

# THE CHANGING FORMS OF INCITEMENT TO TERROR AND VIOLENCE: The Need for a New International Response



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# DECEPTION: THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY'S PUBLIC COMMITMENTS AND ITS ACTUAL ACTIVITIES AND MESSAGES

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Palestinian Media Watch (PMW) was founded sixteen years ago, and the goal was to find out what Palestinian leaders were saying among themselves in Arabic. We knew what they were saying to the media; we knew what they were saying to negotiators. We wanted to know what they were saying to their people and, in particular, what they were saying to their children, because we believed and still believe that what was being said to Palestinian children reflected their true opinions and goals and would determine if we could have peace in the Middle East.

To this end, we study the controlled PA media, using it as a window into all of Palestinian society. If we were going to name the organization today, we would call it Palestinian Society Watch, because we are studying phenomena like sports, culture, crossword puzzles, entertainment, official public speeches and events, and everything that is happening at the leadership level and among the general population in the Palestinian Authority. Through this broad-based monitoring, we get an accurate and comprehensive sense of PA society and of the direction in which it is being led by the leadership.

There are numerous examples of anti-Semitic websites that demonize Jews and openly call for Israel's destruction that are condemned by Western leaders. There is an incorrect assumption that those messages are no longer part of the official PA world. What we at PMW have found is that those very same horrific messages calling for Israel's destruction and hatred of Jews are similar to the messages coming from the PA, except for one thing: the packaging. Those same hate messages are usually, but not always, packaged differently by the PA.

The openly hateful websites are often anonymous or do not care about their standing in the West. The PA, however, presents itself to foreign leaders as an authentic participant in a peace process and does care about its standing in the West. It needs international funding and wants the West to pressure Israel. So the PA has to be more subtle, and we usually see very careful packaging of its hate promotion. While some of the websites that openly promote hatred of Jews and the destruction of Israel are closed down, the Palestinians package similar hate messages as Palestinian culture or as their so-called "historical narrative," inserting the messages into music, song, and dance, which are subsequently ignored in Washington and Brussels.

What are these hate messages that are being disseminated by the PA, which completely contradict the messages of reconciliation it expresses in English? There are three fundamental commitments that the PA made to Israel and the international community in order to be accepted as a participant in a peace process. They are not final-status commitments, but are preconditions the PA must fulfill so as to be acknowledged as a negotiating partner and a participant in dialogue. They have been reiterated many times by the Middle East Quartet (comprised of the United Nations, the Russian Federation, the United States, and the European Union) and by the United States: (1) the PA must recognize Israel, (2) it must stop hate incitement, and (3) it must stop and distance itself from violence. Of course, PA leaders regularly say that they fulfill these commitments. Nevertheless, they transmit the opposite messages to their own people through activities, culture, education, and more.

# **NEGATING ISRAEL**

The PA denies Israel's existence and right to exist, but transmits these messages in ways it hopes will not anger the international community, often through cultural expression, especially at events and in TV programs for children.

The following is from a cultural event broadcast on official Palestinian TV. What could be wrong with song and dance? Unfortunately, a lot:



"[O bird,] turn to **Safed**, and then to **Tiberias**,

and send regards to the sea of **Acre** and **Haifa**.

Don't forget **Nazareth**—the Arab fortress,

and tell **Beit Shean** about its people's return.

O flying bird, circling around...

by Allah, O traveling [bird], I burn with envy.

My country Palestine is beautiful....

Go to Jenin, and bring me [grain] from its valley.

Greetings to Nablus, Tulkarem and their soil.

Drink the water of Jaffa's port, don't forget Ramle and Ramallah.

O flying bird, circling around, by Allah,

O traveling [bird], I burn with envy. My country Palestine is beautiful."

(PA TV [Fatah], June 24, 2011)

At the event, children were dancing in a circle to a song about a bird flying over "Palestine," with the words: "My country Palestine is beautiful." But it was not only the PA areas they were singing about; it was also cities all over Israel being presented as "my country Palestine" (see bold). If someone had yelled and screamed, "Destroy Israel!" that would have been rejected. But in culture, music, and dance, singing about a world in which Israel is erased and replaced by "Palestine" is very successful packaging: the United States and Europe do not complain about it, and they even pay for it through their support of the PA general budget.

