

# THE PLO AND THE GENESIS OF THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY:

## THE INSIDE STORY



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-Mark Twain

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RABBI DR. BERNHARD ROSENBERG

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Edited by: Rabbi Dr. Bernhard Rosenberg

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David Bedein

## Prologue

*“If you don't read the newspaper, you're uninformed....  
If you read the newspaper, you're misinformed.”*

The above adage attributed to Mark Twain applies to this book, intelligent people grow up with the notion that if you want to know what is going on, follow the press and stay abreast of breaking developments.

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

Having grown up in the U.S. before moving to Israel at the age of 20, in 1970, following the news was almost a religion in my home.

Knowing and articulating what was *happening* became more than an avocation for me at a young age.

Yet the decision to open up an alternative news agency in Jerusalem on December 1, 1987 had something to do with the fact that almost everything that you absorb from the media has nothing to do with the reality that surrounds you. The way in which the press covers Israel is as if George Orwell, *The Twilight Zone* and *Mad Magazine* had taken over Jerusalem, all at once. Almost as if the Bizarro figure in *Superman* comics had assumed a life of its own.

This book gives the reader a first-hand glimpse of reporting a war of attrition that is described as a peace process, a peace movement that is run by people who know nothing about peace, and myths of reconciliation that are bandied about like popcorn.



## Chapter 1 – PLO / PA

- Chapter 1, Section 1: PLO / PA Background
- Chapter 1, Section 2: PLO / PA Terror
- Chapter 1, Section 3: PLO / PA Communications
- Chapter 1, Section 4: PLO/ PA Schools and War Education
- Chapter 1, Section 5: PLO / PA Civil Liberties and Human Rights
- Chapter 1, Section 6: PLO/ PA Personalities

## Section 1: Chapter 1 – PLO / PA History and Background

### **Arafat's Police Have Become a Dangerous Force"... Trained in Philadelphia, PA**

*David Bedein, Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, May 26, 1995*

Arafat's police have become a dangerous force.

At first glance, what could possibly be wrong with the Philadelphia police force training police personnel for what may yet become a new Third World country?

Is there more that meets the eye? Perhaps.

The Palestinian "police force" cadets who are undergoing a 12-week training course at the headquarters of the Philadelphia police department represent a unit of the PLO's Palestine Liberation Army (PLA), whose members were formerly professional soldiers located in various Arab countries.

Al HaMishmar, the recently defunct Israeli daily newspaper that supported the Israeli government throughout the sensitive Israel-PLO negotiating process, ran a series of investigative pieces in which it warned the Israeli public that the PLA had gotten out of control. Al HaMishmar described the PLA as the Achilles heel of the peace process.

Indeed, the outer trimmings of the PLA seem like anything but a police force. PLA members are sworn in with an outstretched arm that pledges all recruits to dedicated service to the "liberation of Jerusalem," while the elite of the PLA units carry the names of the Al Aksha (the mosque atop the Temple Mount) and Jihad (holy war) brigades.

### **Recruiting Islamic radicals**

While Israel had expected the PLA to lead the fight against the rejectionist Islamic Jihad and Hamas terror organizations, the PLA surprised everyone by actually recruiting Hamas and Islamic Jihad into their ranks – without asking their new recruits to abandon their opposition to peace with Israel.

As recently as May 8, Gen. Ghazi Jebali, the commander of the PLA in Gaza, convened a news conference in which he announced that the PLO was going to officially give weapons to the Hamas and Islamic Jihad leadership.

The PLA news conference was carried live on Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation Radio and is available in English or Hebrew translation from the Institute for Peace Education, LTD., in Tel Aviv (Fax: 972-3695-0132).

Pinhas Inbari and Avner Regev, senior correspondents of Al HaMishmar, warned the Israeli negotiating team that Israeli Foreign Ministry negotiators should not allow any such phenomenon to take place.

The senior Arab affairs correspondent for the Labor/Meretz oriented Ha'aretz daily newspaper, Danny Rubenstein, writes that Gaza is a powder keg and that the PLA, instead of keeping law and order, shows no intention of cracking down on the dissident rejectionist Palestinian terror groups.

Rubenstein and the rest of the media community who have interviewed PLA officers notice a consistent pattern: The PLA continues to view Israel as the enemy.

Last year's annual Israel Defense Forces intelligence report, issued on Dec. 13, warned that the PLA has become a haven for unrepentant terrorists who were actively carrying out attacks against Israelis while intermittently donning their uniforms.

In a series of news interviews conducted during April 1994, IDF Southern Regional Commander Shaul Mofaz warned that the PLA has become an uncontrollable security threat to the State of Israel, and that the IDF has no way of coping with the PLA in the future.

### **Second thoughts**

Left-leaning Israeli intelligence officials who had first conceptualized the idea of a strong Palestinian police force are also having second thoughts.

The best example is Reserve Lt. Col. Shmuel Toledano, the former Mossad intelligence official who in 1991 presented the first master plan for the PLA to transform itself into some kind of civilian police force for a Palestinian autonomy.

Throughout 1992, Toledano appeared on almost every major media outlet in Israel to articulate the revolutionary idea of an armed Palestinian presence in a Palestinian autonomous entity.

After all, one American autonomy legal expert commented favorably about Toledano's idea at the time, saying that if the Navaho Indian police could be armed with weapons in New Mexico, why couldn't the same hold true for Palestinians?

Toledano thinks differently today.

After spending a week with the PLA, he wrote in Ha'aretz that the PLA has become "a dangerous paramilitary force," a security threat to the state.

There are at least three factors of PLA credibility that are widely discussed in Israel but not often reported abroad:

PLA officers brazenly drive stolen Israeli vehicles. The IDF has requested from the PLA the minimum accountability in this regard and in regards to the Gazan automobile parts factories that dismantle thousands of stolen Israeli vehicles.

The PLA continues to draft fugitives who are wanted for murder and robbery in Israel, despite a clause in the Arafat-Cairo agreement from May 1994 that requires the PLA to extradite any and all alleged felons to stand trial in Israel. A case in point: Raj'ah and Amru Abu Sita, brothers who slit the throat of Israeli farmer Uri Magidish, now serve as PLA intelligence officers.

While Rabin, Peres and Arafat signed in Cairo that there would be no more than 9,000 PLA inductees, and that every candidate would be reviewed by Israel for security reasons, the PLA now counts as many as 19,000 under arms. IDF negotiator General Danny Rothschild sadly acknowledged that the IDF no longer knows who has been recruited into the PLA. IDF officials express concern that the PLA recruits active, violent and volatile terrorists into its ranks, and not only from amongst Hamas.

### **Allied with Arab armies**

IDF officials do not fear that the PLA, acting on its own, could conduct a successful militia war against Israel. What IDF strategists theorize is that the PLA might be aligned with an Arab army in a future war against Israel. In all of Israel's previous wars with neighboring Arab states, the IDF could rush its troops to the front without interference.

That was before the PLA was a factor to be reckoned with. Yasser Abed Rabbo, Arafat's right-hand man, was asked at a recent news conference in Jerusalem whether the PLA would extend logistical assistance to Syria in case Syria attacked Israel. "We would consider that request," he said candidly.

Israelis have not forgotten that the PLO backed Iraq's Scud missile attacks on Israel. And that was before the PLO could lend any logistical assistance from Gaza or from Jericho.

In short, the PLA, now undergoing intensive intelligence training at Philadelphia police headquarters, may use what it learns in Philly to fight IDF soldiers and Israeli civilians in the PLA war to liberate Jerusalem.

The IDF and the Israeli intelligence community also view the PLA as a lethal enemy. The consensus of Israeli left media opinion is that the PLA is a thorn in the peace process.

The idea of training a PLA unit at an American police headquarters may have been coordinated with the Israeli consulate and with the Israeli Foreign Ministry.

The question remains: Was it coordinated with Israel's intelligence community or with the upper echelons of the Israeli Department of Defense?

Will other American municipal police departments now begin to train units of the Palestine Liberation Army?

### **Red Lights & Green Lights: Weapons Control in the Palestine Authority?**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, March 31, 1997*

At a time when Hamas threatens more terror activity against targets throughout Israel, it may be instructive to note the extent to which the Palestine Authority directly licenses arms for the Hamas instead of confiscating their weapons. The Cairo Accord, signed between the Israeli government and Arafat on May 4, 1994, created strict regulations for firearm possession in the PA, in an attempt to minimize terrorist attacks carried out by Palestinian groups and individuals opposed to the Oslo Accords. Arafat agreed to restrict the possession of firearms by ordering the PA to take three steps: disarm militias, confiscate weapons, and issue gun licenses for pistols only to individuals demonstrating a need for them, and only with Israel's consent. However, Arafat and the PA have yet to implement that agreement, perpetuating a situation in which the ability of groups and individuals to carry out terrorist attacks remains undiminished.

The PA took no action for eleven months. However, in April 1995, following the Islamic Jihad terror attack near Cfar Darom which took the lives of six Israelis and one American, the PA announced a May, 1995 deadline for turning in illegal weapons. Yet by the appointed deadline, very few civilians had turned in only a few dozen weapons. IDF Lieut. Col. Shabak confirmed the Palestinian police had only confiscated a few weapons at the deadline. These numbers pale in comparison to the total number of unlicensed weapons in the PA area of jurisdiction, which, while unknown, were estimated by Arafat himself as early as March 1995 to be more than 26,000.

Five militias under the PA's jurisdiction remain armed: Fatah Hawks, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, PFLP, and DFLP. Not only has the PA refrained from taking steps to disarm these groups. High ranking officials continue to state their refusal to do so.

Shortly after the agreement was signed, Col. Jibril Rajoub, head of Arafat's Preventive Security Service said, "We sanctify the weapons found in the possession of the national factions which are directed against the occupation." Echoing this sentiment only a year later, Freih Abu Middein, Palestinian Minister of Justice, said the Palestinian police would not disarm Hamas or Islamic Jihad. A senior Hamas official confirmed that the PA had not demanded their disarmament, saying that "the PA is not asking us to disarm, just to report to it."

Meanwhile, the Palestinian Liberation Army police force continued to issue licenses for automatic weapons and gun permits to well-known members of terrorist organizations. Both Shabak and the Palestinian Police commander in Gaza, Gen. Ghazi Jabali, confirmed that Islamic Jihad and Hamas leaders have received permits to carry weapons, Shabak noting, "most of the permits issued thus far have been given to members of the opposition parties." Shabak also acknowledged that some of these permits were for "light automatic weapons," a statement confirmed by the Palestinian Minister of Information. As if to allay fears, the PA Minister of Justice, Abu Medein said that he had received assurances that the Hamas and Islamic Jihad members would "keep their weapons at home."

The issue is not whether or not Arafat turns on or off "green lights" for the Hamas or the Islamic Jihad. Quietly and seemingly unknown to the Israeli public, Arafat has heavily armed both terror groups, and they will decide when and how to use their weapons against Israeli targets.

Why does the Israeli public not know that the Palestine Authority has been issuing weapons to the Hamas and the Islamic Jihad, since May 1995? All Israeli media carried the story – but on the back pages and never as a lead item on Israel State TV and Israel State Radio. Nobody wanted to disturb the good news of the peace process. Let alone the momentum.

**U.S. Intelligence Training for the PLO**  
*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, June 16, 1997*

*Subject: Philadelphia's Finest and American intelligence Training for the Palestine Liberation Army Police Force*

There are times when a most clandestine or discrete intelligence operation is revealed quite by accident.

This was the case of the PLO military training operation that is operated and supervised by the highest levels of American intelligence.

In the Spring of 1995, a young public relations consultant to the Philadelphia police department noted that a delegation of Palestinian police were participating in an intelligence training program at my hometown's Police HQ, following a training seminar at the CIA HQ in Langley.

This, he assumed, would be an opportunity to show that Philadelphia's finest were contributing to the Middle East Peace Process.

Not only did he issue a press release. He called a press conference and organized a cocktail party with the PLO police participants, each of whom noted the irony that they had all spent time in Israeli prisons for terror activity before the dawn of the new era of peace.

These Fatah members were primarily from Force 17, and some were directly under the command of Col Jabril Rajoub. They remained in Philly for an undisclosed time, taking courses in every level of weapons training and intelligence research. The Palestinians readily stated that their trainers were coming back home with them to continue their training.

Since that time two years ago, American intelligence trainers accompany Palestine Liberation Army police in all of their efforts in the cities where they have established headquarters, as the PLA personnel have assumed executive powers in all matters as law enforcement, punishment of accused collaborators, execution of Palestine Authority opposition members, kidnapping of Arabs from East Jerusalem to Jericho, arrest of narcotics dealers and supervision of the summary capital punishment of land dealers.

All this under the watchful eyes of American intelligence trainers, who help Arafat and the Palestine Authority on the road to stability.

The question of how the American government is funding this operation remains a matter for U.S. congressional inquiry.

**Analysis: Reconsideration of Our Passion for PLO Statehood After Tisha  
B'av**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, August 11, 1997*

The concept of ceding a sliver of the land to another nation may have been a good one. After all, why should neighbors not find a way to make peace with one another?

The Arabs, however, reject the idea, and continue to demand not only that three million of their refugees return to whence they came in 1948 but that the return of the Jews to our land cease and desist.

Those of our fellow Jews who have advocated sovereignty for Palestinian Arabs do not do so out of malice or hatred of the Jewish people. They advocate such an idea from a theoretical concept of justice and self-determination.

My own twelve-year involvement with the Israeli Left led me to meet and dialogue with many PLO sympathizers.

PLO activists asked for what they thought was reasonable: We will give you peace if you give up your obsession for Zion.

Yet, from the very commencement of the Oslo process, Arafat has utilized truth serum every day and continues proclaiming to his people that the purpose of the process is the conquest of the land in its entirety.

Three million residents of the UNRWA Arab refugee camps believe him with all their heart and soul. They are preparing to join forces with Arafat's trained and well-motivated Palestine Liberation Army of 50,000 to liberate the Land of Israel.

A guerilla army against a nation with a strong army? Ask the National Liberation Front in Algeria and their counterpart in Vietnam. These are the models for the PLO.

The leaders of Israel, anxious in their passion for peace after one hundred years of war, moved quickly to cede territory and provide training, arms and cooperation to Arafat's military forces, while Arafat was focused arming and training the Hamas.

The tragic mistake, however, was in the alacrity of the Oslo process.

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The late General Aharon Yariv, who conceptualized the concept of "territory for peace" said it best. "The Oslo process misinterprets our concept. We never said territory BEFORE peace. We said territory FOR peace."

The ideal peace deal was made with Jordan. Israel made a treaty with the Hashemite Kingdom in 1970 and signed it with King Hussein in 1994. The Jewish State first wanted to ascertain Hussein's behavior. Israel tested him, during the 1973 Yom Kippur War, the 1982 Lebanon invasion, the 1987-93 Intifada and the 1991 Gulf War. Only thereafter did Israel sign a formal peace treaty with King Hussein.

This is not the case with Arafat, the PLO and the new Palestine Authority. They see the Oslo process as a stage of war with the State of Israel, and they view the ceding of territory as a stage of surrender. Those who support this Oslo process should take advantage of "Tisha B'av" [the saddest day in Jewish history, commemorating the destruction of both the First and Second Temples in Jerusalem which occurred about 656 years apart, but on the same Hebrew calendar date] and its grave message and attempt to take stock of reality.

When Arafat says JIHAD, he means it.

### **What is the Precise Connection Between the PA & Saddam Hussein?**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, February 16, 1998*

Over the past two weeks, no one can deny that there have been widespread televised reports that have shown mass Palestinian Arab demonstrations for Iraq's Saddam Hussein, with daily Palestinian chants that call for Saddam Hussein to reign missiles again on Tel Aviv, while marchers burn American and Israeli flags.

The question that many people have raised concerns whether or not Arafat and the PLO, now operating the Palestine Authority, gives official "sanction" to these demonstrations.

No one forgets that in 1991, the PLO gave full support to Saddam Hussein, when the Palestinian Arab population, which then lived fully under the sovereignty of the state of Israel, also conducted mass demonstrations under Saddam Hussein.

Today, however, the PLO's Palestine Authority rules over most of the Palestinian Arab population, with a legislative council and a strong police force, things are different.

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This time, the marches for Saddam Hussein emanate from the Palestine Authority headquarters in Ramallah.

On February 13, 1998, Danny Rubenstein, the Arab affairs correspondent for the daily Israeli newspaper, HaAretz, published a short investigative piece in which he documented that the Palestinian demonstrations for Saddam Hussein were indeed organized by the PFLP, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Rubenstein traces the funding of the PFLP to Iraq.

To paraphrase Rubenstein, it would therefore be natural to expect that the PFLP would demonstrate for Saddam.

Meanwhile, the PFLP is categorized by the US state department as one of the thirty organizations placed on the official list of groups that have been officially designated by the US as terrorist organizations.

Yet the PFLP remains an integral part of the Palestine National Council, the Palestine Authority and the Palestine Liberation Army police force, all of which are funded in part by grants from US AID, the Agency for International Development.

In other words, the US knowingly funds an entity that openly incorporates an organization that the US defines as a terror group in supports of the current regime of Iraq's Saddam Hussein.

Does the Palestine Authority support Saddam Hussein?

The answer remains that the whole is the sum of its parts.

### **Jews Grit their Teeth While CIA and EU Train the Palestine Liberation Army**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, April 20, 1998*

Today, April 22, 1998, marks Jewish Holocaust Remembrance Day, when people around the world recall the slaughter of six million Jews in twenty one countries that occurred over a period of six years, while the US, Great Britain and other great nations of the world closed all avenues of exits to the European inferno.

It goes without saying that most people would take a dim view of killing Jews. Yet on March 5, 1998, the New York Times published a front page investigative story that documented how the CIA trains the Palestine Liberation Army, which

spearheads the war against the state and people of Israel, aligned and in coordination with the Arab states who remain in a state of war with the Jewish state since its inception almost exactly fifty years ago. These nations include Syria, Iraq, Libya, Algeria, and, most recently, Iran. Meanwhile, the Palestine Liberation Army openly supplies weapons and training for Hamas, Islamic Jihad, the Fatah Hawks, the Palestine Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine – all of which continue terror activity against the Jewish state. In addition, the Palestine Liberation Army operates its own Preventive Security Service, which maintains iron fist control over the Palestinian Arab population, including in East Jerusalem, suspending any notion that the Palestine-state-in-the-making will maintain any respect for human rights or civil liberties. Just ask the Palestinian human rights organizations. American and Israeli security experts concur that the PLA, operating on its own, represents no serious threat to Israel's ultimate security. However, an Israeli military expert recently gave an interview to the Associated Press in which he expressed an overriding concern in all Israeli security circles that the CIA-trained PLA security forces, which have swelled to well over 50,000, could easily hamper the dispatch of Israeli troops to the front at a time of war. It would be no problem for many of the PLA forces to melt into the Palestinian West Bank civilian population.

In terms of the coordination with the Arab states in the area, I asked Yassid Abd Rabu, Yassir Arafat's senior security aide, whether the Palestine Authority's PLA security services would give logistical support to Syria in a time of war between Syria and Israel. I reminded him of the enthusiastic PLO support for Iraq during while Bagdad rained scud missiles on Israel in 1991. Abd Rabu responded that "we all hope for peace with Syria." When I pressed Abd Rabu about the possibility that war would indeed break out between Israel and Syria, he firmly acknowledged that the PLA would "give all logistical support" to Syria at a time of war.

In its March 5 investigative story of the CIA training exercises for the PLA, the New York Times was quick to mention that these activities were being carried out with the full knowledge of the Israeli security establishment.

"Knowledge does not mean approval", gritted Dr. Uzi Landau, the chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee. It also goes without saying that the European Community-Palestine Liberation Army security pact that was initialed by British Prime Minister Tony Blair and Yassir Arafat on April 21, 1998 was with the "knowledge and not the approval" of the State of Israel".

Landau, like others with whom I have discussed this in the Israel Ministry of Defense and the IDF, would prefer not to launch a frontal attack on the American government. That would be like biting the hand that also feeds you.

Perhaps the peoples of the world do take a dim view of killing Jews. That does not prevent the nations of the world from participating in the process, while Jews grit their teeth.

**Israel at Fifty Makes an Offer “Territories for Peace,” Not “Territories before Peace”**

*David Bedein, Philadelphia Inquirer, May 4, 1998*

On the occasion of Israel's fiftieth anniversary, the Jewish State finally finds itself in a full-scale peace process, following formal peace treaties signed with Egypt (1979) and Jordan (1994).

This is the result of a surprising turn in Israeli public opinion, which now widely accepts the 1974 Yariv-ShemTov formula of “territories for peace”, which at the time it was suggested was embraced by less than fifteen of Israel's 120-member parliament. By the 1996 Israeli elections, 118 members elected to Israel's Knesset had run on platforms that favored and endorsed the concept of territories for peace, as embodied in the 1993 Oslo Accords signed on the White House lawn by US President Bill Clinton, PLO leader Yasser Arafat and the late Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

This most recent Israeli election occurred at a time of unprecedented Israeli-Arab cooperation in almost every field. Israel's level of exports to Arab countries, some of whom are still in a formal state of war with Israel, has surpassed a billion dollars. Israel's former Minister of Public Security, Attorney Moshe Shachal, who recently resigned from the Knesset to resume his law practice, now represents Arab countries from the Gulf States.

Israel's former Military Liaison to the West Bank and the Palestine Authority, General Oren Shachor, now exports soft drinks to Kuwait, working with Palestinian partners, some of whom spent years in Israeli prisons.

Likud Member of Knesset Gideon Ezra, an Israeli career intelligence officer, opened a firm together with Palestinian partners to locate stolen vehicles.

The examples of economic cooperation are matched by a new social milieu. No less than five hundred Arab-Jewish reconciliation organizations are now registered with Israel's Registrar of Non-Profit Organizations, some of which have been initiated by Arabs.

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Indeed, Palestinian Arab journalist Daoud Kuttab, Arafat's press liaison during the Intifada riots of the late eighties, initiated a private media firm that cooperates with Israeli and American television companies to produce the first Middle East "Sesame Street" in order to encourage Israeli and Arab children to play together without stereotypes and hatred.

The obvious question is: With all this cooperation, why are the peace talks between Israel and the new Palestine Authority so bogged down? Have Israelis lost their desire for peace. I would think not. Have Palestinian Arabs had second thoughts? Not in my judgment.

As a religious Jew and a social work professional, I have the opportunity to participate in timely dialogues with Palestinian Arabs from all walks of life. The Palestinian Arab people want peace. So what is the problem?

It is an institution known as the United Nations, which in Jerusalem is headquartered on what the New Testament refers to as the "Hill of Evil Counsel." Back in 1949, the U.N. established the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), that today plays host to more than three million Palestinian Arab refugees, the descendants of 650,000 Arabs who left the area which, in 1948, became known as the new State of Israel. With the establishment of the State, Israel absorbed more than 800,000 Jews who had left the Arab countries. Such a population exchange is not rare in the twentieth century. The only problem was the exceptional way in which the U.N. chose to deal with the Palestinians – by confining the Arab refugees to the squalor of transient huts, wherein they have languished for nearly fifty years. They have been living under sub-ghetto-like conditions as per the proscribed U.N. Resolution #194 promise and premise of the "right of return" to homes and villages that no longer exist, with absolutely no U.N. right to compensation for the property that the Arabs lost in 1948.

The idea of a West Bank/Gaza Palestinian entity may be acceptable to the one million Palestinians who see the West Bank and Gaza as their home, but not to the vast majority of Palestinians who live in the U.N. refugee camps of the West Bank, Gaza, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon.

Tragically, one of the first laws established by the new Palestine Authority in 1994, was the forbidding of making improvements on the UNRWA camps, based on the legislated U.N. promise and premise of the "right of return" to Israel proper.

In the heart of Samaria, in an area under the Palestine Authority control, sits a mountain of 1,300 empty homes that were built to house Palestinian Arab refugees, constructed with generous funds provided by a Catholic charity, with Israeli encouragement.

The United Nations retains a guard at the foot of the hill, ensuring that no Palestinian Arab refugee will move into these homes. According to a United Nations decision made in 1985, any move into any such permanent housing would violate the “inalienable right of return” of Palestinian Arabs.

Many are inclined to believe that Yasser Arafat’s willingness to sign a peace accord with Israel was based on new Arab willingness to accept what for them would be a historic compromise that would limit Palestinian Arab sovereignty to the West Bank and Gaza, with some link to East Jerusalem. That was the basis on which Arafat was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, a ceremony I covered in Oslo.

On that occasion, I asked Arafat whether he would indeed relinquish the greater Palestinian vision that demanded the “right of return” of three million Palestinian Arabs. Arafat would not answer my question.

I also asked Arafat if he would disarm the Hamas. Again he would not respond. The answers themselves were not long in coming.

In May 1995, Arafat authorized weaponry for the Hamas. In December 1995, Arafat signed a pact with the Hamas, to include them in the Palestine Authority. In April 1996, my television crew covered the session of the Palestine National Council (PNC), which was supposed to cancel the PLO state of war against the State of Israel and agree to a “West Bank/Gaza” entity. At that session, Arafat would only authorize the PNC to establish a committee to consider “changes” in the PLO constitution.

Most recently, on April 19, 1998, Arafat told Egyptian television, that, indeed, “all options are open before the Palestinian people,” and that, as an Arab Moslem leader, Arafat had signed the Oslo accords in the spirit of the historic Khudaibiya Agreement made by Muhammad and the tribe of Koreish. The Khudaibiya Agreement, slated to last for ten years, was broken within two years, when Muhammad’s forces - having used the peace pact to become stronger - massacred the Koreish tribe.

So much for the concept of “territories for peace.”

Shortly before his death, I interviewed Aharon Yariv, the Israeli general and former IDF intelligence chief who had first conceptualized the idea of territories for peace.

Yariv told me “people today misunderstand the Yariv-Shemtov formula. We offered territories for peace, not territories before peace.”

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That formula constitutes the risk that the government and people of Israel are ready to make. All indications are that the Palestinian Arab people are ready for such a formula.

Tragically, the United Nations and the new Palestine Authority, under the leadership of Yasser Arafat, are not.

That remains the complex legacy of peace for Israel's fiftieth birthday.

### **Making the Palestine Authority More Palatable for the Israeli Public to Swallow**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, June 9, 1998*

On June 3, 1998, the US State Department removed the PLO from the list of terrorist organizations. There was no response from the Israeli government. Indeed, Israel state radio reported the item only twice, in the early morning hours of June 4, and Israel state TV ignored it completely.

On June 4, a visiting delegation from NIPAC, that is, the Dutch equivalent of AIPAC, reported to the Israeli government that their government was financing the virulent anti-Israeli textbooks in the new schools of the Palestine Authority.

Meanwhile, the Israeli government press office revealed that the head of the Palestine Authority preventive security services, Jabril Rajoub, had issued a "green light" for Hamas to resume terror activity in areas not under the control of the Palestine Authority. When I asked the Israeli prime minister's office if Rajoub's actions would affect policy, I could not get an answer.

And when I asked Danny Naveh, the cabinet secretary, about PA violations and how they would affect the continuing peace process, Naveh answered only in general terms that "Israel has asked for cessation of violations " from the PA. Meanwhile, Israel state radio and TV, under the direct ministerial supervision of the Prime Minister's office, have not been reporting the daily incitement as reported on the official Palestine Broadcasting Corporation TV and radio.

The Israeli state TV and radio have hardly reported the triumphal return to Gaza of Mahmud Abbas, the man who murdered Leon Klinghoffer in 1985. The Israeli state TV and radio gave only muted press reports to Israeli attorney general Elyakim Rubenstein's decision not to ask for the arrest of Abbas. The Israeli state TV and radio have stopped any follow-up stories concerning the fact that the PA refuses to arrest any of the thirty-two identified killers who have been rewarded.

Meanwhile, on June 7, Israel's Commercial Channel Two, which operates under a 50% funding from the Israeli ministry of communications, ran a half hour positive profile of Mohammad Dahlan, the no. #2 man in the PA preventive security services. The Israeli TV reporter did not ask Dahlan about the killers who run freely within the area under his direct control. In other words, the Israeli government, through its releases from the Israeli government press office, goes through the motions of condemning Palestine Authority violations of the peace process. These condemnations widely circulate in the US congress and the United Nations.

However, the Israeli government does not do that in Israel. Instead, the Israeli government is softening up the Israeli public to deal with the Palestine Authority by obfuscating much bad news about the PLO and the Palestine Authority from the Israeli people.

It is instructive to note that the Israeli government press office, also under the direction of the office of the Israeli prime minister, has not held a single press conference or media briefing concerning Palestine Authority violations of the accord. While Netanyahu flew to the US with two women whose loved ones had been murdered by Palestinian Arabs who had taken refuge inside the PA, the Israeli prime minister has never made any such performance in Israel to "bring home" the killer issue to Israeli public opinion.

### **A New Acceptance of the American Role**

At this point in time, the role of the American government as arbiter of the conflict has become more widely accepted and reported. In the American peace plan that was leaked to HaAretz on June 4th would place the American government as the determinant of PA compliance with issues such as the arrest of murderers who have escaped to the areas under PA control.

Not everyone in Israel would agree to define the American perspective as objective.

For example, the American-Israeli Boim family of Jerusalem received no less than three official letters from the US embassy during 1997 that the murderer of their teenage son David had been arrested by the Palestine Authority and that the killer was sitting in a PA jail.

However, the PA did not arrest the killer of David Boim until February 2, 1998, following a direct request on the matter made by President Clinton to Yassir Arafat.

Most recently, the Jerusalem chapter of the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel made an unprecedented appeal to Clinton to demand that

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Arafat arrest and hand over the other ten killers of Americans who have taken refuge inside the Palestine Authority.

Meanwhile, the press spokesman of the American consulate in Jerusalem has refused to answer any questions concerning whether the American government has even brought up the issue of killers being awarded asylum within the area under the control of the Palestine Authority.

### Yitzhak Mordecai in Jordan: Reflective of Government Policy

The visit of Israel Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordecai with Jordanian King Hussein and Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak was accompanied by a series of press statements that emerged from Mordecai's press aide and from Mordecai himself, all of which indicated that Israel would engage in a unilateral withdrawals from major areas of empty lands in the Judean desert and the Samarian Hills, without any real demand from reciprocity from the Palestine Authority.

Mordecai's statement that a withdrawal is in the offing remains a statement that reflects the Israeli government's attitude to the Palestine Authority and the Oslo process at this time.

### **Why the PLO Covenant Annulment Means Little**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, December 15, 1998*

The high point of President Bill Clinton's Middle East mission – his participation in the Palestine National Council meeting where he witnessed the PNC annulling the PLO Covenant by a voice vote – may turn out to be somewhat anticlimactic.

Arafat's commitment to annul the 1964 PLO Covenant on 9th September, 1993, remained the condition that the late prime minister Yitzhak Rabin required for Israel to enter into any agreement with Arafat and the PLO.

Yet what has transpired in the five years that it took Arafat to cancel the Palestinian covenant is that the PLO Covenant has become engrained in the foundations of the Palestinian state in the making.

Tragically, no decision by the PNC, however well intended, can put the toothpaste back in the tube.

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At the outset of the 1998-99 Palestinian school year, the first academic study of the hundred and fifty new schoolbooks used by the Palestine Authority showed that the PLO Covenant remains the central theme of the Palestine Authority school curriculum. Israel is referred to in PA school books as the “Zionist enemy,” while Zionism is equated with Nazism, “JIHAD” / holy war is taught as the duty of Palestinian school children, and the need to liberate “all of Palestine” remains a pervasive theme in all PA textbooks, while the official PBC “Voice of the Palestine Authority” radio and TV networks quote the PLO Covenant in almost every aspect of its daily media output. That official PLO media incitement has not let up since the WYE accord was reached in October.

The PLO Covenant remains the living “raison d’etre” of the Palestinian Arab refugee camps operated by UNRWA, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, for almost fifty years, which provides for more than three million Palestinian Arab refugees to refugee camps, under the PLO Covenant’s premise and promise of the “inalienable right of return” for Palestinian refugees to return to the homes within Israel proper that they left in 1948, a dream endorsed by the annual ratification of UN resolution #194.

One of the first acts of the Palestine Authority was to reject any rehabilitation of the Palestinian refugee camps, because the PLO Covenant forbids any change in the “refugee status quo”. The spokesman of the Palestine Legislative Council informed me today that the principles of the PLO Covenant that forbid rehabilitation of the Palestinian refugee camps will continue to be enforced.

Indeed, during the American First Lady Hillary Clinton’s visit to an UNRWA school in an UNRWA Refugee Camp, the children excitedly sang songs of their imminent return to the homes that their grandparents left in what are now in Tel Aviv, Ashkelon, and Haifa.

Moreover, since yet another principle of the PLO Covenant is that Jews should not be able to purchase new lands in Palestine since 1917, the Palestine Legislative Council enacted a statute in November that made it a capital crime for Jews to purchase land anywhere which the PLO consider to be “Palestine”. The PLC was not only referring to the West Bank and to Gaza. Meanwhile, the popular FATAH movement, under the steady leadership of Yassir Arafat since 1964, issued a new constitution this week in which the FATAH absorbed all of the principles of the PLO Covenant that advocate Israel’s destruction.

Not everyone in the president’s entourage expressed unreserved enthusiasm with the PNC decision to annul the PLO Covenant.

US Senator Arlen Specter (R-Pa.), the senior congressional witness to the PNC session in Gaza, held a press conference before returning to Washington to warn that any PLO decision that contravened the annulment of the PLO charter

would run into congressional opposition to the aid promised to the Palestine Authority by President Clinton.

### **PLO Saddam Support and Clinton's Middle East Credibility**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, December 22, 1998*

Barely 72 hours after the high point of US President Bill Clinton recent Middle East mission, when he participated in the Palestine National Council in Gaza, where he witnessed the PNC annulling the PLO Covenant that calls for Israel's destruction.

The official TV and radio of the PLO are expressing enthusiastic support for Iraq's Saddam Hussein, and endorsing Saddam Hussein's proposed war of extermination against the state and people of Israel. All of this is not new. This is what Israel experienced during the Gulf War in 1991, when masses of Palestinians demonstrated for Saddam in the West Bank and in Gaza. What has changed is that 95% of the Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza now live under the de facto sovereignty of the Palestine Authority, which maintains a Palestine Liberation Army of more than 50,000 in the West Bank and Gaza, capable of organizing systematic guerrilla actions against Israel, in support and in coordination with Iraq, at any given moment. Meanwhile, The PLO also maintains at least three paramilitary bases in and around Bagdad, the capital of Iraq.

Many people in Israel have come to see Clinton's role in presiding over the symbolic voice vote of the Palestine National Council to cancel the traditional Palestinian covenant as no more than a futile Clinton attempt to put the toothpaste back in the tube.

After all, a PLO that for its 34 years of existence has seen its "raison d'etre" in terms of Israel's destruction can be expected to do almost anything possible to reinforce rather than to deny its own covenant and constitution. That is what self-determination is all about.

That is why, at the outset of the 1998-99 Palestinian school year, the first academic study of the new school books used by the Palestine Authority showed that the PLO Covenant calling for Israel's liquidation remains the central theme of the Palestine Authority school curriculum, while the PLO Covenant is invoked by the Palestine Authority as the prime reason for leaving three million Palestinian Arabs in the squalor of refugee camps for more than fifty years, under the PLO Covenant's premise and promise of the "inalienable right of return" for Palestinian refugees to be repatriated to the homes within

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Israel proper that they left in 1948, as promised by the PLO Covenant and ratified every year by UN resolution #194.

Yet another principle of the PLO Covenant remains in force, and that is that Jews should not be able to purchase new lands in Palestine. In that spirit, the Palestine Legislative Council enacted a statute in November 1998 that made it a capital offense for Jews to purchase land anywhere that the PLO considers to be "Palestine." The PLC was not only referring to the West Bank and to Gaza.

And just to make sure that everyone understands that Arafat is a man of his word to his own people, the popular FATAH movement, under the steady leadership of Yassir Arafat since 1964, issued a new constitution this week and distributed it on the net, in which the FATAH officially announces that it absorbs all of the principles of the PLO Covenant that advocate Israel's destruction.

It was therefore not surprising that Arafat's popular Palestinian movements, under the watchful eyes of the Palestine Liberation Army police, organized new massive demonstrations for Saddam Hussein, on the morning that followed the first American airstrikes on Iraq.

The chant of the Fatah demonstrations for Saddam Hussein: "Fire chemical weapons at Tel Aviv..."

Clinton, for his part, will have a tough time regaining credibility in Israel.

When Clinton compared the tears of the Arab children of killers whom he met with to the tears of the Jewish orphan children of Arab terror attacks whom he also said that he met with, that would have been insensitive enough. Except that Clinton did not even bother to meet the Israeli orphan children of PLO terror attacks.

So there you have it. Clinton tells Israel that he has facilitated an end to the PLO Covenant and the PLO goes on to support Saddam Hussein, as soon as Air Force One flies out of the friendly skies of the Middle East.

Well, Bill Clinton can fool some of the people in the Middle East, some of the time...

**Scenarios of the Palestinian State in Formation**

*David Bedein, Jewish Action, January 5, 1999*

Sir Edmund Burke, an elder statesman of Great Britain in the late eighteenth century, reported that he was often asked why he would not support the French Revolution.

After all, Burke's colleagues noted, he had supported the American Revolution, demonstrating courage as a British parliamentarian.

Burke would respond with a brief answer, one that summed up the problem of the French Revolution: "the end is the means in process." Burke explained that an entity that began as a tyrannical dictatorship would evolve into one.

"The end is the means in process" would explain the challenge to the supporters of the new Palestine Authority, which no one doubts is a Palestinian state-in-the-making.

Only a small minority of Israelis accepted the Yariv-Shemtov "territories for peace" formula when it was proposed in 1974, following the Yom Kippur War. At the time, less than a dozen members of Israel's Knesset supported the idea.

However, by the 1996 election, the Yariv-Shemtov formula of "territories for peace" had eventually evolved into an overwhelming consensus idea, when 118 members of the 120-member Knesset were elected.

Human rights activists throughout the world conceived of a Palestine Authority that would eventually become an independent Palestinian state. The vision was something along the lines of a two-state solution, whereby both Arabs and Jews dwelling within the small geographic entity known as Eretz Yisrael – the Land of Israel - or Palestine would coexist, side by side.

Indeed, those who spearheaded the campaign for a Palestinian state in Israel, Europe and the US did so under the "framework of a Palestinian human rights campaign," recognizing the idea of Palestinian statehood as a fundamental human right. This was in line with the basic human concept of dignity and self-determination that might be afforded to any and all peoples.

Since its inception in 1994, the reality of the Palestine Authority has belied the two-state concept of a nation-state that could dwell in a state of peace and reconciliation with the Jewish State.

There are two diametrically opposed directions toward which the Palestine Authority nation-state could head. The first would be a democratic option, if the spirit of the liberal movements that have campaigned for the establishment of a Palestine Authority nation-state were allowed to prevail.

The infrastructure for peace and reconciliation is already in place - in Israel, at least, where more than 500 non-profit organizations are registered with Israel's Ministry of Interior's Registrar of Non-Profit Organizations that dedicate themselves to promoting understanding between Jews and Arabs.

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In November 1996, I attended a meeting between Arafat and various Israeli groups that were concerned with peace and with reconciliation, all of whom wanted to gain Arafat's approval to operate within the Palestine Authority.

Present were members of Arafat's inner circle, along with businessmen of the Palestine Chamber of Commerce. Participating Israeli businessmen asked Arafat about the possibilities of joint business ventures, perhaps in the area of tourism. Arafat nodded his head in approval.

However, a rule of the Palestine Authority remained unchanged. That rule discourages joint ventures between Israeli and Palestinian businessmen.

Another participant was Amit Leshem, a feisty redheaded woman who has led a network of educators who have pioneered multilevel dialogues between Israeli and Palestinian teachers, principals and students.

Leshem told Arafat that she was having trouble gaining cooperation from the Palestine Authority to conduct such dialogue within the schools or any premises within the Palestine Authority.

She mentioned that she was close to Dr Yossi Beillin, one of the architects of the peace process, and asked Arafat's to personally intervene to allow for schoolchildren of both peoples to interact.

Arafat was demonstrably interested in Ms. Leshem's idea, and asked innumerable questions, saying that "only when our schoolchildren begin to talk will there be peace."

Despite Arafat's reassurances to her, the rule of the Palestine Authority forbidding official contact between Israeli and Palestinian school children or school teachers remained unaltered.

Sitting near Ms. Leshem at that meeting was Yehudah Wachsman, who had recently established the Nachshon Center for Tolerance and Understanding, named in memory of his son, Nachshon, who was kidnapped and later killed by Hamas assailants in October 1994.

Mr. Wachsman asked Arafat for the Palestine Authority to endorse and to participate in the Center's dialogue activities. Wachsman indicated that he had been in touch with Palestinians who had indeed expressed interest in his new institute.

Arafat responded with great emotion, relating his condolences to the Wachsman family, and promising to do for the Wachsmans what he had done for the family of Leon Klinghoffer. Mr. Klinghoffer was the American Jew, who was murdered by PLO member Mahmoud Abbas aboard the Achille Lauro cruise ship, despite the elderly man's being confined to a wheelchair at the time.

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In response to a suit from the Klinghoffer family, Arafat had issued a press release stating that he would fund an institute for peace education in memory of Leon Klinghoffer.

The only problem was that Arafat never provided the necessary funds.

When Yehudah Wachsman followed up the meeting with Arafat by sending a letter to invite representatives of the Palestine Authority to participate in the activities of the Nachshon Center for Tolerance and Understanding, he received no reply; not from Arafat nor any representative of the Palestine Authority.

Despite the disappointing follow-up to the Arafat meeting, the atmosphere at the actual meeting, organized by Arafat himself, was a peaceful one.

As a journalist who covers the official Palestinian media, I had the opportunity to ask Arafat about his lack of peace message made, in Arabic, on the the Palestine Broadcasting Corporation (PBC) television and radio network that operates out of the Palestine Authority. Radwan Abu Ayash, head of the PBC, acknowledged in a news interview that the Palestine Authority does not allow messages of peace to be carried on its official airwaves.

Arafat promised this would change.

However, even in the wake of the Wye Peace Conference of October 1998, the PBC continued its policy of broadcasting daily telecasts advocating war against Zionism and the Jewish State.

In August 1998, when I covered the fifth anniversary of the Oslo process held at the Nobel Institute in Oslo, Norway, I asked Arafat about any program of peace and reconciliation that he and the Palestine Authority would be ready to endorse.

Arafat responded enthusiastically that the Palestine Authority had indeed received funding for the "People to People" project from the Norwegian and American governments that encouraged direct contact between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples.

Since Arafat was sitting between Norwegian government officials, and only a few feet away from US State Department Negotiator Dennis Ross's staff, this was Arafat's opportunity to shower both governments with praise for this most personal peace initiative.

For once, I thought, I had a genuine story to write about an official Palestine Authority/Israeli dialogue when I would return to Israel.

From Ben Gurion Airport, I called the Israeli and the Palestinian participants who had been selected by the "People to People" project.

The Arab partner in the project, a Palestinian professor was curt with me, saying that "the project hasn't begun yet. Please do not publish my name". The

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Israeli professor chosen to run the project, Bar Ilan University's Dr. Ben Mollov, was more explicit: "We have the students from Bar Ilan University and Bethlehem University, ready and enthusiastic. The Palestine Authority has simply pulled the plug and forbid Palestinians from participating in the project". Need one forget that this occurred after the Palestine Authority had received generous allocations from the American and Norwegian governments for this specific program.

What had happened in the official circles of the PA's Ministry of Education? Tragically, the PA schools have adopted into the official curriculum the PLO covenant calling for recovery of all land of Palestine.

The first academic study of the one hundred and fifty Palestine Authority schoolbooks, appearing at [www.edume.org](http://www.edume.org), reveals that PA textbooks make no reference whatsoever to peace or to reconciliation.

Meanwhile, United Nations refugee "transit" camps, house more than 1,000,000 Arab refugees in the West Bank and Gaza. For over fifty years, these camps have adopted and taught a new Palestine Authority curriculum advocating raising a new generation of Palestinian Arab school children to believe they will soon return to the homes that they left in 1948... in Tel Aviv, Haifa and more than two hundred other communities and collective farms that now house Israeli residents.

If Arafat has his way, the Palestinian state will communicate to the world that it wants cooperation with Jews and with Israel, while simultaneously forbidding any such reconciliation.

Yet there is another Palestinian spirit.

Amit Leshem, Yehudah Wachsman, Ben Mollov and hundreds of other Israeli Jews have met Palestinian Arabs from all walks of life who would who are eager to coexist with Israelis.

The remaining question is which of the diametrically opposed directions of the PA, a nation-state-in-the-making, will become the dominant force in the future?

Much depends on two nations - the United States and Israel.

The US has spearheaded the drive for nations around the world to invest in the Palestinian Authority.

As of October 1998, the State of Israel financed 63% of the operating budget of the Palestine Authority.

If the US and Israel decide to make a positive decision, each nation can reinforce the democratic elements in the developing Palestinian nation-state.

The late General Aharon Yariv co-author of the Yariv-Shemtov formula, told me that people misinterpreted his seminal peace formula. "We advocated 'territories

for peace', not 'territories before peace'..."After all Yariv, was concerned about the consequences of a Palestinian Arab entity that was not committed to peace and reconciliation with Israel.

**Incitement: The Missing Element in the Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum\***

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, September 14, 1999*

The agreement signed between Israel and the PLO on Sept. 4th, 1999 was different in one significant way from the Oslo accords that were reached in August 1993 and the Wye Accords that were reached in October, 1998. The element that was missing was that there was no call and no requirement for the Palestinian Authority to cease its incitement to war against the state and people of Israel.

The new curriculum of the Palestinian Authority, which indeed inculcates a new generation of Palestinian Arabs for war with Israel and for liberation of all of Palestine, is described on the website of the Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace, at [www.edume.org](http://www.edume.org).

The legal advisor to the office of the Israeli Prime Minister mentions that the call for the PLO to cease incitement is implicit in all agreements between Israel and the PLO.

The question remains: why was it not explicit?

\*The Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum on Implementation Timeline of Outstanding Commitments of Agreements Signed and the Resumption of Permanent Status Negotiations Official Text –  
<http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/go.asp?MFAH0fo30>.

**PA Accountability**

*David Bedein, The Jewish Advocate of Boston, November 22, 1999*

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While the US Congress deliberates over whether or not to comply with the request of President Clinton to grant an additional \$400 million to the Palestinian Authority, a team of Palestinian and Israeli journalists have prepared a comprehensive report concerning Palestinian Authority fiscal accountability.

This carefully researched Palestinian-Israeli analysis reports severe financial mismanagement by the PA that casts doubt on the ability of the PA to be responsive to the health, education, welfare or even the business needs of the Palestinian Arab population.

Principle problems documented by the report:

- At least two private bank accounts of the Palestinian Authority operate under the exclusive control of Yasser Arafat, and the monies that go through those accounts are not invested in any concerns of the Palestinian Arab people. Half a billion dollars remain in these private accounts.
- The Palestinian Authority recklessly and brutally domineers the business affairs of the Palestinian Arab population through monopolies in industries such as cement-mixing and gasoline, which kick back all profits to private coffers of PA officials. The US State Department estimates that there are twenty-seven PA-controlled monopolies.
- Fourteen PA security services collect taxes from the Palestinian Arab population, with little coordination by the PA treasury. These militias all claim loyalty to Arafat under the aegis of the various arms of the Palestinian Liberation Army.
- Assets of the PLO abroad are not being transferred to the Palestinian Authority.
- Laxity of supervision from donor-nations has given Arafat free and arbitrary control over the \$2.75 billion received so far from those nations.
- Proliferation of thousands of unnecessary employees in public service of the Palestinian Authority

Meanwhile, the report notes that agreements signed between Arafat and all donor nations to the Palestinian Authority require total supervision of the PA's bank accounts, along with verification and certification of the exact use of the funds. For that reason, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) was brought in as a "consultant" to the Palestinian staff to prepare the Authority's annual budget.

The report points out that the Palestinian Authority gladly accepts foreign donations but is dismayed at the supervision accompanying it. In fact, two budgetary systems operate within the PA. One is ruled by Arafat with little or no accountability to the World Bank, the IMF, and donor nations. The other is

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under the supervision of the contributing countries which serves to develop PA infrastructure.

The World Bank and the IMF which represent the donor nations, have repeatedly demanded that the Authority close the secret accounts that remain under Arafat's personal control, and whose assets run in excess of half a billion dollars. Arafat has consistently ignored those requests, with no consequences.

At the conference of donor nations to the PA held in Japan in mid-October, the Palestinian Authority promised to clean up the arbitrary accounts and to make various economic reforms. In private discussions, however, Palestinian Authority representatives joked in the corridors of the conference that they will continue to do whatever they like with the money that they receive.

A theory propagated by proponents of the Oslo process was that the flow of capital to the Palestinian Arab community would foster peace and a "new Middle East." Instead, the billions of dollars of cash-flow in Palestinian society has led to rampant corruption and a seething population that may turn to violence - not only against Arafat's PA, but also against Israel and the US, whom the Palestinian people blame for imposing a corrupt regime upon them.

### **Pushing Towards a PA State**

**David Bedein, Boston Jewish Advocate, February 1, 2000**

This week, the Israeli government has been asked by the US state department and by the White House to dispatch representatives to talks that will take place somewhere near Washington, to meet with representatives of the Palestinian Liberation Organization's administrative prodigy, known as the Palestinian Authority (PA).

On the agenda: Establishing the rudiments of a Palestinian state, no later than February 13, 2000.

On the face of it, what could Israelis possible have to fear from a neighboring mini-state, whose size would be half of Rhode Island, in the USA?

Yet some of the practical and topographical considerations of having a Palestinian state next door are not lost on people in Israel, who already feel the consequences of this nascent entity.

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The establishment of a Palestinian Authority in 1994 was meant to test the implications of having an autonomous entity nearby. The consequences have been tested in many ways:

Israelis who have had their cars stolen and driven into the PA-controlled areas have been helpless to get their vehicles back or to sue anyone to get their cars back.

The PA has consistently refused to hand over or indict criminals who have taken refuge inside the PA.

The PA has provided a sanctuary for 31 Arabs accused of murdering Jews who have taken refuge inside the PA.

Contrary to all agreements, armed PA officers have been patrolling Jerusalem.

Instead of cracking down on the Hamas and Islamic Jihad terror organizations, the PA has incorporated both groups inside the PA.

Instead of adopting a peace curriculum for the PA schools that would parallel the peace curriculum that has been running in Israeli schools for the past six years, the PA ministry of education has adopted a curriculum that prepares a new generation for a war to liberate all of Palestine.

Arafat's official PA radio and PA TV continue their daily tirade against Zionism that calls for the Palestinian Arab population to continue a holy war of Jihad, while the Friday sermons in PA-controlled mosques blare out calls for obliteration of the Jewish state.

3.5 million Arab refugees, disenfranchised by the PA and confined by the UN to the squalor of transit camps inside the PA and in neighboring Arab countries for more than fifty years under the internationally supported premise and promise of the "right of return" to the cities and villages that they left in 1948, prepare themselves to go back to those cities and villages, even if they are now occupied by Israeli cities and collective farms.

Palestinian Arab refugees evoke the recent precedent of Kosovo refugees who took back their homes and villages from Serbians who had lived there for more than forty years.

Israeli and western intelligence agencies report that the PA police force that was supposed to comprise a lightly armed police force of 9,000 has evolved into fourteen units of a Palestinian Liberation Army of 50,000, trained by American military advisors. Small bands of PLA troops could at any time conduct guerrilla attacks into any part of Israel and simply melt into the Palestinian population.

All these factors of a “Palestinian state next door” are known to the population of Israel, yet not often discussed or reported in the media.

Israelis simply do not take Arab plans and ambitions very seriously, and most Israelis would prefer to get on with their lives after more than sixty-three years of continuous war.

The consensus of all major political parties in the Knesset is that if the economy of the Palestinian entity is strong, then the Palestinian people will have little reason to engage in hostilities against Israel.

Yet study after study show that humanitarian aid and economic assistance to the Palestinian Authority has been squandered and embezzled by an elite circle of people around Yassir Arafat, with little “trickle down” effect to the Palestinian Arab population who blame Israel for imposing Arafat’s regime on their people.

It would seem that Israel’s neighboring state-in-the-making is more like having Beirut and Teheran next door than the Providence of a Rhode Island.

### **The collapse of the peace agreement**

Among the principal problems are:

Private banks accounts, which remain under the exclusive control of Arafat, with monies not invested in the Authority’s interests.

The Authority’s involvement in business affairs in the form of state monopolistic rule.

A total lack of knowledge, rule or control regarding the amount of money that the Authority receives from these monopolies.

Concentration of significant governmental economic strength in the hands of one unsupervised individual (Mohammed Rashid).

Collection of taxes by various state bodies for the financing of their own activities, without supervision or rule by the Palestinian treasury.

Most of the assets of the PLO abroad have still not been transferred to the Palestinian Authority.

Laxity in supervision by the donor nations over actions taken by the Authority and a lack of desire to confront Arafat.

Exaggeration of the governmental staff regarding unnecessary employees and the creation of a large measure of concealed unemployment.

### **Economic Agreements with Israel**

The underlying premise of the economic negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians, held simultaneously with the political discussions, was that the two economies were dependent upon one another and integrally connected. The Paris Protocol, signed in April 1994, determined two clear principles; the absence of a financial limitation between Israel and the Authority and the existence of a unified tax mantle. In other words, tax officials, value added tax officials and other governmental collectors will not be situated at the Erez checkpoint or at the demarcation line, but rather on the external borders only. Thus, the Palestinian Authority adopted Israel's customs and taxation policy.

The Paris Agreements determined that Israel would "repay" the amounts to be collected under the four types of taxes, to the Palestinian Authority. For example, if a television is imported through the Ashdod port into the Palestinian Authority, the importer pays the Israeli government import tax. The amount received from these tax revenues will later be transferred to Palestinian Authority representatives. The same procedure would take place in exchange for bills for V.A.T. collected for a purchase in Israel, stamps on gasoline, alcohol, tobacco, income tax on employees from the territories and health tax. From this sum, Israel deducts a handling fee and, at intervals, deducts the Palestinian debt to Bezek (phone company), the electric company and hospitals in Israel.

Immediately following the Oslo Agreements, the parties and contributing organizations promised to transfer four billion dollars to the Palestinian Authority in three stages:

- 1) A general promise of money and aid;
- 2) Appropriation of monies from the contributing group for a specific purpose; and
- 3) Actual transfer of the money for that purpose.

The entire \$4M has already been appropriated for specific purposes, including \$2.75 billion which has actually been contributed. The contributing countries demanded accountability in exchange for money. They insisted on total supervision of the Palestinian Authority's bank accounts; they insisted on knowing and certifying precisely how the money was used and they requested that the International Monetary Fund participate as a 'consultant' to the Palestinian staff preparing the Authority's annual budget.

The Palestinian Authority gladly accepted the money but objected to the supervision that accompanied it. The contributing countries demanded an

investment of funds in the rehabilitation of the territories' primitive infrastructure and the creation of as many work places as po. They did not authorize exaggerated expenditures. Also they did not designate their monies to support institutions and individuals that overlapped the President's national goals. Chairman Arafat had other ideas.

### **The Secret Account**

According to the Paris Agreement, in 1994, 72 million NIS were transferred to the Authority. In 1995 the sum increased to NIS 792 million. In 1996, NIS 1,391million was transferred and in 1997, one billion, six hundred million NIS. In 1989 and 1999, the annual budget remained at an average of NIS.2.3 million. These monies are the principal lifeline for the Palestinian Authority. The Authority uses this money for one purpose: to pay salaries. All of the investments in infrastructure and welfare are made by the contributing countries. In this manner, two budgetary systems have actually been created in the Authority: one ruled by Arafat with some oversight by the World Bank, the IMF, and the contributing countries, and the second, under the total supervision of the contributing countries designated expressly for development. The donor nations claim the privilege of supervision over the first budget. If Arafat has extra money in these budgets (such as that which is in the secret account) then these funds should be invested in aiding the activity of the contributions to infrastructure development.

Upon implementation of the Paris Agreements, representatives of the Israeli Treasury requested clarification from the Palestinians as to where the funds should be deposited. The Palestinians asked that all of the transfers be made to four separate accounts in the Palestine Bank and the Arab Bank in Gaza, excepting the repayments for taxes on gasoline. Mohammed Rashid then requested that those funds be transferred to a secret account in the Chashmonaim branch of Bank Leumi in Tel Aviv. Israeli representatives had no interest in becoming involved in the manner in which the Palestinian economy was handled. Up until February 1997 about half a billion shekels were deposited in the account. Since then the rate of transferring of monies to the bank has stabilized at an average of NIS 35 million per month, i.e. NIS 1.5 million from 1994 until today.

This account in the territories and in Israel is known as "As-sundouk at-tanee – Cashbox B, the second budget, the secret budget, the budget of the Ra'is. According to an investigation conducted by senior personnel within the countries contributing to the Authority, only two people have the right of signature on the account, Yassir Arafat himself and his senior financial consultant, the mystery man, Mohammed Rashid (see below). In an internal report, the IMF determined that the account in Tel Aviv "is not under the

supervision and rule of the Palestinian Treasury”. What happened to the money? How much is left in the account and how much has been transferred to financing other activities or has arrived in the hands of individuals? Nobody knows. Senior Israeli clerks report hearing harsh complaints from generations of ministers of the Palestinian Treasury and finance (several replacements have occurred regarding this position) that the monies transferred into the Tel Aviv account do not find their way to the Palestinian Treasury.

An Israeli government source states two additional purposes for Cashbox B: The Palestinian Authority wants to assure the possibility of smuggling family members and several senior officials in the event of a coup, and to establish a government in exile. This program is highly organized and involves very large sums of money. Another reason is that the money in the Cashbox B account is used for a series of activities that Arafat’s regime feels obligated to finance– in order not to lose its political grip. This is unconnected to the economic condition. Thus, for example, Arafat continues to pay, from Cashbox B, the shahidim pensions given to widows and orphans. He continues to support those injured at Sabra and Shatila, whom he sees as his own children. For these purposes there is no financial logic and the contributing countries will never authorize such expenses.

Dr. Maher Al-Kurd, Palestinian Deputy Minister of Finance and Commerce has stated;

“The Palestinian Authority has the permission to create financial reserves for itself for a time at which something such as a civil war will occur and it is a pity that the contributing countries and Israel do not understand this. If the Authority would receive all of the money they were promised from Israel and the contributors, our situation would be much better.”

Question: That is to say, you are maintaining another, hidden cashbox?

Answer: “I don’t know for sure that this cashbox exists, yet I think that I would definitely be happy if it did.”

Question: To which bank accounts are transferred the monies that Israel returns from the taxes?

Answer: To bank accounts in Gaza and the West Bank. Question: Is there also an account in Tel Aviv?

Answer: “Actually I don’t know exactly what accounts we have and also I am not in charge of this. Ask someone else.”

The World Bank and the IMF, which represent the contributing countries, demanded that the Authority immediately close all the different accounts in

which the monies are collecting and to unite them into one open account in the Palestine Bank in Gaza. In 1996, a three-party agreement (TAP) was signed between Israel, the contributing countries and the Authority in which the Authority promised that it would unite all of the accounts in March 1997. It fulfilled its promise, with the exception of the account in Tel Aviv.

Joseph Saba, Director of the World Bank in the territories certifies this: "Israel, the Palestinians and the contributors came to an agreement (TAP) in 1996 in which the Authority promised, among other things, to subject the said account or any other private account that they had, to the supervision and responsibility of the Palestinian Treasury. This was not done. Therefore we, the World Bank, like all of the other contributors, are not at all happy with the existing situation. We have no idea what is happening in that account."

According to the estimate of the contributing countries, only thirty percent of the hundreds of millions of dollars actually arrive at the Palestinian Treasury. Something like forty percent finance the activities of PLO institutions throughout the world and are invested in welfare activities and in supporting orphans and widows in the Lebanese refugee camps. This sum increased in the last year as a result of a propaganda battle that is occurring in these camps between PLO supporters and Hamas trustees. The other thirty percent remains in the account as reserve or is transferred abroad to be used on the day of command.

In his response to the daily newspaper, Ha'aretz, Mohammed Rashid said that "the money for the indirect taxes is transferred from Israel directly to the territories."

Question: And what about the account in Tel Aviv?

Answer: Ah, that, that's nothing. That's a transit account. Israel deposits money in it and the following day it is transferred to Gaza."

Question: So why is it needed at all?

Answer: "The Israelis agreed to transfer money to there. You don't really think that someone steals this money or makes it into cashbox B. How is it possible to hide so much money? The Authority does not work under the table and we received permission from the contributing countries to hire enough policemen. Actually, I don't know how many policemen we have, that's not my job. We don't have any need for a hidden budget, everything is lucid and clear. All of the money is transferred to the Treasury. I know that we promised to close all of the accounts and we are making great, serious and very sincere efforts to fulfill this promise."

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*David Bedein, Jewish Action Magazine, April 10, 2001*

Amos Asael, veteran left wing columnist for the Jerusalem Post, was asked, shortly after the Israeli election in February, as to whether he would define himself as a "former peace activist."

Amos retorted that he is part of the "former peace camp."

The ideology of the "former peace camp" - whose motto is, "territories for peace" had long advocated that the Israeli government cede the West Bank and Gaza in exchange for a peace deal with representatives of the Palestinian Arabs.

That "Peace Now" formula was dealt a fatal blow at the Camp David negotiations during the Summer of 2000, when Barak offered 92% of the West Bank and Gaza along with the Arab neighborhoods of Jerusalem to Arafat, an idea which was soundly rejected by Arafat and the PLO.

Senior Israeli negotiator, who is also Chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee Dan Meridor, told me that the PLO resisted the Israeli negotiating team's generous "Peace Now" offer, since Ehud Barak would not give Palestinian Arab refugees the option to return to their homes and villages from 1948. Meridor mentioned that the senior members of the Israeli negotiating team, most of whom emanated from the "Peace Now" movement, had universally assumed that the PLO would welcome the "Land for Peace" offer. Meridor described how surprised the dovish delegation was to discover that the Palestinian delegation was serious about their demand for the "Right of Return".

The concept of "Land for Peace" first entered mainstream Israeli political parlance after being endorsed by IDF Intelligence Chief General Aharon Yariv following the Yom Kippur War. Yariv had successfully negotiated a cease-fire with Egypt at the famous #101 kilometer post, an agreement that would pave the way for President Anwar Sadat's visit and formal territory for peace agreement between Israel and Egypt in 1979.

Yariv, however, was prophetically skeptical regarding the chances of success for the current negotiation process with the PLO. Shortly before his death in 1994, Yariv told me that he feared the Oslo process because he favored "territory for peace", and not handing over "territory before peace"

With the demise of the "Peace Now" formula at the Camp David Summit, there were those who pronounced premature eulogies of the "Peace Now" movement and its allies.

However, in October, following the outbreak of riots, senior Peace Now activist Janet Aviad dispatched a wide-ranging proposal to members and supporters of her organization, calling for a \$675,000 budget to focus the energies of the

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Israeli public on what she believed was the one main impediment towards peace: the Israeli Jewish "settlers" of Judea, Samaria and Katif.

In late October, after receiving more than \$100,00 from the Americans for Peace Now organization, Peace Now in Jerusalem ran ads in all of Israel's major newspapers, and for the first time, in Palestinian Authority newspapers, in which Peace Now declared that the settlements in the West Bank and Gaza remained the greatest impediment to peace.

With the influx of journalists as a result of the riots, Peace Now initiated tours of the settlements for journalists, stopping near Nablus to show underground caves wherein Peace Now claimed that settler families were living in order to stage surprise attacks on passing Arabs. Peace Now representatives confirmed this, only after I showed them the pictures taken of such caves and testimonies of journalists who had been fed that line from the Peace Now tour guides.

The ads called for the Israeli government to unilaterally dismantle at least 40 of these Jewish communities as a confidence-building measure for peace.

In early November, Peace Now convened a press conference in which it presented the updated statistics on the expansion of settlements.

Speaking on behalf of the Movement, Ben Gurion University Professor Aryeh Arnon stated the passionate position of Peace Now: if Israel were to immediately withdraw from these 40 settlements, the Palestinian Authority would stop the shooting - in the direction of Jerusalem's Gilo, neighborhood.

I asked Prof. Arnon if any official in the Palestinian Authority had ever made a statement at any time in Arabic to express his willingness to accept a two-state solution and to recognize the State of Israel at any time.

Arnon said that he could not answer that question.

I submitted that question to more than 100 agencies that have been involved in covering or researching the peace process: Does anyone have any record of any statement in the Arabic language at any time in which an official of the PLO or the PA states their recognition of a two-state solution - in other words, of territories for peace. No such record has ever been discovered.

Peace Now is not alone in its continuing campaign against the settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. Defining the settlement defines the residents as colonists. The European Union, the EU, allocated \$250,000 to the "Peace Now" campaign against the settlements.

To augment the effort of targeting settlers as being the principle problem of the peace process, the EU commissioned the Israeli "Bitzelem" Human Rights Organization to research the subject of "settler violence". To this end, "Bitzelem" hired Arab staffers who interviewed Arab residents of the West Bank and Gaza,

and, as a matter of policy, "Bitzelem" refused to interview any Jewish residents of the West Bank or Gaza.

Meanwhile, in conjunction with Peace Now, the Rabbis for Human Rights organization has conducted an international campaign to expose West Bank settlers who allegedly uproot trees from Arab villages as a matter of policy. The Rabbis campaign includes raising funds for every tree that has been uprooted by settlers. Representatives of this group have made regular appearances on CNN and BBC to advance their cause. However, when these Rabbis are asked if they can pinpoint a specific time, witness or police complaint to the fact that settlers uprooted Arab trees, they could not cite a single instance, eyewitness, or police complaint of such. "We just know that this goes on", said the spokesman for the Rabbis for Human Rights.

What upsets the Peace Now settlement apple cart remains the official PLO definition of settlements, including any area where Israel placed its civilians in place of Arab civilians wherein Arab villages were overrun. This is in accordance with the Fourth Geneva Convention, which forbids a conquering nation from doing just that. In other words, the PLO definition of illegal settlements includes Israeli cities, collective farms and woodlands that replaced Arab villages in 1948 - places such as Ramle, Lod, Jaffa and Ashkelon.

For this reason, the Voice of Palestine radio news described Netanya and Hadera as illegal settlements when bombs were detonated in these Israeli cities, both of which annexed neighboring Arab villages following the 1948 war.

Since the Palestinian Authority declared a "death sentence for settlers", it would surprise many of in the Peace Now camp to know that most of the population of Israel now lives under the threat of a nascent regime that will justify, rationalize and condone the murder of most Jews in Israel, even if they do not live in the West Bank or Gaza.

Surprisingly, the Peace Now position has not been shaken. Their position remains that the way to peace is to cede the West Bank and Gaza to the PLO, even though the PLO does not accept any such formula for peace.

An icon is not easily broken. The Peace Camp has been transformed into an ideological dinosaur.

**Does the New PLO Entity Recognize Israel?**

*David Bedein, The Chicago JUF News, March 28, 2001*

A hands-on journalism experience...

At a staff meeting in September 1993, our news agency - whose purpose it is to provide continuing factual coverage for the foreign media - made a policy decision: to examine first-hand how the new Palestinian Arab entity would view Israel, and to determine if their recognition of Israel would indeed be genuine. Toward this end, we raised funds to hire Palestinian journalists and Arabic-speaking Israelis.

Among other things, over the past seven years we have succeeded in doing the following:

We covered all of Arafat's speeches, some of which we filmed;

We monitored public statements made by the PA;

We watched the PA's new TV station and listened to their new radio station;

We bought their new (revised) maps and their new school textbooks;

We covered the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony in Oslo (1994)

We did our utmost to make timely visits to the UNRWA refugee camps;

We followed the PA's new religious leaders and participated in Islamic-Jewish dialogue;

We visited PA military bases and interviewed PA security officials;

We attended the Palestine National Council meeting on April 24, 1996), which met in a special session to cancel the PLO Covenant, and never did so.

Seven-and-a-half-years later, the question of whether or not the new PLO entity recognizes Israel can now be answered, based on our hands-on coverage in each of the abovementioned areas.

1. Arafat's Speeches: The theme that Arafat has consistently preached throughout the past seven years revolves around the liberation of "all of Palestine". When Arafat refers to his commitment to "the peace of the brave", it is in terms of "the Right of Return" for five million Palestinian Arab refugees to flood Israel and to take over all of Jerusalem. He never speaks of "East Jerusalem."

Never once has Arafat made a statement to his people in the Arabic language that even hints at recognizing the State of Israel. He has never asked for a cessation of terror. In November 1996, I asked Arafat when he would speak, in Arabic, about recognizing Israel or denouncing terror. He replied that he does

so all the time, to which I responded that we have no record of such. In November 1998, following the Wye Conference, while holding in my hand a thick booklet of Arafat's verbatim praises of terror, I once again asked him that question while attending a US State Department briefing. His unfazed (unblinking, immediate) reply was that he "loved the Jews."

2. Public Statements Made by Members of the Palestinian Authority: We have subscribed to the position papers of the Palestinian Authority since its inception in 1993, and have carefully followed the Fatah website since its inauguration in 1998. Seeing these reports, one prominent Israeli peace leader observed that what bothered him was not the themes of war that one might expect in the intermediate stages of a peace process, but rather that they were so entirely devoid of peaceful sentiments.

3. Palestinian Authority Radio and TV: Since its inception in the fall of 1995, we have followed PA radio and PA TV. Indeed, a laboratory monitoring PA radio and TV stations – that is not connected with our office - now operates full time. Although the airwaves for both PA radio and TV were provided by the IDF and the initial funds for the Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation came through the US government and visiting UJA groups, the official Palestinian Authority electronic media regularly calls for Israel's destruction, the liberation of Palestine, and praises terror. In 1997, I arranged for a colleague in the peace movement to meet with Radwan Abu Ayash, the head of PBC, to ask him why the official media of the PA was devoid of any program for peace. Ayash responded that the Palestinian people were not ready for any such program.

4. Maps: On the maps of the new Palestinian state sold at the Orient House in Jerusalem - PLO headquarters - the name "Israel" does not appear. The word "Palestine" replaces the State of Israel. All 531 Arab villages that were abandoned in 1948 are returned to their locations within Israel proper while hundreds of Jewish communities have been obliterated. The current tourism map of the PA Ministry of Tourism, financed by the United Nations Development Program for Palestine, simply eradicates Israel from the map and shows all of the Old City of Jerusalem under PLO control, with no mention of Israel whatsoever. On May 15, 2000, our agency brought Arafat spokesman Dr. Walid Amar to speak. Amar said in his defense, "Well, your Israeli maps make no mention of Palestine," at which I whipped out the new Israel Ministry of Tourism map, which clearly delineates the areas under the control of the Palestinian Authority.

5. School Books: In September 2000, our agency bought copies of the new schoolbooks of the Palestinian Authority, and submitted them for translation and evaluation by professional agencies in Jerusalem. These textbooks were supposed to recognize Israel. The emphasis should be on the word "supposed." Instead, the maps and the curriculum portray all of Palestine as one great

Islamic state while the old school books that specifically instruct school children in the art of jihad (holy war) remain in the school curriculum.

6. Nobel Peace Prize: At the much-celebrated Nobel Peace Prize ceremony in Oslo in December 1994, I asked Yasser Arafat if this prize meant that he would indeed crush Hamas and cancel the PLO covenant. He responded very matter-of-factly that he made no such commitment.

7. UNRWA Refugee Camps: One of the great hopes of the peace process was that the new Palestinian entity would absorb the Arab refugees who have been held in the UNRWA camps for more than 50 years under the premise and promise of the "Right of Return" to the 1948 homes that no longer exist. Our hands-on reporting over the past seven years has conveyed the opposite reality. The PA has disenfranchised the UNRWA camps, depriving the Arab refugees of millions of dollars of health, education, welfare and construction assistance, since the PA with its ideology of the right of return does not subscribe to the notion that Palestinian Arab refugees should be repatriated to the West Bank or to Gaza. Imagine the shock one of my staffers experienced when she witnessed a Palestinian doctor in an UNRWA clinic refusing medical service to Arab refugee patients on the grounds that they can go back to the place from where they came which, today, is the city of Ashkelon.

8. Islam: When Arafat appointed new clerics to serve the mosques under his control, the initial press reaction was hopeful; perhaps this would provide a balance to the preaching of terror by Hamas clerics. Little did we know that the Arafat-appointed clerics would launch calls to jihad against the Jews with greater ferocity. As a participant in Islamic-Jewish dialogue, I was struck by the dissonance between the genuine grass-roots Palestinian Moslem interest in reconciliation and the incendiary messages they were receiving from the Palestinian Authority.

9. Palestinian Security Services: The reason Israel, the US, Canada and the EU provided weapons and arms training for Arafat's security services was based upon the assumption that Arafat would use his forces against Hamas. It was therefore surprising for us to report the PBC news item in May 1995 that the PA was going to supply Hamas with weapons; and the December 1995 English Arab weekly, Al-Aharam news item reporting on a PA-Hamas military and tactical agreement. Any visit or interview with Palestinian Authority security officials reveals that their goal is to liberate all of Palestine, despite any interim security co-operation with Israel.

10. The PNC Council: As mentioned above, we dispatched a television crew to cover the historic meeting of the Palestinian National Council in April 1996, a meeting that was reported to have cancelled the PLO covenant calling for Israel's destruction. The United States Congress had mandated that Arafat

would not be allowed into the US unless that covenant was cancelled. US Ambassador to Israel Martin Indyk misinformed President Clinton when he reported that Arafat had cancelled the covenant. Our video, which we sent to Indyk and later screened in the Knesset and the US Congress, told quite a different story, when it revealed that the PNC had, in fact, merely voted to establish a committee to consider amending the PLO covenant.

In short, although the Israeli government has used the past seven years of a peace process to prepare the Israeli people for peace, the PLO and its nascent Palestinian Authority have oriented the Palestinian Arab people to the continued non-recognition of Israel while preparing their people for war.

A logical question would be whether Israel has made any significant changes in its academic curriculum during this negotiation process. Senior Hebrew University Education Professor, Amos Yovel, one of the founders of the Peace Now Movement, was commissioned by the Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace to conduct an exhaustive survey of Israeli schoolbooks, to see if peace is being taught, and to determine if Arabs are being demonized in the Israeli school curriculum.

On January 8, 2001, Professor Yovel presented his study of 200 Israeli textbooks, which he had culled from both religious and secular Israeli schools. He declared that he had found no evidence of racism or demonization of Arabs in the curriculum being taught in the Israeli school system, and he expressed satisfaction that the Israel educational system was preparing a new generation of Israeli Jewish students for peace and reconciliation.

(Studies of the portrayal of Israelis in PA school books, and of Arabs in Israeli school books both appear on the same website: [www.edume.org](http://www.edume.org))

It takes two to dance the tango of mutual recognition and reconciliation. Only one of the parties is dancing.

**Islam as State Religion, No Juridical Rights for Other Religions, Guarantee for the Right of Return**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, April 8, 2003*

This week, a senior official of the Vatican provided Israel Resource News Agency with the finalized Arabic version of the Palestinian State Constitution, which has been framed by the official constitutional committee of the Palestinian National Authority, which had been funded by the Ford Foundation in the framework of the long-awaited reform in the Palestinian Authority.

This constitution was finalized and dated on March 26, 2003.

Some salient points of the 43-page document of the Palestinian constitution include:

Islam is to be the official religion of the Palestinian state, with all aspects of Palestinian state law to be subservient to fundamental Islamic law, modeled on Saudi Arabian law. No other religion except for Islam is to have juridical status. All religious schools and religious institutions of Christianity and other religions are under the supervision of the Islamic Law. The PLO concept of a “democratic secular state” appears nowhere in the document. Sources in the Vatican have expressed their deep concern about the prospect that Christian schools and Christian institutions that would be thrown under the jurisdiction and arbitrary control of a Moslem authority. Meanwhile, there is no system of human rights or civil liberties mentioned anywhere in the Palestinian State constitution.

The “right of return to homes from 1948” remains a fundamental right protected by the Palestinian state constitution, based on the PLO interpretation of UN General Assembly resolution #194. By “protecting” the right of return, the Palestinian state constitution essentially advocates the replacement of the state of Israel with millions of Palestinian Arab refugees and their descendents who have been wallowing in United Nations Arab refugee camps since 1949.

Official sources in the Palestinian Authority, the US government and the Israeli governments confirmed to Israel Resource News Agency that the White House, US Secretary of State and the Israel Office of the Prime Minister and the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs have received official copies of the Palestinian state constitution. However, the US and Israeli governments have not bothered to translate and share this sensitive document with either the US Congress or with the Israeli Knesset.

Neither the US government nor the Israeli government are speaking about the document.

Perhaps both governments would prefer that the existence of this document not be known. Why? Because there is a vision of an opportunity, after the Iraqi war, to “make peace.”

Any documentation of Palestinian intentions would destroy that vision.

This follows the pattern of the Oslo process. If the Arabic language documents of the nascent Palestinian Authority had been released early on, things could not have gotten as far as they did.

### **Why and how the Israeli Government Facilitated Weapons and Military Training for the PLO**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, September 4, 2003*

Israel’s “Orr Commission of Inquiry” addressed Israel’s security establishment’s faulty decision making process concerning security matters pertaining to the Israel Arab community, which resulted in the deaths of 14 Israeli citizens during riots that occurred in October 2000.

The conclusions of the Orr commission can be applied to an eventual Israel “Oslo Commission of Inquiry” which can be empowered to examine the Israeli security establishment’s faulty decision-making process to facilitate weapons supplies and military training for the PLO since September 1993, which resulted in the PLO turning its arms and military training against Israel, causing the deaths of more than 850 Israeli citizens.

The Orr Commission concluded that the Israeli prime minister was “not sufficiently aware of what was going on in the Arab sector.”

An Oslo commission would question whether successive Israeli prime ministers were not aware of what was going on “in the PLO” that would warrant the cessation of all arms supplies and military training for the PLO.

The Orr Commission concluded that the Israeli prime minister did not listen to the deliberations of Israel’s National Security Council, which warned of “the lethal dangers that lie ahead in the Israeli Arab sector.”

An Oslo Commission would question whether successive Israeli prime ministers followed the advice of Israel’s National Security Council, which warned of the lethal dangers that lie ahead with the PLO.

The Orr Commission found that the Israeli Minister of Public Security did not prepare the police for Wide-scale riots in the Arab sector, “even though he was aware of the processes that made the events likely.”

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

An Oslo commission would question successive Israeli Ministers of Defence and National Security along with IDF Commanders in Chief to determine if they properly prepared Israel's security establishment for a wide-scale war, since Israeli intelligence made them "aware of the processes that made the events likely."

Here is where the Oslo Commission investigation would begin:

The director of the Israel Government Press Office distributed a modest memo to the press on the of Wednesday, September 15th 1993, two days after the famous Rabin-Arafat handshake on the white house lawn and about six hours before the Jewish New Year Holiday, in which Israel provided its first public announcement that the IDF was indeed going to provide arms and munitions to the PLO.

The timing of that earth-shattering memo meant that it went almost unreported.

That same memo reported that Israeli Prime Minister Rabin had established an advisory committee to oversee that the facilitation of arms for the PLO, a committee, which consisted of a newspaper correspondent and two senior experts from a research center for strategic studies.

Neither the Israeli government or cabinet had not met to approve arms or military training for the PLO.

Indeed, since 1993, Israel has facilitated the PLO with weapons and military training.

This has generally been done without the formal approval of the Israel National Security Council, the Israeli cabinet or the Israeli Knesset, and without the knowledge of the media or the public at large.

How was this allowed to happen?

An Oslo commission inquiry may soon discover what the Orr Commission has discovered, which is that the faulty decision making process of Israel's Security Establishment has proven to be lethal.

### **World Bank Plans to Transfer all Assets of Katif to the PLO**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, October 22, 2004*

Giora Eiland, head of the Israel National Security Council, appeared at the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee on Monday and was reported to have stated that Israel will hand over assets of the Israeli communities in Gaza to an international institution.

However, Israel Resource News Agency obtained a Israel government funded policy paper of that “international institution”, known as the World Bank, where that institution openly states that it intends to transfer assets of Gush Katif to the Palestinian Authority, without any requirement that the PA cease from engaging in terrorism.

This is what the government of Israel decided on June 6, 2004, in clause 7 of the Sharon Plan:

“The State of Israel will aspire to transfer other facilities, including industrial, commercial and agricultural ones, to a third, international party which will put them to use for the benefit of the Palestinian population that is not involved in terror.”

However, in the monograph that was prepared for the World Bank at the request of the government of Israel, in coordination with the PA, entitled “Disengagement, “Palestinian Economy and the Settlements and issued by The World Bank” and issued on June 23, 2004, and signed by James Wolfenson, the President of the World Bank, the World Bank eliminates the phrase “not involved in terror” and explains “the State of Israel will aspire to transfer other structures, such as industrial and agricultural facilities, to an international third party that will use them for the benefit of the Palestinian population.”

In other words, with the commission of the Israeli government and in violation of a specific Israeli cabinet, the World Bank states that it intends to hand over assets to the PA without the anti-terror clause.

Clause One of the Sharon Plan defines the PA as a hostile entity, yet Sharon intends to hand over assets to that same hostile entity.

Itamar Yaar, a senior official of the Israel National Security Council, told me in a telephone interview that this report of the World Bank is not the final version of their report.

## **A Text Analysis of the Palestinian State Constitution**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, November 19, 2004*

### I. Introduction

#### A. Why a Palestinian State Constitution

More than anything else, the Palestinian State Constitution represents the attempt to present to the world the face of a modern Palestinian state. The constitution is meant to present a hope that a dictatorship can turn into a democracy, that a regime built on terrorism can become peaceful, that a traditional society can embrace the tenets of modernity.

As a result, the European Union and the United States have focused on the drafting of a Palestinian constitution that would reflect a Western view of how a Palestinian state should look. Since 1997, Brussels and Washington have been financing and advising the effort and urged for the introduction of democracy, separation of powers and judicial independence as part of any state.

In 2002, PA Chairman Yasser Arafat initiated the Basic Law, regarded as interim constitution until the establishment of a Palestinian state. The Basic Law contained 112 articles that calls for regular presidential elections, and a separation of powers.

The Palestinian constitution is regarded as a key test of any Palestinian commitment to democracy. President George Bush has stressed that the United States wants to ensure Palestinian democracy before ensuring statehood.

#### B. The History of a Palestinian Constitution

The attempts to draft a Palestinian constitution preceded the 1993 Oslo agreement with Israel and negotiations for a Palestinian state. In October 1948, months after the declaration of the Jewish state of Israel, the Palestinians sought to assert their right to statehood. The newly established Palestinian National Council presented what it termed a provisional constitution. The constitution was meant to establish an interim parliamentary regime in the first step toward statehood. Within three years, the Palestinian constitution was thrown into the dustbin. By 1952, Egypt was in complete control over the Gaza Strip and suppressed all signs of genuine Palestinian nationalism. Instead, Egypt issued constitutional documents for the Gaza Strip in 1955 and 1962. Jordan, which controlled the West Bank, issued a constitution in 1952. Both constitutions limited any effective expression of Palestinian political identity.

In 1988, the PNC declared Palestinian independence. The statement pledged to establish a democratic government and draft a constitution. Again, the PNC did little than focus on rhetoric. In 1993, however, Israel and the PLO signed an agreement that recognized each other and began a process that was seen as a march toward Palestinian statehood. Arafat appointed Dr. Anis Al-Qassem to coordinate the efforts of a constitution and the PLO's legal committee then ordered the drafting of the Basic Law, an interim document meant to govern the PA until a permanent constitution was written.

PA Chairman Arafat did little if anything to promote the constitution and refused to sign the Basic Law. The result was a vacuum in the Palestinian legal framework. Palestinian courts were based on a patchwork of Israeli, Egyptian and Jordanian law. In the end, the Basic Law was dismissed as failing to meet international demands for reform.

In 1999, the PLO Executive Committee established several committees to draft a constitution. The Arab League formed an advisory committee to both help and supervise the effort. A year later, several drafts were circulated but none of them was endorsed. In February 2001, Palestinians established another constitutional committee.

### C. Major Issues of a Constitution

All drafts of the constitution have sought to address four key issues. They include system of government, rights and freedoms, the role of Islam and the link with the Palestinian diaspora. PA International Cooperation Minister Nabil Shaath, chairman of the constitution committee, said the latest effort to complete a constitution has included more than 40 drafts. A Western team, which included experts from Britain, Spain and the United States, helped in the wording of the text.

## II. The Constitution

### A. Those Deserving of Thanks

The preamble of the document — a third and final draft and presented on March 25, 2003 — contains a list of people thanked by Shaath and the committee that drafted the constitution. One would expect the appreciation and thanks to first go to those who financed the effort and advised the committee. This would have included the European Union, the United States State Department and the foundations that provided funding. This does not appear. Instead, the list of those thanked are the heads of Arab regimes friendly to the PLO.

The list reads like a Who's Who of Arab despotism.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak leads the list. He is followed by Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, Saudi Foreign Minister Saud Al Faisal, Arab League secretary-general Amr Mussa and his predecessor, Ismat Abdul Majid. Saudi Arabia has been termed by the State Department as a country that does not tolerate any freedom of religion apart from Islam. Egypt's human rights record is one of the worst for a U.S. ally and has been consistently criticized by Washington. Lebanon has been consumed by the Syrian occupation and has destroyed any freedom of expression or human rights.

The reason for the thanks to the Arab regime leaders is that Arafat ensured that the constitution meets their approval. The Saudi-owned A-Sharq Al Awsat daily said the constitution was sent to several Arab countries and the responses were disappointing. The Arab regimes complained of the powers of Arafat. But in response, Shaath and his committee said the Palestinian draft is similar to that of Egypt, France and Syria. This explains the need to seek approval from such an Arab regime as Syria, now regarded as the most despotic in the Middle East.

#### B. The Nature of the State

The opening articles of the constitution focus on the nature of the proposed Palestinian state. There is plenty of text but the details are vague and the meaning is multiple. The main question is whether the Palestinians seek to establish a state that will not threaten Israel. The constitution leaves this question open.

##### Article (1)

“The State of Palestine is a sovereign, independent republic. Its territory is an indivisible unit based upon its borders on the eve of June 4, 1967, without prejudice to the rights guaranteed by the international resolutions relative to Palestine. All residents of this territory shall be subject to Palestinian law exclusively.”

In the Arabic version, the word “based” does not appear. This implies that this is the final border. The discrepancy does not appear to be coincidental. Palestinian officials and the PA-owned media have talked of a range of versions for this clause.

##### Article (2)

“Palestine is part of the Arab nation. The state of Palestine abides by the charter of the Arab League. The Palestinian people are part of the Arab and Islamic nations. Arab unity is a goal the Palestinian people hopes to achieve.

This clause is as ambivalent as it is threatening. Arab unity has been cited as a goal for every act of Arab hostility, including the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait in

1990. Does this mean that a Palestinian state will seek to merge with Egypt and Jordan or Syria?

The link of a Palestinian constitution with the Arab League charter also begs the question of what does this mean for the Palestinian commitment to peace with Israel. The Arab League has never recognized Israel or its right to sovereignty, while remaining in a state of war with Israel. How does the charter of the Arab League mesh with any hope for Palestinian recognition of Israel?

Article (3)

“Palestine is a peace loving state that condemns terror, occupation and aggression. It calls for the resolution of international and regional problems by peaceful means. It abides by the Charter of the United Nations.”

This statement might be seen as benign if we were talking about most emerging states. But given the PA record of terrorism, the mendacity embedded in this “fact” is astounding. The PA has never fought Palestinian terror. It does not abide by the UN charter and has shown no inkling to resolve problems by peaceful means. Perhaps the key is “resolution of international and regional problems by peaceful means.” The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not seen in this context.

Article (4)

“Jerusalem is the capital of the state of Palestine and seat of its public authorities.”

The Palestinian draft does not define what it means by Jerusalem. Neither the Arabic nor the English versions delineates the borders of the city, which was Israel’s capital before the 1967 war.

C. Islam and the State

The dichotomy of Islam and democracy is repeated throughout the constitution. Will Palestine be an Islamic state or a democracy that respects all? Some might argue that both can be achieved. But this argument holds no weight given the state sponsorship of Saudi Arabia of Al Qaida, Hamas and other Islamic groups — all in the name of peaceful Islam. Today, the adoption of state-sponsored Islam means the intention of an undemocratic Arab regime to trample civil and human rights in the name of religion.

Article (5)

“Arabic and Islam are the official Palestinian language and religion. Christianity and all other monotheistic religions shall be equally revered and respected. The

Constitution guarantees equality in rights and duties to all citizens irrespective of their religious belief.”

There is no mention of Judaism here. Instead, Christianity is referred to although there are far more Jews than Christians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Does this mean Jews have no right to exist in these areas?

The status of Islam as the official religion does not conform with the assertion that all religions are equal in the Palestinian state. Islam as practiced in the Arab states that sponsored the constitution simply does not recognize other religions. The PA has crushed non-Islamic religions while it has supported Hamas's agenda. The PA has converted its radio and television into instruments of Islamic holy war. PA television indoctrinates children to hate Israelis as those who seek to destroy Islam and urges Muslim children to destroy Jewish symbols.

Article (7)

“The principles of Islamic Sharia are a major source for legislation. Civil and religious matters of the followers of monotheistic religions shall be organized in accordance with their religious teachings and denominations within the framework of law, while preserving the unity and independence of the Palestinian people.”

This completely contradicts Article 5. Sharia, especially as interpreted by Arab regimes, dismisses and represses other religions. It also violates human rights and demands supremacy of Muslims over non-Muslims. One can say that Israel has a similar law. But the difference is that the Israeli secular courts show no preference regarding religion while Sharia courts clearly have. Article 7 is clearly a sop to Saudi Arabia and Hamas.

D. The Palestinian Political System

A major part of the constitution discusses the future Palestinian political system. In truth, no political system can prevent a dictatorship. But a clear document can at least serve to rally democratic forces. The Palestinian constitution does little more than rehash platitudes in a way that can only remind one of George Orwell's "1984," where truth was a lie and freedom meant slavery.

Article (8)

“The Palestinian political system shall be a parliamentary representative democracy based on political pluralism. The rights and liberties of all citizens shall be respected, including the right to form political parties and engage in political activity without discrimination on the basis of political opinions, sex, or religion. The parties shall abide by the principles of national sovereignty,

democracy and peaceful transfer of authority in accordance with the Constitution.”

This is disingenuous. Today, there is no political pluralism in Palestinian society. All of the factions in the Palestinian Legislative Council are wings of the PLO, each with its own militia. There is no place in the PLC for peace activists and the article does not provide any immunity from the executive branch and its security forces.

#### Article (9)

“Government shall be based on the principles of the rule of law and justice. All authorities, agencies, departments, institutions and individuals shall abide by the law.”

This article appears redundant unless the background of Palestinian government is understood. Simply put, the PA has flouted every law passed. The next two articles also fail to address the legacy of Arafat’s authoritarian rule.

#### Article (10)

“All activities of the Palestinian public authorities shall, in normal and exceptional circumstances, be subject to administrative, political, legal and judicial review and control. There shall be no provision of law, which grants immunity to any administrative action or decision from judicial supervision. The state shall be bound to compensate for damages resulting from errors, and risks resulting from actions and procedures carried out by state officials in the pursuit of their duties.

#### Article (11)

“The independence and immunity of the judiciary are necessary for the protection of rights and liberties. No public or private individual shall be immune from executing judicial rulings. Any act of contempt of the judiciary shall be punishable by law.”

The constitution does not acknowledge or even seek to resolve the problem that any regime leader is seen as above the law. This allowed the flouting of the law by those who spoke or acted for Arafat. But the constitution, as we will see later, made Arafat the center of PA.

#### E. The Palestinian Right of Return

If there was any point the Palestinian could make in demonstrating its peaceful intention, it would be the determination of the future of Palestinian refugees and their ancestors. The PA claims that the number of refugees and their

descendants now exceed 7 million. Pressing for the return of these people to what is now Israel guarantees the destruction of the Jewish state. The constitution, however, supports the right of return for Palestinians without any thought to the consequence for its Israeli neighbor or of a peaceful Middle East.

Article (12)

“Palestinian nationality shall be regulated by law, without prejudice to the rights of those who legally acquired it prior to May 10, 1948 or the rights of the Palestinians residing in Palestine prior to this date, and who were forced into exile or departed there from and denied return thereto. This right passes on from fathers or mothers to their progenitor.

It neither disappears nor elapses unless voluntarily relinquished. A Palestinian cannot be deprived of his nationality. The acquisition and relinquishment of Palestinian nationality shall be regulated by law. The rights and duties of citizens with multiple nationalities shall be governed by law.”

This is a change from the PLO covenant that says that a Palestinian is someone who arrived in the British mandate until 1947. It also grants rights to tens of thousands of Arab fighters who infiltrated the mandate on the eve of the Israeli war of independence. It is not clear what the constitution means by Palestinians who “legally acquire” Palestinian nationality. The transfer of Palestinian nationality from mother and father is beyond the nationality laws of any Arab state, which regards rights as stemming from the father.

Indeed, the next clause reaffirms the Palestinian right of return. It fits well with the preamble and other clauses that do not envision a termination of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the emergence of a peaceful Palestinian state.

Article (13)

“Palestinians who left Palestine as a result of the 1948 war, and who were denied return thereto shall have the right to return to the Palestinian state and bear its nationality. It is a permanent, inalienable, and irrevocable right. The state of Palestine shall strive to apply the legitimate right of return of the Palestinian refugees to their homes, and to obtain compensation, through negotiations, political, and legal channels in accordance with the 1948 United Nations General Assembly Resolution 194 and the principles of international law.”

Article 14 continues in this vein.

Article (14)

“Natural resources in Palestine are the property of the Palestinian people who will exercise sovereignty over them. The state shall be obligated to preserve

natural resources and legally regulate their optimal exploitation while safeguarding Palestinian religious and cultural heritage and environmental needs. The protection and maintenance of antiquities and historical sites is an official and social responsibility. It is prohibited to tamper with or destroy them, and whoever violates, destroys, or illegally sells them shall be punishable by law.”

This is the basis for Palestinian claims over all water that stems from the West Bank or that flows into the Gaza Strip. The article contains no reference to cooperation with its neighbors regarding natural resources. In other words, this article ensures the basis of future conflict.

#### F. Palestinian Equality

##### Article (19)

“Palestinians are equal before the law. They enjoy civil and political rights and bear public duties without discrimination. The term ‘Palestinian’ or ‘Citizen’ wherever it appears in the constitution refers to both, male and female.”

There is no reference to residents of Palestine. In other words, those who are not citizens or regarded as Palestinians have no civil or political rights. Article 20 also reaffirms the absence of basic rights for those who are not deemed as Palestinian citizens.

##### Article (20)

“Human rights and liberties are binding and must be respected. The state shall guarantee religious, civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights and liberties to all citizens on the basis of equality and equal opportunity. Persons are not deprived of their legal competence, rights and basic liberties for political reasons.”

One can say that the first sentence provides a fig leaf to all in a Palestinian state. But the first sentence affirms a general right while the second sentence clearly limits this to citizens. The difference is significant in countries such as Saudi Arabia, which has a huge expatriate community.

##### Article (32)

“A foreign political refugee who legally enjoys the right of asylum may not be extradited. The extradition of ordinary foreign defendants shall be governed by bilateral agreements or international conventions.” This clause sounds liberal at best and benign at worst except when you realize that thousands of Al Qaida, Hezbollah and other terrorists are seeking refuge in PA areas. Are they regarded as political refugees? After all, Syria has been harboring hundreds of

members of the Iraqi regime of President Saddam Hussein on the pretext that they are political refugees.

Article (36)

“Freedom of religion and religious practice is guaranteed by the Constitution. The state shall guarantee access to holy shrines that are subject to its sovereignty. The state shall guarantee to followers of all monotheistic religions the sanctity of their shrines in accordance with the historic commitment of the Palestinian people and the international commitments of Palestine.”

The constitution constantly refers to rights limited to “followers of all monotheistic religions.” What does this mean and who decides whether a religion is monotheistic? Is Judaism monotheistic or is it devil’s worship as Hamas claims? Then comes the kicker: the guarantee for freedom of access is in “accordance with the historic commitment of the Palestinian people and the international commitments of Palestine.” Does this mean that if Palestinians claim that Jewish presence in the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron threatens sovereignty, then that right of access must be denied?

Article (37)

“Freedom of thought shall be guaranteed. Individuals shall have the right to express their opinions and publicize them in writing, speech, art, or other means of expression within the provisions of the law. The law may only apply minimal restrictions on the practice thereof so as to safeguard the rights and liberties of others.”

This article contains the restriction that completely nullifies freedom of thought. It does not say that freedom of thought that attacks the rights and liberties of others will not be tolerated. It talks of “minimal restrictions.” Indeed, the Arabic version does not have the last sentence.

Instead, it says that freedom of thought is guaranteed and includes respect of the rights of others.

Article (38)

“The right to publish newspapers or other means of the media is universal and guaranteed by the constitution. Financial sources for such purposes shall be subject to legal control.”

This article reflects both an expectation and a current reality. Newspapers in the PA are financed from abroad. The PA has gotten around this by ensuring that all of its daily newspapers are either owned outright or controlled by Arafat.

Article (39) “Freedom of the press, including print, audio, and visual media, and those working in the media, is guaranteed. The media shall freely exercise its mission and express different opinions within the framework of society’s basic values, while preserving rights, liberties and public duties in a manner consistent with the rule of law. The media may not be subject to administrative censorship, hindrance, or confiscation, except by court order in accordance with the law.”

Again, the right of freedom for the press is undermined by an unspecified proviso that the courts could stop freedom of the press. This is an important point, since Arafat controlled the court system and simply overruled any judge he felt like.

Article (45)

“The law shall regulate social security, disability and old age pensions, support to families of martyrs, detainees, orphans, those injured in the national struggle, and those requiring special care. The state shall guarantee them- within its capabilities- education, health and social security services and shall give them priority in employment opportunities in accordance with the law.”

This clause again guarantees that the Palestinian state will finance terror. The clause could have said that the state will provide for those injured in war or attack. Instead it talks of “martyrs” and “national struggle.” The only time this term is used is in reference to terrorist attacks on Israel. Martyrs have been used to denote Palestinian suicide attacks against Israel.

Article (52)

“The right to protest and strike shall be exercised within the limits of the law.”

Every Arab country has this clause and none of them allows for strikes. What are the limits of strikes?

Article (53)

“Citizens shall have the right to assume public office, on the basis of competence, merit and equal opportunity in accordance with the requirements of the law.”

Who will decide whether a candidate for public office is competent or meritorious? In democracies, candidates are elected. In Iran, a regime council screens candidates for competence?

Article (58)

“Basic rights and liberties may not be suspended. The law shall regulate those rights and liberties that may be temporarily restricted in exceptional

circumstances in matters related to public security and national safety purposes. The law shall penalize the arbitrary use of power and authority.”

"Exceptional circumstances" is a term fraught with danger. The Palestinian leadership have explained all sorts of injustice by invoking this term. Egypt has maintained a state of emergency for more than 20 years. The article merely sets up the option of dictatorship.

Article (67)

“The House of Representatives shall be composed of (150) individuals, representing the Palestinian people. They shall be elected according to the Constitution and election law. When running for candidacy to the House of Representatives, the provisions stated in this Constitution and the election law shall be observed. Candidates for the House of Representatives must be Palestinian.”

This clause guarantees that minorities living in Palestinian state will not be represented. It does not define a Palestinian. As it turns out, a huge part of the constitution delves into details of the House of Representatives and the president. This is usually not what the constitution does. The English translation also calls the parliament “House of Representatives,” an apparent sop to the U.S.

Article (117)

“The president shall submit a financial statement relative to him, his/her spouse and minor children, detailing his movable or non-movable property and cash asset debts or dues in Palestine and abroad. They will be kept by the Constitutional Court.”

Does this mean that Arafat’s financial statement will never be released?

Article (124)

“The Speaker of the Council of Ministers, or the minister he appoints, shall negotiate international treaties, and inform the President of the State of the course of negotiations, which in turn have to be approved by the Council of Ministers and endorsed by the President.”

The Arabic version merely says “prime minister.” Why the discrepancy? What does “endorse by the president” mean? In the Arabic version it says “certified or confirmed.” The answer might be contained in the next clause.

Article (125)

“In addition to the Presidential prerogatives, the President enjoys the following privileges:

He heads, in exceptional cases, and during the State of Emergency, the Council of Ministers.

He issues alone the decree for the nomination of the prime minister and the decree accepting the resignation of the government or considering it resigned. Other decisions and protocols have to be jointly signed by the prime minister, and the minister or ministers concerned. The prime minister co-signs with the president of the state decrees of law, decrees of reevaluation of laws and decrees calling for exceptional meetings of the House of Representatives.

He addresses, when necessary, a non-debatable speech to the House of Representatives.

He forwards drafts of laws approved by the council of ministers to the House of Representatives.

He grants special pardons or reduction of sentences. Amnesty is by decree exclusively.

He heads official receptions and grants state decorations by decree.

This is the key to how the Palestinian constitution sees the future of Arafat's successor, who will continue to wield tremendous power and the constitution ensures that he will continue to be a dictator. All he has to do is declare a state of emergency.

Article (127)

"The president of the state is the supreme commander of the Palestinian national security forces which is headed by a concerned minister." This robs the prime minister of authority over the security forces.

Article (129)

"The president of the state, with the approval with the prime minister and consultation with the Speaker of the House of Representative, may declare a state of emergency if the security of the country is exposed to danger of war or natural disaster or siege threatening the safety of the society and continuity of operation of its constitutional institutions. The emergency measures must be necessary to restore public order, or the orderly functioning of the state's authorities, or confront disaster or siege, for a period not exceeding thirty days, renewable by approval of two thirds of all the members of the House of Representatives, with the exception of state of war. In all cases, any declaration of a state of emergency must specify the purpose thereof, and the region and time period covered thereby."

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If the president can appoint a prime minister, then the latter's input in a state of emergency is meaningless. Indeed, the constitution envisions the prime minister as being an extension of the president.

Notice how much space is given to state of emergency. This reflects the basis for what Arafat expected would take place immediately after state is formed.

### III. Conclusion

The Palestinian constitution cannot be divorced from two basic facts.

One is the historic use of terrorism and brutality by the Palestinian leadership primarily against its own people.

The other is that the Palestinian leadership has not changed and Arafat's successor is expected continue his authoritarian rule. The constitution does not acknowledge or deal with this. Instead, it deals with platitudes and remains disingenuous throughout.

### **Palestinian Authority After Arafat**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, November 26, 2004*

With Arafat out of the picture, the only difference between Arafat and his followers is that his successors wear business suits.

Each PLO official who runs the Palestinian Authority maintains a clear record who continues to support the armed struggle and the essentials of the PLO covenant which mandates the "phased eradication of Israel."

If the Clinton holdovers in the US State Department have tried to sell the President that Arafat's inner circle are advocates of peace and reconciliation, there may be another way to look at it, if President Bush's supporters can remind the president of the public record of each of the PLO officials who often make a nice impression in the media, and whose reality belies their image.

Here is the line-up of those who are set to take the reins of power from Arafat:

Ahmed Qurei (Abu Ala)

PNA Prime Minister

Former Speaker, Palestinian Legislative Council

Member, Fatah Central Committee

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Manager of PLO financial empire

A man with an image as moderate negotiator, Qurei has showed signs of being anything but moderate:

He is on record as saying that the borders of the future Palestinian state are the boundaries set by the UN partition resolution in 1947. This means Israel would not even have West Jerusalem.

In 1998, he told a PA rally: "The leadership that threw stones is ready to return and use stones to free the people and the land."

Nabil Sha'ath

PNA Minister of External Affairs

Chair, Palestinian National Council Political Committee

Member, Palestinian Legislative Council

Member, Fatah Central Committee

Sha'ath is at home in the western political sphere, and tends to be received well by westerners.

While he seen as a moderate, there is evidence to the contrary:

Shortly after two Hamas bus bombings in 1994, he made the comment that:

"For us, we have a political relationship with Hamas, a brotherly relationship.."

In the 1996 PA elections he used a campaign emblem of two Kalashnikov assault rifles and a hand grenade superimposed on a map of "all Palestine." In 2000 he said:

No one believed him (Arafat) when he used to say it... [but] The choice is not at all between options of negotiation and fighting: you can have negotiations and fight at the same time... the Palestinian people fight with weapons, with jihad, with Intifada and suicide actions... and it is destined to always fight and negotiate at the same time.

In 2001 he boasted of the capacity of the Palestinians to kill Israelis, saying that Hezbollah would kill 20-25 Israelis in a year, whereas the Intifada, in a "mere" four months had succeeded in killing 74 Israelis.

Sha'ath served as Chairman of the PLO Constitution Committee, and has overseen the drafting of a new constitution, approved by the PLC, for the proposed Palestinian state. This is a constitution that would establish a state

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based on the strict Islamic law and mandate the right of every Palestinian Arab refugee and refugee descendent to return to their “homes” from 1948.

Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen)

First PNA Prime Minister, April to September 2003

Member, Palestine National Council

Member, PLO Executive Committee

Co-Founder, Fatah

Abu Mazen has been widely seen as a moderate:

He participated in the negotiation process during the Madrid Conference, and headed the Palestinian negotiating team to the secret Oslo talks that preceded an agreement. A long-time head of the PLO Negotiating Affairs Department, he was a signatory to the Principles of Declaration signed in September 1993, and the Interim Agreement in 1995. That same year, working secretly with Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin he drafted a controversial “Framework for the Conclusion of a Final Status Agreement Between Israel and the PLO” (better known as the Abu Mazen-Beilin Plan) and then refused to sign the document.

Yossi Beilin voices the opinion that Abu Mazen’s positions are more extreme than Arafat’s, since he “was among Arafat’s ‘restrictors’ during the Camp David summit.”

Abu Mazen lauded Arafat’s rejection of Barak’s offer at Camp David in 2000, saying, “I do not feel any regret. What we did was the right thing to do.” No opportunity was missed, since “the opportunity did not exist...they say ‘we offered 95% (of the territory),’ and I ask why not 100%?”

According to Arabic News, once the Al Aqsa Intifada began, there were some among Arafat’s advisors who pressed for a settlement with Israel. But Abu Mazen-a man recently touted as conciliatory-advised Arafat to continue the armed uprising until the goal of a Palestinian state was achieved.

Among other positions of Abu Mazen that cast grave doubt on his moderation:

He has given sanction to killing Jewish civilians in the West Bank and Gaza. In the Arabic paper A-Sharq al-Aussat, he said:

It is our right to resist, the Intifada must continue, and it is the right of the Palestinian people to resist and use all possible means in order to defend its presence and existence. I add and say that if the Israelis come to your land in

order to erect a settlement then it is your right to defend what is yours [using] all means and arms as long as they are coming to your home...

He insists on the right of return, which, if implemented, would destroy Israel:

The refugees of 1948 and the refugees of 1967 have the right reserved to return to their homeland and every place they have left...this is not only limited to land under the sovereignty of the PA. We demand their return to Jaffa, to Haifa and the other regions that they came from.

He said, regarding the existence of a Jewish Temple at the Temple Mount:

I challenge the assertion [that there has ever been a Jewish temple.] But even if it were true, we do not accept it because it is not the logic of someone who wants a practical peace.

He was praised for criticizing the “militarization” of the Second Intifada, but later clarified:

We didn't say we would stop the armed struggle. We said that the militarization of the Intifada should stop. This is why we said that there is no option but to stop it for a year, and it won't be perceived as caving in on our side...

Abbas's doctoral thesis was “Zionist leadership and the Nazis.” He later expanded it into a book, *The Other Side: The Secret Relationship Between Nazism and the Zionist Movement*, in which he wrote:

[the Zionists gave] permission to every racist in the world, led by Hitler and the Nazis, to treat Jews as they wish, so long as it guarantees immigration to Palestine...Having more victims meant greater rights and stronger privilege to join the negotiation table for dividing the spoils of war once it was over.

He is still echoing these opinions. In an interview on official Palestinian TV, he charged that the Nazis had no specific plan to murder Jews, that the term “Holocaust” can be applied only to Gypsies and Palestinians, and that the “Holocaust Industry” is a Zionist plot to generate billions.

Abu Mazen was also the man who financed the terrorists who killed the Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics in 1972.

All of this is important as a matter of record but in a sense may now be moot. For, such are the vagaries of Palestinian politics that it is not Arafat, but rather Abu Mazen who has been rendered irrelevant to proceedings within the PA; his “new” government lasted less than five months:

Mohammed Dahlan

Former PNA Minister for Security Affairs

Co-Founder, Shabiba, Fatah Youth Organization

Member, Fatah

In the 1980s, he was arrested by the Israelis eleven times for terrorist activities associated with Shabiba, and subsequently became a student leader of the first Intifada. After he was deported by Israel, he went to Tunis, where he gained Arafat's confidence as he continued to orchestrate Intifada activities.

On his return to Gaza in 1994, he took over the Preventive Security Services in Gaza. His base of power has remained Gaza-there is resentment of him in the West Bank, where rival Jabril Rajoub maintains his base of power.

Dahlan criticized lack of coherent policy in the second Intifada and resigned in 2002 in disagreement with Arafat regarding PA reforms. Because of his independence and his desire to establish one single security force he was sought after as reforms were being instituted within the PA. Once he assumed a role in the cabinet of Abu Mazen, he became very much an Abu Mazen loyalist, publicly associated with moderation.

However, Dahlan is on record as having no intention of dismantling the terrorist infrastructure. What is more his personal involvement in terrorism is eminently clear:

Israeli Intelligence is in possession of documents proving the direct complicity of Dahlan in all stages of the foiled Karine-A gunboat operation.

The CIA has a secret recording of Dahlan giving orders to bomb an Israeli school bus in Kfar Darom, November 18, 2000. Two adults were killed in that attack, and several children were wounded, three siblings who each lost part of a leg.

His name is associated with a document for a bomb factory.

He sheltered Muhammad Dief, a terrorist with blood on his hands.

Dahlan said in an interview that he had hired 25 Hamas terrorists specifically in order to protect them from being arrested by the Israelis.

Dahlan's loyalty to Abu Mazen and his charges that Fatah was instrumental in generating Abu Mazen's downfall made him a focus of Fatah tensions. This resulted in a falling out with Arafat; Abu Mazen then excluded him from his newly formulated cabinet. By February 2004, Arafat had begun to court Dahlan, but this appears to be an effort to quell tensions between PA security forces and gunmen loyal to Dahlan.

Marwan Barghouti

Member, Palestinian Legislative Council

Secretary-General, Fatah

Co-founder Shabiba, Fatah Youth Organization

Commander, Tanzim

He is, after Arafat, the person most closely allied with recent Palestinian terrorism. According to Avi Dichter, director of the Israel's General Security Services, Barghouti has been in charge of the ongoing terrorist war against Israel.

Barghouti provided assistance when Arafat established the Tanzim, a paramilitary force of Fatah that is currently responsible for some 50% of the violence against Israel, and was subsequently appointed its commander by Arafat. When he lost a re-election to the position, Arafat cancelled the results.

On January 17, 2002, in an infamous strike, Tanzim militia opened fire with an attack rifle at a bat mitzvah party in Hadera, killing six and wounding over 30. Israeli security sources have firmly established that Barghouti knew of the attack in advance, and gave it his blessing.

He has close associations with the Al-Aqsa Brigades, founded in 2000, which has carried out some of the most brutal of terror attacks. He publicly denies a role in founding this special operations paramilitary group, but in April 2002 they claimed him as their leader, and it is clear that other key members of Tanzim are also intimately involved with the Brigades. It has been his habit, as well, to provide fiery speeches at gatherings such as funerals to stir up the masses.

In a New Yorker interview in 2001, he said that if he received a complete withdrawal of Israel, i.e., to pre-'67 lines, he would still seek "bigger things"-specifically, "one state for all the peoples." Quite simply, he does not seek coexistence with Israel but rather Israel's disappearance as a Jewish state. In a discussion with Ha'aretz, about whether Fatah would restrict its terrorism to "Area A," that is, areas under Palestinian control, Barghouti replied: "For me, Ramallah and Tel Aviv are now Area A. The same."

In yet another, astonishing, interview-this time with an Arab paper – Barghouti described his critical role in igniting the Intifada that began in 2000. (See In Their Words.)

Barghouti was captured by the IDF in the West Bank in April 2002. He is currently standing trial in Israel: The indictment filed against him alleges that he

violated seven provisions of the penal law, including membership in a terrorist organization, activity in a terrorist organization, murder, complicity to murder, solicitation to murder, attempted murder, and conspiracy to commit a felony.

Jabril Rajoub

National Security Advisor (Arafat appointment)

Former Head, West Bank Preventive Security Forces

Member, Fatah

For throwing a grenade at an Israeli military jeep and killing Israeli soldiers, he spent the years from 1968 until 1986 in Israeli prisons (where he learned Hebrew and English). As a result of his role in the Intifada in 1987, he was then expelled to Lebanon.

When he returned to PA-controlled territory in the West Bank in 1994, he took over the Security Forces there, bringing together thousands of young men, most of whom who had been involved in the Intifada. Rajoub is a strong PA loyalist. He has a reputation as someone who abuses Arab human rights and frequently resorts to crude strong-arm techniques: more than one journalist who has criticized the PA or Arafat has received a visit from Preventive Security.

Rajoub has turned a blind eye to terrorism, saying:

If I have information about terror activity in Area B [where Israel has responsibility for security], I won't give it to the Israelis.

He has also voiced support for Hamas, telling Al-Jazira Television on May 27, 1998:

We view Hamas as part of the national and Islamic liberation movement... At the top of my list is the occupation and not Hamas. We are not interested in arrests.

On April 19, 2002, then Deputy Prime Minister Natan Sharansky reported the following during a briefing he gave regarding Israeli operations in Defensive Shield:

...we went to the base of Jabril Rajoub. This is an army base, but we also found a lot of costumes for people that are going to make suicide bombings – fake hair and kippas [skullcaps] for people who are going to put them on so they can get into Israeli streets and make suicide bombings. We have some of the pictures...

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Rajoub, for whom a bright future in the PA has been predicted, was actually fired by Arafat in 2002 because he was perceived as a threat. He returned to favor in August 2003, when Arafat appointed him as his National Security Advisor: (Rajoub-who has a fiercely competitive relationship with Dahlan-had acquired value as a counterweight to Dahlan, who had become an Abu Mazen loyalist.)

In November 2003, he called for increased “Iraqi resistance to the American occupation.”

Sari Nusseibeh

President, Al Quds University, East Jerusalem

Member, Fatah

He played a role of significance during the Intifada of 1987. In bills of indictment brought against seven leaders of the violence in Lod Military Court in 1989, the Israeli Government prosecutor stated that Nusseibeh served as a conduit for money “for financing the intifada,” and that Nusseibeh was responsible for “drawing up reports and leaflets for intifada purposes such as instructing intifada activists [on]...throwing firebombs” at Israelis and “fighting with knives.”

During the 1991 Gulf War, he was caught contacting Iraqi officials in order to help direct the Scud rocket attacks of Saddam Hussein. According to a statement by Col. (Res.) Shalom Harari, former Arab Affairs Advisor for the Israeli Defense Ministry:

While the rockets were falling it became clear...that...[he]...was telephoning the Iraqi ambassador in one of the neighboring countries to tell the Iraqis where to shoot the missile.

Nusseibeh was arrested by Israel’s Shin Bet Intelligence Agency, and put in administrative detention without trial for several weeks. After the Gulf War ended, Israeli officials allowed Nusseibeh a plea bargain under which he voluntarily left the country for three years.

After the Gulf War, he became a member of the PLO steering committee for the Madrid Conference. By 1995, he had assumed his position at Al-Quds University. He attracted considerable attention when he wrote a letter to Saddam Hussein in January 2001:

In the name of Al-Quds University...allow me to express the admiration of the Palestinians for your honorable positions...You represent the vanguard of steadfastness...We, in Jerusalem, are inspired by you...We are proud to belong

to a nation, which (sic) considers you a symbol of resistance and a symbol of greatness...We are certain of your support...

After the sudden death of Faisal Husseini in 2001, Nusseibeh was appointed the PLO's representative in East Jerusalem. Since then, he has been regarded by many as a leading voice of Palestinian moderation: He has written dozens of articles on Jerusalem and the prospects for agreement with Israel, and is known for his close relations to Israeli leftists.

In July 2002, however, Israeli Public Security Minister Uzi Landau ordered the closure of the administrative offices of Al-Quds University, including the Nusseibeh's office, claiming that they served as an arm of the Palestinian Authority, which does not have the right to operate in Jerusalem.

Farouq Qaddoumi (Abu Lutf)

Head, PLO Political Bureau

Secretary-General, Fatah Central Committee

Founding Member, Fatah

By 1973, Arafat appointed him to head the foreign bureau of the PLO (to become, in essence, its "foreign minister.") In the years following he skillfully enhanced relationships with the PLO in a host of foreign countries, establishing missions (quasi-embassies) and gaining recognition for the PLO that has been enormously important in advancing its cause. While he worked as well on ties with Arabs nations, Europe and the U.S., his key portfolios were for Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union-where he garnered considerable support.

Qaddoumi identifies as a refugee, for whom refugee rights is the first issue of the Palestinian agenda. Except for some important meetings, he has declined to come into PA areas and has lingered in Tunis, spending time as well in Jordan and Syria.

Opposed to the Oslo Accords, he refused to sign the Declaration of Principles in 1993., and played a key role in getting the PLO executive to never ratify the "D.O.P." which obligated the PLO to cancel the PLO covenant for the liberation of Palestine.

Rashid Abu Shabak

Head, PNA Preventive Security Forces, Gaza

Rashid Abu Shabak served as deputy to Mohammed Dahlan when he headed Preventive Security Forces in Gaza, and assumed that position when Dahlan resigned in 2002.

While still Dahlan's lieutenant, he was implicated in several terrorist acts:

When the CIA released information regarding the fact that Dahlan gave orders for the bombing of a school bus in November 2000, Shabak was understood to have been the one who personally supervised the preparation of the bomb.

The CIA had recordings of Shabak giving orders for other attacks, as well.

The IDF captured a secret Preventive Security document in November 2001 for a plan to produce large quantities of acid for use in bomb-making a terrorist attacks. The document indicates that Shabak is one of the persons who were involved in approving technical specifications and financing mode.

During a press conference on August 22, 2002, Shabak, at that point already Gaza Preventative Security Chief, put on display Akram Muhammad al-Zatma, who was a Palestinian student suspected of informing Israel of the whereabouts of Hamas military leader Salah Shehadeh. Zatma had been arrested a month earlier and held in detention until the press conference, when he was turned over to Hamas gunmen and summarily executed.

Hanan Ashrawi

Minister of Information, Arab League

Founder and Secretary-General, MIFTAH

Member, Palestinian Legislative Council

Member, Fatah

Ashrawi, both as a woman and as a Christian, is an anomaly among the Palestinian activists among whom she frequently moves. For these reasons, among others, she has perhaps attracted more than her share of attention. While unsuited for Palestinian Arab radio and television, she continues to be an informal spokesperson for the Palestinian cause because of her fluent English and poise on screen have made her an attractive candidate for international interviews.

Ashrawi has, however, a propensity for playing fast and loose with facts. The following serve as examples:

She claimed that “the land of Israel” has no basis in history and that Jesus was a Palestinian.

She justified the brutal lynching in the West Bank on October 12, 2000 of two Israeli reservists (who were clearly not undercover as they were acknowledged by journalists to be in fatigues and driving a car with Israeli plates) with a fabrication: “The two undercover Israeli agents that had infiltrated the march were recognized by the Palestinians as members of the Death Squads that had been responsible for assassinations...”

In making a point regarding Palestinian right of return, she offered CNN desk anchor Daryn Kagan the blatant untruth that “all refugees throughout the world have the right to return, according to law.”

Distorting the historical reality of the British having been assigned the Mandate to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine (which was carved from the Ottoman Empire and not independent), she claimed: “There was a Palestinian state... Just because we were under occupation. Just because we were placed under the British Mandate. Palestine existed.... My birth certificate says Palestine.. Anything before '47 said Palestine.”

### **Power Shift To Palestinians?**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, November 28, 2007*

Hundreds of reporters arrived at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis from around the U.S., and, indeed, from around the world on November 27, 2007, in order to cover a one-day Middle East summit, which kicked off a new negotiation process between Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

Fifty nations were invited to witness the process. After exhaustive security checks, reporters were ushered into the U.S. Naval Academy basketball stadium, where they waited two hours to cast their eyes on a large scale screen to watch and observe U.S. President George W. Bush, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas give speeches, launching negotiations that will continue on a bi-weekly basis throughout the year 2008, as they exchanged platitudes of peace.

Mr. Bush set the tone and framework for negotiations, saying that Mssrs. Abbas and Olmert would conduct biweekly negotiations beginning on December 12th 2007.

Where there are disputes, Mr. Bush declared, the U.S. would be the “judge” to correct the conflicts.

