

UNRWA:
Overview and Policy Critique

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ABSTRACT

UNRWA – the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees – was founded as a humanitarian agency but has subordinated its role as a service provider to a political agenda.

It is the only UN agency in the world dedicated exclusively to one group of refugees and establishes its own unique and expansive standards. It defines as refugees hundreds of thousands, if not millions, who would be discounted by the UNHCR Refugee Convention’s international definition.

As the UNRWA mandate is predicated upon the notion of the “right of return” – a right that in fact does not exist within international law – it maintains a policy of keeping the refugees in a temporary situation until they can return to homes and villages in Israel left more than half a century ago (the vast majority of which no longer exist).

UNRWA will not work to find realistic solutions to the plight of the refugees and will not consider resettlement as an option. Instead, it reinforces the goal of return.

Palestinian Arab refugees and their descendants, who live in “limbo,” are deprived of basic human rights. Encouraged by UNRWA to see themselves as entitled to a “return” that will never happen, and promotes the idea they are being cheated.

As a result, they are filled with frustration and rage, and often turn to radicalism.

What is more, UNRWA schools use textbooks that deny the legitimacy of Israel and promote Jihad. Solid documentation exists for programming that promotes Hamas having been permitted in UNRWA-run schools in Gaza, and teachers who were union representatives in Gaza being associated with Hamas. Tens or even hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arab refugees and their descendants, most particularly in Gaza, have been educated in an environment that promotes radicalism and Jihadist attitudes.

UNRWA, therefore bears a measure of responsibility for the rise of Hamas in Gaza.

There are multiple instances in which a connection can be documented between terrorism and UNRWA camps – which have sometimes been centers for terrorist recruitment and manufacture and storage of weapons, UNRWA facilities and, in some instances, UNRWA employees.

UNRWA officials dissemble on these issues, claiming to have no responsibility for what is transpiring. They rarely even acknowledge the extent of the problem. The degree to which they turn a blind eye is suggestive of tacit approval if not complicity.

There is no UNRWA policy of denying a registered refugee relief because of an association with terrorism. Clearly, then, some UNRWA funds wind up in the hands of terrorists.

Further exacerbating the situation is the fact that the vast majority of the UNRWA staff is comprised of people who are themselves refugees and who often share the radical perspective of the refugee client population they serve.

In multiple contexts, UNRWA administrative staff exhibits a political orientation that is not consistent with the mandate of a humanitarian organization. The UNRWA Commissioner-General, for example, has inappropriately advocated international cooperation with Hamas. Frequently the political statements by the UNRWA Commissioner-General reflect a clear anti-Israel slant.

The UNRWA operation exhibits a host of anomalies and questionable practices that require closer examination.

There is an unusual measure of autonomy in the operation, and insufficient accountability.

Numbers served are exaggerated and there is dissembling with regard to the political, rather than humanitarian, nature of the record-keeping process. Those putative refugees eligible for services elsewhere remain eligible, as well, for UNRWA services.

The major funding of UNRWA is done not by Arab states but by Western nations: First the US and then the European Commission. Canada plays a special role in convening the donor nations to allocate funds to UNRWA, in its capacity as the gavel holder of the RWG, the Refugee Working Group that was established at the Madrid Middle East Summit in October 1991.

Ultimately, there will be no resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli crisis, and no genuine cessation of violence, until the refugee issue is resolved.

It is time for the concerned international community to hold UNRWA accountable. The involvement of major UNRWA funders is key to UNRWA accountability..

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PREFACE

UNRWA – the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, the agency responsible for the care of the Palestinian refugees – has for too long been seen as a benign and sacrosanct force that works simply to better the lot of unfortunate refugees who are caught in a maelstrom not of their making.

Where there is an honest desire now within the international community to work to improve the situation in the Middle East, it must be accompanied by a consideration of the critical, indeed seminal, role of UNRWA in precipitating and supporting the current crisis.

This paper presents relevant information in a clear and well documented format. It can be of inestimable value in formulating new understandings of the situation. Policy critiques that are included can assist decision-makers in structuring a new paradigm for dealing with the Middle East crisis.

There will be no easy solution to the current problems, and the formulation of that new paradigm will require time and determination. However, while the observation that “even a trip of a thousand miles begins with the first step” may have become something of a truism, it conveys wisdom none-the-less. It is time for the international community to put its collective foot forward on a new and more constructive path.

GENESIS OF UNRWA

UNRWA, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, was established by United Nations General Assembly Resolution 302 (IV) of 8 December 1949, to “carry out...direct relief and works programs” for Palestinian refugees.

The creation of UNRWA was a response to the plight of hundreds of thousands of Arabs – the numbers vary, according to source, from less than 500,00 to 750,000 or more¹ – who fled their homes and villages in the course of the war fought in 1948-49 after a newly established Israel was attacked by surrounding Arab nations, under the leadership of the Arab League whose purpose was to eradicate the nascent Jewish state.²

The Arab League, which had so recently lost the 1948 war with Israel, now sought to place on Israel the burden of responsibility for the refugee situation and was very much involved in shaping the mandate of the new agency.

A PLO document on the refugees explains: “In order to keep the refugee issue alive and prevent Israel from evading responsibility for their plight, Arab countries – with the notable exception of Jordan – have usually sought to preserve a Palestinian identity by maintaining the Palestinians’ status as refugees.”³

In other words, as a matter of deliberate policy, most Arab nations have declined to absorb refugees or give them citizenship, and have instead focused on their right to “return” to Israel.

The agency began operations on 1 May 1950; it was anticipated that, as the refugee problem would be resolved, it would have a limited duration.

UNHCR

Eight months after UNRWA began operations, on 14 December 1950, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was established by the United Nations General Assembly.

UNRWA was not folded into this new agency, in large part because of the pressure of Arab nations. According to an explanation on the UNHCR website,⁴ Arab states “feared that the non-political character of the work envisioned for the nascent UNHCR was not compatible with the highly politicized nature of the Palestinian question.”

On 28 July 1951, a UN conference approved the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which has become the preeminent legal document regarding the status of refugees, their rights, and the obligations of states towards them. With the addition of a

1967 Protocol, the Convention was established as the international standard pertaining to refugees worldwide.⁵

While UNHCR operates within its parameters, the UNHCR Convention on the Status and Rights of Refugees simply does *not* apply to the Palestinian refugees.

UNRWA OPERATIONAL DATA

UNRWA – which was conceptualized as a temporary agency when it was founded – has evolved into a permanent fixture in the Middle East, with a considerable bureaucracy and major infrastructure: One the biggest employers in the region, it maintains schools and clinics, and provides a host of social services, special programs and emergency benefits.

Its mandate from the UN General Assembly does not run indefinitely, but rather requires renewal on a regular (three-year) basis. The present mandate runs to 30 June 2011.

Most UN agencies have been established via treaty or convention. UNRWA is one of the few established directly as operational agencies, incorporated under Article 22 of the United Nations Charter. Explains an UNRWA publication, “[UNRWA performs] specific tasks of a governmental character”...and “therefore has a highly developed administrative autonomy..”⁶ This high degree of functional autonomy is of considerable significance.

Karen AbuZayd currently serves as Commissioner-General, having replaced Peter Hansen in the spring of 2005. Filippo Grandi serves as Deputy Commissioner-General.

UNRWA maintains a staff of over 24,300, fewer than 100 of whom are “internationals” serving in administrative posts. The vast majority of the Palestinian Arabs who comprise the staff are themselves registered with UNRWA as refugees.

UNRWA headquarters are located in both Gaza and Amman, Jordan. However, following the Hamas take-over of Gaza, the office for administrative headquarters ceased functioning there (more on this follows).

There are also field offices in each of the regions where UNRWA operates: Judea and Samaria (with their field office in Jerusalem); Gaza; Jordan; Lebanon and Syria.

UNRWA currently has 4.6 million refugees registered under its jurisdiction..

FINANCES

Unlike the UN and its specialized agencies, UNRWA has no system of assessed contributions by member states. Its operations have been financed almost entirely by voluntary contributions.

Over the years this funding has emanated from 116 governments and from the European Commission. In absolute sums, the US is the largest contributor (providing some 30% of funding) and the European Commission is second largest. Following these are major donors Sweden, Norway, the UK and the Netherlands. Canada – which donates generously relative to population size – has been mandated to play a crucial role in assisting with the raising of funds: It permanently holds the gavel for the Refugee Working Group, a multilateral group that is an outgrowth of the 1991 Madrid process.

The Arab states have contributed minimally – in 2000, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other Gulf Emirates collectively contributed just over 2%, while Egypt, Iraq and Syria contributed nothing.

4-5% of budget, which covers the international staff, is provided by the UN.

Implications of this funding picture are significant:

While it is presumed that Arab states have the greatest control over UNRWA policy, the reality is that, by virtue of the degree to which they support UNRWA, Western nations have that potential.

UNRWA's regular budget for 2008 is \$541.8 million. As has been the case in recent years, a shortfall is expected – in this case, close to \$30 million.

In addition to its regular operations budget, UNRWA funds special projects and, since September 2000, has run a series of emergency campaigns. For 2008, \$263.4 million is being sought for the emergency campaign.

UNRWA provides for Palestinian Arab refugees at a level that exceeds UN assistance for all other refugees worldwide. While these refugees constitute about 14% of the world's refugee population, the UNRWA budget is considerably more than 40% of what is allocated by the UN (via the High Commission of Refugees) for all these other refugees.⁷

This can be explained via the difference in operating procedures and policies of the two agencies. UNHCR attempts to move people beyond the status of refugee quickly and wherever possible secures the services of local NGOs and countries where refugees are

situated. UNRWA, which itself provides a whole gamut of services to its charges, has established what amounts to a permanent bureaucracy complete with an infrastructure of schools and clinics, with medical and educational personnel on the UNRWA payroll.

