

Position Paper

THE CHALLENGES OF SOVEREIGNTY IN JERUSALEM



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THE KATZ
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FOR APPLIED POLICY

SYNOPSIS

Jerusalem is Israel's capital city with unprecedented characteristics and a unique status in the world. Most countries still do not officially recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel nor even as an Israeli city. Almost half of its residents are not citizens of Israel but are permanent residents with a special status. Large sections of Jerusalem are only accessible in a limited way to the government, legal, and law enforcement authorities. Consequently, there often prevails disorder, shortages, and the disintegration of governmental and social frameworks, which accordingly provide a fertile ground for extremist and external agents to fill the vacuum in a way that bring partial relief to the residents but also purchases their full support for actions that undermine and weaken Israeli sovereignty.

The purpose of this paper is to point out the weak points of Israel's sovereignty in Jerusalem, the causes - internal and external - of these weak points and the recommended ways to address them and rectify them before the cost of rectification becomes prohibitive.

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BACKGROUND

When the interim agreements between Israel and the PLO were signed, beginning in 1993, Israel, in fact, if not in law, waived part of its sovereignty and control over the eastern neighborhoods of Jerusalem. This occurred despite the fact, or perhaps because, the agreements explicitly deferred the issue of Jerusalem to discussions on the permanent settlement. This was a natural consequence of the realization that no interim change in the city is feasible. Nevertheless, in reality, the Palestinian Authority (also through its agents) gradually began to encroach on Israel's sovereignty in the united city of Jerusalem, first declared after the reunification of the city in June 1967. Israel itself partially cooperated with this objective by allowing the Arabs of Jerusalem to participate in the elections to the Palestinian Authority as if they were Palestinian citizens who do not bear Israeli ID certificates signifying residence in Israel. Yet, they also live as Israeli residents in the capital of Israel, under Israeli sovereignty and law.

The Palestinian Authority, and these Arab residents of Jerusalem, were not satisfied with this arrangement, but endeavored – with the help of the international community, naturally – to accumulate symbols of sovereignty and control in Jerusalem, completely ignoring the wishes of the government of Israel. The most prominent symbol of this affront to Israeli sovereignty was the Orient House that operated openly and without impediment in the eastern part of Jerusalem. This structure belonged to the Jerusalem Al Hussein family and served as a quasi-foreign affairs office of the Palestinian Authority in Jerusalem. Orient House frequently hosted political and diplomatic meetings at all levels, including the most senior political and diplomatic officials. The building functioned both as an extension of the Palestinian Authority as well as a governmental arm on the PA's behalf vis-à-vis the city's Arabs. For inexplicable reasons, Orient House enjoyed an almost extra-territorial status, to the extent that when Israel's security forces investigated suspected terror activity being planned or executed from Orient House these security forces did not enter the building with first trying to obtain permission from senior PA officials, who did not often grant such permission. As noted, all of this was done openly, without the PLO flag hoisted over the building. The Orient House was only closed in August 2001 as part of Israel's war on Palestinian terrorism, in the wake of the PLO bombing of the Sbarro pizzeria in Jerusalem that murdered sixteen Jewish civilians, men, women, and children.



Rabin, Arafat and Peres at the signing of the Oslo Accords



Orient House in Jerusalem



Orient House, flying the PLO flag



Orient House, "symbol" of Palestinian sovereignty

THE CURRENT SITUATION

Despite the shuttering of Orient House more than two decades ago, the violations of Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem continue daily and on several levels. High-ranking officials in the Palestinian Authority are residents of the city with seventeen blue cards (contrary to the Implementation Law, which prohibits citizens and residents of Israel from holding positions in a foreign political entity), headed by Adnan Rit'h, the governor of Jerusalem who serves on behalf of the Palestinian Authority, and even senior officials in the Palestinian security apparatus such as General Belal Natasha and Fatah Secretary General Shadi Metur. Alongside these efforts that are led by the Palestinian Authority, Israel's sovereignty in the city is being harmed by other elements as well, in the political realm by increasingly hostile activity from Turkey and Qatar, and in the non-political realm from terrorist entities such as Hamas and the Islamic Movement. All these nations and entities act jointly in a coordinated manner. For example, Turkey and Qatar several years ago signed a cooperation agreement for activities in Jerusalem (mostly subsidized by Qatar while Turkey guides the activities on the ground). This agreement provides the cover for Hamas and the Islamic Movement who directly control the activists and their terrorist activities.

Through its Jerusalem Foundation, which was founded by decree of Emir Batar in 2013 and furnished a budget of one billion dollars, Qatar finances the Turkish Heritage Association, which is active in Jerusalem, as well as other entities, some of which (like the "Qatar Charity") have been outlawed in Israel because of its support for terror.