The president invoked the “road map” of April 30th, 2003, specifically mentioning the precise date and guiding spirit of the negotiations. Bush’s mention of April 30th conveyed a subtle message to the Israeli government, which had added 14 reservations on May 25th, 2003., almost all of which demanded that the Palestinian Authority(PA) take full responsibility to disarm all terror groups before proceeding with negotiations.

In other words, Mr. Bush was asking Israel to negotiate with the PA, come what may, by invoking the road map of April 30 rather than the road map that Israel had ratified on May 25, with strings attached.

### **Majority Of Palestinians Against Israeli Sovereignty Over Western Wall**

On the morning of the Middle East Summit in Annapolis, 72.5 percent of Palestinian were opposed to Israeli sovereignty over the Western Wall in any peace agreement. Only 18.7 percent would support such an arrangement.

This is shown by a new public opinion poll conducted by Dr. Elias Kukali among Arabs from Judea, Samaria and Gaza between Oct. 27 and Nov. 6, 2007.

The poll found that 52.7 percent of Palestinians in Judea, Samaria and Gaza are opposed to having Israeli sovereignty over the Jewish neighborhoods in East Jerusalem. To the proposal that there be Palestinian sovereignty over the Arab neighborhoods in East Jerusalem while there is Israeli sovereignty over the Jewish neighborhoods, 40.6 percent responded favorably.

The poll also shows that a majority of Palestinians – 68.2 percent – are opposed to any concession on the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland and to limit their return to Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

Only 23.5 percent agreed to the proposal to establish a compensation fund and to absorb the refugees in the future Palestinian state; 72.2 percent of Judea and Samaria residents and 77.3 percent of Gaza Strip residents are opposed to the

idea of a land swap in which settlements would be annexed to Israel in return for alternative territory.

The poll was conducted by the Palestinian Center for Public Opinion.

It questioned 1,200 Palestinians from Judea and Samaria, Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip.

### **Israeli Army Reservists: 'Don't Give The Palestinians Weapons'**

Also on the morning of the Middle East Summit in Annapolis, 50 combatants from the elite Israeli Defense Forces Alexandroni Brigade, many of them former Golani Brigade soldiers, on Monday sent a letter to the government asking that Israel not give armored vehicles and ammunition to the Palestinians.

These combat soldiers had gone through a week of training before going on duty.

The reservists, who lost some of their comrades in the Second Lebanon War and in Operation Defensive Shield, were furious when they heard that they would be given orders to transfer armored vehicle and millions of bullets to the Palestinian Authority.

They gathered in a tent, and with the light of a dim lamp, wrote a letter, demanding Mr. Olmert halt the planned weapons shipment: "We, soldiers in a reserve battalion, are at this time training in southern Israel before going on duty in Samaria," the letter states. "We ask you, at the last minute, and call on you to halt the convoy of APCs and ammunition to the Palestinians. We have no doubt that the ammunition and the APCs will be aimed against us, against our friends and against the citizens of the state, just as were the weapons given to the Palestinians in the Oslo Accords. It is not enough that the government approved recently releasing hundreds of terrorists, now it is also arming them."

The letter is signed by 50 combatants, including the battalion commander and the deputy battalion commander, and was sent by fax to the Prime Minister's Bureau.

In order to do some reality testing, The Bulletin asked U.S. State Department officials present at the basketball stadium if Mr. Abbas would indeed be required to disarm and disband the Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades, the terrorist organization, which remains an integral part of the Fatah, which continues terror actions unabated. U.S. State Department officials would not answer the question, even though the Al Aksa Brigades remains on the U.S. State Department list of terrorist organizations.

Concerning another major issue where the U.S. would be “the judge” of matters in dispute, The Bulletin asked U.S. State Department officials what their position was concerning the Palestinian school curriculum, which the Israel Ministry of Defense had concluded were rife with anti-Semitic incitement and which erased Israel from the map and denied any connection of Jews or Judaism to the land of Israel.

U.S. State Department officials looked into the matter and said that they had taken no stand on the issue.

However, USAID, a powerful arm of U.S. foreign policy, which renders financial assistance to the PA and to other foreign entities, has recently distributed a report on Capitol Hill which asserted that the PA had deleted such incitement from their curriculum.

Hence, U.S. “judgment” on such crucial policy differences between Israel and the Palestinians show that the U.S. can easily ignore facts on the ground and simply expedite the Palestinian position.

At the stadium, reporters were not allowed to publicly air any questions of Messrs. Abbas, Olmert or Bush. After the screen rolled up, reporters busied themselves with details of what they had seen and heard. Not one reporter raised a question as to why no public questions were permitted.

### **Saudi King's Dialogue Initiative**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, March 27, 2008*

In addition to Israeli concessions, various peace agreements have been on the table. This includes meetings in Mecca held by Saudi Arabia and the Annapolis meetings, which will be discussed in detail later on. In a special address given in 2012 in Riyadh, King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia announced that the official religious establishment of the kingdom had given him religious permission for a conference of rabbis and bishops in order to find common solutions to the problems of the world.

“We have lost the trust, we have lost the morality, we have lost the loyalty to our religion and to humanity,” called the Saudi king. “We will appeal to God Almighty to save humanity from its members.”

The king expressed anxiety with regard to the deterioration of human morality, and said that as a result he wishes to convene the leaders of the three

monotheistic religions – Islam, Judaism and Christianity – to appeal to God with a request for protection.

“For the past two years, I have believed that humankind in the current era faces a crisis that has damaged the standards of reason, morality and humanity,” said the Saudi king at a conference dealing with Saudi-Japanese dialogue, which convened in 2012 in Riyadh. “I have presented my thoughts to our clerics in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia to receive a green light from them. Thank God, they agreed to this.”

The Saudi king said that in his visit to the Vatican, he had received the blessing of Pope Benedict XVI for his initiative for an appeal to the Creator to save humanity and said that he would soon start to promote his initiative, and if it should meet with success, he would seek the U.N.’s sponsorship for the random.

Israel Chief Rabbi Yona Metzger welcomed the Saudi king’s initiative.

“Our hand is extended to any peace initiative and any dialogue aimed at putting a stop to terror and violence,” said the rabbi. “I have mentioned many times that the real path to the sought-after peace is through interfaith peace initiatives.”

At the same time, the Saudi initiative stopped short of nullifying the Saudi state of war with the state of Israel, which has existed since 1948.

Unlike Lebanon and Syria, which signed cease-fire agreements with Israel, and unlike Jordan and Egypt, which signed peace accords with Israel, Saudi Arabia remains the only Arab nation contiguous to Israel that has not come to any terms with the Jewish state.

In its continuing war with Israel, Saudi Arabia remains a consistent funder of Hamas and the 10 Palestinian terror groups in Damascus that never entered into the Oslo process.

### **Israel Arming PA**

**David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, March 27, 2008**

Despite the corruption of the PA, about 300 new cars for the use of the Palestinian Authority (PA), AK-47 rifles, rubber bullets and other crowd control measures and thousands of permits for work in Israel are part of a list of gestures that Defense Minister Ehud Barak is expected to offer to Palestinian Prime Minister Salam Fayyad.

U.S. Security Coordinator Lt. Gen. Keith Dayton, who was charged by the U.S. administration with putting together plans for strengthening the PA in Judea and Samaria and upgrading its security forces, pressed Israel to make gestures toward the Palestinians. Following U.S. pressure and as part of the Annapolis process, Central Command Maj. Gen. Gadi Shamni assembled the new Israeli plan, which was adopted by Mr. Barak.

Due to the fear that removing roadblocks in Judea and Samaria will make it easier for terrorists to enter Israel, the plan does not include a removal of roadblocks. However, Palestinian armed personnel are to be reinforced. Mr. Barak was expected to announce that Israel agreed to turn over security responsibility in the Jenin area to the PA's security forces, which will be reinforced in this sector by two battalions, made up of 600 armed policemen who have been trained in recent months in Jordan.

This is in addition to the 25 Russian-made armored vehicles and millions of rubber bullets and other weaponry defined as non-lethal, which will serve the Palestinian police for crowd control. The Palestinians will also receive equipment for bomb detection. According to Israeli security sources, the Palestinian police will also receive AK-47 rifles and night-vision scopes.

### **Hezbollah, Abbas Reject Israeli Peace Proposal For West Bank**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, August 14, 2008*

The Palestinian Authority rejected the peace agreement that Prime Minister Ehud Olmert proposed in 2008.

A statement issued August 13, 2009 by Nabil Abu Rudeineh, PA President Mr. Mahmoud Abbas's spokesman, noted the Palestinian Authority chairman would not accept the Israeli final status arrangement proposal. Mr. Olmert proposed

Israel annex 7 percent of the West Bank and, in exchange, compensate the Palestinians with territory equaling 5.5 percent [of the West Bank] in the Negev.

Mr. Abu Rudeineh said that plan in question was not serious, since it failed to address the Palestinian interests in Jerusalem.

“The Israeli proposal is unacceptable, it is a waste of time,” he said last night to the Israeli media, adding: “The Palestinian people will agree to a state with territorial contiguity only in a way that includes Jerusalem as its capital.”

Senior Palestinian Authority officials told the Israeli media that “Olmert’s proposal, which was submitted to people who work for U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, contains nothing new and it is actually just an improved version of two similar proposals that were given in the past by Ehud Barak to Arafat.”

### **Fatah Asserts Leadership Role In Ramallah**

David Bedein, *The Philadelphia Bulletin*, November 24, 2008

The Middle East Newsline confirmed November 24, 2008 that the Al Aksa assumed a leadership role in Ramallah, the stronghold of the nascent Palestinian Authority.

“Elements within Fatah believe they must restore the credibility of the organization as a resistance movement,” a Palestinian source said. “They feel this would attract Iranian funding as well as cooperation with Hamas.”

On Nov. 16, 2008, a Fatah operative was arrested and charged with planning a suicide bombing against Israel in the city of Nablus. The Israeli military identified the Fatah member as Mohammed Abu Krek, 17. “Mohammed Abu Krek was a member of the military infrastructure squad of the terrorist organization in the old city of Nablus,” a military statement said. “This squad specializes in manufacturing unique explosive devices such as explosive belts...”

The Israeli military said Abu Krek was the deputy to Fatah commander Ami Loubadah, identified as an expert in the assembly of suicide explosive belts.

Fatah cells in the northern West Bank are also in contact with Hamas-sponsored counterparts in the Gaza Strip. The Hamas regime has been openly recruiting Fatah operatives to help plan attacks inside Israeli urban centers.

On Nov. 17, 2008, Israeli authorities announced that Fatah had recruited a 21-year-old Israeli Arab woman to abduct a Jew in the Tel Aviv area. Somaiya Abu Ghanem, a 21-year-old kindergarten teacher arrested on Oct. 28, 2008, was charged with contact with a foreign agent, Fatah's Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, located in the Gaza Strip.

"In September of this year, she was contacted by Gaza-based Aqsa Martyrs Brigades terrorists, who sought her assistance in kidnapping a Jew," an Israeli government statement said. "She expressed her willingness to do so. It further arises that she was also asked to assist in bringing a woman suicide terrorist from Gaza into Israel and to lead her to a crowded place."

Meanwhile, initial results of Fatah's regional elections in Ramallah show that the al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, are leading over their rivals by a large gap.

### **Palestinians Plan To Limit US Security Involvement**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, March 19, 2010*

Jerusalem – The Middle East News Line, known as a reliable and credible source, reports that the PA has drafted a plan that would end direct U.S. involvement in Palestinian security in the West Bank.

The plan calls for Palestinian trainers to replace those brought by the United States as well as the marginalization of the team headed by U.S. security coordinator Lt. Gen. Keith Dayton. Under the plan, Lt. Gen. Dayton would no longer have access to PA security forces or field operations.

"The idea is to have only Palestinians train and direct the security forces," a PA official said.

The official said the PA draft covered security requirements and goals for the next two years. He said the plan has been divulged to only a handful of senior officials, including Interior Minister Said Abu Ali and several security chiefs.

The PA leadership, prodded by the ruling Fatah movement, determined that U.S. intervention was hampering security force development and undermining the legitimacy of the regime of PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas.

"There is a consensus that the American presence has to be significantly reduced in 2010," the official said.

The PA security plan, drafted by the Palestinian Interior Ministry, called for the replacement of Western security trainers with Palestinians. Palestinians would be selected to instruct police and other security officers in a range of skills.

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

A key step was the PA decision not to renew the contract of DynCorp International, responsible for training and mentoring Palestinian security forces in the West Bank and Jordan. The official said the Palestinians have succeeded DynCorp in conducting a two-month officers' course while training in Jordan has been suspended.

In the future stage, the Palestinian official told the Middle East Newline, Lt. Gen. Dayton, in his post since 2007, would be marginalized. Lt. Gen. Dayton's staff has already been restricted to coordination with the Interior Ministry and was no longer involved in direct training or planning.

"Dayton's role would be limited to bringing money and equipment for the security forces," the official said. "He would not deal with PA operations or deployment."

Earlier in the year, Lt. Gen. Dayton's staff was expelled from the Interior Ministry's Strategic Planning Department. Dayton's staff was also said to have been racked by internal disputes, and in February the general replaced his British deputy director.

**Should People Reconsider Support for the Infrastructure of an Entity at War with the State and People of Israel?**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, March 22, 2010*



**Bedein speaks to Shimon Peres, June 1992**

Now and then, people remind me of my passionate advocacy for a Palestinian state more than thirty years ago.

In a position paper delivered at a Weiss's Farm Retreat in 1978, I spoke of a Palestinian entity that would comprise Palestinian Arabs whom we knew at the time, who would cast off the yoke of the PLO and engage in genuine coexistence with Israel.

The hope then was that a Palestinian leadership would emerge that would emulate Anwar Sadat, and preach the language of peace and reconciliation to

the Palestinian people, in the Arabic language, and that we would be able to build a trust in a new grass roots Palestinian leadership.

However, the potential Palestinian leaders whom were dealing with at the time were replaced by a leadership that will not preach peace and reconciliation to their own people.

Instead, the nascent Palestinian entity that has emerged has fostered a draconian system on which they plan their future Palestinian state.

Selling land to a Jew would be a capital crime in a Palestinian state.

Mahmoud Abbas, designated head of the Palestinian state in formation, earned his Ph.D. on the thesis that 6 million Jews were not really murdered during World War II, and that the Zionists were actually allies of the Nazis. All requests of Abbas to renounce that Ph. D have been rejected.

In terms of additional mantras of the Palestinian State in formation:

1. The right of Palestinian Arab refugees and their descendants to return to Arab villages lost in 1948 would be protected by a Palestinian state.
2. While 20% of Israel's citizens are Arabs, not one Jew will be allowed to live in a Palestinian state.
3. New PA maps prepared for the Palestinian state depict all of Palestine under Palestinian rule.
4. New PA maps of Jerusalem for the Palestinian state once again decimate the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem.
5. New PA documents claim all of Jerusalem for a Palestinian state.
6. The right of Jewish access to Jewish holy places is simply not be recognized in a Palestinian state.
7. No system which protects human rights or civil liberties is planned for a Palestinian state.
8. Perhaps the unkindest cut of all: When Fatah held its first conference in 20 years, last August in Bethlehem; the Fatah renewed its call for the armed struggle.

In other words, economic help rendered to this Palestinian entity in formation will be used by the Palestinians in the context of their war to liberate all of Palestine.

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

Ten years ago, in March 2000, a friend of our family, an investor in the Dahania airport in Gaza, took us to see his investment at work in central Gaza. He was proud of his investment.

Yet our friend was taken aback when we asked if that airport might one day be used to launch attacks on the Western Negev.

Our friend could not conceive that this would be possible. After all, Jews had provided Gazans with capital investment.

Our agency then arranged for our family friend to take a tour of UNRWA camps, where all he heard were the war drums to attack the Western Negev – because Palestinian Arabs see that area as “occupied” from 1948. He still could not believe it.

12,000 rocket attacks later, our family friend begins to cope with his mistake in judgment.

The same goes for the Palestinian plan for the city of RAWABI.

Look first and foremost at the strategic position of RAWABI, in relation to Israel’s population centers, and how RAWABI can be used as a forward position from where Fatah forces can launch attacks on areas that Israel “occupied” in 1948.

The time has come to reconsider business relationships with an entity at war with the state and people of Israel.

**Israeli President Shimon Peres** conceptualized that business arrangements in the “new Middle East” would lead the new Palestinian entity to forge a system of peace and reconciliation with Israel.

The time has come to distinguish between short-term profits which accrue from such arrangements and the long-term goal that the Fatah has not changed: Destruction of the Jewish state and of Zionism, albeit in stages.

The first stage is to entice Jews to engage in economic investment in the Palestinian economy.

The next stage is to continue the armed struggle to “liberate Palestine,” all of Palestine, irrespective of any short-term economic gain.

That is the consequence of “New Middle East.”

### **Fatah Terrorizes While Undergoing US Military Training**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, April 10, 2009*

Despite several years of military cooperation with Israel, the Fatah movement, the dominant force behind the PA, has resumed terror activities against Israel, according to Middle East Newline. This development could make things difficult for the U.S. due to a high degree of American involvement.

Over the past year, due to earlier Israeli military cooperation efforts with Fatah forces, Israel has pardoned more than 250 Fatah terrorists implicated in the attacks in 2003 and 2004, and many of them were absorbed in PA security forces.

Now, Israeli intelligence sources say, dozens of these pardoned Fatah terrorists have returned to the fighting Israel. They said these Fatah fighters have been encouraged by senior members of the movement led by PA President Mahmoud Abbas to fight the Jewish state.

“The assessment is that a Fatah campaign would revive their movement and exploit the international atmosphere against the new Israeli government [of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu],” an Israeli intelligence source said.

Fatah has claimed responsibility for killings of Israeli police and civilians in March and April.

This information coincides with Ha’aretz reports about the U.S. government’s program that provides “top-level training to the Fatah-dominated Palestinian security forces,” amid information showing Fatah operatives and members of the Palestinian security forces are being recruited for attacks against Israel.

The American-advised training course for Fatah, titled the, “Senior Leaders Course,” is a two-month-long program conducted in the Palestinian capital of Ramallah, which has been aided and supervised by the U.S., and remains part of the project overseen by the U.S. security coordinator in the territories, Gen. Keith Dayton.

Ha’aretz also reported the American training program for Fatah forces have produced 80 graduates divided into two 40-student classes. A third class, made up of commanders from the Palestinian National Security the largest security force with 15,000 members, tasked with policing borders, providing military

intelligence, military police services and presidential security is currently being trained in Jordan.

The return of Fatah to terrorist activity against could place Israel on a collision course with Fatah's American military advisers.

This could create a nightmare scenario of American military personnel caught in the crossfire between Israeli troops and Fatah terrorists.

The American consulate in Jerusalem has so far not commented on the fact that Fatah security forces, known as the al-Aqsa Brigades, are defined by American law as a terrorist entity and possibly are being inadvertently aided by the U.S. military.

### **US Admits Training Palestinian Armed Forces While PA Negotiates With Hamas**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, May 18, 2009*

The American military now openly admits providing military training to Palestinian military forces.

A U.S. military official, Lt. Gen. Keith Dayton, assigned by the United States to be a "security coordinator," has been appointed to train 1,500 Palestinian military personnel. They will be available for "immediate deployment" in the area between Jenin and Nablus, less than an hour from Israel's populated coastal plain.

He discussed his mission at the Washington Institute for Near East Studies last week.

Lt. Gen. Dayton said: "We also have something in our pocket called the West Bank Training Initiative where we have plans to continue a series of courses in the West Bank on logistics, leadership, first aid, maintenance, English language, battalion staff training and driver education. These are led by our British and Turkish officers with an eye to eventually turning this over to the Palestinians themselves."

The premise behind American military aid to the PA's military forces is the hope the American-trained Palestinian personnel will fight Hamas.

However, the training of Palestinian military units by U.S. advisers is taking place at the same time the PA is negotiating to join forces with the Hamas terrorist organization, which rules Gaza.

All indications show the PA is making every effort to co-opt and include Hamas in its military forces for joint operations against Israel.

Were that to happen, American military advisers and their Palestinian trainees would be placed into direct confrontation with the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) and with the Israeli population.

Despite assurances to the contrary, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the parent organization of the PA, remains in a state of war with Israel.

To reassure the Washington Institute, Lt. Gen. Dayton downplayed the dangers of the training that the Americans are providing the Palestinians, by saying that "Our equipping is all nonlethal."

### **US-Trained Fatah Forces Vow To Continue Battling Israel**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, December 12, 2009*

**Jerusalem** – The Fatah organization, the dominant factor in the PA, has called to continue the "armed struggle" against Israel. According to the official Fatah Web site, translated by the Palestinian Media Watch organization, members of Fatah's Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades announced Wednesday that they are arming themselves for war against Israel by buying guns, instead of food for their kids and by selling their wives' jewelry.

Fatah's Web site makes it clear that the Brigades are preparing a "harsh and painful" response to any Israeli attacks on Gaza.

The following is the transcript of the item from Fatah's Web site:

"With the renewal of the threats emanating from the Zionist military establishment to carry out a new attack on the Gaza Strip... the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades... warned of a harsh and painful response that the occupation state is not expecting. This response was conveyed by one of the heads of the Brigades in the Gaza Strip, Abu Ahed."

Mr. Ahed also declared that the Brigades' activity in Gaza should be viewed as a personal endeavor, since many of the Brigades' jihad fighters purchase

weapons rather than food for their children, and many of them have even sold their wives' gold in order to obtain weapons, since the Hamas forces have confiscated the Brigades' members' weapons.”

This presents a dilemma to United States policymakers.

Although U.S. law defines Al Aqsa Brigades as a terror entity, the U.S. now provides military training for the Fatah armed forces – which includes Al Aqsa Brigades.

At the direction of the U.S. government, the Israeli army has stopped pursuing wanted terrorists who are affiliated with the Al Aqsa Brigades.

The U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem would not comment, on behalf of the U.S. government, with regard to threats on the Fatah's Web site about Al Aqsa Brigades' threats of military action against Israel.

### **Israel's Peace Offering Met By Fatah's Push For War**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, December 22, 2009*

Jerusalem – In an article never before run in the Arabic language publication Asharq Al-Awsat, Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister Danny Ayalon called on the Arab world to accept Israel's hand extended in peace. The headline read, “An open letter to the Arab world.” Mr. Ayalon called on the Arab world to step forward and to join Israel “to repel the extremist and destructive forces in the Middle East, first and foremost Iran.”

“Iran, the sponsors of terrorists and environmental and climate problems are the issues that threaten the Arab world and Israel as one. Now is the time to look ahead and to create a better future for all residents of the region.”

Mr. Ayalon argued that “we have to free ourselves of past paradigms and to understand that the Jewish people are here by virtue of historic, legal, moral and national right.”

The deputy foreign minister also wrote: “Israel has gone far and is prepared to do much for the sake of peace, but for peace one needs to have a partner who wants it as well. Without that, the entire region is doomed to friction and conflicts that will only intensify.... Israel extends a hand to all of its Arab neighbors.”

However, over the past week, senior PA officials launched the “National Conference for Strengthening Popular Activity” in Ramallah.

During that conference, the Palestinian leadership examined ways of renewing “uprising,” a third “Intifada,” armed rebellion against Israel.

In practice, at issue is the execution of resolutions that were passed by the Fatah Conference that was held of late in Bethlehem, in which a strategic decision was made to continue the resistance to Israel,” said senior Fatah officials.

In other words, the appeal for peace from an Israeli leader seemed to have fallen on deaf ears.

### **Continued U.S. Training Of PA Security Forces: A Dangerous Venture**

*Arlene Kushner and David Bedein, Defense News, May 14, 2010*

It has been reported that U.S. President Barack Obama recently pressed Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to continue the American program for helping the PA upgrade its security forces.

The program in question began in March 2005, with the establishment of a U.S. Security Coordinator Team, headed by Lt. General Keith Dayton. Plans called for selected PA National Security Force troops to be trained and equipped by the United States. Presumably, over time, the old PLO militia would be transformed into a professional force that would help to build a nation.

Five years later, with millions of dollars and much effort having been expended on this on-going program, cogent reasons for doubting its wisdom present themselves.

Major-General (res.) Ya’akov Amidror-former head of the IDF’s Research and Assessment Division- suggested last year that Americans may be acting with “a certain naiveté,” attempting to fulfill their dreams [for peace] while ignoring pertinent facts. Concurring, an Arab journalist with connections to the PA has stated forthrightly that, “To expect political fruits from this is a mistake-an illusion.”

One of the more serious questions that has surfaced concerns the loyalty of the troops that are being trained. General Dayton says they are loyal to “the Palestinian flag, and the Palestinian people.” Palestinian society, however, is founded on traditional Arab culture, whose first allegiance is to the clan (hamula), and not the nation.

Dr. Mordecai Kedar, research associate at the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies at Bar Ilan University, observes, "...when (not if) there will be domestic problems in the PA/Palestinian State these people will be loyal primarily to their clan rather than to the state, since they will never shoot their brothers or cousins..."

The role that Hamas might play vis-à-vis these forces is a cause of alarm. PA troops being trained are expected to stand against Hamas, so that it cannot take over in Judea and Samaria.

Yet a proposal for a "unity government" that would forge a Fatah-Hamas coalition remains on the table.

JINSA, the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs in Washington DC, has voiced strong reservations about the wisdom of U.S. training of a Palestinian security force without a clear understanding of the authority to which that force would ultimately answer. It is within the realm of possibility that the very PA troops expected to contain Hamas might ultimately be commanded by Hamas. After all, that is precisely what occurred in Gaza, where we witness the Hamas armed forces brandishing American weapons.

Meanwhile, the fear that Palestinian troops may turn their weapons on the IDF stems from the precedent of what occurred with the outbreak of the second Intifada ten years ago, when Palestinian troops that had been nurtured and trained by the US and even by the IDF engaged in a full scale armed rebellion against Israel.

Indeed, only last week, The PA issued an official report, funded by the American government and by the European Union, which indicates that the the Palestinian security forces had risen to that of a "pre-army." level That report, published by the Palestine Center for Policy and Social Research, mentions that the PA armed forces have been significantly professionalized under the U.S. military aid program, which, over the past 18 months, has trained five Palestinian battalions, under the framework of a U.S.-sponsored training in a four-month course held in Jordan."1 The report states that that the United States has increased funding for PA security forces and plans to allocate more than \$100 million over the next year.

In other words, were PA troops, in frustration and anger, to turn on Israel, they would do so with a new-found competency, thanks to the intense training they are being provided by the U.S.

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[1http://arab-reform.net/IMG/pdf/annual\\_rep\\_010\\_english.pdf](http://arab-reform.net/IMG/pdf/annual_rep_010_english.pdf)

Perhaps the time has come for Prime Minister Netanyahu to recall that a major stipulation of his plan for a Palestinian state that he presented at Bar Ilan University on June 14th, 2009 was that “In any peace agreement, the territory under Palestinian control must be disarmed, with solid security guarantees for Israel.”

**Unanswered Questions Submitted to the US Consul in Jerusalem  
Concerning US Training of Palestinian Troops**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, July 26, 2010*

To: Mr. Dov Schwartz, Spokesman for General Dayton  
From: David Bedein, Center for Near East Policy Research and Israel Resource News Agency.

Our agency is preparing a study of the current American military aid to the PA armed forces.

This study will be offered to American and Israeli media outlets.

Here are some questions that we would like to present to General Dayton.

1. One of the premises of the American military aid to the PA is that the PA would be using its military training to fight terrorist organizations, especially the Hamas. However, the PA is now speaking of a unity government with the terrorist group Hamas. PA president Mahmoud Abbas is in favor of this. How can the US train PA security troops, increasing their competency, when it is not clear at the end of the day who will be commanding them?
2. How can the US have confidence in, and work with, a PA leadership that plays both ends against the middle — claiming to work towards moderation and seeking a coalition with Hamas at one and the same time?
3. There is strong precedent for US-trained PA security troops utilizing their expertise against Israel. Dayton has now solidly linked the training he is doing with the formation of a Palestinian state. In a talk at the Washington Institute in May, he said: “With big expectations, come big risks. There is perhaps a two-year shelf life on being told that you’re creating a state, when you’re not.” The implication here is that violence directed at Israel may follow if there is no state within two years. Is Dayton not concerned about the dangers to Israel inherent in what he’s doing?

4. The PA state now being promoted by PA Prime Minister Fayyad is not moderate. There is no compromise included on any of the key issues – Fayyad insists on Israel's return to pre-'67 armistice lines, the return of refugees, the PA control of all of Jerusalem. Is General Dayton complacent about the possibilities of establishing a Palestinian state, despite these considerable stumbling blocks?
5. Is General Dayton cognizant of the dangers to Israel, if a state is not established, and willing to move ahead in spite of this?
6. There is considerable evidence — both from academics and Arabic-speaking journalists— for the influence of the hamula (clan) system in Palestinian society. This system, strongly entrenched within the society, demands that Palestinians give their first loyalty to the hamula, which means that troops in the security forces may have cousins who are linked to Hamas. In light of this, why is General Dayton confident he is training troops that will be loyal, first, to the Palestinian flag? Has General Dayton adequately considered this weakness in his plans?
7. What has been the role of Michael Eisenstadt on General Dayton's staff?
8. Did Eisenstadt organize and facilitate the visit of the Washington Institute delegation in 2008 that led to its report in December 2008?
9. In August 2009, the PA, according to published reports, sent a letter to the White House that asked for General Dayton's recall. What comment do you have in this regard?
10. PA Chairman Abbas ordered a reshuffle of the NSF leadership in September 2009, leaving only NSF chief Al Ali in command despite his passing mandatory retirement age. Did you play any role in Al Ali's retention? A critic of the U.S. training program of NSF in Jordan was NSF training director Maj. Gen. Yunis Al Asi. Several weeks after Al Asi told Jane's Defense Weekly that the Jordanian program was not suitable for NSF recruits, he was ordered dismissed by Abbas. Why was this and did you have a role in Al Asi's dismissal?
11. PA officials, according to published reports, said a four-month training course in Jordan costs \$11 million, while the same course in Jericho could cost as little as \$700,000. Can you explain this?
12. In July 2009, PA security, including NSF, failed to stop the sabotage by Fatah of the U.S.-supported festival in Nablus. Have you investigated this failure and what were the findings?
13. Over the last year, according to published reports, several PA commanders who have worked with you bought villas and luxury cars in the Nablus and

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

Ramallah area? PA sources said the sudden wealth of the commanders came from bonuses paid by the United States. Can you please comment on this?

14. Does the U.S. or your office pay bonuses to PA commanders for missions?

15. On May 31, 2009, about 3,000 PA forces failed to dislodge five Hamas gunmen in a stand-off in Kalkilya. The stand-off, according to published reports ended soon after three vans with non-PA plates pulled up and about 25 unidentified security men directed a final and successful assault. Was your office involved in this mission and were the men, who gave commands in a non-Arabic language, from your staff?

16. Will the PA armed forces have authority to arrest and detain Israelis?

17. What will be the legal process for Israelis detained by the Palestinian armed forces?

18. Who will supervise the prison system? What human rights and civil liberties will the PA assure detainees?

19. Will the PA armed forces enforce environmental laws?

20. Will the PA armed forces establish shelters for battered women?

21 Will the PA armed forces prosecute child abuse?

22. How will the Will the PA armed forces deal with those who continue terror operations?

23. How will PA armed forces cope with those caught planning, supplying, or engaging in terror operations?

24. Will the PA forces hand over such people to Israeli authorities?

25. How will weapons be controlled? By registration and licensing?

26. Will illegal weapons be confiscated and destroyed?

27. General Dayton has been quoted as telling a US Congressional Committee in 2007 that he compared himself to a Roman general. Does General Dayton confirm that? If so, what did he mean by that?

**Study: Will Us, Canadian & EU Trained Palestinian Forces Turn on Israel?**

*David Bedein, Middle East Forum Study, March 1, 2011*

***Publication Made Possible by Research Grant From “The Middle East Forum”***

**Executive Summary**

At first glance, the PA has scored a major achievement over the last five years with the development of its own security force.

Crime in the West Bank is at its lowest point in years.

Feudal chiefs who led the Palestine Authority security agencies are quietly being replaced by those mentored by the United States, Canada and the European Union.

Yet beneath the surface, the Palestine Authority security forces represent a loaded weapon that could explode in the near future.

Former Palestine Authority security Chief Mohammed Dahlan himself has warned that Palestinian security forces could splinter into rival militias and attack Palestinian and Israeli civilians alike.

One reason for this concern is that there is little civilian guidance over the Palestine Authority security forces.

This has encouraged them to become a separate power base in the West Bank, which could result in either the collapse of the Palestine Authority or the erosion of the legitimacy of Palestine Authority President Mahmoud Abbas, whose term of office formally expired in January 2010.

Factions have already been formed within Palestine Authority security services that have resulted in friction as well as the prospect of being taken over by Hamas.

With speculation that the Palestine Authority may be heading towards some kind of confrontation with Israel over the next year, cooperation with the Jewish state has declined and become purely tactical – with neither party trusting the other.

Meanwhile, although the United States, Canada and the European Union have been financing and training Palestine Authority security forces, they have failed to implement significant reforms that would ensure that troops would not join in a coup or break up into mercenary forces.

Indeed, senior U.S. Congressional sources warn that the State Department has overseen the Palestine Authority training program without any firm goals of what they are to be. The question remains: Will Palestinian security services evolve into some kind of paramilitary force, contrary to the 1993 Oslo agreement, or become a police department?

After five years of intensive training by the United States, Canada and the European Union, basic questions remain of the Palestine Authority security forces: What is their number; how are recruits chosen; what is the level of supervision; where are their loyalties? How far has Hamas and Iran infiltrated the security forces loyal to Abbas? Washington has been of little help.

Both the Obama and Bush administrations have been glad to finance Palestine Authority security training, but have done little to provide basic transparency or even define goals of the Palestinian security forces.

The key question is: What happens if an independent Palestinian state is not established over the next year as President Obama has repeatedly promised? Does the United States have enough influence to prevent the Palestine Authority from transforming its well-equipped and trained forces into a militia that will launch low intensity attacks against Israel or even against neighboring Jordan? The rapid breakdown in Egypt and Tunisia in January 2011 has shown the potential for insurrection in even the most advanced Arab states. Despite the best intentions of Brussels, Ottawa and Washington, Israel and Jordan will bear the brunt of any mistaken assessment of the intentions of the Palestine Authority and its security forces.

### **Three Long Years**

On paper, the Palestine Authority security forces have undergone rapid growth and development over the past three years. The U.S. training program has saved the Palestine Authority's National Security Forces from oblivion, and made it into the strongest of the Palestinian paramilitary forces. The Palestinian police force has been revived and now operates with modern vehicles, communications and software for a range of missions. The Palestine Authority's intelligence services have been vastly improved from the bare rooms used for interrogation.

The Palestine Authority has still not discarded the norms of a totalitarian regime and despite Western efforts the security forces and particularly the intelligence services act little differently from those in Egypt, Lebanon and Syria.

Palestine Authority security and intelligence forces continue to employ torture on a wide and systematic basis despite Western funding and training. [1] Torture techniques in Palestine Authority prisons have included beatings, hangings, suspending from the ceiling, electric shocks, sleep deprivation, sexual harassment, and the threat of rape. The result is that at least six Palestinians have died under torture in Palestine Authority prisons and many former detainees have been scarred with permanent physical disabilities. Arbitrary arrests are common, with the Palestine Authority detention of almost 8,640 Palestinians from October 2007 to October 2010, or a rate of eight arrests per day. None of these detainees were released immediately, regardless of the circumstances. Instead, the minimum prison stay was more than 10 days, with 95 percent of the detainees – from workers to university professors, most of whom had been imprisoned by Israel, were charged with terrorism, sedition and conspiring against the Palestine Authority. Many were subjected to severe torture, often in front of close relatives to force a confession. [2]

Despite Western pressure, the Palestine Authority has done little against officers who consistently abuse detainees. As in Egypt, Jordan and Tunisia, Palestine Authority torture policies plant the seeds for violent unrest in the West Bank.

### **The Major Palestine Authority Forces**

There are six major security and intelligence units in the Palestine Authority. Their missions frequently overlap and the rivalry between some of the units has reached the point where there is little to no cooperation. The Interior Ministry, even under Abbas's orders, has failed to oversee coordination between these agencies, many of which have also opposed reform and restructuring. The main reason for this rivalry is that the units reflect different parts of Palestinian society, with the most intransigent coming from Palestinian military forces in such countries as Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Tunisia.

Despite his formal powers, Abbas has spent little time overseeing the security forces, leaving that job to his military secretary, Brig. Gen. Jihad Al Jayousi, as well as to Palestine Authority Prime Minister Fayyad and to Interior Minister Said Al Ali.

### **Civil Police**

The Civil Police remains the largest and most modern of the Palestine Authority security forces. This police force numbers about 8,000 officers who have been assigned to anti-crime operations, including traffic, patrols as well as reinforcement for other security units.

The European Union has been responsible for police development and over the past three years, has relayed nearly \$100 million in aid for training and equipment. Much of the money has been poured into security infrastructure, such as the reconstruction of police headquarters in Hebron and Nablus.

The European Union has also supported Palestine Authority plans to reopen 37 police stations throughout the West Bank. The police have established new units to protect the judiciary and tourists and conduct special operations. The civil police have been commanded by Maj. Gen. Hamza Atallah, regarded as the most pro-Western security chief in the PA.

### **National Security Forces**

The National Security Forces is considered the core of the future Palestinian Army. [3]

Even the United States envisions the National Security Forces as resembling that of the U.S. National Guard, in other words a unit more powerful than a Gendarmerie and slightly below that of a fully-fledged military. The United States has focused its training effort on the National Security Forces, with about 7,000 officers and envisions the force turning into a European-style Gendarmerie. The National Security Forces, commanded by Maj. Gen. Diab Al Ali, has been instructed in military tactics and provides strategic support for other security forces, particularly to quell massive demonstrations by the Islamic opposition.

The United States has trained six National Security Force battalions at the Jordan International Police Training Center outside Amman as part of a plan to increase the force to up to 40,000. The 19-week course, heavily criticized by PA security commanders as ineffective, has been given by Australian, Jordanian and U.S. instructors; many of them employed by the U.S. company, DynCorps International. The training was meant to deploy a National Security Forces battalion in nine out of the 10 PA provinces in the West Bank. [4]

The provinces of Jenin and Tubas have been regarded as one security unit. Despite criticism of the Jordanian training, many PA officials assert that the battalions that completed the course were the most professional in the security forces.

### **Presidential Guard**

The Presidential Guard is actually an attempt to refurbish the old Force 17 of the late PA Chairman Yasser Arafat.

Since 2005, the Presidential Guard, led by Brig. Gen. Munir Zabi, has been under the direct control of Abbas and protects both the Chairman as well as senior officials. The Presidential Guard, however, has often been used in counter-insurgency operations, particularly against Hamas and Islamic Jihad. The force, with 2,500 members, has also been assigned to quell demonstrations. The Presidential Guard has established the 3rd Battalion, meant to focus on counter-insurgency and support other agencies in the campaign against Hamas and other opposition forces.

The U.S. State Department has been training the Presidential Guard in a low-profile program that focused on such skills as bomb-detection, rapid response, surveillance, weapons, investigations and administration; Washington has supplied computers, surveillance equipment, vehicles and uniforms while Egypt and Jordan have provided weapons.

There is concern that the PA has failed to clarify the role of the Presidential Guard.

### **Preventive Security Apparatus**

The Preventive Security Apparatus is regarded as the most powerful security force in the PA. While it does not have the numbers of the police or National Security Forces, the Preventive Security Apparatus is a highly disciplined unit that was assigned the campaign to stop Hamas operations in the West Bank. The Preventive Security Apparatus was trained by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and has also received instruction from British and French intelligence.

With 4,000 members, the Preventive Security Apparatus, commanded by Ziad Hab Al Rih, has developed a huge network of paid informants who monitor all opposition activity.

The agency, which operates 17 detention centers, has been deemed the worst violator of human rights within the PA security apparatus.

### **General Intelligence Service**

The General Intelligence Services is the chief rival to the Preventive Security Apparatus. While the Preventive Security Apparatus was founded and developed by Fatah fighters in the West Bank, the General Intelligence Service is commanded by Palestinian exiles from Tunisia. The difference in approach is stark as the Tunis faction operates very much like any other Arab regime and sees itself as the privileged class in the West Bank. The General Intelligence Service has been authorized to focus on intelligence gathering outside the West Bank and work with the friendly Arab states. Both the CIA and Britain's MI6 have been helping the General Intelligence Service as well as the Preventive Security Apparatus, including the transfer of Western cash to Palestinian commanders. [5]

However, the General Intelligence Service has evolved into a rival to the Preventive Security Apparatus and conducts separate counter-insurgency operations, particularly against Hamas. Over the past three years, the force has grown from about 2,500 to 4,000, largely due to the influx of PA security officers who fled the Hamas takeover of the Gaza Strip in 2007.

The General Intelligence Service also runs 17 detention centers and has been regarded as a major violator of human rights. Unlike the Preventive Security Apparatus, the General Intelligence Service has sought to reform its image and promised Palestinian human rights groups to raise standards, including ending the use of security courts for the prosecution of civilians.

Both the General Intelligence Service as well as Palestinian Security Intelligence have been commanded by Brig. Gen. Majid Faraj, envisioned by some PA leaders to be the next overall Palestinian security chief.

A major improvement within the General Intelligence Service has been that of its collection and intelligence capacities. The General Intelligence Service plans to train 1,200 officers in such disciplines as surveillance and data analysis. Already 800 of them have completed training.

### **Military Intelligence**

For years, Military Intelligence was operated by Arafat's nephew, Mussa, who used his position to amass great wealth and torture his opponents.

In wake of Mussa's assassination in 2007, Military Intelligence has come under closer supervision by Abbas, and was assigned to investigate the security forces and prosecute wrongdoers. Military Intelligence, with nearly 2,000 officers, participates in Counter Intelligence operations, usually in tandem with

General Intelligence Service. Military Intelligence also manages its own detention network and has been responsible for 11 prisons. [6] Many Military Intelligence officers have been trained abroad, including in Algeria and Pakistan.

### **Civil Defense**

Another major force, but not in the area of law enforcement, is Civil Defense. Civil Defense is under the authority of the Interior Ministry and focuses on fire prevention and response to major accidents, including traffic.

The force, with about 2,000 members, is also responsible for planning of and response to natural disasters and pandemics.

The PA also retains a huge inactive force that operated in the Gaza Strip until the Hamas took over Gaza in 2007.

About 36,500 PA security officers who had operated in the Gaza Strip no longer report to work yet continue to receive salaries. Some of these officers have moved to other countries such as Egypt and Jordan while others managed to resettle in the West Bank.

### **Reforms**

The PA has resisted reforms urged by Western donors, mostly because of the opposition by the security agencies as well as senior figures in the ruling Fatah movement. The only real reforms that have taken place since 2005 were the transfer of fiscal responsibility from Abbas to Prime Minister Salam Fayyad. [7]

This has significantly reduced the authority of individual PA security chiefs, who until 2008 would directly pay their troops, often after removing fees from their salaries. Another area of reform was the retirement of thousands of elderly PA officers who had served in the Palestine Liberation Army around the Arab world. About 90 percent of officers above the age of 60 have been retired over the last five years and provided with substantial pensions.

In most cases, these officers had been paid for either sporadic or non-existence work. Still, the actual size of PA security forces remains unclear. As late as 2007, the PA provided salaries to 86,000 active and retired personnel. [8]

The reform effort, drafted by Britain and the United States, has failed in regard to plans to streamline the PA security forces. Since 2002, the PA has resisted efforts to merge what could be as many as 13 security agencies into three branches. The reform plan called for an internal security force, comprised of

Police, Preventive Security Apparatus, and Civil Defense, under Interior Ministry control. The last branch would be that of a national force that consisted of The National Security Forces, Military Intelligence, Naval Police and the Presidential Guard under the post of the PA Chairman, with the General Intelligence Service operating as an external intelligence agency. Indeed, Military Intelligence and the Presidential Guard have already been integrated into the National Security Forces, but in practice they continue to operate as separate agencies. [9]

The most acceptable step toward streamlining was taken in late 2009 when Brig. Gen. Majid Faraj was appointed head of both the General Intelligence Service and Military Intelligence. Faraj, regarded as one of the most professional officers in the PA, has managed to achieve cooperation between the General Intelligence Service and Military Intelligence and was working to coordinate better with Preventive Security Apparatus.

A key reason for the lack of reform in the PA security services stems from intent of the Western donors, particularly the United States. The administrations of Presidents George Bush and Barack Obama have regarded PA security forces more as a tool for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank rather than as a means of law enforcement and regime protection.

For a long time, the State Department conducted virtually no supervision over U.S. security efforts with the PA, including the effectiveness of training and equipping programs. Indeed, former members of the U.S. Security Coordinator Office regarded the entire effort as a contradiction. On the one hand, Washington has sought security reform while on the other hand it attempts to constantly expand PA security forces.

The expansion is meant to develop a military that would defeat its enemies, which the PA sees as Israel.

Security reform focuses on requirements that include coordination and civilian control. [10] In this case, equipment is the last element, but Washington has made this the priority.

At the same time, the prospect of security reform appears so hopeless that many of the Western donors have quietly withdrawn from the effort and instead focus on the need for a clear command structure. [11]

Indeed, neither the State Department nor the U.S. Security Coordinator's Office has established clear and measurable outcome-based performance indicators to assess progress.

As a result, after more than three years of intense efforts, neither the Congress nor the American people have a clue as to the real effectiveness and performance of the PA security forces. The only measurements used by the

State Department concern the size of the PA security forces or that of their training programs. There has been little or no mention of the security needs of the PA.

Indeed, some in the US Security Coordinator's Office have asserted that the State Department made few requirements, including requesting the blueprint or performance indicators. For a year, until November 2009, the department did not ask the office to even hand in monthly reports. When the reports were finally sent to Washington, they lacked such data as the Palestinian crime rate and incidents of insurgency. [12]

The PA regarded Lt. General Dayton, who oversaw the spending of \$392 million from 2007 to 2010, as being too close to the Israelis. Despite General Dayton's public positions of encouraging Israel to withdraw from areas of the West Bank, the General remained highly skeptical of the PA security capabilities and intentions, even by those trained in Jordan.

As late as 2010, General Dayton argued that the PA was not ready to control the entire West Bank. He also objected to PA security campaigns in both Hebron and Nablus. General Dayton was joined by former British Prime Minister Tony Blair, who became the Chairman of the Quartet and helped garner funds for PA programs. Both Blair and Dayton were concerned that the powerful clans in Hebron would effectively resist PA operations in the Hebron area. Instead, they advised the PA leadership to remain focused on gaining control of the northern West Bank. But Prime Minister Fayyad insisted that the PA undertake these missions, particularly in Hebron, and they were later regarded as successful. At that point, General Dayton and State Department officials claimed credit. By 2010, General Dayton's presence had become intolerable to many PA officers. Some of the resentment stemmed from U.S. hyperactivity in which General Dayton supervised 24 security courses from 2008 to 2010. PA governors in the West Bank complained that General Dayton visited local security commanders without the approval of the governors. Others resented General Dayton's intervention in security policy rather than being limited to training and equipment. General Dayton was also said to have played a major role in the dismissal of then-General Intelligence Service commander Brig. Gen. Tawfik Tirawi in 2009. [13]

General Dayton also remained influential on the deployment of the National Security Forces and Presidential Guard forces trained in Jordan. Indeed, by the end of his tenure in September 2010, General Dayton was seen more as a diplomat than as a security adviser. His successor, Lt. Gen. Michael Moeller, has maintained a very low profile and, unlike General Dayton, refuses to speak in public or give interviews to the media.

## **Rivalries**

Despite the efforts of the PA, the leading security agencies have refused to consider meaningful coordination and accountability. PA Interior Minister Al Ali failed in efforts to introduce an Inspector General who would oversee all security agencies. At one point, the civil police agreed but the General Intelligence Service and National Security Forces objected. The Preventive Security Apparatus said it would agree only if it could appoint its own internal inspector. [14] The agencies have also fought PA Prime Minister Fayyad's policies of fiscal accountability, with the General Intelligence Service and the Preventive Security Apparatus still receiving significant support from Arab and Western intelligence services. The agencies have also disagreed over their basic assignments, leading to constant arguments over authority and operations. A huge argument has been which agency should lead the PA offensive against Hamas, with both the General Intelligence Service and the Preventive Security Apparatus claiming to be in charge. In a survey by the Interior Ministry in 2010, the General Intelligence Service and the Preventive Security Apparatus argued over responsibility for 60 percent of all security assignments.

The police are also engaged with a rivalry with the National Security Forces. The United States has been unhappy with the pace of EU programs to expand and equip police forces. As a result, Washington has seen National Security Forces as a backup to the civilian police and in 2008 approved the doubling of National Security Forces battalions from five to ten. [15] The National Security Forces has been patrolling several West Bank cities, particularly Ramallah, operations which have increased tension with police commanders.

## **Israeli Concern**

The Israeli government and military have not been consistent in their statements concerning PA security forces. For public consumption, the Israelis have repeatedly praised PA security forces as well as cooperation with the army and police. But privately and sometimes publicly, Israeli officials and commanders have expressed concern that the West was building an effective PA paramilitary that was preparing for low-intensity armed attacks against Jewish targets. These officials asserted that Israel did not trust PA security forces on virtually anything. They included the Israeli refusal to renew security patrols with PA units and engagement in an intelligence exchange. A key concern was that the PA was organizing squads that would engage in sabotage and ambushes of Israeli soldiers and civilians. In May 2010, then-Central Command chief Maj. Gen. Avi Mizrahi, who later became head of the ground forces, determined that even small PA units could be capable of paralyzing

Jewish communities in the West Bank as well as the outskirts of Jerusalem. Mizrahi went so far as to describe the PA security service as a “proper infantry force” and expressed the concern for Israeli casualties in any confrontation. [16]

The United States has acknowledged that a key aim in the development of the National Security Forces, for example, was to function in “small unit or company-size formations, in a military fashion. This would include the use of tactics employed by Special Weapons and Tactics teams in the United States.” [17]

Another problem is that the PA has failed to implement restrictions on its security forces.

Under the U.S. training program, only the National Security Forces was to have been equipped and trained for paramilitary operations. But Abbas has authorized the Presidential Guard to conduct Gendarmerie-type tasks that exceed the force’s original mandate and overlap with the National Security Forces. [18] At the same time, the Presidential Guard has refused to clarify its role in the PA security infrastructure. The Israeli fear is that the Presidential Guard would comprise another element of an emerging Palestinian armed force by 2012.

The Israeli response has been muted. However, the Israel Security Agency was said to have penetrated every one of the PA security agencies in secret efforts that intensified in 2010. [19]

At the same time, Israel has delayed a range of procurement projects for PA security forces. These include U.S. and Russian plans to supply the PA with BRDM armored personnel carriers, surveillance equipment, night-vision systems and encrypted tactical communications. As of March 2010, two National Security Forces battalions received no more than 14 percent of their equipment requirements, including helmets, armored vests, and communications.

### **Human Rights Abuse**

The expansion of and improvement in the PA security forces have failed to win support from Palestinians in the West Bank. The main reason is that almost all of the PA forces have been involved in abuse of civilians. Corruption among PA security officers remains rampant, with Palestinian businessmen still being threatened, whether in their stores or at checkpoints. Dissent is not tolerated to the point where attorneys for security detainees have been jailed without charges. [20] Even the Palestinian Independent Commission of Human Rights has reported an increase in the number of cases of torture of detainees. The

consensus among even Hamas hardliners is that PA abuse has gone beyond that practiced by the Israel Army at any time since 1967.

The PA has insisted that it is not ignoring human rights. The Interior Ministry is said to have dismissed or demoted nearly 50 officers found to have engaged in human rights violations. But Palestinian human rights groups have been unable to verify this. Instead, the human rights groups asserted that senior officers involved in torture escaped any censure and at most were transferred to other regions of the West Bank. [21] The most galling element in the PA violations was that security agencies were acting as an arm of the ruling Fatah movement. Anybody who was not a member of Fatah was regarded as a potential enemy. As a result, teachers and other civil servant applicants often had to prove their loyalty to Fatah by either joining the movement or agreeing to spy on Hamas supporters.

Indeed, the heads of all six major PA security services are senior members of Fatah, particularly the Revolutionary Council, and the lion's share of PA cadets are also Fatah members. [22]

These commanders have resisted appeals by Fayyad, who is not formally a member of Fatah, to end human rights abuses and punish violators. A Palestinian assessment concluded that 80 percent of PA officers were affiliated with Fatah. [23]

The United States has done nothing to address the human rights violations by PA security forces. Indeed, the opposite has been the case. In 2009, Washington significantly increased its budget for PA security forces to \$80 million amid concern by other Western donors of torture and abuse in PA prisons. General Dayton was ordered by U.S. special envoy George Mitchell to expand and accelerate security programs to include the police, which had been under the purview of the EU. During a meeting in June 2009, General Dayton encouraged the anti-Hamas campaign by PA intelligence agencies, despite admitting that donors were dismayed by the torture of Islamists in West Bank prisons. [24]

Prime Minister Fayyad has sought to keep security forces under his direct control. But there are clear limits to his power. In 2010, Fayyad was warned by security chiefs that the failure of Israel- PA talks would harm the forces and discipline. The warning was backed by the Fatah Central Committee, which contains at least four former security chiefs with significant influence over PA forces. As a result, the prime minister has come to understand that he is virtually powerless to enforce discipline on Fatah officers, particularly those with connections in the movement's leadership. [25] The leadership itself has been divided, particularly into pro- and anti-Abbas factions, making it impossible for the prime minister to reach any arrangement with Fatah.

Another problem has been the PA insistence to expand counter-insurgency programs. The U.S. Security Coordinator's Office has been considering the development of special Counter Intelligence forces to operate against Hamas's military infrastructure in the West Bank. However, Israel believes the PA's aim is to create a commando corps that would eventually attack Jewish targets.

### **The Crisis**

Because of the US demand that security forces remain hostage to the establishment of a Palestinian state, diplomats around the region are concerned about what will happen if that goal fails. In other words, what will happen to the PA, let alone its security forces, if Israel and the PA do not reach an agreement for the establishment of a Palestinian state throughout the West Bank and Jerusalem by 2012? At one point, Abbas himself threatened to disband the PA, which alarmed senior members of Fatah. In December 2010, former PA security chief Mohammed Dahlan, later exiled by Abbas, warned that the disbanding of the PA would spark chaos throughout the region and result in militias in the West Bank. Dahlan, in contrast to U.S. and EU reports, said 60,000 officers were employed in the PA security forces, and they could not be dismissed without serious repercussions. [26]

Already, there are signs of factionalism within PA security forces. Former PA Chief Mohammed Dahlan, for example, has been recruiting senior officers to support him in any effort to unseat Abbas. Other members of the Fatah Central Committee are also forming alliances, often with help from Arab and Western countries. With an aging and weak leadership, PA security forces could deteriorate to the point that it will no longer be loyal to either their commanders or even Abbas. Similar scenarios have taken place in such Arab states as Iraq, Lebanon, Tunisia and Yemen. The difference is that all of the PA security forces, similar to that which took place in 2000, would be swept into a competition over proving their mettle in attacks against Jews.

The prospect of unrest in the West Bank could increase as the Abbas regime comes under rising criticism for what Palestinians perceive as concessions to Israel, which at least one major analyst said could bring down the entire PA leadership. [27]

Already, there is evidence of PA-organized unrest in the West Bank directed toward Israeli civilians, with demonstrators believed to include off-duty officers. [28]

At that point, U.S. training and equipment could turn PA units into professional terrorist squads that would impose a heavy civilian toll on Israel

With a huge American presence in several Israeli cities, including Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, the United States could face the prospect that its own weapons and equipment would be used by Palestinian forces to kill Americans and spread terror throughout the region.

Moreover, given the growing unrest in neighboring Jordan, PA mercenaries could be recruited to attack the Hashemite kingdom as well, again with U.S. weapons, equipment and training methods. Little wonder that there is widespread opposition within the Jordanian leadership for a U.S. proposal for joint security patrols along the Jordan River as part of a plan to establish a Palestinian state. [29]

Due to this Jordan has stepped up its monitoring of the activities of PA security forces in the West Bank and Jordan Valley in fear that these units can turn to the East as easily as West.

### **Canada**

Canada is one of eight countries to participate in the U.S. security mission. Canadians comprise the largest nationality of the U.S. Security Coordinator's mission, with 18 out of a total of 45 staffers. [30] The Canadians do much of the fieldwork for the Americans, who are severely restricted by U.S. law from operating in Judea and Samaria and much of Jerusalem because of the threat of attack. [31] While the Americans are based in Jerusalem, the Canadian contingent is located in Ramallah. [32] Until mid-2010, Canadians, who outnumber the American staffers, have worked with the PA Interior Ministry's Strategic Planning Directorate, which played a major role in development Palestinian security forces. [33] Some of the Canadians are fluent Arabic speakers, and this has helped them in their work with PA security officials and commanders.

### **Recommendations**

The United States and the European Union should conduct a major review of PA security forces to determine whether they would be capable of maintaining order in the absence of a Palestinian state in 2012. This would require a genuine examination of PA law enforcement capabilities as well as civilian control.

Western donors should link future aid to PA security forces to a significant improvement in human rights. Without this, there will be no commitment by Palestinians to law and order in the West Bank.

The development of PA forces should be fully coordinated with Israel to ensure that they do not turn into militias that could threaten Jewish lives. Aid to the PA security forces should be accompanied by a political process that would establish democratic elections in the West Bank, including for the post of chairman. The PA has been without a legislature for more than five years, which has turned the Palestinian regime into a veritable dictatorship.

The PA should be urged to immediately establish an independent judiciary in which judges, prosecutors and attorneys can operate freely. This must be a major goal of the civilian police as well as the intelligence services.

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### **Palestinian Authority Promotes Officer Who Killed Americans**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, April 4, 2010*

Jerusalem – The PA has promoted an officer responsible for killing American citizens.

In 2010, PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas promoted Mahmoud Damra to the rank of major general. Damra has been identified as the commander of Fatah's praetorian guard Force 17, and was responsible for the security of Abbas's predecessor, Yasser Arafat. In other words, Abbas promoted a man who commands a Palestinian terror unit to the rank of major general.

"President Mahmoud Abbas decided to promote the prisoner Mahmoud Damra, Abu Awad, commander of the President's Security Force 17, to the rank of major general," the Palestinian daily Al Quds reported.

Damra was imprisoned by Israel in 2006. He was convicted of killing several people in attacks on civilians, including Americans Esh-Kodesh Gilmore as well as Binyamin and Talia Kahane in 2000.

The United States government has been funding the training and equipping of PA security forces, including the Presidential Guard, and plans to contribute about \$100 million over the next year.

Meanwhile, the ruling Fatah movement of the PA has pledged to intensify Palestinian unrest in the West Bank. Senior Fatah officials said this would include mass demonstrations against the Israeli security wall.

"All options are on the table," Fatah Central Committee member Jibril Rajoub said on March 30.

Another Fatah Central Committee member, Mahmoud Al Alul, said the movement would also lead protests against Jewish communities in the West

Bank and in the Jerusalem area. Al Alul cited the arrest of his colleague on the committee, Abbas Zaki, during a violent demonstration on March 28.

“We are aware of the fact that Israel has decided to employ cruel force to repress the popular demonstrations,” Al Alul said. “They see that the Palestinian leadership is taking an active role and that the popular struggle is heading towards major escalation. Our struggle has a price, and we are willing to pay it.”

### **Reports which distort Israeli reality...About Israel’s “Peace Partners”**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, August 4, 2010*

1 Fatah’s Intentions: the standard reports in the media portray Mahmoud Abbas and the Fatah as peace partners for Israel in the current Middle East negotiations.

Rarely do we find any news reports which quote a senior Israeli government minister, Benyamin Begin, who tries to remind the public that the Fatah reiterated its commitment to the armed struggle against Israel at the seminal Fatah conference that took place last August in Bethlehem and that the Fatah never changed its covenant and commitment to liberate Palestine, all of Palestine. [2]

2. Egypt’s Role in the Massive Supply of Weapons and Munitions to Hamas Regime in Gaza.

The standard reports in the media portray Iran as the sole supplier of weapons and munitions into the Gaza strip, via the tunnels.

Rarely do we find any news reports, which note the geographical contiguity of Egypt to Gaza, and that is Egypt, which allows hundreds of tunnels to have been dug into Gaza from Egyptian territory. Why not pay heed to credible intelligence analysis, which lays the blame for the import of weapons and munitions to the Gaza regime squarely on the shoulders of the Egyptian regime?

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2 See: “Fatah Conference: August 2009” at <http://israelbehindthenews.com/reports.html>

Peruse the Bar Ilan University intelligence study, which was written just after Israel unilaterally stopped its military incursion into Gaza, entitled "Egypt Is Not Going to Stop the Smuggling into Gaza."

### 3. Is Israel Set to Deport the Children of Foreign Workers?

Standard news report headlines present Israeli government discussions to deport the children of foreign workers from Israel.

In fact, what is on the agenda of the Israeli government concerns the 26,000 non-Jewish foreigners who have infiltrated the Jewish state.

Some of these foreigners have sought menial work in Israeli industry.

No discussion in the Israeli government concerning a proposal to deport the children of this illegal population in Israel has been initiated.

Instead, the New Israel Fund financed groups which advocate for this influx have manipulated the media to believe that the Israeli government is only discussing the deportation of the children of foreigners who have illegally arrived in Israel.

Rarely does the media report that intelligence reports confirm that more than one million illegal refugees are headed towards Israel through Egypt's Sinai desert, set to descend on Israel, whose total population numbers only 7.5 million, of whom 20% are already not Jewish.

Rarely does the media analyze security implications of the thousands of refugees from Sudan, an Arab nation with an Islamic regime in an active war with Israel.

Rarely do you read a press analysis of what would happen if 30,000 Sudanese established their presence in Israel's port city of Eilat, a city of fewer than 47,000 people. [3]

If these Sudanese were to take civics lessons from the NIF and then assert their democratic right to vote in an Eilat municipal election, why would the Sudanese vote for Eilat to secede from Israel, and join the Arab world? This would represent an Arab military victory, without firing a shot.

How many people remember that the Egyptian Parliament laid claim to Eilat only four years ago. [4]

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3 [http://www.cbs.gov.il/population/new\\_2009/table3.pdf](http://www.cbs.gov.il/population/new_2009/table3.pdf)

4 <http://israelbehindthenews.com/bin/content.cgi?!D=60&q=2>

Is it only a coincidence that Egypt provides the Sinai as a staging ground for the massive influx of a hostile population into Israel, especially into Eilat, where unwanted non Jewish squatters now constitute at least 10% of Eilat's population?

**Finally: Arab affirmation: PLO Speaks out of two sides of its mouth**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, January 28, 2011*

For the past seventeen years, since the inception of the Oslo process, the passion of this news agency and research center has focused on dissonant PLO messages – the contrast between the PLO message conveyed to Israel and to western countries, which seemingly supports a two state solution, and the consistent message communicated to the Palestinian people and to the Arab League, which promotes a two-stage solution to destroy Israel.

Take, as a case in point, the notion of The “Right of Return”– the “right” of Palestinian refugees and their descendants from the 1948 war to “return” to Arab villages lost in 1948.

The PLO Negotiations Department spokespersons always reassure foreign reporters that this is no more than a request for an “in-principle” recognition of the right of return.

Yet official Palestinian media outlets and official Palestinian educational institutions present the Palestinian people with the “right of return” as the chief policy concern of the nascent Palestinian entity.

Every Palestinian school child learns the precise map of lost Palestinian Arab villages that must be liberated from Israel. Every Palestinian child in every UNRWA Palestinian refugee camp learns the precise contours of every village where their family was expelled from and where every Palestinian family must return to. The official Palestinian web site, [www.PalestineRemembered.com](http://www.PalestineRemembered.com), speaks for itself in terms of this planned and precisely promoted policy of the right of return.

Yet it has been a nearly impossible task to publish news stories about the official Palestinian message to the Palestinian people for the mainstream media.

The Jewish Telegraphic Agency will simply not run news stories that focus on what the Palestinian leadership communicates to their own people.

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The American Jewish Press Association will not allow their conferences to hold a briefing which would delve into the message that the Palestinian leadership in the Palestinian media and in the new Palestinian schools.

The mainstream Israeli media will rarely make any mention of the official Palestinian pronouncements in Palestinian media outlets or in Palestinian educational institutions.

There was a time when documentation of the official Palestinian message to the Palestinian people was hard to come by, and a logistical nightmare to obtain.

In the mid-1990s, our agency would dispatch messengers in the middle of the night to a Gaza checkpoint to retrieve videos of up to date PBC TV news broadcasts, new official PA school books, new Palestinian maps, and films of Palestinian public figures at rallies, all of which conveyed a consistent message that promoted the obliteration of Israel –which contrasted with the well oiled PR machine operated of the PLO Negotiations Department which, promoted precisely the opposite message to the mainstream media that only wants to hear a message of peace and reconciliation.

Today, however, access to official Palestinian TV, radio, print and internet media is easy to come by, and entry to Palestinian schools and Universities is easy to facilitate.

Yet the mainstream media has maintained a policy of ignoring the dissonant message of the Palestinian official representatives –until this week, when the Al Jazeera TV network, owned in large part by investors from the Arab nation of Qatar, produced thousands of internal documents which verified the double message of the PA.

For the first time since the inception of the Oslo process in 1993, the mainstream media finally reported that the PLO indeed communicates in two tongues, in a tone of reasonable negotiation with Israelis and westerners, in stark contrast with the policy promoted by official Palestinian spokespeople to the Palestinian people.

In one day, Al Jazeera made the task of communicating Palestinian doubletalk that much easier.

Perhaps JTA and the American Jewish Press Association will ask Al Jazeera to host a colloquium of the American Jewish media in Qatar on the subject of the dual message communicated by the PA.

### **Illusions of the Saudi Initiative**

*David Bedein, Los Angeles Times, April 11, 2012*

The article “Israeli-Palestinian group presents economic benefits to Saudi Peace Initiative” (April 3) distorts the “refugee” clause of the Saudi initiative, as if it simply calls for a “just solution” for Arab refugees and descendants lingering in transient UNRWA facilities since 1948. However, the words of the initiative were different: “a just and agreed solution to the refugee problem on the basis of United Nations General Assembly Resolution 194 of December 1948. If Israel agrees to these terms, the Arab states will consider this to be the end of the conflict and will establish normal relations with Israel.” Israel can never agree to these terms.

Prof. Itamar Rabinovich, then-president of Tel Aviv University and a prominent figure in the Israeli peace camp, revealed the actual contents of the refugee clause of the Saudi initiative in real-time. On April 7, 2002, he wrote that “the relatively flexible formula on the right of return issue that was in the statement read out by Arab League Secretary-General Amr Moussa was neutralized by the explicit demand for the right of return” in the final draft. Rabinovich also noted that “in order to obtain the support of the rest of the Arab world, the simplistic formula had to be waived.... The conference published a concluding statement that emphasized... that Israel must allow Palestinians to achieve all their rights, including the guarantee for the right of return... on the basis of principles of international law including General Assembly Resolution 194.”

So much for illusions of the Saudi initiative.

### **It's Not Just the Temple Mount; They Even Claim Susya**

*David Bedein, Israel National News, August 28, 2012*

In land disputes with Israel, Arabs often claim their “historic rights” to almost every part of Israel, often repeating the mantra that their grandfathers had lived on a given tract of land “for centuries.”

In that context, a new controversy has erupted over whether or not the Israel Civil Administration, which administers the Judea region of the “West Bank,” will indeed demolish the Arab hamlet of Susya. [Susya is south of Hevron, on the road towards Be'er Sheva].

As the debate has grown more heated, Israeli groups that advocate for Arab territorial rights have distributed their version of a history of Arab Susya, as a reason to justify the inherent Arab right to settle in Susya, since they have no permit or authorization whatsoever from the Israel Civil Administration.

Indeed, on June 25, 2012, The Rabbis for Human Rights issued a statement about the “historic” claims of the Arabs of Susya:

“The village of Palestinian Susya has existed for centuries, long before the establishment of the [Jewish] settlement of Susya in 1983. There is documented evidence of a settlement in the area dating back to 1830, and it is also marked on British mandatory maps from 1917.”

<http://rhr.org.il/eng/index.php/2012/06/the-origin-of-the-expulsion-a-brief-history-of-palestinian-susya-guest-article/>

Since the claim made by the advocates of Arab Susya focuses attention only on that “historic claim” made by those Arabs, it might be appropriate to ascertain what the Ottoman and British records would attest to that claim.

A check with the researcher and Jerusalem Post journalist Dr. Seth J. Frantzman, co-author of “Bedouin Settlement in Late Ottoman and British Mandatory Palestine: Influence on the Cultural and Environmental Landscape, 1870-1948” was made in order to ascertain what the Ottoman and British records show about Susya.

Dr. Frantzman carried out his Ph.D. research at the Hebrew University, using Israel State Archives and the map archives of the Hebrew University and National Library as well as at the aerial photo archive of the Hebrew University’s Geography department on the foundation, expansion and development of Arab villages in the 19th and early 20th century, tracing how some villages expanded and gave birth to “daughter villages.”

Dr. Frantzman notes that, in his research, he did not come across any village, hamlet or settlement at Susya.

He did identify several other villages that were founded in the 1940s, which Professor David Grossman of the Department of Geography at Bar Ilan University has also written about.

For example, the village Rahiya, near Yatta, was founded in the late 19th century or early 20th century.

Yet there is no evidence, however, from records examined at Ben Gurion University from the Ottoman Empire period or British mandate period, of any village or settlement ever existing at Susya.

There are five documents attached:

The Palestine Exploration Fund, which carried out a thorough and widely respected survey of the country from 1871-77 did not show any village or settlement in the area of Susya.

Instead they noted only the ruins of ancient Susya, which was a Jewish town from the Temple period with a synagogue facing Jerusalem, ritual bath and other artifacts.

Their map and memoirs both indicate only a ruin.

Had there been a village it would have been indicated the way Samu was on the map.

Later maps from the British Mandate period, from 1942 and 1948, show no village in the area of Susya, but once again show villages at Samu and Yatta.

An aerial photo from 1945 does not show a village or even tents at the site.

In short, the conclusion of Dr. Frantzman's study is that there was no settlement at Susya, no village and no houses from the 19th century through 1948.

While Arab Susya's advocates, writing in various publications, claim to have lived in a "village" at the site since the 1830s, there seems to be no record of any such "village."

Dr. Frantzman noted that, in his words, "It is surprising that so little was constructed from the period 1830-1948."

Photos from today show construction that is likely much more modern.

Dr. Frantzman observed that "The allegation that the villagers were prevented from building or "built illegally" in Area C begs the question, didn't they build anything before Area C was created in the 1990s? Where are the old houses from 1830, from 1920, 1940, 1960, 1970? Was not the settlement in fact a seasonal settlement of tents and non-permanent dwellings?"

These are the questions that should be raised.

More evidence in the way of photos from the 1960s and after that would surely shed light on this.

Over the past ten days, our agency dispatched a reporter to ask advocates of Arab Susya if they could provide any documentation which would support the claim that "The village of Palestinian Susya has existed for centuries, long before the establishment of the [Jewish] settlement of Susya in 1983. There are

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documentary evidence of a settlement in the area dating back to 1830, and it is also marked on British mandatory maps from 1917.”

No one could provide any such evidence.

In other words, the issue at hand today revolves around whether the Israel Civil Administration is legally mandated to demolish homes of Arabs that were built without authorization and without any permit in Judea.

Over the past few years, the Israel Civil Administration has destroyed hundreds of Jewish homes because they were built without a permit recognized by the Israel Civil Administration, despite historic claims of Jews to the land where they had made their home.

And who can forget the Oct. 27, 2004 decision of the government of Israel to revoke permits for settlement in Gush Katif and four Jewish communities in Northern Samaria, which resulted in the demolition of all 21 Jewish communities in Gush Katif and all four Northern Samaritan communities.

In other words, the precedent for Susya’s demolition has been established by the stringent way in which the Israel Civil Administration has applied the letter of the law to Jewish communities in Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

Meanwhile, the record shows that claims by Arabs to precedence in Susya are specious.

### **On the Brink: Decline of U.S.-trained Palestinian Security Forces**

David Bedein, Middle East Forum Special Report, January 9, 2013

After nearly 20 years, the Palestinian Authority, the PA, has achieved the dubious reputation of being one of the largest recipients of foreign aid per capita in modern times. However, the PA has not achieved stability, democracy, transparency, or accountability. One the most corrupt regimes in the Middle East, the PA remains a fiefdom, at this point in time under the control of chairman Mahmoud Abbas, his sons, and his cronies.

The security forces established by the PA, unsurprisingly, share a similarly dubious reputation. Despite decades of money, training and equipment from western democracies, the PA armed forces-more than 30,000 PA security and intelligence personnel-have in the main behaved little better than militias and

are marked by considerable corruption. Rather than improving over the years, however, the forces have becoming increasingly problematic.

Throughout the course of 2012, a pattern was established in which senior commanders were increasingly allied with organized crime and renegade militias.

In many areas, PA security presence has dwindled as personnel and commanders- trained for the most part by the US-have been recruited by organized crime groups engaged in extortion, as well as in the smuggling of weapons and narcotics. In Jenin alone, this has been the case with scores of PA officers, as evidence mounts of similar phenomena in other cities under PA control, including Bethlehem, Hebron, Nablus, and Tulkarm.

This situation was exacerbated in the latter part of 2012 by a fiscal crisis.

As monthly salaries were withheld or only partially issued, many PA security personnel, with the consent of their commanders, clocked in and then went off to other jobs, often in the employ of private security agencies or for local criminals impressed by their Western training and equipment.

The presence of armed Hamas personnel has become a major factor in PA controlled areas in several different respects:

Having benefited from major donations from such nations as Iran and Qatar, Hamas has been in a position to exploit the financial crisis of the PA. Numerous PA security personnel have been quietly engaged to working for the Islamist group, particularly the military wing Izzadin al-Kassam.

Hamas penetration into PA security has been strong in several areas under ostensible PA control, particularly in the Hebron region where senior PA intelligence officers are believed to provide intelligence to Hamas.

The PA security services now allow Hamas to organize huge rallies in areas under PA control. This arrangement, a departure from earlier policy, enables Hamas to openly recruit members as well as to mobilize supporters, as efforts are made to restore the Islamist military infrastructure in areas under PA control. Most of these rallies have ended up as confrontations with the Israeli Army.

Senior members of the ruling Fatah movement have touted Hamas' war with Israel and called on the PA to prepare for another uprising in areas under PA control. Fatah, in statements reported in official PA-run media, has already announced the establishment of units assigned to fight the Israeli Army.

As a function of Abbas' unilateral push for a state, PA security cooperation with Israel sharply declined in November and December 2012. Palestinian officers

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facilitated and even aided Hamas-aligned attacks on Israeli civilians and soldiers. In some cases, PA personnel have attacked Israeli soldiers in broad daylight. PA security forces have also tried to stop the Israeli Army from capturing suspected Palestinian insurgents.

The Israeli army has privately acknowledged that Palestinians involved in attacks on Israelis have been allowed to join PA security forces and receive U.S. training.

Abbas uses the PA security forces for his own purposes.

Abbas has used PA security forces: to retaliate against critics who accuse him of corruption; to destroy or exile his rivals in Fatah; to pursue Palestinians who have sold land to Jews; and to stop Jews from reaching religious sites in the Nablus region.

None of the above issues has diluted solid Western support for Palestinian Security Forces.

Under President Barack Obama—who seeks to expand PA paramilitary units—the United States has pledged to continue to pour hundreds of millions of dollars a year into Abbas' coffers, with large sums dedicated to the security forces. This is despite objections from Congress and appeals by Palestinian human rights organizations. Obama has exercised waivers to continue to fund the PA security forces.



*American-trained PA Preventative Security Force 2013 Indynews*



*PA Security Forces, Tulkarem, 2012, Stopping Israeli soldiers, Maan News*



*PA Security Forces on parade, 2010, Maan News*



*PA Police stand guard, 2011, Reuters*



*Oslo Accords division of West Bank: Area A – full PA control  
Area B – PA civil control; Israeli security; Area C – full Israeli control (ProCon)*

### **Legacy of the PA Security Forces, Numerous Conflicting Agencies Controlled by Arafat**

The Palestinian Authority was founded in 1994 by Yasser Arafat, who appointed his top cronies as heads of various agencies of the Palestinian Security Forces. Arafat imported personnel from the Palestine Liberation Army from such countries as Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria. The Palestinian security forces served as patronage for Arafat loyalists and within a year at least 17 agencies were formed, with authority overlapping and generating rivalries. [1]

The PA intelligence agencies, initially be limited to six, were quickly adopted by foreign sponsors, including the UK, Egypt, France and the United States. There was, however, little oversight of the forces, which engaged in extortion of Palestinians and received commissions on major deals in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

### **Clashes with Israel and decimation**

Without oversight, PA units became involved in attacks against Israeli civilians and soldiers. In September 1996, PA security forces clashed with the Israeli Army throughout the areas under PA control in the wake of Israel's opening of a tunnel contiguous to the Temple Mount. Four years later, Arafat recruited security forces to organize ambushes and other attacks on Israeli civilians and soldiers in what was called the "second intifada." The Israeli military responded with Operation Defensive Shield. By the end of 2002, the PA security forces were decimated, with facilities demolished and weapons seized.

### **US involvement: Security Coordinator**

The United States recruited NATO and other partners to restore PA security forces. Yet despite pledges of hundreds of millions of dollars, the Palestinian security forces remained fiefdoms and ineffective. Amid White House assurances to the US Congress, PA security forces were overwhelmed by Hamas fighters, who took over the Gaza Strip in 2007.

The PA defeat led to an overhaul of Palestinian security forces in the West Bank directed by the office of the U.S. Security Coordinator (USSC), established in 2005.

Since 2008, the focus of Washington has been to develop a PA security force with paramilitary capabilities, having the capacity to protect the regime of Arafat's successor, Mahmoud Abbas, from Hamas and the ability to quell massive demonstrations. Abbas, however, failed to implement laws and directives on the restructuring of the security forces, delineation of responsibilities, and the imposition of effective civilian oversight. [2]

The office of the U.S. Security Coordinator, located in Jerusalem, is comprised of 16 U.S. military officers assigned to the State Department. [3]

The Coordinator-supported by such countries as Britain, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands and Turkey-reports directly to the secretary of state and oversees security aid to the PA as well as cooperation between Israel and the PA-administered areas. The U.S. goal is to assist in the establishment of an independent Palestinian state under the control of Abbas and the Fatah.

The U.S. strategy for achieving this goal began with the rebuilding of the PA security force structure, infrastructure, equipment and training.

By 2011, the strategy of the U.S. Coordinator's office, with a staff of 145 personnel, shifted to the development of PA indigenous readiness, training, and logistics programs as well as the capability to maintain and sustain operational readiness and support infrastructure. The Coordinator's office also envisioned enhanced security between Israel and the PA, as well as the improvement of the PA justice and prison sectors. [4]

By July 2011, U.S.-financed training programs graduated 4,761 Palestinian cadets from the U.S.-supported Jordanian International Police Training Center in Amman. The Coordinator's office also conducted training in the West Bank attended by 3,500 security commanders and troops. [5] Washington helped build joint operations centers for planning, command, and control as well as the National Training Center in Jericho. The facilities were meant to help the United States transition into a new role of "advise and assist" for the PA Interior Ministry and security forces. In mid-2011, the USSC determined that PA security forces were becoming a "responsive and effective professional force." [6]

The most influential U.S. official involved with nurturing the PA security forces was Lt. Gen. Keith Dayton, who served for five years in the post of Coordinator.

Dayton, alone among his peers, was involved in PA operations, training, appointments and even deployment of forces. To the consternation of senior Palestinian officials, the U.S. general established a system of rewarding those individual commanders who cooperated with him and worked to secure the dismissal of those who did not. [7] As a result, PA commanders followed Dayton

because of either a personal or political agenda, or because they wanted their units to receive American equipment. [8] One Palestinian critic who lost his position as a result of criticizing Dayton was Col. Tawfiq Tirawi, then chief of the General Intelligence Services.

### **EU involvement**

The European Union has been training PA police, with more than 3,000 personnel trained via Britain's Hart Security. [9] Over the last two years, EU focus has been on developing Special Forces, with France overseeing the training and equipping of Special Forces for site and diplomatic security. The three-week course designed for this – referred to a “train the trainer” – has been sponsored by France's Compagnies Republicaines de Securite. This is a program that has sought to develop indigenous PA security capabilities. French instructors have taught PA police such skills as public order, defensive tactics, communications, and crowd control.

### **A Closer Look at the PA Forces**

#### **Reorganization**

In 2005, Abbas reorganized the Palestinian Security Services into six main units.

The PA chairman issued a decree to dismantle branches such as Force 17, the praetorian guard of the late Yasser Arafat. Efforts were launched to coordinate security agencies such as the Preventive Security Apparatus. Abbas, under a policy that called for mandatory retirement at age 60, also dismissed veteran commanders in the PA and replaced them with younger and more modern-thinking personnel. The PA Interior Ministry reduced the number of armed personnel by 90 percent, as of the end of 2010.

However, aging commanders loyal to Abbas remained.

Indeed, the ruling Fatah movement has not lost any of its influence over the PA security forces. Despite efforts by Prime Minister Salam Fayyad to professionalize the security forces, some 80 percent of all officers were either Fatah members or affiliated with the movement. The commanders of all six major agencies have been members of the Fatah Revolutionary Council, regarded as the monitoring body of the movement. [10] The Interior Ministry, which oversees much of the security forces, is also dominated by Fatah members. The commanders of all six major agencies have been members of the Fatah Revolutionary Council, regarded as the monitoring body of the movement.

### **PA Civil Police**

The civil force of some 8,000 remains the least affected by the halt in PA salaries. Most of the members of this force are young men who still follow orders of their superiors and believe the promises that Arab states will end the fiscal crisis in Ramallah.

This force, the first to reappear in the West Bank after the second uprising in 2000, has been under the tight control of Brig. Gen. Hazem Atallah, who regards the financial crisis as a key challenge of his command. Although salaries are still forthcoming for this force, the crisis has affected operations in other ways. Fuel has been at a premium, thus limiting the reach of PA police operations. Plans to open and maintain police stations in rural areas of the West Bank, particularly in the north, have also been hampered.

### **National Security Force (NSF)**

This U.S.-trained unit of nearly 10,000 officers has been significantly hurt by the fiscal crisis. Training of NSF personnel declined and corruption rose significantly in 2012. The problem has been compounded by the fact that at least 20 percent of the force was meant to protect the regime against plots within PA security units.

The Force's biggest problem has been NSF commanders who often see themselves as fiefdom chiefs, particularly in the northern West Bank. Many of them have lent themselves out as muscle for organized crime in such cities as Jenin, Nablus and Tulkarm. Connected to a lead security agency, these commanders have been able to dismiss pressure from the Interior Ministry or even rival agencies. NSF was heavily implicated in the death of Jenin Gov. Khadoura Mussa, who threatened to hamper the growing relationship between militias and their partners in NSF. The force was said to have been split over the last year in wake of the resignation of longtime chief Maj. Gen. Dib Al Ali. Al Ali, close to Abbas and on excellent terms with Israel and the United States, was replaced by Nidal Abu Dukhan, who has marginalized those seen as loyal to his predecessor. [11]

### **Presidential Guard (PG)**

The 3,000-member PG has been in decline despite U.S. programs to enhance this praetorian force of Abbas. The PG has been on alert amid the growing protest movement, which has included demonstrations outside the presidential compound in Ramallah. It has dealt harshly with largely peaceful sit-ins, dispersing protests and threatening human rights monitors. The fiscal crisis has

led to an increase in moonlighting within the PG, and to extortion of Palestinian businessmen.

### **Intelligence Services: General Intelligence; Preventative Security; Military Intelligence**

The intelligence services have sustained less damage from the fiscal crisis than other forces. This is because several of the intelligence agencies receive funds from Western donors rather than simply from the Palestinian government. France has been helping the General Intelligence Services. GIS, which plans to train 1,200 officers in such technical skills as surveillance and data analysis, reports directly to Abbas.

The United States has been pumping money into the Preventive Security Apparatus, the largest of the intelligence agencies. PSA, with 4,000 members, has led most PA counter-insurgency operations, particularly against Hamas and Jihad. Formally, PSA reports to the Interior Ministry as well as the prime minister's office, but many of these operations remain under the supervision of the United States and are monitored by Israel. Officially, Washington ended support for PSA, but U.S. aid has been quietly channeled to PSA as part of an effort to bolster forces loyal to Fatah in case of any war with Hamas.

Washington's efforts to encourage a merger of PSA and GIS have been unsuccessful. A key reason is that the commanders of the agencies represent rival constituencies. GIS officers come largely from exile, particularly Tunis, while PSA stems from Fatah fighters who led the first uprising against Israel in the late 1980s. [12]

Military Intelligence has sustained a greater decline in morale amid the fiscal crisis than the other intelligence agencies. This force, nominally under NSF, has become a factor amid the power struggle within Fatah as MI officers provide muscle for rival factions. Despite efforts at reform, MI has failed to move from a political to a professional force and efforts to coordinate with NSF have failed.

### **Corruption**

In August 2012, some 20 PA officers were investigated on allegations of working with organized crime and gun running. The probe determined that crime families in almost every major city under PA control were offering police and security personnel part-time work doing everything from protecting homes to providing tips on police patrols and investigations. The biggest cases of corruption were in cities.

Abbas ordered a crackdown on Fatah and PA officers in Jenin after the death of its governor, Khaddoura Mussa. He died hours after his home was fired upon, it was believed, by PA personnel.

Two of the shooters were identified as loyalists of outgoing NSF commander Al Ali, who was involved in a power struggle at the time of his resignation. The crackdown included Fatah militia commander Zakaria Zubeidi, accused of killing an Israeli Arab filmmaker in 2011, as well as participating in the attack on Mussa. During his subsequent five months in prison, Zubeidi was also interrogated in connection with the assassination of Hisham Al Rukh, deputy commander of PSA in Jenin in March 2012. [13]

The corruption of the PA security forces has been exacerbated by the fiscal crisis in 2012. For most of the year, Palestinian civil servants received at most only a portion of their salaries and sometimes nothing. The failure to pay salaries has been blamed on Israel as well as Arab and Western donors. But many Palestinians assert that the real cause is official corruption and nepotism.

By December 2012, the 180,000 civil servants of the PA worked no more than three days a week and planned additional walkouts. The PA requires \$200 million a month for salaries, more than half of which was meant to come from tax revenues from Palestinians who work in Israel. The rest of the salary budget was meant to come from foreign aid. The Palestinian Monetary Fund says the PA is in debt for \$1.5 billion. [14]

In the past, PA security officers walked off their jobs more than other Palestinian civil servants. During the crisis in 2007, as few as 20 percent of PA officers showed up to work. Abbas and his ministers could do little as most of the PA agencies retained their autonomy and commanders rejected all civilian oversight. [15]

### **Abbas Uses Forces to Quell Criticism, Fight Rivals Squashing protests about corruption**

Abbas has used PA security forces to retaliate against critics who accuse him of corruption.

Major allegations of corruption involve his two sons, whom he has allowed to gain major stakes in Western-financed development projects in the West Bank. Abbas has been able to manipulate foreign investment through his control over the Palestine Investment Fund. Inexplicably, PIF still operates in the Gaza Strip, captured by Hamas in 2007. [16]

In all, Abbas' sons have won contracts for more than \$250 million. For his part, the PA chairman was said to earn \$1 million a month. Abbas has charged

donors for personal expenses of more than \$1 billion since he became chairman of the PA in November 2004. In a recent move, Abbas, whose fleet included two Western aircraft, requested a presidential jet from Russia. [17]

Yasser, the elder Abbas son, has been allowed by his father to enjoy a monopoly on the sale of U.S.-origin cigarettes in the West Bank. The other Abbas, son, Tarek, has been allowed to peddle influence through his father in contracts for the U.S. government. [18]

The Palestinian media have been unable to report this because of the fear of Abbas' security forces. Those who raised this issue have been arrested. In the first half of 2012, at least nine Palestinian journalists were arrested by the PA. A blogger, Jamal Abu Rihan, was arrested soon after he wrote on his Facebook page "The people want an end to corruption." [19]

As a result, the allegations have been aired abroad and the PA chairman has threatened lawsuits against media outlets in Qatar, Israel, and the United States. [20]

Abbas' two sons have also been using their father to shield business partners wanted for criminal activities. The U.S. Congress has been told that in 2009 the PA granted diplomatic passports to Issam and Devincci Hourani, which allow them with immunity in their travels. Devincci, a U.S. citizen, has worked with Yasser Abbas for Caratube International Oil Co., based in Sudan. Devincci was also partnered with Yasser Abbas in the construction of a hotel in Sudan. [21]

Abbas has used almost all of his forces to stop dissent. PA police have established a special women's unit to violently disperse women protesters, including peaceful demonstrations against PSA. [22] The PA women officers operate in civilian dress and were trained to kick and slap women and children as well as journalists.

The Presidential Guard has been used to break up sit-ins near Abbas' office. PG personnel, many of them trained by the United States, have also been ordered to harass and threaten human rights workers. [23] Even PA civil police were ordered to stop protests in Ramallah, and in June and July 2012 anti-riot police and plainclothes officers attacked and injured marchers as well as journalists. The assault was led by Col. Latif Khaddoumi, police chief in Ramallah, and his assistant, Mohammed Abu Bakr, and aided by GIS, who sought to stop media coverage of the marches, which began as a protest of a meeting between Abbas and an Israeli politician. [24] The European Union expressed concern over the use of police to quell peaceful protests, but stressed that the training program would continue. [25]

Many of the protests were organized through the social media. In response, the PA, in an order by Attorney General Ahmed Al Mughni and deemed a major

shift in policy, blocked websites of independent news outlets. Al Mughni was believed to have been directed by Abbas himself or the head of an intelligence agency. [26]

PA security forces also play a major role in monitoring schools and teachers. The PA-approved Independent Commission for Human Rights has received more than 400 complaints from teachers who were either dismissed or refused employment because of their political orientation. Those working for the Palestinian media also require security clearance. [27]

### **Pursuing political enemies**

Abbas has used his U.S.-trained security forces to destroy or exile rivals in the Fatah.

In 2011, Abbas ordered security units to attack the Ramallah home of Mohammed Dahlan, where aides were arrested, and millions of dollars worth of cars and equipment confiscated. Abbas' feud with Dahlan goes back 20 years when Arafat appointed him commander of PSA in the Gaza Strip. The post allowed Dahlan and his cronies to gain information about corruption in the PA, including by Abbas and his family. In July 2011, Abbas arrested 15 supporters of Dahlan and purged the security forces of anybody believed to be a sympathizer. A month later, Fatah said Dahlan's expulsion from Fatah was final. [28] By that time, Dahlan and his family had fled to exile.

Despite international criticism, Abbas has bolstered the powers of such agencies as GIS and PSA. In 2007, the PA chairman granted PSA the power of arrest and detention. Four years later, GIS said it would no longer issue arrest warrants against civilians or try them in military courts. PSA, however, continues to hold dozens of civilians while Military Intelligence has been allowed to act against civilians. [29]

### **U.S. Difficulties in Tracking Aid to PA**

Washington has sought to avoid dealing with the question of PA corruption and particularly the use of American aid by Abbas' family. Indeed, critics, supported by internal U.S. reports, have asserted that a significant percentage of U.S. aid to the PA has been given in cash, in US currency.

Since 2008, the United States has provided the PA with nearly \$3 billion. [30] Once the cash payments are made by Washington, it becomes "impossible or nearly impossible to track." The result: U.S. aid was found to be funding Palestinians who were deemed by the US to be terrorists – via the PA budget. The State Department was not seen as making any genuine effort to prevent

security funds from reaching members of terrorist organizations. In 2007, the U.S. Agency for International Development, which funds UNRWA refugee camps controlled by Hamas, concluded that it was unable to “reasonably ensure” that assistance was not ending up in the hands of terrorist organizations. [31]

### **PA Security Operations in Jerusalem**

Abbas, despite agreements with the US and with Israel, has encouraged PA security forces to operate in Jerusalem. Israeli police have repeatedly arrested PA security and intelligence officers assigned to enforce Palestinian law in Israel’s capital. PA officers were alleged to have abducted Arab residents of Jerusalem and escorted them to Ramallah for interrogation and detention. In other cases, PA officers were used to harass residents of Jerusalem. The PA security presence was believed to be especially strong in Jerusalem’s northern neighborhoods near Ramallah. [32] At one point, every PA security agency, including GIS and PSA, was said to maintain a presence in Jerusalem. The PA, including Prime Minister Salam Fayyad, has proclaimed the right to operate anywhere in Jerusalem, saying this was part of its policy to transform Jerusalem into the Palestinian capital. [33]

The PA presence in Jerusalem, which began immediately after Arafat arrived in the Gaza Strip in 1994, has resisted years of Israeli security and political moves to oust Palestinian troops from Jerusalem. This has included Israeli coordination with Jordan in an effort to marginalize the PA, particularly on the Temple Mount, another stronghold of PA security forces.

In 2004, Israel was assessed-albeit mistakenly-to have ended the PA penetration of Arab neighborhoods in Jerusalem after a decade of killings, abductions and extortion. [34]

### **PA Forces Used Against Jews**

The Palestinian Authority has used its security forces against Jews who engage in land deals with Arabs. The PSF has investigated all land deals by Palestinians to see if the buyers were Jews. PSF has arrested and detained Palestinians for agreeing to sell property in and around Jerusalem.

On December 10, 2012, a PA court in Bethlehem sentenced two Palestinians to hard labor on conviction of selling land to Jewish developers from Betar. The Jews were alleged to have offered \$45,000 for a dunam of land, nearly 10 times the market price. [35] The two Arabs, residents of the Bethlehem-area village of Hussan and owners of 38 dunams were sentenced to 10 years in prison. The

investigation of the Arab “suspects” was conducted by the PSA, which has been monitoring all land sales in Area C, where Israel retains full civilian and security control. [36]

NSF and other PA forces have also tried to stop Jews from reaching religious sites.

Despite an agreement between Israel and the PA that allowed Jews to visit Jewish holy sites in PA areas, NSF and police fired toward 17 Jewish pilgrims who were leaving Joseph’s Tomb in Nablus. Under the Israel-PA agreement, the Israeli Army was to have maintained full control over Joseph’s Tomb. After numerous Palestinian attacks, including those joined by PA troops, Israel turned over control of the tomb to the PA, which in 2011 took responsibility for protecting the site.

However, on April 24, 2011, during the Passover holiday, NSF troops opened point blank fire on Jewish worshipers who were leaving Joseph’s Tomb, after morning prayers.

Five people were struck by PA fire, among them, Ben Yosef Livnat, a nephew of a senior Israeli minister, was killed instantly. The PA, despite Israeli pressure, refused to condemn the killing of the Jewish civilian. Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak, while acknowledging that the visit of the Jews was not coordinated with the IDF, insisted that this did not justify the shooting by PA troops. Barak called for an investigation. [37] For several days, the PA refused to confirm that its troops opened fire on Jewish pilgrims. Nablus Gov. Jibril Al Bakri said a PA police patrol had been assigned to guard the tomb and blamed any problems on lack of Israeli coordination. [38]

An Israel Army investigation pointed to serious failures in the vetting of PA security forces, including those accepted for U.S. training in Jordan.

The investigation, bolstered by witnesses, asserted that NSF officers began firing in the air as soon as the Jewish worshipers entered Joseph’s Tomb. The Jews rushed to their three cars and began to leave when five NSF officers again opened fire on vehicles. An NSF non-commissioned officer, screaming “God is great,” ran toward one of the Jewish vehicles and began shooting at close range from at least three sides. [39] The NSF unit did not inform either its commanders or Israeli authorities of the shooting. The three cars filled with worshipers – one dead and four injured – reached an Israel Army roadblock where they were taken to a hospital.

The Israeli army and Israel Security Agency, the ISA, also known as the Shabak, responsible for domestic intelligence, reached the conclusion that the incident was a “Palestinian terrorist attack” and determined that the NSF officers intended to kill Jewish worshipers. [40] On the other hand, the PA investigation

concluded that the NSF officers did not intend to kill the Jews, while commanders claimed that the Jews, who did not carry weapons, opened fire, threw stones, and sought to run down the Palestinians. The PA found the five PA officers guilty of “grave negligence” and were placed in prison in Nablus out of concern that they would be arrested by Israel. [41]

The Israeli investigation determined that the main NSF shooter, in his late 20s, was known to the IDF and ISA as a terrorist arrested in connection with shooting attacks on Israelis. Under agreement, Israel is supposed to vet and approve every cadet in the PA security forces to ensure that those convicted of terrorist offenses are not included. In practice, however, an undetermined number of Palestinians have been arrested by Israel on security offenses have been recruited by PA security forces. [42]

PA officers stationed at Joseph’s Tomb – identified as Mohammed Tsabana, Saleh Hamed, Wa’el Daoud, Nawaf Bani Uda and Turki Zuara – were also part of two NSF battalions in Nablus trained in Jordan by the United States. This also required Israeli vetting.

There is no evidence that the US State Department, responsible for U.S. security aid to the PA, has conducted any investigation at all of the killing of the Jewish worshiper, whose mother is an American citizen.

In April 2011, Abbas signed a bill that called for a monthly stipend for all Palestinians as well as Israeli Arabs who have been convicted and sentenced by Israel for murder or attempted murder of Jews. The Palestinian Media Watch testified in the US Congress that funds which emanated from the U.S. and other donations were allocated for the “glorification and role-modeling of terrorists.” [43]

### **Hamas-PA Rapprochement**

The nightmare of the Israel Army is that the PA, directed by the ruling Fatah movement, would reconcile with Hamas and begin joint operations against Jews.

That is what is now transpiring.

In November 2012, in the aftermath of the missile war between Israel and the Hamas regime in Gaza, Fatah and PA officials expressed admiration for Hamas and said they were ready for a serious reconciliation effort to force Israel to conduct a full retreat to the armistice lines, which existed from 1949 until 1967.

A Fatah group proclaimed that it formed a military brigade in Hebron, long a Hamas stronghold.

Fatah's military also pledged to continue attacks on Israel and avenge the assassination of Hamas military chief Jabari.

An officer in Fatah's Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, loyal to Abbas, claimed its militia had fired 600 mortars and rockets into Israel and the arsenal had not been depleted. [44]

The Al Aqsa statement came amid a series of declarations by Fatah leaders, including those close to Abbas, that the PA would work with Hamas against Israel. At least five members of the Fatah Central Committee welcomed the Hamas missile war on Israel in November and said this has dissipated their opposition to sharing power with the Islamist movement.

Jibril Rajoub, head of the Palestinian Olympic Committee and founder of the PA's Preventive Security Force loyal to Abbas, declared at a rally in Ramallah that the Palestinians will fight until they establish a state and all Jews are removed from Palestinian areas. In an address broadcast by the PNC Palestinian state television, Rajoub, regarded as an intimate of Abbas, declared that Fatah was ready to shoot and urged Hamas to join the effort. [45]

The Israel Army has already detected evidence of Fatah-Hamas coordination in areas under the direct control of the Palestinian Authority.

Israeli military and security units have been tracking the resumption of activities by Fatah gunmen who had benefited from an amnesty by Israel in 2007.

Israel has arrested former members of Fatah's military wing in the area south of Hebron.

Some of these Fatah gunmen were later offered work in PA security forces and have been linked to the killing of Israelis in the Hebron area. One of those arrested was identified as Waal Al Araja, an officer for PSA, accused of killing an American Israeli citizen Asher Palmer, 24, and his infant son Yonatan in September 2011. Al Araja was believed to have headed the insurgency cell that planned the attack. [46]

Meanwhile, Palestinian Authority praise of Jabari, responsible for the death of more than 1,000 Israelis over the last decade, came even from those considered the most moderate elements in Fatah. Former PA Foreign Minister Nabil Shaath called on Palestinians to "have mercy" on Jabari, and described him as a hero. Shaath, a member of the Fatah Central Committee, and also an intimate of Abbas, called for unity with Hamas, which, he asserted, would "win further victories for us." [47]

Shaath vowed that, with Hamas cooperation, Fatah and the PA would escalate what he termed the struggle against Israel in 2013. [48]

Another PA official who is often described in the public domain as a moderate, Mahmoud Al Aloul, stressed that neither Fatah nor the PA has ended the option of “armed resistance.” Instead, this option required the suitable climate both within the Palestinian sector as well as in the international community. Al Aloul expressed the hope that the “Arab Spring” would be the trigger for another war against Israel. [49]

Abbas, himself, has funneled tens of millions of dollars to the Hamas regime in Gaza. The PA has continued to pay 36,500 security personnel in the Gaza Strip despite that none of them have worked for the PA since the Hamas takeover in 2007 [50]

Hamas has exploited the renewed reconciliation with the PA to expand its military infrastructure in areas under the control of the PA. Israel’s intelligence community has determined that Hamas political bureau Chief Khaled Masha’al, has ordered the establishment of military cells to take over areas now under the control of the PA.

An intelligence assessment, relayed to Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, asserted that Masha’al’s orders reflected Iranian guidance and assistance to oust Fatah from the all of the Palestinian leadership, the same way that the Abbas-led movement was destroyed in the Gaza Strip in 2007. [51] The Hamas strategy was based on the reactivation of sleeper cells established in all areas controlled by the PA over the last decade. [52]

The PA has been tolerant of other Islamist groups in its midst, particularly those that draw support from rich Gulf Arab sheiks. Even Salafist groups, inspired by Al Qaida, have been allowed to receive Gulf funds and establish a presence in mosques monitored by the PA. Indeed, the Salafists have enjoyed the support of Fatah and were appointed to PA agencies in an effort to compete with Hamas, particularly in Nablus. The arrangement was conditioned on a ban on Salafist criticism of Abbas himself even as members espouse war against Jews and other non-Muslims. [53]

Indeed, PA control over mosques have been weak, a factor exploited by Hamas. Hamas has quietly dominated many if not most of the mosques, even those staffed by civil servants. In some cases, Hamas was believed to have been storing weapons in mosques as PA-appointed preachers, often inspired by Muslim Brotherhood figures around the Arab world, gave Friday sermons that severely criticized the Abbas regime. [54]

### **Israel-Palestinian Authority Cooperation**

Cooperation between Israel and the PA has been linked to a range of political and economic factors, including unrest in Palestinian Arab cities and the fiscal crisis in the PA. In mid-2012, however, cracks began to widen in the relationship between the Israel Army and PA security forces. [55] At the same time PA police and security forces began to harass Israel Army patrols and operations around PA administered cities.

In November 2012, the PA National Security Forces prevented an Israel Army patrol from entering Tulkarm. Two days later, NSF stopped a similar Israeli operation in Jenin. In both cases, Israeli troops, reflecting orders by the General Staff, chose to suspend their mission rather than confront the PA. For its part, the PA, in wake of the UN vote for official non-state membership, ordered its security forces to hamper Israel Army operations and defined every Israeli soldier as “a conqueror on occupied land.” [56]

The Israeli military has warned the PA against this new policy, which included the lifting of the ban on Hamas rallies. Hamas rallies have been held on a weekly basis and often end in clashes with Israeli troops. The rallies are seen as part of the PA policy to escalate unrest against Israel without harming relations with the United States. [57]

A focus of Hamas unrest has been in Hebron, a divided city with 250,000 Arabs and 1,000 Jews. At one point, Israel threatened that its military would battle Hamas unless the PA intervened, which prompted some Palestinian armed units to try to restore order. Still, the PA leadership has been willing to mar security cooperation, including blaming Israel for the current fiscal crisis as well as decisions to construct Jewish housing in Jerusalem and its suburbs. Without their monthly salaries, PA troops could be placed in the position where they would sabotage any cooperation with Israel. [58] At the same time, Abbas warned that the PA was prepared for any contingency should Israel build housing near Jerusalem. [59]

The biggest threat to the Israel Army stems from the PA forces trained by the United States since 2008. Israeli military intelligence regards the eight National Security Forces battalions trained in Jordan under U.S. sponsorship as a “significant military force.” [60]

The Israel Army’s Central Command has determined that NSF was showing significant skills in complex operations as well as in command and control. In mid-2012, the Command was impressed by the response of the PA security forces to the death of Jenin Gov. Khaddoura Mussa. The Jenin operation was regarded as noteworthy. Within hours of Mussa’s death on May 2, the PA

organized a joint operation command under Interior Minister Said Al Ali. The command coordinated operations in UNRWA refugee camps around Jenin and Nablus, where around 150 people were arrested on suspicion of belonging to militias linked to Fatah dissidents, including members of the intelligence services. PSA officer Ibrahim Ramadan led the operation and detained even those suspected of possessing a weapon. Members of PSA and NSF were also arrested on allegations that they were working for former PSA commander Mohammed Dahlan, expelled from Fatah in 2011. [61]

At the same time, the Israeli Army saw the PA crackdown as the latest demonstration of signs that NSF and other U.S.-trained units were forming breakaway squads that could eventually attack Israeli troops and civilians. [62] Despite statements to the contrary, the Israeli Army has long been wary of a blowback by U.S.-trained PA forces. As early as 2009, Israeli officers expressed concern that U.S. training could produce PA units proficient in small group tactics, weapons and operational skills that could be used against Israeli soldiers and civilians. The assessment envisioned Israeli forces taken by surprise at the start of any insurgency war in the West Bank, particularly by those PA officers trained as snipers. Then-Central Command chief Maj. Gen. Avi Mizrahi assessed that as few as four snipers could “shut down an urban area.” Mizrahi regarded the NSF troops as a “proper infantry force.” [63]

As a result, the Israeli Army has sought to stop the PA from acquiring weapons and platforms agreed to by the Israeli government. The most intense opposition has been to 50 armored personnel carriers donated by Russia to the PA in 2005. While Israeli leaders repeatedly promised Moscow to approve delivery of the combat platforms, the Russian vehicles, painted twice to prevent rusting, have been stranded in neighboring Jordan. The army has demanded that the PA remove mounts for the 12.7 mm guns, with a range of nearly four kilometers. Another demand was that the vehicles do not include communications systems. The PA has refused these demands. [64]

At the same time, the Israel Army has been looking for PA officers suspected of forming insurgency squads. These squads were believed to be in Hebron and in Nablus. In late 2011, tensions escalated among PA officers as their colleagues were arrested in Israeli raids. Those nabbed included NSF and PSA officers, some of them suspected of links with Hamas cells. [65] The arrests within the PA intelligence community have included top officers assigned to monitor and crack down on Hamas. In December 2012, Israel acknowledged that two senior intelligence commanders were arrested in the Hebron region. Ahmed Bhaïs was the operations director of the PA General Intelligence Service in Hebron, and Mohammed Abu Eid was GI commander in the Hebron-area town of Yatta. [66]

As early as 2010, intelligence agencies under Abbas’ control were ordered to increase operations in Area C, particularly Hebron. GIS, for example, increased

its informant network, and under Western guidance enhanced such skills as data analysis on intelligence regarding Israeli communities. The requirement for such intelligence had been deemed one of the greatest weaknesses of PA intelligence and security agencies. [67]

The Israeli Army has been preparing for the prospect of PA attacks in cooperation with Hamas. In December 2012, Central Command conducted what was termed a surprise exercise north of Ramallah that sought to demonstrate coordination between the army and police. The exercise envisioned Fatah and PA gunmen opening fire toward Israeli troops during a civilian demonstration. The command deployed the Israel Artillery Corps, as well as the Israel Border police and Israeli civilian police units. [68]

### **Abbas, Fayyad on the Wane**

Until 2011, PA Prime Minister Fayyad sought to separate security policy from Fatah efforts to win unilateral Israeli concessions on such issues as withdrawal and statehood. Fayyad told security commanders that any snag or stalemate in relations with Israel would not constitute justification for ending either security cooperation with the Jewish state or a robust counter-insurgency effort against Hamas. [69] The price for Fayyad's demand was Fatah approval for major appointments in the security agencies as well as reform, human rights and restructuring. Fayyad knew that even with control of the purse strings, he could only go so far without provoking a violent backlash by Fatah.

By mid-2012, Fayyad had lost most of his authority over the PA security forces. Over the last year, Abbas has marginalized Fayyad as the chairman sought to accommodate the rise of Hamas. Meanwhile, Abbas and Fayyad are barely on speaking terms, and the prime minister, who maintains excellent relations with donor nations, has been reduced to a "glorified accountant." [70]

However, President Barack Obama did not halt or slow down U.S. aid to the PA – even after it successfully sought non-state membership in the United Nations. [71] Moreover, U.S. diplomats have refused to acknowledge increasing PA civil rights violations, which have been attributed to the PA security forces that are trained by the US. The administration has also opposed moves in Congress to stop funding PA security programs.

There are indications that there is increasing coordination between Fatah and Hamas in planning attacks on Israeli soldiers and civilians. In December 2012, in some areas of Jerusalem, Palestinian squads engaged in nightly attacks on Israeli police patrols. At least one squad has deployed Hamas operatives assigned to conduct what the PA terms "non-violent resistance," which include firebombs and stones. [72]

Israeli intelligence sources report that the PA-Hamas coordination of these squads reflects an agreement between Abbas and Hamas leader Masha'al to spark a war against Israel based on the use of Palestinian civilian fighters. Both men agree that a military confrontation with Israel would be unsuccessful and therefore Hamas and the PA must use civilians and massive protests to drag Israel into a shooting war. This would isolate the Jewish state and bring it under massive international pressure for a unilateral withdrawal from Jerusalem and the West Bank. [73] Abbas' concession was the renewal of Hamas rallies throughout the West Bank.

At this point, Abbas and Masha'al appear to disagree on the goal of the next uprising, meant to be based on the first intifada in 1987-1991. Abbas hopes the next uprising would force Israel to duplicate its unilateral withdrawal from the Gaza Strip in 2005 – this time from all PA controlled areas. Masha'al sees the next confrontation as the destruction of Israel. So far, both men have decided to shelve their differences and focus on escalating tension and mobilizing Palestinians for a long confrontation with Israel. [75]

The difference between the 1987 uprising and the next one is that the PA has some 30,000 active troops and another 36,500 on the payroll. Hamas has at least 25,000 fighters in the Gaza Strip and thousands of armed men in PA controlled areas.

The prospect that any civil uprising would remain limited to stones or even firebombs appears nil. With Palestinian arsenals brimming with weapons and advanced U.S. security equipment, Israel could find itself fighting a war against Palestinians who are armed, trained, and financed by its greatest ally – the United States.

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### **How the U.S. Aids Hamas Through the Palestinian Authority**

*David Bedein, FrontPage Magazine, February 14, 2013*

On February 5th, the reconstituted US House of Representatives Subcommittee on Middle East and North Africa held a subcommittee hearing on the subject of "Fatah-Hamas Reconciliation: Threatening Peace Prospects."

Two senior expert witnesses from the Washington Institute for Near East Policy testified and expressed optimism that US-trained Palestinian Security Forces,

affiliated with Fatah, will combat the Hamas terror group which competes for power in the nascent Palestinian Arab entity.

Yet the Fatah policy and attitude toward Hamas can be summarized by an exchange I had with Fatah founder Yasser Arafat at a press conference in Oslo, Norway, on December 10, 1994, the night before Arafat became one of the recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize.

My question: "Mr. Arafat, Israeli Prime Minister Rabin and Israeli foreign minister Peres said a few hours ago in answer to my question that you deserve the peace prize because you have committed yourself to crushing the Hamas terror organization."

Arafat's answer: "I do not understand the question. Hamas are my brothers."

The disparity between the stated US goal for a given policy and the given result is large enough to leave the thoughtful observer aghast. Certainly this is the case with regard to the American investment in the security forces of the Palestinian Authority.

When the PA was founded in 1994, President Arafat, by design, established a multiplicity of security forces with overlapping authority and in competition with one another.

The 17 diverse forces of the PA, which often constituted no more than private fiefdoms, were ineffective and corrupt. What mattered to Arafat was that no force was of sufficient size or competency to seize power.

In several instances while Arafat was in power, PA forces turned their weapons on Israel. In September 2000, Arafat recruited security forces to organize attacks on civilians and soldiers in the course of what was called the second intifada, or uprising.

The Israeli military decimated the PA security forces in 2002, with facilities demolished and weapons seized.

Serious involvement by the West began to revitalize the Palestinian Security Forces after Arafat's death in November 2004. Subsequent US support for the PA Security Forces was intended to be a step towards creation of that stable Palestinian Arab entity.

In 2005, the Office of the US Security Coordinator was established.

The 16 US officers who work within that office are assigned to the State Department. The coordinator reports directly to the secretary of state. Mahmoud Abbas, Arafat's successor, reorganized the security services into six main forces, and instituted a policy of mandatory retirement at age 60.

Efforts by the US to strengthen the PA forces were delayed, however, by the Hamas victory in the PA legislative election in 2006. Hamas held a majority of the seats in the legislature and was heavily represented in the government. In addition, it had created its own security forces, with generous funding from Iran and Syria.

In June 2007, Hamas fighters routed a US-equipped and US-trained PA force that was 10 times bigger and captured the Gaza Strip. The failure of the PA forces was plain to see, and the US was prepared to invest more vigorously in strengthening that force because Abbas then ostensibly separated a Fatah-controlled government from direct involvement with Hamas.

By 2008, the Office of the Security Coordinator, with a staff of 145, defined as a key goal of its efforts the development of a PA security force with paramilitary capabilities that could protect Abbas' regime from Hamas. The American investment in this venture encompassed major assistance in reforming the forces and rebuilding of infrastructure, providing equipment and major involvement in training.

In 2011, the Security Office enlarged its focus to include the development of PA indigenous readiness, training and logistics programs as well as the capability to maintain and sustain operational readiness and support infrastructure.

By that year, US-financed training programs had graduated 4,761 Palestinian cadets from the US-supported Jordanian International Police Training Center in Amman. The Coordinator's Office also conducted training in the West Bank attended by 3,500 security commanders and troops. Washington helped build joint operations centers for planning, command and control, as well as the National Training Center in Jericho.

However, as we consider the situation now, we see that not only has that goal of providing PA Security Forces with the capacity to repel Hamas not been achieved; over the past year, the influence of Hamas within the PA security forces has grown significantly. This, in spite of all the funding, training and weaponry that has been supplied.

All other factors aside, there is an underlying cause that is routinely overlooked: the nature of traditional Arab (which includes Palestinian Arab) culture. Whatever the PR promoting a Palestinian state would have us believe, the reality is that for many Palestinian Arabs, loyalty does not rest with some abstract notion of a state that must be defended. Primarily, loyalty is to the extended family: the clan.

Training does not significantly alter this perception.

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

The problem lies with the fact that within the same extended clan there may be those serving in the PA Security Forces and those who are members of Hamas. Security Forces officers are loathe to do battle with their brothers in Hamas.

In a 2011 report by the Center for Near East Policy Research on “The Dangers of US aid to PA Security Forces,” this issue was addressed.

Dr. Mordecai Kedar, research associate at the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies at Bar-Ilan University, said that while the troops could be loyal to the PA for the present, “When [not if] there will be domestic problems in the PA/Palestinian state these people will be loyal primarily to their clan [Arabic: hamula] rather than to the state, since they will never shoot their brothers or cousins....”

A prominent Palestinian-Israeli journalist explained that the clan system is not as strong as it once was, however: “This is Arab society. You can’t erase a centuries-old tradition, can’t tamper with culture. It will never work. You can’t impose a solution on anyone.”

Another cultural predisposition among the Palestinian Arabs has to do with combating terrorism. Maj.- Gen. (res.) Yaakov Amidror, former head of the IDF’s Research and Assessment Division, and currently security adviser to Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, observed that, “There is a huge difference in the Palestinian view between law enforcement, which is seen as legitimate, and anti-terrorism, which is not seen as legitimate. The US confuses the two.”

This assessment has never been properly assimilated by U.S. authorities involved with the training program.

The PA has no laws against money laundering for terror groups; PA statutes do not define any group as a terrorist organization. There has never been action against Hamas undertaken by PA security forces out of an anti-terrorist ideological conviction.

We might ask then, why American government and military officials have blithely ignored these realities, instead of proceeding according to their own version of the situation: a version that is likely doomed to fail.

But even beyond these basic cultural facts lie other problems. There has been a decline of the PA Security Forces that has been accelerated by the fiscal crisis that began in the fall of 2012. With monthly salaries withheld or partially issued, many PA officers have stopped any semblance of work. With the consent of their commanders, the officers clock in and then go off to other jobs. This search for money has been exploited by Hamas, made rich by donors such as Iran and Qatar.

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Numerous PA officers have been quietly working for Hamas, notably in its military wing, Izzadin Kassam.

Hamas penetration has been strong in several areas of the West Bank, particularly in the Hebron region, where senior PA intelligence officers are believed to be providing intelligence to Hamas.

Coupled with this is a new rapprochement process between the PA and Hamas, with talk of a unity government.

Separation between the PA and Hamas following the Gaza coup was never as complete as was popularly imagined. As early as 2008, public security minister Avi Dichter charged that the PA was committed to transferring roughly NIS 4 billion each year to Hamas to help pay the salaries of its workers and security officers. Abbas also arranged for the PA to pay for the electricity generated for the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip.

Now there is evidence of Fatah-Hamas coordination in parts of the West Bank. The PA has lifted the ban against Hamas rallies, and Hamas has gained control of many West Bank mosques. Israel's intelligence community has determined that Hamas Politburo Chief Khaled Mashaal has ordered the establishment of military cells to take over the West Bank.

What Israel now faces is a worst-case scenario. PA security forces have a history of turning on Israelis, and with the increased cooperation between the PA and Hamas, the likelihood of this happening again grows more likely. Statements of late by PA officials suggest such cooperation.

Former PA foreign minister Nabil Shaath, for example, has called for unity with Hamas that would "win further victories for us." With Hamas cooperation, he said the PA would escalate "the struggle against Israel" in 2013.

However, should there be a repeat of prior attacks by PA forces, bolstered by cooperation with Hamas, dealing with the situation will be far more difficult than it has been previously.

Now those PA forces are far better equipped and trained, thanks to a US policy that may have been illadvised from the outset.

The time has come for an evaluation of the impact of US aid to the PA Security Forces, however well intended.

### Netanyahu Answers Abbas's glowing praise of the Mufti

*David Bedein, Times of Israel, October 7, 2013*

On January 4, 2013, Mahmoud Abbas, spoke via video link on a wide screen to the masses in Gaza, who gathered to celebrate the founding of Fatah (Arabic for conquest), otherwise known as the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In his New Year's speech, Abbas spoke glowingly of the legacy of the godfather of the PLO, the Mufti of Jerusalem Hajj Muhammad Amin Al-Husseini, who during the 1920s and 1930s instigated pogroms against the Jews of Palestine and who during his residence in Nazi Germany actively plotted a Final Solution to be carried out once his German allies would win the war. Abbas praised the Mufti as a man whose ways should be emulated by all Palestinian Arabs.

"We must remember the pioneers, the Grand Mufti of Palestine, Hajj Muhammad Amin Al-Husseini, as well as Ahmad Al-Shukeiri, the founder of the PLO," Abbas said according to a translation of the speech made by the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI).

At the time, our agency asked Israeli President Shimon Peres and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu for comment on the Mufti's praise of Hitler's ally. Since the Israeli government is on record as defining Abbas as a partner for peace, one would have expected a response, which expressed horror and revulsion. Instead, there was silence from the highest officials of the Israeli government.

Peres's office said that there would be no response.

Netanyahu's office said that there would be a response, in due time.

Nine months after the Abbas praise of the Mufti, on Oct. 6, 2013, Prime Minister Benyamin Netanyahu chose the venue of a policy speech at Bar-Ilan University to respond to the adulation lauded on the Mufti by Abbas and by the official curriculum of the Palestinian Authority.

Israel's Prime Minister quoted the protocols of the Hitler-Mufti pact, presented as evidence against the Mufti in the Nuremberg war crimes trials. The records of the meeting between Hitler and the Mufti explicitly state that Hitler would exterminate the Jews in Europe, while the Mufti would enlist Nazi aid to exterminate Jews in Palestine, so as to establish a "Judenrein" state of Palestine.

To that end, the Mufti ensconced himself in Hitler's bunker, from where he recruited an Islamic unit of the Waffen SS, which actively engaged in the mass

murder of Jews, while issuing Arabic language appeals on Nazi radio which incited Moslems to join the Nazi cause and to prepare for mass murder of Jews in Palestine.

The Protocols of the Nuremberg trials concerning the Mufti were published in a 1946 book, entitled, MUFTI OF JERUSALEM, authored by journalist Maurice Pearlman, who was appointed in 1948 by Israel's first Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion as the first director of the Israel Government Press Office.

Pearlman reported that the refusal of the British government to arrest the Mufti in Cairo caused the head of the Zionist revisionists in the United States at the time, Ben Zion Netanyahu, the late father of Israel's current Prime Minister, to launch an unsuccessful campaign to push the US to demand the arrest of the Mufti in Cairo.