UNHCR retains a staff of 6,300 people to attend to 32.9 million refugees. UNRWA retains 27,000 employees to handle 4.6 million refugees under its aegis..

UNRWA education is considered superior to what is available to other Palestinians, and the refugees are among the best educated of the Palestinian Arabs. UNRWA provides health care, which is often lacking within the general population, and a support system that includes both cash allotments and foodstuffs for those who are in a situation of hardship. In fact, the UNRWA population is the only Arab population in the world with reliable health, education, and welfare benefits.

DEFINING "REFUGEE"

The original resolution that established UNRWA did not provide a definition of "refugee" – it evolved within the agency. The definition currently utilized by UNRWA, set into place in 1994, asserts that Palestinian refugees are:

"persons whose normal place of residence was Palestine between June 1946 and May 1948, who lost both their homes and means of livelihood as a result of the 1948 Arab-Israeli conflict" and their descendants...

This is a definition with uniquely broad criteria applied to no other refugees:

- 1) The 1951 UN Convention defines as a refugee the individual who, "...owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted ... is outside his country of nationality ...or former habitual residence..."

UNRWA – moving beyond the concept of "habitual residence" – includes within its definition all those who had lived in the region for as little as *two years*, even if they were transients or migrant workers.

UNRWA makes no mention of "well-founded fear of persecution." Included in its definition are those who may have fled during the war for a host of reasons, including instructions from Arab leaders.⁸

- 2) The 1951 UN Convention makes no mention of descendants.

In a position without precedent, UNRWA's definition includes descendants (through patrilineal descent), rendering the status of refugee one that can be applied in perpetuity.

- 3) The 1951 UN Convention exempts from refugee status a person who "has acquired a new nationality, and enjoys the protection of the country of his new nationality."

The UNRWA definition makes no mention of newly acquired nationality. Those who have such nationality (e.g., Palestinian refugees living in Jordan and possessing full Jordanian citizenship) are still classified as refugees.

UNRWA ROLLS

UNRWA maintains extensive rolls of those registered with the agency. Registration of primary refugee family units was presumably done at the time of UNRWA's founding, with additional family members added across the generations. However, the situation is actually far more complex than this, and is in some aspects problematic.

Inflated numbers

There is convincing evidence that the number of refugees registered was inflated⁹ through misrepresentation by registrants.

UNRWA itself recognized the problem of false registrants very early, and in some instances it would seem that representatives of the agency were conscious of the fact that they were accepting such registrants.¹⁰

Political Dimension

UNRWA's position is that the number of registered refugees is not intended to be exhaustive from the perspective of political status. It maintains that the number is "operational," encompassing those to be assisted by UNRWA by virtue of need and residence within the specific geographic area in which the agency operates.

The original definition of refugee – which included the phrase, "took refuge in 1948 in one of the countries where UNRWA provides relief" – was in line with this policy.

However, in 1994, this phrase was dropped, and Palestinians living in distant locales, who were previously disqualified, became eligible for registration on the UNRWA rolls.

According to Ingrid Bassner Jaradat, Director of the Palestinian organization BADIL—Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, this change was implemented with the expectation that UNRWA's registration would one day serve as a major resource for determining refugee status.¹¹

UNRWA's criteria for registration are independent of stipulation of need, as well. UNRWA – which identifies itself as a humanitarian agency – does not maintain on its registry only those refugees who have need. All those identified as refugees were registered, and are eligible for basic UNRWA services; emergency relief is provided to some.¹²

THE CAMPS

Breakdown by Area

Of the 4.6 million registered refugees, 1.3 million live in 58 refugee camps in: Gaza [8]; Judea and Samaria – the West Bank [19]; Syria [9]; Lebanon [12]; Jordan [10].

The great majority of those registered refugees who are not actually in the camps live in the environs of the camps and are entitled to UNRWA services available in the camps; the camps have continued to be the center of refugee life for them.

Definition

A “camp” is defined by UNRWA as “a plot of land placed at the disposal of UNRWA by the host governments for accommodating Palestine refugees and for setting up facilities to cater to their needs.” (Plots of land for camps in the Judea and Samaria, and Gaza were originally allocated by Jordan and Egypt respectively.)

Conditions

UNRWA camps are not tent cities. Conditions vary, but in the main the camps suggest shabby urban neighborhoods with two-and three-story stone-block houses. While they are often rundown and overcrowded, the homes do in the main provide electricity, running water, phone lines and – in most of the camps, some in Gaza being the key exceptions – sewage; many have modern appliances. In some instances improvements have been done – utilizing international donations – so that the quality of housing is higher.¹³ There are, as well, facilities within the camps that house a variety of services: schools, clinics, community centers, etc.

According to an official UNRWA report, “several camps contain large numbers of people who are...(not) registered refugees...The camps built on the outskirts of cities have tended, with the passing of time, to merge with these cities and become indistinguishable parts of them.”¹⁴ In 2003 it was reported that 50% to 75% of the residents of the Shu’fat camp are not refugees.¹⁵

UNRWA Responsibilities

UNRWA’s position with regard to its responsibilities has shifted over time with shifting political circumstances. To absolve itself of responsibility for terrorist-related activity within the camps, UNRWA now claims to be a provider only of services. Even if that were the case, UNRWA would still be responsible for schools, clinics and other facilities where services are offered.

It should be noted, however, that the camps themselves are carefully defined in UNRWA records according to exact location and number of dunim.

The residential buildings within the camps were constructed by UNRWA, which then allowed refugees to reside in them rent-free and granted permits for them to do added construction over the years.¹⁶ In an interview in 1991, Sandro Tucci, then head of

UNRWA's Public Information Office, was asked about who inherits a home in a refugee camp when the father of the family living there dies. Tucci answered, "This is not his property, *it's our property*."¹⁷

MANDATE AND POLICY

Exclusivity

UNRWA is the *only* UN organization dedicated exclusively to one group of refugees. UNHCR is charged with working on behalf of all the world's refugees, other than those who fall under the UNRWA mandate.

Failure to resolve refugee problems

UNHCR is mandated to "promote solutions" to refugee problems; its mandate recognizes that among these solutions is striving "to ensure that everyone can exercise the right to seek asylum and find safe refuge in another state."

UNRWA provides only humanitarian aid (education, health care, welfare assistance, social services) and has by policy absented itself from involvement in any creative resolution of the Palestinian refugee problem.

The heart of the matter: "Right of Return"

Within the context of UNRWA, there is only one solution to the Palestinian refugee problem: "return" to Israel. Neither permanent settlement in the country where he or she resides now nor resettlement in a third country, even with full citizenship, is considered sufficient to relieve an individual of the status of "refugee."

That "right" to return is predicated upon UN General Assembly Resolution 194, paragraph 11, which states in its lead sentence that "the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbors should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date..."

However, a serious examination of this sentence and its broader context exposes the fatal weaknesses inherent in advancing it as the legal basis for "return":

- The UN General Assembly is not a legislative body and its resolutions do not have the status of international law. Its resolutions are only recommendations and as such are not binding. (Only certain categories of Security Council resolutions are binding.) It is a fundamental miscalculation to rely upon a resolution of the UN General Assembly to establish a legal "right."¹⁸

- The issue of whether Palestinian refugees would truly “live in peace” with their Israeli neighbors is not addressed. On the face of it, it is evident that this would not be the case.

Almost 60 years ago, in 1949, the Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Muhammad Saleh Ed-Din, wrote, “Let it therefore be known and appreciated that, in demanding the restoration of the refugees to Palestine, the Arabs intend that they shall return as the masters of the homeland, and not as slaves. More explicitly, they intend to annihilate the state of Israel.”¹⁹

All the more so would this be true today, as a solid percentage of the refugees is affiliated with Hamas or other terrorists groups or supportive of their positions, including the destruction of Israel.

- One sentence has been lifted out of context, in a manner that distorts the true intent of the resolution:

The full UN Resolution 194 included a call for the formation of a Conciliation Commission and attempted to seek an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict in its entirety. A careful reading of the full paragraph 11 makes it clear that it was not proposing an unconditional “right of return” – after the allusion to return, there is an instruction to the Conciliation Commission to facilitate a number of remedies, *including resettlement*.

That the General Assembly saw resettlement as an option is made even clearer when other GA resolutions of the same time period are examined.²⁰

- In fact, GA Resolution 394 of 14 December 1950 called upon, “the Governments concerned to undertake measures to ensure that refugees, whether repatriated or resettled, will be treated without any discrimination...” But this is totally ignored by the international community with regard to the discriminatory policies of most Arab countries, which refuse to absorb Palestinians refugees living within their borders.

While it was passed by the General Assembly before the 1948 war was over, all of the Arab states voted against it because of its implicit recognition of Israel. It was only later that they returned to it, exclusively for the purpose of drawing on paragraph 11 – which they claimed established a right of return – for the UNRWA mandate.

What we see, then, is that the legal fiction of the “inalienable right of return,” has been built upon a UN General Assembly recommendation and used to provide an ideological basis for UNRWA’s mandate. The fostering of this ostensible “right” has actually been responsible for much human suffering and for a curtailment of the human rights of the refugees and their descendants.

APPLICATION OF UNRWA POLICY IN THE FIELD

Promoting the Agenda

Over a span of 60 years now, focus within the UNRWA operation has been on the places from which the refugees had come – with the understanding that they have the right to, and ultimately will, return to these same places.

When families originally registered with UNRWA, a card was filled out assigning them a registration number that included a five-digit code of origin in “pre-1948 Palestine.” As a report on UNRWA by Badil describes it, “the village structure, as it existed prior to the 1948 war, has thus been preserved by virtue of the registration system.”²¹ This goes to the very core of UNRWA policy.

UNRWA camps were originally set up according to villages of origin. In most cases, a majority of the people who were from a particular village came together to live in one camp; areas of the camps and even roads were named after villages. And so, even now, everyone in the camps, down to the third and fourth generation, is expected to know exactly where he or she came from.

