

American Foreign Policy Council

PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES

QUICK FACTS

Population: West Bank: 2,676,740
Gaza Strip: 1,763,387

Area: West Bank: 5,860 sq km
Gaza Strip: 360 sq km

Ethnic Groups: West Bank:
Palestinian Arab and others
83%, Jewish 17% Gaza Strip:
Palestinian Arab

Religions: West Bank: Muslim 75%
(predominately Sunni), Jewish 17%, Christian and other 8% Gaza Strip: Muslim
(predominately Sunni) 99.3%, Christian 0.7%

Government Type: PLO/Fatah (contested)

GDP (official exchange rate): \$6.641 billion

Map and Quick Facts courtesy of the CIA World Factbook (Last Updated May 2013)



The Palestinian National Authority (PA or PNA) was created in accordance with the 1993 Oslo Accords. Under the subsequent “Oslo Process,” the PA assumed the responsibilities of Israeli military administration in parts of the West Bank and Gaza Strip (“Area A”), and was expected to expand that territory through final status negotiations. The PA includes a Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC), a legislative body with 132 seats elected from Gaza and the West Bank. As a result of the last Palestinian legislative elections, held in 2006, Hamas became the largest faction in the PLC, with 72 seats. However, the rival Fatah faction, backed by Western governments, blocked Hamas from forming a government. Following more than a year of tension, Hamas forcibly seized control of Gaza in 2007. Today, Hamas remains in control of Gaza, while Fatah rules the West Bank. Hamas remains the most influential Islamist movement in both territories, but

other Islamist groups have also gained support from the Palestinian public.

ISLAMIST ACTIVITY

Hamas

“Hamas” means “zeal” in Arabic, and is an Arabic acronym for *harakat al-muqawama al-islamiyya* (the Islamic Resistance Movement). The group is primarily concentrated in the Gaza Strip, with support in pockets of the West Bank. The group was founded as a splinter group of the Muslim Brotherhood in December 1987, during the early days of the uprising (*intifada*) against Israel. The Brotherhood refused to engage in violence against Israel, but Hamas’ founders believed that it was a duty to engage in “resistance.” According to one insider’s account, the secretive organization’s founders included Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, Hassan Yousef, Ayman Abu Taha, Jamil Hamami, Mahmud Muslih, Muhammed Jamal al-Natsah, and Jamal Mansour.¹

In addition to its immediate goal of destroying the State of Israel, Hamas’ 1988 founding charter (*mithaq*) illustrates the organization’s commitment to universal Islamist principles. This is demonstrated by its slogan: “Allah is its goal [theocratic rule], the Prophet its model [importance of the Sunna], the Qur’an its Constitution [*sharia*], *Jihad* [violence] its path, and death for the cause of Allah its most sublime belief.”² Though most Hamas members are Palestinian Sunni Arabs, the charter “welcomes all Muslims who share its beliefs and thinking, commit themselves to its course of action, keep its secrets and aspire to join its ranks in order to carry out their duty.”³

The Hamas Charter conveys the conviction that Palestine is land endowed to Muslims by Allah (*waqf*) because it was “conquered by the Companion of the Prophet [c. 640].”⁴ Hamas also clearly defines “Nationalism as part and parcel of the religious faith,”⁵ thereby universalizing the notion of “nationalism” to include the entire Muslim *umma*.⁶

To achieve its immediate goal of an Islamic Palestinian state, Hamas has steadfastly denounced the 1993 Oslo Accords, the 2007 Annapolis conference, and other diplomatic efforts to establish a lasting peace in the region as “contrary to the beliefs of the Islamic Resistance Movement.”⁷ However, when addressing Western audiences, Hamas leaders such as Gaza-based Ismail Haniyeh and politburo chief Khaled Meshal have stated that they are willing to recognize Israel along pre-1967 borders.⁸

There can be little doubt that Hamas has gained the support of the Palestinian people by providing social and welfare services and by presenting itself as

Israel's implacable foe, as well as a pious opponent of the more corrupt and ossified Fatah faction, whose leaders also comprise the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Since its takeover of Gaza, Hamas has taken steps to Islamize the society⁹ However, there are indications that this may have only served to undermine the movement's authority.