In his Bar Ilan speech, Netanyahu cited affidavits of senior SS prosecution witnesses who testified that the Mufti, working directly under Eichmann and Himmler, played an instrumental role in making sure that millions of Jews were murdered, and not ransomed. Netanyahu referred to the affidavit of one of Eichmann's subordinates, SS Hampsturmfuierer Dieter Wisliceny, who appeared as a witness for the Nuremberg prosecution, where the Nazi officer testified that:

The Mufti was one of the initiators of the systematic extermination of European Jewis for the Germans and had been the permanent collaborator and advisor of Eichmann and Himmler in the execution of the plan...According to my opinion, the Grand Mufti, who had been in Berlin since 1941, played a role in the decision of the German government to exterminate the European Jews, the importance of which must not be disregarded, He had repeatedly suggested to the various authorities with who had been in contact, above all before Hitler, Ribbentrop and Himmler, the extermination of European Jewry. He considered this as a comfortable solution of the Palestinian problem. In his messages broadcast from Berlin, he surpassed us in anti-Jewish attacks. He was one of Eichmann's best friends and had constantly incited him to accelerate the extermination measures..."

Discussion of the Mufti's role in the extermination of the Jews has been downplayed for years by Israeli officials, who were hesitant to attack the George Washington of the PLO. Perhaps that would spoil the moderate image of the PLO as a peace partner.

Now Israel's Prime Minister has placed the Mufti's legacy on the agenda.

A little known fact concerns the Mufti's special relationship with a young relative in Cairo, whom the Mufti affectionately gave the name "Yassir Arafat." In December 1996, Haaretz interviewed Yassir Arafat's younger brother and

sister, who said that the Mufti performed the role of a surrogate father figure and mentor to the young Arafat.

Prime Minister Netanyahu's erudite reference to the Mufti role in the mass murder of Jews in World War II was not lost on pundits who followed every word of his speech. After all, that mass murder of Jews is currently taught in Palestinian Authority schools in accordance with Abbas's 1983 doctoral thesis at the University of Moscow, which concludes that the World Zionist Organization, not the Nazis, was responsible for the destruction of European Jewry.

### **Will Israel Sever Its Umbilical Cord to Arafat?**

*David Bedein, Philadelphia Inquirer, December 10, 2001*

Israel has only itself to blame for bringing Arafat on the scene. The question remains when and whether Israel will sever its umbilical cord to the PLO leader.

The Israeli government in 1993 imported Egyptian-born Yasser Arafat, head of the PLO, then in Tunis, to rule the Palestinian Arab population.

The late Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, proud of his decision to impose Arafat on the Palestinian Arab people, declared at the time, that "Arafat will crush terror without civil liberties organizations and without any supreme court getting in his way."

When Arafat was elected under internationally supervised elections in 1996, the contest was conducted under Arafat's rules: nobody was allowed to run in those elections without his express written consent.

When a serious candidate did indeed emerge to run against Arafat, the challenger's house was blown up. Arafat's campaign managers had devised persuasive ways of convincing Arafat's rivals to reconsider running against him.

Jimmy Carter, head of the US observer team to the elections, was asked to comment on Arafat's "election rules." Carter quipped, "we have problems like that in Chicago too."

### **The Civil Liberties Issue**

By November 2001, Human Rights Watch declared that Arafat had set up an autocratic regime that had engaged in a policy of systematic torture, arbitrary executions and wholesale denial of human rights and civil liberties. After years of rioting and an Arab nationalist revolution that posed a threat to all of Israel, the Israeli government decided to give Arafat an opportunity to rule over the Palestinian Arab population, in the hope that he would forge a nation-state that would live in peace and coexist as a neighbor to the State of Israel. In addition, Israel hoped that Mr. Arafat would meet the greatest challenge of all: absorbing millions of Palestinian Arab refugees into humanitarian conditions.

Today, there are 3.6 million Palestinian Arabs who live in the squalor of “temporary” UN-run Palestinian Arab refugee camps that were established for the half a million Arab refugees who left Israel in 1948.

Ensured of a program to help refugees, Arafat made it a policy that all Arab refugees must continue to suffer in their “temporary” refugee camps, under premise and promise of “the right of return” to the 531 Arab villages that were destroyed during Israel’s War of Independence in 1948, despite not only the fact that these villages no longer exist, but that they have been replaced by Israeli cities, collective farms and roads.

Instead of inculcating recognition and reconciliation of, and with, the State of Israel, Arafat’s PA consistently conveyed the message to his people, in their own language that the new Palestinian Arab state must replace and not coexist with the State of Israel.

Instead of appointing religious leaders to preach a message of peace in the local mosques, Arafat appointed Hamas preachers who every Friday offers seething sermons endorsing war on the Jews.

Instead of creating new media outlets to promote peace, Arafat has used the official Arabic language media of the PA to convey a consistent message of war.

Instead of using the PA school system to promote a two state solution and recognition of the State of Israel, Arafat has used his school system to introduce a curriculum calling for a Palestinian Arab state that will replace the State of Israel. George Washington University professor, Nathan Brown, a Fulbright scholar working under a grant from US Foundation for Peace, evaluated Arafat’s school books and curriculum and concluded that the concept of peace and recognition are totally lacking in the new curriculum

### **Arafat and Israeli Government Expectations**

In 1993, the late Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and the former (and current) Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, repeatedly stated that the reason they had given the Palestinian Arab population to Arafat, was because he would rein in the violence of the nascent Islamic Palestinian Arab movement.

When Peres and Rabin conducted a media briefing in Oslo when they jointly received the Nobel Peace Prize together with Arafat in December 1994, I asked them if Arafat had fulfilled his commitment to crush Hamas. They indicated that he had done so. Several hours later, when I asked Arafat the same question, as to whether the PLO leader would crush the Hamas, his response said it all: "Hamas are my brothers. I will handle them in my way."

Arafat did just that; he brought Hamas into his new regime, as full coalition partners.

In May 1995, Arafat's security forces announced that they would provide Hamas with arms.

In December 1995, Arafat invited Hamas to join his provisional regime.

In 1996, Arafat appointed Hamas officials to run the religious departments and schools under his authority.

By Fall 2001, the IDF confirmed that all Islamic terror groups train and operate with the full knowledge of the Palestinian Authority Security Services, and the Islamic terrorists receive the unambiguous message that their activity operates with the full blessing of Arafat's regime.

Israel now acknowledges that Arafat's Palestinian Authority, which Israel helped create to control the Islamic terror, has instead become the sponsor of Islamic terror.

Arafat's war with Israel is most like Israel's 1948 War of Independence. It is waged everywhere: on the home front, at road junctions, on the way to schools, in buses, in cafes, and in pizzerias. Even some Israeli Arabs and their leaders are not ashamed to join in.

Almost half of the murders of Israelis that have taken place have been carried out by members of Arafat's own military units: Fatah and Tanzim.

In a briefing given by the Israeli army to the media on Monday morning, December 3, 2001, IDF experts declared that Arafat had not arrested a single wanted terrorist from among the list of 108 men that Israel Foreign Minister Shimon Peres had given to Arafat following a wave of murders. Arafat did arrest

one hundred men, all of whom were on his payroll and none of whom were wanted by Israel. All of them were arrested for embarrassing the Palestinian Authority.

In the words of the IDF spokesman, “Arafat did not pay attention to Secretary Powell when the American secretary of state declared that Arafat would have to rein in the terrorists who are fighting Israel. Arafat has not learned his lesson.”

### **Rights for Other Religions, Guarantee for the Right of Return**

*David Bedein, Makor Rishon, April 18, 2003*

This week, a senior foreign diplomat provided Israel Resource News Agency with the finalized Arabic version of the Palestinian State Constitution, framed by the official constitutional committee of the Palestinian National Authority, which had been funded by the Ford Foundation in the framework of the long-awaited reform in the Palestinian Authority.

This constitution was finalized on and dated March 26, 2003.

Some salient points of the 43-page document of the Palestinian constitution deserve special attention:

*Islam is to be the official religion of the Palestinian state, with all aspects of Palestinian state law to be subservient to fundamental Islamic law, modeled on Saudi Arabia law. No other religion except for Islam is to have juridical status. All religious schools and religious institutions of “Christianity and other religions are under the supervision of the Islamic Law. The PLO concept of a “democratic secular state” appears nowhere in the document. Sources in the Vatican have expressed their deep concern about the prospect that Christian schools and Christian institutions that would be thrown under the jurisdiction and arbitrary control of a Moslem authority.*

It is noteworthy that there is no system of human rights or civil liberties mentioned anywhere in the Palestinian State Constitution.

The “right of return to homes from 1948” remains a fundamental right protected by the Palestinian State Constitution, based on the PLO interpretation of UN General Assembly Resolution #194. By “protecting” the right of return, the Palestinian State Constitution essentially advocates the replacement of the State of Israel with millions of Palestinian Arab refugees and their descendents who have been wallowing in United Nations Arab refugee camps since 1949.

Official sources in the Palestinian Authority, the US government and the Israeli government confirmed to Israel Resource News Agency that the White House, US secretary of state, Israel's office of the prime minister and the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs have received official copies of the Palestinian State Constitution. However, the US and Israeli governments have not bothered to translate and share this sensitive document with either the US Congress or the Israeli Knesset (parliament).

Neither the US nor the Israeli governments are willing to publically discuss the document.

Perhaps both governments prefer that the existence of this document not be known. After all, there is a vision of an opportunity, after the Iraqi war, to "make peace."

Any documentation of Palestinian intentions would destroy that vision.

This follows the pattern of the Oslo process. If the Arabic-language documents of the nascent Palestinian Authority had been released earlier, things could not have gone as far as they did.

### **Ten Obstacles to Middle East Peace**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, November 4, 2009*

1. November 2, 2009 marked the 92nd anniversary of Balfour Day, which led to the 1922 San Remo Treaty and to the 1924 League of Nations ratification of the San Remo Treaty, which recognized the right of Jews to purchase land in the Jewish national homeland, defined as anywhere west of the Jordan River. Ratified by the UN in 1945, that is the basis of international law by which Israel can, indeed, settle the land of Israel with Jews who come from the four corners of the earth.

The internationally ratified legal basis for Israel has been forgotten.

2. The Arab league rejected the idea of a Jewish national home, declaring a war of extermination in 1945 and actualizing that declaration in 1948. That declaration still exists. The Arab League's war to exterminate Israel continues. Egypt was then the dominant nation of the Arab League. The Saudis, however, remain the dominant element of the Arab League today, as the only nation contiguous to Israel to have never signed any armistice or peace treaty with the Jewish State.

3. Perhaps the most effective tactic of the Arab League was to spawn the PLO under its aegis, whose task it would be to coordinate indigenous Palestinian Arabs to join the Arab states in their war to conquer and displace the Jewish State. To this day, the PLO, led by the Fatah, reports to the Arab League, which has never changed its charter to destroy Israel. For that matter, neither has the PLO changed its charter of an identical nature. At the same time, the Fatah conveys the false impression to the world that it is the product of a grassroots Palestinian national movement. Yet the PLO plan, changed the map and the people's perception of the Arab campaign to exterminate Israel, to make the war look like one of national liberation.

4. The Arab League continued its war of extermination by confining Palestinian Arab refugees from 1948 to the squalor of refugee camps, under the premise and promise of the Right of Return. Their presence in UNRWA refugee camps continues to this day, under the aegis of the UN, through UNRWA, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency.

5. UNRWA's purpose is to fulfill successive UN resolutions that promote the supposed "inalienable right" of Palestinian Arab refugees and their descendants to return to villages wherein they lived prior to 1948. Palestinian Arab refugees and their descendants in the UNRWA camps learn that the 531 Israeli villages, kibbutzim, moshavim (cooperative agricultural community) and neighborhoods that replaced the Arab villages, are the illegal Israeli settlements. They are located in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Ashkelon, Beersheva, Ashdod, Sderot and hundreds of other places throughout Israel wherein communities were established on the ruins of Arab villages after 1948. While the popular imagination posits that the Palestinian Arab national ambition is solely to replace the Israeli communities in Judea, Samaria and Katif, the Palestinian Arab ambition as dictated by the PLO and its patron in the Arab League, is to take back the lands lost in 1948. UNRWA, financed by the US and other Western nations, reinforces that ambition. UNRWA has recently been taken over by Hamas, to ensure that the ambition to actualize the right of return has gained a new, Islamic emphasis. After all, one need only to note how many Palestinian Arab refugees have left the teeming UNRWA Arab refugee camps in Gaza to live on the lands of the expelled Jewish communities from Katif. Not one. Why? Because the dictate of the PA, the PLO and Hamas is that Palestinian Arab refugees and their descendants must return to the homes and villages that they left after 1948 - to Jaffa, Beersheva, Ashdod, Ashkelon, etc.

6. Instead of spurring the newly recognized Palestinian national entity to establish a nation state alongside Israel, the Palestinian Authority, established in 1994, has launched a base from where they can liberate the rest of Palestine.

7. Meanwhile, the PA has established an educational system to educate the next generation that Israel must not exist. The new PA school books and the

new PA maps speak for themselves, as the first school curriculum since the Third Reich to inculcate the idea that war must be made on the Jews and that Jews are less than human. The PA schoolbooks go one step beyond the Nazis, however, as they introduce lesson plans praising those who murder Jews. While the Nazis murdered Jews, they always attempted to obfuscate their acts. The Palestinian Authority however teaches their children to take pride in the act of murdering a Jew.

8. To further reinforce the Palestinian entity around a renewed religious determination of the continued war to liberate all of Palestine, the PA adopted the draft of an Islamic constitution, based on Sharia (Moslem) law. This was revealed to the public by a senior official in the Vatican who addressed visiting US congressmen in March 2003. This radical constitution was sponsored by the US government, through US AID.

9. Meanwhile, the Hamas Islamic movement took control of the PA legislature in democratic elections that were held under the sponsorship of the American government in January 2006,. This led to a Fatah-Hamas power sharing agreement known as the Mecca Accord, signed between Fatah and Hamas in March 2007. When Fatah began to hesitate in carrying out the Mecca Accord, Hamas overtook Gaza in its entirety in June 2007.

10. The PA has made it clear that it will make no deal with Israel that does not assure the Right of Return for Palestinian Arab refugees, PA control over Jerusalem, and the establishment of full and total sovereignty, including an army.

### **Consequences of a Palestinian Arab State**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, January 25, 2007*

At a time when the establishment of a Palestinian Arab sovereign state is so widely discussed, few have taken the time to consider the consequences of such an entity. Below are questions that every citizen can and should bring to the attention of the US government and to the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These questions can help that conceptualize the idea and suitable responses will help publicize the ramifications of establishing such an entity:

1. Encirclement: Will a proposed sovereign Palestine not engulf Jordan, most of whose population is Palestinian, leaving Israel with a hostile state from the Iraqi border to the Mediterranean Sea, with a corridor across the Negev between Gaza to Hebron?

2. Israeli Arabs: Will the Arabs of the Galilee and the "Triangle" (Umm al-Fahm, Tira and Kfar Kassem) not sue for "autonomy," and then demand the fulfillment of U.N. Resolution 181 - an Israeli withdrawal to the 1947 borders (evacuation of Nahariya, Acre, Nazareth, Jaffa, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Kiryat Gat and Beersheva)?
3. Terror: Will a new Palestinian entity disband terrorist organizations? After all, Mahmoud Abbas has so far refused to dismantle or disband Fatah's al Aqsa Brigades, which continue to fire missiles into the Western Negev.
4. Armament: How can there be any expectation that a sovereign Palestine will uphold any and all commitments for demilitarization, since the Palestinian Authority never upheld any such commitment since the Oslo Accords?
5. Refugees: Based on Israel's surprising agreement to view the Saudi plan as the basis for a state, does that not mean that Israel will have to absorb descendents of refugees and thus displace thousands of Israelis from cities like Haifa, Safed (Tfzat) and Jaffa as well as 80 kibbutzim which replaced Arab neighborhoods or villages from whence Arabs fled in 1948?
6. Air space: Will the Israel Air Force be forbidden from flying over the "West Bank," just as it was banned from the Lebanese skies?
7. Alliances: Based on diplomatic experience with the Palestinian Authority, upon signing military agreements with countries hostile to Israel, will Palestine not violate every prohibition thus placing the Iranian Revolutionary Guard on Israel's borders?
8. Water: Like the Palestinian Authority before it, will a sovereign Palestine not carry out pirate drillings, and threaten the mountain aquifer of Judea and Samaria?
9. Jewish sovereignty: Will the momentum of a Palestinian state not erase the right of the Jews to the land of Israel in international consciousness?
10. Loss of independence: Will Israel not become a protectorate that is subject to the Quartet - the U.S., the EU, the U.N. and Russia?

### **The Fatah Conference in August: An Opportunity Missed**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, November 4, 2009*

Fatah - which defines itself as a nationalist movement - is the dominant force within both the Palestinian Liberation Organization and the Palestinian Authority. It is impossible to understand the possibilities for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict without understanding its policies.

Contrasted routinely with Hamas, Fatah is considered “moderate.”

Its constitution, [1] however, tells another story. Written in 1964, when Israel did not yet control the West Bank and Gaza, it uses terms such as “liberation” to refer exclusively to Israel within the Green Line, which it calls “Palestine.” The constitution states:

- Liberating Palestine is a national obligation.
- UN projects, accords and resolutions, or those of any individual country which undermine the Palestinian peoples’ right in their homeland are illegal and rejected.
- The Israeli existence in Palestine is a Zionist invasion with a colonial...base...
- [A Fatah goal is] complete liberation of Palestine, and eradication of Zionist economic, political, military and cultural existence.
- Armed public revolution is the inevitable method to liberating Palestine.
- This struggle will not cease unless the Zionist state is demolished and Palestine is completely liberated.

Many well-informed persons are unaware of this Fatah constitution. Many who are familiar with it believe it is an anachronism; as Fatah itself has changed, post-Oslo, its original constitution, which has remained static, is rendered irrelevant.

The fact, however, is that Fatah has two faces. This is revealed in the “Phased Program” adopted by the PLO in 1974, of which Fatah was, and is, by far the largest and most influential faction. This program acknowledged that “total liberation” in one fell swoop had become unrealistic; instead there was to be a

“Strategy of Stages” meant to “give the appearance of moderation” while “total liberation” would be pursued slowly over time as Israel was weakened.

The summer of 2009 was not simply post-Oslo, but also post-Annapolis. Moreover, the new American president, reaching out to the Arab world, had made resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict a centerpiece of his administration.

It was an auspicious time for Fatah, if truly moderate, to come forth with a stance that definitively demonstrated this. This was the moment to renounce the positions of its pre-Oslo constitution to and speak in unambiguous terms about compromise, end of conflict, and recognition of Israel’s right to exist.

As it happened, Fatah had an extraordinary opportunity to do just that: In early August 2009, Fatah’s Sixth General Congress was held in Bethlehem.

Historically, this was a remarkable event, for even though its constitution requires the Congress - which is Fatah’s highest authority to convene every five years, there had been no conference for 20 years.

Now some 2,000 delegates - most selected by Fatah head Mahmoud Abbas and his associates - came together, presumably prepared to establish new policies and elect new representatives to Fatah’s decision-making bodies: the 21-member Central Committee and the 120-member Revolutionary Council. Since the Congress had last met before Oslo, and since many of the leaders elected earlier were now either old or deceased, there was considerable international expectation that genuine changes for Fatah, reflecting new realities, might emerge from the Congress.

On the eve of the Congress, (Arabic-speaking) journalist and commentator Pinchas Inbari, writing for the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs,[2] provided insight into the process that was about to unfold. Two documents would be discussed and approved at the Congress: The Political Program, which could be seen as promoting a political process, and the Constitution, referred to by Inbari as the “Internal Order.”

Here Fatah’s two faces became apparent. The Political Program, which moves toward a political solution, “tries to accommodate international expectations and seems designed to mobilize international legitimacy...” It does not overtly reject the concept of “armed struggle,” and occasionally speaks of a “struggle of all options,” which would include “armed struggle.” Most frequently, however, it refers to “struggle” in more general terms. This includes a variety of other options, such as peaceful demonstrations, with “armed struggle” alluded to as something from the past.

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The “Internal Order” - as is clear from its term of reference - is intended for use in-house (and includes procedural matters). As described above, it rejects negotiations and fervently and unambiguously embraces “armed struggle.”

The key to a genuine change in Fatah, then, would be modification of its “Internal Document.”

Hopes were high, as the Congress commenced on August 4th:

“We have made mistakes,” said Mahmoud Abbas head of Fatah and PA president in his opening address. “Twenty years is too long. [This conference should be a] platform for a new start.”

Yet his words also carried a subtle endorsement of violence:

“Although peace is our choice, we reserve the right to resistance, legitimate under international law...

“We are not terrorists, and we reject a description of our legitimate struggle as terrorism. This will be our firm and lasting position.”

There was a nod early in the proceedings to Fatah’s terrorist past, as a moment of silence was called for the martyrs [i.e., terrorists] of Palestine, and reverence was duly expressed for Yasser Arafat. A discussion was held regarding whether Arafat had been poisoned; in the end, a resolution declared Israel responsible and called for an investigation. (In July, hard-liner, Secretary-General of the Central Committee Farouk Qaddoumi, had accused Abbas himself of being involved in Arafat’s poisoning.)

After its first day, Conference proceedings deteriorated. In large part this was a reflection of the enormous party rifts - old guard vs. new, hardliners vs. pragmatists, representatives of one region vs. those of another. Anger was expressed about persons not invited to the Conference and the manner in which nominees for the Central Committee were selected, indicating discontent with Abbas’s tight-fisted control. One Fatah official commented: “There is so much corruption that is occurring from those who hold high positions that I don’t think we can come together...”[3] Ahmed Qurei, chief PA negotiator during the Annapolis negotiations, was so angry when he discovered that he had lost in the Central Committee elections that he questioned the vote-counting process, declaring that Fatah’s electoral fraud was even greater than Iran’s.

On-going tensions so delayed proceedings that the Conference had to be prolonged by several days.

About half of the new members elected to the all-important Central Committee were from the “young guard,” but this is no assurance of increased moderation or revitalization within Fatah. Those who are considered “young” average about

50 years in age (compared to the age of “old guard” members, which is often over 70 years).

Two men elected from the “young guard” to the Central Committee elicit the greatest enthusiasm with regard to hope for change: Marwan Barghouti and Muhammad Dahlan, seen as pragmatists who, each in his own way, might unite the party and combat corruption. There is more than a bit of irony in this regard, as Barghouti is serving multiple life sentences in an Israeli prison for his terrorist involvements, and Dahlan has been identified by the CIA and others as being directly associated with terrorism as well.

As it is, Dahlan came in only at tenth place of the 18 new members who were being elected. Muhammad Ghneim, 71 (who, as an Abbas ally, helped to draft the list of attendees) received the most votes. A hard-liner opposed to Oslo, for years he remained self-exiled in Tunisia. Committed to the “total liberation of Palestine” he has vowed to keep the term “armed resistance” as part of the lexicon of Fatah’s program. A co-founder of Fatah, with Arafat, Abbas, and others, he has continued to maintain close ties with Abbas.

In second place was another Abbas ally, Mahmoud al-Aloul, former member of the Fatah Revolutionary Council. He had been a close associate of terrorist Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad) before Israel killed him in 1988.

**Palestine: The Real Apartheid State in the Making**  
*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, March 2, 2010*

- "Palestine" is an apartheid state-in-the-making.
- "Israel Apartheid" Week is the time to publicize this fact.
- During Israel Apartheid Week, orchestrated on campuses around the globe, the time has come to put the shoe on the other foot.

In 1948, apartheid laws institutionalized racial discrimination in South Africa & denied human rights to 25 million Black citizens of South Africa.

In 1948, the Arab League of Nations applied the apartheid model to Palestine, and declared that Jews must be denied rights as citizens of Israel, while declaring a total state of war – that continues to this very day - to eradicate the new Jewish entity.

In 1948, at the directive of the Arab League of Nations, Jordan devastated the vestiges of Jewish life from Judea and Samaria, and burned all synagogues in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem.

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In 1948, member states of the Arab League of Nations began to strip Jews of human rights and to expel entire Jewish communities that had resided in their midst for centuries.

In the mid 1960s, the Arab League of Nations spawned the PLO to organize local residents to continue the war to deny Jews the right to live as free citizens in the land of Israel - well before Israel took over Judea, Samaria, and the Old City of Jerusalem in the defensive war waged by Israel in 1967.

Since its inception in 1994, the newly constituted Palestinian Authority, created by the PLO, has prepared the rudiments of a Palestinian state, modeled on the rules of apartheid and institutionalized discrimination:

1. The right of Palestinian Arab refugees and their descendents to return to Arab villages lost in 1948 will be protected by the new Palestinian state.
2. While twenty percent of Israel's citizens are Arabs, not one Jew will be allowed to live in a Palestinian state.
3. Anyone who sells land to a Jew will be liable to the death penalty in the Palestinian state.
4. Those who murder Jews are honored on all official Palestinian media outlets.
5. Palestinian Authority maps prepared for the Palestinian state depict all of Palestine under Palestinian rule.
6. PA maps of Jerusalem in the Palestinian state once again delete the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem.
7. Recent PA documents claim all of Jerusalem for the future Palestinian state.
8. The right of Jewish access to Jewish holy places is to be denied in the new Palestinian state.
9. The draft Palestinian State Constitution denies juridical status to any religion except Islam.
10. No system which protects human rights or civil liberties will exist in a Palestinian state.

If that is not a formula for a totalitarian apartheid state of Palestine, then what is?

### **Reports that Distort Israeli Reality...About Israel's "Peace Partners"**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, August 4, 2010*

#### 1. Fatah's Intentions

Prevailing media reports portray Mahmoud Abbas and Fatah as peace partners for Israel in the current Middle East negotiations.

Rarely do we find any news reports that quote senior Israeli government Minister, Benyamin Begin. MK Begin has consistently attempted to remind the public that Fatah reiterated its commitment to the armed struggle against Israel at the seminal Fatah conference held in Bethlehem last August. His declarations that Fatah never changed its covenant and commitment to liberate Palestine - all of Palestine – falls on deaf ears.

(See: "Fatah Conference: August 2009" at <http://israelbehindthenews.com/reports.html>)

#### 2. Egypt's Role in the Massive Supply of Weapons and Munitions to the Hamas Regime in Gaza.

Popular media reports portray Iran as the sole supplier of weapons and munitions into the Gaza strip, via underground tunnels.

Rarely do we find any news reports that discuss the geographical continuity of Egypt to Gaza, and the fact that Egypt has allowed hundreds of tunnels to be dug through Gaza from within Egyptian territory. Should we not heed the credible intelligence analysis, which lays the blame for the import of weapons and munitions to the Gaza regime squarely on the Egyptian regime?

Peruse the Bar-Ilan University intelligence study, "Egypt Is Not Going to Stop the Smuggling into Gaza," written just after Israel unilaterally halted its military incursion into Gaza (<http://www.biu.ac.il/Besa/perspectives60.html>)

#### 3. Is Israel Set to Deport the Children of Foreign Workers?

Standard news reports headline alleged Israeli government discussions to deport the children of foreign workers from Israel.

In fact, what is on the Israeli government's agenda concerns the 26,000 non-Jewish foreigners who have infiltrated the Jewish State.

Some of these foreigners have sought menial labor in Israeli industry.

The Israeli government has never discussed any proposal regarding the deportation of the children of this illegal population.

Instead, the New Israel Fund-financed groups advocating this influx, have manipulated the media to believe that the Israeli government is only discussing the deportation of the children of foreigners who have illegally arrived in Israel.

Rarely does the media report the fact that intelligence reports confirm the infiltration of over one million illegal refugees who enter Israel through Egypt's Sinai Desert. It is essential to review how will this affect the Jewish State, whose total population of only 7.5 million includes 20 percent of whom are not Jews.

The media rarely analyzes the security implications of the thousands of refugees entering Israel from Sudan, an Arab nation with an Islamic regime actively at war with Israel.

The press almost never analyzes the consequences of 30,000 Sudanese refugees establishing their presence in Israel's southernmost port city of Eilat, a city consisting of less than 47,000 people. (See [http://www.cbs.gov.il/population/new\\_2009/table3.pdf](http://www.cbs.gov.il/population/new_2009/table3.pdf))

Were these Sudanese were to learn civics from the leftist NIF and thereafter assert their democratic right to vote in an Eilat municipal election, what would prevent the Sudanese from voting for Eilat to secede from Israel, and join the Arab world? This would represent the perfect Arab military victory, without one bullet being fired.

How many people actually remember the Egyptian Parliament laying claim to Eilat only four years ago. (See: <http://israelbehindthenews.com/bin/content.cgi?ID=60&q=2>).

Is it simply a coincidence that Egypt utilizes the Sinai as a staging ground for the massive influx of a hostile population into Israel? Is it simply a coincidence that this influx finds its way specifically into Eilat, where non-Jewish squatters now constitute at least 10 percent of that city's population?

Do these issues not require a deeper and more serious study than the media and the government are giving them?

This week, Palestinian Authority leaders Mahmoud Abbas and Salam Fayyad arrive in Washington. According to reports that have appeared in both the Haaretz and the Jerusalem Post newspapers, the purpose of their trip is to improve their relations with the Jewish community in the United States at a time when negotiations have resumed between Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

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In that context, the Daniel Abraham Center will be hosting Abbas and the Israel Project will be hosting Fayad in widely publicized press events

The readiness of Abbas and Fayad to dialogue with the Jewish community provides Jewish groups with a most appropriate opportunity for asking direct questions of these two leaders. Some suggestions for questions that address issues at the heart of possibilities for genuine peace between Israel and the Palestinian Authority are:

Will you arrange for revisions -- beginning immediately -- of official Palestinian Authority textbooks, so that: all praise of the armed struggle ("Jihad") and all praise of Palestinian terrorists ("martyrs") is removed?

Israeli cities such as Tiberias, Acre (Acco), Haifa and Safed (Tzfat) are identified as such, rather than as Palestinian?

All maps identify Israel as such, at least within the Green Line?

Will you order the PBC, the official TV and radio network of the Palestinian Authority, to cease and desist from broadcasting and televising programs that incite the "armed struggle" against the State and people of Israel?

Will you refrain from honoring terrorists by such actions as naming city squares, sports events and schools after them?

Will you change the Palestinian Authority tourist map of Jerusalem, so that the Jewish Quarter, which is currently omitted, is properly identified?

Will you denounce in English and Arabic the decision of the August 2009 Fatah conference, which endorsed the armed struggle against the State of Israel?

Will you renounce in English and Arabic the draft of the Palestinian State Constitution that was adopted by the Palestinian Authority in 2003, which calls for the adoption of Sharia Law, thus permitting no juridical status for any religion in the future Palestinian state other than Islam?

Will you arrange for an official Palestinian Authority endorsement in English and Arabic of cancellation of those sections of the PLO covenant that call for Israel's destruction?

Will you remove from all Palestinian Authority schools and libraries the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, as well as the Ph.D thesis written by Abbas, which asserts that Zionists worked with the Nazis to conduct mass murder of Jews during World War II?

**A 10-step Process: How US Secretary of State John Kerry Could Bring Abbas and the Palestinian Authority to the Peace Table Middle East**

*David Bedein, the Algemeiner, April 8, 2013*

This week, US Secretary of State John Kerry announced that he will use his visit to the Middle East to implore the Palestinian Authority to return to peace talks with Israel.

Here is a suggested 10-step process for how the Hon. John Kerry could, indeed, conduct an inquiry about the readiness of the PA to assume a posture of peace.

- Step One:

Enter a PA classroom. Examine the new PA curriculum, whose focus revolves around preparation of a new generation to conquer all of Palestine. Most recently, the Center for Near East Policy Research dispatched a TV crew to follow the classrooms of PA schools located in UNRWA facilities, and witnessed teachings which did not focus on peace or reconciliation. Translations of the new PA schoolbooks yielded the conclusion that they focused on a curriculum of “suspended war.”

- Step Two:

Peruse the news output of the PBC (Palestine Broadcasting Corporation) radio and TV. Follow the messages of jihad conveyed by the PBC to the Palestinian Arab people, the PBC adulation of Palestinians who committed suicide attacks, and PBC news clips which laud attacks on Beersheba, Sderot, Ashkelon and Ashdod, which PBC terms “illegal Jewish settlements,” since these Israeli cities, which have been subjected to missile fire, are situated on lands lost to the Arabs in 1948 – not 1967.

- Step Three: Spend time at an UNRWA facility, where thousands of descendants of Arab refugees languish under the premise and promise of the “Right of Return.”

While nearby PA urban areas flourish, note how the new Palestinian city, Rawabi, built near teeming UNRWA refugee facilities, will not allow UNRWA camp residents to live there. Meanwhile, in August 2012, Hamas terror groups won their fourth consecutive election to take charge of the UNRWA trade union and the UNRWA teachers’ union in Gaza. Ask for a report on UNRWA-Hamas cooperation.

- Step Four: Peruse the “right of return,” web hosted computer program that operates throughout the PA, which helps UNRWA residents locate the villages of their grandparents from 1948, even though these towns no longer exist, to prepare them to realize their right of return.
- Step Five: Visit PA-controlled mosques on Friday. Follow the incendiary messages conveyed by the mosques that function with PA funding and are under PA control.
- Step Six: Review the new official maps published by the PA, which show all of Palestine as the location of any future Palestinian state, where Palestine actually replaces Israel.
- Step Seven: Visit the PA Security Force. Following the expectation that the PA security force would be engaged to crush Hamas, review reports of Hamas-PA cooperation. While the PA security force has worked with Israel on matters of petty crime, the PA will not take on Hamas. Moreover, the PA has no laws against money laundering for terror groups – indeed PA statutes do not define any group as a terrorist organization.

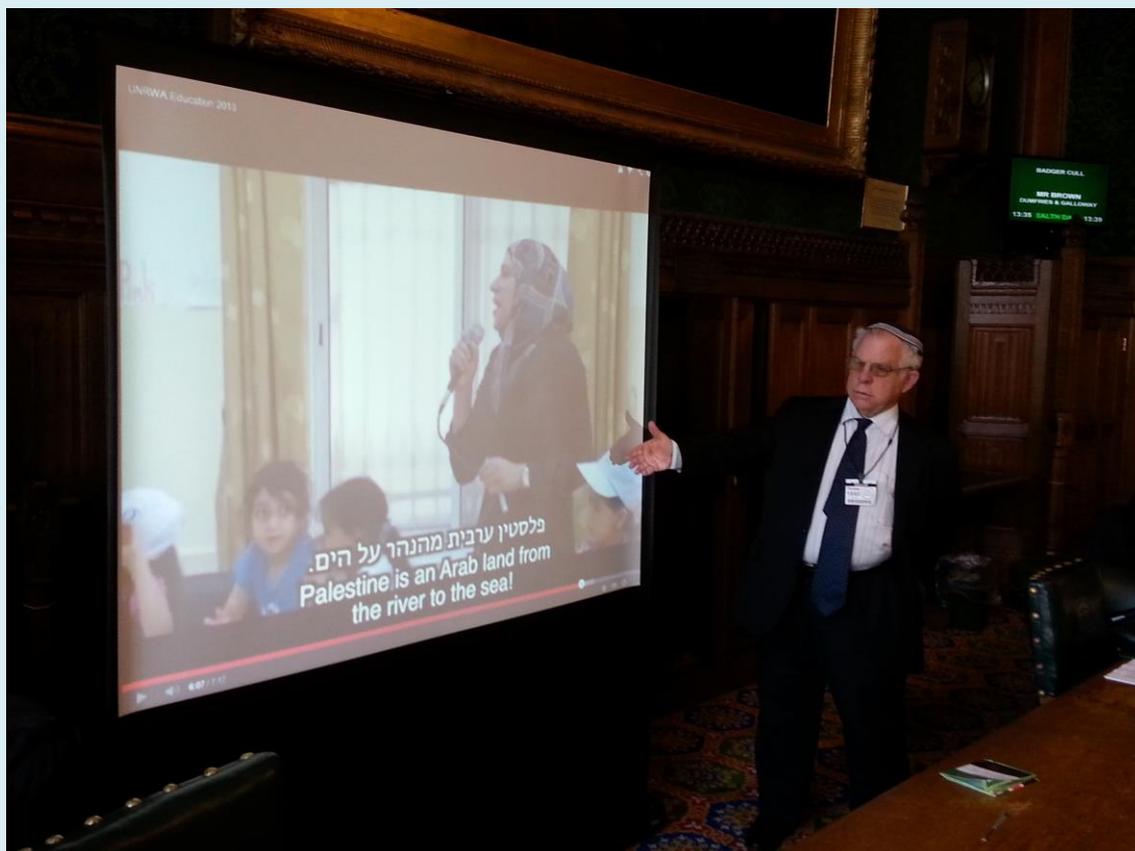
Maj. Gen. Yaakov Amidror (res.), former head of the IDF’s Research and Assessment Division and currently serving as national security adviser to Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, observed that: “There is a huge difference in the Palestinian view between law enforcement, which is seen as legitimate, and anti-terrorism, which is not seen as legitimate.”

- Step Eight: Ask for an evaluation of the food distribution program in Gaza, which the Hamas regime in Gaza and UNRWA have been running. Funds are delivered in cash dollars at the Gaza crossing to UNRWA, once a month, to the tune of \$13 million. How much of these funds are geared to the purchase of food? Does the Hamas regime siphon off some of the foreign aid cash for the purchase of munitions or for any other purpose? Why is there a demand for “cash delivery”? What follow-up reports have been submitted to the US AID on funds delivered to the UNRWA food distribution program?
- Step Nine: Review the published political program of PA Prime Minister Salam Fayyad, who has earned a reputation as a “moderate,” and note Fayyad’s endorsement of a Palestinian Jerusalem (no mention of east Jerusalem), the Palestinian “right of return” to villages from 1948 that no longer exist, and the demand to free all Palestinians in Israeli jails, ignoring the fact that this includes thousands of Palestinians who have been convicted of first-degree murder in a court of law. Fayyad’s paper titled “Ending the Occupation, Establishing the State: Program of the Thirteenth Government – August 2009” is available online. See: <http://www.israelbehindthenews.com/bin/content.cgi?ID=3716&q=1>

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- Step Ten: Review recent speeches of PA leader Mahmoud Abbas, where Abbas himself conveys consistent praise for Palestinians who have murdered civilians. Review the telecast New Year's speech in which Abbas concludes his litany of praise for killers with a salute to the legacy of Hitler's ally, Haj Amin al-Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem.

Once Secretary Kerry takes these ten steps of inquiry, the US government can make a realistic assessment of the readiness of Abbas and the Palestinian Authority to engage in a Middle East Peace Process.



**Bedein showing CAMP JIHAD at the UK Parliament**

### **UK Ambassador Removes Illusion that Arming PSF is to Help Israel Fight Hamas**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, April 12, 2013*

The US, Canada the EU justify arming the Palestinian Security Force, the PSF, with the mantra that the PSF has been established to help Israeli security fight the Hamas.”

However, studies conducted by the Center for Near East Policy Research have shown that the PSF has no intention of fighting Hamas.

<http://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Op-Ed-Contributors/US-aid-to-Palestinian-forces-may-assist-Hamas>

<http://www.israelbehindthenews.com/reports-foreignmilitary.html>

Most recently, the British Ambassador to Israel, Mathew Gould, visited a PSF army training base of the PSF and stated clearly, that arming PSF is... “Not for Israel’s security, but for their own people.”



<http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4366152,00.html>

Why did Mr. Gould not use the “fight Hamas” mantra as a reason to arm the PSF?

Perhaps that has something to do with the fact that the UK hosts Hamas operational headquarters in London.

<http://archive.frontpagemag.com/readArticle.aspx?ARTID=27887>

Unwittingly, the UK ambassador to Israel has removed any facade from the illusion that the reason to arm the PSF is to serve security interests of Israel in the war against Hamas.

### Genesis of an Anti-Semitic State

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, May 23, 2013*

This week, a Global Forum Against Anti-Semitism will convene in Jerusalem.

The time has come for the Global Forum to consider the fact that a new antisemitic state is now in formation.

Imagine, if you would, if any nascent nation-state, anywhere in the world, was in formation, and that it had taken on the following features: In this vital evaluation and discussion of antisemitism, it is impossible to look past the immediate and emboldened antisemitism of the PLO. This is to say that the systematic bigotry, persecution, and discrimination against Jews is occurring at a structural level. Antisemitism is harbored and supported by the governing body of the Palestinian people, the PLO, under who:

- Selling land to a Jew would be defined as a capital crime.
- Its new constitution would not allow for juridical status for Judaism and Jews would not even be allowed to live in the country.
- The school system would inculcate children to make war on the Jews.
- Those who murder Jews would become the heroes of the new country.
- The designated head of state earned his Ph.D. on the basis of a published thesis that millions Jews who were murdered during World War II were actually executed by the Zionists, who were allies of the Nazis.

The reaction to such a “state in formation” would be an outcry from all of the Jewish groups that monitor anti-Semitism.

Yet there has been no outcry from most Jewish groups in the case of the proposed Palestinian Arab state, based on the ideology of the Palestine Liberation Organization, even though the proposed state possesses these six characteristics, as described above.

However, there are some influential non-Jews who have expressed concern about the antisemitism of the nascent Palestinian Authority.

A case in point. Ten years ago, our agency covered a briefing for a visiting United States congressional delegation provided by the former Vatican

representative to Israel, Archbishop Pietro Sambi. The Papal Nuncio warned US lawmakers that the new Palestinian Authority approved draft state constitution, funded by USAID, provided no juridical status for religions other than Islam in the new Palestinian Arab entity.

The Papal Nuncio also warned that the Palestinian Authority had adopted a Shariah law that was modeled on Sharia law that rules in Saudi Arabia, which dictated absolute supremacy of Muslims., as matter of law.

Archbishop Sambi provided the text of that proposed PA constitution, with the hope that Jewish groups which would object to such a proposed Palestinian state constitution.

In addition, Archbishop Sambi initiated a Vatican study of the new PA textbooks, which the Vatican would determine to be antisemitic in nature.

As a result of the Vatican study of the PA textbooks, the Italian government withdrew its money from Palestinian Ministry of Education textbook project.

An expert whose research is impeccable on this subject is journalist Dr. Arnon Groiss, who earned his PHD in Islamic studies at Princeton, and who worked for ten years as a researcher for IMPACT.se, also known as the Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace, where Dr. Groiss became an expert on Arab school books.

Over the past year, Dr. Gross made presentations for staffers and members of the US Congress and the Canadian Parliament, where he showed how the new textbooks of the Palestinian Authority, instead of educating for peace with Israel, promote the “armed struggle” to liberate Palestine, all of Palestine.

From these textbooks, Groiss showed that the PA curriculum teaches the following fundamentals:

- Jews are foreigners and have no rights in Palestine.
- The Jews have a dubious, and even murderous, character.
- Israel is an illegitimate usurper that occupied Palestine in 1948 and 1967.
- Israel is the source of all kinds of evil done to the Palestinians.
- Peace with Israel based on reconciliation is not sought.
- Armed struggle for liberation is encouraged instead.
- The exact area to be liberated is never restricted to the areas taken by Israel in 1967.
- Jihad and martyrdom are explicitly encouraged.

The list of accusations against Israel appearing in the new Palestinian Authority schoolbooks includes more than 25 allegations, including:

- Israel contributes to Palestinian social ills and family violence.
- Israel causes the increase of drug abuse cases in Palestinian society.
- Israel pollutes the Palestinian environment.
- Israel usurps Muslim and Christian holy places.
- Israel strives to obliterate the Palestinian national identity and heritage.

Over the past two years, New Jersey Rep. Chris Smith, a 34 year Republican veteran of Congress, announced that he would lead a campaign for the US to condition aid to UNRWA and the Palestinian Authority on the nullification of the anti-Semitic curriculum of the Palestinian Authority.

Rep. Smith's initiative was reminiscent of Archbishop Sambí, who died two years ago while serving as the new Papal Nuncio in Washington.

Archbishop Sambí was never afraid to take a stand on the official anti-Semitism, which he discerned in the Palestinian Authority.

It remains to be seen whether mainstream Jewish groups will follow the lead of Rep. Smith and the late Archbishop Sambí, to make such demands of the Palestinian Authority.

Sometimes it takes a courageous gentile to speak up, so that Jews will not hesitate to follow their example. Perhaps the Global Forum Against Anti-Semitism will toast the legacy and the message of Archbishop Pietro Sambí, whose warnings about the anti-semitism of nascent Palestinian Arab entity should be heeded.



**Bedein reviewing the Oslo Accord with Shimon Peres, March 2000**

### **Renew Talks with the PLO: Ask PLO Ratification of Oslo Accords**

*David Bedein, Times of Israel, July 7, 2013*

Most recently, US Secretary of State Kerry passionately called for the renewal of talks with the PLO. Former President Clinton, who hosted the PLO – Israel ceremonies on the White House lawn twenty years ago, is en route to Jerusalem for high-profile lectures, where he will also call for for renewal of negotiations. And Shimon Peres, Israel’s president, who served as Israel’s foreign minister at the outset of negotiations with the PLO two decades ago, is about to convene thousands of dignitaries at a conference at the President’s mansion that will call to jump-start negotiations with the PLO.

Veteran observers of Middle East politics may ask: what is there to negotiate about?

Indeed, there is an item on the table that is hardly a minor detail: The Palestinian Liberation Organization did not ratify the Oslo Accord after Arafat and Abbas signed the accord on the White House lawn.

On September 13, 1993, at the White House, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzchak Rabin and Israeli Foreign Minister Simon Peres signed the “Declaration of Principles” (the DOP) between Israel and the PLO together with Yasser Arafat and Mahmoud Abbas of the PLO. The agreement, which had been hammered out in Oslo, stipulated mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO. It required the PLO to cease and desist from terrorism, and for the PLO to nullify its covenant, which calls for Israel’s destruction.

The Israeli Knesset ratified the accord by a vote of 61 to 50, with 9 abstentions, a week later. However, what received hardly any attention was the fact that on October 6, 1993, the PLO executive did not ratify the Oslo accord, for lack of a quorum.

Very few people know or remember that Pinchas Inbari, the only Israeli correspondent covering the PLO in Tunis at the time, writing for the Israeli left-wing Hebrew newspaper Al HaMishmar, broke the story that Arafat announced in Tunis that he could not get a quorum of the executive council of the PLO to ratify the Declaration of Principles of the Oslo Accords. Al HaMishmar then ran a headline on October 7, 1993 which reported that the PLO did not ratify the peace accord that Arafat and Abbas had signed together with Peres and Rabin only a few weeks before, with US and Russia as co-signers.

Carrying Al HaMishmar in my hand, I walked into the office of the Israel Government Press Office director at the time, Mr. Ori Dromi, and showed him the headline of PLO non-ratification of the Oslo accords. Dromi, an appointee of Prime Minister Rabin, made it clear that from the point of view of the Israeli government, this meant that Arafat signed the accord on his own, without the sanction of the PLO.

The rest of the Israeli media, however, did not report that the PLO never ratified the accord, but the Israeli government acted as if the PLO had done so.

Inbari was scheduled to appear on a popular morning KOL YISRAEL radio show when he got back from Tunis.

However, the Prime Minister’s office asked Kol Yisrael to cancel that appearance.

Instead, the Israeli government dispatched then deputy minister of Foreign Affairs, Yossi Beilin, to fly to Tunis to thank Arafat for facilitating the ratification of the Oslo accord, which the PLO never did.

Why is this important: According to Israeli law, since the PLO did not ratify the Oslo accord which renounce terrorism, the PLO and Fatah were not stricken from Israeli law books as “a terrorist entity,” a status that the PLO received on March 1, 1980. And if you check the law books today, you will find that the PLO

is still defined in Israeli law as a terror entity, because the PLO never ratified the Oslo accord.

The same goes for American law. In March 2002, US government designated the Al-Aksa Martyrs Brigades of the Fatah as a terror organization. That terror designation was never changed. Under US law, any government that aids and abets an organization defined as a terror organization will forfeit US foreign aid assistance.

The other concrete commitment made by the PLO on the White House lawn was that it would officially cancel the PLO Covenant, which calls for Israel's destruction.

On two occasions, the Palestinian National Council gathered to discuss the PLO Covenant – on April 24, 1996 and on December 14, 1998. On neither occasion did the PNC cancel the PLO Covenant.

In other words, there is a real reason to renew negotiations with the PLO.

The first items on the agenda would be to ask that the PLO finally ratify the Declaration of Principles of non-violence and mutual recognition, which constituted the essence of the Oslo Accord. The other request would be to cancel the PLO Covenant, which calls for Israel's destruction.

Reasonable requests, no?

**Indyk and the Myth of PLO's Cancelled Covenant**  
*David Bedein, San Diego Jewish World, April 13, 2014*

Martin Indyk, is now the mediator between Israel and the PLO in negotiations that have continued in deadlock for the past six months.

Indyk's record with the PLO should be examined.

Indyk is the one of the people who paved the way for Yassir Arafat and the PLO armed control over most of the Palestinian Arab population.

In 1994, the respected journalist, Haim Shibi of Yediot Aharonot reported that in 1987, Indyk lobbied more than 150 members of the U.S. foreign policy establishment that Israel should unilaterally withdraw from territories gained in 1967 Six Day War.

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Indyk oversaw every step of the Oslo process with that precise policy in mind – Israel giving up land that is vital to her defense.

Indyk, during his stint as US ambassador to Israel, did not hesitate to misrepresent the intentions and policies of the PLO. While doing so, he obfuscated the fact that the PLO never adhered to the basic commitment it made to cancel its covenant that calls for the eradication of the Jewish state.

In September 1995, with the signing of the second Oslo interim agreement at the White House, the U.S. Congress mandated that the U.S. would only be able to provide funds to the Palestinian Authority and provide diplomatic status to Arafat if the PLO covenant calling for Israel's eradication was finally canceled.

On April 24, 1996, the PLO convened a special session of its Palestine National Council (PNC) to consider the subject of the PLO covenant cancellation.

The Israel Resource News Agency (IRNA) dispatched a Palestinian TV crew to cover that session, which turned out to be the only crew that filmed the event.

The Israel Resource News Agency (IRNA) dispatched a Palestinian TV crew to cover that session, which turned out to be the only crew that filmed the event.

Our film crew brought back a videotape that showed a lively discussion, the conclusion of which was to Arafat's suggestion that the PNC simply create a committee to "discuss" the subject. We rushed a VHS copy to Ambassador Indyk for comment, but he did not respond to that request for comment.

Instead, he chose to ignore the decision of the PNC session. He issued a report to President Clinton and to the U.S. Congress that the PLO covenant had been canceled.

As a result of Indyk's false report, The US definition of the PLO as a terrorist organization was waived in 1996 not canceled enabling the PLO to open up an official office and lobby in Washington, DC, the nation's capital.

Arafat was given a red carpet greeting at the White House on May 1, 1996, and the PLO was only then allowed to open an office in Washington. That office has remained open ever since.

However, on May 2, 1996. Hebrew University Professor Yehoshua Porat, a former leader in Peace Now who ran on slot 13 on the left-wing Meretz party ticket in 1992, an expert in Palestinian studies and fluent in Arabic, convened a press conference in which he shared protocols of the PNC session and the videotape which proved Arafat never canceled the PLO covenant.

Yet the damage was done. Thanks to the obfuscations of Martin Indyk, Arafat and the PLO received United States diplomatic recognition and official aid from the U.S., which continues to this day.

In December 1998, President Clinton, finally convinced that Indyk's 1996 covenant report was wrong, arrived in Gaza, accompanied by Indyk, where they asked for a show of hands from Arabs who identified themselves as members of the PNC as to whether they want to cancel the PLO covenant and make peace with Israel. The real answer, however, they got the next day. Arafat's personal spokesman, Yassir Abed Abbo, told the media that the PNC had, of course, not canceled any covenant. Yet there is more.

In September 2000, Dr. Uzi Landau, now a senior minister in the current Israeli government, who served then as the head of the Knesset State Control Committee (the equivalent of the U.S. Senate's Committee on Governmental Affairs), took the unusual step of filing a formal complaint against then-United States Ambassador to Israel Martin Indyk.

Landau quoted the September 16, 2000 report in the Guardian of London that "the U.S. Ambassador to Israel yesterday urged Israel to share Jerusalem with the Palestinians."

Mr. Indyk said: "There is no other solution but to share the holy city" and Landau also noted that Ambassador Indyk was similarly quoted by the Associated Press, The Jerusalem Post and Ha'aretz.

Landau went on to say that "the timing of the speech and the political context in which it delivered leaves no room for doubt that Ambassador Indyk was calling on the Government of Israel to divide Jerusalem. Indeed, the Guardian correspondent described the remarks as 'a sharp departure from Washington orthodoxy in recent years.'"

Landau, who later served in a ministerial post in the Israeli government that negotiated sensitive relations between the U.S. and Israel, mentioned in his letter to Clinton that he wished to "strongly protest Ambassador Indyk's blatant interference in Israel's internal affairs and democratic process... I am sure you would agree that it is simply unacceptable for a foreign diplomat to involve himself so provocatively in the most sensitive affairs of the country to which he is posted. If a foreign ambassador stationed in the United States were to involve himself in a domestic American policy debate regarding race relations or abortion, the subsequent outcry would not be long in coming... Ambassador Indyk's remarks about Jerusalem are an affront to Israel, particularly since he made them in the heart of the city that he aspires to divide. By needlessly raising Arab expectations on the Jerusalem issue, rather than moderating them, Ambassador Indyk has caused inestimable damage to the peace process..."

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Landau added that “this is not the first time that the American Embassy in Israel has interfered in our internal affairs. In February, I wrote to you in the wake of media reports that Embassy officials were lobbying Israeli-Arab leaders regarding a possible referendum on the Golan Heights. My fear is that such interference in Israel’s affairs is rapidly becoming routine.”

Landau concluded his letter to Clinton with a “request that you recall Ambassador Indyk to the United States.”

Two months later, in early November 2000, Arafat’s Second Intifada terror campaign was getting under way, Indyk was strongly condemning Israel’s military actions against Arafat’s forces. Indyk remarked that what the Israelis had to do was to get Arafat to act against the perpetrators of the violence, such as Hamas, Tanzim gangs and the Islamic Jihad diplomatically. He did not mention that Arafat’s own Force 17 bodyguard, Preventive Security and other Palestinian Authority forces were also responsible for a considerable portion of the violence. Indyk never wanted to hold Arafat responsible when Arafat’s forces carried out terrorist activities.

In late November 2000, when Israel issued a “white paper” on intercepted intelligence from Arafat’s headquarters that showed documentary evidence that Arafat and his mainstream PLO gangs were indeed facilitating the campaign of terror, Indyk made a special trip to Jerusalem to demand that the Israeli government withdraw that report. Indyk had just reported to the U.S. Congress that the Palestinian groups organizing the terror campaign were NOT under Arafat’s control.

Eight months later, on May 21, 2001, in an address to Ben Gurion University, Indyk continued to take the position that Arafat and the PLO were the “U.S. colleagues in the War on Terror by telling Israel: “What you do is you get Arafat to act against the perpetrators of the violence, Hamas, Tanzim gangs, the Islamic Jihad and you get the Israeli government to hold back the Israeli army while he does so. But that requires a great deal of energy and commitment on Arafat’s part in very risky circumstances to take on the very angry Palestinian street and that requires a great deal of restraint and forbearance on the part of the government of Israel.”

Indyk’s legacy remains that he opened the door for US recognition of Arafat and the PLO, when he did not tell the truth to the American government about the PLO covenant, which was never canceled. Thanks to Indyk’s testimony 18 years ago, the PLO is alive and well and ensconced in DC.

The US law that defines the PLO as a terror entity remains on the books.

**Legacy of the Mufti and Hitler: The Facts that are Known**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, October 21, 2015*

[Following the surprise that greeted the statement of the Prime Minister of Israel that the Mufti of Jerusalem inspired Hitler to initiate the “final solution” to murder the Jews of Europe, the time has come to clear the air and state the facts as we know them. The following article is excerpted from a paper that I delivered at an Israel Knesset Forum on Holocaust Remembrance Day, 2012].

The titular leader of the Palestinian Arab community in the previous generation: Haj Amin Al Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem, forged a pact with Adolf Hitler on November 28, 1941, one week before the Wannasee conference, originally scheduled for December 9, 1941, yet it was postponed by one month, due to the attack on Pearl Harbor.

The protocols of the Hitler-Mufti pact were presented as evidence against the Mufti in the Nuremberg war crimes trials, and explicitly state that Hitler would exterminate the Jews in Europe, while the Mufti would enlist Nazi aid to exterminate Jews in Palestine, so as to establish a “Judenrein” state of Palestine.

To that end, the Mufti ensconced himself in Hitler’s bunker, from where he recruited an Islamic unit of the Waffen SS, which actively engaged in the mass murder of Jews, while issuing Arabic language appeals on Nazi radio which incited Moslems to join the Nazi cause and to prepare for mass murder of Jews in Palestine.

The Protocols of the Nuremberg conviction of the Mufti were published in the 1946 book, MUFTI OF JERUSALEM, authored by Journalist Maurice Pearlman, who was appointed in 1948 as the first director of the Israel Government Press Office.

Pearlman cited affidavits of senior SS prosecution witnesses who testified that the Mufti, working directly under Eichmann and Himmler, identified the Mufti’s instrumental role in making sure that millions of Jews were murdered, and not ransomed.

No one denies the Mufti’s Arabic language radio broadcasts, his recruitment of the Islamic SS unit, and his active involvement in SS roundups of Jews in Yugoslavia.

There is no doubt that Mufti was aware of the Final Solution, fully supported it, and sought to extend it to the Arab world.

The affidavit of one of Eichmann's subordinates, SS Hauptsturmführer Dieter Wisliceny, who appeared as a witness for the Nuremberg prosecution, speaks for itself: The Mufti was one of the initiators of the systematic extermination of European Jewry for the Germans and had been the permanent collaborator and advisor of Eichmann and Himmler in the execution of the plan...According to my opinion, the Grand Mufti, who had been in Berlin since 1941, played a role in the decision of the German government to exterminate the European Jews, the importance of which must not be disregarded, He had repeatedly suggested to the various authorities with who had been in contact, above all before Hitler, Ribbentrop and Himmler, the extermination of European Jewry. He considered this as a comfortable solution of the Palestinian problem. In his messages broadcast from Berlin, he surpassed us in anti-Jewish attacks. He was one of Eichmann's best friends and had constantly incited him to accelerate the extermination measures...

In 1961, when Eichmann was brought to justice in Jerusalem, Israel's then foreign minister, Golda Meir, called for the Mossad to apprehend the Mufti and to sit him alongside Eichmann on trial in Jerusalem.

Maurice Pearlman traces the Mufti's escape to Cairo, where Pearlman reported how the Mufti influenced the newly formed Arab League to spawn the charter of the Arab League, with an explicit statement that its purpose was to wipe out any Zionist entity that would soon come about.

Indeed, the Mufti inspired charter of the Arab League would soon form the basis of the Arab league declaration of war to destroy the nascent state of Israel in 1948.

The refusal of the UK to arrest the Mufti in Cairo, described by Pearlman, caused the head of the Zionist revisionists in the United States at the time, Ben Zion Netanyahu, father of Israel's current Prime Minister, to launch an unsuccessful campaign to push the US to demand the arrest of the Mufti in Cairo.

A little known fact concerns the Mufti's special relationship with a young relative in Cairo, who to the Mufti would affectionately give the name "Yassir Arafat." In December 1996, Haaretz interviewed Yassir Arafat's younger brother and sister, who said that the Mufti performed the role of a surrogate father figure and for over a decade, David has produced short documentary films about UNRWA, which have been presented at the British Parliament, the U.S.Congress, Canadian Parliament, and The United Nations, in Geneva and in New York. David's work work has been instrumental in bringing UNRWA to accomentor to the young Arafat.

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

The failure of the Arab League, in 1948, to mobilize the Arabs of Palestine into an active war against the newly formed Jewish state led the Mufti to urge the Arab League, in 1964, to launch the PLO, the Palestine Liberation Organization, whose stated covenant of purpose was almost identical in language to the charter of the Arab League: to exterminate new state of Israel. The focus of the PLO was to organize Arabs who remained in Israel along with the Arab refugees who languished in UNRWA refugee camps to organize an effective grass roots effort to liberate Palestine, all of Palestine, from Jewish rule.

Today, the new curriculum of the Palestinian Authority is imbued with the legacy of the Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin Al Hussein, whose vision of a Jew-free Palestine is taught in every educational institution of the Palestinian Authority, together with the armed struggle to liberate Palestine, as an ideal for Palestinian Arab students.

On January 4, 2013, Mahmoud Abbas, spoke glowingly of the legacy of the Godfather of the PLO, the Mufti of Jerusalem, via video link on a wide screen to the masses in Gaza who gathered to celebrate the founding of Fatah (Arabic word for "conquest"), otherwise known as the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Abbas praised the Mufti as a man whose ways should be emulated by all Palestinian Arabs. "We must remember the pioneers, the Grand Mufti of Palestine, Hajj Muhammad Amin Al-Husseini, as well as Ahmad Al-Shukeiri, the founder of the PLO," Abbas said, according to a translation of the speech made by the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI).



## Section 1: Chapter 2 – PLO/PA Terror

### The "Kill and Run" Precedent of the New Israeli-Palestinian Accord

*David Bedein, Jerusalem Post, February 25, 1997*

On January 14, 1997, at 12:00 noon, as the Israeli cabinet gathered in Jerusalem to begin its deliberations on the approval of the Oslo accords, something else transpired in Ramat Dania, a neighborhood within walking distance from the Knesset.

A young Palestinian Arab wielding an axe hacked Ya'akov Yamin, a sixty year-old Israeli building foreman, to pieces.

The killer then hopped in a taxi to Bethlehem, only ten minutes away.

The taxi driver later described to me how, upon arriving at the Bethlehem checkpoint, his extremely nervous passenger jumped out of the cab and ran into Bethlehem.

The taxi driver called the Israeli police as did the driver's employer.

The police, however, demonstrated little interest in the matter, arriving on the scene over an hour later. The police finally got around to interrogating the driver and obtain a complete description of the murderer, preparing a hand-drawn sketch of the killer. The sketch was never broadcast by any television station nor did it appear in the print media. Neither did the Israeli police forward the sketch to the Palestinian police. What the Israeli police spokesman did say, however, was that no such sketch existed.

Yaakov Yamin's murder made Israel's frontpage news the next day, sharing headlines with the historic Israeli government meeting that had taken place at the time of the murder. The purpose of that significant meeting was to confirm the Israeli government's backing of the latest accord with the Palestine Authority.

"Reciprocity" was the theme of this agreement, with the Israeli government declaring clearly and forthrightly that it would only cede concessions to the PA if and when the PA demonstrated the appropriate confidence-building measures that would show that it was indeed keeping its part of the accords.

The day after the murder, the front page of the popular Israeli newspaper Yediot Aharonot featured a photograph of Prime Minister Netanyahu and Arafat on top of the page, and a small snapshot of Yaakov Yamin on the corner of the page.

The issue of killers who had escaped to the Palestine Authority was high on the agenda of the new accord, according to all Israeli government spokespeople.

The retiring Israeli attorney general, Rabin appointee Michael Ben-Yair, presented the government with a long awaited legal opinion declaring in no uncertain terms that the accords signed by the previous PA government required the PA to extradite to Israel killers within its jurisdiction.

Israel Minister of Justice Tzachi Hanegbi followed Ben-Yair by succinctly stating that if the new accords did not require the PA to hand over killers, he would not vote for them.

Meanwhile, the Yamin killing and murderer's escape disappeared from the public's consciousness. I asked government ministers if the cabinet would send a representative to his funeral or to the shiva (house of mourners) home. I received no response. No government minister or member of Knesset visited the Yamin home.

I asked the Israeli police spokesperson if they were pursuing the killer in Bethlehem, or if the Israeli police was asking the Palestinian police to hand over the killer. The spokesperson responded that the question was premature. I visited the Palestinian police station in Bethlehem to learn what they knew. They told me that if the killer had come to Bethlehem, he was welcome. I called IDF radio, Israel State radio, Israel State television, Yediot Aharonot and M'ariv daily newspapers to see why they were not following up on the Yamin murder, even as a side bar to the government meeting.

The response I received from the news editors left me speechless: "We have been 'asked' to drop the case and not to dwell on the issue." Besides, the peace process is more newsworthy. So not a word appeared in the Israeli media - and certainly not in the foreign press on the Yamin murder and the subsequent escape of his killer to the Palestine Authority "safe haven" only ten minutes away.

That was the precedent of the latest accords that were approved by the Israeli government. An Arab can murder a Jew, escape to a warm welcome in the Palestine Authority safe haven only several minutes away and the matter will simply be sanitized by a cooperative Israeli and foreign media. Press conspiracy? Hardly. Government policy? Perhaps.

On Tu B'shvat (Israeli Arbor Day), I had the opportunity to visit the Yamin family, who had finished their week-long period of mourning on the previous day. I was accompanied by two people. Yehudah Wachsmann, whose son Nachshon had been abducted and murdered by Arab terrorists only two years ago. Nachshon's chief abductor Muhammad Deif, resides in Gaza and the Israeli government has not so much as requested Deif's arrest. Mr .Y, the taxi driver, was also with us. He described the killer to the family and confirmed that he had sat with the Israeli police for no less than eight hours, as they prepared a sketch of his passenger.

According to Israeli law, victims of terror attacks receive immediate attention and care by the mental health professionals of the Israeli Defense Ministry Rehabilitation Department and Israel's National Insurance Institute.

The Israeli police, however, will only say that they are "99% sure" that Ya'akov Yamin was murdered in a terror attack, and not in a robbery. This despite the fact that Yamin's bulging wallet was never taken from his body.

Therefore, using this ploy, the Israeli government is not legally obligated to provide any mental health professionals to assist the family. Under normal circumstances, a police or military official would appear at the home, escorted by a doctor or psychiatrist to inform the family of the murder. Instead, the family

discovered the killing when a journalist showed up at their door requesting a picture of the deceased.

If the government indeed acknowledges that this was a terror attack, it will have to answer some very difficult questions and will be asked to explain to its citizens how the peace process allows Arabs to kill and escape to the sanctuary of the Palestine Authority.

### **Bombs in Machaneh Yehudah and American Assurances**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, November 10, 1998*

The car bomb that exploded in Jerusalem's bustling Mahane Yehudah marketplace on Friday morning found me in the city of Hebron, now under the rule of the Palestine Authority, only an hour south of Jerusalem, where I was standing with a Palestinian journalist colleague, covering a military parade of the Islamic Hamas movement.

We watched masked Arabs, brandishing automatic weapons, marched though on the streets of downtown Hebron, in a demonstration that was licensed by the Palestine Authority, with weapons that were licensed by the Palestine Authority since May 1995.

The Hamas demonstrators chanted "death to the Jews". "liberate Jerusalem", and "We shall return our lands from 1948", "down with Zionism". These are the slogans that you would expect. They also burned American and Israeli flags. All under the watchful eyes of the Palestinian police.

Yet only two weeks ago, I covered the Wye plantation talks, where the Palestine Authority committed itself to disarming the weapons of Hamas and other groups opposed to the peace process.

Unless these guns paraded by Hamas were manufactured by Mattel or Hasboro, it would seem that these weapons were supposed to have confiscated by Arafat's police.

Returning to Jerusalem, I visited the media lab of Palestine Media Watch, a professional media office that follows the official Palestinian media.

I was curious to see how the car bomb in Mahaneh Yehudah was being reported on official Palestine Authority Television, especially since the US government had recently issued stinging criticism of what the American consulate in Jerusalem had described to the Palestine Report, a local

Palestinian weekly, as “a network of incitement that was harming the peace process.”

While I waited to hear the Palestine Authority TV news, Official Palestinian TV featured an interview with Imjad Fallouji, the elected leader of Hamas in Gaza, the Palestinian minister of communications, and a member of Arafat’s inner cabinet. Imjad Fallouji was not asked about Hamas military parades or about Hamas car bombs. What the Palestine Authority TV announcer did ask Fallouji was for him to explain the implications of “970”, the new area code that the Palestine Authority telephone system received this week at the International Communications conference that was recently held in Minneapolis.

When the PBC newsreel finally came on the air, the announcer mentioned the “explosions” that took place in the Mahane Yehudah marketplace, mentioning that terrorists indeed had carried out the act, with no sound of regret, yet with a perfunctory condemnation of the attack, as the Palestinian Minister of Justice Freich Abu Medein simply saying that the “attack does not serve Palestinian interests”, yet without any specific criticism of any particular Palestinian group.

I recalled that during the Wye summit, an Arab threw a grenade at a bus in Beersheba, resulting in the Palestine Authority radio spokesman also saying that “the attack does not serve Palestinian interests”... blaming Israeli nationalists for throwing the grenade.

In today’s newscast, however, the Palestine Authority TV announcer went on to declare that the real crime was the continuing Israeli policy of adding Jewish homes in an Arab neighborhood in Jerusalem, Ras Al Amud, an area that lies contiguous to one of the oldest Jewish cemeteries in Israel, on the hill known as the Mount of Olives.

Calling the Palestine Authority office in Ramallah, I asked the PA spokesman if there was any plan to disarm the Hamas marchers whom I had watched that morning.

The PA spokesman was surprised by my question. “They weren’t firing their guns, were they?”

This reminds me of the statement made only a week ago by Arafat’s aide, Saeb Erakat, who assured Palestinians in an interview with an official newspaper of the Palestine Authority that all of the Hamas leaders who had been arrested during the widely publicized round-up of Hamas after an attack on an Israeli school bus the previous day would indeed be released, if they could prove that they had no direct involvement in the attack on the bus.

At the end of my Friday workday at the press center, I received another call.

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An American Israeli citizen of Jerusalem, Joyce Boim, the mother of a teenage boy, David, who was gunned down by a young Palestinian Hamas member, Amjad Hanawi, back in May, 1996, called to inform me that the Israeli government has issued an official statement that the Palestine Authority has released Amjad Hanawi, despite the fact that Hanawi was convicted of her son's murder in a Palestinian court back in February, after Joyce had lobbied members of Congress to demand that her son's killer be brought to justice.

After President Clinton made a personal call to Arafat, Amjad was indeed arrested.

I have requested a response from the American consulate press spokesman for the past two months to the rumor that Amjad Hanawi was set free by the Palestine Authority. I have received only one response from the American consulate spokesman: "To the best of our knowledge. Amjad Hanawi is in prison". To the question as to whether the American consul or a representative of the American consulate has visited the Palestine Authority jail where Amjad is supposed to be in prison, the answer that I have received is: "no". Joyce Boim has received the same answer.

At the Wye summit, an idea was mentioned that the US would judge as to whether the Palestine Authority was keeping its commitments on matters concerning the disarming of terror groups and the incarceration of terrorists.

In this regard, the US state department officially announced that, as far as the US was concerned, the Palestine Authority had fulfilled the security promises that Arafat had made to Israel and the US at the Wye River summit.

Yet the US knows full well that the PA allows the Hamas to operate openly and flaunt its weapons in Hebron and elsewhere in the Palestine Authority under its jurisdiction. The US knows full well that the PA arrests and releases convicted killers like Amjad Hanawi. And the US knows full well that the PA condemnations of killings are halfhearted, to say the least.

In less than one month, US President Clinton will arrive in Gaza, to address a gathering of the Palestine Authority, in which he is expected to attest to Palestinian compliance with Israel's security needs.

How people in Israel will respond to President Clinton's "Palestine Authority security assurances" remains unclear at this time.

### **Bombing for the Right of Return to Netanya**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, March 4, 2001*

At the end of November, I lectured at a retirement home in the Israeli coastal city of Netanya, to discuss the PLO demand that all Arabs who have wallowed in UN refugee camps for the past fifty years to have the “right of return” to villages that they left in 1948.

I showed them the map of a “future Palestinian State” which the PLO Orient House headquarters provides in Jerusalem, which marks the 531 Arab villages that are slated for return, all of which had been overrun in 1948.

One of those villages was Um Khalid, which, according to the PLO, had been illegally absorbed by Netanya.

The PLO therefore defines Netanya as one of Israel’s “illegal settlements”, under the terms of the Fourth Geneva Convention, enacted in 1949, which forbids a conquering nation from moving its citizens into a conquered area.

The implications: the PLO will justify any attack on any such settlement that it views as “illegal.”

In January, 1995, following Hamas terror bombs that killed 21 people at a bus stop at the Beit Lid/Netanya junction, PLO’s secretary general Marwan Barguti calmly told MBC Saudi television why the PLO would justify an attack on Netanya: “This is an area that we have yet to liberate” We still have that video on our shelf.

Meanwhile, the formalized December 1995 PLO Hamas accord, signed in Cairo by both Palestinian factions, allowed the Hamas to carry out operations outside of areas not yet under direct PLO control in areas within Israel proper that had not yet been liberated.

The idea of the “right of return” plays out on the ground in many ways that have escaped public attention: Over the past 7 years, the PLO developed a computer terminal with a base at its Orient House which helps Arab refugees locate their homes from before 1948, to enable their imminent right of return to places like Um Khalid.

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Throughout summer 2000, UNRWA Arab refugee camps sponsored tours for Arab refugee children, their parents and their grandparents to visit villages that they had left in 1948. They used Israeli Arab buses to circumvent checkpoints.

The above presentation made retirees at the Netanya nursing home very nervous.

They could not believe what they were hearing, that their city was considered to be a target.

They became quite emotional, and some of the retirees actually screamed, "all the Palestinians want is the West Bank and Gaza."

It was clear that the message that the PLO demanded the "right of return" to Netanya was a hard one for these senior citizens to swallow.

Yet there was one man who made it easy to listen: An Arab male nurse present asked to say something at the end of the lecture.

He approached the podium. He stared at the map and and turned to speak to the retirees "This is what we want, the 'right of return,' that would bring peace," said the nurse. I asked him if that meant that Israel would have to withdraw from Um Khalid.

The nurse, in a soft voice, said "yes."

I then said to the nurse that this would mean that half of the Jews would have to leave their homes in Netanya. The nurse said, "well, that is the price of peace."

The retirees were stunned. The message had been delivered.

The Arab nurse at the Netanya nursing home conveyed the same data that I had just communicated, with greater credibility.

Since the time of that talk in Netanya, Arabs have detonated two fatal bombs in the center of that city.

Our agency, which monitors and translates the newscasts on the Voice of Palestine radio news program, the official Arabic Palestinian Authority news station, has discerned no Palestinian condemnation of these attacks in Netanya.

From the PLO point of view, these bombings occur because Um Khalid has not yet been liberated from Netanya.

In the words of Arafat's spokesman, Nabil Abu Rodeinah, speaking on Voice of Palestine radio following the Netanya bombing on March 4, 2001, "What occurred is an example of what results from Israel's policies."

### **The Continuing Cooperative Relationship: Hamas and Fatah**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, May 4, 2001*

More often than not, when you hear a news report of an Arab terror attack in Israel, the news reporter will say that this attack was the result of Islamic extremists, whether they are from the Hamas or the Islamic Jihad. The announcer usually declares – deadpan – that Arafat’s agencies, the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) and Arafat’s administrative arm, the PNA (Palestinian National Authority), are simply not involved. The rationale, after all, for Israel and Western countries to arm Arafat’s security forces was that he would use such arms to crush Islamic terror organizations.

Almost eight years ago, when Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin shook hands with Yassir Arafat on the White House lawn, most people in Israel and abroad expected that Arafat would form a new Arab entity to restrain the violent Moslem movements known as Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

That was the rationale behind what later became known as the Oslo Peace Process, wherein Israel was expected to cede land for a new Palestinian Arab entity, while Arafat’s PLO was expected to fight Hamas/Islamic Jihad and other Arab terror groups that continued to threaten the lives of Jews in Israel.

Yet, from day one, the opposite has occurred: instead of cracking down on Hamas, Arafat has created an alliance with them. When I asked him about Hamas at his press conference in Oslo where he was about to receive the Nobel Peace Prize in December 1994, Arafat answered, “Hamas are my brothers. I will handle them in my own way.”

And when the PLO celebrated its thirtieth anniversary in January, 1995, Arafat delivered a series of lectures to his own people in Gaza and in Jericho, praising suicide bombers and refusing to condemn the spate of Hamas terror attacks which had taken place at the time Arafat’s speeches of praise for Hamas were televised by the new Palestinian TV network, the Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation, that is owned, controlled and operated by Arafat himself. Video cassettes of Arafat’s harangues became popular in the Palestinian Arab open market.

Arafat’s strategy was best summed up by U.S. Ambassador to Israel and presidential confidante Martin Indyk, who told the Los Angeles Times on March

1, 1996, that Arafat had decided to co-opt, rather than to fight, the Hamas. Arafat's co-option of the Hamas was not only in words but in deeds.

On May 9, 1995, our news agency dispatched a Palestinian correspondent to cover the Gaza press conference held by Arafat's local Palestine Liberation army police chief Ghazzi Jabali, in which the representatives of Arafat's Palestine Authority officially announced that they would license weapons for the Hamas – this, only one month after Hamas had carried out an attack on an Israeli civilian bus near Gaza, killing six young Israelis and one American student, Aliza Flatow. Two days after that attack, the Voice of Israel carried a news item that the PA would indeed license weapons for the Hamas. That news item was soon changed from “license” to “confiscate.”

At Jabali's packed press conference, carried live on PBC radio, Jabali announced that Hamas leaders such as Dr. Muhammed Zahar – who was present at the meeting – would be allowed and even encouraged to own weapons under the protection of the Palestine Authority. On the same day, our Palestinian TV crew filmed an armed Zahar, standing in front of a skull and crossbones imposed on a map of Israel, as he addressed an angry mob in Gaza and called for the bloody overthrow of the State of Israel. PA police chief Jabali would later assure the Associated Press on May 14, 1995 that he was expecting Hamas and Islamic Jihad to “keep their licensed weapons at home.”

In late October 1995, shortly before Prime Minister Rabin's assassination, I asked him at a public forum about Arafat's decision to provide weapons to the Hamas. Rabin acknowledged that this practice existed and quipped, “Maybe they're for peace, too.”

For the past six years both Hamas and Islamic Jihad have openly operated with weapons licensed by the PA. Meanwhile all levels of Arafat's military forces acknowledge that they have recruited radical Islamics to join forces with them.

Arafat's alliance with Hamas was exposed when the semi-official Egyptian newspaper Al Ahram broke the story of the formal PLO-Hamas accord, signed between the two organizations on December 15, 1995, in Cairo. That accord allowed Hamas to carry out attacks in “areas of Palestine that had not yet been liberated.” PLO General Secretary Marwan Barghouti, justifying a Hamas attack at a bus stop on the outskirts of Netanya, appeared on Saudi Arabia's MBC TV and explained that the PLO could not condemn such an act since the territory “was not yet liberated” by the PLO.

And on each occasion when Arafat was asked to “crack down” on these Islamic groups that took credit for fatal terror bombs against Israel, he ordered the mass roundups that resulted in mass confessions followed by mass release of prisoners.

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In thirty-seven documented instances since 1994, the Palestine Authority has offered asylum to Hamas and Islamic Jihad members who murdered Israelis and took refuge in the new safe havens of Palestinian Arab cities that were protected by Arafat's armed forces.

Under pressure from Israel and Western countries, Arafat eventually did arrest twenty-two Hamas members who had been involved in bus bombings throughout Israel between 1994 and 1996 – all of whom were released at the latest round of riots that broke out in September 2000.

A case in point: Muhammad Deif roams Gaza freely, armed and at liberty. Deif is the admitted Hamas mastermind of the October, 1994 kidnapping and killing of Nachshon Wachsman, the nineteen-year-old American Israeli. When I asked Arafat's commander of the Palestine Liberation Army about Deif, he told me that he was under direct orders from Yassir Arafat not to touch Deif.

This, despite the fact that U.S. President Bill Clinton declared at Nachshon Wachsman's grave in March, 1996, that Israel should not continue any negotiating process with Arafat and the Palestine Authority until and unless Arafat hands over Deif to stand trial.

Many close followers of the Middle East situation wrongly assume that the two entities the PLO and the Hamas are in conflict when, in fact, they closely coordinate every move under the administrative framework of the Palestinian National Authority, which represents the Palestinian state-in-the-making.

Our news agency has obtained a copy of the PNA-approved constitution of the new Palestinian state, jointly agreed upon by the PLO and the Hamas. That document, whose cover page thanks UNESCO and the Italian government for funding its law committee, declares that Islam will be the state religion of Palestine, that its borders will encompass all of Palestine – not just the West Bank and Gaza – and that no other religion will have any status in the future Palestinian state.

And yet an unwritten rule seems to exist in the media – even in the Israeli press – to downplay any reportage of the PLO-Hamas alliance and their confluence of objectives.

### **Palestinian Authority Ceremony Honors Families of Suicide Bombers**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, July 18, 2002*

Palestinian Authority ceremony honors families of suicide bombers.

On Thursday, July 18, 2002, The PA Minister of Communications, Imad Falluci, the Hamas leader who was brought into the PA cabinet as a result of the PA-Hamas coalition accord that was signed in Cairo on December 15, 1995, invited the press to a ceremony in which the families of suicide bombers were each awarded with checks from Saddam Hussein.

The official award provided by the PA for the families of suicide bombers was decorated with a picture of Saddam Hussein in the center and buttressed with flags of the PA and Iraq in each corner.

A film of the ceremony was shown on official Palestinian Authority PBS TV last night and also aired on IBA TV.

### **Why Would the PLO Attack a Left Wing Kibbutz?**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, November 12, 2002*

On November 12th, 2002 a Fateh terrorist infiltrated the left wing Shomer HaTzair Kibbutz Metzger. Kibbutz Metzger was founded in 1952 on lands that belonged to an Arab village that was abandoned during the 1948 war. Kibbutz Metzger therefore appears on the map of what the PLO defines as "illegal settlements" that were founded after 1948.

The Kibbutz had made a name for itself in the Israeli peace movement and in Arab-Jewish dialogue. During the attack the Fatah terrorist murdered the kibbutz secretary, a woman schoolteacher along with a mother and her two little boys and the country was stunned.

Why would the PLO attack a left wing Israeli kibbutz? The answer was not long in coming. The attack on Kibbutz Metzger was followed by the news item on official PBC radio, which operates out of Arafat's Mukatta Headquarters under the direct editorial control of Arafat, the next morning at 7:30 a.m. in which it

celebrated “an attack on an illegal settlement colony in which five illegal colonial settlers were killed”.

The Fatah web site, ([www.fatehorg.org](http://www.fatehorg.org)), immediately ascribed credit to the Fatah for the attack on the “illegal settlement.” They stated, “This was a heroic attack. We will continue such attacks until all settlements on our conquered territory are liberated” All day long, after the attack, the Arabic media of the PA and the Fatah blared sounds of rejoicing.

In October 1993, The Fatah and the PA had declared a death sentence for illegal settlers in illegal settlements, and the sentence on November 12th, 2002 was carried out yet again.

The PLO defines these Jewish communities that replaced 531 Arab villages in 1948 as “illegal Jewish settlements.” The PBC radio also refers to the 144 Jewish settlements in Judea, Samaria and Katif only as “settlements,” since none of the 144 Jewish communities in Judea, Samaria or Katif technically “overran” any Arab village. There are also maps of illegal settlements provided by the PA that target only the Jewish settlements that the PA states the settlers did overrun These Arab villages in 1948. However these maps also fail to mention the Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria. These maps appear on all the PA website at [www.pba-palestine.org](http://www.pba-palestine.org)

The Israel Resource News Agency was alerted to listen to PBC radio and to access the Fatah website after the Metzger murders. However oddly, in the 12 hours that followed the murders, not one news agency reported on the PBC or the Fatah websites.

While this was happening, the PLO PR machine, orchestrated by Mr. Edward Abington, former US consul and current PLO lobbyist in Washington, DC, worked overtime, and flooded the foreign and even the Israeli media with condemnations of the murders at Kibbutz Metzger, as if to make it seem like their was universal Palestinian Arab revulsion from the murders.

The question now becomes how does Fatah get its funding?

Documents seized by the Israel Defence Forces from Arafat’s Mukkatta which have been verified by British intelligence and publicized by HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH show that the funding for Fatah terror comes from a 5% fee that is attached to all PA salaries paid by the European Union. EU Commissioner for External Relations Chris Patten also declared this week that the EU would make not make any changes in the funding of the PA, directly continuing the funding of Fatah.

Sancho Javier, spokesman for Migeul Morantinos, Middle East envoy of the European Commission delegation to the Middle East peace process, was asked

to comment on the PBC and Fatah endorsement of the murders at Kibbutz Metzer. Javier said that he “relied on what spokesmen of the PA were telling him, which is that the PA condemned the attack.” When asked if the European Commission was following the PBC and Fatah endorsement of the attacks on the official PBC radio and the official website of the Fatah, Javier responded by saying that “The European Commission does not have the capacity to do that. We have no way of knowing what they are telling their people in Arabic” In the wake of this, the time has come to provide the European Commission with a transistor radio, an internet connection and an Arabic translator.

Within hours of the attack on Kibbutz Metzer, the Fatah launched an interactive poll in which it asked questions with the following results:

“Do you favor martyrdom attacks....Within Israel’s 1948 lines... 5.5% answered affirmatively

Within Israel’s 1967 lines... 13% answered affirmatively

Within both the 1948 and 1967 lines... 70.83% responded affirmatively

Not in favor of any martyrdom attacks... 10.19% responded affirmatively

Fatah has officially given a new meaning to the concept of Palestinian self-determination.

### **Fatah and Jihad Cooperate in Gaza Tunnels**

*David Bedein, The Middle East Newline, October 14, 2003*

The Palestinian Authority and a range of insurgency groups are said to cooperate in the smuggling of weapons and explosives from Egypt.

Israeli military sources said the weekend operation to search and destroy at least 13 tunnels that connect the southern town of Rafah with the neighboring Egyptian-controlled Sinai Peninsula has pointed to cooperation by a range of Palestinian elements. The sources said the elements range from the ruling Fatah Party to Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

The insurgency groups, in cooperation with PA officials, were said to share the expense of constructing and maintaining the tunnels as well as the smuggling of weapons and explosives from Egypt. The military sources said the PA and insurgency groups maintain an arrangement for the division of material that comes from the Egyptian-side of Rafah.

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On Tuesday, an Israeli military force returned to Rafah in a search-and-destroy operation for the tunnels. The combined force, which included 40 tanks and armored personnel carrier, was also composed of infantry and engineering units and was expected to operate for several days.

Palestinian groups began smuggling weapons from Egypt before the advent of the PA in 1994. But over the last three years the tunnels have represented a major source of supplies for the production of missiles, mortars, rocket-propelled grenades and high-grade explosives. The tunnels were dug from the homes of residents of the Palestinian refugee camp in Rafah to conceal their presence from the Israelis, the sources said. They said PA security officials have been paid a percentage of the profits and don't interfere in the smuggling.

Israel's military has found three of 13 tunnels believed to be in operation amid heavy battles with Palestinian insurgents. Ten Palestinians were killed in two days of fighting and they included operatives from Fatah, Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

One of the casualties was identified as the commander of the Fatah-dominated Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, Naadar Abu Taha, age 23. Other Palestinians were injured when they tried to prepare bombs meant to be hurled against Israeli forces.

### **The Lessons of the PLO Attack on U.S. Security Personnel in Gaza**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, October 17, 2003*

Three American security personnel were killed in Gaza this week as they traveled through a war zone between PLO guerrillas and Israeli troops. Their deaths were bound to befall any foreign security personnel stationed between two warring entities. Their peacekeeping role is not noticed or appreciated.

Yet the latest panacea for Middle East peace, now gaining momentum, is to dispatch American or European troops whose dual task would be to create a Palestinian Arab state and mitigate Arab terror at the same time.

Foreign troops would seemingly solve the Middle East crisis by driving an armed wedge between the warring Israeli and Palestinian Arab entities in order to create a semblance of peace.

Throughout the past year, former U.S. ambassador to Israel Martin Indyk, now a senior official of the liberal Brookings Institution in Washington, has actually

been campaigning to introduce U.S. troops to the area who would act as a peacekeeping force — even where no peace agreement exists.

It would seem the advocates of an armed international presence have not considered the consequences of their suggestion.

Those who advocate an armed intervention say that foreign troops have succeeded in preserving peace accords in the Middle East. After all, they point out, foreign troops now patrol the borders of Israel and Egypt. They even patrol the armistice lines with Syria and with Lebanon. How would this be different?

Foreign troops stationed in the Sinai desert patrol an international border following a peace agreement accepted by both Israel and Egypt. Foreign troops patrol the Syrian and Lebanese cease-fire lines following armistice agreements accepted by Israel, Syria and Lebanon.

Yet foreign troops dispatched to patrol Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria and Gaza, would be stationed where Israel, the PLO and the entire Arab world have reached no agreement, in an area that has been perpetually at war since 1948. That is a difference that cannot be ignored.

All this spells out a formula for continued conflict in the unresolved 1948 war. International troops would fight for the policies of their respective governments, which would bode ill for Israel.

A likely scenario: Foreign troops are dispatched to the hilly village of Beit Jala overlooking Bethlehem and towering over Gilo, the southernmost part of Jerusalem. The stated purpose of the armed international peacekeepers is to facilitate the transformation of Beit Jala into a thriving suburb of Bethlehem. This, it is hoped, will create a future vibrant, independent Palestinian Arab entity, and will stop shooting attacks against Israel from the village.

A few days after foreign troops take up their positions, armed Beit Jala residents positioned on the roof of the strategically placed Hope Flowers School fire rockets and mortars into Gilo, blowing up Jewish homes and killing tens of Jewish residents.

The response is not long in coming; Israeli troops fire at the source of the mortar shells, blowing up the school and killing hundreds of Arab schoolchildren and dozens of foreign peacekeepers stationed nearby.

Headlines around the world: “Israelis kill schoolchildren and foreign peacekeepers.”

Conclusion: Any armed international presence would immediately become a target in the line of fire, and Israel would be blamed for the casualties among them.

Ask the families of three Americans killed in Gaza the other day. They will understand.

### **Tenacity of Terror: The Saudi Takeover of the Palestinian Authority**

David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, February 12, 2007

The “Mecca agreement” makes things difficult for Israel. Israel’s battle to prevent world recognition of Hamas, an Islamic terror organization sworn to destroy the Jewish State, has ended in defeat, with the ratification of the Mecca Agreement.

An Israeli intelligence official briefed the Israeli cabinet on Sunday and declared that Hamas was the “tactical victor” of the Mecca Agreement, having achieved its goals without having had to concede even one of its principles or tenets.

The Mecca Agreement does not mention nor recognize Israel, and will not preserve any obligation or agreement that was signed by Yasser Arafat and guaranteed by the United States government. Territories were already handed over to Arafat and his protege, Mahmoud Abbas, in exchange for a promise of Palestinian recognition of Israel and a cessation of Palestinian terrorism, neither of which has taken place.

Hamas has achieved the backing of the greatest patron of the Arab world – Saudi Arabia, the kingpin of the Arab League. The Arab League’s charter has not changed since its inception in 1945 – to destroy any semblance of Jewish sovereignty in the Middle East. The Arab League entered into an active state of war in 1948, and that state of war continues to this day.

The United States will be hard-pressed to reject an internal Palestinian reconciliation agreement that was sponsored by the king of Saudi Arabia. After all, Saudi Arabia remains the third-largest supplier of oil to the United States (14%). Saudi Arabia and the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf, which is subordinate to it, has one billion dollars in foreign currency reserves, most of which are invested in US bonds.

The Saudi Arabian government has announced that it intends to invest 650 billion dollars in the next few years in developing infrastructure in the kingdom: oil and gas drill sites, power stations, ports, airports, communication networks, underwater pipes, desalination installations, refineries, schools and universities. Each one of those enormous projects can either be open to American companies or closed to them.

And, finally, Saudi Arabia casts itself as the United States' main ally in the Middle East. It buys inordinate quantities of American weapons and is flooded with American advisers.

Now, with the support of the Hamas-Fatah agreement, and with the official sponsorship of the Saudi government, Hamas can celebrate its victory in Mecca. It has paved the way to having their terrorist organization recognized internationally as the elected, democratic representative of the Palestinian people. That achievement was delivered to Hamas by the Saudi leadership.

The new "Palestinian unity government" will serve as a type of camouflage netting for Hamas, with formal Saudi backing.

The Israeli government miscalculated when it based its approach towards Hamas on a blind faith in the economic and political boycott. Only two weeks ago, this reporter heard Israel's 83-year-old deputy prime minister, Shimon Peres, the architect of the 1993 Oslo Accords, declare that "only with economics can we make peace." Peres went on to say that if members of terrorist groups perceive economic incentives, they will cease to be terrorists.

Peres, not a religious man, has never understood the tenacity of a terrorist movement that is grounded in religion not only in prosperity.

### **Sanitizing Fatah: Revealing What Has Been Covered Up**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, July 26, 2007*

At a time when the Fatah organization is being presented to the Israeli public and to world opinion as a non-terrorist alternative to the Hamas, the Bar Am Public Relations Agency in Jerusalem has assembled the following list of 328 Israeli civilians, soldiers and foreigners who were murdered in cold blood by members of Fatah between 2000 and 2007.

Emi Haim Elmaliah, 32; Michael Ben Sa'adon, 27; Israel Zamalloa, 26; St.-Sgt. Roi Farjoun, 21; Dr. Daniel Yaakobi, 59; St.-Sgt. Osher Damari, 20; Rafi Halevy, 63; Helena Halevy, 58; Reut Feldman, 20; Shaked Lasker, 16; Eldar Abir, 48; Yosef (Yossi) Shok, 35; Sgt. Nir Kahane, 20; Matat (Rosenfeld) Adler, 21; Kineret Mandel, 23; Oz Ben-Meir, 15; Dov Kol, 58; Rachel Kol, 53; Dana Galkowicz, 22; Avihai Levy, 17; Dror Gizri, 30; Ibrahim Kahili, 46; Munam Abu Sabia, 33; Ivan Shmilov, 53; Herzl Shlomo, 51; Ofer Tiri, 23; St.-Sgt. Yosef (Yossi) Atia, 21; Second Lt. Ariel Buda, 21; Salem (Sami) Al-Kimlat, 28; Sgt. Araf Azbarga, 19; Sgt. Sa'id Jahaja, 19; Sgt. Hussein Abu Leil, 23; Corp.

Adham Shehada, 19; Sgt. Tarek Al-Ziadne, 20; St.-Sgt. Yair Nisim Turgemann, 22; Capt. Tal Bardugo, 21; St.-Sgt. Nir Sami, 21; St.-Sgt. Israel Lutati, 20; Border Policeman Lance Cpl. Menashe Komemi, 19; Border Policeman Lance Cpl. Momoya Tahio, 20; Shlomo Miller, 50.

Sgt. Maayan Naim, 19; Victor Kreirderman, 49; Moshe Yochai, 63; Maj. Shachar Ben Yishai, 25; Border Policeman Cpl. Yaniv Mashiah, 20; Border Policeman Cpl. Kfir Ohayon, 20; George Khoury, 20; Gil Abutbul, 38; Danny Assulin, 51; Avraham Avraham, 34; Zion Dahan, 30; Ophir Damari, 31; Moshe Hendler, 29; Mazal Marciano, 30; Avi Suissa, 56; Maurice Tubul, 30; Pinhas Avraham Zilberman, 45; Eitan Kukoi, 30; Rima Novikov Kukoi, 25; Sgt.-Maj.(res.) Amir Zimmerman, 25; Israel Ilan Avisidris, 41; Lior Azulai, 18; Yaffa Ben-Shimol, 57; Rahamim Doga, 38; Yehuda Haim, 48; St.-Sgt. Netanel Havshush, 20; Yuval Ozana, 32; Benaya Yehonatan Zuckerman, 18; Avraham (Albert) Balhasan, 28; Rose Boneh, 39; Hava Hannah (Any) Bonder, 38; Anat Darom, 23; Viorel Octavian Florescu, 42; Natalia Gamril, 53; Yechezkel Isser Goldberg, 41; Baruch (Roman) Hondiashvili, 38; Dana Itach, 24; Mehbere Kifile, 35; Eli Zfira, 48; Cpl. Andrei Kegeles, 19; St.-Sgt. Tzur Or, 20; Gal Shapira, 29; Border Policeman St.-Sgt. Vladimir Trostinsky, 22; Ro'i Arbel, 29; Capt. Hagai Bibi, 24; Capt. Leonardo (Alex) Weissman, 23; Ilya Reiger, 58; Samer Fathi Afan, 25; Sgt.-Maj. Shlomi Belsky, 23; St.-Sgt. Shaul Lahav, 20; St.-Sgt. Erez Idan, 19; Sgt. Elad Pollack, 19; Sgt. Roy Yacov Solomon, 21; St.-Sgt. Gabriel Uziel, 20; Shalom Har-Melekh, 25; Amir Simhon, 24; Krastyu Radkov, 46; Amos (Amit) Mantin, 31; Noam Leibowitz, 7.

St.-Sgt. Mordechai Sayada, 22; Avner Maimon, 51; Sgt. Maj. (Res.) Assaf Abergil, 23; Sgt. Maj. (Res.) Udi Eilat, 38; Sgt. Maj. Boaz Emete, 24; Sgt. Maj. (Res.) Chen Engel, 32; Kiryl Shremko, 22; Hassan Ismail Tawatha, 41; Avi Zerihan, 36; Gideon Lichterman, 27; Alexander Kostyuk, 23; St.-Sgt. Yigal Lifshitz, 20; St.-Sgt. Ofer Sharabi, 21; Zion Boshirian, 51; 2nd Lt. Amir Ben-Aryeh, 21; St.-Sgt. Idan Suzin, 20; Moshe (Maurice) Aharfi, 60; Mordechai Evioni, 52; Andrei Friedman, 30; Meir Haim, 74; Hannah Haimov, 53; Avi Kotzer, 43; Ramin Nasibov, 25; Staff Sgt. Mazal Orkobi, 20; Ilanit Peled, 32; Viktor Shebayev, 62; Boris Tepalshvili, 51; Sapira Shoshana Yulzari-Yaffe, 46; Lilya Zibstein, 33; Amiram Zmora, 55; Igor Zobokov, 32; Krassimir Mitkov Angelov, 32; Steven Arthur Cromwell, 43.

Ivan Gaptoniak, 46; Ion (Nelu) Nicolae, 34; Guo Aiping, 47; Li Peizhong, 41; Mihai Sabau, 38; Zhang Minmin, 53; Massoud MakhluF Alon, 72; Haim Amar, 56; Ehud (Yehuda) Avitan, 54; Mordechai Avraham, 44; Ya'acov Lary, 35; David Peretz, 48; Shaul Zilberstein, 36.

Revital Ohayon, 34; Matan Ohayon 5; Noam Ohayon, 4.

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Yitzhak Dori, 44; Tirza Damari, 42; Orna Eshel, 53; Linoy Saroussi, 14; Hadas Turgeman, 14; Yosef Ajami, 36; Lt. Malik Grifat, 24; Yafit Herenstein, 31; Avi Wolanski, 29; Avital Wolanski, 27; Yekutiel Amitai, 34; Nizal Awassat, 52; Shlomo Odesser, 60; Mordechai Odesser, 52; St.-Sgt. Elazar Lebovitch, 21.

Rabbi Yosef Dikstein, 45; Hannah Dikstein, 42; Shuv'el Zion Dikstein, 9.

Rachel Shabo, 40; Neria Shabo, 16; Zvika Shabo, 12; Avishai Shabo, 5.

Rabbi Elimelech Shapira, 43; Capt. Hagai Lev, 24; Yosef Twito, 31; Noa Alon, 60; Gal Eisenman, 5; Michal Franklin, 22; Tatiana Igelski, 43; Hadassah Jungreis, 20; Gila Sara Kessler, 19; Shmuel Yerushalmi, 17; Netanel Riachi, 17; Gilad Stiglitz, 14; Avraham Siton, 17; Albert Maloul, 50; Ruth Peled, 56.

Sinai Keinan, 14 months.

St.-Sgt. Uriel Bar-Maimon, 21; Nissan Cohen, 57; Rivka Fink, 75; Suheila Hushi, 48; Yelena Konrab, 43; Ling Chang Mai, 34; Chai Siang Yang, 32; Rachel Charhi, 36; Tomer Mordechai, 19; Sgt.-Maj. Constantine Danilov, 23; Rachel Levy, 17; Haim Smadar, 55; Gadi Shemesh, 34; Tzipi Shemesh, 29; Yitzhak Cohen, 48; St.-Sgt. Matan Biderman, 21; St.-Sgt. Ala Hubeishi, 21; Sgt. Rotem Shani, 19;

Avia Malka, 9 months.

Israel Yihye, 27; Devorah Friedman, 45; Police officer FSM Salim Barakat, 33; Yosef Habi, 52; Eli Dahan, 53; Sgt. Steven Kenigsberg, 19; Capt. Ariel Hovav, 25; David Damelin, 29; First Sgt. (res.) Rafael Levy, 42; Sgt.-Maj. (res.) Avraham Ezra, 38; Sgt.-Maj. (res.) Eran Gad, 24; Sgt.-Maj. (res.) Yochai Porat, 26; Sgt.-Maj. (res.) Kfir Weiss, 24; Sergei Birmov, 33; Vadim Balagula, 32; Didi Yitzhak, 66.

Shlomo Nehmad 40; Gafnit Nehmad, 32; Shiraz Nehmad, 7; Avraham Eliahu Nehmad, 7; Liran Nehmad, 3; Shaul Nehmad, 15.

Lidor Ilan, 12; Oriah Ilan, 18 months.

Tzofia Ya'arit Eliyahu, 23; Ya'akov Avraham Eliyahu, 7 months.

Avi Hazan, 37; Chief-Supt. Moshe Dayan, 46; Gad Rejwan, 34; Police officer First Sgt. Galit Arbiv, 21; Avraham Fish, 65; Aharon Gorov, 46; Valery Ahmir, 59; Lt. Moshe Eini, 21; St.-Sgt. Benny Kikis, 20; St.-Sgt. Mark Podolsky, 20; St.-Sgt. Erez Turgeman, 20; St.-Sgt. Tamir Atsmi, 21; St.-Sgt. Michael Oxsmann, 21; Ahuva Amergi, 30; Maj. Mor Elraz, 25; St.-Sgt. Amir Mansouri, 21; Policeman Ahmed Mazarib, 32; St.-Sgt. Lee Nahman Akunis, 20; Miri Ohana, 45; Yael Ohana, 11.

St.-Sgt. Maj.(res.) Moshe Majos Meconen, 33; Pinhas Tokatli, 81; Sarah Hamburger, 79; Svetlana Sandler, 56; Edward Bakshayev, 48; Anatoly Bakshayev, 63; Aharon Ben Yisrael-Ellis, 32; Dina Binayev, 48; Boris Melikhov, 56; Avi Yazdi, 25; Yoela Chen, 45; Avraham (Avi) Boaz, 71; Sgt. Elad Abu-Gani, 19; Yair Amar, 13; Esther Avraham, 42; Border Police Chief Warrant Officer Yoel Bienenfeld, 35; Moshe Gutman, 40; Avraham Nahman Nitzani, 17; Yirmiyahu Salem, 48; Israel Sternberg, 46.

David Tzarfati, 38; Hananya Tzarfati, 32; Ya'akov Tzarfati, 64.

Haim Chiprot, 52; Inbal Weiss, 22; Yehiav Elshad, 28; Samuel Milshevsky, 45; Noam Gozovsky, 23; Michal Mor, 25; Hadas Abutbul, 39; St.-Sgt. Raz Mintz, 19; St.-Sgt. Yaniv Levy, 22; Sgt. Tali Ben-Armon, 19; Haim Ben-Ezra, 76; Sergei Freidin, 20; Zvia Pinhas, 64; Sarit Amrani, 26; Border Policemen Sgt. Tzachi David, 19; St.-Sgt. Andrei Zledkin, 26; Lt. Erez Merhavi, 23; Dov Rosman, 58; Sharon Ben-Shalom, 26; Yaniv Ben-Shalom, 27; Doron Sviri, 20; Maj. Gil Oz, 30; St.-Sgt. Kobi Nir, 21; Sgt. Tzahi Grabli, 19; Yuri Gushchin, 18; Doron Zisserman, 38; Lt. Col. Yehuda Edri, 45; Zvi Shelef, 63; Dan Yehuda, 35; Eliahu Na'aman, 32; Arnaldo Agranionic, 48.

Shalhevet Pass, 10 months.

Lior Attiah, 23; Akiva Pashkos, 45; Ofir Rahum, 16; Ron Tzalah, 32; Binyamin Zeev Kahane, 34; Talia Kahane, 31; St.-Sgt. Baruch (Snir) Flum, 21; St.-Sgt. Sharon Shitoubi, 21; Rabbi Binyamin Herling, 64; Amos Makhoulouf, 30; Gil Mor, 25; Border Police Cpl. Yusef Madhat, 19; Hillel Lieberman, 36; Lt. David-Chen Cohen, 21; Avner Shalom, 29; Sgt. Shahr Vakrat, 20; Miriam Amitai, 35; Gavriel Biton, 34; Itamar Yefet, 18; Maj. Sharon Arameh, 25; Ariel Jeraffi, 40.

It is therefore not surprising that Fatah remains defined as a terrorist organization by the United States and Israeli governments, without any change in that status – even if both governments prefer to ignore that fact.

### **Rights Group: Armed Palestinians Groups Commit Grave Crimes**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, June 15, 2007*

Jerusalem – Human Rights Watch has accused Palestinian groups of committing “serious violations of international humanitarian law, in some cases amounting to war crimes.”

In internal Palestinian fighting over the last three days, both Fatah and Hamas military forces have summarily executed captives, killed people not involved in hostilities, and engaged in gunbattles with one another inside and near Palestinian hospitals. On Saturday, armed Palestinians from Islamic Jihad and the Fatah-affiliated Al-Aksa Martyrs Brigade used a vehicle with a “TV” insignia to attack an Israeli military position on the border with Gaza.

“These attacks by both Hamas and Fatah constitute brutal assaults on the most fundamental humanitarian principles,” said Sarah Leah Whitson, Middle East director for Human Rights Watch. “The murder of civilians not engaged in hostilities and the willful killing of captives are war crimes, pure and simple.”

On Sunday, Hamas military forces captured 28-year-old Muhammad Swairki, a cook for President Mahmoud Abbas’ presidential guard, and executed him by throwing him to his death, with his hands and legs tied, from a 15-story apartment building in Gaza City. Later that night, Fatah military forces shot and captured Muhammad al-Ra’fati, a Hamas supporter and mosque preacher, and threw him from a Gaza City high-rise apartment building. On Monday, Hamas military forces attacked the home in Beit Lahiya of Jamal Abu al-Jadiyan, a senior Fatah official, captured him, and executed him on the street with multiple gunshots. On Tuesday, there were reports of additional killings of individuals not involved in hostilities.

In addition, Fatah and Hamas forces engaged in battles in and around two Gaza Strip hospitals on Monday. After Hamas fighters killed Fatah intelligence officer Yasir Bakar, Fatah gunmen began firing mortars and rocket-propelled grenades at Shifa Hospital in Gaza City, drawing Hamas fire from inside the building, killing one Hamas fighter and one Fatah fighter. At a hospital in Beit Hanun, three family members with ties to Fatah, ‘Id al-Masri and his sons, Farij and Ibrahim, were killed, and others wounded. Earlier, hospital officials reported that the three were being treated for injuries sustained. One was reportedly shot at close range.

Human Rights Watch maintains that “all parties engaged in armed conflict are subject to customary international humanitarian law, which forbids deliberate harming of civilians and those who are not engaged in armed hostilities at the time,” going on to say that “International humanitarian law also provides special protection to medical personnel and hospitals. Military and civilian hospitals and medical units must be protected and respected in all circumstances.”

In the June 9 incident, four armed Palestinians drove a white jeep bearing “TV” insignias to a fence on the Gaza-Israel border and fired at Israeli soldiers. The Israelis returned fire, killing one Palestinian. Spokesmen for Islamic Jihad and the Al-Aksa Martyrs Brigade, an offshoot of Fatah, claimed responsibility for the attack. An Islamic Jihad spokesperson denied that Palestinians had put press

markings on the jeep used in the June 9 attack, and accused the Israeli military of doing so after the fact. However, photos taken by the Associated Press as the attack was under way show the letters “TV” written in red on the front of the jeep.

“Using a vehicle with press markings to carry out a military attack is a serious violation of the laws of war, and it also puts journalists at risk,” said Whitson.

### **School Honors Terrorist With Soccer Match**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, August 20, 2007*

On Aug. 15, 2007, Al Hayat Al Jadida, the official newspaper of the Palestinian Authority (PA), carried what the Western reader would regard as an unusual news item: A soccer tournament had been held in a Palestinian Authority school in honor of Ziyad Da’as, the terrorist who engineered a machine-gun attack at a Bat Mitzvah celebration in Hadera in January 2002 where six people were murdered and more than 30 people were hurt.

Da’as was also the terrorist who planned the kidnapping and murder of two Israeli restaurant owners whom he lured to the Arab city of Tulkarem in 2001.

Da’as, a Fatah commander, was killed by Israeli troops in August 2002.

In the wake of an official PA soccer match in a PA school, which glorified a man who murdered Jews, The Bulletin dispatched a letter to the U.S. State Department and the Israeli government to ask whether either government would demand that the PA cease from honoring those who murder Jews.

Most recently, the U.S. and Israel renewed their assistance to Fatah-oriented PA schools.

As The Bulletin reported on Aug. 10, 2007 neither the U.S. nor Israel conditioned aid to PA education on a cancellation of the anti-Semitism in the PA school curriculum.

### **Fatah Praises Seminary Murder Attack**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, March 18, 2008*

Following the Jerusalem seminary terror attack in March 2008, in which eight young students were murdered by a Palestinian terrorist, the Israeli and international media were quick to publish a statement in the name of Mahmoud Abbas, head of the Palestinian Authority (PA) and chairman of the Fatah, saying that Mr. Abbas had condemned the heinous attack in the strongest of terms.

“President Mahmoud Abbas condemns the attack in Jerusalem that claimed the lives of many Israelis, and he reiterated his condemnation of all attacks that target civilians, whether they are Palestinians or Israelis,” chief Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat told reporters after the attack.

However, immediate praise for these murders echoed from major media outlets of the PA and the Fatah, both under Mr. Abbas’ direct control.

“In a heroic act of martyrdom, at least one hero infiltrated a Zionist school in occupied Jerusalem,” stated the beginning of a news dispatch on Fatah’s Firas Press website translated by World Net Daily and reported by the WND bureau chief in Jerusalem, Aaron Klein, a native Philadelphian.

Mr. Klein also brought to light the praise lauded on the killings by another Fatah-affiliated news site, PalPress, which also used the term “heroic” to characterize the terror attack in Jerusalem.

In addition, the Palestinian Media Watch organization reported that Mr. Abbas’ official PA daily newspapers honored the killer of the eight high school students gunned down this week with the status of Shahid (“holy Islamic martyr”). The official PA daily Al Hayat Al Jadida, operating under Mr. Abbas’ editorial control, prominently placed a picture of the murderer on the front page, with the caption, “The Shahid Alaa Abu D’heim.” In a page-one article on the terror killings, his act is again described as a “Shahada achieving” action.

At the same time, Khaled Abu Toameh, writing in the Jerusalem Post, reported that Fatah’s armed wing, the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, welcomed the killing of the eight yeshiva students in Jerusalem. In a statement issued in Ramallah, the group said the “option of resistance remains the only method to restore our rights, free our prisoners and liberate all our lands.”

Expressing its full support for the attack, the group described it as a “heroic” operation that came in response to “Israeli atrocities.” The group also called for carrying out more attacks against Israel.

The U.S. Security Coordinator Lt. Gen. Keith Dayton, dispatched by the U.S. State Department to work with the security forces of the PA, launched an unprecedented verbal lashing against Israel’s security establishment, telling a meeting of foreign consuls in the virtual Palestinian capital city of Ramallah that former Israel Defense Minister Ehud Barak and Israel’s security establishment have “become an obstacle to the Palestinian Authority’s success in instilling order and security in the West Bank cities.”

The Palestinian news agency Maan, which reported these statements, quoted an associate of one of the foreign consuls who attended Lt. Gen. Dayton’s briefing.

Lt. Gen. Dayton said at the meeting that the PA was working very seriously in the security realm as part of its responsibility to instill security in its territory and that Israel had heaped obstacles in its path in order to obstruct it.

Lt. Gen. Dayton asked the consuls how the PA could succeed in governing areas that are still under Israeli control.

In Lt. Gen. Dayton’s words, “When I put this question to the Israelis and Israel’s security establishment, I don’t get answers.”

The Israeli Prime Minister’s office, the Israeli Foreign Ministry and the Israeli Defense Minister’s office have been reluctant to say anything on the record that criticizes Mr. Abbas, the al-Aqsa Brigades or the official PA media.

Incidentally, Lt. Gen. Dayton was the American representative responsible for training Mr. Abbas’ security forces and equipping them with U.S. arms, which fell into the hands of the Hamas regime after their takeover of the Gaza Strip.

### **Abbas Honors Terrorists Convicted Of Multiple Murders**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, April 17, 2008*

Two convicted Arab terrorists on April 17, 2008 will receive the Jerusalem Medal Award, the highest decoration in the Palestinian Authority (PA), which is bestowed by PA chairman Mahmoud Abbas, described as a “moderate” by President Bush and the three leading U.S. presidential candidates.

“These women were chosen because they were sentenced to long jail terms and suffer in Israeli prison,” a high-ranking PA official said. “This act is meant to raise their morale, to honor them.”

The honorees, Amana Muna and Ahlam Tamimi, are serving life sentences for multiple murders.

The former is known to the public as “the terrorist temptress,” responsible for the June 2001 kidnap and murder of a 16-year-old boy, Ofir Rahum. She lured Mr. Rahum to Ramallah, had him shot and killed, and then had his body mutilated.

The latter drove an Arab terrorist to the Sbarro restaurant in downtown Jerusalem in August 2001, where he blew himself up, killing 16 people, including four small children.

In 2006, the Bulletin interviewed Ms. Tamimi, in jail, about the killing and asked if she had any regrets. She said no, except that she was sorry that the Arab who had “accomplished the great deed” was killed.

The medals in their honor will be awarded in a ceremony marking Palestinian Prisoners’ Day that will take place courtyard of Mr. Abbas’ headquarters in Ramallah. The killers’ families were invited to attend the ceremony.

Mr. Abbas himself was not in attendance. However, Palestinian officials said that the PA chairman, who in the past declared his vehement opposition to terror attacks, personally approved the citations.

### **Study: Palestinian Authority Will Use Conference Funds to Pay Terrorists**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, March 5, 2009*

On March 4, 2009, Jonathan Dahoah-Halevi, senior researcher at the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, documented that the lion’s share of the \$5 billion raised on Monday at Sharm el-Sheik for rebuilding Gaza will likely instead reach the coffers of Gaza terrorist groups.

Mr. Dahoah-Halevi pointed out that, as of March 2009, Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas instructed the Palestinian ministry for prisoner affairs to transfer an additional 800 shekels, approximately \$200, to the monthly allotment given to security convicts serving jail terms in Israel.

The funds will be exclusively transferred to convicts belonging to terrorist organizations, which are members of the PLO, excluding Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad convicts.

Ra'ed Omar, president of the "Palestinian prisoners club," told the Palestinian Ma'an News Agency Web site that there about 4,500 Palestinian convicts who belong to that category.

According to Palestinian law, every Palestinian convict, whether a Palestinian Arab, a foreign Arab or an Israeli Arab, who has been imprisoned in an Israeli jail, is entitled to financial assistance from the Palestinian Authority, on condition he or she was sentenced for activity connected to the "struggle against the Israeli occupation."

During the entire prison stay, every convict is entitled to a salary which ranges from 1,000 shekels, or \$250, a month for serving a term of one to five years, to 4,000 shekels, or \$952, for serving a term of more than 25 years. Furthermore, married convicts receive an additional 3,000 shekels, or \$714, a month; 50 shekels, or \$11, for every child; and 300 shekels, or \$71, for convicts who live in the Jerusalem area. In addition, every convict receives an allotment directly to his prison commissary account and 800 shekels, or \$200, a year to buy clothes.

A bonus is given to every convict upon release.

Sums vary from \$500 for a convict who spent less than a year in prison, to \$10,000 for those serving terms of 25 years or more. In addition, every convict is entitled to a job in a government office after release if his term lasted more than five years. As a way of honoring the activity of released terrorists and showing appreciation, each one who served a term of five to seven years in an Israeli prison is entitled to receive a job and the rank of captain in the security forces. And if the term was more than 25 years, he is entitled to the rank of deputy minister and of brigadier general with seniority. The time he spent in jail is also counted into his pension.

According to statistics from the "Palestinian prisoners' club," as of March 2008, there were about 11,600 convicts in Israeli jails, some of them Israeli Arabs and Arabs from other nations who were also entitled to assistance from the Palestinian Authority.

Of those, 485 came from the Jerusalem area; 710 were serving life terms; 287 were serving sentences of more than 15 years; and 3,205 were married. A rough estimate of the monthly allotment paid by the Palestinian Authority to convicts in accordance with the prisoners' law (without taking children into consideration) is about 13.7 million shekels a month, or more than 165 million shekels a year, about \$40 million at the current exchange rate.

To that should be added the bonuses and assistance for released convicts, the families of “shaheeds” (the martyred) – along with the wounded and Palestinians whose property was damaged during the Intifada.

In that context, Mr. Dahoah-Halevi also noted that the Palestinian Authority never apologized for the terrorist attacks carried out against Israel.

In the words of Mr. Dahoah-Halevi:

“The financial aid officially given to long-standing terrorist operatives and their families serves them as a kind of social security and sends the message that their activities have received the Palestinian Authority’s stamp of approval. Not making international assistance to the Palestinian Authority conditional on its abandoning support for terrorists (and rehabilitating the refugee camps) enables the Palestinian Authority to continue disbursing huge amounts of economic resources to strengthen support for terrorism instead of developing the Palestinian economy.”

### **US-Backed Forces Sheltering Terrorists**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, March 12, 2009*

Palestinian security forces in the West Bank have been undergoing intense military training by the United States forces.

However, the Middle East Newline has confirmed reports that these same American- trained PA military forces have acknowledged sheltering Iranian-sponsored insurgency groups in the areas of Jenin and Nablus. These areas are located less than 25 miles due east of Israel’s heavily populated coastal region.

PA security forces have been harboring these operatives from Islamic Jihad who are now being pursued by Israeli intelligence. Islamic Jihad is listed by the United States, Israel and European Union as a terrorist organization.

According to a senior Israeli security officer, these Islamic Jihad terror operatives were given safe haven in PA security headquarters in Jenin.

“They sought refuge with us,” Col. Radi Assidah, the commander of PA forces in Jenin, said. “Since then we have been hosting them in our headquarters. They are not prisoners and they are entitled to leave whenever they want.”

Such an admission by Mr. Assidah has marked the first acknowledgement by the PA that it was indeed harboring insurgency fugitives.

Israel has complained that despite increased security cooperation, local commanders were protecting Palestinians suspected of carrying out terror attacks against Israel.

In an interview with the Palestinian news agency, Ma'an, Mr. Assidah said the National Security Force has been protecting the Jihad operatives since August 2008. He did not say how many Jihad fugitives asked the PA for shelter.

"We are now discussing the problem of these men so that they could leave our headquarters," Mr. Assidah said. "When they decide to leave, that will be done in front of the media to prove that the PA does not arrest anyone from Islamic Jihad."

### **Palestinian Authority TV Celebrates Major Terror Attack**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, March 16, 2009*

On March 12th and 15th of 2009, the official PA television, known as the Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation (PBC), which operates under the direct supervision of PA leader Mahmoud Abbas, and uses Israeli government frequencies, ran a television program celebrating a major Palestinian terror attack that occurred 31 years ago.

On March 11, 1978, Palestinian terrorists landed on an isolated beach located near Caesarea, where they murdered American nature photographer Gail Rubin, a cousin of the late U.S. Sen. Abraham Ribicoff, D-Conn. The terrorists proceeded to hijack a bus and murder 37 Israeli passengers aboard the vehicle.

This weekend, the PA celebrated this terror attack with an hour-long TV special, which included Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) training camps, while featuring interviews with Palestinian terrorists who described the planning and implementation of the killings.

According to an excerpt of the program that was translated by Palestinian Media Watch (PMW), the narrator described the attack as, "[...] one of the most important and most prominent special actions, executed by the Palestinian revolution by sea, on the coast between Haifa and Tel Aviv.

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“This action, which was carried out by a group of heroes and led by the heroic fighter Dalal Mughrabi, had a great impact on continuing events of the Arab-Israeli conflict.”

The spokespeople of the outgoing Prime Minister, Ehud Olmert, who has often described the Fatah and the PA as “moderates,” were asked if they would issue a specific condemnation of the broadcast. No response was forthcoming.

Whenever this level of incitement has emanated from the PA, the standard response of Mr. Olmert’s spokespeople has been to “always ask the Palestinians to stop their incitement.”

However, in the three years of Mr. Olmert’s tenure, his spokespeople have not provided any record of his administration’s having issued a specific reprimand to the PA for their use of their official media organs to endorse terrorist attacks.



