Incitement
The Engine Driving Global Terrorism

Eli E. Hertz

Incitement is the new uncontrollable, affordable and elusive weapon of mass destruction. Its brand of terrorism constitutes a major strategic threat to the foundation of the free world.

First Step Towards Eradicating Terrorism – Zero Tolerance for Incitement

The Muslim-Arab world fans the flames of hatred and violence against Israel, and against the United States and Westerners as a whole. Directly responsible for inciting terrorism and unleashing its lethal genie, Muslim-Arab leaders have produced uncontrollable, hard-to-detect mobile homicide bombers, a low-tech delivery system ready to attack anyone, anywhere, anytime.

In our high-tech world, terrorists have become the ultimate low-tech weapon of mass destruction, whether they are armed with belts packed with explosives or, in a worst-case scenario, carrying lethal biological (or chemical weapons) capable of spreading death and disease worldwide.[1] The growing wave of terror thwarts peace in the Middle East and threatens the lives of Westerners throughout the world, from the heart of Manhattan to remote islands like Bali. Terrorism kills innocent victims everywhere and on all sides.

Political and religious incitement play a crucial role in mobilizing and motivating Palestinian suicide bombers. After the horrendous 2002 suicide bombing of a Passover Seder in a Netanya hotel, Fouad Ajami, a Middle East scholar at Johns Hopkins University, wrote:

> "The suicide bomber of the Passover massacre did not descend from the sky; he walked straight out of the culture of incitement let loose on the land, a menace hovering over Israel, a great Palestinian and Arab refusal to let that country be, to cede it a place among the nations, he partook of the culture all around him – the glee [that] greets those brutal deeds of terror, the cult that rises around the martyrs and their families." [2]

Despite pledges to renounce violence against Israel, Arab leaders continue to incite, inflame and encourage Palestinians to pin every problem they face as individuals and as a society on Israel. This strategy of channeling frustrations

into hatred and the desire for revenge against Israel is adopted both by Israel's immediate Palestinian neighbors and Arab leaders throughout the Muslim-Arab world. Arab leaders lend support to the Palestinian cause with money and a combination of anti-Israeli and anti-American messages from government-controlled media outlets and educational systems. Sermons that legitimize violence in the name of Islam are encouraged, delivered by extremists throughout Muslim countries and in free countries in the West.

The Role of the Intelligentsia

Equally troubling is the role of the Arab intelligentsia, particularly in Egypt and Jordan, where Westerners expected Arabs and Jews to achieve a degree of reconciliation.

Considered the cultural movers and shakers of Egyptian, Jordanian and Palestinian society, the Arab intellectual elite show an unwillingness to create a climate for peace.[3] Professor Shlomo Avineri, a former scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, who examined the statements of two key Palestinian legislators, found them to be filled with "vitriolic language."[4]

What does this mean? It suggests, writes Avineri, that Oslo has not really changed the Arab view of Israel as a colonialist, imperialist, foreign and illegitimate entity:

> "If this is the language of the leadership and the intellectual elite, one can imagine the venom that percolates down to the street level. ... One cannot have peace between diplomats and armies when this is not internalized by a country's writers, intellectuals and poets. ... Peace is too serious a matter to be left only to generals and lawyers."[5]

Beyond their writings, the intelligentsia refuses to establish ties with Israelis, and they boycott the few colleagues who dare to favor normalized relations by expelling them from professional organizations. They organize hate campaigns against Israel, such as the Jordan-based Anti-Normalization Committee, with 130,000 members, which operates, ironically, under the aegis of the Jordanian Arab Organization for Human Rights. They blacklist those who deal with Israel and the professional organizations enforce the boycott. The Jordanian Journalists Association disciplined three members for traveling to Israel to interview officials. Another organization sued a lawyer who attended a reception at the Israeli Embassy. A third group threatened to expel dentists who treat Israeli patients. A fourth expelled a theater director from the Jordanian Artists Union for establishing ties with Israelis. And lastly, the Jordan Engineers Union refused to recognize degrees from Israeli universities.[6]

According to Tel Aviv University scholars, since 1999, Egypt's anti-normalization efforts have grown more aggressive and widespread as the elite began to view the Arab-Israeli conflict as an existential rather than territorial conflict that threatens Egyptian society and culture.