Adnan R'it, PA "Governor" of Jerusalem



Emir of Qatar with senior Palestinian officials



EXAMPLES OF ACTIVITY

The Islamic Movement, Hamas, and Turkey – and, as noted, with Qatari financial aid – operate a number of organizations in Jerusalem which are intended to mainstream extremist elements. These entities strive to undermine Israel's sovereignty under the cloak of sponsoring legitimate civilian activities. A clear example is the Burj Al Laklak Sports Association, which complements its sports activities for young people while also functioning as a hotbed of incitement. Additionally, the Al Amman and Al Furkan education networks are managed by Hamas members, as are the Real Estate Aid Fund, the Qandil Fund, and the Zakat Al-Qads charity organization. Other examples include organizations that are subsidized by the Turkish entities active in Jerusalem – such as TIKA, KUTAD, the “Miratna” (“Our Heritage”) and the cultural center Younes Amra, whose offices are located on Bab Zahra Street in front of the Damascus Gate. Younes Amra finances and regulates a series of social, welfare and leisure activities. As mentioned, this is a familiar *modus operandi* of the Muslim Brotherhood, who win public sympathy through social activity and assistance to the population, and then slowly transform that sympathy it into extreme religious and political activity that serves undermines the PA authorities they wish to replace.



TIKA Conference with Islamic Movement officials

LACK OF GOVERNANCE

Israel's lack of effective governance, which is a central aspect of faltering sovereignty, is manifested in two ways that to a significant degree derive from each other and are interrelated: provision of services and enforcement of the law. The absence of adequate services impairs Israel's authority in these areas and undermines the willingness of the residents to accept enforcement. Examples of the deficient governance in the eastern neighborhoods can be found in the large gap between the number of social workers and community centers between the two parts of the city (east and west) in relation to the population.

There are also objective problems that play a role but the average resident is not interested in this. Other examples include the lack of transportation for students in certain neighborhoods, and most recently – more noticeable due to Hamas' ongoing war against Israel – the acute scarcity of shelters from Hamas or Iranian rockets and missiles for the population in the eastern neighborhoods. There are also many justified complaints about the lack of law enforcement for shootings and other criminal incidents, especially in the neighborhoods beyond the security fence. In all these spheres, criminal elements take root in the absence of law enforcement; those criminal elements are often clearly connected with terrorist organizations, and sometimes the differences between the two are blurred.

1. According to the Center for Community Centers, there are twenty-two community centers in the Jewish neighborhoods, and only six in the Arab neighborhoods. That ratio is 3.5:1 while the ratio between the populations is 1.55:1; that is, the Arabs have a deficit of more than double. This deficit is offset by organizations that are hostile to Israel and whose activities undermine Israel's sovereignty in the capital, and these adverse entities also assist with partial maintenance of the infrastructure.
2. For example, the recurring annual flooding every winter in the village of Akab and the dilapidated traffic infrastructure there, which according to local residents pose a real danger to life.
3. Thus, 2,000 units per year are required but only 1,100 are built, most of them are illegal, and 10-15% of these units are destroyed. According to data from the UN organization OCHA, roughly 50% of the buildings in these neighborhoods are illegal.

The absence of Israeli governance is also sensed in the realm of illegal construction, which results from the fact that building permits are not issued at a rate that corresponds to population growth. Today, after years of neglect and lack of enforcement, there are tens of thousands of illegal housing units in Jerusalem and the possibility of demolishing them all and leaving between 100,000-200,000 residents without a roof over their heads seems more remote than ever. The Arab population in Jerusalem lives close to the city. The Arabs cannot leave because proof residence is required in order to enjoy the social benefits granted by the resident card (blue identity card). Consequently, the city is burdened with a burgeoning number of Arab residents who cannot leave even if they so desired, and this is one of the main reasons for the significant increase in their proportion in the city's population. This is the conundrum of Jerusalem.

As aforementioned, Hamas and other Islamic welfare organizations which are also related to the Islamic movement in Israel fill the void when it comes to providing services and assistance to the population in the eastern neighborhoods of Jerusalem. Hundreds of associations and organizations have been established that provide welfare services, religion, health, education, leisure, charity, and even financial assistance all over the neighborhoods, thus taking the place of the Israeli authorities, who are seen more and more mainly as financiers (primarily through National Insurance) and providers of necessary services (e.g., Ministry of Interior bureaus) but not as the political entity on whom residents can rely for everyday matters. The services provided by the Islamic organizations are financed with foreign money, as noted, mainly but not exclusively Turkish and Qatari. They are also assisted by foreign groups operating in the city, predominantly Turkish - the Younes Amra cultural center, the Turkish state aid agency TIKA, and the Turkish consulate in Jerusalem, which operates without hindrance as it destabilizes Israeli rule in the city through these entities.



