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**Amos Harel** 

# Pompeo in West Bank: Goods are 'Made in Israel'

U.S. secretary of state meets PM, vows to sanction 'hateful,' 'antisemitic' BDS groups

#### Noa Landau

Secretary of State Mike Pompeo on Thursday became the first top U.S. diplomat to visit an Israeli settlement in the West Bank, as the State Department announced that products from the settlements can be labeled "Made in Israel," in a major policy shift.

The two moves reflected the Trump administration's acceptance of Israeli settlements, which the Palestinians and most of the international community view as a violation of international law and a critical obstacle to peace.

The new State Depart-

country of origin markings for Israeli and Palestinian goods are consistent with our reality-based foreign policy approach," the official statement said.

"In accordance with this announcement, all producers within areas where Israel exercises the relevant authorities – most notably Area C under the Oslo Accords - will be required to mark goods as 'Israel,' 'Product of Israel,' or 'Made in Israel' when exporting to the United States.'

According to this approach, the statement said, "Area C producers operate within the economic and administrative framework ment guidelines "ensure that of Israel and their goods

should be treated accordingly." Goods produced elsewhere in the West Bank, in areas under Palestinian control, will be marked as products of "West Bank," while Gazan goods will be products of "Gaza." Previously, products from either territory were sometimes

marked "West Bank/Gaza." Earlier on Thursday, Pompeo met in Jerusalem with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and said the current U.S. administration recognizes that "settlements could be done in a way that [is] lawful and appropriate and proper.'

Pompeo, on the second

See POMPEO, Page 4



Secretary of State Mike Pompeo after a security briefing Thursday on Mount Bental in the Golan Heights, near

### Unpredictable Trump ramps up the anxiety

It seemed increasingly likely this week that Donald Trump's efforts to reverse the U.S. presidential election results are doomed to failure. In the legal battle to prove his allegations of voter fraud, Trump retains mainly the support of his confused lawyer, Rudy Giuliani - if we ignore the clutch of Twitter stalwarts in Israel.

Even Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu finally got around to congratulating Joe Biden on his victory. The major question, assuming Trump is really on his way out, is how much chaos he can generate until Biden enters the White House in exactly two

The New York Times this week revealed another of the ideas floated by Trump since his election defeat. According to the article, in a November 12 meeting with the participation of Vice President Mike Pence, senior Pentagon officials (some appointed hastily after the election) and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Trump considered bombing the Iranian nuclear facility at Natanz. This proposal followed the news that Tehran had stepped up its production of enriched uranium contrary to the nuclear agreement - from which the United States, based on Trump's decision, withdrew two and a half years ago.

The advisers dissuaded Trump - whether only temporarily it isn't clear - by explaining that he might get the United States into another war. In the meantime, the outgoing

See ANXIETY, Page 4

## Submarine affair starts to surface, along with Netanyahu's dread

#### Yossi Verter

Interior Minister Arye Dery has a creative idea: Defense Minister and Alternate Prime Minister Benny Gantz will give up the "rotation" – his turn to be prime minister as stipulated in the coalition agreement - and he, Dery, will guarantee that the government will survive for four and half years. Gantz will remain defense minister - as they like to say these days, "fully full,"

with the helicopter and the binoculars and the bunker at the Kirya until November of

What do we need an election for now, grouses Dery to his interlocutors from time to time. And what reason does Gantz have to rush into an election? Dery is apparently working on it, because this past week the lobbying has become palpable in the political establishment. And

# of Pompeo

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this has become a rumor that has reached the ears of the writer of these lines: Gantz is pondering an announcement that due to the pandemical-catastrophicsecurity situation, and the pre-vaccine and nearly-winter reality, he is setting aside his ego and so forth.

About this streak of brilliance and the like (Haaretz editor-in-chief Aluf Benn outlined a similar scenario in these pages Thursday), Gantz himself would say: "Brilliant on a theoretical level, zero on a practical level." Just let it be clear: It has never even occurred to him.