*A Palestinian militant of Saraya al-Quds (Jerusalem Brigades) takes part in a training exercise in Khan Yunis, in southern Gaza, on Dec. 23. (Ismael Mohamad/UPI)*

### **Netanyahu Prediction Of Stinger Missiles In The Hands Of Terrorists Becomes Real**

*David Bedein, Philadelphia Bulletin, April 3, 2009*

Throughout Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s career, he warned of the potential danger posed to Israeli security by an adjacent Palestinian state. He has specifically warned that allowing the Palestinians to have such a state could give terrorists an opportunity to arm themselves with U.S.-made Stinger missiles and shoot down incoming civilian or military aircraft.

But reports from earlier this week show his fears have been realized. As he was being sworn in as prime minister of Israel, the Middle East Newsline confirmed reports that Hamas terrorists have acquired the U.S.-made handheld anti-aircraft missiles. These four Stinger systems were acquired from smugglers in Egypt's Sinai Peninsula in 2008 and deployed in the 22-day war against Israel in January.

Hamas military deployed the Stingers against Israeli Air Force Apache attack helicopters during strike missions in the northern Gaza Strip.

A Hamas source disclosed that gunners deployed Stinger along with heavy machine guns in attacks on Israeli helicopters during the war in the Gaza Strip. One Stinger surface-to-air missile was launched, but the missile veered off course and instead struck a Hamas gunner squad.

### **Pickax Murderer Of Jewish Teen Wanted To Be A Martyr**

*David Bedein, Philadelphia Bulletin, April 28, 2009*

Hours before Israel Memorial Day began yesterday, honoring those Israelis who were killed in battle or murdered by terrorists, Israeli security officials announced they had arrested the Arab terrorist who had been involved with the murder of one boy and the injury of another on April 2.

The confessed murderer, identified as Moussa Teet, 26, killed Shlomo Nativ, a 13-year-old Jewish boy, and injured Yair Gamliel, a 7-year-old child, with a pickax, in Bat Ayin, located southwest of Bethlehem.

The Israeli security services captured the terrorist after receiving information he was hiding in Beit Ummar, located south of Bethlehem. They reached him on April 14 during the late evening hours, before surrounding him and forcing him out.

"We surrounded the house, called upon him to come out, and five minutes later he came out with his hands up. He acted coolly and didn't panic. It took a few days before he confessed to the murder," Israeli security officials said.

Mr. Teet re-enacted the incident during questioning from the planning stage until he fled the scene of the murder after residents of Bat Ayin began to pursue him.

He told his interrogators he had committed the act for religious reasons, and he had written a will 10 days before carrying out the terror attack.

The confessed terrorist also led the investigators to the weapons he had hidden in the field after murdering the teenager. He also thought he would not emerge from the attack alive.

“I wanted to be a shahid (a martyr),” Mr. Teet said under questioning.

After he managed to escape from Bat Ayin, he tried to continue to go about his life as usual, with the belief he would not be caught.

“Army forces combed the village on the day of the murder. He saw that they did not reach him, and thought that he wouldn’t be found. He went on with his life, tended the sheep and felt safe,” sources said.

Samih Teet, the terrorist’s cousin and an officer in the Palestinian Preventive Security Service, said he intended to inform the PA, so it would arrest Moussa and investigate whether he had committed the murder.

“On the day of the arrest, children in the village saw Moussa burying the clothes that he was wearing at the time of the attack,” Samih said. “People immediately started to talk about the fact that Moussa carried out the attack.”

Shlomo Nativ’s family has asked for Mr. Teet’s execution for murder; however, Israel has only administered the death penalty once before, when it hanged Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichman in 1962.

### **Biden Snubbed By PA; Square Named After Terrorist**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, March 9, 2010*

Jerusalem – The promise made to the Americans was not kept. The PA named a square in Ramallah after terrorist Dalal Mughrabi, who led a Palestinian Liberation Organization terror attack on the coastal road of Israek, where 38 people were murdered, including Gale Rubin, the niece of Senator Abraham Ribicoff, the late Senator from Connecticut.

Because of the visit of U.S. Vice President Joe Biden, the PA canceled the official ceremony scheduled to take place in Ramallah, during which it was to

name one of the main squares in the city after the terrorist Dalal Mughrabi, who, in 1978, committed the attack on the coastal road bus.

Despite their promises, the Palestinians held a commemoration ceremony to mark 32 years of the terror attack. “We are committed to the path of shahid Dalal Mughrabi,” the participants declared at the ceremony, which was also attended by top Fatah members and P.A. officials. A monument was even placed in the square center in memory of Mughrabi. Participants held up pictures of the terrorist.

Last week, Adnan Dumairi, a senior PA security official, announced that the official ceremony to name the square after Mughrabi had been delayed only for “technical reasons.”

Among those attending the ceremony were Palestinian MP Fatah member Jamal Hawil, and Tawfik Tirawi, a member of Fatah’s Central Committee and former director of Palestinian intelligence.

To make clear its intention to memorialize Mughrabi, the PA this week launched a seminar named after Mughrabi.

The four-day seminar, called “Martyr Dalal Mughrabi Camp,” was being held in Jericho under the auspices of the PA’s Military Science Academy, where the American army trains Palestinian security services. About 120 Palestinian university students from the West Bank participated in the conference.

**Part 1: Terror and Organizations (PLO, Fatah, PA, Abbas, etc.)**  
**Assessment: Gaining Perspective; The Larger Picture in Jerusalem**  
*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, June 6, 2011*

As events in the Middle East unfold, it is hard to gain perspective on the larger picture of what is developing. After forty years of Israel and twenty-five consecutive years of full time media work with the major media, the time has come to provide that perspective.

When you hear a standard report on what is going on in Israel you often hear the following assessment: “Israel is in the midst of a peace process. All is quiet on the northern and southern fronts of Israel, after two short wars, in the North in the summer of 2006 and in the South in the winter of December 2008-January 2009. Meanwhile, the Palestinian economy is booming. An Arab Spring

is in the offing. Peace treaties with Egypt and Jordan have lasted for three decades and two decades respectively.”

A dose of reality produces different results. The Arab League remains in a full state of war to obliterate Israel since 1948. The Palestinian Liberation Organization, fostered in 1964 by the Arab League to mobilize the Palestinian Arab population against Israel, never ratified the Oslo accords, even if Arafat signed those accords. That means that PLO and its progeny maintain that state of war to liberate all of Palestine, in stages, in accordance with the PLO Covenant. All you have to do is to witness the PA war preparations is to review the PA curriculum, established in 2000, which does not mince words in the inculcation of the destruction of Israel as the central theme of PA education. And despite Israel's peace treaties with Jordan and Egypt, both regimes have facilitated official school curricula, which promote war with Israel.

The Israeli Arab population, emulating their Palestinian brethren, is in throes of a quiet insurrection against Israel, following the 2007 Haifa declaration, when the leadership of the mainstream Israeli Arab organizations called for Palestinian Arabs to reclaim their lands lost in 1948, and for a Palestinian Arab state to replace the State of Israel.

However, the PLO has softened Israeli passions.

PLO operatives have bought their way into the Israeli economy, resulting in \$25 billion shekels of Israeli investment in the PA, giving Israelis the illusion that a prosperous PA economy will buy peace.

What most Israelis do not know is that half of the Palestinian population lingers in the squalor of UNRWA camps, under the specious premise of their right to reclaim Arab villages from 1948 that no longer exist. As the PA relegate the grandchildren of Palestinian refugees to the confines of refugee camp life, the PA does not allow UNRWA camps to benefit from any Palestinian economic boom.

It is not only terrorist groups who plan to ‘rush the fences’ of Israel to take back lands from 1948.

The UNRWA “popular committees” coordinate the efforts to “rush the fences,” to reclaim these villages, even if they no longer exist.

And despite the illusion that the Fatah dominated PA has been in conflict with the Hamas, the Fatah and Hamas have been working together since 1995, coordinating armed forces agreements, combining a school curriculum and sharing an Islamic constitution, while the PA armed forces are now being trained by the US, Canada and the EU.

Hamas in Gaza has never ceased its assaults on southern Israel, launching 800 aerial attacks since the ceasefire in January 2009, while readying an arsenal of more than 10,000 missiles, stored in schools and mosques throughout the Gaza Strip.

Hezbollah has acquired more than 15,000 missiles that threaten northern Israel, UN guarantees notwithstanding.

At the same time, the Islamic Brotherhood, the entity that allied itself with the Nazi movement a generation ago, is set to take over Egypt, promising to renege on any peace accord with Israel.

Yet with all of this sobering reality, the Arab League may focus its attention elsewhere.

Libya is mobilizing towards a counterattack against the West, after massive NATO bombing.

Libya possesses vast WMD capability that it acquired from German firms more than 20 years ago.

If Muammar Muhammad al-Gaddafi survives, Libya will undoubtedly galvanize a radicalized Islamic Arab League into a war with the West, and a multiple front war against Israel will be sidelined.

I am at a loss to predict anything further. I am not in the prophecy business. Suffice it to say that most Middle East journalism, which has followed since the inception of the Oslo Process has been characterized by wishful thinking rather than hands-on reporting.

**Abbas Condemned Terror in English for Jews in New York, but not in Arabic, in Ramallah**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, September 25, 2013*

This past Tuesday morning, Palestinian Authority (PA) foreign minister Riad Malki announced on the Voice of Israel Radio that PA leader Mahmoud Abbas would meet with Jewish community representatives in New York during his trip to the United Nations at a special dinner hosted by the S. Daniel Abraham Middle East Foundation for Peace.

Guests included former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, former National Security Advisor Sandy Berger, and former US Ambassador to Israel Daniel

Kurtzer; Professor Alan Dershowitz, the Felix Frankfurter Professor of Law at Harvard University; Wolf Blitzer, host of CNN's The Situation Room; Congresswoman Nita Lowey; Rabbi Rick Jacobs, President of the Union for Reform Judaism; Rabbi David Saperstein, director of the Religious Action Center; Nancy Kaufman, CEO of the National Council of Jewish Women; Peter Joseph, president of the Israel Policy Forum; Daniel Lubetsky, founder of OneVoice; Eli Broad, founder of the Broad Foundation; Professor Daniel Kahneman, Nobel Prize recipient; and Abby Joseph Cohen, board member of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

That meeting provided a unique opportunity for Jews to ask probing questions of the veteran Palestinian Arab leader.

I forwarded the following suggested 10 questions for these Jews to pose to Abbas.

What a shame that they would not ask these questions.

- Question 1: Ask Abbas about the new PA curriculum, which prepares the next generation to conquer all of 'Palestine'. Most recently, the Center for Near East Policy Research dispatched a TV crew to follow the classrooms of PA schools and PA summer camps in UNRWA facilities, where the center filmed teachings, which did not focus on peace or reconciliation.

Indeed, translations of the new PA schoolbooks yield the conclusion that they focused on a curriculum of "suspended war." These films can be seen on the home page of [www.IsraelBehindthenews.com](http://www.IsraelBehindthenews.com)

- Question 2: Ask Abbas about the news output of the PBC (Palestine Broadcasting Corporation) radio and TV, which operates under the direct control of Abbas. Ask Abbas about the daily messages of violent Jihad conveyed by the PBC to the Palestinian Arab audience. Ask Abbas about the PBC adulation of Palestinians who committed suicide attacks, Ask Abbas about PBC news clips which laud attacks on Beersheba, Sderot, Ashkelon and Ashdod, which PBC terms "illegal Jewish settlements." These Israeli cities, which have been subjected to missile fire, are situated on lands lost to the Arabs in 1948 – not in 1967.

- Question 3: Ask Abbas why UNRWA continues to confine thousands of descendants of Arab refugees to UNRWA refugee facilities, where they languish under the premise and promise of the "Right of Return." to villages that do not exist. Ask Abbas why the new Palestinian Authority city, Rawabi, built near teeming UNRWA 'refugee' facilities, will not allow UNRWA camp residents to live there.

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- Question 4: Ask Abbas about the popular Palestinian web-hosted computer program, PalestineRemembered.com, that operates throughout the PA, which helps Palestinians to locate the villages of their grandparents from 1948, even though these towns no longer exist, to prepare them for their “return”.
- Question 5: Ask Abbas about PA-controlled mosques and about the Friday incendiary messages conveyed by the mosques that function with PA funding and are under PA control.
- Question 6: Ask Abbas about new official maps published by the PA, which show all of Israel as part of any future Palestinian Arab state, where ‘Palestine’ actually replaces Israel, and where every Israeli city is transformed into a Palestinian Arab city.
- Question 7: Ask Abbas about the PA Security Force. Following the expectation that the PA security force would be engaged to crush Hamas, ask Abbas about reports of extensive Hamas-PA cooperation..
- Question 8: Ask Abbas why the the PA has enacted no laws against money laundering for terror groups – While doing that, ask Abbas about why the PA has enacted no statutes which define any group as a terrorist organization
- Question 9: Ask Abbas whether he will remove his widely disseminated doctorate from the schools and libraries of the PA, since Abba’s thesis claims that Zionists worked together with the Nazis to murder Jews in World War II. Ask Abbas about his New Year’s speech in which he concludes his litany of praise for killers with a salute to the legacy of Hitler’s ally, Haj Amin al-Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem.
- Question 10: Ask Abbas about his recent speeches, in which he conveys consistent praise for Palestinians who have murdered Jewish civilians in cold blood.

None of the above questions were posed to Abbas by the Jewish dinner participants.

Former US Secretary of State Madeline Albright did ask Abbas from the deis as to whether he would condemn the two recent Palestinian murders of Israeli soldiers which took place only the week before in Kalkilya and in Hebron.

Abbas responded in the affirmative and received applause.

However, the official Arabic language Palestinian Authority media outlets: PBC TV, PBC Radio and the PA controlled newspapers: Al Quds, Al Ayyam and Al Hayat Al Jadida, made no mention whatsoever of the statement that Abbas gave in condemnation of the recent Palestinian murders in Kalkilya and in Hebron.

What counts in conflict resolution is what leaders communicate to their own people in their own language.

The consistent absence of PA declarations for peace and reconciliation with Israel in the Arabic language in any Arab language media outlets remains a consistent policy that Arafat and now Abbas have implemented during the 20 years of the Oslo process provides no evidence of any PLO/PA expression of interest in peace and reconciliation in the Arabic language.

In that context, our agency forwarded a query to the S. Daniel Abraham Center to ask if Abbas would issue his condemnation in the Arabic language, to Arabic language media outlets of the PA.

Mr. Sobel, director of research for the S. Daniel Abraham Center, confirm that he received my query.

However, the S. Daniel Abraham Center would not respond to the question.

After all, Abbas's "condemnation" reached all of the media in Israel, even if the Palestinian media never heard these discouraging words from Abbas.

**Abbas: We Won't Abandon Armed Resistance**

*David Bedein, Philadelphia Bulletin, August 10, 2009*

The Fatah General Conference convened this week in Bethlehem, 20 years after the previous conference that was held in Tunisia. Discussions addressed the question of whether Fatah should give up the armed struggle.

Large posters featuring Palestinian children brandishing rifles decorated the conference hall.

"Our determination to choose the path of peace and negotiations does not mean that we have abandoned our noble path of legitimate resistance, which is based on international law," declared PA Chairman Abbas in his keynote speech at the three-day conference of Fatah, the ruling party of the Palestinian Authority.

"Yes, resistance is legal, and we are with this resistance," Abbas consistently reiterated.

An Israeli Arab Member of the Israeli Knesset (Parliament), MK Ahmed Tibi, the former advisor to the late PLO founder, Yasser Arafat, also spoke at the

conference. He called upon the delegates to expel Jews from the future Palestinian state, leading thousands of Palestinians in a chant: "Get out of the Palestinian lands. Get out of all of our souls. Get out already!"

Following Mr. Tibi's harangue, the Israel Legal Forum demanded that Israel Attorney General Meni Mazuz prosecute Mr. Tibi for incitement, sedition and racism.

One of Fatah's possible future leaders, former Security Chief Jibril Rajoub, presented a clear position:

"Fatah will never give up the armed struggle," he said. "There are tactics of struggle and policy, but they depend on Israel's position and recognition of the existence of the Palestinian people."

MEMRI, a credible Middle East think tank, translated Palestinian Legislative Council Member Jamal Huwail's speech at the Fatah conference. His statements reflected the the mood at the event:

This conference must confirm the right of resistance by all means, as they appear in U.N. conventions, considering that Fatah is a national liberation movement and its people are under occupation. The resistance is carried out not only with guns, but also [with] political activity and serious negotiations.

MEMRI also translated Hussam Khader, another senior Fatah member who has spent the last several years in an Israeli prison for active participation in the uprising, who declared: "Fatah has not changed its national identity, and it retains the option of resistance and armed struggle. But now, for the first time... it is permitting the option of negotiations as one of the Palestinian people's strategic options and as a possible way of attaining its political goals."

Interviewed in prison, where he is serving a life sentence for the murder of 13 Jews, Marwan Barghouti, a senior Fatah member imprisoned in Israel, said in an August 4, 2009 interview with the Palestinian Authority daily Al-Hayat Al-Jadida: "Resistance to the Israeli occupation is a national obligation, and it is a legitimate right..."

In an earlier interview, on July 21, he declared: "Fatah believes in a combination of all forms of struggle, and it will not abandon, thwart, or rule out any form of struggle. As long as a single Israeli soldier or settler remains on the Palestinian land that was occupied in 1967, Fatah will not relinquish the option of resistance."

"There isn't a single Fatah member who does not believe in resistance, because the very essence of the Fatah [movement] is resistance, [more] resistance, and eventual victory. There isn't a single people in history that was under occupation

and did not resist. Resistance is a legitimate right that is confirmed by religious law, U.N. resolutions, and international law. We in Fatah think that political activity and negotiations complement resistance, and harvest its fruits. Therefore, we have always called for adhering to the option of resistance, negotiation, and political activity alike.”

MEMRI also translated Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades commander Zakariya Al-Zubeidi, called on the Fatah conference “to propose a plan that will combine the political line with the resistance line within Fatah, against the backdrop of the past failure of [each path alone] to obtain results favorable to the Palestinian cause.” He, too, rejected the possibility that Fatah would omit the armed struggle from its plan.

Fatah Spokesman Fahmi Al-Za'arir stated: “It is not possible to rule out or to marginalize the military option. The Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades are the jewel in Fatah's crown. We must strengthen their status... [and] maintain them in a state of alertness.

During the Fatah conference, former PA Prime Minister Abu Alaa (Ahmed Qurei) welcomed Khaled Abu-Usbah to the conference and referred to him and Dalal Mughrabi as Palestinian heroes for carrying out the bus hijacking in 1978, in which killed 37 Israeli civilians, including 12 children were killed.

At the same time, the Fatah party platform that was adopted at the conference explicitly states that Israel must not be recognized as a Jewish State.

Leaders of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations sharply criticized the statements made yesterday by former Palestinian Authority Prime Minister Abu Alaa and other Fatah officials at the Congress.

Conference Chairman Alan Solow and Executive Vice Chairman Malcolm Hoenlein said: “Statements by Abu Allah praising suicide bombers who have killed dozens of people is wholly unacceptable and represents the true challenge to the chances for peace in the region. Statements by other Fatah officials urged the continuation of armed resistance and asserted that Fatah would not recognize the State of Israel. These declarations, made by the so-called ‘moderate’ Palestinian faction puts into sharp focus the question of the real beliefs of the party with whom Israel is to negotiate. Such rhetoric cannot be dismissed as it glorifies murderers and incites others to emulate their example.

The U.S. has urged the Palestinians to address the issue of incitement, which is both an immediate and long-term obstacle to the prospect of meaningful negotiations. Too often, such statements have been dismissed. But as history has shown, it is a serious impediment, not only undermining the confidence of Israelis, but exhorting this and future generations to violence and hate. The leadership of the Palestinian Authority must speak out against these actions to declare and take steps that all such incitement will be stopped.”



**Golda Meir's Doctrine After Munich: Death Sentence for PLO Leaders Responsible...Could this be Applied Today to Abbas for his Role in Financing Munich Massacre?**

*David Bedein, Winnipeg Jewish Review, September 11, 2012*

[Editor's note: Tom Gross in his Mideast Dispatches raised a very good question, asking why, with all the recent interest in the Munich Massacre this last couple of months, has the media been silent on the role of Mahmoud Abbas (now the President of the PA) in the Munich Massacre? My answer: It's a whitewash to "cleanse" and "recycle" the image of Abbas, so the public in Israel, the US and the West doesn't begin to ask uncomfortable questions. The problem is that it enables all of us to forget true history—and it gives us the ability to naively hope that Abbas will be a man that will be able to take the

necessary compromises that Arafat could not, in order to forge a real peace with Israel. As Tom Gross rightly points out:

“Abu Daoud, who openly acknowledged his role in the Olympic massacre, both in his memoir, “Palestine: From Jerusalem to Munich,” and in an interview with al-Jazeera TV, is one of several senior PLO members who has said that Yasser Arafat’s then deputy, Mahmoud Abbas (also known as Abu Mazen), was responsible for financing the Munich attack.

When Abu Daoud died in 2010, the official Palestinian Authority daily paper, Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, reported (July 4, 2010) that “President Mahmoud Abbas sent a telegram of condolences yesterday over the death of the great fighter Muhammad Daoud Oudeh, ‘Abu Daoud.’ What a wonderful brother, companion, tough and stubborn, relentless fighter.”

For more details, click on Tom Gross’s dispatch from 2003: Abu Mazen and the Munich Olympics massacre

David Bedin in the following article goes a step further, and looks at what Golda Meir said at the time, which was that Israel had to target all those responsible for the Munich Massacre, which arguably should have included Abbas. Bedin now asks whether that order technically still applies—as Abbas is the only one who is left. I have no doubt that the Israeli government is now not going to apply the Golda Meir doctrine and target Abbas, but in my view, that doesn’t mean that we ought to forget about this history.]

There has been a surge of interest in Israel, to remember Munich murders which occurred 40 years ago at the Olympic Games.

At the time, I was a student in Jerusalem, following every horrific moment of the unfolding story on the radio, into the wee hours of the night.

It is hard to forget the young people in Israel with their heads held low at the sight of their sports heroes who returned home in flag draped caskets, having falling victim to PLO killers.

Yet there was pride in all walks of life in Israel when Prime Minister Gold Meir announced that the Israeli government had issued a death warrant, to kill all those responsible for the Munich killings,

Golda’s doctrine received great adulation from all factions in the Israeli Knesset.

Documents released by the Israeli government this week from the Israeli Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense C Committee meeting after the Munich attacks focused on discussion about how to fight the PLO.

MK Ya'acov Hazan, leader of the left wing Mapam party, argued that this was a difficult war like all wars, and therefore: "We must not only defend ourselves, but also attack. We must search for the terrorists and kill them. We must change them from hunters to prey".

Subsequent debates in the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee on the subject of the war on terrorism, with the participation of Prime Minister Meir, on October 24th, 1972. On November 3rd, 1972, the Knesset committee resumed debate, after a Lufthansa hijacking, after which West Germany released the Munich terrorists.

The meeting was held in a militant atmosphere, and it was agreed that the time had come, as suggested by Hazan, to change the role of the terrorists from "hunters to hunted," and to do so in cooperation with local security forces, and if this was not possible, "without them."

Likud leader Menachem Begin proposed creating a special unit for the war on terror, and recruiting the best people who had dealt in covert operations in the past, such as [future prime minister] Yitzhak Shamir, Isser Harel and others. "If, in fact, we do this, we can change the situation in a short time. It doesn't require many years until we eliminate them, to a great extent", he said.

Israeli left-wing Labor icon Lyova Eliav argued that Israel must hit not only just terrorists in the refugee camps in Lebanon and Syria, as was done in retaliation for the Munich massacre, but also the leaders.

And so the decision was taken, by the Israeli government, with the support of the Knesset, to hunt down and kill all leaders responsible for the Munich attacks.

And that is what Israel did, killing off one PLO leader after another who was responsible for the murder of eleven Israel athletes at the Olympic Games in Munich.

There is one PLO leader still at large, with blood on his hands from the Munich attack: Machmud Abbas, also known as Abu Mazen.

The late Abu Daoud, a key PLO terrorist who helped engineer the Munich attack, revealed that "the Munich operation had the endorsement of Arafat", adding that "Mahmoud Abbas, a.k.a. Abu Mazen, was responsible for the financing of the Munich attack."

Abbas never expressed regret for his actions concerning the PLO attack in Munich.

Instead, Abbas makes it his policy to conduct daily activities in which he lauds those who have murdered Israelis in such heinous acts of terror and, as has

now been revealed, Abbas authorizes tremendous sums to remunerate those who serve life terms for conducting cold-blooded murders of Israelis.

Yet Abbas has reason for concern.

Since decisions of one Israeli government obligate future Israeli governments, Abbas should realize that, once again, he is a marked man.

No new Israeli government decision would be necessary for Israeli intelligence to dispatch a hit squad to execute Abbas, for his leadership in the murder of eleven Israeli athletes.

When the people of Israel remember their victims from Munich, they also recall the perpetrators of these killings.

To reiterate the message of the Golda doctrine, as articulated by Mapam leader Yaakov Hazan: "We must search for the terrorists and kill them. We must change them from hunters to prey."

**Vindication: After 20 years of Vilification for Reporting the Hamas-PA  
Armed Collusion, Documentation emerges**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, January 23, 2015*

This week, the respected Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs issued a policy paper which documented how the PSF, the Palestinian Security Forces, which reports to the Palestinian Authority, has been consistently arming the Hamas and other terror groups for the past 15 years, despite public statements of the Israeli military establishment, which has consistently reported for all of these years that the PA was fighting Hamas and other terror groups.

The report can be read at:

<http://jcpa.org/article/hamas-arafat-intifada/>

Except that our agency broke this story, almost 20 years ago, and we paid quite a price for it, with the credibility and integrity of our office called into question.

Here is the background: With the genesis of the Oslo process, the question of how the nascent Palestinian Authority would deal with Palestinian entities which did not approve the Oslo accord became a focus for the press.

There were moments when Arafat met with the western media and displayed remarkable candor as to his real policy of collusion with Hamas.

That occurred in the evening before Arafat received the Nobel Peace Prize in

Oslo, together with Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin, in December 1994.

I was there to report this newsworthy event.

When Peres and Rabin conducted a briefing on the day before they received the Nobel Peace Prize, I asked Peres and Rabin if Arafat and the new PA had fulfilled their commitment to crush Hamas terrorists.

Peres and Rabin indicated that Arafat had done so and would continue to do so.

A few hours later, however, Arafat held his own press conference. I asked the same question, as to whether the PLO would indeed crush the Hamas, Arafat's response: "I do not understand the question. Hamas are our brothers. I will handle them in my way."

And Arafat did handle the Hamas – by bringing them into his armed forces.

In April 1995, Arafat' security forces announced that they would provide Hamas with arms. We found this out from a late night newscast on the IBA Voice of Israel newscast that was never again repeated, which reported that Arafat would licence weapons for Hamas.

In May 1995, our agency helped a major news agency to produce a film on how the nascent Palestinian Authority did arm the Hamas, with weapons that the PA had received from Israel.

Our crew drove to Gaza, and filmed Hamas leaders on the record: Nasser Yosef, Razi Jabali and Mahmad Zahar These senior Hamas leaders confirmed their military alliance with the Palestinian Authority's armed forces.

Returning to the Knesset the next day, we shared our findings with the then-Minister of Public Security, Moshe Shachal, who said that he did not believe our findings.

Walking around the Knesset with a TV camera, we shared our findings about the Hamas-PA arms connection with Meretz Knesset members Naomi Hazan and Ron Cohen, who both said that they were shocked to hear what we had discovered and both said that our findings could mean the end of the peace process.

Then-Likud opposition leader at the time, Benyamin Netanyahu expressed similar shock.

However, the film never saw the light of day.

Peres and Rabin personally contacted the corporate offices of the TV network where the film was to be aired and it was never aired.

Peres and Rabin told the news executives that we had fabricated the interviews, because I wear a skullcap and live in Efrat.

However, over the past 20 years, despite continuing vilification from the

successive offices of the prime minister, defense minister and foreign minister, our agency has continued to cover PA-Hamas military collusion, publishing in Defense News, The Philadelphia Inquirer, Middle East Forum, the Jerusalem Post and Makor Rishon and a few Jewish papers.

Now the truth has emerged.

**The PA Allocates Six Percent of its Total Salary Budget to Terrorists and the Families of 'Shahids'**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, June 25, 2015*

*When an Arab murders a Jew in the land of Israel, the Palestinian Authority uses humanitarian resources at its disposal to honor and remunerate the killer and the family of the murderer. In Israel, never say that "crime does not pay." - David Bedein*

Expenditure for	amounts in NIS	percentages
families of shahids	26,458,137	%3.64
terrorists incarcerated in Israel	17,678,247	%2.43

العدد 19 حزيران 2011 - السبت 25 حزيران 2011 السنة الأولى / العدد (9)

## فاتورة الرواتب «تهد حيل» السلطة

**\* 727 مليون شيقل مجموع الرواتب في أيار**

جهة الصرف	المبلغ بالشيقل	النسبة من مجموع فاتورة الرواتب
الموظفون المدنيون	293,435,045	40.35%
الموظفون العسكريون	172,873,226	23.77%
استحقاقات للموظفين 1	140,507,010	19.32%
رواتب للخارج 2	51,872,446	7.13%
أسر الشهداء 3	26,458,137	3.64%
الأسرى 4	17,678,247	2.43%
مساعدات اجتماعية 5	15,965,383	2.20%
النواب	3,272,316	0.45%
دعم الرواتب والموازنة	3,022,987	0.42%
رواتب العقود والمنتج 6	2,198,022	0.30%

1 - تشمل استحقاقات الموظفين مجموع فاتورة التأمين والمعاشات وتعيضات نهاية الخدمة والسلف.  
2 - تشمل الرواتب الخارجية السفارات والصدوق القومي والساعات الخارجية وقوات بدر.  
3 - تشمل رواتب أسر الشهداء الرواتب التي تدفعها مؤسسة رعاية أسر الشهداء والإعلانات المقدمة لهم بالداخل.  
4 - تشمل رواتب الأسرى واستحققاتهم.  
5 - منحة الألف شيقل.  
6 - تشمل رواتب العقود والمشاريع ورواتب موظفين بالدولار.

**حياة وسوق**  
ابراهيم ابو كاش  
وعبد الرحيم عبد الله

تكشف وثيقة رسمية حصل «حياة وسوق» على نسخة منها أن فاتورة الرواتب أعلى بكثير مما كان الجميع يعتقد. فحسب الوثيقة، بلغ مجموع الرواتب الشهرية المدفوعة خلال شهر أيار الماضي 727,287,824 شيقل. دفعت جميعها من خزينة السلطة الوطنية.

وأضع «حياة وسوق» الوثيقة للمعالجة الإحصائية لإيجاد حصص الفئات المختلفة من فاتورة الرواتب، ومعدل الرواتب في كل من تلك الفئات، وتوزيعاتها على الضفة والقطاع. (نرجو الاطلاع على الجداول والأشكال البيانية المرفقة).

وتطرح القراءة الصحفية للوثيقة مجموعة من التساؤلات حول عدد النواب المذكور فيها، وسعر صرف العملات المتعدد، وتذبذب ذلك السعر، ووجود زيادة بحوالي 3.5 مليون شيقل في مجموع استحقاقات منحة الألف شيقل عن المجموع الذي تفرضه الحسبة الأولية. وهي جميعا تساؤلات نوردها أدناه، راجون من المسؤولين أن يقدموا اجاباتهم عنها، ومتعهدين بنشر تلك الاجابات ومنها أكبر قدر من الاهتمام.

وبينت الوثيقة أن الموظفين المدنيين يحصلون على نصيب الأسد من فاتورة الرواتب بنسبة تجاوزت الـ 40%، وبقيمة إجمالية بلغت 293,435,045 شيقل. استفاد منها 101,802 موظف مدني، حوالي ثلاثة أرباعهم من الضفة.

### PA Weekly economic paper, June 2011

Monthly 'salary' paid by the PA to families of Palestinian terrorists incarcerated in Israel (from website of 'Ministry of Detainee and Ex-Detainee Affaris', amounts in NIS)

Incarceration Period in Years	Base Salary	Addition - Married	Addition- Children	Addition- Jerusalem Resident	Addition- Israeli Arabs
Up to 3 years	1,400	Add. 300	Add. 50 p/child	Add. 300	Add. 500
3-5	2,000	Add. 300	Add. 50 p/child	Add. 300	Add. 500
5-10	4,000	Add. 300	Add. 50 p/child	Add. 300	Add. 500
10-15	6,000	Add. 300	Add. 50 p/child	Add. 300	Add. 500
15-20	7,000	Add. 300	Add. 50 p/child	Add. 300	Add. 500
20-25	8,500	Add. 300	Add. 50 p/child	Add. 300	Add. 500
25-30	10,000	Add. 300	Add. 50 p/child	Add. 300	Add. 500
Above 30	12,000	Add. 300	Add. 50 p/child	Add. 300	Add. 500

## SECTION 1: CHAPTER 3 – PLO/PA COMMUNICATIONS

### No Word of Condemnation From Arafat to His Own People in Their Own Language

David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, July 28, 1997

In the aftermath of the bombs that blew up in Jerusalem's Mahane Yehudah open air market today in Jerusalem, our news agency, which covers the peace process and the fledgling Palestine Authority, listened intently to the official Palestine Authority radio news network in the four hours that followed the blasts. PBC radio news, the official voice of the Palestine Authority, which operates out of Yassir Arafat's office in Gaza, reported the news of the bombs...as a "military operation," even though the bombs had killed or wounded one hundred and fifty shoppers and shopkeepers – Jews and Arabs, old and young alike, in the one place that you are bound to find every kind of person in Jerusalem.

On each newscast that followed the attack, PBC radio repeated the theme – an "operation" has been carried out, not a terror attack. And Arafat, who had been quoted widely on the Israeli and foreign newsreels that he had condemned the attack, would not allow himself to be quoted in Arabic as condemning the "operation." Meeting the Arab media in Jericho, as he descended from his helicopter, Arafat was tightlipped, saying nothing to his people that would discourage anything but praise for the attack. Meanwhile, PBC played victory music, military marches, and joyous music. And then PBC TV came on the air, televising a play, which showed Arabs shooting at Israelis. No subliminal message there.

Our agency has monitored the Arabic language PBC radio and TV since their inception at the genesis of the Oslo peace process four years ago.

The PBC, funded under grants from the US AID foreign assistance program, has conveyed a consistent message: The war with Israel must proceed, and all means to that end remain justified. At one point, in September 1995, I was asked to bring PBC videos of Arafat's televised speeches for a special showing at the US House International Relations Committee. Members of Congress were surprised to learn that Arafat had yet to make a single statement in Arabic at any time that called for peace with Israel and that clearly condemned terror attacks.

Last November, I had the opportunity to have a personal session with Yassir Arafat in Bethlehem. Arafat was in a pleasant mood, as he spoke of peace between Israelis and Palestinians. Arafat went out of his way during our talk to attack those who would conduct terror activity, calling them enemies of peace. Yet one month before meeting Arafat, our Palestinian TV crew had filmed Arafat at a Bethlehem area Arab refugee camp, when he called for "Jihad" – holy war – and the continuation of the armed struggle against Israel. So I asked Arafat when he would repeat the calls for peace in Arabic to his own people that he so eloquently says in English. Arafat responded by saying that he "always" speaks of peace in Arabic.

Many Israelis are waiting for such proclamations of peace in Arabic from the lips of Arafat, let alone condemnation of terror bombs in a crowded marketplace. Especially today.

### **Two Sides of Sesame Street**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, April 6, 1998*

The April 1 frontpage story that ran in the Philadelphia Inquirer concerning Jewish-Arab cooperation in the production of a sesame-street style production on a private Palestinian TV station was not an April Fool's joke.

It was very real.

Dauod Kuttab, the Palestinian Arab journalist who takes appropriate credit for the initiative, represents a grassroots Palestinian desire for cooperation between peoples on all levels. However, the official "Sesame Street" that runs on the Palestine Authority's official Palestine Broadcasting Corporation, funded by US AID and administered directly under the supervision of Palestine Authority chairman Yassir Arafat, also known as the "children's workshop" runs a program which takes a different view of Jewish-Arab cooperation.

Imagine this: On this past Tuesday, March 31, the morning that Yassir Arafat made a surprise visit at the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam, the museum which has become a symbol of the one and a half million Jewish children who were slaughtered by the Nazis.

On that same day, the PBC TV program modeled after “Sesame Street,” with children (some as young as 4 years old, most about 8 or 9) seated in a semi-circle around a group leader, dressed in costumes and party clothes, with cartoon characters decorate the walls. From among the group a little boy stands up and, with the nursery school teacher holding the mike he says that “I will grow up to kill every Jew that I meet” On an earlier program, a young girl stands up, raises her fist and cries: “When I wander into the entrance of Jerusalem, I will turn into a suicide warrior in battledress! In battledress!”

In both cases, the leader of the official Palestinian “Sesame Street” cheers: “Bravo! Bravo! Bravo!”

On yet another segment, a beautiful, dark haired young girl who looks to be about 6 years old sings the following words, barely a blinking of her eyes: “Each and every part of your soil I have drenched with all my blood. And we shall march as warriors of Jihad. Oh, my exalted martyr, you are my example. Oh, my companion, you are beside me. Oh, my sister, sing constantly about my life as a suicide warrior, how we remain steadfast. Oh, my country, you are my soul. Oh, my dawn, you are my heartbeat.”

Samplings of the official PBC children’s workshop were aired at the March 11 hearing held at the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee special session that was convened to deal with some of the issues of the Middle East peace process.

The clips were prepared by the Jerusalem-based “peace for generations” monitoring group and presented to the Senate by Dr. Daniel Pipes, editor of the Philadelphia-based Middle East Quarterly.

So there you have it. Dissonant messages from Palestinian TV shows.

From my daily contact with Palestinian Arabs in Jerusalem and the West Bank, I can attest to the fact that Daoud Kuttab and the spirit behind him represent the dominant Palestinian mood that favors peace, reconciliation and dialogue with Israel and with the Jewish people.

However, Daoud Kuttab is not in power at the Palestine Authority.

Indeed, Kuttab was jailed by the PA for telecasting debates in the Palestinian parliament that Arafat was not interested in publicizing.

And while Israel Educational Television is considering the purchase of Kuttab's programs that promote reconciliation, the Palestine Broadcasting Corporation has rejected any such possibility.

PBC head Radwan Abu Ayash was asked in a videotaped interview as to when he will have programs that promote peace on PBC TV.

Ayash responded matter of faculty that he is not allowed to feature stories that "promote peace with the Israelis."

It should be recalled that on Sept. 7, 1997, the Philadelphia Inquirer reported that "the PBC network was nurtured with about \$500,000 in equipment and training from the U.S. Agency for International Development," and cited as its source the network's chairman, Raddwan Abu Ayyash.

PBC policies did not begin with the election of Netanyahu as the prime minister of Israel in May 1996. Since its inception in 1994, the PBC TV and PBC Radio have adopted a policy of promoting speeches, interview programs and children's shows that only exacerbate war rather than promote peace.

There are two sides of Sesame Street in Palestine. One, from the Palestinian people, that desires peace. The other dictated from the Palestine Authority, that is made up of people who came from PLO headquarters in Tunis back in 1993, that promotes war and continued conflict.

PBC shows such as the official PBC "The Children's Club" reveal how thoroughly committed Arafat and his authority are to the idea that their struggle against Israel is a jihad – a holy war – against Israel.

In the Oslo peace accords and later agreements, the Palestine Authority agreed in no uncertain terms to take all necessary steps to prevent violence, or the incitement of violence, against Israel.

The Clinton Administration is not ignorant of the Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation's programming. At the US Senate subcommittee hearing in March, Assistant Secretary of State Martin Indyk actually watched footage from "The Children's Club." Indyk knows full well that the incitement to violence is in violation of the Declaration of Principles signed by Israel and the PLO.

Yet when the U.S. government makes demands for concessions, it makes specific requests of Israel, and generalized demands of Arafat.

The question remains: why does the US not make a specific request of Arafat that the message conveyed to Palestinian children on his TV station emanate from Daoud Kuttab and not from Radwan Abu Ayash?

**When Jewish Organizations Research Anti-Semitism and Delete Mention of the Palestine Authority**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, April 27, 1998*

In a joint news conference held on April 22, 1998, the day before Holocaust Remembrance Day, representatives of the Stephen Roth Institute of Anti-Semitism at Tel Aviv University, the Anti-Defamation League and the World Jewish Congress distributed a summary of their annual international survey of anti-Semitism that deleted any reference to the Palestine Authority, the Palestine Ministry of Information and the Palestine Broadcasting Corporation.

The reason they gave for this omission was that the full 400-page text is still at the printers.

The full text, however, explicitly notes the anti-Jewish tirades that have emanated daily from the Palestine Authority since its inception in 1994.

A case in point: On the morning before this report was issued, the official television station of the Palestine Broadcasting Corporation (PBC) aired a program in which a children's chorus chanted jihad and called for the extermination of the Jewish state. What can one glean from such a message from the P.A. the day before Holocaust Remembrance Day?

This PBC program is fully accessible to the media to the ADL, the World Jewish Congress, and to Tel Aviv University.

The media and these mainstream agencies, however, have made a conscious decision: to obfuscate - from the people of Israel and from public opinion as a whole - the expressions the Palestine Authority relate to their own people.

The PA media obfuscation policy follows the request made of the Israeli Broadcasting Authority in 1995 by the late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to refrain from any news reports that feature what Arafat says to his own people in Arabic.

In their own words, officials of the Israel Broadcasting Authority who knew of the policy, stated that Rabin had explained that reportage of Arafat's speeches would harm the peace process. Rabin carried this policy to the United States as well.

In September 1995, just before to the initialing of the second Oslo Accords at the White House, the US House International Relations Committee conducted audiovisual hearings, during which time more than thirty members of Congress

viewed videos of the programs featured on the Palestine Broadcasting Corporation. Although more than fifteen news bureaus covered the event, however Rabin's cousin, Israeli Ambassador to the US Itamar Rabinovitch, working together with a high official of the US State Department, lobbied the American media and requested that they not report these hearings. With the exception of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency and the Washington Jewish Week, the media acceded to their request.

People in Israel are in the dark, knowing very little of the daily dose of incitement that has spewed forth from the Palestine Broadcasting Corporation since the inception of the Oslo process. Such matters are seen as the obsession of a few anti-peacenicks.

This is due, in part, to a policy of self-censorship that the media has imposed upon itself and adopted by groups such as the ADL and the World Jewish Congress. The fact that the full report on anti-Semitism will be issued in several weeks will have little effect on the public domain. The ADL and the WJC will not conduct a press conference nor organize any forum on the subject of official anti-Semitism emanating from the PBC, which is under Arafat's direct control.

On Holocaust Remembrance Day in 1998, let it be remembered that three prominent institutions of the Jewish people prevented the public from obtaining knowledge that they each had: the newly created Palestine Authority makes no bones about its warlike and anti-Semitic intentions.

In 1996, the full text of the same international survey that was distributed to the press made no mention whatsoever of the Palestine Authority. In 1997, the full text distributed to the media mentioned the PA in only a few paragraphs that analyzed one PA poet.

In 1998, however, when the full text included material on the PA, the press conference organizers chose not to distribute it. In fact, they deleted any mention of or reference to the Palestine Authority in the summary they made available to the media.

There is legitimate concern about systematic Holocaust denial, when organizations make it their business to prevent people from knowing about the murder of six million Jews and the events leading up to it.

What about the effort for systematic Arafat denial?

### **Should the PA be Asked to Cancel its Death Sentence for “Settlements”**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, April 25, 2001*

When you demonize a person, he is no longer a person. The transformation of thousands of Israeli citizens into “settlers,” a term that now connotes a “stealing squatter,” has resulted in the sudden demonization of entire Jewish communities in Israel.

Israel’s ‘peace movement’ scapegoats the “settlers” as THE reason for the last six months of rioting.

One of those ‘peace activists’, Yitzhak Frankenthal, characterizes the residents of Katif as the “sons of Satan” who cause the death of Israel’s soldiers.

In July 1990, I covered the visit of a delegation of US citizens from Efrat, Alon Shvut and Tekoa to visit the US consul in Jerusalem.

They posed a question: “What about the human rights of Jews who live in our communities, from the American point of view.” The consul’s clear answer: You have no human rights if you live there.

In other words, the US considers them to be less than human. That is what demonization means – less than human.

In October 1993, following the murder of Haim Mizrachi of Beit El, the provisional council of the nascent Palestinian Authority made one of its first declarations: permission to murder any Jew who lives in the area of a future Palestinian state. (That declaration was distributed by the Arab-run JMCC - Jerusalem Media and Communications Center to the foreign press based at Beit Agron Press Center in Jerusalem).

The US raised no objection to such a declaration. Neither did the Rabin government at the time.

That PA death sentence does not only apply to Jews from Judea, Samaria and Katif.

It also applies to the Jewish neighborhoods added to Jerusalem since 1967 and to the Jewish residents who have taken the place of Arab neighborhoods in west Jerusalem and, for that matter, to any of the Israeli communities that rest on lands of villages where Arabs fled from in 1948.

That is why the official Voice of Palestine radio praises terror attacks in “Kafer Sabba,” the pre-1948 Arab name for what since 1949 has been Kfar Saba.

The PA settlement map sold at the PLO’s Orient House in Jerusalem delineates these areas of Israeli “settlements” – in all sections of the country.

Yet the way in which the media often reports the killing of “Israeli settlers” seem to be acceptable.

At a time when the Israeli government has asked for the cessation of Arab violence as a condition for the resumption of negotiations, perhaps it would be appropriate for the Israeli government to demand the unconditional cancellation of the Palestinian Authority death sentence for Jewish “settlers”, even if the world tacitly endorses their death.

**Israel’s Requirement For the Next Palestinian Arab Leader: Declare in Arabic, “No to the “Right of Return”**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, February 13, 2002*

Details of the meetings held on February 8th between US President Bush and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon are emerging.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the Bush administration will not protest too vehemently if Israel’s isolation of Arafat will lead to the downfall of the PLO leader.

After a week in which Arafat delivered tirades almost every night in Ramallah to excoriate “hundreds of suicide bombers to die in the liberation of Jerusalem”, and after a week in which fatal PLO attacks claimed the lives of Israeli women almost every day, it would seem that few Israelis would shed a tear when Arafat leaves the scene.

The US and Israel have been quoted as seeking a successor to Arafat among the PLO’s “war lords.” The short-term American and Israeli criteria for recognizing a successor to Arafat is simple: someone who would maintain law and order and “prevent further terror.”

Indeed, as Ariel Sharon stepped off the plane from the US, he was “greeted” with yet another Arab terror attack in the Israeli city of Beersheba, which Arafat’s Palestinian Authority maps describe as an illegal Israeli settlement that replaced the Arab town of Bir A Sibi in 1948.

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

The official PBC radio of the Palestinian Authority has justified attacks in Israeli cities of Beer Sheva, Hadera, Netanya and Naharia, since these towns all replaced Arab villages in 1948, after which the residents of these and hundreds of other Arab towns were dumped into Arab refugee camps which are operated to this day by the UN, under the premise and promise of the “right of return” to the 531 Arab villages that were wiped out in 1948.

Under Arafat’s leadership, the Palestinian Authority mandated that the suffering in the refugee camps must continue.

Arafat has declared time and time again that the “right of return” must be the prime agenda item for his people. Therefore, the Intifada al Awhda, the “rebellion for the right of return” has become the slogan for the current state of unrest.

If Arafat is replaced by yet another Palestinian leader who believes in continuing to confine more than a million 1948 Palestinian Arab refugees and their descendants from 1948 to refugee camps under the “right of return,” the Middle East will see more unrest, not less.

While at least one Palestinian Authority leader has declared that the time has come to abandon the idea of the right of return, he is not allowed to say so on any media outlet of Arafat’s regime.

That is because the “right of return” dominates all policy proclamations in the Arabic language radio, TV or newspapers of the Palestinian Authority since the emergence of the PA in 1994.

While many Israelis may be ready for a two-state solution, such an idea is foreign to the ethos of the Palestinian Arab entity that Arafat has forged.

At this point in time, every candidate the US and Israel have examined to succeed Arafat has sworn allegiance to the Intifada al Awhda, the “rebellion for the right of return.”

Only if a Palestinian Arab leader emerges who will communicate to his people in their own language that he is ready to remove Arab refugee camps and live with Israel without advocating the “right of return”, will peace in the Middle East be at all foreseeable.

Bush and Sharon should keep that in mind and not look for short-term solutions for “preventing terror.”

### **Why Palestinians are Winning the Media War**

*David Bedein, Reform Judaism Magazine, August 17, 2002*

David Bedein has run the Jerusalem-based Israel Resource News Agency, which provides news services for the foreign media, since 1987. He has also worked on special assignment for BBC, CNN Radio, the Los Angeles Times, and the weekly Israel news magazine Makor Rishon. He was interviewed by RJ editor Aron Hirt-Manheimer.

**Do you agree with those who say that “the Palestinians have been doing a better job than the Israelis on the public relations front”?**

Yes. For the past twenty years, the Palestinians have outmaneuvered the Israelis in framing the conflict for the world media. The turning point came during the 1982 Lebanon War, when the Palestinians initiated a propaganda campaign to cast themselves as the defenders of human rights and the Israelis as the violators of human rights.

At the same time, Yasser Arafat's brother, Dr. Fatchi Arafat, exploited his position as director of the Palestinian Red Crescent Society to release grossly inflated casualty figures. On June 10, 1982, for example, Dr. Arafat issued a statement declaring that “10,000 Palestinians have died and 600,000 have become homeless in the first few days of the war”--a lie calculated to portray the Palestinians as the victims of a genocidal assault in Lebanon. In fact, the total population in the war zone numbered fewer than 300,000. Yet the International Red Cross and Middle East Action Committee of the American Friends Service Committee spread the 10,000/600,000 figure to every media outlet in the world, and the major American networks picked up the story.

**NBC's Jessica Savitch reported, “It is now estimated that 600,000 refugees in south Lebanon are without sufficient food or medical supplies.”**

Palestinian media professionals have no qualms about deceiving the media for political advantage. In their attempt to convince the world that the IDF massacred hundreds of civilians in the Jenin refugee camp during Operation Defensive Shield, they used animal carcasses to fill the air with the stench of rotting flesh in places where reporters and UN officials were likely to visit. The IDF caught that ploy on video, as well as a staged funeral in which “the body”

jumped out of the coffin and ran for cover when an Israeli surveillance plane flew over the site.

**Are you suggesting that such tactics have been counterproductive?**

Not at all. Such bloopers are the exception. The Palestinians have an excellent track record in manipulating images that appear in the world media. They achieved an enormous propaganda windfall at the beginning of the second intifada, when a Palestinian film crew working for a French television network recorded the shooting of eleven-year-old Mohammed a-Dura as his father tried in vain to shield him during a battle at a road junction near Gaza. The video, edited to portray the IDF as heartless child killers, fit the Palestinian story line perfectly.

The Israeli government fell into the trap, issuing an apology even before investigating the incident. Mohammed a-Dura, the “poster boy” of the second intifada, will go down in history as a celebrated martyr of the Palestinian people and yet, the Palestinian version of a-Dura’s death is a lie, an invention of Palestinian P.R. professionals. A thorough IDF investigation, which was issued three weeks after the incident and confirmed by a German TV crew, showed that the bullets fired at the boy had come from the direction of Palestinian gunmen who had attacked an Israeli guard post. But the world had “witnessed” the shooting of a-Dura, as the media scripted it an atrocity committed by Israeli troops and the damage could not be undone. It is impossible to put the toothpaste back in the tube.

**When did these Palestinian P.R. professionals first come onto the scene?**

Back in March 1984, Ramonda Tawill, a media professional (who six years later would become Yasser Arafat’s mother-in-law), helped the PLO establish the Palestinian Press Service (PPS) to provide assistance to visiting journalists and conduct training seminars in media relations. The PPS then joined forces with the Palestine Human Rights Information Center (PHRIC) to change the image of the PLO from that of a sixties-style liberation movement to an organization fighting to protect the victims of Israeli human rights abuses.

PHRIC seminars instructed their “students” to steer every media interview to the same themes - Israeli occupation, illegal settlements, human rights abuses, and the right of the Palestinian refugees to go home. Regardless of the question, these themes were to be repeated over and over again. I know this firsthand, because our agency made it a policy to assign our journalist interns to take Tawill’s courses.

One of her great “accomplishments” came in May 1985, after Israel released more than a thousand convicted PLO terrorists in exchange for seven Israeli soldiers. As a way of diverting media attention from their crimes, Tawill coached

these freed terrorists to stress that they were tortured in Israel jails for “political activism” and “support of Palestinian nationalism.” I learned about this tactic from several of Tawill’s students in a media course I took in May 1986. They explained that by monopolizing the reporters’ time with stories of torture, the journalists would invariably have to complete the interview before they had time to ask the terrorists about the actions that had led to their capture and imprisonment.

At the time, Israeli intelligence did not allow reporters to look at the prison files of security detainees, so the crimes of these terrorists went virtually unreported.

### **Was the PHRIC widely perceived as a credible human rights organization?**

Absolutely. By mid-1989, international human rights organizations routinely reproduced information developed by the PHRIC, which by then had secured funding from the Ford Foundation and had established offices in Chicago and Washington. Addressing the media in Jerusalem in November 1989, Amnesty International Spokesman Richard Reoch acknowledged that his organization regarded the PLO, which works with the PHRIC, as an objective information source. “Since the PLO is not a government body,” he said, “we feel comfortable with Amnesty using them as a source.” And a US embassy spokesman told me in February 1989 that the PHRIC had “impeccable” credentials.

### **How do Palestinian P.R. professionals get their training today, and who funds it?**

The Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA) provides courses and more than thirty how-to manuals on public relations, media relations, fundraising, communications, lobbying, and public speaking. PASSIA trains Palestinian academics who will be teaching abroad on how to promote their cause on university campuses. In addition, Palestinians in the US are taught how to seek out the Arab constituencies in each congressional district and how to lobby members of Congress for political and financial support of the Palestinian cause. And who picks up the tab for PASSIA? The United States Agency for International Development (USAID), a program of the US State Department, grants PASSIA and eighteen other Palestinian media relations firms in Jerusalem more than \$1 million annually. It was only this past March, after a US House International Relations Committee staffer discovered that USAID was providing allocations for Palestinian media relations, that members of Congress became aware of this aid. A surprised Congressman Eliot Engel (D-NY) looked at PASSIA’s advocacy manual and said incredulously: “Here we are in Congress paying them to lobby us.”

**How have the Israelis countered this Palestinian strategy of portraying them as human rights violators?**

The Israelis constantly find themselves on the defensive. They can't seem to get out of the box into which the Palestinians have put them. By framing the conflict as a human rights issue, the Palestinians have succeeded in convincing many journalists, on some level at least, that every act of terrorism against Israeli civilians is not a crime, but a legitimate response to human rights abuses.

**What is the organizational structure of the Palestinian public relations program, and how does it differ from Israel's?**

The major Palestinian media organization, known as the Jerusalem Media and Communications Center (JMCC), is heavily subsidized by the European Union and the Ford Foundation. Headed by Dr. Ghassan Khatib, a close associate of Yasser Arafat, JMCC provides the foreign media with topnotch professional services--affordable camera crews, translators, photographers, and transportation, as well as daily press bulletins, briefing papers, and people to interview.

The Israeli government provides the visiting press with bushels of bulletins, but leaves the provision of camera crews and translation services to the private sector. No Israeli TV crew can compete with the heavily subsidized JMCC, which essentially has cornered the market on media services for the foreign press. The foreign press is totally dependent on Palestinian technical support personnel, who have a strong influence on the narrative and images that appear in the Western media.

**Do the Palestinians have a P.R. presence in Washington, DC?**

Their man in Washington is Edward Abington, who served as US Consul in Jerusalem when USAID began to finance PASSIA in the '90s and is now registered as a paid foreign agent for the PLO in Washington. Abington coordinates information from JMCC, PASSIA, and other Palestinian information agencies and puts a moderate face on the Palestinian cause, which often means damage control. For example, each time one of Arafat's militias takes credit for a terror attack, Abington's office quickly issues a statement to the media denying Arafat's involvement. A case in point: on November 20, 2000, the PLO's Fatah was quoted on official PBC radio and PBC TV as taking credit for an attack on a school bus near Kfar Darom, where two schoolteachers were murdered and three siblings were maimed for life.

Yet CNN reported that the PLO had condemned the attack. I called the international desk of CNN in Atlanta to inquire about the contradictory

statements. The person on the desk, a nineteen-year-old intern, told me that she had received a call from Abington's office in Washington, followed by a fax, denying PLO involvement.

Abington also provides the press and the US government with "translations" of Arafat's speeches. On May 15, 2002, Arafat delivered a speech to the Palestine Legislative Council in which he compared the Oslo Accords to the ten-year peace treaty between Mohammed and the Jewish tribe of Qureish, a treaty the founder of Islam tore up two years later, when his forces had the power to slaughter the Jewish tribe. President Bush declared that Arafat had been speaking the "right words." When our news agency asked the US embassy in Israel if the entire speech had been sent to Bush, embassy officials responded that Bush had not yet received any of the speech. We then called Abington's office, which told us that they had supplied the translated speech to the president. Clearly, the text supplied by Abington's office arrived before any official dispatch from the ambassador's information office. The "right words" conveniently excluded Arafat's bellicose message.

#### **Are Palestinian medical and relief organizations involved in the "media war"?**

Like the so-called Palestinian human rights organizations, the Union of Palestine Medical Relief Committees (UPMRC), run by Dr. Mustafa Al-Bargouti (brother of jailed Fatah Tanzim leader Marwan Al-Bargouti), coordinates its strategies with Dr. Fatchi Arafat's Palestinian Red Crescent Society in disseminating wild reports of Israeli medical neglect and torture of Palestinians. There have also been numerous incidents in which false information issued by UPMRC sources has been picked up by US media. On July 11, 2001, for example, the Associated Press reported that a pregnant Palestinian woman was shot to death at an Israeli roadblock. In fact, she didn't die, and the doctor who had told the AP reporter she'd been shot and killed hadn't even seen her. He was in a different town at the time. AP reversed itself the next day, reporting, that "Israeli soldiers did not bar a Palestinian woman in labor from passing an Israeli checkpoint, refuting initial claims by two Palestinian doctors."

Another incident: in late May, National Public Radio aired a parallel report of a Palestinian suicide bombing at an outdoor restaurant near Tel Aviv that killed a toddler and her grandmother, and the shooting of a Palestinian grandmother and child that the IDF mistook for terrorist infiltrators. Palestinian doctors told the NPR reporter that the Palestinian victims' bodies were burned, dismembered, and crushed by an Israeli tank. NPR included these unsubstantiated accusations in its coverage. When I asked the IDF spokesman about these accusations, he laughed with disbelief that mainstream reporters would give credibility to such outrageous inventions, but they did.

**How is the UPMRC funded?**

It receives \$300,000 annually from the United States for P.R. And Dr. Arafat's Palestinian Red Crescent Society receives \$215,000 a year in US assistance. Both agencies are on the list of the fifty-nine non-government Palestinian organizations that have shared \$100 million in US aid since 1997.

**Do you believe the United Nations plays a role in advancing the Palestinian P.R. agenda?**

Definitely. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) maintains a professional media relations department and a news service called the UNRWA television network, both based in the Ain el-Helweh UNRWA refugee camp in Lebanon. UNRWA cooperates with the media services of the PLO and the Palestine Broadcasting Corporation (PBC) to provide the visiting press with information and services. Its literature focuses largely on the plight of the refugees who are being housed in camps until they can "return to their homeland" - which, according to their literature, includes not only the territories captured by Israel in 1967, but also all the areas that Israel annexed after Israel's War of Independence in 1948.

**UN's agenda is to present the Palestinian Arabs as victims. In Witness to History:**

The Plight of the Palestinian Refugees, one of several primers distributed by UNRWA and published by MIFTAH, the Palestinian media agency run by well-known Palestinian spokeswoman Hanan Ashrawi and commissioned by the Canadian government, the UN asserts, on page 13, that all "refugees and their descendants have a right to compensation and repatriation to their original homes and land...."

**How do the Palestinians and Israelis differ in their methods of media relations?**

Professionally trained and disciplined Palestinian spokespeople usually present themselves as a ragtag bunch of amateurs. They meet Western reporters in modest Jerusalem or Ramallah hotels or against the backdrop of refugee camps. This tactic has been very successful in reinforcing the stereotype of their side as the aggrieved underdog. An interview with a Palestinian in an alleyway with burning tires and bullets flying overhead captures the imagination of editors who place a premium on entertainment value - the human drama unfolding.

In contrast, when foreign correspondents meet with Israeli officials, they are often greeted by slick government spokespeople at fancy hotels, state-of-the-art media centers, or modern offices. Israeli spokespeople labor under three false notions. First, that formal, professionally packaged P.R. is persuasive. Second, that lengthy explanations of the history of the conflict will be more effective than sound bytes in convincing the public of the rightness of their cause. Third, that the moral correctness of their action and cause is self-evident to any rational, fair-minded human being. Along these lines, Israel's Foreign Minister Shimon Peres once said: "Good policies are good P.R.; they speak for themselves." Unfortunately, Peres was wrong. A lie can be more powerful than the truth, if you market your lie well enough for people to believe it.

Another problem with Israeli P.R. is that it is woefully uncoordinated and sometimes contradictory. News originates from at least four different offices: the IDF, the Foreign Ministry, the Israeli Prime Minister's Office, and the Defense Ministry - and at times each conveys a different message.

On October 28, 2001, for example, Israel Foreign Minister Shimon Peres gave numerous interviews to Israeli and foreign news bureaus stating that Arafat was not responsible for the current wave of terror, and produced as proof the fact that the PA had recently arrested several Hamas terrorists. Yet on that same day, IDF intelligence met with more than a hundred journalists to present evidence linking Arafat and his Fatah organization to Hamas terror activity. Explaining how Hamas terror groups train and operate in the full view of the Palestinian Authority security services, an Israeli military spokesman furnished the media with documentation that the Hamas wing operates as an official, integral part of Arafat's Palestinian Authority security forces in Gaza. He also pointed out that two wanted Hamas terrorists working for the Palestinian security services had murdered four women and wounded fifty civilians at the Hadera bus station that very morning.

In contrast to the seemingly uncoordinated messages coming from Israel, spokespeople of the autocratic Palestinian Authority adhere to a party line with practiced discipline, simply reciting the standard litany of complaints about their "oppression," the "occupation," "human rights abuses," "racism," etc.

### **Why do you think the Israel government has had such difficulty in recent years getting its point of view across to the Western media?**

I think Israel made a major mistake in 1986, when Israel Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and his deputy Dr. Yossi Beilin revised the way in which the government would relate to the PLO. They asked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to cease distribution of the PLO Covenant, which has never officially changed the provision calling for the destruction of the State of Israel. They also asked that the Ministry stop defining the PLO as an enemy. In countless briefings that

the Ministry held in the late 1980s, both Peres and Beilin explained that the time had come to put the fight with the PLO in the past. The 1986 Peres/Beilin policy change paved the way two years later for the US government to recognize the PLO.

The Israeli government also gave the Palestinians a free ride from 1993- 2000, during the seven-year Oslo process, by downplaying terrorist attacks and the two-faced message of the Palestinian leadership, which presented a message of peace in English and a message of war in Arabic. To keep the Oslo process from collapsing, both Israeli and US leaders decided in 1993 to ignore the PA's daily radio and TV calls for a renewed war against Israel. Indeed, in 1995, when the Institute for Peace Education Ltd., which our agency helped to facilitate, produced videos of Arafat's speeches promoting jihad (holy war), then Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres asked Israel TV not to air any of Arafat's speeches in Arabic. In September 1995, Peres went so far as to ask Representative Ben Gilman, the chairman of the US House International Relations Committee, not to hold a special hearing in which these videos of Arafat's speeches were to be screened. The House committee ignored the request.

The "don't tell" policy continued during the Netanyahu administration from 1996 to 1999. While Netanyahu's office churned out weekly reports on PA incitement for Likud Party members, a senior official of the Netanyahu administration confirmed to me that the reports were deliberately withheld from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Israeli media. In October 1998, during my coverage of the Wye Conference, I asked the Israeli embassy why they did not distribute this material. They answered, "The Israeli government downplays the reality of Arafat's PA in order to not alienate the US government." The Barak government, which assumed power in May 1999, went so far as to quietly eliminate the clause in the Oslo accords that required the PA to cease incitement against Israel.

### **How do the Palestinians and Israelis compare in their treatment of foreign journalists?**

The Israeli army often declares areas to be off limits to the media, which is like flashing a red flag before a bull. The first thing a reporter assumes is that Israel is trying to hide something. One foreign reporter, who wishes to remain anonymous, told me that Israel had made a "horrible mistake" when "the IDF closed the whole West Bank to reporters during Operation Defensive Shield and left the area wide open to wild rumors planted skillfully by Palestinian spokesmen. We had no way to check out the rumors, and so many of us had to report it in a he-said, she-said format. And, of course, when TV networks put Palestinian spokesmen on live to make their charges, then it's out there and we have to deal with it."

In contrast, the PA rarely engages in confrontation with the foreign press. A rare exception occurred in October 2002 when two IDF soldiers were lynched in the Ramallah police station. The gruesome scene was captured by an Italian TV crew and sent abroad without going through PA censors. The PA demanded an apology and a promise never to do it again - -or lose permission to cover Palestinian territory. The Italians said mea culpa and promised never again to embarrass their hosts. We asked our staffer to fly to Rome to interview this Italian crew, who told us, on the record, how they had been browbeaten by PA security officials into providing a letter of apology.

**What advice would you give the Israeli government to improve its image in the Western media?**

Instead of barring reporters from “closed military places,” the IDF and the Israeli government should facilitate press coverage of every event, no matter how delicate or dangerous. Preventing journalists from doing their jobs, in some rare cases even shooting in their direction, does little to win friends in the media.

I think the best way for Israel to improve its public relations is to improve its human relations. On the positive side, Israel has finally begun to provide correspondents with more concise and useful background information, such as kits, CD roms, and profiles of Israel’s enemies.

But rather than providing reporters with the means to get to the scene of an attack, Israel still prefers to keep them away. In short, Israel needs to treat journalists with less suspicion and more respect.

**Do you believe that many Western journalists harbor an anti-Israel bias, or are there other factors which work in favor of the Palestinian point of view?**

I agree with the assessment of Dr. Mike Cohen, a Jerusalem-based strategic communications analyst and IDF reserve officer, who says that most foreign journalists are not inherently anti-Israel, anti-Semitic, or pro-Palestinian. They are, however, easily swayed by Palestinian manipulation, which relies on the reporters’ and editors’ lack of background knowledge, combined with the lack of time and desire to take a deep look at the facts. Another factor is the fear of losing access to Palestinian sources and logistical support if their stories are perceived as hostile. Moreover, non-Palestinian reporters are deliberately impeded and intimidated when trying to cover news that may embarrass the PA. I know of several foreign journalists who reported incidents of Palestinian incitement and were thereafter barred from PA briefings.

**Are there dissenting Palestinian voices in the Palestinian media?**

One rarely hears a dissenting voice among the Palestinians because anyone who publicly criticizes the PA can be imprisoned or even executed. The foreign media is told, and dutifully reports, that the person in question was a “collaborator.” A case in point: in early March 2002, BBC reported the execution of two Palestinians who had been accused by the PA of collaboration. When the BBC crew met with the families of the two victims, they discovered that both had a history of opposition to the PA and that both had openly criticized Arafat.

The BBC correspondent told me that these were dissidents, not collaborators, but BBC World Service chose not to report the story.

**In the final analysis, how important is the P.R. factor in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?**

Absolutely crucial. As long as Western journalists project an image of the PA as a defender of human rights and Israel as a brutal occupier, development funds from the United States and the European Union will continue to flow into the PA’s coffers with little public protest about some of that money being used to bankroll the intifada, including suicide bombers, as documents seized from Arafat’s office during "Operation Defensive Shield" prove.

As long as Palestinian P.R. professionals continue to dictate the story line to the media, Israelis will continue to be portrayed as the villains and the Palestinians the victims. It’s time to change the script.

**Israeli Peace Now MK Launches Attack Against Official Palestinian Authority Media**

*David Bedein, Makor Rishon, November 4, 2002*

This week, Meretz Knesset Member and Peace Now Leader Ron Cohen unleashed an unprecedented attack against the Palestinian Authority’s PBC (Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation) Radio and TV stations, describing PBC broadcasts and telecasts as “subversive and racist.”

MK Cohen dispatched a letter to the director of the PBC, Radwan Abu Ayash, to cease the PBC broadcasts and telecasts that are picked up throughout Israel and which incite Arab youth, even within Israel, to conduct suicide attacks and engage in war against the very existence of the State of Israel.

MK Cohen went a step further than any member of Knesset had ever done and asked the Israel Minister of Communications, Mr. Reuven Rivlin to reconsider

the airwave license granted by the Israeli government to the Palestinian Authority back in 1994 that allowed the PBC free access to the airwave transmissions over Israel.

Reached at his office in the Knesset, MK Cohen noted that he was responding to a recent analysis made by Dr. Guy Bichor, a Middle East Arabic studies scholar who has just completed a study of the children's programs on the PBC. Bichor notes the consistent trend of the PBC, from its inception in 1994 until today, to indoctrinate a generation of children to commit suicide attacks and to make war on the Jews and on the Zionist entity. As a matter of policy, the PBC does not mention the entity known as the State of Israel.

Asked why MK Cohen was making this statement now, after eight years of PBC incitement, Cohen said that the time had come to admit that neglecting the issue of official Palestinian Arab incitement was the greatest mistake made by the architect of the Oslo process, the late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Speaking on November 4th, 2002. On the day that marked the seventh anniversary of Rabin's assassination, Cohen, in a choked voice stated, "Rabin thought that we should deal with this kind of thing after we would solve everything else, and we now know that Rabin was wrong..." Rabin made a mistake, and that there is no reason to repeat that mistake.

Radwan Abu Ayash, the director of the PBC, was unavailable for comment, and refused to appear on the popular media talk show with MK Ron Cohen, hosted each week on the Voice of Israel's IBA (Israel Broadcasting Authority) radio show by veteran Israeli journalist Mati Golan.

Instead, Ayash delegated the PBC Voice of Palestine's program editor Muhammad Assayad to read a prepared statement, in which he accused MK Cohen of being a "stooge for the Israeli right wing and the settler radio station Arutz Sheva". Cohen laughed and responded that he had just come from a Peace Now rally and that he was leading the fight the next day in the Knesset to cut funding for Israeli communities in Judea and Samaria. Assayad repeated his prepared statement, and remarked that Cohen should be appearing on the Arutz Sheva radio program of Adir Zik, who is "so popular with the settlers", in Assayad's words.

IBA talk show host Mati Golan intervened and told Assayad that MK Cohen was not attacking a "Palestinian Arutz Sheva" or any Palestinian pirate radio show. Golan noted that this was an attack on the official voice of the Palestinian Authority. Golan asked how the PA would respond if official IBA radio and TV were to run programs that would promote the murder of Palestinian Arab children.

Assayad hung up the phone.

**PASSIA: US acknowledges that US AID Finances the Leading Palestinian Arab Media Lobby Organization**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, January 12, 2003*

Ever wonder who is behind the well-oiled Palestinian propaganda operation that reaches out to every media outlet and every college campus in sight?

Well, look no further than the US taxpayer.

The US government has finally acknowledged that US AID indeed funds PASSIA, the organization that trains Palestinian Arab media professionals in the art of transforming the image of the Arab-Israeli struggle into an Arab David against an Israeli Goliath. US AID reports directly to the White House, which makes that allocation of particular significance.

On February 7, 2002, a staffer of the US House International Relations Committee provided the Israel Resource News Agency with a list of Palestinian Arab agencies that were supported by US AID. That list included PASSIA, the foremost Palestinian Arab media and lobbying training center.

Since February 2002, the U.S. state department spokesman and officials of US AID had declined any comment about US funding of the Palestine Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA) even though PASSIA's study program booklets printed since 1998 read "kindly supported by USAID" just above the copyright.

However, Israel Resource News Agency has obtained a memo dated August 26th, 2002, in which US AID acknowledged that it had been funding PASSIA since March 1997, to the tune of \$1.2 million per annum, yet only in a "generic" and non-specific way, with the proviso that no funds would be used to lobby the US Congress. In its statement, US AID also mentioned that the US government also applied rigorous standards of financial accountability to the funds that it remitted to PASSIA.

Funding for PASSIA was also provided by:

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

Ford Foundation

Rockefeller Foundation

Freidrich Ebert Stiftung

The European Union

Canada Fund

The Government of Japan

Yet David Nassar, former field director of the Arab/American Institute of Washington D.C. (AAI) who directs the PASSIA “Civil Society Empowerment” project and authored and collated the corresponding booklets, states that the program was designed specifically “to meet the specific needs of Palestinian society.”

On page 7 of the booklet entitled: “Advocacy and Lobbying”, published in January, 2002, he asks: “what are the large groups that your audience in Palestine are to fall into?”

Answer: “Everyone from the Chairman on down... PIC members... and the press, who “often does not respond but write what they are told to write.” Readers of this American taxpayer funded exercise are instructed to: “hit their targets as we (AAI) do in the US all the time” where “the goal does not necessarily have to be identified.”

One such “target”? (page 13) The United States Congress who “cut aid to the Palestinians for not improving the way in which the P.A. deals with suicide bombers. The objective? “To do whatever we (they) needed to stop this resolution” sponsored by California Senator Diane Feinstein and Kentucky’s Mitch McConnell.

On page 16, we learn that the last thing Mr. Nassar did before leaving the United States, “was to organize four press conferences in the state of Ohio. “Because the Members of Congress from that State have contributed to violence in the Middle East by the Palestinian’s calls for freedom, one of the words we really wanted to make sure was in there.” Only afterwards did they determine “who should be a source and look for a credible messenger. Because it is important (if the Palestinians) are to win to provide the idea that everybody wins.”

On page 25, we come to learn that “the people who have been granted authority to monitor are the ones that are the most corrupt, because who is watching them?”

Yet when it comes to PASSIA's own disclosure, page 37 informs, that "despite the many positive rewards of it, [disclosure] we tend to refrain from it valuing highly the concept of 'tassatur' (secrecy)" because "disclosure of a stand or a position requires that we must also defend it." Although "putting forward strategies to improve the quality of education in Palestine will support the Palestinian question" are fine, since education is considered (by the US) one of the main factors that develops society."

"Education" of a totally different sort, is what is offered in their booklet: "Media and Communication Skills" which begins with the clearly Palestinian revisionist version of Israeli/Palestinian history under the non-generic heading: "Palestinian Society: the Challenges."

"The first challenge rose with the Balfour declaration of 1917, which called for the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine: a clear violation of the rights of the Palestinian people..."

"The second challenge, was to restore the Palestinian self-identity and resist the expansion of Jewish settlement in Palestine...."

"The third challenge, arose when the Arab League involved itself in making major decisions relating to the future of the Palestinians..."

"The fourth challenge was the most difficult; namely to achieve unity after the dispersion of the Palestinians following the War of 1948. The aim of the State of Israel, since its declaration, was to create entities and prevent unity or direct communication between areas where Palestinians existed within the cease fire line..."

It is however interesting to note, that under the heading: Israel Occupation in 1967, Mr. Nassar writes: "The impact of the Israeli Occupation on the development of the Palestinian civil society was minimal due to the practices of the military authority"...in direct contradiction to the claims made daily by the leaders of the intifada. However, in the next paragraph, he goes on to state:

"The establishment of the PLO in the mid 1960's contributed to the success of the attempts to create and re-structure civil institutions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Nevertheless, the institutions were forced to function under abnormal conditions and severe military occupation restrictions far away from the Palestinian leadership." And that the intifada emerged due to local deteriorating political and economic conditions...This resulted, amongst other things, in the increase of foreign aid to local institutions." In chapter two: Palestinian Civil Society and the Policy process, by Dr. Nabil Khatib, Director of the media center at Birzeit University, we learn that it is not just Israel but the (then) existing PNA that PASSIA holds in its sights:

“Whilst the media is not supposed to have any predetermined interest in a particular issue.... (they) the media only aims at defending the general objective and the general good, one has to take into account that this is not always the case... Sometimes we need as Civil Society Organizations, (CSO’s) to make use of the international media in order to exert pressure on both the PNA and the Israeli government by developing an international public opinion.”

“In the particular [not generic] case of Palestine, we have now neither self rule, nor autonomy... that in our case, the self-rule has the potential to lead to statehood...”

“In order to influence the general policy in one way or another, all CSO’s should know how to influence the media. The best known way to do this is to come up with a hidden agenda, and deciding on the most suitable time to release information to the media... in order to direct the media towards a predetermined slogan, a defined demand... The best method for exerting pressure, is to transform a problem into a public opinion issue, using the media.”

That US taxpayer-funded “how-to” manual was written in 1998.

When it comes to media manipulation, PASSIA’S job was made easy for them, as the booklet continues into chapter 6, a ‘discussion’ between their moderators; Dr. Khatib, Rami Khouri, of Jordanian television and Tudor Lomas, and two journalists who offered their advice: Eric Weiner, of National Public Radio – another US taxpayer-funded enterprise, and Lyse Doucete of the BBC.

We are first told by Weiner that “being balanced, according to their mandate, can be frustrating” and urges the audience/reader “to present your stories on a human level and not rely on the facts.” As they “have to justify their existence which makes it easier to get through to us.”

Ms. Doucete, who refers to suicide/ homicide bombers as “honor” killers, believes “her job is to translate” rather than simply report the news because “Israel is led by a Prime Minister who believes that it is not Israel’s policy that is wrong, just that they have to explain it better.” And so admonishes the Palestinians that “if you want to beat the Israeli’s, you have to beat them at their own game...” There follows eight pages of clear instruction on how the Palestinians can manipulate the press to their own advantage. Weiner: “...the fact that you have 1,000,000 pounds from the British government... is not particularly interesting. But, if you explain why it is going to make such a difference by saying “Did you know that since the closure was imposed we haven’t been able to get paper through to Bethlehem... we are far more likely to be interested.”

Doucet: “You should also know how to pick your target... Always be smart about where you pitch your story, and pitch it at the right time.... It is true that

Israel is treated with kid gloves and not held to the same standards as Iraq when it comes to UN resolutions..."In terms of financial responsibility of PASSIA, this organization is registered under The Registrar of Non-Profit Organizations in the Israel Ministry of Interior, along with all other Jerusalem based organizations.

A review of PASSIA's publicly accessible financial records show that PASSIA does not mention US AID as a funding source, nor does it even record the income of US AID in its annual recorded income.

The legal advisor to the Israel Registrar of Non Profit Organizatons provided a report ated May 5, 2002, in which he stated that, indeed, US AID allocations do not appear anywhere in the records of PASSIA.

In addition, the receipts provided by PASSIA for the purchase of PASSIA materials bear no mention of its registration number, as required by law, a procedure considered to be a felony by the adapted Ottoman law, which regulates the operation of non-profit organizations.

So much for US requirements for rigorous standards of financial responsibility.

**"Voice of Palestine" of the Palestinian Authority Praises Murder of a Pregnant Woman and her Four Young Daughters**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, May 5, 2004*

The PA radio, known as the PBC "Voice of Palestine", remains the most influential media tool in the hands of the Palestinian Authority, which now observes ten years since the genesis of Palestinian Authority self-rule.

Voice of Palestine, founded by Yassir Arafat and overseen by the highest echelons of the nascent Palestinian Authority, provides radio feeds that are played in every Arab marketplace and every home in areas ruled by the Palestinian Authority. The radio airwaves for the Voice of Palestine were provided for the PA from the Israel Ministry of Communications, with the idea that the Palestinians would be able to broadcast messages of peace on their own radio and in their own language.

Throughout the past ten years, The Voice of Palestine has consistently praised Arab terror attacks.

Last week was no exception, when all of Israel stood in shock at the Arab terror drive by murder of a pregnant woman and her four little girls. Two Arab terrorists executed each little girl at point blank range with a shot to each of their

heads, after they first blew their mother to bits. The murders were witnessed by a CNN crew who watched with horror only 30 meters away. Mike Swartz, the CNN producer, had the good sense to use his vehicle to block any further traffic from driving into the terror trap on the highway. Israeli soldiers who arrived on the scene were able to kill the Arab terrorists, but not before they had finished off the four little girls.

Dr. Michael Widlanski, an Arabic media expert at the Hebrew University, formerly a reporter for the New York Times and the Cox Syndicate in Jerusalem, an academic who recently completed his PHD on the subject of the Palestinian Authority media, listened carefully to The Voice of Palestine in the hours which followed the attack.

The Voice of Palestine described the men who carried out the attack today that left a pregnant mother and her four children dead “an act of heroic martyrdom”. The Voice of Palestine radio station repeatedly used the term “is tish-had” (heroic martyrdom) and “mustash-hidin” (heroic martyrs) to describe the act committed by “two youths”. After reporting the attackers names the radio repeated that they were heroic martyrs. Widlanski recorded the V.O.P. constantly referring to the victims of the shooting attack only as “five settlers” without mentioning that the attack claimed that they were a pregnant woman and her four children.

The Monday morning broadcast of the Voice of Palestine added that that the five “settlers” who were killed, were “mukharibun” – terrorists. The reference to the settlers as “terrorists” was in a Voice of Palestine report that the settlers were preparing to build a new neighborhood in a settlement near Gaza. Once again, Voice of Palestine did not condemn the attack that killed a pregnant mother and her four children but did vigorously condemned the “cowardly act” by Israel in attacking a Hamas radio station which had exhorted Palestinians to carry out further attacks against Israel. There were no reported Arab casualties in that Israeli attack.

Meanwhile, Palestinian Media Watch reported that the Palestinian Authority official daily newspaper glorified yet another murderer – a man who was responsible for a cold blooded murder of a father and his 2 daughters, labeling him “a beacon of light for generations to come” PMW noted that “According to the daily, ‘Al-Hayat Al-Jadida’, Samir Quntar, murderer of Dani Haran and his two daughters in Nahariya in 1979, is a Palestinian hero and ‘authentic role model’... “?

PMW quoted the following statement which appeared in the PA official daily newspaper; “Samir Quntar, a name of pride in the history of the prisoners of the [Palestinian] national movement. A name that he created, during the resistance in Lebanon and the hours of heroism in Nahariya [terrorist attack in which Dani

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Haran and his daughters were murdered] a name that is written in the blood that dripped in the interrogation dungeons. [Quntar] wrote the noble history of this name in letters of fire and light during the battles of the struggle? [Quntar] was and will continue to be a beacon of light for us and for the generations to come and an authentic role model. Every day that passes Samir's pride grows, and our pride in him grows greater and greater." [Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, May, 6, 2004]

So there you have it.

The official media outlet of the Palestinian Authority, an entity with diplomatic relations with 138 nations around the world, endorses the cold-blooded murder of parents and their children

That is the same Palestinian Authority which receives direct aid from all of the western democracies, including the USA to the tune of more than 10 billion dollars in its ten years of existence.

For the past week, The US State Department was asked if it would condemn the PA's official media outlet, THE Voice of Palestine for endorsing the cold blooded murder of a pregnant mother and her four children.

No answer was received.

Meanwhile, the US State Department did issue a statement in which it states that it "expects" the Palestinian Authority to fight terrorism.

The US Embassy spokesman in Tel Aviv was asked as to what basis the US had for the "expectation" that the PA would fight terrorism.

The answer from the US State Department spokesman: "Because they committed themselves to doing so."

The US government does not feel under much pressure to condemn the PA for directing its official media outlet to praise, justify and glorify those who would murder a pregnant mother and her four little girls.

Why no pressure? Simple. Not one US news outlet reported that the PA praised, justified and glorified this week's cold blooded murder of a pregnant woman and her four children.

There are times when only the news that fits a future peace process will get printed.

Now that the reader of this article knows what the Voice of Palestine and the official Palestinian Authority newspaper indeed communicates to their people, perhaps the reader will be motivated to contact the US Ambassador to Israel Dr Daniel Kurtzer, one of the architects of the Oslo Process, to ask why the US cannot condemn the PA for inciting their own people in their own language.

### **PA and the UN allow Hamas to facilitate a TV Station in Gaza**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, January 27, 2006*

Almost every media outlet covered the Palestinian elections this week in terms of the rivalry between the Hamas Islamic terror organization and the Fateh, which is also defined by Israeli and American law as a terrorist organization, even if both nations have placed a waiver on the enforcement of the law against the Fateh, ever since the genesis of the Oslo process.

Yet ever since last year's ascension of Mahmoud Abbas to the helm of both the Palestinian Authority, as its president, and to the leadership of the Fateh, as its chairman, both the PA and the Fateh have allowed Hamas to expand its media in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, with in far greater latitude given to Hamas than was ever given by Yassir Arafat.

On January 8, 2006, the day that marked exactly one year since the election of Abbas as PA president, the PA allowed Hamas to launch its new television station in the Gaza Strip.

That television station is called Al Aqsa and now broadcasts from Gaza.

The Hamas TV station is land-based and broadcasts from the Gaza Strip with the frequency UHF62.

Palestinian news agencies report that it is located in one of the mosques in the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) Jabaliya refugee camp, located in the northern Gaza Strip.

At the entrance to the UNRWA Jabiliya refugee camp, there is a sign; WELCOME TO NAJID.

Most people do not know that Najid is the Arab village which stood in what is now the city of Sderot, which is under constant artillery bombardment from Gaza – in a war that is portrayed by UNRWA camp residents as an integral part of their struggle for the “right of return” to the Arab villages that they left during and after the 1948 war.

Another media initiative launched from a media center in the UNRWA camp in Jabailyia is the “right of return” campaign, pioneered under a web site known as [www.PalestineRemembered.com](http://www.PalestineRemembered.com), which is designed to allow Palestinian

refugee and their descendents to locate the precise location of their village, in order to ease the process of their “return” to their village.

Over the past year, PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas also allowed Hamas to operate a radio station, also termed Al Aqsa.

The new Hamas TV station broadcasts news, commentary and religious programming.

Under Abbas’s rule, Hamas has also expanded its print media. The movement’s weekly Al Risala announced that it would begin publishing twice a week. Al Risala has been regarded as the leading opposition publication in the PA territories and over the last few weeks has been used to promote Hamas candidates for Palestinian Legislative Elections, scheduled on January 25.

A source in Israeli intelligence observed “Hamas places great importance on its war to capture the hearts and minds of the Palestinian people and other target audiences in the Middle East and all over the globe”.

What is most newsworthy, from a pan-Arab global point of view, is that Hamas’s entire communications network is directed by the organization’s leadership in Damascus.

Until this election campaign, Hamas lacked a television station.

The Hamas TV station is modeled on Al-Manar TV, the Hezbollah TV station in Lebanon.

A senior Hamas operative stated that it would aspire to the same standards as Al-Manar TV and like Al-Manar, to disseminate Hamas’s messages to the Palestinian people and the world at large (AP from Gaza, January 9).

To operate the station a staff of photographers, technicians, show hosts and commentators was assembled (most of whom are Hamas members or supporters). Some of the staff received professional training abroad, chiefly in Egypt and at Qatar-based Al-Jazeera TV.

Al-Aqsa TV intends to employ women once a women’s department has been established. The plan is for experimental programs to be broadcast for a period of between one and three months. At first there will be only a limited number of broadcasts and they will include news, programs about social issues, health and Islam.

In coordination with the PA, Hamas also plans eventually to launch a satellite station, which will be able to reach target audiences all over the globe. According to a PA publication (Al-Hayat, January 9) the Hamas station might broadcast from a communications center located in Dubai.

Hamas's radio and TV stations operate under the aegis of a company called Al-Ribat Communications and Artistic Production. Chairman of the board of directors is Ahmad Muhammad Fathi Hamad, a senior Hamas operative in the Gaza Strip.

Fathi Ahmad Muhammad Hamad, head of Al-Ribat Communications and Artistic Productions, which operates Al-Aqsa TV, is a Hamas candidate for the Palestinian Legislative council.

Hamad has been involved in terrorist operations and during the 1990s was imprisoned by both the Israelis and the Palestinian Authority.

In a speech given during a Hamas parade after Israel disengaged from the Gaza Strip and broadcast by Radio Al-Aqsa (August 26, 2005), he said: "...we of Hamas emphasize by means of the Izzedine al-Qassam Battalions that we will continue the jihad until Palestine has been liberated [sic], from the [Jordan] river to the [Mediterranean] sea. Nothing will stop us, [for] we used the Qassams to liberate Gaza. When the rockets undermine the Jewish entity no one will be able to stand in our way..."

The fact that Hamas operates such a "media operation" in a UN facility should be cause for concern among UN member states.... especially since Hamas controls the UNRWA trade workers union in the UNRWA camps.

### **New Palestinian Initiative For War with Israel**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, September 15, 2006*

Hamas, Fatah and other Palestinian terrorist organizations have formed a common front to make war on the State of Israel, while orchestrating a sophisticated public relations campaign throughout the world and especially in Israel to convey the specious notion that Hamas and Fateh have formed a "national unity government" that "implicitly" recognizes Israel.

The joint Hamas-Fatah effort is based on what has been dubbed "the prisoners' document" which was developed by Arab Palestinians in several different factions who are serving life sentences for multiple murders.

Marwan Barghouti, the secretary of the Fatah party – the one most associated with facilitating the prisoners' document, is serving imprisonment for life for the murder of 13 people.

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While news agencies around the world have hailed the prisoners' document as if it "implicitly" recognizes the State of Israel, the document actually makes no mention of Israel, except as an enemy.

The prisoners' document is available in English from official Palestinian Authority sources at: <http://www.jmcc.org/documents/prisoners.htm>.

The document's principal clause states that, "the Palestinian people have the right to establish a Palestinian state on the lands that were occupied in 1967 – a state whose capital is Jerusalem – while ensuring the right of return to refugees and the release of all prisoners. Hamas and Islamic Jihad must join the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization), which is the legal and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian people have the right to fight by all means, focusing the battle for the lands that were occupied since 1967, along with political activity and continued negotiations. The PLO and the president of the Palestinian Authority will be in charge of the negotiations. Any agreement that is reached will be submitted for ratification either to the Palestinian National Council or by means of a referendum.

An aide in Prime Minister Olmert's office said that if a Palestinian national unity government was formed on the basis of the prisoners' document it would be a catastrophic development, as no breakthrough in the current impasse with the Palestinians would then be possible.

The prisoners' document does not meet the threshold conditions that were set by the international community, said Olmert's aide.

### **Fatah Spokesman: In Mecca, We Chose**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, February 28, 2007*

The question that has been bandied about over the past 13 months, since the Hamas victory in the elections over the Fatah, led by Arafat's protégé Mahmoud Abbas, has been whether Fatah would choose reconciliation with Israel over an alliance with the warlike Hamas.

Over the past week, it seems that Fatah has made its choice – to align itself with Hamas in total war against Israel.

On Monday, the Palestinian Authority's Ma'an News Agency interviewed the spokesmen of Fatah, Jamal Nazzal, who spoke candidly about the Fatah-Hamas coordinated war alliance against Israel:

Ma'an: You have said that President Abbas defended Hamas in Europe as a qualified partner in the coalition, yet Hamas criticized your comments. Why?

Nazzal: The spokesmen of Fatah are advocates of Hamas in the foreign media, and the president's ambassadors always explain to the world's public that Hamas has developed a new stance, which is supportive of peace. Foreign journalists say that Hamas is committed to destroying Israel, so how can the Palestine Liberation Organization pretend that they can achieve peace with Israel in the name of the Palestinian people? In this context, we remind them of Hamas' positive declarations regarding acceptance of a peaceful solution including coexistence with Israel.

Ma'an: Do you see any shift in Hamas's stance following the Mecca agreement?

Nazzal: We are satisfied with the declarations of [Hamas politburo chief] Khaled Mashaal. He is really helpful for President Abbas in convincing the world of the agreement. However, there are some spokesmen in the Palestinian territories who try to boast that Hamas respects rather than commits to the already-signed treaties. This might send some mistaken impression to the Quartet in regards to the 'worthiness' of Hamas to get the siege lifted, while, in the point of view of the Westerners, Hamas is leading a war against the existence of Israel. In fact, Hamas is holding a truce with Israel, and this is something well-known.

Ma'an: What about the difference between the respect and the commitment to the deals signed between the PLO and the rest of the world?

Nazzal: Hamas did not sign these agreements and is not asked to recognize these agreements. But when Hamas is in the government of the Palestinian Authority, it should adapt to the situation. Anyway, the Mecca agreement has decided these issues.

Ma'an: What about the Fatah spokesmen and their statements?

Nazzal: After Mecca, things cooled off, and the noise reduced. Hamas now avoids accusing others of not being nationalists and has abandoned the language of daggers. Fatah dealt positively with this trend.

Ma'an: What about Fatah?

Nazzal: Fatah's language has changed since May 2006. We are committed to the resistance because if the resistance ends, Fatah ends. We are a wide movement, and contain all sectors of society. You can find Marxists as well as religious people in the Fatah movement. We have to deal with all these people in the movement, and we have extensive relations with all the liberation

movements in the world. Our language in Fatah is the Palestinian hope and the Palestinian ambitions.

Ma'an: Don't you think that the Fatah spokesmen are responsible for the tense atmosphere also?

Nazzal: When [Major General] Muhammad Gharib and his children and friends and others are killed by the Executive Force, and when [Fatah member] Shalayil is besieged by Hamas, the spokesmen of Fatah are asked to not publish such news to avoid escalation. This is strange; it is the same as when Israel accuses Palestine TV of incitement when it publishes pictures of Palestinian children who were killed by the Israeli forces.

Ma'an: Do the Fatah spokesmen have any advantages for the movement?

Nazzal: What matters here is the number of Fatah members being assassinated by the Israelis, and the number of prisoners from Fatah; they number 7,150 out of 11,000 Palestinian prisoners.

Ma'an: How do you see the future?

Nazzal: In Mecca, we were forced to choose between satisfying Israel or Hamas. We chose Hamas and made concessions for the sake of the higher Palestinian interests. We joined Hamas under blockade without guarantees that the blockade will be lifted. Hamas too made concessions for the benefit of the Palestinian higher interests. The PLO will speak on behalf of all the Palestinian people. We will be committed to the Arab and international legitimacy and respect the signed agreements. We have ended the differences between each other in spite of the pluralism and criticism we have in the Palestinian arena.

### **Official Palestinian Authority Newspaper Reports Falsifications**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, March 3, 2007*

Al Hayat Al-Jadida, the official newspaper of the Palestinian Authority reported on Thursday that Arab Members of Israel's Knesset parliament and activists from the Islamic movement in Israel have "uncovered an Israeli plan that intends to remove a section of Al-Aksa mosque and turn it into a synagogue."

The PA paper quotes Abbas Zakkour from the United List in the Israeli Knesset who said in a press conference held in Ramallah by Arab MKs and representatives of the Islamic movement, that "excavations Israel is conducting

on the Mughrabi ascent are nothing but a cover-up for serious digging taking place day and night underneath the mosque,” when, in fact Israel’s excavations are not taking place anywhere near the mosque. Zakkour said that the goal behind Israel’s repair of the Mughrabi ascent is to Temple Mount is to “destroy the Islamic landmarks, endanger the foundations of Al-Aksa mosque and widen the Western Wall plaza where the Jews pray at the expense of the Islamic landmarks.”

Sheik Farid Hajj Yahya, the director of Al-Aksa Society inside Israel, tressed that “there is an Israeli conspiracy that aims to take out a section of the mosque to build a Jewish synagogue”. He said, “There are more than 31 hi- tech cameras that the Israeli authorities placed in the vicinity of the excavation site, in addition to allocating 68 million shekels for the development and widening of the Buraq plaza.”

He went on to say that “last year, the Israeli authorities opened a Jewish synagogue under the Sharia court at the Mughrabi ascent and the current digging aims to destroy the court and to add another Jewish synagogue.”

**Palestinian Authority Radio sermon broadcast from Al Aqsa Mosque on  
November 23rd, 2007**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, November 25, 2007*

No message to the Palestinian people is more genuine than the message delivered in the Arabic language on the official Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation, the PBC, which operates out of the Ramallah headquarters of Palestinian Authority and Fatah leader Machmud Abbas, and under Abbas’s direct control and supervision.

On the Friday before the Annapolis Conference, this reporter recorded the pre-Annapolis sermon that was broadcast on the PBC radio network from the Al Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem, and asked an Arabic language expert to translate that sermon.

The sermon, in translation, speaks for itself as a candid public statement of Palestinian Authority policy and intention.

“The Annapolis conference will take place next week. The deluded believe that this conference will end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and put an end to the

occupation. The astute who watched the preparations for this conference know better...Israel invades Palestinian territory and arrests the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza.

Israel has already laid many obstacles in the negotiations prior to the conference so it can shake off any kind of commitment in the future.

Israel wants to be recognized as a Jewish state. Unfortunately, this request did not receive the appropriate attention from the Arab League and the Islamic Conference Organization. If this request is granted and Israel is recognized as a Jewish state there will be no withdrawal to 1967 borders, no partition of Jerusalem and no deportation of the Israeli settlers. This is a serious danger to the Palestinian people and it confirms the Balfour statement from 1917.

This consolidates with the Zionist ideology and with the Bible that poses Palestine to be the 'promised land' and the Jews as the chosen nation by god.

Israel's request to be recognized as a Jewish state confirms that they are a racist regime and speeds the immigration of Jews from around the world to Israel.

The effects on the Palestinians will be vast, if this request is granted. The 1948 refugees will not be allowed to return to their homes and there will be a revival of the calls to deport the Palestinians from the 1948 occupied territories. Jerusalem will become more Jewish, demographically, politically and religiously with the support of the U.S, which views Jerusalem as the capital of the Israeli state.

In addition, the lives of the Palestinians in Jerusalem will become even harder than they already are.

The conference coincides with American interests. The U.S. military has mobilized its forces in the gulf to threaten Iran and Syria and to continue and create tension as it has already done in Iraq.

The enemies of the Arab nation are mistaken. We do not react to the attempt to turn our holy city Jerusalem to Jewish. There must be an Islamic awakening that will end the nation's dependency and subordination. We call for a unified nation that follows one leadership and obeys the Koran. The conflict is a conflict between religions, but Allah has declared Palestine to be the land of Islam. The same verse heralds victory to the Muslims."

What we have here is a clear policy statement of Palestinian Authority intentions, rejecting the very idea of Israel as a Jewish state.

**Abbas To Hamas: 'You Are Part Of Palestinian People'**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, December 7, 2007*

Only one week after the Annapolis Middle East Summit of November 2007, where Palestinian Authority Chairman Mahmoud Abbas, AKA Abu Mazen, was lauded as the man to lead the fight against the Hamas Islamic terror organization, he reached out to Hamas in a surprisingly conciliatory manner.

He gave an interview to his official PBC Palestine Broadcasting Corporation radio network on his way to Riyadh.

Mr. Abbas noted that he does not see anything that will prevent dialogue with Hamas, which he described as “part of the Palestinian people.”

The leading Arab media at the summit, Al-Jazeera and Al-Hayat emphasized that although the chairman of the Palestinian Authority repeated his demand that Hamas return the situation in Gaza to its previous state, he spoke of Hamas in a more “positive tone when he described it as part of the Palestinian People.”

A high-ranking Islamic Jihad operative, Khaled el-Batash, said that there could be meetings between the rival Palestinian organizations in the Egyptian capital in order to put an end to the split between Gaza and Judea and Samaria and reunite the Palestinian people.

He noted his organization continues its efforts to find a solution and reduce the tension between Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

Mr. Batash added the solution to the crisis will not be in Gaza but rather in Egypt or Mecca, “but our job is to open the door to internal dialogue and afterwards to go to Egypt or to Mecca to continue the dialogue.” Egyptian Foreign Minister Ahmed Aboul Gheit said in a lecture in Cairo that an intra-Palestinian agreement that would end the split by holding new elections or a referendum must come after negotiations with Israel or together with them.

Tayeb Abdel Rahim, a top aide to Mr. Abbas, said as far as the PA was concerned, Jerusalem was a “red line” that can't be crossed.

While Mr. Abbas himself spoke in Annapolis of the Palestinian claim for all of “holy Jerusalem,” which in the Arabic language is “Al Kuds A-Sharia,” the media mistranslated this term as confined to East Jerusalem – the area of Jerusalem which was under Jordanian control after the 1949 armistice ordered a

temporary halt in hostilities between the nascent state of Israel and five neighboring Arab states that had invaded Israel on the day of its inception.

Under Arab rule, from 1949 until 1967, Jews were not allowed entry into any area of Jerusalem under Arab control, nor in areas under Arab rule.

### **UNESCO, PLO Recognize Jerusalem As An Arab Capital on September 4, 2008**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, September 4, 2008*

Contrary to a common assumption that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and its administrative arm, the Palestinian Authority (PA), demand “East Jerusalem” as a future capital for a nation state of Palestine, they actually want all of Jerusalem.

This year, what some are seeing as a symbolic step toward this aim was decidedly taken.

In tandem with United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the PA and PLO have decided to recognize Jerusalem as “the capital of Arab culture” for 2009.

UNESCO is working with Palestinian Authority officials and key Israeli Arab figures in Israel to organize celebrations and turn them into a huge event against what they describe as the Israeli occupation of “Holy Jerusalem.”

As with everything in the Holy Land, their reasons have history behind them.

The Palestinians demand stems from the fact that 16 neighborhoods in West Jerusalem are constructed in place of pre-1948 Arab neighborhoods from which the Arabs fled during the 1948 war.

The consistent term used today in the Arabic language for the Jerusalem aspirations of the Palestinians is “al-Quds A Sharif” – holy Jerusalem, all of Jerusalem – not only East Jerusalem.

Since 1996, the title “capital of Arab culture” has been accorded by the Arab bloc in UNESCO to one of the capitals in the Arab world. This year, for example, Damascus, capital of Syria, was given the coveted title, and last year Algiers, capital of Algeria, received it. Other cities that received the title over the years were Cairo, Tunis, Amman, Beirut and Khartoum.

Jerusalem is the latest chosen to bear the prestigious title, and now PA officials and prominent leaders of the Arab population in Israel are preparing to turn the title into a symbol of the battle against Israeli control of Jerusalem.

The basis for cooperation between the PA and members of the Arab population in Israel was laid over the weekend in Shfaram, where a meeting took place between PA representatives and the Arab population, to discuss preparations for the events associated with the title to be granted to Jerusalem.

One of the participants at the meeting with the PA representatives was Amir Mahoul, the chairman of Ittijah-the Union of Arab Community-Based Associations, the umbrella organization of the Arab NPOs in Israel and the chairman of a “committee for the defense of freedoms.”

Mr. Mahoul said that he believed that Israel would try to create difficulties for the events that will take place in the framework of the declaration that “the capital of Arab culture” is Jerusalem.

“We expect Israel will make things difficult for us and this is a fact that we will take into account, and over which we will battle the Israeli occupation authorities,” said Mr. Mahoul.

Mr. Mahoul stressed that he and the PA plan to turn the events associated with the title into a campaign against the occupation of Arab neighborhoods in Jerusalem. “This will be an event symbolizing the battle against the occupation, beyond the historical and cultural value of Jerusalem,” he explained. “We will stress that Jerusalem is the capital of Palestinian-Arab culture, which is under occupation, and Israel should realize that every time there is a battle over Jerusalem, it loses.”

In contrast to Mr. Mahoul, the secretary general of Mada, the Arab Democratic Party Mahmoud Mawasi, said that the purpose of the events was to raise awareness of the Arabic and Islamic past of Jerusalem and not necessarily to create friction with the Israeli establishment. “We don’t want to clash with the establishment,” he said, “rather our intention is to celebrate the fact that Jerusalem was for many years the center of Arab and Islamic culture.”

Although it is widely assumed that the Western nations recognize Israel’s sovereignty in Western Jerusalem, that assumption is not correct. No member state of the United Nations maintains an embassy in Jerusalem. Every nation in the world, except for Israel, list birth certificates of their nationals who were born in Jerusalem as having been born in Jerusalem, with no listing of the country of birth.

That includes the United States.

### **Palestinian Judge: Jews Have No History In Jerusalem**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, August 30, 2009*

Khaled Abu Toameh, Arab Affairs correspondent for The Jerusalem Post, reported that the PA's chief Islamic judge, Sheikh Tayseer Rajab Tamimi, has formally announced that there was no evidence to back up claims that Jews had ever lived in Jerusalem or that the Temple ever existed. Tamimi claimed that Israeli archeologists have "admitted" that Jerusalem was never inhabited by Jews. Tamimi's statement came in response to statements made earlier this week by Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, who said that Jerusalem "is not a settlement," and that "the Jews built it 3,000 years ago."

"Netanyahu's claims are baseless and untrue," said Tamimi, the highest religious authority in the PA. "Jerusalem is an Arab and Islamic city and it always has been so."

Tamimi claimed that all excavation work conducted by Israel after 1967 has, "failed to prove that Jews had a history or presence in Jerusalem or that their ostensible temple had ever existed."

He condemned Netanyahu and, "all Jewish rabbis and extremist organizations" as liars because of their assertion that Jerusalem was a Jewish city. Tamimi accused Israel of distorting the facts and forging history, "with the aim of erasing the Arab and Islamic character of Jerusalem." He also accused Israel of launching an "ethnic cleansing" campaign to squeeze Arabs out of the city.

"By desecrating its holy sites, expelling its Arab residents and demolishing their homes and confiscating their lands and building settlements in Jerusalem, Israel is seeking, through the use of weapons, to turn it into a Jewish city," he said. "This is a flagrant violation of all religious, legal, moral and human values."

In another development, Hamas on Wednesday rejected the political platform of the PA's Prime Minister, Salaam Fayyad. The platform, which was published on Tuesday, pledges that the Fayyad government would work toward establishing a de facto Palestinian state within two years even if no agreement was reached with Israel. The platform talks about peaceful resistance against Israeli "occupation." The two Islamic groups said in response that the only way to establish a state was through "armed struggle."

They said that Fayyad's plan was unrealistic and unclear, adding that it would be impossible to establish a state "under occupation."

**No "apology" from Miftah / Hannan Ashrawi for alleging that the Jews use blood in their Matzot**

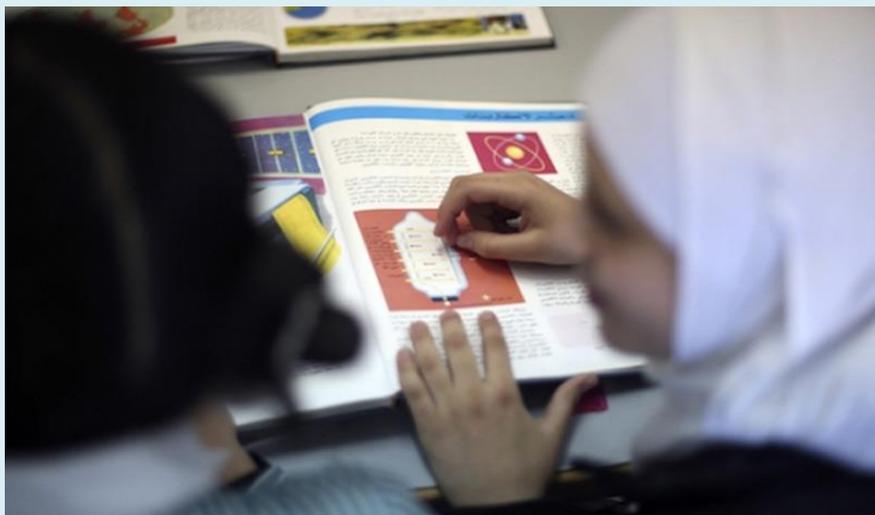
*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, April 5, 2013*

There was an error in the reportage of a supposed "apology" from Miftah organization director Hannan Ashrawi for alleging that the Jews use Moslem or Christian blood in their Matzot.

What counts is what is written in Arabic.

When you check the Arabic web site of Miftah, not only is there no apology – the Miftah organization attacks those who dared to attack and criticize them for this allegation.

<http://www.miftah.org/Arabic/Display.cfm?DocId=14701&CategoryId=7>



## SECTION 1: CHAPTER 4 – PLO/PA SCHOOLS AND WAR EDUCATION

### **Why Do Children Learn the Art of War During the Peace Process: Review of the Palestinian Authority's Teacher's Guide**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, April 10, 2000*

On the day that Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak was en route to Washington to meet with President Bill Clinton to revive the peace process with the Palestinian Authority, the "Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace" issued a study of the new Palestinian Authority's teacher's guide, which serves as the new official guide that PA teachers are required to use in their schools.

(The Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace, located in Jerusalem, translates Arabic language newspapers and textbooks, posts this and its other reports at [www.edume.org](http://www.edume.org), and provides data for the trilateral American-Israeli-Palestinian commission that was formed to monitor allegations of incitement.)

The Center's premise is that without peace education, you cannot have peace. For that reason, Israel pioneered a curriculum for peace, a program now in its seventh year, reaching Israeli pupils from all walks of life.

The Palestinian Authority, on the other hand, has maintained a rigid curriculum that continues to call for liberation of all of Palestine, while describing Israel, Jews, and Zionism in the most demonic of terms. PA officials say in their defense that these are the books that they get from Jordan and from Egypt.

What PA officials forget to mention is that Israel had deleted the “offensive” sections of the Jordanian and Egyptian textbooks when Israel ruled the West Bank and Gaza, and that the Palestinian Authority has reinstated those deletions.

Many people held out hope that all this would change.

In the words of senior Israeli cabinet minister Shimon Peres, who addressed the International Conference of the Jewish media this past February, “We look forward to seeing a new textbooks for peace in the Palestinian Authority.”

Not so, according to the comprehensive nineteen-page study of the Palestine Authority’s Teacher’s Guide, which reads more like a war manual than an educator’s tool.

### **Some Selections From the PA Teacher’s Guide**

PA teachers are required to prepare their students for a Jihad (holy war) to liberate all of Palestine and to “cherish the Jihad fighters who quench the earth of Jerusalem with their blood.”

Palestinian Authority students are asked to emulate the efforts of Saladin, who liberated Jerusalem from the Crusaders conquest.

PA teachers are to refer to Israel as the “Zionist occupier,” in the context of “racism and Nazism.”

PA teachers are to instill in their students with the idea that “Jews are dangerous enemies of Allah, Islam and the Arab nation.”

PA teachers are to teach Zionism as an example of European imperialism, whose aim is “the elimination of the original inhabitants of Palestine.”

PA teachers are to distribute a text entitled “The Jewish danger in Palestine.”

PA teachers are asked to define Jews in terms of their racial and religious zealotry, and to explain that this is why Jews were persecuted over the years by the Christian world.

Meanwhile, the new historical texts of the Palestinian Authority, define Israel as a “thieving conquerer”, while the only map of Palestine in the new textbooks of the Palestinian Authority eliminates the state of Israel, while Israeli cities like Haifa, Jaffa, Beersheva, and the entire Galil and Negev are termed Palestinian cities.

After our news agency received this Palestinian Authority teacher's guide, I visited the Palestinian Ministry of Education near Ramallah, where I was received in a courteous fashion.

I asked a senior PA education official there if the PA would delete material that Israel considered to be offensive. The answer, delivered in a soft, firm tone by a senior official of the PA was clear: "We are sovereign and we will determine what we will teach our children, without any interference."

Meanwhile, the US consul in Jerusalem, Mr. John Herbst, announced that the USAID would increase its support of Palestinian education with an additional \$10 million of assistance.

The question remains: How does this kind of education jive with a peace process?

### **Teaching Destruction of Israel in the Mainstream Schools of the Palestinian Authority**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, August 27, 2006*

As this is being written, in late August 2006, news wires around the world are running a story that Machmud Abbas, head of the Palestinian Authority, has launched a new peace initiative with Israel.

However, the new schoolbooks that this same Machmud Abbas has now introduced in the Palestinian Authority school system – run independently of Hamas – represent a curriculum that prepares a new generation of Palestinians to destroy Israel.

Following fervent support given to Hizbullah's total war on Israel by Abbas and the Palestinian Authority this summer, this raises the question as to whether the new school year in the Palestinian Authority, opening next week, will simply add fuel to the fire of the Palestinian Authority's war against Israel, instead of a new peace initiative with the Jewish State.

Since these PA schoolbooks have also been incorporated in the Arab schools in Jerusalem, which raises cause for further concern, while a movement is afoot in the Israeli Arab schools in the rest of Israel to adopt the PA curriculum in their schools.

Indeed, the latest study of PA textbooks, [www.intelligence.org.il/eng/default.htm](http://www.intelligence.org.il/eng/default.htm), commissioned by the Intelligence and

Terrorism Information Center in Herzelia, [www.intelligence.org.il](http://www.intelligence.org.il), an agency that had been consistently supportive of the Oslo Peace Process, speaks for itself.

Here are some pearls of wisdom that Palestinian children will learn from the new schoolbooks of the Palestinian Authority this year:

1. Israel does not appear on any maps of the world in the new PA textbooks, while maps of Israel replace the name Israel with Palestine in all of the new Palestinian Authority schoolbooks. *Tarikh al-Hadarat al-Qadima (History of Ancient Civilizations)*, 5th grade textbook, p. 53. *Al-Iqtisad al-Manzili (Home Economy)*, 10th grade textbook, p. 42, *Tarikh al-'Alam al-Hadith wal-Mu'asir (History of the New Modern World)* 10th grade textbook, p. 86.

2. The new Palestinian School Books “annex” sites in Israel to Palestine: “Haifa is a Palestinian seaport”, (p. 7) (*Lughatuna al-Jamila (Our Beautiful Language)* Vol. 2, 5th grade textbook, p. 86). “Galilee, Nazareth and Beit She’an are regions in Palestine” (p. 7) (*Al-Iqtisad al-Manzili (Home Economy)*, 10th grade textbook, pp. 36-37).

3. The new Palestinian schoolbooks mention Israel only as an enemy, in reference to “occupation of lands” in 1948 and 1967. Example: “there is no doubt that the Israeli occupation has a negative impact on Palestinian agriculture and its export” (p. 8) (*Lughatuna al-Jamila (Our Beautiful Language)* Vol. 1, 10th grade textbook, p. 102).

4. The new Palestinian schoolbooks present Zionism only as an enemy movement. a. “The Palestinian people are under an oppressive siege, limiting their movement and way of life” (p. 9) (*Al-Tarbiyah al-Islamiyyah (Islamic Education)*, Vol. 1, 5th grade textbook, p. 49). b. Accusation against settlements [from 1948!] of damaging water sources “the influence of settlement on sources of water in Palestine” (p. 9) (*Ulum al-Sihha wal-B'ia (Health and Environmental Sciences)*, 10th grade textbook, p. 122) c. “the Palestinian family has problems... stemming from the occupation... it loses father, mother or son to death or imprisonment... endures the difficulties of life... (p. 11) (*Al-Tarbiyah al-Wataniyya (National Education)*, 5th grade textbook, p. 23).

5. The new Palestinian School Books make the false claim that an “extremist Zionist” set fire to the Al-Aqsa Mosque in 1969 (p. 12) (*Tarikh al'Alam al-Hadith wal-Mu'asir (History of the new Modern World)*, 10th grade textbook, p. 106) when it was really a mentally unstable fundamentalist Christian Australian.

6. The new Palestinian School Books teach that the 1st Zionist Congress at Basel fostered the Zionist State based on a secret decision of what came to be known as the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion”. (p. 13) (*Tarikh al-'Alam al-Hadith wal Mu-'asir (History of the News Modern World)*, 10th grade textbook, pp. 60-64).

7. The new Palestinian School books teach that the only ancient inhabitants of Israel were Arabs, ignoring any ancient Jewish presence. “Concentrated... in the land of Al-Sham {Greater Syria}... was the culture of the Canaanite and Aramaic peoples who migrated there from the Arab peninsula” (p.14-15) (Tarikh al-Hadarat al-Qadima (History of Ancient Civilizations), 5th grade textbook, Foreward).

8. The new Palestinian schoolbooks teach that Palestinians must use war and violence to accomplish their goals, especially martyrdom. (p.18) The heroic mother, “who incessantly presents one sacrifice [fida’] after another” (Lughatuna al-Jamila (Our Beautiful Language), Vol 2, 5th grade textbook, p. 31). The warrior goes to war faced with one of the: victory or martyrdom in battle for the sake of Allah. (Ibid. Vol. 1, 5th grade textbook, p. 70). (p.19) “Allah designated the people of this land (Al-Sham and Palestine) to an important task: they must stand on the forefront of the Muslim campaign against their enemies, and only if they fulfill their duty to their religion, nation, and land will they be rewarded as stated in the scriptures.” (Al-Tarbiya al-Islamiyyah (Islamic Education), Vol 2, 10th grade textbook, p. 50).

9. The new Palestinian schoolbooks feature children with names such as Jihad (holy war) and Nidal (struggle). (p.22) (Tarikh al-Hadarat al-Qadima (History of Ancient Civilizations), 5th grade textbook, p.6).

10. The new Palestinian schoolbooks stress the importance of “return” of refugees to all of Palestine – by violence, if necessary. (p. 22) “The wrong must be made right by returning them to their homes: we returned to the homeland after a long absence”.(Lughatuna al-Jamila (Our Beautiful Language), Vol 2, 5th grade textbook, p. 43). “Returning to the homes, the plains and the mountains, under the banners of glory, jihad [holy war] and struggle” (Lughatuna al-Jamila (Our Beautiful Language), Vol 1, 5th grade textbook, p.88).

If the path to peace is paved with education, that path is not being taken by the Palestinian Authority.

### **Mohammed and Meira Begin First Grade**

*David Bedein, The Jewish Week, August 31, 2000*

I work with a senior Palestinian television journalist named Mustafah. Like me, he turns fifty this month. Like me, has a six-year-old child, Muhammad, who will begin first grade this week.

My daughter, Meira, is excited to know that very, very soon she will learn how to read and write like her older siblings. I witness the same excitement from Muhammad while visiting his home in Ramallah, as I sitting with his entire family.

Muhammad always runs to get me Kosher cookies when I come to work with his father on a filming assignment. He tells me that now that he is in first grade he'll be able to read the kosher label on the cookies.

When I joined Mustafa this week to cover the beginning of the school year in both the Israeli and Palestinian first grades, the difference in the curriculum could not be more dissonant.

When I went to the curricula center in Al Bira, the well-kept middle class Palestinian suburb of Ramallah, the PA director of textbooks and printings, showed my Muhammad and I the new schoolbooks. This is the first publication undertaken by the Palestinian Authority, itself, with special grants received from the nations of the European community. The books would be used by students in first and sixth grade.

The other textbooks used by Palestinian school children, published for the PA in Egypt and in Jordan, are rampant with passages preparing Palestinian children for war against the State of Israel, describing the Jewish state in Nazi-like terms.

During the time the Israeli civil administration supervised the Palestinian school system, until 1994, Israel had deleted all such passages. The PA simply reinstated them.

Many people hoped that the new textbooks published by the Palestinian Authority would contain passages of peace. Unfortunately, this was not the case.

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

The history and geography books for both the first and sixth grades contain maps which portraying all of Israel as Palestine. Numerous additional passages call on a new generation of Palestinian children to liberate all of Jerusalem and all of Palestine.

The contrast between the PA textbooks and what Israeli schoolchildren are learning is striking. A peace curriculum has been required in the Israeli schools and in Israel's educational television programming since 1993.

As I browsed through the Palestinian schoolbooks, I could not help but think about the Meira and Muhmmad. My daughter knows the Arabic version of the Sesame Street song "Let's Be Friends" from the program that she has been watching on Israeli educational TV since she was four. In fact, she sometimes insists on singing it at the Sabbath table. For her, the possibility that she might befriends Arab children her own age has been an accepted reality of hers from a very young age.

Muhammad, on the other hand, can't stop singing the Biladi (My Land) song of the PLO, set to its marching, militaristic music; the song that calls on every Palestinian youngster to take up arms against the Jews.

Such manipulation of children was not expected to be part of the peace process. After all, "peace education" was to be included in the second paragraph of the Oslo Declaration of Principles, issued and signed by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Norwegian Foreign Minister Jorgen Holst, and PLO leader Yasser Yasser Arafat in September 1993.

Today, almost seven years to the day from the signing of the Declaration of Principles, and despite numerous grass-roots efforts at reconciliation, the official organs of the PLO and its administrative creation, the Palestinian Authority, have yet to issue their first statement in Arabic that calls for peace and reconciliation with Zionism and/or the State of Israel.

I inquired as to whether the Italian consul, Mr. Gianni Ghisi, the person responsible for organizing the European consuls to fund the new Palestinian textbooks, had even seen the new textbooks of the Palestinian Authority that he had funded.

Mr. Ghisi responded by saying that the PA would not let him see the books before they were published, despite an agreement that they had to review the texts before publication.

Recognizing that the PLO and the PA had instead substituted incitement for peace in their official rhetoric, the US, the PLO and Israel agreed at the Wye

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conference in October, 1998 to establish a continuing task force to address the subject of official PLO incitement to war. The task force met consistently for more than a year, even into the Barak administration, which assumed the helm of Israeli leadership in July 1999.

