



**The Meir Amit Intelligence and
Terrorism Information Center**

March 30, 2011

**The Palestinian Return Centre: London-based center for anti-Israeli propaganda, affiliated with Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood, outlawed in Israel. It promotes the demand of the Palestinian refugees to return as a way of destroying Israel. Senior PRC figures send flotillas and convoys to the Gaza Strip and transfer funds to Hamas.
(Full version)**



One of the PRCs anti-Israeli propaganda activities is holding annual Palestinian conferences in various European countries. They focus Arab-Muslim communities in Europe on the ideology and political agenda of Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood. Above, Ismail Haniya, head of the de facto Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip, speaks at the seventh annual conference, held in Milan in 2009 (PRC annual Palestinian conference in Europe website).

Overview



The PRC's masthead. The Letter R superimposed on a kaffiyeh stands for "return;" inside it is a miniature map of "Palestine," symbol of the final goal, the establishment of a Palestinian state to replace the State of Israel.

1. **The Palestinian Return Centre (PRC) is a Palestinian center for anti-Israeli propaganda, established in London in 1996.** It is affiliated with Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood and **some of its senior figures are Hamas activists who found refuge in Britain.**

2. Its foundation was based on rejection of the Oslo Accords, a strong denial of the right of the State of Israel to exist and the concept of the "right" of the Palestinian refugees and their descendents to return to the places abandoned in 1948, all to be used as tools to fight Israel and the peace process. The PRC holds intensive anti-Israeli propaganda activities in Britain, Europe and other countries around the globe and is an **important factor in the network of organizations participating in the international campaign to delegitimize Israel.**

3. **The unequivocal connections between the PRC and Hamas, as described below, caused it to be outlawed in Israel.** On December 27, 2010, the Israel Security Agency said in a statement that on December 5 Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak had signed **an order outlawing the PRC as an "unlawful association because it is part of the Hamas movement."** The statement also noted that the PRC was **a coordinating organizational arm of the Hamas movement in Europe, and that its activists, who were senior Hamas figures, were working to promote the movement's objectives in Europe and were in direct contact with Hamas senior figures, including movement heads in Damascus.**¹

4. **The PRC's activity centers around disseminating and inculcating the message that all the Palestinian refugees have the "right to return" to Israel** (estimated by the PRC at five million).² **Their return to Israel is represented as a "sacred" personal and collective "right," anchored in international law, which no one can bargain with or cede.**

¹ Israel Security Agency website, December 29, 2010, IDF Spokesman's website, December 27, 2010).

² UNRWA, which defines the concept of "Palestinian refugee" in the broadest possible terms, reported in 2008 that it had dealt with 4.7 million people.

5. The demand for the return to Israel of millions of refugees is regarded by the PRC **not only as a method which has been proved to sabotage every peace process, but as an important component in a long-range strategy which will eventually lead to a change in the demographic nature of the State of Israel as a Jewish state³** and serve the overall goal of **establishing an Islamic Palestinian state on all of "Palestine," (i.e., the territory of the State of Israel.)** Focusing on the "right of return" is **the common denominator of all the organizations and individuals around the globe rejecting the Zionist-Israeli model, and has become the motto of the anti-Israeli campaign.** Those who employ it **ignore the fact that after the State of Israel was founded Jews were either expelled or fled from the Arab countries.**

6. **The PRC was founded in 1996 in rejection of the Oslo Accords and everything they symbolized.** The founder and head ideologue was apparently Salman Abu Sitta, born into a family from Beersheba which fled to the Gaza Strip. He was an independent member of the Palestinian National Council between 1974 and 1993, studied in Egypt and from there went to London, where he received a doctorate in civil engineering from London University. **In 1993 he resigned from the Palestinian National Council because he rejected the Oslo Accords, and in 1996 founded the PRC.** Today he lives in the United States. He does not belong to the PRC but is active in spreading anti-Israeli propaganda and defaming Israel by comparing it to Nazism.

7. **During the fourteen years of its existence the PRC has become ideologically close to Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood in Britain** (the center of the Muslim Brotherhood's political, media and economic activities in Europe). **The PRC has not openly stated its strong connections to Muslim Brotherhood-style extremist Islam, but our information and large amounts of circumstantial evidence presented in this study support the existence of that connection.**

8. For example, the PRC's radical Islamic ideology and political agenda are identical with those of the Muslim Brotherhood; **members of the PRC's board of trustees and senior functionaries had or have roles in various Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated institutions in Britain;** the PRC participates in anti-Israeli activities also attended by prominent activists from the Muslim Brotherhood and other groups and organizations; **Zaher al-Birawi, senior PRC figure, is program director and chief presenter of London's Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated Al-Hiwar TV channel;** an Egyptian jurist named Subhi

³ Documents from the negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians from the era of former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert exposed by Al-Jazeera TV showed that the Palestinian Authority was well aware of the real significance of the refugees' "return" to Israel. Mahmoud Abbas, meeting with a Palestinian support group for the negotiations (NSU) said, "On numbers of refugees, **it is illogical to ask Israel to take 5 million**, or indeed 1 million – **that would mean the end of Israel.** They said 5000 over 5 years" (Report of Mahmoud Abbas-NSU meeting, March 24, 2009).

Salah, a Muslim Brotherhood member of the Egyptian parliament till 2010, was at the same time an associate PRC member (according to his website).

9. Three members of the PRC's board of trustees are Hamas activists who found refuge in Britain in the 1990s. They do not admit to their links with Hamas, in our assessment to avoid complications with British law. Prominent among them are three Hamas activists: **Zaher al-Birawi**, chairman of the PRC's board of trustees; **Majed al-Zeer**, PRC general director; and **Sheikh Majdi Akeel**, a member of the PRC's board of trustees.⁴

10. The above three Hamas activists are involved in extensive anti-Israeli activities aimed at providing Hamas with ideological, political and practical support. For example, **Zaher al-Birawi** was active in dispatching convoys to the Gaza Strip through George Galloway's organization, Viva Palestina, with the political goal of strengthening the de facto Hamas administration. **Majed al-Zeer** participated in anti-Israeli events in European cities and in Damascus in support of Hamas, its political agenda and its strategy of terrorism. **Sheikh Majdi Akeel** is an activist of Interpal, which sends money to Hamas, and accompanied one of the Viva Palestina aid convoys to Hamas in the Gaza Strip⁵ (See Appendix II for information about PRC activists). In addition to those three, according to our information **Arafat Madi Shukri**, PRC executive director, is also a Hamas activist who lives in Britain and is the chairman of the ECESG (a European umbrella organization which sends flotillas to the Gaza Strip).

11. Additional conclusions about the PRC's nature and modus operandi revealed in preparing this study:

1) The PRC's view of the so-called "right of return" of the Palestinian refugees is as follows:⁶ The return of the Palestinians to Israel is a "right" and not a demand, according to PRC claims. Adherence to the "right of return" promotes the final goal of **the "restoration" of all of the land of "Palestine," from the Mediterranean Sea**

⁴ All three are listed as Hamas activists in the Israel Security Agency announcement outlawing the PRC in Israel (ISA website, December 29, 2010). The three actively promote Hamas' agenda and support the movement financially, political and with regard to propaganda.

⁵ For further information see the February 21, 2010 ITIC bulletin, [Britain as a Focus for Hamas' Political, Propaganda and Legal Activities in Europe](#)

⁶ The Israeli position is that the Palestinian refugees, and certainly their descendants, do not have a "right of return" either under general public international law or according to sources dealing with the specific issue of the Palestinian refugees. Israel also states that there is no precedent for a solution to an ongoing conflict between two ethnic groups which recognizes the return of one of them to the territory of a country which is supposed to absorb them. In addition, there is no precedent for a solution by which other ethnic groups implement their right to self determination in a way that will upset the majority-minority relations of a country or threaten to destabilize that country. It is also Israel's position that the Palestinian refugees were neither rehabilitated nor absorbed into other Arab countries because those countries do not recognize the State of Israel, and therefore there is no justification for imposing the absorption of those refugees in Israel (Yaffa Zilberschatz and Namra Guron-Amitai, "Returning the Palestinian refugees to the State of Israel," (Hebrew), a position paper edited by Prof. Ruth Gavison, Matzila publishing, 2010, p. 14). Israel also states that it is impossible to ignore the problem of the Jewish refugees who were expelled from the Arab states and absorbed by the State of Israel, the homeland of the Jewish people. As opposed to many other issues belonging to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, these are accepted by most of Israel's political leadership and Israeli society.

to the Jordan River, and the establishment of an Islamic Palestinian state instead of the State of Israel.⁷ Returning all the Palestinian refugees to Israel and to the places and houses in which they lived in 1947-8 is, according to PRC claims, "**a basic personal and collective right**" and a "**sacred right**" anchored in international treaties⁸ and the holy books of the three monotheistic religions. Thus, according to the PRC, **no one has the right to waive the "right of return"** or to reach a compromise regarding the partial return of the Palestinians. **In consequence, the PRC rejects outright the peace process, ties the hands of the Palestinian Authority, which negotiates with Israel for the Palestinians, and advocates Hamas' strategy of the "liberation of Palestine" through jihad and "resistance"** [i.e., terrorism and violence] rather than political negotiations.

2) **The PRC's organizational structure:** As opposed to other anti-Israeli umbrella organizations, which operate as networks, the PRC has a **hierarchical structure and broad physical and human facilities based in London**. It is governed by a **board of trustees** of five men. The Centre has a **general director** and a center which **employs "researchers" and propagandists**. Its offices are located in north central London in an office building shared with other groups (mainly Palestinian and Muslim). Its address and contact information are the following:

The Palestinian Return Centre (PRC)
 100H Crown House
 North Circular Road
 London NW10 7PN
 The United Kingdom
 Tel. No.: 00 44 (0) 2084530919
 Fax: 00 44 (0) 2084530994
 Email: info@prc.org.uk

⁷ Based on data from UNRWA and the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (valid through 2008), the full implementation of the Palestinian's so-called "right of return" would potentially increase the population of the State of Israel by 62.6%, and 50.9% of the population would be Arab. That would nullify the UN Partition Plan of 1947 and undermine the realization of both Jewish and Arab ("Palestinian") self determination as separate countries ("Returning the Palestinian refugees," p. 33).

⁸ The UN resolutions regarding the Palestinians do not give the Palestinian refugees the "right of return" to the territory of the State of Israel. The main resolution, the one on which the Palestinians base their claims, is UN General Assembly Resolution 194 III, passed in 1948. It proposes a way of ending the conflict by establishing a reconciliation committee. While the return of the refugees is mentioned, it is part of a comprehensive plan and not a "right" given to the refugees, especially in view of the fact that the resolution does not use the term "right." Later resolutions note the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the right of the Palestinians to return to their houses. However, Security Council resolutions 237 and 242, passed in 1967, and 338, passed in 1973, call for a just solution for the refugee problem, but do not mention the "right of return." The Security Council resolutions, and not anti-Israeli resolutions passed by the General Assembly, are the ones binding the relations between Israel and the Palestinian refugees. That is because the Oslo Accords, signed by both sides, give their adoption by both sides a binding force ("Returning the Palestinian refugees," p. 10).



PRC office in north London (From Israel Channel 10's program "Source," August 25, 2010).

3) **PRC support for terrorism and terrorist organizations:** To avoid complications with the British authorities, the PRC is generally careful, especially when issuing statements in English, not to explicitly support terrorist activities and terrorist organizations such as Hamas and Hezbollah. **In statements in Arabic however,** aimed at Arab-Muslim target audiences, **the PRC is less careful and often expresses solidarity with the Palestinian terrorist campaign** ("the Al-Aqsa intifada"), **with Hamas' path of jihad and with the Hamas leadership.** For example, **at its annual European conferences, which the PRC has been organizing since 2003, Ismail Haniya,** a senior Hamas figure, has delivered speeches three times. The conferences **support the path of "resistance" and jihad** (i.e., terrorism), and **praise the shaheeds, the wounded and the imprisoned of the terrorist organizations.** The PRC's publications support jihad and the "resistance" and glorify the terrorist shaheeds who died during the Palestinian terrorist attacks, especially Hamas founder and leader Ahmed Yassin. In addition, the PRC organized a campaign to express solidarity with the Al-Aqsa intifada;⁹ **Majid al-Ziyad,** a senior PRC figure, participated in the conference in Damascus in November 2008, which supported the "culture of resistance" (i.e., the culture of terrorism). Interviewed by Al-Jazeera TV on May 29, 2010, he stressed the need for "military resistance" [i.e., terrorism] in "Palestine." **Dr. Daud Abdullah,** another senior PRC figure, participated in the conference in Istanbul in 2009 and signed a declaration in support of the path of jihad ("the Istanbul declaration").¹⁰

4) Overview of PRC activities:

⁹ From a promotion video produced by the PRC and posted on its website and on YouTube. The narrator states that the PRC organized a "solidarity campaign with the Al-Aqsa intifada." We have no additional information beyond what was noted in the video.

¹⁰ Following PRC senior figure Dr. Abdullah's signing of the Istanbul declaration, the British authorities demanded he resign his position as deputy director general of a Muslim organization called the Muslim Council in Britain (MCB), which was supported by the British government. They claimed that at the conference he represented the MCB. He rejected the demand, claiming that he had signed the declaration representing only himself, and not as representing the MCB. Following the incident the British authorities ended governmental support of the MCB.

i) Since its establishment, **the PRC has been prominent among anti-Israeli organizations engaging in intensive propaganda activities aimed at inculcating the idea of the "right of return" and defaming Israel by representing it as an "apartheid state."** It also seeks to turn Israel into a pariah state by accusing it of the "ethnic cleansing" of the "Palestinian" population, both in the past and present (the PRC even issued a book entitled *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*). The PRC's vicious anti-Israeli propaganda campaign is waged in Britain, continental Europe and other countries around the globe.

ii) The PRC has **three main target audiences in Britain: British politicians**, especially in Parliament, where it is primarily in contact with members of the Labour Party; **university students**, among whom PRC activists participate in events related to the conflict and deliver anti-Israeli speeches; the **British public** in general, especially the social and cultural elite. PRC activists attend events such as "Jerusalem Day" and "Nakba Day," react publicly to developments in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and hold demonstrations and rallies in London and other cities in Britain. In addition, the PRC holds conferences, workshops and seminars. It produces movies, issues various publications and runs a Palestinian cultural center in London.

iii) Since 2003 **the PRC has held an annual anti-Israeli European conference called "the annual Palestinians in Europe Conference."** The conferences are attended by PRC activists, representatives of the Arab and Muslim communities in Europe, Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood activists and representatives of the European funds and foundations which finance Hamas. Their agenda and themes focus on inculcating the idea that the so-called "right of return" is "sacred," and that no Palestinian can waive it. The conferences negate the right of the State of Israel to exist, strongly oppose the peace process and support the path of jihad and "resistance" (i.e., terrorism). **Ismail Haniya, head of the de facto Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip, delivered video-conferenced speeches at three of the conferences** because he was banned from entering certain European countries (where Hamas is considered a terrorist organization).

iv) **On the international scene** the PRC participates in conferences dealing with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the issue of the refugees, including conferences organized by the **United Nations**. The PRC exploits the venues as convenient forums for defaming Israel as an "apartheid country" and a "racist country," and

spreading propaganda for the "right of return." **Senior PRC activists and their activities were prominent at the UN's Durban conference in 2001**, which served as a platform for attacks against Israel's legitimacy and a hate campaign against it.

v) **The PRC has anti-Israeli activities planned for 2011**, some of them in Britain, some of them in other European countries. They include the annual Palestinians in Europe Conference, a January rally in London to mark the second anniversary of Operation Cast Lead, an international conference in London in January dealing with the so-called "Nakba," some 30 events dealing with the Palestinian prisoners, a discussion about a project to coordinate Palestinian activity in the West, and others.

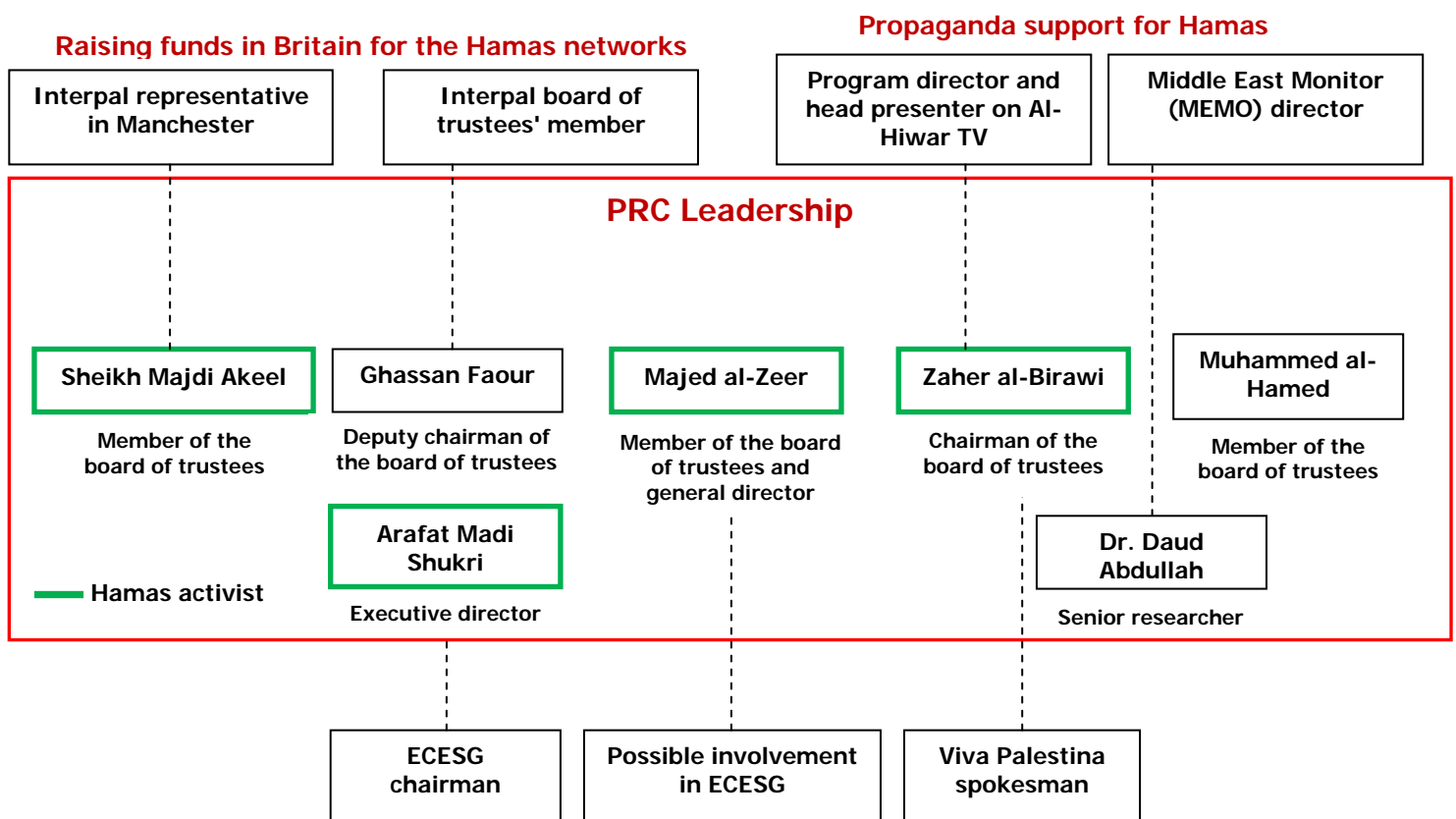
5) **Formulating media strategy to attack Israel's legitimacy**: At the third annual conference, held in Vienna in 2005, **the PRC formulated a media strategy to inculcate the concept of the "right of return" and to undermine the legitimacy of the State of Israel in various broad target audiences in Europe**. The following tactics were proposed by the conference workshops: stressing the "value of justice" (a term easily accepted by the European ear) as a tool for creating a sense of European solidarity with the Palestinian demand to return the refugees to Israel; using short, easy to remember slogans; using publications of new historians; increasing the number of demonstrations; stressing the distinction between Judaism and the "Zionist project," (See Appendix IV), etc. **The decisions made at the conference are important and relevant because they are implemented to this day by the PRC and other anti-Israeli organizations participating in the global campaign to delegitimize Israel.**

6) **Funding the PRC and its extensive activities**: As opposed to other organizations participating in the global campaign to delegitimize Israel, the PRC maintains a vast physical and human presence. Establishing it, maintaining it and funding its extensive physical and human network **demand**, in our assessment, **extremely large financial resources**. The PRC claims that it is funded by donations from people who believe in its goals. However, in our assessment, even if it cannot be proved, **the PRC has other sources of funds at its disposal, notably the Muslim Brotherhood and/or funds and foundations connected to it and to Hamas.**

12. **Senior PRC figures, among them Hamas activists, hold positions in other groups and organizations which spread anti-Israeli propaganda, transfer funds to Hamas and dispatch land and sea convoys to the Gaza Strip**. Some of the organizations are affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood and one with the extreme British left.

13. The PRC's senior figures are **deeply involved with both the ECESG and Viva Palestina**, two organizations which make significant contributions to the land and sea convoy projects to the Gaza Strip. For example, **Dr. Arafat Madi Shukri, the PRC's executive director, is also chairman of the ECESG, a European umbrella network which sends sea convoys. Majed al-Zeer** is also apparently involved in ECESG activity. **Zaher al-Birawi, a Hamas activist, is chairman of the PRC board of trustees, the spokesman** (and in our assessment also a kind of liaison person with Hamas) of **the convoys organized by Viva Palestina, the organization of extremist left-wing former British MP George Galloway**. In addition, two senior PRC activists, Ghusan Faour and Hamas activist Sheikh Majdi Akeel, are **key figures in Interpal**, a British fund which is an important component in Hamas' international fundraising effort; Interpal was designated as a terrorism-supporting institution in the United States and outlawed both there and in Israel.¹¹

Connections of senior Hamas figures with Hamas and other British groups and organizations which support Hamas



¹¹ **Interpal** was a member of the Union of Good, an umbrella organization of dozens of Islamic funds and foundations around the world which transfer money to Hamas. The English Charity Commission, which inspects charitable organizations in Britain, demanded that Interpal completely cut its connection with the Union of Good (and according to claims by senior Interpal figure Issam Yousef, it did so in March 2009).