Until 2004, Saudi Arabia was believed to rank among Hamas' top financial patrons. When those funds ceased to flow, due to U.S. pressure following the September 11th attacks and compounded by domestic terror attacks inside the Kingdom in 2004, Iran is believed to have filled the void. Until 2012, Iran remained the top Hamas contributor, with hundreds of millions of dollars pledged and delivered.¹⁰ However, Iranian largesse is believed to have dried up as U.S.-led sanctions sapped the Islamic Republic's cash reserves and tension arose between Tehran and Hamas over the conflict in Syria. As a result, Hamas has reportedly turned to new patrons, including Qatar, Turkey and, to a lesser extent, Egypt.¹¹ Hamas augments its funds with private charities (the most notorious being the Texas-based Holy Land Foundation, now defunct, which channeled \$12 million to the organization during its existence¹²); and individual donors from the Gulf States.¹³ Hamas also extracts significant tax revenues from the subterranean tunnels connecting the Gaza Strip to the Sinai Peninsula, through which a great many products, including weapons, arrive.

Hamas draws a distinction between its political activities and its paramilitary attacks. However, this is a false distinction, as all of the movement's component parts contribute to "resistance" activities.¹⁴ Since 1993, the military wing of Hamas, the Izz ad-Din Qassam Brigades, is believed to have killed over five hundred people in more than 350 separate terrorist attacks, many of them suicide bombings.¹⁵ In addition, Hamas, along with other like-minded violent factions, has fired more than 15,000 rocket and mortar attacks into Israel since 2001.¹⁶

Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)

The Palestinian Islamic Jihad (*Harakat al-Jihād al-Islāmi fi Filastīn*) was reportedly founded sometime between 1979 and 1981 by several Muslim Brotherhood members who felt that the Brotherhood was too moderate and not fully committed to the principle of *jihad* and the establishment of a Palestinian state governed according to sharia. In addition, the founding members were also inspired by the 1979 Iranian Revolution. Founders Fathi Shikaki and Abd al-Aziz Awda forged an organization whose ultimate aim was to destroy Israel through *jihad*. Unlike Hamas, which has at least proposed a tactical truce (*hudna*) with Israel, PIJ explicitly rejects any and all forms of recognition of the Jewish State.¹⁷

PIJ is small and highly secretive, with only a few hundred active members, according to best estimates.¹⁸ The ethnic make-up of the group is overwhelmingly Palestinian Sunni Arab, though there have been reports of increasing Shi'ite presence, a direct result of Iranian support.¹⁹ While PIJ was known for its suicide bombing attacks during the Second Intifada (2000-2005), in recent years the group has primarily focused on rocket and sniper attacks from the Gaza Strip. The Israeli Defense Forces has thinned the PIJ's ranks considerably through targeted killings and arrests in recent years.

According to the U.S. State Department, PIJ receives state sponsorship from Iran in the form of financial aid, and Syria provides a safe haven for PIJ's senior leadership in Damascus.²⁰ This arrangement appears to have unraveled of late, however, as many PIJ leaders left Syria during the escalation of the civil war in 2012.

Popular Resistance Committees

The Popular Resistance Committees is made up of "former armed activists of different factions,"²¹ and is likely the third largest radical group in the Palestinian territories, after Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad. According to the IDF, the PRC often "acts as a sub-contractor" for Iran, and is heavily influenced by Hezbollah.²²

Since its founding in 2000, through its military wing known as the Al-Nasser Salah al-Din Brigades, the PRC has taken responsibility for a number of terror attacks against Israel,²³ as well as an attack on U.S. personnel in Gaza in 2003.²⁴ Some of the group's operations have been conducted jointly with Hamas.²⁵ It has also reportedly worked with Salafi jihadist groups operating in the Sinai Peninsula abutting Gaza.²⁶

Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades

The Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades is a splinter of the secular Fatah faction²⁷ which has adopted Islamist symbols and slogans. The group was formally designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization by the United States in March 2002, largely for its actions inside Israel and the West Bank, where it carried out suicide bombings and small arms attacks against Israel during the second Intifada.²⁸

