



ANTI-SEMITIC MOTIFS IN THE IDEOLOGY OF HIZBALLAH AND HAMAS

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ABSTRACT

In studying the attitudes of Muslims, and Muslim Arabs in particular, toward Judaism, Zionism and the State of Israel, one cannot avoid dealing with the question whether the term anti-Semitism is appropriate for defining these attitudes .

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INTRODUCTION

In studying the attitudes of Muslims, and Muslim Arabs in particular, toward Judaism, Zionism and the State of Israel, one cannot avoid dealing with the question whether the term anti-Semitism is appropriate for defining these attitudes.

The concept anti-Semitism is derived from the Christian world and from the theories of racism which emerged in it, and denotes an abiding negative attitude rooted in theological, social and cultural preconceptions. In contrast to anti-Jewish manifestations in European sources, expressed mainly in religious and racist terms, anti-Semitic manifestations in Arab/Islamic sources are mainly political in tone, and primarily associated with the perception of Zionism and the State of Israel as secular national entities. In fact, there is a high correlation between the development of anti-Semitism in the Arab world and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The major manifestations of anti-Semitism in the Arab world today are verbal, consisting of an extensive literature of anti-Semitic publications, caricatures and translations of Western anti-Semitic books. Anti-Zionist and anti-Israel writers and activists in the Arab/Muslim world today adopt motifs from Christian anti-Semitic texts and give them Islamic connotations derived from the traditional Islamic attitude toward the Jews.

The emergence of Islamic fundamentalism in recent years has provided a further impetus for this trend, with Muslim fundamentalists radicalizing the demonization of Israel in Islamic terms. The Qur'an and the Muslim tradition (hadith) are utilized in a process of rationalizing the rejection of Zionism, Israel and the Jews in general.

The actual positions against Israel and Zionism, advocating their obliteration derive from the national territorial struggle and are not necessarily manifestations or products of anti-Semitism per se. However, when they are buttressed by an ideology that negates Zionists and Jews not only for what they do but for a series of inherent negative features attributed to them, such as craftiness, wickedness, greediness, they unquestionably become anti-Semitic. The national conflict thus receives an additional dimension--a religio-cultural one--that in the fundamentalist perception is historical and existential and therefore irreconcilable.

Nevertheless, it must be stressed that while anti-Semitism is a basic tenet of these movements, it is by no means the central one, as it was in Western racial and religious ideologies.

Undoubtedly, this complex subject deserves current and fundamental academic examination, for which the Project for the Study of Anti-Semitism is recommended. Its work in monitoring anti-Semitic activity and publications, analyzing them and publishing its findings, constitutes a valuable contribution to understanding Arab perceptions and motivations, that determine positions toward Israel and the peace process during this period, on the threshold of a new era in the Middle East.

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FOREWORD

A Word on the Emergence of Anti-Semitism in the Arab World

There are many and diverse definitions of the term anti-Semitism, mostly emanating from Christian writings and perceptions. Essentially, the term denotes a persistent and profound negative attitude toward Jews that has theological and psychological origins, exceeding other forms of ethnic and racial prejudice. An expression is considered anti-Semitic when it attributes certain unique and permanent characteristics to the Jews and portrays them as an eternally evil force secretly plotting against both God and mankind.

Anti-Semitism did not exist in the traditional Islamic world. Jews under Islam had the status of *ahl al-dhimma* (protected people), a discriminatory status which guaranteed the safety of their lives and properties (as well as those of other minorities) as a religious minority so long as they paid the capital tax (*jizya*) and abided by the rules of Islam and the restrictions imposed on them.¹

Anti-Semitism is, in fact, a relatively new phenomenon in the Arab world, gaining ground particularly since the eruption of the Arab-Israeli conflict in the mid-twentieth century.² Nazi-style anti-Semitic books and publications have been published openly. For example, there are at least nine different Arabic translations of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion,"³ which was translated into Arabic for the first time in the 1920's. The argument that the Arabs cannot be anti-Semitic since they themselves are Semites is irrelevant, not only because "Semite" is a linguistic, not a racial or a national classification,⁴ but because the term anti-Semitic has traditionally referred to Jews only.

The development of European-style anti-Semitism in the Arab countries is related to three major factors: first, the penetration during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of a variety of European ideologies and concepts into the Arab world, among them anti-Semitism; second, the collapse of traditional political systems and of the loyalties and practices associated with them, giving way to the emergence of nationalistic government structures less tolerant in their treatment of religious, ethnic and ideological minorities; and third, and most crucial, the development of the conflict over the domination of Palestine, beginning with Jewish resettlement in the late nineteenth century, followed by the establishment of the State of Israel and the ensuing Arab-Israeli conflict.⁵ Themes borrowed from European Christendom were adapted by incorporating explicit Islamic references in them. The most important example of this process, according to Prof. Bernard Lewis, was the restating of the story of Muhammad's relations with the Jews. "Instead of being a minor nuisance, ineffectual and unsuccessful in their plots against him," as they were traditionally depicted, "they [the Jews] are depicted as a dark and evil force, conspiring to destroy the Prophet, and continuing as the main danger to Islam."⁶ Yehoshafat Harkabi calls this trend the "Islamization of the hatred of the Jews."⁷

Hostility to the State of Israel and to Zionism as an ideology arising from the Arab-Israeli conflict, while not in itself necessarily a manifestation of anti-Semitism, gradually gave rise to a deeper, irreconcilable hatred that does not differentiate between Israelis, Zionists or Jews.

Esther Webman

ANTI-SEMITISM AS A COROLLARY OF ANTI-ZIONISM: A BASIC TENET OF HIZBALLAH IDEOLOGY AS REFLECTED IN THE HIZBALLAH PRESS

The relatively new phenomenon on the Lebanese political scene, Hizballah ("the Party of God") has gained worldwide attention during the, last ten years because of its terrorist activity, its radical ideology, and its unique relationship with the Islamic Republic of Iran. This paper focuses on one aspect of Hizballah's outlook--its attitude toward Israel, Zionism and Judaism, examines its centrality in the movement's overall ideology, strategy and behavior, and explores its development in the context of the Shi'ite religious resurgence in Lebanon.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 and the continued presence of Israel in Lebanon played a prominent role in bringing Hizballah to the forefront of Lebanese politics, and

contributed to the organization's intense preoccupation with the existence, nature, purpose and future prospects of the State of Israel.

Hizballah's total negation of Israel's existence is, on the face of it, a natural extension of its negation of the West, especially the US, inasmuch as Israel is perceived as a tool to realize American interests in the region. However, this negation based on Islamic precepts portraying Judaism as the oldest and bitterest adversary of Islam and intertwined with anti-Semitic motifs, taken mainly from Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni's preaching and rhetoric, turns into a basic tenet in the movement's general Islamic plan. It appears, therefore, that the line distinguishing between anti-Zionism - the de-legitimization of Israel's right to exist - and anti-Semitism - a primordial hatred of the Jews is becoming increasingly difficult to define.

Hizballah's attitude toward Israel and the Jews, entrenched as it is in the movement's overall philosophy, predicates that the way to a new Lebanon and Islamic revival passes through Jerusalem. Notwithstanding, it should be emphasized from the outset that despite its anti-Semitic motifs, this attitude is not the most significant tenet of Hizballah philosophy.

Besides drawing from general publications as well as academic studies of Hizballah, this paper is based on primary sources such as Arabic newspapers and radio broadcasts, in particular al-Muntalaq, the monthly organ of the Islamic Lebanese Students' Organization, which serves as an ideological platform for Hizballah, al-‘Ahd weekly newspaper, both published in Beirut.

THE SHI'IS IN LEBANON

Lebanese society and the Lebanese confessional political system were based on a delicate balance between disparate groups, brought together under the French Mandate in the 1920 's and later in the territorial state that became independent in 1941. This entity consisted of enclaves inhabited by Maronites, Sunni Moslems, Druze, Greek Orthodox and Shi'i Moslems in the Biqa' Valley , and southern Lebanon The social and political balance embodied in the constitution of 1926, stipulated by the French, and in the national covenant of 1943 was designed to hold these groups together through proportional representation in parliament, in political office and in the civil service The gradual collapse of this balance after independence led to instability and eventually to unrest and civil war.¹

This confessional system, whose abolition is one of Hizballah's main objectives was blamed by the movement for the continuous injustice suffered by the Shi'i community in Lebanon over the years. At the time of the establishment of the Lebanese state, the Shi'i community was the third largest in size; today it is considered the largest community numbering approximately 1.3 million. From the outset it suffered certain distinct disadvantages relative to other communities:

socioeconomic backwardness, a distrusted feudal political leadership, and an attitude of indifference on the part of the government.²

Growing social tension in the Lebanese Shi'i community over the years converged with a change in the self-perception of Shi'ism from the 1960's onwards, when its doctrine shifted from passivity to activism.³ This process culminated in the Iranian revolution led by Ayatollah Khomeyni, which strove thereafter to expand beyond its territorial limits and penetrate all Islamic schools of thought.⁴

It is against this background that Hizballah emerged in the early 1980's as an indigenous Shi'i movement inspired by the Islamic revolution in Iran which arose as a reaction to adverse local conditions.

The origins of Shi'i activism in Lebanon go back to the early 1960's, shortly after the arrival in Lebanon in 1959 of a young cleric, Shaykh Musa al-Sadr, who paved the way for changes that were to sweep through the Lebanese Shi'i community.⁵ Sadr, a disciple of the new Shi'i activism emanating from Najaf and Qom (the two Shi'i religious centers, in Iraq and Iran respectively), started preaching this creed shortly after his arrival. He gradually gained influence in the Shi'i community and in the Lebanese political scene in general. The first substantial sign of the success of his efforts was the formation by him of the Supreme Islamic Shi'i Council in 1967, which he has headed since 1969. This was followed in the 1970's by the establishment of the first Shi'i political movement--the Movement of the Disinherited (Harakat al-Mahrumin) - a grass roots movement of social and political protest. By mid-1974, this movement had developed into a military organization - Amal, an acronym for Afwaj al-Muqawama al-Lubnaniyya (Lebanese Resistance Brigades), as well as a word which means hope in Arabic. Sadr headed Amal until his mysterious disappearance in August 1978, while traveling to Libya. Sadr sought to bring about change in the Shi'i community through an evolutionary process of reform of the Lebanese political system. He attacked the left, which was gaining support among young Shi'is, as well as the established sociopolitical order, using radical rhetoric and appealing directly to the masses. As a Shi'i cleric he had a considerable advantage over leaders of other political trends, granted a high degree of legitimacy by the Shi'i masses.⁶ His political agenda stemmed from his interpretation of faith. "Faith," as one Arab historian explained, "was not about ritual, but about social concerns ... Religion was not something that had to be quarantined and kept pure by stern guardians; it could be made to address modern needs. Thus, the man of religion, Rajul al-Din, need not hide and solely concern himself with old books and rituals, hilt should "bring back religion into the social and political realm."⁷

Sadr's disappearance in 1978 wreaked havoc in the ranks of Amal. With no other figure to fill the leadership gap, personal rivalries and ideological disagreements eventually divided Amal into two distinct groups: a secular one, headed by Nabih Beri, and an increasingly more religiously

radical one - al-Amal al-Islami - headed by Husayn al-Musawi, both claiming to faithfully represent Sadr's legacy.