A note on methodology

14. There were difficulties experienced in analyzing the PRC because like other organizations of its type, **the PRC hides information which might expose its true nature as a branch of Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood. In the PRC's many publications it is hard to find reliable information about its structure, activists, sources of funding and connections with Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood.** One of the PRC's primary interests is not to run afoul of the authorities in Britain and other European countries where it operates.

15. **In analyzing the PRC we used a variety of sources:** The organization's own publications and press releases, video clips taken at PRC conferences and during its activities, reports in the world media, interviews with its activists, etc. In addition, to understand what the "right of return" really means for the PRC, many of their texts in English and Arabic were analyzed, **including a book (in Arabic) published by the organization documenting most of its annual European conferences.**

16. To fully understand the PRC and its senior figures, we examined the pasts, actions and worldviews of the leaders. **We found that several of them had strong links with Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood, in both the past and present.** We also examined the links between the PRC and other organizations and found that **it collaborates with other organizations affiliated with Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood, especially in Britain,** and with British groups and individuals affiliated with the **extreme left**, which share a common anti-Israeli agenda.

17. This study examines the PRC's position on the so-called "right of return." To spotlight the political significance of that position in the overall context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, **we present several examples, in footnotes, of an unofficial Israeli position.** To present the Israeli position we used a working paper edited in 2010 by Prof. Ruth Gavison called "Returning the Palestinian refugees to the State of Israel."

Contents

18. This study examines the PRC in the following areas:

- 1) The nature of PRC activity
- 2) A portrait of senior PRC figures
- 3) PRC collaboration with organizations participating in the global campaign to delegitimize the State of Israel

- 4) The delegitimization campaign against Israel reflected in the PRC's annual Palestinian conferences in Europe
- 5) Anti-Israeli incitement, and support for terrorism as expressed in the PRC's organ The Return (in Arabic and English)
- 6) The Muslim Brotherhood movement and its activities in Britain as a framework for PRC activities

The notice outlawing the PRC in Israel

(Website of the Israel Security Agency, www.shabak.gov.il¹²)

Israel Security Agency Terrorism Portal

On December 5, 2010 the Israel defense minister signed an order designating the Palestinian Return Centre as an organization unlawful in Israel.

The Centre, which was established in London in 1996, officially announced that its activity was meant exclusively to further the cause of the Palestinian refugees. **However, in reality it serves as the organizational and coordinating arm of the Hamas movement in Europe. Its activists, who are senior Hamas movement figures, work to promote the movement's objectives in Europe and maintain direct contact with senior Hamas figures, including the movement heads in Damascus.**

The Centre is headed by various Hamas activists, among them, Majed al-Zeer, Zaher Birawi and Majdi Akeel. Another is Ghassan Faour, who is also on the board of trustees of Interpal. Interpal was designated as a terrorist organization by both Israel and the United States because it is one of the main components in global network funding Hamas.

In recent years the Centre has had a leading role in the European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG), and led by Arafat Mahdi, one of its top activists, was involved in planning the violent May 2010 *Mavi Marmara* flotilla. **Those actions were undertaken in collaboration with the Turkish IHH and other Hamas funds in Europe and elsewhere.**

In addition, the Centre had been involved in initiating and organizing violent, radical activities against the State of Israel in Europe, activities meant to subvert Israel's standing in European public opinion. To that end the Centre has organized conferences in many European countries attended not only by its own activists **but by Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood activists from around the world**, including representatives of funds and foundations which support Hamas in Europe, and representatives from Hamas in the Gaza Strip.

In recent years, recorded speeches have been broadcast at conferences, delivered by senior Hamas figures, including Ismail Haniya, head of the Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip,

¹² The English version of the announcement was translated by the ITIC. In response to the outlawing of the PRC in Israel, MEMO (an anti-Israeli organization in London headed by Dr. Daud Abdullah, senior PRC figure) issued a statement. According to it, the PRC "is a legitimate British organization." It also said that the PRC and other pro-Palestinian organizations operating in Britain "have never functioned below the radar of Britain's security and anti-terrorism authorities, government and charity regulator. They are well-known organizations led by well-known people; they host high-profile conferences and seminars in the Houses of Parliament with cross-party support. It is precisely because of such openness that they have gained popular support not only in Britain but also in Europe" (MEMO, 31 December, 2010).

who were banned from entering Europe because the movement was outlawed by the European Union.

The Palestinian Return Centre's activities are part of Hamas' activities in the Palestinian communities in Europe in general and Britain in particular. They belong to the overall undertaking conducted by Hamas around the world to support its activities in the internal Palestinian arena .

Thus, as noted, on December 5, 2010, the defense minister outlawed the Palestinian Return Centre since it is part of Hamas.

(ITIC emphasis throughout)

Appendix I

The Nature of PRC Activity

PRC activity in Britain (Parliament, the public, the campuses)

1. **The PRC focuses its propaganda activities on the issue of the 1948 refugees. It uses the issue as its heavy artillery to attack Israel's legitimacy and undermine the foundations of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.** PRC propaganda repeatedly represents Israel as an "apartheid state" and "colonial entrepreneur," its policies as "apartheid policies." **Its objective is to libel Israel, turn it into a South Africa-like pariah state, destroy its character as a Jewish state and eventually to eradicate it, just as the apartheid regime of South Africa collapsed.**

2. **That is the propaganda strategy the PRC uses in politics, among the elite, the general public and on the university campuses.** The theme of "Israel as an apartheid state" is an important part of its propaganda. For example, in November 2008 the PRC and affiliated organized the "Israeli apartheid week" on 24 university campuses throughout Britain (See below). The theme was also used during the World Cup games in South Africa in the summer of 2010, when the PRC spread anti-Israeli propaganda on its web site with slogans like "End apartheid of Israel in Palestine" and "Ending Israel's apartheid in Palestine is the world's responsibility."¹³

3. **The PRC's anti-Israeli activity is focused in London:**

1) **The PRC lobbies in the British Parliament.** It maintains connections with anti-Israeli Members (especially within the Labour Party) who participate in PRC-organized events. It also sends the Members (distorted) anti-Israeli information and publications about the Palestinian refugees. According to its website, since its foundation it has maintained good relations with British MPs to raise their consciousness about the "suffering of the Palestinian refugees" by organizing workshops and seminars in central political institutions.¹⁴ It also organized **a visit of British MPs to Syria** to examine the situation of the Palestinian refugees there, especially those who arrived from Iraq.

¹³ PRC website, "About us."

¹⁴ PRC website, "About us."



The British MP delegation which visited Syria in coordination with the PRC, photographed with Syrian president Bashar Assad (from the PRC website, November 2009)

2) The PRC seeks to make the British public aware of the Palestinian refugee problem and the so-called **"right of return."** To that end, according to its website, **since its establishment it has organized dozens of conferences, workshops, lectures and seminars attended by experts [sic], commentators and diplomats with international reputations.** For example, one of the conferences which discussed the "right of return" and "active resistance to the settlements" was attended by ministers from the Middle East, academics and participants from all over the globe.¹⁵ Other conferences dealt with smearing Israel's image through the use of what the PRC called the **"massacres" of the Palestinians, "carried out over generations."**¹⁶ With affiliated organizations, the PRC held a week of commemoration for Palestinians killed during the 60 years of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.¹⁷

3) **Activity on campuses:** The PRC is very active in British universities and **regards students an important target audience.** It focuses its campus activities on **lectures given by PRC activists** to promote awareness of the "right of return" among students and professors alike.¹⁸ For example, on April 7, 2002, the PRC held a conference in the Brunei Gallery at London University School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS)¹⁹ to discuss "the right of return" and its influence on the conflict in Palestine²⁰ (the SOAS has given a stage to anti-Israeli opinions for the past 20 years). On April 23, 2003, the PRC held another conference in the Brunei Gallery, this time to discuss British responsibility for the rejection of the "rights" of the Palestinians.²¹ In November 2008 the PRC (and like-minded organizations) held "Israeli apartheid week" on 24 university campuses throughout Britain. In January 2010 the PRC and other

¹⁵ PRC website, "About us."

¹⁶ From a PRC promotional video.

¹⁷ PRC website.

¹⁸ From a PRC promotional video.

¹⁹ The SOAS has an active cell of Palestinian students and serves as a source of the spread of anti-Israeli propaganda.

²⁰ From a PRC promotional video.

²¹ www.myiwc.com. The PRC and many Palestinians blame the Nakba (the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948) and the problem of the Palestinian refugees not only on Israel but also on the international community, especially Britain, which was the Mandatory power between 1918 and 1948.

Palestinians organizations held a "solidarity week" with the Gaza Strip, during which Goldsmith University, a constituent college of the University of London, showed a "documentary film" about the situation in the Gaza Strip.²² In addition the PRC held an international conference about the so-called "Ongoing Nakba" on January 15, 2011, at the Brunei Gallery of the SOAS.²³

Examples of PRC anti-Israeli activities and propaganda in Britain

4. The following are examples of PRC anti-Israeli activities and propaganda in Britain:

1) **Participation in Jerusalem Day, held in London in 2006:** On October 22, 2006, the Iran-initiated Jerusalem Day was held in the Middle East and around the world. At a rally in London, senior PRC and Hamas activist Majed al-Zeer told the attendees that their participation meant one thing for him: **that the next step would be Palestine and that it would be free.** He then told the Palestinians to unequivocally adhere to their struggle, because if they were not united they would not be able to defeat Israel. He called on the Palestinians to continue because, he said, the whole world was behind them.²⁴

2) **Accusing Israel of the "ethnic cleansing" of the Palestinians, 2006:** On November 24, 2006, the PRC held a conference in London whose theme was the so-called "ethnic cleansing of Palestine"²⁵ to mark its publication of a book called *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*. The conference was attended by Palestinians and anti-Israeli British public figures, who discussed what the PRC called Israel's ongoing "ethnic cleansing." Long-time anti-Israeli activist Ghada al-Karmi said the so-called "atrocities" carried out by Israel against the Palestinians had to be emphasized, adding **that the solution of two states for two peoples could not be implemented and that the only way to turn back the cycle of violence and "ethnic cleansing" carried out by Israel in recent decades was the establishment of one state** (by implication, a Palestinian state). **Ramzy Baroud**, editor of the online "**Palestinian Chronicle**," spoke about the "racist dimension" of Israel's "policy of ethnic cleansing."

3) **Rejection of the peace initiative of former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert because it did not include the "right of return," 2006:**²⁶ On November 27, 2007, the PRC issued a press release stating its unequivocal rejection of the Israeli prime minister's offer to withdraw from all the territories of Judea and Samaria in return

²² PRC website, January 14, 2010.

²³ PRC website, December 15, 2010.

²⁴ Innovative minds website, October 22, 2006.

²⁵ PRC website, November 24, 2006.

²⁶ PRC website, November 27, 2006

for the Palestinians' waiving the "right of return." According to the release, **waiving the "right of return" of five million Palestinian refugees was "a red line" that no Palestinian was authorized to cross.** In addition, claimed the release, the "right of return" was anchored in international law, and was the cornerstone of the Palestinian struggle and an inalienable "sacred right."

4) **Celebration of the PRC's tenth anniversary, 2007:** In February 2007 the PRC held an event in London to celebrate its tenth anniversary.²⁷ PRC General Director Majed al-Zeer gave a speech in which he said that the Centre's representatives operated in the Palestinian refugee camps and that it continued exerting influence on British public opinion. Labour Party member Richard Burden and MP Jeremy Corbyn spoke in favor of the so-called "right" of the Palestinian refugees to return to their houses in Israel.



Celebrating the PRC's tenth anniversary (from the PRC website, February 2007)

5) **Rejection of any political arrangement recognizing Israel as a Jewish state, which would endanger the "right of return," 2007:**²⁸ The PRC denounced the meeting between Israeli Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni and French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner on November 18, 2007. The announcement, issued by Majed al-Zeer, rejected the establishment of any Palestinian state which would endanger the "right of return of millions of Palestinian refugees." He urged Mahmoud Abbas, the chairman of the Palestinian Authority, to reject the demand to recognize the State of Israel as a Jewish state because it would endanger the "right of return" and expose the "Palestinian Arabs in Israel" to "a constant threat of ethnic cleansing."

6) **Issuing a press release rejecting the Israeli demand to recognize Israel as a Jewish state, 2007:** On November 19, 2007, the PRC issued a press release strongly objecting to the Israeli demand to recognize Israel as a Jewish state because it

²⁷ PRC website, February 14, 2007.

²⁸ PRC website, November 19, 2007.

might endanger the "right of return" of millions of Palestinians [to return to the territory of the State of Israel].²⁹

7) Lodging a protest with the Queen of England on the 60th anniversary of Israel's founding, 2008:³⁰ On April 2, 2008, the PRC wrote a letter of protest to Queen Elizabeth of England after reports that she intended to hold a celebration at Windsor Castle for the 60th anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel. Majed al-Zeer said in the letter that historically, it was the Labour government which at its annual meeting in 1944 adopted the policy of encouraging Arabs to leave [Mandatory Palestine] while when Jews were entering. He added that Israel was left as the belligerent occupier of the lands, and that the PRC was furious, because Her Royal Highness had accepted the suggestion to honor deeds of questionable legality. He called on the Queen to recognize the heart's desire of the Palestinian people for freedom and independence in their own country.

8) Activities at universities targeting the so-called "Israeli apartheid," 2008:³¹ In November 2008 a number of anti-Israeli organizations headed by the PRC held "Apartheid Week." There were events **in 24 British universities** supporting the Palestinians and opposing Israel policies toward the Palestinian. Dr. Arafat Madi, the PRC's executive director, said that it was supremely important that people around the world exert pressure on their governments to "stop Israel's apartheid policy." He added that Israel had to be held legally responsible by international law for the many crimes it had carried out.

9) Propaganda targeting British politicians and the European Parliament: In January 2009 the PRC held **a seminar in the British Parliament** dealing with the situation in the Gaza Strip. It was attended by a number of MPs, including members of the Labour Party, who were critical of the State of Israel.³² On January 28, 2009, after Operation Cast Lead, **the PRC organized a protest watch against the so-called "siege" of the Gaza Strip**. Protest watches were held at 10 Downing Street and various groups sent representatives, including the Palestinian Forum in Britain. On January 29 **a delegation, organized by the PRC with affiliated groups, met in**

²⁹ PRC website, November 19, 2007.

³⁰ PRC website, April 2, 2008.

³¹ PRC website, December 2, 2008.

³² For example, **Richard Burden**, a Labour MP, is a prominent critic of Israel and the chairman of the Palestine All-Party Parliamentary Group. **Phyllis Starkey**, also a Labour MP, is extremely critical of Israel. **Neal Gerrard** is a Labour MP affiliated with the extreme left, and active in an extreme leftist group called the "Group for the Socialist Campaign." **Lord Nazir Ahmed** is the first British Muslim MP since 1998. He comes from the part of Kashmir ruled by Pakistan and is active in various Muslim-related causes in Britain. Has shown himself to be anti-Israeli and pro-Palestinian. Was a member of the Labour Party until he was dismissed following his conviction of having caused a fatal traffic accident in 2009. Works energetically for Muslims in friction spots around the globe. Was extremely critical when Salman Rushdie was knighted.

Brussels with Louisa Morgantini, vice president of the European Union, who said she was planning to visit the Gaza Strip with the European Parliament delegation.



A demonstration organized by the PRC in London after Operation Cast Lead (from the ITIC website)



A demonstration organized by the PRC in London after Operation Cast Lead. The pictures are of the bodies of Palestinian children (from the PRC website).

10) A response to the comment made by Andrew Whitley, director of UNRWA in New York, calling on the Palestinians to give up the illusion that they would return to their houses in Israel: The PRC sent a letter to UNRWA's director general saying that "'Palestinian refugees all across the world are outraged and bitterly disappointed by the immoral and irresponsible comments. Mr. Whitely, holding such a responsible post in New York, should have known better than to be a mouth piece of Israeli propaganda.'" It also said that "the right of return is legally guaranteed by all international laws and this right is natural, non-negotiable and inalienable."³³



A demonstration organized by the PRC near the American embassy in London (from the PRC website)

5. PRC events in Europe supporting the Gaza Strip (i.e., the de facto Hamas administration) in 2011:

³³ PRC website. From a study by Ehud Rosen about the organizations participating in the campaign to delegitimize Israel, pp. 28-19 (Reference in Appendix VI).

1) **The Rally for Gaza in London, January 18, 2011:** The rally was held on January 18, 2011, the second anniversary of Operation Cast Lead. Its slogans were "End the siege on Gaza Strip" and "Free Palestine." It was organized by the PRC and seven other Muslim and extreme leftist anti-Israeli organizations.³⁴

2) **An international conference organized in London by the PRC whose theme was "The Ongoing Nakba:"**

i) The conference dealt with what was referred to as Israel's various methods for the expulsion and dispossession of Palestinians to "prove" that the "real" goal of the "Zionist project" did not end with the establishment of the State of Israel, and that the "goal" is still being pursued. The week-long conference was held in the Brunei Gallery of London University's School of Oriental and African Studies, a focal point of PRC campus activities.

ii) Participants included academics, politicians and various organization activists. They included **Professor Salman Abu Sitta** (PRC founder,) **Dr. Mustafa Barghouti** (affiliated with the Palestinian left and head of the Palestinian National Initiative), **Dr. Hussam Hafez** (head of the political department of the Syrian embassy in Britain) and **Dr. Paul Larudee** (anti-Israeli activist from California, cofounder of the Free Gaza Movement (FGM) and the Free Palestine Movement (FPM), two organizations dispatching flotillas to the Gaza Strip) (PRC website).

3) **Events planned for 2011 include:**

i) The annual **Palestinians in Europe Conference** (tentatively planned for May).

ii) **Thirty events dealing with the issue of the Palestinian prisoners**, including an international academic conference which is planned for France in October 2011 (Al-Jazeera TV, May 2, 2010).

iii) **A discussion about a project coordinating Palestinian activity in the West** (no date set as yet).

PRC activity in Europe

6. **The PRC conducts extensive anti-Israeli propaganda activities in European countries besides Britain.** Its most prominent is the **annual, mass-participant conference called the Palestinians in Europe Conference.** It is held to commemorate

³⁴ The other organizations were the Palestine Solidarity Campaign, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Stop the War Coalition, British Muslim Initiative, Friends of Al-Aqsa, Palestinian Forum in Britain and Viva Palestina (PRC website).

the anniversary of what the Arabs call the Nakba (the so-called "catastrophe" of the Palestinians in 1948 with the establishment of the State of Israel), and is therefore held every year in May, when the State of Israel was declared. The conference is held in collaboration with anti-Israeli groups in Europe such as the Secretary General of the Palestinians in Europe Conference and local pro-Palestinian groups in the countries where the annual conferences take place.

7. The objective of the conference is to raise awareness of Palestinians living in Europe and target audiences in other countries regarding the issue of the Palestinian refugees and the "right of return." Invitations to the conferences are sent primarily to academics, members of parliaments and administrations, religious leaders and official representatives of European institutions, such as the European Parliament. **Participants also include Hamas activists** (including its representatives from the Gaza Strip) and Muslim Brotherhood activists from around the globe. **In addition representatives from the funds and foundations affiliated with Hamas in Europe and elsewhere, and transferring money to Hamas in the Gaza Strip have also attended.**³⁵ An Israeli Arab who participated in at least one conference is **Sheikh Ra'ed Salah**, head of the northern branch of the Islamic Movement, which shares the Muslim Brotherhood's ideology. Another Israeli Arab (in 2010) was **Ameer Makhoul**, convicted of spying for Hezbollah (See Appendix IV).

8. The PRC's first European conference was held in **Britain** in 2003, the second in **Germany** in 2004, the third in **Austria** in 2005, the fourth in **Sweden** in 2006, the fifth in **Holland** in 2007, the sixth in **Denmark** in 2008, the seventh in **Italy** in 2009, and the eighth again in **Germany** on May 8, 2010. The proceedings were recorded and the speeches were used by the PRC for Internet propaganda purposes.³⁶ (**Note:** For the contents of the speeches and announcements, see Appendix IV).

³⁵ From the Israel Security Agency announcement outlawing the PRC, December 29, 2009 (ISA website).

³⁶ Shabakat al-Hiwar al-I'lamia forum, (henceforth Shabakat al-Hiwar forum) May 1, 2010.



Majed al-Zeer, senior PRC figure, speaks at the fifth European conference, held in Holland, 2007 (from the PRC website)



Ismail Haniya, head of the de facto Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip, delivers his speech via video at the conference in Holland (from the PRC website)



Right: Link to Al-Quds TV, Hamas' satellite channel (from the website of the Palestinian conference in Europe, 2010)

9. The themes of the conference held in Berlin in 2010 were that the so-called return is necessary and that the Palestinian prisoners should be free.³⁷ One of the people invited was Aziz Dweik, a senior Hamas figure in Judea and Samaria and chairman of the Palestinian Legislative Council (in the end, he did not participate). PRC director general **Majed al-Zeer** said in a May 1, 2010 interview that various issues concerning the promotion of the Palestinian cause were discussed at the conferences. For example, he said, **the idea for establishing the ECESG (a PRC-affiliated umbrella organization which sends flotillas to the Gaza Strip) was suggested at the 2008 conference in Denmark** (as a means of recruiting the European community to oppose the Israeli "siege" of the Gaza Strip). Following the 2008 decision of the de facto Hamas administration, the 2009 conference discussed the inclusion of events whose theme was "Jerusalem is the capital of Arab culture."³⁸ The 2010 conference discussed the

³⁷ Shabakat al-Hiwar forum, May 1, 2010.