Another example is a children's program on official Palestinian TV that taught children to believe they are living in a world in which Israel already does not exist:



Jaffa, Haifa [Israeli cities]

PA TV host: "Do you enjoy going on trips? So show me where you've been on the map of Palestine."

Children approach the map in the studio on which all of Israel is "Palestine."

Girl points to places on the map: "We went to the Sea of Galilee [a lake in Israel] and to the Dead Sea."

Boy points on the map: "Jaffa, Haifa." (Israeli cities)

Girl: "And Jericho."

Boy: "And Jenin and Nablus."

Host: "So you've visited many different places in Palestine, and that's very good. It's very good that we're always visiting new places in our state, Palestine."

(PA TV [Fatah], May 16, 2010)

Note what the PA TV host said: "our state, Palestine." Not a geographic area, not British Palestine, but "our state, Palestine." According to the PA children's education, Jaffa, Haifa, and the Sea of Galilee are already part of the "state of Palestine."

There are literally hundreds of such examples, on all sorts of programming for children, youth, and adults, which, with bright colors and big smiles, present a world in which Israel no longer exists.

The same messages are directed at adults and the PA leadership. PA TV broadcast a Fatah event celebrating the founding of Fatah. Present at the gathering were PA chairman Mahmoud Abbas, director of PA TV Yasser Abed Rabbo, and other Palestinian leaders sitting in the front row. The song that was performed at this important Fatah event, with hundreds of people in the audience clapping, presented all of Israel as "our [Palestinian] land":



"We commit and promise to stand behind you, oh Mahmoud Abbas, until Judgment Day. I am returning to you, the purest land, oh land of the free. No matter how long the nights of exile, I am returning to you, oh land. From Rafah to Rosh Hanikra [northern Israel] our coast, and Beit Shean [Israeli city]. Above your soil, oh my land, is a picture of the Garden of Eden. From Rafah to Rosh Hanikra our coast, and Beit Shean. Above your soil, oh my land, is a picture of the Garden of Eden. From Rafah to Rosh Hanikra, north and south, are the picture's borders. From Haifa [Israeli city]

and Tantura to the [Jordan] valley [i.e., all of Israel]. I am returning to you, the purest land, oh land of the free."

(Thirty times on PA TV [Fatah], February 27, 2011 through June 2012)

The song was about Rosh Hanikra, Beit Shean, Haifa, and everything in between, and all of it was presented as part of "Palestine." And this was performed in front of the PA leadership at a Fatah event—on live PA TV. This demonstrates that denial of Israel's right to exist comes from the leadership, from the so-called moderate Fatah Party. Significantly, by June 2012 the song had been rebroadcast over thirty times. Clearly, a message that the PA's leaders and official TV want to send to their people is this: Palestine encompasses all of modern-day Israel.

In addition to this active indoctrination of youth and adults to picture a world without Israel, the PA uses maps in official settings to convey the same message.



At times the maps are creative. This cartoon is from the official PA newspaper and was published at a time when the PA was promoting unity between Fatah and Hamas. The two figures represent those two organizations, and the cartoon expresses the idea that if Fatah and Hamas unite they will establish the state of "Palestine," as illustrated by the image created between them of a map of "Palestine" that includes all of Israel. In addition, the PA flag is flying over it, indicating political sovereignty over all of Israel.

(Al-Hayat al-Jadida, March 21, 2011)



Here is a logo of the Fatah children's organization. Note the PA flag surrounding the map, which again includes not only PA areas but all of Israel as well.

(http://www.fazo.ps/whous.php, accessed June 21, 2012)



In this next example, we see the same messages coming from the top. Here Mahmoud Abbas is seen holding up a map that includes all of Israel, with his newspaper's caption labeling it "a stone model of the map of Palestine."

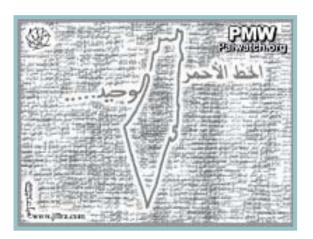
(Al-Hayat al-Jadida, October 26, 2010)



The week before and after Abbas went to the United Nations to request recognition of Palestinian statehood and proclaimed that he wanted two states living side by side, his newspaper published dozens of maps that erase Israel and replace it with "Palestine." This map also appeared on the official PA TV channel, which is under Abbas's control. There is no way to interpret the map as accepting two states. This map dates to September 24, the day after Abbas's UN speech. In the map, the Palestinian flag is wrapped around all of Israel. The key symbolizes ownership, sending the message: "All of Israel is ours."

