AUTHENTICATED
U.S. GOVERNMENT
INFORMATION
GPO

WORDS HAVE CONSEQUENCES: PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE AND MARKUP OF H. RES 293, EXPRESSING CONCERN OVER ANTI–ISRAEL AND ANTI–SEMITIC INCITEMENT WITHIN THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY

HEARING AND MARKUP

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED FOURTEENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

OCTOBER 22, 2015

Serial No. 114–111

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Affairs

Available via the World Wide Web: http://www.foreignaffairs.house.gov/ or http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/

U.S. GOVERNMENT PUBLISHING OFFICE

97–265PDF WASHINGTON : 2015

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Publishing Office
Internet: bookstore.gpo.gov Phone: toll free (866) 512–1800; DC area (202) 512–1800
Fax: (202) 512–2104 Mail: Stop IDCC, Washington, DC 20402–0001

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

EDWARD R. ROYCE, California, *Chairman*

CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, New Jersey
ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN, Florida
DANA ROHRABACHER, California
STEVE CHABOT, Ohio
JOE WILSON, South Carolina
MICHAEL T. MCCAUL, Texas
TED POE, Texas
MATT SALMON, Arizona
DARRELL E. ISSA, California
TOM MARINO, Pennsylvania
JEFF DUNCAN, South Carolina
MO BROOKS, Alabama
PAUL COOK, California
RANDY K. WEBER SR., Texas
SCOTT PERRY, Pennsylvania
RON DESANTIS, Florida
MARK MEADOWS, North Carolina
TED S. YOHO, Florida
CURT CLAWSON, Florida
SCOTT DESJARLAIS, Tennessee
REID J. RIBBLE, Wisconsin
DAVID A. TROTT, Michigan
LEE M. ZELDIN, New York
DANIEL DONOVAN, New York

ELIOT L. ENGEL, New York
BRAD SHERMAN, California
GREGORY W. MEEKS, New York
ALBIO SIRES, New Jersey
GERALD E. CONNOLLY, Virginia
THEODORE E. DEUTCH, Florida
BRIAN HIGGINS, New York
KAREN BASS, California
WILLIAM KEATING, Massachusetts
DAVID CICILLINE, Rhode Island
ALAN GRAYSON, Florida
AMI BERA, California
ALAN S. LOWENTHAL, California
GRACE MENG, New York
LOIS FRANKEL, Florida
TULSI GABBARD, Hawaii
JOAQUIN CASTRO, Texas
ROBIN L. KELLY, Illinois
BRENDAN F. BOYLE, Pennsylvania

AMY PORTER, *Chief of Staff* THOMAS SHEEHY, *Staff Director*
JASON STEINBAUM, *Democratic Staff Director*

CONTENTS

Page

WITNESSES

Mr. Elliott Abrams, senior fellow for Middle Eastern studies, Council on Foreign Relations 6
Jonathan Schanzer, Ph.D., vice president for research, Foundation for the Defense of Democracies 12
Mr. David Makovsky, Ziegler Distinguished Fellow, director, Project on the Middle East Peace Process, Irwin Levy Family Program on the U.S.-Israel Strategic Relationship, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy 26

LETTERS, STATEMENTS, ETC., SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING

Mr. Elliott Abrams: Prepared statement 8
Jonathan Schanzer, Ph.D.: Prepared statement 14
Mr. David Makovsky: Prepared statement 29

MARKUP OF

H. Res. 293, Expressing concern over anti-Israel and anti-Semitic incitement within the Palestinian Authority 54
Amendment in the nature of a substitute to H. Res. 293 offered by the Honorable Edward R. Royce, a Representative in Congress from the State of California, and chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs 59
Amendment to the amendment in the nature of a substitute to H. Res. 293 offered by the Honorable Matt Salmon, a Representative in Congress from the State of Arizona 66

APPENDIX

Hearing and markup notice 70
Hearing minutes 71
Markup minutes 72
Markup summary 74
The Honorable David Cicilline, a Representative in Congress from the State of Rhode Island: Jewish Members of Congress Condemn "Offensive and Incendiary" UNESCO Resolution Blaming Israel for Recent Surge in Violence 75

WORDS HAVE CONSEQUENCES: PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE AND MARKUP OF H. RES 293, EXPRESSING CONCERN OVER ANTI–ISRAEL AND ANTI–SEMITIC INCITEMENT WITHIN THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 22, 2015

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:12 a.m., in room 2172 Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Edward Royce (chairman of the committee) presiding.

Chairman ROYCE. This hearing will come to order. This morning we consider the recent wave of terror that has gripped Israel.

In a span of weeks, Palestinian militants have attacked more than 100 Jewish men, women, and children. Ten of those who have been knifed have died. A 2-year-old toddler, a 13-year-old on a bike, a 70-year-old woman on a bus are among those who were wounded. This is terrorism at its core when anyone who steps outside could be next.

These attacks, mainly stabbings, have been driven by a deliberately misleading message. Palestinian Authority officials and extremist clerics have falsely claimed that Israelis are trying to change the status quo by limiting Muslim access to the Temple Mount/al-Aqsa Mosque compound that is holy to both faiths.

The calls for killing have been amplified on social media as Arabic hashtags like "the knife intifada," "poison the knife before you stab," and "slaughtering the Jews," rapidly spread a message to attack those who are Jewish. Palestinian President Abbas regrettably has joined the hate speech.

Israel is contending with a deep-seated hatred, nurtured by Palestinian leaders over many years in mosques, in schools, in newspapers, and on television channels. Consider growing up in an environment in which television shows regularly glorify terrorists who have killed Israeli civilians; where you are taught that Jews are subhuman. Or watching a small boy interviewed on television who speaks of wanting to be an engineer, in his words, "so that I can build bombs to blow up all the Jews." Or seeing the family next door receive a generous stipend for their son igniting his suicide vest.

Perhaps most concerning, this culture of hate is being cultivated by Palestinian leaders. After being exposed day in and day out to these types of messages for most of their young lives, many of these young people will react and once the Palestinian President declares, in his words, "We welcome every drop of blood spilled in Jerusalem" there are consequences to that.

And it doesn't help when those in the media—or the Secretary of State for that matter—give this incitement a pass. Yes, there are many complexities in the Middle East, but there can be no moral equivalency when children as young as two are being stabbed. None. The U.S. should be speaking loudly and clearly—Palestinian officials must work to restore calm and renounce the incendiary statements. And its leadership must be confronted with the questions: How does this incitement serve the interests of Palestinian men, women, or children? How does this lay the groundwork for peace?

The international community also has a responsibility. There is the international outcry for the generations of children which are growing up on blind hatred. There is an outcry. But that outcry is pretty muted compared to what I have seen in the international press. We need to amplify that voice. We need to build on some of the things that we have done here in the hearings in order to try to convince the Palestinian Authority to toss these textbooks and go with a lesson plan that teaches coexistence. Given that about one-third of the Palestinian Authority's budget is financed through foreign aid, international donors have leverage on this. They should be using that leverage. They could follow the lead of the U.S. Congress and make direct funding of the PA off limits until the incitement stops.

This is a very tough time for Israel. It is my hope that President Abbas and others will seek to restore calm in the coming days and incitement is challenged so reconciliation has a chance.

And I now turn to the ranking member for any opening comments that Mr. Eliot Engel of New York might have.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you for calling this hearing. Obviously, the Palestinian violence in Israel and the West Bank is reaching a crisis point. Our immediate goal must be to demand that those responsible end this senseless and lawless bloodshed. But it is also important that we seek to understand why this violence has reared up now, while continuing to demonstrate unwavering support for our ally, Israel.

I am glad that our witnesses are here to be part of this conversation. Let me say to all of you: Welcome to the Foreign Affairs Committee.

It is heartbreaking, I have to say, to wake up seemingly every morning to a new report of a stabbing or shooting of an innocent civilian in Israel. I can only imagine what it is like for the victims and their loved ones, and no person anywhere should have to live with that kind of fear.

And let me just say for people who have grievances and who feel that the Government of Israel hasn't done what it should do: Terrorism is not the answer. And I support a two-state solution. But the Palestinians will never get their state on the backs of terrorism. If they think that they can use terrorism to get their state,

they are sadly mistaken and that has to be understood by everyone.

These are innocent civilians who have had no role whatsoever in anything. And it is terrorism pure and simple when you go and just stab somebody or make them afraid that you are going to harm them when they are just innocent civilians in the street.

That is not anything that should in any way, shape, or form be condoned and there is no moral equivalency. No government anywhere should hesitate to defend its citizens from that sort of violence and why there would be any question about that baffles me.

Israel has the right to defend itself and its people, plain and simple, and we know what the Israelis are up against.

This wave of violence isn't some random flare up. It is the product of years and years of anti-Israel propaganda and indoctrination, some of which has been actively promoted by Palestinian Authority officials and institutions.

These ugly ideas have been woven into Palestinian society and media for decades. Books that teach children that Israelis are their enemies, political cartoons depicting Jews as apes and pigs, the glorification of terrorists as martyrs and heroes in a holy war—every slur, every slogan, every lie told about Israel and Jews is like adding another piece of kindling to the stack. One small spark and it starts burning and that is what we are seeing today.

The best option for stopping these attacks would be for Palestinian leaders to demand an end to the violence and bring those responsible to justice.

Unfortunately, that is not what we are hearing from the Palestinian Authority. Instead, we are hearing a false equivalence between terrorists and Israeli law enforcement. We are hearing blame put on the Israelis for defending their people.

False claims about changing the status quo on the Temple Mount, lies about the Israelis executing an attacker when that attacker is actually being treated in an Israeli hospital—statements like these just throw gasoline on the fire.

Chairman Royce and I are circulating a letter to President Abbas imploring him to repudiate this wave of violence and to stop the PA's incitement of this brutality.

So much depends on bringing a quick end to these attacks because in addition to the horrible cost of life and limb crises like this one play into a much bigger picture.

With each drop of blood shed, the goal of a two-state solution becomes harder and harder to reach. Violence and terrorism will never be the foundation of a peaceful future.

Palestinians need to put down their knives and guns and their leaders need to come back to the negotiating table with no preconditions.

I sincerely hope for the sake of Israelis and Palestinians alike that President Abbas shows real leadership in the days ahead.

For now, I think it is important that we continue to speak out against the mayhem that this Palestinian violence has brought to Israel.

I look forward to hearing from our witnesses about what is behind this recent violence, how it will be halted and what, if anything, we can do to help reach that goal more quickly.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I yield back.

Chairman ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Engel.

We are going to go to 2 minutes for our chairwoman and ranking member of the Middle East Subcommittee, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, and then to Ted Deutch.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much, Chairman Royce and Ranking Member Engel, for convening this important and timely hearing and for calling forward the resolution I introduced alongside my friend and south Florida colleague, Congressman Ted Deutch, House Resolution 293, for markup immediately following today's hearing.

As you said, Mr. Chairman, words do have consequences and so also do actions and what we have seen for far too long from the Palestinian Authority and Abu Mazen words and actions that are designed to incite violence, stoke tensions between Israelis and Palestinians, and shut down the path to a peaceful settlement between the two.

Why do we see this? Because Abu Mazen is weak and self-serving. This is the only course of action he can take as a charade to attempt to look strong to the Palestinian people.

But the Palestinian people have grown tired of his failed leadership and they don't trust him nor his corrupt allies. So what does he do when the people start to turn on him? He turns them against Israel.

When in doubt, the PA blames Israel in order to deflect the tension away from its own shortcomings. We will never see peace achieved between the two until we see real leadership from the Palestinians, leaders who are willing to work for the Palestinian people instead of against Israel.

The Palestinians need a leader who is willing to reach peace instead of inciting violence and that man has never been nor will ever be Abu Mazen.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman ROYCE. Thank you, Ileana.

Mr. Ted Deutch.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thanks to the ranking member for moving specifically to hold this hearing to examine the official Palestinian incitement as this wave of violent attacks continues in Israel.

I want to welcome back the witnesses today. I look forward to a productive discussion, one that I trust and know will be rooted in fact.

Let me first add, I believe the last 2 weeks of violence in Israel is a direct result of incitement. These attacks aren't about protecting religious rights. They are acts of terrorism.

Let me be clear. All violent attacks on innocent civilians must be condemned, regardless of whether the perpetrators are Palestinians or Israelis, and I welcome statements by Prime Minister Netanyahu condemning violent attacks of revenge and warning against vigilantism.

But these recent attacks flow directly from Palestinian figures attempting to turn a political conflict into a religions conflict by making false and inflammatory accusations about Israeli actions with respect to the Temple Mount.

These kinds of messages have nothing to do with the current political situation between the Israeli Government and the Palestinian Authority.

When President Abbas himself says, "We welcome every drop of blood spilled in Jerusalem," that sends a dangerous message that violence is the only way to preserve Muslim sites.

Unfortunately, incitement within official channels of the PA is nothing new. There are countless examples in official textbooks, social media pages, and television speeches that call for armed conflict or depict Jews as dirty pigs.

President Abbas came to power on a platform of nonviolence. He pledged to seek a stable Palestinian state through direct negotiations with Israel. If this is still his platform he must speak out to his people. He has yet to condemn one stabbing or armed attack in the past few weeks, instead, choosing to go on television and claim that Israel was engaged in the summary execution of children.

And as Secretary Kerry said this week, President Abbas had been committed to nonviolence. He needs to be condemning this loudly and clearly and he needs to not engage in the incitement that his voice has sometimes been heard to encourage.

That has to stop. Mr. Chairman, if officials within the Palestinian Authority never publicly acknowledge the benefits of the cooperation that is taking place between the Palestinian security forces and Israeli forces to calm the situation, if they never prepare their people for what peace looks like, a Palestinian state living side by side next to the Jewish state of Israel, and if their children never see Israel existing on a map in their textbooks, they continue to refuse to condemn the recent acts of terror, incitement will unfortunately continue and peace will, unfortunately, be dramatically harder to obtain.

I yield back.

Chairman ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Deutch.

This morning we are pleased to be joined by a distinguished panel. We have with us Mr. Elliott Abrams, a senior fellow for Middle Eastern studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. Prior to this, Mr. Abrams served as the deputy national security advisor in the previous administration.

Dr. Jonathan Schanzer is vice president for research at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies. Dr. Schanzer has written two books on the region and served as a counter terrorism analyst at the Department of Treasury.

And Mr. David Makovsky is a director and distinguished fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East policy. Mr. Makovsky recently served as a senior advisor to Secretary of State Kerry on the Middle East.

And without objection, the witnesses' full prepared statements are going to be made part of the record here and members will have 5 calendar days to submit any statements, questions, or extraneous material for the record.

So we will start with Mr. Abrams. Please summarize your remarks and let us get the microphone right about there.

STATEMENT OF MR. ELLIOTT ABRAMS, SENIOR FELLOW FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES, COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. ABRAMS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for holding this hearing.

What leads a teenager to stab or attempt to stab to death someone he or she had never met? Stabbing is the most intimate of attacks. It is not setting a bomb for people you will never see. It is not shooting from a distance. It is reaching out to someone inches away from you and taking that person's blood.

The answer is, I think, the teaching of hate, as the statements you have made indicate. We use the term incitement but that is a polite way of saying the teaching of hatred—the demonizing and dehumanizing of Jews.

Teaching hate by honoring terrorists, teaching hate by telling lies about what is happening on the Temple Mount. You can read in the press sometimes that these killings are the product of poverty and hopelessness or disappointment about the peace process.

But, you know, there is not more poverty or hopelessness in October than there was in June. That is not the explanation. It doesn't explain the timing.

So why now? I think the most logical explanation is these lies about changes at the Temple Mount, that Israel is undermining it or defiling it, and those lies are being repeated not only in the Palestinian media but by the top Palestinian leadership.

Several of you have quoted President Abbas on this question. Once the violence began, the Palestinian leadership, unfortunately, starting with President Abbas, have been feeding it. And, again, you have used some of the terrible terminology that he has used.

"Each drop of blood that was spilled in Jerusalem is pure blood"—President Abbas. He accused Israelis of "the summary execution of our children in cold blood." This was a reference to a Palestinian teenager who is alive.

Once could go through lots of examples of the glorification of individual terrorists. Probably the worst is Dalal Mughrabi, a woman who was involved in the killing of 37 civilians, 12 of them children, in a 1978 bus hijacking.

She has been turned into an absolute hero. There are schools and summer camps and sports tournaments named after her. The PA celebrated the 31st anniversary of that terrorist attack with an hour-long TV special. The Palestinian Bar Association decided about a week ago to award a great honor to Mohammed Halabi, a 19-year-old who killed two Israelis on October 3rd, stabbing them to death in the old city of Jerusalem. They call him a heroic martyr and gave him an honorary law degree.

Well, the U.S. Government reaction to all this has been to condemn incitement. The problem is that we have been condemning incitement for decades but we never do anything about it and it is a bipartisan error. We don't do anything about it under administrations of both parties.

Usually, there is something else we want more that day or week or month. We want the Palestinians to do something with the U.N. or not do something with the U.N. or we have a negotiation coming.

So what do we do? It is not an easy question, because if you think about "Let us cut off every cent for the PA" the first people to tell you "Oh, don't do that," will be the Government of Israel because if the PA collapses it collapses into their laps.

So I have just three suggestions. First, close the PLO office in Washington and do not let the PA open an office here until there has been real progress in stopping in the incitement by PA institutions and officials.

Second, if we cannot usefully stop all PA funding, let us try to stop the illegal personal funding, the corruption that is rife there. It is widely known that corruption has increased significantly since Salam Fayyad resigned as Prime Minister 2½ years ago. We should be doing more in investigating and preventing corruption.

And third, we should keep track of who is doing the incitement that you have referred to. Who are the individuals doing that incitement, and they should be barred from getting visas for the United States, at least for a time.

There ought to be a personal price to pay. These are not panaceas, these three steps, but they are better than what we usually do, which is, frankly, nothing.

What we have seen in the last few weeks, the teaching hatred and glorifying terror, eventually results in acts of terror that reflect that hatred. So we need to act ourselves.

Thank you for inviting me here today. I look forward to any questions you may have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Abrams follows:]

COUNCIL on FOREIGN RELATIONS

October 22, 2015

Words Have Consequences: Palestinian Authority Incitement to Violence

Prepared statement by
Elliott Abrams
Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies
Council on Foreign Relations

Before the
House Committee on Foreign Affairs
United States House of Representatives
1st Session, 114th Congress

Hearing on "Words Have Consequences: Palestinian Authority Incitement to Violence"

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

Thank you for this invitation to appear before you today.

The subject of this hearing could not be more important, as we know from the terrorist attacks in Israel in the last few weeks.

