

PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES

in Perspective

An Orientation Guide



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: GEOGRAPHY.....	1
Introduction.....	1
Geographic Divisions	2
Mediterranean Coastal Plain.....	2
Judaean Hills and Samarian Highlands	2
Jordan River Valley	2
Rivers/Bodies of Water.....	2
Mediterranean Sea	2
Dead Sea	3
Jordan River.....	4
Aquifers	4
Principal Cities.....	4
Gaza City	4
Khan Yunis	5
Jabaliya	6
Hebron	7
Rafah.....	7
Nablus.....	8
Ramallah.....	9
Bethlehem.....	9
Refugee Camps	10
Environmental Concerns and Natural Hazards.....	15
Chapter 1 Assessment.....	16
CHAPTER 2: HISTORY	17
Introduction.....	17
Ancient.....	17
Introduction of Islam	18
Crusades.....	19
Early Modern Period.....	19
Modern Period	20
20th Century	21
British Occupation.....	22
Great Arab Revolt.....	23
World War II	24
The Arab-Israeli War.....	25
Expansion of Israel	25
The Six-Day War and Its Aftermath	27
Yom Kippur War and Its Aftermath.....	28
Lebanese Civil War	28

Sabra and Shatila Massacres and Israeli Withdrawal.....	29
Intifada and Oslo	29
Recent Events	30
After Arafat	30
Palestinian Infighting.....	31
Movement Toward a Two-State Solution	31
Chapter 2 Assessment.....	33
CHAPTER 3: ECONOMY	34
Introduction.....	34
Agriculture.....	35
Industry	36
Services.....	36
Energy and Natural Resources.....	37
Trade, Banking, and Finance	37
Palestine Monetary Authority.....	38
Standard of Living and Unemployment	39
Outlook	40
Chapter 3 Assessment.....	41
CHAPTER 4: SOCIETY	42
Introduction.....	42
Religion, Ethno-religious Groups, and Languages.....	42
Islam and Palestinian Muslims	42
Christianity and Palestinian Christians.....	43
Judaism and Jewish Settlers	44
Cuisine	45
Traditional Dress	46
Gender Issues.....	47
Arts	47
Literature	47
Music and Dance	48
Instruments	49
Sports and Recreation	49
Chapter 4 Assessment.....	51
CHAPTER 5: SECURITY	52
Introduction.....	52
United States–Palestinian Relations	52
Relations with Neighboring Countries	53
Israel	53
Egypt.....	54
Jordan	55

Lebanon	56
Syria.....	57
Turkey.....	58
Police Force	58
Gaza Strip	60
Terrorist, Militants, and Other Radical Groups	61
Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades.....	61
Partisans League (Asbat al-Ansar)	61
Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP)	62
Hamas (Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya).....	62
Army of Islam (AOI or Jaish al-Islam)	63
Kahane Chai	63
Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ or Harakat al-Jihad al-Islamic al-Filastini).....	64
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)	64
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine–General Command (PFLP-GC)	65
Other Issues Affecting Stability and Outlook.....	66
Chapter 5 Assessment.....	68
FINAL ASSESSMENT	69
FURTHER RESOURCES	71

CHAPTER 1: GEOGRAPHY

Introduction

Located on important trade and military routes connecting Africa and Asia, Palestine has long been the target of battling empires hoping to control the small but strategic landmass between the eastern shores of the Mediterranean and the Jordan River.¹

Since the formation of the modern state of Israel in 1948, the Arab peoples who occupied the land for centuries have sought the formation of a Palestinian state. But the territory allotted to them since World War II has been plagued by bloodshed, and it remains divided politically and geographically.²

Today, the two Palestinian territories have significantly different geographic features. The Gaza Strip is a short but strategic stretch of flat coastal plain along the eastern Mediterranean Sea, bordered by Israel to the north and east (51 km, 32 mi) and Egypt to the south (11 km, 7 mi). It measures a mere 360 sq km (139 sq mi), more than twice the size of Washington, DC. The climate is temperate, with mild winters (average highs of 13°C, 55°F) and dry hot summers (average highs of 27°C, 81°F). About 29% of the land is arable.^{3, 4}



By comparison, the West Bank covers 5,860 sq km (2,263 sq mi), or slightly less than the state of Delaware. The territory borders Israel to the west, north, and south (307 km, 191 mi); its eastern border is defined by the Jordan River and the Dead Sea, which narrowly separate the West Bank from Jordan (97 km, 60 mi). Higher in elevation than the Gaza Strip, the West Bank is mainly hill country: namely, the Samarian and Judaeian hills, which run along a north-south axis through much of the territory. The higher elevations receive an average annual rainfall of approximately 685 mm (27 in), but areas closer to the Dead Sea receive considerably less. About 16.9% of the land is arable.^{5, 6}

¹ *BBC News*, "Israel Profile," 31 August 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14628835>

² *BBC News*, "Palestinian Territories Profile," 31 August 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14630174>

³ Central Intelligence Agency, "Gaza Strip," in *The World Factbook*, 20 December 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gz.html>

⁴ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Gaza Strip: Geography," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/227456/Gaza-Strip/279791/Geography>

⁵ Central Intelligence Agency, "West Bank," in *The World Factbook*, 20 December 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>

⁶ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "West Bank: Geography," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/640076/West-Bank>

Geographic Divisions

Mediterranean Coastal Plain

The coastal plain extends all along the Gaza Strip coast, with the widest portion extending 40 km (25 mi) inland. Most of the people in the Palestinian Territories live in this region.⁷



© proisrali / flickr.com
Gazans at the beach

Judean Hills and Samaritan Highlands

The southern Judean Hills are part of a mostly continuous north–south chain of hills and mountains.

The central portion, the Samaritan Highlands, lies entirely within the West Bank. The eastern flanks of the mostly barren Judean Hills are within the West Bank.⁸

Jordan River Valley

Running the entire length of the West Bank’s eastern border, the valley extends into Israel. This valley is the lowest land elevation on Earth, 399 m (1,310 ft) below sea level. The width of the valley varies from 2.4–23 km (1.5–14 mi).⁹ The valley is significantly warmer than the surrounding areas and affords residents a yearlong growing season. Although sparsely populated, its fertile soil and extensive irrigation works have transformed the valley into a major agricultural area.¹⁰

Rivers/Bodies of Water

The use and diversion of the water resources in the Palestinian Territories and the rest of Israel has long been a key issue in the ongoing regional political conflict.

Mediterranean Sea

Stretching from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Asian shores of Turkey and the Levant in the east, and separating much of Europe from North Africa and the Middle East, the Mediterranean Sea is one of the most



© gap gaza / flickr.com
Mediterranean Sea

⁷ Clive Carpenter, ed., *Middle East, Western Asia, and Northern Africa: Volume 7: Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, West Bank, and Gaza* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2007), 870.

⁸ Clive Carpenter, ed., *Middle East, Western Asia, and Northern Africa: Volume 7: Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, West Bank, and Gaza* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2007), 871–872.

⁹ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Palestine: Land,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/439645/Palestine/43644/Land>

¹⁰ The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, “Jordan: Touristic Sites: The Jordan Valley,” n.d., www.kinghussein.gov.jo/tourism4.html

strategic bodies of water in the world. Its surface area is estimated at 2,511,000 sq km (969,500 sq mi).¹¹ The Gaza Strip and Israel have extensive shoreline bordering the Levantine Basin of the Mediterranean. The recent discovery of natural gas reserves in the Levantine Basin has spurred Israel to stake its claim to the fields, which providing it with a greater degree of energy security. But such claims are contested by Lebanon and would likely meet disapproval from the Palestinian Territories if they become a sovereign state.^{12, 13, 14}

Since Hamas overwhelmingly won parliamentary elections in 2006, Israeli naval forces in the Mediterranean have imposed a blockade on the area's imports and exports.¹⁵ After years of allowing in only basic supplies, Israel relaxed restrictions on imports and exports in 2010.¹⁶

Dead Sea

At 418 m (1,371 ft) below sea level, the water surface of the Dead Sea is the lowest point on Earth. The Dead Sea is also among Earth's saltiest bodies of water. The eastern half of this water-covered depression on the Jordan River is part of Jordan. The western half is split, with the northern portion belonging to the West Bank and the southern portion to Israel. The Dead Sea has been drying up in recent years as upstream water diversions on the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers have reduced the amount of water flowing into it. It is estimated that the Dead Sea has shrunk by one-third from its historical levels.¹⁷ In reaction to this increasing problem, Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinian Authority (PA) signed an agreement in May 2005 authorizing a feasibility study for a canal project linking the Red Sea to the Dead Sea. Water from the project would be made usable by the installation of desalination plants. One additional expected benefit would be hydroelectric power generated by the gravity flow of Red Sea water to the Dead Sea.¹⁸



© Ian Scott / flickr.com
Dead Sea

¹¹ "The Geonauts Inquire into the Oceans," *Ocean Surface Topography from Space* (Pasadena, CA: Jet Propulsion Laboratory, California Institute of Technology, 2006), CD.

¹² Michael Ratner, *Israel's Offshore Natural Gas Discoveries Enhance Its Economic and Energy Outlook*, Congressional Research Service, 31 January 2011, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R41618.pdf>

¹³ Jane's Information Group, "Israel: Natural Resources," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 11 May 2011.

¹⁴ Applied Research Institute—Jerusalem, *The Economic Costs of the Israeli Occupation for the Occupied Palestinian Territory* (Ramallah: Palestinian Ministry of National Economy, 2011), https://www.opensource.gov/portal/server.pt/gateway/PTARGS_0_0_200_203_0_43/content/Display/25196806/GMP20111221790002001.pdf

¹⁵ Saud Abu Ramadan and Fares Akram, "Despite Threats on Gaza, Israel Allows Export of Limited Produce," *Xinhua News*, 27 November 2011, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/world/2011-11/27/c_131272959.htm

¹⁶ *New York Times*, "Gaza Strip," 12 September 2011, http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/gaza_strip/index.html

¹⁷ Damien McElroy, "Scientists Ponder How to Refill Dead Sea Without Sinking Tourists," *Telegraph* (UK), 13 August 2010, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/israel/7944690/Scientists-ponder-how-to-refill-Dead-Sea-without-sinking-tourists.html>

¹⁸ Richard Spencer, "Jordan to Refill Shrinking Dead Sea with Salt Water," *Telegraph* (UK), 10 October 2009, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/earth/earthnews/6285055/Jordan-to-refill-shrinking-Dead-Sea-with-salt-water.html>

Jordan River

Before flowing into the Dead Sea, the Jordan River separates Jordan from the West Bank and Israel. Located in the Great Rift Valley, much of the Jordan River lies below sea level, making it the world's lowest river.¹⁹ Christians believe that John the Baptist baptized Jesus Christ in the Jordan River.²⁰

Aquifers

Although the Jordan River provides irrigation for the West Bank, aquifers account for the majority of water supplies in the Palestinian Territories and Israel. The coastal aquifer underlies the coastal plain from the Gaza Strip to south of Haifa near Mount Carmel. Historically, it has been overused, and today suffers from saltwater intrusion.

Another subterranean water source, the mountain aquifer, lies east of the coastal aquifer beneath the Samarian Highlands and Judaeen Hills. Much of the mountain aquifer recharges itself, but many of the natural discharge areas lie within Israel. Thus, a high percentage of mountain aquifer water is used by Israel, which has been an ongoing concern for the Palestinian Authority. This fact has severely complicated efforts to establish an Israeli-Palestinian peace.²¹



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Drinking water

Principal Cities

Gaza City

This city serves as the administrative center for the *de facto* Hamas government that currently controls the Gaza Strip. Located on an important trading route connecting Egypt with Palestine and points beyond, Gaza has a long history as a crucial port. Control of the city has changed hands among the various empires of the ages including the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, and Israelis. The city fell to the Ottomans in 1517. Still, its proximity to Egypt provided close cultural ties, and the city and surrounding area served as a frequent sanctuary for Egyptian political dissidents. With the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire in the aftermath of World War I, the city came under the control of the British, who had seized it following the Third Battle of Gaza on 7 November 1917.²² It became an



© gloucester2gaza / flickr.com
Gaza City

¹⁹ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Jordan River," 2011, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/306217/Jordan-River>

²⁰ The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, "Jordan: Touristic Sites: The Jordan Valley," n.d., www.kinghussein.gov.jo/tourism4.html

²¹ Jane's Information Group, "Israel: Security," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 10 November 2011.

²² Aaron Klein, "Plowshares Beaten into Swords in Gaza," in *The Late Great State of Israel: How Enemies Within and Without Threaten the Jewish Nation's Survival* (Los Angeles: WorldNetDaily, 2009), 34–35.

important port of the British Mandate until independence in 1948. During the Arab-Israeli War in that year, the Egyptians seized control of the city and the rest of the Gaza Strip. Israeli retook the area in the Six-Day War of 1967.

On 12 September 2005, Israel turned over the city and the rest of the Gaza Strip to the Palestinian Authority.²³ But the Defense Force (IDF) retains control over the Gaza Strip's borders, airspace, and territorial waters.²⁴ In what some analysts have termed the Palestinian Civil War, Hamas took control of the Gaza Strip in 2006 after winning parliamentary elections, establishing its administrative center in Gaza City.^{25, 26} From 27 December 2008 to 18 January 2009, the IDF invaded the Gaza Strip in response to repeated rocket attacks on Israeli communities from within Hamas-controlled Gaza. The operation, referred to alternatively as the Gaza War or Operation Cast Lead, severely damaged Hamas' infrastructure and tarnished its image as a force capable of engaging the IDF.²⁷

The city is home to an estimated population of 537,900 residents, making it by far the largest city in either of the Palestinian Territories. Additionally, it is home to the Islamic University of Gaza, a public institution of higher education offering undergraduate and graduate degrees.²⁸

Khan Yunis

The city is a major commercial center located in the southcentral sector of the Gaza Strip along the ancient trade route to Egypt. Including the population of the refugee camp of the same name, the Khan Yunis community is the second-largest Palestinian city, with an estimated 200,400 residents.²⁹ The official refugee numbers account for nearly 72,000 of that figure, roughly 36% of the population.³⁰



© Olly Lambert / flickr.com
Khan Yunis

Incursions by the IDF into the community in October 2002 met with international criticism. But Israel's then Prime Minister Ariel Sharon rejected such criticism and claimed that the incursion was necessary to ferret out militants using the

²³ Jane's Information Group, "Gaza and the West Bank: Internal Affairs," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 5 April 2011.

²⁴ B'Tselem, "The Gaza Strip: Brief on Gaza," 16 November 2006, http://www.btselem.org/gaza_strip/20061116_brief_on_gaza

²⁵ John Pike, "Palestinian Civil War," *GlobalSecurity*, 7 November 2011, <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/palestine-civilwar.htm>

²⁶ Jacob Savage, "The Three-State Solution," *Los Angeles Times*, 20 June 2007, <http://www.latimes.com/news/opinion/la-oe-savage20jun20.0.263343.story?coll=la-opinion-center>

²⁷ Jane's Information Group, "Israel: World Armies," *Jane's World Armies*, 29 September 2011.

²⁸ Thomas Brinkhoff, "Palestinian Territories," *City Population*, 11 November 2011, <http://www.citypopulation.de/Palestine.html>

²⁹ Thomas Brinkhoff, "Palestinian Territories," *City Population*, 11 November 2011, <http://www.citypopulation.de/Palestine.html>

³⁰ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, "Khan Younis Refugee Camp," n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=81>

refugee camp as a base.³¹ In 2005, the city was turned over to the Palestinian Authority with the rest of the Gaza Strip but continued to be a key site of artillery and rocket attacks against Israel. As one response, on 15 July 2011 the IDF launched strategic airstrikes on positions within the city where Hamas terrorists were believed to be using tunnel systems to move munitions and personnel.³²

Jabaliya

The third-largest Palestinian city, Jabaliya has an estimated 188,800 residents, 58% of whom are refugees in the camp of the same name in the far north of the Gaza Strip.^{33, 34} The city has the distinction as the birthplace of the First Intifada, a Palestinian rebellion against Israeli rule in the occupied territories.³⁵ Frequent bombings involving improvised explosive devices (IEDs) have occurred in Jabaliya, including unintentional detonations by would-be bombers.^{36, 37, 38, 39}

During the IDF's invasion (Operation Cast Lead) of the Gaza Strip, precision airstrikes in Jabaliya killed several high-level Hamas leaders, including ministers of the *de facto* regime in the Gaza Strip. The complex where they were killed was a major Hamas compound storing sophisticated weaponry, and it used refugees as a human shield by being in the midst of a refugee camp.^{40, 41, 42} Hamas and other terrorist groups continue to launch rockets from within Jabaliya, and the IDF continues to launch airstrikes against suspected terrorist targets therein.⁴³

³¹ Jane's Information Group, "Gaza and the West Bank: External Affairs," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 5 April 2011.

³² Jane's Information Group, "Israeli Air Strike Targets Tunnels in Northern Gaza Strip," *Jane's Terrorism Watch Report—Daily Update*, 15 July 2011.

³³ Thomas Brinkhoff, "Palestinian Territories," City Population, 11 November 2011, <http://www.citypopulation.de/Palestine.html>

³⁴ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, "Jabalia Refugee Camp," n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=76>

³⁵ David A. Levy, "Palestinian Political Violence and Israel" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, 2000), 4, <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA380839&Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf>

³⁶ The Investigative Project on Terrorism, "Appeals Court Lets Contractor's Family Sue Palestinian Authority Over His Death," *The Update*, 17 August 2011, 5–6.

³⁷ Fox News, "Appeals Court Lets Contractor's Family Sue Palestinian Authority over His Death," 14 August 2011, <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2011/08/14/appeals-court-lets-contractors-family-sue-palestinian-authority-over-his-death/>

³⁸ Jane's Information Group, "IED Attack Damages Retail Outlets in Gaza Strip," *Jane's Terrorism Watch Report—Daily Update*, 01 August 2011.

³⁹ Jane's Information Group, "Premature IED Explosion Kills Suspected Palestinian Militant in Gaza Strip," *Jane's Terrorism Watch Report—Daily Update*, 31 October 2011.

⁴⁰ Jane's Information Group, "Israel: World Armies," *Jane's World Armies*, 29 September 2011.

⁴¹ Matt M. Matthews, "The Israeli Defense Force's Response to the 2006 War with HEZBOLLAH: Gaza," *Military Review* 89, no. 4 (July–August 2009): 41–51. http://usacac.army.mil/CAC2/MilitaryReview/Archives/English/MilitaryReview_20090831_art001.pdf

⁴² Pnina Sharvit Baruch and Noam Neuman, "Warning Civilians Prior to Attack under International Law: Theory and Practice," in *International Law Studies, Volume 87*, eds. Raul A. "Pete" Pedrozo and Daria P. Wollschlaeger (Newport, RI: Naval War College, 2011), 359–412. <http://www.navyreading.navy.mil/Research---Gaming/International-Law/Studies-Series/documents/NavalWarCollegeVol-87.aspx>

⁴³ Jane's Information Group, "Israel: Groups: Middle East: Active: Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)," *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 28 November 2011.

Hebron

Known as al-Khalil in Arabic, Hebron is the largest city in the West Bank, located in the southwest sector. It is home to about 183,300 residents, including a small but highly controversial Jewish settler community with a population estimated to be 7,100. The Jewish settlements in the Palestinian Territories have long been a sticking point in international peace talks aimed at resolving the Israeli-Palestinian situation.⁴⁴

The city has deep historical roots, reaching at least to the ancient Phoenician empire of Canaan. It also holds religious significance for Jews and Muslims. Both consider the city to be the burial place of the biblical patriarchs and matriarchs, including Abraham.⁴⁵



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Hebron

Sectarian violence has long been a common occurrence in Hebron. In August and September 2010, Hamas killed four Jewish settlers in the city administered by the Palestinian Authority.⁴⁶ The Syrian-based Abu Musa group attacked Jewish settlers near Hebron in September 2010.⁴⁷

Hebron additionally is the home of Hebron University. Some of Hebron University's student body has been known to be affiliated with terrorist organizations such as Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.⁴⁸ In the past, this has led to IDF intervention that closed the public university.^{49, 50, 51, 52}

Rafah

In 1978, the city of Rafah was divided between Egypt and Israel under terms of the Camp David Accords. Since that time, the city has earned the dubious distinction as the smuggling epicenter of the Gaza Strip. Hamas has used an extensive system of tunnels beneath the Gaza-Egyptian border to smuggle in arms, personnel, building materials, livestock, and a host of other items in high demand because of the ongoing Israeli blockade of the Gaza Strip. One of the main goals of

⁴⁴ Thomas Brinkhoff, "Palestinian Territories," City Population, 11 November 2011, <http://www.citypopulation.de/Palestine.html>

⁴⁵ David Makovsky, Sheli Chabon, and Jennifer Logan, *Imagining the Border: Options for Resolving the Israeli-Palestinian Territorial Issue* (Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2011), 9. http://www.alzaytouna.net/english/selections/2011/Imagining_Border.pdf

⁴⁶ Jane's Information Group, "Israel: Security," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 19 January 2011.

⁴⁷ Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, "2010 Human Rights Report: Israel and the Occupied Territories," 8 April 2011, <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2010/nea/154463.htm>

⁴⁸ Hebron University, 28 December 2011, <http://www.hebron.edu/>

⁴⁹ Hebron University, 28 December 2011, <http://www.hebron.edu/>

⁵⁰ Bazalel Stern, "Column: Solidarity with Hebron U. Ignores School's Terror Links," *The Justice* (student newspaper, Brandeis University), 31 May 2011, <http://www.thejustice.org/forum/column-solidarity-with-hebron-u-ignores-school-s-terror-links-1.2339889#.TvthW7KwWpY>

⁵¹ Jane's Information Group, "Israeli Court Sentences Israeli Arab National to Prison Term for Aiding Hamas," *Jane's Terrorism Watch—Daily Update*, 20 May 2011.

⁵² Matthew Levitt, "Chapter 5: Teaching Terror: How the Dawa Radicalizes Palestinian Society," in *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 107–142.

the IDF's Operation Cast Lead (December 2008–January 2009) was to destroy these tunnel networks. But new tunnels were dug, and cross-border smuggling persists.^{53, 54}

Rafah is home to a population of approximately 176,400, including the adjoining community of Tall al-Sultan and the Rafah Refugee Camp.⁵⁵

Nablus

The second-largest city in the West Bank, Nablus is home to roughly 136,800.⁵⁶ It is located in the north-central sector of the territory. Founded by the Romans as Flavia Neapolis in 72 CE, the city is situated at a strategic position between Jabal Aybal (Mount Ebal) and Jabal Jarizim (Mount Gerizim).⁵⁷ The city has small minority communities of Christians and Samaritans.^{58, 59, 60}



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Nablus

Nablus is a hotbed of terrorist activity. The Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, a terrorist organization closely affiliated with Fatah, operate largely out of this city and the West Bank capital of Ramallah.^{61, 62, 63}

Nablus is the site of Joseph's Tomb, which many believe to be the final resting place of Joseph, a biblical patriarch sold into slavery by his brothers and who later rose to power in Egypt and saved the Jews from drought and famine. Long a pilgrimage site for Jews, Samaritans,

⁵³ Jane's Information Group, "The Role of Gaza's Tunnels," *Jane's Intelligence Digest*, 13 January 2009.

⁵⁴ Jane's Information Group, "Israeli Aircraft Strike Gaza after Day of Terrorist Attacks," *Country Risk Daily Report*, 19 August 2011.

⁵⁵ Thomas Brinkhoff, "Palestinian Territories," City Population, 11 November 2011, <http://www.citypopulation.de/Palestine.html>

⁵⁶ Thomas Brinkhoff, "Palestinian Territories," City Population, 11 November 2011, <http://www.citypopulation.de/Palestine.html>

⁵⁷ Karl Leo Noethlichs, "Jews, Heretics or Useful Farm Workers? Samaritans in the Late Antique Imperial Legislation," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 50, no. S91 (March 2007): 57–65.