(PA TV [Fatah], September 24, 2011)





At a sporting event, while singing the national anthem, this map was displayed. Again, it is very subtle. No one directly tells these children to destroy Israel; instead, the message to them is that there *is no Israel*.

(PA TV [Fatah], September 26, 2011)

Finally, in this map the message was not even "packaged" or hidden; yet the implications are still somehow ignored by those funding the PA. This map is from the official PA newspaper. It encompasses all of Israel and has the following words above it: "The only red line." The PA message to Palestinians is that "the only red line," which Palestinians are not prepared to cross, is all of Israel.<sup>1</sup>

(Al-Hayat al-Jadida, August 21, 2011)

Lastly, there is an additional component to the PA's denial of Israel's right to exist. Everything described so far has been related to rejecting Israel on Palestinian nationalistic grounds. However, the PA has also adopted Hamas religious ideology and now teaches that Israel cannot be accepted on religious grounds either.

The PA has learned that it cannot openly call for jihad on TV because the international community condemns it. Instead they present the conflict with Israel as a *ribat*, a religious conflict/war. These are the words of PA religion minister Mahmoud Al-Habbash:



"Allah has preordained for us the *ribat* on this blessed land. We are committed to it by Allah's command. Let no one be mistaken or under the illusion that *ribat* is a choice and nothing more. It is a commandment that necessitates hardship and requires the person to rush to fulfill this command. If Allah has chosen you for *ribat* on the land of *ribat*, you, the choicest of God's servants, then this is an honor. The enemy is patient, it is waiting for the nation to collapse. The struggle over a piece of land here or there. Not at all. The struggle has the symbolism of holiness or blessing. It is a struggle between those whom Allah has chosen for *ribat* and those who are trying to mutilate the land of *ribat*."

(PA TV [Fatah], February 12, 2010)

The *ribat* is a mandatory religious war to liberate or defend land that is claimed as Islamic land. In a different sermon, the religion minister said the *ribat* started from the time of the Balfour Declaration in 1917. The *ribat* is over all of Israel's land and the war goes on forever. The PA gets away with this because they do not use the word jihad that people are familiar with, and they do not say "Kill the Jews." They say *ribat* and no one seems to notice or care, even though it is actually the same religious war and message: fight them, and fight them eternally—even until Resurrection Day—because Israel exists on holy Islamic land.

This message is not just transmitted by the PA leadership and PA television; it also appears in the official schoolbooks. In a twelfth-grade PA schoolbook that is in use today, Palestinian children learn that they are involved in "one of the greatest of *ribat*" and that they will be "in a constant fight with their enemies...until Resurrection Day." Palestinian children are being taught that Palestinians are in an eternal war with Israel to defend and liberate land that is said to be Islamic.

This PA religious ideology is never expressed to the international community in English. The same religion minister who in Arabic defined the conflict as a religious war told members of AIPAC: "the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is not a religious or historical conflict, but rather a political one."<sup>2</sup>

This religious packaging prevents any possibility of real peace with the Palestinians because even if the PA signs a peace agreement, it cannot be long-term or lasting. The land is not just "Palestine"; it is holy Islamic land, and Islam prohibits any Muslim from leaving it in the hands of Israel. Even if the Palestinian nationalist wants to accept peace with Israel, the Palestinian Muslim cannot.

Why is this religious packaging so important? A poll last year found that 85 percent of Palestinians say religion plays an important role in their lives, 13.7 percent say it is somewhat important, and only 1 percent say it is not important to them. Palestinian society is very religious, and the religious leaders teach them that Islam prohibits them from accepting Israel's existence. This religious ideology is one of the most dangerous elements in Palestinian society, and it is coming from Fatah. It is as dangerous to permanent peace as the religious ideology of Hamas. Yet because they do not use the word jihad but call it a *ribat*, the world does not notice or accepts it.

Sometimes, however, PA leaders ignore packaging and openly express their hateful beliefs and opinions. Recently the moderator at a Fatah event celebrating the anniversary of the founding of Fatah defined the conflict with Israel as a religious war, while demonizing Jews as "apes and pigs":

"Our war with the descendants of the apes and pigs [i.e., Jews] is a war of religion and faith. Long live Fatah!"