Sadr, elevated to the position of a hidden imam whose return is anticipated, in accordance with traditional Shi'i belief, formally occupied the chairmanship of the Supreme Islamic Shi'i Council until March 1994 and still symbolizes the Shi'i awakening in Lebanon. Thus, the emergence of Hizballah in 1982 was a natural development resulting from the "convergence of Lebanese Shi'i interests with Iranian foreign policy orientations," according to one scholar.⁸

THE EMERGENCE OF HIZBALLAH

Hizballah is a radical Lebanese Islamic resistance movement whose ideology combines a strong social message with a universal political goal and an Islamic mission, to be realized by revolutionary means, i.e., jihad. Within a few years, Hizballah attained moral and military hegemony in the Lebanese Shi'i community, and more recently it has striven to achieve legitimization in Lebanese society at large in order to fulfill its objectives.

The name Hizballah is taken from a Qur'anic verse and means the "Party of God" (see sura: The Table 56), reflecting the way the movement perceives itself. "We in Lebanon," it states in an open letter regarded as its ideological platform, "are not a closed organizational party nor a narrow political framework. Rather, we are a nation tied to the Muslims in every part of the world by a strong ideological and political bond, namely Islam."⁹ The name symbolizes both the broad identity which Hizballah seeks, and the application of Khomeyni's ideal of replacing the Western concept of the nation-state by a "hizballah," which would unite the entire Islamic community of believers (umma) under the leadership of the jurisprudent (wilayat al-faqih),¹⁰ who is the supreme religious authority. Theoretically, every Muslim is by definition a member of Hizballah, but in fact the movement's adherents are mainly Lebanese Shi'is.

Three major events played a key role in mobilizing the resistance movement and radicalizing the Shi'i community: the disappearance of Sadr, the Israeli invasions of Lebanon in 1978 and 1982, and the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The last event, in particular, helped "heighten the political consciousness of the Shi'ite community of Lebanon," according to one researcher, and gave it a source of identity that "transcended national borders."¹¹

Hizballah started to operate in 1982 in the aftermath of the Israeli invasion in June of that year, receiving help from Iranian revolutionary Guards (Pasdaran) sent to Lebanon as part of Iran's attempt to export the Islamic revolution. This force had arrived in Lebanon earlier to train and indoctrinate Lebanese Shi'is.¹² Hizballah began as a loose network of military, political and social groupings,¹³ an arrangement that was later to lead to internal tactical controversy. Nevertheless, the movement developed into a well-organized political entity with broad popular

support.¹⁴ It is run by a consultative council (shura) of 12 led by a secretary-general, with seven operational departments in charge of diplomatic, military, social, intelligence and information activities.¹⁵ Most of the major decisions are made by the council collectively and approved by Iran. Strict internal discipline is imposed on the rank and file, who are expected to accept clerical guidance in every aspect of life unquestionably, in accordance with Shi'i tradition.¹⁶

Establishing itself initially in the Biqa' Valley, mainly around the city of Ba'albak where the Iranian Revolutionary Guards were stationed, Hizballah soon moved into other areas heavily populated by Shi'is - West Beirut and the south. In 1984 it took control of West Beirut, pushing aside Amal, and after the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon in 1985 began challenging Amal's strongholds in southern Lebanon through a combination of violence, intimidation and indoctrination as well as investment in developing various social welfare services.¹⁷ Militarily, it was initially organized in small clandestine units, but these gradually turned into well-paid semi-regular military forces. Today Hizballah maintains command centers, training bases and a military force of approximately 5,000 fighters (mujahidun).¹⁸

Iran's backing and the Iranian presence in Lebanon played a crucial role in the emergence of Hizballah. Iran continues to be its major supporter, providing it with financial support, military training and a well-defined set of politico-religious beliefs, reinforcing the movement with zeal and with the experience of proven success.

HIZBALLAH'S IDEOLOGICAL TENETS

Hizballah assimilated the doctrine of the Islamic Republic of Iran totally and pledged allegiance to its leader, Ayatollah Khomeyni, and his heir, 'All Khamaneh'i. The basic tenet of this doctrine is that Islam is a political and social doctrine akin to Marxism or any other Western ideology, going "beyond ethnic and regional orders and [offering] the best alternative to solve people's problems."¹⁹ Hizballah's ideology emphasizes the Qur'anic origins of its political terminology, with its messages deriving first and foremost from Shi'i themes and symbols, although it tries to conceal its Shi'i leanings.²⁰

Hizballah's ideology revolves around several circles, beginning with the inner circle, consisting of the oppressed Lebanese Shi'i community, proceeding outward to Lebanese society at large, the entire Islamic world, and finally encompassing the oppressed everywhere in the world. It has both short-term and long-term objectives, which can be summarized as follows:

.1The abolishment of the confessional system in Lebanon and the transformation of the country into an Islamic state with justice, equality, peace and security for all through the application of the Islamic legal code (Shari'a);(

.2Resistance to nationalism, imperialism and Western arrogance and the liberation of all oppressed Muslim peoples;

.3Bringing about Islamic unity in order to transform Islam into a universal power and establish Islamic rule; and

.4Negation of Israel, and the liberation of Jerusalem and Palestine.²¹

The spirit of this ideology is reflected in the movement's emblem, which features a raised arm bearing a rifle against the background of the globe, with the slogan "The Party of God is Sure to Triumph" on top, and the motto "The Islamic Revolution in Lebanon" at the bottom.

THE DEMONIZATION OF ISRAEL

The liberation of Jerusalem and Palestine is perceived by Hizballah as a major strategic target, essential for achieving Shi'i liberation in Lebanon as well as for the realization of the ultimate goal: worldwide Islamic rule. The conflict with Israel and the Jews is a total life-or-death war, integral to three broader conflicts:

.1the conflict between "the arrogants of the world" (mustakbirin) and "the downtrodden of the world" (mustad'afin);

.2the cultural struggle between the West and the Islamic world;

.2the historical struggle between Judaism and Islam.

Israel is depicted as the product of Western imperialism and Western arrogance in the context of the conflict between the West and the Islamic world. The West, perceived as the source of evil, installed Israel in the region in order to continue dominating it and exploiting its resources. Israel, then, is the source of all evil and violence in the Middle East and an obstacle in the way of Islamic unity, and it must therefore be eradicated.²²

The representation of Israel as a Western tool, foreign to the region, constitutes a major theme in the writings, sermons and speeches of Hizballah leaders and spokesmen, which are disseminated in the movement's press and broadcast on their radio stations. It is also explicitly expressed in Hizballah's platform. Israel is depicted as an "American spearhead" in the Islamic world, "the ulcerous growth of world Zionism," and "a usurping enemy that must be fought until the usurped right is returned to its owners. Israel's final departure from Lebanon is a prelude to its ultimate obliteration and to "the liberation of venerable Jerusalem from the talons of occupation. "America, the first root of vice, its allies and the Zionist entity have engaged and continue to engage in constant aggression against us and are working constantly to humiliate us."²³

Israel is thus completely identified with the West, with the US "the big Satan"²⁴ - and with Western culture, modernization and moral corruption, which have caused all the maladies in the Arab and Muslim worlds.²⁵ Both Jews and Americans are presented as "the enemies of God and Islam"²⁶ and as "the Party of the Devil" versus the "Party of God."²⁷

Often the aphorisms by Khomeyni and Khamaneh'i published regularly on the back page of Hizballah's weekly al-'Ahd refer to Israel. Typically, one such aphorism, attributed to Khamaneh'i, depicts Israel as "a cancerous wound in the area, an imposed and oppressive entity, having no identity, which ought to be uprooted."²⁸ Although the description of Israel as a cancer is not new, the use of the adjective "cancerous" in Hizballah publications was apparently originated by Khomyni²⁹ and appears in various combinations, such as "cancerous germ"³⁰ or "cancerous gland,"³¹ all of which convey the uncontrollable and treacherous nature of cancer and the difficulty in uprooting it.

Israel is also often described as racist, treacherous and barbarian.³² By establishing the State of Israel, according to Hizballah rhetoric, the world has created a devil from which even greater evil will ensue, and "the Israeli poison will spread and affect the entire World."³³ Caricatures containing traditional Western anti-Semitic symbols are a widespread means of demonizing Israel. Typically, Israel's alleged ruthlessness is illustrated by a soldier with a long, crooked nose, long teeth and ears and a prickly chin, wearing an armband with the star of David and a steel helmet on his head, and holding a dagger dripping with blood.³⁴

BLURRING THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ZIONISTS AND JEWS

Hizballah spokesmen interchange the terms Zionism and Judaism, and Zionists and Jews, freely. In an interview, Husayn Fadlallah, the most senior religious authority of Hizballah, explained the difference between Judaism and Israel thus: Judaism, like Christianity, is a religion that is recognized by Islam. Islam calls for a dialogue with the Jews, as with the Christians, since they are "the people of the book" (ahl al-Kitab). But, "there is something called Israel," which is a manifestation of "the Jewish movement," and it aims at occupying Islamic lands. Using as an excuse that this land was promised to them by God and that they had lived there thousands of years ago, the Jews expelled the people who lived there. This is "political Judaism, defined as Zionism," and it constitutes aggression against all Muslims, since it uses force and oppresses others."³⁵

Fadlallah proceeded to support these views with Qur'anic references to the corrupt, treacherous and aggressive nature of the Jews. "We find in the Qu'ran that the Jews are the most aggressive towards the Muslims, not because they are Jews or because they believe in the Torah but because

of their aggressive resistance to the unity of the faith. They reached an agreement with the idolaters to fight the prophet Muhammad, Fadlallah asserted; they are known as the killers of the prophets; they spread corruption on earth; and they oppress other peoples."³⁶ The idea that those most hostile to the faithful are the Jews and the idolaters is a theme which appears repeatedly"³⁷

Fadlallah and other Hizballah spokesmen do not see any contradiction in presenting Islamic sources as displaying tolerance toward the Jews, on the one hand, and as exposing the Jews' wickedness, on the other. These same sources, according to Hizballah ideologists, also provide the reasoning behind, and the motivation for, the irreconcilable struggle between Islam and Judaism, which is viewed as the struggle between truth and falsehood, and good and evil. The Hizballah fighters wage war on Israel out of religious belief and conviction, "just as they pray and fast--it's God's order to them."³⁸

Israel is a state that emerged in the heart of the Arab nation in order to revive "the Jewish persona" through Zionist racism in confrontation with all Muslims.³⁹ "Either we destroy Israel or Israel destroys us."⁴⁰ A further dimension is added to the abiding enmity between Islam and Judaism in the utilization of Western anti-Semitic images and perceptions of Jews. "The Jews are the enemy of the entire human race."⁴¹ "Zionism dictates the world and dominates it."⁴² "The Jews constitute a financial power ... They use funds to dominate the Egyptian media and infect its society with AIDS."⁴³ "The Torah inspires the Jews to kill."⁴⁴

The conspiratorial and racial character of Zionism is developed extensively in the analytical articles that appeared in the movement's monthly, al-Muntalaq, during the period under review. According to this publication, world Zionism cooperated with the secretive Masonic order in order to dominate the World.⁴⁵ The Jews view themselves as the chosen people, which is the source of their racism and their condescending attitude to other peoples.⁴⁶ The origins of the Jewish image in Western societies are described at length as further proof of the universally negative perception of the Jews. One of the articles refers to Shylock in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, and to the definition of the word "Jew" that appears in French and English dictionaries as the symbol of "deceit, hypocrisy, treachery, exploitation, cheating and hatred of others."⁴⁷

Fadlallah, in another interview, is quoted as saying:

The Jews want to be a world superpower. This racist circle of Jews wants to take vengeance on the whole world for their history of persecution and humiliation. In this light, the Jews will work on the basis that Jewish interests are above all world interests. No one should imagine that the Jews act on behalf of any super or minor power; it is their personality to make for themselves a future world presence.⁴⁸

Yet, despite their seemingly invincible power, "the Zionists are also cowardly and meek."⁴⁹ Even if it takes another century, Islam will emerge victorious, as it did in the twelfth century when it banished the Crusaders who had occupied Palestine for two hundred years, and as it did by spiritually overpowering the descendants of the savage Mongols who had conquered the Islamic territories in the thirteenth century.⁵⁰

Close scrutiny of outpourings of anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic sentiment by Hizballah activists reveals that they occur more frequently on certain occasions, as follows:

.1 Memorial days for the fallen (the "martyrs") killed as a result of Israeli military operations in Lebanon, such as that held annually in February for Shaykh Raghīb Harb, observed by the entire movement. It was on this occasion in 1985 that Hizballah's platform was first read out at a mass rally in the form of an open letter.