⁵⁸ The Samaritans are an ethno-religious group that adheres to an Abrahamic faith akin to but distinct from Judaism. Its adherents claim that theirs is the true faith of the ancient Jews and that they were the Jews who remained in the Holy Land during the Babylonian captivity. They further suggest that today's so-called Jews adhere to a religion that was dramatically altered by their exposure to alien culture and religious influences during their captivity. For further insight into this group read Ingrid Hjelm, "What Do Samaritans and Jews Have in Common? Recent Trends in Samaritan Studies," *Currents in Biblical Research* 3, no. 1 (2004): 9–59.

⁵⁹ Dana Rosenblatt, "Amid Conflict, Samaritans Keep Unique Identity," *CNN*, 14 October 2002, <http://edition.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/meast/10/08/samaritans/>

⁶⁰ Associated Press, "Ancient Samaritan Sect Marks Passover Sacrifice Near Nablus," *Haaretz*, 5 January 2007, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/ancient-samaritan-sect-marks-passover-sacrifice-near-nablus-1.219497>

⁶¹ Audrey Kurth Cronin et al., *Foreign Terrorist Organizations*, Congressional Research Service, 2004, 9, <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/29722.pdf>

⁶² Jane's Information Group, "Israel: Groups: Middle East: Active: Fatah," *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 3 February 2005.

⁶³ Jane's Information Group, "Palestinian Militant Kills Five Israeli Settlers in West Bank Settlement," *Jane's Terrorism Watch Report*, 14 March 2011.

Christians, and Muslims, the site was destroyed by Palestinian protesters in October 2000. It was recently restored; however, it remains a site of sectarian conflict.^{64, 65}

Nablus is home to Al-Najah National University. This school is the largest institution of higher education in the Palestinian Territories and offers undergraduate and graduate degrees.⁶⁶ But students and faculty at the school are known to have harbored sympathies with Hamas and other radical Islamist organizations.^{67, 68}

Ramallah

Although home to around 30,500 residents, Ramallah is the administrative capital of the Palestinian Authority. It is located in the east-central sector of the territory. Once a Christian city, today it has a Muslim majority, and Christians are only a sizeable minority. Some Christians complain of persecution from radical Islamic elements; however, some Christians have achieved high office within the Palestinian Authority.⁶⁹

Ramallah is home to Birzeit University, a public four-year institution.⁷⁰ The city is the cultural and art center of the West Bank. Among the newest attractions in the city is the tomb of Yasser Arafat, the longtime Palestinian leader who died in 2004.⁷¹

Ramallah was a major battleground between the forces loyal to the Palestinian Authority and those loyal to the Hamas terrorist organization in the violence that erupted in December 2006. The dispute continues to this day, although it has become a miniature cold war between the PA in the West Bank and Hamas in the Gaza Strip. Palestinians refer to this feud as the *Wakseh*, meaning “humiliation” or “self-inflicted wound.”⁷²

Bethlehem

Famous for its association with the birth of the Christian messiah, the West Bank city of Bethlehem today has a predominantly Muslim population. It remains the home of one of the oldest Christian communities in the world. A major demographic shift occurred in the aftermath of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, when tens of thousands of Palestinian Muslim refugees flocked to refugee camps in and around Bethlehem. Land owned by Christians was seized by Israel for the

⁶⁴ Agence France-Presse, “Vandals Paint Swastikas on Joseph’s Tomb in Nablus,” Google News, <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5iJJU5Ceaxl-xHlIdgbwkNajzN7w?docId=CNG.ba491593e56407f3b61e1ba743a820a0.721>

⁶⁵ Kobi Nahshoni, “Rabbis Witness Renovation of Joseph’s Tomb,” *Ynetnews*, 20 August 2010, <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3940041,00.html>

⁶⁶ An-Najah National University, “About Us: History,” 2011, <http://www.najah.edu/page/63>

⁶⁷ Paul Danish, “Is Nablus Boulder’s Weird Sister?” *Boulder Weekly*, 15 December 2011, <http://www.boulderweekly.com/article-7157-is-nablus-boulderrss-weird-sister.html>

⁶⁸ Levitt, “Chapter 5: Teaching Terror: How the Dawa Radicalizes Palestinian Society,” in *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 107–142.

⁶⁹ *BBC News*, “Guide: Christians in the Middle East,” 11 October 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-15239529>

⁷⁰ Birzeit University, “The Mission of Birzeit University,” 2010, http://www.birzeit.edu/about_bzu/p/2543

⁷¹ Anthony Ham, “The West Bank & Gaza Strip,” in *Middle East* (London, UK: Lonely Planet, 2009), 316.

⁷² Jonathan Austin, et al., *Hamas and the Peace Process: Resistance, Rejectionism, Reconciliation?* (St. Andrews, Fife, Scotland, UK: Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of St. Andrews, 2011), <http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/intrel/media/Hamas%20Map%20FINAL.pdf>

construction of Jewish settlements. Because of emigration, about one-third of the former dominant Christian community remain.⁷³ Still, today's minority Christian population plays a significant role in the city. Bethlehem University, a Roman Catholic four-year institution partly funded by the Vatican, opened in 1973 as the first university in the West Bank.⁷⁴

Located in the southeastern sector of the West Bank, Bethlehem is administered by the Palestinian Authority and has a population of about 27,800.⁷⁵ It is a major tourist attraction heavily promoted by local government and business organizations. But the infighting between the PA and Hamas has deterred visitors.⁷⁶

Compounding the city's security situation are the four refugee camps within the municipality or nearby: al-Duheisha, al-Aroub, al-Aida, and Beit Jibrin. These camps have a combined population of more than 29,000 refugees.⁷⁷ The camps are prime recruiting grounds for the various Palestinian militant and terrorist organizations.



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Bethlehem

Refugee Camps

Of the 4.2 million residents of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, almost 2 million live in refugee camps within the Palestinian Territories (about 771,000 in the West Bank; more than 1 million in the Gaza Strip).^{78, 79} The United Nations established almost all the 27 refugee camps during and following the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. Today most of the facilities continue to be administered by the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA), which has become the largest UN agency.⁸⁰



© flow razowsky / flickr.com
Tulkarm Refugee Camp

⁷³ Austen Ivereigh, "The Pope Must Tell the Truth About Bethlehem," *Guardian* (UK), 13 May 2009, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/belief/2009/may/13/pope-bethlehem-christians>

⁷⁴ Bethlehem University, "Bethlehem University in the Holy Land—Brief History," 2006, <http://www.bethlehem.edu/about/history.shtml>

⁷⁵ Thomas Brinkhoff, "Palestinian Territories," City Population, 11 November 2011, <http://www.citypopulation.de/Palestine.html>

⁷⁶ David Kaufman and Marisa S. Katz, "In the West Bank, Politics and Tourism Remain Bound Together Inextricably," *New York Times*, 16 April 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/04/16/travel/16westbank.html?adxnnl=1&adxnnlx=1325106348-7t2hs+4QoxZo+pOtK+KzSA>

⁷⁷ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, "West Bank Camp Profiles," n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=103>

⁷⁸ Central Intelligence Agency, "West Bank," in *The World Factbook*, 20 December 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>

⁷⁹ Central Intelligence Agency, "Gaza Strip: People and Society," in *The World Factbook*, 20 December 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gz.html>

⁸⁰ Elliott Abrams, "Ending UNRWA and Advancing Peace," *Pressure Points* (blog), 19 December 2011, <http://blogs.cfr.org/abrams/2011/12/19/ending-unrwa-and-advancing-peace/>

Unlike most of the other places, the camps at Qalandia and Shufat are under Israeli control.^{81, 82} Although the Askar Refugee Camp is now under the authority of the Palestinian Authority, the surrounding refugee community is under joint PA-Israeli control.⁸³

Regardless of who administers the camps, conditions in most are stark, with inadequate housing and educational services, high unemployment, and a lack of basic sanitation and access to potable water.^{84, 85, 86, 87, 88} An open sewage system flows directly through the Al-Burayj Refugee Camp, carrying raw sewage to the Mediterranean.⁸⁹ Violence between militants from the camps and settlers is frequent.^{90, 91, 92}

In terms of security threats, Hamas and other terrorist organizations have been active in many of the camps, which they use to recruit members and stage attacks against Israel.^{93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99}

⁸¹ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Kalandia Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=119>

⁸² United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Shu’fat Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=121>

⁸³ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Askar Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=108>

⁸⁴ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Rafah Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=77>

⁸⁵ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Jabalia Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=76>

⁸⁶ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Beach Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=78>

⁸⁷ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Tulkarm Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=122>

⁸⁸ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Kalandia Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=119>

⁸⁹ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Bureij Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=79>

⁹⁰ Jane’s Information Group, “Fatah Armed Wing Claims Responsibility for IED Attack in West Bank,” *Jane’s Terrorism Watch Report—Daily Update*, 28 October 2011.

⁹¹ Jane’s Information Group, “Suspected Jewish Extremists Assault Palestinian Family in West Bank,” *Jane’s Terrorism Watch Report—Daily Update*, 19 September 2011.

⁹² Jonathan Lis, “Police Suspect Nationalistic Motive in Woman’s Murder,” *Haaretz*, 21 December 2004, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/police-suspect-nationalistic-motive-in-woman-s-murder-1.144784>

⁹³ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Janin Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=118>

⁹⁴ Batsheva Sobelman and Rushdi Abu Alouf, “Israel Targets Palestinian Militants in Gaza Strip,” *Los Angeles Times*, 27 December 2011, http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/world_now/2011/12/israeli-airstrikes-target-palestinian-militants-in-the-gaza-strip.html

⁹⁵ Jonathan Spyer, “Terrorism: Hamas Seeks New Doctrine after Gaza War Failures,” *Jerusalem Post*, 12 September 2009, <http://fr.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1251804542247&pagename=JPost/JPArticle/ShowFull>

⁹⁶ Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Center (firm), “The Dr. Abdallah Azzam Academy,” *Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center*, 4 June 2009, http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/html/hamas_e073.htm

⁹⁷ Jane’s Information Group, “Israeli Security Forces Kill Senior Hamas Militant in the West Bank,” *Jane’s Terrorism Watch Report—Daily Update*, 17 September 2010.

⁹⁸ Danish Defense Intelligence Service, “HAMAS: Tulkarm PPS Summons 3 Activists, Forces Others to Shun HAMAS,” *Terrorism Newsletter*, 27 May 2011, 4.

The Fatah-aligned al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades operates in the refugee camps in Balata, Jenin, and Tulkarm.^{100, 101} Palestinian Islamic Jihadists operate within the Al-Fariah Refugee Camp as well as in and around the Al-Jalazun Refugee Camp.^{102, 103}

Additionally, the Jenin Refugee Camp has seen repeated clashes between Israeli Defense Forces and Palestinian militants using the camp as a staging ground for attacks.¹⁰⁴ During Operation Defensive Shield (April 2002), the IDF deployed nearly 30,000 troops to the West Bank to apprehend terrorists operating in the refugee camps.¹⁰⁵ IDF forces have continued to target many of the camps in military sweeps aimed at ferreting out militants, sometimes destroying housing and infrastructure.^{106, 107, 108, 109}

Camp	Territory	City (Located in/near)	Estimated Current Population ¹¹⁰
Jabaliya ^{111, 112}	Gaza Strip	Jabaliya	110,000
al-Shati ^{113, 114}	Gaza Strip	al-Shati	87,000

⁹⁹ U.S. Department of the Treasury, “Treasury Designates Al-Salah Society Key Node for Hamas,” 7 August 2007, <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/hp531.aspx>

¹⁰⁰ Jane’s Information Group, “Israel: Groups: Middle East: Active: Fatah,” *Jane’s World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 22 December 2011.

¹⁰¹ Anat Kurz and Shlomo Brom, eds., *Strategic Survey for Israel 2011* (Tel Aviv: The Institute for National Security Studies, 2011), 128.

¹⁰² Jane’s Information Group, “Diary of Events: Middle East: Israel: Palestinian/Israeli Violence,” *Jane’s World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 28 June 2002.

¹⁰³ Open Source Center, Office of the Director of National Intelligence, “Palestinian Killed by IDF Gunfire in Nablus Area Refugee Camp,” *Israel—OSC Summary*, 13 July 2011.

¹⁰⁴ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Janīn Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=118>

¹⁰⁵ Seth G. Jones, “Fighting Networked Terrorist Groups: Lessons from Israel,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 30, no. 4 (2007): 281–302.

¹⁰⁶ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Arroub Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=107>

¹⁰⁷ Danish Defense Intelligence Service, “IDF Reportedly Carries Out Incursion in Central Gaza, Opens Fire, Razes Lands,” *Terrorism Newsletter*, 9 September 2011.

¹⁰⁸ Jordan News Agency, “Israeli Troops Move Into Central Gaza,” 11 January 2012, http://petra.gov.jo/Public_News/Nws_NewsDetails.aspx?Site_Id=1&lang=2&NewsID=55445&CatID=-1

¹⁰⁹ Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, “Israel and the Occupied Territories,” 28 February 2005, <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2004/41723.htm>

¹¹⁰ All estimates are from the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA), which administers the camps. UNWRA, “Gaza Camp Profiles,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=68> and “West Bank Camp Profiles,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=103>

¹¹¹ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Jabalia Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=76>

¹¹² Batsheva Sobelman and Rushdi Abu Alouf, “Israel Targets Palestinian Militants in Gaza Strip,” *Los Angeles Times*, 27 December 2011, http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/world_now/2011/12/israeli-airstrikes-target-palestinian-militants-in-the-gaza-strip.html

¹¹³ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Beach Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=78>

Khan Yunis ¹¹⁵	Gaza Strip	Khan Yunis	72,000
al-Nusayrat ^{116, 117, 118}	Gaza Strip	Dayr-al-Balah, 5 km (3 mi) from	66,000
Rafah ^{119, 120}	Gaza Strip		41,000
al-Burayj ¹²¹	Gaza Strip		34,000
al-Maghazi ¹²²	Gaza Strip		24,000
Balata ¹²³	West Bank	Nablus, near	23,600
Dayr al-Balah ¹²⁴	Gaza Strip		21,000
Tulkarm ^{125, 126, 127}	West Bank	Tulkarm, near	18,000
Jenin ^{128, 129, 130}	West Bank	Jenin	16,000
Askar ¹³¹	West Bank	Nablus	15,900
al-Dheisheh. ^{132, 133}	West Bank	Bethlehem	13,000

¹¹⁴ Evgeny Lebedev, “Rebel Without a State: Evgeny Lebedev Meets Ismail Haniyeh, Prime Minister of Gaza,” *Independent* (UK), 07 January 2012, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/rebel-without-a-state-evgeny-lebedev-meets-ismail-haniyeh-prime-minister-of-gaza-6284842.html>

¹¹⁵ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Khan Younis Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=81>

¹¹⁶ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Nuseirat Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=83>

¹¹⁷ Jonathan Spyer, “Terrorism: Hamas Seeks New Doctrine after Gaza War Failures,” *Jerusalem Post*, 12 September 2009, <http://fr.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1251804542247&pagename=JPost/JPostArticle/ShowFull>

¹¹⁸ Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Center (firm), “The Dr. Abdallah Azzam Academy,” *Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center*, 4 June 2009, http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/html/hamas_e073.htm

¹¹⁹ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Rafah Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=77>

¹²⁰ Jane’s Information Group, “Gaza and the West Bank: Security,” *Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 13 December 2011.

¹²¹ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Bureij Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=79>

¹²² United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Maghazi Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=82>

¹²³ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Balata Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=109>

¹²⁴ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Deir El-Balah Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=80>

¹²⁵ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Tulkarm Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=122>

¹²⁶ Jane’s Information Group, “Israel: Groups: Middle East: Active: Fatah,” *Jane’s World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 22 December 2011.

¹²⁷ Sharon Udasin, “EU Launches 10m.-euro Gaza Desalination Project,” *Jerusalem Post*, 20 December 2011, <http://www.jpost.com/Sci-Tech/Article.aspx?id=250171>

¹²⁸ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Janin Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=118>

¹²⁹ Jane’s Information Group, “Israel: Groups: Middle East: Active: Fatah,” *Jane’s World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 22 December 2011.

¹³⁰ Anat Kurz and Shlomo Brom, eds., *Strategic Survey for Israel 2011* (Tel Aviv: The Institute for National Security Studies, 2011), 128.

¹³¹ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Askar Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=108>

al-Jalazun ^{134, 135}	West Bank	Ramallah, north of	11,000
Qalandia ^{136, 137}	Jerusalem	Jerusalem, north of	11,000
Shufat ^{138, 139}	Jerusalem	Jerusalem, north of	11,000
al-Amari ^{140, 141}	West Bank	al-Bireh	10,500
al-Arroub ^{142, 143}	West Bank	Bethlehem, south of	10,400
Nur Shams ^{144, 145, 146}	West Bank	Tulkarm, east of	9,000
al-Fawwar ^{147, 148}	West Bank	Hebron, south of	8,000
al-Fariah ^{149, 150}	West Bank	Nablus, northeast of	7,600
Ein Beit al-Ma ^{151, 152}	West Bank	Nablus	6,750

¹³² United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Dheisheh Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=113>

¹³³ Office of the Inspector General, Middle East Regional Office, U.S. Department of State, *The Emergency Appeal Program of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East* (report, MERO-A-10-09, Arlington, VA, September 2010), 34, <http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/149844.pdf>

¹³⁴ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Jalazone Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=117>

¹³⁵ Jane’s Information Group, “Diary of Events: Middle East: Israel: Palestinian/Israeli Violence,” *Jane’s World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 28 June 2002.

¹³⁶ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Kalandia Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=119>

¹³⁷ Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information, “News of Terrorism and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,” 21–27 September 2011.

¹³⁸ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Shu’fat Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=121>

¹³⁹ *Xinhua News*, “Palestinians Condemn Israeli Settlement Activities,” 12 December 2011, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2011-12/12/c_131302246.htm

¹⁴⁰ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Am’ari Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=105>

¹⁴¹ Open Source Center, Office of the Director of National Intelligence, “UNRWA Denies Involvement in Naming Tournament after 1st Female Suicide Bomber,” *Israel—OSC Summary*, 1–15 March 2011.

¹⁴² United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Arroub Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=107>

¹⁴³ Applied Research Institute—Jerusalem, *ARIJ Monthly Report* 160 (November 2011): 15.

¹⁴⁴ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Nur Shams Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=120>

¹⁴⁵ Jane’s Information Group, “Israeli Security Forces Kill Senior Hamas Militant in the West Bank,” *Jane’s Terrorism Watch Report—Daily Update*, 17 September 2010.

¹⁴⁶ Danish Defense Intelligence Service, “HAMAS: Tulkarm PPS Summons 3 Activists, Forces Others to Shun HAMAS,” *Terrorism Newsletter*, 27 May 2011, 4.

¹⁴⁷ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Fawwar Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=116>

¹⁴⁸ Danish Defense Intelligence Service, “Al-Jama’ah al-Salafiyah Lil-Da’wah wa al-Qital Group in Jerusalem,” *Terrorism Newsletter*, 18 June 2010, 33.

¹⁴⁹ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Far’a Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=115>

¹⁵⁰ Open Source Center, Office of the Director of National Intelligence, “Palestinian Killed by IDF Gunfire in Nablus Area Refugee Camp,” *Israel—OSC Summary*, 13 July 2011.

¹⁵¹ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Camp No. 1 Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=111>

¹⁵² Seth G. Jones, “Fighting Networked Terrorist Groups: Lessons from Israel,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 30, no. 4 (2007): 281–302.

Aqbat Jaber ¹⁵³	West Bank	Jericho, southwest of	6,400
al-Aida ^{154, 155}	West Bank	Bethlehem and Beit Jala, between	4,700
Deir Ammar ¹⁵⁶	West Bank	Ramallah, northwest of	2,400
Ayn al-Sultan ^{157, 158}	West Bank		1,900
Beit Jibrin ^{159, 160, 161, 162}	West Bank	Bethlehem	1,000

Environmental Concerns and Natural Hazards

The major environmental concerns facing the Palestinian Territories relate to the availability of fresh water, which is inadequate to provide for the needs of the Palestinian people. Compounding the matter is the increasing salinity of aquifers, poisoning what little fresh water does exist. Improper sanitation in the major cities and refugee camps has further contaminated water resources. Recurrent droughts, soil degradation, and desertification also have been problematic.^{163, 164}



© soylentyellow / flickr.com
Open sewers in refugee camp

¹⁵³ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Aqbat Jaber Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=106>

¹⁵⁴ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Aida Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=104>

¹⁵⁵ Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State, “Israel and the Occupied Territories,” 28 February 2005, <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2004/41723.htm>

¹⁵⁶ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Deir ’Ammar Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=112>

¹⁵⁷ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Ein el-Sultan Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=114>

¹⁵⁸ Open Source Center, Office of the Director of National Intelligence, “Ministry of Agriculture Distributes Citrus Seedlings in Jericho and Jordan Valley,” *West Bank & Gaza Strip—OSC Summary*, 31 March–8 April 2008.

¹⁵⁹ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Beit Jibrin Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=110>

¹⁶⁰ Jane’s Information Group, “Fatah Armed Wing Claims Responsibility for IED Attack in West Bank,” *Jane’s Terrorism Watch Report—Daily Update*, 28 October 2011.

¹⁶¹ Jane’s Information Group, “Suspected Jewish Extremists Assault Palestinian Family in West Bank,” *Jane’s Terrorism Watch Report—Daily Update*, 19 September 2011.

¹⁶² Jonathan Lis, “Police Suspect Nationalistic Motive in Woman’s Murder,” *Haaretz*, 21 December 2004, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/police-suspect-nationalistic-motive-in-woman-s-murder-1.144784>

¹⁶³ Central Intelligence Agency, “Gaza Strip,” in *The World Factbook*, 20 December 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gz.html>; “West Bank,” in *The World Factbook*, 20 December 2011, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>

¹⁶⁴ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA), which administers the camps: UNRWA, “Gaza Camp Profiles,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=68>; “West Bank Camp Profiles,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=103>

Chapter 1 Assessment

1. Almost one-half the population of the Palestinian Territories lives in refugee camps.

TRUE

Of the 4.2 million residents of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, almost 2 million people live in refugee camps.

2. The Jordan River is the main river of the Palestinian Territories.

TRUE

The Jordan River forms the boundary between Israel and Jordan until it reaches the northern edge of the West Bank, thereafter defining the boundary between the West Bank and Jordan. From there, it flows into the Dead Sea.

3. According to recent findings, the Dead Sea contains abundant supplies of natural gas.

FALSE

Natural gas has recently been discovered in the Levantine Basin of the Mediterranean Sea.

4. The Judaeen Hills and Samarian Highlands are the most populated areas of the Palestinian Territories.

FALSE

Most of the people in the Palestinian Territories live in the Mediterranean coastal plain, the area between Gaza and Tel Aviv.

5. The Gaza Strip is geographically larger than the West Bank.

FALSE

The Gaza Strip measures 360 sq km (139 sq mi), compared to the West Bank, which covers 5,860 sq km (2,263 sq mi).

CHAPTER 2: HISTORY

Introduction

The Palestinian Territories have long been contested space. Ethnic groups, religious groups, and empires have vied for control of this strategically important area. Abrahamic faiths (including Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) consider these territories to be part of their holy land. As such, ancient animosities continue to define internal and external relations. The most profound of these is the struggle between the Palestinians and the Israelis. The former are a people of mixed ancestry, with familial connections to the ancient Phoenicians and Arabs, and are primarily followers of Islam. (There is a small population of Christians among the Palestinians.) The latter are overwhelmingly Jewish and trace their lineage to the ancient Jewish kingdoms of Judah and Israel. They believe that their god set aside this land for them exclusively. But in the modern context, most of their families arrived in the area only in the last two centuries. Throughout the ages, these two peoples have lived alongside one another while their relationship has vacillated between acceptance and outright hostility—the theme of much of their recent history.