In May 2001, the Union of Egyptian Writers expelled the celebrated playwright, Ali Salem, for his pro-normalization stance. A series of anti-Israel and antisemitic novels and tele-novellas have been published and broadcasted. Diplomats, officials and ministers who deal with Israel are branded 'dupes' and 'traitors.' Joint agricultural ventures with Israel have been marred by accusations that Israeli agronomists introduce varieties and methods that cause cancer, AIDS, and tuberculosis.[7]

Government elites are no more hospitable to peace initiatives designed to create a climate of peaceful co-existence: in May 2004 film director Nabil Abdel-Alim applied for permission to establish an association designed to promote communication between Egyptians and Israelis. The Ministry of Social Affairs, which oversees Egypt's civil society, refused his application for a license to operate as an NGO. When Abdel-Alim appealed to the judicial system, the Egyptian court rejected the establishment of an *Egyptian-Israeli Association*, saying Arabs do not need "false friendship."[8]

The Effect of Indoctrination

These anti-Israeli actions have a profound impact on generations of Arabs fed a steady diet of poison-filled propaganda. Arab opinion polls find there is little desire for peace with Israel. Survey after survey shows that the majority of those polled believed the Arab-Israeli conflict should continue; and in most cases over 50 percent want Israel to eventually disappear from the Middle Eastern map.[9] But those polls also signify more worrisome effects. Arab incitement, now broadened to include anti-Western sentiments, as well as anti-Israeli and antisemitic sentiments, is producing the greatest threat to the civilized world since World War II.

For non-Arabic speakers, it is hard to grasp just how pervasive the propaganda is in areas controlled by the Palestinian Authority and throughout the Arab world. It is omnipresent: in state-controlled media outlets, in schools and mosques, at rallies, in speeches and articles.[10]

Whether in print, music, religious sermons, or on the radio, television and walls, the propaganda that incites permeates the refugee camps, villages and towns on the West Bank and Gaza. It touches those in radical Islamic schools in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. All who watch Arab-controlled television and movies, read state-controlled newspapers and government-controlled schoolbooks are affected by hate-filled propaganda.[11]

The terror that struck the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001 was the grim harvest of a climate of violence actively supported or passively accepted by Arab leaders – radicals and moderates alike – and was not the solitary act of a renegade or a madman plotting with a handful of ardent followers.

Terrorism against Israel and the West has reached epidemic proportions. Since September 11, not a day goes by when new terrorist attacks, failed attempts, or

plots in Europe, the United States, Africa, and Asia go unreported. Those attacks have captured not just the imagination[12] and support[13] of the radical fringe, but of rank-and-file Arabs as well. Palestinian Arabs danced in the streets after September 11, just as they shouted with glee from the rooftops when Iraqi SCUD missiles smashed into Tel Aviv during Operation Desert Storm in 1991.

Fatwas as Incitement

One of the most deplorable methods of incitement is the *fatwa* – an Islamic ruling that has turned into a vehicle for generating support for and sanctioning mass murder. *Fatwas* issued over recent decades sanctify suicide bombers' deaths, although Islam specifically prohibits suicide. The distinction drawn is between those who commit suicide for selfish reasons, and those who commit suicide to become *shahids* (martyrs) "for the sake of the Arab nation." A new series of special *fatwas* permits and encourages women to blow themselves up, in a highly patriarchal Arab society that discourages women from leaving their homes to do anything – work, drive, or even shop – for reasons of modesty.

Most alarming is the changing nature of *fatwas*. Not long ago, clerics who issued *fatwas* that sanctioned suicide bombings were linked with dissident organizations and did so secretly, according to the London-based Arabic paper *Al-Hayat*. Today, well-known sheikhs openly issue *fatwas*, which "are made public in the press, on television and on the Internet, as if [they were] a religious duty. Religious authorities compete amongst themselves, issuing *fatwas* permitting the killing of people, groups and nations."[14]

Sheik Muhammad Sayed Tantawi is a key Egyptian cleric from Al-Azhar University and is highly regarded by Palestinians. When he met with Arab members of the Israeli Knesset (parliament), he sanctified suicide bombing as an act of martyrdom. Tantawi called for "intensify[ing] the martyrdom operations [i.e., suicide attacks] against the Zionist enemy," and described the martyrdom as "the highest form of *Jihad* operations." He emphasized that every martyrdom operation against any Israeli, including children, women, and teenagers, is a legitimate act according to [Islamic] religious law and an Islamic commandment.[15]

Sheikh Yousef Al-Qaradhawi is a television personality on the popular Arabic network, Al-Jazeera. He is also among the most influential clerics in Sunni Islam (the sect to which Palestinians belong). In July 2003, he convened a meeting in Sweden devoted to suicide bombings and the kinds of terror he said were permitted under Islamic law. In a carefully reasoned ruling, the sheikh enthusiastically endorsed "martyrdom operations" against Israelis as "a unique weapon that Allah has placed only in the hands of the men of belief."[16] The Palestinian Authority itself appoints and pays the wages of some of the most rabid clerics and broadcasts their incendiary sermons on PA-controlled television.