What leads a young person, a teenager, to stab or attempt to stab to death someone he has never met? Stabbing is the most intimate of attacks—not setting a bomb for people you will never see, not shooting at a distance, but reaching out to someone inches away from you and taking that person's blood. The answer, I believe, is the teaching of hate.

The Council on Foreign Relations takes no institutional positions on policy issues and has no affiliation with the U.S. government. All statements of fact and expressions of opinion contained herein are the sole responsibility of the author.

"Incitement" is the term we usually use, but hatred is what we mean. "Incitement" means teaching generations of Palestinians to hate Jews by demonizing and dehumanizing them; teaching hate and terror by honoring terrorists; and teaching hate by telling lies about what is happening at the Temple Mount or *Haram al-Sharif* and other Muslim religious sites.

I have read in the press that the killings are the product of poverty and hopelessness among Arabs, or disappointment about the so-called "peace process." I don't buy it. There's no more poverty or hopelessness in October than there was in, say, June or January. Poverty doesn't explain the timing. Nor do poverty or economic problems explain why you pick up a knife a start stabbing and killing this week.

So, why now? The most logical explanation is Palestinian lies about the Temple Mount, about how Israel is undermining it and attacking it and defiling it. Those lies are being repeated in Palestinian media and worse yet by the top Palestinian leadership. Palestinian Authority President and PLO leader Mahmoud Abbas early on during the crisis that "Al-Aqsa is ours and so is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. They have no right to desecrate them with their filthy feet."

Let's put aside that claim to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is absurd. Now, we would not blame Muslims for protesting peacefully a move to defile their holy sites, but that's an absolute lie. Telling that lie has the predictable effect of spurring violence.

Moreover, once the violence began Palestinian leaders began giving verbal support to it. Abbas himself said "Each drop of blood that was spilled in Jerusalem is pure blood as long as it's for the sake of Allah. Every shahid (martyr) will be in heaven and every wounded person will be rewarded, by Allah's will."

And as you know he then accused Israel of the cold blooded murder—"summary execution of our children in cold blood," he said—of a Palestinian teen-ager—who was first of all a terrorist who was stabbed two Israelis and secondly is not dead, but is being treated in an Israeli hospital. So instead of calming tensions what we get from Abbas is lie after lie to stoke the tension. I am aware that Palestinian police have worked to stop the violence on many occasions, as I am aware that Abbas has denounced the arson at Joseph's Tomb in Nablus. This suggests to me that Abbas is against any outbreak of uncontrollable violence in the West Bank, which he rules, but content to see violence spread in Jerusalem and all of Israel.

The background to the current wave of violence is the pattern of glorification of terrorists. Here is perhaps the best, meaning the worst, example, from Palestine Media Watch:

> Dalal Mughrabi led the most deadly terror attack in Israel's history. 37 civilians, 12 of them children, were killed in her 1978 bus hijacking. The Palestinian Authority has turned this terrorist into a

---

2

> celebrated hero and role model, as schools, summer camps, and sports tournaments are all named after her. Her attack was celebrated by a Fatah spokesman as "the most glorified sacrifice action in the history of the Palestinian-Israeli struggle." [Al-Ayyam, July 13, 2008] Palestinian newspapers also frequently glorify Mughrabi, as in the Al-Ayyam article which described Mughrabi as writing "the most glorious page of heroism in the history of the Palestinian struggle. [Aug. 2, 2009] The PA celebrated the 31st anniversary of the killings with an hour-long TV special, which opened with the narrator glorifying the attack. Advisor to Mahmoud Abbas, Deputy Secretary of the Fatah Revolutionary Council, Sabri Saidam said on the day of the naming of a square in her name: "Every one of us has tried in his own way to express his pride in this Martyr [Mughrabi]." [Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, March 14, 2011]

There are many other examples one could cite, but let me just give one more from the current wave of terrorism.

Muhannad Halabi, who was 19, killed 2 Israelis, Rabbi Nehemiah Lavi and Aharon Bennett, and injured Bennett's wife, Adele, and their 2-year-old son in a stabbing attack in the Old City of Jerusalem on Oct. 3, 2015. Following the attack, he was shot and killed by Israeli security forces. The Palestinian Bar Association decided one week later on Oct. 10, 2015 to award Halabi, whom they called a "heroic Martyr," an honorary law degree and to dedicate its swearing-in ceremony for the next class of lawyers after him.

It is also worth adding that the glorification of terror is not only a problem at the Palestinian Authority, but at the United Nations as well. The invaluable NGO "UN Watch" last week detailed glorification of terror by employees of UNRWA, the UN's agency dealing with Palestinians. UN Watch reported on 9 UNRWA employees who in the last weeks, during the violence, incited more of it by posting posted banners, videos, and cartoons glorifying the stabbings and killings. UN Watch showed a Facebook page by an UNRWA employee with an image of a man in the Palestinian black and white kafiyyeh holding a knife in the colors of the Palestinian flag and the text: "Stab Zionist dogs." The United States is the largest contributor to UNRWA, so we are in a position to demand that employees who support terror are summarily dismissed. Instead, there is a culture of impunity at UNRWA.

But let's return to the U.S. Government. After Tuesday October 13, when three Israelis were killed, the State Department spokesman said "We mourn any loss of innocent life, Israeli or Palestinian. We continue to stress the importance of condemning violence and combating incitement."

He's right about combating incitement. The problem is, we're not doing it.

3

This is a bipartisan error: administrations of both parties have, over the decades, decried and condemned incitement but we've never made it a central issue. There has always been some other pressing matter that took precedence: we wanted to get the Palestinians to back a UN resolution or oppose one, to come to the negotiating table, to have a smooth visit, or to hire or fire some official, so the immediate always came before the matter of deeper long-term importance: incitement, which means teaching hatred.

And to be fair to all those administrations, including when I served in the Executive Branch, it is difficult to know exactly what to do. When there are calls to stop the funding of the PA, it is usually the government of Israel that winces. It does not want to see all governmental functions in the West Bank fall back into its lap because the PA collapses.

So what can be done?

Let me suggest three steps. First, close the PLO office in Washington and do not permit the opening of a PA office until the incitement stops. Second, if we cannot usefully stop all PA funding, let's try to stop the illegal personal funding, the corruption, that is rife there. We can demand investigations, or undertake them; you could make it a condition of spending appropriated funds. It is widely understood in the region that since the departure of Salam Fayyad as prime minister almost two and a half years ago corruption has increased steadily. Third, we should keep track of who is doing the incitement, by name, and be sure they are barred from getting visas at least for a period of time.
These steps are not panaceas, but they are better than what we usually do—which is very little or nothing. But we have seen in the last few weeks that teaching hatred and glorifying terror eventually results in acts of terror that reflect hatred.

Thank you for inviting me here today. I look forward to answering any questions you may have.

---

*

STATEMENT OF JONATHAN SCHANZER, PH.D., VICE PRESIDENT FOR RESEARCH, FOUNDATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACIES

Mr. SCHANZER. Chairman Royce, Ranking Member Engel, members of the committee, on behalf of FDD, thank you for the opportunity to testify.

The current violence can be traced to Palestinian allegations that Israel seeks to change the status quo on the Temple Mount.

Israel controls access to the site but it does not interfere in matters of religious prayer and over the last year there have been approximately 4 million Muslims on the site compared to just 12,000 Jews.

Yet, the Palestinian media is filled with wild reports that Israel seeks to undermine Muslim rights there, and at the forefront of this campaign is WAFA, the news agency of the PLO.

To calm tensions, Israel has barred ministers and parliamentarians from entering the Temple Mount, and when Jews visit, they are forbidden from praying. Israeli security enforces this rather strictly.

Unfortunately, Mahmoud Abbas, who is both PLO chairman and Palestinian Authority President, has taken no steps to reduce tensions. In a speech last week, Abbas accused Israel of working to change the status quo and he accused Israel of terrorism and shooting Palestinian children in cold blood.

Abbas now faces some tough choices. He can back a third intifada and ride the support of his people. But the chaos could upend his rule in the West Bank. He also risks invoking the ire of the Israelis, who could easily topple him.

If he stands down, he can maintain security cooperation with Israel to fight the domestic forces that threaten his grip on the West Bank. But in so doing, he fails to galvanize his people.

This is why Abbas has tacitly embraced the unrest but has not unleashed PLO or PA forces against Israel.

Interestingly, Hamas also has one foot in the uprising and one foot out. Hamas has kept a lid on the violence in Gaza for fear of another war that could devastate their territory.

But Hamas is a key driver of the stabbings and other violence in the West Bank and Jerusalem. For Hamas, the benefits of fomenting unrest in the West Bank are two-pronged. They get to challenge Israel and also undermine their political rival, the Palestinian Authority, which they have tried to unseat for more than a decade. None of this poses a risk to Hamas' grip on Gaza.

With neither Abbas nor Hamas fully committed to war, social media has taken an outsized role.

One particularly disturbing hub is the Palestine Dialogue Forum, or PLDF, which depicts Jews as monkeys and pigs, Palestinian toddlers wearing Hamas headbands and wielding knives, and worse, they promote hashtags calling for the Jerusalem intifada and the knife intifada.

Hamas and Fatah also maintain dangerous social media channels calling for Palestinians to embrace violence. I identify these and many other outlets in my written testimony.

Mr. Chairman, amidst all of this, the Obama administration has issued talking points that have arguably led the Palestinians to be-

lieve that their violence is justified. To put it mildly, this is unhelpful.

I am often asked whether this is a third intifada. In short, I don't know, but I can offer the following six suggestions.

Number one is halt Iranian cash to Hamas. Iran's financial ties with Hamas are well documented. After Iran begins to receive sanctions relief, pursuant to the nuclear deal signed this summer, Hamas stands to benefit even more. Congress must stop these funds from flowing.

Number two, pressure Qatar and Turkey to stop supporting Hamas. Both countries, because of their status as U.S. allies, think they can support Hamas without being viewed as state sponsors of terrorism. Congress should not let this stand.

Number three, target the PLO. The PLO is technically the peace-negotiating body for the Palestinians. In reality, it is a bloated and opaque organization that has consistently stymied diplomacy. Congress should consider punitive measures until the PLO halts its incitement. More broadly, it should rethink its recognition of the PLO.

Number four, investigate the Palestine National Fund. The PNF is the official financial organ of the PLO. The PNF receives funding from the PA budget, to which America contributes 20 percent. The PNF uses its funds to help the families of "martyrs, " and it funds Palestinian media organs. Congress should determine whether the U.S. funds the PNF and take action accordingly.

Number five, stop the Palestine 194 campaign. When Israel responds to terrorist attacks, the Palestinian Authority alleges war crimes. This is part of a campaign designed to both delegitimize Israel and pave the way for unilateral declaration of statehood. Congress should clarify U.S. policy on this dangerous campaign.

And finally, prepare for Palestinian succession. Washington must hasten the orderly exit of Mahmoud Abbas. After a decade of corruption and poor governance, he lacks the ability to lead. This has been made clear by his half-hearted stance on Palestinian violence. Now is the time to make plans for a new leader.

Mr. Chairman, thank you again for inviting me here today. I look forward to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Schanzer follows:]

Congressional Testimony

Words Have Consequences:
Palestinian Authority Incitement to Violence

Jonathan Schanzer
Vice President for Research
Foundation for Defense of Democracies

Hearing before the
House Foreign Affairs Committee

Washington, DC
October 22, 2015

FDD
FOUNDATION FOR DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACIES
1726 M Street NW • Suite 700 • Washington, DC 20036

Jonathan Schanzer October 22, 2015

Chairman Royce, Ranking Member Engel, members of the committee, on behalf of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, thank you for the opportunity to testify.

My testimony will analyze the current wave of Palestinian violence in the West Bank and Israel, with a focus on the recent campaign by the Palestinian Authority to draw attention to the Temple Mount. I will then analyze the role and calculus of the various Palestinian players in the current violence. Finally, I will provide some policy recommendations for this committee to consider.

A Third Intifada?

Mr. Chairman, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict has flared again. The violence can best be characterized as a concerted campaign of knife attacks against Israeli civilians and military personnel, peppered with other attempts at vehicular homicide and even bombings. Since October 1, eight Israelis have been killed while dozens have been wounded in no less than 44 attacks.[1] It's unclear yet whether we can call this a third intifada. For it to be characterized as such, it would require the full backing of Palestinian leaders across the political spectrum. Despite the incitement of both the Fatah and Hamas factions, it's safe to say that neither has committed fully to an all-out conflict right now with Israel. I will explain below why they are holding back.

Temple Mount Tensions

Mr. Chairman, the Palestinian narrative right now focuses on their rage over purported Israeli attempts to change the status quo on the Temple Mount/Haram ash-Sharif, the site holy to both Jews and Muslims. There are troubling signs that this unrest was premeditated. Indeed, it looks like the resumption of the unrest that erupted in June 2014 before last summer's 50-day war between Israel and Hamas. The name given to the unrest, then as today, was the "Jerusalem Intifada." The epicenter of that violence, then as today, was the Temple Mount.[2]

The Temple Mount is one of the thorniest issues in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It is a deeply meaningful and holy site to both Muslims and Jews. Keeping the peace at this site has been a delicate issue since Israel conquered the Old City in 1967. The Israelis control the territory, but they have allowed for Jordan, with input from Palestinian religious authorities, to administer the site.[3] For years, Israeli law prohibited Jews from praying on the site, but Israel's Supreme Court overruled this in 1993.[4] In recent years, the number of Jews that have gained access to the site during hours proscribed by Israel and the administering authorities has increased. This includes

---

[1] "Live Updates: Terror Strikes Israel," *Israel Defense Forces Blog*, October 19, 2015, (https://www.idfblog.com/blog/2015/10/19/live-updates-terror-strikes-israel/)
[2] Jonathan Schanzer, "Jerusalem on a Knife's Edge," *Foreign Policy*, November 10, 2014, (http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/11/10/jerusalem-on-a-knifes-edge/)
[3] Arab states neglect Al-Aqsa says head of Jerusalem Waqf," *Al-Monitor*, September 5, 2014, (http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/09/khatib-muslim-endowments-israel-jordan-al-aqsa.html)
[4] "The Status of the Status Quo at Jerusalem's Holy Esplanade," *International Crisis Group*, Middle East Report No. 159, June 30, 2015, pages 15-16. (http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/Middle%20East%20North%20Africa/Israel%20Palestine/159-the-status-of-the-status-quo-at-jerusalem-s-holy-esplanade)

some Israeli politicians and religious groups who seek to assert Israeli sovereignty.[5] But according to Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, access to the Temple Mount compound is still overwhelmingly Muslim. Indeed, over the last year, there have been approximately four million entries by Muslims, 200,000 by Christians, and just 12,000 by Jews.[6]

To be clear, the status quo has not changed. Israel controls access to the site as a means to maintain the delicate peace, but it does not involve itself in matters of religious practice or prayer. Yet, over the last year, a disturbing pattern has developed. Palestinian elements, apparently led by the PLO, have led an effort to stoke religious tensions at the sensitive site with wild reports that Israel is trying to "Judaize" or undermine Muslim rights to pray there. At the forefront of this campaign to foment hate is WAFA, a news agency effectively controlled by the PLO. As one Arab newspaper noted, WAFA is one of the Palestinian "governmental media institutions."[7]

In January of this year, the chairman of the PLO's Jerusalem Affairs Department, Ahmed Qurei, warned of an Israeli plan to register the al-Aqsa Mosque as an Israeli state property to be officially run by the so-called Tabu (land registration) office. The Al-Aqsa Foundation for Endowment and Heritage (AFEH) claimed this was setting the stage for a Jewish synagogue over parts of the holy Mosque. Qurei further stated that Israel was "Judaizing" the mosque and re-building the "alleged" Jewish Temple. "This is the most serious [action taken by Israel] that jeopardizes the future of the holy city," he said.[8]

The following month, WAFA cited Qurei warning about assessments made by Israeli engineers and contractors for new archeological excavations under the Temple Mount. In a press release, Qurei said that the Israeli government was trying to "empty the area [of] its indigenous citizens as a prelude to take over the land for the sake of settlement expansion."[9] The PLO news agency, WAFA, added to the tensions claiming that nearly a thousand Israelis "stormed" the al-Aqsa compound during the previous month.[10]

In March, WAFA issued a report stating that Jewish settlers were preparing to storm the al-Aqsa compound. The report alleged, "Jewish groups that define itself by the name of the alleged ancient Temple are preparing for the Jewish holiday Passover by mobilizing the largest number of settlers to enter Al-Aqsa Mosque and perform religious prayers in its yards."[11] This was followed by a report that Israeli police, "physically assaulted and beat up [a ten-year-old girl],

---

[5] "Sharp Rise in Jewish Visits to Temple Mount," *The Times of Israel,* January 27, 2015. (http://www.timesofisrael.com/sharp-rise-in-jewish-visits-to-temple-mount-seen/)
[6] Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs website, (http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Issues/Pages/Palestinian-incitement-and-terrorism-Oct-2015.aspx)
[7] "About Palestinian Media," *Palestinian Media Watch,* (http://palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=914)
[8] "PA Warns Against Jewish Bid to Annex al-Aqsa Mosque," *Wafa News Agency,* January 14, 2015. (http://english.wafa.ps/index.php?action=detail&id=27573)
[9] "Israel to Launch New Excavation Work Under al-Aqsa Mosque," *Wafa News Agency,* February 15, 2015. (http://english.wafa.ps/index.php?action=detail&id=27854)
[10] "965 Israelis Storm al-Aqsa Mosque During January," *Wafa News Agency,* February 3, 2015. (http://english.wafa.ps/index.php?action=detail&id=27765)
[11] "Jewish Settlers Mobilize for Mass Entry to al-Aqsa Mosque on Passover," *Wafa News Agency,* March 25, 2015. (http://english.wafa.ps/index.php?action=detail&id=28145)

who along with other worshipers chanted religious slogans against a group of Jewish fanatics who entered the Mosque to perform religious rituals."[12]

The wild and unsubstantiated charges continued through the spring. WAFA in April claimed that, "Jewish settlers…broke into Al-Aqsa Mosque Compound through [the Dung Gate] bridge, and toured its yard under the heavy protection of Israeli police units." In May, the PLO mouthpiece claimed several Palestinians were arrested "at the gates of al-Aqsa Mosque compound in the Old City for chanting religious slogans to fend off settlers' attempts to tour the mosque's yards. The two elders…were physically assaulted by the police before they were arrested."[13]

During the summer, the Palestinian leadership called for an emergency Islamic summit "in light of latest Israeli escalations at al-Aqsa mosque compound in Jerusalem."[14] This came on the heels of reports that Israel had seized land adjacent to the eastern wall of the al-Aqsa mosque,[15] and that settlers were continuing "attacks against al-Aqsa mosque,"[16] and insulting the Prophet Mohammed while on the al-Aqsa compound.[17]

In September, Mahmoud Abbas complained to the UN General Assembly that, "extremist Israeli groups are committing repeated, systematic incursions upon Al-Aqsa Mosque, aimed at imposing a new reality and dividing Al-Haram Al-Sharif."[18] Soon after, Hamas declared a "day of rage" in the West Bank. Several Palestinians were wounded in clashes with Israelis.[19] Abbas took this as a cue to warn of an "intifada that we don't want" if escalations at al-Aqsa continue.[20]

As violence gripped Jerusalem, WAFA continued to complain that, "Jewish fanatics resumed their provocative visits to al-Aqsa Mosque."[21] The rhetoric has only increased, fanning the flames of conflict as Palestinians have taken to lone-wolf style attacks to stab Israelis on the streets.