(PA TV [Fatah], January 9, 2012)

The PA mufti who spoke after him did not challenge him.

On the anniversary of Israel's creation, an op-ed in the official PA daily openly demonized Israel's creation, denied its right to exist, and expressed hope for its destruction:

"The greatest theft in history...the most criminal act that humanity has ever seen... [the establishment of a] fascist state upon the ruins of the Palestinian people, which has suffered the greatest and ugliest ethnic cleansing known to modern history.... For 64 years we have not forgotten the light breeze of the Galilee...we have not forgotten the fragrance of the narcissus on the slopes of the Carmel [a mountain in Haifa]. We remember you, all of Palestine. You are present within us.... Until we return to you, oh Haifa, Acre, and Jaffa, all of historical Palestine...and all the temporary ones [Israelis] will go away.... May their [Israeli] independence collapse, and may Palestine come back to life."

(Al-Hayat al-Jadida, May 15, 2012)

Social Affairs Minister Majida al-Masri also recently stated that the goal of Palestinians is the "liberation of Palestine—all of Palestine," meaning the destruction of Israel:

"We demand of everyone to push ahead with reconciliation [between Fatah and Hamas] and to end the state of division, so that we will be able to stand against the occupation, to halt its activities against our prisoners, and to turn to the struggle for the liberation of Palestine—all of Palestine."

(Al-Hayat al-Jadida, March 9, 2012)

What is clear from all this documentation is that regarding "recognition of Israel"—the most fundamental PA commitment demanded by the Quartet bodies—the PA is in complete and continuous violation of this obligation. The PA denies Israel's right to exist on the national level and prohibits acceptance of Israel's existence on the religious level.

# THE MESSAGE OF HATE

The second PA commitment to the international community—to stop incitement to hatred of Israelis and Jews—is also abrogated by the PA. The structures under PA control actively incite hatred of Jews and Israelis but are careful to package it as "victimhood." Palestinians do not say that "Israelis are monsters"; instead they say, "We are victims of Israeli monstrosity." To the world this makes a difference because if they are victims, it is easier to justify their demonizing the people supposedly attacking them.



For example, during an interview on PA TV, the TV host asked a Palestinian artist to discuss one of his paintings "dealing with the Palestinian nation's problems such as the Gaza massacres." The artist responded that his painting "is about the Gaza massacre...and the Zionist enemy's cruelty and savagery." The painting shows an ogre impaling children on his bayonet and eating them one by one. On the lower right, dead children are piled up to be eaten and baby ogres are also shown eating children. The three monsters wear skullcaps with a Star of David.

(PA TV [Fatah], July 13, 2012)

This PA hate promotion is not limited to pictures. For example, the official newspaper accused Israel of imitating the infamous Nazi doctor Mengele by doing medical experiments on prisoners:

"Israeli jailors imitate the German Nazis, who were the first to use prisoners as guinea pigs for testing weapons and deadly drugs. Mengele was the most famous among them. Israel is doing Mengele-like experiments on Palestinian prisoners."

(Al-Hayat al-Jadida, April 17, 2011)

The deputy minister of prisoner affairs, Ziad Abu Ein, speaking on PA TV, also compared Israel to the Nazis:



"Israel forgets that we are now in the 21st century and that the conditions of our Palestinian prisoners are worse than the Auschwitzes of the Nazis, where Jewish detainees were held. If we return to the pictures of the Auschwitzes, how [Jews] were on beds and so on in the Auschwitzes in our case, the beds were only introduced in the 1990s, and it was [only] a metal bed."

(PA TV [Fatah], October 6, 2011]

Three times in his short talk, he used the

word "Auschwitzes," not only demonizing Israel but also minimizing the significance of Auschwitz.

In the same week that Abu Ein spoke, three other Palestinian officials appeared on PA TV saying that Israel treats prisoners worse than the Nazis treated the Jews and others in concentration camps. This is a constant message conveyed by the PA: Palestinians are victims because Israel is like the Nazis.

Many other PA messages of demonization and victimhood are directed at the Palestinian people: "Israel is spreading AIDS and drugs" or "Israel is spreading prostitution and drugs" are typical.