Public opposition to this phenomenon of religious leaders who openly sanction murder as a political weapon is limited and muted.

A Culture of Hatred – Incited from Birth

Incitement is so prevalent in parts of the Arab world that it even permeates the cultural milieu. One proud Palestinian father celebrated his toddler's first birthday by strapping a fake suicide bomb to him and taking pictures of the child. As the shocking photo of the smiling "suicide" infant and his happy father made its way around the world, the baby's paternal grandfather dismissed the incident as a bad joke.[17]

The 'joke' is the result of a vexing phenomenon. Schools controlled by authoritarian Arab regimes and Islamic extremists provide children everywhere in the Muslim-Arab world (including mosques in America and Europe) with textbooks that espouse a bitter hatred of Israel and the West. Maps of Israel show no such country.[18] Instead, teachers within the Palestinian Authority teach their students that territory delineated by former British Mandate – from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean (including Israel proper) – is theirs. They say Israel is land that was "stolen" from the Arabs in 1948.[19] A similar message is hammered home on children's television programs. From elementary school through high school, textbooks foster hatred towards Israel and the West, with Israel described as "a country of gangs, born in crime." Antisemitic expressions portray Jews as arrogant, sly traitors. Zionism is described as a racist movement and a "germ."

By second grade, the concept of *jihad*, or holy struggle – used by Osama bin Laden to characterize the September 11 attacks – is introduced and taught as an enshrined value. By the sixth grade, a child is encouraged to become a *shahid* (martyr).

Absent from the texts are the principles of normalization or co-existence with Israel. Similar anti-Israel messages are broadcast on children's television shows throughout the Arab world. During the Al-Aqsa Intifada, one of the most frequently broadcasted images on Arab television was the photo of Mohammed al-Dura, the 12-year-old boy who was caught with his father and presumably killed in the crossfire between Palestinian Arab gunmen and Israeli soldiers near Gaza. The image, as part of a propaganda video clip, shows the dead child calling on others to join him. Other television programs show parents praising their children's death and enticing other youngsters to volunteer to become *shahids* or martyrs. Do these forms of incitement work?

A 13-year-old Palestinian boy armed with a kitchen knife was stopped and caught in a Jewish settlement, thwarting his desire to become a *shahid*. He would have been the youngest child at the time to succumb to the hero-seduction of the propaganda. This culture of violence permeates every aspect of Arab life, even sports.

A Palestinian Arab soccer tournament was named in honor of the suicide bomber who killed 29 people and injured 140 during that Passover Seder in Netanya.[20]

Incitement as a Weapon

Incitement is pervasive in the Arab-controlled media. From political cartoons to crossword puzzles, from the sermons of radical clerics to the MTV-like videos that cater to teens, it is hate content, all the time. Words and pictures in the mass media are powerful tools for shaping popular opinion. Images and words can mobilize masses for war or peace.

Throughout the Muslim-Arab world, newspapers and television news programs are used as government vehicles to control the population, and journalists are expected to play by the rules. Rumors and lies are widely published, and media outlets are awash with anti-Jewish, anti-Israel and anti-American reports. Political cartoons routinely portray Israeli leaders as stereotypical caricatures with long beards and hooked noses. During the Intifada, Palestinian Authority-controlled television regularly broadcasted programs inciting violence to champion suicide bombing to fuel the fighting. In one live Palestinian Authority television broadcast from a Gaza mosque, a member of the Palestinian Authority Fatwa Council proclaimed:

> "Have no mercy on the Jews, no matter where they are, in any country. Fight them, wherever you are. Kill those Jews and those Americans who are like them."[21] In another broadcast, a young Palestinian Arab woman demonstrator calls upon Arab countries to "give us weapons, and we, on our own, will prevail. We'll kill them on our own, murder them, slaughter them, all of them."[22]

According to a "60 Minutes" documentary, the Internet is another tool used for spreading incitement and instantly 'bestowing legitimacy' on inaccurate or false stories. Among the rumors and falsehoods spread across the world via the Internet were stories that said the attacks on September 11 were part of a Jewish conspiracy orchestrated to defame the Arabs,[23] and pulled off by U.S. and Israeli Special Forces.[24]

An investigation by the well-regarded e-zine *Slate* illustrates how the Internet can be used as a weapon to incite. Following the September 11 attacks, a rumor spread throughout the Arab world that 4,000 Jewish employees from the World Trade Center failed to go to work on September 11. *Slate* Magazine traced the source of the false report to a Lebanon-based television station affiliated with the terrorist group Hezbollah.