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Tombs of the Patriarchs

Ancient

Much of what we know about the history of the region has relied upon Biblical accounts in the Old Testament and has been substantiated by archaeological and historical research. Archaeological evidence suggests that prehistoric peoples populated the area and engaged in agriculture as far back as 8000 B.C.E.¹⁶⁵ By 2750 B.C.E., the ancient Phoenicians had founded Tyre in modern Lebanon and settled along the eastern Mediterranean coast, including what is today the Gaza Strip, and named their territory Canaan.¹⁶⁶ By 1250 B.C.E., the ancient Israelites began their conquest and settlement of Canaan, setting in motion centuries of conflict.¹⁶⁷



© James Emery / flickr.com
Model of Temple Mount

King Solomon reigned in Jerusalem from 961–922 B.C.E. and constructed the first Jewish Temple. After Solomon's death, his successors divided the kingdom in two: Israel and Judah. The two rival kingdoms survived for nearly two centuries, but by 721 B.C.E., Assyrian forces

¹⁶⁵ Simcha Lev-Yadun, Avi Gopher, and Shahal Abbo, "The Cradle of Agriculture," *Science* 288, no. 5471 (2 June 2000): 1602–1603.

¹⁶⁶ Glenn E. Markoe, *Phoenicians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 196.

¹⁶⁷ Norman K. Gottwald, "Chapter 5: The Historical Subject: Israel in Canaan 1250–1000 B.C.E.," in *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel 1250–1050 BCE* (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 32–44.

conquered the Kingdom of Israel. By 586 B.C.E., the Babylonians defeated the kingdom of Judah and carried off the Jews into exile, destroying Solomon's Temple. Within a few generations, the Persians conquered Babylonia and allowed some Jews to return to their homeland from captivity. Upon their arrival, they constructed a new temple.¹⁶⁸

In 333 B.C.E., Alexander the Great conquered the region, bringing the area under Greek control.¹⁶⁹ But by 165 B.C.E., a revolt in Judah established the last independent Jewish kingdom.¹⁷⁰ In little more than a century, the Roman Empire absorbed Judah into the Roman province of Palestine. The Jews were never content under Roman rule, and in 70 C.E., the Roman Emperor Titus quashed a revolt in Judah and destroyed the Second Temple. Roman authorities forcibly expelled the Jews from their homeland.^{171, 172}

From 118–138, the Roman Emperor Hadrian allowed the Jews to return. But after a subsequent revolt, Roman troops leveled Jerusalem and sold the Jews into slavery.^{173, 174} Roman rule over Palestine continued into the Byzantine era, until around 640. During that time, most of its inhabitants converted to Christianity.¹⁷⁵

Introduction of Islam

By 638, Arab Muslims were pushing into the territory and gradually wrested control from the Byzantines. Beginning in 661, the Umayyad caliphs ruled Palestine from Damascus. During this time, the Muslim rulers constructed the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa mosques, both built upon the ruins of the Jewish Temple.^{176, 177}



© myheartinpalestine / flickr.com
Al-Aqsa Mosque

Then in 750, the Abbasid caliphs conquered the area and ruled most of Palestine from Baghdad until 1258.¹⁷⁸ But

¹⁶⁸ Philip Kennedy, *Christianity: An Introduction* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 9–11.

¹⁶⁹ Laura S. Etheredge, ed., *Historic Palestine, Israel, and the Emerging Palestinian Autonomous Areas* (New York: Britannica Educational Publishing, 2011), 19.

¹⁷⁰ Matthew Goff, "Hosmonian Dynasty," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Judaism and Jewish Culture*, ed. Judith R. Baskin (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 221.

¹⁷¹ Larry Kreitzer, "Apotheosis of the Roman Emperor," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 53, no. 4 (December 1990): 210–217.

¹⁷² David Aberbach, "The Roman-Jewish Wars and Hebrew Cultural Nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism* 6, no. 3 (2000): 347–362.

¹⁷³ David Aberbach, "The Roman-Jewish Wars and Hebrew Cultural Nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism* 6, no. 3 (2000): 347–362.

¹⁷⁴ Thorsten Opper, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 89–91.

¹⁷⁵ Robert Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule: A Historical and Archaeological Study* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1995).

¹⁷⁶ Nehemia Levtzion, "Chapter 16: Conversion to Islam in Syria and Palestine and the Survival of Christian Communities," in *Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands: Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, eds. Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), 289–312.

¹⁷⁷ Oleg Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

¹⁷⁸ Moshe Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634–1099* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 88.

in 1071, the Seljuk Turks captured Jerusalem and other parts of Palestine. Thus, the Palestinian Territories were under divided rule, a problem that would continue to plague them.¹⁷⁹

Crusades

Beginning in 1095, European crusaders, religious zealots, and ambitious adventurers seized control of Jerusalem and established four crusader states in what is today Syria, Lebanon, and Israel (including the Palestinian Territories).¹⁸⁰

But the Crusaders were never able to firmly establish their control of the region. By 1187, Saladin, a Kurdish general leading an Ayyubid Egyptian army, crushed a Crusader army at Hittin in northern Palestine and captured Jerusalem.¹⁸¹ In 1244, Egyptian forces won a decisive victory over a major Crusader force at La Forbie in Gaza.¹⁸² The French King Louis IX organized an ill-fated crusade in response, which ended with his army crushed and him taken prisoner after the Battle of al-Mansura. This marked the beginning of the end for the Crusaders and solidified Egypt's growing influence over Palestine.^{183, 184}

On 3 September 1260, Egyptian Mamluks defeated an invading Mongol army in the Battle of Ayn Jalut, near Nazareth in the West Bank, in the first decisive defeat of a Mongol army in direct combat. The Crusaders had half-heartedly supported the Egyptians, deeming them the lesser of two evils.^{185, 186}

But by 1291, the last of the Crusader cities, Acre, fell to Egyptian might.^{187, 188}

Early Modern Period

Egyptian mastery over Palestine continued for more than two centuries until 1517, when the Turkish Sultan Selim I conquered Mamluk Egypt, including Palestine. He



© marsmet542 / flickr.com
Dome of the Rock

¹⁷⁹ Edward N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 227.

¹⁸⁰ Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096–1204* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

¹⁸¹ Gudrun Krämer, *A History of Palestine: From the Ottoman Conquest to the Founding of the State of Israel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 15.

¹⁸² Jaroslav Folda, "Chapter 5: The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: 1225–1244," in *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 170–172.

¹⁸³ Marianne Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

¹⁸⁴ James Waterson, *The Knights of Islam: The Wars of the Mamluks* (London: Greenhill Books, 2007), 58–63.

¹⁸⁵ Jaroslav Folda, "Chapter 6: Turmoil in the Holy Land: 1244–1268," in *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 260.

¹⁸⁶ Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "Chapter 2: The Battle of 'Ayn Jālūt," in *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 26–48.

¹⁸⁷ Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades: Volume III: The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 396–424.

¹⁸⁸ David Nicolle, *Acre 1291: Bloody Sunset of the Crusader States* (New York: Osprey Publishing, 2005), 83–84.

incorporated the latter into the Ottoman Empire.^{189, 190} Beginning in 1535, the Turkish Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent restored the Dome of the Rock and the city walls of Jerusalem.¹⁹¹ Turkish control over Palestine continued for nearly three centuries.

By the closing years of the 18th century, Europeans were again showing an active interest in the region. In 1799, the French General Napoleon Bonaparte pushed into Palestine as part of his larger Egyptian campaign, taking the cities of Gaza, Jaffa, and Haifa. From March–May 1799, he laid siege to the city of Acre but failed to take it from the Ottomans.¹⁹²

Modern Period

European gains in the region were temporary, and from 1832–1840, the Egyptian forces of Ibrahim Pasha regained control over Palestine.¹⁹³ By the 1860s, Ottoman forces had taken back Palestine. They would retain control until the demise of the Ottoman Empire in the aftermath of World War I.

From 1876 to 1877, Palestinian parliamentarians from Jerusalem, elected under the new Ottoman Constitution, attended the first session of that body in Istanbul. This was the first time in many centuries that Palestinians had a degree of representation in their governance.^{194, 195}



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Monument to Rothschild

In 1878, the community of Petach Tiqva was established and became the first modern Zionist settlement. The Zionists were Jews, primarily from Europe, who believed that the scattered Jewish peoples should return to the Holy Land to reclaim what they viewed as their inheritance from ancient Israelite ancestors. The Zionist movement continued to gain momentum throughout the latter part of the 19th century. In 1882, Baron Edmond James de Rothschild, the scion of the famous French banking family, began to provide financial backing for Zionist settlements in Palestine.^{196, 197}

¹⁸⁹ Laura S. Etheredge, ed., *Egypt*, Middle East in Transition series (New York: Britannica Educational Publishing, 2011), 118.

¹⁹⁰ Andrew Schein, “Institutional Reversals and Economic Growth: Palestine 1516–1948,” *Journal of Institutional Economics* 8, no. 1 (March 2012): 119–141.

¹⁹¹ Gudrun Krämer, *A History of Palestine: From the Ottoman Conquest to the Founding of the State of Israel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 52.

¹⁹² Philip G. Dwyer, “Chapter 18: The Limits of Imagination,” in *Napoleon: The Path to Power, 1769–1799* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 412–429.

¹⁹³ Samih K. Farsoun and Naseer H. Aruri, *Palestine and the Palestinians: A Social and Political History* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2006), 27–29.

¹⁹⁴ Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 72.

¹⁹⁵ Michael R. Fishbach and Philip Mattar, “Chronology,” in *Encyclopedia of the Palestinians*, ed. Philip Mattar (New York: Facts on File, 2005), 572.

¹⁹⁶ Gwyn Rowley, “Israel and the Palestinian Refugees: Background and Present Realities,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 9, no. 2 (1977): 81–89.

Beginning in 1887, the Ottoman government divided Palestine into the districts of Jerusalem, Nablus, and Acre. Though the former was governed directly from Istanbul, the latter two were governed from Beirut, Lebanon—again, Palestine was being carved into pieces.¹⁹⁸

The First Aliyah, a major wave of Jewish Zionist immigration from Europe and Yemen to Ottoman-controlled Palestine, occurred in the late 1890s. But the new arrivals met with resistance from both Muslims and the Old Yishuv, those Jews who had remained in Palestine since ancient times.¹⁹⁹

20th Century

The early years of the twentieth century witnessed the advent of the Second Aliyah. Ever more Zionists, most from Central and Eastern Europe, immigrated to Palestine. In doing so, they altered the region's demography and continued to antagonize Muslim Palestinians. The Zionists began establishing socialist-utopian communities (*kibbutz*), typically based on agriculture, in rural areas.^{200, 201}

With the advent of World War I in 1914, Arabs saw an opportunity to gain their independence from the Turkish Ottoman Empire. The Palestinians were no exception. In correspondence dated January 30, 1916, Sir Henry McMahon, British High Commissioner of Egypt, and Sharif Sayyid Hussein bin Ali of Mecca, leader of the Arab Revolt, agreed on the establishment of a postwar independent pan-Arab state carved out of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire. But on May 16, 1916, the governments of the United Kingdom, France, and Russia secretly signed the Sykes-Picot Agreement, reneging on promises to the leaders of the Arab Revolt and placing the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire under British and French control. Palestine was divided between areas under British administration and those designated as an international zone.^{202, 203}



© Ben Piven / flickr.com
Ottoman tower near Nablus

¹⁹⁷ Margalit Shilo, "The Immigration Policy of the Zionist Institutions," *Middle Eastern Studies* 30, no. 3 (1994): 597–617.

¹⁹⁸ Gregory Harms and Todd M. Ferry, *The Palestine-Israel Conflict: A Basic Introduction* (Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2005), 58.

¹⁹⁹ Ruth Kark and Michal Oren-Nordheim, "Chapter Five: Agricultural Settlement in Jerusalem's Rural Periphery: Plans, Attempts, Successes," in *Jerusalem and Its Environs: Quarters, Neighborhoods, Villages, 1800–1948* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2011), 294–359.

²⁰⁰ Aharon Kellerman, "Settlement Myth and Settlement Activity: Interrelationships in the Zionist Land of Israel," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 21, no. 2 (1996): 363–378.

²⁰¹ Yosef Gorny, "Thoughts on Zionism as a Utopian Ideology," *Modern Judaism* 18, no. 3 (October 1998): 241–251.

²⁰² Lillian Goldman Law Library, Yale Law School, "The Sykes-Picot Agreement: 1916," *The Avalon Project*, 2008, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/sykes.asp

²⁰³ Isaiah Friedman, "The McMahon-Hussein Correspondence and the Question of Palestine," *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, no. 2 (1970): 83–122.

On 2 November 1917, British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour issued the Balfour Declaration, stating that Britain would support the creation of an independent Jewish state in Palestine, a move that deeply angered Palestinian Muslims.²⁰⁴ The British-commanded Egyptian Expeditionary Force captured Jerusalem on 9 December 1917. In less than one year, Ottoman forces surrendered, and British troops occupied Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan. The British immediately pursued a course to provide them the opportunity to hold on to much of this territory.²⁰⁵

British Occupation

The First Palestinian National Congress met in Jerusalem during early 1919. The delegates sent correspondence to the Paris Peace Conference firmly rejecting the Balfour Declaration and demanding full independence for Palestine, which they considered part of Syria.²⁰⁶ Despite this appeal to the Wilsonian principle of self-determination, the demand was unmet.



Public Domain
Chief Rabbi during Mandate

About the same time, in April 1920, Palestinians protesting Zionist immigration rampaged in what came to be known as the Nabi Musa riots, leaving hundreds of Jews injured and five dead. Although occupying British forces prevented the Second Palestinian National Congress from meeting, the Third Palestinian National Congress convened in December that year, electing an Executive Committee that retained control of the Palestinian independence movement until 1935.^{207, 208}

In March 1921, Zionist settlers established the *Haganah*, an illegal, underground, paramilitary organization aimed at protecting settlements from attacks by Palestinian guerrilla organizations.²⁰⁹ The terms of the League of Nations' British Mandate for Palestine came into effect in September 1923, legitimating British control over Palestine and Transjordan (including all the modern states of Israel, Jordan, and parts of Syria, Egypt, and Lebanon). The Mandate continued until the establishment of Israel in 1948.²¹⁰

In 1930, Izz al-Din al-Qassam, a Syrian-born militant, formed a guerrilla organization known as the Black Hand (al-Kaff al-Aswad), aimed at driving British administrators and Jews from Palestine. The group carried out a number of terrorist attacks against civilian and law-

²⁰⁴ William M. Mathew, "War-Time Contingency and the Balfour Declaration of 1917: An Improbable Regression," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 40, no. 2 (Winter 2011): 26–42.

²⁰⁵ Jonathan Q.C. Newell, "Learning the Hard Way: Allenby in Egypt and Palestine, 1917–19," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 14, no. 3 (1991): 363–387.

²⁰⁶ Mark A. Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 155.

²⁰⁷ Zachary J. Foster, "Arabness, Turkey and the Palestinian National Imagination in the Eyes of *Mir'at al-Sharq* 1919–1926," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 42 (Summer 2010): 61–79, <http://jerusalemquarterly.org/images/ArticlesPdf/42-ArabnessTurkey.pdf>

²⁰⁸ Sulaymān Bashīr, *Communism in the Arab East, 1918–1928* (London: Ithaca Press, 1980), 76.

²⁰⁹ John Knight, "Securing Zion? Policing in British Palestine, 1917–39," *European Review of History* 18, no. 4 (2011): 523–543.

²¹⁰ Dov Gavish, *A Survey of Palestine Under the British Mandate, 1920–1948* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

enforcement targets, serving as the prototype for subsequent Palestinian terrorist organizations.²¹¹

On October 20, 1930, the British government published the Passfield White Paper, which seemed to reverse British policies that favored a Zionist movement. This policy paper seemed instead to lean in favor of self-governance for Palestine. But its application fell well short of Palestinian expectations.²¹²

Great Arab Revolt

Protesting British administration and ongoing Jewish immigration, Palestinians revolted and resorted to armed conflict during the second half of the 1930s.²¹³ In an attempt in July 1937 to calm Palestinian unrest, the Palestine Royal Commission in Britain (also known as the Peel Commission) proposed the division of the British Mandate into a Jewish state, an Arab state, and British-controlled enclaves, including Jerusalem. The proposal called for the forcible transfer of populations to ensure that the states were divided strictly along ethno-religious lines, but it failed to quiet the discontent. Subsequently, in the late 1930s, British authorities established military courts and a counterinsurgency paramilitary unit to deal with Palestinian militants.^{214, 215, 216}



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Special Night Squads

The joint British-Zionist Special Night Squads drew upon personnel from the Haganah and other Zionist paramilitary organizations. In October 1938, British military officers assumed administration of the British Mandate in order to suppress the ongoing revolt.^{217, 218}

In May 1939, the British House of Commons voted overwhelmingly in favor of the MacDonald White Paper, abandoning the idea of partitioning Palestine in support of the establishment an independent Palestinian state governed by proportional representation of the state's ethno-religious groups. The White Paper set limitations upon Jewish immigration.²¹⁹

²¹¹ Raphael Israeli, "From Oslo to Bethlehem: Arafat's Islamic Message," *Journal of Church and State* 43, no. 3 (Summer 2001), 427.

²¹² G. Sheffer, "Intentions and Results of British Policy in Palestine: Passfield's White Paper," *Middle Eastern Studies* 9, no. 1 (January 1973): 43–60.

²¹³ James Barker, "Monty and the Mandate," *History Today* 59, no. 3 (March 2009): 30–34.

²¹⁴ Penny Sinanoglou, "British Plans for the Partition of Palestine, 1929–1938," *The Historical Journal* 52, no. 1 (March 2009): 131–152.

²¹⁵ Eugene Rogan, *The Arabs: A History* (Philadelphia: Basic Books, 2009), 205–206.

²¹⁶ G.W. Treadwell, *Military Courts Manual* (London: Solicitors' Law Stationery Society, 1945), vi.

²¹⁷ David Rooney, "A Grave Injustice: Wingate and the Establishment," *History Today* 44, no. 3 (March 1994): 11–13.

²¹⁸ Simon Anglim, "Orde Wingate and the Special Night Squads: A Feasible Policy for Counter-terrorism?" *Contemporary Security Policy* 28, no. 1 (2007): 28–41.

²¹⁹ Michael J. Cohen, "Appeasement in the Middle East: The British White Paper on Palestine," *The Historical Journal* 16, no. 3 (1 September 1973): 571–596.

World War II

In July 1940, the Italian Air Force began bombing Palestinian cities including Acre, Haifa, Jaffa, and Tel Aviv.²²⁰ Throughout World War II, Jewish refugees fleeing the violence in Europe immigrated illegally to Palestine. Concerned about German successes in the Middle East and suspicious of Arab loyalties, the British encouraged the Haganah to establish an elite commando unit known as the *Palmach*.^{221, 222}

After the war, Jewish paramilitary organizations turned against British authorities, resorting to attacks aimed at driving the British out of Palestine. Simultaneously, large-scale Jewish immigration to Palestine resumed, as many European Jews who had witnessed the Holocaust turned to Zionism.²²³ The British administrators cracked down on Jewish militants and accused Zionist leaders around the world of cooperating with terrorist groups in Palestine, naming the Haganah among these groups. This marked a continued deterioration of relations between British authorities and the Zionist movement.²²⁴



Public Domain
Haganah fighters

About the same time, the Arab League, an international organization aimed at promoting the shared interests of the Arab peoples, met in Syria and adopted resolutions warning that if Western countries continued to disregard Palestinian rights, Western oil and trade interests in the Arab world would be affected.²²⁵

The United Nations' Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), meeting in 1947, recommended the partition of Palestine into separate Jewish and Palestinian states. A subsequent Arab League meeting rejected the proposal and established a Technical Military Committee to oversee a unified Arab defense of Palestinian interests. On 26 September, British colonial authorities announced their intention to end the British Mandate. In October, Ismail Safwat, chairman of the Arab League's Technical Military Committee, urged Arab states to mobilize armed forces against Zionist positions in Palestine. He later advocated the training of Palestinians to serve alongside a proposed Arab League force. In November, the United Nations General Assembly voted in favor of the UNSCOP partition plan.^{226, 227}

²²⁰ Nir Arielli, "'Haifa is Still Burning': Italian, German and French Air Raids on Palestine during the Second World War," *Middle Eastern Studies* 46, no. 3 (2010): 332–347.

²²¹ Samuel Katz, *Israeli Elite Unites Since 1948* (New York: Osprey Publishing, 1988), 4–7.

²²² Yoav Gelber, "The Mission of the Jewish Parachutists from Palestine in Europe in World War II," *Studies in Zionism* 7, no. 1 (1986): 51–76.

²²³ Yehuda Bauer, "From Cooperation to Resistance: The Haganah 1938–1946," *Middle Eastern Studies* 2, no. 3 (1966): 182–210.

²²⁴ Sami Hadawi, *Bitter Harvest: A Modern History of Palestine*, 4th ed. (Brooklyn, NY: Olive Branch Press, 1991), 61.

²²⁵ Thomas Mayer, "Arab Unity of Action and the Palestinian Question, 1945–48," *Middle Eastern Studies* 22, no. 3 (July 1986): 331–349.

²²⁶ David Tal, "The Forgotten War: Jewish-Palestinian Strife in Mandatory Palestine, December 1947–May 1948," *Israel Affairs* 6, nos. 3–4 (Spring/Summer 2000): 3–21.

²²⁷ Harold M. Cubert, *The PLFP's Changing Role in the Middle East* (Portland, OR: Frank Cross, 1997), 41.

The Arab-Israeli War

In December 1947, the Arab League established the Arab Liberation Army (ALA), an armed force of irregulars drawn from member states. The force was under the command of Fawzi al-Qawuqji, an Arab nationalist who had served as an officer in the Ottoman Army during World War I and the colonial French-Syrian Army before defecting to the Arab revolutionary movement.²²⁸ The following month, the first contingent of the ALA arrived in Palestine and launched an attack on the Jewish settlement of Kfar Szold, which was repulsed by a joint British-Haganah force.²²⁹ Later in 1948, the Haganah stopped an ALA attack on its base at Mishmar HaEmek, effectively neutralizing the Palestinian militants.²³⁰



Public Domain
Fawzi al-Qawuqji

On March 18, 1948, in an audience with Chaim Weizmann (the Zionist leader who would go on to be the first Israeli president), U.S. President Harry Truman secretly pledged support for the creation of a Jewish state. The Haganah implemented Plan Dalet in April 1948—forcibly displacing an estimated 250,000 to 300,000 Muslims from strategically important communities throughout Palestine.^{231, 232}

On May 14, 1948, Palestine’s Jewish community proclaimed the establishment of the state of Israel, sending thousands of Arab Palestinians fleeing to neighboring countries. At the same time, Britain’s formal announcement of the long-planned end of the British Mandate was followed by the beginning of the Arab-Israeli War.^{233, 234}

Amazingly, the Israelis fought invading armies from Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria to a standstill. A 1949 armistice left three-quarters of Palestine under Israeli control. Egypt assumed stewardship of the Gaza Strip, and Jordan took control of and eventually annexed the Palestinian territory.²³⁵ In the aftermath of the war and subsequent territorial divisions, several hundred thousand Palestinians were left as refugees in the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria.²³⁶

Expansion of Israel

²²⁸ Laila Parsons, “Soldiering for Arab Nationalism: Fawzi al-Qawuqji in Palestine,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 36, no. 4 (Summer 2007): 33–48.