Even classic anti-Semitism is expressed through official PA structures. The following examples are from articles in the weekly religious column of the official PA daily:

"The Jews talk in their conferences and in negotiations through their distorted, corrupted, false religion. The conflict between us and the Jews is not about land and borders, but about faith."

(Al-Hayat al-Jadida, June 3, 2011)

"In this lesson I wanted to talk about Cain and Abel—that's the first story on earth, whose victim was Abel, at the hands of his brother Cain—because this story shows a similarity to the Jews and their crimes...[who] followed in the footsteps of the first person on earth who threw off the yoke of Allah. Their [the Jews'] evil nature is drawn from Adam's first son [Cain who killed his brother Abel]."

#### (Al-Hayat al-Jadida, May 13, 2011)

"Zionism is an extreme religious ideology whose aim is political hegemony and the transformation of a Jewish monarchy in Palestine into a basis for their eternal rule over the world, [and] that others, 'goyim' [non-Jews], must submit to their will, [their rule] which is drawn from the will of God."

#### (Al-Hayat al-Jadida, May 15, 2011)

These PA messages are the essence of hate incitement: killing is inherent to the Jewish nature; Jews are a threat, not just to Palestinians but to all of humanity; Jews aspire to conquer the world; if the Jews have their way, the entire world will be victims.

Another example is the following video that appeared on official PA TV:



"The golden dome [of the mosque] shines with colors of the sky, with the white of clouds, while the joyous holiday [Eid al-Adha] is good to the residents. The light rain cleanses the steps of the foreigners [Jews] so that the feet [of Muslims] in prayer will not step on impurity."

(PA TV [Fatah], November 6, 2011)

The narrator of the program explained that the rain cleanses the streets of Jerusalem from "the foreigners." While this is said, PA TV shows religious Jews walking in the streets of Jerusalem. Through its official TV, the PA is telling its people that Jews walking around in Jerusalem create impurity, and the rain is needed to wash it away.

Even the youngest children are indoctrinated with hatred. On PA TV, a little girl was asked to recite the following poem referring to Jews and Christians as "inferior, cowardly, and despised":



PA TV host: "You are going to recite a poem, which also teaches us responsibility and belonging." Girl: "Where is my weapon? I found it—a stone. I took it and threw it at the enemies of destiny. I taught the world that the Muslim in the name of Allah cannot be defeated.... They challenge us with the White

House, and we challenge them with the [Islamic] awakening and the Kaaba [in Mecca]....

They [Christians and Jews] are inferior

and smaller, more cowardly, and despised. They are remnants of the [Christian] Crusaders and Khaybar [the Jewish village destroyed by Muslims in 629].... O Muslims of the world: awaken, you have slept too long.

Your fathers and your sons are being massacred, your Al-Aqsa [Mosque] is defiled and destroyed."

Host: "Bravo! Applause for our friend Lara."

(PA TV [Fatah], May 11 and June 2, 2012)

Two other PA TV programs included young children reciting a poem demonizing Israelis, with the verse, "Our enemy, Zion, is Satan with a tail." In both programs the children were praised for reciting the poem:



Host: "Lina, how did you participate in the exhibition [about teaching tools]?" Lina: "I recited a poem." Cohost: "Lina opened the exhibition." Lina: "When I was young, I was taught that Arabness is my honor... and that our lands extend from one end to the other, and that our wars were for the Al-Aqsa Mosque, and that our enemy, Zion, is Satan with a tail...."

(PA TV [Fatah], May 8, 2012)

Host: "Laila, what do you want to recite next?" Laila: "When I was young I was taught that Arabness is my honor... and that our lands extend from one end to the other...

and that our enemy, Zion, is Satan with a tail...."

(PA TV [Fatah], April 7, 2012)

PMW studies these and other children's statements to see if the hate messages transmitted by the PA leadership are repeated by Palestinian children. Sadly, the messages of demonization are common even among very young children. One such example was of children repeating the prominent PA libel that Israel killed Yasser Arafat. Three years consecutively, on the anniversary of Arafat's death, PA TV broadcast statements by children repeating and believing in the libel that the Jews killed him:



Ceremony host: "Blessings to Yasser Arafat, and here are messages from the children of Palestine."

Boy 1: "Yasser Arafat was a very, very important president.... All the Jews and the Israelis and the people who are against us, were afraid of him. When he died, he died from poisoning."