As it turns out, the Israeli government released a report saying that the whereabouts of some 4,000 Israelis living in or visiting New York were unknown immediately after the attacks.

That information, reported on a U.S. website, was later embellished, rewritten and picked up by the Middle East media, then spread by e-mail until the information was so distorted that the Arab world reported the 'news' as "4,000 Jews (not Israelis) had not shown up for work at the World Trade Center." Internet users throughout the Arab world said they had no reason to doubt the false information because, after all, it came from the Internet.

"When you see something on the computer, you tend to believe it," said an editor of *The Nation* in Islamabad, Pakistan.[25] A busy Hamas website has a special online children's magazine that vilifies Americans and Jews, charging that Americans' hatred and insensitivity "are caused by the Jewish filth ... inspired by the Jews' cruelty, heresy and barbarity."[26] The same website has a page of Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ). Someone wanted to know whether a woman considering a suicide attack needs to wear the required head covering mandated by Islamic law to maintain her modesty, knowing she will draw attention if the attack is attempted in Israel. Yes, she must, is the reply; however, she is also permitted to disguise herself as an Orthodox Jewish woman.

Even normally apolitical crossword puzzles in the Arab press are used to market antisemitism and anti-Western attitudes. For example, the clue for Yad Vashem — the Holocaust memorial and research facility in Jerusalem — is "commemorating the Holocaust and the lies."

Most Arab Countries Actively Support Terrorism

Terrorism is fueled by wealthy Arab states that support terror in words and deeds. They offer huge rewards to families whose members become *shahid* suicide bombers.

In a West Bank ceremony, the names of 47 Arabs who blew themselves up were called out, as supporters announced that then-Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein would pay $25,000 "to the family of each suicide bomber as an incentive for others to volunteer for martyrdom."[27] Other Arab countries also provide financial support. Saudi Arabia is one of the worst offenders — it has been known to support terrorism through funds funneled via so-called 'charity organizations' to terrorist groups that have a 'welfare wing,' such as Hamas. Under American pressure, in December 2002 the Saudis promised the State Department they would better monitor their "charitable generosity." The State Department considered the funding "well-intentioned donations."[28] Yet, documents seized by Israeli forces in PA offices show direct aid to Palestinian Islamic terrorist groups for terrorist activity — itemized payments to specific families of suicide bombers and key persons in the terrorism networks killed by Israel or killed in bomb-making 'work accidents.' These documents indicate that the US has been misled in regard to Saudi lack of 'complicity.'[29]

The genuine scope and depth of Saudi complicity has been investigated and exposed in "Hatred's Kingdom: How Saudi Arabia Supports the New Global Terrorism," a book written by former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations Dr. Dore Gold — today, the director of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs. The volume describes how Saudi Arabia serves as both the ideological and financial fountainhead for global terrorism, begetting, nurturing and sustaining Islamic extremism through a vast infrastructure whose roots go back to the birth of Wahhabism, an historic extreme form of Islam that developed in Saudi Arabia and now serves as the prototype ideology for all violent Islamists.

Many Arab leaders, most of them autocrats, refuse to thwart terrorism because they use it to stay in power. Faced with the challenges posed by Western society, Arab leaders nurture a culture of hatred toward the West and Israel in order to deflect attention from their own failures and the poverty of their citizens.

Many observers of the Middle East stress that incitement is instrumental and contrived by leadership to draw attention away from them. Writing in *Foreign Affairs*, Professor Barry Rubin, the director of the Global Research for International Affairs (GLORIA) Center and a professor at the Interdisciplinary Center (IDC), said:

> "It is not just, or even mainly, a response to actual U.S. policies – policies that, if anything, have been remarkably pro-Arab and pro-Muslim over the years ... Animus is largely the product of self-interested manipulation by various groups within Arab society ... as a foil to distract public attention from other, far more serious problems within [their] societies ... For years now, anti-Americanism has served as means of last resort, by which failed political systems and movements in the Middle East try to improve their standing ... By assigning responsibility for their own shortcomings to Washington, Arab leaders distract their subjects' attention from the internal weaknesses that are their real problems. And thus rather than pushing for greater privatization, equality for women, democracy, civil society, freedom of speech, due process of law, or other similar developments sorely needed in the Arab world, the public focuses instead on hating the United States."