Over the past few years, the group has primarily operated out of the Gaza Strip, though it has also carried out some operations in the West Bank.²⁹ According to the U.S. Department of State, "Iran has exploited al-Aqsa's lack of resources and formal leadership by providing funds and guidance, mostly through Hezbollah facilitators."³⁰ The primary acts of violence carried out by the group in recent years have been rocket attacks from Gaza into southern

Israel.³¹

Jund Ansar Allah (JAA)

Jund Ansar Allah, or “Soldiers of the Companions of God,” was first established in Hamas-controlled Gaza in late 2008.³² A Salafi faction, JAA asserts that it will “fight *jihad*” for the sake of God “until the banner of unity is hoisted” and Islam’s prophet Muhammad “is made victorious.”³³ Made up of former Hamas and PIJ members, it seeks to unify the Arab *mujahideen* under a new banner, and has criticized Hamas for insufficiently enforcing *sharia*.³⁴ JAA declared, “the soldiers of *tawhid* (unification) will not rest... until the entirety of Muslim lands are [sic] liberated and until our imprisoned Aqsa is purified from the desecration of the accursed Jews.”³⁵ Despite claims that JAA is linked to al-Qaeda, there is no direct evidence of such a connection, apart from a shared ideology.³⁶

Founded in Rafah, the group claims to have some 500 members, including some foreign fighters believed to have fought in Afghanistan and Iraq.³⁷ Hamas, which seeks to maintain an iron grip on Gaza, claims that the aim of JAA and other small Islamist groups is to “defame” Hamas. To malign the group, Hamas has linked the JAA with the secular Fatah faction, claiming that JAA received weapons from former Fatah policemen and security officials in southern Gaza.³⁸

JAA’s most notable terrorist operation involved ten of its members riding on horseback laden with explosives into the Karni border crossing, a passage point between Gaza and Israel. Five JAA members were killed by Israeli troops in the attack failed.³⁹ In August 2009, JAA clashed with Hamas forces, leading to the death of the group’s leader, Abdel-Latif Moussa.⁴⁰

Jaysh al-Islam (JI)

Jaysh al-Islam (JI), or “Army of Islam,” is closely linked to the Dughmush clan of Gaza, a former ally of Hamas, and is believed to have several hundred members.⁴¹ The Salafi group was founded in 2005, and similar to other Palestinian Islamist splinter groups, it has global *jihadist* objectives and is believed to be linked to al-Qaeda.⁴²

The group’s most notable action was the March 2007 kidnapping of BBC journalist Alan Johnston in order to negotiate the release of al-Qaeda-affiliated Islamist militant Abu Qatada, who was then jailed in the United Kingdom.⁴³ The Johnston kidnapping, as well as an attack that killed five senior Hamas officials, led to a clash with Hamas in August 2008 that is said to have weakened the group significantly.⁴⁴

The group's affinity for al-Qaeda has been widely documented. Days after the death of Osama bin Laden in May 2011, the group released a eulogy for the fallen al-Qaeda leader.⁴⁵ In May 2011, the group was designated as a terrorist group by the U.S. Department of State. The accompanying press release noted that the group "worked with Hamas and is attempting to develop closer al Qaeda contacts."⁴⁶

Jaljalat

In Arabic, the word *jaljalat* signifies something momentous. The group consists of two factions: 1) dissidents from Hamas' Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades; and 2) Hamas renegades released from the organization's prisons.⁴⁷ Jaljalat is led by Mahmoud Taleb, also known as Abu Mutasem al-Maqdisi, who was arrested by Hamas security forces in October 2009 for "violating national security."⁴⁸ The exact number of Jaljalat members is unknown,⁴⁹ and little has been written about the group.

