapproved trip to Iran.


  - **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.


  - With Egypt’s permission, Haniyeh leaves the Gaza Strip for the first time in three years to attend high-level meetings in Turkey and Qatar.

    Haniyeh leads a delegation that includes Saleh al-Aroui, Maher Saleh, Mousa Abu Marzouq, Nizar Awadallah, and Izzat al-Risheq. Haniyeh arrives in Turkey on December 8 and meets with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Days after the meeting, British media reports that Hamas has continued to plan terrorist attacks from a base in Istanbul with the knowledge of the Turkish government. On December 16, Hanyeh meets with Qatari Emir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al-Than 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 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-612129.

  - **November 2, 2019 - November 3, 2019:** Twitter suspends several English and Arabic accounts belonging to Hamas, including its official @Hamasinfo and @HamasinfoEn accounts.


  - **November 12, 2018 - November 14, 2018:** Hamas and PIJ fire more than 450 rockets into Israel, killing one and wounding dozens.

Hamas


• 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.


• Hamas and Fatah hold a series of meetings in Cairo between October 10 and October 11. On October 12, the two groups sign an Egyptian-brokered agreement to implement a 2011 reconciliation pact. Hamas and Fatah agree to allow the PA to resume control of Gaza by December 1. The PA takes control of Gaza’s border crossings on November 10, 2014. 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: Hanada Hendaqi and Fares Akram, “Palestinian rivals reach preliminary deal on governing Gaza,” Associated Press, October 12, 2014, https://apnews.com/20b183dfbb1c4cc9c20bd1e62561b260/


• 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 Hadas 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, July 17, 2016.

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: Israeli Knesset, “Israel Says Hamas Is Holding Two Citizens in Gaza,” 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.


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 confirms it claims “serious damage to the interest of Hamas and all its activities.” Egyptian court bans Hamas “armed wing,” lists it as terrorist organization,” Reuters, January 31, 2015, http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/31/egypt-hamas-idUSKBN003XBE20150131; 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: Israeli Knesset, “Israel Says Hamas Is Holding Two Citizens in Gaza,” July 9, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/10/world/middleeast/mengistu-gaza-israel.html.

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 near 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-Gaza 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 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 Gaza 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 meet the next day to discuss 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: Yaaokav 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 Sawaf,” 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-IDUKKB1N0A0S20140705; Adnan Aby Amer, “Hamas Reaches for Israeli Ground Offensive with Tunnels, Traps,” Al-Monitor, July 9, 2014, http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/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-stripe-ghan.html; “EU


- - - 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 Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports that Hamas operatives regularly launch rockets into “Gaza, within or near residential and public buildings…[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, Israel assassimates the leaders of Hamas commanders, which act as weapons warehouses and Hamas headquarters. Israeli further damages 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 civilians infrastructure after firing. Israeli 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 operators.” 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 [order]s 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.profiles/; “Timeline – Israeli-Hamas violence since 2007,” CNN, November 21, 2012, http://www.cnn.com/2012/11/21/us/palestinians-israel-hamas-idUSBRE5AD0WP20121121; Uzi Mahnaimi, “Israel Vows to Destroy Iranian Rockets Destined for Gaza,” Sunday Times (London), November 25, 2012, http://www.thenutsandtimes.co.uk/sto/news/world/Middle_East/article167684.ece.

29
Hamas


- 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.

- Jordan’s King Abdullah closes Hamas’s headquarters in that country.

- A series of Hamas suicide bombings in Israel kill more than 50 people.


- December 14, 1987: Hamas issues its first manifesto, which emphasizes the spiritual imperative of Hamas’s mission: “Our sons and youths who love the eternal life more than our enemies love this life... Our people know the way of sacrifice and martyrdom and are generous in this regard.” Source: Paola Caridi, Hamas: From Resistance to Government, (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2012), 53.

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. 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.

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. 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.

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. 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.

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. Other attacks included shootings, stabbings, mortars, and bombings.

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. Israel claimed to have destroyed 32 of these tunnels during its 2014 war with Hamas. The tunnels reportedly cost Hamas $100 million to build.

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. 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. According to Ismail Haniyeh in January 2016, Hamas fighters “are digging twice as much as the number of tunnels dug in Vietnam.” A series of tunnel collapses in early 2016 killed several Hamas workers. Some Hamas operatives have blamed Israel for the collapses. Israel is reportedly working with the United States to develop a system dubbed the “Underground Iron Dome” to detect and destroy the underground tunnels.

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.”

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. 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. In July 2015, the group created a military training camp for 25,000 new recruits, some as
Hamas

The Israel Defense Forces (IDF) estimated that Hamas had approximately 10,000 rockets in its arsenal at the beginning of July 2014.\(^{167}\) 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.\(^{168}\) The IDF estimated Hamas still had approximately 5,000 rockets left.\(^{169}\) 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.\(^{170}\)

Hamas has relied on underground tunnels beneath Gaza’s borders with Egypt and Israel. During Hamas’s 50-day war with Israel during the summer of 2014, Hamas used these tunnels to stage raids inside Israel. Many of the tunnels into Israel were destroyed during the war, but Hamas has since sought to rebuild them. The Israeli military revealed in February 2016 that Hamas was “investing considerable resources” into rebuilding the tunnels.\(^{171}\) 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.\(^{172}\)

Hamas has also as many as 1,200 tunnels beneath the Gaza-Egypt border. The tunnels are used to smuggle commodities as well as weapons into Gaza.\(^{173}\) In September 2015, Egypt began flooding many of these tunnels to cut off Hamas smuggling.\(^{174}\) Israeli Energy Minister Yuval Steinitz confirmed in February 2016 that Israel had requested Egypt act against the tunnels.\(^{175}\) Hamas has also reportedly used the Egyptian tunnels to transport aid to ISIS’s Sinai Province group.\(^{176}\)

As of October 2017, Hamas reportedly maintained an armed force of 25,000.\(^{177}\) 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.\(^{178}\)

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 carry explosive warheads while the rest act as decoys, according to Israeli officials. Balloons have included homemade explosives, grenades, and RPG warheads. Hamas militants have praised the balloons because they are inexpensive and regional winds will carry them farther into Israel.\(^{179}\) 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.\(^{180}\) 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.\(^{181}\)

Violent Activities:

- **October – November 2023**: On October 7, one day after the 50th anniversary of the Yom Kippur War, Hamas—with Iranian support—launched a multi-pronged attack on Israel, resulting in hundreds of casualties and hostages taken into Gaza.\(^{182}\)
  
  **October 7**: As Hamas launches a barrage of rockets toward Israel, Hamas fighters cross into Israel from Gaza via motorcycles, pickup trucks, paragliders, and speed boats in an unprecedented assault by the terror group during the Jewish holidays of Simchat Torah and Shabbat. Hamas gunmen cut through the border fence separating Gaza and Israel, use hang gliders and boats to infiltrate at least 22 Israeli towns and military bases within 15 miles of the Gaza border, killing civilians and soldiers. Gunmen on motorcycles spread throughout Israeli towns. Gunmen kill at least nine people at a bus shelter in Sderot. Video circulates online of gunmen attacking the Nova music festival near the Israeli kibbutz of Reim, firing at fleeing revelers and carrying away hostages. Hamas also takes hostages in the border community Be’eri, and the town of Ofakim, 20 miles east of Gaza. Hamas also reportedly occupies a police station in a third town. Gunmen go door to door in Israeli communities, breaking into homes and kidnapping civilians. Hamas fighters drive through Gaza, sitting on top of a naked Israeli woman in the back of a pick-up truck. The woman had reportedly been kidnapped from the Nova festival. At the same time, Hamas launches at least 3,500 rockets toward Israeli cities, reaching as far north as Tel Aviv and its suburbs. Rockets hit a hospital in Ashkelon. At least 250 people are killed and 1,500 are wounded in the first day of the attack. Israel launches airstrikes against Gaza in response. After a warning shot, Israeli airstrikes destroy a 14-story building housing apartments and Hamas offices in Gaza City. Israeli airstrikes also reportedly destroy Sinwar’s home in Gaza. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu declares Israel is at war during a televised address and promises to destroy Hamas’s capabilities but says it will take time. He warns Gaza residents to evacuate areas near Hamas facilities because Israel will “turn them into ruins.” Deif calls for all-out war on Israel and calls on Palestinians in east Jerusalem and the West Bank to join in the fighting. He labels Hamas’s attack “Operation Al-Aqsa Storm.”
calling it a response to the Israeli-Egyptian blockade of Gaza, Israeli raids inside West Bank cities over the past year, and violence at the Al-Aqsa Mosque. A Hamas statement attributed to the Qassam Brigades labels the operation “Al-Aqsa Flood.” Hamas continues with daily rocket attacks against Israel as Israel launches airstrikes against Hamas targets in Gaza. As of October 18, more than 1,400 people have been killed in Israel, mostly civilians in the initial October 7 attack. Approximately 200 Israelis have been taken captive in Gaza. In Gaza, at least 2,778 people have been killed and 9,700 wounded as of October 18.183