.2 Following Israeli military operations. The abduction of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm 'Ubayd in July 1989, the killing Shaykh 'Abbas al-Musawi in February 1992 and Israeli strikes at Hizballah bases in southern Lebanon in retaliation for ambushes of Israeli soldiers in the Israeli security zone, unleashed an outpouring of emotion expressed in numerous speeches, articles and radio commentaries. These included such epithets as: "wicked enemies of God and Mankind," "villains," "Zionist gang," "blood-thirsty Zionists," "the most cowardly of God's creatures."⁵¹ Similar reactions followed Operation Accountability in July 1993, attempting to instigate war by reiterating that Hizballah consists of "followers of martyr Husayn ... the sons of the blood revolution of Karbala" (the battle in 680 in which Imam Husayn Ibn 'All was martyred).⁵²

.3 Regional and international political events relating to the Middle East and specifically to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The holding of the multilateral peace talks in Madrid, the invalidation of the UN resolution equating Zionism with racism, and the decision of the Palestinian National Council to join the peace talks were vehemently denounced, with Hizballah issuing special statements on these occasions, reiterating depictions of the "conspiratorial, conceited and obstinate" character of the Jew, who should never be trusted. The peace conference was labeled a "Satanic plan, and peace with the "Israeli enemy" was equated with "peace with crime, treachery, barbarism and racism."⁵³

.4 Religious, especially Shi'i, holidays. When Hizballah terrorist activity is plotted on a graph, the curve soars during the 40 days following 'Ashura, the Shi'is' holiest day, commemorating Imam Husayn's martyrdom, which became a symbol of Shi'i oppression and later of Shi'i activism and is observed by demonstrations and self-flagellation,⁵⁴

.5 Jerusalem Day. A commemorative holiday fixed by Khomeyni in 1980 (see below). (

.6 During parliamentary elections. In presenting their political platform during the election campaign in 1992, Hizballah candidates made frequent references to the conflict with Israel and

the Jews, including inflammatory anti-Semitic allusions such as "parasitic entity," "the Zionist culprits," and "the struggle with the Jews is a struggle for Islamic survival."⁵⁵

Several Lebanese and American Jews were taken hostage by Hizballah in the first couple of years of the organization's activity, and some Lebanese Jews, among them the head of the community, Isaac Sasson, were accused of being Israeli spies and executed during 1985/1986. It would appear that their primary guilt was in being Jews who continued to live in the Muslim quarter of Beirut after 1984, when Hizballah forces gained control over it, or, in the case of foreign hostages, having Jewish names.⁵⁶

JERUSALEM - THE BUILDING OF A MYTH

The holiness of Jerusalem and its importance to Islam assumed mythical dimensions in the Arab world and especially in the Islamic Fundamentalist movements after the Six-Day War of 1967. This trend received further impetus from the Iranian Islamic revolution, which adopted Jerusalem as a political symbol, stressing its religious importance to all Muslims.⁵⁷

For Hizballah as well, the liberation of Jerusalem is perceived as the essence of the resistance effort, with the struggle for Lebanon merely a stage on the road to the redemption of Jerusalem.⁵⁸ Hizballah zealously adopted Jerusalem Day, which was fixed as an Islamic holiday by Khomeyni in 1980, a year after he seized power in Iran, on the last Friday of the month of Ramadan.⁵⁹ The day is commemorated by Hizballah with marches, demonstrations and mass rallies. It is known as "the day of Islam" or "the day of Islamic revival," when every Muslim must prepare himself for the confrontation with Israel.⁶⁰ Jerusalem Day gained the status of other religious Islamic holidays such as "the day of the battle of Badr" (in 624, a battle won by Muhammad which symbolizes the victory of a minority over a majority), "the night of Mi'raj" (the night of Muhammad's ascent to heaven), and 'Id al-Fits (the last day of Ramadan).⁶¹

Two Hizballah military units were named for Jerusalem - the Jerusalem Brigade in Ba'albak and the Division of the Liberation of Jerusalem.⁶² An entire issue of al-Muntalaq was dedicated to Jerusalem in 1991, covering historical, religious and political aspects."⁶³ Numerous articles traced the origins of the city's holiness and its importance to the Muslims. Jerusalem was presented as an Islamic cause manifested in light of its "Islamic historical glory."⁶⁴ It is also perceived as a unifying factor, thereby playing an essential role in Hizballah's pan-Islamic ideology.

Jerusalem is consistently viewed as a unique symbol which spans all political trends and religious schools of thought in the Muslim world. Its status is of concern to the entire Islamic nation and is perceived as a reflection of that nation's strength or weakness.⁶⁵

Historically, Jerusalem is the first qibla (direction of prayer),⁶⁶ the site of the al-Aqsa Mosque, and the third holiest city after Mecca and Medina.⁶⁷ Emotionally, it is a concept capable of mobilizing the masses of the Islamic nation and a banner around which they can rally and start taking charge of their own destiny.⁶⁸ According to Husayn Fadlallah, Jerusalem was, is and will remain the axis of the jihad movement for all Muslims. However, because they adopted foreign ideologies, the Arabs mistreated Jerusalem over the years and related to it solely as a geographical region, ignoring its religious sanctity. In his view Jerusalem is the essence of the Islamic strategic plan, which aims at the revival of Islam and the retrieval of the lost pride and dignity of the Islamic nation.⁶⁹ For this reason, Fadlallah declared, it must be kept ever-present in the mind.⁷⁰

CONCLUSION

Hizballah acquired its theoretical basis including its attitude toward Israel and the Jews from Khomeynism. Ayatollah Homeyni, together with Fadlallah, "gave a practical and activist form" to those Qur'anic, verses, and the hadith, relating to "the struggle against culprits and unbelievers," according to one commentator.⁷¹ "Their view of the conflict derives from a deep understanding of the Qur'an and history."⁷² Khomeyni also drew on traditional Shi'i attitudes toward the Jews, which viewed them as unclean, impure and corrupt infidels and treated them with overt contempt.⁷³ He referred to the impurity of the Jews in his books⁷⁴ and laid down rules for dealing with them, although apparently Hizballah chose to ignore this argumentation in their statements, speeches and articles on the Jews.

Hizballah is completely opposed to Jews and Judaism and stresses the eternal conflict between them and Islam, although it also cites the more tolerant aspects of Islam toward the Jews. The movement calls to distinguish between Judaism and Zionism, but at the same time reinforces its anti-Zionism by reviving the ancient Islamic enmity toward the Jews, revealing that essentially there is no separation between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism.

Hizballah's brand of anti-Semitism is yet another addition to the emerging phenomenon of Islamic anti-Semitism, and is typical of the fundamentalist Islamic movements generally"⁷⁵, combining traditional Islamic perceptions with Western anti-Semitic terminology and motifs to express its opposition to Zionism. Zionism, in turn, is equated not only with the State of Israel but also with imperialism and with Western arrogance.

Hizballah has been making efforts to reconcile three disparate elements in its ideology - the pan-Islamic, Shi'i and Lebanese. It has come to recognize that political, social and economic conditions, whether local, regional or international, affect ideology and dictate change. example, it appears that the movement is modifying its tactics in the domestic Lebanese arena. By

participating in Lebanon's parliamentary elections, allowing the deployment of the Lebanese army into southern Lebanon, and functioning within the existing political system Hizballah has displayed a greater awareness of its Lebanese identity, seeing no contradiction between Lebanese nationalism and the Islamic revolution. Its attitude toward Israel and Judaism, however, remains unchanged. It is consistent and inflexible, even though Hizballah spokesmen acknowledge the movement's practical limitations in the event of an all-out war. Fadlallah even admitted that "Israel has now become an undisputed fact on the international scene, whether we like it or not,"⁷⁶ yet victory over Israel is still the first step toward the achievement of a perfect society and a perfect individual, in the Hizballah view.⁷⁷ The idea of the eradication of the State of Israel symbolizes the universal pan-Islamic aspect of Hizballah's ideology and the first target in the struggle against the West. Moreover, the volatile political situation in southern Lebanon, the peace negotiations, and the prospective changes in relations between Israel and the Arab states have pushed Israel as an issue, and hence anti-Semitic manifestations as a corollary, to the forefront, causing these to receive a greater share of exposure than their actual importance in the overall philosophy of Hizballah would warrant.

ANTI-SEMITIC MOTIFS IN HAMAS LEAFLETS, 1987-1992

Since the outbreak of the Intifada in December 1987, the leadership of the various Palestinian organizations in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip have utilized leaflets as a means of disseminating ideas and conveying operational instructions to the population. These leaflets drew considerable attention both from the Israeli authorities and from scholars, who published several studies on the subject,⁷⁸ although none focused on the anti-Semitic aspects of the leaflets.

The following article pinpoints anti-Semitic terminology and motifs contained in the Hamas leaflets, distributed during five years of Intifada, and traces their origins. The material was compiled from the available original Hamas leaflets; from Shaul Mishal's book, *Stones are Not All: The Intifada and the Leaflets as a Weapon*, which provides a Hebrew translation of the leaflets distributed during the first year of Intifada; and from *Falastine al-Muslima*, Hamas' Arabic monthly organ published in London.

THE HAMAS IDEOLOGY

The Islamic Resistance Movement (*Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya*), known by its acronym Hamas, is an Islamic fundamentalist organization which defines itself as the military wing of the Muslim Brethren. The word *hamas* also means devotion and zeal in the path of Allah. The movement, Palestinian by origin, has as its main objective "the liberation of Palestine - the land

and the people - from the Israeli occupation and the establishment of an Islamic Palestinian state."⁷⁹ It sprang from the Muslim Brethren movement, which was active in the Gaza Strip since the 1950's and gained influence through a network of mosques and various charitable and social organizations, until the 1980's, when it emerged as a powerful political factor, challenging the influence of the PLO. In 1987, facing a growing threat to its status from the Islamic Jihad (al-Jihad al-Islami) organization, and under pressure from younger activists, it adapted a more nationalist and activist line and embarked upon a new religio-national course under the name of Hamas.⁸⁰

In November 1988, Hamas published a covenant which was an attempt to systematically present the movement's ideology, in contrast to the PLO covenant.⁸¹ It presents the Arab-Israeli conflict as the epitome of an inherently irreconcilable struggle between Jews and Muslims, and Judaism and Islam. It is not a national or territorial conflict but a historical, religious, cultural and existential conflict between "truth and falsehood,"⁸² the believers and the infidels, in which one side will eventually be the victor. The only way to confront this struggle is through Islam and by means of jihad (holy war), until victory or martyrdom. "The time will not come until Muslims will fight the Jews [and kill them]; until the Jews hide behind rocks and trees, which will cry: Oh Muslim! There is a Jew hiding behind me, come on and kill him!"⁸³ This ideology is represented in the movement's emblem, which shows the Qur'an and a sword. Reflecting this point of view, the Hamas leaflets were the most vociferous of all leaflets distributed by the Palestinian organizations during the Intifada and contained the most extreme anti-Semitic statements against Jews, Israelis and Zionists.