---

[12] "Israeli Police Assaults Minor as Settlers Break Into al-Aqsa," *Wafa News Agency,* March 15, 2015. (http://english.wafa.ps/index.php?action=detail&id=28076)
[13] "Israel Arrests 14 Palestinians in Jerusalem, Youth in Hebron," *Wafa News Agency,* May 25, 2015. (http://english.wafa.ps/index.php?action=detail&id=28563)
[14] "Foreign Ministry Calls for Emergency Islamic Summit to Discuss al-Aqsa Mosque," *Wafa News Agency,* August 31, 2015. (http://english.wafa.ps/index.php?action=detail&id=29217)
[15] "Israel Seizes Land Near al-Aqsa Mosque to Establish National Park," *Wafa News Agency,* August 16, 2015. (http://english.wafa.ps/index.php?action=detail&id=29095)
[16] "Government: Israel's Targeting of al-Aqsa Mosque Drags the Region into Religious War," *Wafa News Agency,* July 26, 2015. (http://english.wafa.ps/index.php?action=detail&id=28923)
[17] "Jewish Settler Insults Islam's Prophet Mohammad at al-Aqsa Mosque," *Wafa News Agency,* July 28, 2015. (http://english.wafa.ps/index.php?action=detail&id=28937)
[18] "Full Text of Abbas's 2015 Address to the UN General Assembly," *The Times of Israel,* September 30, 2015. (http://www.timesofisrael.com/full-text-of-abbas-2015-address-to-the-un-general-assembly/)
[19] "Three weeks of unrest in Jerusalem, West Bank," *Agence France Presse*, October 4, 2015, (http://news.yahoo.com/three-weeks-unrest-jerusalem-west-bank-150836897.html)
[20] "Abbas Warns of Risk of New Intifada if Israeli Escalations at al-Aqsa Continue," *Wafa News Agency,* September 22, 2015. (http://english.wafa.ps/index.php?action=detail&id=29377)
[21] "Settlers Resume Provocative Visits to al-Aqsa Compound Amid Growing Tension," *Wafa News Agency,* October 11, 2015. (http://english.wafa.ps/index.php?action=detail&id=29522)

In an effort to calm tensions, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu recently ordered police to prevent Israeli ministers and members of Knesset from entering the Temple Mount.[22] The Israelis continue to make it clear that even when Jews visit the Temple Mount, they are not to pray there. Israeli security personnel enforce this strictly. However, the PLO continues to fan the flames of conflict. Their problem appears to be the very presence of Israelis and Jews on the Temple Mount.

The Palestinian Leadership

The Palestinian Authority leadership is complicit, too. The quasi-government structure is virtually indistinguishable from the PLO. Mahmoud Abbas, who serves as both PLO chairman and Palestinian Authority president, is now echoing PLO incitement.

In the speech in Ramallah last week, Abbas charged that Israel is working towards a "change in the status quo of Al Aqsa Mosque compound," adding that he would, "not allow any Israeli schemes aimed at compromising its holiness and Islamic identity to pass." He stopped short of calling for violence against Israel, but he accused Israel of committing "terrorism against our people, our holy places, our homes, our trees, and the shooting of our children in cold blood as they did with the child Ahmed Manasra and other children from Jerusalem."[23]

Abbas was referring to Ahmed Manasra, a 13-year old boy whom Israeli police shot when his brother ran toward them wielding a knife.[24] Ahmed Manasra was not killed. He was taken to an Israeli hospital where he is now in stable condition. Abbas has since walked back his claim.[25]

Abbas, to his credit, brought an end to the second intifada (2000-2005) by reining in a panoply of violent factions that his successor, Yasser Arafat, unleashed after rejecting a peace deal brokered by Washington to end the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.[26] Abbas has since kept a lid on violence, even working closely on security cooperation with Israel.[27] But he has at the same time refused meaningful diplomacy with Israel. Instead, he has launched a diplomatic pressure campaign known as Palestine 194, which is intended to isolate Israel and ultimately pave the way for a Palestinian declaration of statehood without negotiating key final status issues with the Israelis.[28]

---

[22] "Netanyahu bans ministers, MKs from Temple Mount," *The Times of Israel*, October 8, 2015, (http://www.timesofisrael.com/netanyahu-bans-ministers-mks-from-temple-mount/)
[23] "President Abbas' Speech: Peace, security and stability will not be achieved unless the occupation ends," PLO Negotiations Affairs Department, October 15, 2015, (http://www.nad-plo.org/etemplate.php?id=586)
[24] "Terrorist Abbas Said was 'Executed' by Israel Shown Alive in Hospital," *The Times of Israel*, October 15, 2015. (http://www.timesofisrael.com/terrorist-abbas-said-executed-by-israel-shown-alive-in-hospital/)
[25] "Abbas's office walks back 13-year-old's 'execution' charge," *JTA*, October 16, 2015, (http://www.timesofisrael.com/abbass-office-walks-back-13-year-olds-execution-charge/)
[26] Roee Nahmias, "Abbas: 2nd Intifada was a Mistake," *YNet News* (Israel), May 26, 2010. (http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3894519,00.html)
[27] Ben Caspit, "Israeli Security Officials View Abbas as Key to Stability," *Al-Monitor*, November 13, 2014. (http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/ja/originals/2014/11/idf-abbas-security-cooperation-third-intifada-terrorism.html#)
[28] Jonathan Schanzer & Grant Rumley, "Palestine's Plan for When Peace Talks Fail," *The National Interest*, March 17, 2014. (http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/palestines-plan-when-peace-talks-fail-10061)

Abbas is now ten years into a four-year term with a government that is widely viewed as irredeemably corrupt. This has made him deeply unpopular among his own people.[29] The outbreak of the current round of violence presents the aging Palestinian leader with a gambit. He can back a third intifada and ride the support of his people, but this strategy comes with terrible risk. The accompanying chaos might unleash forces that could overtake him in the West Bank. Moreover, if he openly endorses an uprising as Yasser Arafat did before him, he risks invoking the ire of the Israelis, who could easily topple him.

On the other hand, if he stands down, he can maintain security cooperation in place with Israel, which is key to fighting off the domestic forces that threaten his grip on the West Bank. But in so doing, he loses the opportunity to galvanize the Palestinian people. As it stands now, Abbas fears that his place in Palestinian history will be as a leader who failed to achieve independence for his people.

It is for this reason that Abbas has tacitly embraced the uprising (lauding popular resistance), but he has declined to mobilize the assets of the PLO and the PA against Israel. One could certainly argue that he has done nothing to temper the dangerous environment that has put the Palestinian-Israeli conflict on the edge of another round of violence, but he has not launched a third intifada. This approach, neither here nor there, has managed to frustrate both his own people and the Israelis. It has even prompted a rebuke from Washington.[30] It is unclear how much longer he can sustain this approach.

Hamas

Hamas also has one foot in the uprising and one foot out.

On the one hand, Israel's internal security services, the Shin Bet, have fingered the Palestinian terrorist group as a key driver of the stabbings and other acts of violence raging in the West Bank and Jerusalem.[31] The group's leader, Ismail Haniyeh, has repeatedly called for an intifada.[32] In Gaza, where the Hamas is based, dozens of Gazans rushed the Israeli border at the Erez Crossing several times this month, prompting the Israel Defense Forces to fire on the crowd.[33] There have also been rockets fired out of Gaza, eliciting Israeli reprisals.[34]

---

[29] Khaled Abu Toameh, "Poll: Majority of Palestinians Want Abbas to Resign, No Longer Support Two-State Solution," *The Jerusalem Post,* September 21, 2015. (http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Poll-Majority-of-Palestinians-want-Abbas-to-resign-no-longer-support-two-state-solution-417792)

[30] "Kerry Warns Abbas Against Inciting Violence," *Agence France Presse*, October 16, 2015, (http://www.timesofisrael.com/kerry-warns-abbas-against-inciting-violence/)

[31] "Shin Bet: Hamas, Islamic Movement fueling current wave of terror," *The Times of Israel*, October 11, 2015. (http://www.timesofisrael.com/shin-bet-hamas-islamic-movement-fueling-current-wave-of-terror/)

[32] "Hamas Gaza Chief Calls Unrest a New 'Intifada'," *Agence France Presse*, October 9, 2015, (http://news.yahoo.com/hamas-gaza-chief-calls-unrest-west-bank-intifada-112057570.html)

[33] Adel Zaanoun, "Unrest spreads to Gaza as Israeli troops kill six Palestinians," *Yahoo News*, October 9, 2015. (http://news.yahoo.com/israeli-fire-kills-four-palestinians-clashes-gaza-border-130321090.html)

[34] Fred Lambert, "Israel: IDF launches airstrike in Gaza strip after rockets land in southern Israel," *UPI*, October 11, 2015. (http://www.upi.com/Top_News/World-News/2015/10/11/Israel-IDF-launches-airstrike-in-Gaza-strip-after-rockets-land-in-southern-Israel/1161444596377/)

But, as Amos Harel writes in the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz*, it was Palestinian Islamic Jihad – the smaller and less influential Iran-backed terror group – believed to be behind the border incidents.[35] And it's still unclear whether Hamas was connected to the attempted rocket attacks. Indeed, a Salafi group linked to the Islamic State claimed responsibility for Friday's attacks.[36] In short, Hamas has prevented the violence from spilling over into Gaza.

The absence of a concerted push for violence out of Gaza can be traced to an initiative, led by Qatar and Turkey, to facilitate the reconstruction of Gaza after last summer's war. As some media outlets have reported, Qatar is now operating in Gaza with multi-million dollar projects.[37] It even offered to fund an electricity generating facility – based in Israel – to ensure that Gazans get enough power.[38] Turkey's role in all of this has gone rather undocumented, but a senior Turkish official assured me that his country's role was no less significant.

The two countries are strong financial and political backers of Hamas, and have not exactly been shy about their support for Hamas' strategy of violence. But they currently share a few strategic interests with Israel. One is their mutual fear of Salafi groups and Islamic State "wannabes" that could challenge Hamas' grip on power in the Gaza Strip. Another is a mutually destructive war, the end result of which could also potentially unseat Hamas.

With reconstruction efforts underway, Hamas has reluctantly agreed to keep the situation calm in Gaza. It is for this reason we have seen relatively few rockets hurtling into Israeli airspace since last year's war.

Hamas' calculus is also driven by its desire to unseat its political rivals. As journalist Avi Issacharoff recently noted, "Hamas has cleverly managed to position itself as joining the protests of West Bank Palestinians without endangering its own interests."[39] Its interests include fanning the unrest in the West Bank in order to foment instability in the Palestinian Authority, which Hamas has long sought to topple. In fact, this was part of Hamas' strategy last summer, when Palestinian protests erupted in East Jerusalem and the West Bank.[40]

---

[35] Amos Harel, "Israel Strikes Gaza Targets After Rocket Intercepted Over Southern Israel," *Haaretz* (Israel), September 30, 2015, (http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.678101). See also: @DannyNis, "Analysis seems to be that Palestinian Islamic Jihad pushing for military escalation in Gaza, Hamas wants restraint," *Twitter*, October 10, 2015. (https://twitter.com/DannyNis/status/652909779208306688).

[36] "IAF strikes Hamas targets in Gaza in response to rocket fire," *Israel Hayom*, October 11, 2015. (http://www.israelhayom.com/site/newsletter_article.php?id=28793)

[37] Emily Harris, "Why Israel Lets Qatar Give Millions To Hamas," *NPR*, June 18, 2015. (http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2015/06/18/414693807/why-israel-lets-qatar-give-millions-to-hamas)

[38] "Qatar announces new projects in Gaza," *Middle East Monitor*, June 3, 2015. (https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/middle-east/19026-qatar-announces-new-projects-in-gaza)

[39] Avi Issacharoff, "Terror upsurge's main beneficiaries are Hamas and Israel's Islamic Movement," *The Times of Israel*, October 11, 2015. (http://www.timesofisrael.com/terror-upsurges-main-beneficiaries-are-hamas-and-israels-islamic-movement/)

[40] Isabel Kershner, "Israel Says Hamas Ring Plotted West Bank Attacks," *The New York Times*, November 27, 2014. (http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/28/world/middleeast/israel-says-hamas-ring-plotted-west-bank-attacks-.html?_r=0)

Today, Hamas is active all across the West Bank. The group's West Bank external leadership and its fighters in the territory are mobilized and fighting.[41] Their flags and propaganda are ubiquitous. And there is no reason to think they plan to stop fomenting the violence anytime soon.[42] The benefits for Hamas are two-pronged. They get to challenge Israel and also undermine their political rival, the Palestinian Authority, which they have tried to unseat for much of the last decade. None of this poses a risk to Hamas' grip on its Gaza enclave.

Social Media

With neither the Palestinian Authority nor Hamas fully committed to the current wave of violence, it is reasonable to wonder how this campaign of lone wolf attacks has been sustained. Social media may be playing a significant role.

One particularly disturbing hub is the Palestinian Dialogue Forum, or Paldf, which has 121,000 Twitter followers, a Facebook page with over 80,000 "likes," and a popular website with multiple chat rooms for Palestinians and their supporters to interact and debate.[43] On any given day, the site posts sentiments from across the West Bank and Gaza that eschew peace with Israel.[44] Since the outbreak of the current round of violence, however, the vitriol on Paldf has reached new lows. It includes drawings of Israeli Jews depicted as monkeys and pigs,[45] Palestinian toddlers in Gaza wearing Hamas headbands and wielding knives,[46] and cartoons depicting the al-Aqsa compound as under the control of Israel.[47] These pictures and cartoons are almost always accompanied by various hashtags, such as "The Jerusalem Intifada," or "An Intifada has erupted," of "The Knife Intifada."[48]

Another disconcerting website is the Palestine Information Center. It boasts a Twitter feed with 76,000 followers, a Facebook page with nearly a million "likes," and regularly posts toxic images with the "Jerusalem Intifada" hashtag. The page's "About" section lists its headquarters in Gaza, and it routinely posts pamphlets from Hamas.[49]

---

[41] Orlando Crowcroft, "Hamas Official: We Were Behind the Kidnapping of Three Israeli Teenagers," *The Guardian,* August 21, 2014. (http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/21/hamas-kidnapping-three-israeli-teenagers-saleh-al-arouri-qassam-brigades)

[42] "Hamas Said to be Plotting Big West Bank Terror Attack," *The Times of Israel,* October 17, 2015. (http://www.timesofisrael.com/hamas-said-to-be-plotting-big-west-bank-terror-attack/)

[43] Palestinian Dialogue Forum website, (https://www.paldf.net/forum/)

[44] Jonathan Schanzer and Mark Dubowitz, *P@lestinian Pulse: What Policymakers Can Learn From Palestinian Online Social Media.* (Washington, DC; FDD Press, 2010).

[45] @paldf, *Twitter*, October 15, 2015. (https://twitter.com/paldf/status/654735442848276480)

[46] Paldf_inst, *Instagram*, October 13, 2015. (https://instagram.com/p/8wexhCvLDL/)
(This is a reference to the Quran, verse 5:60, http://corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=5&verse=60)

[47] @paldf, *Twitter*, October 14, 2015. (https://twitter.com/paldf/status/654275061055000577)

[48] "Social Media as a Platform for Palestinian Incitement – Praise for Stabbing Attackers, Threats of Further Attacks," *The Middle East Media Research Institute,* October 14, 2015. (http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/8797.htm)

[49] Palestinian Information Center, *Facebook*, October 15, 2015. (https://www.facebook.com/palinfo/photos/a.120138181355599.7758.105409946161756/906411819394894/?type=3&permPage=1)

Hamas maintains multiple official channels via social media to promote its violent ideology. The official Arabic language website of Hamas is updated regularly, and exhorts its readers to take up violence.[50] With 11,000 followers, @qssamsms is the official twitter handle of the Hamas military wing and its website, www.qassam.ps. Another twitter handle, @HamasInfo, is filled with photos and calls for violence. Interestingly, @HamasInfoEn, its English-language counterpart is far more muted in tone.

Not to be outdone, several social media sites claiming affiliation with Mahmoud Abbas's Fatah faction have incited through violent postings. One such posting on a Fatah Twitter account posted an actual photo of an Israeli stabbing victim in the hospital with the knife still lodged in his neck,[51] while a cartoon depicts a masked Palestinian strumming a knife like a violin with a key to his pre-1948 home, suggesting that nationalist music is made through stabbings.[52] Still others showed militaristic scenes like Palestinians in battle gear staring at the al-Aqsa mosque,[53] or Palestinians destroying Hebrew street signs, suggesting that Israel is being destroyed.[54] Almost all have used the "Aqsa Anger" hashtag.[55]

The Role of the U.S. Administration

Mr. Chairman, amidst all of this, the Obama Administration has embraced some dangerous rhetoric of its own. To be clear, the White House is not inciting to violence. But it has adopted positions that have arguably led the Palestinians to believe that they are justified in their attacks.

For example, Secretary of State John Kerry last week linked the ongoing violence to Israeli settlement construction. "There's been a massive increase in settlements over the course of the last years, and now you have this violence because there's a frustration that is growing."[56] But this is untrue. Settlement growth has ebbed to historic lows in the last few years.[57] But even if settlements were on the rise, it is difficult to understand why the White House would cite this as a justification for violence.