Jaljalat has global *jihadist* aspirations and is allied with Jund Ansar Allah and other violent Palestinian factions. It is openly critical of Hamas for insufficiently confronting Israel, and seeks to establish an Islamic Emirate in Gaza.⁵⁰ The group reportedly planned assassination plots against former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and former British Prime Minister Tony Blair in September 2009.⁵¹

Jaysh al-Ummah (JU)

Ideologically affiliated with al-Qaeda, Jaysh Al-Ummah (JU), or the "Army of the Islamic Nation," believes that "The sons of Zion are occupiers and they must be uprooted completely... We will fight them as we are ordered by God and the Prophet Mohammad."⁵² The Salafi group was formed in January 2008 and is led by Abu Hafs al-Maqdisi. While the group's membership number is kept secret, it has claimed that it does not have the capability to strike targets outside of Gaza, suggesting it is small in size.⁵³ JU has been very critical of Hamas since its inception. Most notably, it has criticized Hamas for arresting a JU field commander and other members as they were attempting to carry out terrorist operations.⁵⁴

JU has warned against the increasing influence of Iran and its proxy Islamic Jihad in the Gaza Strip. It claims to have rejected an Iranian offer for funding. The group has denied a connection to Al Qaeda, despite similar ideological beliefs.⁵⁵

Hizb-ut-Tahrir (HuT)

The Palestinian "Party of Liberation" is a local affiliate of the larger HuT movement, which has a presence in some 45 countries. The group's imme-

diate aim is to establish a caliphate and implement *sharia* throughout the Muslim world.⁵⁶

Despite HuT's well-documented enmity toward Israel, the group does not directly engage in terrorism, nor do its branches maintain an armed wing. Rather, HuT seeks to "agitate and educate"⁵⁷ to rally support for the idea of restoring the caliphate. While no reliable figures can be found regarding HuT's membership in the Palestinian territories, it is widely considered to be small, despite its organic base of support.

To voice opposition to the PLO's participation in the 2007 Annapolis peace summit, HuT organized a demonstration with over 2,500 attendees in Hebron, culminating in the killing of one protestor by PA police. Soon after, over 10,000 HuT supporters gathered in Al-Bireh under the slogan: "the caliphate is the rising force."⁵⁸ In July 2010, PA security forces arrested thousands of HuT supporters rallying in Ramallah to lament the end of the caliphate, despite the rally being banned by the PA.⁵⁹

More recently, PA forces disrupted one of the group's rallies in the West Bank in 2011.⁶⁰ This was followed by reports of a campaign of arrests of HuT members by the Palestinian Authority.⁶¹ In August 2011, the group slammed Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas, who had suggested that NATO may have a presence in a future Palestinian state.⁶²

Mujabideen Shura Council in the Environs of Jerusalem (MSC)

The MSC, a Salafi *jihadi* group, formed in the Gaza Strip in 2012. The group is reportedly a consolidation of Ansar al Sunnah and the Tawhid and Jihad Group in Jerusalem.⁶³ In November 2012, one of the group's leaders told the Agence France Presse that the MSC aims to "fight the Jews for the return of Islam's rule, not only in Palestine, but throughout the world."⁶⁴ Similarly, in a video statement, the MSC has said it would "fight you [Israel] as long as we hold...weapons in our hands."⁶⁵

While the exact size of the group is unknown, it has taken responsibility for a number of rocket attacks against Israel,⁶⁶ some of which have been carried out with Jaysh al Islam.⁶⁷ In addition, it took responsibility for a June 2012 terror attack that killed one Israeli civilian.⁶⁸ According to a video released by the MSC, the June attack was "a gift to our brothers in Qaedat al Jihad and Sheikh Zawahiri" and a retaliation for the killing of Osama bin Laden.⁶⁹

MSC operatives were the target of several Israeli air strikes in 2012, after which eulogies were posted by *jihadi* groups and leaders including al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula⁷⁰ and al-Qaeda leader Ayman al Zawahiri.⁷¹

The MSC was one of several Salafi *jihadist* groups that took part in the November 2012 conflict with Israel. Following the ceasefire, the group said that “[W]e truly are not a party to the signing of this truce between the Palestinian factions and the Jews.”⁷²

ISLAMISM AND SOCIETY

Evidence suggests that Hamas was, in recent years, more popular among Palestinians than its secular rival, Fatah. This was true even before Hamas’ unexpected victory in the PA’s 2006 legislative election, and this trend continued after the organization’s abrupt seizure of power in Gaza in January 2007.