As video and audiotapes from Osama bin Laden demonstrate, terrorists who operate out of the militant, extremist Islamic world often make no distinction between their anti-Israeli, anti-Western and anti-American hatred. Indeed, America and Israel, despite their differences in size and population, often are paired together as "the enemy."

There is an important distinction here, one that must not be forgotten: The hatred that fuels Islamic terrorism is not a direct result of America's support of Israel – support that is a natural outgrowth of their shared values. A more complex parallel extends beyond Rubin's observations that make hatred a useful tool.

The portraying of America as "the Big Satan" and Israel as "the Little Satan" reveals a far deeper motivation behind Islamic extremism. Both are singled out because they epitomize the success of Westernism. Both are singled out because by their very nature they stand as beacons that challenge the prevailing culture and regimes of the Middle East – America globally, Israel regionally.[30]

The reason Israel was targeted decades ago stems from the fact that it lies in the Middle East. Radical Islam's targeting of America came as a result of the communications revolution and the influx of Middle Eastern students who increasingly traveled to the U.S. to study. These two factors, in effect, brought America closer to the Arabic world. The students' experience with the Western world sparked a sense of revulsion and envy that fuels a love/hate relationship like a "Lethal Attraction."

The Media Fuels Incitement

Palestinian Arabs manipulate the Western media and its standards of objective reporting, taking advantage of tight deadlines that impede fact-checking. The effect is to incite violence by spreading unadulterated lies. News reports of terrorist acts are sanitized by neutral language; they personalize the perpetrators and turn the victims into mere statistics – thus making the media an indirect accomplice to terrorism.

Leaders of the Arab world, including Palestinian Arab leaders, understand the workings of the Western media, where journalists and publishers are expected to present a balanced picture and report the views of both sides in any given conflict. That principle of "equal time," however, is being exploited, leading major news organizations to report outlandish accusations under the guise of fair reporting. Extremists and terrorists get valuable airtime or newspaper space to justify their actions, as if barbarous acts can be legitimized by logical explanations. This is compounded by the "If it bleeds, it leads" school of journalism that stresses sensational context over facts. This, in turn, leads to gross misreporting that feeds into Arab propaganda campaigns against the U.S. and Israel.

The media's hunger for inhuman interest is fed by Palestinians willing to provide gruesome pictures of casualties, real and invented. Those pictures slant stories, because Israeli emergency units shield Israeli victims from the press in order to protect their privacy. There is thus no "equal time" for bloody street scenes. In addition to Palestinian politicians and Intifada activists, Palestinian professionals, including physicians, willingly serve as propaganda mouthpieces. Though they lie on a regular basis, as they did during the "Jenin Massacre" which never took place, the international media treats them as reliable sources and thus spread exaggerated or totally untrue stories. [31]

Consider Jenin – the press, particularly the European press, quickly accepted Palestinian reports of a massacre and accused Israel of war crimes. The reports generated criticism and international calls for an investigation, including one by the UN. [32]

The willingness of Palestinians at all levels, including physicians and hospital administrators, to inflate or fabricate stories for the media and lie to human rights activists was exposed in "On the Way to Jenin," a documentary released in April 2003 by French filmmaker, Pierre Rehov. Those who were so quick to accuse Israel of genocide were slow to admit they had been duped, and often continued to accept Palestinian reports at face value, using tight deadlines as an excuse. [33]

The Western press prefers to remain ignorant of the history and context of the conflict, even when reporting terrorist acts that target civilians. Journalists and editors use neutral terms instead of the loaded word "terrorist." They use "militants," "assailants," or "gunmen" for those who shoot at or blow themselves up in crowds, as if they were cases of random urban violence instead of a political

entity's organized terror attacks directed at a specific people for political purposes.

On March 30, 2003, the *Washington Post* published an Associated Press report about a suicide bomber in Netanya. The story noted the horrific Passover Seder attack a year earlier at a hotel in the same town, where 29 people were killed. The report described the 2003 suicide bomber as "*an assailant*," not a terrorist. It described terrorist acts as "bombings" and part of "fighting" by an "Islamic militant group," not acts committed by extremist Islamic terrorist groups.[34] On March 12, 2003, National Public Radio's "Fresh Air" moderator, Terry Gross, equalized the targeting of Hamas handlers by the IDF and the deaths of Israeli civilians from Hamas' suicide bombers as "tit-for-tat murders."[35]

On April 29, 2003 terrorists attacked a Tel Aviv pub near the U.S. Embassy just hours after Abu Mazen was sworn in as Palestinian prime minister. The media labeled the terrorists as "breakaway militias" even though they were under the direct personal command and control of Yasser Arafat and Abu Mazen.[36]

When journalists focus on the perpetrators, victims become secondary, mere statistics; when terrorists are sympathetically portrayed, this simply adds insult to injury.