Similarly, State Department spokesman John Kirby linked the violence to Israel's policies on the Temple Mount. "The status quo has not been observed, which has led to a lot of the violence," he said.[58] In so doing, Kirby appeared to adopt some of the wild claims made by the PLO's news

[50] Hamas website, (http://hamas.ps/ar/)
[51] @fateha1965, *Twitter*, October 8, 2015. (https://twitter.com/fateha1965/status/652119533734494208)
[52] @fateha1965, *Twitter*, October 12, 2015. (https://twitter.com/fateha1965/status/653820889591582721)
[53] @fateha1965, *Twitter*, October 8, 2015. (https://twitter.com/fateha1965/status/652019321955352576)
[54] @fateha1965, *Twitter*, October 13, 2015. (https://twitter.com/fateha1965/status/654084832033685505)
[55] @fateha1965, *Twitter*, October 8, 2015. (https://twitter.com/fateha1965/status/652132153610780672)
[56] Michael Wilner, "Kerry links wave of terrorism in Israel to settlement activity," *The Jerusalem Post*, October 14, 2015. (http://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Politics-And-Diplomacy/Kerry-to-visit-Israel-amid-crisis-423892)
[57] Chaim Levinson, "Is Netanyahu responsible for rise in settler numbers?" *Haaretz*, October 14, 2015. (http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/.premium-1.680304)
[58] John Kirby, Interview, Daily Press Briefing, U.S. Department of State, October 14, 2015. (http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2015/10/248215.htm)

agency mentioned above. Under fire, Kirby quickly issued a clarification. "I did not intend to suggest that status quo at Temple Mount/Haram Al-Sharif has been broken," he ceded.[59]

Finally, Kirby claimed to have seen "reports of what many would consider excessive use of force.... [Israeli] security activity that could indicate the potential excessive use of force."[60] This prompted outrage from Jerusalem, which has struggled to keep its citizens safe from knife attacks. Israeli security has quelled attacks by force, but characterizing this as excessive is hard to fathom. Kirby retreated on this point at a subsequent press briefing, stating, "We have never accused Israeli security forces with excessive force with respect to these terrorist attacks."[61]

Mr. Chairman, if Washington wishes to help Israel quell the violence, such statements are unhelpful. In fact, they could be viewed as justification for the ongoing violence.

This rhetoric also sends the wrong message to other countries around the region, which are now seething. Jordan's parliament accused Israel of "barbaric crimes"[62] and protests swept across the country.[63] Turkey's head of religious affairs warned Israel of crossing "a red line for every Muslim living in the region,"[64] while Tunisia's foreign ministry released a statement condemning Israel for "a blatant violation of international humanitarian conventions."[65]

The administration should be working to defuse this anger rather than fanning it.

Recommendations

Mr. Chairman, the road ahead will be challenging, but I offer a handful of concrete steps this committee might consider.

1. **Track and Halt Iranian Cash to Hamas.** While it has encouraged lone wolf attacks through political speeches and the media, Iran has not, to my knowledge, played a direct role in this current round of unrest. However, its longstanding financial ties with Hamas are well documented, including in the most recent *Country Reports on Terrorism* issued by the U.S.

---

[59] @statedeptspox, "Clarification from today's briefing: I did not intend to suggest that status quo at Temple Mount/Haram Al-Sharif has been broken," *Twitter*, October 14, 2015. (https://twitter.com/statedeptspox/status/654456347354906624)
[60] John Kirby, Interview, *Daily Press Briefing*, October 14, 2015. (http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2015/10/248215.htm)
[61] Michael Wilner, "US walks back criticism of Israel security response to terror wave," *The Jerusalem Post*, October 15, 2015. (http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/US-walks-back-criticism-of-Israel-security-response-to-terror-wave-426119)
[62] "Jordan's Parliament Accuses 'Israeli Enemy' of State Terrorism," *The Times of Israel*, October 10, 2015. (http://www.timesofisrael.com/jordans-parliament-accuses-israeli-enemy-of-state-terrorism/)
[63] Suzanna Goussous, "University Students Around Jordan Express Solidarity with Palestinian Resistance," *The Jordan Times*, October 13, 2015. (http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/university-students-around-jordan-express-solidarity-palestinian-resistance)
[64] "Division of al-Aqsa a 'Red Line': Turkey's Top Cleric," *World Bulletin*, October 16, 2015. (http://www.worldbulletin.net/news/165328/division-of-al-aqsa-a-red-line-turkeys-top-cleric)
[65] "Tunisia Denounces Israeli Military Escalation Against Palestinian People – MFA," *All Africa*, October 13, 2015. (http://allafrica.com/stories/201510141003.html)

Department of State.[66] After Iran begins to receive $150 billion in sanctions relief, pursuant to the nuclear deal signed this summer, Hamas stands to benefit. Whether through legislation or through encouraging executive action, Congress must find ways to halt these funds from flowing to Hamas.

2. **Pressure Turkey and Qatar to Stop their Support for Hamas.** Pressure on countries like Turkey and Qatar will be key to constraining Hamas, both politically and financially. Their status as U.S. allies has allowed them to support a terrorist group without coming under the same scrutiny as other state sponsors of terrorism. Congress should not let this stand. As Secretary of State John Kerry stated in 2009 when he was a U.S. senator, "Qatar…cannot continue to be an American ally on Monday that sends money to Hamas on Tuesday."[67] The same goes for Turkey.

3. **Target the PLO.** The root of the tensions on the Temple Mount can be clearly traced back to the propaganda of the PLO's news agency WAFA. The PLO is technically the peace negotiating body for the Palestinians. In reality, it is an impediment to peace. It is a bloated organization that lacks transparency and has consistently stymied diplomacy with Israel rather than accept compromise. Congress should consider punitive measures until the PLO halts its incitement. More broadly, it should rethink its recognition of this bloated body that has outlived its usefulness.

4. **Investigate the PNF.** The Palestine National Fund is often viewed as the main financial body of the PLO.[68] The PNF receives funding from the Palestinian Authority budget, to which America contributes some 20 percent annually.[69] The PNF has in the past used its funds to "to help families of 'martyrs,' and to educate refugees, as well as funding Palestinian media organs."[70] Congress should determine whether the U.S. directly or indirectly funds the PNF, and take action accordingly.[71] The United States should not be contributing to PLO incitement.

5. **Put a Stop to the Palestine 194 Campaign.** As Israel labors to defend itself against Palestinian terrorist attacks, the Palestinian Authority claims that the response constitutes war crimes, and they have thus vowed to turn to the International Criminal Court.[72] This is part and parcel of the Palestine 194 campaign, which is designed to both delegitimize Israel and

---

[66] U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Counterterrorism, "Chapter 3: State Sponsors of Terrorism Overview," *Country Reports on Terrorism 2014*, (http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2014/239410.htm)
[67] John Kerry, "Restoring Leadership in the Middle East: A Regional Approach to Peace," Remarks at the Brookings Institution, March 4, 2009. (www.brookings.edu/~/media/Events/2009/3/04%20leadership/0304_leadership.PDF)
[68] "Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)," Embassy of the State of Palestine in Malaysia, (www.palestineembassy.org/plo.html)
[69] "PA 2013 Draft Budget Excludes Fuel Revenues," *Ma'an News Agency*, April 6, 2013. (www.maannews.net/eng/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=576647)
[70] "Jaweed al-Ghussein: PLO Treasurer Kidnapped by Arafat," *The Independent*, August 27, 2008. (www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/jaweed-alghussein-plo-treasurer-kidnapped-by-arafat-909610.html)
[71] For more see: Doron Peskin, "Abbas and the Mysterious Multi-Billion Dollar Fund, *Ynet* (Israel), October 19, 2015, (http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4713280,00.html)
[72] Khaled Abu Toameh, "Abbas Accuses Israel of 'Aggressive Offensive' Despite Day of Palestinian Terror Attacks," *The Jerusalem Post*, October 14, 2015. (http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Abbas-accuses-Israel-of-aggressive-offensive-despite-day-of-Palestinian-terror-attacks-424969)

pave the way for unilateral declaration of statehood at the United Nations. Washington right now appears ambivalent about the PLO-led campaign. Reports suggest that the White House may even back some of these diplomatic maneuvers.[73] This is a reward for bad behavior and must not stand. Congress should consider legislation that clarifies the U.S. position on this dangerous campaign.

6. **Prepare for Palestinian Succession.** Washington must pave the way for the orderly exit of Mahmoud Abbas and his clique. After a decade of corruption and poor governance, he lacks the ability to lead. This was made abundantly clear by his half-hearted stance on Palestinian violence. One can even argue that the stagnation in Palestinian politics has added to the frustration on the street. New parties and new leaders must now be given an opportunity to emerge. However, the PA currently lacks legitimate political challengers, not to mention a clear plan for succession. As my FDD colleague Grant Rumley notes, now is the time for Washington to help Palestinians make plans for the future.[74]

Conclusion

Mr. Chairman, there are many aspects of the current conflict that I did not have time to address today. If I have missed anything you wish to discuss, I am happy to answer your questions.

On behalf of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, I thank you again for inviting me here today.

---

[73] Akiva Eldar, "Will US endorse French UN resolution on Palestinian statehood?" *Al-Monitor*, May 18, 2015, (http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/05/israel-palestine-diplomatic-process-us-un-resolution-france.html#)

[74] Grant Rumley, *The Race to Replace Mahmoud Abbas: Understanding and Shaping Palestinian Succession*, FDD Press, September 2105. (http://www.defenddemocracy.org/content/uploads/publications/Rumley_Understanding_Palestinian_Succession.pdf)

Chairman ROYCE. Thank you, Dr. Schanzer.

Mr. Makovsky.

STATEMENT OF MR. DAVID MAKOVSKY, ZIEGLER DISTINGUISHED FELLOW, DIRECTOR, PROJECT ON THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS, IRWIN LEVY FAMILY PROGRAM ON THE U.S.–ISRAEL STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP, THE WASHINGTON INSTITUTE FOR NEAR EAST POLICY

Mr. MAKOVSKY. Chairman Royce, Ranking Member Engel and distinguished members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to discuss the situation in Jerusalem.

In discussing it, we should be clear what I think we would all agree on—there is no justification for any incitement to violence.

When you say that Israel wants to change the status quo on the Temple Mount Haram al-Sharif, it is equivalent to yelling fire in a crowded theater.

Given the role that such allegations have played before in provoking violence in the past, I had added up just since 1991 when we have had these spurts, 269 people have been killed as a result of these allegations before the current round, which Chairman Royce mentioned.

Secretary of State Kerry said in an interview on NPR last Friday there is no excuse for the violence—Palestinians need to understand and President Abbas has been committed to nonviolence but he needs to be condemning this loudly and clearly and he needs to not engage in some of the incitement that his voice has sometimes been heard to encourage. So this has to stop.

This incitement includes public remarks. As we have heard, every drop of blood spilled in Jerusalem is pure, every martyr will reach paradise and every injured person will be rewarded by God and Jews "have no right to desecrate the mosque with their dirty feet." Yes, he has called for a nonviolent struggle in recent days but the damage here is pretty strong.

Sadly, this is not a new charge that Israel is out to destroy the mosque. Since the 1929 Hebron Massacre, there have been, like I mentioned, several incidents.

But a few things needs to occur to ensure that this pattern is not repeated, and I would just like to associate myself with some of the comments like the idea of blacklisting people engaged in such incitement.

I think even a congressional delegation to deal with your European counterparts who are also generous supporters of the Palestinians—there needs to be some sensitizing there.

But when it comes to the mount itself, there needs to be acknowledgement that the Temple Mount is holy to both Muslims and Jews. While Israeli leaders of all stripes have asserted the sanctity of the area to Muslims—the Haram al-Sharif—the reverse has not been the case.

The Palestinian leadership does not acknowledge the site's historical significance for the Jewish people. At the Camp David summit in 2000, Yasser Arafat famously angered President Clinton by denying the temples even existed, saying they were located in Nablus or even in Yemen. Clinton reportedly responded that every

Sunday school student in Arkansas knew that this was not the case.

The vast majority of Jews and Israelis around the world do not attempt to pray on the Temple Mount. From 1967 and on its chief rabbinate has forbidden Jews from visiting the area, believing this should not occur until the messianic age.

Yes, a few radical Israeli activists and even some politicians, including Agriculture Minister Uri Ariel, have recently visited the mount.

Yuval Diskin, the former head of the Shin Bet, echoed the view of many who urged not to allow this, saying that this is "the most fuel-saturated flammable area in the Middle East." To the credit of the Netanyahu government, it has refused to change the status quo.

Ironically, the lack of acknowledgement on the Palestinian side was not always the case. A pamphlet for tourists published by the Supreme Muslim Council in 1924 says the fact that the al-Aqsa is built on the site of the Solomon's Temple is "beyond dispute."

However, the intertwining of religion and nationalism ensured that the historical acknowledgement was erased. Of course, neither side has to accept the narrative of the other as sacrosanct.

But they can acknowledge that the other side reveres the site as they do. Violence is bound to continue, as we have seen, and it is very important that—you know, we want to be clear that there are other factors here. But there is, like I said, no excuse for violence.

What can be done in terms of the site? I think one thing is to help define the status quo with an explicit set of understandings. It would add a measure of predictability. This means also that the Jordanians would a take side to this along with Israel and the Palestinians.

Jordan, being the custodian of the Temple Mount for the Arab side, would have to affirm that the status quo is indeed being maintained.

Another idea—Israel is able to use social media when it comes to reaching Palestinians in Gaza, urging them to get out of harm's way.

There has to be a way for the start-up nation with all its high tech prowess to find ways to communicate directly to the smart phones and cell phone and text messaging on the Arab side.

My final point is this, that that is the situation. It could get worse. It is important to remember that Israel and the Palestinian security officials are engaged in daily security cooperation that is vital to both sides. We are approaching the 20th anniversary of the killing of Yitzhak Rabin.

Nobody could call Rabin a dreamy peacenik. Yet, he understood, I would like to say in conclusion, that the traumas endured by the Israelis and Palestinians require them to separate.

This insight underscores the need to continue to work for separate political entities to give dignity to both sides.

But the bloodshed in Jerusalem reminds us that the Palestinians need to come to terms with the fact that both sides have both political rights but each side has a religious connection to the land.

If that recognition is not reached, I worry that the violence will continue to periodically erupt and even intensify.

Thank you very much.
[The prepared statement of Mr. Makovsky follows:]

Testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs

Words Have Consequences: Palestinian Authority Incitement to Violence

David Makovsky

Ziegler Distinguished Fellow and Director, Project on the Middle East Peace Process

The Washington Institute for Near East Policy

October 22, 2015

Chairman Royce, Ranking Member Engel and Distinguished Members of the Committee:

Thank you for the opportunity to discuss the ongoing volatility in Jerusalem. It needs to be handled with supreme caution.

In addressing the situation today, it should be clear that there is no justification for any incitement to violence. When you say that Israel wants to undermine the status of the al-Aqsa Mosque or change the status quo on the Temple Mount/Haram al-Sharif, it is equivalent to yelling fire in a crowded theater, given the role that such allegations have played in provoking past violence.

As Secretary of State John Kerry said in an interview with National Public Radio (NPR) last Friday, "There's no excuse for the violence. No amount of frustration is appropriate to license any violence anywhere at any time. No violence should occur. And the Palestinians need to understand, and President Abbas has been committed to nonviolence. He needs to be condemning this, loudly and clearly. And he needs to not engage in some of the incitement that his voice has sometimes been heard to encourage. So that has to stop."

This incitement includes public remarks by President Abbas, during which he said "every drop of blood spilled in Jerusalem is pure. Every martyr will reach paradise and every injured person will be reward by God" and Jews "have no right to desecrate the Mosque with their dirty feet." Abbas has not renounced these statements, but in recent days, has called for "popular non-violent struggle." (This is not to say that Prime Minister Netanyahu has not made some questionable statements of his own. Recently, he said that the leader of the Palestinian national movement in the 1940's was more adamant about killing Jews than Adolf Hitler, which has been refuted by Holocaust historians.)

Sadly, the charge that Israel is out to destroy the Mosque is not new. This claim was made in 1929, resulting in riots in Hebron that killed 63 people. More recently, fatal violence surrounding the Temple Mount occurred in 1991 (20 killed), 1996 (87 killed), 2000 (153 killed within the first month), and 2014 (nine killed), when similar allegations were made. I want to be clear that this does not mean that all Palestinians favor this approach. In fact over 400 Jews were saved in 1929, when many found refuge in the homes of Palestinians.

A few things need to occur to ensure that this pattern is not repeated. First, there needs to be an honest acknowledgement that the Temple Mount/Haram al-Sharif is holy to both Moslems and Jews. Israeli leaders of all stripes have asserted the sanctity of the area to Moslems since the time of the Prophet Mohammad in the seventh century. The reverse has not been the case. Palestinian leadership does not tell its public that the area also has historical significance for the Jewish people.

Ancient Jewish history was defined by the Temple eras – one lasting 410 years and another lasting 420 years. When the Temples were destroyed, so were the first two Jewish Commonwealths, ending in 70 C.E. It took until 1948 or close to 1900 years later for that longing for sovereignty to be restored. At the Camp David summit in 2000, Yasser Arafat famously angered President Bill Clinton by denying that the temples existed – saying they were located instead in Nablus or even Yemen. Clinton reportedly responded that every Sunday School student in Arkansas knew this was not the case. Anyone who has been to a Jewish wedding knows there is a breaking of the glass, which is done to say that even the most joyous occasion is mixed with sorrow, recalling the destruction of those Temples. For close to two thousand years, Jews have prayed three times a day in the direction of the Temple Mount. It is the Zion of Zionism.

The vast majority of Jews in Israel and around the world do not attempt to pray on the Temple Mount. If Jews have not ascended the Temple Mount, it is not because it is not holy but because it is too holy. From 1967 to today, the Chief Rabbinate has forbidden Jews from visiting the area, believing this should only occur during the messianic age. A few radical Israeli activists and even some politicians (including Agriculture Minister Uri Ariel) have recently visited the Mount. They believe that archeology has provided a far more precise perimeter of the Mount, as it existed historically and therefore, they can more precisely avert its exact location. These proponents favor Jewish prayer in what they consider the permitted section of the Mount, but this is bound to lead to bloodshed. Yuval Diskin, former head of the Shin Bet, echoed the view of many who are against Jewish prayer on the Mount, since it is "the most fuel saturated flammable area in the Middle East." To its credit, the Netanyahu government has refused to change the status quo.

Ironically, this lack of acknowledgment on the Palestinian side was historically not always the case. A pamphlet for tourists visiting the Haram published by the Supreme Moslem Council in 1924 said the fact that al-Aqsa is built on the site of Solomon's Temple is "beyond dispute." However, the intertwining of religion and nationalism ensured that this historical acknowledgement was erased. Of course, neither side has to accept the narrative of the other as sacrosanct. Yet, if they cannot acknowledge that the other side reveres the site as they do, violence is bound to continue, as we have seen. Understanding that both sides have religious rights seems to be a prerequisite for calming the situation.

While the Temple Mount/Haram al-Sharif issue has been the primary cause of violence in Jerusalem in the last twenty years, there have been other factors leading to violence. For example, during the summer of 2014, a Palestinian teenager was killed as tensions roiled over the kidnapping and subsequent murder of three Israeli teens, which indirectly contributed to the outbreak of the War in Gaza. Moreover, none of this is to rule out that there are economic factors impacting the violence. Observers believe Israel's ambiguity in heavily investing in Palestinian sector infrastructure is due to the notion that Israel may yield these neighborhoods in

any final deal with the Palestinians. It is estimated that three-fourths of the 316,000 Palestinians in the city live below the poverty line. Palestinians see their status in limbo, as Jewish neighborhoods in East Jerusalem flourish.