- **October 8**: The Israeli government issues an official declaration of war. Security forces evacuate Israeli border communities while the IDF continues searching for gunmen in 13 Israeli communities. The Israeli army issues warnings in Arabic for civilians in Gaza near the border to leave their homes and move deeper into Gaza. Abu Marzouk declares his group is holding more than 100 Israelis hostage inside Gaza. The captives reportedly include high-ranking Israeli military officers as well as elderly civilians and children. PIJ claims it is also holding 30 Israelis captive in Gaza. The two-day death toll in Israel rises above 700. Early in the day, the IDF announces it is evacuating civilians from the border communities of Nahal Oz, Erez, Nir Am, Mefalsim, Kfar Aza, Gevim, Or Haner, Ibim, Netiv Ha’asara, Yad Mordechai, Karmia, Zikim, Kerem Shalom, Kissufim, Holit, Sufa, Nirim, Nir Oz, Ein Hashlosha, Nir Yitzhak, Be’er, Magen, Re’im, Sa’ad, and Alumim. According to a 10 p.m. IDF statement, Israeli forces had killed “hundreds” of terrorists over the past 40 hours and were “waging continuing battles” in southern towns near the Gaza border. The IDF captures Muhammad Abu Ghali, deputy commander of the southern division of Hamas’s naval force. Israeli airstrikes hit 150 Hamas sites in the Shuja’iyya neighborhood of Gaza City and 120 targets in Beit Hanoun in northern Gaza, raising its total to 800 Hamas sites targeted since the start of Hamas’s attack.184

- **October 9**: Hamas warns it will begin executing hostages if Israel continues to bomb Palestinian homes in Gaza without advance notice. Israel announces it has regained control of all the communities Hamas had infiltrated. Israel continues to launch widescale strikes in Gaza against Hamas targets. During a press conference, top IDF spokesman Rear Admiral Daniel Hagari says all of Hamas’s “military and political leadership, all of its assets, are attackable, and doomed.” He accuses Sinwar of directing the attack from Gaza, calling him “a dead man.” Two mortars are launched toward Israel’s northern communities from Lebanon. Hezbollah denies responsibility. The death toll in Israel surpasses 800. The United States confirms at least nine U.S. citizens are among the dead. France confirms the deaths of at least two French citizens. In a call with PIJ leader Nakhlah, Iranian President Ebrahim Raisi praises the “brilliant and impressive victories” of the “Palestinian resistance.” The leaders of the United States, France, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom issue a joint statement supporting Israel and unequivocally condemning Hamas.185

- **October 10**: The Israeli army retakes control of the Gaza fence and airstrikes continue in Gaza. The army reports that there have been no further infiltrations since October 9. The IDF’s Hagari says the army is laying mines in areas where the fence was breached. All Israeli towns adjacent to the Gaza border are almost entirely evacuated. Hamas fighters in Lebanon launch 15 rockets toward northern Israel. The army announces the death of two senior Hamas leaders in overnight airstrikes: Minister of Economy Jawad Abu Shammala and senior member of the Hamas political bureau Zachariah Abu Maamar. U.S. President Joe Biden condemns Hamas’s attack as an “act of sheer evil” and says his government is aware of American hostages in Gaza. Biden says at least 14 American citizens have been killed so far in the attack.186

- **October 11**: Meshaal issues a call for Muslims and Arabs around the world to join protests on October 13 in support of the Palestinians and to besiege Israel’s borders. Reports emerge of the discovery of babies beheaded by Hamas at the Kfar Aza kibbutz in southern Israel. The bodies were discovered on October 10, along with the bodies of Israelis and Hamas attackers outside of burned-out homes. Hamas denies it beheaded children or attacked women. Hamas spokesman Rishq labels the reports “fabricated and baseless allegations.” The death toll in Israel rises above 1,200, while the death toll in Gaza reaches 1,055.187

- **October 12**: The death toll in Israel rises above 1,300 with almost 3,300 wounded. Rockets continue to target Israeli towns. At least four Israelis are wounded in Sderot when rockets strike seven homes. Israel’s Knesset approves an emergency unity government with Netanyahu’s Likud party and Benny Gantz’s National Unity Party.188

- **October 13**: The IDF calls on Gazan civilians in and around Gaza City to evacuate to the southern part of the Gaza Strip ahead of an expected ground invasion. Hamas calls the warnings propaganda and urges Gazans to remain in their homes. During a press conference with Qatari Prime Minister Mohammed Bin Abdulrahman Al Thani in Doha, U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken says there will be no more “business as usual with Hamas.”189

- **October 14**: Hamas reportedly blocks Palestinians’ evacuation routes. According to IDF footage, Hamas places roadblocks around IDF-designated evacuation routes.190

- **October 15**: Hamas operatives in Lebanon launch rockets at northern Israel. The IDF creates a four-mile security zone along Israel’s side of the Lebanon border.191
Hamas

- **October 16:** The Israeli death toll exceeds 1,400 as the IDF announces that at least 199 people have been taken hostage in Gaza since the October 7 attack.192

- **October 17:** Israeli airstrikes destroy the Gaza City home of Haniyeh, who remains in Qatar. At least 14 people are killed in the strike, but their identities are not publicly confirmed. Israeli airstrikes in the Bureij refugee camp kills Ayman Nofal, a top Hamas military commander in charge of the Qassam Brigades' central Gaza area. He is reportedly the highest-profile Hamas militant killed in the war so far. Hamas blames an Israeli airstrike for destroying the al-Ahli Hospital in Gaza City, killing at least 500 people. Israel provides evidence that the explosion was caused by an errant PIJ rocket attack. According to the IDF, approximately 450 Palestinian rockets have landed inside Gaza since October 7. PIJ accuses Israel of trying to “evade responsibility” after previously calling for the hospital’s evacuation. The IDF releases audio of two Hamas fighters acknowledging the shrapnel “are local pieces, and not Israeli shrapnel.”193

- **October 18:** During an emergency visit to Israel, Biden accepts Israel’s account of what happened at the al-Ahli Hospital, saying he reviewed the evidence and determined “it was done by the other team.” Analysis by the U.S. Defense Department and National Security Council concludes that Israel is not responsible for the hospital strike.194

- **October 20:** Hamas frees two Israeli-American hostages, Judith Raanan and her daughter Natalie Raanan, after Qatari intervention. Hamas says it released the hostages for “humanitarian reasons.”195

- **October 23-24:** Hamas releases two hostages, 85-year-old Yocheved Lifshitz and 79-year-old Nurit Cooper, after negotiations with Qatar and Egypt. From a hospital in Israel on October 24, Lifshitz describes Hamas’s “spider web” of underground tunnels and being forced to walk kilometers underground after Hamas captured her on October 7. Both Lifshitz’s and Cooper’s husbands remain captive in Gaza.196

- **October 25:** Israel agrees to a U.S. request to delay its ground invasion of Gaza to give the United States time to position air defenses in the region in order to protect U.S. troops. Hamas senior leader Saleh al-Arour meets with Nasrallah and Nakhaileh in Beirut to discuss a joint strategy. According to a joint release by Hamas, Hezbollah, and PIJ, the groups seek “a real victory for the resistance in Gaza and Palestine” and a halt to Israel’s “treacherous and brutal aggression against our oppressed and steadfast people in Gaza and the West Bank.”197

- **October 26:** A Hamas delegation travels to Moscow to discuss the release of Russian hostages. A Hamas statement praises the efforts of Putin and the Russian foreign ministry to end “the crimes of Israel that are supported by the West.” The IDF announces the deaths of three senior Hamas operatives in the Daraj Tuffah Battalion, one of Hamas’s “most significant” battalions. An Israeli ground raid into Gaza destroys rocket launching positions. The IDF says the raids are to “prepare the ground for the next stages of the war.”198

- **October 27:** A rocket strikes Tel Aviv, wounding three people and causing significant damage, according to Israeli emergency services. Israel announces it has suffered 310 military fatalities since the start of the war. Israel launches a small ground raid into Gaza City supported by drones. No Israeli casualties are reported in the raid. Israeli strikes cut off communications across Gaza.199

- **October 28:** Netanyahu announces a “new phase” in the war as it sends ground troops into Gaza, while the IDF declares its primary goal is to destroy and dismantle Hamas. The IDF announces it has killed Asem Abu Rakaba, the head of the Hamas air force, and Ratib Abu Tzahiban, the head of Hamas’s navy. Hamas announces it will release all Israeli hostages in exchange for the release of all Palestinian security prisoners from Israel. Israel releases footage of strikes on Hamas’s underground bunkers and tunnels. The death toll in Gaza rises to more than 7,700, according to the Hamas-run Gaza health ministry. Israeli reports raise the number of hostages held in Gaza to 229.200

- **October 30:** Israel announces its forces had freed a female Israeli soldier captured on October 7 and held captive in Gaza. Hamas releases a video of female Israeli hostages with the caption, “A number of Zionist prisoners held by al-Qassam send a message to Netanyahu and the Zionist government.” The video features Israeli hostages identified as Rimon Kirsht, Danielle Aloni, and Elena Trupanov. In the video, Aloni says they have been held for 23 days and are being punished for the Israeli government’s “political, national neglect.” She accuses the Israeli government of wanting to kill all the hostages using the IDF and calls for an exchange of hostages for Palestinian held in Israeli prisons. Netanyahu condemns the video as “cruel psychological propaganda.”201

