November 15, 2012

Operation Pillar of Defense – Update No. 1
(November 15, 1300 Hours)

Overview

1. On the afternoon of November 14, 2012, the IDF began Operation Pillar of Defense in the Gaza Strip. The opening shot was the targeted killing of Ahmed al-Jaabari, commander of Hamas’ military-terrorist wing, followed by severe Israeli Air Force strikes on the stockpiles of Iranian-supplied Fajr-5 long range rockets belonging to Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

2. In response the terrorist organizations attacked Israel with massive barrages of rocket fire. Until the afternoon of November 15, more than 200 rockets had landed in Israeli territory, about half of them with ranges of 40 kilometers (about 25 miles), focusing on Beersheba. So far three Israeli civilians, two men and a woman, have been killed. The Israeli Red Magen David has reported treating an estimated 45 civilians wounded to a greater or lesser degree. There has also been considerable property damage.
3. The **objectives of the Operation**, as stated by Israeli Minister of Defense Ehud Barak at a November 14 press conference, are the following:

1) **To strengthen Israel's capabilities to deter the terrorist organizations operating in the Gaza Strip.**

2) **To strike a decisive blow to the terrorist organizations' rocket firing capabilities.**

3) **To strike a decisive blow to Hamas and the other terrorist organizations operating in the Gaza Strip.**

4) **To minimize insofar as possible the damage to the Israeli home front** ("In the past 24 hours Israel has made it clear that it will not tolerate rocket and missile attacks on its civilians."

4. Operation Pillar of Defense was motivated by the **erosion of Israel's deterrent capabilities** since Operation Cast Lead (December 2008-January 2009). That could be seen in the significant increase in the amount of rocket fire from the Gaza Strip since 2010, the frequent rounds of escalation in rocket fire resulting from the terrorist activity of Hamas and the other terrorist organizations, and the shortening of the lulls between the rounds of escalation during the past six months (See the graphs).

5. The rocket fire, which disrupted the lives of more than one million Israelis living in the country's south, was frequently accompanied by attacks on Israeli soldiers carrying out counterterrorism activities near the security fence along the Gaza Strip border. In addition, networks in the Gaza Strip and Sinai Peninsula, interconnected and affiliated with the global jihad, became more daring, and turned the Sinai Peninsula into a launching pad for terrorist attacks against Israel.

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1 http://www.pmo.gov.il/English/MediaCenter/Events/Pages/eventzara151112.aspx

The Targeted Killing of Ahmed al-Jaabari

6. At around 1600 hours on November 14, in a joint IDF-Israel Security Agency operation, the IDF attacked a car driving through a main thoroughfare in Gaza City carrying Ahmed al-Jaabari, Hamas’ senior military-terrorist commander. Ahmed al-Jaabari was killed, as was Mohammed al-Hums, a Hamas operative and his aide.

7. Al-Jaabari, who had headed the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades for the past five years, was directly responsible for constructing Hamas’ military-terrorist infrastructure and conducting its terrorist activities. He commanded attacks on IDF soldiers and Israeli civilians, including attacks originating in the Sinai Peninsula, and rocket and mortar shell fire. He was also responsible for the abduction and continued captivity of Gilad Shalit (See Appendix I). According to the Fatah-affiliated PalPress news agency, Hamas appointed Marwan Issa, one of the senior figures in the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, to replace al-Jaabari (PalPress, November 15, 2012).

2 Ahmed al-Jaabari was the Hamas de-facto military commander. He was second in command to Muhammad Deif, who was critically wounded in a targeted Israeli attack. Hamas’ website described Ahmed al-Jaabari as the deputy general commander of the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas’ military-terrorist wing.
Ahmed al-Jaabari's car after the IDF strike, in the center of Gaza City (Qudsnet website, November 14, 2012).

8. A short time after the attack on al-Jaabari the IDF carried out strikes on additional senior terrorist operatives in the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ). **Israeli Air Force aircraft also attacked storage sites for weapons and rocket-launching pits used to hold Fajr-5 long-range rockets,** almost preventing the terrorist organizations from using them against population areas in the center of Israel (See Appendix II for technical details of the Fajr-5). It was a significant blow to the terrorist organizations' ability to launch long-range rockets, especially Hamas and the PIJ. It was also a significant blow to the underground launching systems and weapons' stockpiles of the terrorist organizations in the Gaza Strip (IDF Spokesman, November 15, 2012), although they preserved some collateral capability.
Fajr-5 launching pits struck by the IAF. The pits are located near residential houses near the Zeitun quarter of Gaza City (IDF Spokesman, November 14, 2012).

**Reaction of the Terrorist Organizations: Massive Rocket Fire Attacks on Israel**

**Aggressive Media Rhetoric**

9. Shortly after the killing of Ahmed al-Jaabari, terrorist organization spokesmen in the Gaza Strip issued statements calling it "**a declaration of war**" and "**the opening of the gates of hell**," and promised an aggressive response. Hamas' military-terrorist wing issued a notice of the death of its commander, calling it "the beginning of a war of liberation" and a milestone [on the road to] the end of Israel ("the monstrous entity") (Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades website, November 14, 2012). Most of the Gaza Strip terrorist organizations announced a general mobilization of their operatives (Al-Jazeera, November 14, 2012). The ministry of culture and education of the de-facto Hamas administration announced the closing of schools and universities throughout the Gaza Strip.

10. The media, especially Hamas' Al-Aqsa TV, have been playing songs calling for **the continuation of rocket fire into Israeli territory**. Al-Aqsa TV has also made prominent mention of the rocket fired on the morning of November 15 which killed three Israeli civilians in Kiryat Malachi (Al-Aqsa TV, November 15, 2012).

**Responses on the Ground**

11. Following the Israeli strikes, Hamas and the other terrorist organizations in the Gaza Strip initiated massive barrages of rocket fire, launching scores of rockets into
Israeli territory. The attack on Beersheba, the largest city in Israel's south, was particularly massive. Rockets were also fired at Ashdod, Netivot and Ashqelon. **On November 14 an estimated 40 rocket hits were identified.** Most of them had ranges of 40 kilometers and **were fired at Beersheba.** The Iron Dome aerial defense system intercepted and destroyed 27 rockets. The rocket fire continued throughout the afternoon and night.

Left: Rocket damage to a school in the southern town of Ofaqim. Right: Rocket fire damage in Beersheba (Israel Police Force Facebook page, November 14, 2012).

12. **On the morning of November 15, after a number of relatively quiet hours, the rocket fire, more intensive this time, was renewed.** During the morning, barrages of rockets were launched at Ashdod, Ashqelon, Beersheba, Ofaqim, Gan Yavneh and Kiryat Malachi (all cities about 40 kilometers, or 25 miles, from the Gaza Strip). Rockets were also fired at towns and villages closer to the Gaza Strip. Most glaring were the following incidents (as of noon, November 15):

1) At around 0800 hours a barrage of rockets was fired at **Gan Yavneh and Kiryat Malachi. One of the rockets hit the top floor of an apartment building in Kiryat Malachi, killing three Israeli civilians and wounding six, among them a four-year old boy and two baby girls.** Another building suffered a direct hit but there were no casualties. Hamas claimed responsibility for the rocket fire and its media boasted of the event.

2) A barrage of rocket fire targeted **Ashdod. One of the rockets hit a residential dwelling.** There were no casualties.
3) A school in Ofaqim took a direct hit. There were no casualties.

13. As of 1200 hours, November 15, more than 200 rocket hits had been identified in Israeli territory (Note: the number of attempted launchings was far larger). Most of the rockets landed on the morning of November 15. The Iron Dome aerial defense system successfully intercepted and destroyed an estimated 30 rockets (IDF Spokesman, November 15, 2012).

Hamas launches rockets at Israel from within population centers in the Gaza Strip (Filastin al-‘Aan, November 15, 2012).

Left: An Israel Police demolitions expert collects the remains of a rocket (Israel Police Force Facebook page, November 15, 2012). Right: Damage to a house in Kiryat Gat (Picture by Daniel Hagbi/Sderot Media Center, November 15, 2012).
Rocket Fire from the Sinai Peninsula

14. On the afternoon of November 14, close to the beginning of Operation Pillar of Defense, it was reported that four rockets were fired from the direction of the Sinai Peninsula into Israeli territory. It was also reported that Israel had lodged a complaint with Egypt regarding the rocket fire. Senior security personnel in the northern Sinai Peninsula denied the attack. Later, Egyptian security sources reported that following the rocket fire a committee had been appointed to investigate the incident (Al-Yawm Al-Sabaa, November 14, 2012).

15. The incident was unconnected to the rocket fire responses to Operation Pillar of Defense. However, in our assessment it manifests the turning of the Sinai Peninsula into an arena for anti-Israeli terrorism, in addition to the direct security threats from the Gaza Strip.
Rockets Hits in Israeli Territory since the Beginning of 2011\(^3\)

Note: The graph clearly illustrates the rounds of escalation and their increasing frequency until they peaked in November 2012.

Since the end of Operation Cast Lead, 1,545 rocket hits have been identified in Israeli territory.

Since the beginning of 2011, 1,300 rocket hits have been identified in Israeli territory; 997 since the beginning of 2012.

\(^3\) As of November 15, 2012, 1200 hours, based on an estimated 200 rocket hits.
Annual Distribution of Rocket Fire since the Hamas Takeover of the Gaza Strip

* As of November 15, 1200 hours, based on an estimated 200 rocket hits.

Note: The graph shows the annual increase in rocket fire since Operation Cast Lead. In 2012, which has not yet ended, the amount of rocket fire has approached that of 2008, whose high levels of rocket fire led to Operation Cast Lead.

Claiming Responsibility for Rocket and Mortar Shell Fire

16. **Hamas and the PIJ** claimed responsibility for most of the rockets and mortar shells fired into Israeli territory. Other small organizations, such as the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, also claimed responsibility for a number of rocket launchings (Websites of the military-terrorist wings of the various organizations, November 14, 2012).

17. On the morning of November 15, the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas’ military-terrorist wing, announced that it had, for the first time, launched a Fajr-5 rocket at Tel Aviv. According to the announcement, the attack was in retaliation for the death of Ahmed al-Jaabari (Filastin al-‘Aan, November 15, 2012). Hamas’ Al-Aqsa TV also prominently featured the attack in its news flashes. In reality, at the time of the announcement, no rockets had fallen in the Tel Aviv area and the news items reflected their intentions rather than actual fact. Note: In the afternoon and evening of
November 15, two long-range rockets were fired at the center of Israel. According to reports, one of them fell in Rishon Letzion (south of Tel-Aviv).

An Al-Aqsa TV news flash: "For the first time, [the Izz al-Din] al-Qassam [Brigades] fired a Fajr-5 rocket at Tel Aviv (Al-Aqsa TV, November 15, 2012).

IDF Attacks in Response to the Rocket Fire

18. During the night of November 14 the IDF continued attacking long- and medium-range rocket launching systems in the Gaza Strip. As of the afternoon of November 15, more than 156 terrorist targets had been attacked, 126 of them sites for launching Grad rockets. In addition, tanks fired at terrorist targets throughout the Gaza Strip (IDF Spokesman, November 5, 2012).

19. At around 0720 hours on November 15 the IDF dropped leaflets into a number of sites in the Gaza Strip warning the Gazans not to approach operatives and facilities belonging to Hamas and the other terrorist organizations at the risk of their safety and lives. The fliers stated that Hamas was dragging the region into an escalation and that the IDF was fully prepared to defend the citizens of the State of Israel and would do so until quiet was restored to the area (IDF Spokesman, November 15, 2012).
The IDF leaflet distributed to the Gazans (Hamas forum, November 15, 2012).

The Main Arab and International Responses

20. **Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi** ordered "political punishment" for Israel, including the recall to Egypt of the Egyptian ambassador to Israel for consultations, as well as rebuking the Israeli ambassador and convoking an emergency session of the UN Security Council (Official Egyptian TV channel, November 14, 2012).

21. The **international community** called for calm on both sides:

1) **A senior spokesman for the United States Department of State** said that the United States was following developments in the Gaza Strip and **that it supported Israel's right to defend itself** (Agence France-Presse, November 14, 2012).

2) **A spokesman for the UN Secretary General**, Ban-ki Moon, said that the Secretary General called for immediate calm, and that he appealed to both sides to do whatever they could to prevent another escalation and to honor their commitments to protect civilians according to international law (Reuters, November 14, 2012).

3) **The French foreign ministry** expressed "deep concern" over the escalating rocket fire and called on both sides to refrain from further escalation (Agence
France-Presse, November 14, 2012). The British and Russian foreign ministries expressed similar positions.

22. Before dawn, Israeli time, the UN Security Council held an emergency session at the request of Egypt, Morocco and the Palestinians to discuss the events. The deliberations ended after an hour and a half without a decision's being reached. The Palestinian representative asked that Israel be sent a "strong message" to stop its military operation immediately and honor its commitments according to international law. However, US Ambassador Susan Rice told the council there was "no justification for the violence that Hamas and other terrorist organizations are employing against the people of Israel."4

19. Mahmoud Abbas, currently in Switzerland, strongly condemned the Israeli activity in the Gaza Strip and called for an emergency meeting of the permanent representatives of the Arab League to discuss the escalation (Wafa News Agency, November 14, 2012). He also sent a diplomatic message to the president of the Security Council through Riyadh al-Mansour, the Palestinian representative to the UN, asking for a cessation of the Israeli activity in the Gaza Strip (Qudsnet website, November 14, 2012).

4 http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/15/us-israel-palestinians-un-council-idUSBRE8AD1SI20121115
Ahmed al-Jaabari – Portrait of a Terrorist

1. Ahmed Sayid Khalil al-Jaabari (aka Abu Mohammed), the senior commander of Hamas' military-terrorist wing, was born in 1960. He lived in the Sajaiya quarter in eastern Gaza City. The al-Jaabari family originally came from Hebron but fled to the Gaza Strip because of a blood feud. He is married to the daughter of Abd al-Aziz Rantisi, one of the founders of Hamas and heir to Sheikh Ahmed Yassin; both died in targeted killings. He holds an MA in history from the Islamic University in Gaza City.

2. Ahmed al-Jaabari began his career as a terrorist operative in the ranks of Fatah. At the beginning of the 1980s he was arrested by Israel and spent 13 years in prison for his involvement in orchestrating Fatah terrorist attacks. While in jail (where he learned Hebrew) he changed alliances and moved to Hamas, and became a Hamas leader while still in prison. He was greatly influenced by senior Hamas figures Abd Rantisi, Ismail Abu Shunab, Nizar Rayyan, Ibrahim al-Maqadma and Salah Shehadeh.

3. In 1995 he was released and became director of a Hamas social institution in the Gaza Strip which dealt with the welfare of prisoners and released prisoners. In 1997 he was active in the Islamic Salvation Party, founded by Hamas. At that time, close relations were formed between al-Jaabari and Mohammed Deif, as well as with other senior figures in Hamas' military-terrorist wing and he collaborated with Salah
Shehadeh and others to construct it. In August 2004 he escaped an attempt on his life with minor wounds; his oldest son, Mohammed, was killed in the attempt (The PIJ's PalToday website, November 14, 2012).

4. Until his death Ahmed al-Jaabari was second in command to Mohammed Deif, the commander general of the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades. He was responsible for constructing Hamas' military infrastructure and turning it into a more professional military body, taking as his inspiration the military infrastructure Hezbollah constructed in Lebanon. He was also involved in Hamas terrorist attacks which killed many Israeli civilians.

5. In October 1998 he was involved in an attack on a school bus in the Israeli settlement of Kfar Darom in the Gaza Strip in which two children were killed and several wounded. Following the attack he was detained by Fatah's security forces and eventually became the dominant figure in Hamas' military-terrorist wing. He was responsible for many terrorist attacks on Israelis, including the abduction of Gilad Shalit and attacks carried out through the Sinai Peninsula. He was also responsible for launching hundreds of rockets and mortar shells into Israeli territory. In recent years his position became stronger and he also enjoyed political influence in Hamas in addition to his military force.

Left: Gilad Shalit led by his captors to the Rafah crossing (Egyptian TV, October 18, 2011). To his right is Ahmed al-Jaabari, who personally handed him over to the Egyptian authorities. Right: Ahmed al-Jaabari and Ismail Haniya in Egypt after the liberation of Gilad Shalit (Filastin al-'Aan, October 21, 2011).
Ahmed al-Jaabari's Escort

6. The Hamas Internet forum devoted a respectable portion of its reporting of the death of Ahmed al-Jaabari to Mohammed al-Hums, the Hamas operative who was killed along with al-Jaabari. Al-Hums oversaw the forum while serving as Ahmed al-Jaabari's personal aide (Hamas forum, November 14, 2012).

Left: The Hamas forum's death notice of Mohammed al-Hums, who was the inspector of the forum and an operative in the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades a jihadist. He was killed with Ahmed al-Jaabari in the Israeli attack. Right: Mohammed al-Hums in Hamas battle uniform (Hamas forum, November 14, 2012).

Mohammed al-Hums (left) and Ahmed al-Jaabari on a visit outside the Gaza Strip (Hamas forum, November 14, 2012).
The Fajr-5 Rocket

1. After Operation Cast Lead Hamas improved and reinforced its system of smuggling tunnels, making it possible to smuggle large quantities of weapons into the Gaza Strip, most of them from Iran. Among the weapons smuggled in were light arms and machine guns, large quantities of rockets and mortar shells, tens of tons of explosives and raw materials for making explosives.

2. During the past three years Hamas and the PIJ smuggled large quantities of rockets into the Gaza Strip, among them standard Fajr-5 rockets, which have a range of 75 kilometers, or almost 47 miles, capable of reaching Tel Aviv and its suburbs in the center of Israel. The rockets were given to the terrorist organizations by Iran, part of its strategy to threaten the civilian Israeli population from both the north (through Hezbollah in Lebanon) and the south (through the terrorist organizations in the Gaza Strip).

2. The Fajr-5 (Fajr means "dawn" in Farsi) is an artillery rocket manufactured by Iran. It has been produced in Iran since 1991 with North Korean and possible Chinese assistance.

3. The technical specifications of the Fajr-5:

- **Range**: approximately 75 kilometers, or 46.6 miles
- **Weight**: 915 kilograms, or 2013 lbs
- **Maximum diameter**: 333 centimeters
- **Length**: 6.5 meters, or 7.1 yards
- **Warhead weight**: 175 kilograms, or 385 lbs
Map of Rocket Fire Ranges from the Gaza Strip
**Various types of mortar shells** (60mm, 81mm, 120mm and improvised mortar shells). Range 3-10 kilometers, or 1.9-6.2 miles.

**Improvised rockets** (90mm, 115 mm, 168mm) **Range**: 6-20 kilometers, or 3.7-12.4 miles. **Warhead**: 5-15 kilos, or 11-33 lbs.

**Standard 122mm rockets** (manufactured in Russia, China and Iran) **Range**: 40 kilometers, or 24.8 miles.

**Iranian Fajr-5 rockets** – **Range**: 75 kilometers, or 46.6 miles. **Warhead**: 175 kilograms, or 385 lbs.
Operation Pillar of Defense – Update No. 2  
(November 18, 1300 Hours)

Overview

1. During the first half of November 18, the fifth day of Operation Pillar of Defense, the Palestinian terrorist organizations continued launching rockets into Israeli territory (an estimated 70 rocket hits were identified, including one intercepted by the Iron Dome aerial defense system over Tel Aviv; another was intercepted over Tel Aviv in the evening). The IDF continued attacking terrorist targets in the Gaza Strip.

2. The situation on the ground so far:

   1) Israeli Air Force aircraft have attacked more than 800 terrorist targets in the Gaza Strip. Among them were rocket-launching squads, loaded rocket launchers, military-terrorist infrastructure targets and symbols of Hamas’ administration (its headquarters, the ministry of the interior, police headquarters, etc.).
2) The terrorist organizations, led by Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), have bombarded Israeli with continuous, intensive rocket attacks (although the number of rockets has lessened), targeting primarily the large cities in the south: Beersheba, Ashqelon and Ashdod. In addition four rockets targeted Tel Aviv (two of them intercepted by the Iron Dome aerial defense system) and one rocket targeted Jerusalem.

3) Three Israeli civilians were killed (in Kiryat Malachi) and three IDF soldiers were wounded by flying rocket debris. More than 150 civilians required medical treatment, most of them for anxiety, cuts and bruises. Sixty Palestinians were reported killed, more than half of them Hamas and PIJ terrorist operatives (including Ahmed Jaabari and other senior terrorists). The others were uninvolved civilians who were killed by mistake.

3. So far, from Israel's point of view, the interim balance is favorable for many reasons: the targeted killing of Ahmed Jaabari, the commander of Hamas' military-terrorist wing; the severe blows dealt to the terrorists' long-range rocket arsenal and other aspects of their military-terrorist infrastructure; the effectiveness of the Iron Dome, which improves the defense of the Israeli civilian front; the relatively small number of civilian casualties; Israeli public opinion, which is overwhelmingly in favor of the operation; and the support and understanding Israel has received (so far) from the international community, which recognizes its right to defend itself from rocket attacks.

4. However, Hamas is far from ready to raise a white flag. It is encouraged by its ability to continue firing massive, intensive barrages of rockets (although fewer than initially) and to disrupt the daily life of a significant number of Israelis, firing, for the first time, long-range rockets which reached Tel Aviv and Jerusalem (although the hits were isolated and did not disrupt routine life in either city). Politically Hamas is encouraged by Egyptian and other Arab shows of solidarity, manifested by the visits of the Egyptian president and Tunisian foreign minister to the Gaza Strip.

5. Although it continues, Operation Pillar of Defense is apparently approaching a crossroads: in Cairo contacts have begun for a mechanism to achieve a cease fire, led by Egypt with the collaboration of the heads of Hamas and the PIJ. However, on the ground, the IDF continues making preparations to broaden the operation and has called up reservists for a possible ground campaign.
6. For the fifth consecutive day, Israel has been subjected to massive barrages of rocket fire from the Gaza Strip. From the beginning of Operation Pillar of Defense until the morning of November 18, **between 700 and 800 rocket hits were identified in Israel territory:**

1) In addition to the number of identified rocket hits, an additional 80 to 90 (more than 10%) were launched but fell either in the Gaza Strip or into the sea.

2) **Most of the rockets targeted the southern cities of Beersheba and Ashdod** (within a range of 40 kilometers, or 25 miles), and **Ashqelon** (within a range of 20 kilometers, or 12.5 miles). Most of the rockets targeting those cities were fired in the morning or afternoon, when most people were on their way to or from work, **in an attempt to cause as many civilian casualties as possible.**

3) **Long-range rockets targeted the Tel Aviv area five times.** Twice they were intercepted by the Iron Dome and three times they fell in open areas. On one instance a vehicle was damaged. With that exception, no damage was incurred and there were no significant disruptions of daily life in the center of the country. One rocket was launched at Jerusalem and fell in the region of Gush Etzion (in the Judean hills south of Jerusalem).

4) Even on the morning of November 16, when Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi paid a visit to the Gaza Strip, the rocket fire into Israel continued.
7. The number of rocket hits identified in Israel so far approaches the number identified during Operation Cast Lead (925). The extent and intensiveness of the rocket fire, the ranges of the rockets (especially those with a range of 40 kilometers which reach Ashdod and Beersheba) and the rocket attacks on Tel Aviv and Jerusalem clearly reflect the Iranian-supported and assisted military might Hamas and the PIJ have acquired since Operation Cast Lead. Their arsenals have been significantly upgraded, as has their ability to disrupt daily life in Israel.

8. Prominent examples of rocket fire are the following:

1) On the morning of November 18 a four-story apartment building in Ashqelon took a direct hit. The rocket penetrated the roof of the building, while another rocket exploded in the street. Two civilians were wounded and five suffered anxiety attacks. Cars parked in the street were damaged.

2) On the afternoon of November 17 the fourth floor of an apartment building in Ashdod took a direct rocket hit. Several civilians suffered anxiety attacks and the building incurred severe damage.
3) On the morning of November 17 a rocket hit a house in a village near the Gaza Strip. There were no casualties; the building incurred severe damage.

4) On the morning of November 17 four IDF soldiers in the western Negev were injured when a mortar shell fell near them.

5) On the morning of November 16, during the Egyptian prime minister's visit to the Gaza Strip, 21 rockets were fired into Israeli territory (Coordinator for government activities in the territories website, November 16, 2012).

6) On the morning of November 16 the jeep of foreign correspondents who had come to document the events was attacked with an anti-tank missile. Some of the correspondents incurred slight injuries.
Long-Range Rockets Attack Tel Aviv Area and Jerusalem

9) So far long-range rockets have been used to attack the Tel Aviv area five times. The first fell in Rishon Letzion (13 kilometers, or about 8 miles south of Tel Aviv) in the early afternoon of November 15. The second was launched on the same day at about 1830 hours. On the afternoon of November 17 the Iron Dome was deployed in the Tel Aviv area. Since then it has succeeded in intercepting two more rockets, one on the afternoon of November 17 and the second on the morning of November 18. The debris from the warhead of the second rocket fell on a car in the Tel Aviv suburb of Holon and set it on fire. A rocket was fired at Jerusalem, and the hit was identified near a Palestinian village in Gush Etzion.

10. The PIJ claimed responsibility for the November 15 rocket attack on Tel Aviv, claiming it had fired a Fajr-5 rocket (Jerusalem Brigades website, November 15, 2012). Hamas claimed responsibility for the November 18 rocket attack as well as the November 16 rocket attack on Jerusalem. Hamas spokesmen claimed they were M75 rockets (Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades website, November 16, 2012); in our assessment they were upgraded long-range rockets manufactured by Hamas.
Rockets Hits in Israeli Territory since the Beginning of 2011

Note: The graph clearly illustrates the rounds of escalation and their increasing frequency during the six months until Operation Pillar of Defense.

Annual Distribution of Rocket Fire since the Hamas Takeover Of the Gaza Strip

Note: The graph shows the annual increase in rocket fire since Operation Cast Lead. In 2012, which has not yet ended, the amount of rocket fire has
approached that of 2008, whose high levels of rocket fire led to Operation Cast Lead.

### Claiming Responsibility for the Rocket and Mortar Shell Fire

11. **Hamas and the PIJ** claimed responsibility for most of rockets, including long-range rockets, fired into Israeli territory. Other small organizations, such as the Popular Resistance Committees, Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade and networks affiliated with the global jihad also claimed responsibility for a number of rocket launchings (Websites of the military-terrorist wings of the various organizations).

### The Global Jihad – Rocket Fire from the Sinai Peninsula

12. The Palestinian media reported that on the evening of November 16, 2012, the Egyptian security services noticed the launching of three rockets from the Sinai Peninsula at the Kerem Shalom region. They were launched from a desert area a number of kilometers south of the Kerem Shalom crossing (Ma’an News Agency, November 17, 2012).

13. On the same day a Salafist-jihadi network called the Shura Council of the Jihad Fighters of Greater Jerusalem claimed responsibility for four Grad rockets fired from the Sinai Peninsula targeting the western Negev on November 14. The network uploaded a video and announcement to YouTube claiming that the rocket fire was in retaliation for "harm done to civilians in the Gaza Strip." In reality, the rockets were fired close to the beginning of Operation Pillar of Defense, not during it.
From the YouTube video documenting the rocket fire

Before the rocket fire was shown, a notice was held up to the camera reading "A tribute from Egypt to the Gazans, Wednesday, November 14, 2012. We are one [people]" (YouTube).

Casualties

Israeli Casualties

14. On November 15 three civilians were killed by rocket fire in Kiryat Malachi. According to figures released by the Red Magen David (the Israeli Red Cross), since the beginning of the operation an estimated 150 civilians received medical treatment related to rocket hits. Most of the wounded suffer from cuts and bruises. An estimated 20 were treated for anxiety. (Red Magen David website, November 18, 2012). On
November 17 three IDF soldiers were wounded when a rocket landed near them (IDF Spokesman, November 17, 2012).

**Palestinian Casualties**

15. The Palestinian media has reported that so far, 60 Palestinians have been killed in Israeli strikes and several hundred wounded. In our assessment, about half of those killed were terrorist operatives, most of them belonging to Hamas and a few from the PIJ. The rest were uninvolved civilians killed by mistake. Some of the terrorist operatives killed were:

- Ahmed Jaabari, commander of Hamas’ military-terrorist wing (Masrawy.com website).
- Khaled Khalil al-Shaer (Facebook.com website). Senior rocket operative in Hamas’ military-terrorist wing (IDF Spokesman, November 17, 2012).
- The funeral procession of Ismail Khatab Qandil, Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades opinion in the Khan Yunis district (PALDF.net website).
Ahmed al-Atrash, Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades operative in Rafah (PALDF.net website).

Wael Haydar al-Ghalban, Hamas artillery operative (PALDF.net website).

Tamer Khaled al-Hamri, senior terrorist operative in the Jerusalem Brigades, the PIJ's military-terrorist wing, belonged to the Dir al-Balah Brigades (Saraya.ps website).

Mukhlas Adwan, major in the national security apparatus in the Gaza Strip and Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades terrorist operative (PALDF.net website)

Tamer Khaled al-Hamri, senior terrorist operative in the Jerusalem Brigades, the PIJ's military-terrorist wing, belonged to the Dir al-Balah Brigades (Saraya.ps website)
Ayman Asalim and Muhammad Yassin, two artillery operatives from the Jerusalem Brigades, the PIJ's military-terrorist wing (Saraya.ps website).

**IDF Activity**

**Strikes in the Gaza Strip**

16. During Operation Pillar of Defense the IDF has carried out massive strikes from the air and sea. IAF aircraft have carried out more than 1000 sorties and attacked more than 800 terrorist targets (as of the morning of November 18).

17. The IDF was careful not to harm uninvolved civilians. On the night of November 15 handbills were again distributed in flyovers over a number of locations in the Gaza Strip, warning Gazans not to approach terrorist organization bases. On occasion attacks were aborted because of the civilian presence at the target. For example, a launching pit was not attacked when a civilian was identified as entering the area (IDF Spokesman, November 17, 2012).
Flyer distributed on the night of November 15 (IDF Spokesman, November 16, 2012).

18. The most recent main targets were the following (IDF Spokesman, November 18, 2012):

1) Rocket-launching squads and underground launchers: Dozens of underground rocket launchers and launching pits were attacked, as were squads in the process of preparing to launch or having just launched rockets into Israeli territory. On the morning of November 18, shortly after the rocket attack on the Tel Aviv region, the site from which the rocket was launched was attacked and destroyed (IDF Spokesman, November 18, 2012).

2) Military infrastructure: Attacked were weapons stockpiles, training camps, posts, headquarters, terrorist tunnels and weapons smuggling tunnels, houses of military-terrorist operatives.

3) Symbols of Hamas rule: The headquarters of the de-facto Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip was attacked from the air and completely destroyed. The headquarters of the internal security forces was attacked, as were the office of Hamas administration head Ismail Haniya, a Hamas installation near Haniya's house in the Shati refugee camp, the Gaza City police station, and the Saraya Building, which serves as Hamas' main training camp (IDF Spokesman, November 17, 2012). In addition, a broadcast facility serving Hamas' terrorist activity in the northern Gaza Strip was also attacked (IDF Spokesman, November 18, 2012).
Manufacture of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) Uncovered

19. IDF activity in the Gaza Strip uncovered sites where Hamas was attempting to manufacture UAVs which were planned for use against Israel. The sites were attacked and destroyed by IAF aircraft (IDF Spokesman, November 17, 2012).

The Iron Dome Aerial Defense System

20. Since the beginning of Operation Pillar of Defense the Iron Dome has successfully intercepted and destroyed more than 200 rockets, approximately one third of the
rockets used to attack Israel. In IDF assessment, the Iron Dome has a success rate of about 90% (IDF Spokesman, November 17, 2012).

21. On the afternoon of November 17 the fifth Iron Dome system was deployed in the Tel Aviv area. Two hours later it successfully intercepted a rocket launched at a large city in the region (IDF Spokesman, November 17, 2012). The following morning the Iron Dome again intercepted and destroyed a rocket attacking the Tel Aviv area.

22. The IDF is prepared to continue fighting and has begun mobilizing reserve forces for a possible ground activity. The IDF Spokesman briefed the press on November 17, saying that the mobilization of reserve forces continued (the Israeli government authorized the mobilization of up to 75,000 reserves). According to the IDF Spokesman, the reserves are undergoing training for the ground campaign (IDF Spokesman, November 17, 2012).
The Civilian Situation in the Gaza Strip

Medical Equipment Enters the Gaza Strip through the Kerem Shalom Crossing

23. Despite the massive rocket fire targeting the Gaza Strip crossings, Israel decided to open them to ensure supplies would be delivered to the Gazan civilians. On the morning of November 18, 124 trucks loaded with humanitarian equipment entered the Gaza Strip through the Kerem Shalom crossing (IDF Spokesman, November 18, 2012).

24. The equipment entered the Gaza Strip following an announcement from the Coordinator for government activities in the territories that Red Cross and UNRWA trucks would be allowed to deliver medical equipment and medicine (Website of the Coordinator for Government Activities in the Territories, November 18, 2012).

The Humanitarian Situation

25. So far there are no significant humanitarian issues in the Gaza Strip. Generally speaking, electricity and other services operate without interruption (however, in Gaza City the aerial strikes occasionally cause problems to the electric grid). Civilians remain in their houses leaving only when necessary, mainly to stock up on food and fuel. The schools are closed, as are the main markets and most of the stores.
26. The de-facto Hamas administration presented a false picture of an alleged "medical crisis." On November 16 Mufeed Mkhhallalati, minister of health, told a news conference that if medical equipment, medicine and fuel were not delivered immediately to the hospitals in the Gaza Strip, they would shut down within eight hours, causing the deaths of most of the seriously ill patients and wounded (Al-Quds TV, November 16, 2012). In point of fact, in our assessment the statement was meant to exert pressure on the Egyptian government to deliver medical aid and open the Rafah crossing, but in vain.

27. On November 17 the head of the Egyptian emergency services said that the Egyptian ministry of health had sent 33 ambulances to Rafah and El-Arish so that wounded Gazans could be transferred to hospitals in Egypt. He added that 45 additional ambulances were set to go to the Rafah crossing. He said that the ministry had sent large teams of doctors to the Gaza Strip on November 15, along with medicines and medical equipment.

Hamas Control of the Gaza Strip

28. The de-facto Hamas administration continues to control the Gaza Strip with no signs of civilian resistance or protest. Its security forces carry out their missions from alternative headquarters and offices and patrol the roads. The ministry of the interior and its security forces act against Gazans suspected of collaborating with Israel and price gouging. The minister of the economy announced that teams from his ministry were supervising the distribution of fuel (Al-Ra'i Online website, November 16, 2012).
29. In our assessment, Hamas regards the current situation of Operation Pillar of Defense as tipped in its favor. The de-facto Hamas administration was encouraged by the solidarity shown by the Egyptians and other Arab states (manifested by the visits of the head of the Egyptian government and additional Arab delegations), by its ability to fire continuing massive barrages of rockets into Israel disrupting daily life, by being able to target Israel's main cities (Tel Aviv, Jerusalem), and by the relatively small number of Palestinian casualties. All of the above may make it easier for Hamas to claim victory, as it did during previous events, such as Operation Cast Lead.

30. Hamas' main media messages and themes are the following:

1) **Creating a warlike atmosphere** through rocket fire, playing songs encouraging military exploits and mourning, showing videos presenting its military capabilities, and issuing threats (for example, of suicide bombing attacks in Israeli cities), etc.

2) **Hamas refuses to surrender** even after its administration building was bombed, and claims that its destruction strengthened the movement.
3) If Israel institutes a ground incursion into the Gaza Strip, it can expect "surprises." (The PIJ has threatened to capture IDF soldiers).

4) **Hamas surprised Israel** by launching rockets at Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, and revealed it had advanced capabilities.

5) **The Arab world stands beside the Palestinians.** Following the visits of the Egyptian president and Tunisian foreign minister, other visits are expected.

31. Alongside authentic expressions of satisfaction with the ability of Hamas and the other terrorist organizations to stand firm in the face of the Israeli attacks, their media fabricate reports and issue disinformation and propaganda for psychological warfare (as they did during Operation Cast Lead). Their objectives are to raise the morale of both civilians and terrorist operatives and to build the foundation for the ongoing spin of the **myth of victory**. One example is the lie of having downed an Israeli F-16 with an anti-aircraft missile. On November 16 at 1636 hours Hamas' Al-Aqsa TV flashed a message on screen to the effect that "the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades downed a warplane with a surface to air missile." Hamas spokesman Fawzi Barhoum announced that downing the plane was a sign of "a real victory" over Israel (Al-Aqsa TV, November 16, 2012).

The lie on Hamas TV about downing an Israeli plane: "A war plane of the Zionist forces was downed by [the Izz al-Din] al-Qassam [Brigades]."

32. The following are other examples of Hamas reports which were lies:

1) Claiming to have attacked Israeli Navy ships with missiles.
2) Attacking the Knesset [Israeli parliament] with a rocket.

3) Exaggerating the number of Israelis killed.

4) Calling the Iron Dome aerial defense system a complete failure.

Reactions in the Arab World

Deliberations in Cairo for a Possible Mechanism to End to the Fighting

33. On November 17 a Hamas delegation headed by Khaled Mashal arrived in Cairo. PIJ leader Ramadan Shallah arrived as well. They met with the Egyptian minister of intelligence and head of Egyptian General Intelligence. The agenda was to examine possible ways of ending the fighting in the Gaza Strip through the mediation of Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi.

34. **Note:** On November 17 Erdogan, the Turkish prime minister also arrived in Cairo and met with President Morsi. The emir of Qatar is also expected to arrive. The Egyptian president, Turkish prime minister and Qatari emir were supposed to meet with Khaled Mashal on the evening of November 17.

The Egyptian Prime Minister Visits the Gaza Strip

35. Hisham Qandil, the Egyptian prime minister, paid a visit to the Gaza Strip on November 16, leading a delegation of 14. It was the first visit of its kind since Hamas took control of the Gaza Strip in June 2007. The objective of the visit was to show the
support of the Egyptian government and people for the de-facto Hamas administration and the Gazans. The Tunisian delegation, headed by its foreign minister, visited the following day. Other Arab-Muslim dignitaries are expected to visit as well.

36. While on a visit to the Shifa Hospital in Gaza City, Hisham Qandil held a press conference with Ismail Haniya, and in the name of Mohamed Morsi expressed Egypt's support for the Palestinian people. He said that Egypt was determined to end the so-called [Israeli] "aggression" and to bring about a ceasefire [which would last] until a permanent peace and the establishment of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital. He promised to send medical aid to the Gaza Strip but did not meet Hamas' expectations of opening the Rafah crossing.

37. The visits and declarations of support from Egypt and other Arab-Muslim states give Hamas political and media support in the Arab-Muslim arena, which is led by Egypt and the Muslim Brotherhood camp in the Middle East. In our assessment, in the Gaza Strip the visits raise the morale of both Hamas and the Gazan populace, and are an important factor in the "victory" myth Hamas is eager to spin.

Other Reactions in the Arab-Muslim World

Hezbollah

38. Hezbollah's deputy leader, Sheikh Naim Qassem, said that the "resistance" [i.e., anti-Israel terrorism and violence] and the jihad were "the only solution." He sent his condolences on the death of Ahmed Jaabari and other "martyrs," and called on the
Palestinians to continue firing rockets into Israel “to create the correct deterrence” and defend the Gazans (Al-Manar TV, Lebanon, November 16, 2012).

**The Palestinian Authority**

39. After an emergency meeting of the Palestinian leadership in Ramallah, Mahmoud Abbas gave a speech strongly attacking what he called "Israeli aggression" in the Gaza Strip. He said that the PA had asked the secretary of the Arab League to send a delegation of Arab foreign ministers to the Gaza Strip, including the Palestinian foreign minister. He added that the PA had contacted Egyptian President Morsi, the American administration, European countries and the UN Secretary General to have them "stop the aggression."

40. Mahmoud Abbas stressed the PA's determination to bring the issue of a Palestinian state to a vote in the UN. "We are committed to the decision to appeal to the UN in any event," he said (Palestinian TV, November 16, 2012).
Operation Pillar of Defense – Update No. 3 (November 19, 1300 Hours)

Overview

1. On November 18 and the first half of November 19 rocket fire attacks into Israeli territory continued, although they were fewer than during the previous 24 hours. Nevertheless, the damage to people and property was greater. Two long-range rockets were fired at the Tel Aviv area, both intercepted by the Iron Dome aerial defense system. Hamas is responsible for most of the rocket fire, followed, with significantly fewer launchings, by the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) and other small organizations.

2. During the past 24 hours the IDF has continued massive air strikes in the Gaza Strip. One hundred and thirty terrorist targets were attacked, among them underground launchers, rocket-launching squads, tunnels, terrorist bases, Hamas' communications infrastructure (Hamas' Al-Aqsa TV building), homes of terrorist operatives and the Hamas police force headquarters. The increase in the strikes also led to an increase in
Palestinian casualties, among them non-involved civilians, including a Palestinian family in the northwestern Gaza Strip which was struck in error.

3. The focus of political attention is currently Cairo, where President Mohamed Morsi is leading attempts to find a mechanism to stop the fighting. Hamas and PIJ representatives have gone to Cairo as well, while behind the scenes, Morsi’s effort receives support from American President Obama, as well as Turkey and Qatar (which support Hamas’ position). The Hamas and PIJ representatives told the Egyptian and Arab media what their opening positions were for negotiations: no buffer zone in the Gaza Strip along the security fence (as allegedly demanded by Israel), permission to fish off the coast of the Gaza Strip, an end to the targeted killings of terrorist operatives, a refusal to commit to ending the military buildup in the Gaza Strip. A Hamas spokesman added that "lifting the [so-called] siege" and opening the crossings were also on the table for negotiations.

4. Massive, sustained rocket fire attacks on Israel continued throughout November 18, with 94 rocket hits identified during the past 24 hours (as of 1200 hours, November 19). While the amount of rocket fire was smaller than during the previous 24 hours (IDF Spokesman, November 18, 2012), it caused more casualties and far more property damage.

5. The most destructive rocket attacks were the following:

1) At 2300 hours on November 18, after three hours without an attack, a rocket fell in one of the villages in the Be’er Tuvia region of the northern Negev and caused extensive damage. There were no casualties.
2) On November 18 two long-range rockets were fired at the Tel Aviv area, one in the morning and the other in the evening. Both were intercepted and destroyed by the Iron Dome aerial defense system.

3) A rocket which hit the southern Israeli city of Ofaqim caused extensive damage to a home and a car. The four passengers, parents and their children, left the car when they heard the sirens; the car was damaged by flying rocket debris.
4) Two rocket hits in Ashqelon caused extensive damage to a home and several cars.

5) A rocket which hit near apartment buildings in Beersheba caused considerable damage to the buildings and nearby cars.

6) A home in Sderot was damaged by a rocket hit. The inhabitants were not there at the time.

6. On the morning of November 19, after a relatively quiet night, rocket fire was renewed. Several rockets hit the western Negev, and some targeted Ashqelon. As of noon more than 20 rocket hits had been identified. In Ashqelon a rocket hit close to a school and caused damage.

**Terrorist Organizations Attempt to Attack the Tel Aviv Area**

7. Six long-range rockets have been fired at the Tel Aviv area since the operation began. The first landed in Rishon Letzion (13 kilometers, or eight miles south of Tel Aviv) in the early afternoon of November 15. Two rockets were fired at Tel Aviv on November 18, one in the morning and one in the evening; both were intercepted by the Iron Dome. Fragments from one of the rockets hit a car in the city of Holon south of Tel Aviv and set it on fire. Hamas' military-terrorist wing claimed responsibility for the two rockets targeting Tel Aviv (Al-Aqsa TV, November 18, 2012).

8. The terrorist organizations in the Gaza Strip turned launching rockets at Tel Aviv into a symbol of an alleged Palestinian "victory." That was despite the small number of rockets fired (most of their long-range rockets were destroyed at the beginning of the operation), despite the fact that some of them were intercepted and destroyed, and despite the fact that routine daily life in the Tel Aviv area was almost unaffected.
A new Palestinian song sung by Shadi al-Boureini and Qassem al-Najar, called "Strike a Blow on Tel Aviv" has enjoyed success on YouTube and appears on many Palestinian websites and Facebook pages. The lyrics are "We want to strike a blow on Tel Aviv. Don't let the Zionists sleep. We don't want a truce or a solution..."

Statistical Data

9. So far, more than 600 rocket hits have been identified in Israeli territory, of the more than 1000 rockets fired. An estimated 30% of the rockets fell in the Gaza Strip or into the sea. Less than 4% of the rockets hit populated areas. So far the Iron Dome has intercepted more than 300 rockets, that is, about half of the rockets fired into Israel.

Rockets Hits in Israeli Territory since the Beginning of 2011
Note: The graph clearly illustrates the rounds of escalation and their increasing frequency during the six months until Operation Pillar of Defense. It includes 625 rocket hits identified during the operation, which still continues.

**Daily Distribution of Rocket Hits in Israel's South since the Beginning of Operation Pillar of Defense**

- The graph shows the decrease in rocket hits as of November 19, 1200 hours.
- So far 625 rocket hits have been identified in Israeli territory.
- **Seven long-range rockets** (of more than 40 kilometers, or 25 miles) either fell or were intercepted in the Tel Aviv area and one in the Jerusalem area.
Annual Distribution of Rocket Fire since the Hamas Takeover of the Gaza Strip

*Based on an estimated 625 rocket hits as of 1200 hours, November 19 (the number of launchings, in our assessment, is about three times greater than the number hits).

Claiming Responsibility for Rocket and Mortar Shell Fire

10. Hamas has claimed responsibility for most of the rocket fire, including the rockets fired at the Tel Aviv area: lagging behind is the PIJ. Other organizations have also made claims, such as the Popular Resistance Committees, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade and various networks affiliated with the global jihad (Websites of the organizations).

11. On the afternoon of November 18 Hamas' military-terrorist wing issued an unfounded, fabricated claim of firing a self-produced long-range M75 rocket at Herzliya (about 11 kilometers, or 7 miles, northeast of Tel Aviv) (Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades website, November 18, 2012).
Alleged “achievements” never achieved: bombing Tel Aviv, downing an Israeli fighter plane and destroying an Israeli UAV (Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades website, November 17, 2012).

Casualties

**Israeli Casualties**

12. According to figures released by the Red Magen David (the Israeli Red Cross), on November 18 an estimated 40 civilians received medical treatment for various injuries. Since the beginning of the operation, more than 220 civilians have been treated.

13. The most serious injuries of the past 24 hours occurred in **Ofaqim** when a car at the entrance to the city took a direct hit. Although the passengers managed to leave the car before the rocket landed, three of them were seriously injured. Two others suffered minor injuries. One of the Israelis seriously injured was a fireman who received a head injury from flying rocket debris when a rocket landed in one of the villages in the western Negev. Most of those treated in Ashqelon, Beersheba and Ashdod were suffering from anxiety (Red Magen David website, November 19, 2012).

**Palestinian Casualties**

14. The increase in the extent of Israeli Air Force strikes in the Gaza Strip led to an increase in Palestinian casualties, including non-combatants injured in error. The Palestinian media reported **89 killed** in IAF strikes on November 12 (Filastin al-Yawm, November 18, 2012). In one strike on the northeastern part of the Gaza Strip on November 18, 12 family members were killed in error and 11 injured. Their deaths led to a wave of angry reactions among senior Hamas figures, who accused Israel of attacking civilians and so-called "war crimes."
Air Strikes on the Gaza Strip

15. During the past 24 hours air strikes continued. **One hundred and thirty terrorist targets were attacked** (50 during the day on November 18 and 80 more during the night). Among the targets were underground rocket launchers, tunnels and training bases. **Since the beginning of Operation Pillar of Defense the IAF has struck 1,350 terrorist targets in the Gaza Strip.** Some of them were the following (IDF Spokesman's website, November 19, 2012).

1) **An area from which long-range rockets were fired at the Tel Aviv area.**

2) An underground launching site from which rockets were fired at the southern Israeli city of Kiryat Malachi on the evening of November 18.

3) **Terrorist squads** which fired rockets into Israeli, among them the squad which fired rockets at village in the western Negev near the Gaza Strip during the morning. Rocket launchers near a mosque were also attacked (See video).

4) **The Gaza City stadium,** after reliable information was received that rockets had been fired from it (See video).

5) **Homes of two senior terrorist operatives** which also served as local headquarters.

6) **The communications infrastructure in the northern Gaza Strip, used by Hamas to control its operatives and issue propaganda.** The previous evening Hamas' **Al-Aqsa TV** broadcasting center was attacked, after which Hamas' propaganda department issued a condemnation of so-called "Israeli crimes" against correspondents and media institutions (Al-Ra'i website, November 18, 2012).
The Gaza City stadium from which rockets were fired (IDF Spokesman, November 19, 2012).

7) Homes of senior terrorist operatives which served as terrorist headquarters/locations for stockpiling weapons.

8) Hamas police headquarters.

Right: Attack on underground launchers positioned in a mosque courtyard. (IDF Spokesman, November 18, 2012).
http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=endscreen&v=C3i8Thb7ARE&NR=1

Left: The attack on Saraya, the main terrorist training base and Hamas’ terrorist headquarters.
http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=TWh3Q_9NFko
(IDF Spokesman, November 18, 2012).
16. While the Israeli Air Force attacked from the air, the Israeli Navy also attacked terrorist targets along the Gazan coast. More that 100 terrorist targets were struck in joint IAF-Navy attacks. Ahmed Nahel, a terrorist operative from one of the networks affiliated with the global jihad, was killed in a Navy attack. Ahmed Nahel was involved in many terrorist attacks on IDF forces and Israeli civilians (IDF Spokesman, November 18, 2012).

The Iron Dome Aerial Defense System

17. The Iron Dome continues to intercept and destroy a significant proportion of the rockets fired by the Palestinian terrorist organizations. In IDF assessment, it has a 90% success rate (IDF Spokesman, November 17, 2012).

Preparations for a Possible Ground Operation

18. On the morning of October 18 IDF Chief of Staff General Benny Gantz visited the sites where IDF reserve forces are deployed along the Gaza Strip border and examined the army's preparedness for possible scenarios. He ordered the army to step up attacks on the terrorist infrastructure and senior terrorist operatives (IDF Spokesman, November 17, 2012).
The Civilian Situation in the Gaza Strip

Equipment Delivered to the Gaza Strip through the Kerem Shalom Crossing

19. Despite the massive rocket fire from the Gaza Strip, including attacks on the crossings, the Israeli government decided to open the crossings to the delivery of merchandise and the passage of patients and foreign diplomats into Israel. On November 18, **80 trucks carrying vital medical equipment (medicine, syringes and anesthetic equipment) entered the Gaza Strip**, as did 64 trucks carrying food. Thirty-five diplomats left the Gaza Strip through the Erez crossing, as well as 26 patients who needed medical treatment in Israel, who came with their escorts (IDF Spokesman, November 18, 2012).
Contacts in Cairo for a Ceasefire

20. Contacts in Cairo continue in an effort to broker a possible ceasefire mechanism between Israel and the Palestinians terrorist organizations. Leading the move is Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi (with the support of Turkey and Qatar), joined by delegations from Hamas and the PIJ. The Arab media reported that "a senior Israeli" was in Cairo to present Israel's position. So far, the United States is apparently working behind the scenes.

21. The Egyptian president met with the Hamas delegation, headed by Khaled Mashal, and the PIJ delegation, headed by Ramadan Shallah. The deliberations dealt with efforts to put together a proposal for a ceasefire and with the Palestinian position (Facebook pages of the Egyptian president and presidential spokesman Yasser Ali). The Egyptian president also held a telephone conversation with Ismail Haniya, head of the de-facto Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip (Al-Ahram, November 18, 2012).

22. At a joint press conference held with the Turkish prime minister, Mohamed Morsi said that Egypt sought to achieve a ceasefire between the sides. He said that "so
far there are indications that there may be a ceasefire soon" (Egyptian TV, November 17, 2012). Spokesmen for Hamas and the PIJ publicly announced their own demands and their responses to Israel's alleged demands:

1) Musa Abu Marzuq, deputy head of Hamas' political bureau, said that Egypt was "a new central axis" around which political and diplomatic efforts were turning. He said that Israel had presented Egypt with a proposal for a ceasefire with two conditions: one was the establishment of a demilitarized zone of 300 meters, or about 330 yards, along the border with Israel on the Gazan side of the fence, into which entry would be forbidden; and the other was putting an end to the smuggling of weapons into the Gaza Strip. Musa Abu Marzuq said he rejected the Israeli conditions and that "smugglers do not accept conditions from anyone." He added that Hamas demanded a full ceasefire without a demilitarized zone, with no restrictions on fishing off the coast of the Gaza Strip and an end to the targeting killings carried out by Israel. He said that "needless to say, the issue of lifting the siege and opening the crossings is also on the table" (Al-Arabia, date, November 18, 2012).

2) Ziad al-Nahhala, deputy secretary general of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, said that "we are making an effort to reach an agreement which will ensure the honor of the Palestinian people and the security of the Gaza Strip." He added that no concessions would be made which would adversely affect the "resistance" [i.e., terrorist organizations] of the Islamic nation. Rather, he said, "today we are in the position to compel [the other side to accept] at least some of our demands, [such as] lifting the siege, ending the targeted killings, opening the crossings and other issues we will discuss later." He added that "if Israel shows flexibility, we are close to a lull" (The PIJ's PalToday website, Cairo, November 18, 2012).

3) Nabil Shaath, responsible for Fatah's international relations, met with Khaled Mashal and his deputy Musa Abu Marzuq on November 18. Mashal claimed that "negotiations had entered an important phase regarding a ceasefire." The conditions set by Hamas and the other [terrorist] organizations, he said, were the complete lifting of the so-called Israeli "siege," an end to IDF incursions into the Gaza Strip, an end to the killing of the leaders of the [terrorist] organizations and an end to attacks on Gazan fishermen. At the same time, Hamas, he said, was not prepared to meet Israel's demand for a complete end to rocket fire into its
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territory (Interview with Nabil Shaath reported by the Ma'an News Agency, November 18, 2012).

Israel Warned Not to Invade the Gaza Strip

23. The Palestinian media, the spokesmen for the terrorist organizations and important figures in the Arab-Muslim world warned Israel not to invade the Gaza Strip:

1) Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi, holding a press conference with the Turkish prime minister, said that Egypt honored its peace agreement with Israel. "However," he said, "if there is an escalation or a ground invasion as the Israelis have announced, it might have catastrophic consequences for the region. Under no circumstances could we agree to that… (Egyptian TV, November 17, 2012).

2) Musa Abu Marzuq, deputy head of Hamas' political bureau, said that during the previous war [i.e., Operation Cast Lead] Israel had not achieved anything. The opposite was true, he said, Hamas was five or six times stronger now than it was then. He warned Israel it would suffer many losses during a ground invasion (Al-Arabia, November 18, 2012).

3) Ziad al-Nahhala, deputy secretary general of the PIJ, threatened that if Israel invaded the Gaza Strip "it would be met with serious, genuine resistance."

24. The international community, which so far has supported Israel's right to defend itself as long as the rocket fire continues, has reservations regarding a possible land operation. British Foreign Minister William Hague, who called on Hamas to stop firing rockets into Israel, warned Israel against a ground invasion, saying that "The Prime Minister and I have both stressed to our Israeli counterparts that a ground invasion of Gaza would lose Israel a lot of the international support and sympathy they have in this situation. [ITIC emphasis]"

The Battle for Hearts and Minds

24. The following themes were stressed by the Palestinian terrorist organizations during the past 24 hours:

1) Massive media coverage was wrung out of the killing (in error) of a family. It included posting gory, unedited and uncensored pictures of the

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1 http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-20383001
casualties alongside pictures of wounded children and general destruction. The objective was to inculcate the false claim that Israel deliberately targeted civilians and was carrying out a "slaughter" and "crimes" (Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri, Al-Aqsa TV, November 18, 2012).2

2) **Boasts about the ability of the terrorist organizations to strike Tel Aviv and deep into the Israeli heartland.**

3) **Praise for Iran for the high quality of the weapons it provided to the "resistance"** [i.e., terrorist organizations].

   A. "We would like to thank our brothers in Iran for the great sacrifices they made to deliver this weapon to us [a reference to the long-range Fajr-5 rockets which can reach Tel Aviv] for the sake of defending the Palestinian people..." (Ziad al-Nahhala interviewed by the PIJ's PalToday website, November 18 2012).

   B. Ziad al-Nahhala rejected the rumors that the current escalation was the implementation of an Iranian plan. He said that "...the weapons used by the resistance to fight, even Hamas' weapons, are Iranian from the first bullet to the [last] rocket, even what is produced locally is in fact [based on] Iranian [knowhow]..." (Al-Hayat, November 18, 2012).

4) **Emphasis on the coordination between Hamas, the organization leading the rocket attacks, and the other organizations**, especially the PIJ. According to Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri, there is an unprecedented Palestinian consensus regarding the "resistance" [i.e., terrorist organizations] (Al-Aqsa TV, November 18, 2012).

5) **Broadcasting propaganda and using psychological warfare targeting IDF soldiers** to keep them from entering the Gaza Strip: videos in Hebrew are broadcast simulating the abduction of IDF soldiers, pictures are shown of IDF soldiers' coffins, a request was broadcast to send body bags in with the soldiers, and emphasis was placed on the great [military] preparedness of the terrorists and the "surprises" they had in store for the enemy.

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2 The Palestinian media use children whom the IDF killed in error as one of their main themes in the battle for hearts and minds (a child's body was shown to the head of the Egyptian prime minister when he visited the Gaza Strip). However, there are also reports in the media about Palestinian civilians, including children, who were killed when unsuccessful rocket launches ended with rockets falling in the Gaza Strip.
6) **Anti-Semitism:** Ahmed Bahar, deputy chairman of Hamas’ legislative council, held a press conference broadcast by Hamas’ Al-Aqsa TV, during which he said that "the Jews are the brothers of apes and pigs, they are a corrupt tribe with no interest in peace…We ask all the human rights organizations in the world to sue the Zionist government and the monstrous Zionist entity…"

25. At the same time, the terrorist organizations’ TV channels and websites continue spreading fabrications to back up their "victory" myth: they reported that the Israeli public was terrified and hysterical, invented news tickers about rocket hits in various Israeli cities, claimed rocket hits at a distance of 80 kilometers and reported exaggerated claims about the extent of rocket fire. Other lies included hits on IDF vehicles patrolling along the security fence.

**The International Arena**

**The United States**

26. According to American President Barack Obama, the current crisis in the Gaza Strip was caused by the rocket attacks into Israeli, which no country in the world would tolerate. The president, currently in Thailand, again expressed support for Israel’s right to defend itself, saying that *Israel has every right to expect that it does not have missiles fired into its territory* [ITIC emphasis]." However, he added that "if that can be accomplished without a ramping up of military activity in Gaza, that is preferable."³

**The Arab-Muslim World**

**Hezbollah**

27. **Hezbollah continues inciting the Palestinians to fight Israel** and has warned the Arab states not to exert pressure on the Palestinians to make concessions. In a speech made from his bunker in the southern suburb of Beirut, Hezbollah head Hassan Nasrallah said that the Palestinian [terrorist] organizations had the capabilities to withstand a difficult confrontation with Israel. He called on the Arab-Muslim states to support the conditions demanded by the Palestinian, especially the "lifting of the [so-called Israeli] siege" and the "end of all aggression against the Gaza Strip." However, he also expressed concern that some Arab states would exert pressure on the

Palestinian terrorist organizations [the "resistance"] to make concessions concerning their conditions.

**Iran**

28. After the Friday prayer on November 16, a demonstration was held in Tehran against the so-called "crimes of the Zionist regime." Demonstrators shouted slogans including "The destruction of Israeli is the desire of our nation," "Death to the United States" and "Death to Israel." At the Friday sermon, Ayatollah Seyed Ahmed Khatami spoke of the so-called "crimes" of the "Zionist regime" in the Gaza Strip, calling Israel "an unbridled, bloodthirsty hangman." He warned that the response of the "Palestinian resistance" [i.e., terrorist organizations] would be crushing and that the "resistance" could make the day "black" for the Israeli regime.

29. The Iranian media make a point of quoting the lies of the Palestinian media regarding the so-called "achievements" of the fighting against Israel: they claimed the downing of an Israeli F-16, the closing of the Ben-Gurion International Airport, a direct rocket hit on the Israeli Knesset in Jerusalem and an exaggerated number of Israeli civilians killed. At a press conference, Basij (militia) commander Reza Naqdi called the Iron Dome aerial defense system a "psychological trick," claiming that it did not actually exist (ISNA, Iran, date, 2012).

**Delegations to the Gaza Strip**

30. On **November 17 and 18 there was an increase in the number Egyptian and Arab delegations** visiting the Gaza Strip to express solidarity and provide support:

1) A delegation headed by Nabil al-Arabi, the secretary general of the Arab League, was expected to visit the Gaza Strip on November 18. The foreign ministers of Egypt, Universities, Libya, Algiers and Nabil Shaath, member of Fatah's Executive Committee, were expected to join the delegation.

2) On November 18 **Egyptian political parties and organizations** organized a "popular convoy" to the Gaza Strip to express support for the Palestinians. A number of activists tried to infiltrate the Gaza Strip through one of the tunnels on November 17 because the Egyptian authorities refused to allow the delegation to enter.
3) A delegation of the Egyptian union of engineers arrived in the Gaza Strip on November 17 to provide assistance to the Gazans. The delegation visited several sites which had been bombed and was expected to leave the Gaza Strip on November 18.
Operation Pillar of Defense – Update No. 4
Terrorist Organizations Use Foreign Media Facilities for Camouflage and Protection

Overview

1. During the past 24 hours two instances were exposed of terrorist operatives' using the vehicles and buildings of foreign media in the Gaza Strip for purposes of camouflage and protection. In one instance a senior Hamas operative drove a vehicle with "TV" painted on the hood to keep Israeli Air Force aircraft from striking it. In another, senior terrorist operatives of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) located themselves on the second floor of the building in the Gaza Strip where the offices of the foreign news agencies are located; the modus operandi was used by terrorist operatives in the Gaza Strip in the past.

Car belonging to senior Hamas operative Muhammad Riad Shamlakh marked “TV” (Hamas' Al-Aqsa TV, November 19, 2012).
**Examples from Operation Pillar of Defense**

**Terrorist's Car Camouflaged as Media Vehicle**

2. On November 19 the car of senior Hamas terrorist operative Muhammad Shamlakh was struck by the IDF. He was responsible for operating Hamas force in the southern Gaza Strip. His car bore press insignia and had “TV” painted on its hood (IDF Spokesman, November 19, 2012). The Hamas media reported that in Tel al-Islam (in the southern part of Gaza City), the IDF struck a civilian vehicle belonging to the media, killing one and wounding several (Hamas' Al-Aqsa forum, November 19, 2012). The Hamas media did not relate to Muhammad Shamlakh and his use of a press vehicle.

**Terrorist Hideout Situated in Media Building**

3. On the afternoon of November 19 the IDF struck a hideout used by senior operatives of the PIJ's rocket network. The operatives hid on the second floor of the Al-Shorouq Tower in the Rimal section in the heart of Gaza City. The building houses the offices of Western and Arabic news agencies and television channels (IDF Spokesman, November 19, 2012).

4. In the hideout in the Al-Shorouq Tower were at the time (IDF Spokesman, November 19, 2012):

   1) **Bha'a Abu al-Ata**, commander of the PIJ's Gaza City brigade and a member of the organization's supreme military council. He had been involved in planning and carrying out rocket and other terrorist attacks on Israel.

   2) **Taysir Mahmoud Muhammad Jaabari**, a senior PIJ operative, resident of Sajaiya, a member of the organization's supreme military council and holding it operations portfolio. In the past he commanded the Gaza brigade and was involved in firing rockets and planning terrorist attacks on Israel.

   3) **Khalil Bahatini**, a senior figure in implementing the organization's military buildup and head of its preventive security apparatus. He was a pivotal figure in the organization's long-range rocket wing.
4) **Ramez Kharb**, a senior figure in the PIJ’s military-terrorist wing. He held the propaganda portfolio in the Gaza City brigade, and in the past commanded it.

The second IDF attack on the Al-Shorouq Tower [where PIJ operatives hid] (Paltimes.net website, November 19, 2012).

**Similar Methods Used in the Past**

5. This was not the first time terrorist operatives used media vehicles as camouflage, including using them to carry out terrorist attacks. On June 9, 2007, a four-man squad of PIJ and Fatah terrorist operatives attacked an IDF post and patrol near the Kissufim crossing. The terrorists drove in a jeep camouflaged as a media vehicle and broke through the gate, entering Israeli territory. IDF forces arrived at the site and exchanged fire with the terrorists, killing one; three fled the scene.
The jeep, marked “Press” and “TV” used by the terrorist squad to drive to the site of the attack (Photo courtesy of Maor Azoulai and Yedioth Aharonoth, June 2007).

6. In addition, terrorist exploitation of buildings used by foreign media is also familiar. During Operation Cast Lead (December 2008-January 2009), Hanan al-Masri, a correspondent for Al-Arabiya TV who worked in its offices in the Al-Shorouq Tower, reported the launching of a Grad rocket into Israeli territory from beneath the building. She reported hearing a very loud noise which she thought was an Israeli Air Force attack. However, she later learned that the noise had been made by the firing of a 122mm Grad rocket, launched from beneath the building.¹

¹ For further information see the January 19, 2009 bulletin “Using civilians as human shields: launching rockets at Israel from locations close to buildings and schools.”
7. As part of the lessons learned by Hamas from Operation Cast Lead and plans to be implemented in the next round of fighting, there were ideas and recommendations for improving the tactics of embedding operatives within the civilian population. At the time, reliable information indicated that one of the recommendations was to use non-military vehicles which would be camouflaged as civilian vehicles as belonging to foreign institutions, ambulances, press cars, commercial vans with industrial logos, taxis, etc.²

² For further information about Hamas’ lessons how the terrorist organizations use civilian facilities and vehicles for operational purposes see the March 2010 ITIC study “Hamas and the Terrorist Threat from the Gaza Strip: The Main Findings of the Goldstone Report Versus the Factual Findings.”
Severe damage in Beersheba caused by a barrage of rockets (Israel Police Force Facebook page, November 20, 2012).

**Overview**

1. On November 19 and the first half of November 20, the seventh day of Operation Pillar of Defense, rocket fire into Israel continued.

2. During the past 24 hours (especially overnight) the IDF continued massive air strikes on terrorist targets in the Gaza Strip. Among the targets hit were terrorist facilities, rocket-launching squads and Hamas administrative sites. In addition, there were targeted killings of terrorist operatives. Noteworthy was the strike on four senior Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) terrorist operatives hiding on the second floor of the Al-Shorouq Tower in the heart of Gaza City, where Western and Arabic news agencies and television channels have their offices.

3. In Cairo (where the Secretary General of the UN has arrived) contacts continued to devise a mechanism for a ceasefire. Senior Hamas and PIJ figures expressed interest in a ceasefire but made it clear they were not in a hurry.
4. Rocket fire into Israeli territory continued without cessation November 19, the sixth day of Operation Pillar of Defense.

5. The main attacks on November 19 were the following:

1) Ashqelon took most of the hits. During the morning a rocket hit a school. Another school was hit in the evening. There were no casualties, but both buildings were damaged. An additional rocket hit and damaged a residential dwelling.

2) Ashdod was attacked by a barrage of rockets; there were no casualties.

3) Beersheba was attacked by a barrage of rockets in the afternoon. One rocket landed in an open area, the rest were intercepted and destroyed by the Iron Dome aerial defense system.

4) A large number of rockets fell on towns and villages in the western Negev near the Gaza Strip; a woman suffered slight injuries.
6. **On the morning of November 20**, after a relatively quiet night, rocket fire was renewed and a barrage of rockets attacked **Beersheba**, Israel's largest southern city. Eight rockets were intercepted by the Iron Dome aerial defense system. A rocket hit a bus, empty except for the driver, who was wounded by flying debris. A club was damaged, as were a house and parked cars. Rockets were also fired at towns and villages in the western Negev near the Gaza Strip. An IDF reserve officer was seriously wounded by flying rocket fragments. The rocket fire continued into the afternoon. In the assessment of the IDF Spokesman, the increase in rocket fire was the result of the serious damage done to the Palestinian terrorist organizations by the nighttime IDF strikes and their desire to make a show of strength before a possible ceasefire (IDF Spokesman, November 20, 2012).

7. At **1413 hours** two long-range rockets were fired **in the direction of Jerusalem**. One fell in Gush Etzion (south of Jerusalem) and then other in the Hebron district. They were fired a short time before UN Secretary General Ban-ki Moon arrived in Jerusalem. There were no casualties and no damage was reported.

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Statistical Data

8. During the past 24 hours **72 rocket hits were identified in Israeli territory**. On the morning of November 20 (as of 1030 hours) **30 rocket hits** had been identified. Since the beginning of Operation Pillar of Defense **708 rockets have hit Israel and more than 1,000 have been fired**.
Rockets Hits in Israeli Territory since the Beginning of 2011

Note: The graph clearly illustrates the rounds of escalation and their increasing frequency during the six months until Operation Pillar of Defense. It includes 708 rocket hits identified during the operation, which still continues.

Daily Distribution of Rocket Hits in Israel's South since the Beginning of Operation Pillar of Defense

- As of November 20. The graph shows the decrease in rocket hits.
- So far 708 rocket hits have been identified in Israeli territory and more than 1,000 have been fired.
Nine long-range rockets (of more than 40 kilometers, or 25 miles) were fired. Six either fell or were intercepted in the Tel Aviv area and three in the Jerusalem area.

Annual Distribution of Rocket Fire since the Hamas Takeover of the Gaza Strip

*Based on an estimated 708 rocket hits as of 1030 hours, November 20 (the number of launchings, in our assessment, is about three times greater than the number hits).

Claiming Responsibility for Rocket and Mortar Shell Fire

9. Hamas continues to claim responsibility for most of the rocket fire, followed by the PIJ. Other organizations have also made claims, such as the Popular Resistance Committees, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade and various networks affiliated with the global jihad (Websites of the organizations).

IDF Activity

Air Strikes on the Gaza Strip

10. During November 19 the IDF struck scores of terrorist targets in the Gaza Strip. The strikes continued into the night, when an estimated 100 targets were hit (IDF Spokesman, November 20, 2012). According to IDF data, since the beginning of the operation 1,350 terrorist targets have been struck.
11. Among the targets hit on November 19-20 were the following (IDF Spokesman, November 19-20, 2012).

1) **Terrorist infrastructure:** Six underground rocket launchers, a training camp, weapons stockpiles belonging to the terrorist organizations, and more than 50 smuggling tunnels in the southern Gaza Strip as well as tunnels used by the terrorists to hide.

2) **Rocket-launching squads:** On the afternoon of November 19 the IDF struck a vehicle in the northern Gaza Strip used by Hamas to transport rockets. In addition, a number of squads responsible for firing rockets into Israel were also attacked. A launcher used to fire rockets at the towns and villages near the Gaza Strip on the morning of November 20 was hit, as was a rocket-launching squad in the Al-Atatra neighborhood of Beit Lahia in the northern Gaza Strip. Another squad was attacked in Jabalia, north of Gaza City.

3) **Hamas administration sites:** A police station, the Islamic National Bank (established by Hamas in 2008).

4) **Targeted killing of PIJ terrorist operatives:** At around 1700 hours on November 19 the IDF attacked a hideout of senior PIJ terrorist operatives. It was on the second floor of the Al-Shorouq Tower, a building in the heart of Gaza City and the location of the offices of Western and Arabic media. In addition, the houses of high-ranking terrorist.
Left: The Israeli attack on the Al-Shorouq Towers (Paltimes.net website, November 19). Right: Hamas’ national security headquarters in the Saraya compound in Gaza after the Israeli attack (Hamas forum website, November 19, 2012).

**Israeli Navy Activity**

12. While the Israeli Air Force attacked from the air, the Israeli Navy also attacked terrorist targets along the Gazan coast (IDF Spokesman, November 20, 2012).

**Casualties**

**Israeli Casualties**

13. According to the Red Magen David (the Israeli Red Cross), during November 19 sixteen Israelis received medical treatment, most of them for cuts and bruises, and some for anxiety. Since the beginning of Operation Pillar of Defense more than 252 Israeli civilians have required medical attention.

14. On the morning of November 20 an IDF reserve officer was serious wounded by rocket fragments in one of the towns in the western Negev.

**Palestinian Casualties**

15. According to the Hamas website, as of the morning of November 20, 109 Palestinians had allegedly been killed and 885 wounded. In our assessment, about half of those killed were terrorist operatives.
16. According to the IDF Spokesman, during the day IDF attacks killed 12 terrorist operatives (IDF Spokesman, November 20, 2012). Four of them were senior PIJ operatives in a hideout on the second floor of the building in Gaza City where the offices of news services and TV stations were located (IDF Spokesman, November 19, 2012).¹

17. The PIJ operatives killed were (IDF Spokesman, November 19, 2012):

1) Bha’a Abu al-Ata, commander of the PIJ’s Gaza City brigade and a member of the organization's supreme military council. He had been involved in planning and carrying out rocket and other terrorist attacks on Israel.

2) Taysir Mahmoud Muhammad Jaabari, a senior PIJ operative, resident of Sajaiya, a member of the organization's supreme military council and holding it operations portfolio. In the past he commanded the Gaza brigade and was involved in firing rockets and planning terrorist attacks on Israel.

3) Khalil Bahatini, a senior figure in implementing the organization's military buildup and head of its preventive security apparatus. He was a pivotal figure in the organization's long-range rocket wing.

4) Ramez Kharb, a senior figure in the PIJ’s military-terrorist wing. He held the propaganda portfolio in the Gaza City brigade, and in the past commanded it.

The Iron Dome Aerial Defense System

18. The Iron Dome, deployed in five locations, continues to intercept and destroy a significant percentage of the rockets fired by the Palestinian terrorist organizations. On November 19 it successfully intercepted 37 rockets. Since the beginning of Operation Pillar of Defense it has destroyed more than 300 rockets.

The Civilian Situation in the Gaza Strip

19. According to reports from the Gaza Strip, there is allegedly a shortage of food arising from the difficulties of making deliveries to the stores in various neighborhoods.

¹ For further information see the November 20, 2012 ITIC bulletin "Operation Pillar of Defense – Update No. 4 –Terrorist Organizations Use Foreign Media Facilities for Camouflage and Protection."
There is a lack of agricultural produce because farmers cannot reap their crops. There are also prolonged power outages (Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, London, November 19, 2012).

**Judea and Samaria**

**Increase in Demonstrations and Protests**

20. Since the beginning of Operation Pillar of Defense the Palestinians in Judea and Samaria have held demonstrations in support of Hamas. More than once the demonstrations spun out of control and became riots. The rioters attempted to block roads with rocks and burning tires, and threw stones and Molotov cocktails. The Palestinian media reported many Palestinians wounded during confrontations with IDF forces (Ma'an News Agency, November 19, 2012). On November 19 a Palestinian rioter was killed by IDF fire in the Halhoul region (near Hebron) (NRG, November 20, 2012).


**Lebanon**

22. According to Lebanese media reports, the Lebanese security forces found two 107mm rockets aimed at Israel and ready for launching. They were located in the eastern sector of south Lebanon between the villages of Al-Mari and Halta. They were defused by the Lebanese security forces, which are currently trying to find those responsible for placing them (Al-Safir, Lebanon, November 19, 2012).
Reactions in the Arab World

Contacts in Cairo for a Ceasefire

23. In Cairo Egyptian efforts continue to broker a cease fire and reach an agreement for a long-term lull in the fighting between Israel on the one hand and Hamas and the other terrorist organizations operating in the Gaza Strip on the other. To that end, on November 19 Raafat Shehata, head of Egyptian General Intelligence met with, the Hamas leadership headed by Khaled Mashal and the PIJ leadership headed by Ramadan Shallah. The Egyptians met individually with each of the two delegations and with both delegations together (Al-Hayat, November 19, 2012).

24. On November 19 UN Secretary General Ban-ki Moon arrived in Cairo to support the Egyptian-led negotiations. On November 19 American President Barack Obama telephoned the Egyptian president to stress how important it was for the rocket fire from the Gaza Strip into Israeli territory to cease, adding that he would keep in close contact with both the Egyptian president and the Israeli prime minister (White House website, November 19, 2012).

25. Senior Hamas and PIJ figures said they were interested in a ceasefire, stressing that there was no rush:

1) Khaled Mashal, head of Hamas' political bureau, said that Hamas was "not interested in escalation" and did not want to drag Israel into a ground war. However, he claimed that Hamas would not fear a ground war if forced to fight one. He said that "all possibilities were open," including the possibility of an
escalation. He added that Hamas was "ready for any eventuality, but hopes that the bloodletting will cease" (Al-Jazeera, November 19, 2012).

2) **Izzat al-Rishq**, a member of Hamas' political bureau, said that Hamas "does not want an all-out war, it will not help us, but we want a lull according to the conditions of the resistance [i.e., terrorist organizations]..." He said that Israel demanded, first of all, the end to rocket fire, while Hamas' conditions were the end of the targeted killings and the lifting of the siege of the Gaza Strip. He added that the terrorist organizations "were in no hurry" and were not eager for a lull, but rather were operating with a sense of security and [faith in] their ability to defend the Palestinian people (Al-Hayat, November 19, 2012).

3) "**A senior PIJ figure**" said he expected a lull within 24 hours. He said it had to include a mutual ceasefire, stopping the targeted killings and an arrangement for the issue of the crossings. He added that "we do not want an all-out war, nor does Hamas, but we have time..." (Al-Hayat, November 19, 2012).

**The Battle for Hearts and Minds**

26. Hamas and the PIJ's main media themes over the past 24 hours were the following (expressed as well in a press conference given by Khaled Mashal on November 19):

1) Hamas and the PIJ want a ceasefire but not at any cost and they are not operating out of a sense of urgency.

2) Israel is killing children and civilians and carrying out "war crimes" to exert pressure on the Palestinian organizations.

3) A ground war will not be a picnic for the IDF. It will also be fatal for the Israeli prime minister.

**The Fairy Tale Corner**

27. Hamas' media continue to spread disinformation for the sake of founding a "victory myth:"

1) On November 18 Hamas' Al-Aqsa TV announced that a Fajr-5 rocket landed 200 meters, or about 218 yards, from the American embassy in Tel Aviv, claiming to "quote the Israeli media".
2) On November 18 Al-Aqsa TV announced that Ben-Gurion International Airport had been closed and its planes moved to a secret airfield in northern Israel, again claiming to "quote the Israeli media."

3) On November 20 the Hamas website claimed that people in Tel Aviv were panic-stricken and that Israel (the "occupation") was begging for a ceasefire.

4) Hamas claimed that Israel was hiding the true number of civilians killed.
Praising Iran for Its Military Support of the Palestinian Terrorist Organizations

28. Spokesmen for the PIJ and Hezbollah praised Iran for its military support of the Palestinians:

1) Ziad al-Nahhala, deputy secretary general of the PIJ, was asked by Al-Alam, the Iranian Arabic TV channel, about Fajr-5 rockets. He answered that **the rockets, which had brought victory to the Palestinians, had been provided by Iran**. Asked if the Palestinians would stop smuggling weapons into the Gaza Strip if a lull were agreed to, he answered vaguely that the PIJ was an independent body which armed itself to be able to defend itself (Al-Alam TV, November 19, 2012).

2) Hezbollah leader **Hassan Nasrallah**, speaking from his bunker in the southern suburb of Beirut, **praised Iran** and Syria for delivering weapons to the terrorist organizations in the Gaza Strip (Al-Manar TV, November 19, 2012):

   A. He asked, rhetorically, how Fajr-5 rockets, Grad rockets and anti-tank missiles (Kornets and others) had reached the Gaza Strip. "Who sent them, despite the siege [on the Gaza Strip], and who delivered them?"

   B. He answered that it was important to emphasize **the role of Iran and the role of Syria** in that context. He spoke with contempt of the countries which sent medicines to the Palestinians [i.e., Egypt] or gave them "paltry sums of money" [i.e., Qatar]. He stressed the importance of [Iranian and Syrian] military aid, **which enabled the Palestinian organizations to attack Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, to open fire on planes and boats and to destroy armored personnel carriers**. On the other hand, he said, the Arab countries which sent boatloads of weapons to the Syrian opposition did not have the courage to send even one bullet to the Gaza Strip.

   C. The real challenge for the Arab-Muslim world, said Nasrallah, **was for the Arab and Muslim countries to have the courage to send weapons to the Gaza Strip starting today**. The Israelis, on the other hand, he said, were
gambling that the Gazans would run out of rockets (implying that that should not happen).

D. Nasrallah related to the alleged claim that Iran had abandoned Hamas because Hamas had left the "camp of the resistance." He said that Iran, Syria and Hezbollah would not abandon the Gaza Strip [i.e., the terrorist organizations operating there] and would continue to meet their obligations to it, even if certain political disagreements existed [a reference to the disagreements between Iran and Hamas regarding the rebellion in Syria and Hamas' opposition to the Syrian regime].

**Flow of Delegations to the Gaza Strip**

29. Arab delegations and public figures continue streaming to the Gaza Strip to express solidarity provide humanitarian assistance, especially delegations from Egypt.

30. Noteworthy was the 60-man convoy which represented political forces in Egypt, headed by Mohammed Saad Katanani, head of the Freedom and Justice Party (the Muslim Brotherhood's political wing). The delegation entered the Gaza Strip on November 19 and was welcomed by senior figures of the de-facto Hamas administration and the Hamas Legislative Council. In addition, on November 18-19, 561 Egyptian political activists entered the Gaza Strip, as did a delegation of the Egyptian engineers union and three medical delegations of Egyptian and Arab doctors.
PIJ and Hezbollah emphasize Iran’s major role in providing military support to terrorist organizations in the Gaza Strip, which includes supplying them with Fajr-5 rockets. The Iranian media as well had praise for Iran’s military assistance to the Palestinian terrorists.

Overview

1. In the four years since Operation Cast Lead, Iran has played a major role in rebuilding and upgrading the military capabilities of Hamas (whose relations with Iran have been strained by the rebellion in Syria) and the PIJ (the organization closest to Iran) by providing them with high-quality weapons that have been used by Hamas and the PIJ in Operation Pillar of Defense. In addition, Iran has assisted these organizations by having their operatives undergo training with the Islamic Revolutionary Guards' Qods Force, providing them with financial aid, and helping them with know-how for local weapons production.¹

2. The Iranians have focused mainly on expanding and upgrading the rocket arsenal of Hamas and the PIJ, which includes long-range Fajr-5 rockets capable of reaching the Tel-Aviv area. Most of these rockets were destroyed in the IDF’s opening shot, although the terrorists preserved some collateral capability: sporadic launches of Fajr-5 rockets into densely populated areas in central Israel were portrayed by Hamas and the PIJ as their main achievement in the operation.

¹ For more information, see our March 17, 2011 Information Bulletin: “Terrorism from the Gaza Strip since Operation Cast Lead: Data, Type and Trends”.

November 22, 2012
The Iranian-made Fajr-5 rocket, with a range of up to 75 km

3. Prior to Operation Pillar of Defense, the Iranians and the Palestinian terrorist organizations were careful to avoid public disclosure of the Iranian military assistance, including the efforts to upgrade the terrorist organizations’ rocket arsenal. During the operation, there was a change in the disclosure policy of the PIJ and Hezbollah, which launched a media campaign (possibly at Iran’s request) to publicize the military assistance provided by Iran, Syria, and Hezbollah to the terrorist organizations in the Gaza Strip. For instance, PIJ leader Ramadan Shalah and his deputy Ziad al-Nakhala repeatedly praised Iran’s assistance in arms and ammunition, funds, and know-how for local production of weapons. Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah also stressed the importance of the military assistance extended by Iran, Syria, and Hezbollah, evidence of which could be seen in the military capabilities demonstrated by the organizations during the current round of fighting. The Iranian media, too, had praise for Iran’s military assistance to the terrorists; however, the assistance was also denied and criticized (which had to do, among other things, with concerns over lawsuits in Western countries).

4. It is our assessment that the exposure of the Iranian military assistance, including the Fajr-5 rockets provided to the terrorist organizations, reflect Iran’s deep frustration with the way Egypt and its allies (Turkey and Qatar) are taking charge of the mediation efforts to stop the fighting, turning Cairo into a venue for the talks. These countries, in Iran’s view, take a patronizing approach to the Palestinian problem, benefit politically and publicity-wise, and take away Iran’s credit for the massive military assistance it has provided to Hamas and the PIJ and which has allowed them to fight against Israel.
5. What is more, we believe that the Iranian frustration has to do with the fact that Operation Pillar of Defense has made apparent the growing status of the Muslim axis led by the Muslim Brotherhood on the inter-Arab scene and vis-à-vis the United States and the West. This could be seen in commentary articles published in recent days by the Iranian media, whose support for Hamas was overshadowed by their criticism of the leaders of Arab countries for not extending practical and actual assistance to the Palestinians.

Examples of praise for Iran’s military assistance to the terrorist organizations in the Gaza Strip

The Palestinian Islamic Jihad

6. The following are several examples of statements made by top PIJ officials:

a. PIJ leader Ramadan Shalah was asked to comment on Khaled Mash’al’s statement according to which there are differences of opinion between Hamas and Iran over the Syrian crisis. He replied that, even if there really are differences of opinion on the issue of Syria, there are no differences of opinion with Iran on what is happening in “Palestine” with the [Israeli] “aggression” against Gaza. He added, “On this issue we agree with Iran one hundred percent. Iran has given us all the support. The weapons used by the resistance – the whole world knows that they come mostly from Iran or purchased with Iranian funding.” Ramadan Shalah added that these weapons are delivered to the Gaza Strip via Egypt, and that such shipments will continue in the future (Al-Jazeera, November 20, 2012).

b. Ziad al-Nakhala, deputy chairman of the PIJ who is taking part in the Cairo talks for a ceasefire, praised Iran for the high quality of weapons it provided to the “resistance”. The following were some of his statements:

1. “We would like to thank our brothers in Iran for the great sacrifices they made to deliver this weapon to us [a reference to the long-range Fajr-5 rockets which can reach Tel Aviv] for the sake of defending the Palestinian people...” (Ziad al-Nakhala interviewed by the PIJ’s PalToday website, November 18, 2012).
2. Ziad al-Nakhala rejected the rumors that the current escalation was the implementation of an Iranian plan. He said that “…the weapons used by the resistance to fight, even Hamas’ weapons, are Iranian from the first bullet to the [last] rocket, even what is produced locally is in fact [based on] Iranian [know-how]...” (Al-Hayat, November 18, 2012).

Ziad al-Nakhala: the weapons used by the PIJ are Iranian (Al-Arabiyya TV, November 20, 2012)

3. Ziad al-Nakhala was asked by Al-Alam, the Iranian Arabic TV channel, about Fajr-5 rockets. He answered that the rockets, which had brought victory to the Palestinians, had been provided by Iran. Asked if the Palestinians would stop smuggling weapons into the Gaza Strip if a lull were agreed to, he answered vaguely that the PIJ was an independent body which armed itself to be able to defend itself (Al-Alam TV, November 19, 2012).

4. PIJ spokesman Dawud Shihab said the following in an interview to the Lebanese channel Al-Mayadeen: “It is no secret that we say that the military assistance provided to the Palestinian resistance – from A to Z, from bullet to rocket – is assistance from the Islamic republic, Iranian assistance. This is something we should say, and it is very appropriate for us to say so clearly and without being ashamed” (Al-Mayadeen, November 19).
Hezbollah and a Lebanese political commentator close to the organization

7. In a speech given in the southern suburb of Beirut (Al-Manar TV, November 19, 2012), Hassan Nasrallah praised Iran and Syria for delivering weapons to the terrorist organizations in the Gaza Strip:

   a. Nasrallah asked, rhetorically, how Fajr-5 rockets, Grad rockets and anti-tank missiles (Kornets and others) had reached the Gaza Strip. “Who sent them, despite the siege [on the Gaza Strip], and who delivered them?"

   b. He answered that it was important to emphasize the role of Iran and the role of Syria in that context. He spoke with contempt of the countries which sent medicines to the Palestinians [i.e., Egypt] or gave them “paltry sums of money” [i.e., Qatar]. He stressed the importance of [Iranian and Syrian] military aid, which enabled the Palestinian organizations to attack Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, to open fire on planes and boats and to destroy armored personnel carriers. On the other hand, he said, the Arab countries which sent boatloads of weapons to the Syrian opposition did not have the courage to send even one bullet to the Gaza Strip.

   c. The real challenge for the Arab-Muslim world, said Nasrallah, was for the Arab and Muslim countries to have the courage to send weapons to the Gaza Strip starting today. The Israelis, on the other hand, he said, were gambling that the Gazans would run out of rockets.

   d. Nasrallah related to the alleged claim that Iran had abandoned Hamas because Hamas had left the “camp of the resistance.” He said that Iran, Syria and Hezbollah would not abandon the Gaza Strip [i.e., the terrorist organizations operating there] and would continue to meet their obligations to it, even if certain political disagreements existed [a reference to the disagreements between Iran and Hamas regarding the rebellion in Syria and Hamas’ opposition to the Syrian regime].

8. Ibrahim al-Amin, an important Lebanese commentator close to Hezbollah who is frequently interviewed by Al-Manar TV, published an article criticizing Hamas for not giving Iran and Syria credit for the military assistance they had given it. The article also notes that the damaged military infrastructure needs to be rebuilt (i.e., with
the assistance of Iran and Syria). The following are the main points of the article, published in the Lebanese newspaper Al-Akhbar, considered to portray Hezbollah’s views (Al-Akhbar, November 20, 2012):

a. The article, titled “What strategy will the resistance adopt after the victory?”, begins with the question of why Khaled Mash‘al did not thank Syria, Iran, and Hezbollah for the direct military assistance they provided to the “resistance forces” in the Gaza Strip. Mash‘al did, on the other hand, lavish praise – and more than once – on Egypt, Turkey, and Qatar for standing by the people of the Gaza Strip.

b. The article goes on to argue that Khaled Mash‘al did not fulfill his duty toward Iran and Syria, which invested huge efforts, spent tens of millions of dollars, and sacrificed people to develop the military capabilities of the “resistance forces” (i.e., the terrorist organizations) in the Gaza Strip, mainly their artillery capabilities. There were no particular interests involved in providing the assistance. Instead, what motivated the assistance was the sense of a “holy mission”, ideology, and devotion to Allah.

c. The ceasefire between Israel (“the enemy”) and the terrorists (“the resistance”), which will be reached soon, must not lead to moves that are not grounded in “the core of resistance” and do not reflect its objectives. Accordingly, those who believe they support “the resistance” (i.e., Egypt and its allies) need to provide it with actual support. That’s because there is an ongoing campaign being waged between “the resistance” and “the occupation”, in which “armed resistance is a real and permanent option”.

d. The terrorist organizations (“the resistance”) have managed to demonstrate that their artillery is capable of hitting sensitive centers in the very heart of Israel (“the heart of the enemy”). This means that these artillery capabilities played a crucial part in thwarting the Israeli aggression, which leads to the question of what the “resistance forces” (i.e., terrorist organizations) will do next. Will they agree to a sustained ceasefire (hudna) for “governmental profits” and will settle with the rehabilitation of their [civilian] infrastructure, or will they rebuild the quality military and artillery force that can deter Israel from repeating its aggression (an alternative which Ibrahim al-Amin seems to imply he supports).
Praise for Iran’s military assistance in the Iranian media

9. Citing top Iranian officials, media in Iran, too, praised the Iranian military assistance to the Palestinians, which was demonstrated in launching Fajr-5 rockets during Operation Pillar of Defense. Similarly to the remarks made by the leader of Hezbollah, the assistance was used to slam other Islamic countries (i.e., Egypt and its allies) for not providing the Palestinians with the weapons and assistance they require. However, there has also been criticism in the Iranian media of Iran’s claim of responsibility for providing the terrorists with rockets, motivated, among other things, by concerns over lawsuits against Iran in the West.

10. Examples follow:

a. Speaking before the parliament on November 21, Ali Larijani said the following: “I am proud to announce that our support for the Palestinians was in money and arms. We are proud to announce that we will continue standing by the Palestinians in the most difficult of situations” (Fars News, November 21, 2012).

b. Deputy parliament speaker Mohammad Hassan Abu Torabi Fard gave a speech before the parliament on the role of the Iranian armed forces in building up the military capabilities of the Palestinian fighters in Gaza. “The ability of Iran’s armed forces was demonstrated in Gaza and resulted in the humiliation and helplessness of the Zionist regime”, he said (Fars News, November 18, 2012).

c. The Kayhan newspaper said that, while Hamas is firing Iranian missiles at Israel and the leaders of Arab countries remain silent, Hamas fighters and hundreds of millions of Muslim observers in the region now know better than ever that Iran is the one that supports the Palestinian people and places no significance whatsoever on differences between Shi’ite and Sunni Muslims (Kayhan, November 17, 2012).

d. On November 21, 2012, Fars News Agency published an article on the strategic change caused by Iran’s massive investment in the missile industry. The article said that the missile systems can to a great extent determine the
outcome of the asymmetrical war, which is why Iran's investment was not in vain (implicitly referring to Iran's “investment” in supplying rockets to the Palestinian terrorist organizations).

Concerns and denials

11. The Asr-e Iran website criticized reports that appeared in the Iranian media in recent days that the missiles used by Hamas are made in Iran. The website said that, by using this argument, Iran takes away from the heroism of the “Palestinian resistance fighters” and credits itself for the struggle against Israel. In addition, such claims could have negative political and legal implications given the large number of lawsuits filed against Iran in Western courts by victims of terrorist attacks in Palestine and Lebanon. These lawsuits are based on the claim that Iran has relations with Hezbollah and Hamas and provides them with weapons. Even if Iran did provide Hamas with Fajr-5 missiles, making such claims is inappropriate in the current circumstances and at a time when the Iranian regime itself denies it (Asr-e Iran, November 19, 2012).

12. Several top Iranian figures even denied the fact that the rockets which were launched from the Gaza Strip were Iranians:

a. Revolutionary Guards Commander Mohammad Ali Ja’fari was asked whether the rockets launched by Hamas were Iranian. He answered that Iran puts its experience at the disposal of all Muslims, including Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. He admitted that Iran provided them with technology which enabled the manufacture of Fajr-5 rockets (note: such a statement may imply that Fajr-5 rockets were delivered to the Palestinians) (ISNA, November 21, 2012).

b. Alaeddin Boroujerdi, chairman of the National Security and Foreign Policy Committee in the Iranian parliament, argued that, contrary to what Israel says, Iran does not equip the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip with missiles capable of hitting Tel Aviv (Akhbarak website, November 18, 2012).
November 21, 2012

Operation Pillar of Defense – Update No. 7
(November 21, 1300 Hours)

Severe damage done by a direct Fajr-5 hit to a residential dwelling in Rishon Letzion (Israel Police Force Facebook page, November 20, 2012).

Overview

1. During the past 24 hours there was an increase in the amount of and lethal damage done by rocket fire from the Gaza Strip (two Israelis were killed, a soldier and an employee of the Ministry of Defense). Three long-range rockets were fired into Israel, one targeting the Israeli city of Rishon Letzion (13 kilometers, or eight miles, south of Tel Aviv) which caused extensive damage to a residential dwelling and two which hit south of Jerusalem. In addition, a bomb exploded on a bus in the heart of Tel Aviv, wounding 23 civilians, one of them critically. In our assessment, all of the above were terrorist organization attempts to create a "myth of victory" before a possible ceasefire went into effect.

2. In the past 24 hours IDF forces conducted intensive attacks which escalated overnight. The attacks concentrated on terrorist infrastructures and operatives, rocket-
launching squads and Hamas administration sites (the ministry of internal security, a police patrol facility, tunnels used to smuggle fuel into the Gaza Strip).

3. Political contacts, with the participation of American Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, led to a ceasefire which went into effect at 2100 hours, November 21, 2012.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terrorist Bombing of a Bus in Tel Aviv</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. According to initial reports, at 12 noon on November 21 a bomb exploded on a bus in the heart of Tel Aviv. The police are of the opinion that the bomb was placed under a seat. Police forces are searching for the perpetrators.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Twenty-three Israelis were wounded in the bomb attack, one of them critically, one seriously and the rest incurred minor injuries. All the casualties were evacuated to nearby Ichilov Hospital.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Rocket Fire into Israel</th>
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<tr>
<td>6. During the past 24 hours rocket fire into Israel has increased, both in quantity, casualties, and property damage. In our assessment, the increase stems from the Palestinian terrorist organizations' desire to create a &quot;myth of victory,&quot; especially in view of the recent announcements regarding an approaching ceasefire. Most of the rocket fire has targeted Israel's big cities; the number of hits and casualties were relatively greater than during the preceding days. Two Israelis (a soldier and a civilian) were killed. A reserve soldier and a civilian were critically wounded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Worst hit was the city of Rishon Letzion, south of Tel Aviv. At approximately 1800 hours a long-range rocket struck the sixth floor of an apartment building. The rocket caused extensive damage to the building, to neighboring buildings and to cars parked in the street. Four civilians were wounded. It was the first time a long-range rocket had caused significant damage to a building in the greater Tel Aviv area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Other serious attacks on November 20 were the following:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Beersheba: During the morning a barrage of rockets was fired at the city. One of them hit a residential dwelling. Earlier in the day rockets hit a bus, cars, a soccer field and a number of buildings.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2) **Jerusalem:** At 1413 hours two long-range rockets were launched toward Jerusalem. One fell in Gush Etzion, south of the city. The other hit the Hebron region. There were no casualties and no damage was reported.

3) In the afternoon a **factory in the western Negev** took a direct hit. Another rocket hit a **building in a town north of the Gaza Strip.**

4) **Ashdod:** At 1600 hours a barrage of rockets was fired at the southern city of Ashdod. One hit a building. Four rockets were intercepted and destroyed by the Iron Dome aerial defense system. At around 0300 hours on the night of November 20, six rockets were fired at Ashdod, two of which were intercepted and destroyed by the Iron Dome. The others fell in open areas.

9. During the **morning of November 21,** while efforts were being made to achieve a ceasefire, **rocket fire from the Gaza Strip continued.** A number of salvos were fired at **Ashqelon,** and rockets were fired at **Beersheba,** towns and villages in the **northwestern Negev** (where a house took a direct hit) and elsewhere in the area.

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**Statistical Data**

10. During the past 24 hours **105 rocket hits were identified in Israeli territory.** On the morning of November 21 (as of 1130 hours) **22 rocket hits** had been identified. Of the rockets fired on the November 20, three were long-range rockets (two targeting Jerusalem and one Rishon Letzion) **Since the beginning of Operation Pillar of Defense 805 rockets have hit Israel and more than 1,300 have been fired.**
Rockets Hits in Israeli Territory since the Beginning of 2011

Note: The graph clearly illustrates the rounds of escalation and their increasing frequency during the six months until Operation Pillar of Defense. It includes 805 rocket hits identified during the operation, which still continues.

Daily Distribution of Rocket Hits in Israel's South since the Beginning of Operation Pillar of Defense

✓ As of November 21, 1130 hours.

✓ So far 805 rocket hits have been identified in Israeli territory and more than 1,300 have been fired.
Twelve long-range rockets (of more than 40 kilometers, or 25 miles) were fired. Eight either fell or were intercepted in the greater Tel Aviv area and three in the Jerusalem area.

**Annual Distribution of Rocket Fire since the Hamas Takeover of the Gaza Strip**

Based on an estimated 805 rocket hits as of 130 hours, November 21.

**Claiming Responsibility for Rocket and Mortar Shell Fire**

11. **Hamas** continues to claim responsibility for most of the rocket fire, followed by the **PIJ**. Other organizations have also made claims, such as the Popular Resistance Committees, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade and various networks affiliated with the global jihad (Websites of the organizations).

IDF Activity

**Air Strikes on the Gaza Strip**

12. During the past 24 hours the IDF continued attacking terrorist targets in the Gaza Strip. **Since the beginning of the operation more than 1,500 terrorist targets have been struck.** On the night of November 20 air strikes were intensified. The IDF made a
specific effort to target sites belonging to the de-facto Hamas administration. Among the targets hit on November 20-21 were the following (IDF Spokesman, November 20-21, 2012):

1) **Terrorist infrastructure**: On the night of November 20 the offices of Hamas' military intelligence located in the **Gaza Strip's communications center**, were attacked. In addition, a military hideout in the southern Gaza Strip was attacked, which served as a communications center and meeting place for terrorist operatives. Other terrorist targets attacked were terrorist cells, about 50 underground rocket launchers, tunnels used for terrorist activities, three weapons stockpiles and a site used for the manufacture of weapons.

![Image of targeting sites in the Gaza Strip](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-keVEO2SJ-o&feature=relmfu)

![Image of targeting sites in the Gaza Strip](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1BijA3l4UGk&feature=relmfu)

2) **Terrorist Operatives**: A senior member of Hamas' aerial defense system was attacked. According to the IDF Spokesman, so far more than 70 terrorist operatives have been targeted. On the evening of November 20 a PIJ site of terrorist activity was attacked, during which **Yunis Shalouf** was killed, the

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1 Military offices in the Gaza Strip are sometimes situated in buildings which serve communications networks.
operative responsible for firing rockets at Eilat, Israel's southernmost city, a number of months ago.

3) **Rocket-launching squads**: Among those targeted were a squad in the At-Atatra neighborhood of Beit Lahia in the northern Gaza Strip and another which fired rockets from Jabalia. In the afternoon a terrorist operative was attacked after being identified at the site from which rockets had been fired at Jerusalem on November 20. A squad which was preparing to fire an anti-tank missile was also attacked.

4) **Hamas governmental sites**: The ministry of internal security and a central police patrol facility were attacked, as were tunnels used to smuggle fuel into the Gaza Strip. Four fuel pipelines, a significant source of revenue for Hamas, were also attacked.

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**The Abu Khadra compound, where the Hamas ministry of the interior was located, after the attack (Palestine-info website, November 20, 2012).**

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**Israeli Navy Activity**

13. While the Israeli Air Force attacked from the air, the Israeli Navy also attacked terrorist targets along the Gazan coast. On November 21 a rocket-launching site, a post and a building used by Hamas terrorist operatives were hit (IDF Spokesman, November 21, 2012).
Casualties

**Israeli Casualties**

14. There were many casualties on the seventh day of Operation Pillar of Defense. During November 20 two Israelis were killed by rocket fire. One was an IDF soldier, Corporal Yosef Partuk, 18, from Emanuel, killed when a mortar shell was fired at one of the villages in the western Negev. The other was Elian Salam Anbari, a contractor working for the ministry of defense in an army base in the western Negev. Since the beginning of Operation Pillar of Defense five Israelis have been killed by rockets and mortar shells.

15. On the morning of November 20 an IDF reserve officer was seriously wounded by rocket fragments in one of the villages in the western Negev. Another Israeli was critically wounded when a house in Ashqelon took a direct hit. Seven Israelis in Ashqelon suffered slight wounds from a barrage of rocket fire. Four Israeli were wounded when a rocket hit Rishon Letzion.

16. Magen David Adom (the Israeli Red Cross) treated more than 112 people, eight of them suffering from trauma (Magen David Adom website, November 21, 2012).

**Palestinian Casualties**

17. The Palestinian media reported that on November 20 the number of Palestinians killed in the Gaza Strip was allegedly 137 and that more than 1000 had been wounded. In our assessment, about two thirds of those killed were terrorist operatives and one third uninvolved civilians who were killed in error.

18. Hamas announced that six Palestinians from the Gaza City neighborhood of Sheikh Radwan would be executed. They were accused of collaborating with Israel.

**The Iron Dome Aerial Defense System**

19. The Iron Dome continues to successfully intercept and destroy a significant percentage of rockets fired by the Palestinian terrorist organizations. On November 19 it intercepted 37 rockets. Since the beginning of Operation Pillar of Defense the Iron Dome, deployed in five locations, has intercepted 306 rockets.
20. UNRWA reported that there was no shortage of food or fuel in the Gaza Strip and that the markets were open, but warned of a coming crisis because the crossings were not open continuously. The ministry of health of the de-facto Hamas administration reported a lack of vital medicines (UNRWA website, November 19, 2012).

Trucks making deliveries to the Gaza Strip through the Kerem Shalom crossing (Website of the Coordinator for Government Activities in the Territories, November 20, 2012).

21. Hamas’ Al-Aqsa TV continues broadcasting despite the IDF attack. One of its commentators said that it would broadcast from studios in various locations in the Gaza Strip "which IDF planes do not know about." He said that each of the station's employees knows what to do in emergency situations and that the station's vehicles move throughout the Gaza Strip near ambulances and rescue vehicles to reach sites which were attacked (Al-Akhbar, November 20 2012).

Judea and Samaria

Increase in Demonstrations and Protests

22. The Palestinians throughout Judea and Samaria continue expressing solidarity with the residents of the Gaza Strip. They have held violent
demonstrations in a number of locations where strongly anti-Israel slogans were shouted.

23. On the evening of November 20 Palestinians threw stones at an Israeli car near Gush Etzion. The driver, a woman, was critically wounded and evacuated to a hospital.


24. The Lebanese army and UNIFIL forces are patrolling the area where long-range rockets aimed at Israel and ready for firing were found by Lebanese army forces on November 19. Their objective is to prevent other rockets from being positioned in the region. According to the initial investigation conducted by Lebanese forces, a technical malfunction of the timing device prevented the rockets from firing. The Lebanese say the rockets were manufactured in Russia. The launcher was made of wood. No Lebanese or Palestinian organization has claimed responsibility (Al-Markazia, November 20, 2012).
The rockets and firing mechanisms found in south Lebanon (Al-Intiqad, Lebanon, November 20, 2012).

Negotiations for a Ceasefire

25. The negotiations being conducted in Cairo have not yet borne fruit.

26. PIJ leader Ramadan Shallah told Al-Jazeera TV that a ceasefire alone was not sufficient. He said that for a stable lull other issues had to be discussed, including allowing civilians to approach the security fence, an end to the restrictions on freedom of fishing off the Gaza Strip coast, the crossings and the so-called "siege" of the Gaza Strip. He claimed that Israel wanted a ceasefire but was not willing to deal with the issues (Al-Jazeera TV, November 20, 2012).

27. On November 19 "Palestinian sources" told Al-Hayat's London correspondent that there were two approaches to a possible arrangement: the narrow approach, according to which Israel would stop its attacks and the Palestinians would stop firing rockets; and the broad approach, according to which a "full agreement" would be reached, which would include a wider range of issues. The same "sources" said there was a third approach, which involved a ceasefire as the first stage and a broad agreement as the second stage. They added that Hamas and the PIJ demanded the broad approach.
The Battle for Hearts and Minds

28. The following were the main messages sent by Hamas and the PIJ during the past 24 hours:

1) **Continued threats against Israel not to initiate a ground invasion of the Gaza Strip.**

2) **Hamas and the PIJ have retained their military capabilities.** Although their rocket-launching capabilities have been harmed, they were not affected to the extent Israel claims.

3) Emphasis on the suffering of the Palestinians and civilian casualties, especially children, making the false claim that Israeli deliberately targets civilians to exert pressure on the terrorists.

4) Residents of the Gaza Strip express support for Hamas and will continue to stand firm despite the fighting.

5) Gaza Strip hospitals suffer from a lack of medicines and medical equipment, the result of the so-called "siege."

The Fairy Tale Corner

29. BBC correspondent Jon Donnison took the picture of a girl injured in Syria and represented it as a picture of a girl injured by the IDF during Operation Pillar of Defense. He was exposed by the British organization Stand With Us, and quoted by the BBC Watch. After the fraud was exposed, he apologized on Twitter, saying that "A photo I retweeted from another jounro yesterday showing children injured was NOT in Gaza as I said but apparently from Syria. Apologies."  

The International Arena

The UN security

30. On November 20 the **United States blocked** an unbalanced resolution in the Security Council regarding the fighting. The reason, according to Erin Pelton, spokeswoman for the United States mission to the UN, was that it "failed to address the root cause," i.e., Hamas' rocket attacks. She added that "[b]y failing to call for the

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2 On November 18 Al-Aqsa TV broadcast a staged press conference of Gazan children who appealed to the conscience of the world. A young Palestinian broke into the broadcast carrying the body of a small child.

immediate and permanent halt to rocket launches from Gaza into Israel, this press statement failed to contribute constructively to those goals, [and] as such, we could not agree to this statement. “

**American Secretary of State Hillary Clinton Visits Israel**

31. In an effort to back the diplomatic efforts to devise a mechanism which would lead to a ceasefire, American Secretary of State Hillary Clinton arrived in Jerusalem and met with Israeli Prime Minister Benyamin Netanyahu on November 20. After the meeting Prime Minister Netanyahu thanked her for her support during Operation Pillar of Defense and said that Israel had to take every possible measure to protect its citizens. From Jerusalem she went to Cairo.

32. Secretary Clinton stressed America's unwavering support of Israel's security, adding that "That is why we believe it is essential to de-escalate the situation in Gaza. The rocket attacks from terrorist organizations inside Gaza on Israeli cities and towns must end and a broader calm restored. The goal must be a durable outcome that promotes regional stability and advances the security and legitimate aspirations of Israelis and Palestinians alike" (According to an announcement from the prime minister's media advisor, November 20, 2012).

**Criticism in the Gaza Strip**

**The Arab League Delegation**

33. On November 20 a delegation of Arab League foreign ministers visited the Gaza Strip. The delegation was headed by Arab League Secretary Nabil al-Arabi, and joined by the Turkish foreign minister as well. The delegation paid condolence calls on the Al-Dalu family, eight of whose members were killed in an Israeli strike, and the family of Ahmed Jaabari, the commander of Hamas' Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades. The delegation also visited the wounded in the Shifaa Hospital. Nabil al-Arabi held a press conference where he called on the international community to focus its efforts on "ending the occupation" and establishing an independent [Palestinian] state with east Jerusalem as its capital.

34. The visit by the delegation is a new record in Arab support for Hamas, after the visit of the Egyptian prime minister and the political and popular delegations which had already visited. The visits strengthened Hamas' self-confidence and added to what it considered as the achievements it has made during the current round of fighting.

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4 http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/21/us-palestinians-israel-un-idUSBRE8AK05Q20121121
A Possible Iranian Delegation to the Gaza Strip

35. The Iranian media recently reported that next week an Iranian parliamentary delegation would visit the Gaza Strip to express solidarity with the Palestinians and bring medicines to the Gaza Strip. The delegation will be composed of several members of Iran's National Security and Foreign Policy Committee. There are also contacts regarding the office for the preservation of Egyptian interests in Tehran, and telephone conversations have been held with Khaled Mashal and Ramadan Shallah. At this stage it is unclear whether Egypt will permit the visit (Mehr and ISNA news agencies, Iran, November 17; FARS News Agency, Iran news agency, November 16; Asr Iran, November 20, 2012).
November 22, 2012

Operation Pillar of Defense – Update No. 8
(November 22, 1300 Hours)

The Ceasefire Understandings

1. At 2100 hours on November 21 understandings went into effect regarding a ceasefire between Israel and Hamas (and the other terrorist organizations operating in the Gaza Strip). The understandings were brokered by Egypt with American intervention. After 2100 hours ten rocket hits were identified in Israeli territory, but since 2300 hours there has been quiet.

2. The understandings were announced by Mohamed Kamel Amro, the Egyptian foreign minister, at a press conference held jointly with American Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. According to the secretary's statement and the text of the understandings posted on Mohamed Morsi's Facebook page, the two sides agreed to
stop all offensive activities and within 24 hours deliberations would begin about broader issues.

The text of the announcement (Mohamed Morsi’s Facebook page, November 21, 2012).

3. Israel, Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) announced that they agreed to the ceasefire and praised what they considered their achievements in the fighting. "Victory parades" were held in the Gaza Strip, attended by thousands of participants, and Hamas announced a national holiday to celebrate the alleged "victory."

Responses to the Agreement

Israel

4. On the night of November 21 Israeli Prime Minister Benyamin Netanyahu announced that Operation Pillar of Defense had ended. He reviewed the events leading to the operations and listed Israel’s achievements: strikes on the terrorist organizations’ high-ranking commanders, the destruction of thousands of rockets aimed at Israel’s south and most of the rockets aimed at its center, the destruction of Hamas’ command facilities, and the firm support of the United States and leading
authorities in the international community (According to Israeli prime minister's website). Israeli Minister of Defense Ehud Barak told a press conference that the objectives of the operation had been fully achieved and that Hamas and the PIJ had been dealt painful blows.

5. The prime minister added that he had spoken on the phone to President Obama, agreeing with him that the ceasefire should be given a chance to allow Israel's civilians to return to routine. He added that he and the president had agreed to work together to fight the smuggling of weapons to the terrorist organizations, most of which came from Iran.

The United States

6. President Obama issued a statement expressing his appreciation for the efforts made by the Israeli prime minister and the Egyptian government to achieve a sustainable ceasefire. The President said that the United States would use the opportunity offered by a ceasefire to intensify efforts to help Israel address its security needs, especially the issue of the smuggling of weapons and explosives into Gaza. He also said that he was committed to seeking additional funding for the Iron Dome and other US-Israel missile defense programs. The President also spoke to Mohamed Morsi, thanking him for his efforts to achieve a sustainable ceasefire. Both agreed on the importance of working toward a more durable solution to the situation in Gaza.

The Terrorist Organizations

Hamas

7. After Egypt announced that a ceasefire had been reached, Khaled Mashal, head of Hamas' political bureau, held a joint press conference in Cairo with Ramadan Shallah, head of the PIJ (both presented as representing the terrorist organizations in the Gaza Strip). The main points were the following (Hamas' Al-Aqsa TV, November 21, 2012):

1) Honoring the agreement: "If Israel honors the agreement, we will honor it as well, and if Israel returns to the Gaza Strip, we will go into action again."

2) Reinforcing the "victory narrative:" The enemy (Israel) was defeated and in the end surrendered to the conditions of the "resistance" [i.e., terrorist organizations].

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2 http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2012/11/21/readout-president-s-call-president-morsi
3) **Praise for Egypt**: Egypt acted responsibly and professionally to achieve a ceasefire but "did not forget or betray its affiliation to the Arab nation."

4) **Praise for Iran** (apparently the result of Iranian criticism): Iran provided Hamas funding and some of its weapons. The rest were manufactured in the Gaza Strip. The disagreement between Hamas and Iran over Syria did not prevent [the Iranians] from collaborating [with Hamas] when it came to resistance to Israel.

5) **Appeal to Mahmoud Abbas**: The lesson learned from the current fighting was that "resistance" [i.e., terrorism and violence] was the correct path. Khaled Mashal appealed to Mahmoud Abbas for a reconciliation between Hamas and the Palestinian Authority (PA).

**The Palestinian Islamic Jihad**

8. **Ramadan Shallah**, PIJ secretary general, said at the press conference that the results of the fighting showed that Israel ("that entity") had completely failed [to achieve what it wanted]. He gloated over the rocket fire on Tel Aviv ("the fictitious capital called Tel Aviv") and thanked the Egyptian president and Egyptian General Intelligence for their efforts to broker the agreement.

9. Asked whether the ceasefire would survive, he said that they "assured Egypt that we were committed to the understandings reached. We are certain that our fighters will uphold the agreement but we say this to the enemy: 'We are committed as the enemy is committed, and we will not hesitate to defend ourselves against any evil. Today the resistance [i.e., terrorist organizations] speaks from a position of strength.'"

**The Battle for Hearts and Minds**

10. The main themes discussed by the Hamas and PIJ spokesmen were the following:

1) Hamas and the PIJ accept the agreement as a package deal.

2) Hamas and the other terrorist organizations were victorious in the fight against Israel.

3) The de-facto Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip, headed by Ismail Haniya, functioned "excellently" and met its obligation to protect civilian security.
4) Hamas and the PIJ praise Egypt for its role in brokering the understandings.

5) Praise for the "courageous attack" [i.e., placing a bomb under a seat in a bus full of unsuspecting civilians and fleeing the scene] in Tel Aviv, which was a consequence of the "Israeli aggression" in the Gaza Strip.

11. Once the understandings had been reached "victory celebrations" began in the Gaza Strip, part of constructing narrative of "victory" fabricated by Hamas and the other terrorist organizations. Parades were held throughout the Gaza Strip to celebrate whose theme was "Gaza erupts with joy over the victory of the resistance" (Filastin al-'Aan, November 22, 2012). Throughout Judea and Samaria as well Palestinians celebrated the end of Operation Pillar of Defense. The de-facto Hamas administration declared Thursday, November 22, a national holiday.

Celebrations in the Gaza Strip: "Gaza erupts with joy over the victory of the resistance" (Hamas-affiliated Filastin al-'Aan, November 22, 2012).

Festivities in the Gaza Strip (Al-Alam TV, November 21, 2012).
From the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades website, the claim of firing six long-range M75 rockets [manufactured in the Gaza Strip] and six [Iranian] Fajr-5 rockets, one at Herzliya and three at Jerusalem. In addition, during the fighting the resistance [terrorist organizations] fired 1,573 rockets and used long-range rockets for the first time (Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades website, November 22, 2012).
Implementing the Ceasefire

12. At 2100 hours the ceasefire went into effect, and the IDF stopped all its activities in the Gaza Strip. Sporadic rocket fire from the Gaza Strip into Israeli territory continued for approximately two hours, and **ceased at 2300 hours**. According to the IDF Spokesman, the IDF received the ceasefire as an order from the highest political level and began gradually dispersing the assembled reserve forces. According to the Spokesman, after eight days the IDF had achieved the objectives of Operation Pillar of Defense, inflicting a severe blow on Hamas and the other terrorist organizations operating in the Gaza Strip (IDF Spokesman, November 21, 2012).

Rocket Fire into Israel (November 21)

13. On the morning of November 21 rocket fire attacks into Israel continued. One of the rockets fell in the northwestern Negev and caused heavy damage. There were no casualties. At noon the amount of rocket fire decreased slightly. As the ceasefire approached, rockets were launched at Beersheba, Ashdod, Netivot, Ashqelon and other population centers. Rockets hit buildings in Netivot and Ashqelon.

14. **Rocket fire from the Gaza Strip continued two hours after the ceasefire was declared, with more than ten rocket hits identified in Israeli territory.** After a quiet night, on the morning of November 22 air raid sirens were sounded in the Ashqelon area, but according to the IDF Spokesman, they were false alarms.

15. **Sixty-two rockets hit Israeli territory during the 24 hours preceding the ceasefire.**
A direct rocket hit on a residence in the northwestern Negev (Sderot Media Center, November 21, 2012).

**Operation Pillar of Defense – Initial Data**

16. During Operation Pillar of Defense **more than 1,400 rockets were fired at Israel.** An estimated 845 rocket hits were identified in Israeli territory, about 60 of them hitting populated areas. The Iron Dome aerial defense system intercepted and **destroyed more than 400 rockets;** its success rate was 84% (IDF Spokesman, November 22, 2012).

17. **Six Israelis were killed during the operation, four civilians and two soldiers.** Israeli hospitals provided treatment for **an estimated 500 wounded.** Most of the wounded either incurred minor wounds or suffered from trauma.

18. According to data from the Coordinator for Government Activities in the Territories, as of November 21, **161 Palestinians had been killed, 91 of them terrorist operatives and 62 uninvolved civilians.** Eight bodies were not identified. **More than 1,200 Palestinians were killed** in the Gaza Strip.

19. During Operation Pillar of Defense **more than 1,500 terrorist targets were attacked** in the Gaza Strip most of them from the air or sea. The attacks seriously damaged the infrastructures, facilities and bases of Hamas, the PIJ and the other terrorist organizations. Their rocket-launching capabilities were also seriously weakened.

20. Among the targets struck during the operation were (IDF Spokesman, November 21, 2012):

1) An estimated 30 senior terrorist operatives: Among them were **Ahmed Said Khalil al-Jaabari**, commander of Hamas' military-terrorist wing; **Habas Hassan Awad Musamakh** senior operative in the Hamas police force, **Ahmed Abu Jalal**, commander of the military-terrorist wing in Al-Maghazi (central Gaza Strip); **Khaled Shaer**, senior operative in Hamas' anti-tank unit; **Osama Qadi**, senior operative in the smuggling operations in the southern Gaza Strip; **Muhammad Qalb**, senior operative in aerial defense operations; and **Ramez Kharb**, senior PIJ propaganda operative in Gaza City.

2) **Operations command headquarters** and main headquarters.

3) **Scores of long-range rocket launchers and hundreds of underground launchers.**
4) One hundred and forty smuggling tunnels.

5) Sixty-six terrorist offensive tunnels.

6) Dozens of Hamas posts and command centers.

7) Twenty-six sites for the manufacture of weapons.

**Statistical Data**

10. During Operation Pillar of Defense 845 rocket hits were identified in Israeli territory and more than 1,400 rockets were fired.

**Rockets Hits in Israeli Territory since the Beginning of 2011**

**Note:** The graph clearly illustrates the rounds of escalation and their increasing frequency during the six months until Operation Pillar of Defense. It includes 845 rocket hits identified during the operation.
Daily Distribution of Rocket Hits in Israel's South since the Beginning of Operation Pillar of Defense

- As of November 22.
- Eight hundred and forty-five rocket hits were identified in Israeli territory and more than 1,400 were fired.
- Twelve long-range rockets (of more than 40 kilometers, or 25 miles) were fired. Eight either fell or were intercepted in the greater Tel Aviv area and three in the Jerusalem area.

Annual Distribution of Rocket Fire since the Hamas Takeover of the Gaza Strip

*Based on an estimated 845 rocket hits as of November 22, 2012.
22. As it did on other days throughout the operation, Hamas claimed responsibility for most of the rocket fire during the last day before the ceasefire, followed at a distance by the PIJ. Other organizations also made claims, such as the Popular Resistance Committees, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade and various networks affiliated with the global jihad (Websites of the organizations).

23. Throughout November 21, almost until the ceasefire went into effect (2100 hours), IDF forces attacked terrorist targets in the Gaza Strip. Armored and artillery forces joined the Israeli Air Force in attacking rocket-launching sites and open areas (IDF Spokesman, November 21, 2012).

24. Among the targets hit were the following (IDF Spokesman, November 21, 2012):

1) A building which served the PIJ as an operations room, where a number of senior PIJ operatives were in attendance. The building was attacked about a quarter of an hour before the ceasefire went into effect.

2) Terrorist squads involved in firing rockets into Israeli territory.

3) More than 50 offensive terrorist tunnels.

4) Launching pits and underground launchers.

5) Warehouses where weapons were stockpiled.

6) Buildings belonging to senior Hamas figures which were also used as headquarters.

25. While the Israeli Air Force attacked from the air, the Israeli Navy also attacked terrorist targets along the Gazan coast. On November 21 a rocket-launching site, a post and a building used by Hamas terrorist operatives were hit. A terrorist operative was also targeted (IDF Spokesman, November 21, 2012).
Casualties

Israeli Casualties

26. On the eighth day of the operation three IDF soldiers were wounded by a rocket which landed in the western Negev. One of them was critically wounded and later died.

Bus Explodes on Bus in Tel Aviv

27. A bomb exploded on a bus on King Saul Boulevard in Tel Aviv on November 21, wounding 27 Israelis. Most of the wounded suffered from cuts and bruises, were treated at a hospital and released; three were wounded seriously and hospitalized. After the attack police searched the area for the man who left the bomb on the bus, an alert was declared and roadblocks were set up on main roads.

The bus after the attack (Israel Police Force Facebook page, November 21, 2012).

28. Immediately after the attack the military-terrorist wing of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine claimed responsibility. According to the announcement, it was "a message for the Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip (Al-Mayadeen TV website, Lebanon, November 21, 2012). It is unclear whether or not the organization actually carried out the attack.

29. Spokesmen for the Palestinian terrorist organizations, led by Hamas and the PIJ, praised the attack on TV. A correspondent for the news agencies in the Gaza Strip reported "great joy and shots fired in the air in glee" when the attack was reported. Hamas and the other terrorist organizations used megaphones and the loudspeakers
of the mosques to announce and praise the attack throughout Gaza City (Ma'an News Agency, November 21, 2012).

30. Some reactions were the following:

1) Hamas spokesman Fawzi Barhoum called the attack "wonderful news" and a blessed event which had been expected for a long time (Radio Sawt Al-Aqsa, November 21, 2012). Hamas spokesman Musheir al-Masri said that the attack was the "natural response" to Israel's actions and that Israel was solely responsible for the consequences of the escalation (Al-Aqsa TV, November 21, 2012).

2) Senior PIJ figure Khader Habib said that while they did not know who was behind the attack, it was clearly "divine vengeance" for Israel's attacks on the Palestinian people. He added that the Palestinians had the right to defend themselves and their ideology in every way possible, including suicide bombing attacks (Al-Mayadeen TV website, Lebanon, November 21, 2012).

3) Popular Resistance Committees spokesman Khaled al-Thabet said that what happened in Tal Aviv was "legitimate" in view of the events in the Gaza Strip and that it was "a response to the slaughter carried out by Israel" (Al-Alam TV, November 21, 2012).

The Civilian Situation in the Gaza Strip

Opening the Crossings

31. On the morning of November 21, despite the rocket fire, the Erez crossing was opened for the passage of diplomats, employees of international organizations, and patients (accompanied by their escorts) needing medical treatment in Israel, and medical equipment for the residents of the Gaza Strip (IDF Spokesman, November 21, 2012).

Judea and Samaria

IDF Activity Following the Increase in Riots and Protests

32. Following the increase in riots and violent protests in Judea and Samaria, on the night of November 21 the Israeli security forces detained 55 Palestinians as well as
operatives, including senior operatives, from the various terrorist organizations (IDF Spokesman, November 2, 2012).
News of Terrorism and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
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Operatives of Hamas’ security services deploy along the security fence. IDF forces deploy on the other side (Al-Ayam, November 25, 2012).

Overview

- So far, Hamas and the other terrorist organizations operating in the Gaza Strip have complied with the understandings achieved to end Operation Pillar of Defense. Since 2300 hours, November 21, no rockets or mortar shells have been fired into Israeli territory. On November 23 Palestinians rioted near the security fence. Hamas’ security forces deployed along the border fence to enforce the ceasefire.

- Mahmoud Abbas and senior members of the Palestinian Authority are determined to raise before the UN General Assembly the issue of upgrading the PA’s status, having chosen the symbolic date of November 29. Hamas, which formerly opposed the step, now supports it.
Fulfilling the Ceasefire Understandings

Eight days after it began, Operation Pillar of Defense ended when understandings were reached regarding a cessation of hostilities as of 2100 hours, November 21, 2012. Until 2300 hours sporadic rocket fire continued into Israeli territory (an estimated ten hits). As of November 27, since 2300 hours, November 21, the ceasefire has been maintained almost in toto.

IDF Strikes – Data from the IDF Spokesman

According to the IDF Spokesman, the IDF achieved its objectives and struck a severe blow to Hamas and its military-terrorist capabilities. Its infrastructure was severely damaged by the IDF, including its chain of command and control; its terrorist capabilities, facilities, bases and senior commanders. Its strategic capabilities were struck by the IDF, among them its long-range rockets (capable of hitting targets at a distance of 40 kilometers, or 25 miles) and hundreds of rocket launchers and medium- and short-range rockets. Thus the IDF significantly disrupted Hamas' rocket-launching capabilities. In addition, the Iron Dome aerial defense system was highly successful, and only 7% of the rockets launched into Israeli territory fell in populated areas. Israel's military achievements led to the conditions for the ceasefire understandings (IDF Spokesman, November 22, 2012).

A total of 1,500 terrorist targets throughout the Gaza Strip were attacked in Operation Pillar of Defense (IDF Spokesman, November 22, 2012).

- 30 senior Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad operatives
- 19 command centers
- 980 underground rocket launchers
- 140 tunnels used to smuggle weapons
- 66 tunnels used for terrorist activities
- 42 Hamas situation rooms and bases
- 26 weapons workshops
- Dozens of long-range rocket launchers and launching sites
Using public facilities as shields: long-range Fajr-5 rocket launching sites, next to a kindergarten, a mosque, a factory and a gas station (IDF Spokesman, November 15, 2012).

### Damages Incurred – Interim Report

#### Israel
- In Israel's south during Operation Pillar of Defense there were 1,790 instances of property damage resulting directly from rocket and mortar shell fire. Places of business, private buildings and homes, vehicles and agricultural equipment were damaged. An estimated 30 families whose homes were hit were moved to hotels. **The damage to commerce and industry was estimated at 200 million shekels** (about $52 million). Of the approximately 500 factories in southern Israel, only five took direct rocket hits (Haaretz’ TheMarker supplement, November 23, 2012).

#### The Gaza Strip
- Taher al-Nunu, spokesman for the de-facto Hamas administration, told a press conference that according to an initial assessment, **800 buildings in the Gaza Strip were damaged, 200 of which were completely leveled.** In addition 42 Hamas governmental and security institutions and structures were destroyed. The total amount of damage was **allegedly estimated at $1,245,000,000, of which $554 million was direct damage and $700 million was collateral damage** (Hamas’ Al-Aqsa TV, November 25, 2012).
During Operation Pillar of Defense more than 1,400 rockets were fired from the Gaza Strip; 854 rocket hits were identified in Israeli territory (See graphs).

Rocket Hits in Israeli Territory since the Beginning of 2011

Since the end of Operation Cast Lead, 2,298 rocket hits have been identified in Israeli territory.

Since the beginning of 2011, 2,197 rocket hits have been identified in Israeli territory; 1,822 since the beginning of 2012.

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1 As of November 27, 2012. The statistics do not include mortar shell fire.
Annual Distribution of Rocket Fire

* As of November 27, 2012.

Rockets fired near a building in the Gaza Strip (at right) (Hamas’ Al-Aqsa TV, November 14, 2012)

2 The statistics for 2008 and 2009 include rocket hits identified during Operation Cast Lead. They do not include mortar shell fire.
Implementing the Understandings

Deployment of Hamas Security Operatives along the Security Fence

Islam Shahawan, spokesman for the ministry of the interior of the de-facto Hamas administration, reported that on November 25 operatives of the Hamas security forces had been deployed along the border fence between Israel and the Gaza Strip to enforce the ceasefire. In our assessment, they were deployed to enforce order after Palestinians rioted near the fence (See below).

Riots near the Security Fence

When the ceasefire was declared Palestinians initiated gatherings near the security fence along the Gaza Strip border in a show of presence and to defy Israel. On November 23 an estimated 300 Palestinians approached the fence at a number of locations in the southern Gaza Strip and began rioting and damaging the fence. IDF forces tried to distance the rioters from the fence and when they refused to leave warning shots were fired. The rioters continued their attempts to damage the fence and enter Israeli territory, and shots were fired (Ynet, November 23, 2012). The Palestinian media reported one Palestinian killed and more than ten wounded (Ma'an News Agency, November 23, 2012).

On November 26 the Palestinian media reported two Palestinians wounded by IDF fire near Kerem Shalom (southern Gaza Strip) (The PIJ's PalToday and the Alresala.net websites, November 26, 2012). In addition, Palestinian farmers began working the land near the security fence (Safa News Agency and Qudsnet websites, November 27, 2012).
Palestinian Terrorist Infiltrates an Israeli Village near the Gaza Strip

On the night of November 25, a Palestinian who infiltrated into Israeli territory from the Gaza Strip through the security fence entered the village of Sdei Avraham in the northwest Negev, about 4 kilometers, or 2.5 miles from the Gaza Strip. He entered a house and threatened a woman, one of its residents, who was awake at the time, with a knife and metal rod. She struggled with and finally overcame him and managed to call for help; she was cut and bruised during the struggle. IDF forces arriving on the scene chased the terrorist, who refused to halt, and shot and killed him. The IDF and Israel's security services are investigating the event. According to initial assessments, the Palestinian attacker did not belong to any Palestinian terrorist organization (Ynet and Israel Channel 10 TV, date, 2012).

Hamas Delegation Leaves for Cairo to Discuss the Details of the Pillar of Defense Understanding

The Palestinian media reported that on November 25 a delegation representing the de-facto Hamas administration led by deputy Hamas head Ziad al-Zaza arrived in Cairo for Egyptian-mediated indirect talks with Israel for implementing the ceasefire. Among items on the agenda were the crossings, borders, and imports and exports (Safa News Agency, November 26, 2012).
Establishing Hamas' "victory narrative"

- The ceasefire was met with spontaneous mass demonstrations of joy in the Gaza Strip, including shots fired into the air, fireworks, parades and the distribution of cake and candy. Hamas and the other terrorist organizations held parades throughout the Gaza Strip to show happiness, attended by senior figures. **Mahmoud al-Zahar** marched in one of the parades dressed in a combat uniform and holding a sawed-off M-16 assault rifle with a telescopic sight (Hamas-affiliated Filastin al-‘Aan, November 25, 2012).

Mahmoud al-Zahar, center (Filastin al-‘Aan, November 25, 2012).

Gazan kindergarteners in the Square of the Unknown Soldier in Gaza City. The children, in uniform and carrying plastic rifles, watch while an Israeli flag is set on fire.
Return to Routine and Beginning Rebuilding

- The Gaza Strip has started to return to routine life. Gazans who left their homes are beginning to return, especially in the southern Gaza Strip, and the markets have reopened, as have schools and universities. The de-facto Hamas administration is trying to show that it continues to govern and that its governmental sites (some of which were damaged during Operation Pillar of Defense) are functioning as usual.

- On November 25 Hamas' Islamic National Bank, which was attacked by the IDF, reopened the doors of its Gaza City and Khan Yunis branches. Muhammad Ghanem, head of finance and investment, claimed that the bank's functioning had not been affected and that most of the damage and losses were property-related (Safa News Agency, November 25, 2012).

- Pictures uploaded to the Internet show that the markets are open and that there is no lack of food, and that pedestrians and vehicles fill the streets of Gaza City (Hamas-affiliated Filastin al-'Aan, November 26, 2012).

Shipments of Humanitarian Assistance and Delegations to the Gaza Strip

- After Operation Pillar of Defense shipments of humanitarian assistance and delegations of solidarity activists continued to arrive in the Gaza Strip. On November 24, 30 trucks carrying 100 tons of food and medical supplies arrived through the Rafah crossing. They were sent by a Turkish organization called "Cansuyu." A 16-
member delegation arrived with the shipment, entering through the Rafah crossing. (Shihab, November 25, 2012). On November 26 an 85-member delegation arrived from Iraq, 50 of them members of parliament. They brought a $1.6 million donation for hospitals in the Gaza Strip (Safa News Agency, November 26, 2012).

Left: One of the Turkish trucks enters the Gaza Strip though the Rafah crossing (Shihab, November 24, 2012). Right: Members of the Iraqi parliament visit the Gaza Strip (Filastin al-'Aan, November 26, 2012).

The Battle for Hearts and Minds

Hamas

- Hamas represents the most recent escalation as an achievement and victory, and continues the battle for hearts and minds by establishing a "victory narrative." Senior Hamas figures publicly expressed their satisfaction with the ceasefire and claimed they were committed to honoring it. They also praised the part played by Egypt and its president, Mohamed Morsi, in brokering it.

- According to a statement issued by Hama's military-terrorist wing, the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, 1,573 rockets were fired, hitting Israeli planes, ships, military vehicles, etc. It also claimed that long-range rockets, some of them manufactured in the Gaza Strip, had been fired for the first time, reaching targets 80 kilometers (50 miles) away and forcing Israel "to raise a white flag." The Palestinian Islamic Jihad announced it had fired 620 rockets and mortar shells. In our assessment, the numbers of both Hamas and the PIJ were exaggerated.
The following are statements made by senior Hamas figures about the agreement to end the fighting:

- Interviewed by Al-Jazeera TV, **Khaled Mashal** said that Hamas would honor its commitments to the agreement, but that if Israel violated the agreement Hamas would return to firing rockets (Al-Jazeera TV, November 26, 2012).

- **Ismail Haniya**, head of the de-facto Hamas administration, said that his administration was pleased with the agreement and committed to it. He added that he was proud of the firm stance of the Gazans during the fighting (Qudsnet website, date, 2012).

- **Musa Abu Marzuq**, deputy chairman of Hamas’ Executive Committee, said that the agreement was an achievement for the Palestinian people and for Palestinian unity because it had halted Israel's aggression and dealt with stalled issues (Egyptian national TV, November 21, 2012).

- **Izzat al-Rishq**, a member of Hamas’ Executive Committee, said that the agreement was an honorable victory for the entire "resistance" [i.e., terrorist organizations]. He said Israel had decided on a unilateral ceasefire first in order not to show it had capitulated to the conditions of the Palestinian "resistance" (Al-Quds TV, November 21, 2012).

**The Palestinian Islamic Jihad**

- The PIJ's military-terrorist wing held a press conference to stress the "victory." A spokesman for the wing, who appeared with his face masked, said that the latest round of fighting proved that Tel Aviv was no longer a target "which cannot be conquered" but rather "a game piece in the hands of the fighters of jihad and the resistance" (The PIJ's PalToday website, November 22, 2012).

**The Palestinian Authority**

- **Mahmoud Abbas**, PA chairman, expressed support for the ceasefire, saying that the situation necessitated continued efforts for its preservation and to prevent Israel from "offensive actions" and to bring about the end of the "siege" on the Gaza Strip. He said that every effort by Israel to isolate the Gaza Strip from Judea and Samaria had to be prevented. He added that Egypt was not to be given responsibilities which would harm its national security or the national Palestinian interests (Wafa News Agency, November 21, 2012).
Sources in Gaza: Ehud Barak Resigned over the Failure of Operation Pillar of Defense

Spokesmen for the terrorist organizations in the Gaza Strip rushed to claim that Ehud Barak, the Israeli minister of defense, had resigned because of the "failure" of Operation Pillar of Defense:

- **Hamas' department of propaganda** said in a statement that Ehud Barak's resignation was "proof" of the victory of the "resistance" [i.e., the terrorist organizations] which had "destroyed" his career. According to the statement, even though he had left political life, he could not avoid responsibility for the "crimes" he committed and that the Palestinians would continue their efforts to bring him and others to trial (Al-Ra'i website, November 26, 2012).

- **Abu Ahmed**, spokesman for the PIJ's military-terrorist wing, said that Ehud Barak's resignation was a direct response to the "defeat" he and his army had suffered in the Gaza Strip. He also said that in his opinion, as a result the Israeli prime minister might also resign (The PIJ's PalToday website, November 26, 2012).

Iranian Military Support for Hamas and the PIJ

Statements Regarding Iranian Military Support to the Gaza Strip

Senior Hamas figures continue to note Iran's involvement and support for the Gaza Strip. At the same time, they were careful to stress that Hamas made its decisions independently and was not dependent on Iran:

- **Mahmoud al-Zahar**, a member of Hamas' Executive Committee, said that he did not want to deny that Iran had given Hamas arms and money. He said that the money had been invested in developing the rockets which had longer ranges than the rockets given to them by Iran. He claimed Iran had never demanded anything of Hamas and that was why Hamas was willing to accept its support (Al-Aqsa TV, November 22, 2012).

- On another occasion **Mahmoud al-Zahar**, speaking to operatives from Hamas' military-terrorist wing, said that some of the rockets had been manufactured in Iran. He said Iran supported Hamas with money and arms.
He reiterated the claim that Iran had not asked for anything in return but only that the rockets be used "to liberate Palestine" (Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, London, November 24, 2012).

The PIJ's military-terrorist wing held a press conference where a spokesman for the organization thanked all those who supported the "resistance" [i.e., terrorist organizations] with money and weapons. They had used them, he said, to change the equation [between them and Israel], and he especially thanked the "brothers" in Iran and Egypt. He said Iran, with its support, had fulfilled its duty (The PIJ's PalToday website, November 22, 2012).

**Detention of the Perpetrators of the Terrorist Attack in Tel Aviv**

■ On November 21 a joint action of the security forces led to the detention of the perpetrators of the terrorist attack on the bus in Tel Aviv on the last day of Operation Pillar of Defense (November 21). They were members of a network affiliated with Hamas and the PIJ, most of them from the village of Beit Leqia, southwest of Ramallah.

■ According to the initial interrogation, they placed the bomb on the bus and used a cell phone to detonate it. They enlisted an Israeli Arab from the village of Tayibe who originally came from Beit Leqia to bring the bomb to Tel Aviv. They used the car of his Arab employer, a resident of east Jerusalem, without his knowledge. The Israeli Arab placed the bomb on the bus and informed his handler in Beit Leqia, who then then used a cell phone to detonate it (IDF Spokesman, November 22, 2012). Twenty-seven civilians were hurt in the blast.

**Judea and Samaria**

**Israeli Carries Out a Wave of Detentions**

■ Following the increase in the number of violent incidents in Judea and Samaria, the Israeli security forces carried out a series of detentions. Over two nights more than 100 terrorist members of various organizations were detained, some of them senior operatives (IDF Spokesman, November 23, 2012).

**"Victory Parades" in Judea and Samaria**

■ On November 23 Hamas held parades in Ramallah, Nablus and Hebron to show joy and support for the Gazans. Participants shouted anti-Israel slogans (Hamas-affiliated Filastin al-'Aan, November 23, 2012).
The Palestinian Authority

The Palestinian Move in the UN

- Mahmoud Abbas and other senior PA figures demonstrate their determination to raise the issue of upgrading the PA’s status in the UN and to bring it to a vote on November 29. Speaking before demonstrators in Ramallah who had come to show support for the Palestinian move, he said that he did not intend to change his mind and that he would lodge the request on the day he had chosen, November 29. He said the next step would be completing the internal Palestinian reconciliation (Ma’an News Agency, November 25, 2012). In preparation for the vote Mahmoud Abbas and Riyadh al-Maliki, the Palestinian foreign minister, left for New York (Ma’an News Agency, November 25, 2012).

- As opposed to its previous position, the Hamas leadership lent its full support to the planned move (with the exception of Mahmoud al-Zahar, who still opposes it). Khaled Mashal, chairman of Hamas’ Executive Committee, even spoke with Mahmoud Abbas by telephone and expressed support (Ma’an News Agency, November 26, 2012). Two days previously Mahmoud Abbas had received a delegation of senior Hamas figures from Judea and Samaria in his office in Ramallah, and they also expressed support (Wafa News Agency, November 24, 2012). Interviewed by CNN, Khaled Mashal said that Hamas agreed to the solution of a state
with the 1967 borders which would put an end to the so-called Israeli occupation, adding that the last barrier to such a solution was Israel (CNN, November 21, 2012).

Mahmoud Abbas at a rally of support for the Palestinian move in UN; the rally was held near the Muqataa in Ramallah (Wafa News Agency, November 25, 2012)

Propaganda Events

- According to the Freedom Flotilla website, on December 8 an event is planned in Rome in support of a new initiative for a flotilla to the Gaza Strip. The flotilla, Welcome to Palestine 4, is supposed to set sail on December 25, 2012 (Freedom Flotilla website, November 26, 2012).
Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad Continue Praising Iran for Its Military and Financial Aid

1. After Operation Pillar of Defense, **posters thanking Iran were hung at the main intersections in Gaza City**. The PIJ's website reported that the objective was "to emphasize the important role played by Iran in the fighting by giving the Palestinian resistance [i.e., terrorist organizations] military and financial support." The posters were written in Arabic, Farsi, English and Hebrew on a background of rocket launchers symbolizing the Iranian-manufactured Fajr-5 rockets. According to the report, Fajr-5s were used for the first time during Operation Pillar of Defense to attack Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, Israel's two largest cities (The PIJ's PalToday website, November 27, 2012).

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1 Update No. 9 appeared in the weekly update "News of Terrorism and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, November 21-27, 2012"
2 Follow-up to Operation Pillar of Defense Update No. 6
2. No organization claimed responsibility for hanging the posters throughout Gaza City. However, a none-too-subtle hint as to their author was provided by senior PIJ operative Khader Habib, who told Reuters it was only natural to show gratitude to Iran after the fighting, because Iranian rockets had hit Tel Aviv and even reached Jerusalem. Therefore, he said, Gaza had to thank those who had helped the Palestinian people. He added that the PIJ had good relations with Iran, which would continue as long as Iran supported the Palestinian people and the "resistance" [i.e., the terrorist organizations] (Reuters, November 27, 2012).

3. Senior Hamas figures did not lag behind the PIJ in thanking Iran. Prominent was Mahmoud al-Zahar, a member of Hamas Executive Committee, who in addition to thanking Iran for its military and financial support, emphasized Hamas’ independence:

1) Mahmoud al-Zahar, a member of Hamas’ Executive Committee, said that he did not want to deny that Iran had given Hamas arms and money. He said that the money had been invested in developing the rockets which had longer ranges than the rockets given to them by Iran. He claimed Iran had never demanded anything of Hamas and that was why Hamas was willing to accept its support (Al-Aqsa TV, November 22, 2012).

2) On another occasion Mahmoud al-Zahar, speaking to operatives from Hamas’ military-terrorist wing, said that some of the rockets had been manufactured in Iran. He said Iran supported Hamas with money and arms. He reiterated the claim that Iran had not asked for anything in return but only that the rockets be used "to liberate Palestine" (Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, London, November 24, 2012).