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AKTUELLES AUS DER PALÄSTINENSISCHEN PRESSE

26.07.-31.07.2011

GANG ZU DEN VEREIN- TEN NATIONEN

Der „palästinensische September“ mit dem geplanten Ansuchen um die Aufnahme eines palästinensischen Staates in die Vereinten Nationen vor dem Sicherheitsrat und der Generalversammlung rückt näher. Aus der schon seit längerem im Raum stehenden und im Mai von Präsident Mahmud Abbas bekräftigten Option scheint damit ein konkreter Schritt zu werden, sollten Verhandlungen mit substanziellen Ergebnissen bis dahin weiterhin ausbleiben. Ein Beleg für die fehlende Hoffnung auf eine Rückkehr an den Verhandlungstisch war zuletzt das Scheitern der Bemühungen des Nahost-Quartetts um eine gemeinsame Erklärung zum palästinensischen VN-Plan.

Die politische Führung der Palästinenser im Westjordanland, die in ihrem Vorhaben nach über Jahre hinweg ausbleibenden Verhandlungsergebnissen eine Art „letzten Ausweg“ aus dem für sie inakzeptablen Status quo sieht, arbeitet intensiv an den Details und der Durchführung des Plans. Als ebenso sicher wie ein US-Veto im Sicherheitsrat gilt eine deutliche Mehrheit in der Generalversammlung mit den Stimmen von rund 120 Staaten. Aller Voraussicht nach wird somit die Aufwertung des aktuellen Beobachterstatus' das Ergebnis sein. Abzuwarten bleibt insbesondere auch das Abstimmungsverhalten der EU-Mitgliedstaaten. Eine einheitliche Position der 27 wäre ein starkes Signal, ist jedoch aktuell nicht abzusehen.

In der palästinensischen Presse wird der

Gang zu den VN differenziert betrachtet. Einerseits gibt es kaum noch Zweifel an der Bereitschaft der Palästinensischen Autonomiebehörde (PA) und der Schritt wird vor dem Hintergrund der ausbleibenden Verhandlungsergebnisse weitgehend als notwendig erachtet, zumal die aktuelle politische Konstellation mit Benjamin Netanjahu als israelischem Ministerpräsidenten und dem mit wesentlichen Handlungsbeschränkungen konfrontierten US-Präsidenten Barack Obama wenig Anlass zur Hoffnung gibt. Andererseits ist Skepsis unter den Palästinensern weit verbreitet, die Haltung der Hamas zum Vorgehen der PA ist ambivalent und für die Zeit nach September gibt es kaum eindeutige Prognosen.

ALL SYSTEMS ARE GO FOR PALESTINE'S MARCH TO THE UN

by Daoud Kuttab, General manager of the Community Media Network, Amman, and former Professor of Journalism at Princeton University, Maan News Agency, 29.07.2011

If anyone outside Palestine had doubts that the Palestinian Authority is hesitant about going to the UN to request the recognition of Palestine as a full member, a trip to Ramallah would quickly put an end to this skepticism.

Ramallah's hotels are full of members of the Palestine Central Council (the second highest representative body in Palestinian politics after the Palestine National Council).

PNC Speaker Salim Zannoun has held meetings in Amman, Hebron, Nablus and Ramallah in preparation for a crucial central council meeting in Ramallah this week. The leading independent daily published in Ramallah, Al Ayyam, boasts a colorful map of the world with 122 flags representing world countries that have indicated

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that they will vote for Palestine to be a full member.

Robert H. Serry, UN Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process, has been quoted in the local press as saying in New York that the Palestinians are ready to take responsibility for their state.

Palestinian Prime Minister Salam Fayyad was dispatched to Cairo to convince an emergency meeting of the Arab League that they must step up and fulfill commitments to the Palestinian Authority.

Ever since Mahmoud Abbas and Khalid Mashaal signed the reconciliation deal, Israel has illegally withheld taxes and customs it collects on behalf of the Palestinian Authority which usually cover 70 percent of the PA's running expenses. Salaries were paid at 50 percent last month and are in doubt this month.

Furthermore, threats from the US Congress to cut off aid to the PA is taken seriously here and therefore Palestinian leaders are making sure that they can get alternative sources of income. Palestinians want to make sure that Israel and the US are not going to financially blackmail them into taking positions that are contrary to Palestinian aspirations.