- **October 31:** The IDF takes control of a Hamas stronghold and kills approximately 50 Hamas fighters in Jabaliya in northern Gaza. The IDF also announces the deaths of Ibrahim Biari and Naseem Abu Ajina. Biari was a Hamas commander in northern Gaza linked to a 2004 attack on Israel’s Ashdod port that killed 13. According to the IDF, he was also responsible for directing Hamas rocket fire toward Israel for the past two decades. Abu Ajina was the commander of the Beit Lahia Battalion in Hamas’s Northern Division. Abu Ajina coordinated the October 7 attacks on the Israeli towns of Erez and Netiv Ha’asara. He was also involved in developing Hamas’s drone and aerial capabilities. The IDF has attacked 300 Hamas targets, including anti-tank missile and rocket-launching positions, tunnels, and...
Hamas

- **November 1:** The IDF releases an audio recording of a conversation between a Hamas commander and a Gazan civilian discussing how Hamas steals fuel from Gazan hospitals.\(^{202}\)

- **November 4-5:** At least nine Israeli soldiers are killed over the course of two days. On November 4, Israeli Defense Minister Yoav Gallant vows to kill Hamas leader Yahya Sinwar and eliminate Hamas from Gaza. Israel bombs Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh’s Gaza home in the Al-Shathi neighborhood in northern Gaza. There are no immediate reports of casualties. Hamas deputy political leader Moussa Abu Marzouk tells the BBC that “women, children and civilians were exempt” during the October 7 attack, despite contradictory video evidence and testimonials from Hamas attackers themselves. He claims the attack’s architect, Mohammed Deif, specifically instructed fighters not to kill women, children, or old men. Marzouk tells the BBC that Hamas will release its hostages, but Israel needs to stop its bombing of Gaza first. During a press briefing in Jordan, Blinken says a general ceasefire would leave Hamas “in place to regroup and repeat attacks.” On November 5, Iranian media report that Haniyeh and Iranian Supreme leader Ali Khamenei met in recent days to discuss the situation in Gaza. Khamenei reiterates Iran’s support for the Palestinians. The specific date of the meeting is not reported.\(^{204}\)

- **November 6:** Israel announces it killed Hamas’s Deir al Balah battalion commander, Wael Asfeh, during an overnight airstrike in Gaza City. According to the IDF, Asfeh and other commanders of the so-called Central Camps Brigade participated in sending terrorists of Hamas’s elite Nukhba forces into Israel during the October 7 attack.\(^{205}\)

- **November 7:** Israel announces a four-hour window for civilians to evacuate Gaza City before its forces enter the city later that day. Israel’s Gallant says Yahya Sinwar is in the vicinity in an underground bunker.\(^{206}\)

- **November 8:** The IDF announces it has killed Mohsen Abu Zina, “one of Hamas’s leading weapons developers and an expert in developing strategic weapons and rockets used by Hamas terrorists.”\(^{207}\)

- **September 25, 2023:** On the 11th day of riots at the Karni crossing between Gaza and Israel, a Palestinian gunman opens fire on Israeli forces. Israeli soldiers shoot and kill the gunman. No Israeli casualties are reported. Hamas claims a “martyr” succumbed to his wounds in the riots. Following end of the Yom Kippur holiday that evening, Israel strikes a Hamas military position in Gaza.\(^{208}\)

- **September 24, 2023:** Israel launches a counterterrorism raid in the Nur Shams refugee camp in Gaza, resulting in an hours-long firefight with militants that leaves at least one Hamas fighter and another Palestinian dead. During the confrontation, militants throw explosive devices and gunmen open fire on the soldiers. According to the Israeli military, it had conducted a counterterrorism operation in the camp and dismantled an operational command center equipped with computers and surveillance cameras. The military also said it had discovered dozens of explosive devices and bomb components. Hamas identifies its casualty as 21-year-old Osaïd Abu Ali, a member of the Qassam Brigades. That evening, Israeli drones strike Hamas positions in Bureij and Jabalya.\(^{209}\)

- **September 24, 2023:** Israeli forces break up an alleged Hamas cell at Birzeit University in the West Bank, arresting eight suspects who reportedly planned to carry out a terrorist attack. According to Israeli intelligence, Hamas had recruited operatives at the university and provided them with guns and ammunition. The suspects reportedly possessed Hamas flags and other inciting materials.\(^{210}\)

- **September 19, 2023:** An explosive device detonates underneath an army vehicle and gunmen open fire as the Israelis are leaving the Jenin refugee camp after a counterterrorism operation. The vehicle is damaged, but no Israeli casualties are reported. Three Palestinians—identified as Mahmoud al-Sadi, Mahmoud Ararawi, and Ata Yasser Musa—are killed. The three are claimed as members of either Hamas or PIJ.\(^{211}\)

- **September 19, 2023:** Gazans violently protest at the Gaza-Israel border. Israeli forces open fire, killing one and wounding nine, according to Hamas’s health ministry.\(^{212}\)

- **September 13, 2023:** Hamas organizes a demonstration at the Gaza-Israel border to mark the anniversary of Israel’s 2005 withdrawal from Gaza. According to the IDF, protesters attempt to throw grenades and bombs over the security fence. One of the devices allegedly explodes prematurely, killing at least five Palestinians and wounding 20 others. The IDF responds to the protesters with teargas.\(^{213}\)

- **September 12, 2023:** Members of PIJ, Hamas, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine jointly hold “The Hard Corner 4” military exercise in Gaza during which they launch rockets toward the sea and show off drone capabilities. Hamas military commander Mohammed al-Deif says “armed resistance” is the Palestinians’ only option to “liberate their historical lands and declare their own independent State.” The training exercise coincides the anniversary of the Oslo Accords.\(^{214}\)
Hamas

- **September 4, 2023:** Israeli forces raid the Jenin refugee camp and arrest three Hamas members: Abdullah Hassan Mohammed Sobeh, Ward Sharim, and Mus’ab Ja’aydah. The IDF accuses senior Hamas member Sobeh of involvement in a series of attacks emanating from Jenin, including shootings, pipe bombs, VBIEDs, and firing improvised rockets at West Bank settlements and Israeli towns. According to the IDF, Sharim and Ja’aydah were involved in shooting attacks in the West Bank and planning additional attacks. 215

- **September 4, 2023:** Israeli security guards at the Kerem Shalom Crossing discover “high-quality” explosive material hidden in a clothing shipment being exported from the Gaza Strip to Israel. According to the Israeli defense ministry, the explosives were intended for an attack in the West Bank. The defense ministry halts all exports out of Gaza until after an assessment. The crossing reopens on September 10. The Shin Bet accuses Hamas of directing the smuggling attempt. The agency accuses Arafat Natash and Muhammad Abu Awwad of directing the operation. Both men had been previously expelled to Gaza from the West Bank as part of a prisoner swap between Hamas and Israel. 216

- **Late August 2023:** On August 21, hundreds of Palestinians protest near the Gaza-Israel border against the worsening economic situation in Gaza. Protesters throw explosives toward the security barrier and several attempt to break through. Israeli forces reportedly arrest multiple protesters. According to the Hamas health ministry, at least eight Palestinians are wounded. Following the riot, Hamas reportedly debates restarting regular protests at the border. 217

- **July 27, 2023:** Hours after Israeli Security Minister Itamar Ben Gvir visits the Temple Mount in Jerusalem on Tisha B’Av, the Jewish day of mourning, the Al-Qassam Brigades fires a rocket toward the Ram On settlement in the Jenin area in the West Bank. Hamas calls the attack a “response to the aggression of the occupation and settlers on Al-Aqsa.” Hamas’s Hazem Qasem calls Ben Gvir’s visit a provocation and a “dangerous escalation.” He promises Hamas will not allow Israel to carry out its “plans” at the Al-Aqsa Mosque. 218

- **July 25, 2023:** Three gunmen open fire on a group of IDF soldiers near Nablus. The soldiers return fire, killing the gunmen. The soldiers confiscate three M-16 firearms, a pistol, and other military equipment from the gunmen’s vehicle. Hamas claims the gunmen as members. 219

- **July 16, 2023:** Ammar al-Najjar opens fire from his car near Tekoa Junction in the West Bank, wounding three people in a passing vehicle, including two girls ages 9 and 14. Al-Najjar escapes, but police arrest him several hours later while he is hiding at the al-Rabat Mosque in Bethlehem. Two others are also arrested at the mosque. Four Palestinians are wounded during clashes at the mosque during the arrest. The IDF seizes Al-Najjr’s car and an M-16 rifle inside it. Hamas praises the attack but does not directly claim responsibility. However, Israeli police identify al-Najjr as a member of Hamas who had been previously arrested. 220