³⁸ In July 2008 the de facto Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip announced preparations for "Jerusalem is the capital of Arab culture," whose events would be held in 2009 (part of events held since 1996, when the Arab countries' ministers of culture adopted the European custom of declaring various cities as "capitals of culture"). The minister of culture in Ismail Haniya's administration allocated a budget of a million dollars for activities in the Palestinian arena and abroad and expressed his readiness to coordinate them with the Palestinian Authority government in Ramallah (Palmedia website, July 21, 2008). According to the Palestinian Institution for Culture website (affiliated with Hamas and operated from Damascus), a "supreme national committee" was appointed to that end, among whose members were London PRC head Majed al-Zeer and Dr. Azzam al-Tamimi, referred to as head of the Institute for Islamic

idea of a propaganda campaign centering on the Palestinian prisoners [i.e., terrorist operatives] held in Israeli jails.³⁹ **The issues raised at the European conferences organized by the PRC are identical with Hamas' political agenda, and can be considered examples of Hamas propaganda.**

10. Another example of PRC involvement in European events was "Palestine Day," held in Vienna on December 4, 2010. There were more than 300 participants, including representatives from dozens of anti-Zionist organization, some of them Islamic organizations operating in Austria. The proceedings were broadcast by Al-Jazeera TV. **Anti-Israeli propaganda materials, provided mainly by the PRC, were distributed at the event. One of the participants was Dr. Arafat Madi Mahmoud Shukri, PRC executive director.**

PRC participation in the first Durban Conference, 2001

11. **The PRC participates in international conferences, including those organized by the United Nations, and exploits them as a convenient venue to libel and slander Israel.** A delegation which included senior PRC figures, among them Dr. Arafat Shukri, Majed al-Zeer and Dr. Daud Abdullah, went to the first Durban Conference, which was used as a stage for an overall attack in the legitimacy of the State of Israel.

12. **The first Durban World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination and Xenophobia was held under United Nations aegis from August 31 to September 8, 2001.** It was attended by anti-Israeli and anti-Zionist NGOs which turned it into an arena to libel and slander the State of Israel. The anti-Israeli propaganda attack included comparing Zionism and racism, accusing Israel of war crimes and crimes against humanity, minimizing the Holocaust and claiming that it was not exclusive to the Jews, claiming that Israel's establishment was a sin of "ethnic cleansing," etc. The NGO's concluding summary included a call to adopt a policy of the full and complete isolation of Israel as an "apartheid state," and the imposition of boycotts and sanctions on it.

Political Thought in London (**Note:** He is a Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood activist in London) (website of Palestine for Culture, July 22, 2008).

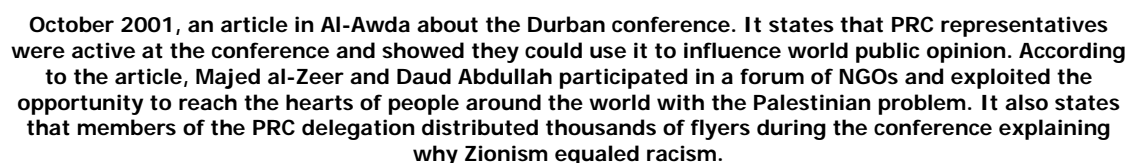
³⁹ Shabakat al-Hiwar forum, May 1, 2010.



The PRC at the first Durban Conference, 2001: Majed al-Zeer, Hamas activist and senior PRC figure interviewed by the media (from a PRC promotion video)

13. PRC activists participated in a refugee and displaced persons forum held by the Conference and took part in anti-Israeli activities and demonstrations. They participated in press conferences and were interviewed extensively by various radio and television channels. In addition, they distributed maps in English of the Arab villages and cities destroyed in 1948 and gave out thousands of flyers entitled "Why Zionism equals racism."⁴⁰

⁴⁰ PRC website, December 24, 2010.



⁴¹ PRC website, "About us."

PRC activists interviewed by the British and world media

15. **The PRC has prominent British and world media presence.** Senior PRC figures often appear on television and organize press conferences in an effort to enlist public support in the West, especially in Britain, to promote its anti-Israeli political agenda. PRC activists often appear as commentators on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and exploit the opportunities to disseminate anti-Israeli propaganda.



Majed al-Zeer, Hamas activist and senior PRC figure interviewed by Al-Jazeera TV (from a PRC promotion video)



Daud Abdullah, senior PRC figure, interviewed by Sky News (from a PRC promotion video)

PRC monthly magazine published in Arabic and English

16. The PRC issues a monthly magazine in Arabic called **Al-Awda** ("The Return") and a similar magazine in English called the "**Return Review**."⁴² Both are sent to subscribers, both individuals and institutions, in Britain, Europe and around the globe. The PRC claims there is a steady increase in the number of subscribers⁴³ (For examples of Al-Awda's contents, see Appendix V). In addition, the PRC publishes position papers presented at seminars and lectures, and newsletters.



The first issue of the "Return Review," October 1996

⁴² It occasionally appeared as a bi-weekly.

⁴³ PRC website, "About us."

Books

17. **The PRC publishes books laced with anti-Israeli propaganda which deal with the "right of return" and slander Israel.** Recently, an updated second edition appeared of a book by PRC founder Dr. Salman Abu Sitta, called *Palestinian Right of Return – Sacred, Legal and Possible*. Other PRC-published books include Ahmed Sidqui al-Dajani's *Britain's Obligations Toward the Arabs Concerning Palestine*. A PRC-published book in Arabic edited by Ibrahim Darwish is *Fifty Years after the Nakba: What next?* A recent book published by the PRC included the proceedings of a one-day seminar it organized to mark the 50th anniversary of the "Nakba." Dr. Salman Abu Sitta issued an atlas with maps and documents of the Palestine "wiped out by Israel" (the first edition was published in London in 2004; the second was launched in November 2010 at a media event attended by academics and a number of British MPs).



Books published by the PRC (PRC website)

Movies

18. **The PRC produces anti-Israeli propaganda movies in English and Arabic** and posts them to various websites, including YouTube. The themes of the movies in English are that Israel engaged in "ethnic cleansing" in 1948, the Palestinians are "innocent victims" who cannot resist, they continue to be victims of Israeli "brutality," the Palestinians have the "right" to all of the territory of Israel ("Palestine"), and Israel tortures Palestinian prisoners. **In addition, the PRC produces movies in Arabic.** They reiterate the standard anti-Israeli tags: "**occupation**," "**racism**" and "**massacre**." The movies in Arabic have more scenes of "brutality" than those in English and some of them are difficult to watch (From a PRC promotion video).

Anti-Israeli movies produced by the PRC (from a PRC promotional video)



"Jenin"



"The Return"

Establishing the Palestinian Cultural Centre in London



The Palestinian Cultural Centre in London, across the street from the British Library (PRC website)

19. At the end of 2007 the PRC established the Palestinian Cultural Centre in London, another tool for promoting anti-Israeli propaganda in Britain. It includes a gallery (The Palestinian Gallery), library, offices, conference hall and souvenir shop. In August 2008 Majed al-Zeer, senior PRC figure, stated that the Centre tells the true story of the Palestinian problem. The gallery exhibits various works of art, Palestinian and other, about the Palestinian issue. There is a site in the gallery called the Lajee Centre (*lajee* is Arabic for the word *refugee*). The Centre holds meetings for children and adolescents, there are cultural evenings and plays about the Palestinians are presented, seminars are held and some publications are issued. It has its own radio station and website where it posts videos promoting the PRC's anti-Israeli propaganda.⁴⁴

20. A project such as the Palestinian Cultural Centre requires **large financial resources, more, in our assessment, that an institution such as the PRC can provide.** According to a report, it was funded by **Sheikh Sultan al-Qasimi**,⁴⁵ Prince of Sharjah (one of the United Arab Emirates). The sheikh, was born in 1939 and has ruled Sharjah since 1972. He is

⁴⁴ PRC website, Lajee website, Palestine-family.net website, radiolajee.net website

⁴⁵ PRC website; oneworld.net website

also a historian who studied at the University of Exeter, and has written a number of history books, literary works and plays.⁴⁶

21. The PRC also organizes photography exhibitions to spread its anti-Israeli propaganda, focusing on the so-called "Israeli brutality" and "Palestinian suffering."



Part of a photography exhibition held in Copenhagen at the PRC's sixth European conference, 2008
(PRC website)

Funding PRC activities

22. Maintaining the PRC's London offices and Palestinian Cultural Centre, paying salaries and intensive propaganda activity (which include organizing annual conferences, publishing books and other written material, producing movies) **demand large financial resources**. In our assessment, the demands are larger than what individual contributions and entrance fees to PRC conferences (£10 (\$16) for students, £20 (\$32) for non-students) can generate.

23. According to the PRC website, it finances its activities through contributions from people who believe in its goals. It does not reveal their names or the amounts of money it receives. In our assessment, the **PRC receives additional funding** from associations and organizations whose worldviews support its political and ideological activities. In our assessment, **the money comes from the Muslim Brotherhood and/or funds and foundations affiliated with it which have large financial resources and can back an institution the size of the PRC**. As noted above, the PRC has strong ties to Interpal, which supports Hamas and it is not out of the question that it supports the PRC as well (although we have no concrete information confirming that).

⁴⁶ PRC website.

Appendix II

A Portrait of Senior PRC Figures

Overview

1. The PRC is governed by a five-man **board of trustees**: the chairman of the board is **Zaher al-Birawi, a Hamas activist who in our assessment is a prominent figure behind the PRC**. His deputy is **Ghassan Faour**. Additional members are **Majed al-Zeer**, director general; **Sheikh Majdi Akeel** and **Mohammad Hamed**.⁴⁷ Other senior figures are **Dr. Arafat Madi Shukri**, executive director;⁴⁸ **Dr. Daud Abdullah** and **Nasim Ahmed**, both senior researchers. **Zaher al-Birawi, Majed al-Zeer and Sheikh Majdi Akeel are all known Hamas activists.**⁴⁹

Board of Trustees

Mr. Zaher Birawi, Mr. Ghassan Faour, Mr. Majed Al-Zeer, Mr. Majdi Akeel and Mr. Mohammad Hamed.

The names of the five members of the PRC's board of trustees (from the PRC website)

2. The PRC does not divulge information about its senior members, especially **not about their ideological and organizations affiliations and links, past or present**. However, an examination of their identities, past history and political positions indicates that **most of them are affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood**, Hamas' parent movement, **although they do not publicly admit it**. In addition, some of the PRC's top figures are former Hamas activists who sought refuge in Britain in the 1990s. According to our information, **at least two PRC leaders**, Zaher al-Birawi and Majed al-Zeer, are Hamas activists who **have maintained their connection with the movement since they settled in Britain**.

3. **Senior PRC figures work to strengthen the de facto Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip by sending convoys and flotillas through British and European organizations** (such as Viva Palestina and the ECESG) **and by transferring funds via Interpal, in all of which they have important positions**. The most prominent are **Zaher al-Birawi, Viva Palestina spokesman** and who in our assessment serves as a kind of "liaison officer" between George Galloway and the de facto Hamas administration; and **Dr.**

⁴⁷ PRC website, "About us."

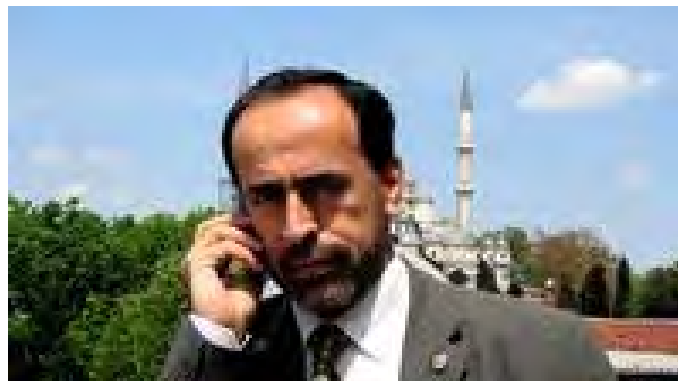
⁴⁸ In Arabic, *al-mudir al-tanfizi*

⁴⁹ The three were designated as Hamas activists in the announcement issued by the Israel Security Agency outlawing the PRC in Israel (ISA website, December 29, 2010).

Arafat Shukri, chairman of the ECESG (an umbrella organization which participated in dispatching the *Mavi Marmara* flotilla and has since been involved in planning an upgraded flotilla for the spring of 2011). **Majed al-Zeer** may also be involved in ECESG activities. In addition, **Sheikh Majdi Akeel** is Interpal representative in Manchester and **Ghassan Faour** is a member of the Interpal board of trustees (See below).

Senior PRC figures

Zaher Khaled Hassan al-Birawi (aka Abu Khaled)⁵⁰



Zaher al-Birawi, Viva Palestina convoy spokesman, at the launching of the *Mavi Marmara*, Istanbul port (where in our assessment the Facebook photo was taken).

4. Zaher al-Birawi was born in 1961 in the village of Asira al-Shimaliyah, north of Nablus in Samaria. **He is a Hamas activist who lives in Britain and is chairman of the PRC's board of trustees.** In the past two years he has been involved in dispatching flotillas to the Gaza Strip through the British Viva Palestina, George Galloway's organization.

5. In the early 1990s he went to Britain to study. There he became involved in the activities of radical Islamic groups, **especially those affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood.** In 1996 he went to the Gaza Strip, and for a short time taught at the Islamic University, an academic institution controlled by Hamas. In his many years of broad activity in Britain, **he has been careful not to present himself publicly as a Hamas or Muslim Brotherhood activist, in our assessment because he does not want to run afoul of the British law-enforcement authorities.** According to reliable ITIC information, **he is a Hamas activist who, throughout his stay in Britain, has continued as Hamas representative for the West Bank in the movement's institutions and at its formal conferences outside the territories.**

6. Zaher al-Birawi's extensive activities in Britain have **not been limited to his activity as chairman of the PRC's board of trustees.** The following are organizations and social

⁵⁰ For further information about Zaher al-Birawi see the September 16, 2010 ITIC bulletin, [Viva Palestina, an organization headed by George Galloway, announced that a large, mostly overland aid convoy would leave London for the Gaza Strip via Europe on September 18](#)

institutions in Britain in which al-Birawi held and possibly still holds important positions (in some instances in collaboration with **Muhammad Sawalha**, another Hamas operative who fled to Britain):

1) In the early 1990s al-Birawi began his career in Britain as spokesman for **The Grand Mosque in Leeds**. [Note: The British media have linked the mosque to terrorist operatives involved in the deadly 2005 attacks on the Underground and a London bus (PBS website, July 15; The Independent, August 13, 2005).] However, the Palestinian Forum in Britain (PFB) issued a statement denouncing the attacks on July 7, 2005.

2) Between 2001 and 2003 **al-Birawi was chairman of the Muslim Association of Britain (MAB)**, an organization affiliated with the **Muslim Brotherhood movement in Britain**.⁵¹ The MAB had a key role in creating a political alliance with the British left, especially with the younger generation of Muslim Brotherhood activists in Britain. **Muhammad Sawalha, former senior Hamas operative in Judea and Samaria**, was one of the MAB's founders.⁵²

3) Until two years ago al-Birawi was chairman of an organization called the **Palestinian Forum in Britain (PFB)**. He is currently in charge of its propaganda department, which has an ideology and political agenda affiliated with radical Islam. On April 4, 2006, while he was still PFB chairman, he and **Muhammad Sawalha** organized a celebration in Manchester to mark Hamas' victory in the elections.

4) Al-Birawi was also a senior activist of the **British Muslim Initiative (BMI)**, identified as a political branch of the **Muslim Brotherhood** in Britain. The organization was established in 2006 by, among others, Muhammad Sawalha and Muslim Brotherhood activist Dr. Azzam al-Tamimi.

5) Al-Birawi is a member of the board of trustees of an organization called **Education Aid for Palestine (EAP)**, established in 1993 by Issam Yousef, one of the founders of Interpal,⁵³ which is involved in transferring funds Hamas "charitable societies." The EAP represents itself as supporting the education and vocational training of Palestinians. In reality, however, it is also involved in political propaganda activities against Israel, primarily in London and Manchester. It also raises

⁵¹ In 2004 the MAB was the organization which invited Dr. Yussef al-Qaradawi, senior Muslim Brotherhood figure and chairman of the board of directors of the Union of Good to visit Britain.

⁵² For further information about Muhammad Sawalha, see the January 29, 2010 ITIC bulletin, "Hamas continues initiating anti-Israeli activities in Europe: Muhammad Kazem Sawalha is a Hamas activist living in Britain who in the past was involved in operational activities in Judea and Samaria. He is personally involved in preparations to dispatch another aid convoy to the Gaza Strip by sea to confront Israel" at http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/hamas_e095.pdf.

⁵³ PRC website.

money for the Palestinians. According to our information, one of the recipients of EAP financial aid is the Hamas-controlled Islamic University in Gaza.

7. Al-Birawi is programming director and head presenter for **Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated Al-Hiwar TV, an Arabic-language television channel based in London. It supports Hamas propaganda and collaborates with Hamas' Al-Aqsa TV.** For example, in March 2009 al-Birawi organized an Al-Hiwar interview with **Ismail Haniya**, head of the de facto Hamas administration. In July 2010, Al-Hiwar rebroadcast an Al-Aqsa TV program about the convoys and flotillas to the Gaza Strip. Speaking on Al-Hiwar TV, al-Birawi expressed support for the "resistance" (i.e., terrorism), representing it as a legitimate tool used against the Israeli "occupation."



Al-Hiwar TV logo next to those of Hamas- and Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated media. They broadcast an Al-Aqsa TV series about the flotillas and convoys to the Gaza Strip called "A Story of Determination" (July 29, 2010).

8. **For the past two years al-Birawi has been deeply involved in dispatching convoys to the Gaza Strip** (the so-called LifeLine convoys) **through Viva Palestina**, an extreme leftist British organization. In our assessment, **he may liaise between Viva Palestina and Hamas.** He is the Viva Palestina spokesman, including for the convoy which clashed with Egyptian security forces in January 2010. (Part of that convoy entered the Gaza Strip and was welcomed by senior Hamas figures.) On May 22 al-Birawi participated in the launching of the *Mavi Marmara* but did not sail with it (in our assessment because he feared he would be detained by Israel).

9. **Al-Birawi was spokesman for the most recent Viva Palestina convoy**, which entered the Gaza Strip on October 21, 2010. It is not clear how he managed to reach the Gaza Strip, since when the convoy was in Syria his name appeared on the list of 17 activists to whom the Egyptian authorities denied entrance (another was George Galloway, who was obliged to return to Britain). At a prayer ceremony in Gaza he gave a short speech promising to return to the Gaza Strip many times until the "siege" came to an end. When he finished

speaking those present shouted "Allahu akbar" and "With our souls and blood we will redeem you, Al-Aqsa" (Hamas' Al-Aqsa TV, October 22, 2010).⁵⁴



Zaher al-Birawi gives a speech in Gaza (Hamas' Al-Aqsa TV, October 23, 2010).



Zaher al-Birawi

Viva Palestina delegation welcomed in the Gaza Strip, January 2010. Second from left to right: Zaher al-Birawi, George Galloway, Ahmed Bahar, first deputy chairman of the Hamas faction in the Palestinian Legislative Council; IHH leader Bülent Yıldırım; cameraman (photo from the hurryupharry.org website).



Zaher al-Birawi

The Viva Palestina delegation welcomed in the Gaza Strip, January 2010. The flags are Turkish and IHH (photo from the IHH website, January 7, 2010)

⁵⁴ Convoy members met with senior Hamas figures headed by Ismail Haniya, head of the de facto Hamas administration. Their presence in the Gaza Strip was exploited for anti-Israeli incitement: during a sermon given by Ismail Haniya, he called Israel "a cancerous growth on the body of the Arab nation." For further information see the October 27, 2010 ITIC bulletin, [The Viva Palestina convoy arrived in the Gaza Strip and was given festive ceremonies by senior Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad figures](#)....

Majed Khalil Musa al-Zeer



Majed al-Zeer (photo from the Palestinians in Europe Conference website)

10. **Majed Khalil Musa al-Zeer is a Hamas activist affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood in Britain. He is the PRC's general director and a member of its board of trustees.** He also presides over the Palestinian conferences the PRC holds in Europe, and for many years was editor-in-chief of the PRC's monthly magazine, Al-Awda. **He was a Hamas activist in Judea and Samaria** after the movement was established. **As far as we know, he maintained relations with Hamas after he settled in Britain.**

11. Majed al-Zeer was born in Bethlehem in 1962. After the Six Day War (June 1967) his family moved to Kuwait, where they remained until the First Gulf War (1991). Interviewed by Hamas' daily Felesteen on November 9, 2009, he said that he came from a family "[in whose breast] beat [both] Islamic and national sentiments." He said that during the 1930s his father had been a *mujahed* [jihad fighter]. He also said that one of his relatives died in "the events in Lebanon" [no elaboration was provided] and another "sacrificed himself on the altar of Allah [i.e., became a martyr for the sake of Allah] for the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades."

12. Yasser Arafat's support for Saddam Hussein resulted in the Palestinians' expulsion from Kuwait, and al-Zeer's family moved to Jordan and from there to Britain (in 1990, or, according to another version, 1992). Since then he has lived in London. He is married and has five children, and regards himself as a British Palestinian (interview in Hamas' daily Felesteen, November 9, 2009). In Britain he joined various Islamic institutions and became a member of the British Journalists Association (Felesteen, November 9, 2009). He has been a senior PRC activist since its establishment in 1996 and **has a central position in its political propaganda activities** (demonstrations, conferences, issuing publications, etc.). He also has a central position in the PRC-organized Palestinians in Europe Conferences. His masters' thesis from East London University was about refugee studies, but he claimed not to have finished his PhD because of his intense political activity.

13. Majed al-Zeer participates as a PRC representative in many activities and often lectures about refugees at international forums.⁵⁵ Some of his anti-Israeli activities are the following:

- 1) On October 22, 2006, he participated in **Iran-sponsored Jerusalem Day events in London**. Representing the PRC, he gave a speech in which he called for a "free Palestine" and for the Palestinians to continue their struggle until the defeat of Israel.⁵⁶



Majed al-Zeer gives a speech on Jerusalem Day in London, October 2006 (photo from the globalmbreport.org website)

- 2) In November 2008 he participated in the International Arab Congress for the Right of Return held in Damascus. Attendees included representatives from Arab trade unions, Islamic social organizations and Palestinian NGOs, some of them from Europe. Majed al-Zeer sat on the stage with Khaled Mashaal, head of Hamas' political bureau in Damascus; Mahathir Mohamad, former president of Malaysia, known for his anti-Semitic statements; and Ali Akbar Mokhtashemipour, a senior figure in Iran who was instrumental in founding Hezbollah. The Congress issued a formal statement in support of the "the culture of active resistance" [i.e., terrorism] as "the best and shortest way to realize the restoration of the [Palestinian] refugees to their houses." The Congress also expressed support for the struggle of the Sudanese against "various forms of colonial intervention," and pointed at "the role played by Zionism in dividing Sudan and subverting its nationality..."⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Globalmbreport.org, inminds.com and ihrc.org.uk websites.