Barak appointed Yaakov Erez, Editor of Ma'ariv, Israel's daily newspaper, to head Israel's delegation to the task force on incitement.

The Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace, an agency that monitors schoolbooks on all sides of the Middle-East conflict, dispatched streams of material to the task force, and organized an unusual nonpartisan session of the Knesset (Israeli parliament) in May to address the subject of PA education, which constantly depicts Israel as a Nazi entity that needs to be wiped off of the face of the earth.

Following my visit to the PA curriculum center in Al-Bira where I had perused the new textbooks of the PA, I called Yaakov Erez to ask him if the textbooks had been evaluated by the task force on incitement. Erez told me that he had resigned from the committee, and referred me to the Israel Foreign Ministry, who had assigned a senior staff member to continue Israeli representation at the committee.

When I got to the Israel Foreign Ministry and finally located the staff person was assigned to the incitement committee, he informed me that the task force on incitement was no longer holding sessions. The reason he gave was lack of interest demonstrated by the current US ambassador.

So there you have it.

Meira begins first grade knowing the Sesame Street song in Arabic by heart, wondering aloud if she will ever have an Arab friend, while, on his first day of school, Muhammad will be handed a map of Israel where the name of the legal state is replaced with the name Palestine. Meira will learn tolerance and democracy while Muhammad will be inculcated to do everything that he can in his young life to make war on my children.

It was therefore not surprising to see the front-page story of the New York Times, on August 3, 2000, entitled "Palestinian Summer Camps Offer Games of War," documented how the schoolyards of Palestinian educational institutions were used all summer to train Palestinian school children in the art of war.

**Why Does the US Government Not Examine the Curriculum of the Palestinian Authority Before Launching Campaign to Finance the PA Schools?**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, June 23, 2005*

Our news agency asked the US Embassy in Tel Aviv as to why it was providing funds to the Palestinian Authority school system, coconsidering the nature of the curriculum, as translated at [www.edume.org](http://www.edume.org).

The answer from the US Embassy was that this was an issue for US AID and not a matter for the US State Department.

US AID has not examined the curriculum. When asked as to why, US AID indicated that this was a State Department issue.

At a time when the US is about to facilitate funds for the PA schools from nations around the world, the question remains: Why does the US government not examine the curriculum of the PA, which speaks for itself.

**Will Bush Fund 'Education For War' Curriculum?**

*David Bedein, Front Page Magazine, June 20, 2007*

This week, President Bush, meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, announced that the U.S. government will renew funding for "humanitarian needs" of the Palestinian Authority, on the assumption, as Bush emphasized, that this aid will bolster the "moderate" elements of the Palestinian Authority.

One of those "humanitarian" needs involved funding the schools of the Palestinian Authority.

The question remains, however, whether the U.S. government should consider schools of the Palestinian Authority as one of those "moderate" elements that should once again be funded by the U.S. government.

Indeed, Congressman Brad Sherman (D-Calif.) told this reporter that, following the death of PLO leader and founder Yassir Arafat in November 2004, one of the clear promises made by Palestinian Authority leader Mahmoud Abbas was that he would introduce textbooks that would promote peace and tolerance. When Rep. Sherman and 34 other congressmen confronted Abbas during his trip to Washington in May 2005 with the crass anti-Semitic incitement that was then being taught in the Palestinian schools, Abbas' defense was that these schoolbooks were published before he was elected leader of the Palestinian Authority in January 2005, and he promised to make improvements.

Now, two years later, new PA textbooks for 11th and 12th grade have been published, and the first books published during Abbas' reign hardly educate for peace with Israel.

Instead they promote the ideal of a violent struggle against Israel.

Dr. Arnon Groiss, who holds a Ph.D. in Islamic Studies at Princeton University, and who serves as a senior researcher for the Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace, [www.edume.org](http://www.edume.org), translated these new schoolbooks and was recently invited to make a presentation for the European Parliament in Brussels, because of the EU member funding for the Palestinian Authority school system.

Dr. Groiss reported that the new PA schoolbooks teach the following values:

- \* Jews are foreigners and have no rights whatsoever in Palestine.
- \* The Jews have a dubious and even murderous character.
- \* Israel is an illegitimate usurper who occupied Palestine in 1948 and 1967.
- \* Israel is the source of all kinds of evil done to the Palestinians.
- \* Peace with Israel based on reconciliation is never sought.
- \* A violent struggle for liberation is encouraged instead.
- \* The exact area to be liberated is never restricted to the West Bank and Gaza alone.
- \* Jihad and martyrdom are glorified and terrorist activities against Israel are implicitly encouraged.
- \* The West is imperialist, aspires to world hegemony, directs a cultural attack against Islam and supports Israel.

Groiss note that the PA schoolbooks teach the students that Palestine and Jerusalem has been Arab since antiquity, on account of the ancient Canaanites and Jebusites who are presented as Arabs. All others, including the Jews, were foreign invaders with no legitimate rights in the country.

In these new Palestinian schoolbooks, which were produced by the Fatah-dominated Palestinian Authority, not by the Hamas, Jewish holy places in the country are not recognized.

Instead, they are presented as Muslim holy places usurped by the Jews. Groiss points out that the Jewish holy place of Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem is renamed "Bilal bin Rabbah Mosque" in 2001, while in 1996 it was still called "Rachel's Dome" in another textbook. We are witnessing here a new myth in the making.

In his presentation, Groiss brought up numerous examples of how the new Palestinian textbooks teach that Israel is solely responsible for the conflict and the Palestinians are Israel's victims. The Arab armed opposition to the U.N. Partition Resolution of 1947 is not mentioned, nor is the invasion of seven Arab armies on the day that Israel declared independence in 1948.

Groiss assembled a list of 25 accusations against Israel that appear in the Palestinian school books, which include the following:

- \* Israel contributes to Palestinian social ills and family violence
- \* Israel causes the increase of drug abuse cases in Palestinian society
- \* Israel pollutes the Palestinian environment
- \* Israel usurps Muslim and Christian holy places
- \* Israel strives to obliterate the Palestinian national identity and heritage.

The books also glorify those who kill Jews and achieve martyrdom; one book reads: "... The flow of blood gladdens my soul, as well as a body thrown upon the ground, skirmished over by the desert predators." In other cases, martyrdom is described as a wedding party.

These new Palestinian schoolbooks thus obliterate Israel as a sovereign state, present it as an enemy that one should fight to the end.

In other words, in Groiss' words, "they teach war rather than peace." The question that the Bush administration must now cope with is whether or not to fund the Palestinian war curriculum in the framework of "humanitarian" gestures for "moderate" elements in the Palestinian milieu.

### **Abbas's "PHD" Which Asserts That The Zionist Worked with The Nazis to Murder Jews during World War II**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, April 30, 2011*

This month, our agency is preparing a new documentary film on Palestinian Authority education, whose schools and school books are funded by democracies around the world, with the encouragement of the Israeli government.

Yet what you come across in every Palestinian Authority school and in every library in every Palestinian University, is the Doctorate of Machmud Abbas, chairman of the Palestinian Authority, is prominently displayed, on the shelves of all Palestinian educational institutions.

The title of Abbas's doctoral is "Zionist leadership and the Nazis," which deals with "The secret ties between the Nazis and the Zionist movement leadership." Abbas' dissertation was written in 1982 in Moscow, at the Patricia Lumumba Institute for Oriental Studies.

That institute was headed by Yevgeny Primakov, a Jew, an Arabist, an ally of Saddam Hussein and other Arab rulers, and eventually the prime minister of Russia.

Abbas claims in his work that the Zionist leadership was interested in convincing the world that a large number of Jews were killed during the war in order to "attain larger gains" after the war and to "divide the booty."

Abbas's PHD actually raises doubts that gas chambers were used to kill Jews.

Abbas goes so far as to claim that gas chambers were not used to kill anyone but only to disinfect them and burn bodies to prevent disease.

Abbas' central theme is that the Zionist movement and its various branches worked hand in hand with the Nazis against the Jewish people, collaborating with them for the Jews' destruction because the Zionist leaders viewed "Palestine" as the only legitimate place for Jewish immigration.

Despite professing such outrageous views, which Abbas has never publicly retracted, Abu Mazen has nevertheless been hailed by the media and politicians alike as a voice of moderation.

In May 2003, two months after Abbas became the Prime Minister of the Palestinian Authority, Rabbi Abraham Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center declared that "It is time for Prime Minister Abu Mazen to publicly denounce Holocaust Denial to his constituency and to install leaders in Media and Education Ministries who are prepared to teach Palestinian children the truth about their Jewish neighbors." Yet in a May 31st, 2003 meeting with Israeli reporters, Abbas would not apologize nor retract of the holocaust denial thesis that he had written. Since that time, Abbas has consistently refused to distance himself from his thesis that the Zionist Movement perpetrated the mass murder of Jews during World War II in cooperation with the Third Reich.

In a meeting with American Jews in June 2010, Abbas was quoted as saying that he "rejected Holocaust denial." Indeed, Abbas does not deny that a holocaust of the Jewish people took place.

Instead, Abbas inculcates a new generation of Palestinians to believe that Jews carried out the crime.

In other words, with the sanction of both the Palestinian school system, and the head of the Palestinian Authority himself, a new generation of Palestinian pupils learn that the mass murder of Jews in World War II was carried out by Jews.

Our agency asked the spokespeople of the government of Israel if they would demand that Abbas and the Palestinian Ministry of Education to remove Abbas's holocaust distortion thesis from the shelves of Palestinian schools and from the Palestinian Authority curriculum.

We also asked if Israel would ask the 38 donor nations to PA education if they would make a similar request.

The Israeli Prime Minister's office answered only in general terms, saying "The issue of incitement is constantly raised with the PA, notably the incitement prevalent in its schools and curriculum."

However, the Israeli government has never made a specific request that the PA remove Abbas's thesis from the shelves of Palestinian education.

### **A Tribute to Archbishop Pietro Sambì, whose memory is being observed today in Washington, DC**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, September 15, 2011*

On September 14, 2011, a memorial service was held for Archbishop Pietro Sambì, the Pope's ambassador to the United States and formerly the Papal Nuncio in Jerusalem. He died very recently.

I knew this man. During his tenure in Jerusalem, from 1998 until 2005, the Papal Nuncio proved a remarkable sensitivity to antisemitism, which transcended that of many Jewish organizations or the government of Israel.

Archbishop Pietro Sambì was open to reviewing information that came to his attention and was not afraid to take a stand, which may make him enemies in some circles.

During the summer of 2000, our news agency purchased five sets of the new PA schoolbooks from the PA Ministry of Education.

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This was the first time that the PA issued their own schoolbooks. The content of the books would indicate their disposition towards peace and reconciliation with Israel.

When Arabic speaking colleagues took a first glance at the books, they were shocked to see that the books represented a new tool of indoctrination for war against Israel.

I brought a set of the books to the Dr. Shlomo Ben Ami, then the Israel Minister of Foreign Affairs and showed him the books, where he could see that the new maps produced by the nascent PA deleted Israel for every PA school child to see that only Palestine existed between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River.

Ben Ami shrugged his shoulders when he looked at the new PA schoolbooks.

It was if he was looking at the Manhattan telephone book.

As I left the minister's his office, Archbishop Pietro Sambì called me on my cell phone with a request: Could I bring the PA schoolbooks to him immediately. – "The Pope wants to see them." The honorary chairman of the ADL in Israel, Mr. Jack Padwa, had informed the Archbishop that our agency had purchased these books.

Having never received a Papal request on my cell phone before, I took a taxi to the Archbishop's office on the Mount of Olives and delivered the books to the Archbishop – the set that the Israel Minister of Foreign Affairs did not want to look at.

Archbishop Sambì brought the books with him to Rome, and initiated a study of the PA textbooks, which the Vatican determined to be anti-Semitic and pro-war in nature. At the recommendation of Archbishop Sambì, the Italian government pulled its money out of the Palestinian Ministry of Education's PA textbook project.

Archbishop Sambì later told me with his wry sense of humor that before calling my cell phone, he had called my home and my office where my children and my secretary thought that this was a prank, and that I could not possibly have been receiving a personal call from the Vatican's ambassador.

This was not the only time that Archbishop Sambì stuck his neck out to attack PA anti-Semitism.

Our agency covered a talk given by the Vatican ambassador for an American congressional delegation, during which he excoriated the US officials for US AID funding of the Palestinian State constitution, which the Archbishop described as creating a Sharia law system modeled on Saudi Arabia which

would deny juridical status to Judaism, anywhere in Palestine, which he viewed as an “outrage.” The status of Christianity is not much better in their new constitution, according to the Archbishop. And over the past few years, the Archbishop has let his voice be heard concerning the persecution of Christians in the PA.

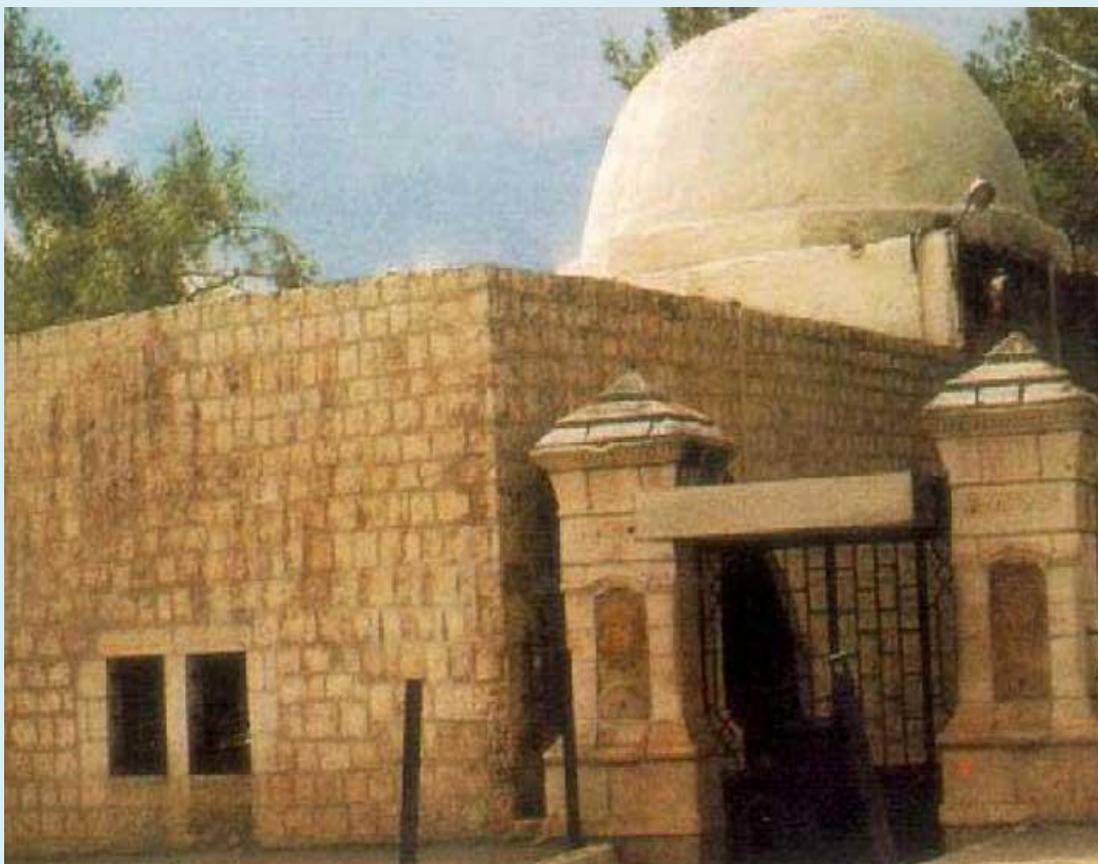
Meanwhile, Archbishop Sambí was the first and only member of the diplomatic corps to object to the death sentence meted out by the PA to dissidents, as if they were “collaborators.”

Meanwhile, throughout his term in office, Archbishop Sambí often asked to be briefed concerning reports of official anti-Semitism from the PA media, and from the PA mosques, and expressed his displeasure of such with Arafat and then with Abbas.

And when the PA spokespeople announced in August 2005, that they would burn the synagogues in Gush Katif, Archbishop Sambí personally intervened.

After all, Archbishop Sambí noted, if the Moslem authorities had guarded the ancient synagogue in the center of Gaza from desecration, why could they not do so again with the Jewish holy sites that would now be abandoned.

However, the voice of the archbishop was not heeded – not even by Jews who should have acknowledged that the PA was intent on establishing a warlike, anti-Semitic state.



### **Rachel's Tomb Hijacked**

*David Bedein, Front Page Magazine, November 3, 2014*

On the 11th of Heshvan, which this year falls on November 4, Jews observe the “yaarzeit” memorial for Rachel, the Biblical matriarch who bore Joseph and died in childbirth as Benjamin was born.

As part of our agency’s continuing reportage of the PA school books now used in the UNRWA educational facilities, funded by the US, the EU and other western nations, we have come across a newsworthy phenomenon: UNRWA schools now teach that Rachel’s tomb is a shrine to a Moslem.

This is consistent with PA educational policy, which does not recognize any area in any part of Palestine, between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River, as Holy to Jews. UNRWA students learn that the Western Wall, the

Temple Mount in Jerusalem and the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron are exclusively holy and special to Moslems, and devoid of anything Jewish.

However, after the founding of the PA in 1994, the initial Palestinian Authority textbook recognized Rachel's tomb, described as "Qabr Rahil" in a chapter about Bethlehem (pp. 87-90) in a paragraph titled "the most important historical and religious sites" (pp. 88-89), second to the Church of the Nativity. That text, on top of p. 89 is translated as: "Rachel's Tomb: The mother of our lord Joseph and the wife of Jacob, peace be upon them both". The textbook in which this sentence appears is titled "Palestinian National Education" for grade 6 and it was published by the Ministry of Education of the Palestinian National Authority in 1996.

However, The Palestinian Authority Ministry of Education has now transformed the "Tomb of Rachel" into "The Mosque of Bilal bin Rabbah" in the "National Education" textbook, which is used by the 492,000 students in the UNRWA camps for grade 7.

In the chapter titled "Attempts at Obliterating the Palestinian Heritage" (pp. 54-57) there are features on p. 54 – photos of four places of which one is Rachel's Tomb which the PA subtitled as "the Mosque of Bilal bin Raba (Bethlehem)". On p. 55, in a sub-chapter titled "The attempts at obliterating the Palestinian heritage include the following manifestations:" one can find the following: "The attempt to Judaize [tahwid] some of the Muslim religious places such as the Ibrahimi Mosque [the Cave of the Patriarchs] and the Mosque of Bilal bin Rabbah (near Bethlehem)."

On p. 56, there is a tendentious paragraph which declares that: "Several Palestinian, Arab and Islamic centers and associations were established and they work to revive the Arab-Palestinian heritage in order to keep Palestine, and Jerusalem specifically, Arab."

The Palestinian Ministry of Education has also issued educational pamphlets about Palestine and its "heritage", such as: the Al-Buraq Wall the Western Wall, the Mosque of Bilal bin Rabbah Rachel's Dome [Qubbat Rahil]. At the bottom of the same page there are four questions for all students to answer. No. 2 reads: "Give the names of mosques and [other] Muslim and Christian religious sites of which the features the Israelis have tried to change."

On p. 57 there is an assignment in which the student is requested to write "Yes" or "No" next to various statements.

No. 3 in this assignment reads: "The holy site of Bilal bin Rabbah is located near Bethlehem."

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As for Bilal bin Rabbah, he was an Ethiopian (male, not a female) slave in Mecca who heard Muhammad preaching there and became a Muslim.

He was then severely tortured by his master but stayed a devoted Muslim. One of Muhammad's companions, Abu Bakr, bought and freed him and Muhammad made him the first muadhin (caller to prayer).

Some sources say that he accompanied Caliph Omar on the latter's trip to Jerusalem following its conquest in 636 and on their way back the time of prayer came and he called to prayer at the place that was always known as Rachel's Tomb – until the Palestinian Authority arrived on the scene.

An aside: These new PA textbooks were financed by Ireland, Holland, Belgium and Finland. Italy had initially committed itself to help finance the new PA schoolbooks.

However, Archbishop Pietro Sambi, of blessed memory, who served as the Papal Nuncio, the Vatican ambassador in Jerusalem, between 1998 and 2006, reviewed the new Palestinian Authority schoolbooks and described them as "anti-Israel war manuals" and asked the Italian government to withdraw support for the new Palestinian schoolbook project. Italy, indeed, cancelled its sponsorship of the publication of the new Palestinian Authority schoolbooks, at the request of the Vatican.

When I showed the new school books of the Palestinian Authority to Ehud Olmert, when he was Mayor of Jerusalem, he said, curtly, that we will teach what we want and they will teach what they want"

Dr. Arnon Gross did the research for this article. Dr. Groiss holds a PHD in Islamic Studies from Princeton, and has worked as senior correspondent for the Arabic language service of the Israel Broadcasting Authority for the past forty years.

**Israel and Jews in Palestinian Authority (PA) Schoolbooks: used in schools run by the PA, Hamas, and UNRWA: De-legitimization, Demonization, Advocacy of Violent Struggle rather than Peace, of Jihad, Martyrdom and the Right of Return**

*David Bedein and Dr. Arnon Groiss, Israel Resource Review, October 16, 2015*

**Introduction:**

From the genesis of the Palestinian Authority (PA) school curriculum in 2000, the new schools of the PA adopted a policy of teaching the next generation to venerate the 'right of return' to Palestine, all of Palestine, by means of holy war, martyrdom and education. Many of these schools are located in facilities run by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) and funded by more than 40 donor nations.

The PA rejected other curricula prepared by Berzeit University, a Palestinian academic facility located near Ramallah, which emphasized reconciliation and peace.

Former Israeli Intelligence Affairs Minister Dr. Yuval Steinitz and Director General of his ministry, Brig.-Gen. (ret.) Yossi Kuperwasser were the first to denounce the school system by holding an unprecedented press conference denouncing the PA school system and sharing evidence with the media how Adolf Hitler is a central figure in these schools serving as a role model.

On March 1, 2000, Shimon Peres, then the Israel Minister of Regional Development, addressed the international colloquium of the Jewish media, lavishing praise on the new Palestinian school curriculum for peace.

When I asked Peres to comment on the fact that the Palestinian school curriculum for peace which he referred to had been vetoed by the PA, Peres simply answered "I know," and encouraged me to go directly to the PA Minister of Education to get the new school books, since they would be issued in a few months time, and I did just that.

When the new PA textbooks were published in August of 2000, I traveled to Ramallah and met with the Minister of Education, Dr. Nayim Abu Humus, who authorized our agency to buy all of the new schoolbooks.

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

Dr. Abu Hummus asked that in return we give publicity to the books, which we readily agreed to do. Returning to Jerusalem, giving a cursory review of the books, our Arabic language journalist colleagues noted that they were problematic.

I brought a set of the books to the Dr. Shlomo Ben Ami, then the Israel Minister of Foreign Affairs and showed him the books, where he could see that the new maps produced by the nascent Palestinian Authority deleted Israel for every PA school child to see that only Palestine existed between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River.

In those textbooks, there were lessons where Palestinian children learned about the armed struggle to liberate all of Palestine. Palestinian children learned about Zionism as a war crime, and specific lessons instructed Palestinian children to revere those who murdered Jews.

Ben Ami looked at the new PA schoolbooks as if I had brought him the Manhattan telephone book for his perusal.

As I left the minister's office, Archbishop Pietro Sambi, the Pope's "ambassador to the Holy Land," called my cell phone with a request: Could I bring the PA school books to him immediately— "the Pope wants to see them." Honorary chairman of the ADL in Israel, the late Jack Padwa, had informed the Archbishop that I had purchased these books.

Together with Padwa, I traveled to the Archbishop's office on the Mount of Olives and delivered the books to the Archbishop – the set that the Israel Minister of Foreign Affairs did not want to look at.

The Vatican's ambassador assured us that the Pope would commission the first translation of the new Palestinian Schoolbooks, which he did.

Archbishop Sambi brought the books with him to Rome, and initiated a study of the PA textbooks, which the Vatican determined to be anti-Semitic and pro-war in nature.

One month later, at the recommendation of the Pope and with the encouragement of Archbishop Sambi, the Italian government announced that it would pull its money out of the Palestinian Ministry of Education's PA textbook project.

Between the years 2000-2006 the PA introduced a new curriculum to be taught in all schools in the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem. Over 250 books for grades 1-12 in various subjects were published within a project heavily financed by European countries. The books are reprinted with minor changes each year, but the fundamental teachings regarding Israel and the Jews have not—de-

legitimization of Israel and the Jews' presence in the country, demonization of Israel and the Jews, non-advocacy of a peaceful solution to the conflict and, instead, an emphasis on a violent struggle through jihad, martyrdom, and the so-called "Right of Return" for the liberation of Palestine "from river to sea" are the main principles.

### **Funding from the West**

While the world media descended on Israel to cover the hard-fought Israel prime ministerial election campaign between dovish Labor incumbent Ehud Barak and hawkish Likud challenger Ariel Sharon in 2001, the international press downplayed the issue that united both Barak and Sharon—peace agreements will not be signed unless and until the PLO's Palestinian Authority engages in peace education, as required by all agreements signed between Israel and the PA.

Those agreements between Israel and the PA mandated both parties to prepare their respective populations of children for a new era—one of reconciliation and mutual recognition.

While the Israeli school curriculum was drastically adjusted to pioneer a peace education curriculum, the PA rejected any parallel peace curriculum for the school system under its control.

Ironically, neither Barak nor Sharon exclusively blamed the PLO for its curriculum of incitement against the Jews. Instead, they both pointed a finger at the nations who fund the curriculum.

Palestinian education has been funded since 1994, by a consortium of nations led by the United States, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Finland, Ireland, and until recently, Canada. All of these nations participate in the funding of UNRWA, which provides health, education and welfare services for the Palestinian refugee population under the civil control of the PA.

The content of these schoolbooks, has been known to the donor nations of the PA for the past few years, thanks to exhaustive reports published by The Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace, yet there has not yet been any reaction from the donor nations, despite the fact that they are supposed to vet the content of the textbooks.

### **Remaining in the dark**

The school system of the nascent Palestinian Authority, established in the wake of the Oslo peace process, fostered the first curriculum since Nazi Germany to

train children the art of war against the Jews. Yet, the thorough research of the schoolbooks of the PA remains a mystery to most people in Israel. Why?

The CMIP originally presented its evaluation of the Palestinian Authority schoolbooks at a well-attended press conference in November of 2000. But, the Israeli media effectively shielded and left the Israeli public in the dark concerning the PA curriculum.

Several media outlets were noticeably absent from the conference: HaAretz, Yediot and Maariv. The Jewish Telegraphic Agency, which supplies releases to all the Jewish media and Jewish organization, was also not there and would not report on the education system. Israel TV was there, but delayed the news of the press conference from its main 9 p.m. newscast until the less viewed midnight newscast. Israel Kol Yisrael Radio news ran a story of the press conference on exactly two newscasts.

This was in 2000. To this day, things have changed ever so slightly. The media somewhat covers the problems with the PA curriculum. Israeli news sources cover the UN visit to UNRWA schools where they see the discrepancies. The Israeli government does investigate, protest and condone the content of the PA schoolbooks but not the direct funders of the education system. Israel has banned the textbooks from being taught in schools, but in practice, this is not the case.

Even though there have been advancements in the protest against the system, the average Israeli simply does not know about the PA education. Israel's largest allies are the some of the biggest proponents to the PA schoolbook project despite the lack of peace education. At the heart of the Israeli's are left in the dark and remaining ignorant to a problem right besides them.

### **Content of the Schoolbooks**

The books in question include passages praising terrorists killed while attacking Israel as "martyrs." They also teach children that Arabs descended from those who fled Israel during the War of Independence have a right to "return" to Israel.

The finding that the textbooks in Arab schools in Jerusalem are as problematic as those used in PA schools elsewhere is backed by a frank interview with PA Minister of Education Lamis al-Alami, who affirmed that the textbooks provided by the PA for UNRWA schools are precisely the same in Jerusalem as in Ramallah, Shechem and Gaza.

These books discuss war against Israel, martyrs, and the right of return. It's the first education system since the Third Reich that prepares its pupils to demonize and to wage war against the Jews.

Verify this for yourself—go to bookstores on Salah A-Din Street, a major road in Eastern Jerusalem, and compare the books you see there to those sold in Ramallah and Gaza. They're the same thing, books engaging students in racist incitement against the Jewish people.

Arab schools in Jerusalem receive funding from the Jerusalem municipality. UNRWA schools in Jerusalem and elsewhere receive much of their funding from 38 nations, primarily from the United States and the European Union. Two UNRWA facilities are located inside Jerusalem – in the neighborhoods of Shuafat and Kalandia.

The issue of incitement in Jerusalem schools was first raised 10 years ago. Former Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, then mayor of Jerusalem, responded at a news conference to the incitement in the PA school books being used by Arab schools with funding from the Jerusalem municipality and the Israel Ministry of Education with little concern. “They can teach what they want, and we’ll teach what we want,” Olmert said.

Investigations by the US State Department and the Israel Palestine Center for Research and Information (IPCRI) concluded that Palestinian textbooks do not explicitly incite violence against Jews, but are indeed biased and contain inaccuracies. The material offers a unique perspective on the Palestinian attitude towards Israel, mirroring the political conflict between Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

The central problems found with the content of the textbooks can be sorted into the following categories: de-legitimization, demonization and dehumanization, and the violent struggle, jihadism, martyrdom and the “right of return” rather than peace.

The following examples are taken from the newest versions available, which are identical to the content of the textbooks published in 2014 and 2015.

### **De-legitimization**

1. Israel’s establishment in 1948 by virtue of the 1947 UN Partition Resolution is considered “occupation:”

“The Israeli Occupation - A disaster fell upon Palestinian society in 1948 at the hands of the Zionist organizations as most of the Palestinians were forced to emigrate from their land and the State of Israel was established on part of Palestine...”

(National Education, Grade 5 (2014) p. 30)

2. The country in its entirety is “Arab and Muslim”, as shown on the map:

“Lesson Four: Palestine is Arab and Muslim”

“The Palestinian people is part of the Arab-Muslim nation”

[The inscription next to the country says:] “Palestine”

(National Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2015) p. 16)

3. Palestine replaces Israel in the region: “Land of the Levant [Bilad al-Sham in Arabic] was so named because it is located to the north of the honorable Ka’bah. The land of the Levant presently comprises the following states: Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria.” (History of the Ancient Civilizations, Grade 5 (2014) p. 27)

4. The State of Palestine replaces Israel in the following illustration that accompanies a mathematics assignment: “13. The independence of the State of Palestine was proclaimed in the year 1988 [in Algiers]. How many years have passed since the proclamation of independence?

The answer:...” (Mathematics, Grade 3, Part 1 (2012) p. 80)

5. Israel’s 6-million Jews are not counted among the inhabitants of the country, while Israel’s Arab citizens are (and note the use of the word “Interior” as an interlocution for Israeli territory):

“Activity 3: Let us examine the figures – the inhabitants of Palestine on 1.2.1999

1) The [West] Bank	1,972,000	
2) [The] Gaza [Strip]	1,113,000	36%
3) The Palestinians of the “Interior” [i.e., pre-67 Israel]	1,094,000	13%
4) The Palestinians of the diaspora	4,419,000	51%
Total	8,598,000	100%

(National Education, Grade 6 (2014) p. 10)

### **Demonization and De-Humanization**

1. A poem demonizing the Israeli/Jewish person:

“How would you respond if an alien person attacked your family –

Having been dazzled by his weapon he bared a wolf’s fang

How would you respond if he claimed that the date palm grove and the orange orchard and your Arab olive trees And yourself, and your wife Salma and your decent sons” (Reading and Texts, Grade 9, Part 2 (2014) pp. 51-53)

2. Jews/Israelis are described as invading snakes:

“By your life! How come that snakes invade us...”

(Arabic Language: Linguistic Studies, Grade 12 [Humanities & Sciences] (2015) p. 63)

3. Killing of Jews is presented as a precondition of the End of Days:

“Fighting the Jews and the victory over them: The Messenger [Muhammad] already announced [the good news of] the end of the Jews’ oppression upon this Holy Land and the removal of their corruption and of their occupation thereof. [It is told] by Abu Hurayrah [one of Muhammad’s Companions] that the Prophet said: The End of Days will not take place until the Muslims fight the Jews, and the Muslims will kill them to a point that a Jew will hide behind a rock or a tree, and then the rock or the tree will say: ‘O Muslim, O God’s servant, there is a Jew behind me, so come and kill him’, except the salt bush, for it is one of the Jews’ trees”

(Faith, Grade 11 [Shar’i stream] (2013) p. 94)

### **Violent Struggle, Jihad, Martyrdom and the Right of Return rather than Peace**

1. Jihad in Palestine (the first verse of a poem):

“Lesson 11: Palestine By the poet Ali Mahmud Taha

O brother, the oppressors have exceeded all bounds and Jihad and sacrifice are necessary...”

(Reading and Texts, Grade 8, Part 1 (2015) p. 44)

2. The “Martyr” poem (excerpts – including a verse directly calling for martyrdom):

“The Martyr [Excerpts]

Hearing [weapons’] clash is pleasant to my ear

And the flow of blood gladdens my soul

As well as a body thrown upon the ground

Skirmished over by the desert predators

By your life! This is the death of men

And whoever asks for a noble death this is it!”

(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 7, Part 1 (2014) p. 75)

3. Another poetical verse portrays martyrdom as a wedding party:

“O my homeland, I would not cry in this wedding party

For our Arab character refuses that we cry over the martyrs”

(Arabic Language: Linguistic Studies, Grade 12 [Humanities & Sciences] (2015) p. 8)

4. The violent character of the presumed return of millions of the so-called refugees into present-day Israel:

“We Are Returning

Returning, returning, we are returning

Borders shall not exist, nor citadels and fortresses

Cry out, O those who have left:

We are returning

Returning to the homes, to the valleys, to the mountains

Under the flag of glory, Jihad and struggle

With blood, sacrifice, fraternity and loyalty

We are returning

Returning, O hills; returning, O heights

Returning to childhood; returning to youth To Jihad in the hills, [to] harvest in the land

While it would seem logical that aid to the PA in the context of a peace process should be contingent on dropping all incitement, it would seem that logic and foreign aid policies do not always coincide.

### **Call for action and changes to the Palestinian textbooks**

The following is a list of changes that UNRWA must introduce into the Palestinian Authority textbooks used in its schools to make them compatible with the UN's commitment to peace in the Middle East. It is based on 15 years of research done by Dr. Arnon Groiss\*, who reviewed hundreds of Middle Eastern schoolbooks, including those issued by the Palestinian Authority used in UNRWA schools.

### **De-legitimization of the State of Israel**

- Every map showing today's political boundaries in the region should mark Israel's pre-1967 territory by the name "Israel." Such a territory shall not remain unnamed and certainly shall not be named "Palestine" as that constitutes a distortion of the present situation on the ground.
- Israel should be mentioned as an ordinary sovereign state in every text mentioning the region's states currently.
- Every reference to a region, settlement, or site within Israel's pre-1967 lines must not describe such as exclusively Palestinian.
- Every discussion in the books of the holy places in the country should refer to the Jewish holy places alongside the Muslim and Christian ones. Any reference to a place sacred to Jews (such as the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron, and Rachel's Tomb in Bethlehem) should state that fact.
- Any discussion of subjects related to population and demography issues in the country should include the 6 million Jews living there. Any map that shows cities in the country should include the important Jewish cities as well (such as Tel Aviv, Eilat, etc.).
- The books should not use circumlocutions such as "the lands of 48", "the Interior" or "the Green Line" instead of the phrase "Israeli territory."
- Historical documents should not be falsified (for example, the British Mandate stamp). Demonization of Israel.

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- Schoolbooks in use in UNRWA schools should not include pieces with virulent demonization or de-humanization of Israel, or any description that goes beyond the presentation of Israel and/or the Jews as an ordinary adversary with its own rights, interests, and positions.
- It is desired to add to the books the currently non-existent pieces dealing with Israel and the Jews objectively (for example, pieces that talk about the Israeli government structure, economy, science and technology, the Hebrew culture, Jewish history, etc.) that would balance the enormously critical anti-Israel material in the books.
- It is crucially important to stress in the books that, in spite of the war, the Jewish/Israeli individual is also a human being, apart from being an adversary, and should be treated accordingly. UNRWA books should emphasize peace and not endorse the “armed struggle.”
- The Islamic ideas of Jihad and martyrdom should be mentioned in historical context only and not as ideals to strive for.
- Any discussion of what is termed “Nakbah” should stress the fact that the Nakbah was a direct result of a war initiated by the Arab League, and not as Jewish aggression, contrary to what is currently said in the books.
- Within this context, Palestinian Arab children should be taught to recognize their own party’s shared responsibility for past events and not restrict that to the adversary alone. Example: the so-called “Separation Wall” built for defending the Israeli population against bombing attacks by Palestinians.
- The so-called “Right of Return” should only be presented as a demand representing the PLO position regarding “the Refugee Problem” while the solution itself will be attained in the framework of negotiations between the two parties only based on mutual agreement.

## Section 1: Chapter 5 – PLO/PA Civil Liberties and Human Rights

### Importing Protest Professionals for the PLO Cause

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, December 19, 2001*

At a time when few tourists are coming to Jerusalem and fewer people than ever are demonstrating support for the Palestinian cause, a group known as the International Solidarity Movement has organized 62 tourists to come to Jerusalem at this time to organize political demonstrations for the PLO cause.

The Israeli host of this new kind of “solidarity Mission”, the the Alternative Information Center, located at its new office at 4 Shlom Tzion Hamalka Street opposite the Israel Ministry of Interior, acts a clearing house for more than a dozen Israeli left wing organizations.

The IRS tax deductible Fire-doll Foundation in California, an organization that helps Arab human rights organizations, provided subsidies for participants on this mission.

The AIC director, Sergei Yani, says that he supports the solidarity movement’s activities because of what he defines as the “right of oppressed peoples.”

The person spearheading the effort is a 24-year-old woman, Huwaida Arref, born in Michigan to a Palestinian American family and trained in the art of grass roots community organization.

This is not the first project International Solidarity Campaign Last summer, the campaign brought over one hundred volunteers to work in summer camps that demonstrated support for the PLO cause.

The first agenda item of the International Solidarity Movement this week was the organization of a civil disobedience orientation seminar, which took place at the three kings hotel in Jerusalem. According to Huwaida, this is where the guest protesters learned the art of non-violent resistance to potential confrontations with Israeli troops.

After two days of training sessions, Huwaida led the group on a bus trip to Ramalla where their solidarity mission's first activity was to get out of the bus and to lie down in front of IDF tanks that sit on the southern outskirts of the city. Young IDF officers, looking at the group incredulously, simply escorted the group to the nearest checkpoint.

Liad Kantorowicz, the head of the "1948 solidarity group based in Tel Aviv, who is also hosting the visiting delegation, explained that the reason why their delegation lied down in front of the tanks was that the IDF will not harm or even arrest foreign nationals. An IDF spokesman explained that indeed, the IDF cannot arrest foreign nationals, and that they can only detain them and perhaps hand them over to the police.

Kantorowicz, 23, in welcoming the delegation, told them that that the 1949 lines of Israel were internationally recognized borders, which was not the case, that Gilo was part of Beit Jalla, and that half of the Arab refugees today were Arabs who fled the West Bank. When confronted with the fact that UNRWA camps comprise the descendants of the Arabs who fled Israel in 1948, she said that she did not know that.

Well, the IDF did not arrest the delegation when they sat down in front of the tanks. Instead, the surprised young IDF officers simply escorted the delegation back to their bus, where they went off to greet Yassir Arafat.

In their meeting with Arafat, the delegation issued a statement following their meeting in which they lauded Arafat for his support of a "just, comprehensive and lasting peace" based on UN resolutions.

Two of the delegation leaders, Charles Lenchner and Joshua Ruebner, who work with new US-based groups known as "Jews for Peace in Palestine and Israel:" and the "Jewish Unity for a Just Peace," said that they were not aware of Arafat's speech the day before their visit with Arafat in which the PLO leader endorsed suicide attacks to kill Jews in Jerusalem even though they said that they had read the Jerusalem Post that morning which had headlined that speech.

Instead, the delegation informed the PLO leader that they were coming as the first American Jewish delegation to the PA after the September 2000 intifada to call for an end of to the Israeli military occupation of West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem.

Lenchner said that he explicitly called for Israel to withdraw its troops from the Jewish neighborhoods in East Jerusalem.

Since the delegation endorsed all UN resolutions pertaining to the conflict, Lenchner was asked about whether he supported the UN resolutions that back

the “right of return” to Arab neighborhoods in Jerusalem that were overrun by Israel, Lenchner affirmed that that was implicit in his recognition of the “right of return” as a fundamental human right.

When asked about whether the Jews in Bakka should therefore leave their homes and hand them over to Arabs. Lenchner and other members of the delegation said that the people living in Bakka should recognize the principal right of return for Pal refugees.

AIC director, Sergei Yani, went a step further and explained that a justified solution for Arab properties in West Jerusalem would be for the people in Bakka to pay rent to the rightful Arab owners of their homes. Yeni does not fear the possibility of massive Arab return to Israel proper, however. The way he sees it, “if Israel absorbed a million Jews in the past year, it could also absorb a million Arabs.”

The next planned events of the solidarity delegation call for a few days of tree planting near Arab villages in the Shomron where allegations exist that Jewish communities had uprooted the trees. The delegation mentioned that it gets its information from the Rabbis for Human Rights. Although RHR had been mentioned on invitations to the solidarity delegation as a sponsoring host, RHR director Rabbi Arik Ascherman denied that, saying while some of their Rabbis may accompany their trip, that the RHR was may go along. Another key Israeli contact for the group is Neta Golan, a woman who has made it a full time avocation of gathering information from the PLO and handing it over to visiting journalists and diplomats throughout the past year. Neta works full time thanks to a \$10,000 grant that she received from the Bat Shalom feminist peace group, which is a beneficiary of the New Israel Fund.

Neta, often the solitary source for human rights reports, has spent the better part of the past decade as an in-patient in mental health institutions in Israel and in Canada.

Neta was once suffering from delusions in a hospital ward.

Now Neta projects her imagination on to the media.

This weekend, the delegation plans to dismantle IDF checkpoints near the Arab village of Salfit. At the training seminar, the delegation practiced the art of confronting soldiers as “human shields” for the Palestinians, and then lying down to challenge the IDF do anything about that.. Liad Kantorowicz explains that their purpose is to act against settlement outpost, and to remove road-locks between villages, and to use the “internationals” as the way to do it.

When Kantorowicz was asked how she would feel if a suicide killer got through because there was no checkpoint, she said that the killer would have gotten through any way.

The person expressing the greatest appreciation upon the arrival of this delegation was Ghassan Andoni of Beit Sahour, a PA official who conducted various “non violent” activities over the past year, such as the placement of Palestinian flags near IDF bases.

**PA Democracy in Action: Palestine Legislative Council Meets... And PA Security Services Round Up 200 Dissidents and Begin Executions**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, September 15, 2002*

A side show to the Middle East international news attention this week that was focused on Saddam Hussein was provided at the meeting of the Palestinian Legislative Council at the private office compound of Yassir Arafat in Ramallah, a gathering that was acclaimed by the world's press as an exercise that exemplified Palestinian democracy.

So far, so good, unless you want to know the details of what really transpired this week in Ramallah.

Over the past two weeks, the Palestinian Authority security services have rounded up more than 200 dissidents, accusing them of cooperation with Israeli authorities. In the words of Khaled Abu Toamah, writing in the Jerusalem Post on August 24, 2002, reported that all 200 jailed dissidents could expect to be executed very shortly. Many of them have complained of torture and may face execution. Among the suspects are former Fatah and Hamas members who have been leveling accusations against alleged widespread corruption in the Palestinian Authority.

Two of the suspects, are expected to go on trial before a “state security court” in Gaza next month. One of them is Haidar Ghanem, 39, a resident of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency Rafah refugee camp, who worked as a field researcher for a human rights organization.

A second dissident, Akram Zatmeh, 23, was arrested and accused of assisting Israel in the assassination of top Hamas terrorist Salah Shehadeh, on Gaza July 22.

Ghanem and Zatmeh will face the death penalty. As the PLC convened, two other Palestinian dissidents in custody were summarily executed.

Former Russian Jewish Prisoner of Zion Ida Nudel held a meeting with Papal ambassador to Israel, the Papal Annuncio, Msgr. Pietro Sambì to intervene on behalf of the dissidents against the Palestinian Authority. As Nudel said to the Vatican ambassador, “we who were dissidents in a totalitarian regime know that only when the moral voices of the world make their voices heard will the lives of the dissidents be spared.”

However, Akram Zattani’s lawyer’s appeal to international human rights organizations to intervene on behalf of her condemned client fell on deaf ears.

Organizations such as Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International and the Association of Civil Rights in Israel have expressed no interest in the fate of 200 Palestinian dissidents. When I asked a high-level delegation of European Union diplomats who visited the Palestinian Authority this week if they would intervene on behalf of 200 dissidents condemned to die by the PA, EU commissioner Anna Diamantopoulou would only answer with the platitude that “we know that there is a problem of human rights in the Palestinian Authority.”

It would seem almost as if the spin masters of the Palestinian Authority have hypnotized the world’s media, diplomatic community and international human rights organizations into believing that 200 dissidents who were condemned to die are no more than “collaborators,” a term that connotes those European nationals who worked with the Nazis during World War II and who of course deserve to die.

As the PLC sessions continued in Ramallah, 200 PA dissidents sat in death row of the Palestinian Authority, and nobody seemed to care.

### **Does US Concept of PA “Reform” Allow for the Murder of Dissidents?**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, December 3, 2002*

The US government dispatched special envoy David Satterfield to work with the PA to implement “democratic reform.”

The US and the other funders of the nascent Palestinian Authority are counted among the leading democracies of the world.

You would expect a democracy such as the US to require that a respect for human rights and civil liberties would be an integral part of the support that they provide for the developing Palestinian Arab entity.

Wrong.

A case in point: On August 24, 2002, The Jerusalem Post Arab Affairs correspondent reported that Arafat had ordered 200 of his critics to be rounded up.

The expectation is that all 200 dissidents will be executed for their criticism of the Palestinian Authority.

Arafat's spin-doctors have put out the word that these detainees are "collaborators."

Over the past three months, we have asked the US consul in Jerusalem if the US government will ask the PA to refrain from murdering dissidents, as part of its commitment to a process of "democratic reform."

After all, killing critics does not seem to be appropriate to the democratic process.

Yet the consistent response of the US Consul's press attache in Jerusalem is that the subject of executing critics does not appear on the agenda of democratic reform of the PA that Mr. Satterfield is currently discussing with senior members of the Palestinian Authority.

When asked why the policy of executing critics does not appear on the agenda of democratic reform, the press attache to the US Consul consistently reports that he cannot get an answer from the US State Department.

Does that mean that the US Middle East policy for Palestinian Arab democratic reform would allow for capital punishment for dissent?

It certainly looks that way.

### **Context of a Hunger Strike: Convicts, not Prisoners**

*David Bedein, Times of Israel, May 3, 2012*

The media around the world are covering the hunger strike conducted by Arabs in Israeli jails, many of whom were convicted in a court of law for murder or attempted murder.

In the communications that it releases, it is the responsibility of the government of Israel to emphasize that many of these “strikers” who sit in jail are indeed convicts who serve life sentences for murder and/or attempted murder, and to stop using terms like “prisoners” or “security prisoners” or “activists” to characterize them.

After all, Israel holds no POWs.

The difference in one word makes all the difference.

Expressions of life and death derive from the language that you use, to paraphrase the adage הלשון ביד ומוות חיים.

In the training manuals funded in 2002 by US AID and run by PASSIA, the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, those freed in exchanges for Israeli soldiers are advised to initiate interviews with journalists by referring to themselves as “activists” who became “political prisoners,” and to mention these terms repeatedly, so that the news outlet will incorporate sympathetic terminology to describe someone convicted of murder or attempted murder as someone other than who he actually is.

Given that approach, the government of Israel has a responsibility to provide the media and the public at large with the full criminal record of any convict who conducts interviews or demonstrations under the guise of “freedom fighters.”

The government of Israel can easily access and provide the names of the bereaved parents, widows, widowers, siblings or orphans who suffer and who continue to suffer from the actions of the killer in question.

A case in point: Most recently, a California rabbi wrote a piece in the Jewish Journal of Los Angeles, where he compared the jailed Marwan Barghouti to Nelson Mandela, the South African leader who also served a long jail sentence.

The Rabbi related that he had fond memories of meeting Barghouti and recalled the soft tone of his voice, and was impressed that this was a man of moderation.

Having studied criminology, lesson number one in the study of criminal behavior is that when the perpetrator of a crime does not think that he has done any wrong, he will often speak in a moderate, self-assured fashion.

I covered the Barghouti court proceedings in the press gallery, a few feet away from Marwan Barghouti when he was brought to trial, as he stood up firmly and declared how proud he was for ordering these acts of murder, which he proclaimed were acts of freedom for Palestine.

Barghouti was calm and composed, as he smiled and smirked at the families of those whom he murdered when the court issued the verdict; 13 convictions of first degree murder in five terror attacks that Barghouti orchestrated.

Indeed, the Marwan Barghouti whom the California Rabbi compared to Nelson Mandela was convicted for the murders of: Salim Barakat, 33, from the Druze village of Yarka in the Galilee, who survived by his wife, daughter, parents and seven brothers and sisters; Eli Dahan, 53, of Lod, who is survived by his mother Sarah, wife, Ilana, two daughters, two sons and three grandchildren; Yosef Habi, 52, of Herzliya, who is survived by his wife, son and daughter; Father Georgios Tsibouktzakis, 34, a Greek Orthodox monk from St. George's Monastery in Wadi Kelt near Jericho, and Yoela Chen, 45, of Givat Ze'ev, who is survived by her husband and two children.

Nor were these Barghouti's only victims. At his trial, people who were maimed as a result of Barghouti-sponsored attacks appeared as witnesses to the pain he caused them – pain they will experience for the rest of their lives.

Chicagoan Alan Bauer and his then 7-year-old son Jonathan were among those witnesses. A Barghouti-funded bomber blew himself up on King George Street in Jerusalem. Three feet away from them on March 21, 2002. Two arteries in Bauer's arm were severed. A screw went all the way through little Jonathan's head. That injury has affected every aspect of Jonathan's growth and development into a young man.

That is only part of Marwan's public record.

On January 22, 1995, after Hamas massacred 19 Israelis at a bus stop in Beit Lid – a village near the coastal city of Netanya, located within the 1967 lines – Barghouti declared on the Saudi-owned MBC television network that “we cannot condemn such an attack, since this is an area that we have not yet liberated.” The VHS video of that Barghouti interview sits on a shelf in my office.

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Barghouti, at the outbreak of the second intifada uprising in 2000, became the head of a joint coordinating body of all armed Palestinian factions – including Hamas, Islamic Jihad and the Fatah-affiliated Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, all three of which are listed by the American government as terrorist groups.

And the comparison to Mandela?

Throughout the years of Mandela's successful fight against the Apartheid regime, Mandela never ever ordered the murder of anyone.

I wrote to the California rabbi to question his comparison of legendary fighter for freedom to someone convicted of multiple first-degree murders and asked if he would issue a private and public apology to Mr. Mandela.

After I respectfully wrote this to the rabbi, the rabbi forwarded a public and private apology to Mr. Nelson Mandela, who is aging but alive and well in South Africa.

Such a response to the glorification of a convict who prides himself in carrying out wanton acts of murder should be the response of the government of Israel.

It begins with the responsibility of the communicators of government of Israel, to remind the world as to why many of these "hunger strikers" are in jail.

The government of Israel bears a responsibility to publicize their criminal records, to identify their victims, and not to sanitize them with the amorphous term of "security prisoners."



Then-South African president Nelson Mandela with Shimon Peres during Mandela's 1999 visit to Israel

### **A Mandela Moment in Jerusalem**

*David Bedein, Times of Israel, December 6, 2013*

In the early stages of the Middle East Oslo process, optimism and wishful thinking dominated the Jerusalem landscape.

Delegations descended on a land torn with war, wanting to hear messages of peace.

One of those delegations held a press conference across from my office at the Beit Agron Press Center in Jerusalem. This group drew much attention.

It was the newly formed Mandela Institute, named for the renowned Nelson Mandela, the first Black president of post-apartheid South Africa.

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These former anti apartheid activists had arrived in Jerusalem with a mission- to teach both sides of the Middle East War to learn how to live and respect the other in a time of peace.

That was their message in South Africa, where they repeated the vision of Abe Lincoln in the last days of the American Civil War: “With Malice Towards None, and with Charity Towards All.”

The attendance at the Mandela Institute Jerusalem press conference was packed.

Civil liberties groups mixed with religious and non-religious Jews of all kinds who came there to hear and cheer the upbeat message of the Mandela Institute. The Black and White spokespeople appealed to receptive ears of the Israeli audience to “see the humanity in the Arab who was your enemy” ever so recently.

The Mandela people made it clear that this was the process that they were going through in South Africa, to break down walls of anger between Blacks and Whites, post-apartheid.

I am only sorry that I do not find my notes from almost 20 years ago, so I cannot tell you the names of the articulate spokespeople who expressed themselves so eloquently.

In the final moment of the Jerusalem press conference, the convener announced that they were taking a bus to Ramallah, to deliver the same message of peace, reconciliation, and understanding to the other side.

The Mandela Institute delegation announced they would hold a follow up press conference, two days hence, when they would return from Ramallah.

However, that press conference never happened.

The Mandela people did return to Jerusalem, however, but they were not too interested in talking to the press about what happened.

Meeting them at the American Colony Hotel in East Jerusalem, they did not hesitate to say what had happened. PLO chieftain Yasser Arafat had made the arrangement for a modest town meeting for the Mandela Institute.

And when the Mandela devotees made their appeal for peace, recognition and understanding in a post war answer, they were booed and jeered, and when they tried to deliver that message in an Arab school, the students chanted in unison that “the war is not over: we want the right of return!!” The Mandela Institute had hit a raw nerve. And, as one delegation member described the scene, the Arabs pushed them back on to the bus while yelling at them never to come back again.

20 years have passed. The tenacity of the Arabs who run the Palestinian Authority under the premise and promise of the right of return, convey their daily

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message that the war is not over...while the vast majority of Israelis still ascribe to the hopes of a peace process.

The sequel to the story is that the Mandela Institute reconstituted itself as a permanent fixture in Ramallah, as an agency concerned for Arab convicts who sit in Israeli jails. The Mandela Institute no longer preaches respect and reconciliation of the other side of the Middle East war.

So much for a Mandela moment in Jerusalem.



## SECTION 1: CHAPTER 6 – PLO/PA PERSONALITIES

### **Arafat, the Palestine Authority and the Hamas: A Surprising Cooperative Relationship**

*David Bedein, Philadelphia Inquirer, August 11, 1997*

Almost four years ago, when Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin shook hands with Yassir Arafat, the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, on the White House lawn most people in Israel and abroad expected that Arafat would form a new Arab entity that could restrain violent Moslem movements known as the Hamas and the Islamic Jihad.

That was the rationale behind what later became known as the Oslo peace process, where Israel was expected to cede land, while Arafat's PLO was expected to form a new Palestine Authority that would fight Hamas/Islamic

Jihad and other Arab terror groups that continued to threaten the lives of people in Israel.

Yet from day one, the opposite has occurred. Instead of cracking down on Hamas, Arafat openly woos Hamas. When I asked Arafat about Hamas at his press conference in Oslo where he was about to receive the Nobel Peace Prize in December, 1994, he answered by saying that “Hamas are my brothers. I will handle them in my own way.”

And when the PLO celebrated its thirtieth anniversary in January 1995, Arafat delivered a series of lectures in Gaza and in Jericho to his own people, praising suicide bombers and refusing to condemn the Hamas attacks which took place at the time. Arafat’s speeches of praise for the Hamas were televised by the new Palestinian TV network that was controlled and operated by Arafat himself. Video cassettes of Arafat’s harangues became popular in the Palestinian Arab open market.

Arafat’s strategy was best summed up by US ambassador to Israel and presidential confidante Martin Indyk, who told the Los Angeles.

Times in March 1996 that Arafat had decided to help rather than to fight Hamas.

Arafat’s co-optation of Hamas was not only in words, but in deed.

On May 9, 1995, I covered a Gaza press conference held by Arafat’s local Palestine Liberation Army police chief Ghazzi Jabali, in which the representatives of Arafat’s Palestine Authority officially announced that they would license weapons for the Hamas. Only one month later, Hamas carried out an attack on an Israeli civilian bus near Gaza, killing six young Israelis and one American student, Aliza Flatow.

At Jabali’s packed press conference, carried live on PBC radio, Jabali announced that Hamas leaders such as Mohammed Zahar would be allowed and even “encouraged” to own weapons under the protection of the Palestine Authority. On the same day, our Palestinian TV crew filmed an armed Zahar, standing in front of a skull and cross bones imposed on a map of Israel, as he addressed an angry mob in Gaza and called for bloody overthrow of the State of Israel. Jabali would later assure the Associated Press on May 14, 1995 that he was expecting the Hamas and Islamic to keep their licensed weapons “at home.”

Yet for the last two years both the Hamas and the Islamic Jihad have openly operated with weapons licensed by the PA. Meanwhile, all levels of Arafat’s military forces acknowledge that they have recruited radical Islamics to join forces with them.

And on each occasion when Arafat was asked to “crack down” on these Islamic groups that took credit for fatal terror bombs against Israel, Arafat ordered the mass roundups that resulted in confessions, and then the mass release of prisoners.

And in thirty-seven documented instances since 1994, the Palestine Authority has offered asylum to Hamas and Islamic Jihad members who murdered Israelis and took refuge in the new safe havens of Palestinian Arab cities that were protected by Arafat’s armed forces.

A case in point: Muhammad Deif, the admitted Hamas mastermind of the October 1994 kidnapping and killing of the nineteen year-old American-Israeli, Nachshon Wachsmann, wanders Gaza freely, armed and untouched. When I asked Arafat’s commander of the Palestine Liberation Army about Deif, he told me that he was under direct orders from Yassir Arafat not to touch Deif. This, despite the fact that U.S. President Bill Clinton declared at Naphthous’s grave in March 1996 that Israel should not continue any negotiating process with Arafat and the Palestine Authority until and unless Arafat hands over Deif to stand trial.

Each Friday, over the past three years, Arafat-appointed Hamas Muftis in Nablus and in Jerusalem deliver weekly sermons in their respective mosques that call for jihad, holy war, against the state and people of Israel.

Not to be outdone, Arafat consistently addresses Palestinian crowds as if he were trying to emulate the Hamas, and not as if he was interested in restraining them.

Arafat’s own Jihad harangues have continued when the Oslo peace process was going well with Israel, and when it was not.

Arafat’s arming, encouragement and emulation of the Hamas occur in the open, and in public domain, at a time when more than two hundred foreign and Israeli news bureaus cover Arafat and his new Palestine Authority.

Yet an unwritten rule exists in the media, even among the Israeli press, that downplays the significance of the PA-Hamas cooperation, and Arafat’s calls for armed struggle with Israel.

Many close followers of the Middle East situation wrongly assume that there are two entities – the PLO and the Hamas, and that they somehow remain in conflict.

### **What Does it Mean to Have Yassir and Yassin Walk Hand in Hand**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, October 20, 1997*

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's decision to free Hamas leader, Sheikh Achmed Yassin has immediate ramifications for the Oslo process, and also for the future of Israel's bilateral negotiations with the Palestine Authority, Jordan, Egypt, Syria and the United States.

From Netanyahu's point of view, a key factor in Yassin's release is that Yassir Arafat and the Palestine Authority can never again deny their connection with Yassin or Hamas.

Until Sheikh Yassin's triumphal return to Gaza, almost every action of Arafat and the PA were overshadowed by a sympathetic press that usually negated any connection that Arafat or the PA ever had with incitement, fanaticism and terror of Hamas.

Arafat's well-oiled public relations system that has served him well for so many years contrasts with Hamas, which makes no pretensions that it is in the business of building an Islamic entity at war with Zionism and the State of Israel. Arafat speaks in two languages. Sheikh Yassin speaks in one.

Well, the "good-cop/bad-cop" game of the Oslo process is over.

From hereonin, Yasser Arafat and Sheikh Yassin will sit shoulder-to-shoulder and together run the Palestine Authority.

From Netanyahu's perspective, it serves Israel very well to have a Palestine Authority that openly conducts relations with the Hamas rather than a PA, which maintains those connections with violent Islamic groups and later denies them.

Netanyahu is the most media conscious Israeli prime minister since Israel's first PM, David Ben Gurion. Bibi recognizes that Israel's battle is also one of image. Having the world media conjure up the image of a Yassin rather than a Yasser at the head of the PA fosters a new image in the public domain of the world media and in Israeli public opinion.

Perhaps that is why a senior official of Israeli security confirmed to the foreign press only a few days after Yassin's release that the Israeli intelligence services had already decided to send the Sheikh back to Gaza.

Benjamin Netanyahu was harshly criticized from all sides of the political spectrum for the way in which he has been handling security affairs.

However, Netanyahu is playing for the long run. Israel now has a presidential form of government, with few checks and balances. No longer does the Israeli prime minister have to worry about constant votes of confidence that could topple a government whose popular support seems to be waning. Bibi is not worried about what people say about his security moves in the short run.

### **Analysis: The Isaiah Award to Arafat**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, October 19, 1999*

Our news agency, which covers the Palestinian Authority and the peace process, has been informed by the Palestinian Authority that the United Jewish Communities UJC Prime Minister's Mission will indeed provide the Isaiah Award to Yasser Arafat, in honor of his efforts on behalf of peace. The PA spokesman said that the award was not presented to Arafat today when the UJC mission visited the PLO leader because of Arafat's visit to Tokyo.

Our news agency also perused correspondence from the UJC, which confirm that it had designated the award for Arafat, and notified Arafat of the award.

It would seem that the UJC may not be aware of the fact that...

Arafat's official Arabic language media continues to call for jihad against the Jews and destruction of Israel.

Arafat's Palestinian Authority supplies funds and weapons to the Hamas and the Islamic Jihad terror operations.

Arafat continues to adhere not to the "two-state solution" but to the "two-stage plan" — a "Palestinian state" for a start, the total destruction of Israel for the goal.

Arafat maintains a school system that indoctrinates children in the ideals of war against the Jews and the destruction of Israel.

Arafat forces Palestinian-Arab refugees to remain confined in the squalor of the U.N. camps, rather than be resettled in decent homes, promising them the "right of return" that is, massive influx into the Israel for the purpose of wrecking it.

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Arafat grants welcome as well as safe haven to terrorist-murderers within its territories the man who murdered Leon Klinghoffer in his wheelchair struts freely in Gaza.

Arafat's Palestinian Authority is run by corruption, theft and bribery, while little of the funds available to the PA is ever used for the welfare of the people.

Arafat has dictated that "civil liberties" and "human rights" do not exist for the people now under its rule.

Arafat has vast hidden financial resources, which the US Administration conceals from the U.S. Congress while it demands U.S. taxpayer funding for the murderers of U.S. citizens.

Arafat has always been and still is in alliance with Saddam Hussein's Iraq, and otherwise hostile to U.S. interests.

### **The Double Entendre of Abu Mazen**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, May 6, 2003*

Abu Mazen was careful in the wording of his commitments during the PLC meeting of April 29, 2003.

The text of Abu Mazen's speech to the PLC at [www.jmcc.org](http://www.jmcc.org) shows that all he says is that he will confiscate "unauthorized" weapons, which certainly sounds good.

However, what most media outlets do not realize is that Abu Mazen's call to collect "unauthorized" weapons would not include the arms issued by the PA to the Hamas and the Islamic Jihad as per an agreement that the PA reached with both organizations to supply them both with "authorized weapons" almost eight years ago.

Indeed, on May 9, 1995, The Voice of Palestine reported an official statement from then- PA Justice minister Freich Abu Medein in which he announced that the weapons in the hands of the Hamas and Islamic Jihad would be heretofore defined as "authorized", so long as they were registered with the Palestinian Authority. When Abu Meidan was asked about the dangers of the Hamas or Islamic Jihad using these weapons against Israel, his answer was that he had gotten "assurances that they would keep their weapons at home". At the time,

the New York Times reported the phenomenon of the PA authorizing weapons for the Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

All this occurred after the Voice of Israel Radio had been reporting for more than a month that the PA was going to confiscate their weapons, following the early April 1995 Islamic Jihad terror attack against an Egged bus near Kfar Darom, in which 6 Israeli soldiers and one American tourist, Aliza Flatow, were killed.

Abu Mazen was also careful in the way in which he worded his call for the end of Israeli settlements, something that rings well with the west and with some of those in Israel who advocate the idea of “territories for peace”. However, Abu Mazen made his call for the end of “illegal” settlements by weaving his words in with a call for the “right of return” so as to incorporate the PLO definition of “illegal” settlements, which defines all settlements as illegal if they replaced Arab villages and Arab neighborhoods that were lost in 1948.

Abu Mazen’s definition of “illegal settlements” would include, therefore, most of the Jewish communities in the Negev and the Galilee, and most of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa.

Abu Mazen was also careful about how he denounced “terror” — his words fell far short of a call to Arabs to stop murdering Israelis.

As recently as March 3, 2003, Abu Mazen provided an interview to the London-based Asharq Al-Awsat [www.asharqalawsat.com](http://www.asharqalawsat.com) in which he stated that “We didn’t talk about a break in the armed struggle. We talked about a break in the militarization of the Intifada... It is our right to resist. The Intifada must continue and it is the right of the Palestinian People to resist and use all possible means in order to defend its presence and existence. I add and say that if the Israelis come to your land in order to erect a settlement then it is your fight to defend what is yours.”

When Abu Mazen was asked whether this included “using arms” his answer was as follows:

“All means and arms as long as they are coming to your home, as this is the right to resist. The restriction applies only to ‘Shahada-Seeking’ [suicide] operations and going out to attack in Tel Aviv or Jerusalem...”

And when Abu Mazen referred to Jerusalem as the capital of a Palestinian State, he made specific reference to all of Holy Jerusalem, and not only to the Arab neighborhoods of East Jerusalem.

We might call this the Abu Mazen Double Entendre – He provides the buzzwords for the world to think that he is a man of peace and compromise,

while he provides a message for his people who understand every word that he says in a context of a war of national liberation.

On a day when the media around the world is reporting that Abu Mazen has promised to disarm Arab terrorists.

The time has come to report what he is really communicating to his people... especially in the wake of Arab terror attacks in Tel Aviv and near Alon Moreh.

### **What was it like to cover Arafat and to speak with him?**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, November 5, 2004*

Here is a short news story that says it all:

On November 28, 1996, Thanksgiving eve in the US, I covered a delegation of 10 Israeli residents from Judea and Samaria who met with Yasser Arafat at his domicile in Bethlehem.

To summarize the purpose of the meeting in two words, one participant described it as “reality testing.” Arafat had maintained a consistent policy of saying one thing in English, advocating peace and coexistence, while conveying quite another message in Arabic, as he continued to incite the Palestinian Arab people to war with the Jewish state. Arafat had yet to deliver even one message that calls for peace with the state of Israel in the Arabic language.

Indeed, our agency had become known as the “Arafat tapes” agency, because of our editing and distribution of Arafat’s numerous appearances on the official media of the PBC, the Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation TV, which belied any hint of peace.

What the delegation wanted to know was with whom they are dealing with – a neighbor of peace or an antagonist at war?

This unofficial “settler delegation” asked Arafat very specific and pointed questions as to whether Arafat would indeed embark on a policy of peace or war.

The idea was to look to the future, not to the past. Would Arafat finally make a speech in Arabic in which he would call for peace with the state of Israel? Would the PBC “Voice of Palestine” Radio, which is under the direct control of

Arafat, stop its invective against Israelis, especially against the Israeli residents of Judea and Samaria? Would Arafat encourage teachers and other officials of the Palestine Authority to participate in programs that encourage tolerance and co-existence?

Arafat was all smiles throughout our two-hour sessions delivering long-winded speeches in which he professed to be a man of tolerance and understanding, well deserving of the Nobel Peace Prize, at a ceremony that I had covered in Oslo two years before.

I asked Arafat a pointed question: Would he get on the airwaves of the Voice of Palestine and proclaim reconciliation with Israel in the Arabic language to his own people, and would Arafat denounce any and all murders of Jews on that same station, if future murders occur. Arafat nodded his head and said that he “speaks about peace all the time”, to which I responded that we have no record of such. “You will see”, Arafat said, and finished the meeting in a cordial manner.

What the participants thought and felt after the meeting was that Arafat would deliver his answer through actions, not with words.

Arafat’s “answer” was not long in coming. Exactly two weeks later, on the seventh night of Chanukah, on a dimly lit drizzly evening, near the community of Beit El, three Palestinians shot up the car of the Tzur family of Beit El, killing a mother and child in the car. The killers’ smoldering vehicle was found in one of the “safe havens” of the Palestinian autonomy.

We called Arafat after the attack. So did all major media. He was nowhere to be found.

Meanwhile, the next morning, Arafat’s PBC radio newsreel broadcast that an “incident occurred on the settler road” where “two criminal settlers were killed.” “WAFA,” Arafat’s Palestinian press agency, issued a statement that such killings do not serve the interest of the Palestinians at this time.

The next day, our news agency dispatched a TV crew to Gaza to give Arafat the direct opportunity to say something about the attack. And I had the opportunity to see Arafat once more.

Smiling widely again, Arafat smiled at the reporters and waved away the question about the murders in Beit El. A picture is worth a thousand words.

A few hours later, however, Arafat then issued a public order that if the killers at Beit El are caught, they would not be turned over.

Meanwhile, the Palestinian Authority confirmed that 10 recent killers of Israeli civilians had been hired as officers in the Palestinian Liberation Army police force.

Arafat had delivered his answer loud and clear to the delegation that came to see him.

In the topsy-turvy Orwellian world in which we live, Yasser Arafat, the leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, defined under Israeli law as a terrorist organization, was a Nobel Peace Laureate, while Israeli residents of Judea, Samaria and Katif (in Gaza) are often thought of and portrayed as war-mongers.

And when Arafat made his first visit to the UN in 1974, the PLO leader grasped an olive branch in one hand and pistol in the other.

Epilogue: Two years later, on December 1st, 1998, Arafat appeared at a US State Department briefing that I covered. US Sec'y of State Madeleine Albright gave me the opportunity to ask a question of Arafat. I asked Arafat if he would stand by the commitment to preach reconciliation in the Arabic language that he had given two years before, and I presented Arafat with the records of his speeches from the previous few weeks, in which, among other things, Arafat had called the Jews "the Sons of Satan."

Arafat's response was to foam from the mouth and pound on the State Department platform and scream that "I love the Jews, I love the Jews!!"

### **When Will Nusseibeh Speak "Moderation" on the PBC?**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, December 10, 2004*

Larry Lowenthal, head of the American Jewish Committee in Boston, misses the point.

At the December 10th lunch in Boston, Sari Nusseibeh was not asked the key question: Since Nusseibeh holds a key position in the Palestinian Authority, why does Nusseibeh refuse to convey his "moderate" message on the official PBC TV or radio of the Palestinian Authority?

Since Nusseibeh reported to the group in Boston that he did not approve of the sermon given by the Imam in a mosque run by the Palestinian Authority, why did Nusseibeh not make his dissent known on the PBC?

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The American Jewish Committee should have asked these questions, because the AJC is an agency, which specializes in ethnicity and conflict management.

One of AJC's cardinal principles in ethnic struggles is that leaders must convey the same message to each other that they convey to the other side.

In other words, it does not matter one iota what Sari Nusseibeh says to Jews in Boston or to Jews in Tel Aviv.

What matters would be if he demanded an interview on the PBC, the Palestine Broadcasting Corporation.

Did the Israeli government, the AJC and other Jewish organizations not make the same mistake with Arafat ten years ago, when they did not insist that Arafat convey a message of peace and reconciliation to his own people on the PBC, preferring instead to ignore that message?

Did the AJC not take out fullpage ads in the New York Times to show the maps of Palestine, which obliterate Israel that the Palestinian Authority has issued in their new PA schoolbooks?

Has it not occurred to the AJC that Nusseibeh has adapted the "modus operandi" of Arafat, to convey one message to Israeli and western audiences and yet another message to his own people?

Is it not a tragic moment that an AJC official will swallow Nusseibeh's explanation that he was entrapped into praising a mother who dispatched her son to commit an act of premeditated murder... and that he did not know that he was to appear on the panel with a Hamas leader?

Could that AJC official defend Nusseibeh's statement in front of the parents and families of the five boys whose murder he praised?

Would that AJC official have reacted that way if Nusseibeh had praised the cold-blooded murder of five students in HIS community?

This is reminiscent of what occurred last February in Jerusalem, when the AJC invited an official of the PLO to address its delegation. That official endorsed the murder of every man, woman and child who lives and breathes beyond the "green line", from the Jerusalem Tel Aviv road to the Old City of Jerusalem.

Yet the AJC would issue no public condemnation of such a clear endorsement of premeditated murder, which was stated so clearly to a delegation of the AJC.

Yes, as my colleague Miri Eisen wrote in the Jewish Advocate of December 10th, "you make peace with enemies", yet only after you defeat them or after they annul their declaration of war.

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And the PLO remains at war with the state and people of Israel. Miri should know that. As an officer in the IDF, she was the first Israeli official to review the documents seized from the PLO headquarters in Ramallah.

In only two weeks, the PLO will celebrate its fortieth anniversary, founded by the Arab League with a mandate to continue the 1948 war to destroy Israel.

The clever 1974 amendment to the PLO covenant enabled the PLO to do so in stages.

The PBC will once again run festive programs to proclaim that the PLO has not abandoned its war to destroy Israel and those festivities will likely be downplayed in the western and the Israeli media, in the world of wishful thinking and political correctness.

And the PBC will remind their people that the PLO Covenant remains etched in stone.

The time has come to salute the late Prime Minister Rabin, who had the courage to obligate the PLO to change the PLO Covenant before Israel would sign any agreement with the PLO.

On April 24th, 1996, our news agency dispatched the only TV crew to covered the session of the PNC where the PLO Covenant was supposed to be changed and never was changed, despite the false report issued by US Ambassador Indyk and then-prime minister Peres.

It was those false reports, which allowed Arafat into the USA on his first official visit one week later, because the US Congress enacted a law, which forbid the US to deal with the PLO unless it changed its covenant.

Yes, Abu Mazen and Sari Nusseibeh are more soft-spoken and look better than Arafat, yet their PLO ideology is no different, and their ability to manipulate Jews is not different.

The likes of Abu Mazen and Sari Nusseibeh will now oversee a new wave of murder, while offering sound bytes of “moderation” for the consumption of the western media, the Israeli press, the Jewish organizations and the Israeli government.

Yet there are times when media bytes of moderation belie the truth of a policy.

The question remains: How many Jews have to be murdered by the PLO until those who head the institutions of the Jewish people in the diaspora and Israel will wake up to the reality of PLO policy.

### **Abbas Steers Clear Of Condemning Attack**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, April 20, 2006*

Following Monday's Palestinian bombing in a Tel Aviv restaurant which resulted in the deaths of nine people, the media was rampant with the news of a "clear condemnation of the bombing from Palestinian Authority Chairman Machmoud Abbas."

This condemnation was delivered by Abbas's advisor, Saeb Erekat, who is no longer in power.

Abbas's official representative and spokesman, Mr. Edward Abington, former U.S. Consul in Jerusalem, who runs the lobbying firm of Bannerman Associates in Washington, D.C. was asked if Abbas would have a statement to make on the record following the attack in Tel Aviv.

He responded with a clear "no." Would Abington be available to make a statement?

Again, a clear "no."

On Monday night, Abbas was on the Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation and said "the operation in Tel Aviv [connoting a military operation, in Abbas's words] did not serve Palestinian interests."

Most say it was hardly a condemnation. Yet the PBC TV station, operated under the direct control of Abbas, featured an hour-long video clip of Palestinian school children singing praises of martyrdom operations, in which young teenage Palestinian school children expressed their hope that each of them could die a martyr's death to "liberate all of Palestine."

Hamas circulated a video clip for all the media to see the young Palestinian who had blown himself up in the Tel Aviv restaurant call on thousands of other Palestinian young people to do the same, "in order to liberate all of Palestine from the Zionists." Hamas, which now runs the Palestinian Authority, issued a clear statement of praise for the bombing in Tel Aviv.

**“Politically Correct’ Holocaust Denial?”**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, December 18, 2006*

This week, the Israeli government issued vehement denunciations of the conference convened by the Iranian government in Teheran to promote the denial of the mass murder of the Jews in World War II, in an act of holocaust denial.

The Bulletin asked the spokespeople of the government of Israel if they would also denounce the leader of the Palestinian Authority Machmud Abbas, also known as Abu Mazen, for the holocaust denial, which has been an integral part of his legacy.

However, the government of Israel would issue no such denunciation of Abbas, who wrote his doctorate in 1982 in Moscow, at the Institute for Oriental Studies. The institute was headed by Yevgeny Primakov, a Jew, an Arabist, an avowed friend of Saddam Hussein and other Arab rulers, and eventually the prime minister of Russia. Of all these qualities, Abu Mazen emphasized mainly Primakov’s Jewish origin.

The heading of his doctoral thesis was: “Zionist leadership and the Nazis.” The introduction dealt, among other topics “the secret ties between the Nazis and the Zionist movement leadership” and raised doubts that gas chambers were used to kill the Jews. He argued that the gas chambers were not used to kill people, but only to disinfect them and burn bodies to prevent disease. Abbas’ dissertation was adapted into a book and published in Jordan in 1984. It is currently in used in the Palestinian Authority education system, under the direct control of Abbas.

Abbas claimed in his work that the Zionist leadership was interested in convincing the world that a large number of Jews were killed during the war in order to “attain larger gains” after the war and to “divide the booty.”

Abbas’ primary claim in his thesis is that the Zionist movement and its various branches worked hand in hand with the Nazis against the Jewish people, collaborating with them for the Jews’ destruction because the Zionist leaders viewed “Palestine” as the only legitimate place for Jewish immigration.

Despite professing such outrageous views, which he has never publicly retracted, Abu Mazen has nevertheless been hailed by the media and politicians alike.

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On May 31st, 2003, two months after Abbas became the Prime Minister of the Palestinian Authority, correspondents from the Israeli media confronted him with his thesis.

This meeting came in the wake of the appeal of two organizations, the Zionist Organization of America and the Simon Wiesenthal Center, which pointed out the need for Abu Mazen to make amends for his remarks.

As Rabbi Abraham Cooper of the Wiesenthal Center said in a May 29, 2003 release, "It is time for Prime Minister Abu Mazen to publicly denounce Holocaust Denial to his constituency and to install leaders in Media and Education Ministries who are prepared to teach Palestinian children the truth about their Jewish neighbors."

Yet in that May 31st, 2003 meeting with Israeli reporters, Abbas would not apologize nor retract of the holocaust denial thesis that he had written. Since that time, Abbas has consistently refused to distance himself from his thesis of holocaust denial.

However, the Israeli government is not pushing him to do so. Neither is the American government pushing him to do so.

After all, there are political considerations. The Israeli and American governments are currently involved in negotiation with Abbas. In other words, to deny the holocaust in Teheran is reprehensible. To do so in Ramallah is acceptable.

You might call this the first case of "politically correct" holocaust denial.

**Palestinian Leader Has Some Harsh Words For Israel, U.S.**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, January 16, 2007*

“Our rifles, all our rifles are aimed at The Occupation,” [Arabic: “Al-Ihtilal”] declared Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas on Jan. 11 in a major speech that was warm to Hamas and harsh to Israel and the United States. Abbas’ comments were interpreted by Palestinians themselves as a clear reference to attacking Israel. The comments were repeated almost exactly in later television shows by other Palestinian officials, such as Ibrahim Abu-Naja and Dr. Kamal Sharafy who called Israel “the enemy” and “the Zionist enemy,” respectively.

As if to remove any doubt about the militancy of Abbas’ words, minutes after Abbas’ own speech, Palestinian television’s senior announcer described Israel’s establishment as the beginning of “occupation.” Abbas seemed to reject all possibilities of territorial compromise or anything less than full repatriation of Palestinian refugees, and he repudiated Secretary of State Condoleeza Rice’s idea that a further Israeli withdrawal would lead to a Palestinian state inside temporary borders.

“Today more than any other day, we must hold fast to our Palestinian principles, and we will not accept a state with temporary borders,” said Abbas, adding, “We will not give up one grain of [land] in Jerusalem.” Referring to Palestinian refugees, Abbas said, “We send our greetings to our brothers in Jordan, in Syria, in Lebanon,” adding, “our hearts and our hands are open to all Palestinians.”

Once more Abbas signaled an invitation to Hamas and Islamic Jihad to join the Palestine Liberation Organization officially - something which almost occurred two years ago, failing when Hamas felt it was not given enough representation in the PLO. Throughout his speech Abbas hinted strongly that spilling blood of Israelis was permitted, while explicitly saying that spilling Palestinian blood was a crime.

“He who spills Palestinian blood is a criminal,” he said. “We must say Palestinian blood is forbidden,” he continued, acknowledging the continuing bloody feuding between Hamas [which holds the Palestinian Authority legislature] and Fatah [which holds the PA executive branch].

“We all know that the Israeli occupation has staged many evil and criminal attacks, including the attack on Jenin, which President Yasser Arafat referred to as ‘Jenin-grad,’” declared Abbas, referring to comments by his predecessor, Arafat, who likened the Fatah in Jenin to those Russians who fought the Nazis at Stalingrad.

Jenin had been a center of suicide bombers run by the Fatah organization until the Israeli attack in April 2002 disrupted operations by the Fatah's Al-Aksa Martyrs Brigade." Arafat called the attack a "massacre," though investigations showed Israel had not used excessive violence against civilians. Frequently throughout his speech, Abbas referred to Arafat as a martyr, similarly describing those Fatah gunmen who died while carrying out attacks on Israel.

"No one [here] is a criminal. All our people are as one hand to free our land," declared Abbas, speaking about the struggle against Israel that unites all Palestinians.

"I have heard the sound gunshots here, and that is forbidden," asserted Abbas, the Fatah and PLO chairman, remonstrating against the largely pro-Fatah crowd that gathered to listen to his words in the town of Ramallah, north of Jerusalem.

"Condemning and preventing internal fighting," said Abbas, was his regime's first priority, but his words did not seem to convince the crowd. In what was in many ways one of the most militant speeches against Israel from a Palestinian official normally touted as a moderate, Dr. Abbas also stretched out his hand to the Hamas terror organization that has never even pretended it does not want to destroy Israel.

" Hamas is a bunch of Shiites," cried members of the crowd, using the term "Shiite" as a kind of curse, and Abbas again rebuked his own Fatah members, saying, "This too is forbidden," as he tried to strike nationalistic and Islamic themes of unity.

"No one [Palestinian] is outside our society," yelled Abbas, waving his hands at the noisy crowd. "No one is a traitor. No one is a collaborator [with Israel]. No one is an infidel," Abbas continued, strongly suggesting that anyone who has used arms against Israel, even if he vied with Fatah for leadership, was still not beyond the pale.

Abbas was speaking at the forty-second anniversary of the founding of the Fatah organization-a day commemorating the first Palestinian attack on Israel's national water carrier on Jan. 1, 1965.

### **Bush's Mistaken View Of Abbas As A Peace Advocate**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, July 23, 2007*

July 2002, Bush delivered his first two-state speech, envisioning “two states [Israel and Palestine] living side by side in peace.” A year and a half before his term ended, the American president in July 2007 tried to save something of his vision. This time, though, Bush did not spell out a timetable but chose to express support for Mahmoud Abbas and the idea that “the Palestinian government must arrest terrorists, dismantle their infrastructure and confiscate illegal weapons.”

However, as policy analyst Aaron Lerner notes, “the program of ‘moderate’ Abbas is to put terrorists on the Palestinian Authority [PA] payroll, integrate the terror infrastructure into the Palestinian security system and upgrade their weapons.” Meanwhile, Bush spoke of the “moderate” PA “confiscating” illegal weapons, not destroying them. In Lerner’s words, “Bush apparently endorses the bizarre situation that the Palestinians can smuggle in whatever weapons they want and then ‘confiscate’ them so that they can keep them regardless of the restrictions agreed upon in the various Oslo agreements.”

President Bush overlooks the fact that Abbas was elected in January 2005 on a platform calling for the “right of return” to allow all Palestinian Arab refugees from the 1948 war and their descendants to take back the villages that no longer exist inside Israel. In other words, President Bush’s latest speech for peace embraces a Palestinian who cannot and will not deliver the goods.

### **Zahalka: ‘Erase The Two-State Idea’**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, December 10, 2007*

The opposition among the Israeli Arab leadership in Israel to the state’s definition as a Jewish state escalated once again.

In the course of a speech that Balad chairman and Member of the Israeli Knesset Jamal Zahalka gave in December 2007 at a conference held by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Mr. Zahalka called on the Palestinian leadership to drop its slogan, “Two states for two peoples.”

Mr. Zahalka took the opportunity of the event to call on the Palestinians and their leaders not to agree to the solution of two states for two peoples, which has been the formal position of the PLO for the past 20 years.

“We demand that you erase the slogan of ‘two states for two peoples,’” said Mr. Zahalka. “We on the inside [in Israel] refuse to recognize that Israel is the Jewish state and we refused to recognize the Jewishness of the state. They [the Israelis] are demanding that so as to gain legitimacy to expel our people and to strip the Palestinian people on the inside of its rights.”

The chairman of Balad also capitalized on the opportunity to call on the Palestinians to mend their rifts and to unite. “This is a call that we direct to you, we the Palestinian Arabs on the inside: retain Palestinian national unity since it is the most precious thing we have,” said Mr. Zahalka.

As the chairman of Balad, a party that was vehemently opposed to the Annapolis conference, Mr. Zahalka warned against the results of that international conference. “What we fear more than anything else is that Annapolis will result in the intensification of the Palestinian rift and any political initiative that might move in that direction is entirely unacceptable.”

### **PA Official: Olmert Lying About Temple Mount**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, December 7, 2007*

Native Philadelphia journalist Aaron Klein, bureau chief of the World Net Daily bureau in Jerusalem, revealed that the chief Palestinian negotiator claims that the Israeli prime minister, Ehud Olmert, has agreed to forfeit Judaism’s holiest site to a coalition of Arab countries.

“What Olmert said (regarding the Mount) is absolutely false. I think he’s not yet ready to tell the Israeli public and is waiting for the right time and he fears his coalition with religious extremists will fall apart if he announces it now,” said a senior Palestinian negotiator on Thursday on the condition his name be withheld. The chief Palestinian negotiator said in months leading up to Annapolis the Palestinian team was “surprised” by Mr. Olmert’s willingness to give up the Temple Mount. According to the Palestinian source, Mr. Olmert agreed to evacuate the Mount but not to turn it over to the Palestinians alone. The negotiator said both sides agreed the Temple Mount would be given to joint Egypt, Jordan and Palestinian Authority control.

In a briefing to reporters in Annapolis, Mr. Olmert claimed Israel's sovereignty over the Temple Mount is not up for discussion. He said negotiations started at the Annapolis summit had no bearing on the situation on the Temple Mount.

**Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades: We Are Loyal To Abbas**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, December 10, 2007*

The Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, the military wing of Fatah, defined by the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. State Department as a terrorist organization, published a flyer on December 8, 2007 saying that they would heed the instructions of Palestinian President Abu Mazen (AKA Mahmoud Abbas) and are subject to his command, "as he is the elected president and the legitimate leadership."

This flyer contradicts the claim made by the spokespeople of the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem to The Bulletin on Oct. 13, 2006, that it was an independent organization, not subject to Mr. Abbas or Fatah.

The Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades have been involved in dozens of terror attacks and attempted terror attacks over the past year.

As reported from Annapolis in the Nov. 28 2007 edition of The Bulletin, the U.S. State Department is not demanding that Mr. Abbas disband or disarm Al-Aqsa.

The flyer also stated that its members are prepared to repel any Israeli military operation and oppose it by force. The flyer was published on the basis of reports about Israeli plans for a large-scale operation in the Gaza Strip, in order to stop the rocket fire and mortar shell at the Negev.

Meanwhile, the Hamas-owned Gaza newspaper, Al-Quds Al-Arabi, claims that the Hamas leadership in the Gaza Strip has been coordinating activity with terrorists from Islamic Jihad, the Popular Resistance Committees and Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades.

### Abbas and the 'Armed Struggle'

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, March 6, 2008*

On February 28, 2008 the Jordanian daily al-Dustur released an interview with Palestinian Authority leader Mahmoud Abbas. It included the following: "At this present juncture, I am opposed to the armed struggle because we can't succeed in it, but maybe in the future things will be different."

"I had the honor of firing the first shot in 1965 and of being the one who taught resistance to many in the region and around the world, what it's like, when it is effective and when it isn't effective, its uses and what serious, authentic and influential resistance is."

"It is common knowledge when and how resistance is detrimental and when it is well timed. We [Fatah] had the honor of leading the resistance and we taught resistance to everyone, including Hezbollah, who trained in our military camps."

Additionally, Mr. Abbas declared: "We rejected this proposal [that Israel be recognized as a Jewish state] at the Annapolis conference in November 2007 in the U.S., and the conference was almost aborted because of it...."

"I don't demand that the Hamas movement recognize Israel. I only demanded of the [Palestinian] national unity government that would work opposite Israel in recognition of it. And this I told to Syrian President Bashar Assad, and he supported this idea."

On March 1, 2008, Mr. Abbas referred to Israel operations in Gaza in response to launching of rockets on Israeli civilians as "worse than the Holocaust." Just five days earlier, he had admonished Israel to "stop escalating the situation in the Palestinian territories and stop all attacks in the Gaza Strip, including firing missiles there." This was without mention of Hamas' escalation of attacks.

At the same time, the official Palestinian news agency described Palestinians killed by Israeli forces as "civilians," when even other Palestinian sources admit they were gunmen.

### **Abbas Accepts Hamas-Fatah Agreement**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, March 27, 2008*

In March of 2008, Fatah chairman and Palestinian Authority (PA) president Mahmoud Abbas announced his full acceptance of the agreement between Hamas and Fatah that was signed in Sanaa, the capital of Yemen.

Mr. Abbas made that decision after a meeting with Azzam el-Ahmed, who headed the Fatah delegation to Sanaa, and other senior members of the movement.

In a joint declaration, Moussa Abu Marzuk of Hamas and Azzam el-Ahmed of Fatah stated that they “wish to restore the situation to its previous state, as it was prior to the incidents in Gaza,” referring to the Hamas takeover of the Gaza Strip in June 2007. It was stated further in the declaration that the parties wished “to restore the unity of the Palestinian people and the Palestinian territory.”

The two organizations agreed to continue direct talks from the beginning of April 2008. At the end of the talks, the situation in the Gaza Strip was supposed to return to its former state, and a Palestinian unity government was supposed to be formed, which would serve until an agreed-upon date for presidential and parliamentary elections. In addition, it was determined that a new security service would be established based on nationality rather than organizational affiliation. After the agreement, Gaza was not returned to its former state.

**Palestinian Jerusalem Leader: We Don't Want Your Money**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, July 22, 2008*

A senior Palestinian official said British Prime Minister Gordon Brown can keep the 60-million euros he promised to the Palestinian Authority when he appeared in Bethlehem on July 20, 2008.

Yesterday, Sari Nusseibeh, the Palestinian Authority's representative in Jerusalem, held a packed press conference for the international media, where he said further foreign aid should be curtailed until Israel's presence in the disputed territories end.

Mr. Nusseibeh said life becomes "too complacent for the Palestinians" when they accept foreign aid. The removal of foreign aid would place the burden of supporting the Palestinian entity entirely on Israel's shoulders in his opinion.

He acknowledged that one of the reasons for his support of the cessation of further foreign aid to the Palestinians involved the allegations of wanton corruption, leveled against Yasser Arafat and his successor Mahmoud Abbas.

While advocating an independent Palestinian state, Mr. Nusseibeh also worried about violence in Palestinian society. In answer to a question, he admitted that much of the incitement occurs during the evening telecasts of the Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation, which operates under Mr. Abbas' supervision.

When asked about the dangers of posed by a sovereign, armed Palestinian state, Mr. Nusseibeh said he favored a demilitarized Palestinian state. He did not elaborate how the estimated 60,000 Palestinians now armed by the Palestinian Authority would be disarmed.

Mr. Nusseibeh said a "single-state" idea could fall on the table if the plans of Messrs, Bush, Olmert and Abbas to create a Palestinian state by the end of the year fail. Under that suggested idea, Palestinian Arabs would opt en masse for Israeli citizenship.

He also suggested that a line could be drawn along the lines that divided Jerusalem prior to 1967, and all Arab neighborhoods should come under Palestinian rule.

Mr. Nusseibeh, however, did not discuss the intertwinement of Arab and Jewish neighborhoods, which could make it nearly impossible to rule Jerusalem with competing sovereignties on the same street.

Instead, the Palestinian representative suggested having both sides convene a joint Jerusalem city council, and the area of Jerusalem holiest both to Jews and Muslims, known as the Temple Mount and al-Aqsa mosque area, would come under some kind of “rule of God.” Mr. Nusseibeh also suggested lifting current religious restrictions barring Jews from the praying on the Temple Mount.

Mr. Nusseibeh’s comments ignored recent history. In 1949, following Israel’s War of Independence, Israeli and Arab negotiators agreed to an armistice and drew a line through Jerusalem, which provided U.N. guarantees for both sides to have access to the other side of the line.

With tens of Jewish neighborhoods, synagogues and cemeteries then in sovereign Arab hands, an access clause became vital to Israeli negotiators. However, soon after the armistice took effect, the Jordanians who controlled the Arab section of Jerusalem took measures to systematically destroy all vestiges of Jewish life in their zone of control.

During Jordanian rule of East Jerusalem, between 1949 and 1967, 57 synagogues were burned. The ancient Jewish cemetery of the Mount of Olives was transformed into a military base. Rows of sacred gravestones were used as latrines, and marble taken from these gravestones was used for the foundation of the Intercontinental Hotel on the Mount of Olives. The late Jordanian Defense Minister Anwar Nusseibeh, Dr. Nusseibeh’s father, oversaw this destruction of all traces of Jewish presence in areas under Arab rule in Jerusalem.

**Abbas: ‘Entry Of Refugees To Israel Is On The Table’**  
*David Bedein, the Philadelphia Bulletin, September 2, 2008*

On the eve of the meeting between Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas in September 2008, the two had already discussed the entry of Palestinian refugees into Israel.

“We are discussing the entry of refugees into the territory of the State of Israel,” said Mr. Abbas in an interview to Al-Arabiya. “I have been trying to agree with Israel about the number of Palestinian refugees who will be permitted to return to the area of the State of Israel.”

The Prime Minister's Office yesterday did not deny that talks were being held on the issue of the return of refugees, but stressed that it was Israel's position that if a Palestinian state were established, refugees would be permitted to go only there. "That issue was made clear to the PA chairman in meetings with senior U.S. administration officials as well," said Prime Minister's Office officials, and underscored that "the gaps are large and no agreements have been reached on any issue yet."

In the interview, Mr. Abbas shed light on the state of the political negotiations with respect to other issues as well, including the future borders of the Palestinian state. He said that the Israelis – to wit, former Prime Minister Olmert and former Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni, who headed the Israeli negotiating team – accepted his demands with respect to borders on the basis of the 1967 lines, with minor revisions. He said that certain land swaps might be considered in which areas of the Dead Sea and the Jordan Valley would be turned over to Palestinian control in exchange for Palestinian concessions around Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

The question remains, however, whether the Israeli prime minister and Israeli foreign minister will be able to "sell" such a proposition to the Israeli Knesset Parliament, let alone the Israeli government itself.

### **Abbas Wants To Extend Term Until 2010**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, September 11, 2008*

Palestinian Authority (PA) Chairman Mahmoud Abbas (aka Abu Mazen) announced in September 2008 he intends to extend his term in office into 2010.

He said he plans to do so by means of what is being called a legal ploy that will involve dissolving the Palestinian Legislative Council before the end of his term in January 2009.

Mr. Abbas will then complement the dissolution of parliament with an extension of his own term by six months, in the event that the reconciliation talks among the various Palestinian factions should fail.

Arab sources report that Mr. Abbas made his decision following consultations with senior PA officials and experts on the Palestinian constitution, which confirmed the report.

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A high-ranking Palestinian source said that Mr. Abbas would announce his decision in the event that the reconciliation talks that are to be held in October in Cairo were to end in failure.

According to reports, Hamas is not expected to be forthcoming with Fatah or to take any measures that are likely to contribute to Palestinian unity.

Meanwhile, PA officials said that Mr. Abbas intended to extend his term in office by another year.

This confirms the statements that were made yesterday by Palestinian Foreign Minister Riyad al-Maliki during a lecture he gave in Jerusalem to Israeli Foreign Ministry officials. He said Mr. Abbas would remain in office until January 2010.

Mr. Maliki said that following the death of former PA Chairman Yasser Arafat, any decision to extend the chairman's term had to be made in conjunction and with the cooperation of others. One high-ranking Palestinian official said that the decision was made after senior PA officials advised Mr. Abbas to dissolve the Palestinian parliament, which is comprised of a Hamas majority. "Ending Abbas's term this coming January creates a situation in which his replacement is his deputy, the PLC speaker from Hamas, Ahmed Bahar," said the official. Hamas has threatened that it will not recognize a new Palestinian Legislative Council and said that "a decision of that sort will be a continuation of a series of illegal decisions that Abu Mazen has made," said a Hamas spokesman.

Chief PLO negotiator Saeb Erekat tried to say that all options were open and in a conversation with Israeli media denied the above report and said that the issue of Palestinian unity was at the top of the PA chairman's agenda.

"Abbas intends to act to end the division between Hamas and Fatah and to achieve a full agreement to his reelection," he said.

**Lieberman, Berman Fail to Press Fayyad**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, December 7, 2009*

**Jerusalem** – At a recent press conference in Ramallah, Jerusalem Post Editor David Horovitz described how “two staunch Jewish supporters of Israel,” Senator Joe Lieberman, I-Conn., former Democratic vice presidential candidate, and current Representative Howard Berman, D-Ca., chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, “nodded their encouragement” when PA Prime Minister Salam Fayyad explained how he was preparing Palestinians for statehood. Mr. Fayyad outlined a Palestinian state in formation regarding security forces, the economy, and civic institutions, with an optimistic sense of what the PA is achieving.

Regrettably, Senator Lieberman and Representative Berman did not use the press conference to raise some troublesome questions, conveying the notion that all is well with Palestinian statehood plans.

Questions that Senator Lieberman, Rep. Berman or Mr. Horovitz could have asked might have centered around the renunciation of PLO State of War with Israel.

The charter of Fatah, the predominant element in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the PA, to this day, continues to call for the destruction of Israel. Written in 1964, before Israel controlled the West Bank and Gaza, it uses the term “Palestine” to refer exclusively to Israel within the Green Line. The charter declares that “Liberating Palestine is a national obligation,” and that “Armed public revolution is the inevitable method” for doing so. This cannot be dismissed as an irrelevant anachronism. Last August, Fatah held its first General Congress in 20 years. Hope was held out for a charter revision, with violence officially renounced, but it never happened. Instead, Fatah continued to unambiguously embrace “armed resistance” to liberate Palestine.

### **Israeli Intelligence Think Tank Hosts Palestinian leader: Issues Ultimatum to Israel**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, February 4, 2010*

On Tuesday, February 2, PA leader Salman Fayyad made an unprecedented appearance at the annual “Herzlia conference” of the leading lights of Israeli intelligence, and used the occasion to issue an ultimatum to Israel, in which Fayyad, appointed as the Prime Minister of the PA by Mahmoud Abbas, declared that he would a Palestinian state within two years.

Fayyad said: “We have shown that we are serious in our intention to establish a state. We will do everything possible to be ready for this within two years.”

Fayyad’s theme was that “a failure to establish a state within two years could create severe disappointment on the Palestinian street.” Fayyad clarified that the international community also expects to see a solution within this time span, and that the Palestinian demand is to create a situation in which the world applies pressure on Israel.

Fayyad laced his presentation with statements of recent PLO history that had nothing to do with reality. Fayyad declared that the PLO, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the patron of the PA, had recognized Israel at the PLO’s conference in 1988 and in the wake of the Oslo Accord in 1993.

What Fayyad failed to mention was that at the PLO conference in 1988, which convened in Algiers, he refused to recognize Israel, while the media and many wishful thinking diplomats quoted a memo from Palestinian sources BEFORE the Algiers conference which assessed that the PLO was “expected to cancel the PLO covenant and recognize Israel,” a decision which never occurred.

The 1993 myth of PLO recognition is even more interesting.

The Oslo “Declaration of Principles” mutual recognition peace accords were indeed signed by the PLO’s Mahmoud Abbas and Yasser Arafat together with Israel’s Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres on the White House lawn on September 13, 1993.

Yet the Israeli Knesset Parliament ratified the Oslo Accords on September 25, 1993 – while the PLO would not ratify the accords when the PLO executive

convened in Tunis on October 6, 1993 and the PLO's Palestinian National Council convened in Gaza on April 24, 1996 to cancel the PLO Covenant which calls for Israel's destruction and simply refused to do so and has never cancelled the PLO Covenant.

Fayyad also addressed security issues, demanding that Israel stop military incursions in areas governed by the PA, which have continued since Israel reestablished its presence in Palestinian cities and villages and refugee camps since April, 2002, greatly reducing terror attacks from Palestinian areas, after Palestinian terrorists had infiltrated Israel and murdered more than 1,000 people in Israel between 1993 and 2002.

During 2009, with Israeli military presence firmly entrenched in Palestinian areas, five Israelis were murdered by Palestinian terrorist infiltrators, as opposed the tens of Israelis per month who were murdered by terrorist infiltrators at the beginning of the decade.

However, Fayyad was firm in his demand that Israel must withdraw its military presence from all Palestinian areas: "The meaning of an end to the occupation is Palestinian presence, and not Israeli presence, in this area. We have proven ourselves from a security standpoint. Dealing with the security situation is not in Israel's interests, it is also in the Palestinians' interests," including Arab neighborhoods in Jerusalem. Fayyad went on to say "In all the agreements and understandings, nothing has ever been said to contradict the fact that East Jerusalem is an inseparable part of the Palestinian state...You are building exactly in the places where the Palestinian state is supposed to be established."

Along with this, Fayyad issued a further demand, to remove the "siege from the Gaza Strip," without any call for the Palestinian Hamas regime that rules Gaza to cease and desist from hostile activity against Israel, saying that "Removing it will contribute to a positive dynamic in advance of achieving internal Palestinian unity." Fayyad added that if the PA were given a chance, it could rehabilitate Gaza very quickly. Fayyad forgot to mention that there is no chance that the PA will ever rule Gaza, where Hamas's Gaza government remains unchallenged.

In terms of Fayyad's call to remove Israeli military presence from Palestinian areas, Fayyad conveniently forgot to mention to the rank and file of Israeli intelligence that armed Israeli military intelligence forces protect his home and family in the Jerusalem Arab neighborhood of Beit Hanina, seven days a week, 24 hours a day, and that Israeli security guards often accompany Fayyad during his travels.

How would Fayyad react to the removal of Israeli military protection from his home and family?

**A Time of Dialogue: Questions that Jewish Groups Can Ask Palestinian Authority Leaders, Abbas and Fayyad**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, September 20, 2010*

This week, PA leaders Mahmoud Abbas and Salam Fayyad arrive in Washington. According to reports that have appeared in both the Haaretz and the Jerusalem Post newspapers, the purpose of their trip is to improve their relations with the Jewish community in the United States at a time when negotiations have resumed between Israel and the PA. In that context, the Daniel Abraham Center will be hosting Abbas and the Israel Project will be hosting Fayyad in widely publicized press events.

The readiness of Abbas and Fayyad to dialogue with the Jewish community provides Jewish groups with a most appropriate opportunity for asking direct questions of these two leaders — questions that address issues at the heart of possibilities for genuine peace between Israel and the PA. Will you arrange for revisions — beginning immediately — of official PA textbooks, so that:

All praise of the armed struggle (“Jihad”) and all praise of Palestinian terrorists (“martyrs”) is removed.

Israeli cities such as Tiberius, Acre, Haifa and Tzfat are identified as such, rather than as Palestinian.

All maps identify Israel as such, at least within the Green Line.

Will you order the PBC, the official TV and radio network of the PA, to cease and desist from broadcasting and televising programs that incite the “armed struggle” against the state and people of Israel?

Will you refrain from honoring terrorists by such actions as naming city squares, sports events and schools after them?

Will you change the PA tourist map of Jerusalem, so that the Jewish Quarter, which is currently omitted, is properly identified?

Will you denounce in English and Arabic the decision of the August 2009 Fatah conference, which endorsed the armed struggle against the state of Israel?

Will you renounce in English and Arabic the draft of the Palestinian State Constitution that was adopted by the PA in 2003, which calls for the adoption of Sharia Law — thus permitting no juridical status for any religion in the future Palestinian State other than Islam?

Will you arrange for an official PA endorsement in English and Arabic of cancellation of those sections of the PLO covenant that call for Israel's destruction?

Will you remove from all PA schools and libraries the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, as well as the Ph. D thesis written by Abbas that asserts that Zionists worked with the Nazis to conduct mass murder of Jews during World War II?

#### **Four Questions for Fayyad**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, November 18, 2011*

Salam Fayyad has announced that he may resign as the head of the Palestinian Authority, where he earned an undeserved reputation with the media as someone who led the Palestinian Arab people in a moderate direction.

That reputation was earned because reporters never asked Fayyad four basic questions about the regime that he led:

#### **QUESTION ONE: Renunciation of the PLO state of war with Israel**

The charter of Fatah – the predominant element in the PLO and the PA – to this day continues to call for the destruction of Israel. Written in 1964, before Israel controlled the West Bank and Gaza, it uses the term “Palestine” to refer exclusively to Israel within the Green Line.

The charter declares that “Liberating Palestine is a national obligation,” and that “Armed public revolution is the inevitable method” for doing so. This cannot be dismissed as an irrelevant anachronism.

In August 2009, Fatah held its first General Congress in 20 years. Hope was held out for a charter revision, with violence officially renounced, but it never happened. Instead, Fatah continued to unambiguously embrace “armed resistance” to liberate Palestine.

How could Fayyad agree to lead a Fatah dominated regime after such a Fatah war policy was reiterated?

### **QUESTION TWO: Delegitimation of Israel in PA textbooks**

The Institute for Monitoring Peace and Tolerance in School Education (IMPACT <http://www.impact-se.org>) issued six reports on new PA textbooks issued over the last ten years.

Journalist and scholar Dr. Arnon Groiss, who translated these PA textbooks, and worked at the center for more than ten years, concluded that the new PA texts...

\*Deny the historical and religious presence of Jews in Palestine.

\*Fail to recognize the State of Israel.

\*Demonize Jews and Israel.

\*Assign blame for the conflict exclusively on Israel, totally absolving Palestinians.

\*Stress the idea of a violent struggle of liberation rather than a peaceful settlement.

It was disingenuous for Fayad to profess dedication to peace, while the PA curriculum under his leadership infused such ideas within its pupils. Peace is impossible until that message changes.

Why did journalists not hold Fayad and the PA accountable for the new PA textbooks?

### **ISSUE THREE: PA pursuit of Hamas as a coalition partner**

Throughout Fayyad's term of office, the PA inclination to participate in a government that included Hamas remained an "elephant in the room" which reporters, somewhat inexplicably, has chosen to ignore.

Hamas is recognized by the US and the entire Quartet as a terrorist entity. Pursuing negotiations with Israel and Hamas at one and the same time is not acceptable.

Why was Fayad not held accountable for continuing such negotiations?

### **ISSUE FOUR: The "Right of return"**

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

The “right of return,” promoted for more than 60 years by UNRWA and embraced by the PA as a non-negotiable right, remains a recipe for the decimation of Israel from within.

If Fayad was serious about peace, why was he not asked to accept the principle of permanent resettlement of the refugees? Only Palestinian Arab refugees are not resettled, but instead, for purely political reasons, are forced to linger in a (rage-inducing) state of limbo.

Fayad, in his master plan for a Palestinian state, openly stated that he supports the “right of return” – within the 1949 lines, not beyond them.

Shouldn't reporters hold Fayyad accountable for such an idea, which is directly opposed to any two-state solution?

### **FAYYAD: Hardly a “Genuine Reformer”•**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, July 17, 2012*

On July 11, 2012, during a special session of the Middle East Subcommittee of the US House Foreign Affairs committee, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported that Jonathan Schanzer of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, and Elliott Abrams, a former deputy national security adviser who is now with the Council on Foreign Relations, testified that PA Prime Minister Salam Fayyad was a “genuine reformer.”

Indeed, over the last few years, Fayyad has been sold to the world as the great hope for the Palestinian Authority.

The time has come to question such a characterization of Fayyad. A case in point:

In May 2009, our agency facilitated an informal briefing for staffers of the Middle East Subcommittee of the US Foreign Relations Committee of the US House of Representatives on the subject of Palestinian Authority and UNRWA education. Journalist and scholar Dr. Arnon Groiss, who regularly translates new PA textbooks used in Palestinian Authority and UNRWA education updated Congress with the content of the new PA texts...

<http://israelbehindthenews.com/library/pdfs/RightofReturninUNRWASchools.pdf>  
<http://israelbehindthenews.com/library/pdfs/PA-schoolbooks.pdf>

\*Deny the historical and religious presence of Jews in Palestine.

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

\*Fail to recognize the State of Israel.

\*Demonize Jews and Israel.

\*Assign blame for the conflict exclusively on Israel, totally absolving Palestinians.

\*Stress the idea of a violent struggle of liberation rather than a peaceful settlement.

In August 2009, a delegation of fifty members of the US House of Representatives met with Salam Fayyad, the newly appointed prime minister of the Palestinian Authority. Several members of Congress raised the issue of the Palestinian Authority schoolbooks with Fayyad, and he assured the delegation that the schoolbooks would be changed for the new school year, just about to begin. Hearing the report from the congressional delegation, our agency immediately dispatched a reporter to Ramallah to meet with Palestinian Authority Education Minister Lamis Al Alami to ask her about the PA curriculum for the new semester. We asked her about changes in the curriculum to which Al Alami answered that she was under strict orders from Fayyad not to change anything in the curriculum. Yet you would not be surprised by Fayyad's real educational policy if you were to read Fayyad's position paper for a future Palestinian state, available on the net at:

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In that position paper. Fayyad spells out his platform, in clear terms and in English.

Every embassy, consulate and news outlet in the Middle East has received a copy of Fayyad's platform, entitled "Ending the Occupation, Establishing the State: Program of the Thirteenth Government" In his platform, Fayyad asserts that "Jerusalem" will be the Palestinian capital of the Palestinian state – no mention of "East Jerusalem."

In case anyone was wondering if Fayyad had made a typographical error by not mentioning "East" Jerusalem as the capital of a future Palestinian state, Fayyad repeats – ten times – that he means Jerusalem, all of Jerusalem. Fayyad leaves nothing to the imagination, and writes that the Palestinian state will "Protect Jerusalem as the eternal capital of the Palestinian state", because Fayyad asserts "Jerusalem is our people's religious, cultural, economic and political center. It is the Flower of Cities and Capital of Capitals. It cannot be anything but the eternal capital of the future Palestinian state. Jerusalem."

Fayyad goes on to claim that Jerusalem “is under threat” and that “ the occupying authority is implementing a systematic plan to alter the city’s landmarks and its geographical and demographic character in order to forcibly create facts on the ground, ultimately separating it from its Palestinian surroundings and eradicating its Arab Palestinian heritage.”

Fayyad further claims that “Palestinian life in Jerusalem is under daily attack through systematic violations perpetrated by the occupation regime” and that “It is the right and the duty of all Palestinians to protect their land, reject the occupation and defy its measures”, adding that the Palestinian state “bears special responsibility for nurturing our people’s ability to persevere and protect their homeland.”

Fayyad ads that the Palestinian government will maintain its “unreserved commitment to defending the Arab character and status of Jerusalem.... The Government will continue to do all that is possible to achieve this goal. The Government will work with all organizations to preserve the landmarks of Jerusalem and its Arab Palestinian heritage, develop the city, and secure its contiguity with its Palestinian surroundings.”

Fayyad frames Jerusalem as an illegal settlement, postulating that “the occupying authority is pursuing its intensive settlement policy in and around Jerusalem...The occupation regime has shut down our national institutions, neglected the development of Palestinian life, continued to demolish and evacuate Palestinian homes, and restricted access to sacred Christian and Islamic sites.”

Fayyad goes so far as to present a practical plan to Arabize Jerusalem: Maintaining Jerusalem as a top priority on the Government’s agenda and highlighting its predicament in the media.

Launching programs to promote the steadfastness of Jerusalem, including: “Strengthen Palestinian institutions in Jerusalem, providing financial support to help them deliver services to citizens.”

Fayyad reassures his readers that a future Palestinian state would not be satisfied with Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza as the national home for Palestinians, and says that the Palestinian government will continue to advocate for “Palestinian refugees in accordance with relevant international resolutions, and UN General Assembly Resolution 194 in particular”, which mandates that Palestinian refugees and their descendents have a right to return to the homes and villages that Palestinians left during the 1948 war and its aftermath.

Fayyad reminds Palestinians “the refugee issue will remain under the jurisdiction of the PLO, through its Department of Refugees’ Affairs...in a

manner that does not exempt the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) from its responsibilities.”

In the view of Fayad, UNRWA will therefore continue to confine Palestinian refugees and their descendants to the indignity of refugee camps, under the premise and promise of the “right of return.”

Meanwhile, Fayad expresses full support for Palestinians who have been convicted of murder and attempted murder, saying that “the state also has an enduring obligation to care and provide for the martyrs, prisoners, orphans and all those harmed in the Palestinian struggle for independence.”

Fayad simply cannot understand why Palestinians convicted of capital crimes should be jailed.

Fayad proclaims that “the continued detention of thousands of Palestinian detainees and prisoners in Israeli prisons and detention camps in violation of international law and basic human rights, is of great concern to all Palestinians” and declares that “Securing the freedom of all these heroic prisoners is an utmost Palestinian priority and it is a fundamental duty all Palestinians feel to honor their great sacrifices and end their suffering” and demands the “freedom of all Palestinian detainees and prisoners and will continue to strive to secure their liberty.”

Fayad also asserts that the PLO and have signed “all provisions of agreements signed with Israel,” yet forgets to mention that the PLO never ratified the signed agreements with Israel.

Fayad conveniently forgets that on October 6, 1993, PLO chairman Arafat could not get a quorum for the PLO executive to ratify the Oslo accords that Arafat had signed with Rabin on the White House lawn.

Fayad’s view of justice is clearly presented in this piece when he states “All Palestinians are equal before the law.”

Anyone who is not a Palestinian is therefore not equal.

Fayad declares that the Palestinian state will be an Islamic state and “Promote awareness and understanding of the Islamic religion and culture and disseminate the concept of tolerance in the religion through developing and implementing programs of Shari’a education as derived from the science of the Holy Qur’an and Prophet’s heritage.”

In sum, Fayad concludes with a demand for a Palestinian state in the next two years, along the parameters that he has outlined, with a Palestinian state that will have all of Jerusalem as its capital, in an Islamic Sharia state that will

campaign for all convicts to be freed, for all refugees to return to the homes and villages that they left in 1948.

A voice of reform and moderation? Perhaps The Middle East Subcommittee should be presented with Fayad's platform for what it is: a program of war.

### **Barghouti as "The New Mandela"?**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, April 2, 2012*

This week, a Los Angeles cleric, Rabbi John Roseove, wrote a piece entitled "The New Mandela," in which Rabbi Roseove compared the venerable freedom fighter Nelson Mandela to the Fatah leader Marwan Barghouti

[http://www.jewishjournal.com/rabbijohnrovesblog/item/the\\_new\\_mandela\\_20120331/](http://www.jewishjournal.com/rabbijohnrovesblog/item/the_new_mandela_20120331/)

Rabbi Rosove may not be in touch with the reality of Marwan Barghouti, whom he describes as "moderate" and "soft spoken."

As a social worker trained in criminology, who now works in the media, lesson one in the study of criminal behavior is that when a perpetrator does not think that he has done any wrong, he will often speak in a moderate, self assured tone.

I covered the court proceedings in the press gallery, a few feet away from Marwan Barghouti when he was brought to trial, as he stood up and declared how proud he was for ordering these acts of murder, which he called acts of freedom for Palestine. Indeed, he was calm and composed when the court issued the verdict; A conviction for 13 murders out of the 33 murders that he was charged for.

The convicted killer expressed no regret. Instead, he smirked at the families of his victims.

Rabbi Rosove only tells part of Marwan's public record: On January 22, 1995, after Hamas massacred 19 Israelis at a bus stop in Beit Lid – a village near the coastal city of Netanya, located within the 1967 lines – Barghouti declared on the Saudi-owned MBC television network that "we cannot condemn such an attack, since this is an area that we have not yet liberated."

It was Barghouti who, on the outbreak of the second intifada in 2000, became the head of a joint coordinating body of all armed Palestinian factions – including Hamas, Islamic Jihad and the Fatah-affiliated Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, all three of which are listed by the American government as terrorist groups.

The Marwan Barghouti whom Rabbi Rosove compares to Mandela is responsible for the murders of: Salim Barakat, 33, from the Druze village of Yarka in the Galilee, who survived by his wife, daughter, parents and seven brothers and sisters; Eli Dahan, 53, of Lod, who is survived by his mother Sarah, wife, Ilana, two daughters, two sons and three grandchildren; Yosef Habi, 52, of Herzliya, who is survived by his wife, son and daughter; Father Georgios Tsibouktzakis, 34, a Greek Orthodox monk from St. George's Monastery in Wadi Kelt near Jericho, and Yoela Chen, 45, of Givat Ze'ev, who is survived by her husband and two children.

Nor are they Barghouti's only victims. At his trial, people who were maimed as a result of Barghouti-sponsored attacks appeared as witnesses to the pain he caused them – pain they will experience for the rest of their lives.

Chicago-born Alan Bauer and his then 7-year-old son Jonathan were among those witnesses. They were five minutes from their home in Jerusalem when a Barghouti-funded bomber blew himself up three feet away from them on March 21, 2002. Two arteries in Bauer's arm were severed. A screw went all the way through little Jonathan's head, causing permanent damage to the boy.

The article by Rabbi Roseove refers to Barghouti as calling for a "Third Intifada, a non-violent mass uprising in the spirit of the Arab Spring."

A closer look, suggest that Barghouti is not restricting his call for the Palestinians to use only non-violent means.

The Palestinians, Barghouti has just said have an "absolute right to use all methods and means to resist occupation."

<http://www.jpost.com/MiddleEast/Article.aspx?id=264407>

<http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/marwan-barghouti-placed-in-solitary-confinement-in-israel-jail-after-call-for-popular-uprising-1.421998>

This week, in a letter sent out to his supporters, Barghouti praised members of Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Fatah who were responsible for carrying out murders throughout Israel.

He said he was very proud of the commanders of Fatah's armed wing, Al-Aksa Martyrs Brigades, who were killed or arrested by Israel during the second intifada.

Barghouti also praised Fatah's two female bombers, Wafa Idris and Ayat al-Akhras, who blew themselves up while murdering Jews in Jerusalem.

As a Rabbi and as a family man with two sons, it has hard to imagine why Rabbi Rosove would paint such a rose colored portrait of a man who has admitted to such acts.

### **And the comparison to Mandela?**

I have met Mandela and personally know his lawyer.

Throughout the years of Mandela's successful fight against the apartheid regime, Mandela never ever ordered the murder of anyone.

Perhaps Rabbi Roseove and the Jewish Journal would consider an apology to Mr. Mandela, who is aging but alive and well in South Africa. To compare one of the greatest fighters for freedom in this century to a man who is proud to be convicted of cold-blooded murder should warrant a public and a private apology to Mr. Mandela, from both Rabbi Roseove and from the Jewish Journal.

[This is What this Article Commented On "The New Mandela" by Rabbi John Rosove](#)

I met Marwan Barghouti in his Ramallah offices with a group of Reform Rabbis in 1998. He was a soft-spoken moderate then, and told us that he accepted the principle of a negotiated two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Much, however, has transpired since then.

The following is an edited version of Uri Avnery's March 31 letter on Barghouti. Though the words are his, I agree with Avnery's description of Mr. Barghouti, as well as his analysis and perspective of what has transpired in the now defunct "peace process" relative to Israeli policy and Palestinian response. I present it here with apologies to the author for shortening his original piece.

Marwan Barghouti has spoken up. After a long silence, he has sent a message from prison.

In Israeli ears, this message does not sound pleasant. But for Palestinians and for Arabs in general, it makes sense.

His message may well become the new program of the Palestinian liberation movement.

I first met Marwan in the heyday of post-Oslo optimism. He was emerging as a leader of the new Palestinian generation, the homegrown young activists, men and women, who had matured in the first Intifada.

He is a man of small physical stature and large personality. When I met him, he was already the leader of Tanzim (“organization”), the youth group of the Fatah movement.