Some analysts stress that such support is attributable more to a rejection of Fatah’s alleged corruption than sincere support for Hamas’ Islamism.⁷³ However, it may also be tied to the lack of popular support for the PLO’s peace negotiations with Israel. Indeed, data collected in 2009 by the Pew Research Center for the People & Press suggested that there is strong support (68 percent) within the Palestinian territories for suicide bombings and other terrorist operations in order to “defend Islam from its enemies.”⁷⁴ However, since the Hamas takeover of Gaza in 2007, anecdotal evidence suggests that the daily challenges of governance have eroded some of the popular support Hamas garnered through “resistance.” In other words, it’s hard to maintain popular support as a revolutionary movement when saddled with mundane problems, such as electricity and garbage collection.

Under both Hamas rule in Gaza and PLO rule in the West Bank, evidence suggests that Christian minorities in both territories suffer discrimination and persecution, including religiously motivated attacks on churches, destruction of crosses and altars, and the kidnapping and forced conversion of Christian girls.⁷⁵ Admittedly, Christians live with significantly more freedom in the West Bank since Hamas took control of Gaza, where religious freedom has been severely restricted.

ISLAMISM AND THE STATE

The active role of violent Islamist groups in the West Bank has dropped precipitously since the 2007 Palestinian civil war. Fearing a Hamas takeover in the West Bank, the United States and Israel have been furnishing the West Bank government with military training, weaponry, financing and intelligence in order to more efficiently battle Hamas and other factions. The results have yielded significant victories; according to a 2009 study by the Israel Security Agency (Shin Bet or Shabak), joint patrols have been a key factor in reducing the number of terrorist attacks emanating from the West

Bank.⁷⁶

Particularly after the most recent round of violence between Hamas and Israel in November 2012, the threat of rising Islamism remains a concern in Gaza. Radical Islamist groups such as Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad continued to conduct operations against Israeli targets. The November conflagration that erupted between Hamas and Israel quickly drew in other factions, which joined Hamas in the firing of rockets into Israeli territory. More worrisome to the Israelis was the existence of Iranian-made *Fajr 5* rockets in the Gaza Strip—a clear indication that Iran’s influence in Gaza has not waned, despite reports to the contrary.

With Hamas firmly entrenched in Gaza, it appears unlikely that Israel will be able to neutralize the threat this Islamist group poses with military power alone. This has prompted some to propose that Israel should enter into negotiations with its long-time foe. However, given the prevalence of other violent Islamist groups in Gaza, it is unlikely that any such agreement with Hamas (itself very unlikely) would lead to an end—or even a qualitative betterment—of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Indeed, it is almost certainly guaranteed that other factions would rise up and fill the void left by Hamas, if only to ensure that religiously-inspired conflict with Israel continues.

ENDNOTES

[1] Mosab Hassan Yousef and Ron Brackin, *Son of Hamas: A Gripping Account of Terror, Betrayal, Political Intrigue, and Unthinkable Choices* (Carol Stream: Tyndale House, 2010), 253-255.

[2] "Hamas Charter (1988)," The Jerusalem Fund, n.d., <http://www.thejerusalemfund.org/www.thejerusalemfund.org/carryover/documents/charter.html>.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibidem.

[5] Ibidem.

[6] See, for example, Video Clip, "Hamas MP and Cleric Yunis Al-As-tal: The Jews Were Brought to Palestine for the "Great Massacre" Through Which Allah Will "Relieve Humanity of Their Evil"," Middle East Media Research Institute, May 11, 2011, <http://www.memri.org/clip/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/2934.htm>.

[7] "Hamas Charter (1988)."

[8] Amira Hass, "Haniyeh: Hamas Willing To Accept Palestinian State With 1967 Borders," *Ha'aretz*, September 11, 2008, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/haniyeh-hamas-willing-to-accept-palestinian-state-with-1967-borders-1.256915>.

[9] Jonathan Schanzer, "The Talibanization of Gaza: A Liability for the Muslim Brotherhood," *Hudson Institute Current Trends in Islamist Ideology* 9, August 19, 2009, <http://www.currenttrends.org/research/detail/the-talibanization-of-gaza-a-liability-for-the-muslim-brotherhood>.