²²⁹ Uri Milstein and Alan Sacks, “Chapter 10: The Battle for the Frontier Settlements,” in *History of the War of Independence: The First Month: Volume II* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997), 262.

²³⁰ Efraim Karsh, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict: The 1948 War* (New York: Rosen Publishing, 2009), 42–43.

²³¹ Lawrence Davidson, “Truman the Politician and the Establishment of Israel,” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 39, no. 4 (Summer 2010): 28–42.

²³² Benny Morris, “Chapter 4: The Second Wave: The Mass Exodus, April–June 1948,” in *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 262.

²³³ Nadav Safran, “Chapter 5: The War of Independence and the Birth of Israel,” in *Israel, the Embattled Ally* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 43–66.

²³⁴ Benny Morris, *1948: A History of the First Arab-Israeli War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

²³⁵ Yehuda Lukacs, *Israel, Jordan, and the Peace Process* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 118.

²³⁶ Hilde Henriksen Waage, “The Winner Takes All: The 1949 Island of Rhodes Armistice Negotiations Revisited,” *Middle East Journal* 65, no. 2 (Spring 2011): 279–304.

The Law of Return, passed by the Israeli parliament (Knesset) in 1950, declared the right of all Jews to immigrate to the new Jewish state and provided assistance with settling therein, profoundly altering the demography of Israel and creating a need for additional land.²³⁷ To the detriment of the Palestinians, infighting among the Arab states further weakened hopes of regaining independence. Following rumors that Lebanon and Jordan were discussing a joint peace agreement with Israel separately from their Arab allies, Palestinian militants assassinated Jordan's King Abdullah I in 1951 while he visited the al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. This drove a wedge between the Jordanian monarchy and the country's large Palestinian refugee community.^{238, 239, 240}



Public Domain
Operation Black Arrow

Continuing to plot against Israel, the Arab countries used the plight of the Palestinians as justification for continued belligerence. Responding in 1955, Israeli Defense Forces launched Operation Black Arrow to disrupt Egyptian intelligence operations that had supported Palestinian attacks on Israel from the Gaza Strip.^{241, 242}

New Vehicles of Palestinian Militancy

In 1956, while working in Kuwait as a civil engineer, Yasser Arafat and his business associates established Fatah, an organization aimed at liberating Palestine from the Israelis. Fatah, which has served as the main Palestinian liberation group for decades, continues to wield considerable influence in the Palestinian Territories today.²⁴³

Water security has been another source of tension in the region since 1959, when Israel began a project to divert the flow of the Jordan River from the Sea of Galilee to the Negev. The plan, Israel's National Water Carrier Project, significantly reduced the supply of water to the Palestinian Territories and met with general protests from Palestinians and the Arab world, who vowed to block the project.²⁴⁴

²³⁷ Ruth Gavison, *The Law of Return at Sixty Years: History, Ideology, Justification* (Jerusalem: The Metzilah Center for Zionist, Jewish, Liberal and Humanist Thought, 2010), 23.

²³⁸ Michael Vicente Pérez, "Human Rights and the Rightless: The Case of Gaza Refugees in Jordan," *The International Journal of Human Rights* 15, no. 7 (2011): 1031–1054.

²³⁹ Ron Eduard Hassner, *War on Sacred Grounds* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), xv.

²⁴⁰ Antoine Sfeir, ed. "Muslim Brotherhood," in *The Columbia World Dictionary of Islamism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 235–239.

²⁴¹ Motti Golani, "Shall We Go to War? And If We Do, When? The Genesis of the Internal Debate in Israel on the Road to the Sinai War," *Israel Affairs* 6, nos. 3–4 (Spring/Summer 2000): 22–42.

²⁴² Michael B. Oren, "Escalation to Suez: the Egypt-Israel Border War, 1949–56," *Journal of Contemporary History* 24, no. 2 (April 1989): 347–373.

²⁴³ Altaf Gauhar and Yassir Arafat, "Yassir Arafat," *Third World Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (April 1986): 399–410.

²⁴⁴ Jeffrey D. Dillman, "Water Rights in the Occupied Territories," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 19, no. 1 (Autumn 1989): 46–71.

With Arab League sponsorship, Palestinian leaders founded the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1964. The group has served as an umbrella for various Palestinian militant groups.²⁴⁵ Later in 1964, delegates to the Arab Summit in Egypt declared their intention to destroy the Jewish state. As a result, Fatah began terrorist operations within Israel.²⁴⁶

The Six-Day War and Its Aftermath

In a pre-emptive strike in June 1967, Israel attacked gathering Arab forces and destroyed the Egyptian air force on the ground. Occupying the Sinai Peninsula, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights, the Israeli Defense Force also delivered a major blow to Palestinian aspirations for an independent state. At the subsequent Khartoum Conference of August–September 1967, Arab delegates rejected a secret Israeli offer to return the occupied territories in return for a peace agreement.^{247, 248}



Public Domain
King Hussein of Jordan

In 1967, Arafat's Fatah movement emerged as the leading member of the PLO. Supported by Jordanian armed forces, the militant group resisted an Israeli assault on their Jordanian headquarters in 1968. Although forced to abandon their position, Fatah's tenacity won Arafat international acclaim.²⁴⁹ Despite this political recognition, Palestinian militants operating in neighboring Arab states began to wear out their welcome because they meddled in the politics of their host countries. In 1969, Palestinian militants clashed with Lebanese security forces. Although they were able to negotiate a settlement, relationships between the Lebanese government and Palestinian groups have continued to be highly problematic.^{250, 251}

Similarly, in 1970, following years of growing tensions between Palestinian militias and the Jordanian government, Jordan's King Hussein declared martial law, intent on expelling the militias. At the same time, Yasser Arafat, already chairman of the PLO, became the supreme commander of the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA), the regular military force of the PLO. Subsequent clashes between Jordanian forces and Palestinians escalated significantly when Syria invaded Jordan to support the Palestinians. Jordan crushed the Syrians and Palestinians in an episode known as Black September. In early 1971, Jordan expelled the PLO and other Palestinian militants. The PLO established its new headquarters in Lebanon.^{252, 253, 254}

²⁴⁵ Avner Yaniv, *P.L.O. (Palestine Liberation Organization): A Profile* (Jerusalem: Israel Universities Study Group for Middle Eastern Affairs, 1974), 30.

²⁴⁶ Mohammed S. Dajani Daoudi, "The Arab Peace Initiative," *Cross Currents* 59, no. 4 (December 2009): 532–539.

²⁴⁷ Elizabeth Stephens, "America, Israel, & the Six Day War," *History Today* 57, no. 6 (June 2007): 12–19.

²⁴⁸ Yoram Meital, "The Khartoum Conference and Egyptian Policy after the 1967 War: A Reexamination," *Middle East Journal* 54, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 64–82.

²⁴⁹ W. Andrew Terrill, "The Political Mythology of the Battle of Karamah," *Middle East Journal* 55, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 91–111.

²⁵⁰ Paul A. Jureidini and William Edward Hazen, *The Palestinian Movement in Politics* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1976), 65.

²⁵¹ Farid el-Khazen, "Chapter Twelve: The Making of the Cairo Agreement," in *The Breakdown of the State in Lebanon, 1967–1976* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 140–175.

²⁵² Ziv Rubinovitz, "Blue and White 'Black September': Israel's Role in the Jordan Crisis of 1970," *The International History Review* 32, no. 4 (2010): 687–706.

In early September 1972, a terrorist wing of Fatah known as Black September kidnapped and murdered 11 members of the Israeli Olympic team in Munich, Germany. The next year, the same organization, with approval from Arafat, stormed the American embassy in Khartoum, Sudan. Before surrendering, they killed 10 hostages, including American diplomats. Such actions solidified American impressions of the PLO as a terrorist organization.^{255, 256, 257}

Yom Kippur War and Its Aftermath

On October 6, 1973, in a surprise joint attack upon Israel launched on a major Jewish holiday, Egypt and Syria pushed into the Sinai and Golan Heights. Israel responded by driving the Syrians back to the outskirts of Damascus and cutting off the Egyptian Third Army in the Sinai—significantly weakening the Palestinians’ staunchest supporters.²⁵⁸



© Israel Defense Forces / flickr.com
Egyptian and Israeli Generals

At its meeting in Rabat, Morocco, in 1974, the 12th Palestinian National Council declared the PLO to be the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, undermining efforts by Jordan’s King Hussein to negotiate a peace agreement on behalf of the Palestinians with the Israeli government. That same year, the United Nations granted the PLO observer status, and Yasser Arafat addressed the General Assembly. At the same time, the Arab League granted the PLO full membership.²⁵⁹

Lebanese Civil War

In April 1975, Arafat aligned the PLO with the Lebanese National Movement (LNM) during the Lebanese Civil War, which lasted until October 1990. Arafat alienated many of his supporters, who saw this as a distraction from the goal of liberating Palestine. It also earned the PLO the enmity of many of the key factions vying for power in Lebanon.²⁶⁰

²⁵³ Hassan A. Barari, “Four Decades after Black September: A Jordanian Perspective,” *Civil Wars* 10, no. 3 (September 2008): 231–243.

²⁵⁴ Iris Fruchter-Ronen, “Black September: The 1970–71 Events and Their Impact on the Formation of Jordanian National Identity,” *Civil Wars* 10, no. 3 (September 2008): 244–260.

²⁵⁵ Jane’s Information Group, “Groups: Middle East: Dormant, Israel: Abu Nidal Organisation (ANO),” *Jane’s World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 9 March 2005.

²⁵⁶ Jane’s Information Group, “Groups: Middle East: Active, Israel: Fatah,” *Jane’s World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 22 December 2011.

²⁵⁷ Barry Rubin and Judith Colp Rubin, *Yasir Arafat: A Political Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 65.

²⁵⁸ Simon Dunstan, *The Yom Kippur War: The Arab-Israeli War of 1973* (New York: Osprey Publishing, 2007).

²⁵⁹ Itamar Rabinovich and Jehuda Reinharz, *Israel in the Middle East: Documents and Readings on Society, Politics, and Foreign Relations, Pre-1948 to the Present*, 2nd ed. (Lebanon, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2008), 342–344.

²⁶⁰ Wendy Pearlman, *Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 85–86.

The following year, Lebanese militia, aided by Syrian forces, massacred thousands of Palestinian refugees at the United Nations-administered Tel al-Zaatar Refugee Camp in northeast Beirut. The PLO had refused to allow an evacuation of the camp, despite a months-long siege, effectively using the refugees as human shields. During the Lebanese attack, the PLO intentionally shelled fleeing refugees in hopes of blaming their deaths on the Lebanese forces. But Western journalists present during the assault reported that the Palestinian forces were well aware that their shells were landing on refugees and refused to cease fire.²⁶¹



© Hans Weigart / wikipedia.org
King Hussein of Jordan

In 1978, after years of increasing cross-border attacks from Lebanon to Israel, Fatah fighters killed dozens of Israeli civilians in the Coastal Road Massacre. In response, the Israeli Defense Force launched Operation Litani, seizing control of southern Lebanon in an effort to drive out Palestinian militants and establish a buffer zone. A subsequent 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon forced the PLO to evacuate and relocate to Tunisia.^{262, 263}

Sabra and Shatila Massacres and Israeli Withdrawal

But some PLO operatives remained in the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon and were implicated in the assassination of Lebanese President-elect Bachir Gemayel. With the permission of the Israeli Defense Forces, who controlled access to the camps, Lebanese forces (Phalangists) entered the refugee camps in September 1982 in hopes of capturing the PLO operatives linked to the assassination. The Israelis warned the Lebanese not to target civilians, but once inside the camps, the Phalangists immediately attacked civilian targets and killed several hundred people in 40 hours while Israeli forces did nothing to stop them.²⁶⁴ This was one incident among many that turned the Israeli population and international opinion against Israeli involvement in the Lebanese Civil War. Israeli forces withdrew from Lebanon in June 1985.²⁶⁵

Intifada and Oslo

In 1987, popular unrest in the Palestinian Territories led to an uprising known as the First Intifada that lasted until 1993. The PLO's inability to effectively lead the uprising brought about the formation of new militant groups, including Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad—groups that would later challenge Fatah.²⁶⁶

²⁶¹ Robert Fisk, *Pity the Nation: The Abduction of Lebanon*, 4th ed. (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation Books, 2002), 85–86.

²⁶² Colin Shindler, "Chapter 7: The Road to Beirut," *A History of Modern Israel* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 147–174.

²⁶³ Rashid Khalidi, "The Palestinians in Lebanon: Social Repercussions of Israel's Invasion," *Middle East Journal* 38, no. 2 (Spring 1984): 255–266.

²⁶⁴ Leila Shahid, "The Sabra and Shatila Massacres: Eye-Witness Reports," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 32, no. 1 (Autumn 2002): 36–58.

²⁶⁵ Dalia Dassa Kaye, "The Israeli Decision to Withdraw from Southern Lebanon: Political Leadership and Security Policy," *Political Science Quarterly* 117, no. 4 (Winter 2002–2003): 561–585,

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/798135.pdf?acceptTC=true>

²⁶⁶ Sara Roy, "Hamas and the Transformation(s) of Political Islam in Palestine," *Current History* 102, no. 660 (January 2003): 13–20. <http://carnegieendowment.org/pdf/files/2004-02-17-roy.pdf>

A series of negotiations between Israeli and Palestinian representatives culminated in the 1993 signing of the Oslo Accords, creating the Palestinian Authority (PA) and providing for Palestinian control of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. Under terms of the agreement, the PLO renounced the use of terrorism. The following year, Yasser Arafat became the first leader of the Palestinian Authority.^{267, 268} Confident in his position, at the 2000 Camp David Summit he flatly rejected terms offered by Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak that would have created an independent Palestinian state.^{269, 270}



© cromacom / flickr.com
Watching stone throwers

U.S. policy regarding a two-state solution became firmly entrenched in 2002, when U.S. President George W. Bush called upon Israel to withdraw from the Palestinian Territories and for the eventual establishment of an independent Palestinian state. For there to be peace in the region, however, President Bush insisted that the Palestinians needed to transform the Palestinian Authority and replace its leaders with more reform-minded and peace-seeking ones.²⁷¹

Recent Events

After Arafat

Yasser Arafat, long the face of the Palestinian liberation movement, died on 11 November 2004 from a brief but acute illness. Shortly thereafter, Mahmoud Abbas, Arafat's successor as chairman of the PLO, was elected president of the Palestinian Authority.^{272, 273}



© proisrali / flickr.com
Hamas Terrorists

To boost the profile of the more moderate Fatah movement, which would assume control of the area as the leading faction of the Palestinian Authority, Israeli forces withdrew from the Gaza Strip in August–September 2005. This Disengagement Plan included forcibly removing those Israeli settlers who

²⁶⁷ Nathan J. Brown, *Palestinian Politics After the Oslo Accords: Resuming Arab Palestine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

²⁶⁸ Mandy Turner, "Creating 'Partners for Peace': The Palestinian Authority and the International Statebuilding Agenda," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 5, no. 1 (2011): 1–21.

²⁶⁹ Eitan Y. Alimi, "Relational Dynamics in Factional Adoption of Terrorist Tactics: A Comparative Perspective," *Theory and Society* 40 (2011): 95–118.

²⁷⁰ Danny Dor, *Intifada Hits the Headlines: How the Israeli Press Misreported the Outbreak of the Second Palestinian Uprising* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 148.

²⁷¹ Richard N. Haass, "Toward Greater Democracy in the Muslim World," *The Washington Quarterly* 26, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 137–148.

²⁷² Ali Jarbawi and Wendy Pearlman, "Struggle in a Post-Charisma Transition: Rethinking Palestinian Politics After Arafat," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 36, no. 4 (Summer 2007): 6–21.

²⁷³ Amy H. Blackwell, "Arafat, Yasir (1929–2004)," in *Conflict and Conquest in the Islamic World: A Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. Alexander Mikaberidze (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2011), 136–138.

refused to evacuate Jewish settlements therein. The Disengagement Plan also was intended to enhance Israeli security by lessening the likelihood of IDF engagements with Palestinian terrorists.^{274, 275}

Palestinian Infighting

But the terrorist organization Hamas was able to convince the Palestinian people that the Israeli withdrawal was because of its ongoing attacks, so it overwhelmingly won parliamentary elections in the Palestinian Authority in January 2006. By late 2006 and early 2007, infighting between Hamas and Fatah escalated the situation to a virtual Palestinian civil war.^{276, 277}

Although PA President Abbas reasserted control of the West Bank in mid-2007, Hamas militants seized control of the Gaza Strip—a dynamic that remains in place today.²⁷⁸

Movement Toward a Two-State Solution

In a move to defuse tensions, U.S. President Barack Obama called for an end to Israeli construction of settlements in the Palestinian Territories and for Arab recognition of the state of Israel. In mid-2009, President Obama endorsed a two-state solution to the Palestinian question. In June 2009, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu endorsed the notion of establishing a separate, independent Palestinian state.²⁷⁹

Yet Hamas is continuing its struggle by seeking new allies in its pursuit of Israel's destruction.^{280, 281} An incident in May 2010 has complicated international relations with Israel and brought the Republic of Turkey to center stage in support of the Palestinians. The controversial episode involved a flotilla that intended to break the Israeli blockade of the Gaza Strip. An Israeli interception of the flotilla left several wounded and about a dozen dead. Turkey, a Western ally, was the unofficial sponsor of the flotilla. Led by its Islamist government, Turkey continues to provide diplomatic succor to Hamas in Gaza.^{282, 283}

²⁷⁴ Oren Yiftachel, "Neither Two States nor One: The Disengagement and 'Creeping Apartheid' in Israel/Palestine," *The Arab World Geographer* 8, no. 3 (2005): 125–129,

<http://arabworldgeographer.socsci.uva.nl/forum2005/AWG83Yiftachel.pdf>

²⁷⁵ Sapir Handelman, *Conflict and Peacemaking in Israel-Palestine: Theory and Application* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 33.

²⁷⁶ Sapir Handelman, *Conflict and Peacemaking in Israel-Palestine: Theory and Application* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 33.

²⁷⁷ David Kenner, "The Fatah-Hamas Rift Deepens," *Passport* (blog), 21 January 2009, http://blog.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2009/01/19/the_fatah_hamas_rift_deepens

²⁷⁸ Beverley Milton-Edwards, "The Ascendance of Political Islam: Hamas and Consolidation in the Gaza Strip," *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 8 (2008).

²⁷⁹ Mohamed A. El-Khawas, "Obama and the Middle East Peace Process: Challenge and Response," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (2010): 25–44.

²⁸⁰ Isabel Kershner, "Deadly Israeli Raid Draws Condemnation," *New York Times*, 31 May 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/01/world/middleeast/01flotilla.html?pagewanted=all>

²⁸¹ James Traub, "Turkey's Rules," *New York Times*, 20 January 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/23/magazine/23davutoglu-t.html?pagewanted=all>

²⁸² Isabel Kershner, "Deadly Israeli Raid Draws Condemnation," *New York Times*, 31 May 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/01/world/middleeast/01flotilla.html?pagewanted=all>

²⁸³ James Traub, "Turkey's Rules," *New York Times*, 20 January 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/23/magazine/23davutoglu-t.html?pagewanted=all>

In September 2011, President Abbas made a formal request for full membership of the Palestinian Territories in the United Nations. Had this succeeded, the Palestinian Territories would have become a *de facto* independent state. But the U.S. effectively blocked the request by threatening to veto any such motion in the Security Council.²⁸⁴

In November 2011, President Abbas met with Hamas political leader Khalid Meshal in Cairo, Egypt. The two agreed to move forward with elections in the Palestinian Territories scheduled for 2012.²⁸⁵ Although talks continue between Palestinian and Israeli peace negotiators, neither party has been willing to make the concessions necessary to arrive at a mutually acceptable agreement.^{286, 287}



²⁸⁴ Louis Charbonneau, "U.N. Panel Draft Signals Palestinian U.N. Bid Doomed," Reuters, 8 November 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/11/08/us-palestinians-israel-un-idUSTRE7A74VP20111108>

²⁸⁵ Barak Ravid, "Abbas, Meshal Say Opened New Page in Relations in Cairo Meeting," *Haaretz*, 24 November 2011, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/abbas-meshal-say-opened-new-page-in-relations-in-cairo-meeting-1.397513>

²⁸⁶ Josef Federman, "Israel: Disagreements Emerge in Peace Efforts," Associated Press, 10 January 2012, http://www.boston.com/news/world/middleeast/articles/2012/01/10/abbas_calls_jordan_talks_with_israel_importan

²⁸⁷ Associated Press, "EU's Foreign Policy Chief Says There's Still a Chance for Israeli-Palestinian Talks," *Washington Post*, 26 January 2011, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle-east/eus-foreign-policy-chief-says-theres-still-a-chance-for-israeli-palestinian-talks/2012/01/26/gIQALNqdSQ_story.html

Chapter 2 Assessment

1. The Palestinian Territories are situated in an area that has played a significant role only in recent history.

FALSE

The Palestinian Territories and their neighboring states have a long history of being a major focal point. The Phoenicians, Israelites, Egyptians, Babylonians, Persians, Romans, and numerous other empires have vied for control of the area over more than five millennia.

2. Islam did not reach the Palestinian Territories until the late 12th century.

FALSE

By 638, Arab Muslims were pushing into the territory and gradually wrested control from the Byzantines. Beginning in 661, Muslims ruled the land and later constructed the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa mosques, both built upon the ruins of the Jewish Temple.

3. At the end of the 18th century, French colonial forces attempted to gain control of Palestine from the Ottoman Empire.

TRUE

In 1799, the French General Napoleon Bonaparte pushed into Palestine as part of his larger Egyptian campaign, taking the cities of Gaza, Jaffa, and Haifa. From March–May 1799, he laid siege to the city of Acre but failed to take it from the Ottomans.

4. Throughout the latter half of the 20th century and into the 21st century, war, sectarian violence, and terrorism have made a profound impact on the peoples of the Palestinian Territories and neighboring states.

TRUE

Terrorism perpetrated by both Zionist and Muslim Palestinians, aimed at one another and at the British Mandate authorities, defined the years immediately following World War II. With the 1948 creation of Israel, that conflict expanded into wars between Israel and the neighboring countries: Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq.

5. The Palestinian Territories are now a universally recognized independent state.

FALSE

Although the Palestinian Authority applied for full membership in the United Nations, an act that would have given them greater international recognition, the United States blocked the application with the threat of its Security Council veto. Though some countries recognize the Territories, the situation on the ground contradicts such recognition.

CHAPTER 3: ECONOMY

Introduction

Israel has blockaded the Gaza Strip since Hamas seized control of the territory in 2007. As a result, the Gaza Strip's economy has suffered significantly.²⁸⁸ Many Palestinians rely upon illegal smuggling operations along the Gazan-Egyptian border to provide their needs.