Above all, because the guarantee Dery is giving is a product that is more perishable than Arnon MiIchan's lavish gifts. In the nottoo-distant past, burdened

See DREAD, Page 2

A Koran leaf in ancient Kufic script from 11th-12th century Persia, one of the items up for

### Court delays controversial sale of rare Islamic museum artifacts

#### Naama Riba

The High Court of Justice on Wednesday suspended the sale of 268 items from Jerusalem's Museum for Islamic Art, which had been scheduled to take place at Sotheby's in London next week, after hearing a petition calling for a temporary injunction to stop the artifacts being auctioned off.

The petition was filed by Hashava - a Holocaust restitution company that deals

with the recovery of art stolen during the Shoah - and presented by attorney Meir Heller from the E. Landau Law Offices. The petition named Culture Minister Chili Tropper and his ministry, Attorney General Avichai Mendelblit, the Israel Antiquities Authority (which approved the export of the items for sale), the Museum for Islamic Art, the Hermann de Stern Foundation

(which ostensibly owns the

artifacts slated for sale) and

Sotheby's. The court recommended that the museum, foundation, Sotheby's and the Culture Ministry take the next two weeks to negotiate over holding a more limited auction, featuring items that are considered less important in the eyes of the ministry. If no agreement is forthcoming, all parties will reconvene in the High Court within a further 10 days. At

See ISLAMIC, Page 13

#### IDF sources: Gaza rockets were fired at Israel by mistake

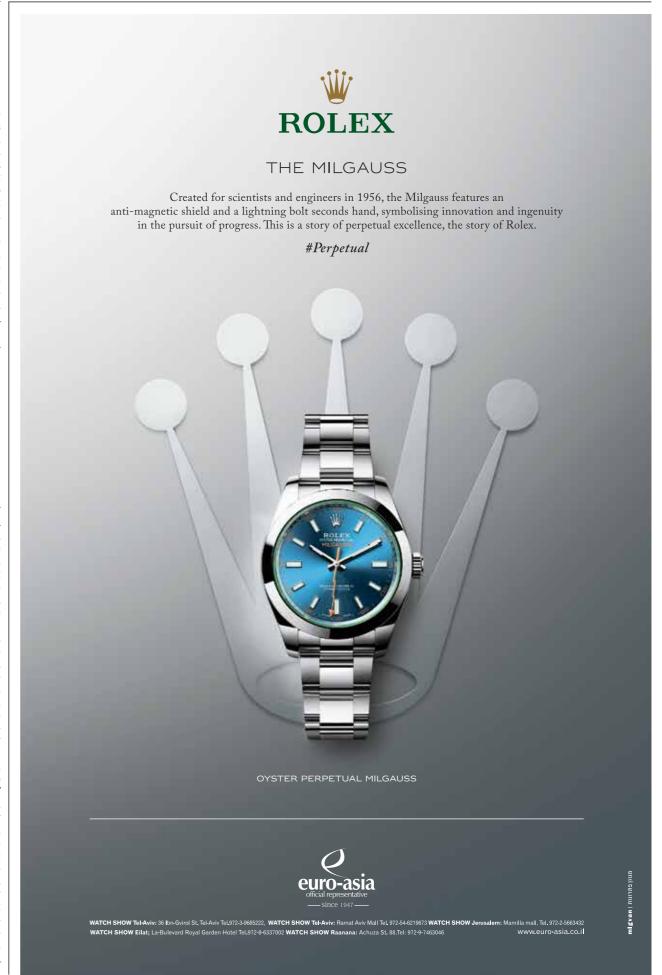
#### Yaniv Kubovich

The army has reinforced its assessment that the rocket fire at the greater Tel Aviv and Ashdod areas last week was due to extraordinary weather conditions and faulty Hamas maintenance of its rocket launchers.

The assessment is based on Israel Defense Forces intelligence information and Hamas' conduct. The organization approached mediators immediately to relay to Israel that the shooting was not a result of any operational decision by Hamas and that they were investigating it.