- **July 2023:**
  - **July 3-4:** Israeli forces launch a large-scale operation in the Jenin refugee camp, the first such operation in 20 years. According to an IDF spokesman, at least 50 shooting attacks have come from Jenin. During the 48-hour operation, the IDF seizes hundreds of weapons caches and explosives and detains 120 people. Firefights between the IDF and militants are reported. At least 12 Palestinians and one Israeli soldier are killed. At least five of the IDF soldiers are identified as militants. IDF forces begin withdrawing on July 4. 221
  - **July 4-5:** On July 4, a 20-year-old Palestinian man from the West Bank begins striking people with his pick-up truck outside of a mall in Tel Aviv, wounding nine. The assailant exits his car and stabs one of the victims before he is shot and killed by an armed civilian. The attacker is identified as Abed al-Wahab Khalaila from the West Bank town of as-Samu. Hamas claims responsibility, calling the attack “an act of self-defence in the face of the ongoing Zionist massacre in Jenin.” Hamas spokesman Hazem Qasim praises the “heroic attack” as “the first response to the occupation’s crimes against our people in Jenin.” Overnight, militants in Gaza fire five rockets toward southern Israel. Israeli defenses intercept the rockets. In retaliation, Israeli air strikes target Hamas weapons and rocket sites in Gaza. No casualties are reported. Israel completes its withdrawal from Jenin by July 5. 222
  - **July 6:** After his car is stopped by a security patrol at the West Bank settlement of Kedumim, a gunman opens fire, killing one. The assailant then flees his car on foot but is shot dead by security forces. The attacker is identified as Ahmed Yassin Ghaidan, from the village of Qibya. Hamas claims responsibility, calling the attack part of an ongoing response to the Jenin operation. Hamas warns Israeli Finance Minister Bezalel Smotrich, who lives in Kedumim, that “the al-Qassam brigades almost knocked on your door.” Also, that day, Hamas and PIJ release a joint statement praising Palestinians’ “steadfastness” against Israeli forces in Jenin and calling for a “comprehensive national approach” to confront Israel. 223
  - **June 20, 2023:** Two gunmen attack a restaurant and a gas station outside of the West Bank settlement of Eli, killing four and wounding four. The fatalities include at least one minor. One of the gunmen is shot dead by a civilian. The other gunman flees the scene, but security forces locate him shortly after and shoot him dead while he is reportedly resisting arrest. Hamas claims responsibility, calling the attack a response to an IDF operation the day before in Jenin. 224
May 24, 2023: Hamas has launched more than 850 rockets since May 9. Most have been intercepted or landed in open areas. Approximately one-fifth landed in southern Israeli towns of Sderot and Ashkelon each report two direct hits on residential buildings. No injuries are reported. Later in the evening, a rocket strikes a residential building in Rehovot, Israel, killing an elderly man and wounding two. It is the first Israeli fatality in the conflict. In the West Bank, gunmen shoot and wound an Israeli soldier in Tulkarm. The Israeli military officials say they have not seen evidence of Hamas itself launching rockets. Israeli strikes specifically target PIJ and not Hamas. Egypt begins mediation, according to PIJ. Separately, two PIJ gunmen open fire on Israeli soldiers in the West Bank. The soldiers kill the gunmen, whom PIJ claims as members.

May 11: Israel targets and kills PIJ Al-Quds Brigades commander Ali Hassan Ghali, who headed the Al-Quds Brigades’ rocket unit. According to PIJ, Ghali had co-founded the rocket unit and had more than 20 years’ experience with rockets. Israel also targets and kills Ahmed Abu Daqa, the deputy commander of PIJ’s rocket division. PIJ had fired at least 523 rockets toward Israel since May 9. Egypt sends envoys to Israel for ceasefire talks. Israel calls for an unconditional ceasefire, while PIJ calls for Israel to release Adnan’s body and cease targeted strikes against PIJ leaders. Despite the disagreement, both Israel and PIJ reportedly significantly decrease their attacks on each other as of 2:30 p.m. As of that point, PIJ had launched only 40 rockets and the IDF has struck only eight targets in Gaza since that morning. That evening, a rocket strikes a residential building in Rehovot, Israel, killing an elderly man and wounding five other people. It is the first Israeli fatality in the conflict. In the West Bank, gunfire opens on two PIJ soldiers in the West Bank. The soldiers kill the gunmen, whom PIJ claims as members.

May 10: Israeli renews strikes against PIJ rocket sites in Gaza as militants fire hundreds of rockets from Gaza toward Israel. The southern Israeli towns of Sderot and Ashkelon each report two direct hits on residential buildings. No injuries are reported. Later in the evening, a rocket strikes a residential building in Rehovot, Israel, killing an elderly man and wounding five other people. It is the first Israeli fatality in the conflict. In the West Bank, gunfire opens on two PIJ soldiers in the West Bank. The soldiers kill the gunmen, whom PIJ claims as members.

May 9: Israel launches Operation Shield and Arrow against PIJ in Gaza in response to the more than 100 rockets PIJ fired the week before. Airstrikes kill PIJ commanders Jihad Ghannam, Tareq Isseldeen, and Khalil Al-Bahtini in Gaza. Ghannam and Isseldeen allegedly orchestrated operations in the West Bank and sought to bring rockets to Jenin. Bahtini allegedly coordinated rocket fire during the previous week. The Israeli strikes also kill 10 civilians. A PIJ spokesman says Israel “must expect a response at any moment and anywhere.”

May 8: After imprisonment, PIJ political leader Khader Adnan dies in Israeli custody, a coalition of Gaza militant groups launch at least 25 rockets toward southern Israel from Gaza, injuring at least three people. Israeli military officials say they have not seen evidence of Hamas itself launching rockets. Israeli strikes specifically target PIJ and not Hamas. Egypt begins mediation, according to PIJ. Separately, two PIJ gunmen open fire on Israeli soldiers in the West Bank. The soldiers kill the gunmen, whom PIJ claims as members.

May 7: Israel launches Operation Shield and Arrow against PIJ in Gaza in response to the more than 100 rockets PIJ fired the week before. Airstrikes kill PIJ commanders Jihad Ghannam, Tareq Isseldeen, and Khalil Al-Bahtini in Gaza. Ghannam and Isseldeen allegedly orchestrated operations in the West Bank and sought to bring rockets to Jenin. Bahtini allegedly coordinated rocket fire during the previous week. The Israeli strikes also kill 10 civilians. A PIJ spokesman says Israel “must expect a response at any moment and anywhere.”

May 6: After imprisonment, PIJ political leader Khader Adnan dies in Israeli custody, a coalition of Gaza militant groups launch at least 25 rockets toward southern Israel from Gaza, injuring at least three people. Israeli military officials say they have not seen evidence of Hamas itself launching rockets. Israeli strikes specifically target PIJ and not Hamas. Egypt begins mediation, according to PIJ. Separately, two PIJ gunmen open fire on Israeli soldiers in the West Bank. The soldiers kill the gunmen, whom PIJ claims as members.

May 5: After imprisonment, PIJ political leader Khader Adnan dies in Israeli custody, a coalition of Gaza militant groups launch at least 25 rockets toward southern Israel from Gaza, injuring at least three people. Israeli military officials say they have not seen evidence of Hamas itself launching rockets. Israeli strikes specifically target PIJ and not Hamas. Egypt begins mediation, according to PIJ. Separately, two PIJ gunmen open fire on Israeli soldiers in the West Bank. The soldiers kill the gunmen, whom PIJ claims as members.

May 4: After imprisonment, PIJ political leader Khader Adnan dies in Israeli custody, a coalition of Gaza militant groups launch at least 25 rockets toward southern Israel from Gaza, injuring at least three people. Israeli military officials say they have not seen evidence of Hamas itself launching rockets. Israeli strikes specifically target PIJ and not Hamas. Egypt begins mediation, according to PIJ. Separately, two PIJ gunmen open fire on Israeli soldiers in the West Bank. The soldiers kill the gunmen, whom PIJ claims as members.

May 3: After imprisonment, PIJ political leader Khader Adnan dies in Israeli custody, a coalition of Gaza militant groups launch at least 25 rockets toward southern Israel from Gaza, injuring at least three people. Israeli military officials say they have not seen evidence of Hamas itself launching rockets. Israeli strikes specifically target PIJ and not Hamas. Egypt begins mediation, according to PIJ. Separately, two PIJ gunmen open fire on Israeli soldiers in the West Bank. The soldiers kill the gunmen, whom PIJ claims as members.
in Gaza, killing four people. Israeli airstrikes have hit 215 PIJ targets during that timeframe.\textsuperscript{231}

- **May 13:** Shrapnel from fallen PIJ rockets wounds three in Shokeda in southern Israel. One of the wounded later dies from his injuries. Two of the wounded, including the fatality, were Palestinians from Gaza in Israel with work permits. The Gaza-based Palestinian Center for Human Rights (PCHR) confirms some of the Gazans killed and wounded that week were hit by Palestinian rockets. Hamas accuses PCHR of a “lack of patriotism” and says the group is not authorized to draw those conclusions. Israel targets the Gaza apartment building of PIJ commander Mohammed Abu Al-Atta, who had reportedly left the building earlier to seek refuge in a hospital. PIJ fires dozens of rockets and promises a continued onslaught. An Egypt-negotiated ceasefire goes into effect at 10 p.m., though limited Palestinian rocket fire and Israeli strikes continue just past the deadline. According to PIJ, Israel agreed to halt targeted strikes against PIJ leaders. Israeli officials say quiet will be met with quiet.\textsuperscript{232}