© Israel Defense Forces / flickr.com
Blockade of Gaza

Though the West Bank is not blockaded, it still depends upon Israel for much of its energy and goods. Moreover, stringent restrictions on Palestinian workers crossing into Israel have dampened the West Bank economy. Strained relations often disrupt economic activity. Incursions by the Israeli Defense Forces frequently result in collateral damage to businesses, infrastructure, and farm land.^{289, 290}

The Palestinian Territories' gross domestic product per capita (PPP) is only USD 2,900 (United States dollars). 18% of the population in the West Bank lives below the poverty line, and in the Gaza Strip, that figure is 38%. Poverty levels are even higher in the many refugee camps.^{291, 292}

Corruption is an ongoing concern. In November 2011, charges were filed against Palestinian Minister for National Economy Hassan Abu-Libdeh. Earlier the same year, the Minister of Agriculture Ismail Daiq resigned under a similar cloud of allegations. Such incidents might damage the fragile government of Prime Minister Salam Fayyad while it considers asking citizens to make sacrifices as part of austerity measures to boost the flagging economy.^{293, 294, 295}

²⁸⁸ Harriet Sherwood, "Israeli Occupation Hitting Palestinian Economy, Claims Report," *Guardian* (UK), 29 September 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/sep/29/israeli-occupation-hits-palestinian-economy>

²⁸⁹ Subhi Thawabtah, Chairman, Union of Stone & Marble Industry to Sarah Beran, Economic Officer, Consulate General of the U.S.A. (letter, dated 10 January 2009),

<https://www.intelink.gov/communities/state/palecon/100509Beit%20Fajjar%20Quarries.pdf>

²⁹⁰ Jane's Information Group, "Gaza and the West Bank: Economy," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 24 June 2011,

https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_12&sn=emedsu&ed=emedsu31&docid=ddf4a6edaa3e7694fb12af919ef80576

²⁹¹ Central Intelligence Agency, "Gaza Strip: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 8 February 2012,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gz.html>

²⁹² Central Intelligence Agency, "West Bank: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 22 December 2011,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>

²⁹³ Khaled Abu Toameh, "PA Minister Resigns after Radio Comments," *Jerusalem Post*, 2 December 2011,

<http://www.jpost.com/MiddleEast/Article.aspx?id=247850>

²⁹⁴ Office of the Prime Minister, Palestinian National Authority, "Press Release: 24-01-2012—PA Cabinet of Ministries Meeting," 24 January 2012, <http://pmo.gov.ps/site/450/default.aspx>

²⁹⁵ Agence France-Presse, "Palestinian PM Urged to Quit Over Austerity Plan," *Google News*, 4 February 2012,

<http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5jKFcaAsZnKBYkQFaHxgTM1j7z6WQ?docId=CNG.a1a99f46d4e0c9d708465fe658b36ead.871>

Agriculture

Agriculture, once the backbone of the Palestinian economy, accounts today for about 4% of gross domestic product (GDP) and employs about 16% of the workforce in the West Bank and 5% in the Gaza Strip.²⁹⁶ The loss of territory in the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, along with Israeli-imposed restrictions on water usage and access to markets, have contributed to agriculture's decline. About 17% of the land in the West Bank and 29% of the land in the Gaza Strip are suited to growing crops. Major agricultural products include beef, dairy, flowers, fruit, olives, and vegetables. Agricultural exports are primarily flowers, fruit, olives, and vegetables, most of which are sold in the Israeli market.^{297, 298}



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Palestinian shepherds

The construction of security barriers separating the Palestinian Territories and Israel has greatly diminished the ability of Palestinian farmers to sell their produce in the more lucrative Israeli market. In some instances, these security barriers have cut through agricultural land, leaving Palestinian farmers unable to access their properties and taking those lands out of production.²⁹⁹

Fishing, once a staple of the Gazan economy, has been negatively affected by the Israeli blockade. The World Food Programme claims the fishing catch was cut by one-third in 2011 alone. Palestinians import much of their fish from Egypt.³⁰⁰

The Palestinian Water Authority is seeking to increase the amount of fresh water available for drinking and agricultural use. The agency has proposed a project that would divert water from the Feshkha Springs, along the shores of the Dead Sea, to a desalinization facility and on to a reservoir.³⁰¹

²⁹⁶ Central Intelligence Agency, "West Bank: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 8 February 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>

²⁹⁷ Central Intelligence Agency, "Gaza Strip: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 8 February 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gz.html>

²⁹⁸ Central Intelligence Agency, "West Bank: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 8 February 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>

²⁹⁹ Jane's Information Group, "Gaza and the West Bank: Economy," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 24 June 2011, https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_12&sn=emedsu&ed=emedsu31&docid=ddf4a6edaa3e7694fb12af919ef80576

³⁰⁰ World Food Programme, United Nations, "Fishing Catch," *Food Security and Market Monitoring Report 29* (July–October 2011), 1, <http://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/ena/wfp244029.pdf>

³⁰¹ Michael Schreuder, "Econ Visit to Feshkha Springs," *Palestinian Economy*, 17 May 2010, <https://www.intelink.gov/cas/palecon/2010/05/17/econ-visit-to-feshkha-springs/>

Industry

The industrial sector employs 16% of the Gazan workforce and 28% of the West Bank workforce. It provides nearly 14% of the Palestinian Territories' GDP. Major industries include food processing, quarrying, small-scale manufacturing, souvenirs, and textiles.^{302, 303}



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Textile factory

Burdensome regulations and visa restrictions (Palestinian and Israeli) have long hampered growth in industry. The unstable security situation has limited foreign direct investment, thus hindering expansion of this vital sector of the economy.^{304, 305}

An ambitious construction project may provide the stimulus needed to encourage investment and rejuvenate the industrial sector. Bashar Masri, a Palestinian-American entrepreneur, and the government of Qatar are financing the construction of the West Bank's first modern planned community, Rawabi. Located near Ramallah, the billion-dollar project is years behind schedule because of government bureaucracy; however, construction of the first 6,000 homes is in progress.³⁰⁶ When finished, the city is expected to house more than 40,000 residents. It is marketed toward the young, upwardly mobile family. The multiyear project is expected to provide much-needed construction industry jobs.³⁰⁷

Services

The Palestinian service sector accounts for nearly 83% of GDP, and employs 56% of the workforce in the West Bank and 79% of the workforce in the Gaza Strip.^{308, 309} Social services, healthcare, and government are the key service components. Government accounts for more than one-quarter of the



© Gueorgui Tcherednitchenko / flickr.com
Ramallah market

³⁰² Central Intelligence Agency, "Gaza Strip: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 8 February 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gz.html>

³⁰³ Central Intelligence Agency, "West Bank: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 8 February 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>

³⁰⁴ Jane's Information Group, "Gaza and the West Bank: Economy," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 24 June 2011, https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_12&sn=emedsu&ed=emedsu31&docid=ddf4a6edaa3e7694fb12af919ef80576

³⁰⁵ Agence France-Presse, "Israel Visa Restrictions 'Block Investment,'" Google News, 8 March 2010, <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5hlsXpg-dF5ZZHSIjV9K6z-XH679A>

³⁰⁶ Tovah Lazaroff, "Palestinian City of Rawabi to Serve 'Nation in the Making,'" *Jerusalem Post*, 5 November 2011, <http://www.jpost.com/VideoArticles/Video/Article.aspx?id=244475>

³⁰⁷ Jon Donnison, "Building the First 'Palestinian Settlement,'" *BBC News*, 27 February 2010, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8537068.stm>

³⁰⁸ Central Intelligence Agency, "Gaza Strip: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 08 February 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gz.html>

³⁰⁹ Central Intelligence Agency, "West Bank: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 08 February 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>

workforce.^{310, 311} Much of the Palestinian economy operates outside of government regulatory oversight and operates within black or grey markets, so it is difficult to analyze.

Energy and Natural Resources

The Palestinian Territories depend almost completely on Israel for their energy needs.^{312, 313} A lack of funding has hampered authorities in Gaza from operating its only power plant. This has led to scheduled power outages.³¹⁴

The recent discovery of significant natural gas reserves off the coast of the Gaza Strip in the Levantine Basin has spurred Israel to stake its claim to the fields. Although this discovery would provide the Palestinian Territories with a significant new stream of revenue and energy, Israel and Lebanon are vying for control of the Levantine Basin fields. Barring a dramatic change in policy or the geopolitical environment, it seems unlikely that the Palestinian Territories, or even an independent Palestinian state, will be able to tap into this natural resource.^{315, 316, 317} This is the only significant natural resource within the Palestinian Territories.

Trade, Banking, and Finance

The Palestinian Authority's ability to trade continues to be hampered by Israeli control of its borders and the blockade on the Gaza Strip. Israel maintains a strict embargo on products into the Gaza Strip. It has employed its armed forces to assure that little gets in or out of the territory;

³¹⁰ Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute, *Overview of the Palestinian Economy* (Ramallah: Palestine Economic Policy Research Institute, 2010), http://www.pic-palestine.ps/userfiles/file/pdfs/invest_in_palestine_en.pdf

³¹¹ Jad Isaac, Abeer Khair, and Jane Hilal, eds., "Chapter Three: Socio-Economic Development in the oPt," in *Status of the Environment in the Occupied Palestinian Territory: A Human Rights-Based Approach, 2011* (Jerusalem: Applied Research Institute–Jerusalem, 2011), 133–302, https://www.opensource.gov/portal/server.pt/gateway/PTARGS_0_0_200_203_0_43/content/Display/25233049/GMP20120101745006002.pdf

³¹² Central Intelligence Agency, "Gaza Strip: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 08 February 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gz.html>

³¹³ Central Intelligence Agency, "West Bank: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 08 February 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>

³¹⁴ Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, United Nations, "Gaza's Electricity Crisis: The Impact of Electricity Cuts on the Humanitarian Situation," May 2010, http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/A095864023AABA1AC125771C0046AB87-Full_Report.pdf

³¹⁵ Michael Ratner, *Israel's Offshore Natural Gas Discoveries Enhance Its Economic and Energy Outlook*, Congressional Research Service, 2011, 1–3, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R41618.pdf>

³¹⁶ Jane's Information Group, "Israel: Natural Resources," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 11 May 2011, https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_12&sn=emedsu&ed=emedsu31&docid=942700350dedd14cac3ea9cf09b82697#toclink-j0011050007881

³¹⁷ Applied Research Institute–Jerusalem, *The Economic Costs of the Israeli Occupation for the Occupied Palestinian Territory* (Ramallah: Palestinian Ministry of National Economy, 2011), https://www.opensource.gov/portal/server.pt/gateway/PTARGS_0_0_200_203_0_43/content/Display/25196806/GMP20111221790002001.pdf

however, smuggling under the border between Gaza and Egypt has provided a somewhat steady stream of the basic necessities.³¹⁸

According to the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, more than 72% of imports in 2008 were from Israel.³¹⁹ The main imports were chemicals, consumer goods, construction materials, food, and petroleum, totaling USD 3.6 billion. The most important export commodities comprise fruit, olives, stone, and vegetables; however, they only generate about USD 518 million, leaving a trade deficit of more than USD 3 billion.^{320, 321} For the 2008 fiscal year, foreign direct investment was a mere USD 1.34 billion. The security issues plaguing the region make it unlikely that this situation will improve soon.³²²



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Olive Harvest near Nablus

The Palestinian Authority's estimated revenue for the 2011 fiscal year was USD 2.15 billion. But its expenditures for the same year were estimated at USD 3.23 billion, resulting in a budget deficit of more than USD 1 billion.³²³

Palestine Monetary Authority

The Palestine Monetary Authority (PMA) functions as the central banking arm of the Palestinian Territories. Currently, the Palestinian Authority does not mint its own currency.³²⁴ Instead it relies upon the United States dollar (USD), the Israeli new shekel (ILS), and the Jordanian dinar (JOD) as stipulated by the Oslo Accords.³²⁵ The exchange rate for these currencies as of the first week of February 2012 was ILS 1:USD 0.27 and JOD 1:USD 1.4.^{326, 327} The PMA supervises

³¹⁸ World Food Programme, United Nations, "Gaza Strip Import–Export: Changes in the Tunnel Trade Dynamics," *Food Security and Market Monitoring Report 29* (July–October 2011), 5–6,

<http://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/ena/wfp244029.pdf>

³¹⁹ Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, Palestinian National Authority, "The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) Announces the Preliminary Results of the Palestinian Foreign Trade in Goods—2008," n.d., <https://www.intelink.gov/communities/state/palecon/2008%20Trade%20figures.doc>

³²⁰ Central Intelligence Agency, "Gaza Strip: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 08 February 2012,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gz.html>

³²¹ Central Intelligence Agency, "West Bank: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 08 February 2012,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>

³²² Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics, Palestinian National Authority, "The Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS) and Palestine Monetary Authority (PMA) announce the Results of the Foreign Investments Survey—2008, 2009," n.d., http://www.pcbs.gov.ps/Portals/_pcbs/PressRelease/AdjDrFIS09-E.pdf

³²³ Central Intelligence Agency, "West Bank: Economy," in *The World Factbook*, 08 February 2012,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>

³²⁴ Palestine Monetary Authority, "About PMA: Mission," 2012,

http://www.pma.ps/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=48&Itemid=68&lang=en

³²⁵ Jihad K. Wazir, Mohammad Atallah, and Shaker A. Sarsour, "Chapter 6: From Occupation to an Independent Monetary Policy," in *Money in the Middle East and North Africa: Monetary Policy Frameworks and Strategies*, eds. David Cobham and Ghassan Dibeh (New York: Routledge, 2011), 106,

<http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=EDuudg8GuqUC&oi=fnd&pg=PA106#v=onepage&q&f=false>

³²⁶ XE, "Universal Currency Converter," 1 February 2012, <http://www.xe.com/>

³²⁷ The Jordanian dinar is "pegged" to the U.S. dollar, and thus is exchanged at an artificially high rate.

and regulates the Palestinian banking system and is responsible for enforcing laws against money laundering, which is a major concern in a region rife with terrorist activity.³²⁸

Since Hamas seized control of the Gaza Strip in 2007, Israeli banks have withdrawn from business in the Palestinian Territories and are severely restricted in their business with Palestinian banks. This has shaken the Palestinian financial market and essentially rendered the ILS not viable in the Palestinian Territories.³²⁹ The banking situation in the Gaza Strip is highly unstable. In March 2010, Hamas militants raided a Bank of Palestine branch and seized a reported USD 400,000. As a result, at least one international bank closed branches in the Gaza Strip.³³⁰



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Israeli New Shekels

Standard of Living and Unemployment

According to the United Nations' World Food Programme, the poverty in the Territories is compounded because more than one-half the Palestinians in Gaza live in a state of food insecurity and nearly 75% rely upon humanitarian aid to survive.³³¹ The Human Development Index rating for the Palestinian Territories for 2011 was 114 out of 187 rated countries and territories. Gross national income per capita was USD 2,656, about half that of Jordan and far below that of other Arab states.³³²

Unemployment rates in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are among the highest in the world. More than 24% of the workforce in the West Bank and about 40% in the Gaza Strip are unemployed. Of 199 countries (Monaco is ranked 1st with an unemployment rate of 0%), the West Bank is ranked 171st and the Gaza Strip is ranked 185th.³³³ The unemployment rate is higher among those



© Nancy L. Stockdale / flickr.com
Palestinian poverty

³²⁸ International Monetary Fund, "Program Note: West Bank and Gaza," 25 October 2011,

<http://www.imf.org/external/np/country/notes/wbg.htm>

³²⁹ Jihad K. Wazir, Mohammad Atallah, and Shaker A. Sarsour, "Chapter 6: From Occupation to an Independent Monetary Policy," in *Money in the Middle East and North Africa: Monetary Policy Frameworks and Strategies*, eds. David Cobham and Ghassan Dibeh (New York: Routledge, 2011), 119–120,

<http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=EDuudg8GuqUC&oi=fnd&pg=PA119#v=onepage&q&f=false>

³³⁰ Reuters, "Arab Bank Closes Two Gaza Branches," *Jordan Times*, 7 May 2010,

<http://archive.jordantimes.com/?news=26359>

³³¹ World Food Programme, United Nations, "Gaza: Eased or un-Eased?" *Food Security and Market Monitoring Report 28* (April–June 2011), 5, <http://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/ena/wfp239374.pdf>

³³² United Nations Development Programme, "Occupied Palestinian Territory," *Human Development Report 2011: Sustainability and Equity: A Better Future for All*, n.d., <http://hdrstats.undp.org/images/explanations/PSE.pdf>

³³³ Central Intelligence Agency, "Country Comparison: Unemployment Rate," in *The World Factbook*, n.d., <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2129rank.html?countryName=West%20Bank&countryCode=we®ionCode=mde&rank=172#we>

living in the refugee camps, such as the al-Aida Refugee Camp, where the unemployment rate is about 43%.³³⁴

Outlook

The security situation in the Palestinian Territories is unlikely to improve significantly in the immediate future. Although talks between the Palestinian Authority and Hamas in late 2011 seemed to have paved the way for elections in 2012, indications at the time of this writing are that the elections will be delayed, perhaps indefinitely.³³⁵ This could easily ruin the developing reconciliation movement between the two Palestinian factions, leaving the two territories under rival governments. If so, the Palestinian economy will continue to flounder.



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PM Fayyad and Sec. Clinton

Some analysts suggest that the Palestine Monetary Authority needs to adopt an official currency, though it is legally prohibited from creating its own. The adoption of the Jordanian dinar (JOD) or United States dollar appear to be the most viable options, because Israeli banks are prohibited from interacting with Palestinian banks.³³⁶

If the global recession continues, foreign aid to the Palestinian Authority will likely decline, as will foreign direct investment in the Palestinian economy. If this occurs, the government of Prime Minister Fayyad may need to enact austerity measures that could destabilize his position.³³⁷

³³⁴ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, “Aida Refugee Camp,” n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=104>

³³⁵ Agence France-Presse, “Palestinian Elections ‘Impossible’ in May,” *Google News*, 23 January 2012, http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5i8jIdavufQvYjFjyNegMY_UX1dgw?docId=CNG.f2aa3559729718e5b4dffcdfe0b84c2b.831

³³⁶ Jihad K. Wazir, Mohammad Atallah, and Shaker A. Sarsour, “Chapter 6: From Occupation to an Independent Monetary Policy,” in *Money in the Middle East and North Africa: Monetary Policy Frameworks and Strategies*, eds. David Cobham and Ghassan Dibeh (New York: Routledge, 2011), 120–121, <http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=EDuudg8GuqUC&oi=fnd&pg=PA120#v=onepage&q&f=false>

³³⁷ Agence France-Presse, “Palestinian PM Urged to Quit Over Austerity Plan,” *Google News*, 04 February 2012, <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5jKFcaAsZnKBYkQFaHxgTM1j7z6WQ?docId=CNG.a1a99f46d4e0c9d708465fe658b36ead.871>

Chapter 3 Assessment

1. Government corruption has not played a role in the economic woes of the Palestinian economy.
FALSE
Corruption has been an ongoing concern. Charges of graft were filed against Palestinian Minister for National Economy Hassan Abu-Libdeh, and the Minister of Agriculture Ismail Daiq resigned under a similar cloud of allegations.
2. The Palestinian Territories suffer from sizable trade and budget deficits.
TRUE
The huge imbalances in the Palestinian economy, a USD 3 billion trade deficit and a more than USD 1 billion budget deficit, represent tremendous obstacles to growth.
3. The unemployment rates in the Palestinian Territories are among the highest in the world.
TRUE
More than 16% of the workforce in the West Bank and about 40% in the Gaza Strip are unemployed. Those figures are even higher among those living in the refugee camps, such as the al-Aida Refugee Camp, where the unemployment rate is about 43%.
4. The agricultural sector is the strongest component of the Palestinian economy.
FALSE
The agricultural sector, once the backbone of the economy, employs about 12% of the Palestinian workforce and accounts for about 4% of GDP. Today, the majority of economic activity is in the service sector (about 83%).
5. The majority of Palestinian businesses are privately owned.
TRUE
Most businesses in the Palestinian Territories are small, family-owned-and-operated companies that have historically conducted their business with little government supervision.

CHAPTER 4: SOCIETY

Introduction

Religions play a major role in defining groups in the Palestinian Territories and the rest of the Middle East. Religions are frequently cited to justify the violence that plagues the region. Most Palestinians are Muslims; however, a significant Christian minority is a remnant of an era under Roman and Byzantine rule when Christians were the majority. Additionally, nearly 200,000 Jewish settlers have established communities within the West Bank and do not answer to the Palestinian Authority.³³⁸

Palestinian cuisine has many features in common with the cuisines of Syria and Lebanon, but historic influences from Egypt and Europe make Palestinian recipes unique.

Although Palestinian athletes' movements within and out of the Territories are restricted by the Israeli occupation, the Palestinian Territories have fielded Olympic teams. Professional soccer is the most developed sport.



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Elderly woman

Religion, Ethno-religious Groups, and Languages

Islam and Palestinian Muslims

Islam is a monotheistic religion, meaning that its followers believe in a single deity. The Muslim community, or *umma*, calls this deity Allah. The Arabic term *islam* means “to submit” or “to surrender.” Therefore, a Muslim is one who submits to the will of Allah.³³⁹ Muslims believe that Allah revealed his message to the Prophet Muhammad, a merchant who lived in Arabia from 570 to 632 C.E. They consider Muhammad to be the last in a long line of prophets including Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. Allah’s message, as relayed by Muhammad, is delivered in the Quran, the sacred text of Islam. Additional doctrinal guides include the *Hadith*, a collection of the sayings of Muhammad, and the *Sunna*, which describes the practices of Islam by way of Muhammad’s example.^{340, 341}



© tristram sparks / flickr.com
Mosque in Ramallah

³³⁸ Central Intelligence Agency, “West Bank: People and Society: Population,” in *The World Factbook*, 18 January 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>

³³⁹ Frederick Mathewson Deny, *An Introduction to Islam*, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1994), 177.

³⁴⁰ Gordon D. Newby, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Islam* (Oxford, UK: Oneworld, 2004).

³⁴¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Islam,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/295507/Islam>

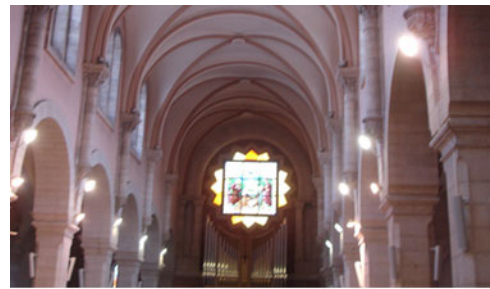
The essential beliefs and rites of the Muslim faith are embodied in the five pillars of Islam. The first and central pillar is the faithful recitation of the *shahada*, or Islamic creed (literally “witness” or “attestation”): “There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is Allah’s messenger.” The remaining pillars include performing ritual prayers five times per day; giving alms to the poor and needy; fasting during the holy month of Ramadan; and undertaking a pilgrimage to the Islamic holy city of Mecca.³⁴² Muslims believe that Allah will judge them for their actions on earth. This judgment determines whether the follower’s afterlife is spent in either heaven or hell.³⁴³

By 638, Arab Muslims were pushing into Palestine and gradually seized control from the Byzantines. Beginning in 661, the Umayyad caliphs ruled Palestine from Damascus. During this time, the Muslim rulers constructed the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa mosques, both built upon the ruins of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem.^{344, 345}

Today, about 85% of the population of the Palestinian Territories are Muslim. Most are Sunni. Palestinian Muslims speak Arabic. Many also speak Hebrew and/or English.^{346, 347}

Christianity and Palestinian Christians

Christianity grew out of the teachings of Jesus, who followers believe was the son of god and the savior of humankind. Its holy texts are the Old Testament and the New Testament, with the latter held to relate the prophetic fulfillment of the former. Many Christians believe the New Testament is the final and complete revelation from their deity to humanity. They further believe that Jesus died on a cross to save humanity from its sins. On other doctrines and theology, the various branches of the faith differ, often quite drastically.^{348, 349}



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Church of the Nativity

The Roman Empire conquered Palestine in the first century B.C.E. Roman rule over Palestine continued into the Byzantine era until around 640 C.E. During that time, most of its inhabitants

³⁴² Frederick Mathewson Denny, *An Introduction to Islam*, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1994), 118–136.

³⁴³ Michael Anthony Sells, *Approaching the Qur’an: The Early Revelations* (Ashland, OR: White Cloud Press, 2005), 35–40.

³⁴⁴ Nehemia Levtzion, “Chapter 16: Conversion to Islam in Syria and Palestine and the Survival of Christian Communities,” in *Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands: Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, eds. Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), 289–312.