In July 2001, Lee Hockstader, a reporter for the *Washington Post* described Aziz Salha – the 20-year-old Palestinian who proudly waved his bloody hands out the window of a Ramallah police station after a brutal lynching of two Israelis – in a compassionate psychoanalysis:

> "The young man was very ill when he was a baby, he stuttered, he was shy ... maybe it really wasn't him photographed in the window ... people's emotions were boiling over because of Palestinian teens shot by Israeli soldiers.... Israel's settlements and occupation were on Salha's mind ... he was calm, good-natured and athletic."

The FBI defines terrorism as "the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives."

It is a straightforward definition that leaves no room for dodging moral prerogatives or letting perpetrators pose as victims. Attacks against Israel clearly fall within its parameters. Yet, the media refuses to call a spade a spade, and it refuses to identify terrorism as terrorism in the name of journalistic objectivity. And although those standards do not amount to incitement *per se*, they indirectly aid and abet terrorism by sanitizing terrorists' crimes.[37]

Beyond the role played by so-called objective journalism, there is the role that blatant vitriol plays, particularly within the European media. According to Margaret Brearley, advisor on the Holocaust to the Archbishops' Council in England,[38] the British press described Israeli anti-terrorist actions as "executions" or "assassinations" carried out by "death squads" or in "killing fields," while Palestinian suicide bombings were sometimes portrayed sympathetically as retaliations for "Israeli aggression."

That kind of terminology peaked after the Israeli incursion into Jenin, when the British press accused Israel of engaging in "genocide," "ethnic cleansing" and "war crimes." The Swedish press spoke of "Old Testament-style vengeance," and the German press equated Israeli anti-terror operations with Nazi behavior in occupied Europe.

Deliberate or not, the impact of the Western media's portrayal of the Arab-Israeli conflict extends beyond the role it plays in Western public opinion. It fuels the conflict no less than PA television and Al Jazeera coverage does. For many Arabs – those in the streets and the political leaders – the source of information is the independent foreign media, particularly CNN, reportedly Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's "most trusted source of information."[39]

Israel is not the only country caught in the web of media bias. All too often, the United States finds itself in the same situation. Despite American power (and perhaps because of it), America's leaders have found themselves facing an onslaught that parallels the Israel-bashing in the media, especially since the war in Iraq began in 2003.

The democratically elected leaders of Israel and the U.S. are vilified and slandered, the very real threats to their national security are ridiculed, and their despotic enemies are defended. Both nations are full of intellectuals and opinion makers who accept at face value unsubstantiated charges that U.S. and Israeli armed forces commit atrocities. Leaders of both nations must also grapple with shortsighted allies who argue that appeasement and undermining legitimate responses to violence are the solution for peace in the region.

Israel is no longer alone in its fight against terrorism. The U.S. finds itself at war against *al Qaeda* and suffers from a vicious media image overseas. Professor Barry Rubin[40] asks if Israel's situation can be blamed on ineptitude in presenting its case.

> "Deeper, systematic problems about how governments, media and intellectuals function, and how they view the world can work against anyone, or at least anyone who deals with the Middle East. The image battle – the 'war of words' – is unwinnable, not because of ineptness but because Arab and many European governments, all of the Arab and most of the European media, and a large part of the world's intellectual class will not give you a fair chance.
>
> They will quickly declare your intentions bad, your leaders dishonorable, your plans unworkable, and your efforts unsuccessful."

Nearly All Muslim Countries are Directly Responsible for Terror Acts in Israel, the United States and throughout the Civilized World

Although Palestinian Arab leaders and their cohorts throughout the Arab world claim that desperate conditions have led to an uncontrollable groundswell of violence, thousands of examples prove that Arab leaders have instigated, encouraged, ordered and often brainwashed followers to commit some of the

most horrendous crimes against humanity. Extremist Muslim-Arab leaders have consciously chosen to stymie genuine peace and coexistence with Israel. They continue to foment hatred and terror against the United States, the free world and Israel to preserve their authoritarian regimes by controlling information and deflecting criticism onto Israeli and American scapegoats.