TERMINOLOGY

The terminology used against the Jews in the leaflets is a mixture of Western anti-Semitic and Islamic rhetoric. Some of the anti-Semitic expressions appearing repeatedly in the leaflets are:

"The brothers of the apes, the killers of the Prophets, blood suckers, warmongers,"⁸⁴ "barbaric,"⁸⁵ "cowards,"⁸⁶ "cancer expanding in the land of Isra' [reference to Palestine which was the destination of Muhammad's night journey] and Mi'raj [Muhammad's ascent to heaven] threatening the entire Islamic world,"⁸⁷ "a conceited and arrogant people,"⁸⁸ "the enemy of God and mankind,"⁸⁹ "the descendants of treachery and deceit,"⁹⁰ "Nazis,"⁹¹ "spreading corruption in the land of Islam,"⁹² "the Zionist culprits who poisoned the water in the past, killed infants, women and elders,"⁹³ "thieves, monopolists, usurers."⁹⁴

Verses from the Qur'an and the hadith (the traditions associated with Muhammad passed down by his companions) were used often to reinforce the negative image of the Jews, and terminology

with Islamic connotations was dominant. The leaflets usually began with the religious invocation: "In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate." Almost every leaflet contained a Qur'anic verse either as a heading or as a conclusion, emphasizing a certain feature inherent to the Jews, is instigating war. For example: "Oh believers! take not the Jews or the Christians as friends."⁹⁵ "So make war on them: By your hand will God chastise them, and will put them to shame, and will give you victory over them, and will heal the bosoms of a people who believe."⁹⁶

Further reinforcement of Islamic motifs in the leaflets was achieved by means of:

1. Issuing the leaflets in commemoration of an Islamic holiday such as 'Id al-adha (feast of the sacrifices concluding the: Hajj), or Ramadan (the month of the revelation of the Qur'an, a month of fasting for all Muslims); of a historic event such as the battle of Badr (a battle won by Muhammad in 624, symbolizing the victory of a minority over a majority); or of an event in the recent history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, such as the Six-Day War of 1967 or the Balfour Declaration (2 November 1917).
2. Calling for action, such as a general strike, a demonstration or a day of fasting and prayer, on historic days such as the conquest by Muhammad in 628 of Khaibar (an oasis in the Arabian Peninsula where a Jewish settlement had existed, symbolizing the defeat and the so called "treacherous" character of the Jews, who were involved in an alliance against Muhammad to invade Medina from Khaibar) or the Battle of Hittin (in 1187, where the Crusaders were defeated by the Muslims).
3. Addressing the public as descendants of heroes in the history of Palestine, e.g.: "Oh descendants of Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi (the Muslim commander who led the battle against the Crusaders at Hittin) or: "Oh descendants of Abu Ubeida Ibn al-Garah" (one of Muhammad's companions who died in battle in Palestine in 638).
4. The Qur'anic verses, the names of Muslim heroes, and other references from the early history of Islam were meant to speak to all sectors of the population. They constitute the most universal language in the Arab world, best understood by, and most efficient in mobilizing, the masses.

Western anti-Semitic terminology, also used extensively in the leaflets, is generally confined to describing the crimes of the Jews and the Zionists in the territories and throughout the world. The Jews are accused of conspiring not only against Islam but against the whole world for their own benefit. They manipulated the world wars, the world economy and the drug trade, invented communism, and so on, as described in the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion."⁹⁷

MINOR CHANGES IN NUANCE

An analysis of the leaflets shows no significant changes in the anti-Semitic attitudes of Hamas during the period under review, although several minor changes are noteworthy. The first few leaflets seem to have served as a platform for introducing beliefs and objectives of the movement, and contain numerous references to the Jews, reflecting the extremist stance toward them. Gradually, the leaflets became more operational in nature, although they still contained a variety of anti-Semitic statements.

Harsh terminology regarding Jews reached a new peak in October 1990, following the clash on the Temple Mount between Israeli forces and Arab worshipers that resulted in a number of dead and wounded among the Arabs. This incident was cited in a leaflet as additional proof of the Jews' evil intentions to tear down the al-Aqsa mosque, in order to reestablish the Jewish Temple (Beit Hamikdash).⁹⁸

The Gulf crisis became the main issue in the leaflets that follow, reflecting the preoccupation of the Palestinian population and the entire region with this controversial series of events. Anti-Semitic allusions continued, but with a shift in emphasis. There was now a new, aggressive crusade, the product of an American Zionist conspiracy backing Israel as the representative of the West and Western culture, to threaten the Muslim heritage and culture. Zionism was an imperialist tool installed in the region in order to undermine the Islamic world.⁹⁹

Similar attitudes were expressed in relation to the peace initiative, and the Madrid conference, described as an American scheme to strengthen the State of Israel in the heart of Arab territory. Moreover, it is claimed that the land of Palestine is a (religious endowment) property belonging to all Muslims, and as such no one has the right to give up even one inch of it or engage in negotiations leading to surrender.¹⁰⁰ Once the land of Palestine is retrieved, it is claimed, the Jews will be allowed to live under Muslim rule not as a political entity, which they are not according to the Hamas view, but as a religious community with certain rights, as in the past. To support this view, they point out that historically the Jews had their golden age under Muslim rule.¹⁰¹

CONCLUSION

The Hamas ideology and Hamas terminology are neither new nor unique to this particular movement, but are characteristic of several of the ideological and political trends prevailing in the Arab world since the advent of the Arab-Israeli conflict in the 1940's. More recently they have come to typify the Islamic fundamentalist movements active in Muslim as well as non-Muslim countries. The anti-Semitic component is integral to this ideology and deeply rooted in its

Islamic origins. Yet naturally it holds a more prominent place in the outlook of the Hamas, as the representative of the Palestinian people and directly involved in the struggle against the Jews over the land of Israel. Therefore the anti-Semitic rhetoric in Hamas leaflets is frequent and intense. Nevertheless, anti-Semitism is not the main tenet of Hamas ideology. Generally no differentiation was made in the leaflets between Jew and Zionist, inasmuch as Judaism was perceived as embracing Zionism, although in other Hamas publications and in interviews with its leaders attempts at this differentiation have been made. The Hamas did not change its stance or views in the light of the peace process. It continues to staunchly oppose this process and to wave the banner of resistance against Israel.

Notes:

¹Elie Kedourie, "Ethnicity, Majority and Minority in the Middle East," in Milton J. Esman and Itamar Rabinovich (eds.), *Ethnicity, Pluralism, and the State in the Middle East* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988) pp. 25-31.

²For an account of the developments and changes in the Lebanese Shi'i community, see Augustus Richard Norton, "Changing Actors and Leadership among the Shiites of Lebanon," *Annals, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (AAPSS)*, 482 (November 1985), pp. 109-121; A. H. Schbley, "Resurgent Religious Terrorism: A Study of Some of the Lebanese Shi'i Contemporary Terrorism," *Terrorism*, Vol. 12 (1989), p. 227; Joseph Olmert, "The Shi'is and the Lebanese State," in Martin Kramer (ed.), *Shi'ism, Resistance and Revolution* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1987), pp. 189-201

³On the change in the Shi'i doctrine, see Kramer, *Shi'ism, Resistance and Revolution*; Etan Kohlberg, *The Shi'a: The Faction of 'Ali*, in Martin Kramer (ed.), *Resistance and Revolution in*

Shi'i Islam (Tel-Aviv: Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1986), PP 11-30 (in Hebrew)

4Emanuel Sivan, *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1986), pp. 187-222 (in Hebrew).

5On the origins of Amal and Imam Musa al-Sadr, see Augustus Richard Norton, *Amal and the Shi'a Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987); Fouad Ajami, *The Vanished Imam. Musa al-Sadr and the Shi'a of Lebanon* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1986); Shimon Shapira, *Imam Musa al-Sadr: Founder of the Shi'i Movement in Lebanon* (Tel-Aviv: Dayan Center for the Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1986, in Hebrew); Shimon Shapira, *The Shi'a Radicalism in Lebanon: Historical Origins and Organizational, Political and Ideological Patterns*, M.A. thesis (Tel Aviv University, 1987; in Hebrew).

6Joseph Olmert, "The Resurgence of the Shi'ites in Lebanon: Causes and Implications," Research Report 1, Institute of Jewish Affairs (IJA), October 1985.

7Ajami, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

8Asad Abu Khalil, "Ideology and Practice of Hizballah in Lebanon: Islamization of Leninist Organizational Principles," *Middle Eastern Studies* 27, 3 (July 1991), p. 390.

" 9Open Letter Addressed by Hizballah to the Downtrodden in Lebanon and in the World," as translated in Norton, *Amal and the Shi'a*, *op. cit.*, Appendix B, p. 169. The text of the letter was read by then Secretary-General Ibrahim al-Amin during a mass rally commemorating the first anniversary of the death of Shaykh Raghil Harb on 16 February 1985.

10Al-Shira', 17 March 1986; Shaykh Muhammad Tawfiq al-Micldad, "The Imm and the Palestinian Question," *al-Muntalaq*, 56 (1989), pp. 82-83.

11Marius Deeb, "Shia Movements in Lebanon: Their Formation, Ideology, Social Basis and Links with Iran and Syria," *Third World Quarterly*, 10 (April 1988), p. 085.

12Chapters on Lebanon and International and Islamic Affairs, *Middle East Contemporary Survey (MECS)*, 1983-1990(Boulder: Westview Press); Augustus Richard Norton, "Aspects of Terrorism in Lebanon. The! Case of the shi'as," *New Outlook*, 27 (January 1984) pp. 19-21; Abu Khalil, op, cit., p. 393; Martin Kramer, "Redeeming Jerusalem: The Pan Islamic Premise of Hizballah," in David Menashri (ed.), *The Iranian Revolution and the Muslim World* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990), p. 111; *al-Hayat*, 2 February 1990; Karim Pakradouni, "Four Dimensions of the Lebanese: Presidential Election," *Middle East Insight*, 6 (Summer 1988), pp. 31-32.

13Al-Dustur, 6 November 1989; *al-Diyar*, 25 October 1990; *Jerusalem Post (JP)*, 31 January 1992; *Voice of the People*, 28 February--Foreign Broadcasting Information Service (FBIS), 2 March 1992; *al-nrahar al-'Arabi Wnlduwali*, 10 June 1985; *Resalat* (in Persian), 13 October--FBIS, 28 October 1992.

14Key figures who played and continue to play a major role in developing and guiding Hizballah are: Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, considered the movrment's highest religious authority; Shaykh Raghil Herb, killed tiuring an Israeli operation in February 1984; Shaykh 'Abbas al-Musawi, the movement's secretary general from 1990 until his death in a car bombing allegedly carried out by Israel in February 1992; Shaykh Subhi al-TTufayli, Ibrahim al-Amin and Hasan Nasrallah, secretary-general at the time of writing; and Shaykh Muhammad Yazbak. All are graduates of the Najaf academies and were strongly inspired by Khomeynism. For further details, see Martin Kramer, *The Moral Logic of Hizballah*, Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1987, pp. 6-9 (in Hebrew.)

15Al-Dustur, 6 November 1989; MECS, 1986; *Ha'aretz*, 5 August 1989.