The IDF decided on a measured response to the rocket fire because of weather conditions and a sense, particularly among senior officials in Southern Command, that both sides were seeking to avert what had looked like an increasing likelihood of escalation in recent months. The view in the defense establishment is that Israel's political leaders aren't giving enough attention to understandings

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# 'Israel, help us overthrow this autocratic regime'

As war threatens, the leader of the Eritrean opposition movement appeals to Israel to take the long-term view

#### Yossi Melman

From his home office in London, with the Israeli flag behind him, the "Hope of Zion" expresses his hope that Israel will help bring about change in Eritrea. Never before have Eritreans lived under such an oppressive regime, he says, adding: "We want Israel's assistance in ending the misery of our

"Hope of Zion" is the translation of his Tigrinyan name, Tesfazion Gerhelase. He heads a national liberation movement that's trying to replace Isaias Afwerki, the dictator now ruling Eritrea with an iron fist.

Eritrea is an ill-fated country, among the poorest and most backward in the world. About a quarter of the population of five million fled out of fear of Afwerki and his henchmen. They are now scattered as refugees across the world, including in Israel, which is host to 25,000 of them, living mainly in south Tel Aviv and under threat of expatriation. Eritrea, whose name derives from the Italian for "Red Sea," lies in the Horn of Africa, along the Red Sea. The country was and remains of highly strategic importance for Israel.

The conversation with Gerhelase took place amidst escalating tensions in Ethiopia, accompanied by military clashes that are threatening to drag in its neighbors Eritrea, Sudan, South Sudan and even Egypt. This complex situation is further complicated by the dispute over the Nile River, which arose following the construction of a dam in Ethiopia for the generation of hydroelectric

The tension in Ethiopia, which could deteriorate into civil war, has ethnic, political, social and economic roots. Ethiopia is a federation of tribes and ethnic groups who for centuries maintained a fragile and delicate form of cooperation and coexistence.

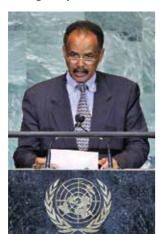
One of these groups are the

people of Tigray, who live in both Ethiopia and Eritrea, with only a river dividing them.

In 1885, Italy conquered the northern part of Ethiopia and established a colony in that area, which it called Eritrea in 1889. In 1936, the army of fascist Italy, led by Benito Mussolini, belatedly fulfilled the Italian aspiration to take over the whole country, expelling its emperor Haile Selassie, who found shelter in Jerusalem for two weeks and then fled onwards to exile in Britain. They also conquered part of Somalia.

In 1941, British forces captured Eritrea from Italy, later defeating the Italians and taking over Ethiopia and parts of Somalia as well. (During that period, the British set up detention camps in Eritrea for people deported from Palestine, members of the Irgun and Lehi underground movements. Some of them, including Israel's future prime minister Yitzhak Shamir, managed to escape through a tunnel they dug.)

Following Haile Selassie's return to Ethiopia in 1941, Eritrea became one of Ethiopia's districts, part of the Ethiopian federation. In 1974, the emperor was deposed, dying one year later. It later transpired that he had been strangled by rebels in a mili-



President Isaias Afwerki of

Eritrea.

iam. He established a oneman rule, backed by a "Red Terror regime."

Even before the emperor's fall, an underground movement called the Eritrean Liberation Front had arisen, led by commanders who espoused the ideas of pan-Arabism promoted by Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Later the movement was joined by Christians as well. At the same time, a Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) was also formed, with a double agenda: to depose Mengistu and to attain independence for Eritrea. Both of these aspirations were fulfilled.