The readiness of the Palestinian leadership to go to New York, however, doesn't reflect unanimity amongst Palestinians.

It is true that Hamas has publicly said that they are not opposed to the idea. [...]

And while Fayyad is trying to raise money for PA salaries, he has made it clear that he is not totally in favor of the UN bid. [...]

There are also other small cracks in an almost wall-to-wall support for the UN move from different directions. Talking to Palestinians in the street one gets the feeling that there is concern that this move might not produce any concrete change while causing a lot of damage.

[...]

Hani Masri, an independent writer who was active with the independent forum set up by businessman Munib Masri, argued in an op-ed in Al Ayyam against the idea that Palestinians should go back to negotiations after the UN vote.

The UN vote is not a one-off idea, it must be the beginning of a process that will also be paralleled with serious hard work on the ground. Going back to negotiations after the UN vote will not improve our negotiating position, he said.

Even PLO spokesman Yasser Abed Rabbo sounded a tiny bit hesitant Tuesday. Speaking after a meeting of the PLO executive committee, he said that while there is no precedent that pushes us to go to the UN at any certain time, that doesn't mean that we are hesitant about going to New York.

It is also not clear what the Palestinian diplomatic tactic will be in New York. Will the Palestinians risk a US veto by going to the UN Security Council and asking for full membership or will they skip the council and go directly to the General Assembly and request recognition as a state with observer (rather than full) membership.

Whatever some small voices here and there say, the Palestinian political machine is on high alert. All 90 Palestinian ambassadors around the world have been told to cancel all vacations and to work around-the clock in the coming two months. They met in Istanbul last week with President Mahmoud Abbas and were given the political directions for their mission.

As far as Ramallah is concerned, Abbas will ask the PCC to officially approve his recommendation that [...] the Palestinians only non-violent option is to go to the highest international body, the UN, and seek their help in ending the 44-year Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands.

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PALESTINE: THE WORLD'S NEXT NATION STATE

by Bernard Sabella, Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council representing the Christians of Jerusalem, and a professor of sociology, Arabic Media Internet Network, 26.07.2011

I am just overwhelmed with the [Avaaz petition](#) on Palestine: the world's next nation as I instantly follow the signatures that are coming in [...]. The target is 500,000 and I am sure Avaaz will surpass this number easily.

Scrolling down the names and countries makes me more hopeful than ever; not simply because these signatories reinforce the Palestinian application for full UN membership but because of the belief of decent people out there, irrespective of national, religious or political background in human dignity by responding to the legitimate aspiration of our Palestinian people of ending occupation and having our own state.

Seeing that there are signatories from Israel and from the Jewish Diaspora particularly uplifts my spirits. This says that there are many silent people everywhere in the world who share the same values and adhere to the same principles of respect for justice and fulfillment of basic human rights to each and everyone.

[...] What we seek as Palestinians is not further confrontation but an end to a seemingly endless conflict and the continued Israeli control of our people and occupation of our lands. We are not asking the impossible but simply to be like other nations.

While acceptance as full members to the UN will reassure us that the UN is once again the reference point for further political negotiations, it is not going to be easy for us post acceptance. The US Congress threatens to stop US aid to the Palestini-

ans, Israel threatens to withhold taxes and custom duties collected on behalf of the Palestinian Authority and some countries, while acknowledging the right and the preparedness of the Palestinians to their own state, prefer to see a negotiated declaration of a Palestinian state.

One needs to acknowledge that the status quo in the Palestinian Territories today cannot be maintained indefinitely. While "state" institutions of the Palestinian National Authority are on par to state institutions of over 100 member states in the United Nations, yet we are denied membership because of the tilted position of the USA and of the control by Israel of the Palestinian Territories and as some would say of Capitol Hill. The Palestinian National Authority has become simply an authority that runs basic municipal functions with some attention to infrastructure needs. In addition, the PNA and the Palestinian people have become hostage to the aid provided by donor countries and agencies and hence this dependence has limited the options left to us. We cannot continue living on aid ad nauseam.

Some, particularly in Washington and Tel Aviv, insist that it is wrong to 'unilaterally' go to the UN. But multilateralism; i.e., negotiations with Israel sponsored by the USA not to speak of the Quartet and its feebleness, has proven that it is not a feasible proposal as its end objective is to see the Palestinians serve Israel and do its dirty control and hegemony part whenever the Palestinian state is declared by multilateral agreement.