16Al-Dustzlr, i.; Kramer, *Moral Logic*; interview with Hasan Nssrallah, *alHayat*, 12 March--FBIS, 17 March 1992.

17MECS, 1983-1984, 1984-1985, 1986; Ha'aretz, 3 June 1988; Martin Kramer, "Sacrifice and Fratricide in Shi'ite Lebanon," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 3, 3 (August 1991), pp. 30-7; Shapira, *Shi'i Radicalism*, p. 76.

18The number of fighters or active followers has never been revealed. Estimates vary from 5,000 to 10,000. See MECS 1986.

19Interview with Hasan Nasrallah, *Voice of the People*, 28 February--FBIS, 2 March 1992; IRNA, 4 March--FBIS, 5 March 1992.

20One of these symbols is the 'Ashura, the day marking Imam Husayn ibn 'All's martyrdom, which became a symbol of Shi'i political activism. See Sivan, *radical Islam*, pp. 20fi-215. Celebrated in Lebanon by mass marches and self-flagellation, it has become an occasion for the rival movements Amal and Hiaballah to display their strength.

" 21Open Letter"; Kramer, *Moral Logic*; Kramer, *Sacrifice*; Deeb, p. 694; interview with Hasan Nasrallah, *al-W;atan al-'Arabi*, 28 August, 11 September 1992; interview with Husayn Fadlallah, *Monday Morning*, 17 February 1993. For more on the prospective Islamic order, see Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, "An Islamic Perspective on the Lebanese Experience," *Middle East Insight* (Summer 1988), pp. 18-26; interview of Fadlallah in *al-'nhd*, 17 July 1992; *al-1Ahd*, 10 March 1089; *al-Nahar al-'Arabi Walduwali*, 1 July 1985; Olivie Carre, "La Revolution Islamique, selon Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah," *Orient*, 29, 1(1988), pp. 68-811; *Shu'un al-Awsat*, 14 (December 1992), pp. 36-56.

22AI-'Ahd, 1 October, 13 December 1991; *Voice of the People*, 28 February-FBIS, 2 March 1992; Najib Nur al-Din, "Perestroika and its Effects on the Third World Countries," *al-Muntalag-*, 63 (1990), p. 71 (in Arabic).

" 23Open letter", pp. 170, 173, 179.

24Al-'Ahd, 4 October, 20 December 1991.

25For a comprehensive account of the radical Islamic movements' perception of the West, see Sivan, Radical Islam, and Martin Kramer, Hezbollah's Vision of the West, Policy Papers, No. 16 (Washington D.C.: The Washington Institute For Near East Plicy, 1989.(

26Al-'Ahd, 18 October 1991.

27Samir Sulayman, "The War and the Idea of Defence and Resistance in Islam. Three Readings on Concepts and History, al-Muntalaq, 50 (1989), p. 80 (in Arabic.(

28Al-'Ahd, 2, 18 August 1991.

29Al-'Ahd, 17 March 1989, 1 October, 1991; a[-Bilad, 22 February 1992.

30Al-'Ahd, 30 August 1987.

31Da'lbak Voice of the Oppressed, 17 February - FBIS, 18 Feb. 1992.

32Interview with Husayn Fadlallah, al-'Ahd, 26 July 1991.

33Interview with Shams al-Din, Monday Morning, 1 October 1979.

34Al-'Ahd, 2 August 1991.

35Al-'Ahd. 20 December 1991.

36Ibid.; also see Ba'albak Voice of the Oppressed, 20 February--FBIS, 21 February 1992; Ibrahim Baydun, "The Ansar and Their Role in the Formation of the First Islamic State," al-Muntalaq, 68 (1988) p. 68 (in Arabic.)

" 37Open Letter," p. 171; al-'Ahd, 13 December 1991. as JP, 3 November 1992.

39Al-'Ahd, 26 July 1991.

40Interview with Husayn al-Musawi, Stern, 5 July--FBIS, 21 August 1990.

41Ibid.; al-'Ahd, 2 February 1992.

42Speech by Subhi al-Tufayli, al-'Ahd, 13 December 1991; Abd al-Khaliq al-Tamimi "The Jews Will Never Be Satisfied by You, (in Arabic). al-Muntalaq; 8 (1980) pp. 54-60

43Al-'Ahd, 13 December 1991.

44Al-'Ahd, 6 December 1991.

45Al-Shaykh Jawwad al-Khalisi, "The Meaning of the Nation in the Holy Qur'an," al-Muntalaq, 26 (1984) p. 22 (in Arabic.)

46Al-Tamimi, p. 56; Samir Sulayman, p. 56.

47Ibid.

48Middle East Insight, March--April 1988, p. 10.

49Ba'albak Voice of the Oppressed, 20 February, 26 November--FBIS, 21 February, 27 November 1992.

50Monday Morning, 22 October 1990; al-'Ahd, 6 November 1991; Shzl'un al-Awsat, 14 (December 1992), p. 50.

51Ba'albak Voice of the Oppressed, 1, 2 August 1989, 20 February 1992--FBIS, 1, 2. August 1989, 21 February 1992; Teharan Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran, 17 February--FBIS, 18 February 1992.

52Ba'albak Voice of the Oppressed, 23, 27, 29 July--FBIS, 23, 27, 29 July 1993.

53Al-'Ahd, 23, 30 August, 4, 25 October, 6 November, 20 December 1992.

54Schbley, p.240; JP, 31 January 1992.

55Al-'Ahd, 27 May, 7 July, 14 August, 10 October; R. Ba'albak Voice of the Oppressed, 26 November--FBIS, 27 November 1992; al-Safir, 13 November--FBIS, 18 November 1992.

56George Gruen, "The Oppressed on Earth and Their Jewish Victims," JP, 5 September 1989.

57See Emanuel Sivan, Arab Political Myths (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1988) pp. 85-121(in Hebrew.)

" 58Open letter"; Kramer, "Redeeming Jerusalem," p. 121.

59Editorial, "Jerusalem and the regional Balance of Power," al-Muntalaq. 77 (1991), p. 5 (in Arabic.)

' 60Izz al-Din al-Faris, "The Imam and the Palestinian Question," al-Muntalq, 56 (1989), p.99 (in Arabic.)

61Abu 'Ali al-Ansari, "Images and Reflections on the Islamic Experience in the Ansar Detention Camp," al-Muntalaq, 26 (1984), pp. 82-88 (in Arabic); al-'Ahd,19 March 1993.

62IDF Spokesmen, 6 January 1987.

63Al-Muntalaq,77 (1991.)

64Abu'Alial-Ansari,p. 86.

65Editorial, al-Muntalaq, 77 (1991) p. 6; Tawfiq al-Miqdad, p. 72.

66Muhammad later changed the direction of prayer from Jerusalem to Mecca, a step interpreted as an attempt to break away from Jewish tradition.

67Editorial, p.6; Najib Nur al-Din, "Reflections on the Question of Jerusalem in the Islamic Scheme," *al-Muntalaq*, 77 (1991), p. 87 (in Arabic); al-Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, "Jerusalem in the Islamic Memory Between the Sanctity of the Land and the Land of the Problem," *al-Muntalaq*, 77 (1991) pp. 7-14 (in Arabic).

68Tawfiq al-Miqdad, p. 72.

69Nur al-Din, pp. 81-90.

70Fadlallah, p. 14, an obvious reminiscent of the verse in Psalms: "If I forget thee o Jerusalem..." (Ps. 137:5).

71Al-Nahar, 12 December 1992. On Khomeyni's attitude toward Israel and the Jews, see also Hamid Algar (trans. and annotator), *Islam and Revolution, Writings and Declarations of Imam Khomeini* (Berkeley: Mizan Press, 1981), pp. 27, 46-47, 89, 127-128, 196-197, 201, 210, 276; David Menashri, "Khomeini's Policy toward Ethnic and Religious Minorities," in Martin Kramer (ed.), *Shi'ism*, pp. 215--229.

72Al-'Ahd, 17 March 1992.

73David Menashri, "The Jews of Iran: Between the Shah and Khomeini," in Sender L. Gilman and Steven T. Katz (eds.), *Anti-Semitism in Times of Crisis* (New York: New York University Press, 1991), pp. 353-371. For a more comprehensive study on the Jews in Iran, see Bernard Lewis, *The Jews of Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

74Ruhollah Khomeyni, *Touzih al-Masa'el* (Tehran, 1962).

75See also Emanuel Sivan, *Islamic Fundamentalism and Anti-Semitism* (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1986, in Hebrew).

76Interview with Fadlallah, Monday Morning, 17 February 1993; al-Watan al-'Arabi, 11 September 1992.

77Interview with Husayn al-Musawi, al-'Ahd, 30 August 1987.

78Among the works published are Shaul Mishal with Reuven Aharoni, *Stones are Not All: The Intifada and the Leaflets as a Weapon* (Tel Aviv: Hakibutz Hameuhad, 1989, in Hebrew); Reuven Pat, "The Position of the Radical Fundamentalist Movements Toward the Jews and Zionism in Our Generation, in Ilan Pepe (ed.), *Islam and Peace, Islamic Attitudes Towards Peace in the Contemporary Arab World* (Givat Havim: The Institute for the Study of Peace, 1992, in Hebrew), pp. 46-65; Reuven Aharoni, " Hamas-a Religious National Palestinian Movement," in *Islam and Peace*, pp. 66-82.

79The Islamic Resistance Movement, *Between the Agony of the Present and the Hopes of the Future* (Gaza, 1988; in Arabic.)

80Meir Litvak, "The West Bank and the Gaza Strip," in *MECS*, 13/1989 (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), pp. 237-40.

81For an English translation and analysis of the Covenant, see Raphael Israeli, "The Charter of Allah: The Platform of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas)", in Y. Alexander and A. M. Foxman (eds.), *The 1988-1989 Annual on Terrorism* (Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1990), pp. 99-134. For a Hebrew translation and analysis, see Reuven Pat, *The Covenant and Its Meaning. Preliminary Study and Translation* (Tel Aviv: The Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1989.)

" 82The Charter of Allah", *ibid.*

83*ibid.*

84Leaflet No. 1, January 1988; No. 30, 5 October 1988. The origin of the expression "the brothers of the apes" is the Qur'an (Sura 5, the Table), where it appears as: "some of them hath he changed into apes and swine".

85Leaflet No. 3, 2 January 1988.

86Leaflet No. 4, February 1988.

87Leaflet No. 16, April 1988.

88Leaflet No. 32, 25 November 1988.

89Leaflet No. 78, October 1989.

90Leaflet No. 31, October 1988.

91Leaflet No. 9, March 1988; No. 13, April 1988; No. 29, 5 September 1988.

92Leaflet, January 1991. (not numbered)

93Leaflet No. 87, July 1992. 94 Leaflet No. 8, March 1988.

95Sura 9, Immunity. The Koran, translated from Arabic by J. A. Rodwell (London: Aldine Press, 1971).

96Ibid.

97The Protocols are used for indoctrination, especially of soldiers and terrorists. For example, the Protocols were found in Egyptian soldiers' pouches during the Six-Day War. Similarly in 1992, a fundamentalist Arab Israeli terrorist group which infiltrated an Israel Defence Forces camp carried the Protocols among their belongings.

98Leaflet No. 65, October 1990.

.99Leaflet No. 63, 30 August 1990; No. 2, 3, April, May 1990; No. 73, May 1991.

.100Leaflet No. 82, February 1992. Falastine al-Muslima, Vol. 8, No. 2, 3, April, May 1990.

.101The Islamic Resistance Movement, *Between the Agony of the Present and the Hope of the Future*, p.6.

APPENDIX I

The Hizballah emblem: a raised arm bearing a rifle against a background of the globe, with the slogan, “The Party of God is Sure to Triumph,” at the top, and the motto, “The Islamic Revolution in Lebanon,” at the bottom.

APPENDIX II

Excerpts from the Open Letter delivered on 15 February 1985. Translated in Augustus Richard Norton, *Amal and the Shi'a Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987.)

Our Story with World Arrogance

Honorable, downtrodden men,

As for our story with world arrogance, we shall sum it up for you in these words: we believe that the struggle of principles between the United States and the Soviet Union ended forever a long time ago. The two sides have failed to achieve happiness for mankind because the idea they have offered mankind, though assuming the different forms of capitalism and communism, agrees in material content and fails to deal with the problems of mankind.

Neither western capitalism nor eastern socialism has succeeded in establishing the rules of the just and serene society, nor have they been able to establish a balance between the individual and society or between human nature and public interest.

The two sides have mutually recognized this fact and have realized that there is no more place for ideological struggle between the two camps. They have both turned to struggle for influence and interest; hiding from public opinion behind the mask of disagreement on principles.

In the light of this understanding, we believe that the ideological struggle between the two camps has been folded forever and been replaced by the struggle for influence and interests between the countries of the arrogant world that are led today by America and the Soviet Union.

Consequently, the oppressed countries have become the struggle bone of contention and the oppressed peoples have become its fuel.

While we consider the struggle between the two superpowers a natural outcome of the material content that motivates each of them, we cannot agree to have this struggle conducted at the expense of the interests of the downtrodden and the expense of their wealth and rights.

Therefore, we stand against any western or eastern imperialist intervention in the affairs of the oppressed and of their countries and we confront every ambition and intervention in our affairs.

While denouncing America's crimes in Vietnam, Iran, Nicaragua, Grenada, Palestine, Lebanon, and other countries, we also denounce the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the intervention in Iran's affairs, the support for Iraqi aggression, and so forth.

In Lebanon and in the Palestine area, we are mainly concerned with confronting America because it is the party with the greatest influence among the countries of world arrogance, and also with confronting Israel, the ulcerous growth of world Zionism. Therefore, we are concerned with confronting America's allies in NATO who have gotten embroiled in helping America against the area's peoples. We warn the countries that have not gotten involved yet against being dragged into serving American interests at the expense of our nation's freedom and interests.

Israel Must Be Wiped Out of Existence

As for Israel, we consider it the American spearhead in our Islamic world. It is a usurping enemy that must be fought until the usurped right is returned to its owners.

This enemy poses a great danger to our future generations and to the destiny of our nation, especially since it embraces a settlement oriented and expansionist idea that it has already begun to apply in occupied Palestine and it is extending and expanding to build Greater Israel, from the Euphrates to the Nile.

Our struggle with usurping Israel emanates from an ideological and historical awareness that this Zionist entity is aggressive in its origins and structure and is built on usurped land and at the expense Of the rights of a Muslim people.

Therefore, our confrontation of this entity must end with its obliteration from existence. This is why we do not recognize any cease fire agreement any truce, or any separate or nonseparate peace treaty with it.

We condemn strongly all the plans for mediation between us and Israel and we consider the mediators a hostile party because their mediation will only serve to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Zionist occupation of Palestine.

Therefore, we reject the Camp David treaty, the [King] Fahd plan, the Fez plan, the Reagan plan, the Brezhnev plan, the French-Egyptian Plan: and any plan including even tacit recognition of the Zionist entity.

We underline in this regard our condemnation of all the deviant countries and organizations that chase after capitulationist solutions with the enemy breathlessly and that agree to "barter land for peace." We consider this a betrayal of the Muslim Palestinian people's blood and of the sacred Palestinian cause.

On the other hand, we view the recently voiced Jewish call for Settlement in the Lebanon and the Immigration of the Ethiopian Jews and others to occupied Palestine as a part of the expansionist Israeli scheme in the Islamic world and as an actual indicator of the danger emanating from the recognition of or cootistence with this entity.

Escalating Islamic Resistance

When speaking of usurping Israel, we must pause before the phenomenon of Islamic resistance that sprang from the occupied Lebanese territories to impose a new historic and cultural turn on the course of the struggle against the Zionist enemy.

The honorable Islamic resistance that has inscribed and continues to inscribe the most magnificent sagas against the Zionist invasion forces, that has destroyed by the faith of its strugglers the myth of invincible Israel, that has been able to place the usurping entity into a real dilemma as a result of the daily military, economic, and human attrition it inflicts on this entity, forcing its leaders to acknowledge the severe resistance they face at the hands of the Muslims... .

This Islamic resistance must continue, grow and escalate, with God's help, and must receive from all Muslims in all parts of the world utter support, aid, backing, and participation so that we may be able to uproot this cancerous germ and obliterate it from existence.

While underlining the Islamic character of this resistance, we do

so out of compatibility with its reality, which is clearly Islamic motive, objective, course, and depth of confrontation. This does not at all negate its patriotism, but confirms it. On the contrary, if this resistance's Islamic character were effaced, its pwould become extremely fragile.

Appeal for Broad Islamic Participation

We take this opportunity to address a warm appeal to all Muslims in the world, urging them to share with their brothers in Lebanon the honor of fighting the occupying Zionists, either directly or by supporting and assisting the strugglers, because fighting Israel is the responsibility of all Muslims in all parts of the world and not lust the responsibility of the sons of Mount 'Amil and Western al-Biq.''

With the blood of its martyrs and the struggle of its heroes, the Islamic resistance has been able to force the enemy for the first time in the history of the conflict against it to make a decision to

retreat and withdraw from Lebanon without any American or other influence. On the contrary, the Israeli withdrawal decision has revealed real American worry and has formed a historic turning point in the course of the struggle against the usurping Zionists.

APPENDIX III

A cartoon on the peace conference, published in Hizballah's weekly newspaper, al-'Ahd, 9 August 1991. The Israeli is portrayed in the typical caricature of the Jew - with a crooked nose, a beard, and wearing a skullcap - strangling the dove of peace with one hand and holding the land of Palestine with other (.

APPENDIX IV

One of the mottos regularly published on the back page of al-'Ahd: "Israel is a cancerous gland in the region, an entity without an identity, imposed and usurping. It is thus incumbent to uproot this gland".

Ayatollah Khamaneh'i

)Al-'Ahd, 2 August 1991 (

APPENDIX V

The Hamas emblem: The Qur'an and two swords, and the full name of the organization - The Islamic Resistance Movement .

Another variation of the emblem, distributed as a leaflet in a mosque in Paris. It features Palestine and the Aqsa Mosque, and bears the invocation, "There is no God but Allah, and Muhammed is its prophet".

APPENDIX VI

insert image G

Hamas is one of the links in the Chain of Jihad in the confrontation with the Zionist invasion. It links up with the setting out of the Martyr Izz a-Din al-Qassam and his brothers in the Muslim Brotherhood who fought the Holy War in 1936; it further relates to another link of the Palestinian jihad and the jihad and efforts of the Muslim Brothers during the 1948 (14) War, and to the Jihad operations of the Muslim Brothers in 1968 (15) and thereafter.

But even if the links have become distant from each other, and even if the obstacles erected by those who revolve in the Zionist orbit, aiming at obstructing the mad before the Jihad fighters, have rendered the pursuance of Jihad impossible; nevertheless, the Hamas has been looking forward to implement Allah's promise whatever time it might take. The prophet, prayer and peace be upon him, said:

The time(16) will not come until Muslims will fight the Jews (and kill them); until the Jews hide behind rocks and trees, which will cry O Muslim! there is a Jew hiding behind me, come on and kill him! This will not apply to the Gharqad.(17) which is a Jewish tree (cited by Bukhari and Muslim) (19)

Excerpts from the Hamas Covenant, as translated by Dr. Raphael Israeli, in Y. Alexander and A. H. Foxman (eds.), *The 1988-1989 Annual on Terrorism* (Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1990), pp. 99-134. By courtesy of Dr. Raphael Israeli.

APPENDIX VII

Part III

Strategies and Methods

The Strategy of Hamas: Palestine is an Islamic Waqf 19

Article Eleven

The Islamic Resistance Movement believes that the land of Palestine has been an Islamic Waqf throughout the generations and until the Day of Resurrection, no one can renounce it or part of it, or abandon it or part of it. No Arab country not the aggregate of all Arab countries, and no Arab King or President nor all of them in the aggregate, have that right, nor has that right any organization or the aggregate of all organizations, be they Palestinian or Arab, because Palestine is an Islamic Waqf throughout all generations and to the Day or Resurrection. Who can presume to speak for all Islamic generations to the Day of Resurrection this is the status of the land in Islamic Shari' 20, and it is similar to all lands conquered by Islam by force, and made thereby Waqf lands upon their conquest, for all generations of Muslims until the Day of Resurrection. This (normal has prevailed since the commanders of the Muslim armies completed the conquest of Syria and Iraq, and they asked the Caliph of Muslims, 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab²¹. for his view of the conquered land, whether it should be partitioned between the troops or left in the possession of its population, or otherwise. Following discussions and consultations between the Caliph of Islam, 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, and the Companions of the Messenger of Allah, be peace and prayer upon him, they decided that the land should remain in the hands of its owners to benefit from it and from its wealth; but the control" of the land and the land itself ought to be endowed as a Waqf in perpetuity for all generations of Muslims until the Day of Resurrection. The ownership of the land by its owners is only one of usufruct, and this Waqf will endure as long as Heaven and earth last. Any demarche in violation of this law of Islam, with regard to Palestine, is baseless and reflects on its perpetrators.

“Lo! This is certain truth. Therefore O Muhammed, praise the name of thy Lord, the Tremendous”, Sura LVI (the Event), Verse 95 (23(

APPENDIX VIII

Hamas in Palestine: Its Views on Homeland and Nationalism(24(

Article Twelve

Hamas regards Nationalism (Wataniyya) as part and parcel of the religious faith. Nothing is loftier or deeper in Nationalism than waging jihad against the enemy and confronting him when he sets foot on the land of the Muslims. And this becomes an individual duty's binding on every Muslim man and woman; a woman must go out and fight the enemy even without her husband's authorization, and a slave without his masters' permission.

This [principle] does not exist under any other regime, and it is a truth not to be questioned. While other nationalism consist of material, human and territorial considerations, the nationality of Hamas also carries, in addition to all those, the all important divine factors which lend to it its spirit and life; so much so that it connects with the origin of the spirit and the source of life and raises in the skies of the Homeland the Banner of the Lord, thus inexorably connecting earth with Heaven.

When Moses came and threw his batori, sorcery and sorcerers became futile.

... "The right direction is henceforth distinct from error., And he who respects false deities and believes in Allah has grasped a handhold which will never break. Allah is Hearer, Knower." Sura II (the Cow), verse 256(26(

Peaceful Solution; Peace Initiatives and International Conferences

Article Thirteen

[Peace] initiatives, the so-called peaceful solutions, and the international conferences to resolve the Palestinian problem, are all contrary to the beliefs of the Islamic Resistance Movement. For renouncing any part of Palestine means renouncing part of the religion; the nationalism of the Islamic Resistance Movement is part of its faith, the movement educates its members to adhere to its principles and to raise the banner of Allah over their homeland as they fight their jihad: 'Allah is the all-powerful, but most people are not aware'.