Turkish flag outside Al Aksa Mosque

The unambiguous objective of these organizations and activities is to create an effective, or at least accessible, alternative to Israeli rule in the city in its various facets. This is a phenomenon that transcends political subversion; the average citizen, who presumably is not yet subject to the influence of incitement, does not much care who provides him with the service he needs. He prioritizes receiving the service, but this becomes just the first step. The provision of services is, of course, wrapped in Islamic and anti-Israeli messages that eventually permeate and create fertile ground for both terrorism and disruptions of public order as well as a challenge to Israeli sovereignty in the city. The next step comes, naturally, when the organization providing the services manipulates and exploits the grateful population it served and subtly radicalizes it through the incessant influence of incitement.

Hamas, an integral part of the global Muslim Brotherhood movement, acted similarly in the Gaza Strip after Israel's withdrawal and won a significant victory in the only elections (about 70%) held after the withdrawal, winning approximately 70% of the vote. Hamas thus succeeded in eliminating the PLO from Gaza, which until then was the dominant body throughout the Palestinian Authority. Soon after Hamas' electoral victory, Hamas violently expelled the remaining Fatah elements and seized complete control over Gaza, with obvious implications today.

In Jerusalem, there is not presently any danger of a formal takeover by radical Muslim elements of the eastern neighborhoods in the city since Israel does not allow elections to be held for Palestinian institutions in Jerusalem. Nevertheless, there is an ongoing and steady appropriation of the city underway, Arab street by Arab street, step by step. This is an effort not only to drive out any Israeli alternatives to de facto Muslim governance but also to suppress any group or entity with which Israel would want to cooperate, such as Jordan (and even the Palestinian Authority together with Jordan), on the Temple Mount as the guardian of the holy places for Islam.

ADDITIONAL ASPECTS

THE PALESTINIAN 2030 PLAN

In March 2020, the Palestinian Authority government published a wide-ranging document proposing for a project costing approximately \$952,000,000 under the title SDSF 2030 (Special Development Strategy Framework). The program deals with the Palestinian vision regarding the future of Jerusalem as a metropolis and the central government city - a mega-city - which would be the heart of the future Palestinian state. As can be seen from the maps attached to it, the plan surrounds the Hebrew parts of Jerusalem with a chokehold from three sides, similar to the situation before the Six Day War but in a much more massive way.