tary coup led by the Marxist

colonel Mengistu Haile Mar-

Mengistu was ousted in 1991. He fled to Zimbabwe and was convicted in absentia of genocide. Ethiopia became a democracy, with Tigray people taking most senior positions, including that of president and prime minister, which was fulfilled by Meles Zenawi, who died in 2012. In 1991, following a war, Eritrea seceded from Ethiopia and was recognized as an independent country in 1993. It has been headed by Afwerki, who led the struggle

for independence, ever since. In 1998, following a dispute over marking the border, war broke out between Ethiopia and Eritrea, further impoverishing the latter. The war ended in 2000 and in 2018 a peace agreement was signed. Ethiopian President Abiy Ahmed, a member of the Oromo ethnic group, worked hard to bring about reconciliation, which culminated in his receiving the Nobel Peace Prize. However, on the backdrop of ethnic rivalries and political hostilities, an armed rebellion by the TPLF broke out in Ethiopia recently, directed against the central govern-

ment of President Abiy. The fighting has already caused thousands of deaths and there have been reports of massacres. Both sides have been firing rockets, some of which have even

reached Asmara, Eritrea's

capital. Making the complex situation even harder to understand, Eritrea's leader Afwerki, a Tigrinyan, is supporting the Oromo Abiy, with both of them now confronting the TPLF in Ethiopia.

According to Tesfazion, who, like majority of his people, is Christian, sooner rather than later, the 74-yearold Afwerki regime will fall. It would be best if Israel were among the countries taking credit for supporting the new regime, he says. Tesfazion emphasizes that he would like to base his ties with Israel on close cooperation in the areas of science, health and technology, rather than on arms. "We still don't have military arm," he adds. "We're trying to bring about change by persuasion. We'll try to persuade the army to join us against Isaias, and I promise you this will happen. The Eritrean army is now a political army, like in Communist China. When we set up a civilian democratic regime, the army will become apolitical." He adds that his ties with Israel run deep, based on the common history

"They really love Israel," savs professor emeritus Haggai Erlich, a historian from Tel Aviv University and an expert on the Horn of Africa, in describing the Tigrayan people in Ethiopia and Eritrea. He has written several books on this topic and in the process of writing a book about the history of the Red Sea. "Three of Israel's wars broke out partly around a struggle to control maritime routes in the Red Sea, including the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Eilat," he notes.

of Christianity and Judaism.

Tesfazion is 50 years old. He grew up in Asmara and joined Afwerki's Front before the country became independent. He subsequently joined the Eritrean army, in which he served as a political commissar. Two decades ago, he emigrated to Britain, where he has affluent relatives. He did so because of the war and the dire economic situation,

not for political reasons. "When we reached Lon-

ter Laure Soustiel, an expert

on Islamic art, tells Haaretz

she was "shocked and sad-

dened" upon hearing about

the auction. "I felt helpless

and did not know what to

do or whom to contact to

[express] my sorrow," she

wrote in an email, adding, "I

didn't think something could

be done to question the sale."

father would regard the auc-

tion as "totally contrary to

the principles" that guided

the foundation of the mu-

seum. "I believe this sale

is against my grandfather's

wishes, as he would never

have wanted this to happen."

Laure Soustiel didn't

attend the museum open-

ing in 1974, but visited the

residence of then-President

Ephraim Katzir in 1977 at

age 13. Her family was in-

vited as a show of apprecia-

tion for their donations to

She says she heard her

family talking about the mu-

seum, and that her grandfa-

ther also donated to Haifa's

National Maritime Museum,

as well as to French nation-

al museums, since he knew

that donated artifacts would

remain there forever. "I am

she writes.

the museum.