So, what can be done? When such allegations surfaced last year, Secretary Kerry, Prime Minister Netanyahu and Jordan's King Abdullah were able to meet in Amman and defuse the situation. Historically, Jordan has been the Arab Custodian of the Temple Mount. Indeed, this week, Kerry is meeting with Netanyahu, Abdullah and Abbas to see what can be done to diffuse the situation. In principle, Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian Authority all have an interest in quelling instability, which only serves to benefit extremists. While all sides say they do not want to change the status quo, the problem is that the status quo on the Temple Mount/Haram al-Sharif has not been codified into an explicit set of understandings. If there was trust between Israelis and Palestinians, perhaps verbal understandings would be sufficient, but this is not the case today. The US government can be helpful in reaching a set of understandings between the parties to measure the status quo going forward. Such a three way agreement, between Kerry, Netanyahu and Abdullah, should then be acknowledged by Abbas. Hopefully, such a sense of codification would add a vital measure of predictability to an unpredictable situation.

Israel needs to also find a way to communicate better with Palestinians in East Jerusalem. Israel is sometimes called the start-up nation given the success of its high-tech sector. In the recent war in Gaza, Israel used its high-tech prowess to communicate to Gaza residents. Israel was able to limit civilian casualties by sending text messages to Gazans, telling them to evacuate their homes in advance of airstrikes. If Israel can reach those Palestinians, why can't they text Palestinians in East Jerusalem in Arabic and deny rumors about changing the status quo on the Temple Mount?

Of course, when dealing with an issue as volatile as the Israel-Palestinian issue, there is a tendency to want to throw up your hands in despair. I would kindly caution people against such a move, as there is too much at stake. Since October, ten Israelis have been killed in Palestinian attacks. 26 Palestinian assailants were killed and more than 21 Palestinians were killed by Israelis fire in clashes in Jerusalem and the West Bank. However, the scale of violence has not approached that of the second intifada. Between 2000 and 2004 4,000 people were killed – approximately 3,000 Palestinians and 1,000 Israelis and the number injured was far greater than what we see today.

It reminds us that as bad as the situation is, it could get far worse. Some people might say well let's just cease funding to the Palestinian Authority (PA). Yet, it is important to remember that Israeli and PA security officials are engaged in daily security cooperation that is vital not just for Palestinians, but for Israelis too. This is the view of top Israelis security officials. Benny Gantz, who was Chief of Staff of the Israel Defense Forces until a few months ago, said in a recent speech at my own Washington Institute: "We need to stick to security and give up the dreams, as we would like to have them—all government of Israel have said two-state solution." Similarly, in a 2014 op-ed, Yuval Diskin wrote, "the coordination between the security forces has a significant contribution on the relative quiet" in the West Bank. He called this cooperation better than ever, despite the impasse in peace negotiations since 2007. He said the PA "understands that Israel's security is central to their survival in the struggle with Hamas in the West Bank."

We are approaching the twentieth anniversary of the killing of Israel's iconic premier and 1967 war hero, Yitzhak Rabin. He was known as a hard-boiled realist. Nobody could call him a

dreamy peacenik. Yet, he understood an important insight. The traumas of Israelis and the Palestinians will require them to separate and avoid a de-facto binational reality, a recipe for permanent bloodshed. This insight underscores the need to continue working for separate political entities, one Israeli and one Palestinian, and for dignity for both peoples. We cannot afford to give up. Given the bloodshed in Jerusalem, Palestinians must come to grips with the fact that both peoples do not just have political rights but also a religious connection to the land based on their own history. If that recognition is not reached, I worry that violence will continue to periodically erupt and possibly intensify.

Chairman ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Makovsky.

So in testimony here, one of the discussion points was the case of Mohammad Halabi, a 19-year-old who attacked an Israeli family with a knife, killing the father, injuring the mother, and the 2-year-old son.

So we have somebody going after a 2-year-old with a knife and I guess at this point we are not surprised that he would be honored. We are sort of used to that being a reaction.

The question to me—what jumped out at me was he was honored by the Palestinian Bar Association. So that is what I was going to ask the panel here.

So he is given an honorary law degree. One would think that a society's lawyers might be in a place to find some, you know, moderation or tolerance in this debate, that they wouldn't jump to the conclusion that this individual who perpetrated the attack would be given a law degree.

So if not among the bar, where can we find those forces among Palestinian society today? Mr. Makovsky.

Mr. MAKOVSKY. I would refer you to a colleague of mine, Mohammed Dajani, who is at the Washington Institute. He is a teacher at al-Quds University. He took 29 Palestinian students of his to Auschwitz because there has been a lot of denial of the Holocaust.

Now, sadly, when he returned his car was torched. He lost his job. But he remains steadfast. He is now at the institute. We hope he will be returning and there is—his movement to focus on moderation.

But we need religious leaders. We need academics. We need all kinds of opinion shapers to be part of the solution and not part of the problem.

Chairman ROYCE. Well, one of the questions I would ask here is with all of the donations made by the international community, why not textbooks that focus on history, focus on facts, focus maybe on coexistence, focus on something other than hate. I don't think it is a prerequisite that we have a lesson plan in there.

But I have gone through these textbooks and I know from an audit that we have had done here that there is some reversal from where we were, you know, maybe 6 years ago with respect to UNRWA.

But how would we substitute instead of this message and instead of the lesson plans, and I have seen footage of that and broadcasts and I have talked to President Abbas about this issue as has other members—Mr. Engel and other members of this committee—how could we sort of change the calculus here?

Because it seems the central issue is—I think it was Mr. Abrams that said this—the central issue is that both political parties have never—they have talked about incitement in terms of the White House but we haven't had really a plan to make it a central issue that we substitute that kind of teaching.

To me, it is like the 600 madrassas or Deobandi schools, as they call them in Pakistan, that we know are teaching jihad and they never are closed.

We never substitute some lesson plan or the government never does. Why not give lesson plans that prepare a pathway toward an understanding of the world done in an objective framework?

Mr. MAKOVSKY. I would just add what we said in our remarks about we need to socialize the Europeans. This message has to be heard in stereo and they have tended to be more reflexive in their support of the Palestinian cause and I think there needs to be a congressional plan to get this message out so the Palestinians are hearing it from all directions, not just from the United States.

Chairman ROYCE. Well, we will work with you and put together a delegation and start a dialogue because I think in real time we ought to figure out a way to substitute the textbooks with lesson plans that will at least assist children in learning something other than the bombastic message that their goal in life should be to kill Jews.

Mr. ABRAMS. I was just going to add, Mr. Chairman, I think rather than giving unearmarked cash budget support for the PA, earmark some of the funds for things like this—a new set of textbooks.

Chairman ROYCE. Mm-hmm. All right.

I think my time has expired or is about to. I will go to Mr. Engel of New York.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

You know, this breaks my heart. It really does. As someone who believes in a two-state solution—best for both peoples, I believe—this thing is spiraling out of control and, again, there can be no condoning acts of violence, acts of terrorism against innocent civilians.

So we all agree the Palestinians must end their incitement to violence, case closed. But the problem really goes much deeper.

For there ever to be a two-state solution, the Palestinians have to prepare their people for peace and that means much more than simply stopping calls to jihad and armed struggle. It means accepting Israel's right to exist.

It means openly acknowledging the almost 4,000 years of Jewish presence in the lands which are now Israel and the deep connection of the Jewish people to this land and it means joining in the effort to build a modern society on this ancient land rather than stoking ancient hatred to tear down the advances which modernity has brought.

So let me just ask an open ended question. What can be done to encourage the Palestinians to prepare their people for peace? And many of us had such high hopes with the Oslo Accords. Has so much time passed since the Oslo agreements and since there has been so many failures in the meantime is this still even possible? Whoever would care.

Mr. ABRAMS. I would just say briefly, Mr. Engel, I think there is a desire still for separation, at least on the part of the Israelis.

The form of the separation is more under debate than the goal of separation. But here I would agree with David Makovsky. Part of the problem is there are a lot of messages coming in to Palestinians.

They come from the Arab world, they come from the Europeans and, of course, they come from the United States and we can't control the other messaging. But we can perhaps try to influence it.

Mr. SCHANZER. Congressman Engel, I would just add to what Elliott has just said that I think so much of this just comes straight

from the leadership and, again, I would point to not just—I mean, I know there has been a lot of focus on the PA, but I think so much of the messaging about Israel comes from the PLO and comes from Mahmoud Abbas himself, and I think one of the things that FDD has looked at is the question of succession. Can we begin to prepare for the exit of Mahmoud Abbas in an orderly way but, more importantly, can we begin to identify next generation leaders?

One of the things that has happened in Mahmoud Abbas' term—he is now 10 years into a 4-year term with no signs of leaving—is that he has run out every possible challenger within that political system.

And so it is all people who think the way he does and view the conflict the way he does. We need a next generation of leadership, and I think from there, change can begin to flow.

Mr. ENGEL. Well, let us—go ahead.

Mr. MAKOVSKY. I tried to say by my remarks about the security cooperation—and I am glad you mentioned the support for two states—is whether it is Yuval Diskin who was the head of the Shin Bet, whether it was Benny Gantz, the former chief of staff of the IDF who just spoke at my institute, you know, that security cooperation is vital for Israelis and Palestinians.

I think Elliott mentioned, you know, the idea that Israel doesn't want a collapse because it would collapse in Israel's lap. So this is always why it is such a delicate dance.

But maybe if we could do some of these, you know, more targeted intervention and then the idea of earmarking for tolerance in the schoolbooks, I think, is probably a good idea. That could be part of it. And I agree with Dr. Schanzer that we need—that succession is a big issue.

The question is anything that the United States is seen to drive will be a kiss of death in that system. And so this is why it is complex.

But, clearly, he is someone who is turning 81 in March and I think this issue of succession is vital. How it is done and who does it is where it gets complicated and I just worry that if it is an American-led succession he will be called a puppet.

I also—we have to be careful of unintended consequences. A few years ago, I think all of us warned that to cut off the money altogether, you know, that Fayyad was the goose that lays the golden eggs and without Fayyad, you know, the goose goes if there is no more golden eggs.

And sure enough, he was scapegoated for the stopping of money even though he was against—he even broke his wrist on a coffee table urging Abbas not to go the route he did at the U.N., saying it would lead to cut off in funds.

But it was he who was targeted. And so that is part of it—you know, we can have the best of intentions and we get the opposite results. That doesn't mean we should be paralyzed but we should think about how we are going to get the results we want. That is all.

Mr. ENGEL. I would like to ask quickly, because I know my time is up, but I just want to talk about Abbas for just a quick moment because sometimes I think there is a split personality running the Palestinian Authority.

On the one hand, President Abbas makes vile comments. He denies the historic Jewish connection to Israel and calls perpetrators of terrorists acts as heroes and martyrs, as you have all pointed out.

On the other hand, he has also backed cooperation between Israeli and Palestinian security services in an effort to limit violence.

So how should we interpret those mixed messages coming out of the PA? Can you help us understand more about President Abbas? Is there a method to his madness or is he schizophrenic? I mean, what is—you know, what is happening with him?

Mr. MAKOVSKY. I don't want to speak for my colleagues. I just feel, look, there is another element of bitterness here that doesn't justify any violence. I keep repeating no justification for violence.

He did have death threats during the intifada—the second intifada—where he said that this was—that the second intifada was wrong and certainly was counterproductive. There were times he said terrorism was morally wrong, I think during Elliott's time, and the polling numbers crashed.

But he has been consistently against violence in the macro, saying you need security cooperation. But then look at the statement about every ounce of blood.

So yeah, this is—I don't know how to attribute it. I can't read his mind. He is vilified in the Palestinians for not being supportive enough of violence but, you know, as a leader you have responsibility and you can't escape that.

Chairman ROYCE. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman. Thank you to the witnesses.

Sadly, when the PA incites violence and we see a terror attack or continued increase in violent activity, as we have seen over the last month and a half, we find this wrong reflexive response from the international community to make a false moral equivalence between the PA and Israel.

And what we see all too often is the unwillingness to call out Abu Mazen and the PA, all of their officials for their reprehensible words and their actions without finding the need to also reprimand Israel, and that is that false moral equivalence.

When it comes to the Palestinians, some do verbal gymnastics so as not to upset the fragile nature of Abu Mazen and the PA. But there is no such concern when it comes to blasting the Israelis.

Some, very lamely, blame settlement activity by Israel as the justification for increased violence instead of putting the blame where it should be—with the Palestinian Authority, with Abu Mazen, with their longstanding practice of inciting violence and hatred against Israel.

Why is there this double standard that is applied to Israel? Why does the international community feel the need the handle Abu Mazen with kid gloves and doesn't this send the wrong signal and essentially legitimizes Abu Mazen, emboldens his action to continue the acts of terror and this incitement isn't just intended for the limited consumption of the Palestinian people.

In recent years, as we have seen, Abu Mazen has taken his harmful rhetoric to the international stage using the U.N. General

Assembly and other U.N. bodies as the preferred platform to gather like-minded nations together in an attempt to delegitimize the Jewish state.

We saw this several weeks ago when Abu Mazen addressed the U.N. General Assembly and announced that the PA is no longer bound by the Oslo Accords nor its international obligations.

This is outrageous. He accused Israel of trying to change the status quo on the Temple Mount and threatened a religious conflict that would spread across Jerusalem and the Palestinian Authorities.

And what happened when he said that we are no longer bound by the Oslo Accords? A standing ovation each time he said that. And now Abu Mazen has requested, and it is my understanding that it was granted, he has requested to address an emergency meeting of the Human Rights Council next week.

While I think it is safe to say that he will make no attempt to defuse the situation but only to inflame the tensions. We have a great deal of leverage at the U.N. with many of the nations that encourage Abu Mazen's actions in that body.

What steps can we take to get other nations at the U.N. to put pressure on Abu Mazen to desist with the incitement, with his harmful rhetoric and instead begin working for the betterment of the Palestinian people and toward true peace with Israel.

Mr. Abrams, and anyone else.

Mr. ABRAMS. These are very difficult questions.

I think he pays no price. That is the problem. He keeps doing it because he never pays a price for doing it. So what is the price?

I mean, we have been reading these terrible quotes from him. So what happens this week? Gets a meeting with the Secretary of State. Now, will the Secretary of State come out and denounce him and condemn him?

I don't think so. So the lesson he learns is it is okay. It is acceptable, and I think what he is doing, this is in answer to Mr. Engel's question, actually. What is he doing? He is trying to keep calm in the West Bank.

That is why there is security cooperation. Just like Hamas tries to keep calm in Gaza. But Hamas wants violence in Israel and the West Bank, and Abbas wants violence in Israel. He just doesn't want it back home in the West Bank. It is a very cynical game.

And as long as he pays no price, he will keep it up.

Mr. SCHANZER. I would fully agree with Elliott.

The only thing that I would add here, and I may sound like a broken record today, is that so much of this had to do with the question of succession that Abbas has made it—I mean, it is a binary proposition: He has made it either it is Hamas or it is me, right?

So no one wants to touch him. You talk about why everyone handles him with kid gloves, all right. He had made it such that he says, I am the only thing standing in the way of Hamas taking over both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, so you are going to play by my rules.

And it is for that reason that we see, I think, the United States bending over backwards, refusing to condemn a lot of what he has

done because we don't see new opportunities around the bend for new leaders.

Again, I will stress that I think we need to begin to pave the way for succession. Abbas won't like it, that is for sure. But I can tell you this, that the guy is a pack-a-day smoker. He is not healthy. When he drops dead——

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you.

Mr. SCHANZER [continuing]. We are going to have problems.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, sir.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman ROYCE. Thank you.

Mr. Brad Sherman of California.

Mr. SHERMAN. I want to identify myself with the statements of the chair, the ranking member.

We mourn for the victims of terror. We condemn the terrorists and those whose lies incite and glorify terrorism. We condemn those who reward terrorism with payments to the families of terrorists and with glorification of their deeds. Arab leaders have much to answer for.

As to Israel, in the days of the Roman Empire those zealots who claimed to be the most pro-Israel did enormous harm. So now we see a few fringe Israeli leaders who want to disturb the status quo on the Temple Mount.

They too are harmful. They provide a pretext for those who incite terrorism in Israel and those who seek delegitimization abroad.

As to a two-state solution, I don't blame those who are pessimistic. I would doubt the sanity of anyone who bubbled with optimism about a two-state solution.

But those who don't voice pessimism about a two-state solution but those few Israeli leaders who oppose a two-state solution also do immeasurable harm.

The definition of insanity, of course, is to keep doing the same thing and expecting a different result. I have been here 19 years. I feel like it was just yesterday.

We condemn what the PA does, we threaten and then we continue to subsidize. So I want to focus my questions on whether we should change the nature of or eliminate or reduce our aid to the PA.

Now, you gentleman all have incredible background. I have constituents who are considerably simpler. They simply say why are we giving the PA money and it might be helpful to our efforts in the Middle East if we stopped.

It might be helpful if we continued. Hard to tell except for one thing—we reduced the deficit by $500 million if we stopped giving money to the PA. That is the only thing that is certain.

So the biggest reason that is given to give money to the PA is that if we don't give them money there will be more acts of terrorism.

I will point to the policies of Thomas Jefferson, our first President to involve us in the Middle East, who refused to pay tribute to terrorists in the state of Tripoli, and the short term result was additional terrorism focused on American ships in the Mediterranean.

I am not sure that it is a good thing to give money to people who say we are going to kill innocent folks if you don't give us money. Those are not good people.

One approach would be—and I will also point out only in the world—only in world affairs is it considered insulting or cruel to give somebody $400 million.

But since we gave them $500 last year, it is cruel. Anyone who wants to be cruel to me by delivering $400 million I will provide my address at the end of these hearings and I will deal with the Ethics Committee later.

I want to explore with you what about the idea of at least cutting the aid and delivering not cash but delivering food and delivering textbooks already printed and guess what they are going to say about the history of the Middle East.

Mr. Abrams.

Mr. ABRAMS. I think you are absolutely right about the cash question, the budget support question. Budget support suggests trust in how they are going to spend the money.

I don't think anybody has that trust anymore. So we should move to services rather than cash. The cash started with Salam Fayyad, actually.

He is gone so maybe the——

Mr. SHERMAN. I had a little bit more trust back then.

Mr. ABRAMS. Right.

Mr. SHERMAN. Mr. Makovsky, what if cut the aid to $250 million? Would the world come to the end?

Mr. MAKOVSKY. No, the world won't come to an end.

Look, I agreed with what Elliott said about earmarking funds for education and tolerance. But just say that we have cut off the funds before and that was my comment that when we did that—did that I think two or three times about the U.N. we lost Fayyad. That doesn't mean we should be paralyzed.