The topic of our conversations then was the organization of demonstrations and other non-violent actions, based on close cooperation between the Palestinians and Israeli peace groups. The aim was peace between Israel and a new State of Palestine.

When the Oslo process died with the assassinations of Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat, Marwan and his organization became targets. Successive Israeli leaders – Binyamin Netanyahu, Ehud Barak and Ariel Sharon – decided to put an end to the two-state agenda. In the brutal “Defensive Shield operation...the Palestinian Authority was attacked, its services destroyed and many of its activists arrested.

Marwan Barghouti was put on trial. It was alleged that, as the leader of Tanzim, he was responsible for several “terrorist” attacks in Israel. His trial was a mockery, resembling a Roman gladiatorial arena more than a judicial process. The hall was packed with howling rightists, presenting themselves as “victims of terrorism”...

Marwan was sentenced to five life sentences.

In prison, Marwan Barghouti was immediately recognized as the leader of all Fatah prisoners. He is respected by Hamas activists as well.

Nowadays, Marwan Barghouti is considered the outstanding candidate for leader of Fatah and president of the Palestinian Authority after Mahmoud Abbas. He is one of the very few personalities around whom all Palestinians, Fatah as well as Hamas, can unite.

So what did Marwan tell his people this week?

Clearly, his attitude has hardened. So, one must assume, has the attitude of the Palestinian people at large.

He calls for a Third Intifada, a non-violent mass uprising in the spirit of the Arab Spring.

His manifesto is a clear rejection of the policy of Mahmoud Abbas, ... Marwan calls for a total rupture of all forms of cooperation, whether economic, military or other...[and] for a total boycott of Israel, Israeli institutions and products in the Palestinian territories and throughout the world.

At the same time, Marwan advocates an official end to the charade called "peace negotiations"... Marwan proposes to renew the battle in the UN.

To summarize, Marwan Barghouti has given up all hope of achieving Palestinian freedom through cooperation with Israel, or even Israeli opposition forces. The Israeli peace movement is not mentioned anymore. "Normalization" has become a dirty word.

These ideas are not new, but...it means a turn to a more militant course, both in substance and in tone.

Marwan remains peace oriented – as he made clear when, in a rare recent appearance in court, he called out to the Israeli journalists that he continues to support the two-state solution. He also remains committed to non-violent action, having come to the conclusion that the violent attacks of yesteryear harmed the Palestinian cause instead of furthering it.

He wants to call a halt to the gradual and unwilling slide of the Palestinian Authority into a Vichy-like collaboration, while the expansion of the Israeli "settlement enterprise" goes on undisturbed.

...For some time now, the world has lost much of its interest in Palestine. Everything looks quiet. Netanyahu has succeeded in deflecting world attention from Palestine to Iran. But in this country, nothing is ever static. While it seems that nothing is happening, settlements are growing incessantly, and so is the deep resentment of the Palestinians who see this happening before their eyes. Marwan Barghouti's manifesto expresses the near-unanimous feelings of the Palestinians in the West Bank and elsewhere. Like Nelson Mandela in apartheid South Africa, the man in prison may well be more important than the leaders outside."

**Fayad: Hardly a Moderate**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, April 23, 2013*

The recently resigned former Palestinian Prime Minister Salman Fayad is being eulogized as the late great hope of moderation for the Palestinian Authority.

The time has come to question such a characterization of Fayad.

A case in point: In May 2009, our agency facilitated an informal briefing for staffers of the Middle East Subcommittee of the US Foreign Relations Committee of the US House of Representatives on the subject of Palestinian Authority and UNRWA education. Journalist and scholar Dr. Arnon Groiss, who regularly translates new PA textbooks used in Palestinian Authority and UNRWA education.

These translations can be easily perused on the net:

<http://israelbehindthenews.com/library/pdfs/RightofReturninUNRWASchools.pdf>

<http://israelbehindthenews.com/library/pdfs/PA-schoolbooks.pdf>

Dr. Groiss updated Congress with the content of the new PA texts...

- \*Deny the historical and religious presence of Jews in Palestine.
- \*Fail to recognize the State of Israel.
- \*Demonize Jews and Israel.
- \*Assign blame for the conflict exclusively on Israel, totally absolving Palestinians.
- \*Stress the idea of a violent struggle of liberation rather than a peaceful settlement.

In August 2009, a delegation of fifty members from both sides of the aisle of the US House of Representatives met with Salman Fayad, the newly appointed prime minister of the Palestinian Authority.

Several members of Congress raised the issue of the Palestinian Authority schoolbooks with Fayad, who assured the delegation that the schoolbooks would be changed for the new school year, just about to begin.

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Hearing the report from the congressional delegation, our agency immediately dispatched a reporter to Ramallah to meet with Palestinian Authority Education Minister Lamis Al Alami to ask her about the PA curriculum for the new semester.

We asked her about changes in the curriculum. Al Alami answered that she was under strict orders from Fayad not to change anything in the curriculum.

Yet you would not be surprised by Fayad's real educational policy if were to read Fayad's position paper for a future Palestinian state, available on the net at:

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In that position paper. Fayad spelled out his platform, in clear terms and in English.

Every embassy, every consulate, and every news outlet in the Middle East received a copy of Fayad's platform, entitled "Ending the Occupation, Establishing the State: Program of the Thirteenth Government."

In his platform, Fayad asserted that "Jerusalem" will be the Palestinian capital of the Palestinian state – with no mention of "East Jerusalem."

In case anyone was wondering if Fayad had made a typographical error by not mentioning "east" Jerusalem as the capital of a future Palestinian state, Fayad repeated – ten times – that he meant Jerusalem – all of Jerusalem.

Fayad left nothing to the imagination, and wrote that the Palestinian State will "Protect Jerusalem as the eternal capital of the Palestinian state," because Fayad asserted that "Jerusalem is our people's religious, cultural, economic and political center. It is the Flower of Cities and Capital of Capitals. It cannot be anything but the eternal capital of the future Palestinian state. Jerusalem."

Fayad went on to claim that Jerusalem "is under threat" and that "the occupying authority is implementing a systematic plan to alter the city's landmarks and its geographical and demographic character in order to forcibly create facts on the ground, ultimately separating it from its Palestinian surroundings and eradicating its Arab Palestinian heritage."

Fayad further claimed that "Palestinian life in Jerusalem is under daily attack through systematic violations perpetrated by the occupation regime" and that "It is the right and the duty of all Palestinians to protect their land, reject the occupation and defy its measures," adding that the Palestinian state "bears

special responsibility for nurturing our people's ability to persevere and protect their homeland."

Fayad added that the Palestinian government will maintain its "unreserved commitment to defending the Arab character and status of Jerusalem.... The Government will continue to do all that is possible to achieve this goal. The Government will work with all organizations to preserve the landmarks of Jerusalem and its Arab Palestinian heritage, develop the city, and secure its contiguity with its Palestinian surroundings."

Fayad framed Jerusalem as an illegal settlement, postulating that "the occupying authority is pursuing its intensive settlement policy in and around Jerusalem...The occupation regime has shut down our national institutions, neglected the development of Palestinian life, continued to demolish and evacuate Palestinian homes, and restricted access to sacred Christian and Islamic sites."

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In the view of Fayad, UNRWA will therefore continue to confine Palestinian refugees their descendents to the indignity of refugee camps, under the premise and promise of the "right of return."

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enduring obligation to care and provide for the martyrs, prisoners, orphans and all those harmed in the Palestinian struggle for independence.”

Fayyad expressed a point of view as to where he could not understand why Palestinians convicted of capital crimes should be jailed.

Fayyad proclaimed that “the continued detention of thousands of Palestinian detainees and prisoners in Israeli prisons and detention camps in violation of international law and basic human rights, is of great concern to all Palestinians” and declares that “Securing the freedom of all these heroic prisoners is an utmost Palestinian priority and it is a fundamental duty all Palestinians feel to honor their great sacrifices and end their suffering” and demands the “freedom of all Palestinian detainees and prisoners and will continue to strive to secure their liberty.”

Fayyad also asserted that the PLO and have signed “all provisions of agreements signed with Israel”, yet forgot to mention that the PLO never ratified the signed agreements with Israel. On October 6, 1993, The now defunct Mapam newspaper Al HaMishmar’s correspondent in Tunis revealed that the late PLO chairman Arafat could not get a quorum for the PLO executive to ratify the Oslo accords that Arafat had signed with Rabin on the White House lawn.

Fayad’s view of justice was clearly presented in his position paper when he stated “All Palestinians are equal before the law.” Simply put, anyone who is not a Palestinian is therefore not equal.

Fayad also proclaimed that that a future Palestinian State will be an Islamic state and “Promote awareness and understanding of the Islamic religion and culture and disseminate the concept of tolerance in the religion through developing and implementing programs of Shari’a education as derived from the science of the Holy Qur’an and Prophet’s heritage.”

In sum, Fayad concluded with a demand for a Palestinian state in the next two years, along the parameters that he has outlined, with an Palestinian state that will have all of Jerusalem as its capital, in an Islamic Sharia state that will campaign for all convicts to be freed, for all refugees to return to the homes and villages that they left in 1948.

Was Fayad a voice of reform and moderation? Think again.

**Questions that Jews could ask Abbas in New York today**

*David Bedein, Times of Israel, September 23, 2013*

This morning, Palestinian Authority foreign minister Riad Malki announced that PA leader Mahmoud Abbas will meet Jewish community representatives in New York.

That meeting could provide an opportunity for Jews to ask probing questions of the veteran Palestinian leader.

Here are 10 questions that Jews may wish to pose to Abbas.

One: Ask Abbas about the new PA curriculum, which prepares the next generation to conquer all of Palestine. Most recently, the Center for Near East Policy Research dispatched a TV crew to follow the classrooms of PA schools and PA summer camps in UNRWA facilities, where the center filmed teachings, which did not focus on peace or reconciliation. Indeed, translations of the new PA schoolbooks yield the conclusion that they focused on a curriculum of “suspended war.” These films can be seen on the home page of Israel Behind the News.

Two: Ask about the news output of the PBC (Palestine Broadcasting Corporation) radio and TV, which operates under the direct control of Abbas. Ask Abbas about the daily messages of violent Jihad conveyed by the PBC to the Palestinian Arab people. Ask Abbas about the PBC adulation of Palestinians who committed suicide attacks, Ask Abbas about PBC news clips which laud attacks on Beersheba, Sderot, Ashkelon and Ashdod, which PBC terms “illegal Jewish settlements,” since these Israeli cities, which have been subjected to missile fire, are situated on lands lost to the Arabs in 1948 – not in 1967.

Three: Ask Abbas why UNRWA continues to confine thousands of descendants of Arab refugees to UNRWA refugee facilities, where they languish under the premise and promise of the “Right of Return.” to villages that do not exist. Ask Abbas about why the new Palestinian city, Rawabi, built near teeming UNRWA refugee facilities, will not allow UNRWA camp residents to live there.

Four: Ask Abbas about the popular Palestinian web hosted computer program, PalestineRemembered.com that operates throughout the PA, which helps Palestinians to locate the villages of their grandparents from 1948, even though these towns no longer exist, to prepare them for their “return.”

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Five: Ask Abbas about PA-controlled mosques and about the Friday incendiary messages conveyed by the mosques that function with PA funding and are under PA control.

Six: Ask Abbas about new official maps published by the PA, which show all of Palestine as the location of any future Palestinian state, where Palestine actually replaces Israel, and where every Israeli city is transformed into a Palestinian city.

Seven: Ask Abbas about the PA Security Force. Following the expectation that the PA security force would be engaged to crush Hamas, ask Abbas about reports of extensive Hamas-PA cooperation.

Eight: Ask Abbas why the the PA has enacted no laws against money laundering for terror groups – Ask Abbas about why the PA has enacted no statutes which define any group as a terrorist organization.

Nine: Ask Abbas whether he will remove his widely disseminated doctorate from the schools and libraries of the PA, since Abba's PHD claims that Zionists worked together with the Nazis to murder Jews in World War II. In that context, ask Abbas about his New Year's speech in which Abbas concludes his litany of praise for killers with a salute to the legacy of Hitler's ally, Haj Amin al-Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem.

Ten: Ask Abbas about his recent speeches in which the PA leader himself conveys consistent praise for Palestinians who have murdered civilians in cold blood.

### Which “Settlers” Did Arafat Say Could Remain in a Palestinian State?

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, January 29, 2014*

Over the past week, heated discussions took place, at the highest levels of the government of Israel, as to whether Israeli “settlers” would be welcome to live in a Palestinian state.

Almost 18 years ago, Yasser Arafat, the chairman of the PLO and the first president of the PA, provided a clear answer to that question.

On November 28, 1996, Thanksgiving eve in the US, I covered and recorded an unusual session of 10 Israelis from Judea who met with Yasser Arafat at a home in Bethlehem.

To summarize the purpose of the meeting in two words, one participant described it as “reality testing.”

This unofficial “settler delegation” asked Arafat very specific questions as to how Arafat defined the status of Israeli “settlers” in the Palestinian State that he envisioned.

Arafat went around the room, asking where each guest where he or she lived. He listened intently and wrote down the name of each Jewish community: Elazar, Migdal Oz, Kfar Etzion, Neve Daniel, Efrat, Rosh Tzurim, Tekoa, Kiryat Arba and Hebron.

After examining the list, Arafat looked around the room and said to the participant in the dialogue that “each of you can stay where you are. You did not take any Arab lands. You displaced no Arabs. But if you were from Ramle or Lod, then you would have to leave your settlement.” Arafat went on to expound upon his worldview and how he differentiated between “Israeli settlements” and “illegal Israel settlements.”

According to Arafat, a “settlement” was where Israeli Jews chose to live, in an area that did not uproot any Arabs, and went on to say that this kind of settlement does not bother the Palestinians. However, Arafat went on to say, that “illegal settlements” are the ones built which replaced Arab villages – in other words, the Arab villages that were lost in 1948.

Arafat’s definition of “illegal settlements” is now the theme of new PA education textbooks and the theme of new Palestinian media outlets.

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Hence, the intense PA anger over Jewish neighborhoods that expand in Acre, Jaffa and Ramle, described in the PA media as “illegal” Israeli settlements.

Each of the ten Palestinian terror attacks against Netanya, were described in the PA media as an attack on an “illegal Israeli settlement.”

When a mother and her two small children were murdered by an Arab terrorist in Kibbutz Metzger, the PA characterized the victims as “illegal settlers.”

PA schoolbooks replace all Israeli city names with the names of Palestinian villages.

Daily activities in the PA schools, especially in the UNRWA facilities which serve the descendants of Arab refugees from 1948, focus on teaching grandchildren and great grandchildren of Arabs who fled their homes in the 1948 war that they must prepare to take back their homes, at all costs.

Invoking Arafat principles, the “settlers” welcome, in theory, in a Palestinian State would be those who live in Judea and Samaria and new neighborhoods of Jerusalem, because they did not uproot Arab villages.

At the same time, the PA openly declares that it will lead a war against Israeli “illegal settlements”- cities, villages, and collective farms which replaced Arab villages after the battles of 1948...Not where many people thought where “illegal settlements” are located.

## Section 2 - UNRWA



***Section 2, Chapter 1 – UNRWA History and Background***

***Section 2, Chapter 2 – UNRWA Policies***

***Section 2, Chapter 3 – UNRWA Schools and Curriculum***

***Section 2, Chapter 4 – UNRWA Reform Initiative***

***Section 2, Chapter 5 – UNRWA Personalities***



SECTION 2: CHAPTER 1 – UNRWA HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

**Palestinian Arab Refugees as “Peripheral” to the Peace Process**

*David Bedein, Midstream Magazine, December 29, 1997*

A commonly held assumption is that the entire matter of Palestinian Arab refugees is “peripheral” to the progress of the peace process. This view is shared on all sides of the Israeli political spectrum – namely, that the Oslo peace process supersedes any interest in three million Palestinian Arab refugees, one million of whom still reside in the UNRWA (UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY) camps that were set up in 1949. The rest live near the camps and receive benefits from UNRWA – free services for health, education, water, electricity and some food commodities.

In 1958, Abba Eban, then Israel’s ambassador to the UN, characterized the UNRWA policy of maintaining Arab refugees in transit camps as a crass manipulation of human suffering that would only fan the flames of war against the new state of Israel. Dr. Eli Lasch, head of medical services in Gaza for

Israel's Civil Administration until 1985, asserted that UNRWA maintained Arabs at a starvation level before 1967. Israeli troops who entered UNRWA refugee camps in 1967, were shocked to discover that Jordanians and Egyptians had allowed no electricity or running water in the camps, while forbidding the camp residents to work outside of the camps. Meanwhile, however, camp residents were living according to the precise streets, neighborhoods and villages that they had left in 1948. UNRWA neglect of Arab refugees before 1967 did not foster expectations among Arabs who wallowed hopelessly in camps. Israel's development did.

Israel's post-1967 modernization of the UNRWA Arab refugee camps provided Israeli contractors with a source of a subsidized labor force whose health, education and welfare was taken care of by UNRWA, while UN member states upgraded their contributions to UNRWA to improve quality of life in the camps. The 1998 UNRWA budget exceeds \$400 Million – the only budget designed to keep refugees as refugees.

The message of the Intifada insurrection, which broke out in Gaza UNRWA camps in 1987, was that jobs, sacks of flour and running water would not provide for the realization of Palestinian Arab nationalist ambitions. Palestinian Arab refugees asserted that they define their ambition as their "inalienable right of return" to the homes and villages that they left in 1948, even if they now provide land for Israeli towns, cities, and hundreds of collective farms. The "inalienable right of return" as proscribed by the biennial UN resolution #194, doesn't compensation for Arab refugees in lieu of their return to pre-1948 homes.

UNRWA residents, who maintain the highest level of education in the Arab world, thanks to subsidized elementary and high school education, along with generous University scholarships, prepare themselves for their return. They see how a Palestinian entity with a Palestine Liberation Army has formed overnight, with international and Israeli recognition. They do not see that the realization of their dream as far off.

At a time when the Palestine Authority forbids improving UNRWA homes in anticipation of "return", a new spirit dominates the camps. In 1998, "We're going home" is on the lips of Palestinian Arab refugees. The home that they sing of is not in the west bank or Gaza, but rather within the state of Israel proper, in the neighborhoods that they left in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, Ashkelon, Tzfat and the more than 200 Arab villages that now house collective farms, known as Moshavim or Kibbutzim.

The Palestinian Arab refugee population is infested with expectation. A cardinal principle of revolution holds that people whose expectations are not realized will

be explode into a revolution whose goal is to overthrow the existing order.

### **Why is the UNRWA Refugee Camp in Shuafat Seething?**

*David Bedein, The Jerusalem Post, October 13, 1998*

At a time when the issue of Palestinian refugees surfaces on the agenda of the peace process, a visit to the one Palestinian refugee camp in Jerusalem can provide one with some understanding of the complexity of the refugee issue at hand.

A three-minute ride from Mount Scopus, traveling north, well within the city limits of Jerusalem, one will find the only United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) Arab refugee camp in Jerusalem, located in the town of Shuafat. This is part of Jerusalem, and Shuafat is not affected by closures of the West Bank.

The Shuafat refugee camp appears in the news every so often when there are riots in the camp or stones hurled at passing vehicles. It remains a mystery to most people as to why there must be so much anger and tension in the camp.

I went to Shuafat to find out.

It would seem that some 5,500 Palestinian Arab refugees live in the Shuafat camp, three thousand of whom are children. These people are the descendants of Arabs who, in 1948, left what is now the Ashkelon region, and who were initially settled in the hovels of the burnt out Jewish Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem. From there, they were abruptly relocated by King Hussein to Shuafat in 1966.

Jordan had been considering renovating the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem at the time. What the Jordanian king did not realize was that his "Project Removal" to Shuafat would allow the IDF to enter an abandoned Jewish Quarter in 1967.

Ahmed, the volunteer head of the "committee for the disabled" in Shuafat, is a one-man greeting committee for Shuafat. He introduces himself as the man who was elected by the residents of Shuafat to run programs for disabled Shuafat residents. The term "disabled" defines anyone from those who are handicapped to children with learning disabilities. Unlike other Arab neighborhoods in Jerusalem where various professional services are offered, they do not in Shuafat, other than on a voluntary basis.

Ahmed, who works as a schoolteacher at Shuafat's elementary school, says that he voluntarily devotes all of his spare time to work at the center for the disabled in the Shuafat camp. While he describes programs and centers in other areas of East Jerusalem that provide professional paid staff for the disabled, he explains, "UNRWA simply does not provide such services...People in the camp hate the UN and UNRWA. They strike them at work and when they come to visit the camp."

Palestinians interviewed by the Israeli/Palestinian Center For Research and Information (IPCRI), described UNRWA's assistance as "meaningless," and spoke about tension between camp residents and UNRWA.

"We believe that UNRWA wants to withdraw from this camp and give it to the Palestinian Authority," said Omar, Ahmed's colleague on the ad hoc "Public Relations Committee for Shuafat."

According to Omar, The PR committee, believes that this is the reason UNRWA does not supply services to the best of its ability.

Not that Omar is satisfied about the PA managing things, either, since he claims that the PA does not have funds allocated to help UNRWA camps. "As far as the PA is concerned, Shuafat people have homes to go back to in the villages that they left back in 1948," says Omar.

Omar is correct. One of the first decisions of the Palestine Authority back in 1994 was to deny aid to the UNRWA refugee camps, since this would violate the right of return of Palestinian Arab refugees, as prescribed by UN Resolution #194.

So much for the expectations of the Oslo process that hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs living in refugee camps would be taken care of by an autonomous Palestinian entity.

Omar comments that when he walks around the camp every day, he sees "a look of abandonment" upon the faces of the men sitting around him. UNRWA wants to desert them and they do not want to be under sovereignty of the Palestinian Authority. Their lives lay in the hands of ruthless politicians. As a result, the refugees maintain an unstable relationship between the UNRWA representatives and the residents in the camp."

When Shuafat refugee camp opened in 1966, camp residents say UNRWA was eagerly providing education, medical care, food, and social services.

That was then. Now, the reality is much harsher. The refugees of Shuafat camp wake up to the smell of urine breezing through their tiny apartments. In the

winter, floods streams rush through their narrow alleyways. Every year, there is talk of a new plan to pave streets and create sidewalks. The Jerusalem municipality maintains a standard offer to assist with sewage infrastructure and paving the streets, but their offer is consistently rejected. UNRWA will not permit this, since Israel is not recognized as a “host country.”

Meanwhile, children and the elderly try to deal with the decline in services that were previously provided by UNRWA.

“Our children do not even have a playground,” Omar said, as he walked past a group of Shuafat children kicking around a plastic bottle.

Back in 1966, Shuafat camp was large enough to house all of its then 1,000 inhabitants. No longer is this the case.

In Shuafat, as in other UNRWA camps, there is not enough room to expand the housing. UNRWA therefore builds upward. Apartments are stacked like blocks, one on top of each other. Families of ten are often packed in three bedroom apartments.

Palestinian refugees have one of the largest population growth rates in the world, almost 5 percent per annum. In total, the 650,000 Arab refugees from 1948 have swelled to more than three million, confined by UNRWA since 1949 in 59 refugee camps. One million Arab refugees live in the UNRWA camps in the West Bank and in Gaza.

The figures may be somewhat inflated, said one UNRWA health official, who asked not to be identified. He claimed that this is “because some identity cards of deceased UNRWA residents get used again.”

“UNRWA promised us 12 sanitation workers and the exact number that work here is five,” shouted Hadr, an angry Public Relations Committee member.

The lack of sanitation employment within the camp is evident by the piles of garbage and sewage that clog the streets of Shuafat. The small number of UNRWA sanitation employees are unable to stop the garbage from piling up. This is probably why Shuafat looks more like a garbage dump than anything else.

The Shuafat refugees also complain about the UNRWA health care services.

Some of the camp’s residents leave to find health care outside of the camp because they feel that it better serves their needs.

“Clinics within the camps are equal if not better than hospitals in the surrounding area,” responds Ibrahim Jibril, Public Information Assistant for UNRWA at UNRWA headquarters in Jerusalem.

Yet many UNRWA refugee camp residents receive healthcare insurance from their jobs outside of the camp, through Israel National Insurance Institute employment benefits. Many residents have to pay the full price to get reasonable medical care.

“When I go the UNRWA doctor for a stomachache, he gives me Paracetamol. When I go to the doctor because I have a headache, he gives me Paracetamol. When I ask him why he always gives me that same medicine, he says because UNRWA does not have money for medicine,” Omar explained in a distressed voice.

Omar took out a blue card case and proudly presented it to me. Camp residents with blue cards, which are equivalent to Palestinian work permits, are able to seek medical care outside of the camp. However, there are hundreds of Shuafat residents who do not possess a blue card; they have to suffer miserably when they need real medical assistance.

“There are only two doctors who work in our Shuafat clinic: a general doctor and a dentist. The dentist never comes to work. When we ask to see him they (UNRWA) tell us to go to a private doctor or to go to Jerusalem,” Hadr said. Hadr, who recently needed root canal surgery, went to see if he could make an appointment with the dentist at the UNRWA clinic. The dentist was not in his office. Hadr’s patience ran thin. Suffering extreme pain, he went to an Israeli dentist and paid a fee that he could not afford.

Anger in the UNRWA schools of Shuafat is demonstrated quite differently. One of the UNRWA perks is free education until twelfth grade. When entering a Shuafat school, it looks like any other modern school one you might see in Jerusalem. Indeed, the plaques on the adjacent boys and girls schools in Shuafat designate that these schools were built from contributions recent received from Saudi Arabia, which also constructed an adjoining mosque. The schools are much cleaner than the rest of the camp. The children seem well-fed and well-dressed in their neat school uniforms.

Yet the ascetic quality of the school contrasts with the curriculum. In an eighth grade English class, the teacher proudly proclaim the words “occupation,” “land” and “return,” and asks the children to repeat them loudly. Thereafter, they sing their daily English song, a rendition of “We Shall Overcome .... in Palestine.” When the children were asked what the song means for them, each one of them spoke of returning to their homes in the area that is now Ashkelon.

None spoke about living in the Palestinian entity in the West Bank or Gaza. One child even introduced his grandfather, Mohammad, who offered to provide a personal escort to the village where they “will soon be returning to,” even though it no longer exists.

An UNRWA school official ironically explains that the Shuafat school curriculum is in line with the UNRWA mandate and the 1949 UN Resolution #194 that is reaffirmed every two years. This resolution supports “the inalienable right of return” of all Palestinian refugees to be repatriated to the homes that they left in 1948.

Between the garbage, the reduced health facilities, the discouragement with UNRWA and the expectation of the right of return, it might be fair to say that Shuafat, the one refugee camp in Jerusalem is seething in expectation.

The Shuafat camp residents are well aware that the issue of “refugees” is now on the agenda of the Oslo process as the final step in a peace process that has so far excluded them.

One can well expect the Shuafat camp residents - well educated and quite literate - to conduct additional riots if their physical situation does not improve or if they do not have assurances that they will indeed return to Ashkelon very soon.

Meanwhile, the camp residents’ expectation that the Palestine Authority may soon take over official control of the Shuafat camp will represent a new headache to the city of Jerusalem and Israeli security services, which already copes with a dozen institutions of the Palestine Authority in its midst.

**“Honey I lost the key:” What happened to the UNRWA two-ton key on top of keyhole-like entrance to the UNRWA AL Aida refugee facility in Bethlehem?**

*David Bedein, Front Page Magazine, June 8, 2012*

For the past four years, adjacent to the UNRWA headquarters the AL Aida refugee facility in Bethlehem hosted a two ton key rested on top of the entrance to Al Aida, which is shaped in the likeness of a mammoth keyhole.

<http://a7.org/Resizer.ashx?source=albums&image=28471&a=450&b=550>

That mammoth key and key hole were erected at the entrance to the UNRWA Al Aida refugee facility during a celebration on May 15, 2008, to mark 60 years since the creation of Israel and the displacement of Arabs who consider themselves to be refugees who are entitled to the “right of return” to Arab villages which no longer exist, inside Israel.

This week, however, when a news crew visited the AL Aida refugee facility in Bethlehem, the journalists discovered that the massive two-ton key was missing.

[https://mail.google.com/mail/u/0/?ui=2&ik=01b1c724b6&view=att&th=137b7075c2dc3b4e&attid=0.1&disp=thd&realattid=f\\_h31e86xq0&zw](https://mail.google.com/mail/u/0/?ui=2&ik=01b1c724b6&view=att&th=137b7075c2dc3b4e&attid=0.1&disp=thd&realattid=f_h31e86xq0&zw)

Rather than contact the UNRWA lost and found department, the reporters asked UNRWA residents about the whereabouts of the missing key. They had no idea.

The reporters asked UNRWA officials, who also said that they did not know.

Had there been sudden misgivings about the key to the right of return, the subject that forms the basis of UNRWA education?

Hardly.

A google search on the Arab media led to the discovery of the key’s whereabouts: The Palestinian Authority is taking the key on a tour of...Germany.

Here is the link to an Arab media report about the tour of the key in Germany,

<http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/05/10/213226.html>

This key has been taken on a PLO public relations campaign to promote German support for the right of descendants of Arab refugees to take back 531 Arab villages that they claim from 1948, which have been replaced by Israeli towns, collective farms and woodlands- within Israel's 1967 lines."

Germany's role in any campaign to promote the "right of return" to homes from the 1940's may be considered to be unusual, since nine million Germans who were forced out of their homes after World War II have never demanded the "right of return" to places like East Prussia and the Sudetanland.

However, Germany plays an important role in the promotion of the Arab "right of return" to Arab villages from the 1940's, which no longer exist.

A case in point: A consistent aspect of cultural life in the UNRWA camps are film screenings in the UNRWA youth clubs which motivate descendants of Arab refugees to longing a Palestinian "right to return" to villages that they left in 1948.

These films are organized through the Cine Club, orchestrated under the framework of a group known as the Shaml and sponsored by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, which receives funds from the German government.

According to the Ebert Foundation's website, its primary mission is "promoting peace and understanding between peoples."

Yet UN article 194 is touted by the German sponsored Shaml as proof for an absolute "right of refugee" return.

That article states that: "Refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible."

Besides Shaml, the Ebert Foundation also aids PASSIA: the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs.

In 2004, PASSIA, a Palestinian Authority based academic organization, published a multicolored bulletin still in circulation titled "Palestinian Refugees," offering facts and proofs to promote the "right of return."

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

This publication highlights the German government funded Friedrich Ebert Foundation as the sole sponsor of this brochure.

When the President of Germany, Horst Kohler, visited the Israeli Knesset in January 2005, an Israel Member of the Knesset, Gila Finkelstein, waved PASSIA “right of return” brochure at President Kohler and walked out of the Knesset in protest.

Finkelstein met with President Kohler, to personally express her outrage that Germany would fund an effort that supported the “right of return,” a code name for dismembering Israel.

Kohler promised to look into the matter.

In April 2005, President Kohler wrote to MK Finkelstein that he relied on the professional judgment of the Fredrich Ebert Foundation and rejected MK Finkelstein’s protests.

Germany continues its the policy of promoting the Arab “right of return”, allowing the two ton key from the UNRWA AL Aida refugee facility in Bethlehem on a tour throughout Germany.

Perhaps Israel should launch a campaign to help Germans to return to East Prussia.

## Section 2: Chapter 2 – UNRWA Policies



### **Has UNRWA allowed their Refugee Camps to Become the Host of Terror Activity?**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, March 14, 2002*

Israel Minister of Defense and newly elected Labor Party leader Binyamin Ben Eliezer has been declaring that the Arab refugee camps represent a haven for killers, and a threat to the security of all Israeli citizens.

Not a day goes by that we do not hear about these refugee camps: Suicide bombers who come from refugee camps; Killers who take asylum in refugee camps; Mortars that are fired from refugee camps; Food warehouses in refugee camps which have been transformed into storage bins for artillery shells,

ammunition and mortar rounds; and Al Quaeda squads which are based in refugee camps, which organize official celebrations in honor of their recently-martyred suicide bombers.

So who runs these “refugee camps?” There is one agency with absolute authority over Palestinian refugee camps – and it is not the PLO, not the PA, not Hamas, Islamic Jihad or any other Arab entity. The agency, which runs these refugee camps in none other than UNRWA, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. This body was established by the UN after the 1948 War of Liberation, with a mandate to administer ‘temporary shelters’ until such time as the refugees earned/won/were granted the right to return to the homes and villages they had fled in ’48 – even if these villages no longer existed.

UNRWA, therefore, remains the only refugee agency in the world whose apparent purpose is to perpetuate the status of refugees as refugees. Indeed, the official curriculum of the free UNRWA education system is based on that idea – that refugees must remain refugees until such time as they are repatriated to their homes.

Peter Hanson, the Danish-born Director of UNRWA, explains that “the right of return” remains the motto of UNRWA, and the cause, which unites all of the Palestinian people.

Sammy Messhassa, Head of Public Affairs for UNRWA in Jerusalem, acknowledges that UNRWA is well aware of the fact that thousands of armed Palestinian Authority security personnel make their homes in UNRWA camps, and that UNRWA does not object to such a phenomenon.

PA media analyst Ghassan Khatib remarked to CNN, in a February/ 2000 interview, that every young man in the UNRWA Balata refugee camp now has his own personal weapon! How? Each UNRWA camp hosts a local steering committee which is in charge of distributing the funds received as charitable donations from relief organizations and donor countries around the world. And it is that committee which decides whether to provide food rations or weapons with the money at their disposal.

In light of such evidence, will the nations and organizations which contribute so generously to UNRWA – including the United States, Canada, E.U., and even Israel -now demand that UNRWA disarm these hotbeds of terrorism masquerading as refugee camps? Or not.

At this time, as UNRWA food storage bins are turned into ammunition dumps to supply armed weapons to the Palestinian gunmen, UNRWA issues urgent memos for donor nations to urgently allocate funds to UNRWA.

There is one question for the UNRWA donor nations to ask: Where has all the flour gone?

### **Road Map Rekindles Arab War for the “Right of Return”**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, May 23, 2003*

“The Americans rejected one of Israel’s central demands, which states that the Palestinian Arabs would agree to concede the right of return in return for Israel’s recognition of a Palestinian Arab state. They also rejected Israel’s demand to remove the Saudi proposal (a full withdrawal to the lines of June 4, 1967 and recognition of the right of return, in return for the recognition of Israel by the Arab countries and natural relations) as one of the main sources of the road map’s authority” – Shimon Shiffer, Senior Diplomatic Correspondent, Yediot Aharonot newspaper, May 23, 2003.

In other words, what our agency has been reporting for 15 years is indeed the case: The US State Department, together with all the western governments, indeed support the Arab world campaign for the “right of return” to the Arab villages lost in 1948. None of these villages where they expect to return lie in Judea, Samaria (Also known as the West Bank) or Gaza.

The US support for the “right of return” is no theoretical matter. That support was translated into the \$114 million that the US contributed last year to UNRWA, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency.

UNRWA continues to confine more than one million Arabs to the squalor of Arab refugee camps, who wallow in these “temporary shelters”, under the specious premise and promise of the “inalienable right of return”, as defined by the UN for more than fifty years. Another three million Palestinian Arabs are defined by UNRWA as official refugees and serviced by UNRWA.

Canada chairs the RWG, the Refugee Working Group together with the US and the EU countries. The RWG provides the continuing official western governmental policy that stirs the expectation amongst the Palestinian Arabs that they will be repatriated to the Arab villages from 1948, which have been replaced by Israeli cities, collective farms and woodlands. The genesis of a Palestinian Arab entity has done nothing to stem those expectations. The ideology of the PLO remains that every Arab who left in 1948 who claims to be descended from an Arab who left in 1948 can have the absolute unquestioned right to return to that village.

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

We asked the head of the PLO refugee committee, Daoud Baraket, about the difficulties of that “right of return”, since Israelis live in cities that replaced the Arab villages from 1948. Baraket had a simple solution. “The Israelis should leave”, he said. And what if they do not leave, we asked. “Well, we would have to kill them, and international law would be on our side”, Baraket said.

It is no wonder that the 59 UNRWA refugee camps remain the safe haven of Arab terror groups.

And what the US discovered during the April war with Iraq was that UNRWA refugee camps in Lebanon, financed in part by the US, were transformed into paramilitary training centers for well trained Arab militias that were dispatched to fight the US and Britain in Iraq. 320,000 Palestinian Arab refugees live in the worst of the UNRWA camps in Lebanon, which is the only host country for UNRWA that restricts Palestinian Arabs from working in most professions, so as to keep the Palestinian Arabs in the UNRWA camps. The UNRWA camps in Lebanon conduct their daily military exercises to dispatch thousands of refugees to flood northern Israel to retake their homes and villages that were lost in the 1948 war.

And these refugees in Lebanon are being are being primed by UNRWA policies which are endorsed by the US, Canada and the EU.

The people of Israel know nothing of all this. They will soon find out, however.

After 15,000 Arab terror attacks throughout Israel, which have taken the lives of almost 800 murdered Israelis in less than three years, the people of Israel are in for a rude awakening.

The rallying call, which inspires Arab terror is the “right of return”, not “free the West Bank and Gaza.”

That rallying call is not only supported by Arab terrorists.

The right of return, which means the right to murder just about all of the people of Israel, is supported by the official foreign policies of the US, Canada, and the EU.

Israel is at war with the world.

**"Right of Return:" Wild Card of Middle East Negotiations**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, September 19, 2003*

**The 1948 War Continues**

Israel's 1948 war has not been resolved. The Palestinian Authority and PLO, with the help of the UN, keep that war simmering. They do this by demanding the implementation of the "Right of Return," so that Arab refugees and their descendents may claim Arab homes and villages abandoned during Israel's 1948 War of Independence, even if these locations have since been replaced by Israeli cities, collective farms and woodlands.

While anywhere between 450,000 and 700,000 Arabs left or fled the former British mandate of Palestine during that two year war, the PLO now claims that any peace settlement must include the return of 8,000,000 Arabs to live within Israel's 1949-1967 cease-fire borders.

Demand for the "Right of Return" attracts little media coverage in the mainstream media in the West and even in Israel.

Most people, including Israelis, know nothing about it.

Despite this, all foreign governments involved in Middle East negotiations, including the US, give tacit support to the "Right of Return". In principle, this is a simple formula replacing Israel's population with an Arab population who claim that more than 80% of Israeli homes are built on the property of Palestinian Arab refugees and their descendents.

"Right of Return" in the UN-run Palestinian Arab refugee camps.

Schools in the UN-run Palestinian Arab refugee camps inculcate a new generation that soon they will be living inside a Jew's house inside Israel.

The precision of this "Right of Return" brainwashing can be seen in the educational curriculum being taught at ([www.palestineremembered.com](http://www.palestineremembered.com)), where the descendents of Palestinian Arab refugees can peruse photos and maps of the homes and villages to which they expect to return; the same locations that are now "occupied" by Jews.

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

It is blatantly evident that the "Right of Return" is woven into the official curriculum of the Palestinian Authority's Ministry of Education ([www.edume.org](http://www.edume.org)), whose schools and schoolbooks are funded by the US AID, Canada and all major European nations.

"Right of Return": The Foundation of the 'Road Map.'

The issue of the Palestinian Arab demand for "Right of Return" to the Arab villages that they left in 1948 is now on the table.

Indeed, the current "Road Map", sponsored by the US, the EU, Russia and the UN is based on the "Saudi Peace Plan" proposed by Crown Prince Abdullah on March 28, 2002 at the Arab League in Beirut. Palestine Authority Foreign Minister Nabil Shaath, also Arafat's confidante, affirmed in Beirut on August 16th that the US-sponsored Road Map would mandate the right of Palestinian Arab refugees to return to their homes and villages from 1948.

Surprisingly, Shaath was correct. All one needs to do is to read the official "Road Map" document to know that the Saudi initiative, which supports the "Right of Return", provides the basis for the Road Map. This can be found in the document entitled " A Performance-Based Roadmap to a Permanent Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict" <http://www.un.org/media/main/roadmap122002.html>.

In other words, the "Saudi Peace Plan" demands that Israel accept the recognition of the "Right of Return" for any Palestinian Arab refugee or any refugee descendant who desires to act upon his or her "right."

All this is in line with the Palestinian State Constitution, authored by the same Nabil Shaath and ratified on March 26th by the US-funded Palestine Legislative Council (PLC). This constitution legislates the "Right of Return" for all Palestinian Arab refugees and their descendants to return to the villages from 1948, even if they no longer exist. Thousands of maps recently issued and distributed by the Palestinian National Authority in Arabic and in English provide a clear guide for Palestinian Arab refugees and their descendants to forcibly take back the 531 Arab villages lost in 1948 which have been replaced by Israeli cities, collective farms and woodlands.

Not one of the villages to where Palestinian Arab refugees demand the "Right of Return" are located in Judea, Samaria (also known as the West Bank) or Gaza.

Only last week, Palestinian Arabs fired Qassam rockets into Ashkelon from UN refugee camps in Gaza. Some 24 hours thereafter, an announcement aired on the Palestinian Authority's PBC Voice of Palestine stated that "Palestinian fighters had attacked the Israeli settlement in Majdal-Ashkelon."

The emphasis in the announcer's voice was on Majdal, alluding to the fact (which his Arab Palestinian listeners would be expected to know) that Ashkelon has been built on the ruins of al-Majdal, a cluster of Arab villages.

The refugee residents of UNRWA camps in Gaza speak of the necessity of removing "illegal Israeli settlements" to achieve peace.

One might think that they are referring to the 21 Israeli Jewish farming communities that have been founded on the sand dunes south of Gaza in the context of their claim to all of Gaza.

However, an example of a settlement that the UNRWA camp residents wish to remove is the "illegal Israeli settlement" of Ashkelon, which replaced Majdal and other Arab villages as a result of the 1948 war, or the constantly shelled Sderot, which replaced Arab villages in the Negev.

### **"Right of Return": Motto of the Palestinian Authority**

The emergence of a Palestinian Arab entity in the form of the Palestinian Authority has done little to stem Palestinian Arab expectations for the "Right of Return."

After the erosion of the Camp David negotiations during Summer 2000, both the Israeli and Palestinian Arab delegations confirmed that the talks broke down because Israel did not recognize the "Right of Return." Israeli negotiator Dan Meridor told me in an interview in September, 2000, the Israeli delegation was amazed that the Palestinian Arab delegation was so adamant on the full recognition of the "Right of Return."

Yet Palestinian Legislative Council Chairman, Ahmad Qurei, [a.k.a. Abu Alaa], Arafat's most recent prime ministerial candidate for a future Palestinian Arab state, has consistently declared that the ideology of a Palestinian Arab state must be based on the "Right of Return". As he stated in 1999 "... Either [we achieve] a just peace that will guaranty the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including [their] return, self-determination, and the establishment of an independent [Palestinian] state with Jerusalem as its capital - or there will be no peace but [rather] a return to the struggle in all its forms."

Al-Ayyam, September 24 1999 [Excerpt from MEMRI Special Dispatch No. 58 November 18, 1999]

We asked the head of the PLO Refugee Committee, Daoud Baraket, about the difficulties of the "Right of Return", since Israelis live in cities that replaced the Arab villages from 1948. Baraket had a simple solution. "The Israelis should leave," he said. We asked what would happen if they do not leave. "Well, we

would have to kill them, and international law would be on our side," Baraket said.

### **"Right of Return" The Basis of UNRWA**

The "Right of Return" also forms the basis for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) operation UNRWA was established in 1950 to administer 59 "temporary" Palestinian Arab refugee camps instead of repatriating them to Arab countries.

The organization continues to operate these camps as "temporary shelters" under that very mandate of the "Right of Return."

Often, UNRWA Arab refugee camps organize each neighborhood exactly according to the neighborhoods and villages from whence they left in 1948, so as to facilitate their repatriation to those same neighborhoods.

In June of this year, Hamas won 60% of the votes to take over the UNRWA workers union, the professional guild that represents the 23,000 employees of UNRWA, most of whom are college-educated Palestinian Arab residents of the UNRWA camps.

That indicates the dominant ideology of the UNRWA employees who run the camps.

It is no wonder that the 59 UNRWA refugee camps remain the safe haven of Arab terror groups.

### **The Lebanese Equation**

Lebanon is the one country in which UN camps are most likely to prime Palestinian Arab refugees to "return to their homes from 1948". Palestinian Arab refugees, 320,000 of them, wallow in the UNRWA camps in Lebanon, the only host country for UNRWA which restricts Palestinian Arabs from working in most professions, so as to keep the Palestinian Arabs impoverished and dependent in the UNRWA camps.

UNRWA camps in Lebanon openly conduct daily military exercises to prepare thousands of refugees for the day that they will flood northern Israel to retake their homes and villages that were lost in the 1948 war, all under the spirit and slogan of the "Right of Return."

### **Surprising US acquiescence to the "Right of Return"**

People across the political spectrum in Israel expected the Bush Administration to stand with Israel on the "Right of Return" issue, since the idea of Palestinian Arabs flooding Israel with refugees seemed incompatible with the Bush notion of a two-state solution where Arab refugees would be absorbed by a Palestinian Arab entity.

However, on May 23, 2003, two days before the Road Map was affirmed with strong reservations by the Israeli cabinet, Shimon Schiffer, the senior diplomatic correspondent for the Yediot Aharonot newspaper, reported that "the Americans rejected one of Israel' central demands that the Palestinian Arabs would agree to concede the Right of Return in return for Israel's recognition of a Palestinian Arab state."

The US also rejected Israel's request to remove the Saudi proposal - a full withdrawal to the lines of June 4, 1967, recognition of the Right of Return, in exchange for the recognition of Israel by the Arab countries and natural relations - as the basis of the Road Map's authority.

The US support for the "Right of Return" is not a theoretical matter.

That support was translated into \$114 million the US contributed over the past fiscal year to UNRWA, an amount that comprises thirty percent of the UNRWA budget.

On August 4th, the US allocated an additional \$26 million to UNRWA, with no strings attached to mandate that the organization not promote the "Right of Return."

### **Will the US Congress Place Constraints on UNRWA?**

Deputy Chairman of the US House International Relations Committee Rep. Chris Smith (R; NJ), successfully offered an amendment on August 18th expressing the "Sense of the Congress" that "UNRWA was failing to vigorously oppose terrorism." He also called on the Department of State and UNRWA's own leadership to "take more pro-active steps to disassociate UNRWA from the terrorist elements that operate within and among its staff and humanitarian operations". Smith's amendment demands that UNRWA comply with section 301(c) of the US Foreign Assistance Act, which curtails US aid to any humanitarian agency which hosts military training.

It will soon be up to the US Congress to determine if they agree with the assessment of the Dr. Reuven Ehrlich, the head of Israel's "Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center". In December, 2002, Dr. Ehrlich wrote a position

paper for Israeli intelligence which concluded that "Terrorist Organizations Use UNRWA officials and Facilities to Carry out Terrorist Activities."

(See text on Israel Resource Review of March 31, 2003)

### **How Can the UN Address the Subject of Palestinian Refugees and Not Allow Israel to Attend the Meeting?**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, June 9, 2004*

This week, with funding from the Swiss government, UNRWA, the UN agency that is charged with handling refugee camps from the 1948 war, launched an international conference on what should have been a clear, innocuous and professional agenda: "Addressing the humanitarian needs of the Palestinian Arab refugees."

67 nations, 34 relief organizations, the Palestinian Authority and the PLO were invited to attend the conference, held at the UN's plush international conference center in Geneva.

Yet Israel was not invited to attend. Nor was any Israeli reporter invited to cover the event. UNRWA spokespeople said that they would only recognize reporters with credentials from either the UN or from Switzerland.

I covered the conference anyway, since it would have been difficult for the UN to turn down press credentials, which had been certified by a dues-paying UN member nation.

According to the UNRWA spokesman: Israel was not invited to this conference because Israel is not a contributing nation to UNRWA. Yet until a few years ago, Israel provided more than \$750,000 dollars per annum to UNRWA and exceeded the contribution of many of the Arab countries.

So why not invite Israel to attend as an observer or a discussant? To that, UNRWA and the Swiss government had no answer.

After all, the PLO, which sent a senior delegation to the conference, can hardly considered to be a donor to UNRWA, even though it would have been logical for UNRWA to ask that the PLO dip into assets which are worth anywhere from two to nine billion dollars, depending on which financial expert you ask. Yet UNRWA never asks for any contribution from the PLO.

Even though Israel was not invited to attend the UNRWA conference, the spokesman of the Israel Foreign Ministry reported that the Swiss government

had assured Israel that the atmosphere of the conference would be devoid of any message against Israel.

Indeed, the UNRWA web site had proclaimed that the conference would be devoid of politics and not discuss the “right of return.”

However, the UNRWA conference, from its opening moment, was held in an atmosphere of invective against Israel.

As conference participants entered the hall, they were greeted by more than a hundred life size pictures of Palestinian Arab refugees who have suffered at the hands of Israel.

Pictures in the exhibit were interwoven of Arabs fleeing their homes in 1948, Arabs dwelling in tents and shacks, and portraits of Arab women and children facing Israeli police and the Israeli army, which would lead any participant at the conference to come to the visceral conclusion the total picture Palestinian refugee reality is oppression at the hands of Israel. And from the pictures in the hall, you would think that these refugees still live in tents.

In the central open conference room as the participants walked in, UNRWA screened short movies, all funded by the Swiss government, and played them consecutively throughout the conference, designed to show different aspects of UNRWA's services. You could not miss the invective against Israel in some of the films.

“Hoda's Story” showed the medical treatment that UNRWA provides for an eleven year old girl who had been shot in the head, by the IDF while she was sitting in her classroom in Khan Yunis. Hoda is blinded as a result, and shown going through medical treatment at UNRWA health facilities. The film focuses on the children in Hoda's schoolmates who discuss their fear that the IDF will kill more children and that Hoda's fate may be their fate at the hands of the IDF. The film clearly hints that the IDF intentionally kills children. No mention of the fact that her school was caught in cross fire between the IDF and the Palestinian armed forces. Had Israel been invited to attend the conference, Israel could have shared its publicly available intelligence reports on how the Palestinian armed forces use UNRWA offices, UNRWA medical clinics and even UNRWA schools as a base of operations. A discussion would have ensued between UNRWA spokespeople and Israeli spokespeople as to the extent to which the Palestinian armed forces use UNRWA facilities as their base of operation. Yet Israel was not afforded the right to respond to allegations that it has a policy of killing children. For its part, Israel could have been afforded the chance to distribute the recent publications on the Palestinian Authority's incitement of school children, and the recent booklets that tell the story of 113

Israeli school children who were murdered in cold blood by Palestinian terrorists.

Another movie screened by UNRWA showed the massive \$27 million UNRWA project to repair demolished homes in Jenin, a noble undertaking in itself, as the film shows careful and diligent coordination with the rival camp committees to accomplish the goal. Yet laced throughout the film is blame and hatred of Israel, with films showing the tanks that knocked down houses in Jenin in April 2002. The film shows a crying woman complains how the Israelis had simply destroyed the home that she had built, brick by brick, over a period of 20 years. The visceral reaction that any conference participant who saw this film would be deep anger and resentment of Israel for what it did in Jenin.

The film does not mention how Fateh spokesman had referred to the UNWRA camp in Jenin as “the suicide capital”. No mention of how some of these homes had been used by snipers to kill 23 IDF troops. No mention of how the Palestinian armed forces had taken refuge in these homes. Had Israel been invited to attend the conference, Israelis would have shown their footage of the UNRWA camp in Jenin. Instead, conference participants were left with the impression that Israel destroys homes with no reason given.

Indeed, the commissioner general of UNRWA, Peter Hansen, held a press conference at the conference in which he complained that Israel had increased home demolitions from 65 a month in 2002 to more than 140 a month during this calendar year. Hansen could provide no explanation for the demolitions, and no one was there from Israel to say why.

Hansen could only say that he wonders if Israel will now demolish the new houses that UNRWA has built. Meanwhile, Hansen has never recanted his statement from April 2002 that Israel had conducted a massacre of “hundreds” of people in Jenin at the time. The Arab death toll at the time was 56, most of whom were armed.

Since the Swiss government paid for the movies, the spokesman of the Swiss government present at the showing was asked for comment on the one-sided nature of these films. His response was to shrug his shoulders and take no responsibility for their content.

Meanwhile, one of the films screened by UNRWA would have been appreciated by Israel, had an Israeli representative been present to comment. That was the film of the rehabilitation of the UNRWA camp in Nesirat. Located in northern Syria. The film showed how the Syrian government had cooperated with UNRWA to relocate people who had been in the stench of an overcrowded camp since 1950 into a much healthier facility in northern Syria, in a program financed with the help of the US and Canada.

This would have been Israel's opportunity to share the approved policy of the government of Israel, which calls for the rehabilitation of UNRWA camps and their transformation into decent and humanitarian living conditions.

That policy had been adopted by the Israeli government in 1983 and rejected by the UN in 1985, because of the UN commitment to not interfere with the "inalienable right of return" for Palestinian Arab refugees to go back to their homes from 1948.

Although UNRWA declared that the conference would not deal with the "right of return", UNRWA allowed the PLO Refugee Affairs Department to put up a table in which it distributed its materials to promote the "right of return". The PLO distributed precise maps of where and how the UNRWA camp residents could take back their homes from 1948.

Asked about the fact that the HAMAS terrorist organization had taken over the teacher's union and workers council of UNRWA, Hansen did not deny it, but went on to say that only one UNRWA employee had ever been arrested for terror activity.

Hansen went on to say that UNRWA could not discriminate against the religious affiliation of his staffers. Invoking a new understanding of civil rights and religious liberty, with Hamas recognized as a religious denomination.

It is therefore not hard to imagine what message Hamas teachers are conveying in an UNRWA classroom. Perhaps that it is for that reason that the UNRWA schools, as a matter of course, hold celebrations and marches in honor of Hamas suicide bombers.

Had Israel been invited, Israel could have provided films of rallies for HAMAS inside the UNRWA schools.

The Conference on the humanitarian needs of the Palestinian refugees concluded with a unanimous resolution, which called on all nations to protect Arab refugees and to protect UNRWA personnel, and to ensure the safe passage of UNRWA personnel to and from the UNRWA camps. Yet as conference was concluding, a news report blipped on the computers of the reporters that residents of an UNRWA camp in Gaza had fired mortar shells into the Israeli city of Sderot, located in the Negev. The UNRWA shells had hit a factory and injured five people. No resolution dealt with the question of who is supposed to protect the people of Sderot from the armed personnel who fire mortars from the UNRWA camps.

The Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs was asked to react to Hansen's insinuation that Israel demolishes homes for no reason, and that Israel may destroy new homes.

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The Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs was also asked whether it would file a complaint with the Swiss government to the one-sided films that UNRWA was distributing and whether the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs would raise any objections to the concluding resolution of the conference. The Foreign Ministry spokesman said that he was waiting for a report from the Israeli consulate in Geneva, except that the Israeli consul did not attend the conference, since he was not invited to do so.

The conclusions of the conference appear on the web site of UNRWA. Yet the Israel Foreign Ministry remains silent, perhaps hoping that all this will go away.

At the end of the conference, US State Dep't personnel emerged from the briefings. Perhaps this would provide a breath of fresh air for Israel, since the US often stands by Israel at the UN. The US State Department people were asked about the fact that Israel was excluded from this crucial UN conference. The US officials indicated that they they had concurred in the decision to exclude Israel, a member in good standing in the UN since 1949, from these discussions. So much for Israel's ally at the UN.

What a shame for Israel that Micronesia wasn't invited either. Then at least one nation would have objected to a crucial conference on the Middle East in which Israel was excluded.

### **Mortar Attacks on Israelis from UN Safe Haven**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, October 8, 2004*

Israel's ambassador to the United Nations, Dan Gillerman, sent a letter to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan on Sunday, October 3rd, 2004, demanding the dismissal of Peter Hansen from his position as commissioner-general of UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Work Agency), the organization that administers the Palestinian Arab refugee camps, under the premise and promise of the "right of return" to the homes and villages their ancestors left in 1948. In addition, Gillerman called for the United Nations to conduct a full investigation of UNWRA.

15 months ago, the Hamas terror organization won more than 90% of the vote to run the UNRWA workers union in the UNRWA Arab refugee camps in Gaza. The salaries of UNRWA workers are paid through contributions that UNRWA receives from 38 contributing countries. The U.S. provides 30% of that budget,

Canada contributes 4% of that budget, and the European countries contribute well over 55% of that budget.

In other words, the western democracies of the world pay the salaries of the Hamas terrorists on the payroll of UNRWA.

During a special UNRWA conference on the subject of Palestinian Arab refugees in Geneva last June, I asked UNRWA Director Peter Hansen about the fact that Hamas dominated his personnel. Hansen did not deny that fact. Instead, Hansen remarked that, "UNRWA does not check the religious affiliation of its workers" – as if the Hamas was some kind of religious denomination.

The Kuwaiti newspaper Al-Watan reported on June 11, 2003:

Hamas followers won a remarkable victory in the elections to the clerks union of UNRWA in the Gaza strip, gaining 23 out of the 27 seats. 6,780 from among the entitled 7, 616 clerks participated in the voting. Hamas followers achieved also 6 (out of 7) seats in the workers sector, 6 seats (out of 9) in the services sector and all 11 seats in the teachers sector. Their victory enables them to form the executive committee of the union comprising 9 members.

Lebanon's Filastin Al-Muslima reported in July 2003 (p. 5):

The Islamic Bloc affiliated with the Hamas movement won an overwhelming victory in the elections to the clerks [union] of UNRWA held on the 9th June 2003. More than 8000 clerks from teachers, services and workers sectors participated in the voting. The Hamas organization which gained 23 seats out of 27 in the elections to the three mentioned sectors, considered this victory as a evidence to the 'popular backing' of the Hamas and its ideology advocating the continuous armed struggle against Israeli occupation.

The Islamic Bloc in the teachers sector gained all 11 seats allocated to this sector. Its candidates in the northern districts of [the] Gaza [strip] won 91.7% of the total vote. In Gaza [city] and Shati [refugee camp] areas they gained 57.04%; in central districts 88.04%; in Khan Yunis district 92.03% and in Rafah district 81.06%.

In the elections to the services sector the Islamic Bloc gained 6 seats out of the 9 allocated to all Gazan districts, while in the worker sector it achieved 6 out of 7 seats. Yusouf Abu Zubaida, the Islamic Bloc's candidate in Rafah district, attained 45.74% of the vote. Abd Aziz Daber, its candidate in Khan Yunis district, won 60.07% of the vote. In Dir Al-Balah the Islamic Bloc candidate failed to win a majority. Muhamad Darwish, the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation Of Palestine, another terrorist group) candidate won the election gaining 63.03% of the vote.

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The Islamic Bloc candidates in Nuseart (Ala Jaber) and Al-Bureij (Zaki Shoubier) won the election with 50.06 % and 43.84% respectively. Amir Atallah won a noticeable achievement in the election in the Shati refugee camp gaining 100% of the vote. Maher Zaqout, another candidate of the Islamic Bloc, achieved 85.85% of the votes in the northern districts of [the] Gaza [strip].

Hamas candidate Area Percentage of Votes

Yusouf Abu Zubaida, Rafah district: 45.74%

Abd Aziz DaberKhan, Yunis district: 60.07%

Ala Jaber, Nuseart: 50.06 %

Zaki Shoubier, Al-Bureij: 43.84%

Maher Zaqout, Northern districts of Gaza: 85.85%

Amir Atallah, Shati: 100%

This is the Islamic Bloc's consecutive fourth victory since 1990 in the elections to the UNRWA clerks' union. Suhail Al-Hindi, who was elected in the teachers' sector as a representative of the Islamic Bloc, emphasized in response to the Islamic Bloc's decisive victory, the [broad] scope of support the Islamic movement enjoys in the 'Palestinian street'...He considered this victory as evidence of the "Palestinian Street support for this movement [Hamas] and its rejection to Abu Mazen's policy toward the cessation of the resistance against Israeli occupation." The organizations which participated in the elections are: The Islamic Bloc [Hamas], the Palestinian Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Palestinian Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PDFLP) and the Fatah movement.

More information on how terrorists use UNRWA facilities can be found at [http://www.intelligence.org.il/eng/dec\\_m.htm](http://www.intelligence.org.il/eng/dec_m.htm).

The question remains: Will the western nations also demand that UNRWA fire workers who are members of the Hamas terrorist organization, especially since the West provides the operating budget of UNRWA?

This matter is of particular interest to Congressman Chris Smith (R-NJ), the deputy chairman of the U.S. House International Relations Committee. Exactly one year ago, in October 2003, Smith noted that a special clause of the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act forbids the U.S. from aiding any humanitarian agency where military training is conducted. Congressman Smith called for the U.S. to apply this standard to UNRWA, because of reports that he received about the UNRWA camps being transformed into training grounds for military attacks

against Israel. In other words, more terrorism subsidized by the U.S. taxpayer.

### **Will Funds for UNRWA wind up in the Coffers of the Hamas?**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, March 2, 2006*

At a time when the EU, Israel and the US are considering a policy decision to cut funds to the Hamas dominated Palestinian Authority, it has been suggested that Israel and the US simply allocate the funds through the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) that administers 59 refugee camps for Palestinian Arab refugees from 1948 and for their descendent. All told, UNRWA cares for three million Palestinian Arabs, one third of whom actually live in the camps, with the rest of the UNRWA clientele living contiguous to the camps.

However, the Hamas connection to UNRWA is pervasive and deep.

Last week Israel's Defense Forces (IDF) engaged in house-to-house search operations for wanted Hamas terrorists in the UNRWA camp in Balata, near Nablus. The problem is Hamas's infiltration into UNRWA operations, which has been an ongoing issue for some time.

There have been a number of chilling reminders of this systemic problem over the last few years. For instance, at the memorial ceremony for Sheikh Yassin, which was held at the UNRWA boys' school in that same Balata refugee camp on April 3, 2004, veiled operatives held mock Kassam rockets; the families of "martyrs" were given gifts and certificates of gratitude.

In an earlier incident, according to the Israeli prime minister's web site, Hamas convened a conference in a school in the Jabalya refugee camp, in which the school's administration, teachers and hundreds of students participated. Representing the UNRWA Teachers Association, Saheil Alhinadi praised UNRWA pupils who carried out suicide attacks against Israel.

That Alhinadi was speaking for the teachers should not be surprising, since Hamas-affiliated officials dominate the teachers' union of UNRWA in Gaza and control its executive committee. This is particularly worrisome because of the terrorist influence on young refugees studying in UNRWA schools.

Hamas has influenced the UNRWA schools through the Islamic Bloc, which refers to itself as a "Jihad" organization dedicated to the "Islamization" of the Palestinian cause and the necessity of liberating all of the land of Palestine. The Bloc has been charged by Hamas with furthering its goals within the schools.

IDF Colonel (ret.) Yoni Fighel observed that as “long as UNRWA employees are members of Fatah, Hamas, or PFLP, they are going to pursue the interests of their party within the framework of their job... Who’s going to check up on them to see that they don’t? UNRWA? They are UNRWA.”

Meanwhile, Israel’s former UN Ambassador, Dr. Dore Gold, visited the UNRWA camp in Jenin in April 2002 and witnessed the presence of shahid (martyr) posters on the walls in the homes of UNRWA workers. “It was clear,” he says, “that UNRWA workers were doubling as Hamas agents.”

It should be noted that, for political reasons, UNRWA does not do adequate vetting of prospective employees in Judea and Samaria, while such vetting of prospective employees does take place in the UNRWA camps in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan.

At UNRWA’s international conference held in Geneva in June, 2004, I asked Peter Hansen, then the UN Commissioner General for UNRWA, how he could account for the fact that Hamas members were on the payroll of UNRWA. Hansen then admitted “We do not check the religious affiliation of our staff members.”

A week later, in a CBC radio interview, Hansen stated that he saw no problem with having Hamas members on his staff.

Employee involvement with Hamas should not come as any surprise, since the employees of UNRWA are themselves Palestinian Arab refugees, and the evidence that the refugee population is supportive of, and affiliated with, Hamas is quite considerable.

UNRWA has never denied beneficiaries aid or relief because of Hamas (or other terrorist) associations. This is because UNRWA has a “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy on the matter. Inevitably, funds given to UNRWA recipients ends up paying the salaries of Hamas officials.

This week, the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed UNRWA of its great displeasure with the fact that Hamas officials remain on the payroll of UNRWA.

### **UNRWA in its Present Form; Impediment to Peace in the Middle East**

*David Bedein, The Jerusalem Post, October 3, 2011*

A Middle East peace process ensued 34 years ago, when Egyptian President Anwar Sadat made an unprecedented Middle East peace effort, when he proclaimed a new policy of peace and reconciliation with Israel. Sadat headed the largest nation of the League of Arab Nations, the very entity which declared a war of extermination against the nascent state of Israel in 1948 – the very same League of Arab Nations which spawned the PLO in 1964 for the very same purpose: to liquidate the Jewish state.

The 1979 Israeli Egyptian peace treaty and the subsequent 1994 Israeli Jordanian peace treaty which emanated from the seminal Sadat initiative ignited hopes that the Israeli Arab war would finally come to an end, while outstanding issues of the 1948 war would finally be resolved.

Festering issues from 1948 still include the vast property claims of nearly one million Jews from Arab countries who left almost all possessions behind, along with the claims of the descendants of half a million Arab refugees from 1948 war who left behind hundreds of Arab villages.

While Jewish refugees from Arab countries were absorbed into Israel, nearly five million descendants of Arab refugees from the 1948 war continue to languish in 59 UNRWA “temporary” refugee camps in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Judea, Samaria, Jerusalem and Gaza, now funded to the tune of 1.2 billion dollars per annum by 38 western democracies, with the US government donating 25% of the annual UNRWA budget.

An official UNRWA report, published in June 2011, describes the destitute situation in the UNRWA facilities, which UNRWA officials contrasted with the tremendous economic growth of neighboring Arab cities of Ramallah, Jenin, Bethlehem, Hebron and more.

Yet despite its plague of poverty, UNRWA makes no effort to seek any long-term solutions for descendants of Arab refugees who have wallowed in the indignity of refugee life for more than 60 years, UNRWA could adapt the principles of UNHCR, the United Nations High Commission For Refugees, to rehabilitate thousands of its clients. After all, UNHCR has recently gained experience in its efforts to relocate thousands of Arab refugees who it had

rescued in Iraq, placing them in eleven nations around the world beginning with Chile.

In contrast, UNRWA instils millions of Arab refugee descendants with the false hope that they will be repatriated to their 1948 villages, even though these villages no longer exist.

Meanwhile, UNRWA makes no effort to even encourage Arab refugee descendants to plan for in a future Palestinian Arab entity that may soon be established in Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

Instead, UNRWA embraces the ‘right of return’ curricula of the Palestinian Authority, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan, and UNRWA facilities boast maps of Palestine which replace Israel, where all Israeli cities are described as Arab cities. This past summer, our agency filmed UNRWA sports camps for children where the dominant theme was the “right of return” to the villages of their great grandparents.

The UNRWA school system’s call to join the armed struggle to realize the “right of return” has transformed UNRWA camps into a breeding ground for terrorists.

It was therefore no coincidence that, in March 2009, Hamas terror groups won their fourth consecutive election to take charge of the UNRWA trade union and the UNRWA teachers union in Gaza.

Appearing before the National Press Club in Washington on September 19th, 2011, Dr. Mordechai Kedar, senior research associate at the Begin Sadat Center (BESA) for Strategic Studies at Bar Ilan University, described UNRWA as “an anachronistic institution born 60 years and should have died a natural death many decades ago like in all parts of the world after the tumult of the second world war.” Moreover, said Kedar, “What UNRWA does is to perpetuate the wars of the 1940’s as it recuscitates refugee problems that died in all other parts of the world, more than fifty years ago.”

In conclusion, Kedar addressed the contrast between UNRWA, whose motto is. “Peace begins here.” with UNRWA policies which work against the cause of peace between Israel and its neighbors.

In short, noted Kedar, “UNRWA raises Arab expectations to radically change Israeli demography – expectations that will never be fulfilled. UNRWA wastes funds that could be used much productively, which the world – especially the American taxpayer – funds which could have used in a more productive way.”

**Twenty Conclusions of “Operation Pillar of Defense**  
*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, November 26, 2012*

Last week, while visiting communities struck by Gaza missiles throughout southern Israel, it was easy to discern the all pervasive anger that Israeli citizens – from all walks of life – vented against the Israeli government for halting the attack on Gaza after only one week.

Civilians under the terror of aerial attacks find it hard to gain perspective on the achievements made during a one week November 2012 battle with the Hamas regime in Gaza.

Indeed, this was a battle. The war with Gaza is far from over.

This time, Israel’s leaders used tactics of psychological warfare tactics against the tactics that its adversary uses.

Here are twenty conclusions of “Operation Pillar of Defense:”

1. Israeli Air Force’s pinpointed “surgical attacks” killed off Hamas leaders and deprived the Hamas regime offices of badly needed tactical and ideological leadership during the confrontation with the IDF- and Israel did so with a minimum cost to civilian casualties on the other side. Meanwhile, massive IDF attacks on the Hamas regime’s munitions tunnels signaled that the tunnel supply game is over.

2. When the IDF held back on a land incursion into Gaza, the other side was deprived of “shahidim”- martyrs. Pupils in UNRWA schools in Gaza had been prepared by Hamas media professional “youtube” movies of themselves, which would be screened if they would become “shahidim” while attacking IDF troops during any IDF incursion into Gaza. Without available dead children in the form of Shahidim martyrs, it was hard for Israel’s adversaries to make the case to the for “Israeli war crimes.”

3 The IDF attack on Hamas TV antennas and the IDF bombing of the Hamas media center signaled that communications could now be a target of the IDF. The next step might be a cut off of all Gaza radio and TV frequencies, since these frequencies happen to be owned by Israel. These frequencies were leased by Israel given to the newly autonomous Palestinian Arab areas in Judea, Samaria and Gaza after the Oslo accords were signed in 1993, to communicate a message of peace.

4. A new unity of purpose swept Israel. Missile attacks on Tel Aviv and Jerusalem will help galvanize opposition in the center of the country to any

possibility of a Palestinian Arab state in Judea and Samaria, which would place Tel Aviv and Jerusalem and, indeed, Israel's only international airport, within 'Sderot missile distance' of any quasi independent PA entity The Hamas regime in Gaza proved that it could indeed hit the center of the country- Tel Aviv and Rishon Letzion and...Jerusalem. No longer would the people of Israel define the Hamas missile threat as limited or confined to Sderot and the Western Negev.

5. Daily praise heaped upon Hamas during its battle with the IDF by the official media outlets of the PA unveiled the formal alliance forged by the Fatah regime in Ramallah with the Hamas regime in Gaza. Since the EU, the US, Canada, Australia, Russia and even the UN define Hamas as a terrorist entity, the PA embrace of Hamas will place all future assistance to the PA in jeopardy. So much for the undeserved "moderate" image of the PA.

6. Vocal Israeli Arab citizen support for the Gaza regime as it launched missiles on the center of Israel will also not be forgotten.

7 The Israeli surgical attacks took the wind out of the sails of anti Israel protest movements, which had planned demonstrations to protest alleged Israeli "war crimes."

8. The Israeli military campaign, unlike any other campaign since 1967, witnessed International support for Israeli military initiative, since the IDF focused on targeted killings of Arab military leaders. On the diplomatic front, US President Obama and virtually all European leaders expressed support of Israel.

9. The battle did not conclude with a ceasefire, but, rather, with a "tahadia" – a respite before the resumption of hostilities – which holds no obligations for the Arabs, yet also holds no obligations for Israel. Israel can therefore demonstrate total freedom to respond when it feels like, with the precedent of explicit int'l support.

10. After the PLO had worked for a generation to redefine the situation an "Israel-Palestinian conflict," Israel faced an Iranian supported entity, which expanded the scope of the Gaza fighting into the international Islamic arena.

11. A key element in this battle involved a test of Tehran's deterrence system– the threat of missiles launched from Gaza was tested. Iranians could now gauge the effect on Israel of, and the ability of Israel to respond to, intensive bombardment from Gaza in retaliation for any Israeli, US or multinational attack on Iran. Iron Dome was proven to be effective, which can't be pleasing to Iran.

12. Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi, rather than visiting Gaza to demonstrate Egyptian solidarity with his fellow Muslim Brotherhood members (Hamas being the Palestinian branch of the MB), instead dispatched his prime

minister Hesham Kandil, a minor figure, while Morsi frantically engaged in brokering an arrangement to stop the fighting. Morsi was shown to be far more concerned about keeping US financial aid flowing to Egypt than he is about anything else – Gaza, Israel, or Iran.

13. The IDF executed a successful reserve call-up that was simultaneously huge in absolute terms (75,000 troops, compared to about 10,000 reservists mobilized before Operation Cast Lead in 12/08) yet relatively small (the total IDF head count being about 621,500), indicating that, though much of its population was under the psychological stress of bombardment, Israel was capable of fielding almost 8 times as much reserve manpower to threaten Gaza with invasion as was assembled on the Gaza border in 2008 (not counting any elements of the 177,000-strong regular army, which trains constantly and is thus better prepared for combat than the reserves) yet still managed to have 5 times as many yet to be mobilized reserves as the 75,000 that have been called up.

14. The IDF killing of Hamas military chief, Ahmed Jabaari who masterminded Gilad Shalit's abduction, Yahiya al-Abya, the head of Qassam's rocket forces and Khamer Hamri, who commanded PIJ's missile operation were each an accomplishment in and of itself.

15 There were heart-rending casualties on the Israeli side- including the horrific murder -by-missile- of Mira Sharf, the 26-year-old pregnant wife of the rabbi of the Chabad House in New Delhi, was visiting Israel to attend a commemoration of the 2008 butchering of the couple who ran the Chabad House in Mumbai, while maiming of her husband and one of her children, only 4 years old.

16. In conclusion, the strategic position of Israel in the region has been bolstered by the impotence of the Gazan rocket barrage, the IDF's formidable response and the sudden unity of Israel under fire.

17. It now remains for Israel to cope with the fact that 65% of the population of Gaza continue continue to wallow in Hamas-run UNRWA facilities under the promise of the "right of return" to "their" homes and villages which they left after the 1948 war.

18. While villages of Gaza may develop into a prosperous entity, the one million descendants of the refugees from 1948 who live in UNRWA camps are indoctrinated to engage in an "armed struggle" to renew hostilities at any moment.

19. The Israel Ministry of Strategic Affairs, which operates out of the office of the Prime Minister's Office, is now drawing up a comprehensive document on UNRWA, which includes recommendations regarding the the financing of UNRWA, and the UNRWA administered education system. The document will

pay special attention to “the cultivation of the Palestinian ethos of struggle and resistance” in the UNRWA schools.

20. Hamas was elected to control the administrative union and the teachers’ union of UNRWA in Gaza. That means that humanitarian aid and education to UNRWA in Gaza fall under direct control of a terror organization. With the UNRWA demands for cash transfers, international accountability for cash in the hands of Hamas has become a critical issue. It will now behoove donor nations to UNRWA in Gaza to ensure that humanitarian aid is not bartered by the Hamas leadership for munitions or for incitement in the UNRWA schools.

**“The Refugees from the 1948 War are Now our Responsibility”**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, May 8, 2014*

In March 1968, less than a year after the Six Day War, Rabbi Eugene Weiner addressed my senior high school class at Akiba Hebrew Academy in Philadelphia, Pa. about a moral implication of that war: Arab refugees from the 1948 war now live under Israeli control. Rabbi Weiner, who became a professor of sociology at Haifa University, shared his insight that “refugees from the 1948 war are now our responsibility” and implored Jews to take the initiative to move refugees out of “temporary” UN refugee camps into permanent humanitarian conditions, or Israel will never see peace in our time.

Rabbi Weiner who died in 2003, addressed a roadblock to Middle East peace: UNRWA, an agency created to promote the idea that Arab refugees must remain in:”temporary” facilities and while they wait for a ”political solution.” Five million Arab refugees and their descendents now endure the indignity of refugee conditions- instead of being encouraged to get on with their lives and not to dwell on the false hope of the “right of return” to villages that existed before 1948.

Instead, the current Palestinian Arab leadership observes the Nakba day on May 15 – the day that marks the Arab League’s failed invasion of the nascent state of Israel in 1948. And the day that the Arab League relegated Arab refugees from that war to remain in UNRWA refugee camps for perpetuity, under the promise of return to Arab villages that existed before 1948 war.

Why is this Nakba different from previous Nakba observances?

Because this year, upwards 300,000 Palestinian Arab refugees have been forced out of UNRWA refugee camps in Syria, now engulfed in a bloody civil

war, catapulted into even worse conditions in Jordan and Turkey. They know full well that they can never return to Syria, and they know that they cannot go back to villages from before 1948.

Most recently, our agency dispatched a reporter to visit a new Palestinian Arab refugee camp in Northern Jordan, which is comprised of more than 140,000 refugees who have fled from UNRWA camps in Syria. Our journalist reported that the conditions were horrific. He was not allowed to film anything, however. Yet our reporter brought back the encouraging news is that the new Arab refugee camps in Jordan are by UNHCR- a UN agency which promotes resettlement of refugees, not the “right of return” to Palestine, and he witnessed the UNHCR staff working tirelessly to find places where these people can move to, so that they can begin a new life of dignity.

Western democracies, which fund 95% of the 1.2 billion dollar budget for UNRWA, can now redirect their energies to remove the blight of refugee camps, instead of supporting a policy that mandates the perpetuity of refugee squalor.

In the spirit of Rabbi Eugene Weiner’s message from 46 years ago, Israel must now lead the way to help Arab refugees forced out of Syria to seek a better life, in permanent humanitarian conditions.

David Bedein is the author of “ROADBLOCK TO PEACE- How the UN Perpetuates the Arab-Israeli Conflict: UNRWA policies reconsidered,” published on May 1, 2014, the day which marked 64 years since the creation of UNRWA.

### **A Dispassionate Look at UNRWA as a neutral source... After Examining UNRWA Statements During the Summer War**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, September 24, 2014*

In the New Year, Israel and nations concerned about the humanitarian rehabilitation of Gaza are looking for an agency to carry out that task at hand.

A neutral entity has been sought in order to address that need.

There are those who have suggested that UNRWA take that role.

Yet UNRWA statements and actions during the IDF-Gaza summer war of 2014 would disqualify UNRWA from assuming any such role.

Let us examine UNRWA statements and actions, June 27 through August 23

Certain factors become readily evident:

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- UNRWA, which has a mandate to function as a humanitarian relief organization, consistently and inappropriately politicizes its positions.
- That politicization is expressed via a virulently anti-Israel stance.
- UNRWA is controlled by or allows itself to be used by Hamas. Its representatives studiously avoid mention of Hamas behavior that is egregiously destructive to the civilians of Gaza.
- UNRWA statements are frequently tendentious. They include distortions of fact, and blatant misrepresentations.

### **HAMAS**

UNRWA's relationship to Hamas is at the core of this review.

An examination of UNRWA press releases and public statements by UNRWA representatives for the time period of this report reveals that Hamas is almost never mentioned by name.

On July 11, for example, Robert Turner, Director of UNRWA Operations in Gaza, exhibiting a rare attempt to be (or to seem) even-handed, said: "The United Nations has condemned indiscriminate rocket fire from Gaza on civilian areas in Israel and I do so again now."

"Rocket fire from Gaza..." Perhaps the rockets fire themselves. There is no mention that Hamas is doing the bulk of the launching. And as to the fire being "indiscriminat." Does he suggest that there is a discriminating way to fire rockets at civilians?

Not once during this time period was there a complaint or accusation voiced publicly by an UNRWA representative with regard to the Hamas practice of launching rockets and firing mortars from or near civilian sites — most particularly in this context, UNRWA installations.

Were one to form an impression of the war based solely on statements emanating from UNRWA, one would not know that such a practice — involving extensive utilization of civilians as human shields, which is blatantly in defiance of international law — had been taking place.

The failure of UNRWA personnel to refer to Hamas's use of human shields is particularly disturbing because UNRWA's mandate is humanitarian: the agency's first obligation is to the wellbeing of the Palestinian Arabs, referred to as refugees, for whom it maintains responsibility.

An UNRWA document declares explicitly that: "UNRWA has a very clear mandate for protection...[which includes] obtaining full respect for the rights of

the individual in accordance with the letter and spirit of the relevant bodies of law (that is, human rights law, international humanitarian law).”

<http://www.unrwa.org/userfiles/201006109246.pdf>

At the very same time, article 28 of the Forth Geneva Convention states that: “The presence of a protected person may not be used to render certain points or areas immune from military operations.”

Similarly the 1998 ICC Statute declares that: “Utilizing the presence of a civilian or other protected person to render certain points, areas or military forces immune from military operations” constitutes a war crime.”

It is not remotely within the realm of the possible that UNRWA, an international humanitarian agency, is unaware of these legal prohibitions.

Nor does it withstand the test of credibility that UNRWA staff might have been unaware of Hamas’s practice in this regard. Hamas even put out a video encouraging it:

<http://www.idfblog.com/blog/2014/07/08/hamas-uses-human-shields/>

What we are seeing is a willful readiness to ignore these Hamas practices – in spite of the obligation of UNRWA to respond to them. In this sense, UNRWA has most grievously failed those individuals for whom it has responsibility.

That UNRWA is prepared to do this is most telling. It strongly suggests that UNRWA does not function as an autonomous humanitarian organization, but rather at the behest of Hamas.

In the handful of times that Hamas was mentioned by UNRWA representatives, it was almost always to indicate that Hamas was not involved in one matter or another.

Not once, but three times in the course of days, rockets were discovered hidden in UNRWA schools. The first time was on July 16, when UNRWA announced that 20 rockets had been found.

The placement of rockets in the school was soundly “condemned” as “a flagrant violation of ...international law.” But once again, no group was identified as responsible.

UNRWA itself was then roundly criticized by international commentators for saying it had “informed the relevant authorities” in order to have the rockets taken away. This meant handing the rockets back to Hamas instead of having them dismantled.

Not so, UNRWA replied: "...those authorities we contacted are under the authority of the national unity government in Ramallah now that Hamas has effectively left the government."

<http://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/press-releases/unrwa-strongly-condemns-placement-rockets-school>

This rationale was not well accepted, as in point of fact there is no authority in Gaza except Hamas.

But perhaps the single most disingenuous statement in the press release cited above is this: "This incident [i.e., rockets placed in an UNRWA school], which is the first of its kind in Gaza, endangered civilians."

One blogger commented, tongue-in-cheek, that yes, this is the first time this number of rockets was found in this particular UNRWA school.

He was not far from the truth: Only in the very narrowest sense would this be the "first time," as a link between UNRWA schools and Hamas has been well documented for many years.

A special report from the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, released in December 2002, indicated that a number of wanted terrorists were found hiding inside schools run by UNRWA.

A Shin Bet (Israeli secret service) report drawn up after Operation Defensive Shield identified the UNRWA schools that had been used for storing ammunition.

In the 2003 elections for representatives of the UNRWA union in the Gaza strip, Hamas-affiliated candidates formally identified with the Islamic Bloc gained 11 out of 11 seats in the teachers' sector. The Islamic Bloc has been charged by Hamas with furthering the goal of Hamas within the schools.

With regard to the first cache of rockets found in July, UNRWA refused Israel's request for pictures of those weapons-, arguing that "any photographic material" is evidence needed for its investigation of the matter. The fact of such an investigation by UNRWA – which is not likely to result in an announcement of "findings," in any event – would in no way have precluded sharing of photos. However, such pictures might possibly have allowed identification of the rockets as the type utilized by Hamas.

When the second cache of rockets was found, UNRWA announced that staff had been withdrawn from the premises, "and so we are unable to confirm the precise number of rockets."

<http://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/press-releases/unrwa-condemns-placement-rockets-second-time-one-its-schools>

There was no explanation as to how it had been possible to confirm the 20 rockets in the first instance.

By July 29, a third cache of rockets had been found in an UNRWA school; there was very little press about this. One blogger cited information he had acquired that the rockets were discovered when the IDF learned of them from a member of Hamas they had captured.

But storage of rockets in an UNRWA facility was hardly the worst of what was encountered in the course of the war:

On July 30, three IDF soldiers were killed by a booby-trapped UNRWA clinic that housed the opening of a tunnel.

<http://www.jihadwatch.org/2014/07/three-idf-soldiers-killed-at-booby-trapped-unrwa-health-clinic>

Over 80 kilograms of explosives were built into the clinic walls.

<http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/183566> - .VA8sBpvlrIV

There was no comment from UNRWA on this, but serious questions have been raised regarding precisely how much can go on without UNRWA staff being aware of what is taking place.

On July 26, IDF troops discovered a massive terror tunnel underneath Gaza that was dug 25 meters deep and had entire underground rooms built to withstand airstrikes.

In these bunkers they reportedly found large bags of UNRWA aid – sacks of rice and even building material. (The photo below is from the IDF).

<http://elderofziyon.blogspot.co.il/2014/07/unrwa-supplies-found-in-terror-tunnel.html> - .VA4N8GflrIV

There has been no comment from UNRWA on this, either. But here it appears we see evidence of the linkage between UNRWA relief personnel and the Hamas personnel who work the tunnels.

### **UNRWA's relationship with Israel**

While UNRWA personnel decline to accuse Hamas of endangering civilians or acting in defiance of international humanitarian law, precisely the reverse

situation prevails where Israel is concerned. UNRWA spokespersons and various senior members of the administrative staff have few inhibitions when it comes to making these charges.

A few examples:

“We condemn this callous [hard-hearted, unfeeling] shelling and the extensive loss of life in the strongest possible terms” UNRWA Commissioner-General Pierre Krahenbuhl.

“I also condemn use of force by Israeli security forces on Gaza that cause civilian casualties in violation of international humanitarian law” Robert Turner, Director of UNRWA Operations in Gaza.

“Last night, children were killed as they slept next to their parents on the floor of a classroom in a UN designated shelter in Gaza. Children killed in their sleep; this is an affront to all of us, a source of universal shame. Today the world stands disgraced.

“...Our initial assessment is that it was Israeli artillery that hit our school...”

“I condemn in the strongest possible terms this serious violation of international law by Israeli forces.” UNRWA Commissioner-General Pierre Krahenbuhl.

[An alleged attack was] “tragic and appalling” Chris Gunness, UNRWA spokesman.

“We call on Israeli security forces to end attacks against civilians & civilian infrastructure which are contrary to international law” UNRWA tweeted.

“We are very disturbed that people with disabilities are among victims of Israeli strikes on #Gaza.”

The charges leveled at the IDF by UNRWA are precipitous: there is a rush to judgment before sufficient investigation of the circumstances has been done. One can see this in the statement above by Robert Turner. He segues immediately from “our initial assessment” to “this serious violation of international law.”

UNRWA does not acknowledge that Hamas has bases of operation near its facilities and shoots from them at the IDF.

Thus, when there is shooting in the general area of an UNRWA installation, a charge is immediately leveled that carries with it the implication that the IDF is willfully shooting directly at the installation. There is no readiness to concede that either the IDF was shooting at a nearby Hamas base, or that it was actually a stray Hamas mortar or rocket that hit the installation.

Interestingly, it is John Ging, the former director of UNRWA Operations in Gaza, and now the director of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs of the United Nations, who is prepared to be truthful about the circumstances. He told Radio Canada that, yes, Hamas shoots rockets into Israel from residential areas and from near UNRWA facilities.

<http://legalinsurrection.com/2014/07/un-official-admits-hamas-firing-rockets-from-the-vicinity-of-un-facilities/>

Among the numerous incidents in which unreasonable charges were leveled at the IDF by UNRWA, this one stands out as notable:

UNRWA charged that Israel had shelled a school in Beit Hanoun in the north of Gaza, where people had taken shelter. The claim was that 15 people had been killed and over 100 injured. And what took place was labeled a “war crime.”

Robert Turner, Director of UNRWA Operations in Gaza, said that there was no information that there was military activity around the school.

“This was an installation we were managing, that we monitored [to ensure] that our neutrality was maintained.”

Hamas? According to Turner, UNRWA had no information of Hamas activity around the school.

A statement by the UNRWA Commissioner-General read:

“The security situation in the Beit Hanoun area was deteriorating rapidly and over the course of the day UNRWA had been attempting to negotiate with the Israeli Defense Forces a pause in the fighting during which they would guarantee a safe corridor to relocate staff and any displaced persons who chose to evacuate to a more secure location. Approval for that never came to UNRWA. In addition, the school’s coordinates had been formally conveyed to the Israeli authorities on 12 occasions, most recently at 10:56 this morning.”

<http://www.unrwa.org/newsroom/official-statements/statement-unrwa-commissioner-general-pierre-krähenbühl>

At one point Chris Gunness, UNRWA spokesperson, tweeted that:

“Over the course of the day UNRWA tried 2 coordinate with the Israeli Army a window for civilians 2 leave & it was never granted.”

The direct implication is that people who were sheltered in the school might have gotten out except for Israel’s failure to allow this to happen.

Israel’s response to this:

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“The Israel Defense Forces told the Red Cross to evacuate civilians from UNRWA’s shelter in Beit Hanoun between the hours of 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. today. UNRWA and the Red Cross received the message.”

“ Hamas prevented civilians from evacuating the area during the window that the IDF gave them.”

<http://www.idfblog.com/blog/2014/07/24/hamas/>

What is more, explained the IDF:

“In recent days, Hamas has fired rockets from an area of Beit Hanoun where an UNRWA shelter is located.”

“Today, July 24, Hamas continued firing from Beit Hanoun. The IDF responded by targeting the source of the fire. Also today, several rockets launched from Gaza toward Israel fell short and hit Beit Hanoun.”

According to the final IDF investigation:

“...one of the mortars fell in the school’s courtyard while it was empty of people.”

“In light of the investigation’s findings, we have rejected claims of casualties in the school grounds as they were presented by various elements immediately after the incident took place.”

<http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/1.607384>

Were people killed at the Beit Hanoun school at all? It remains unclear.

Israel has emphasized repeatedly that the IDF does not directly attack civilian installations.

As to the fallacious charge of “war crimes:”

“The law is clear that military targets may be attacked, even if civilian casualties are anticipated, so long as the importance of the military target is proportional to the anticipated civilian casualties and that reasonable efforts are made, consistent with military needs, to minimize civilian casualties. This sensible rule of proportionality was devised in the context of ordinary military encounters, in which the enemy is not using their own civilians as human shields. If the enemy is deliberately using civilians as human shields, the rules of proportionality should allow for more anticipated civilian casualties, especially if the target is of great military significance.”

“...To be sure, the law of proportionality also required Israel to take reasonable steps, consistent with its military needs, to minimize Palestinian civilian

casualties, even when attacking legitimate military targets. The key word here is 'reasonable,' and Israel has gone well beyond what other countries have done in analogous situations. They issued warnings, by leaflet, phone and other means-warnings that Hamas countermanded in its efforts to keep civilians in harm's way and continue to have them serve as human shields to protect their terror tunnels. Israel did not issue warnings when it needed to act quickly to save its own soldiers from ambushes and other serious risks. Israel thus tried to minimize Palestinian civilian casualties, while Hamas tried to increase both Palestinian and Israeli civilian casualties."

<http://matzav.com/was-israel-justified-in-going-after-hamas-terrorist-tunnels-the-key-question-for-any-legal-proceeding>

The charges of "war crimes" and "violations of international law" are leveled by UNRWA without basis in fact.

### **UNRWA distortions of fact and outrageous statements**

According to Sami Meshesha, a spokesperson for UNRWA:

"[The] majority of dead and injured are women and children, which is of profound concern to UNRWA."

<http://en.alquds.com/en/stories/1375>

Were this the case, it would suggest random attacks by the IDF on innocent civilians. But in point of fact, this statement is fallacious.

The ratio of those killed in the Gaza operation is 81.9 male to 18.1 female. What is more, among males killed, almost half were men between the ages of 18 and 28, with men between the ages of 29 and 48 comprising another 20%.

What this indicates is that we are not looking at a pattern of indiscriminate killing of innocent civilians, but rather a high percentage of those likely to be combatants killed.

<http://honestreporting.com/analysis-of-gazans-killed-so-far-in-operation-protective-edge/>

The number of children counted among the dead was 18%, even though a full half of the population of Gaza is under 14 years of age.

These figures, put out by Al-Jazeera, indicate a pattern that is not random.

After the final ceasefire was established, Chris Gunness gave an interview to Linda Tamim, which can be seen here:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7bMrsIFCLng>

It is in the course of the very first minute of this interview that he makes statements that reflect a breathtaking failure to acknowledge the Hamas role in the conflict, and that do a severe injustice to the IDF.

He says:

“...The defenseless people (of Gaza) have been subjected to a dehumanizing bombardment. They were ordered out of their homes by the Israeli army, they had to walk through battlegrounds, found themselves in UN compounds, some of them were hit in those compounds by the same army...”

“[This was] an industrial scale denial of their human dignity.”

Where is Hamas in this description? One might think that the Israeli army came into Gaza for the specific purpose of making the lives of the civilians miserable.

The most egregiously offensive statement made by Guinness is that “they were ordered out of their homes by the Israeli army.” As if this was one part of a package of strongarm techniques designed to cause misery.

This would not have been necessary had Hamas not chosen to store and launch weapons near those homes. In asking people to leave, the IDF was demonstrating a concern for human life, a concern that Hamas exhibited not at all.

As to civilians being hit in the compounds “by that same army,” he is leveling a blanket charge that is neither fair nor reasonable. Some Hamas rockets fell short of their targets and landed inside Gaza. Some Hamas mortar shells hit Gazan civilians.

On July 16, UNRWA spokesperson Chris Guinness tweeted the following:

“Great interviewee @ Shifa Hosp Gaza right now Prof Mads Gilbert ... call him 4 fatality & cas figs and atoms.”

Ron Prozor, Israeli Ambassador to the UN, then drafted a letter to UNRWA’s Commissioner-General protesting that what Guinness did was highly inappropriate because Gilbert was:

“...an outspoken proponent of terrorist attacks against civilians. In September 2001, Dr. Gilbert explicitly supported the ‘moral right’ of Al-Qaeda to perpetrate the 9/11 terrorist attacks against thousands of American civilians.”

<http://embassies.gov.il/un/statements/letters/Pages/UNRWA-Spokesperson-is-Biased.aspx>

### **UNRWA political involvement**

The very thrust of UNRWA's involvement in Gaza has become politicized. But here we have one very specific political statement, made by Chris Gunness, UNRWA spokesperson:

“Huge swathes of Gaza have been levelled. We cannot rebuild it with our hands tied behind our back.”

“The blockade must end. We are beyond the realm of humanitarian action alone.”

Once again, Gunness leaves Hamas out of the picture. He does not acknowledge that the sea blockade is designed to prevent weapons from getting to Hamas, which would use them against Israeli civilians. And he certainly does not call for the demilitarization of Hamas.

He simply steps in and demands precisely what Hamas is seeking: the lifting of the blockade. So that Gaza can be rebuilt, he says.

For the record: He is in error regarding “huge swathes” of Gaza having been leveled. Less than 5% of the area of Gaza was hit by the IDF.

### **German-Financed Brochure for “Right of Return” Of Arab Refugees... Distributed During State Visit Of Israel's President In Germany**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, May 13, 2015*

During the President's trip in Germany this week, the Palestinian Authority widely distributes their updated brochure promoting the “right of return” that is financed by the German government-funded Fredrich Ebert Foundation. The brochure justifies claim of the descendants of Arab refugees from 1948 to return to the Arab villages that existed before 1948 war, which would supplant most of the population of Israel.

The PA widely distributes this brochure during the week of the Nakba – May 15, the date when Arab armies, which invaded Israel on May 15, 1948, resulting in their defeat and in 500,000 to 750,000 Arabs leaving during the Israel War of Independence.

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Five million descendants of Arab refugees from 1948 are now registered in western-funded “temporary” UNRWA refugee facilities in Gaza, Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, living there under the premise and promise of the ‘right of return’ to Arab villages that existed before 1948.

This is what the brochure looks like:

[http://www.passia.org/images/meetings/2014/may/Refugees\\_2014.pdf](http://www.passia.org/images/meetings/2014/may/Refugees_2014.pdf)

Our agency warned about the previous edition of this German-funded brochure, which was published ten years ago:

<http://israelbehindthenews.com/german-government-indirect-support-for-the-right-of-return/4729/>

Will Israeli President Rivlin raise this issue during his visit to Germany?

Our agency forwarded that question to President Rivlin’s spokesman who accompanied him to Berlin during his visit. No response.

### **The New US-UNRWA Accord**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, July 23, 2015*

As the eyes of the world focus on the dysfunctional US-Iranian accord, another dysfunctional accord with the US government has escaped public scrutiny: The new accord reached between the US government and UNRWA, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, most recently posted on the web site of the US State Department.

<http://www.state.gov/j/prm/releases/frameworknew/234468.htm>

The US, the largest funder of UNRWA, (Reaching \$400 million this year, one third of the UNRWA budget), could have predicated further funding of UNRWA on a humanitarian commitment to resettle UNRWA’s client population: 5.4 million descendents of Arab refugees from the 1948 war – into decent permanent living conditions.

Yet the US-UNRWA accord mentions nothing of the kind.

Instead, the US-UNRWA accord mandates that thousands of these descendents of Arab refugees who have wallowed in the indignity of refugee life

for 66 years, must continue to live in refugee squalor “until a comprehensive and just solution is secured,” something which UNRWA will not let happen.

Dr. Arnon Groiss, a journalist from the Arabic-language service of the Israel Broadcasting Authority, who has extensively studied PA textbooks used in the UNRWA schools, has concluded that no solution to the refugee issue is offered by UNRWA for the future of the Palestinian refugees except for one: the “right of return” to villages that existed before 1948.

Manifestations of the “right of return” in PA textbooks, as taught in UNRWA’s schools are not nostalgic literary pieces.

Instead, the “Right of Return” as presented to the students and shown here, plays a prominent role in the Palestinian political vision of a continued struggle against a delegitimized and demonized Israel until its eventual destruction.

The educational services provided by UNRWA to their 492,000 students promote this non-peaceful line, in contradiction to the Agency’s declared mission as a UN agency dedicated to peace.

Meanwhile, The US-UNRWA accord proudly features the UNRWA “Human Rights, Conflict Resolution, and Tolerance curriculum” as a step in the right direction.

However, Dr. Groiss has evaluated that curriculum and discerned what was missing: any mention of freedom of religion, religious equality and religious tolerance. In fact, the books are totally devoid of any mention of religion.

The US – UNRWA accord also lauds section 301(c) of the US Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (hereinafter referred to as “section 301(c)”), which states: “No contributions by the United States shall be made to (UNRWA) except on the condition that (UNRWA) take all possible measures to assure that no part of the United States contribution shall be used to furnish assistance to any refugee who is receiving military training as a member of the so-called Palestine Liberation Army or any other guerilla-type organization or who has engaged in any act of terrorism.”

Yet there is nothing in the clause, which appears in the new US-UNRWA accord, which calls for enforcement.

Instead, the US UNRWA accord relies on UNRWA itself to enforce this clause, which according to the accord “is committed to taking all possible measures in conformance with conditions on U.S. contributions to UNRWA pursuant to section 301(c). The accord “expects UNRWA to maintain constant vigilance in its efforts and actions to fully meet the conditions on U.S. contributions as described in section 301(c).”

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In other words, the US gives UNRWA the benefit of the doubt, stating that “The United States and UNRWA share concerns about the threat of terrorism, adding that “UNRWA is committed to taking all possible measures to ensure that funding provided by the United States to support UNRWA is not used to provide assistance to, or otherwise support, terrorists or terrorist organizations.”

Just as the US accord with Iran places the burden of proof of any wrong doing on the determination of the Iranian regime, the US allows UNRWA to determine if it has committed a security indiscretion.

At the same time, the US- UNRWA accord turns a blind eye to Hamas takeover of UNRWA facilities in Gaza.

Sixteen years ago, the Gaza-based employees of the U.N. Relief and Works Agency held elections to choose union leaders.

Hamas took advantage of the campaign and took over the entire teachers association and workers association.

By 2012, more the 90 percent of UNRWA employees had become Hamas supporters.

As a result of the takeover, Hamas created an apparatus whose mission was to maintain its grip on the Gaza-based UNRWA schools.

Al-Kutla Al-Islamiya (the Islamic Bloc) changed the school curriculum and introduced new textbooks, to disseminate Hamas ideology to young Gazans.

The US State Department informed our agency that the US flatly denies the presence of Hamas in the UNRWA camps.

US government documents show that UNRWA, as a matter of policy, refuses to check if Hamas is present in UNRWA facilities.

All you have to do is to peruse the US government report entitled, “U.S. Foreign Aid to the Palestinians” written by Jim Zanotti, Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs on July 3, 2014.

<http://fas.org/sqp/crs/mideast/RS22967.pdf>

That report reveals that UNRWA’s terrorist screening list, required by UN resolution #1267, does not even “include Hamas, Hezbollah, or most other militant groups that operate in UNRWA’s surroundings. UNRWA is unwilling to screen its contractors and funding recipients against a list supplied by only one U.N. member state.”

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And when it comes to widespread allegations against UNRWA for lack of transparency, the US-UNRWA accord could have set up a new system of accountability to address the cumbersome funding process for UNRWA.

Instead, the accord's financial responsibility section totally relies on UNRWA, saying that, UNRWA is "expected to provide relevant information pertaining to its implementation of UNBOA recommendations and, in accordance with UN and/or UNRWA procedures and policies, required data for U.S. reporting against the United Nations Transparency and Accounting Initiative (UNTA)."

And what if UNRWA does not provide that financial oversight, "as expected"?

Not a word.

The conclusion of the document says it all: "The United States is committed to continuing its partnership with UNRWA to assist the more than 5.4 million registered Palestinian refugees and other registered persons assisted by UNRWA until a just solution is achieved and UNRWA's mandate ends."

And if the UNRWA definition of a "just solution" is not achieved?

Not a word.

Instead, the US-UNRWA accord sentences an entire population of refugee descendants to the indignity of continued refugee life, with no end in sight, preparing them to return to their homes back within the 1967 lines, while the US governments promises the rest of the Palestinian Arab population to settle them beyond the 1967 lines.

For whatever reason, the new US-UNRWA accord conveys one message:

"We trust UNRWA and the status quo."

Demand the cancellation of the UNRWA contract with the UNRWA "youth ambassador" Mohammad Assaf, who travels the world, encouraging insurrection and murder. Such a contract is certainly not appropriate to a UN agency (December 2015).

When you read the lyrics of Mohammad Assaf, the singer appointed as UNRWA youth ambassador, you understand that his message is lethal.

The appointment of Mohammad Assaf: August 2014

\*Transcript: <https://youtu.be/6wkN66Z44Yk> begins at 3:40

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Mr. Filippo Grandi, Commissioner-General of United Nations Relief and Works Agency: "I have received in this room heads of state, prime ministers, many important people. But I have never seen so much expectation here..."

Song of Mohammad Assaf:

"O soils of beloved forgotten land, with precious blood precious, you're irrigated  
We have all the rights, we are all for it My land is from the river to the sea  
Your son Gaza will not be disgraced Lift your head up high it is your weapon  
The origin of dignity is humanity."

"We will protect the land It's either victory or martyrdom, the men of this land  
said Take my blood and give me freedom My land is from the river to the sea  
Take my blood and give me freedom My land is from the river to the sea..."

November 2015 film promoted by UNRWA Youth Ambassador Assaf:  
<https://youtu.be/LaaslaZk6mw> \*\* Transcript: Mohammad Assaf:

"We are the sons of this land our heads are high we are your soldiers full of  
courage and dignity if our souls are the price of freedom we will gladly pay oh  
homeland of the brave Oh motherland these are your sons they will stand by  
you in hard times they rose to fight the occupiers your plains and mountains are  
witness Oh motherland these are your sons they will stand by you in hard times  
they rose to fight the occupiers your plains and mountains are witness Oh  
mother be strong the resistance will win and victory will come and Al Aqsa will  
be free there is no perseverance like yours in Jerusalem and Afoulah In Nablus,  
Hebron, and Ramallah The legends of your struggle was written by your heros  
Oh motherland these are your sons they will stand by you in hard times they  
rose to fight the occupiers your plains and mountains are witness In Nazareth,  
in Bethlehem, in Jerusalem, in Gaza In Galilee and Um Alfahem They are all  
united Some were martyred some were injured their blood blossomed and the  
our precious blood is still spilling will draw the map of our independence on our  
soil Oh motherland these are your sons they will stand by you in hard times Oh  
motherland these are your sons they will stand by you in hard times they rose to  
fight the occupiers your plains and mountains are witness Oh Jerusalem I salute  
your resistance You broke your bonds with dignity Your head raised high  
Hardships make you stronger Salute the determined people who are resisting  
the occupiers Fight back until; you defeat the aggressor Oh mother don't accept  
the occupier from north till south Oh motherland these are your sons they will  
stand by you in hard times they rose to fight the occupiers your plains and  
mountains are witness.."

### Chapter 3 - Hamas





## Section 2: Chapter 3 – UNRWA Schools and Curriculum

There has Never Been a Plan for a Holocaust Curriculum in any UNRWA School

*David Bedein, The Jerusalem Post, March 7, 2011*

Contrary to what you reported in, “Palestinians vow to prevent Holocaust education in UNRWA-run schools” (March 2), there is not and has never been a plan for a Holocaust curriculum in any UNRWA school.

When this story first surfaced in 2010, our agency explored every level of the PA’s Ministry of Education, since local UNRWA schools follow the curriculum and use the textbooks of the host entity, as they do in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan.

We also examined all levels of the UNRWA education department. Michael Kingsley-Nyinah, director of the executive office of UNRWA, replied to our query: “I am writing to clarify that there is no ‘Holocaust curriculum’ as such in UNRWA schools and there are no plans to introduce one.”

There is, however, one aspect of the Palestinian educational system in UNRWA schools that does relate to the Holocaust. In every Palestinian school library, students have easy access to the doctoral thesis written by PA President Mahmoud Abbas 26 years ago titled, “The Other Side: The Secret Relations between Nazism and the Leadership of the Zionist Movement.”

What UNRWA spokespeople have gained by spreading the false notion that they are planning to initiate Holocaust education in their schools is new support and credibility with Jewish groups across the globe.

**DAGEN Newspaper in Norway Has Commissioned an Evaluation of New  
“Human Rights Curriculum” Published by UNRWA**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, June 27, 2011*

This week, the DAGEN newspaper from Norway commissioned an evaluation of the new “Human Rights Curriculum” that has recently been published in Arabic by UNRWA, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, the organization that oversees refugee camps and services for Palestinian refugees of the 1948 war, along with their descendants.

The professional commissioned by DAGEN to evaluate the UNRWA “Human Rights Curriculum” is Dr. Arnon Groiss, a journalist and now a senior official of the Israel Broadcasting Corporation’s Arabic Radio Service for almost 40 years.

Dr. Groiss was the Director of Research for The Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance, [www.impact-se.org](http://www.impact-se.org), between the years 2000-2010 and authored its reports on schoolbooks of Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Tunisia and the Palestinian Authority.

Dr. Groiss holds an MA and PhD degrees from The Department of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University, and an MBA from Harvard University, J. F. Kennedy School of Government, in addition to a BA degree from the Hebrew University’ Departments of History of the Middle East and Arabic Language & Literature.

These are the conclusions reached by Dr. Groiss:

- The books, entitled “Human Rights Curriculum,” are intended for grades 1-6 and each grade includes two parts – one for each semester. The number of pages varies between 30 (Grade 1, Part 1) and 77 (Grade 4, Part 2). A few pages are missing from the (photocopied) Part 2 books. The date of publishing

on the front cover page of each book is 2010 accompanied by “Third Experimental Copy”. The inscription on the back cover page reads: “Mansour Printing Houses, Gaza, Telephone [Number] 08-2866705”. The photocopied books do not include the cover pages.

- The books are well organized and easy to use, with apparent didactic qualities both in form and contents. Each lesson deals with a specific theme using a story and pictures and accompanied by a variety of exercises and activities. In many cases, especially in books for the lower grades, images of animals, plants and objects are personified in order to bring forward the message. Typos are rare.
- Each book begins with the two-and-a-half-page Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations’ General Assembly – with no source. In some cases (very few) a sentence from the declaration is given as a support for an issue studied within a specific lesson.
- The content includes social, behavioral and environmental values such as: good social manners, mutual respect, tolerance, equality between members of the different sexes, races, socio-economic classes etc., personal hygiene, care for personal and public property, non-discrimination against the poor and the handicapped, mutual help, conversation manners, time management, freedom of expression and respect for others’ views, cooperation, respect for the law, integrity, protection of the environment, peace and non-violence, love for family members and friends, social responsibility, patriotism, equal opportunities, free elections, peaceful collective expression of views (that is, meeting, assembly, rally, demonstration, etc.), non-smoking, social activity through NGOs, respect for others’ feelings, listening, negotiation, peaceful solution to conflicts, the courage to admit mistakes, respect for others’ privacy, respect for others’ rights, recognition of the right to be different, the importance of education, the importance of order and cleanliness, respect for one’s parents, etc. The discussion of these values repeats itself along the grades.
- As one can see, the list is long and includes a wide spectrum of issues not necessarily considered part of human rights education. On the other hand, there are rights mentioned in the Declaration that are not included here, such as the right to social insurance, work, participation in directing the affairs of one’s country, etc., as these issues do not probably concern school children. What is also missing from this list – with no justification – is freedom of religion, religious equality and religious tolerance. In fact, the books are totally devoid of any mention of religion.
- The Middle East war is absent from the books. None of the values mentioned: peace, tolerance, peaceful resolution of conflicts, non-violence, etc. is given an interpretation in connection to the conflict. On the other hand, there are few

references to aspects of the conflict – all presenting the Palestinians as victims. For example, an exercise includes a picture of two girls sitting next to a tent with a demolished house in the background. The caption reads: “A family whose house was demolished lives in a tent” (Human Rights Curriculum, Grade 3, Part 2 (2010) p. 34). In another example the children of Gaza fly kites “in spite of the [Israeli] siege” (Human Rights Curriculum, Grade 5, Part 2 (2010) p. 66).

- In conclusion, the books – if they are indeed used in school, which I could not ascertain contribute to the creation of more tolerant atmosphere within Palestinian society (save for Muslim-Christian relations). Their contribution to a peaceful solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is nil, if not negative.

### **Capitol Hill Diary: Should the US finance UNRWA “right of return” indoctrination?**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, February 21, 2012*

Flashback to 1976.

I was then escorted with a delegation of social work professionals to visit UNRWA facilities in Gaza.

There, Dr. Eli Lasch, then the head of the Israel Civil Administration’s Gaza health department, explained that his life’s mission was to eradicate infant mortality in the teeming UNRWA Gaza facilities that had reached epidemic proportions.

Ten years later, after Dr. Lasch completed his assignment in Gaza, Dr. Lasch was credited with reducing infant mortality to nearly zero and provided with a citation for that accomplishment, by the World Health Organization.

In 1988, Dr. Lasch gave a series of lectures for the press in Jerusalem where he reported one of the greatest hurdles in saving young lives in Gaza were the personnel of the UNRWA medical services, whose stated policy was to maintain UNRWA medical health services at a minimum, so as to remind the descendants of Arab refugees that they lived in UNRWA facilities on a temporary basis, until they could be repatriated to villages that had left in 1948.

As a medical doctor, Dr. Lasch said that he was aghast that UN medical personnel wanted patients to suffer a bit, to experience the pain and indignity of

infant mortality, so as that they could one day achieve the goal of realizing “Al Awda,” the right of return, by staying in these awful decrepit conditions.

Fast Forward to 2012.

While the Palestinian Authority has witnessed unprecedented economic growth of late, life for four million descendants of Arab refugees who live inside or contiguous to their “temporary” UNRWA facilities has remained stagnant. UNRWA oversees the life of Arab refugees, premises all policies on a policy of adherence to the “right of return” to villages that no longer exist, UNRWA has even adopted school books of the Palestinian Authority for its half a million pupils, which “educate” Arab refugee descendants to believe that their only solution is to return to villages from 1948, by force of arms.

Yet UNRWA is not funded by extremist nations. Instead, UNRWA is financed to the tune of \$1.2 billion by twenty western democracies, including \$247 million dollars by the US each year to UNRWA.

(Show chart:  
<http://israelbehindthenews.com/library/pdfs/Top20DonorsUNRWA2010.pdf>)

Well, the good news is that funding by the US and the west means that they can have leverage over UNRWA.

On January 26th, 2012, a leading expert on Arab education, Dr. Arnon Groiss, who has reviewed all of the 200 new school books used by the PA and UNRWA, briefed staffers from thirty congressional offices on Capitol Hill, in a session hosted by Trenton congressman Chris Smith (R-NJ). Dr. Groiss, a senior reporter for Israel Radio Arabic language service, holds a Princeton PHD in Islamic Studies, and sits on a US-Norwegian-Israeli-Palestinian panel whose task it is to review incitement in the Middle East.

Dr. Groiss presented the “right of return” curriculum used by UNRWA, in schools built by US foreign aid, and screened two films produced by the Center for Near East Policy Research that were filmed in UNRWA school facilities, which show UNRWA administrators, teachers and pupils espousing the right of return.

At the briefing, Dr. Groiss presented a dozen schoolbooks now used by UNRWA schools.

Groiss noted “Israel does not exist on any map,” in the UNRWA schools.

The textbook for Grade 9, Reading and Texts, asks students to “reconcile between the following poetical lines and the feelings they express”: “The morning of glory and red liberty watered by the martyrs’ blood... the hope for the Liberation of Palestine.”

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

The 8th-grade version of Reading and Texts reads: “Your enemies killed your children; split open your women’s bellies, took your revered elderly people by the beard, and led them to the death pits...”

The 7th-grade textbook, Our Beautiful Language, features a poem entitled “The Martyr:” “Hearing weapons’ clash is pleasant to my ear and the flow of blood gladdens my soul/ As we as a body thrown upon the ground skirmished over by the desert predators...By your life! This is the death of men and whoever asks for a noble death – here it is!”

The 5th-grade version of Our Beautiful Language includes a poem entitled “We Shall Return,” which inculcates the “Right of Return”- by force.

“Return, return, we shall return/ Borders shall not exist, nor citadels and fortresses/ Cry out, O those who have left/ we shall return!/ [We] shall return to the homes, to the valleys, to the mountains/ Under the flag of glory, Jihad and struggle/ With blood, sacrifice [fida], fraternity and loyalty/ We shall return/... To jihad in the hills; [to] harvest in the land.”

Other language in the texts appears to justify terrorism. A sentence from the 8th-grade Reading and Textsexhorts, “O brother, the oppressors have exceeded all bounds and Jihad [Holy War] and sacrifice [fida] are imperative...”

In all these school books, All Israeli cities – Haifa, Ramle, Jerusalem, Acre – are shown as Palestinian Arab cities.

After the briefing, Rep. Chris Smith (R-Trenton) declared that he would conduct hearings on US aid to UNRWA, to condition US AID to UNRWA on the cancellation of school books used by UNRWA, which Smith characterized as anti-semitic, anti-Israel and anti-American.

Our agency asked US AID, which funds UNRWA schools, as to whether US AID would review their curriculum. US AID responded that they would not do so.

However, US AID could easily place funds for UNRWA in escrow until “right of return” brainwashing is deleted from books used by UNRWA, if US and other funders required UNRWA to do so.

### Hitler On Facebook Homepage of UNRWA Education Official

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, August 12, 2013*

The UNRWA education for half a million students focuses on teaching the “armed struggle” to liberate Palestine, all of Palestine, under the promise of “right of return” and the premise that Jews have no place to live in any part of Palestine.

In that context, our agency issued in a formal letter of complaint filed with CFID, the British government agency that provides assistance to UNRWA in a document which cites the incitement in the official UNRWA textbooks.

<http://israelbehindthenews.com/bin/content.cgi?ID=5643&q=1>

In addition, our agency dispatched a TV crew to report on the summer camp season of UNRWA, where UNRWA students learn the “values” of Jihad, Right of Return and Martyrdom. Our agency’s short documentary about UNRWA summer camps, entitled ‘Camp Jihad,’ can be viewed at:

<http://israelbehindthenews.com/bin/content.cgi?ID=5666&q=1>

Now, with the new school year for UNRWA in the offing, one should not underestimate the power and influence of social media on the life and attitudes of UNRWA students.

In that context, the dean of UNRWA education in Jordan Dr. Fares Haider posted a portrait of Adolf Hitler on the home page of his facebook page, and widely distributed his Hitler page throughout the UNRWA school system.

Here is the citation from the facebook home page of Dr. Fares Haider with the following inscription next to Hitler’s portrait:

“The two most important rules for achieving success: The first: Do not surrender absolutely. And the second: Remember the first rule. – “Adolf Hitler”

Below that you will find a title in Arabic, which is translated into English correctly:

“The Platform of Knowledge and Intellectual Enlightenment”

Then you will find the name of Dr. Fares Haider in English and underneath the following words in Arabic:

“Military rules of success... Good morning to you all”

<http://www.cfnepr.com/205640/ארכיון> (ivrit)

<http://israelbehindthenews.com/reports-unrwa.html> (English)

What the previous pages on the left read, “Do not hesitate to make decisions. Your hesitation is strongly connected to the manner of your education and upbringing, which is overwhelmed by unclear sight. A hesitant person is a person who does not define his priorities. A clear vision is that you see world’s movement and reality as they are and not as one imagines.”

“Last week’s previous discussion was about two fundamental elements in [the field of] decision making. The first element was represented by examination, and the second one – by consultation.

As for the third element for today, the third step: preparation.”



David Bedein at the UK Parliament

**False Rumors about UNRWA Curriculum Content that does not exist**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, February 13, 2014*

At a time when the US Congress, the UK Parliament and the Israeli Knesset are examining reports of incitement that emanate from UNRWA, some reporters and pundits have given wide publicity to Hamas's condemnation of a supposed UNRWA human rights curriculum which reportedly promotes civil rights leaders as role models for young Palestinian Arabs to emulate.

<http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/841978.shtml> - .Uv1Dsc5h3dY

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

Our agency acquired and studied the texts of this new UNRWA human rights curriculum.

UNRWA had not shared these texts with the US, Canadian and Israeli governments.

UNRWA did share its human rights curriculum with Norway.

It was a Norwegian news agency that commissioned our agency to translate and evaluate the UNRWA human rights curriculum.

The gist of what our staff discerned was that the new UNRWA human rights curriculum did not recognize human rights nor any juridical status for anyone other than Moslem Palestinian Arabs – not for Israelis, Westerners, Jews, or Christians. This UNRWA human rights curriculum makes no mention of civil rights leaders as role models for Arabs to emulate. Anyone who would ask to see the actual UNRWA human rights curriculum would not allow UNRWA to fabricate its content.

The focus of the UNRWA human rights curriculum is how to protect Palestinians from seemingly intrusive Israelis.

See: DAGEN Newspaper in Norway Has Commissioned an Evaluation of New “Human Rights Curriculum” Published by UNRWA

<http://israelbehindthenews.com/bin/content.cgi?ID=4420&q=1>

American Friends of UNRWA, a lobbying group in DC, did organize a tour for visiting UNRWA students to see the birth place and grave of Dr. Martin Luther King – a tour which features on the American Friends of UNRWA web site but not on the UNRWA web site.

Ever since the Hamas terrorist organization took over the UNRWA workers and teachers unions in Gaza more than ten years ago, UNRWA has faced the possibility that its two greatest funders- the US and the EU- might cut off funds to UNRWA because the US and the EU forbid aid to any entity taken over by Hamas, legally defined by the US and the EU as a terrorist organization.

Therefore, UNRWA has tried to nurture an image, as if they are worlds apart from Hamas.

UNRWA manipulates Hamas to attack UNRWA through the media.

UNRWA spokespeople earn deniability when they are attacked by Hamas.

Manipulating Hamas to attack UNRWA is a method that UNRWA successfully engineered four years ago.

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

At the time, UNRWA spokespeople spread a false rumor that UNRWA had initiated curriculum to teach the Holocaust, but that Hamas had stopped them from doing so.

We asked the UNRWA administrative office in New York, whether there was indeed a plan to teach the holocaust in UNRWA schools.

We received an immediate, clear, and definitive response from UNRWA administrative offices that there had never even been any plan to teach UNRWA in Hamas schools.

Please see: "There is not and has never been a plan for a Holocaust curriculum in any UNRWA school"

<http://israelbehindthenews.com/bin/content.cgi?ID=4310&q=1>

However, UNRWA accomplished its mission.

Jewish groups and diplomats the world over received notice that UNRWA was going to teach the Holocaust and that Hamas had prevented it from happening.

A case in point: When I screened videos of UNRWA school classroom incitement at a Chicago synagogue three years ago, I learned that UNRWA spokespeople had raised funds from Jewish concentration camp survivors only the week before, in that very same neighborhood.