Arab Terrorism is a Strategic Threat, and is not Something Democratic Societies can Afford or Expect to Tolerate

Short of mega-terrorism which could kill hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of innocent civilians, the terrorism that Israel has been subjected to – waves of suicide bombings and the like – threatens the very fabric of democratic societies and Western civilization. Israel has been called "the canary in the mine" as a warning to other democracies about the future.[41]

Terror against democratic societies has a deeper motive than just inflicting unbearable pain and cost to targeted societies. It threatens to undermine the very foundation of those democracies, putting them on par with their non-democratic adversaries by undercutting the rule of law and making daily life in New York or Washington, Tel Aviv or Jerusalem as arbitrary as life in Teheran or under the PA.

Azar Nafisi, author of "Reading Lolita in Tehran" told *Atlantic Monthly*[42] in a May 2003 interview:

> "People always think that living in a tyranny is a coercive experience. But living under a tyranny you don't suffer just from physical oppression. You suffer because the regime is so arbitrary. Living in the U.S., when you wake up in the morning you know accidents could happen to you but you sort of know what might happen when you go out into the street and go to work. In Iran, when you leave home you literally don't know what could happen to you."

In a September 2002 poll, after 30 months of suicide bombings and other attacks, 92 percent of Israelis said they "fear that they or a member of their family would fall victim to a terrorist attack."[43] In a certain sense, Israelis began to feel the 'arbitrariness' Azar Nafisi spoke about. Palestinians seek to pull Israel down into the abyss by killing and maiming as many as possible and by robbing its citizens of their way of life. Despite the resilience Israelis have shown in dealing with terror, no democratic society should be expected to accept such conditions.

Failing to Find Peace, Israelis and Palestinians in 2003 Settled on a *Hudna* that Called for a Moratorium on Suicide Bombings

The agreement fails to eradicate the terrorist infrastructure, and as a result, it cannot lead to peace. A *hudna* is a temporary tactical truce meant to be broken as

soon as Palestinians believe they are strong enough to continue the fight, resembling the European-style *hudna* of 1938, touted to bring "peace in our time."

In its historical context, a *hudna* first appears in the Quran as a truce made by Mohammed with his rivals, the Quraysh tribes, which the Prophet broke as soon as he had the upper hand, crushing the Quraysh and conquering Mecca. A *hudna* is a tactical truce, a temporary measure designed to allow a shift in the balance of power to one's advantage, made to be broken as soon as the opportunity arises. It is not a prelude to a peace process, but a preparation for war.

After more than three years of guerrilla warfare, no responsible world leader can ignore the significance of a *hudna* and foolishly assume it is merely a temporary measure, a face-saving vehicle to mark the beginning of a genuine Palestinian desire for peace and reconciliation. It is not – a *hudna* with terrorists as part of a road map for peace is as prudent, as workable, and as perilous as the belief that appeasement can bring "peace in our time" (Modern History Sourcebook: Neville Chamberlain: "Peace in Our Time" 1938).

IN A NUTSHELL

• Terrorism emanates from conscious incitement. The hatred against Israel and the West, fanned by Arab leaders, has reached epidemic proportions.

• Incitement in the Arab world is massive and omnipresent. It is directed at adults and children via virtually every kind of institution and every possible media outlet.

• Incitement against Israel keeps autocratic Arab regimes in power by deflecting criticism onto scapegoats: Israel and the United States.

• The atmosphere of hatred blocks a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict and threatens Israel and the United States. The result of incitement, and its antisemitic, anti-Israeli and anti-Western, and anti-American nature, threatens the world order and the security of Western society.

• A *hudna* is not a vehicle for peace, it is a recipe for warfare.

• Incitement must be stopped – terrorists must be disarmed and disbanded.

• Incitement of hate is an uncontrollable weapon of mass destruction.

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[1] Ironically, Arafat sent a six-page private memorandum to President George W. Bush and Arab capitals outlining his own 'plan for reform' in the hopes of neutralizing calls for his dismissal. Among the things Arafat said he would do was 'renounce fanaticism in the educational curricula' – in essence a confession he had been peddling fanaticism for the past decade. See Harold Evans, "The anti-Semitic lies that threaten all of us," *The Times*, June 28, 2002 at: www.mefacts.com/cache/html/incitement/11264.htm. (11264)

[2] Quoted in Irwin Cotler, "Human Rights and the New Anti-Jewishness: Sounding the Alarm," March 10, 2003 at: http://christianactionforisrael.org/antiholo/alarm.html. (11615)

[3] This has included not only refusing to establish ties with Israelis, but also boycotting the few colleagues who have been pro-normalization and expelling them from professional organizations, while often generating hatred of Israel in their own activities.