She states that her grand-



Ethiopian refugees at a camp in Sudan Weds. Ebrahim Hamid/AFP

don, all I wanted was some quiet and to become British. Due to my family circumstances I did not experience the life of a refugee or the lack of anything," he admits with candor. "But I am a nationalist, and after a few years I became politically active. At first I tried to persuade Afwerki and his associates, whom I know well, to desist from oppressing the people, from indoctrination and from engineering people's minds. When this was to no avail, I started working

against the regime." He says that he heads a movement called Agaiazian, which was founded in exile in 2011. The name refers to the Ge'ez language. The movement has 200,000 supporters, he says. Agaiazian aspires to oust Afwerki's oppressive regime and establish a nationstate in Eritrea, Tigrayan

in ethnicity and Orthodox

Soustiel was "proud" to do-

Christian in religion, following the pattern of historical Abyssinia. The movement's platform contains all the right slogans and promises of democracy, freedom, liberalism and economic rehabilitation. Skeptical critics say the movement is also right-wing and fundamentalist Chris-

One of the platform's key clauses talks about the new regime being "part of a Western defense, economic and cultural system that will establish military, cultural, economic and diplomatic relations with Israel, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt, in order to oppose Iranian, Turkish and Chinese expansion in the Red

Sea and the Gulf of Aden." A prominent member of Agaiazian in Israel is Habtom Mahari, who fled to Israel in 2008 and experienced many difficulties before the Interior Ministry would grant him refugee status. He worked in farming in the moshav of Ein Yahav in the Negev desert and graduated environmental studies at Ben Gurion University. He now has a family, with three children, and is writing his doctoral thesis at the Hebrew

Ethiopians in Addis Ababa reading newspapers on the current military confrontation in the country this month. Samuel Habitab / AP

University in Jerusalem. "In Eritrea I studied statistics, working in a government ministry. I left because I faced being drafted [Afwerki imposes conscription for life], Mahari explains. "Afwerki won't live forever, and we want Israel to help us. Our most important need isn't weapons. We want help in setting up a radio and TV station. As soon as it starts broadcasting, his regime will fall."

It's not likely to happen, despite Eritrea's strategic importance to Israel. Israel's intelligence community -Mossad and Military Intelligence-operated in the united Ethiopia before the fall of Haile Selassie. It maintained surveillance stations and recruited agents that were used in surveillance against Egypt, Sudan, Palestinian terror organizations in Yemen, and in safeguarding the shipping route through the Bab al-Mandeb Straits to Eilat. These operations were halted during the rule of Mengistu (due to blabbing by then-Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan). The impor-

operations which brought Ethiopian Jews to Israel.

After Eritrea became independent, Afwerki, whose life was saved by medical treatment at Sheba Medical Center near Tel Aviv, maintained ties with Israel. His army purchased arms from Israel, as well as three naval vessels. There were also unconfirmed reports indicating that Israeli submarines, on routine active duty and on intelligence missions in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, up to the Persian Gulf, anchored at the islands of Dahlak, which belongs to Eritrea. During Afwerki's rule, embassies were opened in Tel Aviv and Asmara, which are still active on a small scale. However, when, after the 1998 war, Afwerki realized that Israel prefers Ethiopia to him, he turned to Iran, Yemen and The Muslim Brothers for help. All of these now

Asmara. "We've tried to remain in contact with Israel," says Tesfazion. "I traveled to Israel and met foreign ministry officials and Knesset members. I think the meetings were attended by active and former Mossad officials as well. Regrettably, Israel does not appear to be interested. Israel doesn't have long-term plans. It sees Eritrea only through the lens of refugees it wants to get rid of. That's a pity. Despite that, we

have unofficial bureaus in

### **ISLAMIC**

Continued from page 1

that time, the ministry may ask for the entire sale to be postponed.

The court refused to discuss the question of to whom the artifacts belong.

The main questions under discussion are whether different agencies, such as the museum and the IAA, violated the law regulating museums and antiquities, and who the rightful owner is of the artifacts. Another question concerns whether the museum is a private organization that is not obligated by public regulations.

The auction was initially supposed to take place in late October, but was postponed due to public pressure and following the intervention of Culture Minister Tropper and President Reuven Rivlin. A subsequent auction date was then set for November 25.