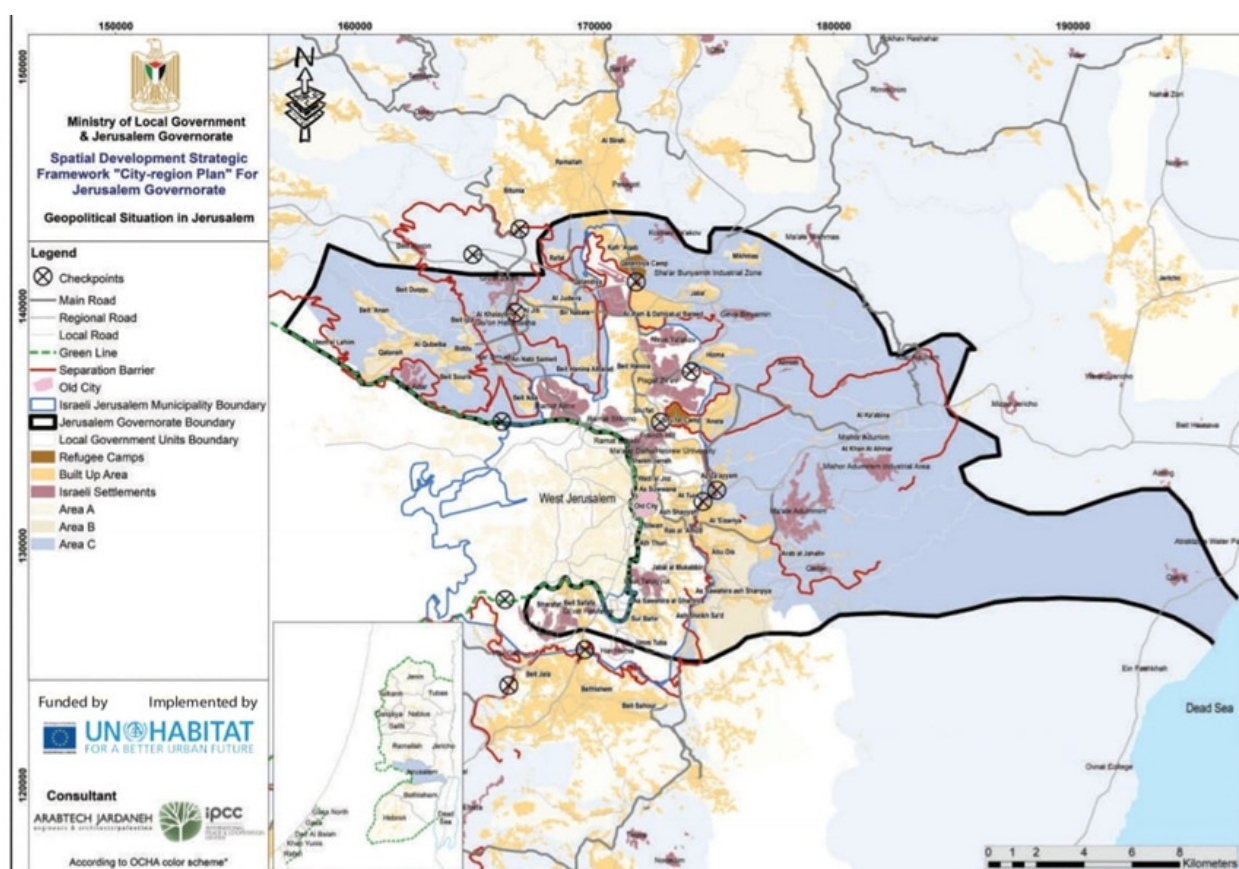
THE AUTHORS AND THE SUPPORTERS

According to the description, the plan was written by the official Palestinian institutions dealing with Jerusalem - the Ministry of Jerusalem Affairs and the Jerusalem District of the Palestinian Authority. Other institutions are also involved: the Ministry of Local Government, the Ministry of Agriculture, as well as non-governmental organizations such as the IPCC (the International Center for Peace and Cooperation, which is actually a Palestinian body in Jerusalem) and Arab-Tech Jardana, (a private provider, which sees itself as helping local planning throughout the Arab world and based in Amman). Other entities under whose auspices - and probably more than that - the paper was written, is the UN-Habitat organization - an organization that belongs to the United Nations and deals with urban planning and settlement around the world, and the European Union. In the list of entities that helped design the plan, you can find a long list of institutions and private individuals, and "a special thank you" is offered to two engineers belonging to UN-Habitat. The planning body is governed by the Steering Committee, which is subordinate to the "High Committee for Jerusalem" headed by Abu Mazen, chairman of the Palestinian Authority, and under it is the Technical Committee.

In the introduction, the authors point out that the paper is part of a planning project for area C, territory under the full control of Israel according to the Oslo agreements. Nevertheless, in these areas, the European Union, with the help of other international bodies such as UN-Habitat, acts unilaterally in complete disregard of the international agreements. Even the

reference in the document (which was published in 2017) to Jerusalem as part of Area C is a complete violation of these agreements. The authors of the 2030 SDSF plan emphasize in the introduction that, despite this, the content of the paper is the sole responsibility of the authors and does not necessarily reflect the position of the European Union or the United Nations. Additionally, the borders, definitions and names of the sites do not reflect their acceptance or agreement by the United Nations (the name of the European Union was omitted from the second formal reservation). However, Dr. Ahmed al-Atrash, the UN-Habitat representative, sits on the Steering Committee of the program (and as noted, this committee, on which the UN representative sits, is subordinate to the "Higher Committee" headed by the head of the Palestinian Authority, Abu Mazen.)

The plan reflects a proposed investment of close to a billion dollars over ten years (\$952,000,000, which is divided according to areas of activity and years of work).



The Palestinian Authority map of the Jerusalem district according to the 2030 plan

INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION

The implications of the plan signify a gross international intervention in the sovereign territories of the State of Israel and in territories controlled by Israel according to the agreements with the Palestinian Authority – agreements in which the institutions of the international community such as the United Nations and the European Union are partners. The plan is intended to sever a large part of Jerusalem from Israeli sovereignty and control, and moreover, constitutes a threat to Israel's territorial continuity as the planned Palestinian "Jerusalem district" extends from the Dead Sea until near Latrun, in the heart of the lowlands of Israel in the very center of the country.

Yet, this program, whose diplomatic and political motives are distinct and clear, may occupy a central place on the global agenda. This is occurring against a backdrop where there is only partial governance and enforcement when it comes to disruptions to the public order – in any sphere, including the political and diplomatic – in Jerusalem. It should be obvious that even foreign diplomats cannot do whatever they please in a host country; nevertheless, it seems that this rule applies in Jerusalem only partially, and violations are not only committed by the Turkish diplomats in the city (whose violations are blatant).