And that awareness is constantly reinforced with a variety of programs:

In the summer of 2000, BBC followed busloads of Palestinian Arab refugees and their descendents who were brought from the refugee camp in Dheisheh to see the homes they left in Jerusalem in 1948. The BBC report indicated that the “right of return” tours had been going on throughout the summer, with the cooperation of UNRWA.²²

About a year later, a Palestinian group, the Higher Committee for the Return of Refugees, was permitted by UNRWA to come into their schools in order to sharpen the awareness of the students regarding the “predicament of refugees.” The program concentrated on introducing students to the issue of refugees and “bolstering their sense of belonging to the homeland.”

The Committee put together notebooks for children that included in the personal information box “a line reserved for the hometown (sic) of the student.”²³ The “homeland” referred to here very clearly is Israel within the area held by Israel until 1967, while the “hometowns” are the original Arabs villages left behind in 1948, which have been replaced by Israeli cities and farms — places where these students have never been.

Maintaining the Status Quo

The UNRWA focus on “right of return” has consistently led to practices that work against the best interests of the refugees themselves.

In 1997, Badil released a report from the UNRWA camp of Balata in Nablus. It reflected a concern with development programs in the camps and how they impact return. Dr. Musallam Abu Hilu of Jerusalem Open University speculated “it may well be that development programs have an adverse effect on the refugees' demand for return; such programs might lead to gradual and unconscious refugee integration and resettlement.”²⁴

Emphasis was not on the well-being of the human beings who are residents in the camp; the focus was on the correlation between assistance to the refugees and their demand for return. Return is the priority. Amelioration of adverse living conditions is seen as a negative process if it retards or lessens the desire on the part of the refugees to go back to original homes and villages (which no longer exist).

This approach has been commonplace since the early years of UNRWA. Eight years after the agency was founded, Ralph Galloway, former UNRWA director, explained what was happening:

“The Arab states do not want to solve the refugee problem. They want to keep it as an open sore... and as a weapon against Israel. Arab leaders don't give a damn whether the refugees live or die.”²⁵

Dr. Eli Lasch, who was head of medical services in Gaza for Israel's Civil Administration until 1985, has revealed that his professional attempts to assist the refugees with improved medical facilities and services were thwarted by UNRWA; they maintained that the refugees' current situation was supposed to be temporary and there was no need to invest energy or expense in making improvements.²⁶

Dr. Lasch reports²⁷ that after Israel assumed administrative control of Gaza, a Department for the Rehabilitation of the Refugees was established, which set about resettling “thousands of refugees.” “Israel prepared the infrastructure and paid for the building of a small house,” which the refugees frequently enlarged. All that was required of them “was to destroy the shack they had been living in. UNRWA was very upset and threatened they would lose their rights as refugees.”

In 1985, when Israel attempted to move refugees into permanent housing that had been constructed with support from the Catholic Relief Agency, the UN officially intervened. A General Assembly resolution²⁸ was passed that forbade Israel from moving refugees out of their temporary shelters, since this would violate their “inalienable right of return” to the homes that they left in 1948. The 1,300 homes built on a hill near Nablus were still standing at least seven years later.²⁹

While purportedly protecting the very dubious “right” of return, UNRWA infringed upon the human rights of the refugees with actions such as these; no human rights organization has ever investigated the situation or seen fit to criticize UNRWA for maintaining a policy that restricted the free movement of the refugees.

It was after the Oslo accords in 1993 – when expectation loomed large that a Palestinian state was in the making – that the greatest disconnect from reality was revealed in UNRWA policy. The political landscape had changed radically since 1950. But the mandate and the political vision of UNRWA did not adapt. *UNRWA has consistently refused to encourage the refugees to see their future as lying with a Palestinian political entity.*

UNRWA Educational System

UNRWA runs one of the larger educational systems in the Arab world – providing schooling for the children of families registered as refugees. It spends roughly half its budget on education; more than 70% of its staff is concerned with education. Yet UNRWA does not produce its own textbooks. It is stated UNRWA policy to utilize the textbooks of the host (administrative authority) of an area where a camp is located. In Judea and Samaria, and Gaza, Palestinian Authority texts are used.

The Committee for Monitoring the Impact of Peace (now known as IMPACT)), using UNESCO guidelines, did a thorough analysis of these books. Findings – which can be seen in their entirety at <http://www.impact-se.org/> – included the following:

- Israel's name does not appear on any of the maps, and several Israeli cities, as well as an archaeological site, a region and mountain are defined as Palestinian.
- Jerusalem is presented as a Palestinian city.
- Peace is not mentioned at all, while war against Israel as a usurper, occupier and aggressor is implicitly encouraged.
- The refugee issue is also mentioned within the context of the destined return to the 1948 homes.
- There is praise of and encouragement for the waging of Jihad – Holy War.
- Jews and Israelis are represented as being cunning and deceitful.

None of this should be minimized in terms of the effect on generations of young Palestinian Arab refugees regarding their expectations, their attitudes towards Israel, and their willingness to resort to violence.

EFFECT OF POLICY ON THE REFUGEES

Statelessness

With the exception of many of those in Jordan,³⁰ the Palestinian refugees registered by UNRWA are without the benefit of citizenship. While in possession of a variety of identity papers within a very complex international setting³¹ they are for all intents and purposes stateless.

Refugee Perceptions and Attitudes

The evidence is that the attitude currently expressed by the refugees in the camps does not reflect an *innate predisposition* to return now, after 60 years, to where they or their grandparents had come from, so much as it reflects persistent schooling in the camps over generations, by UNRWA, in terms of what their rights are and what they should expect.

They perceive any procedure that appears to be directed towards keeping them where they are as a violation of their rights.

Early reports indicate a tendency on the part of refugees to be quickly assimilated *where they were*.³² The current record reflects this process. Only one-third of UNRWA registered refugees are in the camps; the two-thirds not in the camps opted, and were able at some level, to assimilate within the host societies.

A statement made by Karen AbuZayd, as UNRWA's Deputy Commissioner-General, to *The Jerusalem Report* attests to this: "if local resettlement basically means becoming self-sufficient...then the majority of Palestinian refugees would fall in that category."³³

And Peter Hansen, when Commissioner-General, acknowledged that many of the refugees have achieved "relative prosperity as respected figures in civil society wherever they reside."³⁴

However, we also see strong indications that UNRWA's message has been thoroughly absorbed.

Thus it was that in 1997, at the Jelazoun UNRWA camp near Ramallah, resident Ali Shereka was able to complain to a *Washington Jewish Week* correspondent about the camp's dire conditions – the overcrowding and the filth – and then add, "By being in the camps, we show people outside the country that we are not living free and not living in peace."

Iyad Qadi, also a Jelazoun UNRWA camp resident, reinforced this notion for the record: "We are living in misery. Palestinians strengthen their claim to a right of return by staying in the camps. The refugees' main concern is to show the whole world that they are still living in the camps, that their situation is very terrible."³⁵

Such stories abound. What is more, there is strong indication that instances of violence by the refugees have been fueled by the fear that their rights were going to be abrogated or denied.

The first Intifada, in December 1987, broke out in the UNRWA refugee camps. There was, at that time, "a widely circulated opinion within the Israeli Intelligence community"

that this came about as a result of plans by Israel to do a massive overhaul and improvement of camp conditions. Camp residents, it is said, resisted the anticipated renovations, fearing that the Israeli government was making plans to “exile them once again.”³⁶

A population of millions of Palestinians registered by UNRWA and self-identified as refugees has been rendered dependent both psychologically and socially on a status that was supposed to have been temporary.

Imbued with a promise that has not been realized, shunted aside, caught in the misery of squalid surroundings, the refugees in the camps are filled with frustration, with despair, and with rage. In an enormous anomaly, they are discouraged from seeing a Palestinian state-in-the-making as theirs – they are set apart. But the UNRWA policy of “right of return” has proved to be no solution at all for them.

False expectations, repeatedly dashed, have led to a desire on the part of the refugees to take matters into their own hands.

The situation has fomented radicalism and terrorism within this population.

TERRORIST PRESENCE IN THE UNRWA CAMPS

In the Camps

More than 25 years ago, the Lebanese ambassador to the UN, Edward Ghorra, had reported that UNRWA camps in Lebanon had been taken over by terrorist organizations.

In October of 1982, UNRWA formally acknowledged the presence of PLO armed forces in the camps. A comprehensive report, released by UNRWA, related in great detail that its educational institute at Siblian, near Beirut, was in reality a military training base for PLO fighters, with extensive military installations and arms warehouses.³⁷

This pattern has been repeated in recent years in Judea and Samaria, and Gaza. But for a long time little attention was devoted to the situation, as it was being reported.

David Bedein delivered warnings that “the Palestinian Liberation Army has... established bases in each of the UNRWA...refugee camps...”³⁸

In the summer of 2000, it was public knowledge that UNRWA was allowing 25,000 Palestinian Arab youngsters to use their schools as military training camps; children, ages 8 to 16, were trained in the art of preparing Molotov cocktails, roadside bombs and throwing stones during military confrontations with IDF troops.³⁹

But there was no outcry following these various revelations. It was the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) incursions into the camps, starting with sweeps of UNRWA facilities in

Operation Defensive Shield in the spring of 2002 – in response to an unprecedented wave of terrorism – that shed a harsh spotlight on the camps and raised hard questions that for too long had been ignored.

What then became clear is that UNRWA camps were riddled with small-arms factories, explosives laboratories, and suicide-bombing cells.⁴⁰

No camp was more in the spotlight during this time than the UNRWA camp of Jenin, where a major IDF operation in early April 2002 met with strong resistance from terrorists located there.