Girl 1: "I say that he died from poisoning by the Jews. That's what I say."

Girl 2: "The Jews poisoned him and I am what they deserve "

hate them very much. Allah will repay them what they deserve."

Boy 3: "They destroyed his whole house and he was left in one room and in the end the Jews poisoned him and blamed someone else."

Boy 4: "He died from poisoning by the Jews. Well, I don't know what he died from, but I know it was by the Jews."

(PA TV [Fatah], November 11, 2009, November 11, 2010, November 11, 2011)

The last statement, "I don't know what he died from, but I know it was by the Jews," is reminiscent of the situation of Jews in the Middle Ages. Demonization of the Jews was so prevalent that when people were afflicted by a plague, and no one knew why they were dying, all they needed was someone to claim that the Jews were poisoning the wells and the masses were willing to believe it. There had been so much demonization for so many years that people were convinced that if something bad happened, it must have been the Jews' fault. Ultimately, that is what this Palestinian boy is expressing. He has absorbed so much hatred of Jews that it is logical for him to conclude that the Jews must have been responsible for Arafat's death. This boy represents the tragic success of PA education of its children.



The first picture shown here is the international symbol encouraging people to dispose of garbage properly—a stick figure throwing waste in the bin. The second picture is the Palestinian version of this symbol. This second image is a poster that was placed on the wall of a Red Crescent office with other posters from a photography course. The figure was turned into a Palestinian, denoted by the Palestinian flag; the garbage being disposed of is the Star of David, representing Jews, Israel, or both; the text below the picture reads, "Keep your flag clean." How does a Palestinian keep his or her flag clean? By disposing of the Jews.

(PA TV [Fatah], July 23, 2010)

# THE "GLORY" OF VIOLENCE AND TERROR

The final PA commitment—to renounce violence—is also abrogated. The PA's glorification and support for violence and terror is built on its violation of the previous two commitments. If Palestinians can be convinced that Jews/Israelis stole their land and have no right to exist as a state, that Jews are poisoning them, and that Allah demands Jews be fought and killed, then mainstream Palestinians will support violence and glorify even suicide bombers who kill Israelis, including children.

Sometimes PA promotion of violence and terror is packaged as a religious requirement. At the same Fatah celebration mentioned above, PA mufti Muhammad Hussein, the highest religious authority in the PA, openly stated that the destiny of Muslims is to kill Jews, citing the hadith (Islamic tradition attributed to Muhammad) that says the Hour of Resurrection will not come until Muslims fight the Jews and kill them:

"47 years ago the [Fatah] revolution started. Which revolution? The modern revolution of the Palestinian people's history. In fact, Palestine in its entirety is a revolution, since [Caliph] Umar came [to conquer Jerusalem, 637 CE], and continuing today, and until the End of Days. The reliable hadith, [found] in the two reliable collections, Bukhari and Muslim, says:

'The Hour [of Resurrection] will not come until you fight the Jews. The Jew will hide behind stones or trees. Then the stones or trees will call: "O Muslim, servant of Allah, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him." Except the *gharqad* tree [which will keep silent].' Therefore it is no wonder that you see *gharqad* [trees] surrounding the [Israeli] settlements and colonies...."

(PA TV [Fatah], January 9, 2012)

In addition to the religious component, the PA promotes violence in many other ways. They produce music videos that glorify violence. Dancing with rifles to songs that glorify violence is a regular motif on PA TV. The PA does not openly say "Kill the Jews"; instead Palestinians dance with rifles, and the message comes across in a way that is acceptable because it is disguised as "culture."

At the same Fatah anniversary celebration cited previously with all the PA leaders, including Mahmoud Abbas sitting in the front row, a song was performed that defined Israel as a "snake's head" that must be fought against. This performance was broadcast three times on PA TV (September 4, 5, and October 17, 2011). The same hate song was also performed by another band five more times:



"O Palestinians, the revolution is certain,

with the rifle we will impose our new life.

O Palestinians, [the Zionist] shot you with the rifle,

the Zionists are killing your doves in your sacred area.

O Palestinians, I want to go and be with you.

Fire is in my hands, and with you [I will] attack the snake's head [Israel]."