So we Palestinians have nothing to lose by going to the UN, come what may. Some among us are worried that nothing will change as of October 1st, 2011. So be it but if our application to UN membership is accepted or vetoed or postponed or denied altogether, we are sending a message to the world that we want our freedom and

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we want to be a nation-state like all other 193 UN member states.

ANALYSIS: AN URGENT NEED FOR INTERVENTION

by Ghassan Khatib, Spokesman for the Palestinian Authority, Coeditor of the bitterlemons family of internet publications and director of the Government Media Center, Maan News Agency, 26.07.2011

Palestinian politicians and analysts were divided in their understanding and evaluation of last week's Quartet failure to agree on a statement promoting the resumption of a Palestinian-Israeli political process.

Some Palestinians expressed disappointment and frustration because disagreements within the Quartet that prevented consensus indicate that the international community is not going to be able to help Palestinians and Israelis move forward towards ending the occupation and realizing peace.

Other Palestinians reached positive conclusions from the same failure, because the breakdown was rooted in European Union and Russian refusal to accept proposed American positions that were biased towards Israel and inconsistent with international law and the agreed-upon terms of reference of the peace process.

The Americans seem to have wanted to introduce language that would recognize the so-called „Jewish“ character of Israel (despite its 20 percent Arab minority) and accept Israeli alterations in the landscape of the occupied territories, i.e., settlements, which are illegal according to international law. This led to a disagreement.

Palestinian politicians and analysts who were happy with the resulting outcome (or lack thereof) would argue that on previous occasions, these disagreements ended with the Americans imposing their biased view on the other members of the

Quartet. The EU seems to be moving – although slowly and cautiously – from being an observer in the peace process to being a player in it.

That started with the declaration of the EU foreign minister's council in December 2009 (reaffirmed in December 2010), which stipulated for the first time a European Middle East policy that was balanced in addressing the legitimate concerns of both Palestinians and Israelis, and consistent with international legality.

In light of such developments, Palestinians, Arabs and Israel's peace camp must further encourage the EU and the individual European states to take a more active role in the international community's efforts, both in the Quartet and at the United Nations. This is the route to effective international efforts to help the parties come to a resolution.

The growing European role is even more urgent and vital in light of the apparent conclusion of the right-wing Israeli prime minister and his government that internal American politics and elections have more leverage on US President Barack Obama than Obama has over Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu in Israel.

The combination of Netanyahu, who is catering to his growing right-wing for election purposes, and Obama, who is constrained by impending presidential elections, mean that the American monopoly on the mediation of the peace process has almost zero chance of moving things forward.

For these reasons, it has become urgent for Palestinians to call at the United Nations for the international community to take a collective role and more direct and effective intervention in helping to end the occupation and realize the international vision of peace, as embodied in the two-state solution on the basis of the 1967 borders.

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DIE CAUSA DAHLAN

Im bereits seit längerem schwelenden Fatah-internen Konflikt um den ehemaligen Fatah-Sicherheitschef im Gazastreifen Mohammed Dahlan wurden Ende Juli neue Fakten geschaffen. Palästinensische Sicherheitskräfte drangen am 28. Juli in Dahlans Haus in Ramallah ein, nahmen seine Leibwächter fest und beschlagnahmten Waffen, Computer und Fahrzeuge. Dahlan selbst, der als Mitglied des Palästinensischen Legislativrats (PLC) parlamentarische Immunität genießt, verließ das Westjordanland Richtung Jordanien. Bereits im Dezember war er auf Betreiben von Präsident Mahmud Abbas aus dem Zentralkomitee der Fatah suspendiert worden, im Juni folgte der Ausschluss aus dem Revolutionsrat der Bewegung. Dahlan, der sich seit dem Ausschluss meist im Ausland aufgehalten hat, werden Korruption und Mord zur Last gelegt. Abbas' Lager hegt zudem den Verdacht, dass Dahlan private Milizen aufbaut.

Hintergrund der Auseinandersetzung ist ein Machtkampf zwischen Abbas und Dahlan, der immer wieder offen Kritik am Präsidenten geäußert hatte. Dahlan gilt innerhalb der Fatah als sehr einflussreich und konnte insbesondere unter der Präsidentschaft George W. Bushs auf die Unterstützung der USA zählen. Lange Zeit wurde er als potentieller Nachfolger Abbas' gehandelt. Die gespannte Beziehung der beiden geht auf das Jahr 2007 zurück, als Dahlan als damaliger Fatah-Führer in Gaza im palästinensischen Bruderkrieg eine empfindliche Niederlage gegen die Hamas erlitt und die Fatah sämtliche Kontrolle im Küstenstreifen an die Hamas verlor.

DAHLAN... EINE UNENDLICHE GESCHICHTE

von Sufian Abu Zaida, ehemaliger PA Minister und Mitglied des Fatah-Revolutionära-

tes, Samanews, 30.07.2011

In der letzten Woche haben sich die Ereignisse um den ehemaligen Fatah-Führer und PLC-Mitglied Mohammed Dahlan überschlagen. Dieser hatte mit seinem mutigen Schritt, nach Ramallah zurückzukehren, zunächst für eine Überraschung gesorgt. Das mit der Untersuchung des Parteiausschlusses Dahlans durch das Zentralkomitee beauftragte Sondergericht entschied bei seiner Tagung zu dessen Ungunsten. Dahlan hatte seinen Ausschluss angefochten.

Am frühen Morgen des darauffolgenden Tages wurde Dahlans Haus von Sicherheitskräften umstellt und auf Waffen und Akten durchsucht. Alle Leibwächter und privaten Autos wurden beschlagnahmt. Aufgrund der parlamentarischen Immunität, die Dahlan als Mitglied des PLC genießt, konnten die Sicherheitskräfte ihn selbst nicht verhaften.

Einige Stunden später ließ der Sprecher des Sicherheitsapparates Major General Damiery verlauteten, dass die Operation erfolgreich beendet worden sei. Seine Rede erweckte den Anschein, als würde er über einen großen Sieg gegen Feinde sprechen. Die Immunität Dahlans sei nicht angetastet worden, widerspach Damiery der Meldung, es sei zu einer starken Verletzung der parlamentarischen Immunität gekommen.

Damiery sagte damit gegenüber der Öffentlichkeit nicht die Wahrheit und versuchte zudem, die bestehenden Gesetze nach eigenen Vorstellungen auszulegen. So meinte er, dass Präsident Abbas das Recht habe, Dahlans Immunität aufzuheben, nachdem der PLC weiterhin nicht tage. Diese Argumentation ist lächerlich. Damiery, meinen Kollegen im Revolutionsrat, möchte ich darauf hinweisen, dass die Menschen nicht länger für dumm verkauft werden können. Die Epoche der Diktatu-

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ren ist zu Ende.

Wie erklärst du dir, dass es so viele Anschuldigungen gegen Dahlan gibt und er dennoch das Land verlassen darf? Wenn er schuldig ist, wo sind dann die Beweise gegen ihn? Und ist er der einzig Korrupte in der PA oder gibt es nicht doch mehrere?

Der Hintergrund ist schlicht ein persönliches Problem zwischen Dahlan und Präsident Abbas, nachdem Dahlan sich negativ über dessen Söhne geäußert hatte. Ziel der Aktion war die Ausschaltung Dahlans um jeden Preis.

„DAHLAN GATE“ ODER DOCH „FATAH GATE“?

von Oraib Al-Rantawi, Direktor des Al-Quds Center for Political Studies, Jordanien, PalTimes, 31.07.2011

Im Skandal um Mohammed Dahlan wissen wir aus hochrangigen offiziellen Quellen, dass dieser wegen Verschwörung gegen die Staatssicherheit, die nationale Sicherheit sowie wegen illegaler Bereicherung angeklagt wird.

Dahlan wird darüber hinaus beschuldigt, wider die palästinensischen Interessen mit externen Mächten kollaboriert und für zahlreiche Morde an politischen Rivalen verantwortlich zu sein. Er habe Todeskommandos befehligt, die unter Missachtung des Rechts gegen Gegner vorgegangen seien, habe Politiker und Unternehmer erpresst und sich aus öffentlichen Mittel bereichert.

Dies wirft eine Frage auf: Gibt es einen Unterschied zwischen den nun vorgebrachten Vorwürfen und jenen, die die Hamas bereits 2007 während des Machtkampfes im Gazastreifen gegen Dahlan erhoben hat? Schon damals hatte Hamas Dahlan exakt die gleichen Vergehen zu Last gelegt: Kollaboration mit ausländischen Geheimdiensten, Anschläge auf Gegner, Erpressung

von Politikern, Geschäftsleuten, Geistlichen, Dissidenten und sogar Freunden. Ferner hatte die Hamas bereits den Verdacht der Verschwörung gegen Arafat und später gegen Abbas gehegt. Handfeste Beweise dafür hatte die Bewegung schon damals vorgelegt.

Niemand kann diese Fakten bestreiten, auch in der Fatah wusste schon früh jeder darüber Bescheid. Doch anstatt sich von korrupten Personen wie Dahlan zu distanzieren, wurde ihm durch die Ernennung zum „starken Mann“ der Partei im Gazastreifen auch noch Legitimität verliehen. Der Kampf der Hamas gegen Dahlan und seine Leute wurde entsprechend als Kampf gegen die „Legitimität“ bezeichnet. Aber erst jetzt, da Dahlan Kritik am Präsidenten und dessen Söhnen äußerte, wird er als Krimineller bezeichnet und zur Rechenschaft gezogen.

Die Fatah muss sich beim palästinensischen Volk für Dahlans kriminelle Machenschaften entschuldigen und ist zudem gefordert, die Situation in Palästina seit 2006 neu zu bewerten. Es war falsch, das Narrativ über jene Zeit allein auf der Annahme zu gründen, die Hamas sei im Gazastreifen durch einen illegitimen Putsch an die Macht gekommen. Die mehreren Hundert Opfer, die infolge der internen Kämpfe getötet wurden, sind genug. Nach fünf Jahren ist es Zeit für die Fatah, den Bruderkrieg zu überdenken und daraus neue Schlüsse zu ziehen.

FINANZIELLE KRISE DER PALÄSTINENSISCHEN AUTONOMIEBEHÖRDE (PA)

Im Juli mehrten sich die Anzeichen für eine tiefe finanzielle Krise der PA. Den finanziellen Verpflichtungen kann nicht

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mehr entsprechend nachgekommen werden und die Auszahlung von Gehältern stockt. Auch Ministerpräsident Salam Fayyad räumte Anfang des Monats ein, dass sich die PA in einer heiklen Lage befände. Die palästinensischen Medien diskutieren ausführlich über die diversen Ursachen der angespannten Finanzlage und verorten diese sowohl in eigenen Versäumnissen, als auch im Druck von Seiten Israels und der internationalen Geber.

ON RAMDAN'S EVE, SEVERE FINANCIAL CRUNCH HITTING OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

by Khalid Amayreh, Palestine Information Center, 30.07.2011

Muhammed and Sarah Sawabha live at a middle class Ramallah neighborhood, with their six children, including two college students. Muhammed has a Bachelor of Science and earns a monthly salary of about \$ 800 US dollars as a teacher at a local school.

His wife, who has a BA in Arabic Language and Literature earns nearly the same amount, teaching Arabic at one of the largest and most prestigious high schools in suburban Ramallah.

Like many other Palestinian families, the Sawabhas are ill-prepared to receive the Muslim holy month of Ramadan during which family spending increases substantially.

„We always struggled to make ends meet. But this is the first time we feel we are fighting on many fronts and losing,“ said Muhammed.

[...]

His wife concurred. „We are really frustrated; we only received half of our salaries this month. [...] Ramadan is coming and the government keeps telling us to be patient, but for how long?“

Muhammed explains that with Ramadan

„knocking on the door,“ and with the new college season only a few weeks away, and with three schools kids ready to go to school in mid September, he simply doesn't know how he could meet the staggering financial obligations.

„I don't know what do. But Allah befrejha, God will help us overcome the problem,“ says the 48-year-old teacher, his eyes looking heavenward.

According to PA officials, the current financial crisis hitting the occupied territories is probably the severest in living memory, certainly since the establishment of the Palestinian Authority (PA), following the conclusion of the Oslo Accords between Israel and the PLO in 1993.

The crisis stems from direct and indirect causes. The direct causes includes the failure of mainly Arab donors to honor their pledges to a cash strapped PA living on a tight budget, the lion's share of which goes to paying salaries to as many as 160,000 civil servants and public employees.

Last week, PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas implored Arab states to „save us from going down.“ He explained that the current crisis was real; saying his government in Ramallah had been unable to pay salaries and meet urgent financial obligations.

Some Arab states have been dawdling in paying their pledged financial assistance to the PA, complaining about the spread of corruption and financial mismanagement with the self-rule authority. Others, like Kuwait, are fed up with the chronic PA inability or failure to wean itself off dependence on foreign assistance.

Another key factor contributing to recurrent financial problems besetting the PA stems from the unnecessarily bloated security establishment which devours a huge chunk of the Palestinian budget.

The PA has as many as 80,000 security personnel on its payroll. The bloated force, built on instructions from the western

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donor countries, particularly the United States, consumes as much as \$50 million per month.

The various Palestinian security agencies do very little work besides controlling and pacifying the Palestinian populace, including preventing any form of proactive resistance against the Israeli occupation.

Some security experts have opined that for the purposes of keeping law and order, the Palestinian community in the West Bank needs no more than a moderate civilian security force totaling 10,000-20,000 police officers.

However, the PA thinks that the huge security force is necessary to protect its own survival, especially in the face of a possible revolution and also to prevent the recurrence of what happened in the Gaza Strip in 2007 [...].

A few years ago, the PA forced thousands of pro-Arafat activists within the security agencies into early retirement, fearing a possible revolt against the policies of Mahmoud Abbas and his pro-western government, headed by Salam Fayyad, who is largely viewed as unpatriotic or not patriotic enough.

However, to appease and pacify these people, many of them still in their mid 30s and early 40s, the Fayyad government paid them hefty retirement salaries reaching in some cases \$4,000 dollars per month. [...]

Then there is the ghoul of corruption corroding through the PA financial structure whose tide successive Palestinian governments failed to stem. It is widely believed that hundreds of millions of dollars are lost to corruption every year.

Some observers believe that the PA is so much infested with corruption that stemming its tide can't be achieved without a comprehensive surgical intervention that would upset and alienate large segments of the PA hierarchy.

One Palestinian economist opined recently

that „corruption within the PA financial system is structural, not rudimentary. I am afraid we can't eliminate corruption without eliminating the overall structure of the PA.“

True, the corruption readings are not as high as they were five or six years ago, when embezzlement, nepotism, favoritism, bribery were the norm, rather than the exception.

Moreover, the PA government has shown a determination and a willingness to fight corruption, especially its stark and brazen forms. For example, a special ad hoc court has been established to prosecute corrupt officials.

[...]

However, there are those, and they are many, who think that PA efforts are „too little and too late“ and that the PA needs to declare fighting corruption a real national priority.

Some of the fundamental problems exacerbating recurrent financial problems hitting the PA lie in the fact that the PA is not a sovereign state or even a semi state given the fact that Israel continues to control Palestinian border crossings, financial resources, taxes and all other components of a healthy economic process.

In recent months, especially since the PA leadership announced plans to seek UN recognition of a putative Palestinian state, Israel suspended the transfer of customs and tax revenue payments to the Palestinian government in Ramallah. The financial strangulation was only relaxed after the PA pressed the Obama administration and EU states to pressure Israel to reconsider the draconian measure, resorted to every time the PA refuses to be at Israel's beck and call.

Finally, it has always been a fantasy to build a prosperous economy with a sound financial system under a foreign military occupation. This is what many Palestini-

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an and non-Palestinian intellectuals had warned about. This is why the current financial predicament facing the PA is the price the PA and the rest of the Palestinian people are paying, for venturing to placing the cart before the horse by trying to build a state before liberation from one of history's most criminal and evil military occupations.

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Al-Ahram Weekly, Kairo
Wöchentliches Internetmagazin, der ägyptischen Regierung nahe stehend
<http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/>

Al-Ayyam, Ramallah
Tageszeitung, der Fatah nahe stehend
www.al-ayyam.com

Al-Hayat Al-Jadida, Ramallah
Tageszeitung, Sprachrohr der Palästinensischen Autonomiebehörde (PA)
www.alhayat-j.com

Al-Mustaqbal Al-Arabi
Internetzeitung, unabhängiges nationales Denkforum
www.almustaqbal-a.com

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Internetzeitung, liberal
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