Israeli Deputy Prime Minister Natan Sharansky, in a formal government briefing in Jerusalem on 19 April 2002, described what had gone on:

“...Jenin and the refugee camp of Jenin were the heart of the terror activities. Dozens of suicide bombers were sent from that relatively small place. It had more explosive materials, *this small area of the Jenin refugee camp*, than most of the big cities of Judea and Samaria. Definitely, it *had the highest concentration of explosive materials in this area, if not in the world*. (emphasis added)⁴¹

The IDF ran on their website this report to the head of the Tanzim, an armed wing of Fatah:

"[Jenin refugee camp] is characterized by an exceptional presence of fighters who take the initiative [on behalf of] nationalist activities. Nothing can beat them; nothing bothers them; they are ready for self-sacrifice by any means. It is not surprising that *Jenin [refugee camp has been termed] the suiciders' capital*" [*A'simat Al-Istashidin*, in Arabic]. (emphasis added)

— Fatah Jenin branch report to Marwan Barghouti, September 25, 2001⁴²

“Bomb-making, indoctrination, recruiting, and dispatching of suicide bombers all are centered in the camps,” said Alan Baker, speaking in 2002 as the chief counsel of the Israeli Foreign Ministry.⁴³

In more recent years, UNRWA refugee camps in Gaza have been strongly associated with the stockpiling and manufacture of rockets, as well as the launching into Israel of these weapons.

The UNRWA refugee camp of Jabalya in northern Gaza has been a particular focus of attention as a site where terrorist operatives can be found, but it is hardly the only site. (See Appendix I for information on terrorism in these camps.)

In Judea and Samaria, the IDF controls terrorism against Israel via regular forays – most at night – into the UNRWA refugee camps.⁴⁴ In some instances more substantial actions are undertaken. A September 2007 case in point was the closing off of all gates to an UNRWA camp outside of Nablus with the IDF entering the area ‘in order to prevent the execution of... a terrorist attack.’⁴⁵ In November 2007, the IDF uncovered materials used to make explosive devices at the hideout of a wanted suspect in UNRWA’s Balata camp⁴⁶

In many instances the camps are controlled exclusively by Fatah gunmen and consistently off limits to PA security.⁴⁷

Even when the militants of the UNRWA camps in Judea and Samaria remain a law unto themselves, except for IDF intervention, UNRWA remains notably silent with regard to this situation.

UNRWA’s Defense of the Situation

UNRWA administrators have mounted various defenses with regard to terrorist activity in the camps:

They’ve said they are not aware of such activity. Karen AbuZayd, for example, when functioning as Deputy Commissioner-General, declared, “We just don’t see anything like this. These things are not visible to us.”⁴⁸

It is inconceivable that the camps could become centers of terrorist activities without the knowledge of UNRWA personnel at the highest levels. The denials lead to well-founded speculation of complicity. At best, this means turning a blind eye and preferring not to know, at worst, it implies tacit consent.

They’ve also made the claim that terrorists from outside the camps force their way in, but that this has nothing to do with the residents of the camps or the camp operation.

However – while this certainly may happen on occasion – a close examination of the number of incidents in which camp *residents* have been involved means that this is not a satisfactory explanation. What is more, the sort of wholesale terrorist operation that went on in places such as the Jenin UNRWA camp could not have happened without the knowledge of UNRWA personnel and the tacit approval of UNRWA camp residents. Nor would recruitment be done inside UNRWA camps if not for the UNRWA camp residents’ widespread support for radical Jihadists.

At the end of the day UNRWA involvement in terrorism is incontrovertible because of terrorist connection to its *schools* and other facilities, and the connection of *UNRWA employees themselves* to terrorism.

Terrorist Connections to UNRWA Schools

From 1990, well before the Hamas electoral victory and the subsequent Hamas take-over of Gaza, candidates representing the Islamic Bloc, formally affiliated with Hamas, won elections as representatives of the teachers' section of the UNRWA union in Gaza. By 2003 the Islamic Bloc had gained all seats, making it possible for the Hamas candidates to fully constitute the executive committee of this section of the union.⁴⁹

The Islamic Bloc is ideologically connected to Hamas and refers to itself as a "Jihad" organization. Dedicated to the "Islamization" of the Palestinian issue and the necessity of liberating all of the land of Palestine, it has been charged by Hamas with *furthering the goal of Hamas within the schools*.⁵⁰ Its intention in working with schools has been explicitly *to prepare the next generation for the liberation of Palestine*.⁵¹

The Islamic Bloc has run programs directly in UNRWA schools. (See Appendix II for some examples.)

In 1997, the *Washington Jewish Week* ran photographs of UNRWA schools decorated with Hamas and PFLP [Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine] graffiti and with a map of a Palestine that ran from the Jordan to the Mediterranean, covered with pictures of machine guns.⁵²

Similarly, the *Boston Globe*, in 2002, carried information about a boys' elementary school in the UNRWA Beach Camp, where "posters glorifying suicide bombers...festoon the outer walls [while] posters in the corridor lionize Sultan Abdul Hamid bin Abdul Maggid, who told Zionism's founder, Theodore Herzl, that 'if you pay me the world in gold . . . I will not accept you in Palestine because I am serving God, the Islamic nation, the nation of Mohammed.'" ⁵³

Evidence of other Hamas programming in UNRWA schools was described in 2003 on the website⁵⁴ of the Prime Minister of Israel (emphasis added):

"On July 6th 2001 the Hamas movement convened a conference in a school in the Jabalya refugee camp with the participation of the Palestinian Legislative Council, the school's administration, teachers and hundreds of students.

"The Hamas leader Ahmed Yassin presented his ideological doctrine to the junior high school students and said (according to the Hamas Internet site), 'This is the generation of liberation and victory...the Zionist enemy wants to overpower us and make us give up Palestine, Acre, Haifa, Jerusalem and the Al Aqsa mosque, but this will not happen.'

"In a speech to the audience, Saheil Alhinadi, *representing the teaching sector on behalf of UNRWA*, praised Hamas student activists who carried out suicide attacks against Israel in recent months, emphasizing that, 'The road to Palestine passes through the blood of the fallen, and these fallen have written history with parts of their flesh and their bodies.'"

There has also been Islamic Jihad involvement in the UNRWA schools, as evidenced by this information from the official website⁵⁵ of the student organization of Islamic Jihad:

“In the spring of 2002, *UNRWA employees, mental health staff of an UNRWA school in the Jenin refugee camp*, gathered children in their schoolyard for ceremonies honoring the memory of Mahmud Tavalba, who had been head of the Jerusalem Brigade of Islamic Jihad and was killed by the IDF in 2002. All the children were given his picture, and all voices called out in his honor. The land shook from the marching feet of the students: “Be strong,” they cried. “We are your soldiers, our camp is one great lit torch.””

The students attending UNRWA schools, exposed to the influences described above, have been encouraged to embrace a radical, Jihadist orientation – in particular in connection with Hamas – and to venerate the values of violence against Israel and “martyrdom.” Tens, indeed hundreds, of thousands have been thus educated.

UNRWA, then, bears a measure of responsibility for the rise of Hamas in Gaza. In Gaza, where there is a higher percentage of refugees and thus of people who were educated in UNRWA schools, the population is more radical than it is in Judea and Samaria.

Involvement in Terrorism of UNRWA Employees and Facilities

It was in 2002 that significant evidence of UNRWA employee involvement with terrorist groups began to surface.

In interview, IDF Colonel (ret.) Yoni Fighel, a former military governor in the territories, observed that, “As long as UNRWA employees are members of Fatah, Hamas, or PFLP, they are going to pursue the interests of their party within the framework of their job... Who’s going to check up on them to see that they don’t? UNRWA? They are UNRWA.”⁵⁶

This means that youngsters were – and are – educated to an Islamist ideology under the very nose of UNRWA.

Unquestionably the most famous (infamous) of teachers who taught in the UNRWA schools in Gaza is Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, founder of Hamas (mentioned above), who worked as a teacher from 1967 to 1984.⁵⁷

Yet another well known Hamas leader, Saeed Siam⁵⁸, taught in UNRWA schools in Gaza. A teacher from 1980 to 2003, he was active in the UNRWA union, heading the Teachers Sector Committee for seven years.⁵⁹

Dr. Dore Gold, former Israel Ambassador to the UN, was in Jenin in April 2002 and himself witnessed the presence of *shahid* (martyr) posters on the walls in the homes of

UNRWA workers. “It was clear,” he says, “that UNRWA workers were doubling as Hamas agents.”⁶⁰

A special intelligence report,⁶¹ released in December 2002, provided considerable information with regard to UNRWA employee involvement with terrorism, as well as utilization of UNRWA facilities for terrorist purposes:

- A number of wanted terrorists were found hiding inside schools run by UNRWA.
- A large number of youth clubs operated by UNRWA in the refugee camps were discovered to be meeting places for terrorists. For example, the UNRWA youth club at the Jabalaya refugee camp was a gathering place for Tanzim activists.
- In the al-Arub refugee camp near Hebron, an official bureau of the Tanzim was established inside a building owned by UNRWA.
- Ala’a Muhammad Ali Hassan, a Tanzim “activist” from Nablus, who was arrested in February 2002, confessed that *he had carried out a sniper shooting from the school run by UNRWA in the al-Ayn refugee camp near Nablus. He also told his interrogators that bombs intended for terrorist attacks were being manufactured inside that school’s facilities.*
- Nidal Abd al-Fattah Abdallah Nazzal, a Hamas activist from Kalkilya, was arrested in August 2002. Nidal, *an ambulance driver employed by UNRWA*, confessed during his interrogation that *he had transported weapons and explosives in an UNRWA ambulance to terrorists*, and that he had taken advantage of the freedom of movement he enjoyed to transmit messages among Hamas activists in various Palestinian towns.
- Nahd Rashid Ahmad Atallah, *a senior official of UNRWA in the Gaza Strip* who was in charge of distributing financial aid to the refugees, was arrested in August 2002. He told his interrogators that during the years 1990 through 1993, in his capacity as an UNRWA official, he had granted support to families of wanted terrorists, on behalf of Fatah and the “Popular Front.” He also revealed that during the months June and July 2002, he had used his car, *an UNRWA car*, for the transportation of armed members of the “Popular Resistance Committees” who were on their way to carry out sniper attacks against Israeli troops posted at the Karni passage, and a missile attack against Jewish settlements in the Northern part of the Gaza Strip.