[4] Citing Palestinian Legislative Council Member Hanan Ashrawi and economic Planning Minister Nabil Sha'at.

[5] Shlomo Avineri, "The price of a cold peace," Jerusalem Post, October 13, 2000 at: www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=535 (11616)

[6] For details of the Anti-Normalization Committee, see a series of news briefs on Arabic News.com website, at: www.arabicnews.com/ansub/Daily/Day/030110/2003011002.html. (11266) See also the Institute for the Study of Contemporary Anti-Semitism and Racism, Tel Aviv University, overview of Arab Countries at: www.tau.ac.il/Anti-Semitism/asw2004/arab.htm#end. (11618)

[7] "Egypt's Opposition Press Attacks Peace Activists," MEMRI, May 12, 2000 at: http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP9300. (11267)
For details of Ali's expulsion, see Middle East Quarterly (Winter 2002).

[8] Jerusalem Post, May 3, 2004, quoting the Associated Press, Cairo, Egypt.

[9] www.pcpsr.org/survey/survey.html

[10] Palestinian Media Watch, 2006; hate and incitement. See: www.pmw.org.il/Latest bulletins new.htm. (11643) For translations of Arabic media content, see the Middle East Media Research Institute at: www.memri.org/.

[11] For a study on images of the West, Christians, and Jews in Saudi Arabian textbooks, (and other studies of portrayal of Jews, Israel, and Zionism in Palestinian Syrian, and Saudi-Arabian schoolbooks), see the reports of the Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace at: www.edume.org/reports/report1.htm. For a brief summary of differences between Israeli and PA textbooks, see: www.edume.org/news/march02.htm. (11160)

[12] Numerous Arab papers chose to mark the first anniversary of 9/11 with anti-American and anti-Jewish caricatures suggesting the Jews profited from the WTC and America was a 'loose cannon.' See "On 9/11 Anniversary, Newspapers in Arab World Blame Jews and America for Attacks," ADL, September 9, 2002 at: www.adl.org/PresRele/ASInt_13/4155_13.asp. (11272)

[13] A full 68 percent of those interviewed supported suicide bombing operations. See: www.jmcc.org/publicpoll/results/2002/no45.htm. (10437)

[14] "Al-Afif Al-Akhahdar, The Role of Fatwas in Incitement to Terrorism," Al-Hayat, excerpts translated by MEMRI, January 18, 2002, at: http://memri.org/bin/opener.cgi?Page=archives&ID=SP33302. (11281)

[15] Leading Egyptian Government Cleric Calls For: 'Martyrdom Attacks that Strike Horror into the Hearts of the Enemies of Allah,' MEMRI, April 7, 2002, at: http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP36302. (11619)

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[17] CNN.com, "Photo of baby suicide bomber called 'a joke,' June 29, 2002. See: http://archives.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/meast/06/28/baby.photo/index.html. (11621)

[18] "PA textbooks: Israel is Palestine" Jerusalem Post, July 21, 2004. See: www.mefacts.com/cache/html/incitement/10588.htm. (10588)

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[21] PA TV Broadcasts call for Killing Jews and Americans. See: www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Area=sd&ID=SP13800. (11624)

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[23] "The Big Lie" – "60 Minutes II" documentary, CBSnews.com, September 4, 2002, at: www.cbsnews.com/stories/2002/09/04/60II/main520768.shtml. (11627)

[24] "Russian Muslim Leader Blames Jews, U.S. For September 11 Terrorist Attack," UCSJ, September 24, 2001 at: www.fsumonitor.com/stories/092401Russia.shtml. (11628)

[25] The Times Online, June 28, 2002, "The anti-Semitic lies that threaten all of us," by Harold Evans. See: www.cdn-friends-icej.ca/antiholo/lies.html. (11264)

[26] See Jon Dougherty "Hamas launches webzine for kids, November, 2002 at: www.worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ID=29535. (11629)

[27] Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University, "Saddam Hussein's Philanthropy of Terror" at: www.husseinandterror.com. (11630)

[28] "Saudi Arabia: Cooperation on Terrorism Financing," December 3, 2002, at: www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2002/15641.htm. (11631)

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[30] Barry Rubin, "The real roots of Arab Anti-Americanism," Foreign Affairs (November/December 2002) at: www.foreignaffairs.org/20021101faessay9993/barry-rubin/the-real-roots-of-arab-anti.html. (11632)

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[43] Professor Asher Arian, Memorandum No. 61, Israeli Public Opinion on National Security, 2002, Tel Aviv University's Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies.