



Intelligence and Terrorism
Information Center Israel Intelligence Heritage
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News of Terrorism and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

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Hamas begins rehabilitating the Gaza Strip... ...while rebuilding the smuggling tunnels



Hamas wants to assert its dominance by distributing money to the Gazans (Hamas's PALDF Forum, January 25, 2009).



Repairing a tunnel damaged during Operation Cast Lead (Hamas's PALDF Forum, January 24, 2009).

Overview

- During the morning hours of January 27 a terrorist attack was carried out in the Kissufim area in the central Gaza strip, the first attack since Operation Cast Lead ended. An IED which was part of a wreath of charges was detonated near an IDF patrol moving along the border security fence, killing a soldier. An officer was seriously wounded and two soldiers sustained minor injuries. As of this writing there is no information as to which organization carried out the attack. According to an Israeli media report a network connected to the global jihad was responsible. In response, the Israeli Air Force attacked a global jihad operative and three tunnels in the southern Gaza strip.
- Life in the Gaza Strip is slowly returning to normal. Large amounts of humanitarian aid are delivered through the Gaza Strip crossings from both Israel and Egypt; a daily average of 100 trucks enter through the Kerem Shalom crossing. Arab countries have publicly stated their commitment to help rebuild the Gaza Strip, especially Saudi Arabia, whose king pledged \$1 billion. Fierce struggles are currently being waged between Hamas and the Palestinian Authority and between Iran on one side and Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the Western countries on the other, as to who will receive the monetary aid for rebuilding the Gaza Strip. All sides are aware that receipt of the funds will entail the ability to wield political influence.
- This past week Hamas made a conspicuous effort to produce a "victory narrative." As part of that effort, the media were invited to cover the repairs to the tunnels under the Egypt-Gaza border damaged during Operation Cast Lead. It was a defiant step directed against Israel, Egypt and the West as part of Hamas's effort to produce a victory narrative, and a clear signal of its intention to continue smuggling weapons into the Gaza Strip.

Important Events

The Gaza Strip

First terrorist attack since the IDF withdrew from the Gaza Strip

During the morning hours of January 27, an IDF soldier was killed by an IED which was part of wreath of charges detonated near a patrol moving along the border security fence, north of Kissufim in the central Gaza strip. In addition, an officer was seriously wounded in the attack and two soldiers sustained minor injuries. It was the **first such attack** during the six days since the IDF withdrew from the Gaza Strip (IDF Spokesman, January 27, 2009). According to an initial report, the attack was carried out by a network with links to the global jihad. The Israeli Air Force a motorcycle whose rider was suspected to have been involved in the attack, as well as three tunnels in the southern Gaza strip.

Tense calm after Operation Cast Lead

- On January 21 the IDF forces completed their withdrawal from the Gaza Strip. After announcing that Israel would hold its fire, the IDF held commanding positions within the Gaza Strip, especially in areas from which rockets and mortar shells had been fired into Israel territory. Quiet was maintained in the Gaza Strip and southern Israel until January 27.
- Between January 18, when Israel announced it was holding its fire, and January 21, there were a few incidents of IDF forces being shot at and a number of mortar shells were fired into Israel. On January 20, 11 mortar shells were fired at IDF forces and into Israel, and in two instances Palestinians opened fire on IDF forces in the Kissufim region. No casualties were reported in any of the attacks. The Israeli Air Force, which had abstained from attacking since Israel announced it would hold its fire, attacked a rocket launcher and a terrorist squad on its way to fire mortar shells (January 20, 2009).
- The IED attack in the Kissufim region is proof that terrorist networks in the Gaza Strip oppose the ceasefire. In addition, on January 25, Hamas operatives shot at terrorists belonging to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine who were about to fire rockets into Israel. Reportedly, the squad managed to fire one rocket, which fell in Palestinian territory near Beit Hanoun (PalPress website, January 25, 2009). The PFLP denied its operatives had been hit and emphasized the organization's objection to the cease fire and to a lull in the fighting with Israel (Qudsnet website, January 26, 2009). However, the test for Hamas, which has publicly announced its readiness to maintain the cease fire, will be its long-term ability and motivation to maintain it and to enforce it on the rogue terrorist organizations.

Judea and Samaria

- Attempts to carry out terrorist attacks continue in Judea and Samaria. On January 26 terrorists opened fire at an Israeli bus near Kafr Silwad, close to the settlement of Ofra. A Fatah-affiliated group calling itself the Imad Moughnieh Squads (a fictitious name) claimed responsibility for the attack.
- Fathi Hamad, a Hamas representative in the Palestinian Legislative Council, told Al-Jazeera TV's website that he blamed the Palestinian Authority for stopping the "resistance" (i.e., the terrorist organizations) through security coordination with Israel. He called on the "Palestinian resistance" in the West Bank "to restore fear in Israel through suicide bombing attacks in the heart of the occupation" (i.e., within Israeli territory).

The Gaza Strip after Operation Cast Lead

Humanitarian aid delivered through Israel

- During the past week, and since the fighting in the Gaza Strip stopped, Israel has delivered humanitarian aid through its crossings. **Every day, an average of 100 trucks enter the Strip through the Kerem Shalom crossing**. On January 26, 225 trucks passed through. In addition, fuel and cooking gas continue to flow through the fuel terminal at the Nahal Oz crossing.
- Palestinians with humanitarian problems continue leaving the Gaza Strip for Israel through the Erez crossing, as do foreign nationals. During the past week dozens of workers from international agencies operating in the Gaza Strip entered the Gaza Strip, as did foreign correspondents. On January 26, 33 vehicles and 202 members of a Jordanian field hospital entered the Gaza Strip.





Left: Medical teams entering the Gaza Strip through the Erez crossing, January 26. Right: Humanitarian aid entering through the Kerem Shalom crossing, January 26 (IDF Spokesman, January 26, 2009).

The Rafah crossing

- During the past week dozens of wounded Palestinians left the Gaza Strip for Egypt through the Rafah crossing and large amounts of humanitarian aid entered, donated by Egypt and other Arab countries. The passage of foreign correspondents into the Gaza Strip continued.
- The Arab countries continued pledging contributions to rebuild the Gaza Strip. Conspicuous was the pledge of the king of **Saudi Arabia**, made at the economic summit meeting in Kuwait, who promised **\$1 billion** for the rebuilding of the Gaza Strip (Reuters, January 19, 2009). As part of the contribution, he pledged \$600 million as urgent aid to UNRWA. In addition, the president of Algeria promised \$200 million to help rebuild the Gaza Strip.
- Hamas continues taking control of the humanitarian aid which enters the Gaza Strip through the crossings with Israel and meant for the relief agencies: On January 20, Hamas gunmen took over trucks carrying humanitarian which had arrived from Jordan and was supposed to be delivered to UNRWA warehouses. When the trucks entered the Gaza Strip through the Kerem Shalom crossing, Hamas gunmen directed them to other warehouses (Jordanian News Agency, January 20, 2009).

Life returns to normal in the Gaza Strip

- When the fighting ended, Hamas began trying to return daily life to normal and provide solutions for the civilian population in the Gaza Strip:
 - Infrastructure: The damage to the electrical grid has been estimated at \$5 million. The manager of Gaza's electric company said that teams were working throughout the Gaza Strip to repair it and that they still needed contributions of instruments and equipment. He also said that the grid had to be completely replaced, and that the steps currently being taken were only temporary (Al-Quds, January 23, 2009).
 - Administrative institutions: On January 21, employees of the Hamas administration began going back to work and organizing to provide solutions for the various problems of the Gazans which emerged during the war. Many ministries, which had been damaged during the fighting, were moved to alternate sites (Radio Sawt Al-Agsa, January 21, 2009).
 - Security services: Hamas is trying to show that its security services are returning to normal functioning. Ayhan al-Ghassin, spokesman for the interior ministry, said that all the security services had returned to the field and that in the coming days new centers for their activities would be established (Al-Sawt Al-Aqsa, January 21, 2009). The national security commander, told a press conference that the security services were functioning, claiming that in fact they had functioned throughout the war. He added that the police were fighting against merchants who overpriced their goods (Al-Aqsa TV, January 21, 2009). The

Palestinian and Arab media reported that the security services had resumed wearing uniforms [sic]. **Islam Shahawan**, spokesman for the Hamas police in the Gaza Strip, said that **230 policemen**, **including police chief Tawfiq Jabbar**, **has been killed during the operation** (Ma'an News Agency, January 20, 2009).