³⁴⁵ Oleg Grabar, *The Dome of the Rock* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

³⁴⁶ Central Intelligence Agency, “West Bank: People and Society: Languages,” in *The World Factbook*, 18 January 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>

³⁴⁷ Central Intelligence Agency, “Gaza Strip: People and Society: Languages,” in *The World Factbook*, 19 January 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gz.html>

³⁴⁸ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Christianity,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/115240/Christianity>

³⁴⁹ John Stephen Bowden, ed., *Encyclopedia of Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

converted to Christianity.³⁵⁰ After the Arab conquest of the region in the seventh century, the majority of Palestinians converted to Islam. Today, about 5% of the population is Christian, and even towns such as Bethlehem and Nazareth, which had long had a Christian majority, are now predominantly Muslim.^{351, 352}

More than half of Palestinian Christians are Greek Orthodox.³⁵³ Greek Catholic, Roman Catholic, Coptic, and Maronite denominations are the most common of the rest of the Christian affiliations; however, many other denominations are active in the Palestinian Territories.^{354, 355} Palestinian Christians speak Arabic. Many also speak English and/or Hebrew.³⁵⁶

Judaism and Jewish Settlers

Those who believe in Judaism consider the patriarch Abraham to be the founder of their religion, a belief they hold in common with Muslims. According to Jewish tradition, Abraham made a covenant with god. His people then abandoned their polytheism for a strict monotheism in which their god Jehovah was elevated to the position of the sole deity. But it was the prophet Moses who established the rituals and laws that defined the Jewish religious system. The Old Testament serves as the primary religious text of Judaism, supplemented by the Talmud and other Hebrew works. Jewish religious life centers upon the Sabbath, observed from sunset on Friday until sunset on Saturday. Services in Jewish synagogues consist primarily of readings from religious texts and prayer.^{357, 358}



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Jewish Settlers

Although the Jewish faith has a long and storied past in the Palestinian Territories, the vast majority of Jews there today are recent immigrants from Europe and the Mediterranean. In 70

³⁵⁰ Robert Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule: A Historical and Archaeological Study* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1995).

³⁵¹ Central Intelligence Agency, "West Bank: People and Society: Population," in *The World Factbook*, 18 January 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>

³⁵² Central Intelligence Agency, "Gaza Strip: People and Society: Population," in *The World Factbook*, 19 January 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gz.html>

³⁵³ Bernard Sabella, "Historical Demographic Developments, Current Politics and Attitudes Towards Church, Society and Human Rights," in *The Sabeel Survey on Palestinian Christians in the West Bank and Israel*, ed. Naim Ateek (Jerusalem: Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center, 2006), 54, <http://www.sabeel.org/pdfs/the%20sabeel%20survey%20-%20english%202008.pdf>

³⁵⁴ Romell Soudah, "Christians in the Holy Land: Across the Political and Economic Divide," in *The Sabeel Survey on Palestinian Christians in the West Bank and Israel*, ed. Naim Ateek (Jerusalem: Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center, 2006), <http://www.sabeel.org/pdfs/the%20sabeel%20survey%20-%20english%202008.pdf>

³⁵⁵ Bernard Sabella, "Historical Demographic Developments, Current Politics and Attitudes Towards Church, Society and Human Rights," in *The Sabeel Survey on Palestinian Christians in the West Bank and Israel*, ed. Naim Ateek (Jerusalem: Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center, 2006), 54, <http://www.sabeel.org/pdfs/the%20sabeel%20survey%20-%20english%202008.pdf>

³⁵⁶ Central Intelligence Agency, "West Bank: People and Society: Languages," in *The World Factbook*, 18 January 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>

³⁵⁷ Judith R. Baskin, *The Cambridge Dictionary of Judaism & Jewish Culture* (New York: Cambridge University, 2011).

³⁵⁸ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Judaism," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/307197/Judaism>

C.E., the Roman Emperor Titus quashed a revolt in Judah and destroyed the Second Jewish Temple. Roman authorities then forcibly expelled the Jews.^{359, 360} From 118–138, the Roman Emperor Hadrian allowed some Jews to return. But after a subsequent revolt, Roman troops leveled Jerusalem and sold the Jews into slavery.^{361, 362} For much of the subsequent millennia, the Jews were scattered around Europe, Asia, and North Africa. Not until the late 19th century did Jews begin to return to the region in significant numbers.³⁶³

Few Palestinians are Jewish, but Israeli Jewish settlers make up over 10% of the population of the Palestinian Territories. This demographic is concentrated in the West Bank, where all the Jewish settlements currently exist and Jewish settlers are 17% of the population.^{364, 365} The settlers speak Hebrew. Some are conversant in Arabic or English.³⁶⁶ Radical interpretations of Judaism are to be found among some settler communities and have served as a source of conflict with Palestinian Muslims.^{367, 368, 369}

Cuisine

Palestinian cuisine reflects the region's turbulent history, drawing upon traditions from the empires that vied for control of the area. Arab, Persian, Egyptian, Turkish, and European influences have merged with local traditions to create a unique culinary tradition. Despite the small area of the Palestinian Territories and historical Palestine, there are discernable regional variations in Palestinian dishes. For example, Gazans are known to use more hot spices and to rely more



© Erik Stewart / flickr.com
Palestinian cuisine

³⁵⁹ Larry Kreitzer, "Apotheosis of the Roman Emperor," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 53, no. 4 (December 1990): 210–217.

³⁶⁰ David Aberbach, "The Roman-Jewish Wars and Hebrew Cultural Nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 6, no. 3 (2000): 347–362.

³⁶¹ David Aberbach, "The Roman-Jewish Wars and Hebrew Cultural Nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 6, no. 3 (2000): 347–362.

³⁶² Thorsten Opper, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 89–91.

³⁶³ Ruth Kark and Michal Oren-Nordheim, "Chapter Five: Agricultural Settlement in Jerusalem's Rural Periphery: Plans, Attempts, Successes," in *Jerusalem and Its Environs: Quarters, Neighborhoods, Villages, 1800–1948* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2001), 294–359.

³⁶⁴ Central Intelligence Agency, "West Bank: People and Society: Population," in *The World Factbook*, 18 January 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>

³⁶⁵ Central Intelligence Agency, "Gaza Strip: People and Society: Population," in *The World Factbook*, 19 January 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gz.html>

³⁶⁶ Central Intelligence Agency, "Israel: People and Society: Languages," in *The World Factbook*, 11 January 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/is.html>

³⁶⁷ Jane's Information Group, "Israel: Groups: Middle East: Active: Jewish Extremist Groups," *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 6 April 2005.

³⁶⁸ Central Intelligence Agency, "West Bank: People and Society: Population," in *The World Factbook*, 18 January 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/we.html>

³⁶⁹ Central Intelligence Agency, "Gaza Strip: People and Society: Population," in *The World Factbook*, 19 January 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gz.html>

heavily on fish as a dietary staple.³⁷⁰ In the West Bank and among the refugee communities of the Palestinian diaspora, meat dishes are more common. Fruits, nuts, and vegetables are important elements of Palestinian cuisine.^{371, 372}

Many consider *musakhan* to be the Palestinian “national dish.” This is a roasted chicken dish originating from the West Bank. Fried onions, sumac, and pine nuts smother the chicken as it bakes. It is served upon a baked flat bread known as *taboon*.³⁷³

Zibdiyit gambari is a Gazan shrimp dish baked in a clay bowl. This stew includes peppers (both chilies and sweet), tomatoes, garlic, onions, dill, and olive oil. It is served garnished with nuts and seeds, typically almonds, sesame seeds, or pine nuts.³⁷⁴

Demjedderra is a lentil and rice dish. It is a staple of meals served during the month of Ramadan. Boiled lentils are combined with sautéed onions, garlic, pepper, and cumin. These are added to long-grain rice. The mixture is then boiled until the rice is properly cooked. It is often served with a yogurt.³⁷⁵

Muhalabiyeh is a sweet, milk-based pudding similar to a baked custard. It is served garnished with almonds and pistachios.³⁷⁶

Traditional Dress

Though many Palestinian youths and men commonly wear Western attire, older and more conservative men wear *kaffiyehs*, traditional headdresses.³⁷⁷ Such headdresses originally functioned as protection from the sun; however, in the modern context the *kaffiyeh* serves as a symbol of Palestinian nationalism. The late Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat was seldom seen without a *kaffiyeh*.^{378, 379}



© James Emery / flickr.com
Girl in traditional clothes

Muslim women, especially those in the Gaza Strip and

³⁷⁰ Ken Albala, ed., “Palestinian Territories,” in *Food Cultures of the World Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2011), 286.

³⁷¹ Liora Gvion, “Narrating Modernity and Tradition: The Case of Palestinian Food in Israel,” *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, vol. 16, no. 4 (2009): 391-413. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10702890903020869>

³⁷² Mai M. Farsakh, *This Week in Palestine*, “The Rich Flavors of Palestine,” Institute for Middle East Understanding, 21 June 2006, <http://imeu.net/news/article001840.shtml>

³⁷³ Laila Dahabreh, *Palestine Cuisine* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2011), 35.

³⁷⁴ Laila el-Haddad, “The Foods of Gaza,” *This Week in Palestine*, 24 January 2012, <http://www.thisweekinpalestine.com/details.php?id=1726&ed=115>

³⁷⁵ Susan Jane Cheney, “A Feast for the Body and Soul,” *Vegetarian Times* 209 (January 2009), 51–52. <http://books.google.com/books?id=EQcAAAAAMBAJ&pg=PA51#v=onepage&q&f=false>

³⁷⁶ Institute for Middle East Understanding, “Cuisine,” 16 January 2006, <http://imeu.net/news/article00258.shtml>

³⁷⁷ Fiona Macdonald et al., *Peoples of Western Asia* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2007), x.

³⁷⁸ Heather Marie Akou, “Building a New ‘World Fashion’: Islamic Dress in the Twenty-First Century,” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 11, no. 4 (December 2007): 403–421.

³⁷⁹ Tony Walker and Andrew Gowers, *Arafat: The Biography* (London, UK: Virgin Books, 2003), 16.

in conservative communities in the West Bank, are less likely to be seen in Western clothing. Instead, they dress more modestly. Many wear the *hijab* (a checkered headscarf) and the *jilbab* (a loose-fitting coat also known as the “shari’a dress”).³⁸⁰ Since Hamas seized power in the Gaza Strip, such attire has become required in many of the schools under its control.³⁸¹ Far less commonly, some women wear the *thob* (traditional outer dress) and the *niqab* (face veil). These items are more likely to be seen on Fridays when women are going to the mosque.³⁸²

Gender Issues

Palestinian society typically relegates women to the domestic sphere and frowns upon women entering the workforce. Women are expected to honor their fathers and husbands through obedience and submission.³⁸³ Although women have been actively engaged in the organizations and movements aimed at Palestinian liberation, Palestinian authorities have not made gender issues a major priority.³⁸⁴ Estimates indicate that nearly one-quarter of Palestinian women suffer domestic abuse. Those claiming sexual abuse must endure virginity tests, even against their will. Honor killings, in which male family members murder their female relations if they are thought to have dishonored the family, are treated lightly.³⁸⁵



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Woman with baby

Arts

Literature

The Palestinian people have a rich literary history; however, contemporary literature and much of the arts focus on the Palestinian liberation movements. Thus, literary themes and characters are often politicized. Though some Palestinian writers and artists have rebelled against this perceived need to perpetuate a nationalist agenda through the arts, many continue to create nationalist-themed works.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁰ Loren D. Lybarger, “Chapter Five: Karama Camp: Islamist-Secularist Dynamics in the Gaza Strip,” in *Identity and Religion in Palestine: The Struggle between Islamism & Secularism in the Occupied Territories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 180.

³⁸¹ Sara Roy, “Chapter 7: A Changing Islamist Order? From Civic Empowerment to Civic Regression—The Second Intifada and Beyond,” in *Hamas and Civil Society in Gaza: Engaging the Islamist Social Sector* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 123–124.

³⁸² Heather Marie Akou, “Building a New ‘World Fashion’: Islamic Dress in the Twenty-First Century,” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 11, no. 4 (December 2007): 403–421.

³⁸³ Robert H. Griffin, “Palestine, West Bank, and Gaza Strip: Gender Roles and Statuses,” EveryCulture, 2012, <http://www.everyculture.com/No-Sa/Palestine-West-Bank-and-Gaza-Strip.html>

³⁸⁴ Simona Sharoni, “Chapter 5: Palestinian Women and the Intifada,” in *Gender and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Politics of Women’s Resistance* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 69–89.

³⁸⁵ Associated Press, “Report: 23 percent of Palestinian Women Endure Domestic Violence,” *Haaretz* (Israel), 11 July 2006, <http://www.haaretz.com/news/report-23-percent-of-palestinian-women-endure-domestic-violence-1.204497>

³⁸⁶ Ahdaf Soueif, “Art of Resistance,” *Guardian* (UK), 20 October 2006, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2006/oct/21/featuresreviews.guardianreview3>

Perhaps the most renowned contemporary Palestinian writer is the late poet Mahmoud Darwish. His poetry expressed a defiant resistance to Israeli occupation of the Palestinian Territories, as exemplified in his 1988 poem “Passers Between the Passing Words.”³⁸⁷ Although Darwish lived abroad as part of the Palestinian diaspora, his works supplied the lyrics for much of the Palestinian nationalist-oriented contemporary music. A member of Yasser Arafat’s Palestine Liberation Organization, Darwish left his position in the organization in protest of the signing of the Oslo Accord, accusing Arafat of selling out his people.³⁸⁸



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Wall art: Mahmoud Darwish

Fouzi al-Asmar, once detained by Israeli authorities under suspicion of involvement with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, is another famous Palestinian poet.³⁸⁹ Aside from his highly nationalist poems, such as those collected in *Poems from an Israeli Prison*, al-Asmar espoused Marxist ideology through his works.^{390, 391}

Palestinian novelist Rula Jebreal grew up in the Dar al-Tifal orphanage in Jerusalem. Her 2010 autobiographical novel *Miral* is set in the late 1970s and centers on the life of a young girl orphaned when her mother dies and her father cannot care for her. Jebreal also writes about the establishment of the Dar al-Tifal orphanage in the aftermath of the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. Rather than pushing a nationalist agenda, her work promotes a peaceful solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.³⁹²

Music and Dance

A central theme of Palestinian music in its various genres is its connection with Palestinian history and geography. Classical poetry often supplies the lyrics for more traditional music. Other forms, such as *'ataba* and *qasid*, depend upon improvisation and utilize folklore and nationalist symbolism. Chain dancing frequently accompanies the performance of such music. The singing often has a single melody line, relying on strong percussion elements, including hand clapping.³⁹³

³⁸⁷ Jamshid A. Maravasti, *Psycho-Political Aspects of Suicide Warriors, Terrorism, and Martyrdom: A Critical View from “Both Sides” in Regard to Cause and Cure* (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 2008), 53.

³⁸⁸ Bassam K. Frangieh, “Chapter 1: Modern Arabic Poetry: Vision and Reality,” in *Mahmoud Darwish, Exile’s Poet: Critical Essays*, eds. Hala Khamis Nassar and Najat Rahman (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2008), 11–40.

³⁸⁹ Norman G. Finkelstein, *Beyond Chutzpah: On the Misuse of Anti-Semitism and the Abuse of History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 147–149.

³⁹⁰ Robert H. Griffin, “Palestine, West Bank, and Gaza Strip,” EveryCulture, 2012, <http://www.everyculture.com/No-Sa/Palestine-West-Bank-and-Gaza-Strip.html>

³⁹¹ Joel Beinin, “Chapter VII: The Triumph of Nationalism: 1959–1965,” in *Was the Red Flag Flying There? Marxist Politics and the Arab-Israeli Conflict in Egypt and Israel, 1948–1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 215.

³⁹² Aysegul Sert, “Rula Jebreal: Born into Conflict, Striving for Peace,” *Venice*, December 2010, <http://www.venicemag.com/news/index/view/309>

³⁹³ Nasser al-Tae, “Voices of Peace and the Legacy of Reconciliation: Popular Music, Nationalism, and the Quest for Peace in the Middle East,” *Popular Music* 21, no. 1 (2002): 41–61.

A common theme among contemporary music genres is resistance to Israel's occupation of the Palestinian Territories. Folk elements have blended with popular Arab music to create a uniquely Palestinian form. The band al-Firqah al-Markaziyyah, aligned with Arafat's Fatah movement, was among the first to tap into this new mode of expressing revolutionary sentiment.^{394, 395}

Instruments

Among the instruments commonly used in Palestinian music, the *mijwiz* is a single-reed double pipe or "double clarinet." Traditionally associated with rural folk, the instrument has become symbolic of Palestinians' connection to the land, and thus representative of Palestinian nationalism.^{396, 397}

Another clarinet, the *arghul*, is a single-reed instrument with double pipes of unequal length.³⁹⁸ The *shabbaba* is a reed flute with five or six holes. It is historically associated with shepherds and folk music but, like other woodwinds, has been used in contemporary music.³⁹⁹ The *darbukah*, shaped like a goblet, is a small hand drum common throughout North Africa and Western Asia. Along with the *daff*, a singled-headed drum also common in much of the Islamic world, the *darbukah* supplies a dynamic and energetic beat for Palestinian music.^{400, 401}



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Palestinian flute

Sports and Recreation

Since 1996, the Palestinian Territories have officially competed in the Summer Olympics. Although competitions between Palestinian and Israeli teams have been strained since Palestinian terrorists massacred Israeli athletes during the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich, today Israel trains Palestinian



© proisraeli / flickr.com
Soccer in Gaza

³⁹⁴ Thomas Burkhalter, "Between Art for Art's Sake and Musical Protest: How Musicians from Beirut React to War and Violence," *Popular Music and Society* 34, no. 1 (2011): 55–77.

³⁹⁵ Nasser al-Tae, "Voices of Peace and the Legacy of Reconciliation: Popular Music, Nationalism, and the Quest for Peace in the Middle East," *Popular Music* 21, no. 1 (2002): 41–61.

³⁹⁶ Ali Jihad Racy, "A Dialectical Perspective on Musical Instruments: The East-Mediterranean Mijwiz," *Ethnomusicology* 38, no. 1 (Winter 1994): 37–57.

³⁹⁷ Benjamin Brinner, *Playing Across a Divide: Israeli-Palestinian Musical Encounters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 45–46.

³⁹⁸ Elke Kaschl, *Dance and Authenticity in Israel and Palestine: Performing the Nation* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2003), 329.

³⁹⁹ Majid A. al-Tae et al., "Analysis and Pattern Recognition of Woodwind Musical Tones Applied to Query-by-Playing Melody Retrieval," in *Proceedings of the World Congress on Engineering* (London: WCE, 2009), <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.148.6002&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

⁴⁰⁰ Matt Dean, "Chapter 3: Western Asia," in *The Drum: A History* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 9–25.

⁴⁰¹ Nasser al-Tae, "Voices of Peace and the Legacy of Reconciliation: Popular Music, Nationalism, and the Quest for Peace in the Middle East," *Popular Music* 21, no. 1 (2002): 41–61.

athletes and helps them obtain visas for international competition.⁴⁰²

Football (soccer), introduced by the British after taking control of the region following World War I, is the most popular sport today among the Palestinians.⁴⁰³ The Palestine National Football Team is recognized by FIFA, the international governing body for football. The Palestinian Football Association is the sport's governing board in the Palestinian Territories and oversees two professional leagues: the West Bank Premiere League and the Gaza Strip League.⁴⁰⁴

Various agencies of the United Nations provide recreational opportunities for Palestinian youth, such as organized sports, fieldtrips, and after-school programs at UN-administered facilities.⁴⁰⁵

406

⁴⁰² Matthew Beard, "The New, the Naughty, and the War-Torn," *London Evening Standard*, 30 January 2012, <http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/standard-olympics/article-24031894-the-new-the-naughty-and-the-war-torn.do>

⁴⁰³ Jewish Agency for Israel, "6. Rule Britannia! The British Influence and Maccabiah Games," 9 February 2012, <http://www.jewishagency.org/JewishAgency/English/Jewish+Education/Compelling+Content/Eye+on+Israel/Sport+in+Israel/Rule+Britannia+The+British+Influence+and+the+Maccabiah+Games.html>

⁴⁰⁴ David Goldblatt, *The Ball is Round: A Global History of Soccer* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2008), 238–239, 842.

⁴⁰⁵ Monica Awad, "Organized 'Recreation Days' Relieve Stress for Children in Gaza," *UNICEF Newslines*, 25 July 2008, http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/oPt_44863.html

⁴⁰⁶ United Nations Sport for Development and Peace, "UN Players: UN System Organizations Using Sport: UNRWA," n.d., <http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/sport/home/unplayers/fundsprogrammesagencies/unrwa>

Chapter 4 Assessment

1. Radical interpretations of Islam and Judaism have been sources of conflict in the Palestinian Territories.

TRUE

Radical interpretations of Islam and political theories based on Islam are the root of some of the violence in the Territories and the region. Similarly, some radical interpretations of Judaism are found among militant groups in the Jewish settler communities.

2. The Palestinian headdress, or *kaffiyeh*, does not carry political meaning.

FALSE

Although the headdress originally functioned as protection from the sun, the *kaffiyeh* has come to serve as a symbol of Palestinian nationalism. The late Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat was seldom seen without a *kaffiyeh*.

3. Palestinian literature is often politicized and focuses on the liberation movement.

TRUE

Palestinians have a rich literary history; however, contemporary literature and much of the arts focus on the liberation movements. Thus, literary themes and characters are often politicized. But some Palestinian writers and artists have rebelled against this.

4. Contemporary Palestinian music owes much to folk, nationalist, and Arabic influences.

TRUE

Folk styles and instrumentation have blended with popular Arabic music and nationalist lyrics to define modern Palestinian music.

5. Various agencies of the United Nations provide recreational opportunities for Palestinian youths.

TRUE

These include after-school programs at UN-administered facilities, fieldtrips, and organized sports.

CHAPTER 5: SECURITY

Introduction

The security situation in the Palestinian Territories is one of the world's most unstable.. The terrorist organization Hamas serves as the de facto government of the Gaza Strip. Terrorists associated with Hamas and Fatah are active in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, launching artillery attacks from within the Territories. Israeli Defense Forces frequently make incursions into the Palestinian Territories, targeting terrorists, demolishing buildings, and causing collateral damage. Fighting among the various Palestinian militants exacerbates the insecurity.



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Palestinian unrest

Palestinian relations with the United States have seldom been warm, and Palestinian authorities frequently accuse the U.S. government of pro-Israeli biases. Palestinian relations with neighboring Muslim states are complex. In Lebanon and Jordan, Palestinian groups have frequently clashed with government forces. Egypt, Syria, and Jordan have used the plight of Palestinians to justify military confrontations with Israel.

Another significant security concern is that most Palestinian refugees displaced by wars in the 20th century remain in impoverished refugee camps in the Palestinian Territories and neighboring countries. Many refugees are frustrated and ripe for recruitment by terrorist organizations. Though the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank and the Hamas regime in the Gaza Strip have attempted to bring rival organizations under control, they have done little to discourage those groups from continuing their attacks on Israel.