⁵⁶ Inminds.com website

⁵⁷ Hurrupharry.org website



Majed al-Zeer (left) at a congress in Damascus in November 2008. Next to him, from left to right are Iran's Ali Akbar Mokhtashemipour, Malaysia's Mahathir Mohamad, and Hamas' Khaled Mashaal (photo from the hurryupharry.org website).

3) Majed al-Zeer was a member of a delegation of Islamic public figures sent by the **Islamic Human Rights Commission** (IHRC) to visit Turkey from May 10-15, 2010. The objective of the visit was to meet with the Turkish leadership to convince them to oppose Israel's attempt to join the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development because of its "violations of human rights." The meeting was attended by senior figures from the PRC and ECESG who were apparently also IHRC members.⁵⁸



A correspondent from Israel's Channel 10 TV in the PRC offices in London asked "Who is in charge here?" He was told "Majed al-Zeer," but that he was absent. The correspondent was asked to leave (from the Channel 10 programs "The Source," August 25, 2010).

4) **Majed al-Zeer is apparently involved in dispatching flotillas to the Gaza Strip, in our assessment through the ECESG.** On June 1, 2010, in an interview posted on the Muslim Brotherhood website, he said that the ECESG was planning a new flotilla to the Gaza Strip. Arafat Shukri, a fellow PRC member, is ECESG chairman, and the PRC and ECESG offices have the same address and telephone numbers.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Ihrc.org website

⁵⁹ PRC website

14. For many years Majed al-Zeer was editor-in-chief of the PRC's monthly magazine **Al-Awda** (from its first issue in 1996 until the middle of 2009). However, after he left he continued writing a column.

15. Majed al-Zeer regards the "right of return" as the perfect method for destroying the State of Israel. At the European Conference in 2008 he said that it was a remarkable day because the Palestinians in Europe were telling the world that the Zionist project which was erected on the soil of Palestine had failed. After all of its "plots," with the will of Allah, it was now on its way to destruction.⁶⁰ Interviewed by Al-Jazeera TV on May 2, 2010 he stressed the necessity for a "military resistance" [i.e. terrorist attacks] inside Palestinian territory [i.e., within the State of Israel]. His political propaganda activities, however, especially in Western countries, also include "peaceful methods" for achieving the "right of return." He said it was the right time for such actions for the "right of return," following the economic boycott of Israel, Israel's withdrawals from the Gaza Strip and Lebanon and Israel's inability to return its prisoners (Al-Jazeera TV, May 2, 2010).

ورغم ما وصفها بمشاعر الإحباط والتراجع والانقسام الفلسطيني فإنه أشار إلى أمل يحاكي الواقع، وعدد ما وصفها بشواهد على ضعف المشروع الإسرائيلي اقتصاديا بالحرب على منتجات المستوطنات في أوروبا، وسياسيا بانسحابها من جنوب لبنان وقطاع غزة دون شروط، وأمنيا بفشلها باستعادة جنودها المأسورين لدى المقاومة في جنوب لبنان وغزة رغم شنّها حربين. ولاستغلال هذا الواقع شدد الزير على ضرورة المقاومة العسكرية في الداخل الفلسطيني، والعمل السلمي لحق العودة في الخارج والغرب بوصفه موازيا للمقاومة العسكرية.

Paraphrase of an Al-Jazeera TV interview with Majed al-Zeer, May 2, 2010. Highlighted is al-Zeer's remark about the need for "military resistance within the territory of Palestine."

Sheikh Majdi Muhammad Hassan Akeel (aka Abu Shamalah)

16. Sheikh Majdi Muhammad Hassan Akeel was born in Gaza City in 1953 and lives in Britain. He is a Hamas activist,⁶¹ a member of the PRC's board of trustees, and an Interpal activist who represents it in Manchester.

17. On March 13, 2010, he participated in an Interpal conference in Manchester held to raise money for the convoys sent to the Gaza Strip. In early March 2009 he accompanied Viva Palestina's George Galloway to the Gaza Strip. (During his visit, George Galloway was photographed presenting a bundle of money to a Hamas activist.) Majdi Akeel was joined by a number of Interpal representatives on his trip to the Gaza Strip who wanted to monitor the implementation of the fund's projects.⁶² In our assessment, Majdi Akeel

⁶⁰ YouTube.com website

⁶¹ Israel Security Agency website, December 29, 2010.

⁶² Islanonline.net website.

most likely exploited his visit to the Gaza Strip to transfer Interpal funds to the de facto Hamas administration.



Sheikh Majdi Akeel at an Interpal fundraiser in Manchester, England, March 13, 2010, for supporting the convoys to the Gaza Strip. Behind him is the Interpal logo, a map of "Palestine" superimposed on a globe colored green, the color of Islam. Akeel was introduced as a successful fundraiser. He said that his roots were in a village south of Tel Aviv and that he hoped [that the Muslims] would return there (YouTube.com website).

18. Sheikh Majdi Akeel was involved in raising money for the Holy Land Foundation (HLF) in the United States. His name appeared in two documents presented to the American court which outlawed the HLF, which was raising funds for Hamas. In 2009 its activities were terminated and its heads were sentenced to life imprisonment for sponsoring terrorism.⁶³

Ghassan Faour

19. **Ghassan Faour is deputy chairman of the PRC's board of trustees and its director.**⁶⁴ He is also a **member of Interpal's board of trustees** (Interpal website, December 2010).

Mohammad Hamed

20. Mohammad Hamed is a member of the PRC's board of trustees; he also served as its chairman (PRC website, November 2009). He works behind the scene and shuns public exposure. We have no other information about him.

⁶³ En.wikipedia.org, nytimes.com and hurryupharry.org websites

⁶⁴ Faletiny.com, prc.org.uk, globalmbreport.org websites.

Dr. Arafat Madi Shukri

Dr. Arafat Madi Shukri (picture from the Palestinians in Europe Conference)

21. **Dr. Arafat Madi Shukri** (aka Arafat Shukri and Arafat Madi) **is the PRC's executive director**. According to ITIC information he is also a Hamas activist who settled in Britain and received citizenship.

22. Dr. Shukri was born in the village of Atil in the Tulkarm district of Samaria. He is married and has three children. His PhD is in international law; his expertise is in the area of refugees and he exploits his expertise for anti-Israeli propaganda through the PRC and other anti-Israeli groups and organizations: In 2001 **he participated in the first Durban Conference, which turned into an anti-Israeli hate free-for-all**. On December 4, 2010, he participated in an anti-Israeli event in Austria called "Palestine Day," where PRC propaganda material was distributed. In one interview **he praised the activities of Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS), an umbrella organization which encourages boycotting Israel as part of the campaign to delegitimize it.**⁶⁵

23. **Dr. Shukri is also chairman of the European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG)**. As a senior ECESG figure he participated in planning the violent *Mavi Marmara* flotilla in May 2010, along with the Turkish IHH.⁶⁶ Interviewed before the *Mavi Marmara* set sail for the Gaza Strip, he said that the flotilla set sail from Istanbul because Turkey was the home base of IHH and because of the strong statements made by Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan against the so-called "Israeli blockade" of the Gaza Strip.

24. In our assessment, because of his role as ECESG chairman, Dr. Shukri maintains contact with the de facto Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip. In an interview **he admitted that ECESG activists had met with Hamas representatives in the Gaza Strip. Thus, he claimed the Hamas administration was "an elected government, regardless of whether we agree with it or not."** He also called IHH one of ECESG's "greatest allies."⁶⁷

25. From May 10-15, 2010, Dr. Shukri, along with other senior PRC figures (Majed al-Zeer and Daud Abdullah), joined an Islamic Human Rights Commission delegation to Turkey (as noted above). The meeting was attended by senior PRC and ECESG figures who apparently are also

⁶⁵ ITIC, silviacattori, Palestinians in Europe Conference and PRC websites.

⁶⁶ Israel Security Agency website, December 29, 2010.

⁶⁷ ITIC website

IHRC members. After the meeting Dr. Shukri said that Turkey had a very important role in lifting the siege on the Gaza Strip.⁶⁸

Dr. Daud Abdullah



Daud Abdullah (picture from the Palestinians in Europe Conference)

26. **Dr. Daud Abdullah is an exceptional PRC senior figure**, as he is not of Arab or Palestinian origin. He was born to a Christian family on the Caribbean island of Grenada in 1955. His real name is David Miles. In his youth he was influenced by national liberation movements operating in the third world, and especially by the 1960s freedom movement in the United States. He was also influenced by Malcolm X's Black Muslim movement, which also spread to the Caribbean). Daud Abdullah experienced several ideological incarnations, and was even a Communist for a while, until he eventually converted to Islam in Grenada in 1975.⁶⁹

27. Daud Abdullah received his first academic degree in 1981 from the University of Guyana in South America (tuition at Caribbean universities was too expensive). **He received a scholarship from the Saudi Arabian charitable society WAMY⁷⁰** to study Arabic language and literature at Al-Riyadh University in Saudi Arabia (which changed its name to the King Saud University). In 1984 **he enrolled in the PhD program at the Sudanese University of Khartoum and received a PhD in history in 1989.**⁷¹ His last job in Saudi Arabia was editing and translating for the Abu al-Qassem publishing house in Jeddah. He then went to Maiduguri University in Nigeria, where he lectured in history.

28. In the mid-1990s Daud Abdullah settled in Britain with his family. He wrote columns for Impact International and The Palestinian Times, and **acted as a commentator on Palestinian affairs for the British and Arab media.**⁷² He claimed to have three identities: Muslim, British and Afro-Caribbean. He said he identified with most of the Muslim Brotherhood's religious ideas based on religion, but not on its political concepts (Al-Jazeera TV, September 11, 2009).

⁶⁸ Palestinians in Europe Conference and savegaza.eu websites.

⁶⁹ From an Al-Jazeera TV interview, September 11, 2007.

⁷⁰ The **World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY)** is an international charitable society based in Saudi Arabi which provides Hamas with financial support. It belongs to the Union of Good, and was outlawed by Israel. See Dore Gold, *Hatred's Kingdom, How Saudi Arabia Supports the New Global Terrorism*, Regnery Publishing, Washington DC, 2003.

⁷¹ His thesis topic was about the imperialist competition in the Blue Nile valley.

⁷² En.wikipedia.org website.

29. **Between July 1996 and, apparently, the middle of 2009, Daud Abdullah was a senior PRC researcher.** He edited its Return Review, and was active in other Islamic organizations in Britain in addition to the PRC. From 2003 to 2006 he was an assistant secretary general of the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB). He headed its committee for European and international affairs and represented the MCB at various international conferences. He was also the MCB media liaison. In recent years he has been MCB's deputy secretary general. As a senior MCB figure, he has participated in the MCB's **boycott of Britain's annual Britain's Holocaust Day (held on January 27) every year.**⁷³

30. Since the middle of 2009, **Daud Abdullah has been the chairman and preacher of the Al-Nour Mosque in Acton, West London.** He has been **a visiting lecturer at various universities in Britain.** He is also a trustee of the Centre for the Study of Terrorism in London. According to the Centre's website, its head is **Dr. Kamal al-Hilbawi, formerly one of the heads of the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe.** Daud Abdullah also lectures part-time on Islam at Birkbeck College, part of London University.⁷⁴ He was also a member of the government-supported Mosques and Imams National Advisory Board.

31. **Dr. Daud Abdullah is the director of the Middle East Monitor (MEMO), one of the anti-Israeli groups and organizations in Britain.** It was established in 2009 and represents itself as an independent institute for media research on Middle Eastern affairs which reviews the Palestinian issue from an Islamic perspective. According to its stated views, it apparently identifies with radical Islam. MEMO's editor-in-chief is Ibrahim Hewitt, a British convert to Islam, who headed Interpal for many years.

32. One of MEMO's consultants is **Prof. Tariq Ramadan, an Oxford University lecturer and grandson of Muslim Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna.** Ideologically he is affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood and is considered one of the movement's most senior figures worldwide.⁷⁵ MEMO also organizes working visits for media correspondents. One, in May 2010, took correspondents to Syria and Lebanon, and ended with a Guardian interview with Khaled Mashaal.⁷⁶

33. **A selection of remarks made by Dr. Daud Abdullah attacking Israel and the West:**

- 1) On October 22, 2006, he participated in an Iranian-initiated Jerusalem Day event in London as a MCB representative. He gave a speech in which he said the following:
"[Jerusalem] is not the responsibility of the Palestinian people only - they are only the

⁷³ En.wikipedia.org website

⁷⁴ En.wikipedia.org website

⁷⁵ Middleeastmonitor.org.uk website.

⁷⁶ Al-Jazeera.net website, from the study by Ehud Rosen (See below).

guardians of [Jerusalem] - but **we are the owners. [Jerusalem] belongs to the Muslims and it has to be defended by the Muslims wherever they are!** ...Many people thought 100 years ago that there will be no Zionist state in Palestine - they doubted it but it became a reality. So don't you doubt that Masjid Al-Aqsa cannot be destroyed - don't you doubt it! **There is ample evidence that there are excavations beneath [Jerusalem], that there are chemicals in the foundations of Masjid Al-Aqsa which would lead to its collapse and you should not doubt it!"** (ITIC emphasis).⁷⁷

2) In February 2007, he attacked the American and coalition involvement in Afghanistan, saying that no one had won the battle. The Americans, he said, could not win a guerilla war when the population did not support them. If the Afghanistan people was against them, he continued, they could not win. He added that the war was supposed to be against the Taliban, but **it wasn't, it was being waged against the Afghanistan people, and an active national resistance existed in Afghanistan.**

3) In January 2009, at a demonstration in London protesting Operation Cast Lead, he said that the blood shed in the Gaza Strip would not be in vain. It would, he said, **oil the wheels of the "resistance" [*muqawamah*, i.e., terrorism], and fuel the hearts of those fighting in Gaza.**

4) **In 2002 he spoke at a mosque in Regents Park** (the largest mosque in London) after the Coalition Forces invaded Afghanistan. He compared the days of the prophet Muhammad to the present, saying that the "hostility of the Jewish tribes in Madinah inadvertently made the Arab tribes more willing to approach Islam. **That, he said, was exactly what was happening in the present. The more the Muslims were pursued in Palestine, Chechnya, Afghanistan, India, Eritrea and Sudan, – wherever Muslims were pursued, the pursuit would bring the members of the Muslim nation closer to one another...**"

34. On February 14 and 15, 2009, a bi-annual international conference was held in Istanbul, attended by senior Muslim clerics. Its objective was to express support for Palestinians in general and Hamas in particular in the wake of Operation Cast Lead. The conference ended with a strong anti-Israeli declaration, known as the **Istanbul Declaration, in support of Hamas' anti-Israeli terrorism** ["jihad and resistance"]. **Dr. Daud Abdullah attended the conference signed the declaration, his signature appearing 17th of 90.** It is unclear which organization he represented at the conference, the MCB or the PRC, or if he merely represented himself, as he later claimed.

⁷⁷ Inminds.com website. Daud Abdullah uses the lies and propaganda of Hamas and its supporters to accuse Israel of striving to collapse Al-Aqsa mosque.

35. However, in any event, after he signed, Hazel Blears, at that point secretary of State for Communities and Government⁷⁸ in Britain, demanded he resign his government-supported MCB position, because he had signed a document which did not reflect British foreign policy, which opposed violence. He and his supporters rejected the demand, claiming that he had signed as a private individual and not as MCB deputy secretary general.⁷⁹ **His refusal motivated the secretary of state to order that government funding for the MCB be terminated.**



The July 2009 issue of the PRC's Al-Awda gave extensive coverage to the Islamic conference held in Istanbul, attended by Dr. Daud Abdullah (who signed the "Istanbul Declaration"). Seated, left, Sheikh Ra'ed Salah next to IHH leader Bülent Yıldırım; third from left, Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi.

36. Daud Abdullah, along with Majed al-Zeer and Dr. Arafat Shukri, was a member of the Islamic Human Rights Commission delegation to Turkey in May 2010 to enlist Turkish support for keeping Israel out of the OECD.⁸⁰



Daud Abdullah (right), Majed al-Zeer (fourth from left) and Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan (third from left) during the May 10, 2010 visit to Turkey (photo from the Palestinians in Europe Conference website)

⁷⁸ The Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government is a British government office established in 1996.

⁷⁹ Hurryupharry.org website.

⁸⁰ IHRC website.

37. **Daud Abdullah maintains contact with the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt.** On January 8, 2008, IslamOnline, the Muslim Brotherhood's main website, reported that Daud Abdullah had met with Mohammed Mahdi Aakef, at that time the movement's General Guide. He and Daud Abdullah, referred to as deputy secretary general of "Islamic Council of Britain" [i.e., the MCB], discussed many issues, such as the role of civil society in the service of the Palestinian cause, ways of lifting the so-called "Israeli siege" of the Palestinian people, the situation in Lebanon and Iraq, the dangers lying in wait for Islamic countries like Sudan, and the role of Muslims and Islamic organizations in finding solutions.



The January 8, 2008 IslamOnline posting about the meeting held by Muhammad Mahdi Aakef and Daud Abdullah

Nasim Ahmed

38. **Nasim Ahmed is a senior PRC researcher.** He was a PRC representative at the UN meeting to discuss assistance to the Palestinian people held in Vienna on March 24-26, 2010. At the meeting, after having described the suffering of the Palestinian refugees, he asked what kind of message the meeting was going to send to the Palestinian refugees. Was the UN, he asked, going to continue marginalizing their rights and ignoring the majority voice of the Palestinians?

39. A July 28, 2010 Jerusalem Post article quoted Nasim Ahmed as saying "Palestinian refugees' rights, including the right of return, is absolute and recognized under international law...We believe the right of return and claims for compensation by Palestinian refugees is

exclusive and cannot be compromised by another claim. We also believe that to dissolve the Palestinian claim is a political tactic which undermines international law."⁸¹

Sameh Akram Subhi Habib



Sameh Akram Subhi Habib (photo from nowpublic.com website)

40. **Sameh Akram Subhi Habib was born in the Gaza Strip in 1977, and edits The Palestinian Telegraph, a pro-Hamas paper published in Britain.** It was founded by radical leftist British activists Jenny Tong, a former Liberal-Democratic MP who is a severe critic of Israel. She is a baroness, and thus a member of the House of Lords, a close friend of former MP George Galloway, and participated in a flotilla to the Gaza Strip in 2008.⁸²

Sobhi Saleh Musa

41. Sobhi Saleh is **a member of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt.** He was **a Muslim Brotherhood representative in the Egyptian Parliament from 2005 to 2010.** During those years he was also **a member of and spokesman for the PRC.**⁸³ He was born in 1953, and is a lawyer specializing in Egyptian law. From 2004 to the present day he has been a member of the Egyptian lawyer's union. According to his website, he is an associate member of the PRC in London.

⁸¹ <http://www.jpost.com/Israel/Article.aspx?id=182837>

⁸² In 2004 she was dismissed from the Liberal Democratic party after she expressed understanding for the suicide bombing attacks carried out by Palestinian terrorists in Israel. On November 14, 2010 she said Israeli treatment of the Palestinians had caused the world many problems. She also called for an international committee to be established to investigate whether the Israeli medical team sent to Haiti had stolen organs from earthquake victims (Ynet.co.il and the ITIC websites).

⁸³ Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt website, Ikhwanonline, November 10, 2010.



Former MP Sobhi Saleh (from his website, sobhisaleh.com)

لنشاط النقابي والخدمي:

- عضو مجلس النقابة العامة للمحامين و مقرر اللجنة السياسية بها.
- وكيل نقابة المحامين الفرعية بالإسكندرية من عام 2000 إلى عام 2004.
- أمين صندوق نقابة المحامين الفرعية بالإسكندرية من عام 95 إلى 2001.
- مقرر لجنة الشريعة الإسلامية بنقابة المحامين الفرعية بالإسكندرية من 1989 إلى 2004.
- عضو منظمة الحق الدولية.
- عضو مراسل لمركز العودة الفلسطينية بلندن.

From the biography of MP Sobhi Saleh, posted on his website. The bottom line reads, "associate member of the PRC in London."

Appendix III

PRC Collaboration with Organizations Participating in the Global Campaign to Delegitimize the State of Israel

Overview

1. Beyond its affiliation to the Muslim Brotherhood, the PRC has strong working relations with a number of anti-Israeli organizations and networks also participating in the campaign to delegitimize Israel in Britain and worldwide.

The PRC's ties with the ECESG

2. The European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG) is an anti-Israeli, pro-Hamas **umbrella organization** specializing in sending flotillas to the Gaza Strip. It participated in the violent *Mavi Marmara* flotilla as part of the coalition of six anti-Israeli organizations led by the Turkish IHH. The ECESG provides a network for more than 30 pro-Hamas pro-Palestinian organizations and groups, while trying to project the image of an overall European organization based in Brussels. However, examination reveals that the ECESG is run by Palestinian activists, several originally from the Gaza Strip, **most of them living and operating in London**.⁸⁴

3. There is a great deal of evidence attesting to the strong connection between the PRC and the ECESG:

- 1) The idea of founding the ECESG as an umbrella organization for the express purpose of sending flotillas to the Gaza Strip was raised at the PRC's annual European conference in 2008.⁸⁵
- 2) Two senior PRC figures, one of them its executive director, are also active in the ECESG.
- 3) The ECESG offices are located within the PRC offices in London, and share telephone and fax numbers.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ For further information on the ECESG see the October 2010 ITIC bulletin, [The European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza \(ECESG\) is an anti-Israel, pro-Hamas umbrella organization which participated in the Mavi Marmara flotilla.](#)

⁸⁵ www.alhiwar.net website

4) The PRC appears first on the ECESG website's list of its 34 member NGOs.