• Education: On January 24 the schools reopened.

■ On January 25, the Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip began distributing aid through the banks or by giving cash to families harmed during Operation Cast Lead. According to a Hamas announcement, distribution would be according to the following criteria: 4,000 euros for a house that was destroyed, 2,000 euros for a house that was damaged, 1,000 euros for someone who was killed and 500 euros for someone who was wounded. A total of 40 million euros would be distributed (Al-Biyan Center website, January 25, 2009). A center for distributing the funds was opened at the Al-Mahata mosque in the al-Tuffah neighborhood in Gaza City (Hamas's PALDF Forum, January 25, 2009). In addition, salaries were paid by the Hamas administration (Al-Jazeera TV, January 25, 2009). Hamas administration secretary general, **Muhammad Awad**, said that the administration had prepared a program whose first stage was currently being carried out, i.e., giving emergency aid, and whose second stage would be repairing the infrastructure and houses destroyed or damaged.





Distributing financial support at the Al-Mahata mosque in the al-Tuffah neighborhood in Gaza City (Hamas's PALDF Forum, January 25, 2009).

Who will receive the financial aid for rebuilding the Gaza Strip?

■ A fierce struggle is currently being waged between Hamas and Fatah over **who will receive the international aid being collected for the Gaza Strip**. Both sides are aware that control over the funds can be used to **wield political influence** both in the Gaza Strip and Judea and Samaria.

- Hamas is making great efforts to head the Gaza Strip's rebuilding program. The Hamas faction in the Palestinian Legislative Council has suggested appointing a Palestinian-Arab committee for the rebuilding of the Gaza Strip, with Ismail Haniya representing the Palestinians (Paltoday website, January 24, 2009). The so-called Supreme National Relief Committee, which operates in the Gaza Strip, met with resistance from Fatah and leftist Palestinian organizations after Hamas took it over. Senior Hamas figures conspicuously toured the areas damaged to demonstrate a high level of involvement in the efforts to rebuild the Gaza Strip.
- Ismail Radwan, senior Hamas figure, said that "whoever wants to rebuild the Gaza Strip has to give the money directly to the Gaza Strip" (Al-Jazeera TV, January 24, 2009). The Palestinian Authority is trying to represent itself as exclusively responsible for rebuilding the Gaza Strip. Muhammad Hassouna, labor minister in the Palestinian Authority, said that "the Arab aid is being dealt with by the Palestinian Authority. For example, when Saudi Arabia decided to donate a billion dollars, it specified it would be done through the Palestinian Authority." He added that the government had prepared a long-term and short-term emergency program for rebuilding the Gaza Strip, and that the Palestinian Authority was capable of operating in the Gaza Strip despite the fact that it did not control it (Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, January 22, 2009).
- Iran, which supports Hamas, expressed its willingness to rebuild buildings in the Gaza Strip, including the parliament. To that end Iran send a delegation of five representatives from its own parliament to estimate the damages; they are supposed to enter the Gaza Strip through Egypt (Islamic Republic News Agency, January 25, 2009). On the other hand, the United States, European countries and Egypt are interested in transferring the funds to the Palestinian Authority so that they are not used to strengthen Hamas.

Repairing and reopening the tunnels

■ As soon as the fighting ended, Hamas began repairing the tunnels under the Egypt-Gaza border, many of which had been damaged by IDF attacks. The objective was to make it possible to keep smuggling weapons into the Gaza Strip and to show that Israel, Egypt and the international community had failed to put an end to the smuggling.¹ The tunnel operators are engaged in extensive repairs as smuggling continues through the tunnels not hit, through which, among other things, fuel passes (Reuters, January 22, 2009).

¹ For further information see our January 22, 2009 Bulletin entitled "Hamas Invites Foreign Correspondents to the Egyptian Border" at http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/hamas_e050.pdf.