OPA – THE OFFICE FOR PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

There is another body in Jerusalem that challenges, by its very existence, Israel's sovereignty in the city. This is the diplomatic entity that operates, ostensibly, within the United States Embassy in Jerusalem, but in practice is completely independent and reports directly to the State Department in Washington and not to the United States Ambassador to Israel, who is presumably in charge. All OPA operations are directly and exclusively related to the Palestinian Authority. Some of them are done in Jerusalem, which apparently contradicts the American recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of united Israel as well as violates the American law that dictates that no diplomatic entity in Jerusalem can vitiate Jerusalem's status as Israel's capital. Some of the OPA's activities occur in the territories under the control of the Palestinian Authority.

These American activities parallel in nature the activity of European consulates located in Jerusalem but are, in fact, diplomatic representatives of their countries to the Palestinian Authority, again, in blatant violation of the law in the country, and notwithstanding Israel's neglect of these diplomatic offenses.

Other bodies that challenge Israel's sovereignty in Jerusalem and work to undermine it include the various UN organizations there, some of them archaic and without justification for their existence and activity, such as UNTSO, a body established in 1948 to supervise the armistice between Israel and the Arab countries. Decades ago, Israel signed peace agreements with the two central countries, Egypt and Jordan, and with the other two main ones, Syria and Lebanon, the situation created by the armistice has dramatically changed and the reality is completely different today.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We have already discussed the implications of the events and processes detailed above in this paper of the encroachment on Israeli sovereignty by foreign elements. They include:

- Undermining public order and governance/authority in all parts of the city.
- The rise of terrorist elements and radical Islam as a governmental alternative to the Israeli authorities.
- Loss of trust by the Arab population in the eastern neighborhoods - including that (significant) part of it that is interested in continuing to live under Israeli rule. Thus, an alternative is needed to the state of affairs from which the rest of the Palestinians suffer – an alternative in which it is the responsibility of the Israeli government to provide the essential needs, mainly security and civil, to the residents of these neighborhoods.
- Unlimited increase in foreign engagement in the daily affairs of Jerusalem, which is almost unconstrained, while undermining Israel's sovereignty and encouraging alternative, official and non-official, entities to occupy a central place in the management of the residents' lives.
- A danger to the continued existence and development of the united Jerusalem as the capital of Israel.

Therefore, the Jerusalem Center for Applied Policy recommends that the following steps be taken immediately:

- 1. Intensification of law enforcement towards the following entities, listed in this paper:**
 - A. Associations that incite and act against Israel.** Closer monitoring is required of their activities and the degree of compatibility between the formal registration of their institutional purpose and the actual activity on the ground. This may lead to civil legal sanctions, without necessarily involving the security forces.
 - B. Religious institutions and mosques**
 - C. Educational Institutions**
 - D. The eradication of foreign organizations and funding from any manifestation in Jerusalem.**
 - E. We recommend that the Jerusalem Municipality dedicate a control standard to the eastern neighborhoods, including supervision in such trivial areas as licensing, a license to hold events, building renovations and additions, municipal tax payments and even parking. These technical areas can limit the activities of entities that are already opposed to any form of Israeli rule in the city.**

2. We must find a solution for the growing plight of the city's Arabs regarding their involuntary attachment to Jerusalem that prevent them from moving freely in the country for the purpose of earning a living and improving their living conditions. In this framework, the regulations mandating that they live in Jerusalem in order to maintain their right to a blue identity card must be abolished. In addition, consideration should be given to granting a separate status to the neighborhoods that are outside the security fence, which today are almost ungovernable as they are legally under full Israeli sovereignty but largely lacking in enforcement capacity. The separate status will transform these neighborhoods into Israeli local authorities in every matter, including the granting of citizenship to their residents. This will also resolve the problem of the tens of thousands of illegal residents who currently reside in these areas in the absence of any enforcement while, of course, granting to these new localities the rights and benefits granted to other local authorities in Israel.

3. Establishment of an inter-ministerial governmental body to deal with the problem of illegal construction, in cooperation with the Jerusalem Municipality. As mentioned, according to the OCHA report from 2017, there are tens of thousands of housing units that are at risk of collapse and are a potential death trap for 100,000 to 200,000 residents. A solution must be found both for these buildings and those who live in them, and with a forward-looking view - to bridge the gap between the need for new housing units every year and the insufficient number of building permits granted. In the first stage, a comprehensive survey must be carried out that clarifies the extent of the illegal construction, its exact location, and nature.

4. The constant potential for escalation of tensions on the Temple Mount must be neutralized by increasing Israeli governance and enforcement on the Mount. Muslim religious officials in Jerusalem have expressed more than once, in confidential conversations, their dissatisfaction with the Israeli religious enforcement that is lacking when it comes to the modesty of visitors to the area. This implies that there is recognition and even expectation of the Israeli capacity to increase governance and enforcement. This, combined with the symmetry of interests between Waqf officials and the Israeli authorities regarding the extremist Islamic takeover attempts in the mosques, constitutes a possible favorable ground for significant Israeli steps in this direction, including underscoring an increased Israeli presence and affording equality of religious rights on the Temple Mount.

5. Simultaneously, action must be taken through elements in the eastern neighborhoods who are clearly interested (even if silently) in strengthening Israel's rule in their neighborhoods against the criminal elements - both criminal and radical Islamists - who make life difficult in these neighborhoods and impair the

lives of the residents who wish to earn a living and raise their children in a way that will allow them to integrate into the Israeli economy. (This they fairly and accurately see as the most promising way to secure a productive future.) We must have greater supervision over the mechanism that transfers the resources and presents viable options in the neighborhoods through these parties only. We ensure that only these parties are the address to the residents and the provision of their needs, which will thereby reduce the dominance of the alternative bodies, especially those operated by the Islamic movement, Hamas, Turkey, and Qatar.

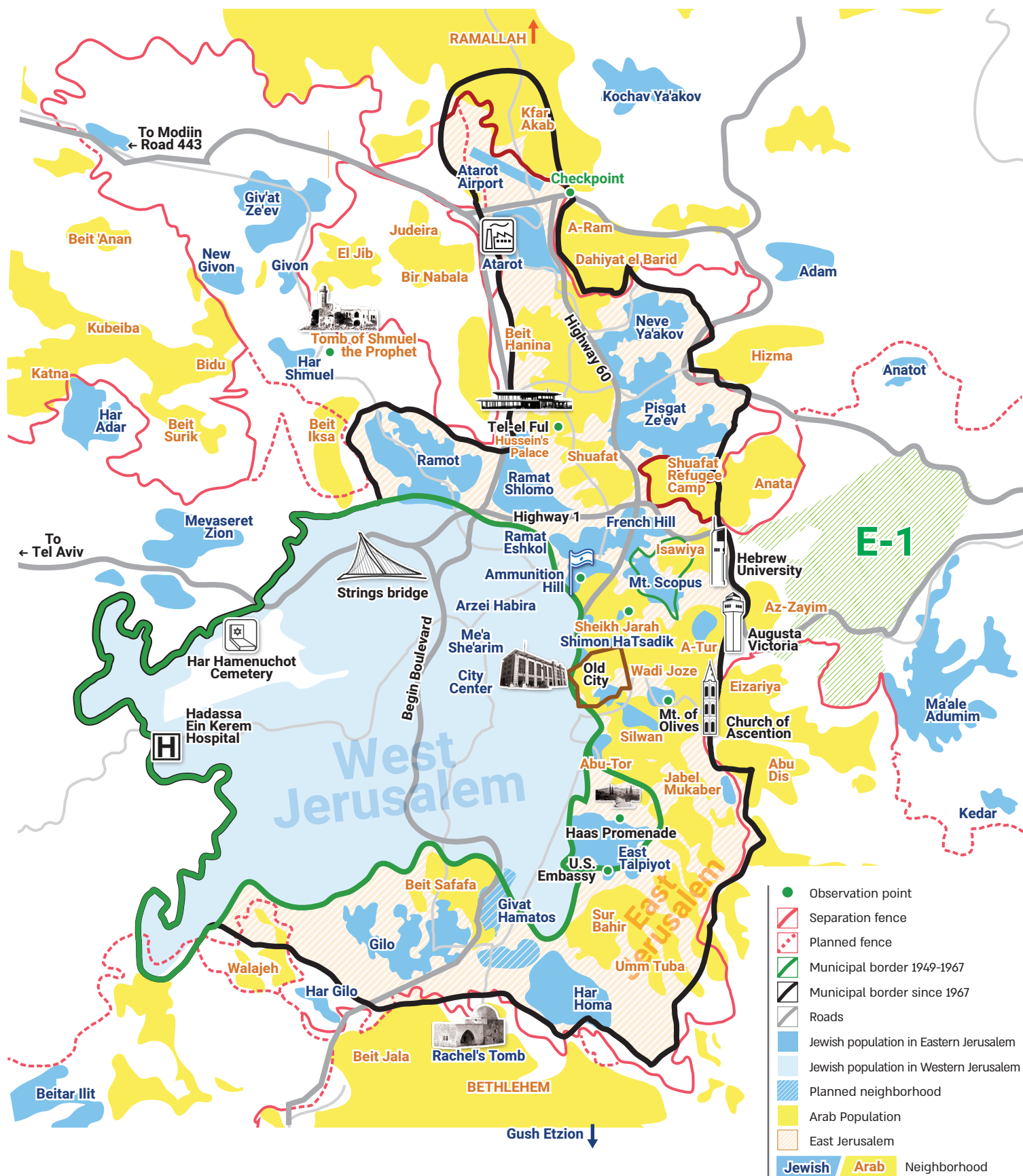
6. In this framework, we recommend that Israel strengthen and improve the routine response to these citizens in Arabic, starting with telephone response at the urban hotline. Many complaints find the current response to be insufficient and does not satisfy the needs of the residents. It is important to provide a rapid response to daily and existential needs both at regular times (such as the permanent seasonal water reservoir in the village of Akeb) and in emergencies (for example, a large shortage of both private and public shelters, including in educational institutions, in the eastern neighborhoods). The Home Front Command and the Jerusalem Municipality have begun to improve the situation during the current war, but there are still large gaps that must be overcome.



JERUSALEM GEOPOLITICAL MAP

AFTER 1967 AND CURRENT

New borders of Jerusalem drawn
 and Israeli law applied after the 6 Day War.
Eastern Jerusalem - area between the black and green lines
 Jewish population in eastern Jerusalem 220,000.
 Arab population in eastern Jerusalem 320,000.





THE OBJECTIVE: MAIN POINTS OF THE HAMAS CHARTER

Clause 6: To raise the Flag of Allah (not that of Palestine) over every inch of Palestine.

Atsam Amira, a resident of Jerusalem with an Israeli ID card and leader of the extremist terrorist organization Hezb al-Tahrir: "Palestinian citizenship is a nationalist colonialist invention. We are Muslims. There is no such thing as a Palestinian state. There is one thing, and that is Islam. The political framework in Islam is the Caliphate."

The Nazi-like ideology that drove the Hamas murderers to strike Israel so savagely on Oct. 7 thrives also in Hamas nests in the heart of Jerusalem. A large number of extremist elements have taken control of the Arab public in Jerusalem. They have done so in several ways, including via associations and organizations that sometimes seek to conceal the ideology behind their activities. Violence is occasionally used as well. Funding for this activities comes from abroad, primarily from Turkey and Qatar.

Mode of operation: Organizations and associations that function in a variety of areas of daily life, such as education, leisure, welfare, charity, economic aid to businessmen, construction and renovation. Thus they fill a void of municipal services and enhance their public influence.

Their growing influence is manifest in social events, where increasing numbers of Hamas flags are seen; in their ability to bring out rioters to the streets; in their enforcement of strikes and even closures in the outlying neighborhoods. In general, they are increasingly dominant in the city, at the expense of Israel, the Palestinian Authority, and Jordan (in connection with the holy sites).

Majdi Za'yer - the Malaysian "consulate" in Jerusalem



Atsam Amira, leader of the terrorist organization **Hezb al-Tahrir**. He is a resident of Sur Baher and a chief Temple Mount instigator.

Rami Fahouri, of the **Shabab Al-Aqsa**. He received terror funding from the Hamas headquarters in Turkey for the operation of cells in Jerusalem.

Bureij al-Laklak – a Turkish-funded association for sports and leisure. Also active in incitement to terrorism.

Family members of **Matzbah Abu-Tzabih**, They run **Shabab Al-Aqsa** and operate under the auspices of the **Palestinian-Turkish Friendship Association**. Abu-Tzabih murdered Levana Malihi and Yossi Kirmeh in Jerusalem in Oct. 2016.

Shabab al-Aqsa – the public arm of Hamas, with the goal of causing disturbances, including violence bordering on terrorism.

The Kendil Foundation – a Turkish fund for real estate investments in Jerusalem

"Reading Time" – a Turkish organization for education, study and leisure in schools

The National Islamic Forces

Hezb al-Tahrir – an ISIS-like terrorist organization. It advocates death for all non-Muslims, and its members attack Arabs who "stray from the Islamic way" in Jerusalem.

Kulana Maryam – a Turkish organization named for Mary, mother of Jesus; it is designed to attract anti-Israel Christians.

TIKA – a Turkish aid agency activated from the office of Turkish President Erdogan. It provides aid for education and welfare activities. It was thrown out of Jerusalem in 2018, but resumed operations this year.

The Permanent Qatari Committee – a Palestinian body that coordinates activities with Qatar. Headed by Gen. Balal Natashe of the PA Security Forces.

Miratana – a Turkish organization whose name means "Our Heritage." It seeks to educate in the spirit of the Ottoman Empire in Jerusalem

The Al-Aqsa Association – connected to the Islamic Movement in Israel. It funds activities to "uproot the occupation" in Jerusalem.

The Turkish-Palestinian Friendship Association

Other Qatari organizations in Jerusalem: **Qatar Charity**, which was outlawed and its leaders were arrested; **The Qatari Committee**, whose leaders were arrested in 2015; **The Jerusalem Fund**, a \$1 billion fund established a decade ago by order of the Emir of Qatar.



Akrameh Tzabari, head of the Supreme Muslim Council, former Mufti of Jerusalem, incites to terrorist activity

in his Temple Mount sermons. He is connected to the Permanent Qatari Committee and to **TIKA** of Turkey.