United States–Palestinian Relations

Within minutes of the establishment of the modern state of Israel, the United States recognized the new nation.⁴⁰⁷ From that instant, the United States has long been an ally of Israel and has played a leading role in negotiations between Israel and Palestinian factions, especially the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and later the Palestinian Authority. Today, as part of the so-called “Quartet”—the European Union, the United Nations, Russia, and the United States—American diplomats have actively sought the means to bring



© Talk Radio News Service / flickr.com
Middle East meeting

⁴⁰⁷ Harry S. Truman, “Draft of Recognition of Israel,” Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, National Archives and Records Administration, 14 May 1948, http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/israel/large/documents/index.php?documentdate=1948-05-14&documentid=48&collectionid=ROI&pagenumber=1

about a solution that provides for an independent Palestinian state and assures Israel's national security. But Palestinian officials and scholars have long accused the United States of pro-Israeli biases.⁴⁰⁸

For most of the first three decades after the creation of Israel, the United States offered little balanced policy regarding the Palestinian Territories, which it has not recognized as a state. But beginning with the administration of U.S. President Jimmy Carter in 1977, the United States seemed to accept that the creation of a separate Palestinian state was needed for lasting peace, although the composition and creation of such a state continues to be debated. One general point of agreement has been that a Palestinian state could not be unilaterally created without the consent and partnership of Israel.^{409, 410, 411}

When the Palestinian Authority applied for full membership in the United Nations in September 2011, the United States indicated it would veto the measure. At the same time, the U.S. quietly encouraged diplomatic meetings in Amman, Jordan between the Palestinian Authority and Israel, which then began in January 2012.^{412, 413}

Relations with Neighboring Countries

Israel

Relations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority have been a source of mutual frustration and animosity, but have progressed some over the years. Yet the relations between Israel and Hamas remain tenuous at best. Because Israel does not consider the Palestinian Territories an independent state and the Territories do not operate as such, it is difficult to characterize Palestinian-Israeli relations as those between two independent states. Rather, their interactions are currently more akin to the internal relations between two entities (or three, given



© World Economic Forum / flickr.com
Fayyad and Peres

⁴⁰⁸ Naseer Aruri, "United States Policy and Palestine: Oslo, the Intifada and Erasure," *Race & Class* 42, no. 3 (January 2011): 3–20.

⁴⁰⁹ Daniel Southerland, "PLO Looks for Signal from Reagan on Palestinian Rights," *Christian Science Monitor*, 4 November 1982, <http://www.csmonitor.com/1982/1104/110451.html>

⁴¹⁰ Khalil M. Marrar, "Arab and Muslim Americans: Public Opinion, Foreign Policy Advocacy, and the Palestinian State" (paper, American Political Science Association Conference, Seattle, WA, 1–4 September 2011), http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1901716&

⁴¹¹ *Economist*, "A Chronology of the Middle East Conflict: Many Peace Plans, Little Peace," 9 February 2005, <http://www.economist.com/node/1922472>

⁴¹² Jane's Information Group, "Gaza and the West Bank: External Affairs," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 5 April 2011.

⁴¹³ Josef Federman, Associated Press, "Analysis: Jordan Talks May Help Palestinian Leader," *Greeley (CO) Tribune*, 4 January 2012, <http://www.greeleytribune.com/article/20120104/API/1201041160>

Hamas' control of the Gaza Strip) within one quasi-federal system. While the Palestinian Authority administers the West Bank and Hamas governs the Gaza Strip, Israel has operational control over the airspace, waters, and borders of both territories.^{414, 415}

Violence led to Israel building separation barriers between Israel and the Palestinian Territories. Although the West Bank wall has not yet been completed, it has already reduced the number of terrorist attacks from there. The rise of Hamas in the Gaza Strip in 2006–2007 met with even stronger Israeli reactions: a complete blockade of the territory and incursions by the Israeli Defense Forces.^{416, 417}

Ongoing negotiations between the Palestinian Authority and Israel have failed to yield any substantive progress in recent years.⁴¹⁸

Egypt

After the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, Egypt gained control of the Gaza Strip and administered the territory until the 1967 Six-Day War with Israel. Under the terms concluding that regional conflict in which Syria and Jordan also lost territory, Israel occupied the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula up to the Suez Canal.⁴¹⁹ The Suez Canal, completed in 1869, is an important shipping lane connecting Africa and Asia through 100 miles of Egyptian desert.⁴²⁰ Egypt regained control of the canal in 1974 through negotiations with Israel brokered by U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.⁴²¹ In 2011, in a move that alarmed Israel, Egypt allowed Iranian warships to pass through the waterway en route to Syria.⁴²²



© Marius Arnesen / flickr.com
Border tunnel

Although Egypt played an important role in forming the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and joined the Palestinians in wars against Israel in 1948, 1967, and 1973, it has had

⁴¹⁴ Leila Baghdadi, "Symbolic Interactionism: The Role of Interaction in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict" (master's thesis, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, 2009), 71,

<https://repository.library.georgetown.edu/bitstream/handle/10822/552897/baghdadiLeila.pdf?sequence=1>

⁴¹⁵ Douglas Guilfoyle, "The Mavi Marmara Incident and Blockade in Armed Conflict," *British Yearbook of International Law* 81, no. 1 (2011): 171–223.

⁴¹⁶ Yishai Blank, "Legalizing the Barrier: The Legality of the Israel/Palestine Separation Barrier," *Texas International Law Journal* 46, no. 2 (2011): 309–343, http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1872964

⁴¹⁷ Jane's Information Group, "Gaza and the West Bank: External Affairs," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 5 April 2011.

⁴¹⁸ *BBC News*, "Israel-Palestinian Exploratory Talks 'Over,'" 25 January 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-16726980>

⁴¹⁹ *BBC News*, "How 1967 Defined the Middle East," 4 June 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/6709173.stm>

⁴²⁰ Laurie Milner, "The Suez Crisis," *BBC News*, 3 March 2011, http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/modern/suez_01.shtml

⁴²¹ United Press International, "Egypt Regains Canal," *Bangor (ME) Daily News*, 5 March 1974, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2457&dat=19740305&id=NW0zAAAAIBAJ&sjid=8TgHAAAIBAJ&pg=2403,1074180>

⁴²² *BBC News*, "Iran Warships Sail Via Suez Canal Amid Israeli Concern," 22 February 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-12533803>

security agreements with Israel and the United States since 1979. Nevertheless, prior to the Arab Spring of 2011, Egypt was a strong supporter of the Palestinian Authority. The regime of Hosni Mubarak was instrumental in maintaining a dialogue between the Palestinian Authority and Hamas in the aftermath of conflicts in 2006 and 2007. Elections in 2011 and 2012 ushered in majority Islamist parties that are ideologically aligned with Egyptian Islamists.⁴²³ It is uncertain how this change will affect Egypt's actions toward the Palestinian Authority and Hamas.

In the past, Egypt has deployed security forces to the Sinai Peninsula to stem the flow of smuggled goods to the Gaza Strip and to deter the illegal entry of Islamists into Egypt. In 2010, Egypt began construction of a steel wall along its border with the Gaza Strip, to further curtail smuggling. But it is believed that Iranian agents remain actively engaged in arming Hamas and other terrorist groups in the Palestinian Territories by using a route from Iran through Sudan and Egypt to the Gaza Strip.⁴²⁴ Other reports indicate that during the Libyan Civil War of 2011, weapons from Libyan stockpiles were smuggled into the Gaza Strip.⁴²⁵

Jordan

Although Jordan has frequently served as an intermediary in Palestinian-Israeli negotiations, the Jordanian government is adamantly anti-Islamist and has pursued a hard-line position against Hamas. But in the wake of talks between Jordan's King Abdullah II and Hamas leader Khalid Mishal in early 2012, the prospects of warmer relations between Jordan and Hamas have arisen.⁴²⁶



© Trango / flickr.com
Khalid Mishal

Jordan is home to nearly 2 million Palestinian refugees.⁴²⁷ Palestinians are now the majority of the Jordanian population. Most refugees enjoy the full privileges of Jordanian citizenship. But the government has a history of clashing with Palestinian militants, even expelling the Palestine Liberation Organization and other armed Palestinian groups in the 1970s. Concerns regarding Palestinian unrest in Jordan have increased because of reform movements and revolutions that swept the Arab world in spring 2011.^{428, 429}

⁴²³ Julia Pettengill and Houriya Ahmed, *Regional Actors and the Fatah-Hamas Unity Deal: Shifting Dynamics in the Middle East?* (analysis report, Henry Jackson Society, London, 2011), 12,

<http://www.henryjacksonsociety.org/cms/harriercollectionitems/Fatah+Hamas+Document.pdf>

⁴²⁴ Danish Defense Intelligence Service, "Israeli Shin Bet: Iran's Arms Smuggling to Gaza Due to 'Confluence of Interests,'" *DDIS Terrorism Newsletter*, 15 June 2011, 7–8.

⁴²⁵ Anne Barker, "Libya's Leftover Weapons Arming Gaza Militants," *ABC News* (Australia), 16 November 2011, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2011-11-15/libyan-weapons-smuggled-to-gaza/3666924>

⁴²⁶ Hugh Naylor and Suha Philip Ma'ayeh, "Meshaal's Cordial Visit to Jordan Helps Open 'New Page' in Relations," *National* (UAE), 30 January 2012, <http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/middle-east/meshaals-cordial-visit-to-jordan-helps-open-new-page-in-relations>

⁴²⁷ Jane's Information Group, "Jordan: Demography," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 1 March 2011.

⁴²⁸ Mudar Zahran, "Jordan is Palestinian," *The Middle East Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (Winter 2012): <http://www.meforum.org/3121/jordan-is-palestinian>

⁴²⁹ Zvi Bar'el, "Can Jordan's King Stop the Arab Spring from Sweeping His Nation?" *Haaretz* (Israel), 2 January 2012, <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/features/can-jordan-s-king-stop-the-arab-spring-from-sweeping-his-nation-1.410314>

Sharing a lengthy border with the West Bank, which it administered from 1948 to 1967, Jordan stands to be a top trading partner and strategic ally if any independent Palestinian state were to come into existence.^{430, 431}

In January 2012, Jordan hosted talks between officials from the Palestinian Authority and Israel. Though hopes were high, the talks failed to break through any obstacles to a solution to the Palestinian question.^{432, 433}

Lebanon

Lebanon is home to about 500,000 Palestinian refugees and hosts a dozen UN-administered refugee camps.⁴³⁴ The country also is the base of operations for numerous Palestinian and international terrorist organizations. These groups played a significant role in the 1975–1990 Lebanese civil war and have subsequently clashed with the Lebanese government on occasion.⁴³⁵



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Refugees in Lebanon

In 2006, Israel launched a full-scale war against the Iranian- and Syrian-backed terrorist organization Hezbollah, which operates out of southern Lebanon. The brief conflict wreaked devastation in Lebanon but demonstrated Hezbollah's ability to successfully engage the Israeli Defense Forces. This helped legitimize Hamas' emerging relationship with Hezbollah.^{436, 437, 438}

Lebanese-based groups continue to smuggle weapons, materiel, and personnel into the Palestinian Territories and to conduct operations against Israel. The UN maintains a peacekeeping force, known as the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), in southern Lebanon. This force has been ineffectual at stopping such attacks.⁴³⁹ Further, the

⁴³⁰ Jane's Information Group, "Jordan: Internal Affairs," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 1 March 2011.

⁴³¹ Education Services Australia, "Palestine Territories," Global Education, 4 January 2011, www.globaleducation.edna.edu.au/globaled/go/pid/3741

⁴³² Josef Federman, Associated Press, "Analysis: Jordan Talks May Help Palestinian Leader," *Greeley (CO) Tribune*, 4 January 2012, <http://www.greeleytribune.com/article/20120104/API/1201041160>

⁴³³ *BBC News*, "Israel-Palestinian Exploratory Talks 'Over,'" 25 January 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-16726980>

⁴³⁴ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, "Where UNRWA Works: Lebanon," n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=65>

⁴³⁵ Ami Pedahzur, *The Israeli Secret Services and the Struggle Against Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

⁴³⁶ Jane's Information Group, "Groups: Middle East: Active, Israel: Hamas," *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 22 December 2011.

⁴³⁷ Lina Khatib, *Hezbollah's Image Management Strategy* (Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2012), http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/publications/perspectives/CPD_Perspectives_Paper1_2012_Final.pdf

⁴³⁸ David E. Johnson, *Hard Fighting: Israel in Lebanon and Gaza* (Arlington, VA: RAND Corporation, 2011), http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2011/RAND_MG1085.pdf

⁴³⁹ United Nations, "UNIFIL: United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon," 2012, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/unifil/mandate.shtml>

Hizbullah-dominated Lebanese government has appointed Major General Abbas Ibrahim, an officer affiliated with the terrorist group, as the head of Lebanon's internal security, which includes oversight of border control, passport issuance, and media censorship.^{440, 441, 442} All of these are operations that could potentially assist Hizbullah and other terrorist organizations in carrying out attacks and smuggling weapons regionally and around the world.⁴⁴³

The Lebanese government has called for the Palestinian refugees to return to the Palestinian Territories; however, Israel has refused to permit such relocations. Existing law in Lebanon bars Palestinians from owning land or gaining citizenship; this has frustrated refugees. Because of the radicalization of the refugee communities in Lebanon, Fatah and other moderate Palestinian factions have less of a following in the camps.⁴⁴⁴

Syria

Syria hosts about 500,000 Palestinian refugees in a dozen UN-administered camps.⁴⁴⁵ During its 29-year military presence in Lebanon until 2005, and then through its intermediaries therein, Syria funded and armed numerous Palestinian terrorist groups operating in southern Lebanon.^{446, 447}



© Foreign and Commonwealth Office / flickr.com
Syrian FM al-Muallem

Historically, the Syrian government has had a strained relationship with the Palestinian Authority. This developed from Syrian support for more radical Palestinian organizations instead of Fatah, which dominates the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Palestinian Authority. Because the PLO was far more willing than the Syrian-backed groups to negotiate with Israel, Syria lost leverage to negotiate the return of the Golan Heights that Israel seized after the Six-Day War of 1967.^{448, 449}

⁴⁴⁰ Jane's Information Group, "Lebanon: Security," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 29 November 2011.

⁴⁴¹ *States Times* (Pakistan), "Cabinet Appoints Abbas Ibrahim as Lebanon Security Chief," 18 July 2011, <http://www.statetimes.net/2012/07/cabinet-appoints-abbas-ibrahim-as-lebanon-security-chief/>

⁴⁴² Jane's Information Group, "Lebanon: Security and Foreign Forces," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 28 November 2011.

⁴⁴³ Oriana Zill, "Crossing Borders: How Terrorists Use Fake Passports, Visas, and Other Identity Documents," *Frontline* (PBS), 2011, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/trail/etc/fake.html>

⁴⁴⁴ Tom Charles, "The Unknown Hell of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon," *Jadaliyya*, 12 December 2011, <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/3490/the-unknown-hell-of-palestinian-refugees-in-lebano>

⁴⁴⁵ United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, "Where UNRWA Works: Syria," n.d., <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=55>

⁴⁴⁶ Joshua Alexander Geltzer, "Taking Hand-Outs or Going It Alone: Nationalization versus Privatization in the Funding of Islamist Terrorist Groups," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 34, no. 2 (2011): 144–170.

⁴⁴⁷ Michael Freeman, "The Sources of Terrorist Financing: Theory and Typology," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 34, no. 6 (2011): 461–475.

⁴⁴⁸ Thomas Philipp, "Chapter 17: Israel and the Occupied Territories," in *Islam in the World Today: A Handbook of Politics, Religion, Culture, and Society*, eds. Werner Ende and Udo Steinbach (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), 488.

⁴⁴⁹ Michael Freeman, "The Sources of Terrorist Financing: Theory and Typology," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 34, no. 6 (2011): 461–475.

The Syrian civil war, which started in 2011, has negatively affected the Palestinian refugees living in Syria. The Syrian military has shelled some Palestinian communities in Syria.⁴⁵⁰ Some Palestinian terrorist groups with long-standing ties to the Syrian regime, including Hamas, have moved their headquarters from Damascus to other countries.⁴⁵¹

Turkey

In May 2010, Israeli commandos raided a Turkish flotilla that intended to break the Israeli blockade of the Gaza Strip; nine Turkish activists were killed. This event soured relations between Israel and Turkey. It also demonstrated that the current Islamic-leaning leadership of Turkey's officially secular government is taking an interest in the Palestinian Territories, which were once part of the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish government's support for the flotilla marked the first major Turkish involvement in the Palestinian situation since the Ottoman Empire's demise after World War I. It could herald a new broker in peace negotiations and it may be an assertion of Turkey's emerging role as a regional power.⁴⁵² The Palestinian Authority claims that Hamas has an active intelligence-gathering station in Turkey. This may indicate that Turkey favors the Hamas regime in the Gaza Strip, to the detriment of the Palestinian Authority.^{453, 454}



© Israel Defense Forces / flickr.com
Weapons found on flotilla

Police Force

One provision of the Declaration of Principles ("Oslo Accords") signed in 1993 by Israel and the PLO was to amalgamate more than a dozen Palestinian forces from the various militant and terrorist organizations into a national security force under the auspices and command of the Palestinian Authority. But most of these paramilitary groups retain their membership in and their loyalty to the various organizations (e.g., Fatah, al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades). Hamas' military wing serves as the sole security force for the Gaza Strip.^{455, 456}



© James Emery / flickr.com
Police officers in Bethlehem

⁴⁵⁰ Michael Weiss, "Bloody Reprisals and Fears of Sectarian War in Syria," *Telegraph* (UK), 10 February 2012, <http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/news/michaelweiss/100136612/bloody-reprisals-and-fears-of-sectarian-war-in-syria/>

⁴⁵¹ Rushdi Abualouf, "Hamas Breaks Up Syria Demonstration in Gaza Strip," *Los Angeles Times*, 12 February 2012, http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/world_now/2012/02/hamas-breaks-up-pro-syria-demonstration.html

⁴⁵² Svante E. Cornell, "What Drives Turkish Foreign Policy?" *The Middle East Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (Winter 2012): 13–24, <http://www.meforum.org/3129/turkish-foreign-policy>

⁴⁵³ Yaakov Katz, "Israel Cancels Turkish ISR Order," *Jane's Defense Weekly*, 23 December 2011.

⁴⁵⁴ Jane's Information Group, "Israel: Groups: Middle East: Active: Hamas," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 22 December 2011.

⁴⁵⁵ Jane's Information Group, "Gaza and the West Bank: Security and Foreign Forces," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 11 January 2012.

The National Security Force (Quwwat al-Amn al-Watani) is tasked with providing counterterrorism capabilities for the Palestinian Authority. Although personnel in this branch have previously served in the Palestinian Liberation Army, an armed militant faction of the PLO, many have passed criminal and terrorist background investigations. Many are now Western-trained. The U.S. provides training to members of this force at the Jordan International Police Training Center (JIPTC) near Amman. This force operates only in the West Bank, from installations in or near Jericho, Jenin, and Hebron, with plans for additional facilities in Bethlehem, Ramallah, Tubas, and Tulkarm.⁴⁵⁷ One unit of particular note is the Istkhabbarat al-Askariyya, a military-style intelligence unit. This unit was not accepted under the terms of the Oslo Accords but continues to operate. It has a history of focusing on groups opposed to Fatah and investigates other police forces and intelligence agencies of the Palestinian Authority.^{458, 459}

The General Intelligence Service (Mukhabarat Salamah) is another intelligence agency of the Palestinian Authority. Some of its responsibilities overlap with those of the Preventive Security and the National Security Force. Its chief responsibilities center on counterintelligence and intelligence collection.⁴⁶⁰ This agency also serves as the liaison between the Palestinian Authority government and international intelligence organizations. It reports directly to the Palestinian Authority president.⁴⁶¹

The Civil Police (al-Shurta) are the police force assigned responsibilities for common public order. They enforce traffic and criminal laws and perform other duties associated with a regular police force.⁴⁶² Their current estimated strength is roughly 8,500 personnel. This includes the elite, French-trained Special Police Force, which is tasked with riot and crowd control.⁴⁶³ Those serving in the Civil Police receive Western-training at the Palestinian Academy for Security Sciences in Jericho.⁴⁶⁴

The Presidential Guard provides VIP security for Palestinian Authority officials and visiting dignitaries. Elements of this force have been U.S.-trained at Jordanian facilities. They also train at the Presidential Guard Training College in Jericho.^{465, 466, 467}

⁴⁵⁶ Jane's Information Group, "Gaza and the West Bank: Security," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 13 December 2011.

⁴⁵⁷ Daniel Pipes, "America's Shiny New Palestinian Militia," *National Review Online*, 16 March 2010, <http://www.nationalreview.com/articles/229320/americas-shiny-new-palestinian-militia/daniel-pipes>

⁴⁵⁸ Jane's Information Group, "Gaza and the West Bank: Security and Foreign Forces," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 11 January 2012.

⁴⁵⁹ Anthony H. Cordesman, *Palestinian Authority and Militant Forces* (working paper, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, DC, 2006), 6, http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/060209_palestforces.pdf

⁴⁶⁰ RAND Palestinian State Study Team, *Building a Successful Palestinian State* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2005), 39, http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2007/RAND_MG146-1.pdf

⁴⁶¹ Jane's Information Group, "Gaza and the West Bank: Security and Foreign Forces," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 11 January 2012.

⁴⁶⁵ Reuters, "U.S. to Train Palestinian Presidential Guard," 19 August 2007, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2007/08/19/us-palestinians-usa-training-idUSN1925013620070819>

The Preventive Security (al-Amn al-Wiqai) service is tasked with handling anti-dissident (non-Fatah related organizations) responsibilities, counterintelligence, and counter-subversion.⁴⁶⁸ Its membership was initially drawn from the ranks of the Fatah Hawks (Nusur al-Fatah), a Palestinian terrorist organization aligned with Fatah.^{469, 470}

DynCorp International, a U.S.-based private military company (PMC), has a long-standing presence in the West Bank, assisting with training programs for Palestinian Authority police forces.^{471, 472}

Gaza Strip

In the Gaza Strip, all the police agencies are filled with Hamas-affiliated militants and terrorists. The Civil Police is staffed by those police who were already in uniform when Hamas seized control of the Gaza Strip in 2007 and were not affiliated with Fatah. Other members were drawn from the Executive Force, an armed Hamas faction. The Security and Protection service provides VIP protection. The Internal Security Service operates as Hamas' intelligence agency. It is known to harass pro-Fatah citizens and operatives. The National Security branch serves as a tripwire⁴⁷³ and border security unit.⁴⁷⁴



© Zorlah / flickr.com
Hamas militants

⁴⁶⁶ Government Accountability Office, United States Government, "Palestinian Authority: U.S. Assistance is Training and Equipping Security Forces, but the Program Needs to Measure Progress and Faces Logistical Constraints" (Washington, DC: GAO, 2010).

⁴⁶⁷ Jane's Information Group, "Gaza and the West Bank: Security and Foreign Forces," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 11 January 2012.

⁴⁶⁸ RAND Palestinian State Study Team, *Building a Successful Palestinian State* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2005), 39, http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2007/RAND_MG146-1.pdf

⁴⁶⁹ Jangir Aras, Asymmetric Warfare Studies Centre, *World War IV: Information and Analytical Reference Book on Non-Government Paramilitary Entities* (Moscow, Russia: Astrel, 2003), 245-246.

⁴⁷⁰ Jane's Information Group, "Gaza and the West Bank: Security and Foreign Forces," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment – Eastern Mediterranean*, 11 January 2012.

⁴⁷¹ United States Department of State and the Broadcasting Board of Governors, Office of Inspector General, *Training and Logistical Support for Palestinian Authority Security Forces: Performance Evaluation*, OIG Report Number MERO-I-11-09 (Washington, DC: Department of State, 2011), <http://oig.state.gov/documents/organization/171993.pdf>

⁴⁷² DynCorp International, "IDEX 2011: Training & Mentoring: Palestinian Authority Security Sector Transformation (PASST)," 2011, <http://www.dyn-intl.com/idex2011/idex-training.aspx>

⁴⁷³ A small military force that if engaged in hostilities would trigger a larger force's use. *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 4/e (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), 1845.