Smuggling fuel from Egypt into the Gaza Strip (Hamas's PALDF Forum, January 24, 2009)

■ An Al-Jazeera TV broadcast dealt with the operation of the tunnels after Operation Cast Lead. It showed tunnel openings, and interviewed a masked smuggler who claimed that despite the destruction, repairs would continue because of the tunnels' economic importance. One of the tunnels featured in the broadcast was reopened after nine partners invested \$90,000 in it. It was reported that it was 20 meters (65 feet) deep and 800 meters (half a mile) long. According to one of the operators, 12 smugglers use the tunnel (Al-Jazeera English TV, January 26, 2009).





Left: Mike Kirsch, Al-Jazeera English TV correspondent in a tunnel in Rafah. Right: An active tunnel under the Egypt-Gaza border (Al-Jazeera TV, January 26, 2009).

- According to the **German New Agency** report on January 26, generators and food are smuggled in through one of the tunnels. One smuggler denied that weapons were brought in, and provided a list of civilian commodities instead. He said that small items were brought in whole, while larger articles, such as motorcycles, were taken apart and reassembled on the other side. Another smuggler who brought in fuel through pipes 400 meters (a quarter of a mile) long said that every day he and his partners filled two tankers. The fuel, he said, was sold for half of what the fuel brought in from Israel was sold for. Gazans interviewed for the article reportedly expressed the continued need for the tunnels, although they also spoke of the negative aspects, which, they said, included smuggling "drugs and dangerous objects" (i.e., weapons).
- A January 22 article in the **London Times**) described the **continued smuggling of weapons through the tunnels**. According to "Khaled," one of the smugglers operating on the Egypt side,

weapons have been smuggled into the Gaza Strip for years, but the activity increased when Hamas took over in June 2007. He said that the smugglers were willing to deal in whatever commodities the terrorist organizations demanded. Recent months, he said, saw an increase in the Kalashnikov assault rifles from African countries like Eritrea and Somalia. He also said that the terrorists were trying to smuggle in parts of long-range rockets, and that within six months they would successfully assemble them. "Khaled" added that the smuggling enterprise functioned as a well-oiled machine and that everything had an agreed-on price tag, such as \$1,000 for a person. He added that if Egypt wanted to stop the smuggling it could do so, but that Egypt also profited financially from it. He said that the damage caused by Operation Cast Lead could be repaired and that every tunnel had three exits. If one was blocked up, the others would be used.

- The efforts made by Hamas and the operators to repair the tunnels to the renew smuggling industry have caused injuries to the diggers. On January 22, four Palestinians were injured when two tunnels leading to buildings in Egyptian Rafah collapsed (Agence France Presse, January 22, 2009). On January 25, another Palestinian was injured when a tunnel in Rafah collapsed (Qudsnet website, January 25, 2009). According to Egyptian reports, the Egypt security forces have begun activities to expose tunnels which were reactivated on the Egyptian side of the border (Al-Yawm Al-Sabaa, January 23, 2009).
- On January 23 the president of France said his country would send a helicopter carrier to the Gazan shore to help prevent weapons from being smuggled into the Strip. Hamas spokesman Fawzi Barhoum said that it was an illogical measure and an attempt to influence European public opinion against Hamas for the second time. He added that "the Palestinian people has the right to acquire weapons…and [it] is [waging] a campaign for national liberation…and has the right to use weapons to defend itself, as do all the countries in the world" (BBC Radio, January 25, 2009).

The Political Arena

Talks in Cairo Concerning the Egyptian Initiative

- On January 25 another round of talks was held in Cairo concerning a new ceasefire agreement. The participants were Omar Suleiman, head of Egyptian general intelligence, and a Hamas delegation headed by Imad al-Alami and including representatives from the external leadership. According to Palestinian, Arabic and Western sources, two meetings were held which centered around the following topics:
 - Continuing the lull: Hamas insisted that the lull last one year, while Israel demanded an arrangement with no time limitation. Hamas later "compromised" on a lull arrangement

that would last year and a half. At the end of the meeting Hamas delegation spokesman Ayman Taha said that Hamas would examine the possibility of a year and a half arrangement and would update the Egyptians after consultations had been held (Reuters, BBC Radio, January 25, 2009).

- Weapons smuggling: Hamas representatives reiterated the claim that weapons smuggling was the responsibility of Egypt because the activity was carried out from Egyptian territory. They said that Hamas did not want to commit itself directly or even implicitly to the issue, because Hamas was a movement "seeking to liberate its country, and that it is natural and logical for it to act to acquire weapons any way possible" (Palestine-info website, January 25, 2009). Usama Hamdan, Hamas representative in Lebanon, said that Hamas would continue smuggling weapons into both the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.
- Opening the crossings: In Hamas's opinion, the crossings were to be opened immediately, unconditionally and permanently. However, Hamas agreed to the deployment of European and Turkish monitors (BBC Radio, January 25, 2009).
- The Rafah crossing: Hamas announced that it agreed to the deployment of national security forces belonging to the Palestinian Authority at the Rafah crossing, but that it refused any Israeli involvement. Hamas spokesman Ayman Taha said that talks would soon be held to determine the procedures for operating the crossing (Al-Hayat, January 27, 2009).
- Gilad Shalit, the abducted Israeli soldier: Hamas spokesman Ayman Taha said that Hamas's demands were clear but that Hamas could talk about the subject of Gilad Shalit during talks about the lull arrangement (BBC Radio, January 25, 2009). He added that Hamas would not allow Israel to use Shalit in the talks or to include the subject in the matter of lifting the siege (Al-Quds, January 25, 2009).
- The internal Palestinian dialogue: Delegations of all the Palestinian organizations arrived in Egypt and spoke with Omar Suleiman regarding the issue of reconciliation (Al-Jazeera TV, January 26, 2009). Hamas does not recognize this particular round of talks or regard itself as part of it. Outside the framework of the official talks, Fatah activist Azzam al-Ahmed initiated a meeting with a representative of the Hamas delegation to discuss the situation in the Gaza Strip and ways of rebuilding it. They agreed to continue contacts (Radio Al-Aqsa, January 26, 2009).
- When the talks ended, the Hamas delegation returned to Syria to continue consultations. The Hamas representatives from the Gaza Strip returned as well (Middle East News Agency, January 26, 2009). Ayman Taha announced that they would extend the ceasefire to **February 15** to make it possible to continue the talks (Al-Hayat, January 27, 2009).

The Egypt-Hamas Propaganda War

- Despite the political contacts between Egypt and Hamas regarding the Egyptian initiative, the fierce propaganda war between the two continues:
 - Ahmed Moussa, assistant editor of the Egyptian daily newspaper Al-Ahram, wrote an editorial accusing Khaled Mashal of having mistakenly assumed that Israel would end Operation Cast Lead after two or three days. Hamas, he said, based its actions on the illusion that Arabic public opinion would motivate Egypt to open the Rafah crossing, and that the rejectionist countries, which prevented Hamas from heeding Egypt's advice to continue the lull arrangement, would help Hamas. However, he said, "the rejectionist countries which Mashal and his comrades relied on betrayed and abandoned him..." (Al-Ahram, January 20, 2009).
 - The Egyptian establishment paper **AI-Ahram al-Massai** attacked Hamas in an article entitled "Mashal Ignites a Fire?" according to the article, in his January 21 speech Khaled Mashal asked "to ignite a fire" in the internal Palestinian dialogue and to undermine efforts to rebuild the Gaza Strip. He did that, continued the article, by asking that the funds promised by the Arab countries not be transferred to the "corrupt" Palestinian Authority, and by imposing conditions on an internal Palestinian dialogue. The article ended by asking what Khaled Mashal's motives were, and answered that "...apparently the answer can be found in **Iran**, which was terrified by the idea of a budding pan-Arab agreement and therefore without hesitation told Mashal to light a fire, and so he did" (AI-Ahram al-Massai, January 22, 2009).
 - Mustafa al-Sawaf, editor of the Hamas paper Felesteen, wrote in an article entitled "Primary Demands for a Dialogue" that Egypt was not a neutral mediator in the internal Palestinian dialogue. He called on the Turkish government to provide an aegis for the dialogue because Turkey was "neutral and very fair." He said that "the Palestinian people no longer trust the official Egyptian line...Egypt is biased in favor of the Zionist occupation at the expense of the Palestinian people" (Felesteen, January 22, 2009).