But I could tell you that talking to a lot of the Israeli security professionals who deal with this they come to me and say, I pray America does not cut off the PA because we work with them on a daily basis to fight terrorism in the West Bank, of course.

But I—you know, it is hard for me to say I know better than you do when they are closer to the situation than I am, whether it is the Chief of Staff Gantz, whether it is Diskin, head of the Shin Bet.

So I think we have to think in different ways. And can I just say to Ms. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen's point about the U.N. Human Rights Council and the U.N. system, we know there are double standards.

How many times has the U.N. Human Rights Council condemned the carnage in Syria where over ¼ million people have been killed versus how many times do they condemn Israel? And so——

Chairman ROYCE. Gentleman's——

Mr. MAKOVSKY [continuing]. The problem goes way beyond Abbas.

Chairman ROYCE. The gentleman is out of time. We need to go to Mr. Chris Smith of New Jersey.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

It is great to see the three of our distinguished witnesses. Thank you for your insights and testimony.

Secretary Abrams, you pointed out that incitement means teaching generations of Palestinians to hate Jews by demonizing and dehumanizing them and teaching hate and terror by honoring terrorists.

I have been very concerned about many of the statements coming from Prince Zeid of Jordan, the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights, which always tilt heavily against Israel.

They are one-sided, and to have a human rights point person in the United Nations taking such a one-sided position does grave damage to the truth and I have been working on this issue, perhaps not as much as Elliott Abrams, but for the 35 years that I have been here.

And for 20 years have been raising the issue of UNRWA, had several hearings on it, joined by Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Henry Hyde when he was chairman. Of course, our distinguished chairman today offered amendments on it, always getting back from UNRWA officials and State Department officials that they are working on it, they are trying to excise the textbooks from the virulent anti-Semitic hate that is contained within it.

I remember at one of our hearings we talked about pep rallies, like American football game pep rallies, where terrorists were extolled and lifted up as heroes to young children who are, obviously, impressionable.

So it has been many years. We have provided over $4 billion—we are the largest donor—$408 million in 2014. Closest contributor would be the European Commission at $139 million and the U.K. at $95 million.

So we are disproportionately the biggest contributor to UNRWA. So as you pointed out in your testimony but you might want to elaborate on it, Mr. Secretary, U.N. Watch pointed out and was able to expose 12 UNRWA-linked Facebook accounts that incite violence.

I have looked at each and every one of them. They are horrific. They have called on Ban Ki-Moon as well as the UNRWA chief to fire these people.

Have they fired them? Has a commission of inquiry been established as was asked for by U.N. Watch? I mean, this is absolutely disgusting. Remember "South Pacific" that famous song, you have got to be taught—"You Have Got to be Taught" hate, and these children are being taught hate every single day and our money is complicit in it.

Secretary Abrams?

Mr. ABRAMS. Thank you.

Yes, as you know, many Palestinian children don't go to PA schools. They go to UNRWA schools and U.N. Watch has found these employees who are teaching hate.

I think you are asking the right questions. So far as I am aware, no one has been disciplined. No one has been fired. There is not a commission of inquiry. The usual UNRWA response is to cover up in the hope that, you know, you will forget about this in a month.

So I think it is really important that you don't let the State Department, the U.S. Government forget about this because, again,

the lesson that is going to be learned by UNRWA is it doesn't really matter.

You know, they get angry for a week and then it passes and then it happens again and again and again. We know that there are lots of UNRWA employees in Gaza who are actually part of Hamas.

Mr. SMITH. Let me ask you, Mr. Schanzer, you pointed out that Hamas stands to benefit from Iranian's $150 billion in sanctions relief. You might want to expound upon that. What do you think qualitatively and quantitatively that will give Hamas the ability to do?

Mr. SCHANZER. Absolutely. A terrific question.

Look, first of all, we are about to provide Iran with $150 billion. How that is disbursed over the next 10 or 12 years, I think, still remains to be seen, and we continue to hear from the administration that very little of that will go to terrorism. I think the thing that is probably important to point out here is that even, let us just say 5 percent of that goes to terrorism, you are still looking at a huge sum.

What that means practically for Hamas, I mean, you are going to be looking at cash transfers, which is hugely important for Hamas just to be able to maintain control over its territory.

The tunnels have been cut off largely by Egypt, and so they are going to need cash to be able to pay salaries and to keep their security people on the streets. On top of that, there is the home grown rocket-making ability that we have seen that Iran has been able to help Hamas develop over time.

Tunnel drilling also, we believe, also comes from Iran on some level and then, of course, the rockets that are imported in, the Fajr-5's and some of the other longer range missiles that we saw fired into Israel last year during that 50-day war.

So there is quite a bit of damage that can be done through these cash transfers, which we fully expect to take place, largely to the Qassam Brigades, the armed wing of Hamas.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for calling this important hearing.

Chairman ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Smith.

Mr. Albio Sires of New Jersey.

Mr. SIRES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for being here today. I would like to associate myself with the comments my colleague from New Jersey made.

You know, when I look at this money, $500 million, this just brings back, like, almost a bribe to organized crime to keep peace in a certain section.

I mean, I just don't know what stipulations are added to this money. I don't know if we require any strings attached to this money that would bring the violence down.

I mean, we are losing generations of young Palestinians and we are paying to have these young Palestinians become so radical. So it is almost like the history of organized crime.

I don't know if I really do agree with the fact that we shouldn't cut out some of this money. You know, we are paying to keep peace in a certain section.

I just have a—when do you think this surge of violence is going to end? You know, the stability and the influence of the Palestinian Authority—do you think it ends if this doesn't end well?

Mr. ABRAMS. Prime Minister Netanyahu made the comment about a week ago that these acts—these stabbings—are actually a form of suicide because you are almost certain to get killed by a police officer or military person, and there is hopefully a finite number of Palestinians who want to commit suicide that way. We just don't know what the number is.

I am surprised, candidly, that we are into Thursday now and it is still going on and I really thought it would begin to burn out, and that is still my hope that it will begin to calm down in the next few days.

Mr. SCHANZER. There was an interesting article that appeared today by a former national security advisor to Netanyahu. He is now back in the private sector. His name is Yaakov Amidror, and he noted that more than 90 percent of the attacks have been taking place by residents of east Jerusalem.

And so what we have is something very specific to these neighborhoods, these several hundred thousand individuals, and to me it is still unclear that it is entirely the PA or the PLO that is driving it, that it is entirely Hamas. Some of this really is grass roots or perhaps forces that we have not yet discovered.

And so, you know, a lot of people are wondering whether this is a third intifada. Again, it is hard to tell exactly what that means but it is quite likely that we will look back on this several months from now and it could still be going and this could be one of those events that doesn't have an official end.

Mr. MAKOVSKY. Look, compared to the second intifada, within a month of the first—in the second intifada we had 1,500 people injured. I mean, the order of magnitude we are facing now compared to 2,000 to 2,004 is very small and this—if one life is taken it is one life too much. So I want to be very clear about that.

But this has not been a mass intifada that we saw. We know what that looks like. This is not it now. Could there be, like, a Muhammed al-Dura incident, this boy was—whether it was fabricated on TV, that is, if Israel killed him when that wasn't the case and that brought a lot of people to the streets. That, I think, you know, could change the order of magnitude.

I am concerned, though, that—I hope this does not become the new normal, that a de factor binational reality sets in. I will just say, you know, what John Schanzer said about the east Jerusalem neighborhoods, this has been an area where they are now moving the concrete dividers that have been outside these neighborhoods, now there is a move with checkpoints to change that.

So I tend to think that we could see changes in Jerusalem as well as a result of this violence with the barriers being——

Mr. SIRES. I just have one last, you know—do you believe that the status quo surrounding the Temple Mount can be maintained after this?

Mr. MAKOVSKY. I just would like to repeat I hope Secretary Kerry over there could help reach a set of understandings and maybe that can be formalized by a set of delineated understandings

of what is this status quo. So we will know if there is a change to it.

But that requires the Jordanians as the custodians. Last year, Kerry, Abdullah, and Netanyahu totally ended the violence in Amman last November.

It was a great success story for the United States. But I think there needs to be some sort of a delineation. I think that would be very important in my view but it requires the Jordanians to do something they don't want to do, which is publically step up when Israel maintains the status quo.

They might want to whisper that but whispers don't help us unless they say it publically and we don't see that right now.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Sires. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Sires, and now we turn to Mr. Salmon of Arizona.

Mr. Salmon.

Mr. SALMON. Madam Chairman, I am going to yield back my time.

Thank you.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you.

Mr. Duncan.

Mr. DUNCAN. Thank you, Madam Chairwoman.

You know, I have met with Benjamin Netanyahu, as many of us have, and one thing that really stuck out with me in our meetings was a commitment to Israel to even having a conversation about a two-state solution but they had one request—that the Palestinians recognize their right to exist.

You know, there is a simple solution to get everybody to the table to talk about a solution and that is just acknowledge each other's right to exist.

One side of the equation is not willing to do that. My appeal to the Palestinians is acknowledge Israel's right to exist. But what we see going on is this talk about removing their access to the Western Wall.

If you look at history of the Western Wall, it was a place the Jews were able to go and worship. It was an area that was given to them. It was a trash dump.

The Muslims controlled the Temple Mount—threw their rubbage over, oftentimes feces and garbage. It is not the case now but that is the history, and now we are hearing that we are going to even take the Western Wall away from the Israelis.

A simple solution is recognition of a right to exist. So I will move on.

What can we do? What can the administration do? What can Congress do to stop this violence?

I want to say that in a prepared testimony last February Dr. Schanzer stated,

> "I don't believe that peace between the current leaders is likely nor do I believe that this administration has earned to trust of either side. However, the next set of leaders may well make progress. But even if deadlock persists, Washington cannot abdicate its role as the honest broker. Once we return to that role, we may have an opportunity to call for a halt to all uni-

lateral activity and guide this conflict toward a more constructive dynamic."

I thought pretty wise clairvoyant words there.

What advice to you have for Congress to play a role in this? Future leaders—we got a Presidential election. We may have someone that looks at this situation a little differently, that looks at the role of America differently in negotiating peace.

And so I am asking you what advice do you have to the United States Congress here in October 2015 to play a role in minimizing if not eliminating the senseless violence?

I asked Dr. Schanzer there but I will be glad to move—let us let him answer first and we will come to you.

Mr. SCHANZER. Well, thank you, Congressman Duncan.

What I would want to stress right now is that America does not intend to abdicate its leadership role in the region.

I think a lot of actors in the Middle East right now have given up on the United States, that we have rolled over on Iran, that we have declined to battle ISIL and that in general, we have had a more hands-off approach to the region, a so-called rebalancing of our foreign policy or pivot to Asia or whatever you would like to call it.

But we need to make it very clear to the region that we intend to reengage, and I would argue that America has been the most effective in its peace making opportunities when it has demonstrated its strength.

So if you look after the first Gulf War, that was the moment where the United States demonstrated that it was not going to take no for an answer. That is when the Israelis and the Palestinians fell in line and began to work with the administration toward peace.

I look forward to a day where we can, again, look to American strength as leading the way in the region.

Mr. DUNCAN. I appreciate that and I agree with what you have said.

I think our allies don't trust us and our enemies don't fear us, and a strong America is—and our presence in certain regions is a very unifying force. Mr. Makovsky.

Mr. MAKOVSKY. Look, I tend to use sports analogies a lot so I hope you will indulge me. The last three times that we have been involved 2000 with Camp David—2007 and 2008, Condoleezza Rice, the Annapolis process, the process I was involved in was Secretary Kerry as well.

There was an effort made from the top levels to try to hit the home run ball, so to speak, and solve the whole conflict. It was very admirable. Secretary Kerry was relentless and putting in a lot of effort.

But I think what these three efforts have shown us is that these leaders are not able to do the end game. I would rather us see some singles, some doubles and to try to do what we can do because whenever we try to hit that home run ball we could strike out.

Mr. DUNCAN. Reclaiming my time real quick and with 3 seconds, Israelis pulled out of the settlements. They made a good faith effort.

From that point forward, rockets continued to fly into Israel until last summer. I think Israel has made a good faith effort. It is time for the Palestinians to make a good faith effort, and I yield back.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Duncan.

Mr. Deutch, my south Florida colleague.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thanks very much, Madam Chairman.

Mr. Makovsky, can we start with a focus on the security cooperation that exists currently between the Palestinian security and the Israelis.

I would like to probe that a little because, given the extent of that cooperation, everything that we have been discussing this morning makes no sense in terms of the actions and statements that President Abbas makes.

But can you just confirm the extent of that cooperation?

Mr. MAKOVSKY. So, Congressman Deutch, you have a situation that, you know, you have the central command, the West Bank command of the IDF. You have the Shin Bet.

They are working with their Palestinian colleagues to keep Hamas out of the West Bank and to keep things quiet, and I would say that it has been successful not judging by my standard, by what—you know, I quoted Gantz and Diskin as saying that that is why there has been quiet.

And if you got rid of that, then what you would have is Hamas more in the West Bank, the PA probably more overrun. So I think that security cooperation is indispensable going forward and I think we have to be very careful to say well, we don't need it because it is somehow a graft payment, I don't see it that way.

I see it as Israelis and Palestinians really interpreting what peace should mean, which is working together for security. So I would just be very cautious before I would take that piece out, given that it has shown tangible results and this was not always the case.

You know, in the '90s things were very politicized. These were politicians—Jibril Rajoub, Mohammad Dahlan. These are now professionals on the Palestinian side and Israelis think very highly of them.

Mr. DEUTCH. So here is what is so puzzling, I think, to so many of us.

We spent all this money providing assistance that contributes to security for Israelis and Palestinians that keeps Hamas out. And then President Abbas—you brought up the prior example—President Abbas then goes on TV and says that Israel is summarily executing 13-year-old kids despite that fact that, one, he was still alive being treated by Israel, and two, had perpetrated a terrorist act.

And when he does that and when he engages in this incitement, all of the dollars that we spend on security to help secure the Israelis and the Palestinians from Hamas attacks becomes less effective because his statements only make the situation worse and embolden those who would ultimately be supportive of Hamas.

Isn't that the case? Dr. Schanzer, isn't that the case?

Mr. SCHANZER. Look, it is the case and part of the problem here is that Abbas is, I think, trying to struggle with some competing interests.

On the one hand, he does need to maintain that absolute iron grip over the West Bank and he needs Israel 100 percent in order to do that. He cannot do it himself.

I have heard estimates that if the Israelis were to stop cooperating with the PA, that in less than a month, the West Bank would be overrun.

At the same time, he has his political constituents who don't like the fact that he is working with the Israelis, and so there is a popularity issue and, of course, his popularity has been sagging for quite some time because of corruption, because of poor governance, because he has not been able to unify the territories, et cetera.

And so you see him sort of, you know, neither here nor there. And then, more broadly, there is this question of ultimately his goal of establishing a Palestinian state, and the longer that he does not achieve that, the more frustration we see from him. And some of these bombastic statements, I think, are absolutely a result of that.

Ironically, I think a lot of that comes from his own diplomatic positions. I think he has had opportunities to negotiate peace and he has stepped away from that several times.

Mr. DEUTCH. And how does—just the last question I would ask is how is it that, and I am being sincere—I mean, how does he—how does he get away—how is it somehow acceptable to make an assertion about the religious sites that is patently false and then have that assertion become a talking point that many around the world start to adopt? How does that happen?

Mr. Abrams, do you have thoughts on that?

Mr. ABRAMS. Well, there are lots—you know, there is a discourse out there that is filled with lies about Israel and this just becomes another small piece of that discourse.

People will believe almost anything, and I think, unfortunately, in the Arab world it is very common that people assume that their leaders are lying to them half the time.

So the fact that he is lying to people, not such a big deal, unfortunately.

Mr. DEUTCH. So Madam Chairman, I would conclude by saying that while I acknowledge the importance of our security assistance, I think it is very important this has to be—these statements and these actions have to be relevant to our debates and for those in the region who have said they don't care what—how Congress use this there is a lot at stake in terms of their own security in the way we address this and we are paying close attention.

It does matter, and I thank the witnesses for their testimony today.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Deutch.

Mr. Meadows is recognized.

Mr. MEADOWS. Thank you, Madam Chairman.

Thank each of you for your testimony today. I guess this comes a little bit personal to me in that I just returned from Israel.

In fact, still on jet lag, having arrived on Monday, spending a week up close and personal with a number of these terrorist attacks, changing our plans as we were there on the ground with a number of our security detail concerned about where we were going, where we were not going and, indeed, 10 minutes after we

left a particular area it was reported that the very place that we left there was an attack by a Palestinian dressed as a reporter on either IDF or police security forces right where we were.

And I find that interesting because all of this incitement that continues to go on, and I agree with some of the other statements that have been made because I have tried to work on eliminating the money for the Palestinian Authority if it is going to be used to pay terrorists a stipend and I say not only a stipend, it is actually a very good salary where they can be incentivized to complete and conduct terrorist activities. I find it just mind boggling that we would continue to do that.

That being said, I do agree that the Palestinian Authority, from a standpoint of security, provides a meaningful tool to work with the Israeli Government. And so it is more complex than perhaps this guy from North Carolina could figure out.

That being said, it is important that the truth be told and the truth is that with regards to the Temple Mount where there may have been a few comments that have been made by Israelis on one extreme that the government in itself is not trying to change it.

The only person who couldn't go to the Temple Mount was not the Muslim worshipers. It was this Member of Congress that couldn't go because it was not safe for me to do that.

Now, I say that because somehow in this whole narrative what we are finding, and I normally ask questions but today is my chance to make a statement, we are missing the fundamental question of incitement and how we are either ignoring or not addressing the issue as a nation who can address it.

I was in a courtroom where there were six defendants there who had been accused of terrorist activities, five of those Hamas related, one of those ISIS related, and with the pride in their face as they talked back and forth to members of their families and friends, almost cheering the fact that they were there sitting trial and being applauded as heroes.

Enough is enough. And what we must do is put pressure on our European allies to address this particular issue. That is where it is.

We may stand firm but let this day be the start of where our European allies understand that they must join us in this fight to make sure that the incitement is eliminated.

And with that, I would be—in the time remaining I would ask how do we start to provide services for the Palestinian Authority versus cash payments where we can perhaps still provide the security-related issues that are out there.

Is there a creative way for us to address this and finally have a resolve where we can do that. Anybody that wants to—Secretary?

Mr. ABRAMS. Just a quick idea. Just earmark everything. No unearmarked budget support.

I mean, if you want to dock one particular thing, do it. If you want more for education, do it. Just don't give any unearmarked cash.

Mr. MEADOWS. Mr. Abrams, let me go with that because at a table very much like yours I talked to the Under Secretary of State almost a year ago and said that this money that was going for paying of terrorists was—that program was going to go away and in-

deed it went away from there but only shifted to another area which says, well, it is not here in this pot, it is in a different pot. When are we going to address that? That one area?

Mr. MAKOVSKY. Look, this is why—what you said about the Europeans I just want to say amen, amen because this is what is required. We can't do this by ourselves, and if we have a quartet with the Europeans dealing with the Palestinian issue, administration to administration, I think there needs to be more consultation with the funding arms in Europe.

I am not saying we will succeed immediately. But we need to start with awareness. I also want to say, because we have been talking about security, and I also think that some of the people to people programming that does go on, I don't like to say any of this is a panacea—I know there is some effort now, I'll map a coalition of people to people trying to see what could be done on conflict resolution. I think that is a good idea.

I think that is one piece. There is going to be 20 different pieces to this puzzle. Earmarking could be a piece but consultation with Europe, I think, is critical. People to people is a piece of this. There is going to be a lot of different pieces if we are serious about taking this issue on.

Mr. SCHANZER. Just a quick note that the funding that you are talking about, the PA funding for prisoners, ultimately is, as I understand it, was moved over to the PLO and, again, I think we have to just note that the PLO has outlived its usefulness.

It is no longer actually a partner in peace. It is supposed to be the negotiating partner for the PLO. It is not doing that. Instead, what we are seeing is the funding of prisoners.

On top of that, we are seeing the funding of these media organs that have been spreading lies about the Temple Mount. And so I really think that we need to see a significant overhaul of the PLO.

Perhaps Congress could begin to weigh whether we want to continue to recognize the PLO in light of its recent activity.

I thank you.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much. Thank you, Mr. Meadows.

Mr. Cicilline of Rhode Island.

Mr. CICILLINE. Thank you, Madame Chair.

Thank you to our witnesses for being here. I, like my colleagues, am incredibly disturbed by the recent events and really want to join in all the strong condemnation of this recent round of violence. I particularly associate myself with the chairman and ranking member's earlier comments.

And I am particularly concerned about the incendiary and irresponsible words and texts that played a leading role in this volatile situation.

The bottom line is that terrorist acts of violence are being perpetrated against Israelis and this must be strongly condemned by all parties, particularly by the Palestinian Authority.

I want to note that yesterday I joined every single member of the Jewish caucus in Congress in issuing a statement rejecting the irresponsible and factually inaccurate resolution passed by UNESCO executive board which falsely blames Israel for the recent surge in

violence. One sided inflammatory statements like this are part of the problem.

They fan the flames of hatred and prevent us from moving forward in cooperation in the peace process that could lead to a two-state solution.

And Mr. Chairman, with your consent I wish to enter this statement into the record.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. CICILLINE. Thank you.

And I thank you for your testimony. In particular, I thank you, Mr. Abrams, because in your testimony you spoke about one case in particular, the case of Dalal Mughrabi, one of the most deadly terror attacks in Israeli history where 37 civilians, 12 of them children, were killed in the hijacking of a bus, and this was glorified by naming schools and summer camps and sports tournaments after this terrorist, and it is just one example of the kind of glorification of terror and violence that continues to persist in the Palestinian Authority.

And so my first question is, are there any alternative Palestinian voices coming from the PA or society, more broadly, that are calling for Palestinians to cease these recent acts of terror?

Mr. ABRAMS. There are, and, you know, we can point to, for example, former Prime Minister Fayyad as an example of this. And there are clearly many others.

The problem has been the leadership has been the same group. First it was Arafat, now it is Arafat's survivors and acolytes, starting with President Abbas, who are in charge.

They are in charge of the PA. They are in charge of the PLO. They are in charge of Fatah and you are not getting that kind of cooperation from them.

Mr. CICILLINE. Also, I know for many years the educational system in the West Bank and Gaza and other ports of region have really put forth dangerous, inaccurate perceptions about Jews and Israelis and sort of fostered a lot of the hatred.

And I know there has been a lot of conversation. I spoke to President Abbas about his myself several years ago and there were assurances they were working on this.

A, is there any evidence that there have been sort of any progress in terms of the curriculum and the textbooks? And to your earlier point, has the time come that we simply do not provide educational aid in terms of financial resources but provide the actual textbooks that reflect the kind of curriculum that will foster understanding and kind of more—sort of a context in which a relationship can actually between two communities?

Mr. ABRAMS. I think it goes forward and backward. There is sometimes a new textbook that is better. Then a few years later a worse textbook comes out.

I think part of the answer is to insist more. It may be to see if we can provide textbooks including textbooks that have been done in Arabic in other places in the world including the U.S.

There is an UNRWA problem because about so many—tens of thousands of Palestinian children aren't going to PA schools. They are going to UNRWA schools, which have their own textbooks.

And finally, there is this PLO problem that Jonathan Schanzer was referring to and which led me to say it is time to close the PLO office in Washington.

Mr. CICILLINE. And I just want to say I think that this question of how do we stop the next generation of engaging in the same kind of behavior really does start with education. And I would love to hear more, Mr. Abrams, right after Mr. Schanzer about closing about the PLO offices here.

Mr. SCHANZER. Actually, I wanted to just mention something about the textbooks. I think, without question, the textbooks are a problem, and we continue to focus on that here in Washington. But so much of this has to do with the teachers themselves, right? What is taught in the classrooms comes down to the people who are teaching it. And so you have an administrative education problem.

You could change the textbooks all you want and the teachers could still teach their children that Israel is the enemy or that Israel doesn't exist on a map, and so it is a much more systemic problem than just textbooks.

Mr. CICILLINE. Very important point.

And Mr. Abrams, with my last few seconds would you speak a little bit about why you think closing the PLO offices is a good strategy?

Mr. ABRAMS. First, because of the way in which the PLO has been conducting itself but secondly because nobody elected the PLO. Once upon a time, there were PA elections. The PLO is a nondemocratic body. The PLO does not in fact represent the Palestinian people even though the U.N. thinks it does.

So in my own view, they are not doing anything helpful.

Mr. CICILLINE. Thank you. I thank you, Madam Chairman. I yield back.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Cicilline.

Dr. Yoho.

Mr. YOHO. Thank you, Madam Chair.

Gentlemen, I appreciate you being here and, you know, you wonder about the increase—escalation of violence in that region and I look at, you know, this administration—I remember Nancy Pelosi, John Kerry, if I remember correctly, saying that Hamas was a humanitarian organization and giving them credibility and I hear the President saying the acts of terrorism that Israel is conducting or what Israel is going through are acts of terrorism yet they are just trying to defend their people.

You know, and you wonder why things are escalating. I see that happening and, Mr. Abrams, you were talking about getting new books into the schools.

You know, as Dr. Schanzer pointed out, it is much deeper than it systemically because the books aren't going to change anything. The children are a product of their environment. Their environment are the parents, it is the society, it is government.

And until you change that it is not going to happen and to go in and say we need to have a—you didn't say regime change but that is what I am hearing from you guys and I think we have meddled too much in too much of that.

That has to come from within and we can't give it outside. And as Mr. Makovsky said, you know, it will be a puppet of the U.S. and we have done that over and over again. We can't do that.

So this is a much deeper problem and we had introduced here over a year ago a resolution to pull all funding from the Palestinian Authority because our hard working American taxpayers are paying taxes that go in the name of peace to the Middle East and we have just seen an escalation that is not working.

So my goal is to remove all funding from the Palestinian Authority. I think your idea, which I do agree with, of closing the PLO office, I think that is another step that we should go into.

But just to go on and doing what we are doing. I have only been here 3 years but I have seen an escalation in violence. We had the war last year that went on for, what was it, 6 weeks?

You know, and we are giving all this money, $500 million, roughly, a year. And I agree with my colleague, Mr. Sherman, that that money should go to deficit reduction in America where it will make a difference here.

And, you know, what can we do different than what you have said? I mean, the textbooks to me, yeah, that is a nice thing that will make us feel good because they won't have all this inflammatory language.

But it is a lot deeper than that. I just know doing what we are doing is not going to work. You well know what the definition of insanity is.

I should like to see a whole different paradigm shift in our foreign policy that we support people that are on the same page as we are. I don't want them to live like us. I don't want to tell them what kind of government.

But they should believe—the people that we assist, I would think, are the same—the countries that believe in the same ideals we do—life, liberty, pursuit of happiness, religious freedom.

I am not going to dictate that to anybody but if you want our help you need to come to this side of the table.

What are your thoughts on changing that whole narrative and paradigm?

Mr. SCHANZER. I will just very briefly say this, that I think one of the biggest problems with our relationship with the Palestinians is that it is transactional, not transformational—that we simply fork over funds and we have a sort of expectation that they just keep the peace.

And by the way, that is the same paradigm that we had with Egypt and many of the authoritarian governments that have collapsed over the last 5 or 6 years, and we see how that has worked for us.

And so ultimately, I think, we have to come to the conclusion that this is a failed paradigm. This is not to say that in our attempts to transform Palestinian society that we need to be the people who are dictating exactly who comes in and how they operate.

But I think we can begin to set standards, right, for elections, making sure that, you know, people, as in the case of Mahmoud Abbas, that he is not—you know, now he is 10 years into his term. He has no sign of going anywhere.

We need to make sure that there are at least some semblances of democracy, of participation in that society, and I think it is at that point that we begin to see some of the changes that may be worth funding in the PA.

But the one word of warning here is that if you just remove the entire infrastructure by defunding it, you have got the potential for chaos, and that is what we have got to try to avoid.

Mr. MAKOVSKY. If I could, look, I agree with this last point of John. We have got to be careful. If we think we just rid of the old infrastructure that things will be better when we know we are going to get worse.

We know it. And we have withheld funding before. It is not like we haven't tried it.

We have tried a different paradigm and we didn't get the result we wanted.

I do think though out of this hearing is coming some real ideas. I mean, you know, I think you have heard from the three of us. You know, John and Elliott have been talking about closing the PLO offices, which I think could be a signal.

I think the idea of blacklisting who we know are involved in incitement, earmarking funds for things we believe in, the issue of trying to get European awareness so we are not on this incitement focus by ourselves. We need to—these are four different things that are not being done now.

Mr. YOHO. All right. I will tell you what we will do. Our office, and I know the chairmen they will go ahead and probably go along with us. Our resolution to defund the $500 million until Palestine got rid of Resolution 21 and 23, we did that.

They got rid of those resolutions but we know that money is fungible and is still being sent over there, still being used somewhere that is aiding them to be able to pay the stipends to people in prison. So I like those recommendations and I am sure you will see those come out soon and I appreciate your time, Madam Chair.

Thank you for——

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much, Dr. Yoho.

And as we recess our hearing I want to notify our members that we will commence our markup of House Resolution 293 at approximately noon. Without objection, we are in recess.

[Recess.]

Chairman ROYCE. This committee will come to order.

Pursuant to notice and with concurrence of the ranking member, we meet today to markup House Resolution 293 on incitement, and without objection all members may have 5 days to submit statements and related materials for the record.

I now call up H. Res. 293 and without objection it is considered read and open for amendment at any point.

Before moving to statements, I call up Royce Amendment 204, the bipartisan amendment in the nature of a substitute that was circulated to all offices previously, which I am offering on behalf of myself, Ranking Member Engel, subcommittee chair Ros-Lehtinen and Ranking Member Deutch.

Without objection, that amendment, which members have in their packets, is considered read and is base text for purposes of amendment.

[The information referred to follows:]

IV

114TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 293

Expressing concern over anti-Israel and anti-Semitic incitement within the Palestinian Authority.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 3, 2015

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN (for herself and Mr. DEUTCH) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

---

RESOLUTION

Expressing concern over anti-Israel and anti-Semitic incitement within the Palestinian Authority.

Whereas the 1995 Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, commonly referred to as Oslo II, specifically details that Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall "abstain from incitement, including hostile propaganda, against each other and, without derogating from the principle of freedom of expression, shall take legal measures to prevent such incitement by any organizations, groups or individuals within their jurisdiction";

Whereas in spite of the Oslo II agreement, the President of the Palestinian Authority, Mahmoud Abbas repeatedly describes released Palestinian terrorists as "heroes" and Fatah's military wing publicly threatens to kidnap sol-

diers and launch missiles at Israel on the Fatah Facebook page and website;

Whereas the Palestinian Authority pays monthly "salaries" to families of Palestinian terrorists incarcerated in Israel;

Whereas in June 2013, Abbas referenced Israeli acts which "indicate an evil and dangerous plot to destroy Al-Aqsa and build the alleged temple";

Whereas in a November 2014 address commemorating the 10th anniversary of Yasser Arafat's death, Abbas said that as Israel has no claim to Jerusalem, he will not allow the Temple Mount to be "contaminated by Jews", and threatened that Jewish prayer at the site would cause a "devastating religious war";

Whereas in November 2014, jailed terrorist and Fatah leader Marwan Barghouti called for "comprehensive resistance and the rifle" against Israel;

Whereas Palestinian Authority Deputy Minister of Information Al-Mutawakkil Taha told official Palestian Authority daily newspaper Al Hayat Al Jadida in early 2012 that, "Israel has gone beyond all forms of oppression practiced by fascism throughout history" and that it"does more than racist discrimination and ethnic cleansing";

Whereas official Palestinian websites and Facebook pages, including those of Abbas' Presidential Guards and Palestinian Authority schools, recurrently show maps of the land without reference to Israel and in November 2012, the Palestinian Authority erected a statue in central Bethlehem square that displayed a map of the "state of Palestine" covering all of Israel;

Whereas the Oslo II agreement further dictates that Israel and the Palestinian Authority "will ensure that their re-

spective educational systems contribute to the peace between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples and to peace in the entire region";

Whereas Zayzafuna, a monthly educational magazine for children sponsored by the Palestinian National Committee for Education, Culture and Sciences, regularly presents Adolf Hitler as a role model and in January 2012, Facebook pages of several Palestinian Authority high schools posted images of Hitler with his quotation, "I could have killed all the Jews in the world, but I left a few so that you would know why I killed them";

Whereas a teacher in a summer camp near Nablus in July 2013 can be seen in video footage leading children in a call and response saying, "Palestine is an Arab land from the river to the sea. We want Haifa, we want Acre";

Whereas in July 2013, Palestinian official television aired a video of two girls reciting a poem that calls Jews "barbaric monkeys, wretched pigs" and asserts that Jerusalem is not for Jews, because Jerusalem "vomits" out the Jews who are said to be "filth" and "impure";

Whereas section 7040 (e) of the Consolidated and Further Continuing Appropriations Act, 2015, requires the Secretary of State, if the President waives section 7040 (a) of that same Act, to "certify and report to the Committees on Appropriations prior to the obligation of funds that . . . the Palestinian Authority is acting to counter incitement of violence against Israelis and is supporting activities aimed at promoting peace, coexistence, and security cooperation with Israel";

Whereas the Palestinian Authority has not fully lived up to its prior agreements with Israel to end incitement and

should do more to prepare the Palestinian people for peace with Israel: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives—

(1) expresses support and admiration for individuals and organizations working to encourage cooperation between Israelis and Palestinians, including—

(A) Professor Mohammed Dajani Daoudi, who took students from al-Quds University in Jerusalem to visit Auschwitz in March 2014 only to return to death threats by fellow Palestinians and expulsion from his teacher's union;

(B) the Israel Palestine Center for Research and Information, the only joint Israeli-Palestinian public policy think-tank;

(C) United Hatzalah, a nonprofit, fully volunteer Emergency Medical Services organization that, mobilizing volunteers who are religious or secular Jews, Arabs, Muslims, and Christians, provides EMS services to all people in Israel regardless of race, religion, or national origin; and

(D) Breaking the Impasse, an apolitical initiative of Palestinian and Israeli business and civil society leaders who advocate for a two-

state solution and an urgent diplomatic solution to the conflict;

(2) reiterates strong condemnation of anti-Israel and anti-Semitic incitement in the Palestinian Authority as antithetical to the cause of peace;

(3) urges President Abbas and Palestinian Authority officials to discontinue all official incitement and exert influence to discourage anti-Israel and anti-Semitic incitement in Palestinian civil society; and

(4) directs the United States Department of State to regularly monitor and publish information on all official incitement by the Palestinian Authority against Jews and the State of Israel.

○

AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H. RES. 293

OFFERED BY Mr. . Royce
(for himself, Mr. Engel, Ms. Ros-Lehtinen, and Mr. Deutch)

Strike the preamble and insert the following:

Whereas the 1995 Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, commonly referred to as Oslo II, specifically details that Israel and the Palestinian Authority shall "abstain from incitement, including hostile propaganda, against each other and, without derogating from the principle of freedom of expression, shall take legal measures to prevent such incitement by any organizations, groups or individuals within their jurisdiction";

Whereas the Oslo II agreement further states that Israel and the Palestinian Authority "will ensure that their respective educational systems contribute to the peace between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples and to peace in the entire region";

Whereas Palestinian Authority incitement against Israelis has continued unabated for many years despite periods of negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority;

Whereas this incitement takes on many forms, and has included the glorification of terrorists who have murdered Israeli civilians; advocating struggle against Israel despite entering into negotiations with Israel; the demonization of Jews and Israelis, including by the use of anti-Semitic motifs; the denial of Israel's existence and its delegitimization as evidenced by the absence of Israel on official maps used in Palestinian Authority institutions;

and false claims that Israel or the Jews are endangering Muslim holy sites, such as the Al-Aqsa mosque/Temple Mount in Jerusalem;

Whereas in June 2013, Abbas referenced Israeli acts which "indicate an evil and dangerous plot to destroy Al-Aqsa and build the alleged temple";

Whereas on September 16, 2015, Abbas stated on Palestinian television that "we welcome every drop of blood spilled in Jerusalem. This is pure blood, clean blood, blood on its way to Allah. With the help of Allah, every martyr will be in heaven, and every wounded will get his reward";

Whereas since mid-September 2015 there has been a wave of Palestinian violence in Israel and the West Bank, including stabbings, shootings, and other terrorist acts;

Whereas this situation has been inflamed by statements made by Palestinian President Abbas, other Palestinian officials, clerics, and official Palestinian Authority media, and frequently amplified on social media platforms;

Whereas these statements have included repeated false claims that Israel seeks to change the "status quo" on the Temple Mount/al-Aqsa Mosque compound;

Whereas despite the incitement-induced wave of terrorism, the Palestinian Authority security forces and the Israel Defense Forces have continued security cooperation;

Whereas section 7038 of the Consolidated and Further Continuing Appropriations Act, 2015 states that "none of the funds appropriated or otherwise made available by this Act may be used to provide equipment, technical support, consulting services, or any other form of assistance to the Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation";

Whereas section 7040(e) of the Consolidated and Further Continuing Appropriations Act, 2015 requires the Secretary of State, if the President waives section 7040(a) of that Act, to "certify and report to the Committees on Appropriations prior to the obligation of funds that . . . the Palestinian Authority is acting to counter incitement of violence against Israelis and is supporting activities aimed at promoting peace, coexistence, and security cooperation with Israel"; and

Whereas the Palestinian Authority has not fully lived up to its prior agreements with Israel to end incitement and should do more to prepare the Palestinian people for peace with Israel: Now, therefore, be it

Strike all after the resolving clause and insert the following:

1 That the House of Representatives—

2 (1) expresses support and admiration for indi-
3 viduals and organizations working to encourage co-
4 operation between Israelis and Palestinians;

5 (2) strongly condemns the wave of violent at-
6 tacks in Israel and the West Bank;

7 (3) reiterates the strong condemnation of anti-
8 Israel and anti-Semitic incitement to violence in the
9 Palestinian Authority as antithetical to the cause of
10 peace;

11 (4) calls on the Palestinian Authority to—

(A) immediately discontinue incitement to violence in all Palestinian Authority-controlled media outlets, and officially and publicly repudiate attacks against Israelis; and

(B) engage in a sustained effort to publicly and officially rebuke anti-Israel incitement to violence, continue important security cooperation with Israel and agree to unconditionally renew direct talks with the Israelis, including the reconstitution of the Trilateral Commission on Incitement;

(5) encourages responsible nations to condemn in the strongest possible terms incitement to violence by the Palestinian Authority;

(6) directs the Department of State to regularly monitor and publish information on all official incitement by the Palestinian Authority against Jews and the State of Israel; and

(7) calls on the Administration to continue publicly repudiating and raising the issue of Palestinian anti-Israel incitement to violence in all appropriate bilateral and international forums.