From time to time a clamouring is voiced, to hold an International Conference in search for a solution to the problem. Some accept the idea, others respect it, for one reason or another,

demanding the implementation of this or that conditions, as a prerequisite for agreeing to convene the Conference or for participating in it. But the Islamic Resistance Movement, which is aware of the [prospective] parties to this conference, and of their past and present positions towards the problems of the Muslims, does not believe that those conferences are capable of responding to demands, or of restoring rights or doing justice to the oppressed. Those conferences are no more than a meato appoint the non believers as arbitrators in the lands of Islam. Since when did the Unbelievers do justice to the Believers?

"And the Jews will not be pleased with thee, nor will the Christians, till thou follow their creed. 'Say: Lo! the guidance of Allah himself is the Guidance. And if you should follow their desires after the knowledge which has come unto thee, then you would have from Allah no protecting friend nor helper." Sura 2 (the cow) verse 120

There is no solution to the Palestinian problem except by jihad. The initiatives, proposals and International Conferences are but a waste of time", an exercise in futility. The Palestinian people are too noble to have their future. their right and their destiny submitted to a vain game. As the Hadith has it:

The people of Syria are Allah's whip on this land; He takes revenge by their intermediary from whoever he wishes among his worshippers. The Hypocrites among them are forbidden from vanquishing the true believers, and they will die in anxiety and sorrow." Told by Tabarani. who is traceable in ascending order of traditionaries to Muhammed, and by Ahmed whose chain of transmission is incomplete. But it is bound to be a true hadith, for both story tellers are reliable. Allah knows best. (28)

The Three Circles

Article Fourteen

The problem of the liberation of Palestine relates to three circles: the Palestinian, the Arab and the Islamic. Each one of these circles has a role to play in the struggle against Zionism and it has duties to fulfill. It would be an enormous mistake and an abysmal act of ignorance to disregard anyone of these circles. For Palestine is an Islamic land where the First Qibla and the third holiest site are located. That is also the place whence the Prophet, be Allah's prayer and peace upon him, ascended to Heavens "31

"Glorified be He who carried His servant by night h-om the Inviolable Place of worship² to the Far Distant Place of Worship, the neighborhood whereof we have blessed, that we might show him of our tokens! Lo'. He, only He, is the Hearer, the Seer." Sura XVII (al-Isra')³⁴, verse 1.

In consequence of this state of affairs, the liberation of that land is an individual duty binding on all Muslims everywhere⁵. This is the base on which all Muslims have to regard the problem; this has to be understood by all Muslims. When the problem is dealt with on this basis, where the full potential of the three circles is mobilized. then the current circumstances will change and the day of liberation will come closer.

"You are more awful as a fear in their bosoms than Allah. That is because they are a folk who understand not." Sura LIX (Al-Hashr, the Exile), verse 13.

APPENDIX IX

The Arab and Islamic States and Governments

Article Twenty Eight

The Zionist invasion is a mischievous one. It does not hesitate to take any road, or to pursue all despicable and repulsive means to fulfill its desires. It relies to a great extent, for its meddling and spying activities, on

the clandestine organizations which it has established, such as the Free Masons, Rotary clubs, Lions, and other spying associations. All those secret organizations, some which are overt, act for the interests of Zionism and under its directions, strive to demolish societies, to destroy values, to wreck answerableness," to totter virtues and to wipe out Islam. it stands behind the diffusion of drugs and toxics of all kinds in order to facilitate its control and expansion.

The Arab states surrounding Israel are required to open their borders to the Jihad fighters, the sons of the Arab and Islamic peoples, to enable them to play their role and to pin their efforts to those of their brothers among the Muslim brothers in Palestine.

The other Arab and Islamic states are required, at the very least to facilitate the movement of the Jihad fighters from and to them. We cannot fail to remind every Muslim that when the Jews occupied Holy Jerusalem in 1967 and stood at the doorstep of the blessed Aqsa Mosque, they shouted with joy:

"Muhammed is dead, he left daughters behind.

Israel, by virtue of its being Jewish and of having a Jewish population, defies Islam and the Muslims.

"Let the eyes of the cowards not fall asleep."

Islam accords his rights to everyone who has rights and averts aggression against the rights of others. The Nazi Zionist practices against our people will not last the lifetime of their invasion, for "States built upon oppression last only one hour, states based upon justice will last until the hour of Resurrection".

"Allah forbids you not those who warred not against you on account of religion and drove you not out from your houses, that you should show them kindness and deal justly with them. Lo! Allah love, the just dealers". Sura 60 (Al-Mumtahana), verse 8.

The Attempts to Isolate the Palestinian People

Article Thirty Two

World Zionism and Imperialist forces have been attempting, with smart moves and considered planning, to push the Arab countries, one alter another, out of the circle of conflict with Zionism, in order, ultimately, to isolate the Palestinian People. Egypt has already been cast out of the conflict, to a very great extent through the treacherous Camp David Accords, and she has been trying to drag other countries into similar agreements in order to push them out of the circle of conflict.

Hamas is calling upon the Arab and Islamic peoples to act seriously and tirelessly in order to frustrate that dreadful scheme and to make the masses aware of the danger of coping out of the circle of struggle with Zionism. Today it is Palestine and tomorrow it may be another country or other countries. For Zionist scheming has no end, and after Palestine they will covet expansion from the Nile to the Euphrates. Only when they have completed digesting the area on which they will have laid their hand, they will look forward to more expansion, etc. Their scheme has been laid out in the protocols of the Elders of Zion, and their present [conduct] is the the best proof of what is said there.

Leaving the circle of conflict with Israel is a major act of treason and it will bring curse on its perpetrators.

"Who so on that day turns his back to them, unless manoeuvring for battle or intent to pin a company, he truly has incurred wrath fmm Allah, and his habitation will be hell, a hapless journey's end". Sura 8 (A1-Anfall - spoils of war), verse 16.

We have no escape from pooling together all the forces and energies to face this despicable Nazi-Tatar invasion. Otherwise we shall witness the loss of [our] countries, the uprooting of their inhabitants, the spreading of corruption on earth and the destruction of all religious values. Let everyone realize that he is accountable to Allah.

"Whoever does a speck of good will [the consequences] and whoever does a speck of evil will see [the consequences]."

Within the circle of the conflict with world Zionism, the Hamas regards itself the spearhead and the avant-garde. It pins its efforts to all those who are active on the Palestinian scene, but more steps need to be taken by the Arab and Islamic peoples and Islamic associations throughout the Arab and Islamic world in order to make possible the next round with the Jews, the merchants of war.

"We have east among them enmity and hatred till the day of Resurrection. As often as they light a fire for war, Allah extinguishes it. Their effort is for corruption in the land, and Allah loves not corrupters." Sura V (Al-Ma'idah - the Table spread), verse 64-61.

Article Thirty Three

The Hamas sets out from these general concepts which are consistent and in accordance with the rules of the universe, and gushes forth in the river of Fate in its confrontation and jihad waging against the enemies, in defense of the Muslim human being, of Islamic Civilization and of the Islamic Holy Places, primarily the Blessed Aqsa Mosque. This, for the purpose of calling upon the Arab and Islamic peoples as well as their governments, popular and official associations, to fear Allah in their attitude towards and dealings with Hamas, and to be, in accordance with

Allah's will, its supporters and partisans who extend assistance to it and provide it with reinforcement after reinforcement, until the Decree of Allah is fulfilled, the ranks are over-swollen, Jihad fighters join other Jihad fighters, and all this accumulation sets out from everywhere in the Islamic world, obeying the call of duty, and intoning "Come on, join Jihad!" This call will tear apart the clouds in the skies and it will continue to ring until liberation is completed, the invaders are vanquished and Allah's victory sets in.

"Verily Allah helps one who helps Him. Lo! Allah is strong Almighty." Sun XXII (Pilgrimage), verse 40.

APPENDIX X

LEAFLET NO. 1

In the name of Allah the merciful and compassionate

The infidels "will not cease from fighting against you till they have made you renegades from religion, if they can. And whoso becometh a renegade and dieth in his disbelief such are they whose works have fallen both in tile world and in the Hereafter. Such are rightful owners of the fire: they will abide therein."¹

O murabitun² on the soil of immaculate and beloved Palestine: O all our people, men and women. O our children: the Jews - brothers of the apes, assassins of the prophets, bloodsuckers, warmongers - are murdering you, depriving you of life after having plundered your homeland and your homes. Only Islam can break the Jews and destroy their dream. Therefore, proclaim to them: Allah is great, Allah is greater than their army, Allah is greater than their airplanes and their weapons. When you struggle with them, take into account to request one of two bounties: martyrdom, or victory over them and their defeat.³

In these days, when the problem is growing more acute and the uprising is escalating, it is our duty to address a word to the Arab rulers, and particularly to the rulers of Egypt, the Egyptian army, and the Egyptian people, as follows: What has happened to you, O rulers of Egypt! Were you asleep in the period of the treaty of shame and surrender, the Camp David treaty! Has your national zealousness died and your pride run out while the Jews daily perpetrate grave and base crimes against the people and the children? And you, O army of Egypt, O descendants of Salah

al-Din al-Ayyubi,⁴ Qutuz ⁵ and al-Zahir Baybars,⁶ what has happened! Have the rulers paralyzed your movement and stripped you of your power, making you so impotent that even the usurpers are no longer frightened of you.⁷

And you, O defeated Egyptian people, which is incapable of doing anything, God will help you and us. We greet you through the pioneer Muslims who have come out of al-Azhar and all the universities in order to express their solidarity with their brethren in Palestine, strengthen their hands, and cry out to the usurpers that their end shall come in the morning--is the morning far off--is it not near! [Know] that God does not abandon but gives respite.

Let the whole world hear that the Muslim Palestinian people rejects the surrender solutions, rejects an international conference, for these will not restore our people's rights in its homeland and on its soil. The Palestinian people accuses all who seek this [solution] of weaving a plot against its rights and its sacred national cause. Liberation will not be completed without sacrifice, blood and jihad that continues until victory.

Today, as the Muslim Palestinian people persists in rejecting the Jews policy, a policy of deporting Palestinians from their homeland and leaving behind their families and children--the people stresses to the Jews that the struggle will continue and escalate, its methods and instruments will be improved, until the Jews shall drink what they have given our unarmed people to drink.

The blood of our martyrs shall not be forgotten. Every drop of blood shall become a Molotov cocktail, a time bomb, and a roadside charge that will rip out the intestines of the Jews. [Only] then will their sense return.

You who give the Jews lists containing the names of youngsters and spy against their families, return to the fold, repent at once. Those who deal in betrayal have only themselves to blame. All of you are exposed and known.

To you our Muslim Palestinian people, Allah's blessing and protection! May Allah strengthen you and give you victory. Continue with your rejection and your struggle against the occupation

methods, the dispossession, deportations, prisons, tortures, travel restrictions, the dissemination of filth and pornography, the corruption and bribery, the improper and humiliating behavior, the heavy taxes, a life of suffering and of degradation to honor and to the houses of worship.

Forward our people in your resistance until the defeat of your enemy and liquidation of the occupation. Then the mark of Cain shall be erased. O our people of clean conscience! Spare no efforts [to fan] the fire of the uprising until God gives the sign to be extricated from the distress. Invoke God's name plentifully, for "lo! with hardship goeth ease,! Lo! with hardship goeth ease."⁸

The Islamic Resistance Movement

January 1988

.1Surah of The Cow (2), 217. The translations from the Qur'an are taken from Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran* (New York: Mentor Books, 1953.)

.2Muslims who settled in outlying areas during the initial period of the Muslim conquests in order to defend the borders.