In addition, Atallah *used an UNRWA car to transport a 12 kg explosive charge* for his brother-in-law, a member of the “Popular Resistance Committees,” a militant faction of the Fatah movement.⁶²

Additional information about arrests of three UNRWA employees by Israel came in 2003 from the US General Accounting Office (GAO), which was charged with doing an investigation of UNRWA operations:

- UNRWA employee 1 was arrested on June 22, 2001 for possession of explosives and firearms, and for *throwing firebombs at a public bus*. He was convicted by an Israeli military court on May 27, 2003 and sentenced to 7.5 years in prison.
- UNRWA employee 2 was arrested on February 8, 2002, as a *member of Islamic Jihad*, for *possession of materials that could be used for explosives*. He was convicted by an Israeli military court on August 11, 2003 and sentenced to 2.5 years in prison.
- UNRWA employee 3 was arrested on November 13, 2002, as a *member of Hamas*, for possession of a machine gun and for *transferring chemicals to assist a bomb-maker*. He was convicted by an Israeli military court August 31, 2003 and sentenced to 32 months in prison.

On May 11, 2004, a Reuters cameraman captured video pictures of UNRWA ambulances being used to transport terrorists, firearms in the Zeitoun neighborhood of Gaza City during the course of fighting between the IDF and Palestinian terrorists.⁶³ Pictures – in which armed Palestinians can be clearly seen entering an ambulance marked “UN”– were shown on Israel Channel 10 on May 24.⁶⁴ The UN denied the incident and demanded an apology; subsequently a UN spokesman conceded that armed Palestinians used the vehicle, but claimed the driver was forced into service. Israel's deputy ambassador to the UN then observed that the driver didn't report the incident until it was made public.⁶⁵

A similar situation evolved when Col. Nir Press, of the IDF's Gaza Coordination and Liaison Administration, registered a complain with UNRWA regarding terrorists' use of an UNRWA school in Beit Hanoun, on 31 October 2007, for shooting of mortars. The IDF has aerial photos from an unmanned vehicle that showed the terrorists shooting from the school.⁶⁶

John Ging, functioning as UNRWA Director of Operations for Gaza, responded⁶⁷ that the masked terrorists had gained entry into the school after threatening the life of the guard. Commissioner-General Karen AbuZayd, however, told the press a different story: She said that all teachers and students and the one guard employed at the school had been moved out following an Israeli incursion into the area. According to her, UNRWA only discovered militants had been inside after seeing television footage a week ago.

POLITICAL AGENDA OF UNRWA

UNRWA – which is charged in its mandate with providing humanitarian services – has sublimated them to a political agenda. The body of evidence provided here documents this fact. The “right of return” – designed as a weapon against Israel – takes

precedence over the basic needs and rights of the refugees.

However, UNRWA involvement in the politics of the region transcends even this.

It was former commissioner-general, Peter Hansen, that set the tone for legitimizing this politicizing of UNRWA. In a talk⁶⁸ at Van Leer Institute in the spring of 2004, He conceded readily that while UNRWA is classified as a humanitarian agency, yet explained that it is engaged in a process that is not purely humanitarian. While UNRWA attempts as much as possible to operate in an a-political fashion, he said, politics permeate everything that UNRWA does.

What it comes down to, according to Mr. Hansen, is a “rights-based humanitarianism that eclipses a needs-based approach.” It is a matter of “human rights” versus “simple assistance.”

Mr. Hansen confessed that even though, when providing humanitarian services, he is supposed to be “above the fray,” he finds that in “good conscience I cannot turn a blind eye” (that is, to his perceived infringement of the refugees’ human rights by Israel).

The current commissioner-general, Karen AbuZayd, has sustained this approach.

Her words are of concern to Israel because they have generated unfair and negative PR. By speaking out in a manner that is severely lacking in balance, she is capable of doing damage to Israel’s image. This, too, moves her beyond the realm of attending to humanitarian concerns and puts her squarely within the political arena.

By way of example:

False Claims

After the Hamas kidnapping of Col. Shalit on 26 June 2006, Israel mounted an operation into Gaza, mindful of the need to avoid civilian casualties. Shortly into the operation, Israel targeted a Gaza electric generator. On 12 July, Ms. Abu Zayd declared that “The residents are living without water or electricity for more than two weeks...” But AbuZayd surely knew this was an exaggeration, as Gaza was never solely dependent on that transformer; a good part of its electrical power comes from the Israel Electric Company and that power was never cut off.⁶⁹

Advocating for Hamas

On 7 September 2006, at a press conference, Ms. Abu Zayd openly criticized the UN directive to all staff not to have any contact with Hamas: “We should engage with them and encourage them, discuss with them. This is a movement that has been more or less underground and had little contact with the outside world. It needs to hear from other people and we are discouraged from doing that.”⁷⁰

This directly contravened efforts by the international community to isolate Hamas, and represented a bold-faced intervention on behalf of Hamas that was out of line for AbuZayd.

Karen AbuZayd, in a September 2007 interview with Akiva Eldar of *Haaretz*, stated, “Even Hamas people talk about the two-state solution and the Israeli state. They've accepted that.”⁷¹ This is a blatant misrepresentation of the reality.⁷²

The Karni Crossing

A key source of contention between Israel and AbuZayd has been with regard to the temporary closings by Israel of crossings into Gaza – most notably the Karni Crossing, which UNRWA uses for transporting materials into Gaza. Karni has been a frequent target of terrorist attacks and Israeli soldiers have died while manning the crossing. When Israel receives intelligence that an attack is imminent, the crossing is closed.

For humanitarian reasons, when the Karni Crossing has been closed, Israel has taken pains to open another crossing so that goods might be brought in; there are several agencies that have taken advantage of these alternate routes. UNRWA, however, has declined to do so: It has been Karni Crossing or nothing, and if Karni Crossing was closed, AbuZayd was quick to let the media know that Israel's policies were causing humanitarian suffering with “humanitarian crisis” imminent.

Of particular concern to persons working with the office of the Coordinator of Israeli Government Activities in the Territories has been a general lack of acknowledgement on Abu Zayd's part that there is a legitimate reason why Israel has to close the crossing.⁷³ Shlomo Dror, when speaking as spokesman for the Coordinator, repeatedly refuted Abu Zayd's charges of “humanitarian crisis,” by documenting the nature and quantity of basic goods that have been permitted into Gaza over time.

Inappropriate Statements

In a talk on 5 March 2008, AbuZayd made statements reflecting a similar bias, and commenting on regional issues in a manner inappropriate to her position. She exhibits readiness to exaggerate, to leave out pertinent facts and to misrepresent. From that talk:

“...the as yet unfulfilled quest for a State of Palestine [is] at odds with the primacy of the right to self-determination in international law. In terms of its persistence, frequent escalation and destructive impact on civilian lives and property, the armed conflict in the occupied territory raises questions about the international treaty obligations regarding restraint in the use of lethal force and the enforcement of international humanitarian law in general.”

The “primacy of the right to self-determination in international law” that AbuZayd refers to does not exist.

What is more, her bias is egregious: When she refers to “use of lethal force” she is referring to the state of Israel. But there is not a single word about terrorism inflicted by Palestinians on innocent Israeli civilians or the need for Israeli defense against the Palestinian “lethal force.”

QUESTIONABLE POLICIES AND PRACTICES OF UNRWA

As UNRWA practices and policies are examined, serious questions come to the fore. The most problematic issues are examined here:

Staff comprised almost exclusively of refugees

Almost universally, humanitarian and social services agencies frown on employing from within their client population. .

However, as noted above, UNRWA’s staff of 23,400 is comprised – with the exception of less than 100 “internationals” – of Palestinians, the vast majority of whom are themselves registered with UNRWA as refugees.

While UNRWA has made claims that the staff is thus better equipped to relate to refugee problems, the fact is that this inevitably invites conflict of interest. Members of the staff are far less likely to maintain objectivity, especially as they are living amongst and in some instances related to the people they are serving.

Other agencies established under UN Article 22 – most notably United Nations International Children’s Fund (UNICEF) and United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) – have, by design, maintained a distance from the clients to whom they deliver services, working through host governments and various private agencies.⁷⁴ They directly employ only administrative staff and contract out services.⁷⁵ UNRWA, on the other hand, maintains close contact with the recipients of its services and has its own personnel carry out its programs.

The establishment of an extensive bureaucracy makes it more difficult to phase out operations: UNRWA is entrenched.

Lack of adequate records on recipients

In the summer of 2003, Maher Nasser, who was then UNRWA liaison to the UN, responded to a query about how many refugees actually receive UNRWA services. In his reply⁷⁶ he stated (emphasis added):

“...how many of the...refugees actually receive assistance from UNRWA? I am afraid there is no simple answer... We track each programme separately...and as most of the records are manual and in hard copy, electronic cross-referencing would not be possible.

“...It is safe to assume that not all...who are registered with UNRWA are actually coming forward to benefit from our services.”

This is problematic because UNRWA now lists 4.6 million refugees in total, and says in its material, including on the home page of its website, that UNRWA provides “education, healthcare, social services and emergency aid to over 4.6 million refugees.” This is a misrepresentation of significance because budgeting and appeals for funds are based on this accounting.

Duplication of UNRWA services

The issue rises with greatest significance with regard to the putative refugees who are full citizens of Jordan.

Matar Saqer, Public Information Officer in UNRWA’s office in Amman, Jordan, has stated⁷⁷ that citizenship in Jordan has no bearing on the right of refugees registered with UNRWA to receive UNRWA services or assistance.