Chairman ROYCE. After recognizing myself and the ranking member, I will be pleased to recognize any members seeking recognition who wants to then speak on the resolution.

House Res. 293 reflects many of the concerns we have discussed this morning, an escalation of violence against Israelis and the way in which that escalation of violence is praised and encouraged and even fueled by Palestinian Authority officials.

This resolution rightly condemns this incitement and the outbreak of violence and expresses support for those who are working to encourage peace and cooperation between Israelis and Palestinians.

And I want to thank our chairman emeritus and Middle East subcommittee chair, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen—you are very welcome—and Middle East Subcommittee Ranking Member Ted Deutch for authorizing this important measure.

And I would also note that many members beyond the committee have been focused on combating incitement and terrorism against Israel including Congresswoman Martha McSally of Arizona, who introduced an important incitement resolution earlier this week and worked with us on this draft resolution.

Martha McSally is right. It is critical that we stand by our good ally, Israel, at this challenging time. And I now recognize the ranking member for his remarks.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I want to associate myself with your statement that you just made. I thank you for bringing this resolution forward.

I want to thank our colleagues, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Ted Deutch, for working so long and hard on this. This is a very important and timely resolution, and as we just heard at our hearing, the Palestinian violence against Israeli citizens is getting out of hand.

We need to dial up pressure on Palestinian leaders to repudiate this violence, bring those who are responsible to justice and put a stop once and for all to the ugly anti-Israel anti-Jewish incitement that has permeated Palestinian culture.

So this resolution sends a clear message that the violence must stop. It must stop to protect the lives of the innocent. It must stop if there is any hope of working toward a two-state solution.

Again, I think our hearing that we just had showed us loudly and clearly that this cannot continue. I want to reiterate everything I said in my earlier statement in our hearing and I urge my colleagues to support this measure, and I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman ROYCE. Do any other members seek recognition?

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman ROYCE. Ms. Ros-Lehtinen.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman, and Ranking Member Engel, for bringing up House Resolution 293 to markup today.

This resolution, which I introduced alongside my friend and south Florida colleague, Congressman Ted Deutch, condemns anti-Israel and anti-Semitic incitement within the Palestinian Authority and the timing of this markup and today's hearing—Mr. Chairman, I thank you for this—could not be any more appropriate.

Last week, committee staffers traveled to Jerusalem and they visited the holy sites and were constantly in earshot of the ambulances attending to the victims of these horrific attacks.

Over the past month and a half, we have seen a new wave of terror and violence that has spread across Israel, spurred on in large part by incitement by Abu Mazen and the Palestinian Authority officials.

This latest round of terror and violence is just that, only the latest round. It may take a new form with knife attacks being the preferred method of terror this time around.

But the reality is that what we have come to expect when the Palestinian people have been indoctrinated and incited to violence for years and years by their supposed leaders we need to hold Abu Mazen and the PA accountable for their actions to date and let the PA know in no uncertain terms that it needs to stop fueling the violence and start working toward peace. We need the parties involved to reconcile their differences, come together, de-escalate the tensions.

Abu Mazen needs to put aside his self-interest and finally do what is right for the good of the Palestinian people instead of inciting violence and promoting hatred. Abu Mazen needs to call for calm and work with the Israelis to restore the peace.

The King of Jordan also has an important role to play as the guardian of Jerusalem's Islamic holy sites. Everyone involved has an interest in seeing the incitement and violence stop.

Jerusalem is home of the holiest sites for Jews, for Christians, for Muslims, and it is time for Abu Mazen to renounce the violence and stop the incitement for his government.

So I urge my colleagues to support this measure and I urge the international community to impress upon on Abu Mazen how vital it is that the incitement stop immediately.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman ROYCE. Thank you, Ileana.

We now go to Ted Deutch of Florida.

Mr. DEUTCH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to extend my thanks to you and to Ranking Member Engel and your staff for working diligently to move this timely resolution forward, and I want to thank my friend and my partner, Chairman Ros-Lehtinen, for her bipartisan efforts on today's measure.

We have just spent the last 2 hours discussing how incitement within official channels of the Palestinian Authority breeds violence.

And by passing today's resolution, this committee sends a message to the world that Congress is watching and that violent hateful rhetoric will not be tolerated. We won't tolerate officials using religion as a means to spur violence.

We won't tolerate actions like we saw this week as a Palestinian-backed resolution at UNESCO attempted to rewrite history and inflame tensions on the ground by challenging history.

President Abbas is supposed to be a partner for peace. It is time he stands on the world stage and loudly condemns violent attacks against innocent citizens.

It is time that he speaks truthfully about two states living side by side in peace and security. It is time that he returns to direct negations and works to truly fulfill the goals of creating a brighter future for his people.

There has to be an end to this vicious violence. The only way to do it is by courageous leaders stopping the spread of false, inflammatory, accusatory rhetoric and promoting a culture of nonviolence and a culture of cooperation.

I appreciate the support of my colleagues today and I encourage the passage of this resolution.

Chairman ROYCE. Thank you, Ted.

Any other members want to speak? Mr. Boyle.

Mr. BOYLE. I just want to briefly say I am proud to cosponsor this resolution and thank the author as well and the chair and ranking member for having this hearing and passing it.

It is important to remember specifically what started this latest round and that was that false rumor that Israel was going to cut off access to the Temple Mount, the al-Aqsa Mosque.

Completely untrue, completely false, and yet there have been attack after attack, killing innocent people in Jerusalem and, of course, the people perpetrating those attacks as well.

It is important that all of us who are fortunate to have elected positions exercise them with responsibility and I hope that those within the Palestinian Authority recognize just how much damage and destruction has been caused to both Israelis and Palestinians because of their own words.

I also want to thank and associate myself with the efforts of Jordan to attempt to bring a resolution to this latest effort and stop this absolute madness that will lead to nothing except for more bloodshed.

Thank you.

Chairman ROYCE. All right. Hearing no further request for recognition on the base text, are there any additional amendments?

Mr. Salmon.

Mr. SALMON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I do have an amendment at the desk.

[The information referred to follows:]

AMENDMENT TO THE AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H.R. 2293 OFFERED BY MR. SALMON OF ARIZONA

Page 4, after line 14, insert the following:

1 (6) expresses support for the Government of
2 Israel in its fight against terror;

Page 4, line 15, strike "(6)" and insert "(7)".

Page 4, line 19, strike "(7)" and insert "(8)".

☒

Mr. SALMON. I would like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for bringing up this timely measure. It is critical that Congress go on the record to oppose the PA's blatant incitement of violence in Israel and it is unacceptable and we can't remain silent.

My Arizona colleague, as you mentioned in your opening statement, Congresswoman Martha McSally, who cares deeply about this issue, has worked on a similar resolution of condemnation of the Palestinian Authority.

I am proud to be an original cosponsor of her resolution. My amendment would add a small but important provision from Congresswoman McSally's resolution to the one before us today.

The amendment, very simply, expresses the U.S. Congress' support for the Government of Israel's fight against terrorism.

After Palestinian President Abbas encouraged protestors to protect Jerusalem and blessed every drop of blood that has been spilled for Jerusalem as blood spilled for Allah, it is critical that Congress speaks with a firm voice to acknowledge the challenges the Israeli Government is confronting and offer our support for this struggle with eyes on a goal of peace for both Palestinians and the Israelis.

I commend Congressman Ros-Lehtinen and Congresswoman McSally for their efforts on this important issue and I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of my amendment.

Chairman ROYCE. Any other members seek recognition to speak on the amendment?

Hearing none, the question occurs on the amendment. All those in favor say aye. All those opposed no.

In the opinion of the Chair, the ayes have it. The amendment is agreed to and hearing no further amendments the question occurs on approving the resolution as amendment.

All those in favor say aye. All those opposed, no.

In the opinion of the Chair, the ayes have it. House Resolution 293 is agreed to as amended and without objection it I ordered it is ordered favorably reported as amended and staff is directed to make any technical and conforming changes.

And also without objection the Chair is authorized to seek House consideration under suspension of the rules for this bill and that concludes all the business today, and I want to thank our ranking member, Mr. Engel, and all of the committee members for their contribution, their assistance with our markup here today.

The committee is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:17 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

APPENDIX

Material Submitted for the Record

FULL COMMITTEE HEARING AND MARKUP NOTICE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6128

Edward R. Royce (R-CA), Chairman

October 22, 2015

TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN hearing and markup of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to be held in Room 2172 of the Rayburn House Office Building (and available live on the Committee website at http://www.ForeignAffairs.house.gov):

DATE: Thursday, October 22, 2015

TIME: 10:00 a.m.

SUBJECT: Words Have Consequences: Palestinian Authority Incitement to Violence

WITNESSES: Mr. Elliott Abrams
Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies
Council on Foreign Relations

Jonathan Schanzer, Ph.D.
Vice President for Research
Foundation for the Defense of Democracies

Mr. David Makovsky
Ziegler Distinguished Fellow
Director
Project on the Middle East Peace Process
Irwin Levy Family Program on the U.S.-Israel Strategic Relationship
The Washington Institute for Near East Policy

MARKUP OF: H. Res. 293, Expressing concern over anti-Israel and anti-Semitic incitement within the Palestinian Authority.

By Direction of the Chairman

The Committee on Foreign Affairs seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you are in need of special accommodations, please call 202/225-5021 at least four business days in advance of the event, whenever practicable. Questions with regard to special accommodations in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats and assistive listening devices) may be directed to the Committee.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF FULL COMMITTEE HEARING

Day *Thursday* Date *10/22/2015* Room *2172*

Starting Time *10:12* Ending Time *12:17*

Recesses *1* (*11:45* to *12:05*) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____)

Presiding Member(s)

Chairman Edward R. Royce, Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen

Check all of the following that apply:

Open Session ☑
Executive (closed) Session ☐
Televised ☑
Electronically Recorded (taped) ☑
Stenographic Record ☑

TITLE OF HEARING:

Words Have Consequences: Palestinian Authority Incitement to Violence

COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

See attached.

NON-COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

none

HEARING WITNESSES: Same as meeting notice attached? Yes ☑ **No** ☐
(If "no", please list below and include title, agency, department, or organization.)

STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD: *(List any statements submitted for the record.)*

SFR - Rep. David Cicilline

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE _____
or
TIME ADJOURNED *12:17*

Jean Marter, Director of Committee Operations

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
MINUTES OF FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Day *Thursday* Date *10/22/2015* Room *2172*

Starting Time *12:05* Ending Time *12:17*

Recesses *0* (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____) (____ to ____)

Presiding Member(s)
Chairman Edward R. Royce

Check all of the following that apply:

Open Session ☑
Executive (closed) Session ☐
Televised ☑
Electronically Recorded (taped) ☑
Stenographic Record ☑

BILLS FOR MARKUP: *(Include bill number(s) and title(s) of legislation.)*
See attached.

COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:
See attached.

NON-COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:
none

STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD: *(List any statements submitted for the record.)*
none

ACTIONS TAKEN DURING THE MARKUP: *(Attach copies of legislation and amendments.)*
See markup summary.

RECORDED VOTES TAKEN (FOR MARKUP): *(Attach final vote tally sheet listing each member.)*

Subject	Yeas	Nays	Present	Not Voting

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE _____
or
TIME ADJOURNED *12:17*

Doug Anderson, General Counsel

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

FULL COMMITTEE HEARING AND MARKUP

PRESENT	*MEMBER*
X	Edward R. Royce, CA
X	Christopher H. Smith, NJ
X	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, FL
X	Dana Rohrabacher, CA
X	Steve Chabot, OH
X	Joe Wilson, SC
	Michael T. McCaul, TX
X	Ted Poe, TX
X	Matt Salmon, AZ
X	Darrell Issa, CA
	Tom Marino, PA
X	Jeff Duncan, SC
X	Mo Brooks, AL
	Paul Cook, CA
	Randy Weber, TX
X	Scott Perry, PA
X	Ron DeSantis, FL
X	Mark Meadows, NC
X	Ted Yoho, FL
	Curt Clawson, FL
	Scott DesJarlais, TN
	Reid Ribble, WI
X	Dave Trott, MI
X	Lee Zeldin, NY
X	Dan Donovan, NY

PRESENT	*MEMBER*
X	Eliot L. Engel, NY
X	Brad Sherman, CA
	Gregory W. Meeks, NY
X	Albio Sires, NJ
X	Gerald E. Connolly, VA
X	Theodore E. Deutch, FL
	Brian Higgins, NY
X	Karen Bass, CA
X	William Keating, MA
X	David Cicilline, RI
	Alan Grayson, FL
X	Ami Bera, CA
X	Alan S. Lowenthal, CA
X	Grace Meng, NY
	Lois Frankel, FL
X	Tulsi Gabbard, HI
X	Joaquin Castro, TX
	Robin Kelly, IL
X	Brendan Boyle, PA

10/22/15 Foreign Affairs Committee Markup Summary

The Chair called up the following measure:

1) H. Res. 293 (Ros-Lehtinen), Expressing concern over anti-Israel and anti-Semitic incitement within the Palestinian Authority.

   By unanimous consent, Royce 204, an amendment in the nature of a substitute to H.Res. 293, was called up and made base text for the purposes of amendment.

   Mr. Salmon offered an amendment to Royce 204, Salmon 91, agreed to by voice vote.

   H. Res. 293, as amended, was agreed to by voice vote, and ordered favorably reported by unanimous consent.

By unanimous consent, the Chair was authorized to seek House consideration of H. Res. 293 under suspension of the rules.

The Committee adjourned.

MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY THE HONORABLE DAVID CICILLINE, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

Jewish Members of Congress Condemn "Offensive and Incendiary" UNESCO Resolution Blaming Israel for Recent Surge in Violence

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: Wednesday, October 21, 2015
CONTACT:

Daniel Schwarz (Nadler), 202-225-5635
Tim Mulvey (Engel), 202-226-8461
Ben Fishel (Sherman), 202-225-5911
Aaron Hunter (Davis), 202-225-2040
Patrick Boland (Schiff), 202-225-4176
Michael Eisenstatt (Cohen), 202-225-3265
Ashley Mushnick (Deutch), 202-225-3001
Rich Luchette (Cicilline), 202-225-4911
Helen Kalla (Frankel), 202-225-9890
Jennifer DiSiena (Zeldin), 202-431-9210
Emily Serkaian (Levin), 202-225-4961
Matt Wojtkun (Lowey), 202-225-6506
Sam Avery (Schakowsky), 202-225-2111
Caitlin Girouard (Israel), 202-225-3335
Sean Bartlett (Wasserman Schultz), 202-225-7931
Christopher Schuler (Yarmuth), 202-225-5401
Kristin Lynch (Polis), 202-225-2161
Ken Scudder (Grayson), 202-225-9889
Keith Higginbotham (Lowenthal), 202-225-7924

WASHINGTON, D.C. – Today, U.S. Representatives Jerrold Nadler (D-NY), Sandy Levin (D-MI), Eliot Engel (D-NY), Nita Lowey (D-NY), Brad Sherman (D-CA), Jan Schakowsky (D-IL), Susan Davis (D-CA), Steve Israel (D-NY), Adam Schiff (D-CA), Debbie Wasserman Schultz (D-FL), Steve Cohen (D-TN), John Yarmuth (D-KY), Ted Deutch (D-FL), Jared Polis (D-CO), David Cicilline (D-RI), Alan Grayson (D-FL), Lois Frankel (D-FL), Alan Lowenthal (D-CA), and Lee Zeldin (R-NY) issued the following joint, bipartisan statement in response to a UNESCO resolution condemning Israel for the recent surge in violence and falsely blaming Israel for violating the status quo of Jerusalem's Temple Mount.

Below is the full text of the joint statement:

"The resolution adopted by the UNESCO Executive Board condemning Israel for the recent surge in violence can serve no purpose other than to escalate tensions, exacerbate religious conflict, and further incite violence. This resolution, submitted by the six Arab member

countries of UNESCO on behalf of the Palestinian Authority, is offensive and incendiary. We commend the Administration for opposing the resolution, and for demonstrating once again the need for the U.S. to maintain a strong presence in international institutions.

"Furthermore, the continued false allegations against Israel as having violated the status quo at the Temple Mount, which is under the custodianship of Jordan and the Wakf Muslim religious trust, and blaming Israel for the surge in violent attacks, must be condemned. Such accusations have been perpetrated by the Palestinian leadership to incite continued violence, and the resulting attacks targeting Israeli civilians in recent weeks are an outrage. There is zero justification for such acts of terrorism, and the world cannot remain silent and certainly must not take actions that could add to the false and inflammatory incitement of violence.

"As Jewish Members of the United States House of Representatives, we believe strongly in respecting the religious history and protecting the religious freedoms of Muslims, Jews, and Christians. That means respecting the claims of both Jews and Muslims to holy sites which have significance for both religions. Designating Rachel's Tomb and the Tomb of the Patriarchs as exclusively Muslim sites is dismissive of other religious traditions, and the continued refusal to show any respect or recognition for the legitimacy of Jewish existence in the ancient Jewish homeland once again demonstrates a central obstacle to peace between Israelis and Palestinians."

###

○