- **May 14:** Militants fire a rocket from Gaza in the afternoon. The rocket falls in an open area. In response, Israel strikes Hamas observation posts in northern Gaza. A member of the Joint Operations Rooms of the Palestinian Resistance factions reportedly says the rocket fired because of a “technical defect” and the groups remain committed to the ceasefire. Senior PIJ official Mohammed al-Hindi says PIJ will hold the ceasefire as long as Israel does. Between May 9 and May 14, Israel had killed six senior PIJ leaders and struck 371 targets in Gaza. During that timeframe, PIJ launched more than 1,234 rockets, of which 221 fell inside Gaza. Israel intercepted approximately 373 rockets. Israel reported one fatality, while Palestinian sources report 34 Palestinian fatalities, including 15 civilians.\textsuperscript{233}

- **April 7, 2023:** Palestinian gunmen drive up next to another car in the Hamra Israeli settlement in the West Bank’s Jordan Valley and open fire from the passenger window, killing two sisters and wounding their mother. The sisters are identified as 20-year-old Maia Dee and 15-year-old Rina Dee. Their mother, Lucy Dee, dies of her wounds on April 10. On May 4, a joint operation in Nablus by the IDF, the Shin Bet, Police SWAT, and border security teams kills Hassan Katan, Maad Mitzri, and Ibrahim Hura. Hamas members Katan and Mitzri were reportedly responsible for the Dee family’s murders. Hura was allegedly a key accomplice. A Palestinian bystander is also killed in the operation.\textsuperscript{234}

- **April 6-7, 2023:** On April 6, Palestinian militants in Gaza and Lebanon launch at least 70 rockets toward Israel overnight. Militants launch at least 44 rockets from Gaza and at least 36 from Lebanon. One of the Gaza rockets falls on a home in Sderot, while 14 land in open areas. No injuries are reported. It is the first rocket strike from Lebanon since April 2022. On April 7, the IDF strikes multiple Hamas targets in Gaza and southern Lebanon. In Gaza, Israeli strikes 10 Hamas targets, including tunnels and weapons facilities. In Lebanon, Lebanese media reports the strikes target the areas of al-Qulayla and the al-Rashidiah refugee camp, south of Tyre. No injuries are reported. Hamas condemns the Israeli counterstrikes as a reflection of “the brutality of the leadership of the fascist occupation, and its policies that threaten security and peace in the region by violating the sovereignty of brotherly Arab countries and the sanctity of Islamic and Christian sanctuaries, foremost of which is the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque.” The Lebanese army announces the discovery of a rocket launcher and multiple unlaunched rockets in the Marjayoun area, north of Metula. Hezbollah denies involvement in launching the rockets. However, Hezbollah deputy leader Naim Qassem claims “the entire axis of resistance remains vigilant.” On April 8, Lebanese Foreign Minister Abdallah Bou Habib accuses “Palestinian militias” of launching the rockets. Other Lebanese political leaders condemn Hamas’s use of Lebanon to launch attacks.\textsuperscript{235}

- **April 5, 2023:** Palestinian militants fire 10 rockets toward southern Israel communities. One rocket strikes a factory in the Sderot industrial zone. Five rockets fall in open areas, while Israel’s Iron Dome defense system intercepts the remaining four. Israel launches retaliatory airstrikes in Gaza against two Hamas weapons manufacturing and storage sites, a military compound, and multiple military positions. Hamas does not claim responsibility for the rockets but calls them retaliation for a predawn Israeli raid earlier that day on Jerusalem’s Al-Aqsa Mosque. During the raid, Israeli security forces searched for what they called masked agitators who had locked themselves inside the mosque with fireworks, sticks, and stones. More than 350 people who barricaded themselves inside the mosque were arrested. According to the Palestinian Red Crescent, 12 Palestinians were wounded.\textsuperscript{236}

- **March 16, 2023:** Undercover members of Israel’s Yamam counterterrorism unit come under fire in Jenin and engage in a shootout with Palestinian gunmen, killing four and wounding 23 others. No Israeli casualties are reported. Two of the dead gunmen are identified as wanted fugitives Nidal Khazem of PIJ and Yusuf Shreim of Hamas. PIJ and Hamas identify the two as senior members. Hamas identifies a second of the dead as one of its members and threatens the “cowardly assassination of two leaders of the resistance will not go unpunished.”\textsuperscript{237}

- **March 9, 2023:** Hamas gunman Muataz Khawaja wounds three people during an attack in central Tel Aviv at approximately 8:40 p.m. Police officers and armed civilians shoot and kill Khawaja. Hamas claims responsibility for the attack and says Khawaja was a member of the Qassam Brigades. Hamas calls the attack a response to clashes earlier that day during which Israeli forces killed three PIJ gunmen in the West Bank. In a statement, Hamas calls the attack “a response to the crimes of the occupation, which thought it could deter us and weaken our will.”\textsuperscript{238}

- **March 7-8, 2023:** On March 7, Israeli forces raid a refugee camp in Jenin searching for the suspected assailant behind a fatal shooting of two Israeli brothers as they drove through the northern West Bank town of Hawara on February 26. Members of a loosely organized armed group called the Jenin brigade shoot and throw explosives at the soldiers outside of the suspect’s home. Six Palestinian men are shot and killed during ensuing clashes, while three Israelis are wounded. Palestinian militants also shoot down two Israeli drones over Jenin. Among the militants

---

\textsuperscript{231} The number of Palestinian fatalities varies depending on the source.

\textsuperscript{232} The ceasefire does not hold for long, with both sides escalating the conflict.

\textsuperscript{233} The fatalities among civilians are higher than previous reports.

\textsuperscript{234} The operation results in multiple casualties.

\textsuperscript{235} The attack on the mosque leads to widespread protests across the region.

\textsuperscript{236} The wounded include Gazan refugees with work permits.\textsuperscript{39}
Hamas

killed is Hamas member Abdul Fattah Kharushah, the suspect in the Hawara attack. Hamas claims Kharushah as a member but does not claim responsibility for the Hawara attack. During Kharushah’s March 8 funeral in Nablus, Palestinian Authority police throw teargas canisters and flash grenades at Palestinian protesters chanting against the Palestinian Authority. According to PA security sources, Hamas members interrupt the funeral and grab the deceased body. A Palestinian security spokesman blames Hamas for turning the funeral into a protest against the PA, “instead of cursing the (Israeli) occupation that has committed crimes against our people.”

- March 6, 2023: Israel’s Shin Bet security agency reveals it had recently arrested four Palestinians from the West Bank who had been coordinating with Hamas in Turkey. According to the Shin Bet, 24-year-old student Ahmed Mahmoud Abu Salah had been recently arrested after returning from studying abroad in Turkey. While in Turkey, Abu Salah allegedly met Hamas operatives who helped him recruit three other family members in the West Bank for an attack. Abu Salah reportedly received weapons and explosives training in Turkey and Syria before returning to the West Bank. Three other relatives of Abu Salah were also arrested for conspiring with Hamas.

- February 11-12, 2023: On February 11, Palestinian militants in Gaza fire a rocket toward southern Israel. On February 12, Israel strikes an underground Hamas rocket factory in Gaza in retaliation.

- February 6, 2023: During an Israeli arrest raid in the Aqbat Jabr refugee camp in Jericho, Israeli forces clash with gunmen from the Qassam Brigades. Five Hamas gunmen are killed. The Israelis were looking for two Hamas gunmen who had attempted a January 28 attack in an Israeli West Bank settlement and were allegedly planning more attacks while barricaded in a house in the camp. The Qassam Brigades says it will avenge the five gunmen killed in the raid.

- February 3, 2023: Israel’s Shin Bet security organization reveals it had recently arrested two Israeli-Arab Hamas operatives, Mohammad Amin Moslah and Mohammad Fayad Mahamid, who were planning a bombing inside Israel. According to the Shin Bet, the pair had been coordinating with Hamas to launch a bombing attack during Israel’s national election in December 2022, but Hamas wanted the attack to target civilians while the Israelis wanted it to target soldiers. The pair allegedly broke off contact with Hamas over the disagreement and sought to launch their own attack against a bus stop frequented by soldiers.

- February 2, 2023: After Israel’s Iron Dome intercepts a rocket fired from Gaza toward Sderot in southern Israel, the Israeli air force launches strikes targeting Hamas chemical storage and weapons manufacturing sites in central Gaza. One Israeli woman is hurt falling while running toward a bomb shelter. Another 12 projectiles—including anti-aircraft missiles—are fired toward Israel but either explode in the air or crash in open areas in Israel. One projectile crashes inside Gaza. The National Resistance Brigades, the armed wing of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, claims responsibility for the second barrage. Hamas’s Qassam Brigades and another small faction both claim responsibility for firing anti-aircraft missiles. There are no reported casualties on either side during the second barrage or Israeli response. An IDF statement says the Israeli strike “deals a serious blow to Hamas’s ability to fortify and arm itself.”

- January 28, 2023: Two Hamas gunmen attempt an attack at the Vered Yerihao settlement in the West Bank but escape without carrying out an attack after a weapon malfunction.

- January 26-27, 2023: On January 26, Israel’s Iron Dome intercepts two rockets from Gaza fired toward the Israeli city of Ashkelon. Early on January 27, Israel launches a retaliatory strike against an underground rocket production facility and a “significant” military camp belonging to Hamas in the central and northern Gaza Strip. Palestinian militants launch an additional five rockets toward Israel during the airstrikes. Israeli parliamentarian Almog Cohen calls for a “disproportionate” response to Hamas for the rocket fire.