[10] "Arab Paper: Iran to Give Hamas More Arms, Funds," *Jerusalem Post*, May 25, 2008, <http://www.jpost.com/IranianThreat/News/Article.aspx?id=102222>.

[11] Jonathan Schanzer, "Hamas Rising," *Foreign Policy*, July 25, 2012, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/07/25/hamas_rising.

[12] "Five US Men Jailed for Allegedly Funding Hamas," *Ma'an News Agency*, May 28, 2009, <http://maannews.net/eng/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=210849>.

[13] "Hamas Funding," [globalsecurity.org](http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/hamas-funds.htm), n.d., <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/hamas-funds.htm>.

[14] See Matthew Levitt, *Hamas: Politics, Charity and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

[15] "Backgrounder: Hamas," Council on Foreign Relations, October 20, 2011, <http://www.cfr.org/publication/8968/hamas.html>.

[16] "Rocket Attacks on Israel From Gaza," *IDF Blog*, Accessed January 9, 2013, <http://www.idfblog.com/facts-figures/rocket-attacks-toward-israel/>; "2010 Annual Summary," *Israel Security Agency*, Accessed January 9, 2013, <http://www.shabak.gov.il/SiteCollectionImages/english/TerrorInfo/reports/2010summary2-en.pdf>.

[17] Holly Fletcher, "Palestinian Islamic Jihad," Council on Foreign Relations, April 10, 2008, <http://www.cfr.org/israel/palestinian-islamic-jihad/p15984>.

[18] "Chapter 6. Foreign Terrorist Organizations," in U.S. Department of State, *Country Reports on Terrorism 2011*, July 31, 2012, <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2011/195553.htm>.

[19] Avi Issacharoff, " Hamas Brutally Assaults Shi'ite Worshippers in Gaza." *Ha'aretz*, January 17, 2012, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/middle-east/hamas-brutally-assaults-shi-ite-worshippers-in-gaza-1.407688>.

[20] "Chapter 6. Foreign Terrorist Organizations."

[21] "Who is the Palestinian Group Blamed for the Attacks?" Reuters, August 19, 2011, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/who-is-the-palestinian-group-blamed-for-the-attacks-1.379509>.

[22] Israel Defense Forces, "What Is The Popular Resistance Committee?" March 10, 2012, <http://www.idfblog.com/2012/03/10/popular-resistance-committee/>; "Who is Organizing the PRC," *Walla*, June 28, 2006, <http://news.walla.co.il/?w=/931483>.

[23] See, for example, Jack Khoury, "Palestinians Release Video Showing Gaza Anti-Tank Missile Hitting IDF Jeep," *Ha'aretz*, November 13, 2012, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/palestinians-release-video-showing-gaza-anti-tank-missile-hitting-idf-jeep-premium-1.477488>.

[24] "Palestinians Bomb US Convoy," *Guardian*, October 16, 2003, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2003/oct/16/israel>.

[25] "Who is the Palestinian Group Blamed for the Attacks?"

[26] David Barnett, "Israeli Intelligence: Sinai is The 'Home of An Independent Jihadist Network,'" *Long War Journal*, October 3, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/israeli_intelligence.php; Eli Lake, "Al Qaeda Linked to Israeli Bus Ambush," *Washington Times*, August 22, 2011, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2011/aug/22/al-qaeda-linked-to-israeli-bus-ambush/>.

[27] Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "The Involvement of Arafat, PA Senior Officials and Apparatuses in Terrorism against Israel: Corruption and Crime," May 6, 2002, http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFAArchive/2000_2009/2002/5/The+Involvement+of+Arafat-+PA+Senior+Officials+and.htm.

[28] Holly Fletcher, "Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade," Council on Foreign Relations, April 2, 2008, <http://www.cfr.org/israel/al-aqsa-martyrs-brigade/p9127>.

[29] See, for example, Ethan Bronner, "Israeli Military Kills 6 Palestinians," *New York Times*, December 26, 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/27/world/middleeast/27mideast.html>;

[30] "Chapter 6. Foreign Terrorist Organizations."