5) The PRC and ECESG have been involved in joint activities. For example, in April 2010 they organized a campaign which brought a delegation of 50 members of European parliaments and the European Parliament to the Gaza Strip. Their stated objective was to examine humanitarian situation following Operation Cast Lead.⁸⁷

4. **An example of the strong links between the PRC and the ECESG is Dr. Arafat Shukri.** He is the both PRC executive director and ECESG chairman. As ECESG chairman he participated in organizing the *Mavi Marmara* flotilla and other activities to lift the so-called Israeli "siege" of the Gaza Strip. He admitted in an interview that ECESG activists had met with Hamas in Gaza and claimed that it was legitimate because Hamas was an "elected government." Apparently, another senior PRC figure, **Majed al-Zeer**, is also involved in the flotilla project, in our assessment hand-in-hand with the ECESG.



Ayman Abu Rashed, senior ECESG figure, on the stage at a European Conference in 2007. In the upper right-hand corner are the logos of the PRC, Al-Awda in the United States (See below) and the PPMS, a pro-Hamas Dutch organization headed by Abu Rashed (From the PRC website).⁸⁸



Ayman Abu Rashed and Majed al-Zeer (second from left) at the PRC European Conference in 2007. Ayman Abu Rashed lives in Holland and is affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood. He was one of the ECESG's founders and is one of its senior figures (From the PRC website).

⁸⁶ ITIC and hurryupharry.org websites

⁸⁷ Intifada-palestine.com and dissidentvoice.org websites

⁸⁸ The Palestinian Platform for Human Rights and Solidarity (PPMS are the initials of the organization's name in Dutch). It is a pro-Hamas organization based in Holland affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood and founded in 2005. It conducts extensive global propaganda activities against Israel and promotes the "right of return." Its ties to the PRC are manifested in organizing joint conferences and by participating the in the Palestinians in Europe Conferences.

PRC connections with other British organizations

Interpal



The Interpal logo

5. **Sheikh Majdi Akeel and Ghassan Faour, both senior PRC figures, hold important positions in London-based Interpal.** Its main activity is transferring money to Hamas' civilian infrastructure in the territories, and it is a central factor in the global system funding the Hamas movement.⁸⁹ **The dominant figure in Interpal is Issam Salah Mustafa Yousef,** one of the most prominent personalities in the Western financial system supporting Hamas. He also founded the Union of Good⁹⁰ and was its executive director.

6. **Ghassan Faour,** deputy chairman of the PRC's board of trustees and the Centre's director, is also a member of Interpal's board of trustees. **Hamas activist Majdi Akeel,** a Palestinian from the Gaza Strip and member of the PRC's board of trustees, **is an Interpal activist and its representative in Manchester.** On March 13, 2010 he participated in an Interpal fundraiser in Manchester to finance convoys to the Gaza Strip. At the beginning of March 2009 he visited the Gaza Strip as part of a Viva Palestina convoy along with several other Interpal representatives, who joined to monitor the fund's various projects.⁹¹



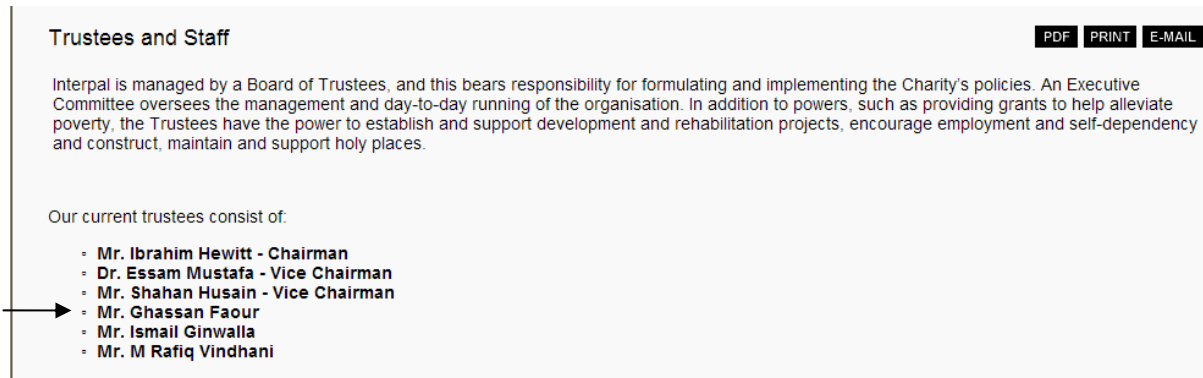
Viva Palestina head George Galloway gives a bundle of cash to Ziyad al-Zaza, national economy minister of the de facto Hamas administration, during a visit to the Gaza Strip (Photo by Muhammad Salem for Reuters, March 9, 2009). On April 13, 2010, George Galloway held a meeting in the Kensington, London, city hall, where he reported he had given £1.4 million to Ismail Haniya, whom he referred to as an elected prime minister of Palestine (Al-Jazeera.net and YouTube websites).

⁸⁹ For further information see the December 1, 2004 ITIC bulletins on Interpal, Parts 1 and 2, <http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/site/html/search.asp?sid=13&pid=325&numResults=9&isSearch=yes&isT8=no>

⁹⁰ The Union of Good is an umbrella organization of dozens of Islamic funds and foundations throughout the world which funnel money into the Hamas institutes.

⁹¹ Isanonline.net website

Senior PRC figures belonging to Interpal



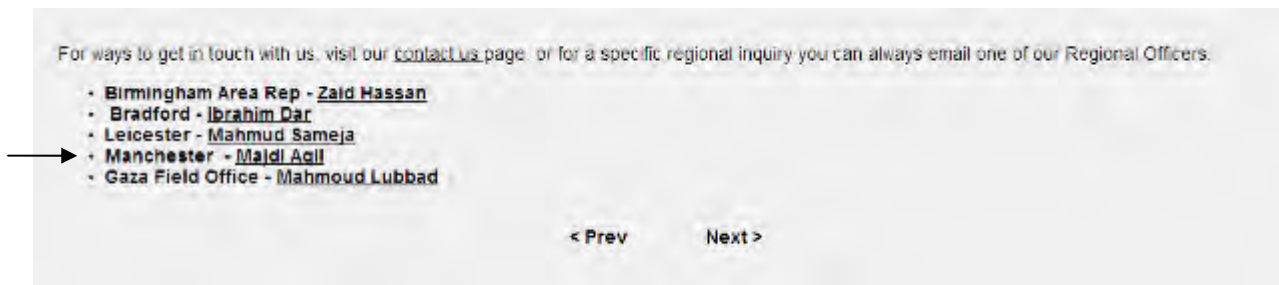
Trustees and Staff PDF PRINT E-MAIL

Interpal is managed by a Board of Trustees, and this bears responsibility for formulating and implementing the Charity's policies. An Executive Committee oversees the management and day-to-day running of the organisation. In addition to powers, such as providing grants to help alleviate poverty, the Trustees have the power to establish and support development and rehabilitation projects, encourage employment and self-dependency and construct, maintain and support holy places.

Our current trustees consist of:

- Mr. Ibrahim Hewitt - Chairman
- Dr. Essam Mustafa - Vice Chairman
- Mr. Shahan Husain - Vice Chairman
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- Mr. Ismail Ginwalla
- Mr. M Rafiq Vindhani

Interpal board of trustees, among them Ghassan Faour (From the Interpal website).



For ways to get in touch with us, visit our [contact us page](#) or for a specific regional inquiry you can always email one of our Regional Officers:

- Birmingham Area Rep - [Zaid Hassan](#)
- Bradford - [Ibrahim Dar](#)
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- Gaza Field Office - [Mahmoud Lubbad](#)

< Prev Next >

Majdi [Aqil] Akeel Hamas activist and senior PRC figure, Interpal regional officer in Manchester.

7. Its name also appears in the August 2003 American Executive Order 13224, which calls for freezing assets of five "charitable societies" which fund Hamas and of six senior Hamas figures.⁹² On November 12, 2008, the Union of Good, through which Interpal operates, was also designated as a terrorist organization because of its financial support for Hamas.

8. In recent years Interpal activity in the territories declined, following a British Charity Commission investigation. Another contributing factor was the July 2006 BBC program "**Faith, Hate and Charity**," which exposed Interpal as a political tool supporting Hamas' civilian infrastructure. The program traced funds from Interpal to the various Hamas-controlled "charitable societies" in the territories. Their activities include inculcating the younger generation with Hamas' extremist Islamic ideology and fostering an ethos of jihad and the shaheed cult, among other ways through bolstering the Hamas-affiliated educational system. The program included pictures of activities organized by the "charitable societies" which featured anti-Israeli incitement and advocated terrorism.

9. **Once the Charity Commission's investigation had been concluded, Interpal was instructed to cut its ties completely with the Union of Good.** In March 2009 Issam Yousef, senior Interpal figure, announced the fund had completely ended its connection with

⁹² Treasury.gov website, August 22, 2003.

the Union of Good (Insanonline.net website, March 31, 2009). Interpal also faced difficulties posed by the intensive activities of the Salam Fayyad government against Hamas "charitable societies" in Judea and Samaria. The Palestinian Authority replaced their directors, causing a serious decrease in the transfer of funds to new societies affiliated with Fatah and the PA. **In our assessment, that may have been a reason Interpal moved the focus of its activity to the Gaza Strip, using the Viva Palestina convoys.**

George Galloway's Viva Palestina

10. Viva Palestina is a pro-Hamas organization whose main field of activity is sending convoys to the Gaza Strip to strengthen the de facto Hamas administration and challenge Israel. It is headed by George Galloway, a former British MP affiliated with the extreme left. The link between the PRC and Viva Palestina is **Zaher al-Birawi, a Hamas activist and chairman of the PRC's board of trustees**. Al-Birawi has been the spokesman for the convoys organized by George Galloway over the past two years and in our assessment also liaises with the Hamas leadership in the Gaza Strip.

11. Al-Birawi participated in the convoy which clashed with the Egyptian security forces in January 2010 (as a result of which George Galloway was declared persona non grata by Egypt). Al-Birawi was also involved in organizing the last flotilla and participated in the launching of its *Mavi Marmara* on May 22, 2010;⁹³ he also took part in the convoy which reached the Gaza Strip in October 2010. Senior PRC figure Majdi Akeel also helped Viva Palestina organize an aid convoy to the Gaza Strip immediately following Operation Cast Lead.⁹⁴

PRC connections with organizations in the United States

Al-Awda

12. The PRC has links to an anti-Israeli organization called **Al-Awda** ("the return"), based in California. In English they call themselves the **Palestine Right to Return Coalition (PPRC)**. The organization's objective is to promote the idea of the Palestinian refugees' so-called "right of return" by propaganda in the United States. **It works in collaboration with the British PRC and the American Free Palestine Movement (FPM), Dr. Paul Larudee's California-based network. The FPM conducts anti-Israeli projects, mainly flotillas to**

⁹³ ITIC website.

⁹⁴ Vivapalestina.org website

the Gaza Strip.⁹⁵ The PPRC's general coordinator is **Salman Abu Sitta**, who founded the PRC.⁹⁶



Al-Awda contact information in the United States (From the Al-Awda website)

13. The Al-Awda website links to a page devoted to its eighth annual conference, which was held at a hotel in California between April 30 and May 2, 2010.⁹⁷ Among those who attended were **Hilarion Capucci**,⁹⁸ **Mustafa al-Barghouti**,⁹⁹ Prof. **Norman Finkelstein** (Jewish-American, anti-Israeli and anti-Zionist), **Diana Buttu** (Palestinian-Canadians lawyer specializing in human rights, formerly a PLO legal advisor), **Ali Abunimah**.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ ITIC website.

⁹⁶ En.wikipedia.org andhurryupharry.org websites.

⁹⁷ Al-awda.org website

⁹⁸ A Syrian-born cleric, convicted by Israel in the 1970s of smuggling weapons from Lebanon for the PLO. He was imprisoned but allowed to leave Israel following a request from the Vatican. He was aboard the *Mavi Marmara*.

⁹⁹ A leftist Palestinian politician, chairman of the National Initiative movement and in favor of an unarmed "popular resistance" to Israel. On many occasions he has declared the necessity of the "right of return."

¹⁰⁰ founder and director of the **Electronic Intifada**, an anti-Israeli website which exploits Facebook. Abunimah, a Palestinian who lives in the United States, is active in promoting anti-Israeli hate propaganda on college and university campuses.



Norman Finkelstein, political scientist and anti-Israeli anti-Zionist activist, at a PRC conference in London. He claimed that Israel committed "war crimes" in the Gaza Strip (Photo from the PRC website). Like similar organizations, the PRC uses Jews in its campaign to delegitimize Israel.



Norman Finkelstein speaks at an AI-Awda convention (Photo from the AI-Awda website). He is also a permanent guest at PRC anti-Israeli events in London.

Free Palestine Movement (FPM)

14. The FPM is based in California and participates in planning anti-Israeli projects, including flotillas to the Gaza Strip. It is headed by Dr. Paul Larudee (one of the co-founders of both the International Solidarity Movement and the Free Gaza Movement, which also send flotillas to the Gaza Strip). Interviewed by Hezbollah's Al-Manar TV on May 16, 2010, he said that **the British PRC and the American AI-Awda are in contact to promote a plan to send to Israel 200 Palestinians who hold European and North American passports.**

15. Paul Larudee also said they would fly to Ben-Gurion airport from various cities and carry copies of family pictures and certificates showing their rights to the lands their families lived on before 1948, and demand their houses back. According to the plan, they would be interviewed before they boarded the plane and the interviews would be released to the media after they landed. They would be received by Palestinians, "a legal team" and media correspondents. Larudee said that he expected the Israelis to send them back, but that they would resist and refuse to board a plane leaving Israel.

16. Paul Larudee was supposed to participate in the January 18, 2011 international Ongoing Nakba conference organized by the PRC in London.

Appendix IV

The Delegitimization Campaign against Israel Reflected in the PRC's Annual Palestinian Conferences in Europe

Overview

1. **The focus of the PRC's European activity is its annual conference** (The Palestinians in Europe Conference), which it has held in various European cities since 2003 in collaboration with other Palestinian groups and public figures operating in Europe. To date **there have been eight such conferences**, held in **London** (2003), **Berlin** (2004 and 2010), **Vienna** (2005), **Malmo** (2006), **Rotterdam** (2007), **Copenhagen** (2008), and **Milan** (2009), and **Berlin** (2010).

2. The conferences are attended by individual activists and delegations from various European countries. They include representatives of the Muslim Brotherhood, local Palestinian organizations, European organizations and individuals, and in certain instances, anti-Israeli politicians. In addition, the conferences are attended by representatives of anti-Israeli bodies from other countries and entities, including the United States, Israel and the Palestinian Authority (in 2008 Israel was "represented" by Sheikh Ra'ed Salah, head of the northern branch of the Islamic Movement, and Ameer Makhoul, convicted in 2010 of spying for Hezbollah).

3. Hamas activists have also been invited to the PRC conferences in Europe, but in most instances were refused entry into the various countries. However, **Hamas activists did participate in some conferences, as did representatives of the funds and foundations which finance Hamas in Europe, as well as representatives of Hamas in the Gaza Strip.**¹⁰¹ On occasion **Ismail Haniya**, head of the de facto Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip, **was also invited, but did not attend because he was not allowed entry into various European countries.** He did, however, deliver speeches at three conferences through video conference calls broadcast on giant screens.

4. **The conferences' political agenda and their ideological themes are identical with those of the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas.** They repeatedly stress that **the so-called "right of return" of all the Palestinians to territory of the State of Israel is "sacred,"**

¹⁰¹ From the Israel Security Agency announcement outlawing the PRC (ISA website, December 29, 2010).

and no Palestinian can waive it. The speakers at the conferences repeatedly deny the right of the State of Israel to exist,¹⁰² and strongly reject the peace process (as well as the Oslo Accords and the Geneva Initiative). They send their blessings to the "jihad fighters in Palestine" (i.e., the terrorist organizations), which, during the early conferences, were waging a terrorist campaign against Israel (the second intifada).

5. **The speakers reiterate the need to increase their influence in the target European audiences.** To that end they formulated a media strategy for bringing their extremist positions to the attention of European public opinion and political institutions (using terms like "justice," "peace" and "rights," which are familiar and acceptable to European ears).

6. A glimpse into the events of the 2003-2008 conferences can be found in a book written in Arabic called *The Palestinians in Europe Conference*. It was published in 2008 by the PRC in conjunction with the General Secretariat of the Palestinians in Europe Conference. Partial information about the conferences, less detailed than what appeared in the book, can be found in English on the PRC website. This Appendix describes the salient points of the conferences with additional information about those held in 2009 and 2010 (which are not part of the book).



The front cover of the book summarizing the Conferences of Palestinians in Europe, 2003-2008. The key symbolizes the dream of the Palestinian refugees to return to their houses.

¹⁰² When the book of the Palestinian Conferences mentions Israel, it does so in quotation marks ("Israel") to express its lack of recognition (pages 34, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45). Speeches and decisions refer to Israel as "the occupation project," the "occupation regime," "the Zionist project," etc.

The first conference: Britain (2003)

7. The first conference was held in London on July 19, 2003. It was the conference which paved the way for those which followed, the motivating force for the following conferences as well. Prominent among the speakers was **Majed al-Zeer**, the PRC's general director, **who continued as key speaker at the following conferences.**

8. His main points were the following:

1) The Palestinians have to restore **"all their rights"** to themselves. To that end they must be willing to continue their **"sacrifice"** and **"resistance"** (i.e. violence and terrorism) until the "fulfillment of the dream of return and liberation, and until a Palestinian state is established with Jerusalem as its capital."

2) "...the free Palestinian, regardless of where he is, teaches his sons that **love of the land of Palestine, from the [Mediterranean] sea to the [Jordan] river, is the basic tenet of the faith.** It is like water and air, without which it is pointless to live...tell them that the [Palestinians'] bodies live in London, Berlin, Copenhagen, Barcelona, Rome and Athens, **but [their] hearts adhere to Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nablus, Jaffa and Haifa, the Carmel mountains and [Izz al-Din] al-Qassam's plains of Jenin.**¹⁰³

3) "The hope is great, and the portents of tomorrow are approaching, with the aid of Allah. The best proof of that is **the fear felt by the occupiers caused by the Al-Aqsa intifada and the actions of the resistance** [i.e., the terrorist campaign waged at the time by the Palestinian terrorist organizations]...**We have right and [we are] the owners of the land.** They [the Israelis] know it is only a question of time, and time is running out...Thus they can be seen running after solutions which might lengthen the life of their state by a few years..."

9. The conference accepted a series of measures:

1) Adherence to the refugees' so called "right to return to the places they lived in which they were forced to abandon." That right is **"a basic personal and collective right," anchored in international conventions and "divine law"** (Note: A reference to "divine" books.)

2) **Accordingly, "no person or group can waive that right** [i.e. the "right of return"] **for any reason** or claim, or following the signing of any agreement. The right

¹⁰³ In November 1935 Syrian sheikh Izz al-Din al-Qassam died fighting the British in the Jenin region; Hamas named its military wing after him.

has no statute of limitations and cannot be removed from the agenda or influenced by the establishment of a Palestinian state on some part of the land of Palestine."

3) **The conference doggedly rejected any compromise or arrangement such as partial "return"** to the territories of the Palestinian Authority or the return of [only] the first generation to Israel as a humanitarian solution for reuniting families.¹⁰⁴

4) **The conference sent its blessings to the Palestinian people fighting the holy war (jihad)** (The confrontation took place during the height of the second intifada, the terrorist campaign waged by the Palestinian terrorist organizations against Israel.) The conference participants blessed the Palestinian shaheeds, wounded and prisoners in Israeli jails.

The second conference: Germany (2004)

10. The second conference was held in Berlin on May 15, 2004. Its subtitle was **"We will never waive the right of return nor empower anyone to waive it."**

11. **Zaher al-Birawi** spoke, saying the following:

1) "Ladies and gentlemen, you will bring the respect of the future. **Be certain that the project of [our] enemies is in distress and that is doomed to collapse...**The Zionist dream, 'greater Israel,' and its structure, based on hatred, racism and deprivation, will collapse. Some of the leaders of the entity are aware of that...and it is all a result of the fortitude and strength of the mighty [Palestinian] people, **the heroism of its active resistance** [i.e., terrorism], its many victims and the **continuation of its blessed intifada...**"

2) "...**The construction of the racist separation fence is one of the signs of the distress and coming collapse.** After [the collapse] the fateful end and great victory will come and the dream of return will be realized, **the flag of Arabism and Islam will fly from the blessed Al-Aqsa [mosque] and Church of the Nativity**, and then the faithful will rejoice in the victory of Allah...**Blessings upon the jihad fighters**, the heroes of the refugee camps, our honor and pride..."

3) "...**Blessings upon the noble shaheeds, who returned their souls to their creator through freedom and honor.** We promise to follow the path they set for us...**the path of return to Haifa, Jaffa and all the land of the homeland**, the path of building an independent Palestinian state..."

¹⁰⁴ Those resolutions, and other like them, were intended to reject in principle any possibility of agreements' being reached between Israel and the Palestinian Authority based on political negotiations.

12. The final summation of the conference again **condemned the initiatives and solutions which might lead to the "right of return" being waved**, including the Geneva Initiative and the Bush document [to former Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon]. The conference participants declared they would not accept any solution based on reparations to the refugees but that they **"demanded both reparations and the return as two complementary rights."**

The third conference: Austria (2005)

13. The third conference was held in Vienna on May 7, 2005, with 2,000 participants from more than 21 Palestinian communities in Europe. There were also Austrian politicians (among them two members of the Austrian Parliament) and Islamic, Arab and Palestinian public figures who represented institutions operating in Austria.