The Battle for Hearts and Minds: Hamas Produces a "Victory Narrative"

- Senior Hamas figures and the Hamas propaganda machine continue producing the narrative of the Hamas "victory" in the war, claiming that Israel did not achieve its objectives:
 - **Khaled Mashal**, head of the Hamas political bureau in Damascus reiterated his position that "Gaza won," that the "resistance [i.e., the terrorist organizations] won," and that Israel failed and was forced into a unilateral withdrawal. He said it was "a huge victory" because Israel did not achieve its objectives. He said that Hamas had stood firm in the face of the

pressures exerted on it, especially the attempt to prevent it from acquiring weapons for the "resistance." He also repeated the claim that Israel only "succeeded" in killing "civilians," especially women and children (Al-Quds TV, January 21, 2009).

- Musa Abu Marzuq, deputy head of the Hamas political bureau in Damascus, boasted that Hamas had won the war it had been planning since the summer of 2008. He repeated the lie that Hamas had abducted three IDF soldiers who had been located and killed by the Israeli Air Force. The births of 3,500 babies during the war "consoled" him for the loss of the 1,500 civilians he claimed were killed. He accused Fatah of helping Israel in its efforts to topple the "resistance," claiming that some of the Palestinians who opposed Hamas were "mercenaries" (Filastin al-'An website, January 26, 2009).
- On January 29 Hamas arranged "victory parades" throughout the Gaza Strip, attended by thousands of civilians. The marchers were told that the "resistance" had won the war and that Israel had advanced by killing women and children and destroying houses "after it had failed to fight the resistance" (Ma'an News Agency, January 20, 2009). **Ismail Radwan**, who gave a speech to the participants of one of the parades, boasted of the victory over the mighty Israeli army and asked his audience, "Did the Hamas leadership fall? Did the Hamas movement fall? Did Israel stop the rocket fire?" and every time the crowd shouted "No!" (Al-Agsa TV, January 20, 2009).
- The message of the "victory" of Hamas and the "resistance" was sent to Gazan children by the TV show called "Brilliant Children" broadcast on the Hamas TV channel.
- Senior operatives in the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades claimed that 24 hours before the Israeli operation, all the buildings and posts which might be attacked were evacuated. He lyingly claimed that Hamas had used no more than 5% of its military capabilities during the fighting (Egyptian daily newspaper Al-Dustour, January 25, 2009).
- Hamas's propaganda effort was supported by statements made by the Syrian president, the Iranian foreign minister and Hezbollah leaders, all of whom have tried to impress public opinion with Israel's "defeat" in the war. Al-Jazeera TV, which provides strategic support for Hamas propaganda, reinforced the number of its permanent correspondents in the Gaza Strip, taking them, for example, from Lebanon and Jordan.

The Internal Palestinian Arena

The struggle between Fatah and Hamas in Judea and Samaria

■ The security forces of the **Palestinian Authority** continue taking harsh steps against Hamas, which maintains its presence and activities in Judea and Samaria. In recent days dozens of Hamas

activists were detained. **Hamas**, on the other hand, exhibits its presence in its traditional strong holds.

■ On January 23, several hundred Hamas supporters held a march in Hebron and waved Hamas flags. The **Palestinian Authority** security forces tried to repel marchers who threw stones at them and confrontations developed (Hamas's PALDF Forum, January 23, 2009). On January 25, Hamas-supporting women held a march in Hebron to protest the Palestinian Authority's detention of Hamas operatives (PalMedia website, January 25, 2009). An announcement from Hamas in Hebron accused the Palestinian Authority security forces of "taking on the role of the occupier," and called on Hebron residents to "continue their outrage and action" (Filastin al-'An website, January 25, 2009).





Hamas march in Hebron (Egyptian TV, January 23, 2009).

■ On January 25 a march and rally were held in **Jenin** in support of Palestinian Authority chairman Mahmoud Abbas, attended by thousands of Palestinians. During the rally a speech was given by **Rafiq al-Husseini**, bureau chief of the chairman's office, in which he warned against an Israeli attempt to cause a schism between the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. He said that "the Hamas movement fell into the trap Israel set for it, and if it does not return to the legitimate Palestinian bosom, the people will throw it out forever..." (Wafa News Agency, January 25, 2009).





Rally in support of Mahmoud Abbas in Jenin (Ma'an News Agency, January 25, 2009)