⁴⁷⁴ Jane's Information Group, "Gaza and the West Bank: Security and Foreign Forces," *Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment—Eastern Mediterranean*, 11 January 2012.

Terrorist, Militants, and Other Radical Groups

Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades

This Fatah-aligned terrorist organization emerged during the Second Intifada (October 2000). Its initial membership drew upon other such organizations, plus former and active-duty PA security personnel. Its chief technique has been suicide attacks against Israeli civilian and military targets, and Jewish settlers in the West Bank. The group is divided into regional detachments, located in Jenin, Tulkarem, Ramallah, Bethlehem, and Hebron.⁴⁷⁵

The group was active in the clashes between pro-Fatah and pro-Hamas elements during the conflict that followed the 2006 election.⁴⁷⁶ Al-Aqsa's Gaza units were crushed in the early stages of the Fatah-Hamas conflict. Many either joined Hamas or affiliated themselves with local clan militias. After Hamas seized control of Gaza, many Al-Aqsa operatives were integrated into the Palestinian Authority's security forces. But the organization continues to carry out terrorist attacks.⁴⁷⁷ Smaller groups emerged after 2007, claiming affiliation with Al-Aqsa. Some of these emerging groups also are associated with Hizbullah, including the Imad Mughniyeh Group.^{478, 479}



© glichfield / flickr.com
al-Aqsa Brigade terrorists

Partisans League (Asbat al-Ansar)

This terrorist organization was formed in 1985. It is based in the Palestinian Ayn al-Hilweh Refugee Camp in Lebanon. Among its stated goals are the establishment of an Islamist Levant state that would include a liberated Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria. Given this pan-Levant agenda, the group has attacked Lebanese targets as well as Israeli civilians and rival Palestinians. Led by Haytham Abd al-Karim al-Saadi, also known as Abu Tariq, the group provided jihadists to the anti-Coalition militants operating in Iraq; many served in al-Qaeda in Iraq. Although the group has maintained a low profile in recent years, it continues to agitate against non-Islamist Palestinian factions.^{480, 481}

⁴⁷⁵ Jane's Information Group, "Israel: Groups: Middle East: Active: Fatah," *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 28 November 2011.

⁴⁷⁶ Jim Zanotti, *The Palestinians: Background and U.S. Relations*, Congressional Research Service, 30 August 2011, 25, <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/174218.pdf>

⁴⁷⁷ Jane's Information Group, "Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades Claim Responsibility for Rocket Attack on Israel's Southern District," *Jane's Terrorism Watch Report—Daily Update*, 19 January 2012.

⁴⁷⁸ United States Southern Command, "Tri-Border Area: Iran's New S. American Embassies Tied to Increased Hizbullah Activity: Hizbullah Expands in Gaza and West Bank," *USSOUTHCOM Headline News*, 13 April 2009, 5, https://www.intelink.gov/search/LinkThrough.aspx?id=6572a0d3-2a17-4a10-8f64-aa49ca1c07cf&qsrc=augoogle&seqNum=5&linkURL=https://www.intelink.gov/communities/latin_america/HN041309.docx

⁴⁷⁹ Jane's Information Group, "Groups: Middle East: Active, Israel: Fatah," *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 22 December 2011.

⁴⁸⁰ Jane's Information Group, "Lebanon: Groups: Middle East: Active: Asbat al-Ansar," *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 26 September 2011.

⁴⁸¹ National Counterterrorism Center, Office of the Director of National Intelligence, United States Government, "'Asbat al-Ansar,'" n.d., http://www.nctc.gov/site/groups/asbat_al_ansar.html

Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP)

This Syrian-based organization emerged in 1969, splintering off from the PFLP. Its armed wing is known as the National Resistance Brigades. Unlike many other terrorist organizations, the leadership of the DFLP is shared by Nayif Hawtmeh, Yasser Abed Rabbo, Qais Samarral, and Abd-al-Karim Hammad, with the latter three being of the younger generation but more involved in operational planning. The group espouses a secular, Marxist-Leninist ideology. They are associated with high-profile attacks including the Ma'alot Massacre and the Avivim School Bus Massacre.⁴⁸² The group routinely fires missiles into southern Israel from within the Gaza Strip. Unlike many of the other Palestinian terrorist groups, the DFLP is currently armed with only homemade explosives and small arms, many of the latter purported to be supplied by the Palestinian Authority's security forces.⁴⁸³



© Orthuberra / wikipedia.org
DFLP flag

Hamas (Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya)

Formed in 1987 at the beginning of the First Intifada, the group is based primarily in the Gaza Strip. Hamas seeks to liberate Palestine and create an Islamist state under shari'a law. Its armed wing, the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, was established in 1992. Under the political leadership of Khaled Mashal, Hamas seized control of the Gaza Strip in early 2007, after the fighting that emerged when Hamas won the 2006 Palestinian legislative elections. The de facto Hamas government for the Gaza Strip is headed by Ismail Haniyah. Although the group's political leaders had been based in Damascus since 1999, the unrest in Syria forced them to relocate to Doha, Qatar, and Cairo, Egypt. Hamas receives most of its funding, training, and resources from Iran and Syria via its connections with Hizbullah.⁴⁸⁴



© Michael Loadenthal / flickr.com
pro-Hamas graffiti

Although Hamas has made some overtures toward possible reconciliation with the Palestinian Authority and renunciation of terror, Hamas and its affiliated terrorist organizations have continued to attack Israeli targets. Perhaps more concerning is the prospect that the organization may be attempting to arm itself with heavy weapons. On 15 March 2011, Israeli naval forces intercepted a ship off the Israeli Mediterranean coast en route to Egypt. Israeli authorities claimed the ship was carrying a huge shipment of weapons to Hamas agents in Egypt who planned to smuggle the weaponry to the Gaza Strip using the Rafah tunnels. Intelligence reports

⁴⁸² Sue Fishkoff, "Documentary Recalls the Horrors of Ma'alot School Massacre," *JTA*, 5 May 2011, <http://www.jta.org/news/article/2011/05/05/3087296/new-documentary-about-maalot-school-massacre-premieres-may-9>

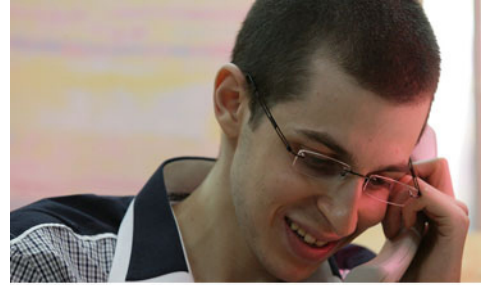
⁴⁸³ Jane's Information Group, "Israel: Groups: Middle East: Active: Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP)," *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 3 November 2011.

⁴⁸⁴ National Counterterrorism Center, Office of the Director of National Intelligence, United States Government, "HAMAS (Islamic Resistance Movement)," n.d., <http://www.nctc.gov/site/groups/hamas.html>

indicated the shipment included Iranian-manufactured “medium-range radar-guided missiles.”⁴⁸⁵ Such accusations call into question the sincerity of Hamas’ overtures to the Palestinian Authority and pose a potentially significant threat to the security of the West Bank and Israel.

Army of Islam (AOI or Jaish al-Islam)

Created in 2006, this clan-based terrorist organization operates from the Gaza Strip. The group was responsible for the high-profile abduction in 2006 of Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit and of BBC journalist Alan Johnston in 2007. On 18 October 2011, Israel began releasing more than 1,000 Palestinian terrorists and prisoners in exchange for Shalit.^{486, 487} AOI is aligned with al-Qaeda. It had been closely associated with Hamas; however, efforts by the Hamas regime to reign in AOI’s operations have seen the group gravitate more toward Fatah. There is some evidence that AOI operatives were active in Egypt during the initial stages of the Arab Spring rebellion. Some sources pointed to the group as the culprit in attacks on Christian churches in Egypt. Israeli sources have previously reported the group had smuggled foreign jihadists into the Gaza Strip. Moreover, they are believed to have been behind an averted plot to assassinate then British Prime Minister Tony Blair during a planned July 2008 visit to Gaza.⁴⁸⁸



© Israel Defense Forces / flickr.com
Gilad Shalit

Kahane Chai

Islamic and Palestinian terrorist groups are not the only such organizations operating in the region. Loosely organized Jewish militant groups also have been responsible for terrorist attacks. Perhaps the most notorious group is Kahane Chai. It was formed in the early 1990s, with roots in the Kach Party, an ultra-nationalist Zionist political party in Israel. Popular among the Jewish settler communities, the group was believed to have carried out a number of attacks on Palestinian civilians. The group is known to have imported military weapons and munitions from international sources, including the United States. Their strength is estimated at about 100 personnel and is believed to be centered around the Jewish settlement of Qiryat Arba near Hebron. The group is known to have used charitable fronts to collect funding in the U.S. and among other Western diaspora communities.



© PalFest / flickr.com
Qiryat Arba settlement

⁴⁸⁵ Jane’s Information Group, “Israel: Groups: Middle East: Active: Hamas,” *Jane’s World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 22 December 2011.

⁴⁸⁶ *Time*, “The Saga of Gilad Shalit,” 2012, http://www.time.com/time/photogallery/0,29307,1949394_2318298,00.html

⁴⁸⁷ Isabel Kershner and Taghreed el-Khodary, “No Fast Gain for Hamas After Release of Journalist,” *New York Times*, 5 July 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/05/world/middleeast/05mideast.html?ref=alanjohnston>

⁴⁸⁸ Jane’s Information Group, “Israel: Groups: Middle East: Active: Jaish al- Islam,” *Jane’s World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 23 May 2011.

Membership overlaps with other extremist Zionist organizations. Current leadership is unknown. There appears to be growing support from Jewish and Christian communities in the U.S. Although not directly behind the attack, Kahane Chai condoned the 1995 assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin, who it believed was a traitor to the Zionist movement.^{489, 490}

The group aims to restore the Biblical state of Israel through ethnic cleansing of Arabs in contemporary Israel, including the Palestinian Territories. Additionally, Kahane Chai demands the immediate reconstruction of the Jerusalem Temple. As such, many of the group's plots have focused on destroying the mosques currently occupying the location of the original Temple.⁴⁹¹

Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ or Harakat al-Jihad al-Islamic al-Filastini)

This Syrian-based secular terrorist organization emerged in 1979. It is led by Ramadan Abdallah Shallah and an eight-person General Bureau. Its armed wing, Saraya al-Quds (al-Quds Brigades), has carried out several high-profile attacks, operating from both Palestinian Territories. It has close associations with Hizbullah and Iran. The group espouses non-sectarian pan-Muslim solidarity. Despite its association with Hizbullah, the group continues to ignore Hamas' efforts to restrain PIJ artillery attacks against Israeli military and civilian targets, as well as other activities in the Gaza Strip. The PIJ relies upon recruiting primarily in the Palestinian Territories and Palestinian refugee camps in nearby countries, especially Syria and Lebanon. Its training is conducted in the Palestinian Territories, Lebanon, Syria, and Iran. Compared to other terrorist organizations operating in this theater, the PIJ relies on unsophisticated weaponry. Operatives are frequently limited to personal weapons, along with homemade explosives and artillery. Many PIJ operatives are former Fatah militants.⁴⁹²

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)

One of the older Palestinian terrorist organizations, the PFLP was formed by George Habash in 1967. Its military wing is known as the Abu Ali Mustafa Brigades. The group espouses a secular, Marxist-oriented ideology that envisions the destruction of Israel and a social revolution based on Palestinian self-determination. Their belief is that such a situation will usher in a utopian democratic society. The group receives aid from Syria and Iran, and has historical connections with Iraq and Libya as well.⁴⁹³



© Harry Pockets / flickr.com
PFLP graffiti in Nablus

⁴⁸⁹ Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, "Chapter 6: Terrorist Organizations," *Country Reports on Terrorism 2009*, 5 August 2010, <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2009/140900.htm>

⁴⁹⁰ Jane's Information Group, "Israel: Groups: Middle East: Active: Jewish Extremist Groups," *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 6 April 2005.

⁴⁹¹ Jane's Information Group, "Israel: Groups: Middle East: Active: Jewish Extremist Groups," *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 6 April 2005.

⁴⁹² Jane's Information Group, "Israel: Groups: Middle East: Active: Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ)," *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 28 November 2011.

⁴⁹³ Jane's Information Group, "Israel: Groups: Middle East: Active: Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)," *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 2 December 2011.

The PFLP is notorious for a number of high-profile attacks on Western and Israeli targets since the late 1960s. In December 1975, PFLP operatives attacked the OPEC Conference in Vienna, Austria, taking more than 60 hostages, including leading OPEC delegates. In this ordeal, the Austrian government was forced to broadcast a pro-Palestinian message; the operatives then made a spectacular escape.^{494, 495}

In June 1976, the PFLP hijacked an Air France plane and flew it to Entebbe, Uganda, although the hostage plot failed when an Israeli commando raid killed all the terrorists, freed nearly all the hostages, and destroyed much of the Ugandan air force.⁴⁹⁶

Nearly a decade later, in October 1985, PFLP operatives seized control of the *Achille Lauro*, an Italian cruise ship, as it left Alexandria, Egypt. When Israel rebuffed their demands for the release of Palestinian prisoners, the terrorists murdered a disabled Jewish American passenger. After the terrorists were granted safe conduct by Egyptian authorities, U.S. Navy aircraft intercepted their plane, and the terrorists were subsequently handed over to Italian authorities.⁴⁹⁷

In 2001, PFLP operatives assassinated Israeli Minister of Tourism Rehavam Zeevi. Although Palestinian forces arrested the group's current leader, Ahmad Saadat, for the offense, Israeli forces stormed a Jericho prison where Saadat was under Palestinian custody and under direct U.S.-U.K. supervision. The Israeli forces abducted Saadat and transported him to an Israeli prison. As of February 2012, he remains in Israeli custody.⁴⁹⁸

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine–General Command (PFLP-GC)

Also known as the Jihad Jibril Brigades, this group formed in 1968 when Ahmed Jibril rejected the PFLP's more moderate position on negotiating with Israel. The Syrian-based organization operates primarily out of Lebanon and is active in the refugee camps there.⁴⁹⁹ The group espouses a Pan-Arabist, nationalist, left-wing ideology. It has been active in Libya and Egypt, and conducted attacks in Scandinavia and Germany. The PFLP-GC pursues training with other groups and is thought to have received flight training from Libya



© Magne Hagesæter / flickr.com
PFLP-GC poster

⁴⁹⁴ Edward F. Mickolus and Susan L. Simmons, *The Terrorist List* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Security International, 2011), 164.

⁴⁹⁵ C. Gus Martin, *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2011), 528–529.

⁴⁹⁶ Simon Dunstan, *Entebbe: The Most Daring Raid of Israel's Special Forces* (New York: Rosen Publishing Group, 2011).

⁴⁹⁷ Michael K. Bohn, *The Achille Lauro Hijacking: Lessons in the Politics and Prejudice of Terrorism* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2004).

⁴⁹⁸ Aaron Mannes, *Profiles in Terror: The Guide to Middle East Terrorist Organizations* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 312–313.

⁴⁹⁹ Jim Garamone, "A Global Terror Group Primer," American Forces Information Service, 14 February 2002, http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/dod/n02142002_200202141.htm

during that country's periodic war with Chad (1978–1987).⁵⁰⁰

PFLP-GC has employed unconventional techniques, such as hot-air balloons and motorized hang gliders, to attack civilian targets in northern Israel.⁵⁰¹ The group maintains extensive links with other terrorist organizations around the world. Some evidence presented at trial indicated a link with the Libyan bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland in 1988.^{502, 503}

The organization is well armed with armored personnel vehicles (APVs), infantry fighting vehicles (IFVs), multiple rocket launchers (MRLs), anti-aircraft batteries, surface-to-air missiles (SAMs), and antitank guns. In addition to facilities in the refugee camps, the PFLP-GC operates a base near the Lebanese village of Sultan Yacoub, where it is believed to have an unknown number of T-55 main battle tanks. It is believed that Syrian troops withdrawing from Lebanon in 2005 left behind substantial weapons for the group.⁵⁰⁴

Other Issues Affecting Stability and Outlook

The turbulence gripping North Africa and the Middle East in the aftermath of the Arab Spring of 2011 has created an unstable and unpredictable environment throughout the Levant. Palestinian terrorist organizations that have historically relied upon Syria for funding and arms face the uncertainty of whether such support will continue if the Assad regime falls.⁵⁰⁵



© Freedom House / flickr.com
Syrian President Assad

There is grave concern that the violence wracking Syria in 2011–2012 will spread into Lebanon, perhaps touching off another civil war or bringing Palestinian groups into the fighting. If this were to happen, violence may well spread to the Palestinian Territories as the Palestinian proxies of Syrian and Lebanese factions vie for power.^{506, 507}

⁵⁰⁰ C.H. Rajahans and Lolla Paul, *The Terror Business: Counting the Major Terrorist Groups of the World & Insights into Their Growth & Operations*: vol. 2 (New Delhi: Dominant Publishers, 2002), 395.

⁵⁰¹ Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, United States Department of State, *Country Reports on Terrorism 2010* (Washington, DC: Department of State, 2011), 238, <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2010/170264.htm>

⁵⁰² Gary C. Gambill, “The Lockerbie Bombing Trial: Is Libya Being Framed?” *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin* 2, no. 5 (June 2000), http://www.meforum.org/meib/articles/0006_me1.htm

⁵⁰³ Michael P. Scharf, “The Lockerbie Trial Verdict,” *American Society of International Law Insights*, February 2001, <http://dspace.cigilibrary.org/jspui/bitstream/123456789/10240/1/The%20Lockerbie%20Trial%20Verdict.pdf?1>

⁵⁰⁴ Jane's Information Group, “Israel: Groups: Middle East: Active: Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command (PFLP—GC),” *Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism*, 24 October 2011.

⁵⁰⁵ Nidal al-Mughrabi and Douglas Hamilton, “Analysis: Hamas on the Move, Seeks Palestinian Ascendancy,” Reuters, 1 February 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/02/01/us-palestinians-hamas-idUSTRE8101EA20120201>

⁵⁰⁶ Richard Spencer, “William Hague Accuses Russia and China as Syria Heads Toward ‘Civil War,’” *Telegraph* (UK), 5 February 2012, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/syria/9062794/William-Hague-accuses-Russia-and-China-as-Syria-heads-toward-civil-war.html>

The continuing struggle for supremacy within the Palestinian Territories remains a concern. Though Hamas and the Fatah-dominated Palestinian Authority have held talks aimed at reconciliation, many of the factions aligned with each of these players are adamantly opposed to such an agreement. Even if elections are held, it is unlikely that they will be a remedy for the fighting among the various Palestinian factions.⁵⁰⁸ Israel is unwilling to negotiate with Hamas because the group refuses to acknowledge Israel's legitimacy. Thus, a Palestinian government that includes Hamas will likely prove unacceptable to Israel.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁷ Military Intelligence of the Czech Republic, "Hezbollah Could Soon Provoke Israel," *Daily Bulletin*, 10 February 2012, 20.

⁵⁰⁸ Military Intelligence of the Czech Republic, "Hamas Split Over Unity Pact with Fatah," *Daily Bulletin*, 10 February 2012, 21.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibrahim Barzak and Karin Laub, "Palestinians Take Step Toward Unity," Associated Press, 6 February 2012, http://hosted2.ap.org/APDEFAULT/3d281c11a96b4ad082fe88aa0db04305/Article_2012-02-06-ML-Palestinians-Reconciliation/id-a65ee3017fad487781365422c90485b2

Chapter 5 Assessment

1. The United States has a mixed record on supporting the idea of an independent Palestinian state.

TRUE

Many U.S. administrations have supported the idea of an independent Palestine and have facilitated agreements between Palestinian leaders and Israel, but the United States has also stymied some efforts to bring it to fruition. Most recently, the U.S. blocked an effort by the Palestinian Authority to gain full UN membership.

2. Palestinian-Israeli relations are complicated by the fact that both countries are not internationally recognized as sovereign nations.

TRUE

Because Israel does not consider the Palestinian Territories an independent state and the Territories do not operate as such, it is difficult to characterize Palestinian-Israeli relations as those between two independent states.

3. Most Palestinian refugees displaced by wars in the 20th century have returned to their homes.

FALSE

Millions of Palestinian refugees continue to live in impoverished camps administered by the United Nations. Many refugees are frustrated and ripe for recruitment by terrorist organizations. These camps are located in the Palestinian Territories, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan.

4. The Syrian civil war, which began in 2011, has had a negative impact on the Palestinian refugees living in Syria.

TRUE

During the Syrian civil war, the Syrian military has shelled some Palestinian communities in Syria. Hamas and other Palestinian terrorist groups have moved their headquarters from Damascus to other countries.

5. The Palestinian Authority in the West Bank and the Hamas regime in the Gaza Strip have eliminated terrorist attacks from within their territories.

FALSE

Many terrorist groups continue to use the Palestinian Territories as bases of operation. Though the two Palestinian regimes have attempted to bring rival organizations under control, they have done little to discourage those groups from continuing their attacks on Israel.

FINAL ASSESSMENT

1. The two Palestinian Territories are geographically similar.
TRUE / FALSE
2. Gaza City serves as the seat of the Palestinian Authority.
TRUE / FALSE
3. Aquifers provide the majority of water for the Palestinian Territories.
TRUE / FALSE
4. Palestinian militants and terrorists use the refugee camps as bases for operations.
TRUE / FALSE
5. Deforestation has been the most serious environmental concern in the West Bank.
TRUE / FALSE
6. European nobles, knights, and their followers carved out a handful of Christian kingdoms in and around the Palestinian Territories beginning in the late 11th century.
TRUE / FALSE
7. The division of Palestine into separate territories has a recurring history.
TRUE / FALSE
8. With the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993, the Palestinians regained full control over the Palestinian Territories.
TRUE / FALSE
9. The late 19th and the early 20th centuries witnessed a steady influx of Jewish immigration to Palestine.
TRUE / FALSE
10. The wars against Israel in the name of liberating Palestine have led to major improvements in the conditions of the Palestinian people.
TRUE / FALSE
11. The Palestinian Territories rely upon Israel for the vast majority of their energy needs.
TRUE / FALSE
12. The Israeli blockade of the Gaza Strip has had little impact on the Palestinian economy.
TRUE / FALSE
13. The discovery of rich natural gas reserves off the coast of the Gaza Strip will eventually alleviate the energy crisis in the Palestinian Territories.
TRUE / FALSE

14. The economic hardships plaguing the Palestinian Territories pose a significant threat to the stability of the Palestinian Authority government.
TRUE / FALSE
15. The actions of the Israeli Defense Forces have had a detrimental impact on the Palestinian economy.
TRUE / FALSE
16. Despite women's contributions to the liberation movement, Palestinian leaders have shown little interest in addressing gender issues.
TRUE / FALSE
17. Religion plays a major role in defining groups in the Palestinian Territories.
TRUE / FALSE
18. All Palestinians are Muslims.
TRUE / FALSE
19. Palestinian cuisine draws solely upon local influences for its unique dishes.
TRUE / FALSE
20. Football (soccer) is the most developed professional sport in the Palestinian Territories.
TRUE / FALSE
21. Hamas, the Islamist party that controls the Gaza Strip, is a terrorist organization.
TRUE / FALSE
22. Although not a Palestinian group, the Hizbullah terrorist organization plays a significant role in the Palestinian Territories.
TRUE / FALSE
23. In addition to Palestinian terrorist organizations, there are Jewish terrorist organizations operating in the Palestinian Territories.
TRUE / FALSE
24. Palestinian terrorist groups espouse a single, unified message targeted at the creation of an independent Islamist Palestine.
TRUE / FALSE
25. After the victory of Hamas in the Palestinian elections of 2006, there was a peaceful exchange of power.
TRUE / FALSE

FURTHER RESOURCES

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