14. One of the speakers was **Sheikh Taysir al-Tamimi**, "the head Cadi [Islamic judge] of Palestine," who is **ideologically affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood**. He said that **"the Israeli occupation of Palestine is a colonial occupation**, meant to uproot the residents and settle others instead of them..." He said that "the refugees' right to return from the dispersion to their lands, the places they lived and their houses represents the essence of the just cause of the Palestinian people. [It is also] one of the main pillars of Palestinian sovereignty. Moreover, it is the heart and root of the [Palestinian] problem ..." He also said that **"anyone who considers reparations without return is a criminal,"** and that **"the land of Palestine is not the property of the Jews, rather it is Arab Muslim land, and its sons will adhere to it strongly and with their souls defend its Arab and Muslim character."**

15. Several workshops were held during the conference **to discuss ways and means for inculcating the idea of the "right of return" in world consciousness and undermining the legitimacy of the State of Israel, especially among European target audiences**. Some of the resolutions taken by the workshops were **implemented by the PRC and other organizations and activists of the anti-Israeli coalition, and they are therefore relevant to this day**. Some of ideas were the following (from the so-called "first workshop"):

1) **"Advantage should be taken of the current shift in public opinion in Europe in every matter concerning the Palestinian cause and the occupation project.**

Efforts about the fundamentals of the Palestinian cause and the dimension of the historical deprivation of the Palestinian people should be increased. It should not only turn the spotlight on the details of the deeds of the regime of the occupation and its military forces."

2) **"What we should exploit is the trend within the Israeli public for ongoing reevaluation, including the publications of the new historians and their criticism in the [Israeli] media, as well as the positions and unprecedented admissions resulting from them. That should be done to fundamentally redefine the Palestinian cause in the collective European consciousness, and thus turn a spotlight on the racist, aggressive nature of the Zionist project. That obliges us to draw attention to the fact that the Zionist movement established a racist state on Palestinian land. [This state] is based on stolen lands, the dispersion of the Palestinian people and a policy of expansionism..."**

3) **"It is worthwhile to undertake a form of activity familiar to European society concerning the Palestinian cause, whether we deal with the media or on the popular level: protest demonstrations, sit-in strikes and civilian activities, or in the form of solidarity delegations which would be sent to the Palestinians, etc. Those activities should be of high quality to attract as many people as possible from all sectors of the European arena, which will be more advantageous, preserve its image and contribute to raising European awareness of the rights of the Palestinian cause..."**

4) **"The vital role of the Arab-Muslim communities in Europe should be exploited for political backing. [They have] the potential to express the continuation of the role of Palestinians in Europe. They must always face their responsibilities, inculcated with the dimension of the Palestinian cause and encouraged to develop activities supporting the cause in a way suitable to the unique nature of the European arena. The growing political and social weight of those communities should be exploited for the sake of the just Palestinian cause."**

5) **"More emphasis must be put on the fact that when speaking about the Palestinian cause, the problem is not with Judaism as a religion or with the Jews as a religious or ethnic group. Rather, the problem is the Zionist project [i.e., the State of Israel], manifested by the occupation and the state it established."**

6) **"A message which creates a mutual bond with European public opinion should make an effort to draw attention to the importance of justice as one of the demands that cannot be waived in making peace. Peace is the fruit of the end of the occupation and the restoration of the rights which were stolen from their legal owners..."**¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ The PRC stresses the importance of "justice" in discourse with European public opinion. However, the "just solution" sought by the PRC is the disappearance of the State of Israel as the Jewish homeland. Interviewed by

7) **"Appeals to European public opinion should not be limited to population sectors which have traditionally shown solidarity for the Palestinian cause,** or to senior governmental officials who automatically support Palestinian rights. Rather, the hearts to be won belong to the other sectors and senior officials, whether by ensuring they will support the Palestinian cause or by neutralizing [their] pro-Israeli positions."

8) **"Attention should be paid to the contents of the message to bond with European public opinion.** The objective is to reach as many sectors as possible. The Palestinian cause should be expressed in **short, easily absorbed messages.** They should reflect the situation by creating a [negative] image [of Israel], for example, **a description of the [security] fence in a way that projects an image of annexation, racial segregation, isolated areas and 'apartheid'...**"

9) **"A broad campaign should be launched to write [the memoirs] of the first Nakba generation,** the continuation of the great, ongoing efforts to document the period before the Nakba, to focus a spotlight on the tragic experiences of Palestinian civilians. Everything has to be translated into high-quality activities which will prepare the ground for the dissemination [of the results of the above actions] in the European and international arenas..."

The fourth conference: Sweden (2006)

16. The fourth conference was held in Malmo on May 6, 2006. Its theme was "Authentic Palestinian identity and strong adherence to rights." The conference was attended by five thousand participants. There were Palestinian delegations from Europe, representatives of the Palestinian "Justice Center" [in Sweden], and Swedish politicians and important public figures. **A Hamas activist was also present, Dr. Atef Adwan, the minister of refugee affairs in Ismail Haniya's government** (today a Hamas representative in the Palestinian Legislative Council). **Ismail Haniya, senior Hamas figure, who was Palestinian prime minister, spoke to the participants by video conference.**

17. Atef Adwan said, "We came to this country looking for a just peace. We came with a message of peace. **A peace which will restore rights to owners,** a peace which will return to their houses those who were forced to abandon them, a peace which will return the Palestinians to the beloved land of their ancestors." He ended his speech with an appeal to the Palestinians in Europe, **expressing his certainty of the fulfillment of the desire of the return,** and to thunderous applause said, **"We will reach Jerusalem, Haifa and Jaffa, everywhere** (in "Palestine") [Note: Parentheses in the original book], **if Allah so wishes."**

Hamas' daily *Felasteen* on November 9, 2009, Majed al-Zeer sent the following message to Israel ("the Zionist occupation"): "Your project [i.e., the State of Israel] is transitory because it is not founded on justice. Remember that the owners of the right [i.e., the Palestinians], which demand their right, will come..."

18. The summation of the conference emphasized that, **"the Palestinian people have the right to active resistance against the oppressive occupation of their land..."** (Paragraph 8). It also called for action to "reinforce the Palestinian message in many European languages" to create "the strong solidarity of European politicians and public figures with the just rights and aspirations of the Palestinians..."

The fifth conference: Holland (2007)

19. The fifth conference was held on May 5, 2007, in Rotterdam. It was attended by Dutch Palestinian organizations, delegations and activists from Europe and public figures from the Palestinian territories. A ceremony was held in which European Palestinian children held keys (the symbol of the "return") and demanded the "right of return" and their "undeniable rights."

20. **Ismail Haniya, head of the de facto Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip, who was supposed to be the guest of honor, gave a speech via video conference.** He spoke about the murders committed by the "Zionist gangs" in 1948, compared the Palestinian Nakba to the occupation of Holland during the Second World War, and thanked the members of the Dutch government and parliament members who had demanded he be allowed to enter Holland.

21. Senior PRC figure Majed al-Zeer also delivered a speech. He expressed his adherence to the **"right of return" and the so-called "rights" of the Palestinians to all of "Palestine,"** regardless of how long it took. He appealed to European civilian society to support the Palestinian people "to realize their legitimate rights" and construct a free state "on their national soil" [i.e., on all of Palestine, that is, the State of Israel]. He sent greetings to the Palestinians all over the globe **"whose hearts are one with Jaffa, Haifa, Acre, Nazareth and Beit Shean."**

22. Another speaker was **Amin Abu Rashed**, chairman of the Palestinian Platform for Human Rights and Solidarity (PPMS) and a senior ECESG figure. He expressed hope that the efforts of the Palestinians in Europe would "open the gates of the return to Palestine and the cities occupied since the catastrophe [Nakba] of 1948." He added that he "has faith in Allah, may he be exalted, that through this campaign, **if Allah so wishes it, we will reach Haifa, Jaffa, Acre and Jerusalem."**

The sixth conference: Denmark (2008)

23. The sixth conference was held in Copenhagen on May 3, 2008. It was attended by Palestinian delegations from European and other countries. There were two "representatives"

from Israel: **Sheikh Ra'ed Salah**, head of the northern branch of the Islamic Movement, and **Ameer Makhoul**, who was tried and convicted in Israel in 2010 for spying for Hezbollah.¹⁰⁶

24. Senior PRC figure Majed al-Zeer delivered a speech in which he said, "Sixty years – but we are closer to the return. **Ladies and gentlemen, it is only a matter of time until the dispersion returns to the Beit Shean plain, the alleys of the old city of Acre and the foothills of the Mt. Carmel. We came here to come closer to the places our hearts desire, Jerusalem, which sparkles before our eyes, to Jaffa, whose golden beach we wish for, to Lod, to Ramle, to Majdal [i.e., Ashqelon], to the Galilee, to glorious Nazareth, to lofty Safed...**"



Majed al-Zeer speaks at the Palestinians in Europe Conference in Denmark, 2008
(Photo from the ramadan2.com website)

The seventh conference: Italy (2009)

25. The seventh conference was held in Milan on May 2, 2009; Ismail Haniya, head of the de facto Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip, spoke via video conference. He thanked the Palestinians in Europe for their media and legal support [by inference, of Hamas] during Operation Cast Lead. It had, he claimed, contributed to the end of the "Israeli aggression" against the Gaza Strip. **He asked that the effort to lift the "siege" of the Gaza Strip be intensified, and for pressure to be brought to bear on the European governments to talk to all the "Palestinian factions," especially Hamas, which, he claimed, "won a democratic election."**

26. PRC founder Salman Abu Sitta **called for increased representation of Arab Israelis ["the Palestinians of 1948"] at the conferences and said that the Oslo Accords were**

¹⁰⁶ According to the indictment, Ameer Makhoul met with a foreign agent, i.e., a Hezbollah representative in Copenhagen in 2008, a Lebanese named Hassan Ja'ja'. After the meeting, Hassan Ja'ja' maintained contact with Makhoul via the Internet using an encrypted program installed on Makhoul's computer. Makhoul sent his handlers coded messages containing valuable information. By doing that, according to the indictment, "the accused conspired to support the enemy, i.e., the terrorist organization Hezbollah, in its war against Israel..." In a plea bargain Ameer Makhoul admitted the charge (Haaretz, October 27, 2010). As of this writing, we are not aware of his sentence.

illegal. The conference ended with calls to support the Convoy of Hope, which was on its way to the Gaza Strip.¹⁰⁷



Ismail Haniya, head of the de facto Hamas administration, speaks at the Seventh Conference (Photo from the Palestinians in Europe Conference website)

The eighth conference: Germany (2010)

27. The eighth conference was held in Germany on May 8, 2010. Senior Gazan Hamas figure Aziz Dweik, chairman the Hamas faction of the Palestinian Legislative Council, was supposed to attend, but did not.

28. The summation of the conference confirmed "adherence to resisting the occupation by all means anchored in divine law and [international] human belief." It rejected compromising the "right of return" to all parts to "Palestine" and expressed certainty that "return is assured." It also called for the release of the prisoners in any way possible, denounced the "siege" of the Gaza Strip and called for international action to lift the siege and bring "the Zionist war criminals" to trial. During the conference the participants chanted "With our souls and blood we will redeem you, oh Palestine."

¹⁰⁷ alawda.eu

Appendix V

Anti-Israeli incitement and support for terrorism as expressed in the PRC's organ The Return (in Arabic and English)

Overview

1. The PRC publishes a monthly magazine in Arabic called **Al-Awda** [The Return] and one in English called **Return Review**. Both are sent to individual and institutional subscribers in Britain, Europe and around the globe. Al-Awda is published by Dar Al-Awda L'il-Dirasat w'al-Nashr in London, and can also be read online. It has the same London address as the PRC. Majed al-Zeer used to be its editor-in-chief, but since January 2011 that position has been held by **Yasser Ahmed Ali**, a Palestinian journalist and poet born in the Tel al-Zatar refugee camp in Lebanon. He writes for various Lebanese publications and for Hamas' London-based Felesteen al-Muslima.

2. Both the Arabic and English editions print the PRC's anti-Israeli themes: non-recognition of the legitimacy of Israel's existence; the so-called Israeli "responsibility" for the Palestinian problem; the "right" of the Palestinians to return to their 1948 houses; Israeli defamation of the Palestinians; representation of the Palestinians as permanent "victims" of so-called Israeli "brutality" since 1948; portrayal of Israel as a "racist state" which carries out "ethnic cleansing and massacres;" the representation of Zionism as an illegitimate racist movement; etc. In the Arabic edition the name of Israel appears in quotation marks, and Israeli cities and towns inside the Green Line are called "settlements" as an expression of the non-recognition of the State of Israel. Interviews with senior Hamas figures are published, including one with Sheikh Yassin in April 2004 and political bureau head Khaled Mashaal in November 2007.



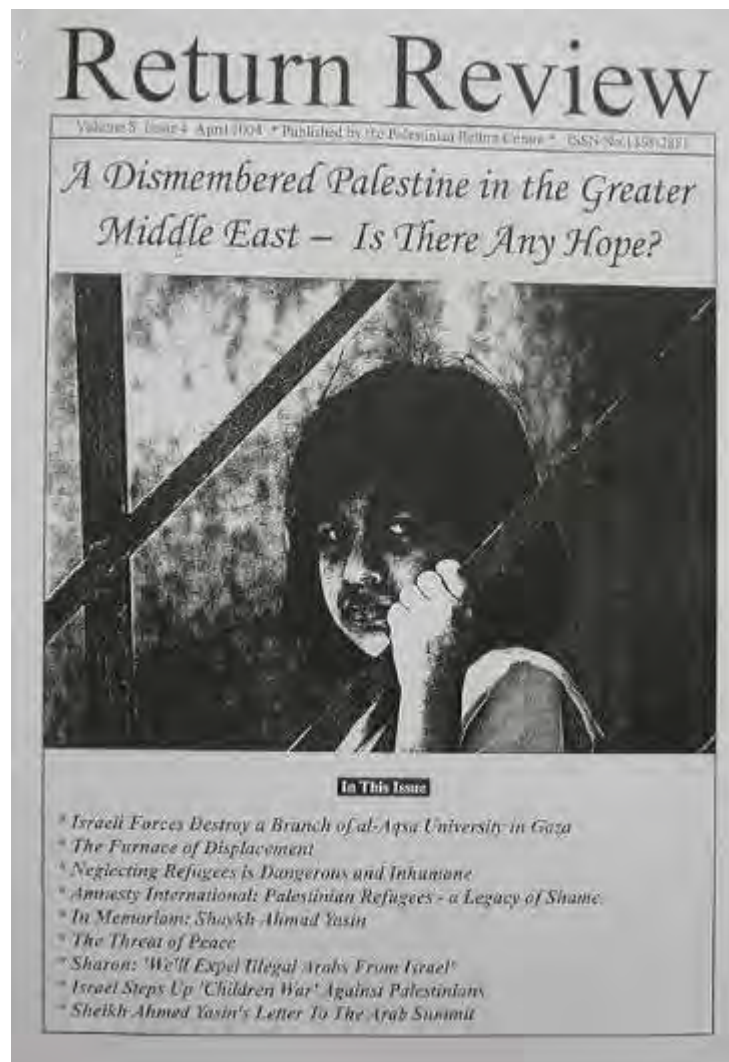
Interview with Khaled Mashaal in the November 2007 issue of Al-Awda

3. In addition to the consistent, methodical preaching of the Palestinians "right of return" to Israel, there are other anti-Israeli pro-Hamas themes: rejection of the existence of the State of Israel; a call for the "liberation" of all of Israel's territory from the "pollution of the Zionists" and the establishment of a Palestinian state from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River; opposition to the peace process and peace initiatives, such as the Geneva initiative; praise for Hamas leader and founder Ahmed Yassin, calling him "a jihad fighter;" slander of Israel, which it calls "a racist, criminal entity;" accusations of "ethnic cleansing;" praise for the path of jihad and the "resistance" [i.e., terrorism]; etc.

4. The following are examples from the past eight years:



An article called "The Balfour Declaration and ethnic cleansing" was printed in the November 2002 issue. It claims that the Balfour Declaration was the direct outcome of the idea of transfer, which was part of the mindset of many British politicians at the time and later.



Slander of Israel, support for Hamas leader Sheikh Yassin and preaching the "right of return" in the table of contents of the April 2004 issue.

court where local disputes were resolved. Shaykh Ahmad Yassin founded the Islamic Resistance Movement in Gaza in 1967 and guided the Intifada which erupted that year. When the Israeli military leader in Gaza summoned him on 11 January 1988 and accused him of inciting activities hostile to Israel,

Shaykh Ahmad called upon the Israelis to release all the Palestinian prisoners in their custody. As the war of the knives intensified and the extermination of collaborators with the occupiers gained momentum, the Israelis again detained the Shaykh in May 1989. He was later sentenced to life

imprisonment and remained in 1997 after several years of physical torture and psychological abuse. Since September 2000, at least 356 Palestinians have been killed in assassination attacks, 150 of those killed were innocent bystanders, including 25 women and 16 children.

Sheikh Ahmed Yassin's Letter To The Arab Summit

Following is the letter sent to the Arab summit meeting in Tunis by late Sheikh Ahmed Yassin shortly before he was extrajudicially assassinated by the Israeli Occupation Forces (IOF) on Monday March 22, 2004.

"Your majesties and highnesses,

Assalamu Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu.

The statement saying that glory of Islam is dependent on powerful Arabs places a great responsibility on your shoulders for you are the ones entrusted by Almighty Allah to cater for the Ummah's present and future. The prophet, peace be upon him, says that Allah will ask all those entrusted with such responsibilities over what they had done to cater for such obligations. So exert whatever is in your power to cater for the future of the Muslim Nation that has been the target of enemies of Allah who have united to fight this Ummah.

You face today grave challenges and your peoples are looking forward to your summit's resolutions. They are all hope that the resolutions would live up to the challenges facing the Ummah, most of which comes from the Arabs and Muslims' central cause: Palestine. I sincerely hope that this summit would agree on supporting the people of Palestine who are adamant on persisting along their Jihad march until Allah ordains victory that we aspire for and that will develop our Ummah with the grace of Allah.

I appeal to you to take into consideration the following issues that serve the Palestine cause:

First: The land of Palestine is an Arab, Islamic land that has been occupied by force at the hands of Zionist Jews and it can only be regained by force. And it is an Islamic Waqf land that should not be surrendered (not even one inch) even if we do not at present own the necessary force to liberate it.

Second: Jihad in Palestine is a legitimate right for the Palestinian people. And it is a compulsory duty on all Muslims, males and females. It is a grave injustice to describe such a right as terrorism on the part of enemies of Allah. And our people in Palestine totally reject such a description along with our Arab and Muslim peoples. We hope that the summit would take a clear position of support of our people's struggle.

Third: Our people, who are engaged in a battle imposed on them, deserve all forms of backing on the part of leaders of the Ummah. Our people need economic support to boost their readiness after the evil Zionists destroyed all sources of a dignified living for that people and stole their wealth. Our people also need military, security, medical, moral, diplomatic and other forms of support that would help them persist in Jihad. Our people look forward to the summit to use such support.

Fourth: We appeal to you to halt all kinds of normalization with this enemy and to close down its embassies, consulates and

commercial offices. We urge you to activate boycott of that enemy and to end all contacts and cooperation with it.

Fifth: The Ummah needs the necessary potentials and capabilities that enable it to support national causes and put an end to the enemies' aggressions. I believe that time has come to follow Allah's Words: "And hold to the rope of Allah and do not be divided", in order to be a power in the current age of blood.

Sixth: The Aqsa Mosque is pleading to you to save it from Zionist demolition schemes. Who is for the holy Mosque after Almighty Allah other than you?

Seventh: We call on you to extend all kinds of support to the people of Iraq to get rid of American occupation as supporting the people of Iraq is support for the Palestine cause and the Palestinian people.

Your majesties and highnesses,

This is what I wished to advise you as our prophet, peace be upon him, taught us that advising one another is a religious duty. I pray that Allah would unite your ummah in support of His religion and to unite your loves for the sake of the Ummah's good and betterment.

Your brother,

Ahmed Yassin
Founder,
The Islamic Resistance Movement
Hamas - Gaza-Palestine

Support for Hamas leader Sheikh Yassin and for the path of jihad in the April 2004 issue: The article quotes the last letter written by Hamas founder and leader (until his death) Sheikh Ahmed Yassin to the Arab summit meeting. Yassin said **he hoped the meeting would support the Palestinian jihad until Allah granted victory.**

المشروع الصهيوني وهجرة اليهود من "إسرائيل"

د. جعفر هادي حسن

قام المشروع الصهيوني كما هو معروف على إنشاء وطن قومي لليهود في فلسطين، وقد اتبع منذو المشروع لتحقيق هذا الهدف وسيلتين رئيسيتين هما، التطهير العرقي بطرد الفلسطينيين من أرضهم وجلب اليهود من شتى بلدان العالم واسكانهم مكانهم. وبعد إنشاء إسرائيل عملت هذه على الاستمرار في اكمال المشروع عن طريق تشريع القوانين وتوفير المنح المالية لمساعدة المهاجرين على السكن وتوفير وسائل العيش المريح لهم.

اليهودية في بداية التسعينات: إن عملية استعمار المهاجرين تمرياً أزمة وأن الحكومة ليس عندها حجاب لقصبة التطهير العرقي. وفي استطلاع آخر بين المهاجرين الروس للفترة نفسها قال ثلاثون بالمئة منهم أنهم سيهاجرون من إسرائيل. وطبقاً لإحصائية من وزارة الداخلية أنه حتى عام ١٩٩٢ تركه إسرائيل عشرة آلاف مهاجر روس.

وفي إحصائية لجنة جيروليم ريبورت (١٩٩٧/١٢/٢٥) أن ٨/٨ من المهاجرين الروس قد تركوا إسرائيل إلى الغرب وتكن مقالات تشر على الإنترنت من قبل المهاجرين أنفسهم تذكر بأن العدد أكثر من ذلك بكثير. كما أن بعض هؤلاء رجعوا إلى روسيا، وكانت طوابير منهم تقف أمام السفارة الروسية تطلب الرجوع.

كما قامت أعداد قليلة من هؤلاء بتقديم طلبات لجوء إلى دول أخرى، حيث ذهب بعضهم إلى ألمانيا من أجل هذا الغرض (نيويورك تايمز ١٩٩٢/٣/٢٢) وطلب بعضهم اللجوء إلى جنوب أفريقيا كما أن البعض الآخر قدم طلب لجوء إلى هولندا (المصدر السابق ص ٤٢ و ٤٣).