The Report of the Commissioner-General of UNRWA to the General Assembly, for 1 July 2002- 30 June 2003⁷⁸ provided pertinent data regarding this situation:

“The largest number of Palestine refugees reside in Jordan. The majority of them enjoy full Jordanian citizenship and...have access to governmental institutions and developmental and other assistance. The Government of Jordan has reported expenditures amounting to \$423,121,161 on behalf of Palestine refugees and displaced persons during the reporting period. This covers services such as education, rent and utilities, subsidies and rations, camp services, health care, public security and social services.”

There is, without a doubt, a political underpinning to this situation: If UNRWA were to recognize that those who are Jordanian citizens do not require UNRWA assistance any longer, it might be a step towards denying them status as refugees.

This was confirmed on 6 October 2008, in a background statement by a member of the UNRWA staff,⁷⁹ when queried about a statement by Karen AbuZayd that over the next two years UNRWA seeks to improve servicing of the abject poor: “For the first time, eligibility for services will be measured against established poverty lines (i.e. needs-based rather than status-based)...”⁸⁰

His explanation was that this applied only to a particular program for hardship cases. To do this across the board, he said, would have “political implications,” as certain “entitlements” for the refugees are assumed within the mandate.

Assistance to non-refugees

With the advent of the second Intifada, which began in September 2000, it became UNRWA policy to stop requiring that those seeking assistance in the West Bank or Gaza produce an UNRWA identity card.⁸¹

This policy transcends the purpose for which UNRWA was established and moves it beyond its mandate.

Benefits to refugees with terrorist connections

Peter Hansen, while serving as UNRWA Commissioner-General, attested to the U.S. Government Accounting Office (GAO) on July 30, 2003, that:

“UNRWA has no evidence that would justify denying beneficiaries relief or humanitarian aid owing to terrorism.”⁸²

This issue was of concern to the GAO because in section 301 (c) of the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act, as amended, the U.S. Congress had directed that “No contributions by the United States shall be made to [UNRWA] except on the condition that [UNRWA] take all possible measures to assure that no part of the United States contribution shall be used to furnish assistance to any refugee who...has engaged in any act of terrorism.”

Mr. Hansen was able to attest to this because:

- UNRWA does not note terrorist convictions on refugee registration cards.
- UNRWA does not receive information on terrorist-related convictions of beneficiaries.
- UNRWA staff does not ask beneficiaries if they have engaged in terrorism.
- Social workers rely on the families seeking assistance to *volunteer* data concerning imprisonment.

Under these conditions, indeed there would be “no evidence” of a connection of beneficiaries to terrorism. Rather than attempting to document such evidence, it seems UNRWA prefers to ignore situations in which beneficiaries may be implicated in terror:

UNRWA in Gaza, while denying assistance to rebuild their homes to six families whose houses were destroyed “during bomb-making activities,” “did not remove these families from its registry of eligible refugees or deny them other assistance.”⁸³

It would defy credibility to suggest that there are no terrorist-related convictions of beneficiaries. Whatever UNRWA’s considerable claims that armed elements from outside sometimes enter the camps without UNRWA sanction, there is such a preponderance of evidence regarding terrorist activities within the camps that it is clear that some (likely a solid percentage) of the terrorists are themselves refugees.

The bottom line is that it is perceived as better not to know. There seems a consensus of opinion that UNRWA staff would be endangered by questioning beneficiaries regarding their terrorist connections, and that the cutting off of benefits makes possible the targeting of UNRWA staff in retaliation.

Thus, what is in evidence here, at best, is an agency mandated to serve a humanitarian purpose that is being held hostage by terrorist elements – so that it is literally afraid to interfere with recipients who are terrorists. At worst, the terrorist population and the refugee population (from which the UNRWA staff is drawn) are so enmeshed that it becomes impossible to separate them.

Lack of administrative checks

UNRWA functions without benefit of an active Board of Directors and provides its Commissioner-General with enormous administrative latitude. Administrative checks, for all intents and purposes, do not exist.

Once a year, the Commissioner-General submits a report directly to the General Assembly of the United Nations – not to a specialized committee or sub-committee of that large body. There seems to be no formal feedback from the GA to UNRWA with regard to this report.

According to an official UN bulletin⁸⁴, “the Commissioner-General, who is at the level of Under-Secretary-General, is responsible for all activities of UNRWA as well as its administration; establishes general policy guidelines and priorities for the work of UNRWA; establishes fund-raising strategies and maintains liaison with donors and potential donors to UNRWA funds; directs the activities and operations of the various organizational units at headquarters and in the field responsible for the delivery of services to refugees; plans and coordinates interaction between headquarters and the field offices in respect of the Agency's programmes of assistance and support services; and represents UNRWA in relations with international and local press and other public information channels.”

There is in this formulation no requirement that administrative and decision-making functions be shared with other UNRWA administrators or an on-going supervisory committee.

Heads of all departments and offices (Administration and Human Resources, Finance, Legal Affairs, Audit, External Relations, Policy Analysis Unit, Public Information, Operations, Relief and Social Services, Education, Health, and Field Offices) are accountable to the Commissioner-General and *only* to the Commissioner-General.⁸⁵

There is no requirement that information regarding the functioning of these various departments and offices also be placed in the hands of a monitoring or supervisory body.

An Advisory Commission, which is mandated for UNRWA, functions only minimally. Its chief role is reviewing a draft of the annual report by the Commissioner-General that will be submitted to the General Assembly.

CHANGES IN UNRWA SITUATION

As chaos increased within Gaza in 2007, UNRWA found itself in a position of increased precariousness. On 17 March 2007, shots were fired at the convoy of the UNRWA Director of Operations in Gaza, Mr. John Ging,. This was thought to be an assassination attempt by radical militants: Ging was unharmed but his vehicle was hit by 11 bullets. On March 22, it was reported that an UNRWA vehicle was hijacked.

By the end of March 2007, in light of the above, the UN decided withdraw its UNRWA international staff stationed in the Gaza Strip.⁸⁶ Rather than looking to an increase in operations because of increased need, just the reverse was occurring.

On 6 May 2007, radical Islamic gunmen opened fire at an UNRWA elementary school in Rafah during a sports day celebration because they disapproved of what was going on. A bodyguard was killed and eight others, including two children, were wounded; a vehicle was destroyed. This was a well organized event with some 70 radicals, likely connected to al-Qaida.⁸⁷

At various times during May 2007, UNRWA teaching staff was instructed to either cut their day short or remain at home because of potential risks. UNRWA compounds were physically reinforced to add additional protection.⁸⁸

In an ironic state of affairs, the very agency that had looked the other way with regard to terrorist activity within its bailiwick and had proved itself to be a major support for and defender of the Palestinians in Gaza now found itself the target of violence, so that its ability to function was severely curtailed. This situation was exacerbated in good part by the internecine violence between various Palestinian groups.

The most significant change in UNRWA's situation with regard to its operations took place with the Hamas takeover of Gaza in 2007.

During the heated fighting, which in some instances came perilously close to UNRWA facilities, UNRWA temporarily closed 18 medical clinics and here food distribution centers. Once Hamas was firmly in control, operations resumed. However, the agency found itself in a position of increased precariousness.

According to Shlomo Dror, speaking as spokesman for the IDF Civil Administration in Gaza,⁸⁹ Hamas is ruling by terror and UNRWA is afraid and will not criticize.

Thus issues have arisen with regard to what Israel permits UNRWA to bring into Gaza, beyond essential humanitarian supplies. Dror expressed concern that UNRWA would be

unable to refuse to share supplies with Hamas, while Israel was trying to prevent Hamas from securing certain materials. This was the case at one point with paper UNRWA claimed was needed for printing textbooks. More significantly, a knowledgeable source⁹⁰ has indicated that concrete and other building supplies that UNRWA has insisted it needed for building construction in some instances found their way into Hamas hands for use in building bunkers for rockets.

APPENDIX I

Examples: Terrorism in the Camps

- On 25 June 2006, IDF Corporal Gilad Shalit was kidnapped by terrorists associated with Hamas who tunneled into Israel near Kerem Shalom. Israel intelligence first placed him in the UNRWA Khan Younis refugee camp.⁹¹
- In May 2006, Jihadists were reported moving into the UNRWA camp at Khan Younis in south Gaza.⁹²
- In June 2006, Israel did an air strike in the Jabaliya UNRWA camp in an effort to take out members of the Al Aksa Brigades, Fatah's terrorist wing.⁹³ Additionally, Israel took out the Hamas security headquarters located in this UNRWA camp.⁹⁴
- Also in June, Israel killed Jamal Abu Samhadana, a security chief for Hamas. A resident of the UNRWA Rafah refugee camp, he was mourned by a huge outpouring of the population there.⁹⁵
- Israel entered UNRWA Mughazi refugee camp in central Gaza, in July 2006,⁹⁶ killing at least three Hamas militants.
- In October 2006, a Gazan UNRWA refugee camp resident affiliated with Hamas died while assisting in the digging of a tunnel between Gaza and Israel.⁹⁷
- In May 2007, the UNRWA Nuseirat refugee camp was identified as a site for launching Kassam rockets and a weapons storage facility was targeted there by the IDF.⁹⁸

APPENDIX II

Islamic Bloc Activities in Schools

- In the UNRWA camp of Nuseirat in Gaza, in February 2003, posters were distributed showing the coming victory to liberate Palestine.⁹⁹ Two months later, a religious newsletter was published and 2,000 copies were distributed in the schools in this camp.