(PA TV [Fatah], August 14, 2011, January 20, March 26, 27, and May 3, 2012)

The PA leaders are seen on TV clapping to words calling to attack the "snake's head"— Israel. Had they drawn an image of Israel as a snake's head that was attacked, it would be condemned. But in this case, even though the PA leadership applauded the hate speech, it was not condemned because it was packaged as music and culture.

One of the most significant ways that the PA promotes violence is by honoring and glorifying terrorists. Glorification of terror leads people, especially children, to conclude that if you kill Israelis you become a hero. Terror glorification exists in countless contexts, including sporting events. For years PMW has documented sports tournaments named after terrorists. As far back as 2003, a soccer tournament was named after Abdel Basset Udeh, the suicide bomber who murdered thirty-one Israelis at a Passover celebration. All the teams in that tournament were named after different terrorists, and the brother of the dead suicide bomber handed out the trophy. Similarly, PMW has documented many summer camps named for people like Wafa Idris, the first female suicide terrorist.

One particular terrorist, Dalal Mughrabi, became known internationally after PMW publicized that the PA chose to name a square in Ramallah after her. Dalal Mughrabi led the most lethal terror attack in Israeli history. Thirty-six Israeli civilians and one American were killed in her bus hijacking in 1978. She is one of the terrorists most often glorified by the PA. During the last three years, the following events were named after her: summer camps, football tournaments, high school graduation ceremonies, women's clubs at Palestinian universities called "Sisters of Dalal," computer centers, and more. Two schools are named after her as well. Her name appears everywhere in the PA and music videos and other broadcasts regularly mention her as a national hero.

Again, packaging is essential. If the PA said it was glorious to kill thirty-seven civilians, the West would furiously condemn the PA. Instead the PA names events and places after Mughrabi and the West's funding of the PA is not affected.

These are the words of one of the music videos broadcast on PA TV honoring her and her terror attack:



blood was shed.

"The coast was stormy with the glory of Dalal Mughrabi.

On the [Israeli] coast the heroes landed,

who shook the land, brought down mountains.

Dalal declared the birth of the [Palestinian] Republic,

the birth of the Republic."

(PA TV [Fatah], three times, most recently January 4, 2012)

Dalal Mughrabi is just one example. The PA honors all terrorists. Prisoners serving time in Israel are lauded as heroes, even those serving multiple life sentences for murder. Regardless of how many civilians they killed, the PA presents terrorists as role models for adults and youth.

This glorification of terrorists leads to terrible results. A poll conducted by the Pew Research Center in Washington asked Muslims in seven different countries if they agreed it was justified to use "suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilian targets" in order "to defend Islam." In the PA, 68 percent said suicide bombing against civilians was justified (70 percent in Gaza and 66 percent in the West Bank). The highest support among Muslims in the other countries polled was Lebanon—with a much lower 35 percent; in Egypt the figure was 28 percent; Indonesia, 10 percent; Pakistan, 4 percent.

The PA population's support for terror is a direct result of PA policy. Terror glorification is everywhere in the PA: in summer camps, at sporting events, and on TV. With suicide bombers honored and glorified as holy Islamic martyrs by the entire so-called moderate mainstream of Palestinian society, it is no surprise that 68 percent would think suicide bombings against civilians are justified.

By supporting terror through terror glorification while still telling international donors that the PA opposes terror, the PA achieves two things. First, the PA leaders escape criticism from their funders because the support for terror is camouflaged. Second, since honoring a terrorist is a clear message that the population understands, the PA constantly indoctrinates people to support and honor violence and terror.

# **ABROGATING PEACE**

All of this documentation is only a small representation of the widespread and tragically successful program of hate and terror promotion carried out by the PA. The PA has not fulfilled its fundamental obligations to be accepted as a participant in a peace process. The PA continues to violate its public commitments to (1) recognize Israel and its right to exist, (2) stop incitement to hatred, and (3) distance itself from violence and terror.

Even worse, on the societal level the Palestinian Authority has indoctrinated a generation of Palestinians to see Jews as the inherent source of evil, to see Israel as an illegal state that must be destroyed, and to see those who kill Israelis as heroes and icons.

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#### **ENDNOTES**

- 1 These examples are just a few among the many that can be seen at Palestinian Media Watch's website: www.palwatch.org.
- 2 *Al-Hayat al-Jadida*, January 20, 2011.