The items scheduled to be sold constitute 5 percent of the museum's collection, and include 194 Islamic artifacts and 74 rare timepieces and music boxes from the collection of David Salomons, the father of museum founder Vera Salomons. The museum started tak-

ing shape in the 1960s and eventually opened in 1974. In order to finance operations and acquisitions, Vera Salomons established four foundations, located in Lichtenstein, the United States and Britain. The Hermann de Stern Foundation, located in Lichtenstein, is the only one still involved in running the museum

#### A Jerusalem memorial

The issue of ownership over the museum artifacts remains unresolved, judging by documents submit-

ted to the court, since no

original documents relating to the financing by these foundations were presented. Moreover there is no documentation showing where Vera Salomons wished the items to be placed perma-

nently. Haaretz has talked to several people who are familiar with the museum's operations in its early days. They say Salomons and other donors never intended for the artifacts to be scattered around the world.

Prof. Miriam Rosen-Ayalon, the most senior Israeli authority on Islamic art acquired her education at the Sorbonne. Starting in 1958, she worked in the Islamic Art department at the Louvre Museum. She met Vera Salomons in Paris in the early '60s, at the behest of Salomons, who was considering establishing a museum. Rosen-Avalon recounts that Salomons talked at that meeting about her plan to set up a museum of Islamic art in Jerusalem, which would also be a center of research and study in memory of Prof. L.A. Mayer (after whom the museum is formally named).

Salomons asked Rosen-Avalon to be the director of the future museum, according to Rosen-Ayalon, who says she couldn't accept the position because she had become a faculty member at the Hebrew University in 1963.

The ties between the two continued during Rosen-Avalon's term at the Louvre, and she kept recommending items she deemed worthy of adding to the collection. Rosen-Ayalon says Salomons explicitly intended to keep the collection – which was growing thanks to the help of Prof. Richard Ettinghausen - in its permanent lo-

cation in Jerusalem. "She would definitely not wish for these items to be sold," Rosen-Ayalon asserts. "She built this splendid en-

terprise in Jerusalem, and

there's no doubt she wanted the collection to remain there - both due to her ties to Israel and as a memorial

to Prof. Mayer," she adds.

Ruth Cheshin, who headed the Jerusalem Foundation for decades and was present at key moments in the world of philanthropy, met Vera Salomons shortly before the latter's death in 1969. She argues that when you look at Salomons' activity, you realize she wanted the artifacts to stay in Jerusalem.

"These are irreplaceable items, and she chose one of the biggest experts in the field, Prof. Richard Ettinghausen, to put the collection together," she says. "It's unlikely she would have chosen him had she thought the items would be scattered around the world. These are treasures. No amount of money matches their value," she adds.

#### 'Against my

grandfather's wishes' A further issue is that several of the items up for auction were donated by different people, such as "Mr. Swelheim" from the Netherlands, Nicolas Landau from Paris and Gerard Arnhold from Brazil.

Other items up for sale were donated by Joseph Soustiel. His granddaugh-

sure my grandfather was convinced that it would be the same for the Mayer museum and none of its pieces would ever be sold," she states. She adds that Joseph



Artifacts the museum wants to auction off through Sotheby's.

nate to the museum, because he "loved the philosophy of Vera Salomons, which reflected his own history."

#### A deal between two

private entities

The museum and the Hermann de Stern Foundation attached several agreements previously made with the other foundations to the documents they submitted to the High Court. The last one dates from 2010, stating that ownership of the artifacts was transferred to the Hermann de Stern Foundation in Lichtenstein.

In their response, written by the Agmon & Co., Rosenberg Hacohen & Co. law firm, they state that ownership over the collection was never the museum's, and they were consolidated with the dwindling of the foundation's assets. This argument contradicts reports by the museum that were presented to government bodies that no documents regarding the establishment of these foundations were ever presented.