.3In Islamic tradition, one of two bounties are requested from Allah: victory or martyrdom in battle.

.4The victorious commander over the Crusaders in the Battle of Hittin (1187.)

.5Mamluk Sultan of Egypt (1259-1260), who defeated the Mongols in the Battle of 'Ayn Jalut, near Nablus, in 1259.

.6Mamluk Sultan of Egypt (1263-1277), who fought in the Battle of 'Ayn Jalut.

.7Salah al-Din, Qutuz, and Baybars vanquished the empires of the time. By implication Israel, another empire, can also be defeated.

.8Surah of Solace (94), 5-6.

APPENDIX XI

LEAFLET NO. 16

In the name of Allah the merciful and compassionate

"Allah had already given you the victory at Badr; when ye were contemptible. So observe your duty to Allah in order that ye may be thankful."¹

Tuesday, Ramadan 17, a day of remembrance of the great Battle of Badr,² a day of jihad and resistance.

O Muslims, the month of Ramadan falls in the shadow of the oppression and occupation and the escalation of the actions of the tyrannical Zionists: restriction of worship, restriction of the Islamic giant, which had begun to pour out of the mosques and turn this battle into a war of religion and faith, in order to eradicate this cancer which is spreading through the soil of al-Isra -' wal-Mi 'raj and is threatening the entire Islamic world. Behold him murdering, wounding, and smashing hands and feet, behold him strangling towns, villages, and camps by imposing curfew, behold him suffocating the Muslims in the occupied land by closing markets and destroying property. Behold them demolishing homes, expelling people from Palestine, wave after wave. Behold them filling the prisons with thousands. Behold them confiscating identity cards in order to force the inhabitants to pay taxes, or seeking to make us perish through unemployment. Behold them imposing heavy fines on vehicles, behold them permitting the herds of settlers to attack everywhere without any consideration, behold them cutting off power and water to camps and towns, uprooting fruit trees, and confiscating amplifiers from mosques in order to prevent reading and prayer and to silence the voice of "Allah is great." But they do all this in vain, and their hope is dashed. For the uprising continues to escalate despite the claims of the collaborators and the defeatists who try to disseminate an atmosphere of despair and frustration among our

people. To them we say: the uprising goes on. Our people, inspirited, attacks repeatedly, like waves of the sea without end. Our people, which has foiled all the programs to settle the refugees and the American liquidation plans, is capable with God's help of foiling all the Jews' attempts to eradicate the bluprising.

O fasting murabitun,

The month of Ramadan teaches us forbearance in tribulation and in encounters with the enemy. Our capacity to endure is greater than what the enemy imagines. We shall divide the loaf of bread amongst ourselves, we shall make all the sacrifices, we shall remain steadfast on our path and we shall sidestep the enemy's plots. We shall pay no heed to the economic strangulation, the restrictions, and the barbaric measures.

In the month of Ramadan the unity and cohesiveness of the Islamic nation is manifested. Muslims must be alert to all the attempts of Israeli intelligence to foment disputes and differences among the inhabitants by writing lying slogans or distributing leaflets full of falsehoods.

The Islamic Resistance Movement emphasizes the need for unity, and announces that it is not responsible for the leaflet signed in its name dated April 24, 1988. This is part of the attempts of [Israeli] intelligence to stir up quarrels between the currents [among the Palestinians]. This policy too is doomed to fail.

O Muslims,

After the night comes the dawn, after the hardships comes relief: Let us be patient and help each other and thus stand firm, as did the Prophet and his companions in the Battle of Badr. God brought them victory-despite their [small] numbers and little equipment in the face of their enemies' multitudes and vast strength--because they were God-fearing. This is the key to victory.

Let us make Tuesday, Ramadan 17, into a day of jihad, a day of resistance to the occupation, so that the occupiers will know that our people has ousted them irrevocably. Our people will not give up its homeland and its right to Palestine, no matter how long the road, and however precious the sacrifices.

Let our war slogan be:

In the name of Allah, Allah is great, in the name of Allah, the hour of Khaybar has arrived.³

The Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas Palestine, May 3, 1988

.1 Surah of the Family of `Imran (3), 123.

.2 In the Battle of Badr, fought on March 16, 624, Muhammad and his forces defeated the people of Mecca. It was here that the rules regarding spoils of war had their origin, as well as the concept that Muhammad's theocratic authority is unassailable. See Surah of the Spoils of War (8.)

.3 See leaflet no. 5, n. 2.

APPENDIX XI

LEAFLET NO. 31

In the name of Allah the merciful and compassionate

"This is a clear message for mankind in order that they may be warned thereby"¹

Communique No. 31

The martyr al-Qassam: No to the Balfour Declaration, yes to the blessed uprising.

Praise to God, Master of the believers, Vanquisher of the tyrants, peace and prayer to our faithful prophet and to the righteous, unto the Day of Judgment.

Our Palestinian people, the series of barbaric Jewish actions is continuing out of a desire to seize control of the stormy situation in our land of Palestine. It is [our] duty to stress [these actions]: arrests, particularly of clerics, preachers, sermonizers, university lecturers, [and the use of torture against them, breaking into mosques to carry out searches; opening fire in them and closing some of them, [with all this] being totally silenced; insistently disrupting the educational process and studies by closing educational institutions; a harsh economic assault on the farmers in general and on olive-grove owners in particular by imposing heavy taxes on olive presses, a move fraught with implications for the farmers; imposing curfew on all villages in order to prevent the inhabitants from reaping the harvest; prohibiting and restricting exports so that produce accumulates and prices fall, with the result that [farmers] will not be able to cover the effort [they invested] and their expenses; olive trees being damaged in assaults tractors which carry out a death sentence against them and smash them to pieces; earlier they undermined the grape harvest by barring exports, causing frustration among farmers; persecuting merchants and confiscating their vehicles and their identity cards in order to force to pay insane taxes.

The Jews' behavior should come as no surprise, because history repeats itself. It was in this very month that Banu Nadir plotted against our Prophet may he 'est in peace They tried to roll a boulder on him when he was their guest and after signing contracts with him.² This is since they are the tribe of treachery and deceit. The "proof is in the Qur'an: So learn a lesson. O ye who have eyes!"³

Our patient people, frequently the shirk⁴ and unbelief operate hand in hand against the faith. A [good] example is the Balfour Declaration, that black page in contemporary history, when Britain worked to realize the Zionist aspiration on the basis of the saying they liked to repeat, "We are a people without a homeland who want a homeland without a people," and thus Britain forsook all its pledges to Hussein

Bin Ali, "he of the first bullet,"⁵ the greatest Arab traitor of our time. After the British forces conquered the port of Gaza, Lord Arthur James Balfour published his statement (known as] "the Balfour Declaration" on November 2, 1917, regarding the establishment Of a national home in Palestine for what he termed "the Jewish people, and promised that the British government would make efforts to accomplish this goal. The Jews in Palestine were called a people even though they constituted no more than 8 percent of the inhabitants of Palestine. Whereas the Arabs, who were 92 percent, were called communities!!! Thus we are more convinced [than ever) that the shirk and infidel states, whatever their names, are faithful to the Zionist enemy, as it is written: "[O ye who believe! Take not the Jews and the Christians for friends.] They are friends one to another. He among you them for friends is [one] of them".⁶

Our murabit people, on 19th Tishrin Thani (November), 1935, the mujahid, man of religion and Azhari teacher, Sheykh `Izz al-Din al-Qassam, inscribed a new page of heroism when he fell martyr, together with a group of his companions, after inflicting heavy losses on the British, sacrificing his soul to Allah on the morning of that day in the groves of Ya`bed near Jenin.

This sheykh was a teacher in the Islamic school in Haifa and an imam and preacher in al-Istiqlal mosque [in Haifa]...al-Qassam, symbol of self-sacrifice, al-Qassam the spark of the [Arab] revolt of 1936!

Our dear people, your movement, the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), salutes you in your outposts for your resolute stand against the usurper, and calls on you as follows:

.1To preserve the unity of the people. Pay no heed to the enemy's attempts to cause a rift in families, clans, currents of thought, and ideas.

] .2We must] denounce the leaflets being planted in the name of Hamas, which the occupier circulated in order to split the ranks and cast aspersions on the [various] currents. We call on the entire people, including all its factions, not to give the usurper an opportunity and to fight him.

.3We must protect the educational institutions and ensure that they fulfill their mission. We commend the role of the teachers and parents who are tending to the education of our sons, in reaction to the occupier's policy of suppressing education.

.4Hold on to the land. Do not emigrate to satisfy momentary interests such as studies, commerce, security, and flight from the iron fist. Do not give the enemy's emigration policy a chance.

.5Efforts [must] be made toward mutual aid during the olive harvest in the West Bank, in order to foil the enemy's plan.

.6We stress the strike on Saturday, October 29, the anniversary of the Kafr Qassim massacre and the English-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt, Arabism, and Islam.⁷

.7Wednesday, November 2, marking the anniversary of the wretched Balfour Declaration, will be a day of general strike.

.8Wednesday, November 9, a day of general strike marking the start of the twelfth month of the blessed uprising.

.9A general strike on Saturday, November 19, marking the fall of the man of religion and mujahid, Sheykh `Izz al-Din al-Qassam, and his companions.

Let the blessed uprising continue in the struggle against the occupiers. Let us burn the ground under their feet with fire.

"Those who do wrong will come to know by what a [great] reverse they will be overturned!"⁸

Allah is great, praise to God.

The Islamic Resistance Movement

Hamas

Palestine

16Rabi` al-Awwal 1409 , Tishrin al-Awwal [October] 27, 1988

.1Surah of Abraham (14), 52.

.2The Banu Nadir were a Jewish tribe residing near al-Madina. According to the Qur`an (Surah 59), the tribe violated its covenant with Muhammad, causing the Prophet to exile them and confiscate their property.

.3Surah of Exile (59), 2.

.4Shirk means a partnership of polytheism and Allah and worship of all of them. This is an unforgivable sin, but "He [Allah] forgiveth [all] save that to whom He will. Whoso ascribeth partners to Allah, he hath invented a tremendous sin." (Surah of Women (4), 48.)

.5The sharif of Mecca in 1916.

.6Surah of The Table Spread (5), 51 The section in parentheses was omitted from the leaflet.

.7The reference is to the Angle-French attack on the Suez Canal and Israel's simultaneous Sinai campaign in 1956.

.8Surah of the Poets (26). 227.

Publications of the Project for the Study of Anti-Semitism

.1Anti-Jewish Propaganda--1991 (Tel-Aviv: 1992), 305 pp. In cooperation with the Anti-Semitism Monitoring Forum. Out of print.

.2Anti-Semitism in Europe in the First Quarter of 1993 (Tel-Aviv: May 1993), 42 pp. Out of print.

.3Anti-Semitism in Europe in the Second Quarter of 1993 (Tel-Aviv: August 1993), 127 pp. Out of print.

.4Anti-Semitism Worldwide--1993 (Tel-Aviv: July 1994), 127 pp. 5. Stephen J. Roth, The Legal Fight Against Anti-Semitismr Survey of Developments in 1992 (Tel-Aviv: 1993), 50 pp. In cooperation with the Israel Yearbook on Human Rights.

.6Raphael Vago, Anti-Semitism inRomania, 1989-1992 (Tel-Aviv: 1994), 35 pp.

.7Pierre Vidal Naquet and LimerYagil, Holocaust Denial in France: Analysis of a Unique Phenomenon (Tel-Aviv: 1994), 79 pp.

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Faculty of Humanities

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