[31] See, for example, "Militant Group Claims Responsibility for Pro-

jectile,” Ma’an News Agency, December 28, 2011, <http://www.maan-news.net/eng/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=448358>.

[32] “Profile: Jund Ansar Allah,” BBC, August 15, 2009, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8203239.stm.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] “Five Facts About Jund Ansar Allah,” Reuters, August 15, 2009, <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSTRE57E11A20090815>.

[35] “Several Killed In Clashes Between Islamists And Hamas Police,” Agence France Presse, August 14, 2009, <http://mobile.france24.com/en/20090814-fifteen-wounded-clashes-between-islamists-hamas-police-gaza-strip>.

[36] Yaakov Katz, “Security And Defense: Smoke Screen?” *Jerusalem Post*, August 20, 2009, <http://www.jpost.com/Home/Article.aspx?id=152475>.

[37] “Profile: Jund Ansar Allah”; Bill Roggio, “ Hamas and al Qaeda-Linked Group Clash in Gaza,” *Long War Journal*, August 14, 2009, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2009/08/hamas_and_al_qaeda_l.php.

[38] Yaakov Katz, “Security And Defense: Smoke Screen?” *Jerusalem Post*, August 20, 2009, <http://www.jpost.com/Home/Article.aspx?id=152475>.

[39] Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, “News of Terrorism and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (June 2-9, 2009),” June 10, 2009, <http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/article/18265>.

[40] Bill Roggio, “ Hamas and al Qaeda-Linked Group Clash in Gaza,” *Long War Journal*, August 14, 2009, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2009/08/hamas_and_al_qaeda_l.php.

[41] “Chapter 6. Foreign Terrorist Organizations.”

[42] Jonathan Dahoah Halevi, “Al Qaeda Affiliate Jaish al-Islam Receives Formal Sanctuary In Hamas-Ruled Gaza,” Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs *Jerusalem Issue Briefs* 8, no. 7, August 20, 2008, <http://jcpa.org/article/al-qaeda-affiliate-jaish-al-islam-receives-formal-sanctuary-in-hamas-ruled-gaz/>.

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Ibidem.*

[45] Bill Roggio, “US Designates Palestinian Salafist Group as a Foreign Terrorist Organization,” *Long War Journal*, May 19, 2011, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2011/05/us_designates_palest.php.

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] Israel Security Agency, “The Jaljalat Phenomenon In The Gaza Strip,” n.d., http://www.shabak.gov.il/SiteCollectionImages/%D7%A1%D7%A7%D7%99%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%AA%20%D7%95%D7%A4%D7%A8%D7%A1%D7%95%D7%9E%D7%99%D7%9D/terror-portal/docs/english/The_Jaljalat_en.pdf.

[48] “In Gaza, Hamas Faces Jihadist Challenge,” UPI, December 31,

2009, http://www.upi.com/Top_News/Special/2009/12/31/In-Gaza-Hamas-faces-jihadist-challenge/UPI-88581262292000/.

[49] Ibrahim Qannan, "Exclusive: New Gaza Faction Numbers 11,000," Ma'an News Agency, September 12, 2010, <http://www.maannews.net/eng/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=277513>.

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] "In Gaza, Hamas Faces Jihadist Challenge."

[52] "Pro Al-Qaeda Fighters Train in Gaza Strip," Reuters, September 1, 2008, <http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2008/09/01/55828.html>.

[53] "Jaish Al-Ummah Official: Expect Military Operation In South Lebanon Directed At Israel," *NOW Lebanon*, April 11, 2010, <http://www.nowlebanon.com/NewsArchiveDetails.aspx?ID=159825>.

[54] "Jaish Al Ummah To Hamas: 'Whose Side Are You On?'" *CBS News*, May 27, 2009, <http://www.cbsnews.com/blogs/2009/05/27/monitor/entry5044608.shtml>.

[55] "Jaish Al-Ummah Official: Expect Military Operation In South Lebanon Directed At Israel."

[56] "About Us," [hizbuttahrir.org](http://english.hizbuttahrir.org/index.php/about-us), n.d., <http://english.hizbuttahrir.org/index.php/about-us>.