Mussa Hajazi, of "Kulana Maryam," contractor and money-man. Turkey's construction master in Jerusalem, he transfers money for Hamas in the city from **TIKA** and **KUTAD**.

Khaled Sabah, a resident of Sur Baher. Coordinator, with his sons, of Hamas activities in Jerusalem. A member of the **Al-Aqsa Association**, linked to the **Islamic Movement in Israel**, **Miratana** and **KUTAD**.

Jihad Yarmur, originally from Beit Hanina. Responsible for Hamas ties with **Turkish intelligence**.

Nahar Halasa, of Jabel Mukaber, former Chairman of that neighborhood's Parents Committee. He heads Hamas in Jerusalem.

Hakatla Islamiya – a Hamas organization in Al-Quds University

The educational networks Al-Farkan and Al-Aman, which operate schools in Jerusalem



SPOTLIGHT ON UNRWA JERUSALEM



The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees (UNRWA) was established in 1949 – even before UNHCR, which was formed in 1950 to help the millions of WW2 European refugees. UNHCR now helps all international refugees – except for Palestinian Arabs.

The original mandate of UNRWA was to supply employment and welfare to those defined then as Palestinian refugees (the definition has since expanded), and also to consult with Arab governments on ways to continue helping them. UNHCR has a mandate to help resettle "its" refugees and erase their refugee status, while UNRWA specifically does not.

Today, it appears that a large part of the employment aid supplied by UNRWA to those defined as refugees is in the form of direct employment by UNRWA itself, and not by finding other employment solutions. Out of 310,000 UNRWA employees, only some 200 (!) are foreigners receiving their salaries from the United Nations. All the others are Palestinians whose pay is based on foreign contributions to UNRWA. Unlike the UNHCR, which avoids employing locals who are recipients of its services, UNRWA does not make this distinction. That is, a vicious cycle has been formed in which a solution to (part of) the employment problem depends upon the very existence of the organization designed to find these solutions! The refugees are UNRWA's *raison d'être*, and therefore it has no incentive to resolve the Palestinian refugee problem.

Out of tens of thousands of Palestinian UNRWA workers, many thousands of them are from Gaza, Judea, Samaria and even neighborhoods of eastern Jerusalem. Many of them are both UNRWA employees and Hamas members, especially in Gaza. A Palestinian activist recently said as much to an IDF officer involved in bringing humanitarian aid into

Gaza: "Hamas is UNRWA." Other evidence of the close ties between Hamas and UNRWA is constantly being discovered by the IDF in Gaza, such as weapons in UNRWA schools.

This has been known since back in 2014, following the IDF's Operation Protective Edge, when then UN-Secretary-General Ban Ki Moon released a special report establishing that Hamas used UNRWA installations to store arms and weapons, and even to fire upon Israel.

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This pattern of hiding behind civilian entities for terrorism purposes and self-defense takes place under the auspices of entities funded by international donors. **Western governments, as well as the United Nations itself, thus fund this terrorist activity.**

Fascinatingly, UNRWA itself acknowledged all the way back in 1968 that the PLO terrorist organization was using its facilities in Lebanon for military purposes. Other reports, including one in 2009 by UNRWA's former legal counsel, James Lindsay, and an internal UN report in 2019,

noted corruption and inefficiency in UNRWA. As a result of these reports and suspicions of ethical misdeeds, Director-General Pierre Krahenbuhl left his position (and will become the next director-general of the Red Cross in April), and Belgium and Switzerland have announced that they are suspending their financial aid to UNRWA. Canada sought to do the same in 2010, but changed its mind at Israel's request.

In Jerusalem, a 2018 Jerusalem Institute report stated that six schools were operated by UNRWA – the same organization that serves as a comfortable greenhouse for Hamas terrorism in Gaza. In 2019, Israel's Council for Higher Education announced that these schools would be closed, following Trump Administration activity against UNRWA. As of now, however, some of these schools are still operating.

In Jerusalem, too, UNRWA makes criminal use – if not worse – of the properties allocated to it. For instance, an area in Kafr Aqeb, adjacent to Atarot, was given by the Jewish National Fund to UNRWA for the purpose of building a school – but in practice, a country club for Arab VIP's now stands there.

All of the above creates a picture of a situation that has been building up over the years, but only now, with the current war, has it become common knowledge. UNRWA's reputation as a body working sincerely for helpless refugees has deteriorated. We must take advantage of this development and act immediately to close all UNRWA institutions in Jerusalem. This is a completely justified move in terms of security, in light of UNRWA's organization's work in Gaza, with no favorable political opportunity in sight. We must utilize the situation for the benefit of both Israel's security and political interests, and remove the UNRWA threat from the neighborhoods of our capital city.



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