In the junior high schools, a “spiritual week” was organized in conjunction with this, which included a march to identify with the “martyr” Muhammad el-Babli, who was active in Hamas and killed in a terrorist incident. Visits were arranged to the families of “martyrs” Tarrak Akel and Fadi al-Hoajri, who had been active in the Islamic Bloc and were killed in IDF actions.¹⁰⁰

- In the UNRWA camp of Maghazi in Gaza, in January 2003, a meal for breaking the Ramadan fast was organized for 80 students. During this event, movies were shown dealing with Jihad.¹⁰¹ In April, a “Jihad” newsletter was distributed in two boys schools in the camp. It honored the memory of Yasser el-Masdar, of Hamas, who was killed by the IDF in a helicopter attack in 2002. This was given to teachers as well as students.¹⁰²
- In the UNRWA camp of Bereij in Gaza, in January 2003, an Islamic Bloc preacher gave a session for students on how to bring people closer to Islam; his presentation was in honor of two founders of Hamas, in prison in Israel.¹⁰³

In April 2003, a culture day was organized at two schools. With 170 students participating at a local mosque, the emphasis was placed on the importance of Muslims falling as “martyrs.”¹⁰⁴

APPENDIX III

SURVEY OF REFUGEE PROBLEMS WORLDWIDE

FROM THE EARLY 1900s THROUGH 2003

A brief look at the world situation relative to the Palestinians.

The data is not comprehensive.

- ❑ When the Greeks lost a war with Turkey in the early twenties, Turkey expelled 3,000,000 ethnic Greeks (who were in Turkey for centuries). Greece absorbed them.
- ❑ White Russians fled the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1918. Estimates are that 500,000 left Russia for France, Germany, Turkey and the Balkans.
- ❑ At the end of World War II, there were 1.5 to 2 million people unable or unwilling to return to the European countries they had come from. Most of these were Jews, for whom their homeland represented the horrors of the Holocaust; they ended up in DP (displaced persons) camps. Two-thirds ultimately went to Israel, the rest to the U.S.
- ❑ When World War II ended, some 10 to 15 million ethnic Germans were expelled from Poland, Russia and Czechoslovakia (Sudetenland) and their property expropriated. Some 2 million died, most of those remaining were taken in by Germany and Austria but there has never been compensation.
- ❑ In 1948, after the founding of the State of Israel, some 600,000 Jews in Arab nations found themselves unable to remain in their homes; they either left because of anti-Jewish agitation or were driven out. They were resettled by Israel and have never received compensation.
- ❑ In 1949, Chinese troops invaded Tibet. Ten years later, after all attempts at settlement of the situation failed, the Dalai Lama and some 80,000 Tibetans fled into exile in India, where they have been accepted and provided with assistance.
- ❑ In 1956, when the Soviet Union sent in forces to put down the Hungarian revolution, nearly 200,000 people fled Hungary. The refugees were absorbed by Western countries, after they had spent time in Austrian and Yugoslavian refugee camps.
- ❑ The Indochina Wars in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, which ended in 1975, created upwards of a million refugees, including the boat people. Pol Pot's subsequent campaign in the Cambodian killing fields through 1978 drove out additional people. Refugees often fled first to Thailand and then were for the greatest part successfully absorbed in the U.S., Canada, Australia and other countries.
- ❑ The Afghani refugee population, at almost 3.5 million, is perhaps the largest in the world. Millions fled into Pakistan and Iran starting in 1979 after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Additional refugees left when the U.S. went after the Taliban in 2001. There has been some repatriation but millions remain in horrendous refugee camps, primarily in Pakistan.

- ❑ There have been several waves of Iraqi Kurdish refugees since the 70s, most significantly when 1.5 million fled after the Gulf War. Some have been repatriated. Many have been resettled, with a number coming to the U.S.
- ❑ There are some 150,000 refugees from Chechnya since 1994. There are complaints by them that they are ignored and without access to U.N. assistance.
- ❑ With the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991, came Europe's largest refugee crisis since WWII, with over 1,300,000 people – Bosnians, Serbs, Croats – fleeing. When NATO bombed Kosovo in 1999, some 800,000 refugees ended up in Macedonia. This situation was resolved in large part through repatriation.
- ❑ North Koreans – possibly as many as 300,000 – trying to escape from North Korean repression and violence are fleeing to neighboring countries such as China and Russia. Although officially recognized as refugees they receive no assistance or protection from the UNHCR. China persecutes them and often forces them to return to North Korea, where they meet with harsh punishments or death. They have no safe asylum.

Africa

The civil wars and political unrest in Africa have generated an on-going refugee situation that is horrendous. According to the World Refugee Survey, published by the U.S. Committee for Refugees, there were 3.1 million refugees in Africa in 2003. Many are in refugee camps that are prone to violence that includes murder and rape. Of particular note:

Sudan has been engaged in civil war for over 17 years. Nearly 500,000 southern Sudanese have fled Sudan and are now refugees in other countries.

The genocide in Rwanda in 1994 caused a flood of two million refugees into Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Tanzania. Thousands were killed, hundreds of thousands forcibly repatriated.

Additionally, as of the end of 2002, the following problematic refugee situations existed, primarily as the result of inadequate funds:

- ❑ In Congo-Kinshasa, 100,000 refugees from Rwanda, Burundi and Angola did not been registered for lack of staff. Registration is required for assistance.
- ❑ In Cameroon, UNHCR had to close its office. Approximately 40,000 refugees from Chad and Nigeria have been lacking in basic assistance.
- ❑ In Eritrea, close to 3,000 Somali refugees remained in a transit camp with inadequate latrines, and received only poor quality services.
- ❑ In Kenya food rations had to be cut by 25% for some 80,000 Sudanese refugees.

- ❑ In Zambia a full 50% of food rations had to be cut for 35,000 refugees; there is now a high malnutrition rate.
- ❑ In Sierra Leone, more than 30,000 newly arrived Liberian refugees found themselves in transit shelters that are in a state of disrepair. Some do not provide adequate protection from the rain. Some are without sanitation.

Information regarding Africa from the U.S. Committee for Refugees

¹ According to the UN Mediator on Palestine, Ralph Bunche, in 1948, the figure was 472,000.

According to Mideast Web the Israeli estimate is 520,000.

In 1949, the United Nations Conciliation Commission put the number at 726,000.

² That war continues to this day. In 1948, the dominant force in the Arab league was Egypt, which signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1979. Today, the dominant force in the Arab League is Saudi Arabia, which has never signed any armistice or peace treaty with Israel since 1948.

³ The Palestinian Refugees FACTFILES, Palestinian Liberation Organization, Department of Refugee Affairs, Ramallah, 2000, p.22.

⁴ The State of the World's Refugees – Chapter 1, The Early Years.

⁵ One-hundred forty seven states are party to at least one of these instruments, and 141 states are party to both. Among those states that have not signed either instrument: Bahrain, Jordan, Lebanon, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and UAE.

⁶ UNRWA document: *A Brief History*, 1950-1985, Vienna, 1986, p.30.

⁷ The website of the UN High Commission of Refugees says UNHCR is attending to 32.9 million refugees in 110 countries. Its 2008 operating budget is \$1,096,000,000 plus 10% operational reserves.

⁸ From Habib Issa writing in *Al Hoda*, on 8 June 1951:

“The Secretary-General of the Arab League, Azzam Pasha, assured the Arab peoples that the occupation of Palestine and Tel Aviv would be as simple as a military promenade...Brotherly advice was given to the Arabs of Palestine to leave their land, homes and property and to stay temporarily in neighboring fraternal states, lest the guns of the invading Arab armies mow them down”

From the memoirs, of Haled al Azm, Syrian Prime Minister in 1948-49:

“Since 1948 we have been demanding the return of the refugees to their homes. But we ourselves are the ones who encouraged them to leave. Only a few months separated our call to them to leave and our appeal to the United Nations to resolve on their return.”

Source: Palestine Facts

⁹ This explains why the UN Conciliation Commission in 1949 put the number of refugees at 726,000, while UNRWA states there were 914,000 in 1950.

¹⁰ In 1950, the UNRWA director reported “...a large group of indigent people totaling over 100,000...could not be called refugees, but...have lost their means of livelihood because of the war...The Agency felt their need... even more acute than that of the refugees...”

From the UN General Assembly, Official Record, 5th session, Ad Hoc Political Committee 31st Meeting, 11 November 1950.

In UNRWA's Annual Report of the Director, July 1951–June 1952, there was an acknowledgement that it was difficult to separate “ordinarily nomadic Bedouins and... unemployed or indigent local residents” from genuine refugees, and that “it cannot be doubted that in many cases individuals who could not qualify as being *bona fide* refugees are in fact on the relief rolls.”

¹¹ In e-mail communication December 2002.

¹² The Commission-General of UNRWA in 1982 acknowledged that “The refugees tend to view the relief...not as something they have to prove their eligibility for, but rather as a right...” Special Report of the Commission-General, September 28, 1982.

UNRWA Beach Camp resident Abu Daya in an interview with Charles Radin, "My neighbor has a Mercedes, his sons have jobs, and he receives rations from UNRWA as a hardship case. He has bought land, he has built a house, and he still is listed as a hardship case"

Charles Radin, “UN role in Palestinian Camps in Dispute,” *The Boston Globe*, 8 July 2002.

¹³ When some rebuilding of apartments was done in Jenin in 2002, Italian marble and Spanish tile were used. See Judy Lash Balint, "The Ingrates," *Front Page Magazine*, 24 June 2004.

¹⁴ Report of the commissioner-General of UNRWA, 1 July 1982 – 30 June 1983.

¹⁵ Amira Has, "50-70% of residents of UNRWA camp in Jerusalem aren't refugees - yet exempt from municipal taxes," *Ha'aretz*, 1 January 2003.

¹⁶ UNRWA document: *A Brief History*, 1950-1985, Vienna, 1986, p.83.

¹⁷ Interview conducted by Jeff Arner and Sylvia Martin, October 1991 in the UNRWA West Bank Field Office in East Jerusalem. Quote drawn from transcription.

¹⁸ Arguments are made in some quarters that the "right" of return is established in international law because of other documents. This is tenuous.

The most universal provision dealing with right of return is in the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which says: "No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country." Legal experts have concluded, however, the right of return is probably reserved only for nationals of the state, and that this is not absolute, if the reasons for denial are not arbitrary.