وقد وجدوا صعوبة في الحصول على موافقة هذه البلدان ولكن كندا وافقت على استقبال عدة مئات منهم وكاد ذلك أن يحدث أزمة في العلاقات مع إسرائيل (جيروليم ريبورت ١٩٩٦/٨/٨).

وفي ربيع عام ٢٠٠٣ تم كبت الواسع من بوست مقالة أشار فيها كاتبها إلى الجموع المحتشدة من الإسرائيليين أمام سفارات كندا والولايات المتحدة الأمريكية واستراخا للهجرة إلى هذه البلدان. بل ذكرت المقالة أن جموعاً احتشدت أمام السفارة التشيكية والبولندية ومنذ بداية

عام ٢٠٠١، وهذا عدا عن الأعداد التي هاجرت إلى دول أخرى، وطبقاً لما ذكرته صحيفة هآرتس (١١/١١/٢٠٠٣) بأن المهاجرين إلى الولايات المتحدة من الإسرائيليين يتجاوز ٧٦٠ من مجموع المهاجرين من إسرائيل. وكانت إسرائيل قد بنت عملاً كبيراً على المهاجرين الروس (يقتصد بهم المهاجرون من الاتحاد السوفياتي السابق) في نهاية الثمانينات وبداية التسعينات، حيث بلغ عددهم ما يقرب من مليون مهاجر، ولكن الذي تبقّى فيما بعد بأن ثلث هؤلاء على الأقل هم ليسوا يهود وأن الكثير منهم مشكوك في يهوديتهم بسبب تزويجهم لوثائق أو تغيير ذلك من أسباب.

بل إن عدداً كبيراً من المعترف يهوديتهم لم يهاجروا بدافع صهيوني، وقد اعترف المسؤولون الإسرائيليون بهذه الحقيقة وقالوا "إن الحقيقة هي أن هؤلاء الروس ليسوا صهيونية وهم قد جاؤوا إلى هنا لأنه ليس هناك بلد آخر يريدتهم.. بل أن البعض من هؤلاء المهاجرين قد جاؤوا بدافع اقتصادي وتحقيق حياة أفضل وقالوا: إن سبب مجيئنا هو سبب اقتصادي، إذ كانت حياتنا في الاتحاد السوفياتي السابق في مثل هذه الصعوبة وأصبحت قيمة رواتبنا أقل كلما تقدم الزمن. وأن منهم من قدم على محبته إلى إسرائيل وقال: (لنا صداقة بالكثير من العلاقات مع الدولة اليهودية وقد نوبن أنها قصص غير صحيحة).

وقد ساء المهاجرون الروس بسبب عدم حصولهم على عمل أو حصولهم على عمل أقل بكثير مما تزعّهم له شهاداتهم وأصبحت البطالة متفشية بينهم، وقد قال مسؤول قسم الهجرة في الوكالة

كما أهدت الدولة بتزويد على ربط الصهيونية بالوطنية حتى أصبح الإسرائيلي الذي لا يعمل على تحقيق المشروع الصهيوني غير كامل الوطنية. وأطلقت على الذين يهاجرون إلى إسرائيل صفة "عوليم" وهي صفة إيجابية، تعني الصادقين إلى الأعلى أو القويين. وعلى الذين يتركون إسرائيل صفة "يروليم" وهي صفة سلبية وتعني الهاسطين أو المتخذرين إلى الأسفل. وأصبحت هذه الصفة تطلق انتقاداً على أولئك الذين يهاجرون هجرة معاكسة ولكن الذي حدث هو أن الكثير من الإسرائيليين لم يسمهم ذلك ولم يسموا به وحصلوا معاملة إسرائيل والبحث عن حياة أفضل بعد أن أصبحت الحواجز لهم في إسرائيل مخفوفة بالشأن.

ومن الإحصائيات البارزة التي نشرت في وزارة الاستيعاب عن المهاجرين من إسرائيل وتكررت صحيفة هآرتس في عددها بتاريخ ١٩/١٢/٢٠٠٤ بأن عدد الإسرائيليين الذين غادروا بلادهم ٧٦٠ (سبعمئة وستون) ألفاً مقارنة بـ ٥٥٠ ألفاً (خمسمئة وخمسون) ألفاً هاجروا في عام ٢٠٠٠ م، ولكن اندرو كوفور ناشر تقرير WINEA (عدد مارس ٢٠٠١) يذكّر بهذا الرقم لأن إسرائيل كما يقول ليس من منطقتها ذكر الأرقام الحقيقية للذين يهاجرون هجرة عاكسة وهو يذكر بأن هناك مليوناً أو أكثر في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وعدداً من هؤلاء، إذ ذكرت التيم بورك تايبرز في عدد ١٢/٢٢/١٩٨٠ بأنه حتى عام ١٩٨٠ كان قد هاجر نصف مليون إسرائيلي إلى الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. وهو يضيف بأن نصف مليون آخر كان قد هاجر حتى

Slandering Israel and preaching the "right of return" in the May 2004 issue: The title of the article is, "The Zionist project and the immigration of the Jews to 'Israel.'" It states that the "Zionist project" was funded on two principles: **ethnic cleansing** by evicting the Palestinians from their lands, and bringing Jews from all over the world and settling them where the Palestinians had formerly lived.



Encouragement for terrorism in the May 2004 issue in an article entitled "The Palestinian people still adhere to resistance [i.e., terrorism] and liberation [of "Palestine"]": The article states that "despite the catastrophes and the massacres of the Palestinians in Palestine carried out by the Zionist gangs, the [Palestinian] people remain firm in adhering [to their goal]." It also says that "the imperialistic Zionist project failed completely" and that Israel is completely dependent of external political and economic factors. "Therefore, the importance of the resistance [i.e., terrorism] of the Palestinian people within [the territory of the State of Israel] is clear, despite the many losses it will suffer. The resistance will stab the [Zionist] entity in the liver [sic] and paralyze its capabilities from within. It will create a negative immigration-emigration balance from the entity [i.e., Israel] and shatter the Zionist theory that Palestine is a refuge for the Jews and the land of milk and honey."



Praise for Hamas leader Sheikh Yassin in the May 2004 issue: An ode was printed to Hamas leader Sheikh Yassin and senior Hamas figure Aziz Rantisi, both of whom died in Israeli targeted killings. The poem calls Yassin "the great lion" and says that he "lit the torch in our nights," and that "the tears we have shed since his passing will never dry." As for Rantisi, he was "the one who led us [at the time of] our suffering, and "always strongly wanted to be a shaheed," "and thus, great hero, you won what you wanted, as lions win [their prey]."



Inculcating the ideology of the "right of return" via the figure of Sheikh Yassin in the April 2004 issue. The article was entitled "The superior shaheed, Ahmed Yassin, in an interview with Al-Awda before he became a shaheed: If the Palestinian Authority signs any agreement which takes exception to the right of the Palestinian refugees to return, that will mean the end [of the Palestinian Authority]."

الافتتاحية

استشهاد الشيخ أحمد ياسين ... دلالات وأبعاد

يأبى الكيان الصهيوني إلا أن يتحلى بالما يأتبع بسورة وأقطع جرفه، يؤكد لنا من جديد، أنه كيان عنصري مغيث محرم، لا يمكن التعايش معه بأي شكل من الأشكال، فهو لا يعيش إلا على الحجاز والاضطراب، ولا يهدأ إلا وهداء ضحايا تسيب باستمرار، لا يوقف في جرائمه الخمسة صغيراً أو كبيراً رجلاً أو امرأة. هذه المثلثات الثلاث لا تتوجه الطائرات، والمدفعية أو البوابات الفلسطينية بل تتوجه كرس السخ أحمد ياسين المتحرلة الذي خرج كتوم من مسجده وقد أقام الليل فيه، ثم تهاوى قيادات هذا الكيان الفسخ بهذا الإنجاز العظيم!

إن دلالات هذه الجريمة كبيرة ومتعددة، وفي ترسم ملامح مرحلة جديدة، أكثر شدة ودعوية من كل المراحل السابقة، وتعلها مرحلة التحاض العسير الذي يعطيه عنه التصير القريب إن شاء الله. أراد السطاح شارون بإرتكاب هذه الجريمة الجبانة أن يبعث برسائل متعددة إلى جهات مختلفة فهو متجهة قد نعت إلى شعبه العنصري رسالة معاداة الله الأكثر سلماً للمعاد الفلسطينية بول ليهو وأنه الأكثر جراً في التماس بالاعتدال الخطيرة غير المسبوقة، فهو يعلم أن ما أوصله إلى سدة الحكم هو تاريخه العنصري وليس حنفته السياسية، وبالتالي فهو يقوم بواجبه الذي التخب من أجله وهو القتل والتدمير وسحق الشعب الفلسطيني، فقد أشارت الاستطلاعات أن الأغلبية من اليهود في فلسطين يائسون لقتال الشيخ أحمد ياسين.

ومن جهة أخرى فقد بعث برسالة دعوية إلى القادة العرب مفادها أنه سيد المنطقة بفعل ما يحلو له ويفعل من يشاء، وبما في وقت يشاء دون خوف أو وجل من أي أحد، وحتى دون حساب لحصص ماء وجود هذه القيادات أمام شعوبها الغاضبة.

وإذا رمايته إلى الشعب الفلسطيني وقيادته فهي أنه لم يعد هناك أي كون من اللون المخطوطة لتراعى سواء كانت مشروعة محرم أو غيرها، وبالتالي إذا كانت سلطة السلطة الفلسطينية تشعروا أنها مهددة من التسلية فهي مخففة، وقد جاء هذا الأمر واضحاً حين ملئت السلطة الفلسطينية صفائف بعده التي يقصدتها من الولايات المتحدة فرفضت الأخيرة إعطائها مثل هذا الضمان لأن هذا الأمر مساطة ليس شأنا أميركياً! ومن هنا يجب على القيادة الفلسطينية أن تتأكد أن الطريق الوحيد للتعامل مع عضو حرم مثل القيان الصهيوني هو توحيد صفوف وتبذ الخلافات الداخلية والمواجهة الشاملة على كل المستويات، جدد استشهاد الشيخ الجنيل أحمد ياسين بدأت مرحلة جديدة، أبرز ملامحها التصعيد العسكري غير المسبوق من قتل الكيان الصهيوني في محاولة من الأخيرة لسحق الشعب الفلسطيني وإخضاعه لتروقه، فهذه المرحلة هي مرحلة من قبل الهرمزة حيث يحاول الاحتلال كما هو شأنه في كل تاريخه، أن يستغل ما شئ من مغلش وقوة تمهيرة لنفسها على الشعب المحتل لعله يخضعه لتروقه، فإذا شئت الشعب بدأت مرحلة الهمزة للاحتلال، وهذا ما حدث بالفعل في قتلهم قبل انسحاب القوات الأمريكية جهزاً منة ذليلة، حيث استخدمت كل إمكانياتها العسكرية بدءاً بالأسلحة التقليدية والتهاماً بقضايا العالم المتأفكة والتجربة مؤقته، ثم لم يكن لديها من خيار أمام صفود الشعب الفلسطيني إلى الانسحاب الذليل، وكذلك الأمر تصد تكرر مع القيان الصهيوني في الجنوب اللبناني، حيث صب جام حنقه في عشقة تماقيد الغضب على الجنوب اللبناني، وأرتكب المذابح، ثم أمام صفود المقاومة والشعب اللبناني لم يكن أمامه إلا الانسحاب صاعراً دون قيد أو شرط.

ومن هنا نفهم أن المرحلة المقبلة هي المرحلة التي تسبق الانسحاب الصاعق الذليل، وسيعود الكيان الصهيوني إلى الميشت والتشكيل وسنقل الدعاء، ولن يسخر أي سلاح في ترسانته العسكرية حرمه قاتل أو غير محرم تخضع الشعب الفلسطيني، ولعلنا على يقين بأن شعباً الذي قدم من الصعوبات ما يعجز المرء عن وصفها مستعد لاستحقاقات المرحلة المقبلة وحاضر لنفع الثمن، ولعل أول ما نلذ به في هذه المرحلة الجديدة غير دعاء شيخ الشهيد أحمد ياسين التي لن نذهب عنها ونستبدلها بغيرها قريباً إن شاء الله.

Praise for Sheikh Ahmed Yassin and slander of Israel in the April 2004 issue in an article entitled "The death of the shaheed Ahmed Yassin – significance and implications:" According to the article, "the Zionist entity always reveals itself in the ugliest and most criminal ways, proving to us time and again that it is a hateful, racist, criminal entity with which there can be no co-existence of any form." It says that "after the death as a shaheed of the honored Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, a new phase began" of escalating the means Israel used against the Palestinians, and that "it was the stage before the defeat [of Israel]." The article ended by saying that "The blood of the superior shaheed [i.e., Ahmed Yassin] will not have been shed in vain and it will give rise to victory and soon lead to the liberation [of Palestine]."



Praise for Sheikh Yassin and the path of jihad in the April 2004 issue: The PRC issued a notice of the death of Sheikh Yassin and an obituary mourning his death. It said that it "mourned the death of the superior shaheed, Ahmed Yassin," and that it "sent its heartfelt condolences to the heroic Palestinian people and the Islamic nation on the death as a shaheed, **the jihad fighter, the superior shaheed Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, founder of the Islamic resistance movement Hamas**, who died the death of a shaheed after having prayed the morning prayers in his mosque. His pure soul was blessed [during his life] and now at its end, by dying the death of a martyr which he achieved **after a long period of jihad for the sake of Allah in the defense of Palestine and its holy places and his effort to liberate it from the Zionist pollution...**"



From the April 2004 issue: Ahmed Yassin's last interview, in which he rejects any possibility of waiving the "right of return," emphasizing that "the resistance [i.e., terrorism] is the Palestinians' only option." The article refers to him as "the symbol of the jihad fighter" and as "the superior shaheed."



In the **November 2003** issue there was a denunciation of the Geneva initiative. It stressed that the entire land of "Palestine" could not be divided. The article was entitled "The right of return conference in London strongly condemns the Swiss agreement."

The **June 2006** issue printed an article in praise of the European conference held the month before in Malmo (See Appendix IV). According to the article, the conference symbolized the unity of the Palestinian participants. "There is one concern, one enemy, **and one land – a unity that cannot be divided. From its river [the Jordan River] to its sea [the Mediterranean Sea]**. It cannot be divided, from Rosh Haniqra [the most northern point of Israel] to Um Rashrash [i.e., Eilat, the most southern point of Israel]. It will not be divided by any initiative or plan or map brought from beyond the ocean..."

من الجذور

العودة - العدد الثاني والعشرون - تموز/يوليو ٢٠٠٩ 6

الشيخ رائد صلاح: نتنياهو مصمم على بناء الهيكل المزعوم

دعا الشيخ رائد صلاح رئيس مؤسسة الأقصى لإعمار المقدسات الإسلامية، علماء الإسلام إلى القيام بدورهم في نفض الحكام، وتحريك الشعوب للدفاع عن المسجد الأقصى المبارك، مماثلاً لإياهم بإصدار فتوى شرعية ببناء ذكرى موت القدس الشرقية التي تحتل يوم ٢٠٠٩/٦/٧ تنزع الأمة وحكامها أمام واجبه من تجاه المدينة المحتلة.

وحذر الشيخ صلاح، خلال ندوة بعنوان «القدس.. القرن الماضي» التي أقيمت في رامات، على هامش فعاليات مهرجان «أحلى يا أقصى» بالعاصمة القطرية الدوحة، من إقدام رئيس الوزراء الإسرائيلي بنيامين نتنياهو، على أي «مغامرة مثبوتة» تستهدف القدس والأقصى، مرجحاً أن يتحول نتنياهو إلى «الهيكل المزعوم» في عهد حكومته، بعد أن فشل في ذلك خلال توليه رئاسة الحكومة في تسعينيات القرن الماضي.



The July 2009 issue printed Anti-Israeli incitement. It marketed the false claim of Sheikh Ra'ed Salah, head of the northern branch of the Islamic Movement in Israel, that "[Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin] Netanyahu is determined to build the Third Temple on the Temple Mount.

«إسرائيل» ستسقط.. وسيعود اللاجئون إلى أرضهم

انطلقت قوافل شرايين الحياة وقافلة أسيا.. منذ البداية وأمامها عدة أهداف، يأتي في مقدمتها فتح الحدود مع قطاع غزة، وتزويد العالم إلى أن الصهيونية ترتكب جريمة كبرى، بمصادرة شعب كامل في غزة ويأخذ مراكبها في ختم الدفاعة تمهيداً للعمل على تحرير فلسطين، وإعادة الحقوق جديدها إلى الشعب الفلسطيني، وقافلة أسيا.. تسير على أهدافها القوافل التي تحتل إلى غزة، وتكمل مسيرة الشعوب نحو العاصمين فيها، إلا أن كانت أهدافا إسرائيلية أخرى: «أهمها» في الجدار السباني، حيث تدعى إلى جمع تأييد حكومي لجعل قضية فلسطين على أعمدة الشاؤم والرؤساء في العالم، ومبرورة التمتع على النهاية لتحييت معاناة الشعب الفلسطيني.

إن قافلة أسيا.. تعني إلى غزة وإنشاء الله غداً تعني إلى فلسطين.. إن أهدافنا ليست مرة فقط، بل كل فلسطين، وهذه هي المهمة الأولى في مسيرتنا.

وإذا كانت القافلة من أسيا.. فليكن مستعد في هذا الشعب الهندي الذي أنتمى إليه، فهذا الشعب ينتقل إلى القضية الفلسطينية وبين إسرائيل، بأنه شعب مظلوم يعاني من الاحتلال الصهيوني ومن التكرار به ومن العنصرية، ومن تعلم الشعب الهندي ذلك من طريق المهالما غلاني الذي علمنا أن نناصر الشعوب المظلومة والمثورة في العالم، وبين شعب اليوم بأن أكثر شعوب العالم تعرضت لظلم هو الشعب الفلسطيني، وخاصة أهلنا في قطاع غزة.



فروز ميثيلبوروالا
رئيس قافلة أسيا (١)
اللاحة إلى قطاع غزة

In the January 2011 issue printed an interview with Feroze Mithilborwala, the key figure behind the Asian convoy which reached the Gaza Strip in January 2011. It was entitled **"Israel will fall and the refugees will return to their land."** He said that the **objective of the convoy was not to reach the Gaza Strip, but all "Palestine,"** and that **"Gaza is the first stop on the way."** He added that **Israel should be boycotted and that the only the return of the Palestinians to their homeland was the solution.** The interview ended with a **call to the Palestinians to continue their terrorism:** **"We call on the residents of Palestine to continue the resistance,** because [support for] the path of resistance is spreading around the world. Know that you are not alone on the [battle] field, because we are all Palestinians, and your cause is our cause, our hearts are with you in the battle, which requires patience and heroism."

Appendix VI

The Muslim Brotherhood movement and its activities in Britain as a framework for the PRC

Overview of the Muslim Brotherhood¹⁰⁸



The emblem of the Muslim Brotherhood: Two crossed swords with a Qur'an between them. Beneath the swords is the word "[make] ready," from the Qur'an Surah Al-Anfal, Verse 60, "Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into (the hearts of) the enemies, of Allah and your enemies, and others besides, whom ye may not know, but whom Allah doth know. Whatever ye shall spend in the cause of Allah, shall be repaid unto you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly."¹⁰⁹

1. **The Muslim Brotherhood is Hamas' parent movement, and shares its radical Sunni Islamic ideology.** It was founded in Egypt in 1928 by a young teacher named Hassan al-Banna. He aspired to a rebirth of Islam, which had become weak because of the development of modern nationalism, Western influence on Muslim society in Egypt and the Middle East, the fall of the Ottoman empire and the abolition of the Caliphate.

2. Hassan al-Banna perceived Islam as a comprehensive system for all spheres of life: society, the economy, law, politics and worship. He stressed the *da'wah*, "preparation of the heart," that is, returning the Muslim individual to the fold, which would become the beginning of the return of the public at large. He also stressed the need to raise the younger generation according to conservative Islam to create a foundation for a modern Islamic state that would operate in accordance with Islamic law.

2. **Hassan al-Banna's objective was the establishment of an Islamic state, and his aspirations were worldwide.** His plan consisted of a number of stages: **The first stage was "preparing the heart"** [the *da'wah*]: The individual was to be brought closer to

¹⁰⁸ For further information about the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, March 23, 2011 ITIC bulletin "The Muslim Brotherhood is an Islamic mass movement whose worldview is based on the belief that "Islam is the solution" and on the stated aim of establishing a world order based on Islamic religious law (a caliphate) on the ruins of Western liberalism.." at http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/ipc_e174.pdf.

¹⁰⁹ http://www.harunyahya.com/Quran_translation/Quran_translation8.php

religion, he would then bring his immediate family to Islam, and the chain reaction would continue until the entire Muslim nation had adopted a religious Islamic life style. **The second stage would political involvement within the state until the establishment of an Islamic political framework according to Islamic law (the Sharia').** The third stage would be undertaken when Muslims were sufficiently powerful: **Then they could progress to jihad, a holy war against the infidels, which would be waged alongside the *da'wah* among non-Muslims,** with the objective of spreading Islam and converting the infidels to Muslims. Hassan al-Banna was assassinated in 1949 three weeks after Muslim Brotherhood activists assassinated the Egyptian prime minister, Mahmoud Fahmi al-Nukrashi Pasha.

3. In the years since its establishment, the Muslim Brotherhood has split into various schools of thought. **One of the most important figures of the jihadist school was Sayyid Qutb, who was executed by Egypt in 1966.** He advocated dropping out of ordinary society and forming an alternative Islamist society, and encouraged a violent jihad targeting the non-Islamist governments (i.e., those which he regarded as not sufficiently religious) before a jihad waged against the infidels. **Sayyid Qutb had a great influence on the jihadist organizations which were formed later, and on the ideologues who founded Al-Qaeda, among them Abdullah Azzam, Osama bin Laden's spiritual mentor, who had been a Muslim Brotherhood member in Jordan.** The Muslim Brotherhood is represented among Israeli Arabs by the Islamic Movement, which has two branches, northern and southern.

4. Over the years Muslim Brotherhood has established branches in other countries, including Jordan, Syria, Algeria and Saudi Arabia. **Hamas was founded in the Gaza Strip in 1987, the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood.** Today, according to the heads of the movement, the Muslim Brotherhood is represented in more than 80 countries around the globe.