[57] Jonathan Spyer, "Hizb ut-Tahrir: A Rising Force In Palestinian Territories," *Global Politician*, December 14, 2007, <http://www.globalpolitician.com/23871-palestine>.

[58] Jonathan Spyer, "A 'Rising Force,'" *Ha'aretz*, June 12, 2007, <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/932087.html>.

[59] "Hizb Ut-Tahrir: PA Attempts Arrest Of Member," Ma'an News Agency, December 17, 2009, <http://www.maannews.net/eng/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=247723>. See also "Hizb Ut-Tahrir: PA Arrests Thousands," Ma'an News Agency, July 17, 2010, <http://www.maannews.net/eng/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=300222>.

[60] "PA Forces Disperse Hizb ut-Tahrir Rally in Ramallah," Ma'an News Agency, July 2, 2011, <http://www.maannews.net/eng/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=401698>.

[61] "PA Arrests 13 Islamists in Crackdown," Ma'an News Agency, July 15, 2011, <http://www.maannews.net/eng/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=405427>.

[62] "Hizb ut-Tahrir Accuses PLO of Betrayal," Ma'an News Agency, August 13, 2011, <http://www.maannews.net/eng/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=412772>.

[63] David Barnett, "Mujahideen Shura Council is Consolidation of Salafi-Jihadist Groups in Gaza: Sources," *Long War Journal*, October 14, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/mujahideen_shura_cou.php.

[64] David Barnett, "Mujahideen Shura Council Leader Slams Hamas, Calls for Public Dialogue," *Long War Journal – Threat Matrix*, November 9, 2012, <http://www.longwarjournal.org/threat-matrix/>

archives/2012/11/mujahideen_shura_council_leade.php.

^[65] David Barnett, "Mujahideen Shura Council Details Recent Rocket Attacks Against Israel in New Video," *Long War Journal*, October 22, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/10/mujahideen_shura_cou_1.php.

^[66] Ibid.

^[67] David Barnett, "Gaza-Based Salafi Jihadists Conduct Joint Rocket Attacks, Sinai Jihadists Suppressed," *Long War Journal – Threat Matrix*, November 22, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/threat-matrix/archives/2012/11/salafi-jihadist_groups_in_gaza.php.

^[68] Thomas Joscelyn, "Al Qaeda-Linked Group Claims Responsibility for Attack in Israel," *Long War Journal*, June 19, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/06/al_qaeda-linked_grou.php.

^[69] Bill Roggio, "Mujahideen Shura Council Calls Attack in Israel a 'Gift' to Zawahiri and Al Qaeda 'Brothers,'" *Long War Journal*, July 30, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/07/egyptian-jihadist_gr.php.

^[70] David Barnett, "AQAP offers condolences for top Salafi leaders killed in Gaza," *Long War Journal – Threat Matrix*, October 24, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/threat-matrix/archives/2012/10/aqap_offers_condolences_for_to.php.

^[71] David Barnett, "Zawahiri Eulogizes Salafi Jihadist Killed in Gaza," *Long War Journal – Threat Matrix*, November 29, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/threat-matrix/archives/2012/11/zawahiri_eulogizes_salafi_jiha.php.

^[72] David Barnett, "Mujahideen Shura Council: We Are Not Truly a Party to the Ceasefire with Israel," *Long War Journal*, November 27, 2012, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/11/mujahideen_shura_cou_2.php.

^[73] Khaled Abu Toameh, "Corruption Will Let Hamas Take W. Bank," *Jerusalem Post*, January 29, 2010, <http://www.jpost.com/MiddleEast/Article.aspx?id=167194>.

^[74] Pew Research Center, "Support for Suicide Bombings – Palestinian Territories," *Pew Research Center*, n.d., <http://www.pewglobal.org/database/?indicator=19&country=168&response=Often/sometimes%20justified>.

^[75] Jonathan Schanzer, *Hamas vs. Fatah: The Struggle for Palestine* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 110-111.

^[76] Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "ISA: Data And Trends In Palestinian Terrorism – 2009 Summary," January 15, 2010, http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Terrorism-+Obstacle+to+Peace/Palestinian+terror+since+2000/ISA_summary_Palestinian_terrorism_2009.htm.17