Moreover, the position is held that the right to enter one's country is intended to apply to individuals asserting an individual right. There was no intention here to address the claims of masses of people who have been displaced as a by-product of war. Humanitarian law conventions (such as the 1949 Geneva Conventions for the Protection of Victims of War) do not recognize a right of return.

— From a summary by Ruth Lapidot, Professor of International Law at the Hebrew University and a member of the Permanent court of Arbitration in The Hague, in *Jerusalem Letter* No. 485, 1 September 2002.

¹⁹ The Egyptian newspaper, *Al-Misri*, 11 October 1949.

²⁰ Resolution 393 of 2 December 1950 stated that... "the reintegration of the refugees into the economic life of the Near East, either by repatriation or resettlement is essential..."

Resolution 394 of 14 December 1950 called upon, "the Governments concerned to undertake measures to ensure that refugees, whether repatriated or resettled, will be treated without any discrimination..."

Resolution 513 of 26 January 1952 spoke of "reintegration either by repatriation or resettlement..."

²¹ BADIL Information & Discussion Brief No. 6.

²² The BBC program aired 21 September 2000; it is available on video.

²³ Mohammed Daraghme, "Teaching the refugee issue at UNRWA," *The Jerusalem Times*, 22 June 2001.

²⁴ See www.badil.org/Publications/Other/Refugees/Workshop/wkshop2.htm for study.

²⁵ Terence Prittie, *The Palestinians: People, History, Politics*, p.71.

²⁶ Dr. Eli Lasch, "Child Health Services in Gaza," *Public Health Review*, 1984.

²⁷ Dr. Eli Lasch, in e-mail communication for purposes of this report, February 2003.

²⁸ The document can be retrieved at: www.un.org/documents/ga/res/40/a40r165.htm.

²⁹ In 1992, Sigma News Agency sent a photographer to capture the empty houses standing on a hill.

³⁰ As well as relatively small numbers of Palestinians who may possess UNRWA ID cards but live in distant places, primarily in Europe or the Americas, and may have full citizenship there.

³¹ Palestine under the British Mandate was not a country. Thus, the Arabs who fled from what became Israel were without citizenship. Those who are refugees in Syria and Lebanon have the status of alien residents. Many of those in Jordan have citizenship. Those in Judea and Samaria and Gaza have received a variety of identity cards over the years.

³² From the Lebanese Journal *Al-Hayat*, 14 August 1959: "...the refugees' inclination—in spite of the noisy chorus all about them—is towards immediate integration."

Emanuel Marx, "Changes in Arab Refugee Camps," op. cit., p.43, wrote that as early as 1968, most of the refugees had found work, "were involved in the economy of the host country," and "had become urbanized in the process."

³³ Isabel Kershner, "Palestinian Affairs: The Refugees' Choice?" *The Jerusalem Report*, 15 August 2002.

³⁴ 50: *UNRWA and Palestinian Refugees*, UNRWA Headquarters, Gaza, 2000, p.11.

³⁵ Shawn Cohen, "The Refugee Dilemma: A Day in the UNRWA Arab Refugee Camps," *Washington Jewish Week*, 23 July 1997.

³⁶ Uri Nir, Arab Affairs Correspondent, *Ha'aretz*, 9 December 1989.

³⁷ www.wjc.org.il/unrwa/refugeesfirst.html.

³⁸ David Bedein, "Pope's Planned Visit to UNRWA Refugee Camp Portends Disaster," www.israelbehindthenews.com, 14 March 2000.

³⁹ John F. Burns, "Palestinian Summer Camp Offers The Games Of War," *The New York Times*, 3 August 2000, p.1.

⁴⁰ *Wall Street Journal*, 21 April 2002.

⁴¹ From the Foreign Ministry website: www.israel-mfa.gov.il.

⁴² From the IDF website: www.idf.il/newsite/english.

⁴³ Charles Radin, *The Boston Globe*, 9 June 2002.

⁴⁴ *Telegraph UK*, August 20, 2007.

⁴⁵ An IDF statement cited by Al Jazeera on 19 September 2007.

⁴⁶ YNet, 7 November 2007.

⁴⁷ *Khaled Abu Toameh*, *The Jerusalem Post*, November 6, 2007.

⁴⁸ Isabel Kershner, "Palestinian Affairs: The Refugees' Choice?" *The Jerusalem Report*, 15 August 2002.

⁴⁹ *Al-Watan* (Kuwait) 11 June, 2003: www.al-watan.com/data/20030611/index.asp?content=outstate2

See also *Filastin Al-Muslima* (Lebanon) July 2003, p.5: www.fm-m.com/2003/jul2003/pdf/p5.pdf.
Details – vote by area and names of candidates - are available.

⁵⁰ www.khayma.com/islamicblock/about.htm.

⁵¹ Interview with Ahmed Casiso, Islamic Bloc supervisor of 20 summer camps for 3,000 junior high school and high school students run in 2004, found on www.alkotla.net/details.asp?id=268 .

⁵² Shawn Cohen, "The Refugee Dilemma: A Day in the UNRWA Arab Refugee Camps," *Washington Jewish Week*, 23 July 1997.

⁵³ Charles Radin, "UN role in Palestinian Camps in Dispute," *The Boston Globe*, 8 July 2002.

⁵⁴ The website of the prime minister: www.pmo.gov.il/english.

⁵⁵ www.jamaaway.org/waed/waed6.htm.

⁵⁶ Allison Kaplan Sommer, "UNRWA on Trial," *Reform Judaism Magazine*, Winter 2002, p. 42.

⁵⁷ Access to Palestine website: <http://www.multaqa.org/access/persons.php?c=a>.

⁵⁸ Siam was Interior Minister in the PA Unity Government and established a 3,000 man security force in Gaza that Abbas called illegal.

⁵⁹ Jerusalem Media and Communications Center.

⁶⁰ In interview with the author, December 14, 2003. Ambassador Gold was serving as a consult to the IDF during time reported.

⁶¹ Reuven Ehrlich, Ph.D., Editor, "Special Information Paper," Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Center for Special Studies, December 2002.

⁶² Greg Myre, *The New York Times*, October 18, 2004.

⁶³ Israel National News, 31 May 2004.

⁶⁴ Israel Defense Forces Website, 25 May 2004, which includes a photo of the incident.

⁶⁵ CAMERA, 18 June 2004.

⁶⁶ *The Jerusalem Post*, 7 November 2007.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Attended by this writer.

⁶⁹ Arlene Kushner, "Jenin Redux," *Front Page Magazine*, 26 July 2006.

⁷⁰ Arlene Kushner, "UNRWA in 2006," *Israel Resource Review*, 14 January 2007.

⁷¹ *Haaretz*, September 18, 2007.

⁷² Dr. Mahmud al-Zahhar, Hamas leader in Gaza on Hamas TV, 3 April 2007, said: "Entry to the capital means the state falls. Entry to Al Aqsa Mosque means entry to Jerusalem, it means the fall of that state that sees Jerusalem as its capital. Entry there will be victorious."

Sami Abu-Zuhri, Hamas leader in Gaza, on Hamas TV, 6 April 2007, declared that Hamas principles include all Palestine from the river to the sea and "non-recognition of the occupation in any form."

At a Hamas rally on 15 December 2007, Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh told the crowd: "Today is the day of Jihad, resistance and uprising... We will never cede our land ... The choice of resistance and Jihad is the shortest way to liberate Palestine and return Jerusalem."

⁷³ Arlene Kushner, "UNRWA in 2006," *op. cit.*

⁷⁴ Nitza Nachmias and Eric A Belgrad, "Five Decades of Humanitarian Aid: The Case of UNRWA," *Towson State Journal of International Affairs*, Spring 1994.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ E-mail communication, Tuesday, August 19, 2003, sent to Dr. Nitza Nachmias, Professor of Political Science, Haifa University, with a printed copy provided to this writer.

⁷⁷ By telephone interview, May 12, 2004.

⁷⁸ domino.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/0e236a099196750585256dbe0051251c?OpenDocument.

⁷⁹ In a not-for-attribution phone conversation with this writer.

⁸⁰ From a 5 March 2008 speech in Brussels carried on the UNRWA website.

⁸¹ Peter Hansen told a prominent Palestinian Arab publication, *The Jerusalem Times*, on 28 September 2001, "We do not ask people seeking assistance to show refugee cards at present because of the prevalent conditions. We help

whoever is in need, which at present includes 50% of the people."

This has been confirmed by Dr. Emanuel Marx, Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, Tel Aviv University, who met in February 2004 with Sami Mshasha, Head of UNRWA Public Information in Jerusalem.

⁸² U.S. Government Accounting Office Report, November 17, 2003: GAO-04-276R UNRWA.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Secretary General's Bulletin, ST/SGB/2000/6, op. cit.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Haaretz, March 28, 2007.

⁸⁷ Khaled Abu Toameh, *The Jerusalem Post*, 6 May 2007.

⁸⁸ Mid East Newslines, 18 May 2007.

⁸⁹ September 2007 interview.

⁹⁰ In a spring 2008 interview off the record.

⁹¹ CNN, 29 June 2006.

⁹² *The New York Times*, 21 May 2006.

⁹³ From a UN document at <http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL>.

⁹⁴ Patterns of Global Terrorism: Israel 2006 Overview

⁹⁵ Fox News, 8 June 2006.

⁹⁶ *The Boston Globe*, 19 July 2006.

⁹⁷ Real Israel, News, October 2006 archive.

⁹⁸ Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

⁹⁹ www.alkotla.net/details.asp?id=219.

¹⁰⁰ www.alkotla.net/details.asp?id=238.

¹⁰¹ www.alkotla.net/details.asp?id=175.

¹⁰² www.alkotla.net/details.asp?id=238.

¹⁰³ www.alkotla.net/details.asp?id=175.

¹⁰⁴ www.alkotla.net/details.asp?id=238.