5. **The Muslim Brotherhood is currently very active in Europe,** especially in spreading Islam (the *da'wah*) and raising funds (for Hamas, among other purposes). It began its activities in Europe in the 1950s, following Nasser's systematic oppression of its members. Many of them moved from Egypt to Saudi Arabia (and other Arab countries) and from there emissaries went to Europe, the United States and other locations to promote the movement's vision.

6. One of the movement's current leaders is **Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, an Egyptian living in Qatar,** who in the 1980s began systematically spreading the Muslim Brotherhood ideology among the Muslims of Europe. He developed a unique religious doctrine for the daily lives of the Muslim minorities living under the rule of non-Muslims. It allows them to live under

non-Muslim regimes until they have gained enough power to take over the rule. Al-Qaradawi established umbrella organizations in Europe for social, political, economic and religious coordination among the organizations which identify with Muslim Brotherhood ideology. **One of them is the Union of Good, which supports Hamas financially.** Today al-Qaradawi is not officially a member of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and operates alternatively to the Muslim Brotherhood establishment in Egypt with his own institutions (although in effect, his ideology is identical to that of the Muslim Brotherhood and he regards himself as continuing the path of Hassan al-Banna). Al-Qaradawi went to Egypt after the fall of the Mubarak regime and gave a speech in the Al-Tahrir Square.¹¹⁰

7. The Muslim Brotherhood opposes the Arab regimes, especially in Egypt, where its activities were officially forbidden, as they were in Syria. It supports Hamas and has often attacked the Arab regimes for the suspicions, if not hostility, they harbor for Hamas. The Egyptian regime before the ouster of Hosni Mubarak was particularly suspicious of the relations between Hamas in the Gaza Strip and its internal Muslim Brotherhood opposition, **regarding the relations as being potentially subversive and a danger to Egypt's national security.**

8. Members of the Muslim Brotherhood around the world show full solidarity with the Palestinians in general and Hamas in particular, raise money for Hamas and give it media support. Some of them even openly support suicide bombing attacks targeting Israeli civilians; foremost among them is **Sheikh al-Qaradawi, whom Hamas and the two branches of the Islamic Movement in Israel consider a role model and a senior religious authority.** Many Muslim Brotherhood members support Hamas by lobbying, organizing anti-Israeli demonstrations, implementing legal measures to try senior Israeli figures, etc.

9. While the Muslim Brotherhood does not itself carry out terrorist attacks against Israel and the West (as opposed to Al-Qaeda and the global jihad). Nevertheless, it presents a serious long-term challenge to moderate Arab countries and the West. That is because of its **vast civilian infrastructure around the globe**, including the United States and Britain (where its European activities are centered). Muslim Brotherhood activists, with their radical Islamic ideology, **form a potential reservoir which can be tapped by Islamic terrorist organizations and operatives.** In recent years many terrorists have been identified who were citizens of Western countries and who at one point or another had been educated at institutions affiliated with the ideology of Muslim Brotherhood, or who underwent a process of radical Islamization via the Internet.

¹¹⁰ For further information see the February 27, 2011 ITIC bulletin, "Portrait of Sheikh Dr. Yusuf Abdallah al-Qaradawi, senior Sunni Muslim cleric, affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood" at http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/hamas_e138.pdf.

The Muslim Brotherhood in Britain as the aegis of the PRC

10. **Britain is the center of the Muslim Brotherhood's political, economic and media activity in Europe**, apparently since the 1950s. **Over the years exiled movement leaders from the Middle East have gathered there**, especially leaders from Egypt, Syria, Libya, Tunis, Algeria and Iraq. The second generation then began to play a role in the movement, profiting from their involvement in British society and having full command of both the English language and culture.

11. **During the 1990s senior Hamas activists from Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip arrived in Britain and joined the movement, the most prominent of whom is Muhammad Sawalha**. In addition, for many years Muslim Brotherhood activists in Britain have **collaborated with Islamic activists of Pakistani extraction, mostly those who follow the radical Islamic ideology of Abu al-A'la al-Mawdudi**.¹¹¹

12. **The Muslim Brotherhood conducts extensive activities in Britain**, although its activists, active in many Islamic institutions, **do not publicly admit to affiliation with the Muslim Brotherhood or with extremist Islam**. Among the prominent organizations affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood is the **Muslim Association of Britain (MAB)**, which had a key role in forging the political alliance with the British left, especially with the Muslim Brotherhood's younger generation.¹¹² Other organizations include **The British Muslim Initiative (BMI)**, the **Palestinian Return Centre (PRC)** and the **Federation of Student Islamic Societies in the UK and Ireland (FOSIS)**.¹¹³ In addition, the Muslim Brotherhood in Britain has a media network operating from London and its contents are often coordinated with the movement in Egypt (see below).

13. The Muslim Brotherhood's long-term presence and broad activities in Britain together with the country's freedom of expression and political tolerance **have given Hamas, the Palestinian offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood, a relatively large sphere in which**

¹¹¹ **Abu al-A'la al-Mawdudi** (1903-1979) was one of the first and most senior ideologues of radical Islam in the 20th century. In Lahore in 1941 he established the Jamaat-e-Islami party. It is the oldest and more prominent Islamic party in Pakistan. Its worldview is close to the Muslim Brotherhood's, but it is more extreme since its founder was the first political Islamic ideologue who rejected the values of modern civilization – with the exception of science and technology – on the claim that they were incompatible with the values of Islam. Al-Mawdudi's worldview was later developed in Egypt by **Sayyid Qutb**, one of the greatest influences on the Muslim Brotherhood's jihadist school. He said that instead of the modern Arab-Muslim states an Islamic state should be founded where sovereignty would be only in the hands of Allah.

¹¹² According to the article by Ehud Rosen, "Mapping the Organizational Sources of the Global Delegitimization Campaign against Israel in the UK" (end of 2010). It contains detailed information about the Muslim Brotherhood's activities in Britain and can be found on the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs website.

¹¹³ Ibid. FOSIS was established in 1962 as a forum for Islamic students in Britain. There are indications that it is affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood and Abu al-Mawdudi's organization, Jamaat-e-Islami. For further information see Ehud Rosen, "Mapping the Organizations Sources," p. 43.

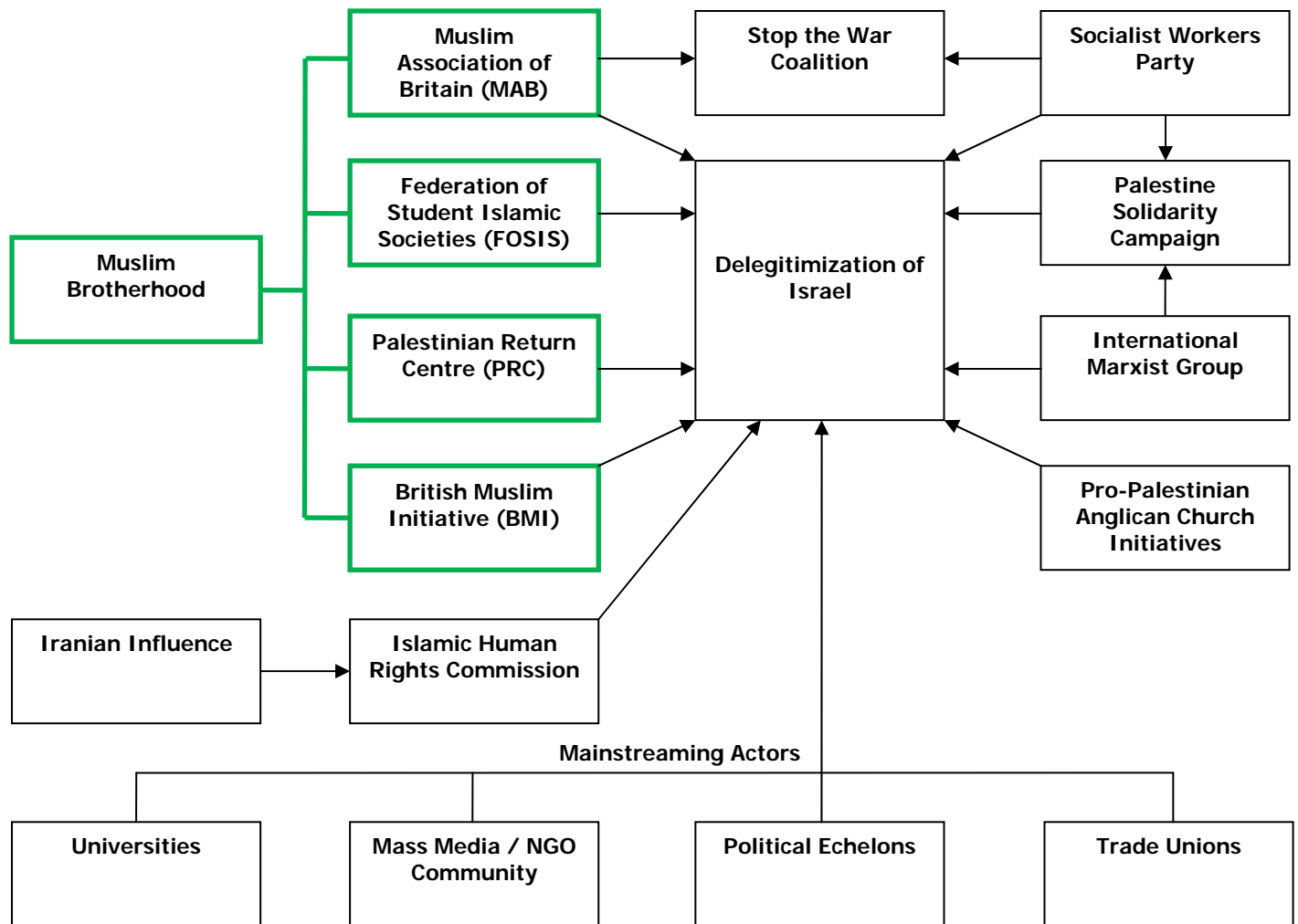
to operate. Thus Hamas has turned Britain into the focus of its political, economic and media activities in Europe.

14. Hamas exploits its presence in Britain to promote the project of land and sea convoys to the Gaza Strip, in which an important role is played by Viva Palestina, the organization of extreme leftist pro-Hamas former British MP George Galloway. **Hamas activists who settled in Britain are prominent in organizations and groups affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood and extremist Islam.** For example, **Zaher al-Birawi**, Hamas activist and senior PRC figure was also chairman of the MAB from 2001 to 2003. Hamas activist **Muhammad Sawalha** and Hamas-Muslim Brotherhood activist **Dr. Azzam al-Tamimi** were among the founders of the BMI. Other Hamas activists have important positions in the PRC leadership, as noted above.

15. The issue of the link between the MAB and the Muslim Brotherhood **was raised in the British Parliament a number of times** by organizations representing the Jewish community in Britain. They pointed to the MAB's contribution to contemporary anti-Semitism. The issue was also raised by British politicians worried by the role the MAB was playing in shaping the lives of Muslims in Britain. In **November 2010, MP Alistair Burt**, a parliamentary under secretary of state at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, said that "We are aware of reports which suggest that there are significant historic linkages between the Muslim Brotherhood, its overseas affiliates and Hamas. Historically the Brotherhood has presented Hamas as a legitimate resistance movement for the Palestinian people. **The Muslim Association of Britain (MAB) is the Brotherhood's representative in the UK. MAB in the UK publically [sic] rejects violence and state that they work for wider Muslim integration into British society**" (ITIC emphasis throughout).¹¹⁴

¹¹⁴ Quoted by Ehud Rosen in "Mapping the Organizational Sources."

**The place of the British Muslim Brotherhood (and the PRC) in the
campaign to delegitimize Israel¹¹⁵**



¹¹⁵ Ehud Rosen, "Mapping the Organizational Sources."

London as the Muslim Brotherhood's media center

16. London is an important media center for the Muslim Brotherhood. Its main medium is its Arabic satellite channel, **Al-Hiwar TV**, which was established in July 2006 by senior BMI figures.¹¹⁶ Al-Hiwar TV broadcasts programs with Islamic themes and anti-Israeli propaganda and incitement. **It targets Arabs and Muslims all over the globe, especially Europe.** In 2007 its viewing audience in Europe, the Middle East and North America was estimated at two million.¹¹⁷ **Muhammad Sawalha**,¹¹⁸ a Hamas operative who lives in Britain, is a permanent guest on Al-Hiwar TV programs.¹¹⁹ Two of its senior employees are the **PRC's Zaher al-Birawi**, programming director and head presenter, and **Dr. Azzam al-Tamimi**, Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood activist, one of the founders of the BMI, who also helped found Al-Hiwar TV and has headed it since 2006.¹²⁰

17. **Another important Muslim Brotherhood medium is the weekly Risalat al-Ikhwan, its main Arabic publication, issued in London. It encourages Hamas terrorism, calls for jihad against Israel and prints strong incitement against the United States and the moderate Arab regimes:**

1) **On September 1, 2010, the weekly column "Media Communiqué" extolled the terrorist attack which killed four Israeli civilians** at Bani Naim (south of Mt. Hebron) on August 31. (The political objective of the attack was to disrupt the opening session of the direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority.) According to the column, **"the Muslim Brotherhood movement applauds the military action taken yesterday by the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades [operatives] in the city of Hebron in the West Bank.** The movement emphasizes **that the option of the resistance [i.e., terrorism] is the only one which ensures the return of the stolen Palestinian land and the establishment of a Palestinian state with holy Jerusalem as its capital, on all the land of Palestine,** which is Arab and Islamic land. [The movement emphasizes] that support

¹¹⁶ Ehud Rosen, "Mapping the Organizational Sources."

¹¹⁷ Ehud Rosen, "Mapping the Organizational Sources." Hamas also considers Arab-Muslim audiences in Europe important, and invests great resources in its Al-Aqsa TV, which broadcasts anti-Israeli anti-Western propaganda and incitement and supports terrorism. **Thus the Arab-Muslim audiences in Europe are exposed to radical Islamic jihadist propaganda, sometimes also anti-Semitic, broadcast from London by the Muslim Brotherhood and the Gaza Strip by Hamas.**

¹¹⁸ For further information about Muhammad Sawalha, see the January 29, 2010 ITIC bulletin, "Hamas continues initiating anti-Israeli activities in Europe: Muhammad Kazem Sawalha is a Hamas activist living in Britain who in the past was involved in operational activities in Judea and Samaria. He is personally involved in preparations to dispatch another aid convoy to the Gaza Strip by sea to confront Israel" at http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/hamas_e095.pdf.

¹¹⁹ Ehud Rosen, "Mapping the Organizational Sources." Hamas also considers the Arab-Muslim communities in Europe important and invests great resources in its Al-Aqsa TV, which also broadcasts anti-Israeli anti-Western propaganda and incitement and supports terrorism.

¹²⁰ For further information about Dr. Azzam Tamimi and the importance of Britain in Hamas operations in Europe, see the February 21, 2010 ITIC bulletin, [Britain as a Focus for Hamas' Political, Propaganda and Legal Activities in Europe](#)

for this option is **a personal obligation¹²¹ of all the people, governments and organizations in all the Arab and Muslim countries.**

2) In the October 21, 2010 issue, **Mohamed Badi'a, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's current General Guide, called for a jihad and armed intifada against Israel. The article included strong propaganda and incitement against the West and the moderate Arab regimes.** It was posted on the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt's official website as well (ikhwanonline, September 30, 2010) and the following day appeared on Risalat al-Ikhwan in London, which represents the Muslim Brotherhood movement worldwide (ikhwanpress.com)



Mohamed Badi'a, the current General Guide of the Muslim Brother in Egypt, whose remarks were published in the Muslim Brotherhood's organ in London (Photo from the Muslim Brotherhood website in Egypt, October 1, 2010). Mohamed Badi'a often called [before the current events in Egypt] for Muslim rulers to adhere to the path of jihad and for Egypt to nullify the Camp David agreements.¹²²

3) **Mohamed Badi'a** also wrote a Communiqué about the battle of Badr in 624 AD, in which early Muslim forces overcame the more numerous population of Mecca (Risalat al-Ikhwan, issue 652, July 24, 2010). He asks whether today's Muslim can be the same. They were a few, he says, when jihad was forced on them. **Full of faith, they waged jihad despite the paucity of their numbers.** He notes that praying to Allah and the desire to reach paradise gave them the strength to win the battle of Badr. He says that, **"Our brothers in faith [i.e., Islam] call to us from wherever Muslims are persecuted. We see them in Palestine, Iraq, Somalia, Afghanistan and other places where their enemies attacked them and their friends delivered them [to the enemy]. If we are men of Badr, who believe in Allah, will be not go to their aid?"**

¹²¹ Jihad as the "personal obligation" of every Muslim is the foundation for **Dr. Abdullah Azzam's** jihadist ideology. Abdullah Azzam, a Palestinian from the Jenin region, joined the Muslim Brotherhood as a student in Jordan. He later studied in Egypt. He eventually developed a radical Islamic ideology **and until his death in 1989 was Osama bin Laden's spiritual mentor. Today he is considered a role model by Hamas.**

¹²² For further information see the MEMRI website, June 2, 2010.

Muslim Brotherhood doubletalk

18. **The Muslim Brotherhood in London has a very important position in the global coalition to defame Israel and subvert its legitimacy.** The Muslim Brotherhood was well-represented aboard the *Mavi Marmara* and is prominent in the European campaign to lift the so-called "Israeli siege" of the Gaza Strip and in other anti-Israeli organizations around the globe. To that end the Muslim Brotherhood joined leftist (especially extreme leftist) and human rights activists and trade union members **who were not always aware of its real radical Islamic ideology and agenda** (as expressed in the Arabic-language *Risalat al-Ikhwan*).

19. **The Muslim Brotherhood uses doubletalk: when appealing to its Arab-Muslim audience, it reveals its genuine ideology and political agenda. That includes denial of the right of the State of Israel to exist, the demand for the establishment of a Palestinian state on all the territory of Palestine, fierce objection to Israeli-Palestinian negotiation, encouraging and inciting the continuation of anti-Israeli terrorism, praise for terrorist attacks against the United States in various battle arenas, hostility toward the West and the moderate Arab regimes, and most important, the desire to impose the rule of radical Islam on the entire world.**

20. On the other hand, in discourse with its partners in the international campaign to legitimize Israel, the **Muslim Brotherhood is careful to hide or downplay its extremist ideology** (and sometimes its activists even deny their affiliation with it). **They use terms like "human rights" and refer to Israel's "deprivation" of the Palestinians and the "brutality" of the "Israeli occupation."**¹²³

Find the differences: With and without "Muslim world domination" in *Risalat al-Ikhwan*

21. The masthead of the first edition of *Risalat al-Ikhwan*, first published in London about ten years ago, specifically stated that the goal of the Muslim Brotherhood was "world domination." The quotation was taken from Hassan al-Banna, Muslim Brotherhood founder. Later, apparently during 2003, it was removed. In our assessment that was done **to prevent themselves from coming to the attention of the law-enforcement authorities in Britain, mainly after the events of September 11, 2001. The masthead was changed slightly, but not the contents.**

¹²³ After Hosni Mubarak's ouster, the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt has so far been careful to present a "moderate" policy to reduce Egyptian and Western fears of the movement. However, in effect, they view the events in Egypt as a historic opportunity to increase their political power and advance towards a takeover of the regime and turning Egypt into an Islamic country.

בעמוד הראשון של גיליון 258 [16.11.2001] מעל ומתחת לציור מפת העולם מופיעה ציטטה של מייסד "האחים המוסלמים" האמאם חסן אלבנא: "המשימה שלנו: שלטון על העולם..." [בהמשך, הציטטה עוסקת בהדרגת האנושות כולה לעבר ציווי האסלאם]

במרכז: **رسالة الإخوان** (Message of the Brothers)

בצד שמאל: **عقدتنا** (Our Bond) - أصمق الإيمان وأقواء وأقدس وأخلد، بالله ونصره وتأييده، بالقائد عفة وصدقته وأمانته، بالإنهاج ومزيتته وصلاحيته، بالأخاء وحقوقه وقديسيته، بالجزاء وجلاله وعظمته وجزأته، وبأنفسهم.. فهم الجماعة التي وقع عليها القدر لإنقاذ العالمين..

בצד ימין: **مهمتنا** (Our Mission) - سيادة الدنيا، وإرشاد الإنسانية كلها إلى نظم الإسلام الصالحة وتعاليمه التي لا يمكن بغيرها أن يسعد الناس. الإمام حسن البنا

תחתית: الممد (٢٥٨) ٣٠ شعبان ١٤٢٢ هـ - ١١/١٦/٢٠٠١ م

Before

בגיליון 8.03 המילים "שלטון על העולם" אינן מופיעות. מילים אלו הושמטו מגיליונות שנת 2003 (וייתכן עוד קודם לכן). להערכתנו, השמטתם אינה מקרית אלא היא באה לאחר פיגועי ה-11 בספטמבר על מנת למנוע את הקישור בין "האחים המוסלמים" לבין שאר ארגוני האסלאם הקיצוני ואת הכללתם כיעד במסגרת המערכה העולמית נגד הטרור

במרכז: **رسالة الإخوان** (Message of the Brothers)

בצד שמאל: **عقدتنا** (Our Bond) - أصمق الإيمان وأقواء وأقدس وأخلد، بالله ونصره وتأييده، بالقائد عفة وصدقته وأمانته، بالإنهاج ومزيتته وصلاحيته، بالأخاء وحقوقه وقديسيته، بالجزاء وجلاله وعظمته وجزأته، وبأنفسهم.. فهم الجماعة التي حملت على عاتقها شرف توصيل دعوة الله سبحانه وتعالى.

בצד ימין: **مهمتنا** (Our Mission) - إرشاد الإنسانية كلها إلى نظم الإسلام الصالحة وتعاليمه التي لا يمكن بغيرها أن يسعد الناس. الإمام حسن البنا

תחתית: الممد (٢٥٨) ٩ جمادى الآخر ١٤٢١ هـ - ٢/٨/٢٠٠٢ م

השם: الطريق من هنا / الإمام / حسن البنا

After