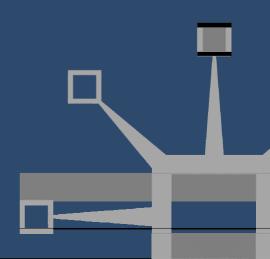
palgrave macmillan

Hamas vs. Fatah

The Struggle for Palestine

Jonathan Schanzer



H A M A S VS. F A T A H

ALSO BY JONATHAN SCHANZER

Al-Qaeda's Armies: Middle East Affiliate Groups & the Next Generation of Terror

H A M A S VS. F A T A H

THE STRUGGLE FOR PALESTINE

Jonathan Schanzer

palgrave macmillan

in memory of David Schanzer



HAMAS VS. FATAH Copyright © Jonathan Schanzer, 2008. Foreword copyright © Daniel Pipes, 2008. All rights reserved.

First published in 2008 by PALGRAVE MACMILLAN® in the US-a division of St. Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Where this book is distributed in the UK, Europe and the rest of the world, this is by Palgrave Macmillan, a division of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN-13: 978-0-230-60905-1 ISBN-10: 0-230-60905-8

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Schanzer, Jonathan.

Hamas vs. Fatah: the struggle for Palestine / by Jonathan Schanzer.

p. cm.

ISBN 0-230-60905-8

1. Palestinian Arabs—Politics and government—1993— 2. Harakat al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyah. 3. Fatah (Organization). 4. Israel—Politics and government—1993— 5. Arab-Israeli conflict—1993—Peace. I. Title. DS119.76.S34 2008
956.95'3044—dc22
2008009959

A catalogue record of the book is available from the British Library.

Design by Letra Libre, Inc.

First edition: November 2008.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed in the United States of America.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	V11
Glossary	ix
Foreword	xiii
Introduction: Islamism vs. Palestinian Nationalism	1
Chapter One: The Roots of Hamas and Fatah	13
Chapter Two: Hamas, Fatah, and the First Intifada	23
Chapter Three: Hamas under Fire	31
Chapter Four: Hamas, Fatah, and the Oslo Years	37
Chapter Five: History Repeats: The 2000 Intifada	49
Chapter Six: Fitna	65
Chapter Seven: Hamas Digs In	79
Chapter Eight: Prelude to War	95
Chapter Nine: Hamas Conquers Gaza	107
Chapter Ten: Fatah's West Bank	121
Chapter Eleven: The Threat of al-Qaeda in Gaza	131
Chapter Twelve: The Gaza–West Bank Split	143
Chapter Thirteen: Annapolis and the Hope for Peace	155
Chapter Fourteen: The Effect of Sanctions	163
Chapter Fifteen: The Winds of War	173

vi • HAMAS VS. FATAH

Chapter Sixteen: The Prospects for Change from Within	181
Conclusion: Between <i>Fitna</i> and Fulfillment	191
About the Author	197
Notes	199
Index	237

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Writing this book, particularly in its last weeks, became an all-consuming project. Accordingly, I thank the Jewish Policy Center, particularly Matthew Brooks and Dick Fox, for understanding the importance of this work and for providing me with the time to complete it.

For excellent editing of my previously published works, I acknowledge Martin Kramer (*Middle East Quarterly*), Gary Gambill (*Middle East Intelligence Bulletin*), Kathryn Jean Lopez (*National Review Online*), and Mark Cunningham (*New York Post*). These fine editors made my work unquestionably stronger the first time around and helped me understand how to improve it and refine it for the purposes of this book. In fact, their edits often helped me refine my view of the Fatah-Hamas conflict over the years.

I also wish to thank my good friends and colleagues Khairi Abaza, Jonathan Calt Harris, Avi Jorisch, and Asaf Romirowsky for accommodating my need for fast yet substantive critique and for filling in some very important gaps in this book. While these readers helped me identify some errors, any remaining ones are mine alone.

Maryann Karinch, my agent, deserves special mention too. We made our connection by chance years ago, but I went out of my way to reconnect with her on this project. Her workmanlike determination to find this book a home at Palgrave gave me the wonderful opportunity to work with my editor, Alessandra Bastagli, and her patient assistant, Emma Hamilton.

A final professional thank-you goes to Dr. Daniel Pipes, the man who gave me my first real break in this business and then gave me another break nearly a decade later when he agreed to take time out of his incredibly busy schedule to write the foreword to this book.

viii

On a more personal note, I would like to acknowledge my mother, Sharon Schanzer, not only for reading the first draft of this book with a critical eye but for imbuing me with a passion for the Middle East.

Finally, I want to thank my chief copy editor and loving wife, Elana. We spent our first date discussing her edits of my last book between bites of gourmet pizza. The rest, as they say, is history.

Jonathan Schanzer Washington, D.C. August 2008

GLOSSARY

- Al-Mujamma' al-Islami—An Islamic movement founded by the late Hamas leader Ahmed Yassin, and the precursor to Hamas in the Gaza Strip.
- Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades—The Islamist armed wing of the Fatah organization, responsible for suicide bombings and other attacks against Israeli civilians.
- Fatah—A secular Palestinian terrorist organization founded in the late 1950s by Yasir Arafat. It is now a political faction, but has not broken completely from its terrorist past.
- Gaza Strip—The disputed territory captured by Israel in the 1967 Six-Day War, bordering the Sinai Peninsula and the Mediterranean Sea.
- Green Line—Israel's borders after the 1948 war of independence, which do not include the West Bank or Gaza Strip.
- Hamas—Also known as the Islamic Resistance Movement. This group is the primary Islamic opposition to Fatah in the West Bank and Gaza.
- IDF—The Israel Defense Forces, or the Israeli army.
- Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades—The arm of Hamas that typically claims credit for suicide bombings and other acts of violence.
- Intifada—The term Palestinians use to describe uprisings or campaigns of violence against Israel. It literally means "shaking off."
- PA—The Palestinian Authority, which is the governing body of the Palestinians, pursuant to the Olso diplomatic process of the 1990s.
- PIJ—Palestinian Islamic Jihad, an organization that predates Hamas, carries out similar acts of violence against Israel, and is largely funded by Iran.
- PLO—Palestine Liberation Organization, an umbrella organization of Palestinian factions that came under the control of Yasir Arafat following the 1967 Six-Day War.