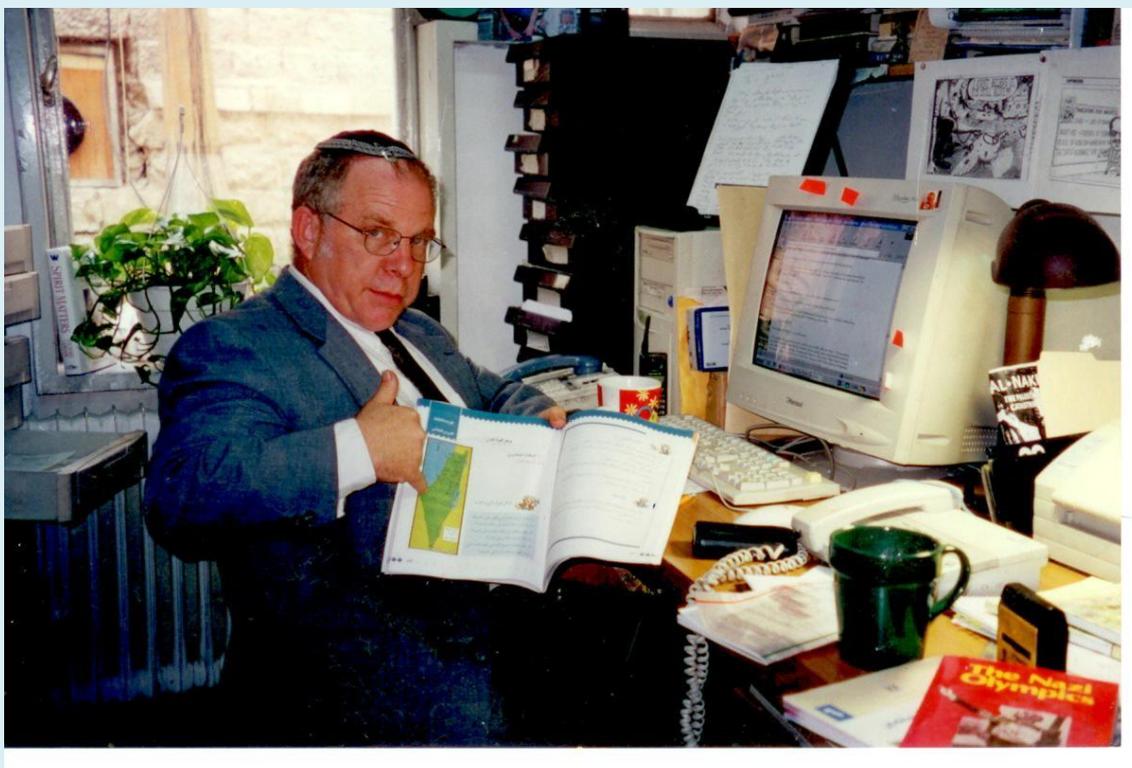
A lecturer from UNRWA had made a passionate speech that UNRWA would teach Arab refugees about the Holocaust that had befallen the Jews during World War II.

No one had bothered to check that UNRWA never planned any curriculum like this.

But UNRWA got itself condemned by Hamas, as if a Holocaust curriculum had been planned.

UNRWA gave the impression of "distance from Hamas, and successfully warded off funding cutbacks.

And that is what UNRWA is trying to pull off now.



Bedein showing new Palestinian school book; Palestine replaces Israel, 2006

### **UNRWA Schools in Gaza - a Greenhouse for Hamas and Anti-Israeli Radicalism**

*David Bedein, Research: Lt. Col. (res) Jonathan Dahoah Halevi, Israel Resource Review, July 8, 2014*

### **Hamas maintains control over UNRWA Staff Union**

The “Professional List” headed by senior Hamas activist, Suhail al-Hindi, won a landslide victory in the elections to UNRWA Staff Union elections held in September 2012. With high turnout of approximately 11,500 UNRWA employees who cast their ballot, the “Professional List,” affiliated with Hamas, won all 11 seats of the teachers sector, 6 out of 7 seats of the workers sector and 8 out of 9 seat of the services sector. The “Karamah [dignity] List”, affiliated

with the Islamic Jihad, took part in the elections. Fatah, on the other hand, boycotted the elections arguing that Hamas controls UNRWA Staff Union and restricts the activity of its members.

### **Al-Kutla al-Islamiya activities in UNRWA's schools**

Al-Kutla al-Islamiya (a.k.a al-Kutla), literally the “Islamic block,” is the Hamas official arm operating in all educational institutions in the Gaza Strip, from elementary schools to colleges and universities, including the educational institutions run by UNRWA. Kutka's strategy in elementary and middle school is focused on attracting students to its variety of activities, that intended to strengthen the bonds with the students as well as their belief in Islam, and exposing them gradually to Hamas ideology in order to make them active members of the Islamic movement. In each school, including those run by UNRWA, Hamas appointed a student to head the al-Kutla local branch, who operates as point of contact for Hamas and responsible for recruiting students to the Kutla and organizing activities inside school and after-school.

Media reports documented in recent years a fraction of al-Kutla activities inside UNRWA's middle schools or with students of middle schools run by UNRWA, as demonstrated as follows:

November 2008 – Al-Kutla held in the Ahmad Abd al-Aziz middle school, run by UNRWA, an event honoring students who managed memorizing the Koran. Al-Kutla's representatives reviewed their activities in school, including: strengthening bonds between students and teachers, disseminating al-Kutla leaflets, posters and magazines to students, organizing soccer tournament, supplying eye glasses with great discount for students and teachers and cleaning campaign of school with cooperation of Khan Yunis municipality. Imad Abdin, the school's principle, attended the event and gave a speech to the students.

July 18, 2009 – Al-Kutla held an event honoring close to 400 outstanding students of elementary, middle and high schools, including of schools run by UNRWA. One of them was a student with special needs of Gaza al-Jadida middle school B (UNRWA). Hamas senior officials attended the event. MP (Hamas) Ahmad Bahr, deputy speaker of the Palestinian parliament, praised the students saying: “the great excellence of the students of the Gaza Strip is the best proof and most appropriate response to the Zionist enemy, and a message that the Palestinian people grew and will grow scholars who will be able to liberate the holy land from the uncleanliness of the Zionists.” Wael

Rashid, head of al-Kutla al-Islamiya in Palestine, expressed his wish that with the “land of Palestine will be liberated from the Zionist occupation.”

January 1, 2010 – Al-Kutla organized in Rafah a soccer tournament commemorating Mohammad al-Sharif, an operative of al-Qassam Brigades, killed on December 12, 2007. Teams from 18 middle schools in Rafah participated in the tournament, including those run by UNRWA. Rafah middle school G (UNRWA) won the finals defeating al-Omaria middle school (UNRWA). The event was held in the football field of the Services Club founded by UNRWA.

March 15, 2010 Al-Kutla organized a knowledge competition between 16 middle schools in the northern district of the Gaza Strip, including schools run by UNRWA. Beit Hanoun middle school (UNRWA) and Saad bin Abi Waqas middle school won the competition.

#### **Knowledge competition for students at UNRWA middle schools**

October 24, 2010 – Al-Kutla organized a tournament in Ain al-Hilwa school with the participation of 12 student teams from middle schools in the central district of the Gaza Strip, including middle schools run by UNRWA. The students team of al-Maghazi middle school A (UNRWA) defeated in the finals the students team of al-Maghazi middle school B (UNRWA).

November 6, 2010 – Al-Kutla concluded a tournament in al-Ahali sport club in Gaza with the participation of 14 middle schools, including those run by UNRWA (Gaza al-Jadida and al-Rimal B middle schools).

#### **Al-Kutla tournament in al-Ahali sport club with students from UNRWA's schools**

December 5, 2010 – Al-Kutla activists repainted the facilities of al-Imam al-Shafi'i middle schools, run by UNRWA.

February 24, 2011 – Al-Kutla held series of events honoring the outstanding students of the 30 school. The last event took place in al-Qarara middle School (UNRWA). Mohamad al-Huli, the school's principle, thanked al-Kutla for its efforts in making the event successful. Al-Kutla's representative, Mustafa al-Astal praised the cooperation with the school's management and the Education Directorate.

March 3, 2011 – Al-Kutla organized table tennis tournament in al-Ribat sport club, with the participation of 40 students of middle schools in central Gaza,

including schools run by UNRWA. Students of al-Bureij middle school B (UNRWA) defeated the students of al-Nuserat middle school G (UNRWA). Tareq Tabaza, organizer of the tournament on behalf of al-Kutla, said that it was only one of many activities of al-Kutla in schools in central Gaza.

March 7, 2011 – Al-Kutla held an event in al-Qarara middle school honouring outstanding students. Al-Qarara middle school is run by UNRWA. Hamad al-Ruqab, Hamas senior official, and two al-Kutla senior activists, Mohammad Ta'a and Mustafa al-Astal, as well as the school's principal, participated in the event.

March 8, 2011 Al-Kutla al-Islamiya held the al-Quds soccer tournament in Rafah with the participation of student teams from 18 middle schools, including those run by UNRWA, and 7 high schools. The team of middle school A (UNRWA) won the tournament.

### **Soccer tournament in Rafah**

March 30, 2011 – Al-Kutla organized in al- Qa'aqa' Mosque a knowledge competition between schools in eastern Gaza, commemorating the seven anniversary of Sheik Yassin death in an Israeli air strike. Students of 4 schools participated in the competition, two of them are run by UNRWA (Salah al-Din and Shejaiya middle schools).

April 1, 2011 – Al-Kutla held an event honoring 800 female students who managed memorizing the Koran. The students came from 19 middle and high schools, including schools run by UNRWA.

April 27, 2011 – Al-Kutla organized knowledge competition between Khan Yunis' middle schools, including schools run by UNRWA (al-Qarara and al-Ma'ari middle schools). Al-Ma'ari middle school (UNRWA) won the competition, which was held in commemoration of Hamas former leader Dr. Abd al-Aziz al-Rantisi.

### **Al-Kutla commemorating Rantisi by knowledge competition in middle schools including UNRWA's**

July 2, 2011 – Al-Kutla organized in Khan Yunis an event - “ the Regiment of Unit and Return” - honoring outstanding students, including those who study at middle schools run by UNRWA. Similar events were held in July in Shejaiya and the city of Gaza.

March 25, 2013 - Al-Kutla held a series of “cultural evening events” called “Breezes of Love” designated for UNRWA middle class students in the central

districts of the Gaza Strip. Muaz al-Sharif explained on behalf of al-Kutla that the event in al-Bureij refugee camp was held to commemorate the martyrdom in the path of Allah of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, the founder and leader of Hamas, who was killed in 2004. Hassan Maqadma, ex-prisoner in the Israeli jail and senior Hamas operative, who was the guest speaker, praised Sheikh Yassin for his activity in the fields of dawah, politics, military, philosophy and culture, emphasizing that he was “a torch illuminating the way towards the victory and liberation.”

### **UNRWA middle school students in Maghazi refugee camp commemorating Sheikh Ahmed Yassin (March 2013)**

August 2013 – Activists of al-Kutla welcome students at the beginning of school year at New B middle school. The al-Kutla’s banner was hung alongside the sign of UNRWA school.

September 26, 2013 – Al-Kutla held in al-Nuserat middle school B a “cultural meeting” called “Reading – when, how and why?” with Mohammad Abu Ros and a “cultural contest” for students called “be educated.”

November 7, 2013 - Al-Kutla organized table tennis tournament in middle schools, including the New B School.

December 1, 2013 - Al-Kutla celebrated the victory in Sigil Stone War (November 2012) against Israel at Yabna middle school in Rafah (students are seen trampling an Israeli flag) and organized cleaning campaign at B middle school also in Rafah.

Pictures documenting the anti-Israeli celebration at Yabna middle school in Rafah (received financial funding from USAID).

Al-Kutla’s poster featuring former chief commander of al-Qassam Brigades and a Hamas armed operative preparing himself to shoot a sophisticated anti-tank rocket. Beneath al-Kutla’s emblem it is written “Sigil Stone [war]- Victory and Empowerment.”

### **Islamic Jihad activity in UNRWA schools**

The Islamic Jihad through its representatives in the Staff Union and its students’ organization al-Rabita al-Islmaiya (a.k.a al-Rabita) is also active in schools run by UNRWA in the Gaza Strip.

November 12, 2013 – Senior members of al-Rabita visited Abasan middle school in east Khan Yunis to have a discussion with the principle, Nabil Sarafandi, on student issues. Mundhir Abu Drar, al-Rabita's coordinator in east Khan Yunis office, Wisam abu Khater, coordinator of schools issues in the districts of east Khan Yunis and members of the public outreach wing of the Islamic Jihad were in attendance. The principle, Nabil Sarafandi, said that al-Rabita activists regularly visited his school and held activities inside its premises in order to follow-up students' issues.



*Direct path between activity in al-Kutla at UNRWA's schools and recruiting to al-Qassam Brigades*

The activities of al-Kutla al-Islamiya is a powerful vehicle for Hamas to indoctrinate the youth in both governmental and UNRWA schools in the Gaza Strip and to pave the way for their future recruitment to al-Qassam Brigades. Reviewing the bio sketches of al-Qassam Brigades' fatalities reveals a repeated pattern. More than two dozens of al-Qassam operatives were activists of al-Kutla al-Islamiya in UNRWA's schools in the Gaza Strip, who joined Hamas and later its military wing al-Qassam Brigades. All were also involved in terrorist attacks against Israel or in combat against IDF forces.

### **Ahmad Mohammad Ghorab**

Ahmad Mohammad Ghorab was born in 1980 in Gaza. He graduated Abu Asi elementary school, Gaza al-Jadida middle school (UNRWA) and Salah Khalaf high school. During middle and high schools Ghorab served as the leader of al-Kutala al-Islamiya. After dropping out of the Islamic University of Gaza he

graduated the Community College of Applied Science and Technology (CCAST) and later worked as a secretary at the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Ministry of Interior. From a young age he would frequent the Ahmad Yassin Mosque, and after few years he moved to Ibad al-Rahman Mosque, where he was appointed the mosque's manager and was responsible for arranging Daawa activities. In 2000 Ghorab joined the Popular Army, founded by Hamas, and in the following year he was recruited to al-Qassam Brigades by Ismail Lubad, commander of al-Shati battalion of al-Qassam Brigades. In the Brigades he underwent military training and then was positioned at al-Shati battalion and assigned for special jihadist operations and guarding the borders. Later he joined the unit of suicide attackers, and appointed to a commander of Artillery unit. He participated in combat against IDF forces and launched mortar shells and rockets at Israeli communities. Ghorab was killed in an Israeli Air Force strike on April 4, 2011 while he and his fellow al-Qassam operative were launching mortar shells.



***Haitham Abd al-Hafez Abd al-Aal***

Abd al-Aal graduated from the al-Fallah elementary and middle school (UNRWA) and al-Nil high school. He was active in al-Kutla al-Islamiya beginning in middle school. He attended al-Mujama al-Islami Mosque where he was recruited by Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood. In 2003, he joined the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas' military wing. He participated in combat against IDF forces (including firing RPG rockets). He also served in the Palestinian Police. On January 15, 2009 he was targeted while preparing to attack IDF forces in the Tel al-Islam (Tel al-Hawa) neighbourhood west of Gaza city.

### **Imad Maher Farwaneh**

Farwaneh graduated from UNRWA schools and Khalil al-Wazir high school. He became an activist in al-Kutla al-Islamiya as early as middle school. He attended the al-Barra bin 'Azeb Mosque in al-Sabra neighborhood, where he was recruited by Hamas. Later, he joined the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas' military wing. He was killed by the Israeli Air Force in Tel al-Islam neighborhood while attempting to ambush IDF forces.

### **Mohammad Zuheir al-Alul**

Al-'Aalul graduated from the al-Fallah elementary/middle school (UNRWA), al- Nil high school and the Islamic University in Gaza. He was an activist in al-Kutla al-Islamiya, beginning in middle school. He attended the al-Mujama al-Islami Mosque where he was recruited by Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood. In 2002, he joined the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas' military wing. He underwent military training, was posted to forward position and participated in combat against IDF forces.

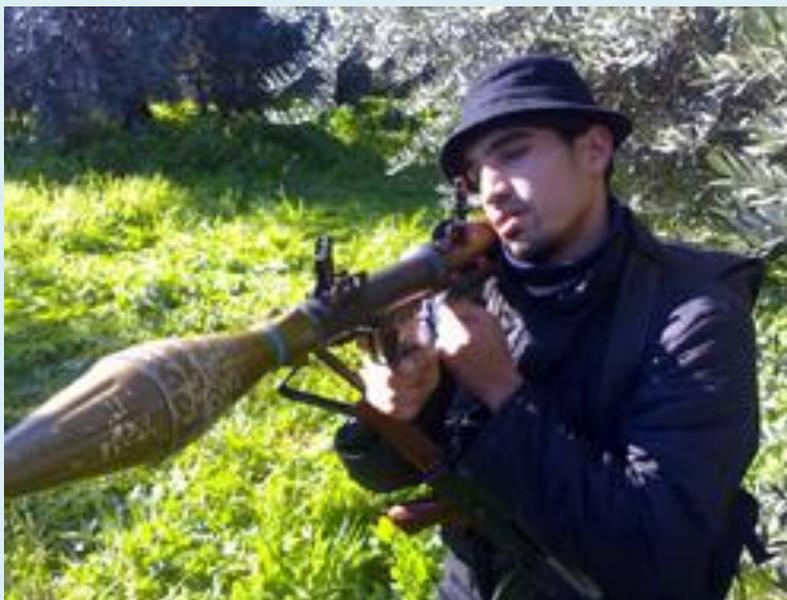
### **Riyad Mohammad al-Ra'i**

A-Ra'i graduated from Safad elementary school (UNRWA), al-Imam al-Shafi'i middle school (UNRWA), Abd al-Fattah Hamud high school and the Islamic University of Gaza. In middle school he joined al-Kutla al-Islamiya and he attended the Ali bin Abi Taleb Mosque and the Amro Mosque beginning in 2004. In 2001, he was recruited by Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood and was involved in Dawa (Islamic outreach) activity. A year later he joined the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas' military wing. In the Brigades he underwent military training (including artillery and infantry), participated in combat against IDF forces in the al-Zaytoun neighborhood, launched rockets and mortar shells at Israeli targets and served as a commander. He was killed in an Israeli Air Force strike near the al-Farouq Mosque.



***Ibrahim Rafiq Abu al-Kheir***

Abu al-Kheir graduated from Safad elementary school (UNRWA), al-Imam al-Shafi'i middle school (UNRWA), Jamal abd al-Nasser high school and al-Azhar University in Gaza. At school he was an activist in al-Kutla al-Islamiya. From early age attended Musab bin Omair Mosque and through hid Dawa (Islamic outreach) activities was recruited by Hamas in 1998 and four years later the Muslim Brotherhood. In 2002 he joined the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas' military wing. In the Brigades he underwent basic and advanced military training, participated in combat against IDF forces in the al-Zaytoun neighborhood, took part in detonating IED near IDF bulldozer and launched rockets and mortar shells at Israeli communities. On January 14, 2009 he met with the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades operatives near Musab bin Omair Mosque and delegated operational missions aimed at IDF forces. They were spotted and killed by UAV.



*Mohammad Osama Aqilan*

Aqilan was born in Saudi Arabia and at age of 8 returned with his family to Gaza. He graduated Gaza al-Jadida elementary school (UNRWA), Salah al-Din middle school (UNRWA), Shuhada al-Shati high school and studied at the University College of Applied Sciences (UCAS). In middle school he served as the head of al-Kutala al-Islamiya and was a prominent member of al-Kutla during high school. He used to frequent Abu Bakr al-Sadiq and Hudhaifa bin al-Yaman mosques. In 2005 he joined Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood and two years later al-Qassam Brigades. Aqilan underwent military training, posted in forward positions, participated in jihadist missions, placed explosives charges and documented launching rockets at Israeli communities. He was killed on January 13, 2009 during an exchange of fire with IDF forces north west of Gaza.



*Mahmoud Ahmad Juha*

Juha was born in 1992 in Gaza and graduated from the al-Fallah elementary and middle school (UNRWA). He then became a member of al-Kutla al-Islamiya, Hamas student organization, many of whose members are recruited by the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades. He attended the al-Imam al-Shafi'i Mosque, was involved in Dawa (Islamic outreach) activities and was recruited by Hamas (2002), later joining its military wing, the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades (2007). In the Brigades he underwent military training (including anti-tank warfare and sharpshooting). He was killed by the Israeli Air Force while participating in combat against IDF forces in the al-Zaytoun neighborhood.



*Khaled Hassan al-'Abed*

Al-'Abed attended the al-Taqwa Mosque and through his Dawa (Islamic outreach) activity he was recruited by Hamas (2004) and the Muslim Brotherhood (2005). During middle school he became an activist of al-Kutla al-Islamiya, the students' organization of Hamas that many of its members are recruited by Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades. In 2005 at age 17 he joined Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas' military wing. He was posted in mid 2007 in the special unit of al-Radwan Brigade. Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades used his expertise in explosives and assigned him to bobby trap many houses located along the borderline with Israel. He was killed while participated in combat in al-Atatra area.

**Osama Ayyub al-Sifi**

A-Sifi graduated from the al-Fallah elementary and middle school (UNRWA), al-Zaytoun high school and was a student at Gaza's Ummah University. In middle school he became an active in al-Kutla al-Islamiya. Beginning at an early age,

a-Sifi attended the al-Farouq Mosque in the al-Zaytoun neighborhood, where he was recruited by Hamas. In 2005, he joined the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas' military wing. He also served in the Palestinian Police Special Forces. He was later transferred to the Public Order and Intervention Forces where he served as a security officer responsible for safeguarding Hassan a-Sifi, the Comptroller General of the Ministry of Interior. In the Brigades he underwent military training (horse riding, basic and advanced drills, infantry, anti-tank warfare) was first assigned to the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigade's special forces and later the operatives unit. During Operation Cast Lead he placed and detonated two explosive charges under IDF tanks near the Auto Market in southern al-Zaytoun. He assisted in placing another IED in the al-Zaytoun neighborhood, supplied other operatives with weapons and ammunition, and took part in digging and outfitting tunnels in al-Zaytoun. At the beginning of Operation Cast Lead he was assigned to carry out a suicide attack against IDF forces, but the bombing of the tunnels and prepared positions foiled the plan. On January 12, 2009 he ambushed IDF forces in a residential house in al-Zaytoun. He booby-trapped the house and then began to move to another position as IDF forces approached. He was spotted and killed by a UAV.



*Saad Mohammad Hassan*

Hassan graduated from al-Hurriya elementary school, al-Imam al-Shafi'i middle school and Shouhada al-Zaytoun high school. In middle school, he became an activist in al-Kutla al-Islamiya. From an early age, he attended al-Imam al-Shafi'i Mosque, where, through his Dawa (Islamic outreach) activity he was recruited by Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood (2004). In 2007 he joined the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas' military wing. In the Brigades he underwent military training, was posted to the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Anti Aircraft Unit and

participated in combat against IDF forces. Hassan was killed when the Israeli Air Force struck a group of Izz al-Din al-Qassam operatives in the al-Zaytoun neighborhood.



*Ibrahim Mahmoud Washah*

Washah graduated from UNRWA schools in Nuserat refugee camp (elementary and middle schools) and Khaled bin al-Walid high school. During middle school he became an activist in al-Kutla al-Islamiya. He attended the al-Jam'iya al-Islamiya Mosque in Nuserat and the Salah Shehadeh Mosque. Through his Dawa (Islamic outreach) activities in the Mosque he was recruited by Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood and later joined the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades (2000). He also served in the Marine Unit of the Police and held the rank of Constable. In the Brigades he started as a commander in Hamas' Popular Army in the central district of the Gaza Strip, served as the commander of the Nuserat area and after the Popular Army was fully intergrated into the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades he was promoted and appointed Company Commander. He recruited dozens of youths to the Popular Army and the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, participated in combat against IDF forces in the area of Nuserat, and was co-founder of the military security apparatus of Hamas. During Operation Cast Lead he was the commnder of the Izz al-Din al-Qassam forces along Salah al-Din new road, placed IEDs and organized ambushes. On January 9, 2009 at 10:30 PM he was peparing explosive charges in an orchard with other Izz al-Din al-Qassam operatives when he was spotted and killed by the Israeli Air Force.



*Amru Mohammad Nassar*

Nassar graduated from UNRWA schools in the Nuserat refugee camp (elementary and middle schools), Shouhada al-Aqsa high school and was a student at al-Aqsa University in Gaza. During middle school he became an activist in al-Kutla al-Islamiya. He was also member of the Muslim scouts. He attended the Hassan al-Bana Mosque and through his Dawaa (Islamic outreach) activity he was recruited in 2007 by Hamas and a year later joined its military wing, the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades. He underwent military training and was posted in forward positions. He was killed by an Israeli Air Force strike aimed at a group of Izz al-Din al-Qassam operatives.

### **Azmi Mohammad Diab**

Diab graduated from al-Imam al-Shafi'i elementary school, al-Fallah middle school (UNRWA), abd al-Fattah Hamoud high school and al-Azhar University in Gaza. A member of al-Kutal al-Islamiya (since early age), he joined Hamas police's executive force after graduating university and served as an investigator. Later he served in al-Zaytoun Police Station and held the rank of Sub-Inspector. Attending the 'Aliyeen Mosque he was recruited by Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood. Later he moved to pray at the al-Farouq Mosque and was responsible for the mosque's public activity committee. In 2003, he joined the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas' military wing. In the Brigades he underwent extensive military training (including suicide attacker training), launched mortar shells and rockets (Qassam and RPG) at Israeli targets, and took part in combat against IDF forces. On January 7, 2009, Azmi decided to leave a position he had held for four days, waiting to ambush Israeli forces near the 'Aliyeen Moaque. The Israeli Air Force spotted Diab and killed him.

### **Radwan Fayez al-Daya**

A-Dayah graduated from Safad elementary school (UNRWA), al-Imam al-Shafi'i middle school (UNRWA) and Tunis high school. A member of al-Kutla al-Islamiya since middle school, he attended the Hassan al-Bana Mosque and there he was recruited by Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood. In 2006, he joined the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades. In the Brigades he underwent military training, was posted to forward positions, participated in combat against the IDF in the northern district, prepared and placed IEDs, and participated in digging and outfitting tunnels. During Operation Cast Lead he participated in combat against IDF forces. The Israeli air force targeted a building that according to intelligence was being used as a Hamas weapons cache. The residents of the building were called beforehand and warned of the imminent airstrike. But, the intended target wasn't hit and instead the Al-Daya home which was several dozen meters from the intended target was bombed. According to the findings of the IDF's investigation, the error occurred because the pilot was given the wrong coordinates.



*Khaled Mohammad Abu Askar*

Abu 'Askar graduated from Ibn Rushd elementary school, Jabalya middle school (UNRWA) and Abu Obaeida al-Jarah high school. During middle school he became an activist in al-Kutla al-Islamiya. At that time he contacted Izz al-Din al-Qassam operatives and asked to be recruited by the Brigades. He attended the al-Haq Mosque and later Abu Bakr al-Sadiq Mosque. After being involved in Dawa (Islamic outreach) activity in the Mosque he was recruited by

Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood (2004). He joined the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades at age 16. In the Brigades he was posted to forward positions northwest of Gaza, took part in many ambushes in the northern area of the Gaza Strip and served in the Izz al-Din al-Qassam military supply unit, where he was responsible for supplying the Izz al-Din al-Qassam operatives with weapons, rockets and ammunition. Several times he volunteered to carry out a suicide attack against Israeli targets. On January 6, 2009 he returned home after completing guard duty in a forward position with Ayman al-Kurd. He found that the house - which doubled as a Brigades weapons cache despite its location near the al-Fakhoura school - had been bombarded by the Israeli Air Force. While attempting to salvage equipment under the debris he was killed by an IDF mortar shell aimed at Hamas operatives who firing mortars from the vicinity of the al-Fakhoura school.

### **Salah Naim Sheldan**

Sheldan graduated from Safad elementary school (UNRWA), al-Imam al-Shafi'i middle school (UNRWA) and Tunis high school. During middle school he became an activist in al-Kutla al-Islamiya. He attended the Ali bin Abi Taleb Mosque in al-Zaytoun neighborhood and through his Dawa (Islamic outreach) activity in the Mosque he was recruited by Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood (2006) and later the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas' military wing. In the Brigades he underwent military training and was posted in the Izz al-Din al-Qassam's engineering corps.



*Bilal Mohammad Omar*

Omar is a graduate of al-Shati elementary school (UNRWA), al-Rimal middle school (UNRWA) and Shouhada al-Shati high school. Since middle school he became an activist of al-Kutla al-Islamiya. He attended the White Mosque in Shati refugee camp and through his Dawa (Islamic outreach) activity he was recruited by Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood. Omar served in Hamas security apparatus and in 2007, he joined the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades. In the Brigades he underwent military training, was posted to forward positions, and guarded the house of the chief police commissioner. He was killed in the Israeli Air Force strike on police headquarters.

### **Nahez Salim Abu Namus**

Abu Namus graduated from al-Rimal elementary school (UNRWA), al-Zaytoun middle school (UNRWA) and Zueir al-Alami high school. In the ninth grade, he became an activist in al-Kutla al-Islamiya. He attended the al-Fallah Mosque in al-Sabra neighborhood and through his Dawa (Islamic outreach) activity he was recruited by Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood (2005). On April 20, 2007 he joined the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas' military wing. He also served in the Cavalry Unit of the Palestinian Police. In the Brigades he underwent military training and was posted in an infantry unit and later an artillery unit. He was killed by the Israeli Air Force strike on police headquarters in Gaza while attending a military course.



*Saed Mohammad Islim*



Islim graduated from al-Imam al-Shafi'i elementary and middle school (UNRWA), and Khaled bin al-Walid high school, and he studied for a year at the al-Quds Open University in Beit Lahiya. During the various stages of his studies at school he was an activist of al-Kutala al-Islamiya. He attended the al-Nur Mosque and later the Abdallah Azzam Mosque and through his Dawa (Islamic outreach) activity he was recruited by Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood. In 2000 he joined the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas' military wing. In the Brigades he underwent military training, launched rockets at Sderot, fired mortar shells at IDF positions, served in the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Anti-Aircraft Unit and as a commander in an infantry unit. Islim also served in the Public Order and Intervention Forces and held the rank of Inspector. The night before his death he was posted to a forward position. Islim was killed in an Israeli Air Force strike aimed at a group of Izz al-Din al-Qassam operatives near the al-Katiba Mosque.

### **Baha Ziad Al-Gharabli**

Al-Gharabli graduated from an elementary school in Sheja'iya, Muaz bin Jabal middle school and Jamal Abd al-Nasser high school. During middle school he became an activist in al-Kutla al-Islamiya. He attended the al-Islah Mosque and through his Dawa (Islamic outreach) activity he was recruited by Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood. In 2006 he joined the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, and also served as a Constable in the Palestinian Police. In the Brigades he underwent advanced military training, fired heavy machine guns at Israeli military aircrafts, and was posted to forward positions. Al-Gharaabli was killed by the Israeli Air Force in the Israeli Air Force strike on police headquarters.

### **Mohammad Tawfiq al-Nimrah**

A-Nimrah graduated from the al-Fallah elementary and middle school (UNRWA), Zuheir al-Alami high school and was a student at the University

College of Applied Sciences (UNRWA). During the various stages of his studies at school he was an activist of al-Kutala al-Islamiya. He attended the al-Nur Mosque in the al-Sabra neighborhood and because of his Dawa (Islamic outreach) activities he was recruited by Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood (2003). In 2006 he joined the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, where he underwent military training (including cavalry and anti-tank warfare training). He was attending a military course in the Gaza police headquarters when the Israeli Air Force and was killed in the Israeli Air Force attack on the building.



### ***Mohammad Nabil Barghouth***

Barghouth graduated from Safad elementary and middle school (UNRWA) and was a student at Shouhada al-Zaytoun school. An activist in al-Kutla al-Islamiya during the various stages of his studies at school, he attended the al-Shafi'i Mosque and through his Dawa (Islamic outreach) activity he was recruited by Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood (2001). He used to assist the Izz al-Din al-Qassam operatives and supplied them with equipment and ammunition needed to carry out their missions. In 2000 he joined the



Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas' military wing. He also served in the Hamas Interior Ministry's Security and Protection Forces. In the Brigades he participated in combat against IDF forces in the al-Zaytoun area, launched rockets and mortar shells at Israeli communities and served as the second in command of the al-Zaytoun Brigade's artillery unit. He was killed in an Israeli Air Force strike on the headquarters of the Security and Protection Forces (al-Muntada).

#### **Rami Suliman Abu al-Sheikh**

Abu a-Sheikh was born in Jordan in 1982. Graduate of elementary school in Jordan, UNRWA's middle school in al-Maghazi refugee camp in Gaza and al-Azhar University in Gaza. Activist of al-Kutla al-Islamiya since middle school. Attended Yasser al-Masdar Mosque. Joined Hamas the Muslim Brotherhood and the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades (2003). He also served as an officer in the Palestinian Police (anti drug unit) and held the rank of Sub-Inspector. In the Brigades He underwent military training (basic and artillery), served as a commander, participated in combat against IDF forces in the area of al-Maghazi, fired RPG rockets at IDF vehicles and launched rockets at Israeli communities. He was killed in the Israeli Air Force strike on Abu Madin Police station.



***Mohammad Ismail Al-Ghumari***

Al-Ghumari graduated from UNRWA's elementary and middle school in al-Maghazi refugee camp, al-Manfaluti high school and was a student at the al-Quds Open University. During middle school he became an activist in al-Kutla al-Islamiya. He attended the Ahamd Yassin Mosque and through his Dawa (Islamic outreach) activity he was recruited by Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood. In 2007 he joined the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas' military wing and underwent military training. Al-Ghumari also served in the Police. He was killed by the Israeli Air Force strike on position 13 of the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades in the central district of the Gaza Strip.



***Alaa al-Din al-Qatrawi***

Al-Qatrawi graduated from UNRWA's elementary and middle schools in Nuserat refugee camp, Khaled bin al-Walid high school and was a student at the Islamic

University of Gaza. During middle school he became an activist in al-Kutla al-Islamiya, Hamas' student's organization, many of whose members are recruited by the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades. He attended the Obeida bin al-Jarah Mosque and because of his Dawa (Islamic outreach) activities he was recruited by Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood in 2002. A year later he joined the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas' military wing. In the Brigades he underwent military training (including sharp shooting), was posted to forward positions in the Nuserat area, participated in combat against IDF forces, placed IEDs, and participated in digging and outfitting tunnels. He also served in the Hamas Interior Ministry's Executive Force and later worked as a criminal investigator in the Palestinian Police. He was killed when the Israeli Air Force attacked Hamas' Abu Madin police station.



*Sharaf Mohammad Abu Shamaleh*

Abu Shamaleh graduated from UNRWA's elementary and middle schools in Khan Yunis, Harun al-Rashid high school and the University College of Applied Sciences (UNRWA). During the various stages of his studies at school he was an activist of al-Kutala al-Islamiya. He attended the al-Imam al-Shafi'i Mosque and through his Dawa (Islamic outreach) activity he was recruited by Hamas and later by the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades (2006). He served in the al-Zaytoun and North Gaza Brigades and volunteered to carry out a suicide mission, underwent military training, was posted to forward positions, participated in military operations, placed IEDs, carried out observations of IDF forces in the area of Khuzaa, Abassan and East al-Zaytoun and participated in digging and outfitting tunnels. He also served in the Hamas Interior Ministry's Security and Protection Unit. He was killed in an Israeli Air Force strike on the Security and Protection headquarters.

### **Wisam Abd al-Majid al-Qoqa**

Al-Qoqa graduated from al-Shati elementary school (UNRWA), Gaza al-Jadida middle school (UNRWA), an unknown high school, and was a student at the Islamic University of Gaza. In middle school he became an activist of al-Kutla al-Islamiya and even headed the Gaza al-Jadida branch. He attended the al-Shati al-Kabir Mosque and through his Dawa (Islamic outreach) activity, in 2002, he was recruited by the Muslim Brotherhood and the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades. He also served as an Advanced Staff Sergeant Major in the Military Police. In the Brigades he underwent advanced military training, was posted to forward positions, launched rockets and mortar shells at Israeli communities, participated in combat against IDF forces and served as a bodyguard for senior Hamas leaders. He was killed in the Israeli Air Force strike on police headquarters in Gaza while attending a military course.



*Issa Abd al-Hadi al-Batran*

Al-Batran was born in 1973 in al-Bureij refugee camp in Gaza. He graduated UNRWA's elementary and middle schools in al-Bureij, Khaled al-Hassan high school, Gaza Traing Center (UNRWA) and al-Quds Open University. He used to frequent al-Bureij al-Kabir Mosque. For years al-Batran was working as a teacher in UNRWA's schools the central district of the Gaza Strip. In 1989 he joined Hamas and soon later the Muslim Brotherhood. At the beginning of the 90s he was recruited to al-Qassam Brigades and operated during 1994-6 under the command of Yasser Taha. In the Brigades he participated in combat against

IDF forces, placed explosive charges, participated in digging tunnels for the use al-Qassam Brigades and was posted in forward positions. Being a blacksmith he was chosen to join the military manufacturing unit al-Qassam, in which he took part in producing explosive charges, bombs, rockets and other military equipment needed. He also founded the media office of al-Qassam Brigades in al-Bureij refugee camp.

According al-Qassam Brigades, IDF failed to assassinate al-Batran in four attempts. The last failed attempt was executed during Operation Cast Lead (January 2009), in which his wife and children were killed. After a period of time he was injured during a "jihadist mission" and his left palm was mutilated. Later, Issa, a teacher in UNRWA's al-Bureij school, was fired because of his involvement in al-Qassam Brigades. He was killed in an Israeli air strike on July 31, 2010.

John Ging, UNRWA Director of Operations in Gaza, was notified as early as December 2008, that Issa al-Batran is an active operative of al-Qassam Brigades. No action was taken by UNRWA against al-Batran including after the he was a target for four failed assassination attempts, which exposed his connection to terrorist activity. All that time, al-Batran continued work as a teacher in a school run by UNRWA in al-Bureij refugee camp, and was fired only after he was injured in "work accident" dealing with explosives months after Operation Cast Lead.

### **UNRWA insists hiring senior Hamas official**

UNRWA's management has been fully aware for at least 7 years that Suhail al-Hindi, head of the teaching sector on behalf of UNRWA, is a senior Hamas activist who condones the jihad against Israel and the suicide attacks carried out by Hamas. UNRWA spokesperson, Chris Gunness, acknowledged awareness of this information in an article he published on Ynet (January 27, 2009) referring to an article written by Jonathan Dahoah-halevi. To this day (March 2011), Suhail al-Hindi is still being employed by UNRWA, ignoring repeated open source reports on his current and overt activities as a senior official of Hamas.

UNRWA schools instill students with commitment to the Right of Return and hatred to Israel.

### **Gaza Strip**

Source: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eE6vQM0DjJc>

Date of upload: May 16, 2011

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

School: Maghazi middle school A (UNRWA)

Content: Basma Society for Culture and Arts, with cooperation of Maghazi middle school, learned and trained students in making animation films. One of these films shows Israeli fighter planes bombing and indiscriminately killing Palestinian civilians including children.

Source: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RO8gNNDgWbA>

School: Mustafa Hafez elementary school for boys in Khan Yunis

Date of upload: June 28, 2011

Content: Animation film showing IDF indiscriminately killing Palestinian civilians including children.

Source: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l2o8waAuMW4>

School: Mustafa Hafez elementary school for boys in Khan Yunis

Date of upload: May 18, 2011

Content: Nakba ceremony 2011. Students holding banners with names of Israeli cities, such as Ashdod, Tel Aviv and Askelon and later chanting repeatedly for several minutes: "we'll sacrifice our soul and blood for you the martyr". One of the speakers called Israel the "Zionist enemy" and stressed that the Palestinians will return to Palestine. Another speaker called described Israel as the "enemy" and called the students to join him chanting "the return [to Palestine] is [an obvious] right as the sun." A student, holding small wooden map of historic Palestine, leaded hundreds of students to chante together and loudly the slogan: "the [Palestinian] people wants to liberate Palestine."

Source: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CUzcfreb\\_4M](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CUzcfreb_4M)

School: Mustafa Hafez elementary school for boys in Khan Yunis

Date of upload: April 21, 2011

Date of event: January 16, 2011

Content: A man, most probably a teacher, introduced to the students Sheik Jamil Mutawi', salafi imam of Ibn Taymiya Mosque, as their guest speaker, and said: "the army of Palestine will liberate al-Quds."

Source: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EwqpoSrDs9E>

School: Dir al-Balah middle school B

Date of upload: February 22, 2011

Content: sport tournament named "the refugees' right of return"

Source: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T1eH14h8nHI>

School: Beit Hanoun middle school B

Date of upload: May 16, 2011

Content: Nakba commemoration ceremony at school. Students are seen holding banners with names of Israeli cities such as Afula and Acre.

### **West Bank**

Source: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CUzcfreb\\_4M](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CUzcfreb_4M)

School: UNRWA's school in Tulkarem refugee camp

Date of upload: April 24, 2011

Date of event: April 24, 2011

Content: Sael Khalil, senior leader of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), in a lecture to the students in memory of 63 years to the Nakba, emphasized the Palestinian commitment to "Historic Palestine" and argued that the state of Israel was founded on the lies of the Torah. Ala Saruji, coordinator of al-Awda center in Tulkarem refugee camp, said that al-Awda center organized a special program for 300 students of UNRWA's school in Tulkarem refugee camp in order to raise awareness to the Palestinian problem and to strengthen the students' historical bonds to cities and villages in Israel.

Source: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CUzcfreb\\_4M](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CUzcfreb_4M)

School: UNRWA's school in Tulkarem refugge camp

Date of upload: May 5, 2010

Date of event: May 2010

Content: Honouring ceremony of outstanding students. Banner: "No Peace Without Return to Our Homes". Faysal Salameh, UNRWA's services manager in Tulkarem refugee camp, said that the students will raise Palestine flag in al-Quds and will return to the villages from which the Palestinian were deported in 1948.

**From “Fabrication” to Validation: UNRWA responds to evidence that Hamas embedded itself in UNRWA**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, July 17, 2014*

To grasp the complexities of the Israel- Gaza war, you must take into account that UNRWA the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, remains responsible for the well being of 75% of Gaza’s population, who dwell in “temporary” UNRWA refugee camps since 1949, with the expectation that they will return to their villages that existed before 1948.

For 26 years, our news agency and research center, staffed by Israeli and Arab journalists, has covered UNRWA... providing news agencies with features, monographs and films which reveal the inner workings of the only refugee agency in the world whose purpose is to maintain refugees in a situation of “refugee perpetuity” to the third and fourth generation.

Our news coverage of UNRWA can be perused at: <http://tinyurl.com/2adugwb>

At the invitation of legislative staff of the Israeli Knesset, US Congress, the Canadian Parliament, the British Parliament and the European parliament, our office has screened our films shot on location in UNRWA facilities, and provided the findings of our UNRWA studies with donor countries that provide \$1.2 billion each year fir this UN agency

Our agency also shared documented reports, which show that Hamas embedded itself into the administration of UNRWA.

In that context, our agency discovered and documented that the new curriculum used by UNRWA prepares their half a million students to return by force of arms to Arab villages that existed before 1948, which have been replaced by Israeli cities such as BeerSheva, Ashkelon and Ashdod all of which have recently been pummeled by aerial attacks launched from Gaza.

For years, UNRWA has responded that our agency “fabricated” our investigations of UNRWA.

UNRWA denied that UNRWA was involved in any “war curriculum”, and also denied that presence of terrorists or weapons in UNRWA facilities.

However, on Thursday, July 17, UNRWA admitted that 20 rockets ready to be launched were discovered in an UNRWA school. UNRWA issued a release that it would “launch a comprehensive investigation into the circumstances surrounding this incident”, stating the “UNRWA has strong, established

procedures to maintain the neutrality of all its premises, including a strict no-weapons policy.”

A change in UNRWA policy? Time will tell.

### **A Marshall Plan For Gaza That The UN Will Not Allow**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, July 25, 2014*

*Author, “Roadblock to Peace-How the UN Perpetuates the Arab-Israeli Conflict: UNRWA policies reconsidered (Jerusalem, 2014)*

In the midst of this week’s war commentary on the radio, TV and newspapers in Israel, the Israeli Minister of Science, Mr. Yaakov Perry, a member of the Israeli security cabinet and former Israeli intelligence official, offered a refreshing solution to the current Israel-Gaza war.

Perry suggested a “marshall plan for Gaza” to revitalize the lives of the Gaza population.

After all, 75% percent of Gazans wallow in “temporary” UN refugee camps that were founded in the wake of the 1948 war.

Perry’s Marshall Plan for Gaza sounds great- except for one hurdle: UNRWA, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, which operates the Arab refugee camps since 1948, will not hear of it.

As a matter of policy, UNRWA will allow any discussion of any permanent resettlement of Arab refugees from 1948 – not even for their descendents.

Instead, UNRWA insists that Arab refugees from 1948 remain AS REFUGEES until there is a political resolution to the Arab Israeli war – a development that is not at all imminent.

The UN policy is not new.

In 1983, at the initiative of Israeli government minister Mordecai Ben Porat, Israel embarked on a program to relocate Arab refugees camps in the vicinity of

their “temporary” Arab refugee camps – an initiative overruled by a 1985 UN resolution which declared that the resettlement of Arab refugees from 1948 would violate their “inalienable” right of return to villages that they left in 1948.

Only recently, UNRWA introduced a new school curriculum created by the Palestinian Authority. Our agency bought the new PA schoolbooks and translated them, and filmed UNRWA classrooms and UNRWA summer camps where the UNRWA war education is applied. This new UNRWA curriculum instructs half a million UNRWA students that their future lies only in the villages that they left in 1948, even if their homes were replaced by Israeli cities of Ashkelon, Ashdod and Beersheva, Sderot and more.

Meanwhile, all new UNRWA schoolbooks rename Israeli cities with Arabic names, while the new UNRWA schoolbooks indoctrinate UNRWA students that they can only achieve the “right of return” to their 1948 villages by force of arms.

Hence, the UNRWA inspiration for Gazans to fire on Ashkelon, Ashdod, Beersheva, Sderot and more.

The donors to this “refugees for perpetuity” policy are the US government and other western nations who fund UNRWA policies, to the tune of 1.2 billion dollars each year.

Perhaps the time has come for UNRWA donors to condition future finance on the creation of an UNRWA curriculum for peace and reconciliation, without any sanctified ‘right of return.’”

### **Hamas’ UN Schools**

*David Bedein, Israel haYom, July 31, 2014*

That rocket launchers were found at U.N. facilities is hardly surprising. Fifteen years ago, the Gaza-based employees of the U.N. Relief and Works Agency held elections to determine its union leaders. Hamas took advantage of the campaign and took over the entire school system. By 2012, more the 90 percent of UNRWA employees had become Hamas supporters.

As a result of the takeover, Hamas created an entire apparatus whose mission was to maintain its grip on all the Gaza-based UNRWA schools. The organization, Al-Kutla Al-Islamiya (the Islamic Bloc), changed the school curriculum and introduced new textbooks. Anyone looking at the subject matter would see an organization that is bent on disseminating its ideology to young Gazans.

The takeover of UNRWA was an inside job, carried out by the Hamas representatives who were assigned to each school and whose job was to recruit students to the Islamic Bloc. This ensured the schools had programs that prepared the pupils for the armed struggle against Israel. This includes their grooming as “would-be shaheeds [martyrs]” and brainwashing them on the “right of return.” To get a an idea of the indoctrination that is taking place in Gaza, it would suffice to look at the Islamic Bloc’s YouTube clips, which allegedly feature UNRWA instructors doing Hamas’ bidding.

My organization has also been documenting the UNRWA-administered summer camps for many years. We have been aided by a Palestinian team. The footage clearly shows that the campers are not introduced to the values of the U.N. but rather to the values of jihad, espousing the “liberation of Palestine” and the “right of return,” by means of an armed struggle.

Despite this being an open secret with all of UNRWA’s donors in the know, including the United States and Israel, the organization is still considered a welfare and relief agency that could provide an “alternative to Hamas.” But if you ask Gazans what UNRWA has done for them, they would say “nothing,” (that is, except perpetuate their refugee status). Hamas knows the reason. It has a vested interest in ensuring that conditions remain unchanged and that the millions of greenbacks keep flowing in. This keeps the “right of return” relevant.

Donors use Israel to facilitate their transactions. It receives the money and hands it over to UNRWA officials who are affiliated with Hamas. Rockets and tunnels may be the most pressing concern right now, but over the long haul, it is the brainwashing and the stagnation among Gazan schoolchildren that should have us worried. It could lead to yet another unwanted conflagration.

Israel must insist on an international mechanism to follow the money, to ensure that the textbooks and teachers carry out the job they were hired to perform. Such a mechanism would primarily serve Gazans, by improving their lives. At the very least it will have helped reduce the threat Israelis face in the long run. We have had our fair share of committees of inquiry; we don’t need another one to investigate why Israel became complicit in funding the Hamas-dominated UNRWA schools.

David Bedein is the director of the Center for Near East Policy Research. He has studied UNRWA’s policies for 26 years.

**Legislator Who Fund UNRWA Confronted with Reality of ...UNRWA  
Education for War**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, December 17, 2014*

To: Ms. Imogen Atkinson, Office of David Burrowes MP, Member of Parliament for Enfield Southgate.

From: David Bedein, Director, Israel Resource News Agency & Center for Near East Policy Research

Thank you for your kind words about our briefing at the Henry Jackson Society.

The theme of UNRWA is "Peace Starts Here." Accountability for UNRWA policies, which do not promote peace, rests with donors to UNRWA.

The UN does not fund UNRWA activities. Donor nations do.

Our published piece in today's Jerusalem Post speaks for itself.

<http://israelbehindthenews.com/rising-personal-attacks-time-come-examine-unrwa-policy/12236/>

There are numerous indiscretions in UNRWA education policy which members of Parliament could question.

We suggest that MP Burrowes begin by asking six questions concerning Western-funded UNRWA education policies, which affect the minds and hearts of 492,000 students who now study in UNRWA schools:

1. Why is Israel not mentioned in textbooks used by UNRWA?

EXAMPLE: land of the Levant [Bilad al-Sham in Arabic] presently comprises the following states:

1. Palestine
2. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

3. The Republic of Lebanon
4. The Syrian Arab Republic

(History of the Ancient Civilizations, Grade 5 (2004) p. 30)

Note: Later editions feature “Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria” only, with no titles. The State of Israel is missing in both versions.

2. Why does Palestine replace Israel on maps of textbooks used by UNRWA?

The land of the Levant [Bilad al-Sham in Arabic] presently comprises the following states:

1. Palestine
2. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan
3. The Republic of Lebanon
4. The Syrian Arab Republic

(History of the Ancient Civilizations, Grade 5 (2004) p. 30)

Note: Later editions feature “Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria” only, with no titles. The State of Israel is missing in both versions.

2. Why does Palestine replace Israel on maps of textbooks used by UNRWA?

EXAMPLE:

Lesson 4: Palestine is Arab and Muslim

The Palestinian people is part of the Arab-Muslim nation

(National Education, Grade 2, Part 1 (2007) p. 16) [Latest edition of this book so far]

3. Why does the very creation of Israel in 1948, by virtue of the 1947 UN partition resolution, defined in UNRWA textbooks as “occupation”?

How can a UN body object to the existence of a nation that is a member in good standing of the United Nations Organization?

EXAMPLE:

Israeli Occupation:

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

A disaster fell upon Palestinian society in 1948 at the hands of the Zionist organizations as most of the Palestinians were forced to emigrate from their land and the State of Israel was established on part of Palestine...

(National Education, Grade 5 (2013) p. 30)

4. Why does the UN allow textbooks used by UNRWA education to advocate war?

EXAMPLE:

A language exercise indicating the liberation of Palestine by a violent struggle:

I will reconcile the following poetic lines with the feelings they express:

A morning of glory and red liberty watered by the martyrs' blood...

[Bottom right]

– The hope for the liberation of Palestine [Second item on the left]

(Reading and Texts, Grade 9, Part 1 (2013) p. 12)

5. Why does UNRWA use textbooks, which emulate martyrs who kill themselves while committing acts of murder?

EXAMPLE:

The Martyr [Excerpts]

I will carry my soul in my palm and toss it in the abyss of destruction

[Let it be] either a life that delights a friend or a death that infuriates the enemies

[Verses 1&2]

Hearing [weapons'] clash is pleasant to my ear

And the flow of blood gladdens my soul

As well as a body thrown upon the ground

Skirmished over by the desert predators

[Verses 6&7]

By your life! This is the death of men

And whoever asks for a noble death – here it is!

[Verse 10]

(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 7, Part 1 (2013) p. 75) [The piece here is taken from an older edition, p. 97]

6. Why does UNRWA use textbooks to indoctrinate students to engage in the “right of return” by force of arms?

EXAMPLE:

We Are Returning

Returning, returning, we are returning

Borders shall not exist, nor citadels and fortresses

Cry out, O those who have left:

We are returning

Returning to the homes, to the valleys, to the mountains

Under the flag of glory, Jihad and struggle

With blood, sacrifice, fraternity and loyalty

We are returning

Returning, O hills; returning, O heights

Returning to childhood; returning to youth

To Jihad in the hills, [to] harvest in the land

We are returning

(Our Beautiful Language, Grade 5, Part 1 (2013) p. 50)

These examples represent only some of the issues ignored in the studies of UNRWA/PA education that were presented to DFID and the British government by organizations that whitewashed the current “spirit” of the schools in the UN refugee camps.

### **UNRWA Admission of Hamas Military Presence In UNRWA Schools**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, June 19, 2015*

Only eight months ago, UNRWA spokesman Chris Gunness viciously attacked our agency on Fox News [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s\\_fWxBrz9c](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s_fWxBrz9c) and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6k8gVzqoRWs> claiming that our agency acts in a fraudulent manner without “evidence” when we documented that the Hamas military wing had been present in the UNRWA schools in Gaza, as revealed in our book <http://www.amazon.com/gp/product/9659233906> Gunness said over and over that there was no “evidence.”

Now the UNRWA director admits that Hamas military presence in the UNRWA schools was there all along

- ENGLISH: <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4669541,00.html>
- IVRIT: <http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4668932,00.html>

## Section 2: Chapter 4 – The UNRWA Reform Initiative

### Blunder Down Under: Why did Australia Up its Donation UNRWA By 450%?

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, June 1, 2012*

The May 28th, 2012 decision of the Australian government to increase its allocation to the United Nations Relief and Works agency, UNRWA, the agency that serves Palestinian Refugees and their descendants – by 450% – from \$19 million to \$90 million, with funds geared for the most part to the UNRWA educational system, warrants careful examination, since the educational approach taught by UNRWA to half a million Palestinian Arab pupils is that their purpose in life is to reclaim villages from 1948 which no longer exist.

Every aspect of PA education in the UNRWA refugee camps is oriented around the realization of the “right of return” for Palestinian Arab refugees from the 1948 war.

In 2009, the European Parliament commissioned a study of the UNWRA teachers and the workers' union elections that were held at the time. The results of that report were that Al-Kutla al-Islamiya, (the Islamic block) became Hamas's official arm operating in the educational institutions run by UNRWA in Gaza.

In each UNRWA school, Hamas appoints a student to head an al-Kutla local branch, who operates as point of contact for Hamas. This point man is responsible for recruiting students to the Kutla and organizing activities inside the UNRWA school and after-school activities.

Dr. Arnon Groiss, who sits on a US-Norwegian-Israeli-Palestinian panel whose task it is to review incitement in the middle east, has reviewed all of the 200 new school books used by UNRWA and presented the “right of return” curriculum used by UNRWA.

US Rep. Chris Smith, a 32-year veteran congressman, and a senior member of the US Congressional Middle East Subcommittee, has declared that all future aid to UNRWA must be “based on a certification where the president would have to certify that the UNWRA textbooks are completely excised of all anti-

Semitic hate,” adding that “zero tolerance on hate in those textbooks” should be the benchmark.

“And so, if you teach kids to hate when they’re very, very young and just keep feeding them that kind of formula for violence, why are we surprised when they strap on dynamite and other kinds of explosives to kill themselves and think they’re doing a good thing?” Smith said. “They’ve been taught. And we have to be much more emphatic – zero tolerance on hate in those textbooks.

“Peace starts here,” is the key phrase, which UNRWA uses to introduce all of its videos, pamphlets, posters and other marketing and material. UNRWA video clips produced by “American Friends of UNRWA” depict smiling Palestinian children competing in sports games in UNRWA school yards, leaving the impression that UNRWA has instilled a message of peace into the young Palestinian generation that has been under UNRWA’s care since the agency’s inception in 1950.

The reality on the ground is far different.

However, Australia has provided a grant to UNRWA education -with no strings attached – without paying any heed to the reality on the ground of UNRWA education.

The decision makers in Australian foreign policies are not aware of serious investigations of UNRWA that now ensuing in Brussels, Ottawa, and Washington?

The question remains: Who is responsible for such a “Blunder Down Under?”

### **Stop UNRWA War Education: What Can Be Done**

*David Bedein, Times of Israel, April 7, 2014*

Jonathan HaLevi, David Bedein, MP Bob Blackman and Dr. Arnon Groiss at the House of Commons at the British Parliament.

The collapse of talks with the Palestinian Authority leave an agency intact which is capable of galvanizing nearly half a million Palestinian students into violent, direct action against Israel, under the slogan of the “right of return.”

That agency is UNRWA, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency.

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

During the second week of March 2014, education experts Dr. Arnon Groiss and Mr. Jonathan HaLevi provided academic presentations at venues in the US Congress and the British Parliament concerning lethal aspects of UNRWA education:

\* UNRWA schools in Gaza a greenhouse for Hamas and anti Israeli radicalism

<http://israelbehindthenews.com/bin/content.cgi?ID=7208&q=1>

\* UNRWA's Problematic Educational Role in the Middle East Conflict

<http://israelbehindthenews.com/bin/content.cgi?ID=7207&q=1>

Concerning US AID and UK DFID funding of UNRWA education, our agency asked US AID and UK DFID if either entity would conduct an evaluation of UNRWA education, which prepares half a million Palestinian students in UNRWA schools to engage in a war to liberate all of Palestine, under the slogan of "the right of return" to Arab villages, which were abandoned during the 1948 war.

US AID and DFID have not responded that that inquiry.

This is the letter sent, concerning incitement in schools hosted by UNRWA:

<http://israelbehindthenews.com/bin/content.cgi?ID=5643&q=1>

On February 24, 2014, our agency arranged for a briefing on UNRWA education at the Israel Knesset Parliament for all diplomatic missions that fund UNRWA.

All major government agencies that fund UNRWA were invited. 16 funders showed. DFID was there. US AID would not attend.

An official of US AID wrote that US AID is "not involved" with UNRWA education, despite US AID press releases, which clearly state that that US AID funds UNRWA schools.

At all briefings, Dr. Groiss displayed the newest Palestinian Authority textbooks in use in the UNRWA schools, and mentioned that there are objective ways to evaluate the new textbooks.

It is important to mention that the Vatican conducted the first evaluation of new Palestinian schoolbooks of the Palestinian Authority (PA) in September 2000.

The Vatican PA textbook report concluded that new PA schoolbooks promote war, and not peace. That report caused the Italian government to withdraw funds from Palestinian Authority education at the time. Legislators from donor

nations can ask the Vatican to share their report the new PA school books that the late Archbishop Pietro Sambri, former Papal Nuncio in Jerusalem, initiated at the time.

<http://israelbehindthenews.com/bin/content.cgi?ID=7073&q=1>

With the UNRWA mandate set to expire on June 30, 2014, the US, the biggest funder of UNRWA, could ask fellow donors to demand that the renewal of UNRWA's mandate be premised on a reform of UNRWA:

1. To not use schoolbooks that encourage children to engage in acts of war.
2. To stop support for designated foreign terrorist entities such as Hamas.
3. To cease promotion of the "right of return" through "armed struggle."
4. To adopt internationally accepted UNHCR definitions of refugee status, and not to bequeath refugee status on descendants of refugees from 1948.

The good news is that you do not have to go through the UN General Assembly to change UNRWA.

UNRWA is an autonomous body, which operates under support from donor nations, who could ask that the UNRWA operation reflect an agenda of peace and reconciliation.

Citizens of donor nations could take the initiative to reform UNRWA, by asking elected their democratically elected officials to ask that UNRWA be true to its slogan: 'Peace Starts Here.'

MP Bob Blackman, a member of the British Parliament who listened intently to the UNRWA education briefing at a House of Commons briefing room with Dr. Gross and Jonathan HaLevi, stressed how important it is that citizens write to elected representatives, on the inappropriateness of a United Nations humanitarian agency which hosts a war education curriculum.

MP Blackman stressed that elected officials who receive such individually written letters of concern will take the issue very seriously.

### **Tie Strings to the UNRWA Appeal for Funds**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, October 14, 2014*

UNRWA, the United Nations Relief Works Agency administers refugee facilities for five million descendants of Arab refugees of the 1948 war. More than 1,200,000 of these refugee descendants dwell in UNRWA facilities in Gaza, where they have wallowed in “temporary” Gaza refugee camps for 66 years, while UNRWA focuses its energy on the right of Arab refugees to liberate Arab villages which have since been replaced by Israel.

Following the Israel-Gaza summer war, UNRWA has asked the Gaza donors conference for 1.6 billion dollars to rebuild their refugee facilities in Gaza.

Donors may wish to predicate assistance to UNRWA on 4 reasonable conditions:

1. Audit all funds that flow to UNRWA, which operates on a 1.2 billion USD budget. The lack of a current UNRWA audit allows for wasted resources, duplicity of service and a flow of cash to Gaza based terror groups. The phenomenon of unaccounted millions allocated for humanitarian aid needs to be challenged.
2. Introduce UNHCR standards to UNRWA, to encourage refugee resettlement, which current UNRWA policy does not allow. As UNRWA policy would have it, permanent refugee settlement interferes with the sanctity of the UNRWA promise of the “right of return” to Arab villages that existed before 1948.
3. Cancel the current UNRWA curriculum, which now incorporates principles of Jihad, martyrdom and the right of return in a UN school system, which is supposed to promote the UNRWA slogan of “Peace Starts Here.” An integral part of current UNRWA education in Gaza involves paramilitary training in Gaza based UNRWA schools. UNRWA, as a UN agency, should be required to demonstrate a commitment to the sacred UN principles of peace and reconciliation
4. Dismiss UNRWA employees affiliated with Hamas, in accordance with laws on the books in the US, the EU, Canada, Australia and the UK, each of which have adopted binding legislation which forbids aid to any agency that employs members of a terrorist organization.

These laws have been ignored by donor nations to UNRWA for 15 years, even though Hamas overwhelmingly took over the UNRWA trade union in Gaza and

the UNRWA Teachers Association in Gaza in successive elections, since 1999.

### **UNRWA Reform Through Nations That Donate to UNRWA**

*David Bedein, The Jewish Press, November 5, 2014*

There is a myth that the UN determines policies of the UNRWA, The United Nations Relief and Works Agency.

FACT:

- UNRWA is a self-run authority, funded by donor nations, not by the UN, with no board of directors and no external audit.
- UNRWA has not helped to resettle one refugee in its 66-year history.
- UNRWA perpetuates misery of five million Palestinian Arab refugees, in “temporary” refugee camps since 1948.
- While UNRWA operates under the aegis of the UN, funds for UNRWA and directives for UNRWA policies stem from donor nations, whose consuls control the purse strings to UNRWA. However, donations given to UNRWA often wind up in the wrong hands.

The Center for Near East Policy Research (CFNEPR) is a leading authority on UNRWA. Since 1988, CFNEPR has documented how humanitarian funds for UNRWA from Western taxpayers are misappropriated. This lack of transparency means that despite an annual on-going budget of US \$1.2 billion, the average Palestinian has yet to receive the maximum benefit.

CFNEPR has earned a reputation for dispatching experts, who brief policy makers and legislators of donor nations concerning UNRWA policies. For example, the Canadian Parliament in Ottawa hosted a special session dedicated to UNRWA on October 20, 2014. CFNEPR presented its latest studies on the Hamas takeover of the UNRWA school system, an analysis of the latest UNRWA schoolbooks (which do not conform to UNESCO guidelines), and our latest film, which portrays deliberate UNRWA-HAMAS collusion during 2014.

Entitled ‘UNRWA GOES TO WAR,’ the new film can viewed at:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LaaslaZk6mw&feature=youtu.be>

The Center for Near East Policy Research investigations of UNRWA can be found at: <http://www.cfnepr.com/205640/Articles-and-essays>

The event in Ottawa had a profound impact. Twenty politicians attended along with 12 civil servants, creating a vitally important step in creating a change in Canadian government policy regarding a more informed role concerning Canadian donations to UNRWA in the future. Canada, which chairs the RWG, the Refugee Working Group, set up to coordinate assistance of all nations to Arab refugees, can take the lead to inform other nations about how best to work with UNRWA in a transparent manner.

Objective: Organize UNRWA policy briefings for leading donor nations.

Crucial policy changes include: 1. Audit of all funds that flow to UNRWA. 2. Introduce UNHCR standards to UNRWA, to encourage Arab refugee resettlement. 3. Cancel the current UNRWA curriculum, which invokes principles of Jihad, martyrdom and "right of return." 4. Cease paramilitary training in UNRWA schools. 5. Dismiss UNRWA employees affiliated with Hamas.

### **Plan of Action**

CFNEPR will target key donor nations over the next six months. In each country, events will take place that will brief key policy makers, who would not otherwise have access to such core information from the Middle East. For example:

1. Filming UNRWA during November, to document current lethal incitement which emanated from UNRWA schools whose staff are directly responsible for the fresh wave of terror attacks and rioting in the capital. Filmed on location in UNRWA, this film will be systematically delivered to all nations that donate to UNRWA.
2. A briefing at the House of Commons at the British Parliament
3. A briefing at the Israeli Knesset, for donor nation consuls.
4. A briefing on UNRWA policies at the U.S. Congress, open to congressional staffers, media, and NGO's.

Each briefing features:

- Screening of 'UNRWA Goes to War' & a new UNRWA film shot during November.
- Comments from: Dr. Arnon Gross (UNRWA textbook reviewer), Lt. Col (res) Jonathan Ha Levi (who documents the terrorist takeover of UNRWA

schools), and Bassam Eid, (Director, Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group).

The new film, UNRWA GOES TO WAR, from CFNEPR:

<https://youtu.be/LaaslaZk6mw>

<http://www.jewishpress.com/indepth/analysis/behind-the-news-in-israel-david-bedein/unrwa-reform-through-nations-that-donate-to-unrwa/2014/11/05/>

### **US embassy officials at the Knesset Met Experts on UNRWA**

*David Bedein, January 26, 2016*

Last week, our agency facilitated an informal briefing for US embassy officials at the Knesset, with experts on the subject of UNRWA policies. The following letter to the US Ambassador to Israel presents five requests for UNRWA policy change. The letter was signed by MK Bezalel Smotrich and staff.

Hon. Daniel Shapiro, U.S Ambassador To Israel

Dear Mr. Shapiro,

It was an honor to host the informal briefing for the delegation from the US embassy on the subject of UNRWA policies on January 20, 2016. We thank you for your cooperation. The United States, as the largest donor nation to UNRWA, can perform an essential role in the advancement of UNRWA policies that will better the lives of the five million descendants of refugees from the 1948 war who live within or contiguous to UNRWA facilities. In that context, we cordially ask the US government and the US Congress to consider the following UNRWA policy initiatives:

1. Audit all funds, which flow to UNRWA, which operates on a 1.2 billion USD budget. The lack of a current UNRWA audit allows for wasted resources, duplicity of services and an undesired flow of cash to Gaza based terror groups.
2. Introduce UNHCR standards to UNRWA, to advance refugee resettlement, which UNRWA officials do not now encourage. As UNRWA policy would now have it, permanent refugee settlement interferes with the “sanctity” of the UNRWA promise of the “right of return” to Arab villages that existed before 1948.

3. Cancel the new UNRWA curriculum, and delete schoolbooks, which now incorporate principles of Jihad, martyrdom and the right of return – in a UN school system, which is supposed to promote the UNRWA slogan of “Peace Starts Here.” An integral part of current UNRWA education in Gaza involves paramilitary training in Gaza based UNRWA schools. UNRWA schools, as a UN agency, should be required to demonstrate a commitment to UN principles of peace education. SEE: <http://israelbehindthenews.com/israel-and-jews-in-the-newest-palestinian-authority-pa-schoolbooks-taught-in-pa-and-unrwa-schools-de-legitimization-demonization-advocacy-of-violent-struggle-rather-than-peace-of-jihad-martyrdo/14346/>
4. Dismiss UNRWA employees affiliated with Hamas, in accordance with laws on the books in the US since 2003, which forbids aid to an agency that employs members of a designated FTO terrorist organization. These laws have been ignored by the US, even though Hamas overwhelmingly took over the UNRWA trade union in Gaza and the UNRWA Teachers Association in Gaza in successive elections, since 1999.

SECTION 2: CHAPTER 5 – UNRWA PERSONALITIES

**Grandi Now Head Of UNRWA, Boasts Anti-Israel Stance**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, February 10, 2010*

Jerusalem – An American citizen, Karen Abu Zayd, retired last week as the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), which services Palestinian Arab refugees from 1948 and their descendants.

Ms. Abu Zayd has been succeeded by a Spanish citizen, Filippo Grandi, who had been her lieutenant.

Mr. Grandi's inaugural letter to the UNRWA staff, dated Jan. 26, provides insight into his attitude toward Israel:

"I need not tell you how difficult this period is for the Palestinian people. We are all painfully aware of the counterproductive policies collectively punishing the people of the Gaza Strip; conscious decisions that have caused untold suffering and a dramatic deterioration in the lives of the population, in contravention of international law. One of my key priorities will be to continue to advocate strongly on behalf of the 1.5 million Gazans, and to do so not only until the end of the blockade and the occupation, but also until a just and lasting solution to the plight of the refugees is achieved."

"Despite some recent economic improvements for some, the lives of most Palestinians in the West Bank continue to be made almost impossible by obstacles, walls, movement limitations and other restrictions, and by the expanding threat of settler violence. For those residing in East Jerusalem, as I do, it is cause for daily anguish to watch the situation deteriorate rapidly under our very eyes, especially the ruthless evictions of Palestinians from their homes.

UNRWA will continue to stand with the affected families and all of those in need of our protection and will tirelessly lend our voice to their calls for justice.”

UNRWA’s mandate is purely humanitarian – however, the new UNRWA director has inaugurated his new role with a political stance that seems to be beyond his purview.



## CHAPTER 3 - HAMAS

### Section 3 – Chapter 1: Hamas and Gaza

#### **Red Lights & Green Lights: Weapons Control in the Palestine Authority?**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, March 31, 1997*

At a time when Hamas threatens more terror activity against targets throughout Israel, it may be instructive to note the extent to which the Palestine Authority directly licenses arms for Hamas instead of confiscating the latter's weapons.

The Cairo Accord, signed between the Israeli government and Arafat on May 4, 1994, established strict regulations for firearms possession in the PA, in an attempt to minimize terrorist attacks carried out by Palestinian groups and individuals opposed to the Oslo Accords. Arafat agreed to restrict the possession of firearms by ordering the PA to take three steps: disarm militias,

confiscate weapons, and issue gun licenses for pistols only to individuals demonstrating a need for them, and only with Israel's consent.

Arafat and the PA, however, have yet to implement that agreement, thus perpetuating a situation in which the ability of groups and individuals to carry out terrorist attacks remains undiminished.

For eleven months the PA sat idle. Only in April 1995, following the Islamic Jihad terror attack near Kfar Darom which took the lives of six Israelis and one American, did the PA announce a May 1995 deadline for turning in illegal weapons. Yet by the appointed deadline, only several dozen weapons had been relinquished by a small number of civilians.

IDF Lieut. Col. Shabak confirmed that the Palestinian police had only confiscated a few weapons by the deadline. These numbers pale in comparison to the total number of unlicensed weapons in the PA area of jurisdiction, which, while unknown, were estimated by Arafat himself as early as March 1995 to be more than 26,000.

Five militias under the PA's jurisdiction remain armed: Fatah Hawks, Hamas, the Islamic Jihad, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP). Not only has the PA refrained from taking steps to disarm these groups, but high ranking officials continue to state their refusal to do so.

Shortly after the signing of the agreement, Col. Jibril Rajoub, head of Arafat's Preventive Security Service said, "We sanctify the weapons found in the possession of the national factions which are directed against the occupation."

Echoing this sentiment only a year later, Palestinian Minister of Justice Freih Abu Middein, said the Palestinian police would not disarm Hamas or the Islamic Jihad. A senior Hamas official confirmed that the PA had not demanded their disarmament and said "the PA is not asking us to disarm, just to report to it."

Meanwhile, the Palestinian Liberation Army police force continues to issue licenses for automatic weapons and gun permits to well-known members of terrorist organizations. Both Shabak (Israel's General Security Services, the GSS) and the Palestinian Police commander in Gaza, Gen. Ghazi Jabali, confirmed that the Islamic Jihad and Hamas leaders have received permits to carry weapons, Shabak noting, "most of the permits issued thus far have been given to members of the opposition parties." Shabak also acknowledged that some of these permits were for "light automatic weapons," a statement confirmed by the Palestinian Minister of Information. As if to allay fears, Abu Medein said that he had received assurances that Hamas and Islamic Jihad members would "keep their weapons at home."

The issue is not about whether or not Arafat turns "green lights" on or off for Hamas or the Islamic Jihad. Silently and seemingly unknown to the Israeli public, Arafat has heavily armed both terror groups, and they will decide when and how to use their weapons against Israeli targets.

Why is the Israeli public unaware that the Palestine Authority has been issuing weapons to Hamas and the Islamic Jihad, since May 1995? The story was reported in all of the Israeli media, - but only on the back pages and never as a lead item.

After all, nobody wants to disturb the good news of the peace process, let alone the momentum.

**An Examination of Public Statements to Dismantle Hamas or Only to Restrain its "Military Capability"**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, January 16, 2004*

This report carefully documents the public State Dept. position vs. the public White House position regarding the "rehabilitation" of Hamas, which could hardly be more different. With the same consistency that Boucher and Ereli (State Dept. Spokesmen) use to describe the "capabilities" of Hamas, White House Spokesman McClellan explicitly demands the dismantlement of Hamas, and reports that this is the President's position.

Among the potential explanations for this:

1. The president is aware of this distinction and has approved the policy. In such case, either:
  - a. The State Dept's position is designed to temporarily appease Arab/Islamic states (i.e. Saudis) as the price that must be paid for counter-terrorism cooperation.
  - b. McClellan's position is designed to distract an outraged public from the new policy of rehab for Hamas.

AND/OR

2. The president is not aware of and/or not in approval of, the State Dept.'s plans to send Hamas into rehab.

In the case of option #2, the State Dept's policy is the following:

1. To send a message to Arab states and Islamic terror groups: 'The president is only here for 4 years (8 at the most). We were here before him, and we'll be here after he leaves. We agree with you, he's a wild cowboy. He also doesn't know what goes on in our mid-level bureaucracy that never reaches his office. Just stick with us and we'll find a way to help pull you through.' It is, of course, also a sly message to EU states: 'See guys, we have more in common than you thought!' (However, my question is: By suggesting support for Hamas, isn't the State Dept. itself helping to undermine the PA? Why would they do that?)

AND/OR

2. The State Dept. is simply doing the job of American diplomacy: Laying the groundwork for continued relationship with whomever takes power in the future, so that relations with a group/nation are maintained even when the leadership changes. (It is possible, then, that the President has approved of this). In this case, the State Dept. has astutely noted that the PA is on the fritz, and that Hamas & Co. are riding higher. Therefore, State Dept. is simply hedging bets and playing an even hand. If the PA disintegrates and Hamas takes effective control, State Dept. will insist on maintaining relations/contact with Hamas (which will probably just take over the PA, possibly without even renaming it).

The key point: By endorsing Hamas, the State Dept. is saying that no matter who controls the Palestinians, the State Dept. will endorse a Palestinian state anyway. The PA/PLO is now no longer the only suitable authority to rule/establish a Palestinian state. The Palestinian people deserve a state no matter what, and no matter who runs it. In other words, Hamas is now conceptually simply another political group vying for control over a "country". That country is real inasmuch as it is comprised of the Palestinian people. In other words, the State Dept. has already effectively declared a "State of Palestine." The only question for them is which political party exercises the most control over it.

"USER'S GUIDE" The statements from the White House (specifically McClellan, and sometimes Bush) come at the end of the document, after all of the quotes from State Dept. officials. These are not all of the quotes (by a longshot!), just some of what I feel are the most critical excerpts.

CRITICAL NOTE: McClellan talks regularly about dismantling the terrorist groups and "infrastructure" of Al Qaeda, and also talks about dismantling the terrorist groups and "infrastructure" of Palestinian groups. It seems that when he says "dismantling terrorist infrastructure" he means the same thing whether it's about al-Qaeda or about the Palestinians. Obviously very different from the State Dep't interpretation of "infrastructure."

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

Note two fascinating interviews in particular: On July 1, and July 2, 2003, Powell did interviews with two conservative anchors. One was Brit Hume on FOX News, and the other was with Sean Hannity on ABC Radio (who also works for FOX News). In BOTH interviews, Powell inserted this idea of “dismantling capabilities” and NEITHER of the hosts noticed it.

Conclusion: The hosts were not sensitive enough to realize what Powell is proposing, AND the very notion of rehabilitating Hamas is so foreign to them that they could not have even conceived of it. Additionally, this was almost certainly a trial balloon effort by Powell to see if popular conservative commentators would catch-on to the plan. Neither did. Yet.

Note: In this paper:

“Sec. Powell”: Denotes a Statement by U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell

“Mr. Boucher”: Denotes a Statement by U.S. State Department Spokesman Amb. Richard Boucher

“Mr. Philip Reeker”: Denotes a Statement by U.S. State Department Deputy Spokesman Amb. Philip Reeker

“Q.” or “Question:” Denotes a question or statement by a journalist.

June 6, 2003

Mr. Boucher: We will work closely with them to ensure that groups like Hamas cannot conduct terrorist and violent action. We’ve always said it’s not just a matter of what they say — they say or don’t say, it’s not a matter of what they promise or don’t promise, it’s not a matter of what they say they will or they won’t do, it’s a matter of what they can and cannot do. And we all need to work to make sure that they cannot carry out these kinds of — this kind of violent action that they’ve taken in the past.

Question: Richard, is it your assessment that under present conditions, Prime Minister Abu Mazen could, in fact, take any decisive action to disarm and disband Hamas and Islamic Jihad?

Mr. Boucher: I would say that he is — he and his security people themselves have said that they think there are actions that they can take to help quell the violence; that they are committed to those actions, you heard him explain, not just for the sake of the peace process, but also for the sake of establishing a single Palestinian Authority that actually had authority and didn’t have to fight rivaled armed groups in order to maintain its status as a government, in order to build a Palestinian state the Palestinians want.

It's not a matter of what they decide to do today or do tomorrow, or declare today or declare tomorrow. It's what they can do. And eventually we have to find a process that's going to eliminate their ability to carry out violent acts, because otherwise we're going to have to deal with this on a day-to-day basis, what — how they feel when they wake up in the morning.

June 12, 2003

Mr. Boucher: The point in this situation is the violent groups; the violent groups — Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad — they need to be stopped. There are things the Israelis can do, there are things the Palestinians can do, there are things the Arabs can do. And we all need to be working to stop those violent groups from carrying out these kind of activities.

Mr. Boucher: The it's important for everybody to do what they can to stop the ability of these groups to carry out violence. We've made clear that they need to be their capabilities need to be stopped.

June 13, 2003

Mr. Boucher: [1]f we're going to end with the violence at some point, we have to see all the parties cutting off money, cutting off support, cutting off the ability to operate, cutting off the ability of violent groups to challenge the authority that needs to be vested in the Palestinian Authority, in the new government.

June 16, 2003

Mr. Boucher: A cease-fire is a step along the way to dismantling their abilities, may be a good idea. It may be a step along the way. But that's about as much as I can describe to you about it.

Q. So that Hamas, in effect, should be involved in its own dismantling, though.

Mr. Boucher: I'm not going to comment further on this. I think I've explained our position on this. I don't want you to go making assumptions about the word "cease-fire." You'll have to ask the parties that.

**Hudna, Hamas and the Continued Armed Struggle**  
*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, December 3, 2004*

Over the past three weeks, since the death of Yasser Arafat, rumors have been rampant about a major breakthrough with the Islamic Hamas organization.

On Friday, December 3rd, 2004, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency went so far as to state in its headline article that Hamas had proclaimed that it was ready to enter into an era of “reconciliation” with the state of Israel.

This impression was left because two weeks ago, after Israel freed a Hamas cleric, Sheikh Hasan Yusef, from jail, the freed prisoner declared that Hamas would accept a long-term “hudna” in exchange for the establishment of a Palestinian Arab state on all lands that Israel acquired after the 1967 war. That would mean Israel’s withdrawal from the Old City of Jerusalem, the closure of the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv road, and the dismantling of Israel’s civilian and military presence in Judea, Samaria (the West Bank) and Gaza. Sheikh Yusef stated to the Israeli media that the “hudna” that he suggested would last for ten years.

Yet “hudna,” often mistranslated as a “ceasefire” or armistice, connotes no more than a temporary respite in the war between Islamic forces and non-Islamic forces.

The authoritative Islamic Encyclopedia (London, 1922) defines “hudna” as a “temporary treaty” which can be approved or abrogated by Islamic religious leaders, depending on whether or not it serves the interests of Islam, and that a “hudna” cannot last for more than ten years. The Islamic Encyclopedia mentions the Hdaybia treaty as the ultimate “hudna.” Arafat also referred to a hudna in his speeches when he would refer to the Oslo accords. In the words of the Islamic encyclopedia, “The Hdaybia treaty, concluded by the Prophet Muhammed with the unbelievers of Mecca in 628, provided a precedent for subsequent treaties which the Prophet’s successors made with non-Muslims. Muhammed made a hudna with a tribe of Jews back then to give him time to grow his forces then broke the treaty and wiped them out. Although this treaty was violated within three years from the time that it was concluded, most jurists concur that the maximum period of peace with the enemy should not exceed ten years since it was originally agreed that the Hdaybia treaty should last ten years.”

Hamas spokesman, Dr. Muhammad A-Zahar, held a press conference on Sunday, December 5th to clarify the Hamas position on the “hudna”.

A-Zahar, speaking to a crowded room of reporters in Gaza, insisted that “all discussions of ‘hudna’ have taken place with the leadership of the Palestinian Authority in one context — expelling the Jews from all of ‘Palestine.’”

A-Zahar stated, “The strategy of Hamas is the liberation of all lands of Palestine. This is a well-known strategy. We believe in the liberation of all lands of Palestine, as an order from the Koran. As we achieve this reality, we must go through several stages and sustain as few casualties as possible. Yet we will

not give up on our goal to return of all of the Palestinian people to all of our land.”

### **PLO/PA Link**

One should not assume that Hamas acts in a vacuum and without coordination with the PLO and the Palestinian Authority.

When I covered the Peres-Rabin-Arafat Nobel Peace Prize ceremony in Oslo in December, 1994, I asked Yasser Arafat at his press conference about what he was going to do about Hamas, given the fact that then prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and then-foreign minister Shimon Peres had given assurances in their press conference that Arafat would “crush Hamas.” Arafat’s terse answer was that “Hamas are my brothers. Don’t you understand that?”

A few months later, in May 1995, our agency covered another press conference with Arafat’s police chief in which he said that the PA was licensing the Hamas to carry weapons. And in December 1995, the Hamas and the PA came to a working agreement in Cairo that allowed Hamas to continue its “activities.”

Less than a year after the signing of the Oslo Accords, which called for a renunciation of violence, Jibril Rajoub, then head of Palestinian Authority Preventative Security Service in the West Bank, said in a lecture at Bethlehem University:

“We sanctify the weapons found in the possession of the national factions which are directed against the occupation... If there are those who oppose the agreement with Israel, the gates are open to them to intensify the armed struggle.”[1]

This was an early open acknowledgement of the way in which the PA would be playing both sides at the same time.

Nabil Sha’ath, a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council and presently a member of the PA Cabinet, is on record as saying, in 1994: “For us, we have a political relationship with Hamas, a brotherly relationship.[2]” When he made that statement he was reflecting an on-going interaction between the PA and Hamas that only a few experts were yet aware of. A year later, in 1995, a formal pact was established between Hamas and the PA. Article 12 calls on the PA to cease all preventive security, which means letting Hamas operate without PA interference. The agreement also gives Hamas a role in the PA government.

Yigal Carmon, now head of MEMRI and a former advisor on terrorism to Prime Ministers Rabin and Shamir, confirmed the reality of the Hamas-PA Cairo Agreement on January 7, 1996, when he wrote: “Two years of negotiations

between the PLO and Hamas concluded in an agreement a few days ago, formalized in a joint statement.”

According to the 1994 Cairo Agreement, Hamas will continue to adhere to its principles regarding the struggle against Israel. It will continue to attack from anywhere it can, except Zone A (to avoid embarrassing the Palestinian Authority, which controls that zone). In return, the PLO, which does not consider itself responsible for areas outside Zone A, will not act against Hamas.

‘It will also release Hamas activists still in its jails, and demand that Israel release Hamas prisoners it is holding, particularly Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin.’

‘If the PLO-Hamas agreement was...about Hamas’s ceasing terror in favor of politics, there would be nothing wrong with it. But the pact contains the precise opposite: It allows Hamas to continue on its path of terror (outside Zone A), with the PLO refraining from action against it, in flagrant violation of the essence of its agreement with Israel.’

“Moreover, in recent media interviews, the chief PLO negotiator with Hamas has actually been encouraging Hamas to carry on along this path. Everyone must understand,” he keeps declaring, “that we are not the defenders of the Israeli entity [sic]. If Israel wishes to spare itself Hamas’s activities, it must speedily withdraw from the entire West Bank, and wherever it remains in the Gaza Strip.”

“His colleague, Hamas’s negotiator with the PLO, is in perfect agreement. Hamas activities, he proclaims, ‘strengthen’ the Palestinian Authority vis-à-vis Israel.”

“Thus the PLO-Hamas understanding and agreement takes shape. The two ‘complement each other,’ said Freih Abu Medein, in charge of PA justice, some months ago. Added Hamas’s Sheikh Mahmoud Zahar lyrically in Gaza:”Like the wings of a bird, they must work together.”

Is Yasser Arafat aware of the agreement his associates and Hamas have worked out together? The chief PLO negotiator reported: “I contacted [Arafat] and read the final communiqué to him, and he said, ‘Allah bless you, it’s good, it’s good.’”[3]

The first confirmation of overt anti-Israel cooperation between Hamas and the PA followed the next year when Palestinian Authority cabinet secretary Ahmed Abdel Rahman declared that:

“From now on, resisting settlements will not be through words, condemnation or complaints to the U.N. Security Council...All means should be considered.”

At a Gaza meeting, he announced establishment of a joint PLO-Islamic committee to resist settlement. [4]

Confirmation of the Hamas-PA connection has come from PLO political chief Farouq Al-Qaddoumi, who said on January 3, 2003:

“[Fatah was] never different from Hamas...Strategically, we are no different from it. [5]”

So much for the hoopla over a truce with Hamas that has the diplomats and news media in a whirl. The more things are said to change, the more they stay the same.

**Palestinian Authority Brings Hamas into Power in Gaza despite Israeli Legal Constraints Against Assets for Palestinians “Involved in Terror”**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, September 1, 2005*

The Palestinian Authority, the PA, has been bringing the Hamas terrorist organization into positions of authority, to formalize the group's influence in the Gaza Strip.

This, despite the fact that Sharon's government had added a specific clause to the final version of the retreat plan, which was ratified by the Israeli government on June 6th, 2004, after the April 18th version had been rejected by the Likud referendum on May 2nd, 2004 that mandated that all properties from evacuated Israeli communities would be transferred to “a third, international party which will put them to use for the benefit of the Palestinian population that is not involved in terror.”

See the PM Disengagement legislation in English at: <http://www.pmo.gov.il>

With such a legislated assurance that all assets given over to the PA would not be handed over to any terrorist organization, Prime Minister Sharon was able to win successive Knesset votes and survive numerous suits in the Israel High Court of Justice which challenged the legality of the Disengagement Plan.

Yet open sources in the Palestinian Authority, monitored by the Israeli government, contradict the assurance that Israel's real estate assets would not be handed over to terrorists.

In an interview with the popular “Islam On Line” website, on July 25th, 2005, at [www.islamonline.net](http://www.islamonline.net), three weeks before the disengagement, Palestinian

Authority Foreign Minister Nabil Shaath boasted that the United Arab Emirates had granted a 100 million dollar grant to transform one of the evacuated settlements into a housing project that would honor suicide bombers and, indeed, provide housing for the children of suicide bombers.

Meanwhile, Wafa – Palestinian Official News Agency confirmed on August 24th, 2005 ( <http://www.wafa.pna.net>) that the Hamas terrorist organization would indeed receive these assets, quoting senior Hamas leader Yunis al-Astal as saying that he had been assured that “The colonies’ lands” will indeed be awarded to the “families and relatives of the martyrs (shouhada),” in honor of their suicide bombing attacks against Israel.

At the same time, the Palestinian Authority has raised Hamas’s profile in the official media that is tightly controlled by the PA.

Reports in PA newspapers and other official media have highlighted the rising prominence of Hamas and its expanded role in the wake of the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip.

Perhaps the most important step was the PA agreement to share authority with a Hamas in a working committee that was formed together with contained the PA’s dominant Fatah Movement. [1]

That committee was established to monitor the Israeli withdrawal and the Palestinian takeover of areas of the Gaza Strip evacuated by the Jewish State.

The decision was regarded as one of the most important in the PA’s new policy of bringing Hamas into power.

This new committee’s responsibility is to review all information and all PA plans for the Israeli areas of the Gaza Strip, and to access the \$500 million in international funds allocated for development of the area. [2]

The most telling sign of Hamas’s power was not the committee itself. It was where Fatah and Hamas met to decide on the panel. The meeting took place on August 13 at the home of Hamas spokesman and titular leader Mahmoud A-Zahar in Gaza City. [3]

Al Zahar has become to the Palestinian Authority what Hizbullah secretary-general Hassan Nasrallah is in Lebanon — the leading non-state actor.

“The Palestinian Authority has the right to administer the land [evacuated by Israel] after consulting with the committee, which consists of representatives of the national and Islamic factions,” A-Zahar said.

A-Zahar has become a most important figure in Palestinian politics.

Unlike PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas, A-Zahar does not occupy a daily presence in the PA media. But when he appears, A-Zahar's views are given a prominence that rivals none.

PA dailies have been either quoting A-Zahar directly or reprinting the interviews that he gives to other Arab media.

Perhaps the most important was the interview that A-Zahar gave to the London-based A-Sharq Al Awsat daily on August 18th, as Israel was evicting its citizens out of its settlements.

The interview was reprinted the following day in Al Ayyam, a newspaper owned by the PA and edited by a leading Fatah operative.

In that interview, A-Zahar outlined Hamas's strategy of maintaining attacks against Israel until its destruction.

A-Zahar said his movement would seek to destroy the 1993 Oslo Accords between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The publication of Hamas's platform in a Fatah-aligned newspaper would have been unthinkable even a year ago.

The Hamas platform declared that the PA had failed in its attempt to force the Islamic movement to end attacks against Israel or surrender Hamas weapons.

A-Zahar said that Interior Minister Nasser Yusef sought to confront Hamas operatives in the United Nations Jabalya refugee camp north of the Gaza City with armored vehicles, "But he quickly realized that he could not resolve the situation through military means," A-Zahar said. "Now, they seek dialogue, which we welcome."

A-Zahar came across in the interview as the leader of Palestinian "Jihad", or holy war.

He stressed that Israel's withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and northern West Bank would influence the Arab and Muslim world. He said the Israeli withdrawal would galvanize the Sunni insurgency in Iraq and the Taliban and Al Qaida campaign in Afghanistan.

A-Zahar said Israel did not choose to withdraw from the Gaza Strip.

Instead, A-Zahar emphasized, Hamas missiles, mortars and boobytrapped tunnel drove the Israeli military out of the area. The message was consistent with that of Abbas who talked of jihad, or holy war, in the struggle against Israel, but had stressed that armed resistance was no longer necessary after the Israeli withdrawal. "[Hamas] wants to spread the culture of resistance," A-Zahar said in a reference to suicide strikes. "We will enter the settlements and soil

Israel's dignity with our feet. We will stand on the ruins of the Israeli settlements and tell our people we have won."

A-Zahar hasn't been the only Hamas official given major publicity in the PA media. Sheik Hassan Yusef, regarded as the leader of Hamas in the West Bank, was given prominence in an interview with Al Hayat Al Jadida, the most ardent of pro-Fatah dailies.

Again, Yusef reiterated the Hamas position that the movement would not surrender its weapons to the PA after the Israeli withdrawal.

Instead, Yusef said the PA, including Abbas, never raised such a demand in meetings with the movement. The Hamas leader said the two sides would continue to coordinate.

"There are no moderates or extremists in Hamas," Yusef said. "Our coordination with the PA has not been severed and talk of disarmament was not proposed."  
[4]

In essence, Hamas has become a full-fledged partner of the PA — on par or even beyond that of Fatah. Hamas's activities are deemed as legitimate and important. Indeed, PA-owned newspapers report on Hamas in greater detail and with greater prominence than Fatah.

The best example of the new PA policy was highlighted in Hamas preparations for the Israeli withdrawal.

All of the three PA-aligned dailies [5] have reported on Hamas rallies to mark the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip. The reports have been prominently placed in all of the dailies and often include photographs.

As a result, readers of PA newspapers now learned of Hamas rallies throughout the Gaza Strip and West Bank.

All of these rallies were described as "huge" and included photographs of masked Hamas operatives in dune buggies in Nablus. [6]

In contrast, coverage of Fatah activities in the Gaza Strip appeared marginal. Most important, articles on Fatah celebrations to mark the Israeli withdrawal did not include photographs, an acknowledgement that these events did not match the crowds at Hamas-sponsored marches.

Hamas, however, did not need the PA to get across the message of jihad.

Abbas enabled Hamas to maintain its own radio station in the Gaza Strip, where it is free to preach holy war against Israel. Indeed, Hamas has launched an intensive media campaign to win support for the continuation of the so-called "armed struggle" in the goal to destroy Israel. The campaign has also been

highlighted in the pan-Arab media as part of an effort to raise its profile in the months leading to the Palestinian Legislative Council elections, scheduled for January 2006.

The PA, which pledged to Israel and the United States to stop incitement, has not shut down the Hamas radio station. The PA has also not moved against Hamas's Internet site, which encourages terrorism. The Hamas website provided data to support a claim that it has been the most active Palestinian group in the war against Israel.

The website said Hamas had conducted 145 out of the 215 insurgency operatives in the Gaza Strip. [7]

At the same time, Hamas claimed to have killed 646 Israelis since September 2000. This marked the highest credit toll of any Palestinian insurgency group. Hamas has also used its website to promulgate anti-Semitism. [8]

Hamas's Voice of Al Aqsa radio station said the movement would continue to fire Kassam-class, short-range missiles toward Israel after its withdrawal. The message was accompanied by a song that praised Hamas operatives and called for "the raining of rockets on the settlers, preparing missile launchers and aiming them at settlements. Strap on the belts [of suicide bombers] and load them with TNT." [9]

Hamas has used Voice of Al Aqsa to encourage Palestinians to launch holy war against the United States and the West. The radio has broadcast interviews with Palestinian experts that asserted that the holy war against Israel would help what they term the global jihad.

"When all Palestine has been liberated, the weapon of the jihad warriors can be moved to a different region where Islamists will wage war for the sake of Allah against the Crusader [Western], enemies of Allah in Iraq, Chechnya and Afghanistan," Salih Al Raqab, a senior Hamas official and lecturer at the Gaza City-based Islamic University, said. [10]

Hamas's radio said the Islam's goal was to return Christians and Jews to their "natural state." This state promised by the Koran was one of "humiliation and poverty." [11]

For his part, Abbas adopted the language of Hamas and made it clear that the movement would be a partner in government. Abbas, who also refers to "jihad," saying that the PA has decided to allocate five percent of all government positions to the injured in the war against Israel. Given Hamas's leading role in the war, that would mean Abbas would reserve the largest portion of government jobs to the Islamic opposition. [12]

Abbas's policy of sharing power with Hamas, particularly regarding the future of the Gaza Strip, has not sat well with leading Fatah operatives, as they saw such a policy as encouraging Hamas to take over the Gaza Strip with its army of thousands of armed fighters. They said the PA-Hamas confrontation is one step away from blowing up.

Yayha Ribah, a leading Fatah operative, asserted that Egypt prevented a Hamas-PA war. Yet he declared that Hamas has been violating all of the agreements with the PA, including the "ceasefire" announced by Abbas in February 2005.

To the question as to whether the PA or the Hamas will control the Gaza Strip. Ribah said the situation in the area has become volatile.

"Today, we see a game being played in the arena, and it is a very dangerous game," Ribah said. "Any simple violation could lead to a real tragedy." [13]

At the time of the writing of this piece, after the Israeli government has removed its citizens from the Katif districts of Gaza, and before Israel hands over any assets to the Palestinian Authority, Israel Resource News Agency asked Israeli government spokespeople about enforcing clause seven of the disengagement plan, which forbids Israel from handing over any assets to Palestinians "involved in terror."

An Israeli government spokesman said in response that Israel would be "watching very carefully to monitor every move of the Palestinian Authority in this respect."

However, the Prime Minister's office altered the Hebrew version of the web site version of its disengagement legislation to present only the April 18th version of the disengagement plan, which did not include clause seven, which forbids Israel from handing over real estate assets to Palestinians who are "involved in terror."

So the question remains: will the government of Israel will enforce clause seven of the disengagement plan, to the letter of the law... as it removed every Jew, every Jewish home, every Jewish farm and every Jewish grave, when Israel carried out that aspect of the disengagement law, to the letter of the law.

Notes:

1. Al Hayat Al Jadida. August 14. Pg. 1
2. Al Ayyam. August 23. Pg. 1
3. Al Hayat Al Jadida. August 14. Pg. 1
4. Al Hayat Al Jadida. August 20

5. Al Quds is not owned by the PA, yet it is influenced by PA policy.
6. Al Hayat Al Jadida. August 23
7. The data was supplied by Hamas's military wing Izzedin Kassam on the Hamas site.
8. Hamas website contained a poster headlined: "Our Koran was right and your Talmud lied."
9. Voice of Al Aqsa on August 18
10. Voice of Al Aqsa. August 21
11. Voice of Al Aqsa broadcast on August 19
12. Al Hayat Al Jadida. August 21
13. Al Hayat Al Jadida. August 14

### **Hamas Members Undergoing Secret Military Training In Iran**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, December 21, 2006*

In a development that has caused serious concern in Israel, dozens and perhaps hundreds of Hamas members have traveled in the recent period from the Gaza Strip to Iran in order to undergo a series of military training courses, modeled after the training that Hezbollah guerrillas from Lebanon have received over the past few years. The training could greatly improve the fighting capability of the Hamas members in case the IDF is forced to confront them face to face inside the Gaza Strip territory.

The massive training being undergone by the Hamas operatives is a new and significant stage in the support being extended by Iran to Hamas. It should be noted that in the past, despite Iran's support of Hamas in principle, the relations between the Palestinian organization and the Persian Gulf country were chilly. Among other reasons, this is due to the fact that Hamas is a movement that belongs to the Sunni stream of Islam, while Iran is a Shiite country. However, according to information that has been building up in the security establishment, over the past weeks all the barriers have been removed, and the aid that Iran extends to Hamas is becoming almost as massive as the scale in which Iran funds Hezbollah's activity in Lebanon.

An expression of these improved relations could be seen last week, when the Palestinian prime minister from Hamas, Ismail Haniya, visited Tehran and

declared that that “Iran is our hinterland.” And indeed, the Iranians are funding Hamas on a scale of tens of millions of dollars, and the fact that Haniya was forced – at Israel’s demand – to relinquish a suitcase with \$35 million that he had received from the Iranians in order to pay his men salaries, only illustrates this.

Beyond the economic and moral support given by Iran to Hamas, the security establishment has been concerned in recent days mainly by the military aid. According to the information that has been gathered, Hamas is taking advantage of the fact that a cease-fire has been declared in the Gaza Strip to prepare for a confrontation with the IDF, which both sides believe will take place sooner or later, and probably sooner. As part of its preparations, Hamas is working on improving the precision and firepower of the Kassam rockets in its possession, and is manufacturing a stock of hundreds of Kassam rockets. Now the new and worrying development has arrived, in which many of the organization’s members are traveling for basic training courses in Iran.

In the past, only a few Hamas operatives were trained in Iran. This is as opposed to hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of Hezbollah guerrilla in Lebanon who underwent long courses in Iran. In these courses, they trained and gained experience in firing anti-tank rockets, staging ambushes against IDF forces and conducting urban warfare. The large core of fighters that trained in Iran passed on its knowledge to Hizbullah guerrillas who did not undergo this training. The IDF attributes the high level of combat displayed by the Hezbollah operatives in Lebanon, to a large degree, to the training they received on Iranian soil or from Iranian experts in Lebanon. Therefore, Israeli officials are now very concerned at the possibility that hundreds of Hamas members will undergo similar training. According to assessments, Hamas has taken advantage of the fact that Israel no longer controls the crossings at the exit from the Gaza Strip in order to send its men to training in Iran via Egypt.

While Hamas is already training its operatives, the special training planned by the IDF is still on paper. Security sources believe, “the more time Hamas has to prepare for a confrontation that could take place deep inside the Gaza Strip, the harder it will be to fight against it. Hamas is trying to emulate the Hezbollah model in Lebanon with precision.”

### **Israeli Officials: New Hamas Army Is Forming**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, December 27, 2006*

Israeli Military Intelligence Branch warns that Hamas is establishing a mini-army in the Gaza Strip and that within a year Israel will face dangers and threats which Israel has not yet known.

“Hamas is in contact with elements close to Syria and Iran and is working on operational plans,” IDF Intelligence Research Department Director Brig. Gen. Yossi Baidatz reported to the Israeli Knesset Parliament’s Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. He added: “If this situation continues, we will have to think about how the theater will look a year from now.”

“Hamas activists are working on operational plans, digging tunnels, constructing blast-proof rooms, and are working with plans from the Hezbollah print-shop,” he said. “This ground infrastructure will enable them to engage in sniping, continuous fire, planting of bombs and other activities, with greater effectiveness.

A year from now the threat will be significantly greater than today, because Hamas is using the current lull to build up its forces. Brig. Baidatz added that Hamas is interested in continued quiet: “Hamas is deriving benefit from the relaxation itself. It has gained a breathing space, which it is using to strengthen itself. Hamas is interested in extension of the calm to Judea and Samaria.”

Brig. Gen. Sami Turjeman, director of the Operations Department at the Israeli Army General Staff, warned: “In a few months’ time we will be faced in the Gaza Strip with a military capability which we have not known up till now, especially in the area of anti-tank rockets. Hamas personnel have been training in a wide range of skills: sniping, explosives, installing blast-proof walls and roofs, and fortifications. What is being set up there is nothing less than a professional fighting force, and what is taking shape is a comprehensive concept with semi-military capabilities which we have not encountered before.”

### Iran Seeks To Form Hamas-Led Army

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, March 15, 2007*

Israel's intelligence community has determined that Iran launched a crash program to form a Hamas-led Palestinian army.

Iran has been training up to 500 Hamas operatives as combat commanders and soldiers. They said the Hamas fighters would serve as the core of any Hamas-led Palestinian army over the next year.

"When you have 500 people trained in modern warfare, with advanced equipment, they can serve as trainers for a full-sized army," an official said.

On Tuesday, Israel Security Agency Director Yuval Diskin said Hamas has sent hundreds of fighters to Iran for a military training course. Diskin told the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee that the Hamas fighters were receiving "high-quality training" that would last about six months.

"Hundreds of Hamas members have been sent to Iran for training, and not training periods of a week, two weeks or a month, but for long-term, high-quality training," Knesset member Zvi Hendel, a member of the committee, quoted Diskin as saying.

Diskin said the Iranian plan envisioned the formation of a Palestinian army by 2009, with missiles that could reach targets throughout southern Israel. He said Hamas has been training forces the size of companies and battalions in the Gaza Strip.

At the same time, Diskin said, Hamas has sought to build a military infrastructure in the West Bank. The ISA chief said Hamas, with Iran's help, wants to assemble Katyusha-class rockets in the West Bank that could strike Tel Aviv and other major cities in central Israel.

"If these weapons leak from the Gaza Strip to Judea and Samaria [West Bank], it means that every Israeli city – Tel Aviv and Jerusalem – could come under possible threat of projectile weapons," Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee Chairman Tsahi Hanegbi said. "This is not the case because the Israeli military is in Judea and Samaria."

Officials said Iran has already trained scores of Hamas fighters for a Palestinian army directed by Tehran. They said the army would be comparable in skills to

the Iranian-sponsored Hezbollah and contain Special Forces, logistics, engineering and anti-tank squads.

“Iran and Hamas got married in 2001,” Internal Security Minister Avi Dichter, Diskin’s predecessor, said. “Iran tried to build and base this coordination through Hezbollah. But Hamas refused and insisted on direct Hamas links to the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps and the Iranian Intelligence Ministry.”

The key capabilities of the Hamas force has been weapons tunnels and improvised explosive devices. Officials said Hamas has built a network of tunnels throughout the Gaza Strip.

“The picture drawn for us is grave,” Knesset Parliament member Yuval Steinitz, deputy chairman of the committee, said.

Steinitz claims that Palestinian Authority Chairman Mahmoud Abbas has been cooperating with the Hamas military effort. The Israeli parliamentarian said Abbas plays the “good cop with whom we talk peace while over his shoulder stands Hamas, the bad cop.”

“I call on the government to launch Operation Defensive Shield-2 in the Gaza Strip,” Steinitz said, in reference to the monthlong Israeli operation in the West Bank in 2002.

### **New Group Claims Attacks On Internet Cafes**

A new Islamic group has claimed responsibility for bombings of Internet cafes in the Gaza Strip.

A group named “Swords of Truth in the Land of Steadfastness” claimed responsibility for the bombings of at least two Internet cafes in the Gaza Strip in March. The group said the current campaign has targeted what it termed “the symbols of corruption in the Gaza Strip.”

“The group will not make any concessions regarding the punishment for violations of God’s laws,” Abu Shueib Al Maqdisi, identified as the commander of the group, said on Monday.

The statement marked the first claim of responsibility for what PA security officials acknowledged was an al-Qaida-aligned campaign against Western influences in the Gaza Strip. Over the last month, Internet cafes and stores that sold Western music – several of them believed owned by senior PA officials – have been bombed or their Palestinian owners abducted.

“We will reach all those who were involved with the individuals who were punished, because we have proof and their confessions,” Al Maqdisi said.

“Their rank will not protect them from punishment.”

The Islamic group said Internet cafes would be forced to close after 10 p.m. The statement described them as houses of prostitution.

Al Maqdisi also warned women in Gaza Strip universities. He said his group has collected a list of girls deemed “sluts and corrupting others at the universities.”

The statement said these girls would be “punished” unless their families did so first. The group did not elaborate.

Palestinian Authority officials said warnings by so-called al-Qaida-aligned groups have been issued over the last year.

### **Iran, Syria Sign Defense Pact**

Iran and Syria have signed an agreement to expand military and defense cooperation.

The two countries have signed a memorandum of understanding for what officials said included military and defense cooperation. The MoU was signed on Monday in Damascus by visiting Iranian Defense Minister Mostafa Najjar and his Syrian counterpart, Hassan Turkmani.

An official statement said the two countries would increase cooperation on military issues. The statement did not elaborate.

An Iranian source told the official Kuwait News Agency that the MoU marked a milestone in the effort to enhance military cooperation with Syria. He said the agreement would pave the way for a regional defense system headed by Iran and Syria.

Earlier, officials said Najjar and Turkmani discussed joint arms production and military training. They said Iran has offered to significantly increase efforts to bolster the Syrian military in any war against Israel.

**How the Hamas-led Palestinian Regime will Gain International Legitimacy:  
By Recognizing Agreements Never Ratified by the PLO**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, March 17, 2007*

On Thursday, Hamas, formally defined by the U.S. and almost all Western nations as an Islamist terrorist organization, formally assumed the reigns of the provisional government of the Palestinian Authority, without relinquishing its principles.

The expectation is that it will gain full international legitimacy. All this without recognizing Israel or giving up terror.

The question remains: How will that come about?

In the platform of this new Palestinian government, there is a clause which states that the new government, led by Hamas and not by the PLO which had been ruling the Palestinian Authority until now, will not recognize Israel, yet that it will honor all agreements which the PLO ratified with Israel. This recognition carries a double meaning.

Indeed, the Oslo “declaration of principles” denounced violence and was publicly signed by Yassir Arafat and Mahmoud Abbas on the White House lawn on September 13, 1993.

However, what received very little press attention was that it was never ratified by the PLO. When the Oslo agreement was brought to a vote by the PLO executive on October 6, 1993, there was no quorum and no ratification, and it was subsequently never ratified by the PLO.

The other agreement that the PLO made with Israel as part of the Oslo Accord involved the absolute PLO obligation to cancel the PLO covenant, which calls for the destruction of Israel.

Indeed, the PLO covenant was discussed in two special sessions of the Palestine National Council on April 24, 1996 and on December 14, 1998.

The latter session was in the presence of President Clinton. However, the PLO never canceled its covenant, which remains its charter – to obliterate the state of Israel.

So when the new Palestinian government declares that it will abide by agreements that were ratified by the PLO, that will not include recognition of Israel, denunciation of violence or cancellation of the PLO covenant which calls for Israel's liquidation.

Since the nations of the world and the international press perceive that the PLO agreed to both the "declaration of principles" and the cancellation of the PLO covenant, the Hamas government's recognition of the PLO's previously signed agreements with Israel will be misunderstood as a gesture of reconciliation and progress toward Middle East peace.

### **The Gaza Coup**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, June 25, 2007*

Three countries knew about Hamas's planned coup in Gaza in advance and supported it: Iran, Syria and Qatar. The coup was meticulously planned by Hamas' military wing. The planning was completed in the course of a meeting that was held a few days before D-Day in Damascus. These are some of the new data that Western intelligence officials and diplomats have learned about Hamas' takeover of the Gaza Strip.

On this very same issue, the U.S. administration has voiced, in certain circles, its outrage over a telephone conversation that Director of Egyptian Intelligence General Omar Suleiman held in 2007 with Ismail Haniyeh, the dismissed Hamas prime minister in Gaza. The Americans perceived the Egyptian behavior as a clear breach in the international campaign to isolate Hamas. Western diplomats said that: "not only did the Egyptians not deliver the goods in Gaza, not only have they not prevented arms from being smuggled for Hamas into the Gaza Strip, they are now also talking to them and granting them legitimacy."

The final planning meeting of the coup was held, as noted, in Damascus, where Hamas leader Khaled Mashaal resides. According to the above-cited intelligence, senior officials in Hamas' military wing sneaked out of Gaza via

Rafah and into Egypt, from whence they continued to Syria. These Hamas officials subsequently returned to Gaza to supervise the execution of the plan. Iran footed the bill for the operation completely. It provided large amounts of money and trained the Hamas combat troops. This Iranian activity is still discernible.

Syria, as noted, hosts the senior Hamas leadership in its capital.

The surprise was Qatar, which is considered to be pro-West and has some relations with Israel. The mounting assessment among Western intelligence officials is that Qatar has given Hamas a financial and public umbrella by means of Al-Jazeera. Qatar, which is a member of the U.N. Security Council, recently stymied an initiative by the United States for sweeping international recognition of Abu Mazen and the Fayad government. Qatar foiled that initiative along with Indonesia, Russia and South Africa.

Palestinian Authority Chairman Mahmoud Abbas has begun to exact a price from the Fatah leadership that failed in Gaza. In a presidential order that he issued, General Rashid Abu Shbak, the commander of the internal Palestinian security services in the Gaza Strip was dismissed. Abbas did not explain why he fired Abu Shbak, but Fatah officials said that this was punishment for his failed performance in the events of the last number of weeks in Gaza. One assessment is that while Abbas will push Abu Shbak out of his inner circle, he will appoint him as the PA's ambassador to Cairo. Abbas also dissolved the National Security Council, one of whose members was Ismail Haniyeh.

Hamas announced on June 22, 2007 that it had no intention of establishing an Islamic fiefdom in Gaza. "We neither want nor will we want an Islamic emirate, as Abbas said," said Khalil el-Khaya, a leading Hamas official in the Gaza Strip.

Mahmoud a-Zahar said in an interview to Der Spiegel that Hamas was liable to attack Fatah targets on the West Bank and to rescind the clemency that was given to Fatah officials in Gaza. Mahmoud a-Zahar, who is perceived in the Palestinian public as one of the key figures behind the violent take-over of Gaza by Hamas, said in the interview that Hamas would not resign itself to the wave of arrests by Abbas in the West Bank and would defend themselves with bombs, as they did against Israel in the course of the Intifada.

Meanwhile, the Israeli Army arrested the founder of Hamas' Iz a Din al-Kassam Brigades in the West Bank, Salah Arouri, who was freed from Israeli prison in March of 2007.

### **The Veil Replaces Jeans**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, June 25, 2007*

On June 15, 2007 Hamas took control, and the first signs that the Gaza Strip is turning into a fanatic Islamic emirate already can be seen.

Although Hamas has not yet issued explicit orders obligating women to wear long, modest dresses, many young women fear that such orders are on the way. "It looks like I will have to go out into the street with a head covering and not wear jeans anymore," Riham, 22, said sorrowfully. In the A-Rimal area, near the seashore, the women are already careful not to go out into the street with their hair uncovered.

Owners of Gaza Internet cafes, that have not yet been closed down, live in constant fear that armed men will blow up their establishments on the grounds that what happens there is counter to Islamic values.

There are no foreigners left in Gaza. Most diplomats and media representatives have fled. Walid, the owner of a 50-room hotel, watched helplessly as his guests left one by one. "A woman journalist from Poland did not hide the fact that she was afraid to go out into the street in jeans and without a head covering. Other reporters fled Gaza in terror without saying a word. We have been left with no source of income," he said sadly.

### **Report: U.S. Funding Hamas Groups**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, August 28, 2007*

A report by the Washington Institute for Near East Policy in September 2007 documents that the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has provided funds to institutions controlled by Hamas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in defiance of guidelines issued by President Bush and Congress.

The institute revealed that USAID failed to screen applicants for U.S. funding to ensure that they were not linked to Hamas and other groups on the State Department terrorist list.

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

“An aid organization by nature and design, USAID is focused more on dispersing aid than on vetting the partner and subpartner organizations through which that aid is distributed on the ground,” the institute said in a report entitled “Better Late Than Never: Keeping USAID Funds out of Terrorist Hands,” authored by former Treasury Department official Matthew Levitt.

Until 2003, USAID approved U.S. funding for charities in the West Bank linked to Hamas, the report said. The institute cited so-called charity committees in the West Bank towns of Hebron, Jenin, Kalkilya, Nablus and Tulkarm.

USAID relayed the unspecified funds despite a November 2001 memorandum sent by the FBI to the Treasury Department that warned against any such allocations. In March 2002, documents seized from Palestinian offices by Israel’s military exposed additional Hamas links to these charities.

In March 2007, Congress demanded an explanation for USAID’s allocation of more than \$140,000 to the Hamas-controlled Islamic University of Gaza. At that time, the State Department claimed that it was not violating the Treasury Department’s ban, citing an assessment by the U.S. Embassy and the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem that the Islamic University was “independent.”

“But the university’s extensive ties to Hamas were publicly available and well documented at the time USAID vetted it,” the report said. “Yet, only after congressional and media scrutiny exposed the taxpayer-funded awards to the Hamas-linked institution was USAID funding for the university terminated.”

The report also showed how USAID failed to sufficiently examine the background of applicants. In many cases, USAID lacked basic information on individuals and organizations, which hampered any screening effort.

“USAID did not even establish procedures to verify the accuracy of individual’s names, such as requiring some official identification document,” the report said.

In March 2006, USAID eliminated a requirement to periodically reevaluate aid recipients after initial clearance, the report said. Levitt, citing a study by the Government Accountability Office, wrote that USAID’s new policy ensured that the State Department would remain “unaware” of Hamas and other insurgency takeovers of Palestinian charities.

Under pressure from Congress, USAID has demanded that aid applicants provide details of principal officers and other employees.

“A truly robust system of vetting USAID partners is vital to promoting U.S. foreign policy and facilitating continued U.S. aid in places such as the West Bank and Gaza,” the report said.

### **Egypt's Failure To Prevent Arms Flow Equates To Supporting Hamas**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, August 28, 2007*

Egypt's failure to prevent the smuggling of weapons from the Sinai Peninsula into the Gaza Strip is a message that the country wants Hamas to succeed, Public Security Minister Avi Dichter told Army Radio on August 27, 2007.

"Any rational person – Israel or Palestinian – who witnesses the Egyptians' failure to act against arms smuggling can see that it is in their interest to strengthen Hamas."

The deputy head of the Shin Bet (the Israeli security service) told the cabinet on August 26, 2007 that 40 tons of explosives had been smuggled into Gaza since Hamas seized control in June. Thirteen of the 40 tons were smuggled since the beginning of August.

Dichter claimed that although Egypt had the capability to prevent the continued smuggling of weapons, it had not done so for seven years. "I assess the steps taken by the Egyptians as well as their available [intelligence] in the same way that I assess Israel's abilities. ... It is obvious that the Egyptians can make a more meaningful effort to put an end to this."

Sources close to the prime minister cited a halt to Egyptian operations aimed at thwarting the flow of illegal weapons into the strip as the reason for its increase.

Israeli security officials have also said that Cairo has failed to fulfill its end of an agreement signed two years prior in 2005, according to which Egypt was responsible for stopping the smuggling of weapons from its side of the Rafah border.

Meanwhile, Israeli security has also reported that Hamas has focused on increasing its imports of rocket-propelled grenades from Egypt for strikes against Israel.

Israeli security sources report that this increase in the weapons flow was said to have been coordinated with Hamas headquarters in Syria. Officials said Hamas headquarters ordered a major suicide bombing against Israeli civilians or troops in the West Bank.

### UK: Hamas Sanctuary

*David Bedein, Frontpage Magazine, August 30, 2007*

Just weeks after assuming the role of Middle East envoy on behalf of the US, Russia, the UN and the EU, outgoing British Prime Minister Tony Blair is facing his first serious test.

The Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC) in Herzelia, Israel, considered the “public face of Israeli intelligence,” has issued a scathing report wherein it accused Britain of being a “major source of publishing and distribution of Hamas incitement.” As Britain’s former leader, Blair ultimately bears the responsibility for allowing the terrorist press to operate freely on his watch.

But the problems go beyond Blair. The IICC report notes that even today Britain “does not stop the distribution of hateful propaganda against Israel and the West and publications glorifying suicide terrorism.” The report moreover notes “British authorities have yet to take effective action to put an end to the exploitation of their country by Hamas for spreading incitement...” Declassified and distributed to the intelligence community and to the media this week, the report further points out that while the Hamas “media empire“ is “guided from Damascus and assisted by Arab countries,” it also has a “branch operating in Britain and uses it for printing and distribution of Hamas publications.”

Prominent among these publications is the monthly *Filastin al-Muslimah*. Hamas's major publication since 1981, it is available in paper edition and on the Internet. The monthly is about what one would expect from a publication whose editorial line is directed by the Hamas leadership in Damascus. Spreading incitement and hatred against Israel and the West in the spirit of Hamas's ideology, it preaches the justice of terrorism and glorifies its perpetrators. From Britain, it is distributed worldwide in both its on-line and hard copy editions. To avoid unwanted attention from British security services, *Filastin al-Muslimah* stopped publishing its address in Britain on the front page at some point during 2004. However, it is still published with impunity.

Directly associated with the monthly is a London-based publishing house called *Filastin al-Muslimah Publications*. In the past, the publishing house has printed books commemorating terrorists responsible for planning and initiating suicide attacks. Books on senior figures in the Hamas operative-terrorist wing -- such

as Salah Shehada, Yahya Ayyash, and Imad Aqel -- are typical of the kind of works in which the publishing house specializes.

In this context, it should come as no surprise that one of the major founders of the Filastin al-Muslimah publishing house is Ghassan Daw'ar, hailed by Hamas as "the historian of the intifada" (i.e., the campaign of terrorism against Israel) and "the historian of the shahids" (i.e., suicide bombers). In addition to writing books about Yahya Ayyash and Imad Aqel, two of the most prominent architects of Hamas's suicide bombings, Daw'ar also writes articles for Hamas's main website (palestine-info). In 1999, he was arrested in Jordan with other Hamas leaders. According to the Hamas website, the cause of his arrest was his involvement in a committee that objected to the normalization of relations with the "Zionist enemy." Though it now avoids publishing its address in Britain, the publishing house continues to advocate Hamas's terrorist cause -- apparently without interference from British authorities.

Not all these publications are aimed at adults. For the junior jihadist, there is the online bi-weekly, Al-Fateh. Combining articles and illustrations, it is geared towards children, whom Hamas considers a highly significant target audience. In particular, Al-Fateh is designed to inculcate in children support for radical Islam, violence and terrorism. Al-Fateh is published in London, a fact openly stated on its homepage at [www.al-fateh.net](http://www.al-fateh.net). Al-Fateh's editor-in-chief and founder is Sami al-Halabi, though according to the report, this is the pen name of Abdallah al-Tantawi, a senior figure in the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood in the mid-1990s (Hamas is the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood).