- 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 airstrike 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.

- 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.

- 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.
Hamas

- **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.\(^{250}\)

- **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.\(^{251}\)

- **April 18:** Israel’s Iron Dome defense system intercepts a rocket launched from Gaza. Neither Hamas nor PIJ claim responsibility for the attack.\(^{252}\)

- **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.\(^{253}\)

- **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 antiaircraft 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.”\(^{254}\)

- **April 22:** 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.\(^{255}\)

- **April 24-25:** 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.\(^{256}\)

- **April 29:** 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.\(^{257}\)

- **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.\(^{258}\)

- **March 18, 2022:** Israeli 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.\(^{259}\)
Hamas

- **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.\(^{260}\)

- **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.\(^{261}\)

- **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 fire toward Hamas outposts in Gaza, wounding three.\(^{262}\)

- **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.\(^{263}\)

- **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-Akhbar 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.\(^{264}\)

- **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.”\(^{265}\)

- **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.\(^{266}\)

- **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 call on Palestinians in the West Bank “to escalate resistance against the occupier in all areas.”\(^{267}\)

- **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 airstrike targets 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.\(^{268}\)

- **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.\(^{269}\)

- **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.\(^{270}\)

- **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.
• **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.²⁷²

• **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.²⁷³

• **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.²⁷⁴

• **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.²⁷⁵

• **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.²⁷⁶

• **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.²⁷⁷

• **June 21:** 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 the planned march.²⁷⁸

• **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.²⁷⁹

• **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.²⁸⁰

• **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.²⁸¹

---


²⁷⁸ Hamas (2021).

²⁷⁹ Hamas (2021).


Hamas

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 Younis and Rafah belonging to Hamas commanders. As of May 20, Hamas and PIJ have 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.

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 1,125, 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.

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.

May 16: Israel targets the home of Yahya Sinwar in Khan Younis. 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 airstrike 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.

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. Israeli 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.

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.

May 13-14: Israeli 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
Hamas

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 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 stayng 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.287

- **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’ weapons manufacturing staff. Israel strikes a building in southern Gaza alleged to housing Jamas’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 Israel to end “military actions” at the al-Aqsa Mosque.288

- **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. Israeli 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.289

- **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.290

- **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.291

- **December 2020**: On December 29, PIJ announces widespread 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.292

- **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 Karm 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.293
Hamas

- **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.294

- **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.295

- **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.296

- **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.297

- **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.298

- **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.299

- **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 Razeck, 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.300

- **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.301

- **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.302

- **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.303

- **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.304

- **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.305

- **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.\(^{306}\) 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.”\(^{307}\) This follows other reports that Hamas has fired rockets from civilian areas, such as al-Shifa Hospital in Gaza City,\(^{308}\) 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.\(^{309}\)

- **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.\(^{310}\)

- **February:** Israeli forces arrest a 15-member Hamas cell suspected of planting explosives along an Israeli highway between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.\(^{311}\)

- **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.\(^{312}\)

- **2012:** Hamas launches more than 750 rockets into Israeli territory before Israel launches a major retaliatory ground operation in November.\(^{313}\)

- **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.\(^{314}\)

- **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.\(^{315}\)

- **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.\(^{316}\) 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.\(^{317}\) 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.\(^{318}\)
  - **March:** Despite the announcement of a unity government in March, Hamas and Palestinian Authority forces continue tit-for-tat battles.\(^{319}\)

- **2006:** The kidnapping of Gilad Shalit leads to Israel’s Operation Summer Rains, during which Hamas hits Israel with hundreds of rockets.\(^{320}\)

- **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.\(^{321}\) Hamas denies participation.\(^{322}\)
Hamas


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

- **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. 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.

  - **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.

  - **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.

  - **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.

  - **November 1, 2002**: A Hamas suicide bomber blows up the No. 20 Egged bus in Jerusalem, killing 11 people and wounding 50 others.

  - **August 4, 2002**: A suicide bomber explodes aboard the Egged Bus 361 as it is leaving a station at Meron Junction near the Israeli city of Safed, wounding 50. Hamas claims responsibility, calling the bombing revenge for a recent Israeli airstrike that killed a Hamas military commander and 14 others. Hamas also calls the bombing a demonstration of its disappointment with a U.N. investigation into Israel’s counterterrorism operation in Jenin that April. The report criticized Israeli and Palestinian actions in clashes during the operation, but concluded there was no substantiating evidence of Palestinian claims of a massacre of 500 Palestinians.

  - **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.

  - **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.

  - **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.

  - **June 1, 2001**: A Hamas suicide bomber blows up outside the Dolphinarium discotheque in Tel Aviv, killing 21 people and wounding 120.

- **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.

- **February 25, 1996**: Twin Hamas bus bombings in Jerusalem kill 40 people, including American students Sara Duker and Matt Eisenfeld. Hamas claims responsibility.

- **April 6, 1994**: Hamas dispatches its first suicide bomber against Israeli civilians. 19-year-old Ra'id Zaqlama 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 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.

---

Hamas


49

“Amer Madhani and Colleen Long. “Biden wraps up his visit to wartime Israel with a warning against being ‘consumed’ by rage,” Associated Press, October 18, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/joe-biden-israel-hamas-gaza-palestinians-a85cb682f616b02685e43b354356a6c


“Powerful explosion kills 5 Palestinians in Gaza. Israel says the blast was caused by mishandled bomb,” Associated Press, September 13, 2023, https://apnews.com/article/explosion-hamas-israel-protests-76d25e2b4731be3530ce1de7890c872c.


Hamas


Amos Harel, “Analysis | Hamas Likely Behind the Rocket Fire From Lebanon to Israel. A Wide-scale Conflict Is Still Far Off,” Haaretz, April 25, 2022,


Hamas


54
Hamas


56
Hamas


Designations:
Designations by the U.S. Government:

- **August 29, 1995**: The Department of the Treasury lists Moussa 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.\(^{342}\)
- **January 24, 1995**: The US Department of the Treasury designates Hamas a Specially Designated Terrorist Organization (SDTO) under Executive Order 12947, prohibiting financial transactions between US persons or charities and the designated SDTO.\(^{343}\) 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.\(^{344}\)
- **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.\(^{345}\)
- **August 22, 2004**: The Department of the Treasury lists Khalid Mishal (a.k.a. Khaled Meshal) as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT) under Executive Order 13322, 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.\(^{346}\)
- **March 18, 2010**: The Department of the Treasury designates Al-Aqsa TV as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist pursuant to Executive Order 13322 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.”\(^{347}\)
- **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 13322.\(^{348}\)

Designations by Foreign Governments and Organizations:

- **European Union**—15 member states froze Hamas’ assets on September 11, 2003.\(^{349}\)
- **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.\(^{351}\)
- **United Kingdom**—listed the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades as a Terror Group under the Terrorism Act 2000 in March 2001.\(^{352}\) The United Kingdom proscribed Hamas in its entirety as a terrorist organization on November 26, 2021.\(^{353}\)
- **Canada**—listed Hamas as a terrorist entity on November 27, 2002.\(^{354}\)
- **Australia**—listed the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades as a terrorist organization on November 9, 2003.\(^{355}\) Australia designated Hamas in its entirety as a terrorist organization on March 4, 2022.\(^{356}\)
- **Israel**—listed Hamas as a terrorist organization.\(^{357}\) Designated the Gaza-based, Hamas-controlled Al-Aqsa TV station as a terrorist entity on March 6, 2019.\(^{358}\)
- **Japan**—listed Hamas as a terrorist organization.\(^{359}\)
- **Jordan**—banned Hamas.\(^{360}\)
- **Egypt**—banned Hamas on March 4, 2014.\(^{361}\) Egypt’s Urgent Matters Court designated Hamas’s armed wing a terrorist organization in January 2015 and Hamas as a terrorist group that February.\(^{362}\) An appeals court canceled the designation in June 2015.\(^{363}\)
- **Paraguay**—announced the designation of Hamas as a global terrorist organization on August 19, 2019.\(^{364}\)

---


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.\(^\text{365}\) During the July 2014 conflict between Israel and Hamas, Hamas reportedly invited Hezbollah to join in its rocket campaign against Israel.\(^\text{366}\) In November 2015, leaders of Hamas and Hezbollah met in Beirut to discuss paramilitary coordination against Israel and ISIS.\(^\text{367}\) In January 2015, Hamas military leader Mohammed Deif reportedly called for Hezbollah and Hamas to unite in battling Israel.\(^\text{368}\) After the Gulf Cooperation Council designated Hezbollah a terrorist organization in March 2016, Hamas signed an Iranian statement of support for Hezbollah.\(^\text{369}\)

- **Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigade**
  Hamas and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigade carried out several joint terrorist operations during the Second Intifada, including a March 2004 attack at the port of Ashdod that killed 10 Israelis,\(^\text{370}\) and a suicide bombing the following month at Gaza’s Erez Crossing that killed a border guard and wounded three others.\(^\text{371}\) The Brigade has also joined Hamas in launching rockets at Israel over the years, most recently during the July 2014 conflict.\(^\text{372}\)

- **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.\(^\text{373}\) 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.\(^\text{374}\) Hamas and PIJ announced a formal agreement in 2012 to combine forces in their fight against Israel.\(^\text{375}\) The following year, the two groups announced plans to create a joint command and a new political vision for Gaza.\(^\text{376}\) The two groups announced in December 2019 they would join forces against Israel in the next round of conflict with the Jewish state.\(^\text{377}\)

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.\(^\text{379}\)

Hamas 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.”\(^\text{380}\) 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.”\(^\text{381}\)

- **ISIS**
  Hamas has reportedly used its underground tunnel system beneath the Gaza-Egypt border to transport aid to ISIS’s Sinai-based affiliate, Wilayat Sinai.\(^\text{382}\) Hamas has also reportedly provided military training and medical aid to ISIS militants in the Sinai. In 2016, Hamas leader Khaled Meshal 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.\(^\text{383}\) 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.\(^\text{384}\) The Times of Israel reported in February 2017 that “dozens” of top Hamas commanders had defected to Wilayat Sinai in the past three years.\(^\text{385}\)
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.”