The museum, the foundation and Sotheby's contended that the auction was a deal between two private agencies: the Hermann de Stern Foundation in Lichtenstein and Sotheby's in

London. They said they were



Sotheby's

not clear why anyone had the right to intervene. According to the museum and the foundation, they didn't require the Culture Ministry's approval in order to sell off items from the museum. Moreover, they argued that the court shouldn't be dealing with ownership issues

since this is strictly a civil-

commercial matter. The foundation stated that the facts being presented to the court were wrong, "since the artifacts aren't owned by the museum and never were. They belong to the Hermann de Stern Foundation that was established by Vera Salomons. There's no contradiction with her original wishes; the items were under their ownership.

along with other foundations set up by Salomons. "In 1993 and 2010, ownership over all the artifacts was transferred to the foundation through legal contracts, and the assets have remained under the foundation's ownership to this day. We see no violation of the law regulating nongovern-

mental organizations." The law firm representing Sotheby's - Erdinast, Ben Nathan, Toledano & Co. - also questioned why the court needed to intervene in contracts between private players registered outside of Israel, "thereby denying the museum the freedom to decide, given to

it by the legislator.' According to Sotheby's, after a careful selection process, items worth 1.4 percent of the value of the museum's entire collection were chosen. Sotheby's said that based on the contract they have, they would seek compensation and expenses of over 2 million English pounds if the

sale were called off. Sotheby's also claimed that discussions went on for weeks between the museum and the Antiquities Authority prior to the approval of

the sale by archaeologist

Ilan Hadad, who is acting head of the Antiquities Theft Prevention Unit. He had wished the museum luck,

tance of this region was also

evident during the covert

Sotheby's said. "The foundation, the museum and Sotheby's invested many resources in order to meet the demands of the Antiquities Authority, which carefully examined the items, consulting with archaeologists who specialize in the relevant periods,'

the auction house stated. The IAA argued that it operated within the law and that after realizing it could not prevent the auction based on the Antiquities Law, it informed the Culture Ministry of the intention to auction these items. The idea was to use additional means in order to prevent

the sale, they said. However, this contradicts the fact that the IAA only involved the Culture Ministry many weeks after people at the museum started talking

to Hadad. Another claim by Sotheby's is that these artifacts are not actually that mean-

ingful to Israel.

"They have no national, cultural or historical value for Israel or its public," Sotheby's wrote. "Thus, even if we assume that the auction is irreversible, there is no harm done." They also noted that many auctions have taken place in recent years, in which they've helped the Israel Museum sell more than 100 works of art "whose cumulative value reaches tens of millions of dollars - much more than the items from the Islamic museum slated for

auctioning.' Lawyer Roy Shweika, who handles High Court cases for the State Prosecutor's Office and is the respondent to the petition on behalf of the Culture Ministry and attorney general, wrote that the state supported a temporary injunction that would stop the

auction for now. The main issue is one of

ownership, he wrote. "The museum claims that a private foundation is the owner, having loaned the items. This places in question the idea of whether the museum meets the conditions for being recognized as a museum, and could impact its eligibility for future support, with a possible repayment of finances it

still support Israel and hope

for a change.'

ka wrote. The state claimed that the museum and foundation's claim that ownership of these items is private contradicts reports filed by the museum over the years, in which it stated that, other than 24

items, all others were owned

received in the past," Shwei-

by the museum. Shweika added that "the transfer of items from the museum to the foundation should be examined, to establish whether this meets conditions set by donors when they made their donations to be presented to the public in Jerusalem. There is an essential problem with the fact that all the museum's assets, including displays and structures, belong to a private foundation located in Lichtenstein, which has purchased a recognized museum with all its displays. Another problem lies with the NGO the museum is associated with, which is serving only

as an operating agent.' Heller said the position of Culture Minister Tropper and the attorney general, who fully supports the petition, constituted significant assistance to an NGO trying to preserve cultural assets. (It is rare for the state to join a petition by an NGO.) He added that the IAA's actions seriously affected cultural and spiritual treasures in Israeltreasures that were brought here, or will be brought here in the future, in order to enrich the public. He believed the museum and foundation acted in bad faith, exploiting the lack of understanding of a complex issue by officials

at the Antiquities Authority.