The IICC report asserts that Hamas's use of Britain as a major source of publishing and distribution of incitement is "hardly coincidental." On the contrary, "there are several factors at play: first, the policy of the British government, allowing Hamas (and radical Islamic elements in general) a relative freedom of action on British territory, particularly in the sphere of propaganda; second, the existence of a network of Arab/Muslim supporters in Britain; third, the technical ability to produce high quality publications in Britain and distribute them across the globe."

The fact that these publications have maintained a presence in the UK during the Blair government's decade in office suggests that Blair was ready to tolerate the presence of radical Islam -- even after the deadly Islamic attacks on London on July 7, 2005. Will Blair in his new role ignore Hamas's murderous rhetoric?

If he hopes to have any credibility as a negotiator in the Middle East, it is a question that he will have to answer.

### **Hamas Said To Be Training In Judea and Samaria**

*Israel Resource Review, September 25, 2007*

Hamas's influence is not limited to the Gaza Strip. The Middle East News Line confirmed in September 2007 that Hamas has been secretly training paramilitary forces in Judea and Samaria, also known as the West Bank.

Palestinian Authority (PA) security sources said Hamas' Executive Force has been training in combat and weapons skills in several areas of the West Bank.

They said the Executive Force, secretly formed in the West Bank in 2007, has selected the Judean Desert south of Bethlehem for training.

"Hamas has trained units of the EF for attacks on Fatah and the PA, and they have been equipped with weapons and radios," a PA security source said.

These sources said PA intelligence has tracked EF units south and east of Bethlehem. They said scores of Hamas fighters were found training in remote desert areas controlled by Israel.

"The Israeli military doesn't patrol these areas, so they are wide open for Hamas," the source said. "Most of the training is done without live fire, but there is plenty of physical exercises as well as instructions on how to fight PA police at street demonstrations."

Hamas was believed to be in control of most of the villages around Bethlehem and Hebron in the West Bank. The sources said Hamas has also been the dominant influence of 70 percent of mosques throughout the West Bank. PA security forces have arrested about 700 Hamas operatives between June and September 2007, about 150 of whom remained in detention as of September 2007.

In response, Hamas spokesman Fawzi Barhoum called for a coup against the Palestinian Authority in Judea and Samaria. Mr. Barhoum warned against a Middle East conference in Washington in November 2007 and the prospect that PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas would be overthrown.

### **Palestinians Increase Mortar Range**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, October 7, 2007*

The Palestinians have succeeded in increasing the range of their mortar shell fire. This development became evident in the course of this past week.

During 2007, mortar shells landed near one of the kibbutzim in the Sdot Negev Regional Council, which had been believed out of mortar shell range. IAF helicopter gunships attacked the terror cell that was responsible for the mortar shellfire while it was in the midst of firing. The cell was positioned east of Gaza City. Palestinian sources reported that five Palestinians were injured in that attack, two of whom were said to be in serious condition. When IDF Southern Command officials measured the distance between the launching site and the point of impact it became evident that the launcher was positioned 4.2 kilometers away from the point of impact. Until then, the maximum range of mortar shellfire had been between 2.5 and 3 kilometers.

### **Hamas' New Headquarters: The Yard Of A Psychiatric Hospital In Gaza**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, February 27, 2008*

In addition to UN schools, Hamas terror leaders hid in the cellars of Shifa Hospital in Gaza on the assumption that Israel would not bomb it. During February 2009, Hamas set up new command headquarters in one of the buildings in the yard of a psychiatric hospital in Gaza under the same assumption that Israel will not attack a building in such a sensitive compound.

Security sources confirmed Hamas relocated more than 50 of its key locations of security forces. These are battalion, brigade and sector headquarters of the various security services. Each of the Hamas command headquarters were bombed in the course of Israel's Gaza Operation. Now each of these headquarters have moved into public buildings that were not damaged, such as hospitals, schools, kindergartens and mosques.

Shifa Hospital, which was used as a shelter by some of the Hamas leadership in the course of the operation, has again been drafted for this purpose, with sections of the Shifa hospital now being used as offices for Hamas' security

services.

### **Official Confirms Evidence Of Iranian Presence In Gaza**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, April 3, 2008*

Additionally, an examination of mortar shells fired at Netiv Haasara on the Gaza Strip border showed that they were manufactured by Iran.

These are mortar shells with standard-issue explosives, which have an effective range of about five miles, with a warhead of three pounds. A mortar shell of this type can cause more damage than a Kassam rocket.

This is not the first time Iranian rockets have been fired from the Gaza Strip. Israeli officials stated that the rocket supply was part of an increased Iranian involvement in the Gaza Strip, which is expressed in a supply of arms, equipment, money, experts and coaches. Security officials speculated that Iran was trying to build up Hamas' military strength in the south in a similar format to Hezbollah's force in the north.

The terror organizations, in particular Hamas, have made continuous attempts to kill or injure Israeli civilians and IDF forces, especially in the area adjacent to the Gaza security fence. The IDF will continue to operate along the security fence in order to prevent the terror organizations from operating near the fence, and to protect Israeli civilians living in the Western Negev.

### **Hamas Uses UNRWA Facilities For Rocket Production**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, April 17, 2008*

The Middle East Newslite has also confirmed that the Hamas regime in Gaza continues to use a UNRWA Palestinian Arab refugee camp for missile and rocket production. The Hamas regime as well as aligned militias have maintained missile and explosives production at the UNRWA Jabalya refugee camp in the northern Gaza Strip.

Weapons production in the Jabalya camp resumed after a major Israeli operation that destroyed scores of suspected weapons facilities in March 2008.

The U.S. government contributes 32 percent of the UNRWA budget. U.S. law forbids the transfer of foreign aid funds to any humanitarian facility that is involved in weapons production.

Congressmen Chris Smith (R-N.J.), Ileana Ros-Leitin (R-Fla.), Mark Kirk (R-Ill.) and Eliot Engel (D-N.Y.) have raised this issue in regards to UNRWA's allowance of their facilities to be used as training grounds for terrorists.

"We face a very delicate situation where the Hamas is using the citizens of Gaza as a protective vest," said IDF spokesman Brig. General Avi Benayahu, following the incident.

Israel's code of military ethics forbids Israel from firing into a civilian area, even if missiles have been fired from that area, so Hamas has transformed the Israeli military code of ethics into their latest human shield similarly to how the Hezbollah did in Lebanon, during the summer 2006 attacks on Israel, when Hezbollah fighters launched massive mortar attacks from the cover of Lebanese villages that were protected by Israel's military code of ethics.

### **Carter's Great Gaffe: Hamas Will Recognize Israel?**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, May 5, 2008*

After all the fighting and cease-fires Jimmy Carter dramatically reassured a packed crowd of diplomats and reporters in the beginning of May 2008 that Hamas would recognize the Jewish State.

"Hamas, apparently, is now ready to live at peace with Israel if a peace agreement is signed and ratified by the Palestinians, which would assure that the Palestinian state would be established in the areas taken by Israel in the 1967 war". Carter made his statement at the Israel Council of Foreign Relations at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem on April 28, 2008, following his extensive visits with Hamas terror leaders in Gaza, Egypt and Syria.

It didn't take long for Hamas to clarify their intentions. Two hours after Carter's speech was broadcast on Israel radio, Hamas leader Khaled Maschal, who had held extensive meetings with Carter in Damascus, denied that any such assurance had been made. Maschal, who had overseen Carter's talks with other Hamas leaders in Egypt and in Gaza, once again reaffirmed the Hamas commitment to liquidate the Jewish state. Not for the first time, the ex-president was left looking like a dupe of the terrorists.

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As a result of Carter's consorting with Hamas terrorists, a Michigan congressman proposed cutting off all federal funding for the Carter Center. The CARTER Act, introduced by U.S. Rep. Joe Knollenberg (D-Mich), would prevent any further federal aid to finance discussions and negotiations with terrorist groups, according to Knollenberg.

Meanwhile, Rep. Sue Myrick (R-N.C), a Republican congressional leader, called upon U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice to revoke Carter's passport. "Former President Carter has acted in contradiction of international agreements to isolate Hamas," said Myrick, the deputy Republican rep in the House. "He has acted in defiance of both United States policy and international policy."

### **Assessment: One Year Later, Hamas Is The Unchallenged Ruler Of Gaza**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, June 16, 2008*

In the single year since June 2007, Hamas has consolidated its position in the Gaza Strip and has become the sovereign authority. Hamas has captured the universities, the chambers of commerce, the news media, the public institutions and the Gaza population.

Although elected to its position of preeminence under American-sponsored elections in January 2006, Hamas imposes its hegemony by dictatorial powers that leave no room for insurrection or even expression of protest.

Meanwhile, Israel sells products to Gaza that keeps Gaza from falling into a humanitarian crisis.

The European Union pays for the fuel from the Israeli gasoline monopoly known as Dor Alon, and also covers the cost of the operation of the one power station in Gaza.

The health and education services are paid for by the PA in Ramallah, run by the Abbas/Fayyad government. The PA in Ramallah covers unemployment compensation for 78,000 unemployed people.

Iran covers the military expenses of the PA. At present the Hamas army has about 16,000 soldiers. According to a senior source in Israeli intelligence, the Hamas army is modeled on Hezbollah's military structure.

The latest weapons acquisitions consist of advanced Iranian intelligence facilities that were smuggled in from Sinai and installed in the Gaza Strip.

Many of the troops leave the Gaza Strip through the Rafah tunnels and are sent to Iran or Syria for military training.

Since it seized power in 2007, Hamas has turned the Gaza Strip into a huge armory, hundreds of its people have been trained in Iran, Lebanon and Syria, and when they came back they passed on their new military know-how to thousands of others in local training camps.

After a year in power, Hamas is now saying that “saber” and “somud,” the Arabic terms for “patience” and “endurance,” play an important part in the Palestinian ethos, and particularly in Hamas’, have in fact forced Israel’s resolve toward a “hudna,” the Islamic concept of a cease-fire.

The authoritative Islamic Encyclopedia (London, 1922) defines “hudna” as a “temporary treaty” which can be approved or abrogated by Islamic religious leaders, depending on whether or not it serves the interests of Islam; and a hudna cannot last for more than 10 years. A hudna means no more than a temporary respite in the war between Islamic forces and non-Islamic forces.

With every month that passes, Hamas builds its power so that it will eventually threaten the Israeli port city of Ashdod, and will soon be able to reach Beer Sheva.

Hamas’ spokesmen take the opportunity to declare in front of every open microphone that “Gaza will be a graveyard for Israeli soldiers,” and they call on Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert to “prepare the coffins,” and announce with much arrogance and vanity: “We are prepared to face a military operation.”

### **Hamas Expands Military Training**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, August 7, 2008*

Any cease-fire – whether as part of an official declaration or by silent consent – will be pointed out by Hamas as yet another victory over Israel. It will also gain them more time to solidify their hold on Gaza.

Hamas uses cease-fires to continue training and expanding its military. The Middle East Newsline confirmed Hamas significantly expanded military training during its cease-fire with Israel in 2008.

Hamas sources said the regime oversaw several major live-fire exercises in the Gaza Strip. They said the exercises included those of the new Hamas army as well as the Iranian-sponsored Islamic Jihad and other militias.

“We now have complete freedom to conduct exercises,” a Hamas commander said.

The commander, who did not want to be identified, said Hamas and Islamic Jihad have been holding frequent live fire exercises since the start of the cease-fire with Israel in June 2008. They said the exercises were taking place at night and early morning in former Jewish communities evacuated by Israel in 2005.

“These are exercises that include [rocket-propelled grenade] fire and meant to prepare us for the next round [with Israel],” the commander said.

Hamas sources said its military wing has sharply increased the number of cadets in training courses. They said a military training course that in early 2008 contained 15 cadets was now attended by 60 fighters.

In July, the sources said, Hamas conducted two major exercises. One of the exercises was marred by an explosion in which six Hamas fighters were injured outside Khan Yunis.

The Islamic regime and its militia allies have also been using the cease-fire to enhance their weapons arsenal. The sources said the cost of missile production, reported at \$500 per unit, has risen because of increases in the price of metal and explosives.

During the ‘ceasefire’, Gazans launched 315 missiles targeted at Sderot and the western Negev, according to an IDF spokesman. There was not one IDF response to the rocket fire during that ceasefire period.

Israel has not sought to stop Palestinian military training in the Gaza Strip. Hamas sources said that despite Israeli unmanned aerial vehicles operations, Palestinian fighters were no longer restricted in reconnaissance and training.

“We feel safe,” a senior Hamas operative said. “We are not targeted either from the sea or on the ground. There is complete freedom of movement.”

**Witness to a FreeGaza.org press conference in Nicosia: A Slow Boat to Gaza**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, August 8, 2008*

On August 6, 2007, a movement known as FreeGaza.org held a press conference in Nicosia, Cyprus, in which a group of 40 people from around the world announced they would board two small boats to travel by sea to Gaza to “break the siege” that Israel has placed upon Gaza. These two boats arrived in Gaza on Tisha ‘av, the ninth of Av on the Jewish calendar, a fast day which marks disasters which have befallen the Jewish people.

There was no acknowledgement during this conference that in June of 2007, the Hamas regime took over Gaza and formalized a total state of war against Israel with the aim of liberating all of Palestine and using Gaza as a stepping stone to recoup any and all land ruled by the Jewish state.

With increasing boatloads of Iranian military hardware landing on the Gaza coastline, the Israeli navy was forced to impose an embargo of goods coming into Gaza. Israel offered to oversee goods and services for humanitarian needs in Gaza, by allowing specified supervised land crossings for supply to Gaza.

The press conference, held at “Journalist House” in Nicosia, was launched with an opening statement by an Israeli American Jerusalem resident, Jeff Halper, who alleged that Israel was behaving in defiance of international law by closing shipping lanes to Gaza. He also claimed that the people of Gaza faced a severe shortage of milk and medical supplies.

Mr. Monir Deeb, a native Gazan who has lived in Los Angeles since 1979, explained to the media that he was boarding these boats to reunite with his siblings in Gaza. Mr. Deeb described Gaza as a “peaceful community under Israeli military siege” and said that this small convoy was meant to deliver a message to Israel to stop the siege of Gaza.

This reporter asked Mr. Deeb about the armed Gaza militias who have fired thousands of missiles over the past eight years against Israeli civilian communities that surround Gaza. It was also asked how the Hamas government is using the current ceasefire period to regroup and train for the next attack on Israel. Mr. Deeb said that he “could not relate to this question,” since it was “political” and his concern was “only humanitarian” in nature.

The convener of the FreeGaza.org press conference, Ms. Greta Berlin, an American woman formerly married to a Palestinian whose family was dislocated from Safed in Northern Israel during the 1948 war, gave examples of the

humanitarian mission on which they were embarking. “One of her missions,” she said, “was to supply 9,000 hearing aids for Palestinian children who suffer hearing loss at a young age, due to Israeli missile attacks on Gaza.”

Ms. Berlin was asked if it were not the case that the missile attacks that she claimed had been fired at Palestinians in Gaza by Israelis were actually fired by Palestinians towards the Western Negev, as they screech over Palestinian villages en route to hit Israeli civilian targets.

Ms. Berlin would not comment, saying repeatedly that the purpose of the voyage to Gaza was not political, even though the press statement issued by FreeGaza.org touched every raw political nerve possible.

FreeGaza.org also clearly stated that it strongly condemns Israel for not allowing “refugees and their descendants the right to return home” to the villages that have since been resettled by Israel after the 1948 war. Meanwhile, the “FreeGaza.org” press statement also decried “Israel’s illegal occupation of Palestine,” laying aside any pretensions that the group only favored Israel’s full withdrawal from Gaza.

Ms. Berlin reported that the operation to bring two boats into Gaza was independent of any foreign entities. She mentioned that FreeGaza.org had already raised \$210,000 of the total budget needed, more than \$300,000 for the boats. However, on July 31st, the Palestine Information Center issued a press release in which it stated that a member of the Lebanese Parliament had confirmed to Hamas leader Abu Marzook in Cairo that the boats had been provided by Palestinian popular committees by the Hamas.

That would mean, in effect, that FreeGaza.org received two sources of support for its work – from American Jewish groups and from the Palestinian popular committees, which are run by Hamas.

**Israeli Security Sources: Hamas Recruiting, Training Young People**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, August 13, 2008*

Senior Israeli security sources in 2008 confirm that Hamas terrorists have recruited thousands of young people in addition to women. These youth have been undergoing intensive military training to prepare them for the next round of warfare against Israel.

The new recruits are mostly high school graduates who have finished their matriculation exams and remain unemployed due to the economic situation in Gaza.

The new group of recruits is supposed to insert new blood into Hamas' ranks and fill the ranks in various units, which have suffered many losses in battles with the IDF over the past two years.

The large-scale recruitment is also aimed at strengthening the connection between the Hamas leadership and the public in Gaza.

Since mid-June 2008, Hamas also held many summer camps in which high school pupils from around the Gaza Strip are trained to bring them closer to Hamas' ideology and turn them into fighters in the future. These summer camps are held on the sites of the Jewish communities that were expelled by the Israeli army in the disengagement from Gaza in August 2005.

The implication of this youth terror-training course is that the Israeli army will have to provide special mental preparation for Israeli troops who will face off with armed children in the next stage of the war.

### **PR Success for Israel's Enemies**

*David Bedein, Israel National News, August 25, 2008*

These boats brought much more to Gaza than hearing aids. During times of conflict, Hamas often wins the “PR War” with Israel. The Free Gaza group is one example of an organization with the intention to establish an international grassroots PR support network for the Hamas’ Gaza regime; and that is just what they have done. The group was officially invited by the Hamas regime and the landing of the Free Gaza group, along with the two boats filled with PR professionals, represents an unprecedented propaganda success for the most sophisticated of Israel’s adversaries.

After all, Hamas has embedded combatants in every possible civilian area. It has been widely reported that Hamas has armed children as combatants. All this has one transparent purpose – to absorb civilian casualties and to blame Israel for each and every child who will die. You will see from the Free Gaza website that they have 300 grassroots support groups from around the world who will spread the message that Israelis are child-killers.

Spokespeople of the Free Gaza Movement were asked if they would request that the Gazans stop firing missiles on the Western Negev.

Their answer was that this is “a political question.”



### **Female Arab Terrorists In Training In Gaza**

David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, September 11, 2008

Hamas's immoral war techniques do not end with operating inside hospitals and schools. In 2008, the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC) declassified an intelligence report of masses of women in Gaza being trained for combat and suicide bombing attacks against Israel.

The report, considered an unusual revelation, was found within the Intelligence and Terrorism Center's website. It describes a major role contemplated for

women by the ruling Hamas terror organization in the next round of fighting against Israel.

As part of the military buildup of Palestinian terrorist organizations in Gaza, which continue on a large scale even when the current lull in the fighting is in place, each of the terrorist organizations provide military training to women, teenagers, and even little girls.

These women are being trained to fire small arms, launch RPG rockets, and throw grenades. They also learn the techniques of ambushes and how to blow themselves up near Israelis using explosive belts.

In the opinions of the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, Hamas views the use of women for combat activities as enjoying considerable operational advantages. This is because of the relative ease with which women can operate without raising suspicions, both in Gaza, during IDF operations and, if and when, they perpetrate terrorist attacks in Israel itself.

In September 2008, Hamas allowed a Lebanese TV correspondent and, prior to that, an Al-Jazeera TV correspondent to film and interview female terrorist training exercises. These interviews took place during the lull in fighting. The women interviewed and featured on the media undergo defensive training and offensive training, such as firing rockets and perpetrating suicide bombing attacks.

It is the assessment of the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center that such public messages about women in combat training are designed to deter Israel from launching attacks against Gaza in the future.

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### **Fruits of The Cease-Fire With Israel: Hamas Now Operates 400 Terror Tunnels**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, October 31, 2008*

In addition to expansion and training efforts, Hamas utilizes cease-fires to continue building tunnels. The Middle East Newsline confirmed that Hamas used the six-month cease-fire period, which began June 19, 2008, to operate at least 400 smuggling tunnels from Egypt into Gaza. These operations leave Israel constrained from taking any action, due to the cease-fire.

Palestinian sources told the Middle East Newsline that the Hamas regime controls and operates at least 90 percent of the estimated 450 tunnels that link the Gaza Strip with Egypt's Sinai Peninsula.

The Hamas Interior Ministry has assumed control over the tunnels, establishing a Tunnel Administration, which is responsible for policing the tunnels as well as ensuring that fees are paid for every shipment.

In most cases, Hamas has allowed Palestinian clans in the Rafah area to continue smuggling activity. The sources said Hamas provides the families with permitted items for smuggling as well as goods sought by the regime, particularly weapons, explosives, medicine and cattle.

Estimates on the number of tunnels have ranged from 400 to 800, which cost between \$60,000 and \$150,000 each, depending on their length.

Tunnel operators said about 25,000 people have been employed in the tunnel smuggling industry.

"The government films tunnel activity and posts monitors, who work eight-hour shifts," a Palestinian source told the Brussels-based International Crisis Group. "Should smugglers cheat, they have to pay a penalty or get shot in the legs. Alternatively, Hamas might inform Egypt about the tunnel, which then would likely be destroyed."

In a recent report, ICG said Palestinians who own land near the Egyptian border have become wealthy. The independent think tank said those Palestinian

landowners have been taking over the distribution network of smuggled goods in cooperation with Hamas.

### **Mecca Agreement**

During that 'ceasefire' period, on February 27, 2007, there was an agreement reached between the Hamas leader Khaled Mashaal and Palestinian Authority Chairman Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen). The agreement took place three months after the ceasefire went into effect; after 160 missiles had been fired at Israel since the day the 'ceasefire' commenced. Mashaal promised, in Moscow, to stop the Kassam rocket attacks. Two days later, seven missiles were launched from the Gaza Strip towards Israel.

The question begs to be asked: What kind of Western democracy in the world would allow for a one-sided ceasefire? What other state would allow for a rocket to explode within its territory?

Israel is going to celebrate 60 years of its independence in a few more weeks, and for the first time in 40 years a significant portion of its population are living under rocket threat. In the north, Hezbollah threatens with rocket fire from southern Lebanon. In the southern area of Israel, Hamas continues to fire from Gaza at Sderot, the western Negev and now Ashkelon. Hamas is also developing rockets that will reach Ashdod. At this point, up to half a million Israelis will be under rocket fire.

Also, what most people forget is that Israel's adversaries are not advocating a 'ceasfire'; they promote a hudna.

A hudna means no more than a temporary respite in the war between Islamic forces and non-Islamic forces. The authoritative Islamic Encyclopedia (London, 1922) defines hudna as a "temporary treaty" which can be approved or abrogated by Islamic religious leaders, depending on whether or not it serves the interests of Islam; and a hudna cannot last for more than 10 years.

The Islamic Encyclopedia mentions the Hudaybia treaty as the ultimate hudna. Yasser Arafat also talked about a hudna in his speeches when he would refer to the Oslo Accords.

### **Gaza Regime Prepares Children For Death**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, August 10, 2009*

Jerusalem – At a time when Israel continues to come under scathing criticism for the deaths of 22 children during Israel's three-week counter attack in Gaza last winter, the Gaza regime has been training teenagers as young as 14 in military camps throughout Gaza.

This summer, Hamas and several other Palestinian militias have recruited high school students for military training. Gaza teenagers are being taught basic combat skills as well as the use of explosive belts for suicide missions.

"In the war against Israel, there were more than 100 children trained to attack Israeli forces in Gaza," a Gaza source told the Middle East Newline adding that, "Some of them ran away and many of them were killed."

Most recently the Saudi-owned news agency Elaph ran a news feature about the recruitment of teenagers by Islamic militias in the Gaza Strip and other parts of the Arab world. Elaph, based in Beirut, visited military training camps in the Gaza Strip that included teenagers.

"Several minors who trained in Palestinian military camps confirmed that they were there of their own free will," Elaph reported.

Correspondents toured several youth military training camps in Gaza.

One teenage fighter, who identified himself as Mohammed, an 11th grader, said that he underwent weapons training in Gaza's Futuh district. The recruitment was said to have begun with Islamic sermons at mosques controlled by Hamas or Palestinian militias. Teenage recruits represented the youth wing of the militias at their school and eventually were invited to training camp.

"A year ago, he [Mohammed] underwent training in carrying weapons, and received permission to aid resistance fighters in night reconnaissance of advancing Israeli military vehicles," Elaph reported. "He was also trained to [aid the fighters] from a distance in armed clashes. Mohammed hopes to die defending the homeland for the sake of Allah, and follow his comrades who have already reached paradise."

"There are institutions belonging to organizations dealing with educating children and deepening their awareness by means of summer camps," said Abu

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Mohammed, a senior agent in the Iranian-sponsored Islamic Jihad, based in Gaza.

Meanwhile, the Gaza regime now employs thousands of children to construct and operate the tunnel network between the Gaza Strip and Egypt.

The youngsters help dig tunnels to smuggle weapons from Egypt to Gaza.

A Palestinian report asserted that 16,000 people have been working in an estimated 800 tunnels that span the city of Rafah, which remains artificially divided between Egypt and Gaza... The report by the Palestinian Center for Democracy and Conflict Resolution, estimated that half of the employees were under age 18.

The report said about 25 percent of the Palestinian victims of tunnel collapses were teenagers. The center said 30 of the 115 casualties since 2007 were below age 18.

In early July four Palestinian children suffocated to death in the tunnel network.

On late July five Palestinians teenagers were killed in a fire in a tunnel.

The teenagers were said to earn less than \$30 per day, spending more than 10 hours underground.

### **Fatah Party Reaches Out To Hamas Terror Group** *David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, October 18, 2009*

In October 2009, Jamal Muheisin, a member of the Fatah's Central Committee, told Ma'an, the Palestinian news agency, that the Fatah had signed an Egyptian-backed deal for reconciliation with Hamas.

Hamas spokespeople said the party's senior leadership had also approved the document, although they did not declare this publicly.

A formal signing ceremony will take place after the Islamic Eid Al-Adha holiday at the end of November. Hamas confirmed this schedule. After that, Fatah leader Azzam Al-Ahmad departed for Egypt to hand over the document, which he said was signed by Fatah's supreme leader, President Mahmoud Abbas.

A Hamas official told the Ma'an news agency that the movement's leaders have decided to sign the Egyptian proposal.

Ismail Al-Ashkar, a Hamas-affiliated member of the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) confirmed to Ma'an that Egypt set out a timeline calling on other factions to sign the deal by Oct. 20, with a signing ceremony after Eid Al-Adha.

In a statement, Mr. Al-Ashkar also shed light on the details of the Egyptian plan. He confirmed that the document called for a Joint National Committee in lieu of a unity government. The committee would include 16 members and would represent Fatah, Hamas, and the other factions, the official said. He said the committee's role is to implement a national unity agreement, and does not have any "political obligations" outside of this goal.

A U.S. government spokesperson said, in response to the new Fatah-Hamas accord, it would support the next Palestinian government if it follows certain conditions.

"We certainly favor an effective Palestinian government, and we are certainly supportive of a reconciliation process," State Department spokesperson Philip Crowley said in a Washington press briefing.

"If you have a unity government that operates... on the basis of the principles that we've laid out, then we will be supportive of it," Mr. Crowley stressed.

"We'll be happy to work with whoever is in a Palestinian government that supports the principles," he added.

Mr. Crowley was referring to the conditions of the international Quartet (the US, EU, UN, and Russia), which stipulate that any Palestinian government must recognize Israel and renounce armed struggle. Which, of course, was the basis of the Declaration of Principles of the 1993 Oslo accord.

The American government has consistently ignored the fact that the Fatah never ratified the Declaration of Principles of the 1993 Oslo accord. The Fatah executive committee met in special session on Oct. 6, 1993 to consider ratification of the Declaration of Principles of the 1993 Oslo accord. However, the Fatah would not ratify it, "for lack of a quorum" and has never ratified the Declaration of Principles of the 1993 Oslo accord.

Meanwhile, meeting in special session on April 24, 1996, the Palestine National Council considered cancellation of the PLO covenant, which defines the PLO purpose to destroy the state of Israel. Instead of canceling the PLO covenant, the PNC created a committee to consider changes in the PLO covenant. However, that committee has never met and the PLO covenant remains part and parcel of the Palestinian political reality. Yet, the American government acts as if the PLO cancelled its covenant, despite evidence to the contrary.

### **Tunnel Smuggling Into Gaza Increases**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, November 6, 2009*

Jerusalem – The Middle East Newsline confirmed in 2009 that the Hamas regime had approved a huge increase in the number of smuggling tunnels from the Gaza Strip to neighboring Egypt.

Palestinian sources had said that the tunnels, which spanned the Gaza Strip to Egypt's Sinai Peninsula had more than doubled that year.

They cited the Israeli and Egyptian closure of their borders as well as increasing Gazan demand for consumer goods.

“We can get anything for anybody at almost any time,” a Palestinian source said.

The Hamas regime approved the sharp increase of tunnels in wake of the war with Israel that had erupted that January. They said the number of tunnels skyrocketed from about 700 to 1,500 over the course of eight months.

“Hamas directly controls about 100 tunnels and this supplies the government and security forces,” the Palestinian source said. “Whenever they need something fast, they turn to private tunnel operators.”

In August of 2009, tunnel operators began smuggling luxury cars from Egypt to Gaza. Following that in September and October, the sources said, about 100 late model cars were dismantled in Egypt, transported through the tunnels in parts and reassembled in the Gaza Strip. The price per car was reported at \$20,000.

Tunnels are a part of the smuggling industry, the largest industry in the Gaza Strip.

About 30,000 people are employed in the smuggling industry, with diggers earning about \$30 day.

As of November 2009, the number of tunnels discovered and destroyed by Egypt or Israel marked less than one percent of the smuggling network.

**Who Spread The Specious Rumor That People Are Starving In Gaza? The**

**Time has Come to Form Commission Of Inquiry**  
*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, June 4, 2010*

JERUSALEM – An impressionable activist who lives in a western country and hears from a rabbi that Israel is starving the people of Gaza would be well motivated to hop on a boat to help out the people of Gaza. Indeed, the violence and deaths that occurred on ships en route to Gaza on May 31 resulted from a systematic campaign of misinformation, which conveyed the specious notion that the people of Gaza were starving. Flying to Cyprus in August 2008 to cover the first FreeGaza.org press launch for The Bulletin, it was there and then that the first FreeGaza.org boat was launched. “Jeff Halper, an Israeli American community organizer, initiator of the FreeGaza.org campaign, opened the FreeGaza.org press conference in Cyprus, stating in a matter of fact comment that “people in Gaza wake up every morning without food or medicine.” Mr. Halper’s remarks were taped on by The Bulletin for posterity.

Over the past two years, Mr. Halper coordinated a campaign to spread the rumor of deprivation Gaza with 62 rabbis, many of who are affiliated with the organization, Rabbis for Human Rights, who then pioneered a new organization and website where they actually hold monthly fasts for the deprived people of Gaza. The representative of this effort in Philadelphia is Rabbi Arthur Waskow, head of the Shalom Center in Philadelphia. “The founder of Rabbis for Human Rights, Rabbi David Foreman vigorously objected to spreading any notion that there was deprivation of food and medical supplies in Gaza.

Writing in the JWeekly in California and in the Jerusalem Post last September 2009, Rabbi Foreman described the website as “anti-Zionist, bordering on anti-Semitism,” and asked uncomfortable questions, “How well have these rabbis examined the blockade? Do they think that concern about arms smuggling is completely bogus? Do they consider that the blockade justifies shooting at Israelis, while Israel’s response deserves wholesale condemnation? Rabbi Foreman concluded that their website implies that “that they care not at all about an objective critique of an Israel that should be “a light unto the nations,” but rather care only about painting Israel as an “evil empire,” thereby justifying their and others’ blatant assault on the very legitimacy of a Jewish state.

Rabbi Foreman died on May 3, and was not around to act as a moderating force when ships sailed on their mission on May 30th. Instead, the man who now speaks for the Rabbis for Human Rights, Rabbi Arik Ascherman, wrote a passionate letter on May 28 to Israel Defense Minister Ehud Barak to allow the boats to enter Gaza, where Rabbi Ascherman repeated the mantra of the “humanitarian crisis” facing the population of Gaza. The audiotape of Mr. Halper’s opening remarks in August 2008 is filed at the Beit Agron International

Press Center, along with statements of those who spread the lie to the world over the past two years that a humanitarian crisis was afoot in Gaza. These files await the formation of a Commission of Inquiry that must be formed to determine how the rumor of starvation in Gaza was systematically and successfully marketed by a few Israeli citizens to the media outlets, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and diplomatic missions of the entire world, sparking the greatest international disgrace for Israel in recent memory.

The first step should be for people – lawyers, social workers, medical professionals, and media experts – to offer their services to help put together the rudiments of a commission of inquiry.

**Feeding the hand that bites you: Reconsidering aid to a Gaza regime at war with Israel**

*David Bedein, Times of Israel, May 13, 2012*

During the second week of March, 2012, while the Gaza regime launched more than 300 aerial attacks against southern Israel, driving one million people to cower in shelters, Israel announced to the world that it was bolstering that same Gaza regime, dispatching 180 trucks filled with Israeli merchandise crossing into Gaza under fire, with Israel announced that that this massive amount of building materials were crossing into Gaza under fire.

In other words, Israel announced that it was facilitating the economic growth of an entity in a full-scale state of war with Israel, whose overt purpose is to overthrow the Jewish State.

To explain such an anomaly, Israeli Defense Ministry's civil administration spokespeople repeated the mantra that Israel aids Gaza because it distinguishes between terrorist organizations and a civilian population in need.

Yet such a distinction does not take into account that the all of Gaza is ruled by a terrorist organization, defined as a terrorist organization by all members of the Quartet that barter Middle East negotiations.

While these gestures were designed to demonstrate that hostilities did not impede the transfer of humanitarian goods into Gaza. However, the merchandise, however, did not consist solely of such items as food and medical supplies.

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After all, studies published by Israeli intelligence confirm that massive cement supplies to Gaza are used by the Gaza regime in its war against Israel. See; "Reliable intelligence indicates that Hamas uses cement for military needs." <http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/article/18091>

In other words, Israel facilitates development of an entity in a state of war with Israel, as defined by Israel.

The Israeli business mentality would have you believe that Israeli investments would produce grateful Arab support for the Jewish state.

Yet that is not what is going on here.

A case in point: During the summer of 2009, two seminal conferences took place in Bethlehem.

Our agency covered both conferences.

The first conference was convened by the Fatah its first gathering in more than twenty years, where Fatah, no longer a PLO in exile in Tunisia used the occasion to reiterate the renewal of the armed struggle to liberate Palestine, albeit in stages.

Israeli security cabinet minister, Z'ev Benyamin Begin, commented after that conference that the Fatah-ruled Palestinian Authority promotes a two-stage solution – not a two-state solution.

The second conference was an impressive gathering of Israeli and Palestinian Authority business people who promote business cooperation.

That Israel-PA business cooperation now produces more than 25 billion shekels in Israeli exports to the PA – a lucrative relationship for both sides – especially for those whose business interests will net them a substantive profit.

At Israel-PA business conference, our correspondent asked PA business people if they favored the conclusions of the other conference, which promoted the armed struggle to liberate Palestine.

The universal answer from PA business people, all of whom do business with Israel, was that they indeed supported the armed struggle to liberate Palestine, all of Palestine, and that they could not see any contradiction between a war to liberate Palestine and a business-like relationship, in the interim, with Israelis.

### **Israeli response to business with the PA is also filled with surprises**

One day last December, Israel Defense Ministry declared that schools in Gaza are breeding grounds for terrorists.

Yet two days later, that same Israel Defense Ministry declared that it was facilitating the construction of more than 20 UNRWA schools in Gaza.

Wait a second. If the Israel Defense officials define schools in Gaza as promoters of terror, why would Israel facilitate the building of these schools?

What is more, why does Israel allow building material to enter Gaza when there is reason to believe that 1) not all building materials necessarily go to construction of schools, and 2) the Gaza economy-which is to say the Hamas economy-is indirectly enhanced in other ways by virtue of this material?

All the building materials come from Israel, and all cement for this construction emanate from Neshar, the Israeli corporation that controls 90% of the Israeli cement industry.

In early February 2012. Israel's Channel Ten TV reported on the practice at Neshar of employing former high-ranking officials of the Israeli Defense establishment and ex-politicians including ex-Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and ex-Israel Defense Forces Chief of Staff Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, to gain a foothold into the Palestinian cement market.

It may not be a coincidence that Olmert and Lipkin-Shahak lead the chorus of voices against any Israeli punitive actions against any aspect of the Gaza economy.

Yet Israel is responsible to its citizens to prevent the Gaza regime from launching more lethal attacks against Israel.

Israel could take that first step by bombing hundreds of tunnels that smuggle munitions into Gaza.

Israel could take a second step by stopping the monthly Brinks cash trucks into Gaza from Israel, which Hamas uses to pay for those smuggled munitions.

But such sanctions would have an adverse effect on major Israeli corporations, especially Neshar as well as on the financial windfalls for Israelis connected to this lucrative trade.

The time has come for the decision makers of Israel to ask themselves: Do Israeli commercial interests override the well being of Israel's civilians?

There are consequences to feeding the hand that bites you.

### **Pressure From Neshet: Hamas as Israel's New Trading Partner**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, September 25, 2013*

A leading member of the military's General Staff suddenly says that Hamas suddenly serves Israel's interests in Gaza.

Maj. Gen. Sami Turgeman said Israel wants to maintain Hamas' hold over Gaza Strip, "What we want is calm and security in the Gaza Strip," Turgeman, head of Southern Command, said. "Hamas, currently the sovereign power in the territory, has the means and the know-how," in an interview on Israel television on Sept. 24.

The military support for Hamas came in wake of Israel's transfer of construction material to the Gaza Strip The delivery, the largest since 2007, came a year after Israel asserted that construction material sent to the Gaza Strip was being used by Hamas to build military facilities. The construction material is also used to build schools in Gaza, which the IDF has determined to be terrorist training bases.

\*I checked with the Meir Amit Intelligence Center, which prepared both reports for the IDF. The center asserts that there has been no change in the conclusions reached by both reports.

The beneficiary of Israel's new massive exports arrangement is Israel's NESHER cement corporation. Yes, Hamas serves Israel's interests in Gaza: Israel's business interests.

Pressure from Neshet works.

All this comes at a time when Hamas and Iran move towards new cooperative efforts.

Iran has recently sent representatives to meet Hamas leaders in Lebanon and Teheran to discuss the terms of restored relations. Iran sent envoys of its proxy Hizbullah to discuss ways to restore relations with Hamas On Sept. 23, the Lebanese daily A-Safir reported an acceleration of reconciliation efforts.

The newspaper, regarded as close to Hizbullah, said Hamas, Hizbullah and Iran met several times over the last two weeks in both Beirut and Teheran. Kamel Rifai, a leading Hamas member in Lebanon, said the first direct contact between Hamas and Iran took place in September 2013. Rifai, a member of the

Islamic Action Front, said until then Hizbullah had represented Teheran in talks with Hamas, led by Osama Hamdan, the movement's representative in Lebanon.

(Research for this article emanated from the Middle East NewsLine)

**Intelligence Sources had Warned: Cement to Gaza can be Lethal**  
*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, October 14, 2013*

In November, 2011, the Israel Civil Administration, which reports to the Israel Ministry of Defense, issued orders to provide massive cement supplies for the construction of seventy five UNRWA school buildings in Gaza.  
<http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/article/18091>

At the time, our agency asked the Israel Civil Administration if any of the contractors in Gaza who received the cement deliveries were connected to terror groups or to the Gaza regime itself, which is controlled by Hamas.

The Israel Civil Administration responded that it did not know the identities of the contractors who received the cement.

Our agency asked sources in Israeli intelligence at the time if there had been any change in their assessment that Hamas would indeed use cement for lethal purposes.

The answer from Israeli intelligence was that there had been no change in that assessment.

One entity did praise the construction of the tunnels: UNRWA, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency.

Two thirds of the Arab population in Gaza dwell in UNRWA facilities, under the UNRWA promise and promise of the right of return to their villages from 1948 which no longer exist in Southern Israel.

On December 7th, 2011, UNRWA issued an extensive report which lauded the vast amount of cement smuggled through the Gaza tunnels, attributing recent economic growth and improvement of humanitarian conditions in the Gaza to the operation of smuggling tunnels from Egypt, which UNRWA claimed to have increased employment in Gaza causing "Construction jobs to grow by more than 9,400, increasing by 3.5 times relative to first half 2010," according to the UNRWA press release.

<http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=1176>

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On December 24th, 2011, Reuters wire echoed the UNRWA press release, portraying Gaza residents whose economic well being had been greatly improved by uninhibited smuggling of cement through the tunnels.

Reuters reported that the tunnels were causing an “economic boom.”

<http://au.news.yahoo.com/world/a/-/world/12453920/gaza-s-thriving-tunnel-imports-unleash-building-boom>

<http://www.jpost.com/Features/In-Thespotlight/Gazas-thriving-tunnel-imports-unleash-building-boom>

Reuters mentioned only in the fourth paragraph of its story that there was an Israeli “claim” that these tunnels were used by the Hamas regime in Gaza to carry out “sporadic” attacks.

Since the Western Negev regional security chief estimates that almost 30,000 aerial attacks have been launched from Gaza in a little more than ten years, it would be hard to describe these as “sporadic” attacks.

What Reuters neglected to report was that the “administrators union” in UNRWA fell into the hands of Hamas in the union elections which were held in UNRWA facilities in 1999, 2003, 2006, 2009 and later again in 2012.

In other words, Hamas controls funds and supplies that are dispatched to UNRWA in Gaza.

This week, a concrete-laden tunnel was discovered, which led from Gaza to a nursery school in a kibbutz not far from the Gaza border.

<http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4440125,00.html>

It was estimated that the tunnel took at least eighteen months to dig and construct.

In other words, work began on the tunnel just after Israel supplied the cement to Gaza.

Who profited from the supply of cement to Gaza? One entity: Neshar Israel’s cement monopoly, which did not supply cement as a “gratuity” to Gaza.

And who campaigned for the delivery of cement to Gaza?

Leading human rights organizations, financed by the New Israel Fund, led the campaign to open Gaza for cement supplies.

Our agency asked for a response from these human rights groups, since the Gaza regime used that cement was used to construct a lethal tunnel. Yet no response has been received.

To reiterate, Reuters had reported that the tunnels were causing an “economic boom.”

“Boom” would have conveyed a more accurate consequence, if the tunnel under the kibbutz nursery school had not been discovered.

### **Advisory to Journalists in Middle East: When a “Cease-Fire is not a Cease-Fire”**

*David Bedein, Winnipeg Jewish Review, July 14, 2014*

In the current conflagration between Israel and Gaza, news agencies mistakenly report that the a “cease fire” is being discussed with Hamas, such as the “cease fire” that resulted in the armistice that ended hostilities in World War I, on the 11th hour of the 11th day of the eleventh month on Nov. 11 1918, paving the way to the Versailles peace treaty and the genesis of the League of Nations.

However, the three Arabic nuanced terms being discussed with Hamas as a resolution to the current situation have nothing to do with a “cease fire.”

Those terms are Hudna, Tahadia and Hudaybiyyah.

All three terms imply continued war, after a respite.

- Hudna – a tactical pause intended only for rearmament, a temporary respite in the war between Islamic forces and non-Islamic forces.

The authoritative Islamic Encyclopedia (London, 1922) defines hudna as a “temporary treaty” which can be approved or abrogated by Islamic religious leaders, depending on whether or not it serves the interests of Islam; a hudna cannot last for more than 10 years.

- Tahadia – a temporary halt in hostile activity, which can be violated at any time.

- Hudaybiyyah – An understanding that there will be no fighting for 10 years, named for the “treaty of Hudaybiyyah” in 628 AD.

The Islamic Encyclopedia mentions the Hudaybia treaty as an “ultimate hudna.”

The late PLO leader Yasser Arafat often referred to “a hudna” in his speeches when he defined and described the nature of the Oslo Accords.

In the words of the Islamic Encyclopedia, “The Hudaib treaty, concluded by the Prophet Muhammad with the unbelievers of Mecca in 628, provided a precedent for subsequent treaties which the Prophet’s successors made with non-Muslims. Muhammad made a hudna with a tribe of Jews back then to give him time to grow his forces, then broke the treaty and wiped them out. Although this treaty was violated within three years from the time that it was concluded, most jurists concur that the maximum period of peace with the enemy should not exceed ten years, since it was originally agreed that the Hudaib treaty should last ten years.”

Hudna, Tahadia and Hudaibiyah – the only options on the table with Hamas – do not compare to the “mu’ahada” treaty of peace that Egypt signed with Israel in 1979, or the mu’ahada treaty of peace that Jordan signed with Israel in 1994.

How many people remember that three hudnas already occurred with Gaza?

How many people remember what occurred during those ‘hudnas’?”?

Well, the people in Sderot and the Negev region of Israel remember.

Let us refresh our memories.

From November 26, 2006, until May 15, 2007, a Hudna between Hamas and Israel went on for almost six months. One cannot ignore the statement made by Hamas five days before the hudna went into effect: “Hamas’s military wing will stop the rocket fire when residents evacuate the city of Sderot.” (from November 21, 2006)

During that hudna, Gazans launched 315 missiles targeted at Sderot and the western Negev, according to an IDF spokesman.

And there was another hudna with Gaza, which lasted until the end of December, 2008, which witnessed 878 attacks fired from Gaza.

And there was a hudna from the end of Operation Cast Lead on January 18, 2009, to the first day of Operation Pillar of Defense on November 12, 2012.

During that period, approximately 2,000 rockets and missiles were fired from Gaza, sending one million Israelis running to shelters

And from the end of operation ‘Pillar of Defense’, through June 30th 2014, 300 aerial attacks were launched from Gaza towards southern Israel- during yet another tenuous Hudna.

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What country would tolerate one missile fired into its territory...and agree to a Hudna, Tahadia and Hodaybiyyah that promises yet more aerial attacks?

Philadelphia attorney Beryl Dean contributed to this report.

## Section 4: Other Research



David Bedein



Bedein reviewing the Oslo Accord with Shimon Peres, March 2000

## Section 4 – Chapter 1: Other Research

### **Thirty Years After Jerusalem is United Under Israel's Rule, Servicing Jerusalem's Arab Minority Comes into Question**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, June 30, 1997*

June 1997 marked thirty years since the momentous six day war thrust Israel in control of both parts of the city of Jerusalem.

That war followed a period of nineteen years, during which no Jew was allowed to live, pray or enter the Old City or any part of East Jerusalem. During those years, Arab municipal authorities in East Jerusalem obliterated all synagogues, cemeteries and or any trace of a Jewish presence in the Old City of Jerusalem.

The period of 1948-1967 was the first time since the 1099 Crusader massacre of Jerusalem's Jews that the Jewish people were barred from the Holy City of Jerusalem.

Teddy Kollek, who was Mayor of Jerusalem at the time of the 1967 six-day war and remained such until 1993, addressed the Middle East Forum at the Radisson Moriah Hotel in Jerusalem on June 5, on the anniversary of the Six Day War.

Kollek mentioned matter-of-factly that he wanted to facilitate an irreversible process of Israeli presence in every section of Jerusalem. To accomplish that purpose, Kollek declared, he was determined to settle Israelis in every area of Jerusalem, as his answer to the policies that had excluded Jews from some areas.

Teddy Kollek mentioned the other challenge that he sought to achieve for Jerusalem's future was to improve and equalize every level of medical, social and educational service for Jerusalem's Arab population.

Kollek candidly stated that he had not fully accomplished the goal of equalization of services during his tenor as Mayor.

Kollek did point to the fact that the Jerusalem municipality, under his direction, had pioneered social, educational and medical facilities for Arabs, where few had existed before. Kollek was proud to say that he gave orders to leave the Jordanian curriculum intact, except for what Kollek described as the Arab arithmetic lessons, which said "if you have ten Jews and you kill six of them you have still have four Jews."

Kollek was not alone in reflecting that the inequality of services for Jerusalem's Arab population reflects an oversight to be addressed. The Arab human rights expert, Bassam Eid, who was one of half a dozen experts to address the IPCRI conference on the occasion of the thirtieth year to Israel establishing its permanent presence in Jerusalem, presented facts and figures concerning the lack of resources made available to the Arabs in Jerusalem. The Israeli human rights group Bitzelem followed with a blistering thirtieth year report that addressed the difficulties faced by Arabs at the district office of the Israel Ministry of Interior.

David Cassuto, Jerusalem's deputy mayor, chose the month of June 1997 to go on the hustings and address every possible audience with a clear message; Cassuto followed Kollek at the Middle East Forum and presented a paper that encouraged Jerusalem's Arab population to organize themselves into a voting bloc that could potentially take at least nine seats on Jerusalem's municipality. "If the black hats can do it, why can't you," asked Cassuto.

Playing on the theme that “taxation requires representation”, Cassuto spent a good portion of the month of June in meetings with Jerusalem’s Arab leaders, imploring them to break the tabu of participation in Jerusalem’s electoral process in the forthcoming 1998 municipality elections. Cassuto stressed in every meeting with Jerusalem’s Arabs that he was not asking them to relinquish whatever attitude they have to Zionism, Israel or to Israel’s national elections.

Current Palestinian Arab understanding of Israel’s presence in Jerusalem was reflected in a study produced and presented by the University of Maryland’s Dr Jerome Segal and Al Najach University Professor Nadar Said, who together presented the first comprehensive study of Palestinian Arab views to the subject of Jerusalem in the peace process at the Jerusalem Center for Policy Studies.

Segal and Said showed that Palestinian Arabs, both in Jerusalem and in the areas under the jurisdiction of the Palestine Authority, now recognize a permanent Israeli presence in all parts of Jerusalem where Jews reside – showing that Arabs cope with the changed Jerusalem reality in a way that had never existed before.

Yet senior Palestine Authority researcher Walid Awad, who addressed the Middle East Forum with Kollek and Cassuto, declared that it was the policy of the Palestine Authority that no Palestinian Arab should participate in Jerusalem’s municipal elections, until Israel withdraws to the 1967 lines that existed in Jerusalem prior to 1967. The audience at the Radisson Moriah Hotel gasped at the thought that Ramot, Gilo, Ramat Eshkol, French Hill, Neve Yaakov, East Talpiot and the Old City would have to revert to Arab rule as part of a peace settlement in the future.

Awad’s statement of PA Jerusalem policy reflected another side of Segal and Said’s study, that presented two findings that reflected Palestinian Arab popular support for Awad’s position: Segal and Said found that 94% of Palestinian Arabs surveyed stated they could never accept Israel’s permanent sovereignty over all of Jerusalem and 72% declared that they would “use any means” to regain independence for the Arabs of Jerusalem.

David Cassuto’s campaign for Arab political participation in Jerusalem’s political process has fallen on deaf ears of the PLO, the Palestine Authority, and the leaders of Jerusalem’s Arab population.

The question that Arab Jerusalemites will have to cope with in the near future remains: Does an under-serviced and unrepresented Arab population in Jerusalem’s municipality serve their best interests?

## When Jewish Organizations Research Antisemitism and Delete Mention of the Palestine Authority

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, April 27, 1998*

In a joint news conference held on April 22, 1998, the day before Holocaust Remembrance Day, the representatives of Stephen Roth Institute of Anti-Semitism at Tel Aviv University, the ADL and the World Jewish Congress distributed a summary of their annual international survey of anti-Semitism that deleted any reference to the Palestine Authority, the Palestine Ministry of Information and the Palestine Broadcasting Corporation.

The stated reason: The full 400-page text is still at the printers.

That text does relate to the anti-Jewish tirades that have emanated daily from the Palestine Authority since its inception in 1994.

A case in point: On the morning before this report was issued, children on the official television station of the Palestine Broadcasting Corporation TV program were led in a chorus that chanted Jihad and called for extermination of the Jewish state. Quite a message from the PA: "Jihad" the day before Holocaust Remembrance Day.

This PBC program is fully accessible to the media, and to the ADL, the World Jewish Congress and Tel Aviv University.

Yet the media and these mainstream agencies have made a conscious decision: to obfuscate the expressions of the Palestine Authority to their own people from the people of Israel and from public opinion as a whole.

The PA media obfuscation policy is in keeping with the request made by the late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of the Israeli Broadcasting Authority in 1995 to refrain from any news reports that will feature what Arafat says to his own people in Arabic.

In the words of IBA officials who knew of the policy, Rabin explained that reportage of Arafat's speeches would hurt the peace process.

Rabin carried this policy to the US.

In September 1995, just before Oslo 2 was initialled at the White House, the US House International Relations Committee conducted audiovisual hearings, during which time more than thirty congresspeople viewed videos of the programs featured on the Palestine Broadcasting Corporation. More than fifteen news bureaus covered the event. Yet Rabin's cousin, Israeli ambassador to the

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US Itamar Rabinovitch, working together with a high official of the US state department, lobbied the American media and requested that they not report these hearings. With the exception of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency and the Washington Jewish Week, the media acceded to their request.

People in Israel are in the dark, knowing very little of the daily dose of incitement that has spewed forth from the Palestine Broadcasting Corporation since the inception of the Oslo process. Such matters are seen as the obsession of a few anti-peaceniks.

That is due in part to a policy of self-censorship that the media has imposed on itself and that groups such as the ADL and the World Jewish Congress have adopted. The fact that the full report on anti-Semitism will be issued in a few weeks time will have little effect on the public domain. The ADL and the WJC will not conduct a press conference nor organize any forum on the subject of official anti-Semitism that emanates from the PBC, which is under Arafat's direct control.

On Holocaust Remembrance Day in 1998, let it be remembered that three prominent institutions of the Jewish people have prevented the public from knowing what they know, which is that the newly created Palestine Authority makes no bones about its warlike and anti-Semitic intentions.

In 1996, the full text distributed to the press of the same international survey did not even mention the Palestine Authority. In 1997, the full text distributed to the media mentioned the PA in only a few paragraphs that analyzed one PA poet.

Yet in 1998, when the full text finally dealt with the PA, the conveyors of the press conference decided not to distribute it and indeed, to delete any mention or reference to the Palestine Authority in the summary made available to the media.

Today there is legitimate concern about systematic Holocaust denial, when organizations make it their business to prevent people from knowing about the murder of six million Jews and what led up to it.

What about the effort for systematic Arafat denial?

### Why Did Israel Close the Orient House: The Inside Story

*David Bedein, The Jewish Week, August 16, 2001*

News reports concerning the Israeli takeover of the PLO Orient House in Jerusalem focused on the Orient House as little more than a symbol of PLO presence in Jerusalem, and as a place where the PLO welcomed foreign dignitaries.

However, having covered the Orient House for the past seven years, and having conducted extensive interviews with the Orient House staff over the past year, an insider's view of the Orient House would not underestimate the operational significance of the Orient House to the PLO.

Each department of the Orient House carried tremendous security implications for Israel.

The Orient House was a hub of PLO activity throughout the past seven years of the Oslo process and especially over the past ten months, when various armed forces of the PLO made it their venue for meeting. Reporters visiting the Orient House witnessed daylight meetings of the Tanzim, the Fatah hawks, Hamas and the Islamic Jihad. It was not unusual to witness them brandishing their weapons. These varying security services were not only involved in war with Israel. They were all involved in "law enforcement" in East Jerusalem Arab neighborhoods, which often meant abductions of Arabs from their homes for questioning and detention in Ramallah.

Last August 2000, I interviewed with Khalil Tafakji, the Director of the Arab Studies Society, the director of a project based at the Orient House whose task it was to computerize the land records of Jerusalem and its environs, cross-referencing property records with the ownership claims of the refugees. By the time that the project was completed in January 2001, the PA had computerized records that show the present owner or user of each parcel of land in Jerusalem and the Arab owner of each parcel prior to 1948. Tafakji explained that the purpose of the project was to prepare legal claims for return of the properties or claims for damages for the value of the properties. In February 2001, Tafakji pioneered similar projects on the computer at Orient House that traced land ownership in all other parts of Israel, with regard to properties to which Arab refugees can now make claims.

The new Orient House computer program was not only emphasizing the technical legal property claims for Arabs to receive compensation for their loss.

The Orient House computer became a most efficient vehicle for Arab refugees to prepare for their actual return, even if the property that they had left had since been developed as an Israeli neighborhood, kibbutz, moshav or woodland since 1948.

This became very real to me when Tafakji casually pointed out familiar streets in Jerusalem on the computer screen, and then clicked to the names of the residents on those same streets from 1947, and then clicked to the whereabouts of those same residents and their descendants in the UNRWA Arab refugee camps today, where they have wallowed since 1949.

Since Arab refugee families in the UNRWA-run Palestinian Arab refugee camps live in areas that are marked according to the precise neighborhoods and villages that they lived in 1948, the Orient House mega-computer, working with UNRWA, efficiently distributed computer print outs to UNRWA refugee camp residents, so that they can realize their “right of return” to the neighborhoods and villages from before 1948.

In September, 2000, I accompanied a BBC TV crew that reported the daily bus trips for UNRWA camp residents to see the homes and neighborhoods that they will soon be claiming for themselves, in places such as Canada Park, the Tel Aviv University campus, and Ben Gurion International Airport.

The officials at the PA legal services department at the Orient house explained that this was similar to that of the Jewish claims against Germany, Austria and countries to which Jewish assets were sold or transferred by the Germans and their allies. It was also similar to the claims against Switzerland and other countries that benefited from the deaths of Jewish property owners whose assets were confiscated after their deaths at the hands of the Nazis.

The Arab Refugee Affairs Department at the Orient House, run PLO official Daoud Barakat, made it quite clear that that the “our task at the Orient House is to mobilize Palestinians from around the world to return to their homes.”

Barakat did not mince words about the Jews who had moved into areas that had been Arab before 1948: “They will simply have to leave”, Barakat explained in a taped interview. “Then the rightful owners of their homes would force them to leave,” he said, referring to areas taken by Israel in 1948, not in 1967.

The most cooperative and media-conscious PLO official at the Orient House was Mr. Nabeh Aweidah, the Orient House press office manager. One of Aweidah’s most important tasks was to print up and to distribute thousands of maps which conveyed the PLO vision of a Palestinian state in the future, in which all Israeli settlements that were established since 1948 were eliminated, and in which Palestine comprises all of the land of Palestine, from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River.

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A few months ago, our agency dispatched a TV crew to film the Orient House in action – the security services, their mega computer, their lawyers and their map department.

The raw footage will be available for the press and public to judge for itself as to whether the Orient House was only an innocuous welcome mat for the PLO cause.

### **Pro Arab Lobby in Washington Registers in Jerusalem and Receives Grant From the EU as a Jerusalem Based Peace Organization**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, December 3, 2002*

Why is it a good idea to register as an Israeli Non-Profit Organization?

This week, Israel Resource News Agency discovered documents in the Israel Ministry of Interior Registrar of Non Profit Organizations (rashum amutot) that Phillip Wilcox, former US consul in Jerusalem and former advisor to President Clinton, has discretely registered his organization, The Foundation for Middle East Peace, with the Israel office of Non Profit Organizations.

The registration of The Foundation for Middle East Peace with the Israel office of Non Profit Organizations enabled The Foundation for Middle East Peace to receive a grant of 310,000 Euro from the EU, as a Jerusalem-based non-profit peace organization.

The EU provides grants to Jerusalem-based peace organizations from its affiliated European governments.

Wilcox's outfit, based in Washington since 1989, advertises that it receives no government money for its work.

The Foundation for Middle East Peace, based in Washington, issues a monthly report that portrays the Israeli communities in Judea, Samaria, Jerusalem and Katif as THE obstacles to peace in the Middle East.

Most recently, Wilcox appeared on CNN and was asked for his analysis of why the Oslo process had deteriorated into war. Wilcox was quick to blame the "terrorists from amongst the Hamas and the Likud settlers."

On July 23, 1990, I covered a delegation of American citizens from the Etzion Bloc who visited with Wilcox in his capacity as the US consul in Jerusalem.

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After hearing Wilcox speak about US concerns for Palestinian Arab human rights, the members of that delegation asked Wilcox as to how he understood the human rights of Jews who resided beyond the 1949/67 armistice lines. Wilcox said, "If that is where you live, then you have no human rights."

### Epilogue

Wilcox is not the only former US envoy to the Middle East who now lobbies for the Arab cause in Washington.

Ed Abington, who succeeded Wilcox as the US consul in Jerusalem, works as a registered foreign agent for the PLO.

Ed Walker, who recently served as the US ambassador to Israel, now serves as the head of the Middle East Institute, which also advances the Arab cause in DC.

Could we say that the voice is the Voice of Ishmael but the hands are the hands of Uncle Sam?

### **ISM: A Group Supports Terror Cloaked in Peace**

*David Bedein, The Jerusalem Post, June 8, 2003*

Being a neutral observer in a war zone is a difficult one. But when these observers are actually partisans masquerading as objective "monitors" of the treatment of civilians, then the images of the conflict broadcast to the world can be skewed beyond recognition.

Such is the case with the International Solidarity Movement, and its members in place in the West Bank and Gaza.

The ISM is often referred to in the media as a "peace movement." Its spokespersons are assumed to provide objective daily updates for foreign consuls and the foreign press based in the Middle East. For this, the group has been nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize.

This has been especially true since the accidental death of Rachel Corrie, a member who was killed during an Israeli Defense Force operation in Gaza earlier this year. Corrie's presumed martyrdom has helped galvanize favorable press attention and support for the group.

Yet there is a flip side to the portrait the ISM presents of itself. In practice, it is nothing less than a revolutionary movement that fights in support of a violent struggle. Indeed, it defines itself as anything but neutral observers of the conflict between Israelis and the Palestinians.

In the opening paragraph on its own Web site ([www.palsolidarity.org](http://www.palsolidarity.org)), the ISM says that it supports the Palestinian “armed struggle” against the “occupation” and in favor of the “relevant U.N. resolutions.”

It says it uses nonviolent means in support of that struggle. But as in any paramilitary operation, there are combat units and support units. In the ongoing fighting between Palestinian terrorists and Israel’s army, the ISM chooses to play the role of a support unit for the Palestinians.

While it invokes the memory of Martin Luther King Jr. and Mahatma Ghandi in its approach, the ISM rejects the nonviolent vision of both men by working in alliance with those who choose to kill people in order to advance their goals.

I asked ISM spokesman Raphael Cohen how his group defines the “occupation.” His definition? “The Zionist presence in Palestine” – that is, all of the country including Israel within its pre-1967 borders.

Cohen went on to say that the ISM view of peace would be a “one-state solution,” or no Israel at all. ISM spokesperson Huwaida Araf confirmed that it supports the Palestinian “right of return,” which is tantamount to calling for the end of the Jewish state.

The group freely admits to:

Spotting and reporting IDF troops in military operations and reporting their whereabouts to armed Palestinian units. Since ISM members are not Arabs and unarmed, they can provide reports on troop movements to terrorists that take refuge in population centers.

Intervening with IDF troops at checkpoints in order to facilitate movement of Palestinians between cities. Who knows how many terrorists have been able to infiltrate into Israel with the help of this group?

Preventing Israel from monitoring and closing off the tunnels that Palestinian terror groups have dug along the border with Egypt. When Corrie was killed, she was trying to block an IDF tractor that was carving a path in the direction of these underground tunnels.

The group is now launching an international campaign to recruit 1,000 volunteers to come to Israel in the guise of unassuming tourists.

On its Web site, it advises its volunteers to “have a really good story about why you are coming and not to mention anything about ISM, or knowing, liking or planning to visit Palestinians. You must play it as though your visit is for other, Israel-based reasons, like tourism, religion, visiting an Israeli friend, etc.”

[ISM spokespeople announced at a public meeting at Hebrew University on June 2nd that it would encourage future ISM participants to apply to the “birthright” program to come to Israel for free, through an organization that has been lacking volunteers of late to join their programs.]

By definition, a movement that endorses the “armed struggle” of a terrorist organization should itself be considered a terrorist organization. Despite its peaceful image, the ISM has crossed the line from protest to an alliance with hate.

### **The Palestinian “Humiliation” Dilemma**

*David Bedein, Front Page Magazine, November 28, 2003*

Last Wednesday, President George W. Bush, addressing a crowded press conference in London in the presence of British Prime Minister Tony Blair, called on Israel to stop what he termed the “daily humiliation” of Palestinian Arabs at checkpoints where IDF troops and Israeli police conduct security searches of Palestinian Arabs before they can enter Israeli cities.

I asked a U.S. consular official in Jerusalem why Bush would claim that Israel was subjecting Arabs to humiliation at checkpoints. The U.S. consular official took offense at the very question. “I think that it is obvious that if my staffers from Bethlehem are made to wait an inordinate amount of time in their cars at the checkpoint, then that would be a clear matter of humiliation,” he retorted.

The U.S. consular official went on to say that his staffers had clear IDs as to who they are and where they worked. Since Bethlehem is well known for spawning industries that produce countless counterfeit documents, I asked the consular official if it was not understandable that Israeli security officials be extra careful in examining all identification, as an added measure of caution, before allowing vehicles to pass into the nation’s capital.

The U.S. consular official took even greater offense at that question, indicating that he hoped I would not write about this issue. I could only take that as a blessing to explore the matter further. What was of particular concern was that

the U.S. consular official did not seem to be aware of what had transpired on Tuesday at one of the checkpoints between Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

The incident took place at 6 o'clock Tuesday morning at the checkpoint near Beit Jalla, just south of the tunnel road that goes through Beit Jalla into Jerusalem. The sun had just risen. A Palestinian Arab from Bethlehem, who looked familiar to the young IDF troops at the checkpoint, proceeded to get out of his car with a prayer blanket. This was the last week of Ramadan, and the young, devout-looking man made a hand signal that he wanted to pray. The IDF troops at the checkpoint afforded him the opportunity to pray and did not conduct a security search of his vehicle nor his person. The man then knelt to the ground, spread out his prayer blanket, and proceeded to pull out an AK-47 and murder two young IDF troops at point blank range. Moshe Belsky, age 23, who was speaking on his cell phone with his mother, and Shaul Lahav, age 20, the checkpoint commander, were killed instantly.

The killer then hopped into his car and sped back to Bethlehem, where he donned his uniform as an officer in the Palestinian Authority police force. The news media overseas only reported that two Israeli soldiers had been killed at the entrance to the Jerusalem tunnel by a "militant." Arafat's Fateh Tanzim took credit for the murder on the official PBC Voice of Palestine radio.

Israel had granted the PA the use of Israeli radio airwaves in 1993 and still does so in order to foster a "voice of peace" for the PLO. The message communicated on the Voice of Palestine over the past ten years has hardly been a "a voice of peace."

I met Shaul Lahav on the day before his death. I had stopped by the checkpoint for a few minutes with tourists from the U.S., and they were pleased to meet Shaul, because he knew English. His parents had moved to Israel at roughly the time that I had moved to Israel, in the early 1970s. He was the oldest son in the family, their first "sabrah," and was almost the same age as my oldest son (who just turned 21 and also serves in an IDF combat unit). Shaul interrupted his conversation with us at the checkpoint to receive a call from his girlfriend from his Kibbutz. Shaul might have married, raised a family and led a happy life. At the age of 20, everything is just ahead of you. What can be more of a "humiliation"? A young man cut down by the PLO in the prime of his life or the enforcement of strict security measures so the PLO does not murder another young man in the same exact place?

Other examples of alleged Palestinian "daily humiliation" at the hands of the IDF, duly reported to the U.S. consulate, are the IDF's strict searches of Palestinian Red Crescent ambulances. People tend to forget that the Red Crescent is run by Fatchi Arafat, Yasser Arafat's brother, and that the IDF has reported numerous instances in which the Red Crescent ambulances were

used to smuggle armed terrorists and weapons in a terror campaign that has seen 20,000 armed attacks in Israel in three years.

Most recently, Jerusalem's Alternative Information Center, funded through the Ford Foundation and the New Israel Fund, and run by self-proclaimed Trotskyite Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs, provided a film for the U.S. consulate in Jerusalem. The film documented the "humiliation" Arabs in East Jerusalem must endure at these security checks. It depicted an iron gate that Arabs have to go through for security checks that lead into the East Jerusalem offices of the Israel Ministry of Interior and the Israel Ministry of National Insurance. Both of these offices provide vital health, education, registration and welfare aid to the local population.

What the Alternative Information Center film "forgot" to illustrate was that the iron-gate and the severe security restrictions on entering Israeli government offices in East Jerusalem did not exist until three years ago. That's when Aish Kodesh Gilmore, a part-time Israeli security guard, was shot in the neck and killed by an officer in Arafat's Fateh Tanzim militia. The Fateh Tanzim issued an immediate press release to the media, praising the murder of Aish Kodesh Gilmore, the same as was done after Shaul's murder.

I knew this young man, Aish, whose unusual name stuck with me. He was named for a Rabbi known as the Aish Kodesh – A Rabbi in the Warsaw Ghetto during World War II. His weekly, stenciled prayer sheets and Bible commentaries kept up the spirits of the starving Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto throughout their ordeal — until Aish Kodesh was himself banished from Warsaw. (He later perished from famine.) Aish Kodesh's writings were found preserved in a jar after World War II and were of great inspiration to the musically inclined Rabbi Shlomo Carlebach, who was the Rabbi of Colorado-born Reuvein Gilmore.

Reuvein Gilmore later became one of the founders of the Moddiin collective community that Rabbi Carlebach's students pioneered just north of Jerusalem. Inspired by Rabbi Carlebach's stories of the Aish Kodesh, Reuvein gave the name of his little boy Aish Kodesh. I remember him well as a little fellow with long blonde curls, who would sit on Rabbi Carlebach's knees and listen as the Rabbi played songs of hope and Hassidic inspiration on his guitar. I had lost contact with Aish Kodesh, until I heard of his murder. I interviewed his young widow, shortly after the tragedy.

When I went to interview Zahava Gilmore, Aish Kodesh's widow, just one month after he was murdered in his role as a security guard in East Jerusalem, the person who ran to greet me at the door was Talia, Aish Kodesh's orphaned three-year-old daughter. Zahava explained that Talia always runs to the door,

expecting her father to come home. If that is not the ultimate of humiliation, what is?

Aish Kodesh's widow remarked that Aish was proud of the special role he performed in helping the people of East Jerusalem get the government benefits that they deserved.

You sometimes have to ask over and over and over: Which is the greater "humiliation:" a young man cut down by the PLO in the prime of his life, or the enforcement of strict security measures so that the PLO does not murder another young man in that exact same place?

President Bush must understand that the staff of the U.S. consulate in Jerusalem may need to take some lessons on the meaning of "humiliation" during a time of war. U.S. troops are busy learning the lesson of constant terrorist harassment the hard way in Iraq.

After all, Bagdad and Basra are not very far from Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Shaul and Aish Kodesh were no different than American boys serving their country against a lifelong sponsor of terrorists. And Moshe Belsky's mother feels the pain as much as any dead soldier's mother — maybe more so, since she was speaking to him at the moment of his murder.

President Bush should know well that Israel deserves the right to protect its sons at the checkpoints. Ask the mothers of Shaul, Moshe and Aish Kodesh.

A security check is not humiliation. It is protection.

### **Tense Relations Between Christians And Muslims Have Changed Bethlehem's Demographic**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, January 3, 2008*

Sixty years ago, when Jordan occupied Bethlehem after the 1948 war, 80 percent of Bethlehem's population was Christian. At the time, a respected bishop gathered his parishioners together and announced, "A day will come when you will visit this city as a pilgrim because there will be no more Christians left in the city."

That vision has turned into a prophecy, explained Shibley Kando, who owns one of the biggest Christian souvenir stores in Bethlehem.

"Now we are only 16 percent of the population. Every year the number is declining, what does the future look like? We don't know. This is the reality of our life. Thank God we are still living here."

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

Over the last two decades, life has become increasingly difficult for the tiny Christian community of Bethlehem. Christians here say they face daily threats and intimidation by their Muslim neighbors. Blackmail and land theft by Muslims tied to the Palestinian Authority is common here, they say. In addition, Christians say they are subject to anti-Christian verbal abuse and attacks from Muslims.

A 2007 religious freedom report on Israel and West Bank and Gaza, issued by the US Department of State, confirmed the allegations. The report stated, "The Palestinian Authority has not taken sufficient action to remedy past harassment and intimidation of Christian residents of Bethlehem by the city's Muslim majority. The PA judiciary failed to adjudicate numerous cases of seizures of Christian-owned land in the Bethlehem area by criminal gangs. PA officials appear to have been complicit in property extortion of Palestinian Christian residents, as there were reports of PA security forces and judicial officials colluding with gang members in property extortion schemes. Several attacks against Christians in Bethlehem went unaddressed by the PA."

This has led to a Christian exodus from the city – from 2001 to 2004, 3,000 Christians left the city for the US, Canada, Europe, Central America and South America. Jonathan, a lay leader at the Church of the Nativity, said that 300 Christians from Bethlehem have moved.

Palestinian Christians from abroad have risen to high political status in many countries. According to a Palestinian Authority census, 148,000 Christians with ties to Bethlehem live in Central America and South America. In El Salvador, the president is Tony Saca Gonzalez, whose family left Bethlehem last century; in Honduras, Carlos Roberto Flores, whose mother came from Bethlehem, served as a Palestinian official from 1998 to 2002.

Mr. Kando, a tall man in his early 40s, plans to stay – at least for now. Many of his friends have moved abroad, and just five out of his 28 high school classmates are still in Bethlehem. A lawlessness, and lack of justice, has spread throughout the city, he said.

"Life here is not easy. The Palestinian Authority is not providing enough law and order. Palestinian Authority police are loyal, first to their friends and family. If you have a disagreement with a person, and that person's brother is a policeman, then the policeman will be loyal to his brother first," said Mr. Kando.

These days, Bethlehem's dusty streets and sidewalks are empty much of the time. Just 6,000 tourists came for Christmas – down from the more prosperous days in the mid-'90s when Palestinians and Israelis first made peace. At that time, 20,000 to 30,000 tourists would visit during the holiday, and restaurants, gift shops, and churches were full.

Bethlehem's economy, which is almost entirely dependent on tourism, has been hard hit in recent years. On Christmas day, parts of the city seemed like a ghost town. And many of the Christians who still live here stayed inside their home to celebrate the holiday. In past years, they would have spent much of their time with friends and family celebrating at Manger Square, near the Church of the Nativity. Since the Palestinian Authority made Christmas an official national holiday in 1996, local Christians say the real meaning of their holiday has taken a backseat to the Muslim festivities which now take place opposite the site where Jesus was born.

"We worship on Christmas but Muslims think that the holiday is like Carnival in Brazil," explained William Kando, a cousin of Shibley, who also lives in Bethlehem. Thousands of Muslims from nearby cities, like Hebron, now flock to the city to do things they can't do in their own village, said Mr. Kando, such as drinking alcohol and looking at Christian women who do not wear hijabs, or head coverings. A decade ago, before the Palestinian Authority took control over the city from Israel, the Kandos say Christmas was a much happier time.

"Until 1993, the Israelis put up checkpoints at the entrance to the Nativity Square and Manger Square, and only Christians were allowed there," said William. "Today, if you want to go to Manger Square on Christmas Eve, you have to go with a bodyguard because 98 percent of the people are Muslims."

Christians say they have limited access to the squares near the birthplace of Jesus, and they also say it is dangerous to walk or shop in the city's main market, just yards from the squares. Many say they have had their crosses and crucifixes ripped from their necks from gangs who resell them to Muslim merchants.

Christians still can pray at the church but no longer spend time outside fraternizing. Many are upset that the area is off-limits much of the time to Christians. Muslims use the square for their own political activities. For example, last January the Muslims set up a tent to protest against an Israeli archaeological dig in Jerusalem. Muslims also use the area for sports, and in fact, during the summer the square opposite the Church of the Nativity is turned into a soccer field by Muslims.

"They use the door of the Church of the Nativity as their goal," said Peter, 28, a Christian TV producer who hopes to move to the US soon. "They have no respect for our religion. If we did this at a mosque they would kill us."

"The 24th of December is the worst and saddest day in Bethlehem," said Shibley Kando. "The joy and the happiness that we once had does not exist anymore. They took us out of the celebration."

The day is particularly difficult for Christian women and girls who celebrate the holiday publicly. Sexual harassment by Muslims against the women and girls is a daily occurrence, they say, but it reaches a peak on Christmas Eve when thousands of Muslims jam the squares near the church.

“My friends’ daughter got home after the midnight mass and saw that she had red blotches all over her body. They were from the Muslim men who pinched her, and she couldn’t do anything to stop them,” said William Kando.

As their population has diminished, their political clout has fallen. While Palestinian law still dictates that the city’s mayor must be a Christian, just three Christians – including the mayor – sit on the council that runs the city. For the first time in the city’s history, the council has a strong coalition led by Islamic fundamentalists – five of the members belong to Hamas, one to Islamic Jihad, and six are Fatah representatives.

Even before the 2007 elections the Palestinian Authority granted Hamas permission to build its largest center in the West Bank just one-half mile from Jesus’s birthplace. The nine-story building can be seen throughout the city, and is crowned by golden-domed mosques on its top floor. The building also contains a madrasa for Muslims to study shariah Islamic law a children’s school, Hamas’ administrative offices, and a senior center.

As their power has diminished, Christmas decorations have become scarce in the city. In the downtown area there were some illuminated stars and some Christmas trees near the Church of the Nativity, but for the most part just Palestinian flags hung down from street lights.

Although world television reports focused on the masses gathering in Nativity Square on Christmas Eve and Christmas day, Bethlehem’s Christians say the reports were superficial and shade the real truth of their day-to-day lives.

Just seven years ago, tens of thousands of tourists and Christians from all over the world poured into Bethlehem to celebrate Christmas and to attend open-air masses. On Christmas Eve, just 6,000 Christian tourists came to Bethlehem.

At the Israeli checkpoint at the entrance of the city, it took seconds to pass through Israeli security. Just inside the city, restaurants that had been filled on previous Christmas holidays were empty or closed altogether. Around a small table, seven local Christian men ate peanuts and chocolates. All sipped whiskey – a rare public site in this increasingly Islamic city where Islamic law is unofficially enforced by local gangs.

On the way to Manger Square the only reminder of the Christmas holiday was a dusty, inflatable Santa Claus that sat in front of a variety store. Palestinian flags

decorated the streets, along with posters of a Palestinian who was killed after attacking Israelis.

Few tourists were in any of the stores, and the streets were filled with Palestinian police who held Kalashnikov rifles.

At Manger Square, Bethlehem's Christians celebrated their holiday by dressing in their best clothes, and preparing to attend the midnight mass. The Christian men wore new suits, slacks and shoes; the women wore dresses, skirts, jeans and makeup. For women, Christmas would be the only day of the year they could dress like Westerners in their home city. Beginning December 26, Islamic fundamentalists prohibit Christian women from wearing short skirts publicly, and there is a growing pressure for the women to cover their hair and the rest of their bodies like Muslim women.

The gathering was not solely a Christian event. In 1996, the Palestinian Authority declared Christmas as a national holiday and began to downplay the Christian origins of the day. As a result, Bethlehem's Palestinian Muslims also jammed the square, and were joined by Muslims from Hebron, Jenin, and the nearby populated refugee camps, who stayed in the once-Christian square late into the evening.

"I wouldn't dare take my wife and my children to the square at night. I don't want the Moslems to harass them," said Kondo, a local merchant. "Ten years ago all the Christians rejoiced, and choirs from all over the world were singing; it was a real happy evening."

While Christians plot their steps before they travel throughout the city, and sometimes do not openly display their crosses and crucifixes in public, the opposite is true for Muslims. On the day after Christmas, a middle aged Muslim man spread a small rug on a sidewalk near the church, dropped to his knees and prayed as bystanders walked around him.

While the holiday is not the same as it once was for Christians, they still show their solidarity on the day before Christmas, when Christian youth marching bands from Bethlehem and other nearby villages parade through the downtown streets dressed in the boy and girl scout uniforms. Many carry flags and hold banners from their organizations.

The scout groups are organized by church leaders throughout the city and represent several denominations, including, Latin, Anglican, Lutheran and Greek Orthodox.

Every church has its own private school, managed and subsidized by religious organizations from Europe and the U.S.

“Our children do not attend public school. In public schools here they focus on teaching Islam, and it’s not an option for the kids. Children must study Islam in the public schools,” said Shibley Kando. “Also, in our Christian schools, the level of education is higher and we prefer this education for our children. That’s why wealthy Muslims send their kids to our schools. And we teach Islam to their children.”

As the Islamic population has grown in the city, Christians have seen their numbers drop precipitously. According to census reports, the city was half-Christian in 1973; in 1990, just 37 percent of Bethlehem was Christian. In 2007, just 16 percent of the city is Christian, with different families leaving each week, mostly for the US, Canada and Central America. As the Christian population decreased, Palestinian Muslims have flocked to the city, forming a solid majority. The turning point of Muslim control of the city came in 2006, when seven Islamic fundamentalists – representing Hamas and Islamic Jihad – were elected to the 15-member board. That board – which controls the city – consists of just three Christians.

Christians say a growing Islamic fundamentalism that sees Christianity as a second-rate religion is one of the major reasons for their flight. Long time Christian residents also complain about having to pay blackmail to government-affiliated gangs to keep their land, homes and businesses. Sometimes, even when they pay, land has been taken and people have been violently beaten.

Christians say they can only walk safely in certain sections of the town, and they also avoid the main market which is now Muslim-only. Women are particularly careful to plan their shopping, and complain of daily sexual harassment by Muslim men. Christians also fear for their gold and silver crosses and crucifixes, and say they are frequently ripped from their necks in public.

“We don’t have any hope left in this city, our dream is to emigrate,” explained George, a Bethlehem Christian attorney. “The choice is to have a gang, and to keep a weapon in every house or to bend our heads, give up our dignity and become sheep.”

The threats and intimidation have not been limited to just Bethlehem’s Christians and have spread throughout the West Bank and Gaza. In Gaza, the tiny Christian community of 2,000 was rocked by the murder of Rami Ayyad, a Palestinian Bible Society teacher who was stabbed and shot by Islamic extremists in October. Ayyad, who left behind a pregnant wife and two children, was found near a Christian bookshop.

Also, in October 2007, an American-born Palestinian-Christian was forced to leave Ramallah and to return to Alabama after being repeatedly threatened by

Fatah military officials. Isa Bajalia, a Christian cleric who heads Middle East Missions in Ramallah, was approached over the summer by militants who demanded a \$30,000 cash payment along with the deed to his family's property.

"They told me that if I didn't do what they wanted they could get me no matter – whether if I was in the [United] States or here. They said to me we will break your arms and legs," said Bajalia.

After months of daily threats, Bajalia fled to the US, fearing for his life.

"The future here is very black," said Suhell, a 60-year-old Christian merchant who sat near his Christmas tree on the holiday, and sipped coffee with his sons Peter and Matthew.

Peter and Matthew, who are both in their 20s, say their only hope is to emigrate. The two say they face a life of daily humiliation as Christians by their Muslim neighbors.

While they have both been attacked by Muslim mobs in the past, the brothers say they're even angrier about how the birthplace of Jesus – the Church of the Nativity – is treated by local Muslims. In the spring of 2002, Palestinian gunmen loyal to Arafat's forces held more than 100 people hostage, and took over the church for three weeks. Using the church as a fortress, the gunmen used pages of its holy bibles for toilet paper, emptied the charity boxes, and also stole gold and silver icons that had been part of the church for centuries. They also set a section of the church on fire.

Publicly Christians will not talk about their plight in this city, and many fear for their lives. Christians say Muslims have targeted them for a least a decade; many have been publicly attacked and hospitalized; many say that small arguments often lead to violent attacks from mobs of Muslims.

Even in their homes they spoke in hushed tones.

### **Bethlehem Churches Bear Brunt Of Religious Hatred**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, January 9, 2008*

In certain parts of the Holy Land, you can't go too far without seeing a church.

For centuries, millions of Christian pilgrims visited the Holy Land to pray in the holy houses of worship. Palestinian Christians from all denominations who built these churches for centuries had the freedom to worship, without any problems from the nearby Muslims.

Things began to change a decade ago, after the Palestinian Authority took control of major sections of the Holy Land. And, as Islamic fundamentalism has risen in those territories during that time, relations between the two religions began to deteriorate. As Islam has grown, lawlessness has spread throughout the territories, where Islamic militants have been emboldened to act – sometimes illegally – to advance their cause.

Christians now say they have experienced anti-Christian sentiment from Muslims that have ranged from verbal accusations to vicious beatings and murder. And basic holidays that Christians always celebrated have now been forbidden. In December, the Hamas government in Gaza banned any celebrations of New Year's Eve and New Year's Day, a traditional Christian holiday period. Also, in the West Bank, an Islamic group, "Keepers of Sharia (Islamic Law) warned residents not to celebrate the holidays.

Besides being shaken down by the Palestinian Authority for blackmail money, and having their land stolen in elaborate schemes from Palestinian Authority officials, some Christians say they have looked on helplessly as they suffered what they call the ultimate injustice: the burning and desecration of their holy churches.

Christians are still reeling from September 2006, when seven churches in the West Bank and Gaza were attacked in a three-day period after Muslims were infuriated by comments made by Pope Benedict XVI about Islam and the prophet Mohammed. The pope's comments followed the publication of cartoons depicting Mohammed in a Dutch newspaper. After the churches were

attacked by Islamic fundamentalists, a Hamas leader, Imad Hamto, called for the Pope to repent and to convert to Islam.

The attacks were not the first on churches in the Holy Land in recent years. In 2001, Palestinian gunmen took over Christian-Palestinian churches in Beit Jallah – a city near Bethlehem – so they could fire into Israeli neighborhoods. At the time, Palestinian snipers said they took control of the holy churches because they were confident the Israelis would not attack them.

And, some say the worst case took place in 2002, when more than 100 Palestinian fighters loyal to former PA President Yasser Arafat took over the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and held dozens of hostages – including priests and nuns. Inside, the gunmen used bibles for toilet paper, emptied the church's charity boxes, and sold gold and silver crosses that had been in the church for centuries. They even lit a fire in a section of a church during the siege.

Christians say that the 2006 church burnings and attacks were a turning point in Christian-Muslim relations in the Holy Land.

“The Islamic people want to kill us. That's their principle and belief. They don't want Christians in this country. They don't want to hear our names; they don't want to see us. That's the reality,” said Reverend Tomey Dahoud, who heads the Greek Orthodox Church in Taubas, a city near Jenin.

Dahoud's church, which was built more than 100 years ago, suffered extensive damage after its entrance hall was firebombed in September of 2006. That attack sent shivers through the remaining 14 Christians in Taubas, causing some to consider leaving.

“We've had problems before with Muslims but they never touched the house of God,” explained Dahoud. “What does it mean to set a church on fire? It's terrorism, it's a crime.”

In Tulkaram, the last Christian family that takes care of the 200-year-old Greek Orthodox Church say they've had enough and want to practice their religion freely.

“We are preparing to move abroad to a place where we can live a better life as Christians,” said Reverend Dahoud Dimitry, who heads the Tulkaram's Saint George Greek Orthodox church that burned to the ground in an arson attack on September 16, 2006.

More than 30 years ago, the Christian community numbered close to 2000, but now Dimitry's family of 12 is the last remaining Christian family in this Islamic stronghold.

To date no one has been arrested or charged with the arson, which occurred after extremists poured gasoline throughout the church and on its' alter.

The church was rebuilt but there are no funds for a security guard or for security cameras. During the fire, all of the church's contents except one bible were incinerated.

"We had two icons from the 15th century and they were destroyed. We had a small library and the most important thing that we had was a registry of all the names of Christians who had ever lived in Tulkaram. All of that burned and now we don't have any records of our ancestors."

In Nablus, there are now just 700 Christians left – down from 3,000 just 40 years ago. And, last year, the small Christian community was hard hit after four of its churches were burned by Islamic fundamentalists following the Pope's comments.

"We were afraid," explained Jamal Mahmud, who works at the Jacob Well Greek Orthodox Church in Nablus. Mahmud said during the days when Muslim rioted, 25 Molotov cocktails were thrown at the church, which suffered minimal damage. "When somebody throws a Molotov cocktail at you it's frightening," added Mahmud.

"The future will be even more dangerous for Christian people, added Reverend Yousef Jibrán Saade, the spiritual leader of the Greek Catholic Church in Nablus. Saade's church was firebombed and riddled with bullets by unknown attackers on September 16, 2006. No one has been arrested for the attacks, and, like other West Bank Christian clerics, he said the attack caused parishioners to consider moving abroad.

In Gaza, following the Pope's remarks, Islamic extremists bombed a 1,400-year-old Greek Orthodox Church. In addition, a group of Catholic nuns were threatened, and a bomb was placed outside of another church.

The attack and threats instilled fear into many of the church's parishioners. But even before the September, 2006 rioting, the small Christian community of 2,000 – mostly Greek Orthodox – felt unsafe. Since Hamas won the Palestinian elections in January of 2006, Sharia or Islamic law has been the informal law of the land. These days, Christian women cover their hair like Muslim women so as to not attract attention.

"It is dangerous for Christians in Gaza," explained Pastor Hanna Massad, a Palestinian-American who runs the 200-member Gaza Baptist Church.

Massad's church has been repeatedly threatened by fundamentalists in the last several years, and the bible store that his wife runs in Gaza City was

firebombed twice in the last year. And in October, a bible store worker and one of his parishioners, Rami Ayyad, were kidnapped and murdered by Islamic fundamentalists. He was found near the Christian bookstore.

In Bethlehem, the threats, shakedowns, and anti-Christian sentiment have taken their toll on former Bethlehem Mayor Hanna Nasser. Nasser said the community is still in shock over the 2002 takeover of the 1,400-year-old Church of the Nativity by Palestinian gunmen.

“For Christians it was a brutal feeling,” said Nasser, who was born in Bethlehem, and also baptized and married inside the Church of the Nativity. “We were astonished and very angry. The church was not destroyed but we as Christians in Bethlehem, remain wounded.”

At 70, Nasser plans to stay in the city. But, like other Christian families that trace their roots to this city for centuries, he has watched family members, like his son and daughter leave the city.

“There is no future for Christians,” said Nasser.

Reverend Tomey Dahoud also says the pressure is mounting for all Christians to leave Palestinian-controlled lands. Still, he is prepared to stay, even if it means enduring violence. “Even if they are going to set fire to all of our churches we will stay and die here,” said Dahoud.

### **New Saudi Pressure On Israel, US Regarding A Palestinian State**

*David Bedein, The Philadelphia Bulletin, April 16, 2009*

The Saudi government’s official state news agency, the Saudi Press Agency, has reported the Saudi Cabinet issued a strong directive Monday calling for “swift action” to be taken to establish an “independent vibrant Palestinian state.”

The Saudi Cabinet summed up statements made by Minister of Culture and Information, Abdul-Aziz Khoja, calling on the United States to “put pressure on Israel” to implement a March 2002 Saudi initiative. The measure would require Israel to expel Jews from East Jerusalem and other areas captured by Israel during the 1967 Six-Day War to make room for an independent Palestinian state.

The 2002 initiative also called for Israel to recognize a December 1949 U.N. resolution that calls for Palestinian Arab refugees and their descendants to return to Arab villages abandoned during Israel’s 1948 War of Independence.

Saudi Arabia has remained in an active state of war with Israel since 1948 and is the only Arab nation state contiguous to Israel that has never signed a peace agreement or even an armistice deal with Israel. The Arab League declared war to decimate the nascent Jewish state in 1948. That state of war still exists, and Saudi Arabia exercises a leadership role within the Arab League.

Since 1948, Egypt and Jordan have signed peace treaties with Israel, and Syria and Lebanon have signed armistice accords with Israel.

In the context of its war with Israel, Saudi Arabia continues to provide funding for Damascus-based Palestinian terrorist organizations that rejected the peace process with Israel.

### **How Rachel Corrie's Death Was Misreported: A Tale Of Two Pictures**

*David Bedein, August 31, 2012*

Reprinted from 2003. Published in Makor Rishon and in the Jerusalem Post (2003).

A news story which shocked the world this week dealt with the crushing of American citizen Rachel Corrie by an IDF bulldozer, who ostensibly blocked with her body a bulldozer about to demolish the home of a Palestinian terrorist in Gaza, made huge headlines all over the world. I asked to speak with the spokesman of International Solidarity Movement Mike Shaik, who passed me on to Lynn Clausen, a 24-year old resident of Washington from the Christians Peacemakers Team based in Hebron, which trains the ISM volunteers.

Shaik and Clausen sent me to speak with Corrie's friends who were with her at the time she was crushed. Corrie's friend Joe Smith described me how Corrie sat on a mound of dirt facing the IDF bulldozer making its way to the house it was about to demolish.

"Rachel had two options", Smith says. "When the bulldozer started to dig in the dirt pile, the pile started to move, and she could have rolled sideways quickly or fallen backwards to avoid being hit. But Rachel leaned forward to climb to the top of the dirt pile. The bulldozer's digging drew her downward, and its driver could not see her anymore. So without lifting the scoop, he turned backward and she was already underneath the blade."

Smith's description is very important, since the picture published by Reuters shows Corrie standing to the left of the bulldozer, in a location where the driver

can see her very clearly, as she holds a megaphone in her hand. Beneath the picture's caption is written: "Photographed before Rachel Corrie was run over by an IDF bulldozer." Everyone who looks at the picture and the text understands that the driver, who sees the American civilian standing in front of him, just kept on going, crushing her to death. But Joe Smith says that the picture was taken hours before she was run over, which happened at 5:00 p.m., and not a few minutes beforehand. Smith emphasizes that at the time of the incident and during it, there were no photographers in the area.

After I checked the pictures that Reuters distributed to the world's newspapers, I noticed the difference between the colors of the sky in the picture where Corrie stands with the megaphone and the one that shows the body after the incident. The time the picture was taken also appears in text on the Internet site, saying that it was in the morning. It is not noted that the incident took place hours later.

I called Reuters's photography department and asked for an explanation.

The photography editor said that the pictures were not taken by his agency, which had no photographers in the area at all, and that the pictures came to them via ISM.

The Reuters photography editor added that he wrote clearly that the pictures had been taken by ISM.

I pointed out to him that no such notice appeared in the pictures I saw on the Reuters site. I asked the director general of Reuters in Israel, Tim Heritage, whether Reuters has a set policy of using pictures provided by political organizations, and Heritage replied that it is widespread.

Heritage promised to check the matter of the misleading picture that was taken before the incident and asked me to call him back in an hour.

After an hour, Heritage was no longer available to speak with me. I went into the Reuters website and was amazed to find that the pictures of Corrie had been removed.

Thus the American woman who came to protect the homes of Palestinian terrorists with her own body was wiped out twice: once by an IDF bulldozer and then by the Reuters agency, which came to "document" the incident.

The damage the agency caused still requires repair. A picture is worth a thousand words. The picture of Rachel Corrie with the megaphone, standing before the bulldozer of the "cruel Zionist occupier", who was "crushed after this picture was taken", as Reuters falsely wrote, will be engraved in the memories of those who follow events in the Middle East.

[By no strange coincidence, the web site of the International Solidarity Movement, at [www.palsolidarity.org](http://www.palsolidarity.org), features the picture of Rachel Corrie, holding her proverbial megaphone, with a caption which says that Rachel was in the clear sight of the bulldozer driver before he ran her over. Yes, five hours before...]

### **The “Monument” to Baruch Goldstein and the “Moderation” of Abbas**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, January 18, 2013*

*Response to “Obama, Israelis, and Palestinians: More Words, Less Action” by David Makovsky and David Pollack of the Washington Institute for Near East Affairs.*

The authors write that, “the U.S. should urge Israel to dismantle the monument in Hebron to the Israeli murderer Baruch Goldstein — and urge Israeli politicians, once their election campaign is over, to stop calling Abbas a “political terrorist.”

In terms of their request that Israelis stop calling Abbas a political terrorist, are they not aware of the consistent praise that Abbas gives to those who murder Jews, culminating in Abbas’s Jan 4 embrace of a litany of “Shahidim” and the legacy of the Mufti?

2. Meanwhile, in Kiryat Arba, a monument to Goldstein does not exist.

The IDF Civil Administration did not allow him to be buried in the Hebron cemetery. Goldstein was therefore buried near the entrance the Kiryat Arba.

A bookshelf with prayer books and Bibles was placed there, next to a sink for washing hands and a plaque to cover the dirt in front of the grave, with insignia embedded there.

After the Israeli court determined that this constituted a “shrine in memory of a terrorist,” the Israel Civil Administration ordered that the floor destroyed and the sink was destroyed.

That was in 1999.

How can David Makovsky and David Pollack write about Abbas & Kiryat Arba without checking facts?

**Special Reports: How to Communicate to Media and Policy Makers**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, June 26, 2013*



The US has taken a leading role in promoting peace in the Middle East. In contrast to the US policy of advocacy for peace, the US...

A. Funds Palestinian education, which has adopted a curriculum that inculcates Palestinian pupils to liberate all of Palestine, by force of arms.

[http://israelbehindthenews.com/library/pdfs/Quotations from the PA Textbook s.pdf](http://israelbehindthenews.com/library/pdfs/Quotations_from_the_PA_Textbook_s.pdf)

B. Funds UNRWA, which confines descendents of Palestinian refugees from 1948 to the indignity of refugee camp squalor, under the specious premise of the right of return to Arab villages from 1948 which no longer exist.

<http://israelbehindthenews.com/bin/search.cgi?match=AND&keywords=UNRWA&submit=Search>

## The PLO And The Genesis Of The Palestinian Authority: The Inside Story

C. Funds Palestinian armed forces that incorporate organizations defined by the US government as terrorist organizations.

<http://israelbehindthenews.com/library/pdfs/dangers-of-US-Aid-to-PAsecurity-forces.pdf>

Express these policy concerns to US Senators and US Representatives who sit on congressional committees whose task it is to oversee US Middle East policy:

Members of the Near East Subcommittee of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_States\\_Senate\\_Foreign\\_Relations\\_Subcommittee\\_on\\_Near\\_Eastern\\_and\\_South\\_and\\_Central\\_Asian\\_Affairs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Senate_Foreign_Relations_Subcommittee_on_Near_Eastern_and_South_and_Central_Asian_Affairs)

Members of the Middle East Subcommittee of the US House Foreign Affairs Committee

<http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/subcommittees.asp?committee=7>

The way to facilitate effective communication with members of these committees is to call first to verify who the staff person is who addresses foreign policy matters.

You can use one telephone number 202 224 3121 (the Capitol Switchboard) to call all members of the US Senate and the US House of Representatives. Once you identify the staff person, you write to that staffer, by hard copy AND by e-mail. After you send the e-mail, call the staff person to see if the communication got through. Hard copy letters can be sent to Senate offices at The US Senate Office Building, Washington DC 20510 and to House offices at The US House Office Building, Washington DC 20515.

<http://www.contactingthecongress.org>

### **Martin Indyk: The “Objective Mediator?”**

*David Bedein , Times of Israel, July 23, 2013*

Indyk’s record as an objective mediator should be examined.

Martin Indyk is generally looked upon as the man who planned the Oslo process that gave Yasser Arafat and the PLO armed control over most of the

Palestinian Arab population. This being said however; Indyk's record of engagement in this conflict must be further examined.

In 1994, journalist Haim Shibi of the Yediot Aharonot newspaper reported that in 1987, Indyk had convinced more than 150 members of the U.S. foreign policy establishment that Israel should unilaterally withdraw from territories gained in 1967 Six Day War.

Indyk oversaw every step of the Oslo process with that precise policy in mind – Israel giving up land that is vital to her defense, in an effort to introduce peace.

Indyk, during his stint as US ambassador to Israel, did not hesitate to overlook the vindictive intentions and policies of the PLO, namely while doing so, obfuscating the fact that the PLO never adhered to the basic commitment it made to cancel its covenant that calls for the eradication of the Jewish state.

In September 1995, with the signing of the second Oslo interim agreement at the White House, the U.S. Congress mandated that the U.S. would only be able to provide funds to the Palestinian Authority and provide diplomatic status to Arafat if the PLO covenant was finally canceled.

The PLO never did so, yet the millions of dollars in the foreign aid money kept rolling into Ramallah to the Palestinian Authority.

On April 24, 1996, the PLO convened a special session of its Palestine National Council (PNC) to consider the subject of the PLO covenant cancellation.

At the opportunity for such internal insight, Our news agency dispatched a Palestinian TV crew to cover that session, which turned out to be the only crew that filmed the event.

The film crew brought back a videotape that showed a lively discussion, the conclusion of which was to ratify Arafat's suggestion that the PNC simply create a committee to "discuss" the subject.

With this report, at my own expense, I rushed the VHS copy to Ambassador Indyk for comment, yet received no response to requested comment. He did not respond to that request for comment.

Instead, he chose to ignore the decision of the PNC and, in moment of perjury, issued a falsified report to President Clinton and to the U.S. Congress that the PLO covenant had been canceled.

As a result of Indyk's false report, Arafat was provided with a red carpet greeting at the White House on May 1, 1996, and the PLO was only then allowed to open an office in Washington.

The next day, however, Hebrew University Professor Yehoshua Porat, a former leader in Peace Now who ran on slot 13 on the Meretz ticket in 1992, an expert in Palestinian studies and fluent in Arabic, convened a press conference in which he shared protocols of the PNC session and the videotape which proved Arafat never canceled the PLO covenant.

But the damage was already done. Thanks to the negligent and malintentioned actions of Martin Indyk in 1996, Arafat and the PLO would go on to receive United States diplomatic recognition and foreign aid from the U.S., which has continued to this day.

In December 1998, President Clinton, finally convinced that Indyk's 1996 covenant report was wrong, arrived in Gaza, accompanied by Indyk, where they asked for a show of hands from members of the PNC as to whether they want to cancel the PLO covenant and make peace with Israel. The real answer, however, they got the next day. Arafat's personal spokesman, Yassir Abed Abbo, told the media that the PNC had, of course, not canceled any covenant.

Yet there is more.

In September 2000, Dr. Uzi Landau, now a senior minister in the Israeli government, who served then as the head of the Knesset State Control Committee (the equivalent of the U.S. Senate's Committee on Governmental Affairs), took the unusual step of filing a formal complaint against United States Ambassador to Israel Martin Indyk.

Landau quoted the September 16, 2000 report in the Guardian of London that "the U.S. Ambassador to Israel yesterday urged Israel to share Jerusalem with the Palestinians." Mr. Indyk said: "There is no other solution but to share the holy city..." Landau also noted that Ambassador Indyk was similarly quoted by the Associated Press, The Jerusalem Post and Ha'aretz.

Landau went on to say that "the timing of the speech and the political context in which it was delivered leave no room for doubt that Ambassador Indyk was calling on the Government of Israel to divide Jerusalem. Indeed, the Guardian correspondent described the remarks as 'a sharp departure from Washington orthodoxy in recent years.'"

In addition to his remarks concerning Jerusalem, Ambassador Indyk offered his views regarding secular-religious tensions in Israel and the role of the Reform and Conservative movements in Judaism. He also intimated his tacit support for Prime Minister Barak's so-called secular revolution. As a commentator in the liberal daily Ha'aretz, noted: "readers are urged to imagine what the Americans would say if the Israeli ambassador to Washington were to come to a local religious institution and say such things."

Landau, who has served in a ministerial post in the Israeli government that negotiated sensitive relations between the U.S. and Israel, mentioned in his letter to Clinton that he wished to “strongly protest Ambassador Indyk’s blatant interference in Israel’s internal affairs and democratic process... I am sure you would agree that it is simply unacceptable for a foreign diplomat to involve himself so provocatively in the most sensitive affairs of the country to which he is posted. If a foreign ambassador stationed in the United States were to involve himself in a domestic American policy debate regarding race relations or abortion, the subsequent outcry would not be long in coming. Ambassador Indyk’s remarks about Jerusalem are an affront to Israel, particularly since he made them in the heart of the city that he aspires to divide. By needlessly raising Arab expectations on the Jerusalem issue, rather than moderating them, Ambassador Indyk has caused inestimable damage to the peace process. It is likewise inexplicable that Ambassador Indyk would choose to interject his private religious preferences into the debate over secular-religious tensions in Israel.”

Landau made it a point even more by stating “this is not the first time that the American Embassy in Israel has interfered in our internal affairs. In February, I wrote to you in the wake of media reports that Embassy officials were lobbying Israeli-Arab leaders regarding a possible referendum on the Golan Heights. My fear is that such interference in Israel’s affairs is rapidly becoming routine.”

Landau concluded his letter to Clinton with a “request that you recall Ambassador Indyk to the United States.”

Two months later, in early November 2000, Arafat’s Second Intifada terror campaign was getting underway. Indyk was strongly condemning Israel’s military actions against Arafat’s forces. Indyk remarked that what the Israelis had to do was to get Arafat to act against the perpetrators of the violence, such as Hamas, Tanzim gangs and the Islamic Jihad diplomatically. He did not mention that Arafat’s own Force 17 bodyguard, Preventive Security and other Palestinian Authority forces were also responsible for a considerable portion of the violence. Indyk never wanted to hold Arafat responsible when Arafat’s forces carried out terrorist activities.

In late November 2000, when Israel issued a “white paper” on intercepted intelligence from Arafat’s headquarters that showed documentary evidence that Arafat and his mainstream PLO gangs were indeed facilitating the campaign of terror, Indyk made a special trip to Jerusalem to demand that the Israeli government withdraw its report. Indyk had just reported to the U.S. Congress that the Palestinian groups organizing the terror campaign were NOT under Arafat’s control.

Eight months later, on May 21, 2001, in an address to Ben Gurion University, Indyk stuck to his guns and continued to position that Arafat and the PLO were the “U.S. colleagues in the War on Terror by telling Israel”: “What you do is you get Arafat to act against the perpetrators of the violence, Hamas, Tanzim gangs, the Islamic Jihad and you get the Israeli government to hold back the Israeli army while he does so. But that requires a great deal of energy and commitment on Arafat’s part – in very risky circumstances to take on the very angry Palestinian street – and that requires a great deal of restraint and forbearance on the part of the government of Israel.”

Indyk’s admonition to Israel to turn the other cheek when it came to Arafat became his mantra.

#### **NIF-Funded “GISHA” - No Responsibility for concrete tunnels from Gaza**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, October 17, 2013*

“Gisha” – the Hebrew word for “access” - an organization financed in part by the New Israel Fund, conducts campaigns to demand that Israel provide unrestricted supply of materials to Gaza, especially cement.

Our agency asked Gisha if it would issue a statement about how Israel-supplied cement was used by Gazans to construct tunnels for military use.

As reported, Israel authorized massive cement imports into Gaza in December 2011.

<http://israelbehindthenews.com/bin/content.cgi?ID=6859&q=1>

From a statement excerpted below, “Gisha” does not seem to know about Israel cement supplies to Gaza,- less than two years ago, deliveries which have nothing to do with current Israeli authorization of cement into Gaza less than a month ago.

From the “Gisha” statement: “The IDF estimated that it took between 18 months and two years to build the tunnel and that it was completed two months ago. In other words, the tunnel was completed a month before Israel began allowing cement destined for the private sector into the Gaza Strip. Why then, does the GOC Southern Command claim that Hamas “exploited our good intentions to transfer construction materials into the Gaza Strip for the private sector, for the benefit of the population”? Does he not trust the IDF’s assessments? Does he

think Hamas built a 1.7-kilometer long tunnel, at a depth of 12 to 18 meters in less than one month?”

<http://www.gazagateway.org/2013/10/the-tunnel-to-ein-hashlosa-five-short-questions/>

Clearly, “Gisha” does not want its supporters to know about earlier cement deliveries to Gaza - access that “Gisha” had campaigned for.

### **What do Syrians Teach in their Schools?**

*David Bedein, Israel Resource Review, December 8, 2015*

“During World War II Nazism persecuted millions of human beings in Europe and elsewhere, this persecution affected the Jews for the following reasons:

Because of the non-mingling with the nations and the societies where they lived.

Because of their control and monopoly over currency exchange, banks and commercial financing.

[Because of] their treason toward their homeland, Germany, as they had put themselves in the service of the Allies.” (Syrian schoolbook, National Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 104)

As western societies greet torrents of Syrian citizens arriving at their shores, with Jewish groups leading the way to welcome Syrians with an outstretched arm, it may be appropriate to take a look at textbooks that the Syrian Baathist regime instituted in the Syrian educational system in 2001. These books have been used by Syrian school children ever since. Syrian young adults are a product of this school system.

Dr. Arnon Groiss did the translations of the schoolbooks\*

A child growing up and progressing through the Syrian education system [1] will be educated in a manner that teaches hate and intolerance rather than one that promotes peace. Regarding the Arab-Israeli war, children are taught that it is not a matter of borders but rather Israel’s existence as a whole that is the core of the conflict. [2] Furthermore, they are taught that this conflict is the number

one priority issue for Arabs [3] and that fighting it is a matter of honor. [4] This narrative is repeated throughout all age levels beginning in grade 2.

Syrian children are also taught that Jews are evil, a false people, and that their religion does not make them a nation. [5] Syrian textbooks praise the Holocaust as a positive event. [6] Distorting the fact that Jews call themselves the “chosen people,” the Syrian education system teaches children that Jews themselves are racist[7]. Syrian children are taught that Zionism is the most hostile movement threatening Arab nationalism and the Arab homeland in its entirety. [8] Syrians will inevitably grow up to believe that Zionism is a racist movement based on lies, [9] similar to Nazism, [10] and a partner of imperialism. [11] In addition, the curriculum also teaches that Zionism’s goals do not stop at the borders of Israel but rather threaten all of the Arab lands including Syria. [12] Syrian textbooks describe Israel as an alien entity in the heart of the Arab homeland. [13] Israel is not included on maps in Syrian textbooks; rather the land is labeled as Palestine. [14] Children are taught that the Jews stole the land away from the Arabs [15] and have established an illegitimate, [16] racist, [17] and cancerous [18] nation that is a threat to the whole Arab world[19]. The textbooks blame Israel for Arab backwardness [20] and accuse it of wishing to destroy all Arabs. [21] Syrians learning from this curriculum will grow up hating Israel, Israelis, and Jews and will see no means of achieving peace other than removing Israel’s presence in the Middle East.

Since 1948 Syria has been in a state of war with Israel and its educational system has consisted of incitement, hate and demonization. Syrian Children are taught that Palestine was established by Arabs 4,500 years ago and has been inhabited by them ever since. The Arab land was “occupied” by Israel. They are told, “Jerusalem is considered among the most ancient cities of the world. It used to be called Jebus, after its inhabitants, the Jebusites, who built it in the year 2500 BC. The Palestinians are descendents of the Canaanites, for they emigrated from Yemen with the second Arab wave towards the land of Syria.”[22] Israel was never inhabited by Jews, nor is Jerusalem holy to them. Their holy sites are not mentioned. The textbooks state, “It is the pure city that God has blessed... Christ lived there... and Muhammad went thither [in his Midnight Journey Isra’ according to Muslim belief] and thence he ascended to Heaven [Mi’raj according to Muslim belief]... Al-Aqsa Mosque is there, as well as the Dome of the Rock... and the Holy Sepulcher. [23] The Jews were foreign occupiers and accused of violating the holy space with their presence. It is the Muslim obligation to evict them from the city.

Additionally, there is a total rejection of peace with Israel. In Syrian education, peace with Israel means surrender and treason. This is how they explain the 1979 peace treaty between Egypt and Israel as well as the abortive agreement between Israel and Lebanon in 1983. The students learn that they “won” the

battle with Israel. “We should believe that any hand extended for peace with the aggressors is a criminal hand that must be cut off, because that is an open treason against Islam and the Muslims. On this basis we judge the position of the conspiring agent, who violated his nation’s will and his religion’s instructions, [Egypt’s late President] Anwar Sadat, as well as what he did, beginning in the disgraceful and treacherous visit to Israel and ending in his despicable and shameful negotiations.”[24]

The “Peace Process” is the continuation of the struggle against Israel. The battle for peace is presented vaguely and is unspecified. Nothing is said about Israel’s right to exist within pre-1967 armistice lines. “The Syrian Arab country has rejected all the yielding surrender attempts which aim at the loss of the Arab nation’s rights and especially the right of the Palestinian Arab people to liberation and return... We should be alert and watchful of the enemy’s deception and cunning and reject any call for peace with it. [25] Lastly, there is a motif of conditional and one-sided peace. Syria will not give up any of its principles for peace with Israel. Instead there is liberation of Palestine as a Syrian goal. This will be achieved by force alone and destroying Israel is a matter of time. Militarism is defined as a secular contribution to the Jihad. The war against Israel is a Jihad. “Jihad has been, and will remain, the only way to defend the homeland and to recover what the enemies have usurped thereof.” [26]

In addition to teaching hate and intolerance the Syrian education system teaches martyrdom as an exalted value. Textbooks teach that martyrdom is the way of truth, justice, and glory. [27] Martyrs’ deaths are considered social wedding parties, and are celebrated joyously. [28] This system teaches that martyrdom is the road to victory and liberation. [29] The result of this is that a large number of their youth are bent on dying so that their nation will “live.” [30] Martyrdom is included in other aspects of Syrian education such as poetry [31] and language. [32] They are even given assignments that require students to write about the glorification of martyrdom. [33] The violence incited by martyrdom is apparent, but still is never referred to as terror. Martyrdom and violent acts towards “enemies” are considered heroic military missions. [34] The term terror is reserved solely for Israeli actions. [35] Syrian textbooks support Palestinian terrorism on multiple occasions, referring to Fedai action as heroic [36] and respectful. [37] Terror is supported on the premise that it is the best way to recover the land of Israel and get rid of all its (Jewish) inhabitants. [38]

Syrian schools systems teach a monolithic view of the West and of Israel. Children are taught that Zionism is actually “world Imperialism” headed by the United States. [39] This idea is furthered by claims that the United States and Israel have shared interest against the Arabs. [40] They claim that Zionism is supported by the United States as Imperialism, [41] and that there is an agenda

to weaken the Arab nation. [42] These textbooks state that Zionism is the European answer to colonizing the world.[43] They emphasize the western support of the State of Israel and that it is all due to the fact that “Imperialist States” wanted a State for themselves. [44]

[1] [1] Education in Syria is state controlled and must conform to the ideology of the ruling nationalist socialist party.

[2] [2] Nationalist Socialist Education Textbook, Grade 8, p. 96.

[3] [3] Nationalist-Socialist Education Textbook, Grade 8, p. 132.

[4] [4] Islamic Education, Grade 4, p. 106.

[5] [5] Nationalist-Socialist Education Textbook, Grade 10, p. 90,95.

[6] [6] Nationalist Socialist Education Textbook, Grade 10, p. 104.

[7] [7] Islamic Education, Grade 11, p. 33.

[8] [8] “Palestine is Arab”, Selected Stories, Grade 6, p. 52.

[9] [9] Nationalist-Socialist Education Textbook, Grade 10, p. 95.

[10] [10] Reader, Grade 11, p. 49.

[11] [11] Nationalist Socialist Education Textbook, Grade 8, p. 100.

[12] [12] Nationalist-Socialist Education Textbook, Grade 9, p. 75.

[13] [13] “The Small Lemon Tree”, Short Stories, Grade 5, p. 12.

[14] [14] Geography of the Syrian Arab Country, Grade 8, p. 8.

[15] [15] Reader, Grade 6, pt. 2, p. 94.

[16] [16] History of Modern Times, Grade 11, pt. 2, p. 178.

[17] [17] Nationalist-Socialist Education Textbook, Grade 10, p.113.

[18] [18] Nationalist-Socialist Education Textbook, Grade 10, p. 112.

[19] [19] Nationalist-Socialist Education Textbook, Grade 8, p. 47.

[20] [20] Nationalist-Socialist Education Textbook, Grade 8, p. 48.

[21] [21] “A Letter to My Son”, Selected Stories, Grade 6, p. 141.

[22] [22] National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 118.

- [23] [23] Reader, Grade 3, pt. 2, pp. 24-25.
- [24] [24] Islamic Education, Grade 8, p. 88.
- [25] [25] Islamic Education, Grade 8, p. 88.
- [26] [26] Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 8, p. 4.
- [27] [27] Civics, Grade 6, p. 119.
- [28] [28] National- Socialist Education, Grade 9, p. 76.
- [29] [29] Islamic Education, Grade 9, p. 67.
- [30] [30] “Direction and Urge for Holy War and Martyrdom”, Islamic Education, Grade 5, p. 108.
- [31] “The Martyr’s Poem”, Grammar, Eloquence and Prosody, Grade 12, p. 102 and again on p. 145.
- [32] [32] Reader, Grade 5, pt. 2, p. 107.
- [33] [33] Homework, Reader and Literary Texts, Grade 7, p.16.
- [34] [34] Reader, Grade 5, pt. 1, p. 111.
- [35] [35] National-Socialist Education, Grade 8, p. 106.
- [36] [36] Homework, Reader, Grade 5, pt. 1, p. 114.
- [37] [37] Grammar and Dictation, Grade 6, p. 37.
- [38] [38] Grammar, Eloquence and Prosody, Grade 11, p. 21.
- [39] [39] National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 60.
- [40] [40] National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 56.
- [41] [41] National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 58.
- [42] [42] National-Socialist Education, Grade 12, p. 98.
- [43] [43] National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 121.
- [44] [44] National-Socialist Education, Grade 10, p. 123.



## David Bedein Biography

David Bedein is an MSW community organizer and an investigative journalist. In 1987, Bedein established the Israel Resource News Agency at Beit Agron to accompany foreign journalists in their coverage of Israel, to balance the media lobbies established by the PLO and their allies. Mr. Bedein has reported for news outlets such as CNN Radio, Makor Rishon, Philadelphia Inquirer, Los Angeles Times, BBC and The Jerusalem Post, for four years, Mr. Bedein acted as the Middle East... [Read More] correspondent for The Philadelphia Bulletin, writing 1,062 articles until the newspaper ceased operation in 2010. Bedein has covered breaking Middle East negotiations in Oslo, Ottawa, Shepherdstown, The Wye Plantation, Annapolis, Geneva, Nicosia, Washington, D.C., London, Bonn, and Vienna. Bedein has overseen investigative studies of the Palestinian Authority, the Expulsion Process from Gush Katif and Samaria, The Peres Center for Peace, Peace Now, The International Center for Economic Cooperation of Yossi Beilin, the ISM, Adalah, and the New Israel Fund. Since 2005, Bedein has also served as Director of the Center for Near East Policy Research. A focus of the center's investigations is The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). In that context, Bedein authored Roadblock to Peace: How the UN Perpetuates the Arab-Israeli Conflict - UNRWA Policies Reconsidered, which caps Bedein's 28 years of investigations of UNRWA. The Center for Near East Policy Research has been instrumental in reaching elected officials, decision makers and journalists, commissioning studies, reports, news stories and films. In 2009, the center began decided to produce short movies, in addition to monographs, to film every aspect of UNRWA education in a clear and cogent fashion. The center has so far produced seven short documentary pieces n UNRWA which have received international acclaim and recognition, showing how which

UNRWA promotes anti-Semitism and incitement to violence in their education' Bedein has pioneered The UNRWA Reform Initiative, a strategy which calls for donor nations to insist on reasonable reforms of UNRWA. Bedein and his team of experts provide timely briefings to members to legislative bodies world wide, bringing the results of his investigations to donor nations, while demanding reforms based on transparency, refugee resettlement and the demand that terrorists be removed from the UNRWA schools and UNRWA payroll. Bedein's work can be found at: [www.IsraelBehindTheNews.com](http://www.IsraelBehindTheNews.com) and [www.cfnepr.com](http://www.cfnepr.com) David lives in Israel with his wife, Sara, and their six grown children and five grandchildren.



## Rabbi Dr. Bernhard Rosenberg Biography

Rabbi Dr. Bernhard H. Rosenberg, Rabbi Emeritus of Congregation Beth-El, Edison, New Jersey. He received his ordination and Doctorate of Education from Yeshiva University in New York. He also possesses A.A., B.A., M.A., and M.S. degrees in communication and education. He possesses a Doctor of Divinity from The Jewish Theological Seminary, New York. He taught at Rutgers University in New Jersey and Yeshiva University in New York. Rabbi Rosenberg's book, "Theological and Halachic Reflections on the Holocaust" is now in its second printing. He is the author of "A Guide for the Jewish Mourner," "Contemplating the Holocaust," "What the Holocaust Means to Me: Teenagers Speak Out," "Thoughts on the Holocaust-Where Was God Where Was Man-Teenagers Reflect on Major Themes of the Holocaust," "The Holocaust as seen Through Film," "Public Speaking – A Guide for Study" and his latest book is "Echoes of the Holocaust.". He received the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr Humanitarian Award. He also received the Chaplain of the Year Award from The New York Board of Rabbis for his efforts during and following 9-11. On June 10, 2002 Rabbi Rosenberg was presented with the annual Rabbi Israel Mowshowitz Award by The New York Board of Rabbis. Rabbi Rosenberg appears frequently on radio and TV and has published hundreds of articles regarding the Holocaust. He serves on the New Jersey State Holocaust Commission and is the Chairman of the Holocaust Commission of the New York Board of Rabbis.