Another important Palestinian terrorist group is Hamas, and Hamas emerges out of the Muslim Brotherhood, which is an Islamist organization founded in Egypt that has wings, or branches, or affiliations around the Muslim world. And the Brotherhood was particularly strong in Gaza, but when Egypt controlled Gaza, after the 1948 war, and until 1967, the Brotherhood was suppressed because the Egyptian government saw it as a political threat.

Again, the 1967 war is a huge change, and for the Brotherhood, and eventually for Hamas, this is a huge change for two reasons. First, as with Fatah, the idea of Pan-Arabism is discredited. So, Egyptian President, Nasser's idea that Arab states will liberate Palestine is discredited. And, the Brotherhood is pushing the idea that the real problem is that Muslims have turned away from Islam, and that what they need to do is renew their faith, and become more committed, and this idea gains credibility after 1967. But perhaps even more important, there's a change of control in Gaza. Israel takes over the Gaza Strip, and perhaps ironically, is much more open to Islamist political participation.

Unlike the Egyptian government, Israel doesn't see the Muslim Brotherhood as a direct threat. And in fact, Israel is much more concerned about Arab nationalism, much more concerned about Fatah, and it sees the Brotherhood as a counterweight to this because the Brotherhood is often hostile to Arafat and Fatah. Hamas itself emerges in 1987 during the first Palestinian Intifada. This is a largely peaceful uprising that occurs on the West Bank in Gaza.

There's so much energy though. There's so much activism, that it is impossible for the Brotherhood to sit this one out. And they had traditionally avoided a direct role in politics, but they feel that if they're not involved in the Intifada, if they're not involved in playing a direct role to counter, if you will, Fatah and other groups, that they're going to be overtaken by events. They'll be seen as irrelevant, and young people will not support them. So, they enter the fray, and they begin to use violence, but the identity they're pushing is different from Fatah. Where Fatah is pushing a Palestinian identity, Hamas is pushing an identity that is Palestinian, but also Islamic.

They're saying we don't just want a Palestinian state, we want an Islamic government in Palestine. Hamas becomes truly important during the 1990s. Early in the 1990s, Fatah moves from a terrorist group to a negotiating partner of Israel. And there's real hope. At least I had real hope that there was going to be a peace deal. And Hamas sees this as a double danger. First, it for ideological reasons, opposes peace with Israel, sees Israel as an enemy, but peace would also mean that Fatah consolidated its position, in control of the Palestinian people.

So, it's trying to disrupt the peace talks for both its own political reasons, but also because it believes that a peace deal would be a betrayal. Now, Hamas and another group, Palestine Islamic Jihad, used suicide bombings very effectively to disrupt peace talks. There are five suicide bombings in 1994 and these kill roughly 40 Israelis. And, in addition to the carnage of
these bombings, they pose a huge dilemma for Arafat and for Israeli negotiators.

Again, go back to this idea of a culture of resistance. It's very hard for Arafat to move directly against Hamas and other groups because for many years, he'd been encouraging people to rise up and fight Israel. So, it's hard for him to now reject what he used to endorse. But also from a negotiating point of view, it puts Arafat in a dilemma. Basically, Israelis are asking one question. Could Arafat have stopped these attacks? And if you think about it, there's no good answer to that question. If the answer was yes, then Arafat is complicit in murder.

But if the answer is no, then why are there negotiations. Why negotiate with someone who can't deliver at the negotiating table. Hamas's use of violence to disrupt peace talks in the 1990s can be seen as a very successful use of a spoiler strategy, as we discussed when we talked about terrorism strategies. The use of violence discredits moderates. It creates suspicion, and it makes it much harder for peace talks to succeed. Where Hamas really comes into its own is during the Second Intifada.

Now very briefly, peace talks break down in 2000, and violence dramatically escalates. At first, it's led by groups linked to Fatah, but Hamas becomes more and more important. And suicide bombings become a regular occurrence. In 2002, you have roughly 50 suicide bombings. So roughly, a suicide bombing a week is going on. Now eventually, as I'm going to discuss, Israel learns how to counter suicide bombings, learns how to fight these groups, and Hamas is devastated, but it gains tremendously. During the Second Intifada, in a political sense.

So even as its cadre are wiped out, are arrested, are killed, it gains credibility because Fatah had embraced negotiations, and negotiations failed. And meanwhile, Hamas had been saying the true key is resistance, and as resistance becomes the Palestinian way. As they begin to use more and more violence, Hamas' model becomes more credible. And we see this after 2005, in Gaza in particular.

Now, Israel withdraws from Gaza in 2005, and it does so frankly because of constant Palestinian violence, and especially violence by Hamas. Its view is that Gaza simply isn't worth holding on to. So, as we discussed under terrorism strategies, a strategy of attrition to some degree works, in that Israel withdraws from the Gaza Strip. Now, there are supposed to be elections here, and the widespread assumption is that Fatah and its new leader after Arafat dies, Abu Mazen, whose explicitly endorsed peaceful means for Palestinians to get their state, that they'll win the elections.

But Hamas wins. And, why is that? Part of it is because Fatah had lost credibility during the Second Intifada, and Hamas had gained it. Hamas had gained it because it had advocated strong violence and resistance, and Palestinians were moving in that direction, as they lost faith in peace talks. But also Fatah had gradually become corrupt over the years. It had failed to deliver on services. Many of its leaders were simply enriching themselves, and Hamas had an image of being much more honest. So, it wins elections in 2006, and in 2007, it takes control of the Gaza Strip.
So, in essence, Hamas becomes the government of Gaza, and you have a terrorist group going from a small, unsuccessful group in 1987, to several decades later, controlling the state.