Iran has long been a benefactor of Hamas, providing weapons, training, and money. Though Hamas is a primarily Sunni organization, Iran’s support transcended the Shiite-Sunni divide based on a common enemy in Israel. During the 1990s, Iran was a key financier of Hamas terrorism, providing financial rewards for bombings and higher rewards for higher death tolls. 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. 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.

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, reducing the group’s funding to a “tiny amount” to maintain ties and its support of the Palestinian cause.

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.”

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.” Taher al-Nounou, an aide to Hamas Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh, said relations were “almost back to how they were before.” 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.”

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. Senior Hamas leader Moussa Abu Marzouk said in July 2015 that all Iranian aid to Hamas’s political and military wings had ceased. He further accused Iranian officials of lying about support for Hamas, which he said had not received any Iranian money since 2009.

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. 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. 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.

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.” Sinwar also called Iran the “largest backer financially and militarily” of Hamas. 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.”

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

Haniyeh traveled to Iran in January 2020 to 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.”

In April 2021, Iran reportedly agreed to pay Hamas $30 million per month for intelligence on Israeli missile capabilities, including their locations. 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. 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. The following week, Sinwar declared Hamas has “sufficient financial resources… a large part of which are from Iran.”

In July 2023, representatives of Hamas met with a senior commander from the IRGC Quds Force and two Iranian security officials to discuss a response to widespread protests in Israel against the government’s judicial reform legislation. An Iranian diplomat told Reuters the participants concluded the protests had weakened Israel, but they agreed to refrain from “direct interference” to avoid allowing Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to shift blame for the social upheaval to foreign adversaries. The Hamas source told Reuters there were ongoing discussions between Hamas, Iran, and the Quds Force on the situation and how to “upgrade the work of resistance.”

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.

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. In 1999, Jordan banned Hamas and arrested several of its leaders. Jordan expelled Meshaal and three other Hamas representatives that November.

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’ non-intervention in internal Jordanian affairs; Hamas’ non-intervention in affairs concerning the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan; and finally on Palestinian-Jordanian relations.” In 2013, Jordan reportedly refused a Hamas request to reopen its offices in the kingdom.

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.

Qatar
Hamas

The emir of Qatar became the first head of state to visit Gaza after Hamas’s 2007 coup.\textsuperscript{421} Since then, Qatar has invested hundreds of millions of dollars in Gaza, pledging $400 million to Gaza in 2012.\textsuperscript{422} 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.\textsuperscript{423} Qatar has also hosted former Hamas politburo chief Khaled Meshaal since he left Syria in 2012.\textsuperscript{424} Qatari officials have referred to Meshaal as a “dear guest.”\textsuperscript{425} 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.\textsuperscript{426} 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.\textsuperscript{427} 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.\textsuperscript{428} 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.\textsuperscript{429} Murtaja was sentenced to nine years in prison in 2018.\textsuperscript{430}

During the July 2014 conflict between Hamas and Israel, Qatar and Turkey were considered Hamas’s closest international allies.\textsuperscript{431} Qatar drafted a ceasefire proposal in July 2014 that adopted most of Hamas’s demands, and without consideration of Israel’s.\textsuperscript{432} 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.\textsuperscript{433}

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.”\textsuperscript{434} 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.”\textsuperscript{435} 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.\textsuperscript{436} 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.\textsuperscript{437} 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.\textsuperscript{438} After Hamas’s 11-day war with Israel that month, Qatar pledged $500 million in aid toward Gaza’s reconstruction.\textsuperscript{439} Hamas’s Gaza leader, Yahya Sinwar, pledged Hamas would not touch any international aid pledged toward Gaza’s reconstruction.\textsuperscript{440} 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.\textsuperscript{441}

On October 7, 2023, Hamas launched a surprise attack on Israel that resulted in the deaths of at least 1,400 people and the kidnaping of at least 240 men, women, and children.\textsuperscript{442} Haniyeh and other Hamas leaders watched the attack unfold from Haniyeh’s office in Doha. Haniyeh then issued a press statement calling the attack a response to Israeli crimes after several warnings by Hamas. While watching the news reports, Haniyeh and other leaders reportedly cheered with joy and then prostrated themselves in gratitude before God. Haniyeh praised the attack as the start of a new era in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.\textsuperscript{443} The initial October 7 attack killed at least 250 people in Israel. Qatar joined with Saudi Arabia and Iran in blaming Israel for the October 7 Hamas attack. According to a Qatari government statement, Qatar’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs held Israel “solely responsible for the ongoing escalation due to its ongoing violations of the rights of the Palestinian people, the latest of which was the repeated incursions into Al-Aqsa Mosque under the protection of the Israeli police.”\textsuperscript{444} That night, Qatari officials...
**Hamas**

claimed they had begun mediation talks to convince Hamas to release captive women and children for Palestinian security prisoners in Israel.

Israel denied negotiations were underway.\textsuperscript{453} On October 20, Hamas freed two hostages—an American mother and daughter—after Qatari intervention. Hamas said it released the hostages for “humanitarian reasons.”\textsuperscript{446} On October 24, Qatari Emir Sheikh Tamim Bin Hamad Al-Thani accused Israel of receiving an “unconditional green light and free license to kill.”\textsuperscript{447} As of November 8, Hamas had released four hostages—two Americans and two Israelis—because of Qatari mediation.\textsuperscript{448}

- **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.\textsuperscript{449}

The Turkish government has welcomed Hamas’s leadership in the country for high-level meetings with Turkish officials, including Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan. The meeting included Hamas political leader Ismail Haniyeh, who left the Gaza Strip for the first time in three years.\textsuperscript{450} The meeting also included Hamas deputy leader Saleh al-Aroui. Both Aroui and Haniyeh are under U.S sanctions and have rewards for their arrest. Nonetheless, they moved about freely in Turkey. Following the meeting, Erdogan told media that Turkey “will keep on supporting our brothers in Palestine.”\textsuperscript{451}

Turkey has also provided Hamas with financial support. The country reportedly planned to donate $300 million to Gaza’s Hamas government in 2011,\textsuperscript{452} while other reports cited that this would become an annual donation to Hamas.\textsuperscript{453} 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.\textsuperscript{454} 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.\textsuperscript{455} Following that arrest, a Hamas official in Lebanon praised Turkey’s “loyalty” to the Palestinian people.\textsuperscript{456}

During the July 2014 conflict between Hamas and Israel, Qatar and Turkey were considered Hamas’s closest international allies.\textsuperscript{457} Qatar drafted a ceasefire proposal in July 2014 that adopted most of Hamas’s demands, and without consideration of Israel’s.\textsuperscript{458} 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.\textsuperscript{459}

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.\textsuperscript{460} 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.\textsuperscript{461} Later that month, Hamas denied rumors that Turkey intended to take control of Gaza.\textsuperscript{462} In the June 2016 reconciliation agreement between Israel and Turkey, the Turkish government agreed not to allow fundraising for Hamas within its territory.\textsuperscript{463} Hamas rejected the reconciliation agreement, but reportedly acceded to Turkish demands that it not react.\textsuperscript{464}

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.\textsuperscript{465} 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.\textsuperscript{466}

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
Hamas

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.468 Turkey denies Hamas maintains an office in the country. In December 2020, Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh wrote to Erdo?an and other regional leaders to warn against any normalization with Israel469. 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.470

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 Tikkno Plus Ic Ve Dis. The companies are jointly owned by Hamas operatives Abdallah Fuqaha in Turkey and Ayman al-Massri in the West Bank.471 That month, Israel demanded Turkey end Hamas’s military activities in Istanbul before the two could countries fully restore diplomatic ties.472

During Hamas’s 21-day conflict with Israel in May 2021, Turkish officials issued statements seemingly in support of Hamas. Erdo?an 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. 473 Though Turkey was not a party to ceasefire talks during that conflict, Erdo?an maintained open communications with Hamas’s leaders and reassured Haniyeh of Turkey’s continued support for the Palestinian people.474

On November 20, 2021, Haniyeh praised Turkey for its “critical” role providing political support for Hamas and the Palestinian cause.475 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.476 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.477 In response, Erdo?an 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 Erdo?an 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.”478

With new U.S. and Israeli governments taking office in 2021, Turkey began sending reconciliatory signals to Israel. On November 29, without referencing Hamas, Erdo?an announced Turkey would seek to improve its relations with Israel.479 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.”480 In February 2022, Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu declared Turkey would not turn its back on the Palestinians to improve relations with Israel.481 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.482

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.483 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.”484

- **Muslim Brotherhood**

The Muslim Brotherhood has built grassroots support among Palestinians with the creation of charities in the Gaza Strip in 1960.485 Hamas was created in 1987 as the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood in Gaza.486 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 2011.487 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
Hamas

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.\textsuperscript{488}

In January 2014, Cairo publicly hosted the first conference of Tamarud (“Rebellion”), a new anti-Hamas youth group.\textsuperscript{489} In March 2014, Egypt banned all activities by Hamas following a lawsuit against the group due to its connections to the Muslim Brotherhood.\textsuperscript{490}

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.\textsuperscript{491} Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhi later denied any links between his group and the Muslim Brotherhood.\textsuperscript{492}

In May 2017, Hamas released a new guiding political document, which made no mention of the Muslim Brotherhood.\textsuperscript{493}

**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.\textsuperscript{494}

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.\textsuperscript{495} 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.\textsuperscript{496}

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.\textsuperscript{497}

In January 2017, after unofficial talks in Moscow hosted by Russia, Hamas and Fatah announced an agreement to form a unity government.\textsuperscript{498} 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.\textsuperscript{499}

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.\textsuperscript{500} 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.\textsuperscript{501}

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 sidesdelayed negotiation on Hamas’s armed wing.\textsuperscript{502}

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).”\textsuperscript{503}

**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 built a Sunni coalition against the Persian country.\textsuperscript{504} Also that summer, Saudi Arabia also reportedly attempted to mediate
reconciliation between Hamas and Egypt. 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.

**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. 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.

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.

**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. Members of the U.S. Congress have since called for cutting U.S. aid to the Palestinian Authority because of the unity deal.

  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. Members of the U.S. Congress have since denied agreeing to the 1967 lines.

- **Iran**

  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.

  On August 5, 2021, Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh attended the inauguration of Iranian President Ebrahim Raisi in Tehran. On May 12, 2023, Iranian Foreign Minister Hossein Amir-Abdollahian called Haniyeh to express Raisi’s continued solidarity with Hamas. Haniyeh thanked him for Iran’s ongoing support of Hamas.

- **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 2010, Russian President Dmitry Medvedev met with Hamas political chief Khaled Meshal 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.

  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.”
Hamas

In 2012, the emir of Qatar became the first head of state to visit Gaza after Hamas’s 2007 coup.\(^{322}\) Since then, Qatar has invested hundreds of millions of dollars into Gaza, pledging $400 million to Gaza in 2012.\(^{323}\) 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.\(^{324}\)

**Saudi Arabia**

During the summer of 2015, Hamas officials held meetings with King Salman and other Saudi leaders.\(^{325}\) Observers viewed Salman’s meetings with Hamas an attempt to sway the terror group away from Iran’s influence.\(^{326}\)

**Turkey**

Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s ruling Justice and Development Party supports what analysts call “other neo-Islamist allies.”\(^ {527}\) 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,\(^ {328}\) while other reports cited that this would become an annual donation to Hamas.\(^ {329}\) During the July 2014 conflict between Hamas and Israel, Qatar and Turkey were considered Hamas’s closest international allies.\(^ {330}\)

**Europe**

In May 2006, after Hamas won Palestinian Authority legislative elections, Sweden granted a visa to PA Refugee Minister Atef Adawan, a Hamas member, to attend a conference in Sweden. After the conference, Adawan allegedly traveled to Norway where he met with Kaare Eltervaag, the head of the Norwegian Foreign Ministry’s Middle Eastern affairs. Afterward, he traveled to Germany where he met with Bundestag representative Detlef Dzembritzki, a member of the Social Democratic Party.\(^ {531}\)


Hamas

http://www.timesofisrael.com/rising-new-hamas-leader-is-all-too-familiar-to-israel/

Avi Issacharoff, “Hamas, Islamic State resume close cooperation despite pressure from Cairo,” Times of Israel, January 15, 2017,


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-israel-isis-execution-video-1653878.


Robert Tait, “Iran Cuts Hamas Funding over Syria,” Telegraph (London), May 31, 2013,


Robert Tait, “Iran Cuts Hamas Funding over Syria,” Telegraph [U.K.], May 31, 2013,


Harriet Sherwood, “Hamas and Iran Rebuild Ties Three Years after Falling out over Syria,” Guardian (London), January 9, 2014,


Harriet Sherwood, “Hamas and Iran Rebuild Ties Three Years after Falling out over Syria,” Guardian (London), January 9, 2014,


Fares Akram and Josef Federman, “New Hamas leader says it is getting aid again from Iran,” Associated Press, August 28, 2017,


Con Coughlin, “Hamas and North Korea in Secret Arms Deal,” Telegraph (London), July 26, 2014,

Hamas


Hamas


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 Domb, “Once again, funds illegally transferred...
Hamas


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.532

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.533 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).”534

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.” 535

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.536 According to the Post, Hamas interrogated French journalist Radjaa Abu Dagga, threatening to throw him out of Gaza.537 The French newspaper Liberation printed a report on Abu Dagga’s ordeal, but Abu Dagga requested its removal.538 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.539

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.540 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.541

Hamas issued media guidelines, which, according to a translation by the Middle East Media Research Institute, ordered Gazans to refer to all dead as “innocent civilians” and to avoid posting pictures of terrorists online.542 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.”543

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!”544
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.”

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.”

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. 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. 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.

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.” 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.

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.

Outside of Israel, Western media coverage of Hamas, for example, will use the “terrorist” and “terrorism” labels only for quoted material, as stated in the Reuters handbook.

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.” 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.

Isra al-Modallal, the first woman to hold a position in the Hamas government, is reported to have said in an interview that she would have no contact with Israeli media.

Hamas's new government spokeswoman, Isra al-Modallal, profiles Hamas's new government. 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.

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." 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.

Israel 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.
Hamas


Rhetoric:

Ismail Haniyeh, chief of political bureau, November 5, 2023

Statement on pro-Palestinian protests around the world:

"- The US administration and the countries giving cover to Israeli aggression should listen to their peoples’ calls.

"- We have noticed that the peoples of the world have loudly chanted; Freedom for Palestine, resistance is legitimate, and the occupation will end."

Ismail Haniyeh, chief of political bureau, November 1, 2023

“We call on Israel’s supporters, led by America, to stop obstructing the international will to demand an end to the aggression. Hamas presented a comprehensive vision that begins with stopping the aggression, opening the crossings, and concluding a prisoner exchange deal.”

Khaled Meshaal, head of diaspora office, October 19, 2023

Asked in an Al Arabiya interview about Hamas’s relationship with Hezbollah and other Arab nations:

“Outside of Palestine, we are grateful to whoever is standing by us. Hezbollah in Lebanon. The Lebanese front is currently active, we are grateful for that, whether it is by the Lebanese, the Palestinians or anyone. Hezbollah has an active role there. Those clashes in South Lebanon are good, and support our cause, but the scope of the battle the title is ‘Al-Aqsa Flood’ and when such a heinous crime is perpetrated against Gaza greater things are needed but we should not single out Lebanon and Hezbollah, let’s focus on countries bordering Israel. The great Egypt has waged large wars. The Egyptians are boiling [with anger]. We salute the Egyptian people and want more. I demand a more powerful position by Egyptian leaders.”

Khaled Meshaal, head of diaspora office, October 19, 2023

Asked in an Al Arabiya interview if he will apologize for what was done to Israeli civilians during Hamas’s October 7 attack:

“With all due respect, your question, forgive me for saying this, apologies should be demanded from Israel. You asked me a question and I am answering you clearly. Hamas does not intentionally kill civilians. It focuses on soldiers. Period.”

Khaled Meshaal, head of diaspora office, October 19, 2023

Asked in an Al Arabiya interview about Hamas targeting Israeli civilians during its October 7 attack:

“I told you, my dear sister, that Hamas, the Al-Qassam Brigades and our military focus their resistance on the occupation forces, on the soldiers, but in all wars, there are some civilian victims. We are not responsible for them.”

---

552 Hamas Online, Telegram, November 5, 2023.
554 “Exclusive: ‘Israel will kill us, whether we resist or not,’ says former Hamas chief,” Al Arabiya, last updated October 21, 2023, https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2023/10/19/-Israel-is-killing-us-whether-we-resist-or-not-says-former-Hamas-chief.
555 “Exclusive: ‘Israel will kill us, whether we resist or not,’ says former Hamas chief,” Al Arabiya, last updated October 21, 2023, https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2023/10/19/-Israel-is-killing-us-whether-we-resist-or-not-says-former-Hamas-chief.
556 “Exclusive: ‘Israel will kill us, whether we resist or not,’ says former Hamas chief,” Al Arabiya, last updated October 21, 2023, https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2023/10/19/-Israel-is-killing-us-whether-we-resist-or-not-says-former-Hamas-chief.