



The Meir Amit Intelligence
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Hamas senior Mahmoud al-Zahar has recently given a vicious anti-Semitic speech to justify the elimination of Israel and the deportation of Jews from the "entire territory of Palestine". The speech contains themes reminiscent of those found in Al-Zahar's anti-Semitic book No Future Between Nations, found on board the Mavi Marmara.



The cover of Dr. Mahmoud al-Zahar's book: [Jews have] No Future Between Nations. The book's foreword was written by two Algerian Islamists, one of them the head of the Algerian delegation on board the Mavi Marmara.

Overview

1. Senior Hamas leader Mahmoud al-Zahar gave an anti-Semitic speech shown on November 5 on Hamas' Al-Aqsa TV (see Appendix I). **In his speech, Al-Zahar reiterated the thesis (which was also the subject of his book) that Jews have "no future between nations".** Al-Zahar covered the long history of acts of murder and persecution against Jews and their expulsion from European countries. He claimed that the calamities that befell the Jews stemmed from their various characteristics (murder, theft, betrayal, etc.), presenting it as proof that **the elimination of the State of Israel and the expulsion of the Jews from the entire territory of Palestine is a historic necessity dictated by reality.**

2. In Mahmoud al-Zahar's book, *No Future Between Nations* (published in Algeria in 2008), he developed the thesis according to which the Jews are a foreign presence rejected by the world's countries (see Appendix II for details). In the book, Al-Zahar uses verses from the Quran **to justify the murder of Jews** and as proof that **Zionism is doomed to extinction as it has "no future between nations".** Mahmoud al-Zahar's book **was found on board the Mavi Marmara, in all likelihood in the possession of Algerian activists.** It was published by **an Algerian publishing house** and features forewords written by two Islamist activists, one of them **Abd al-Razzaq al-Maqri, the head of the Algerian delegation on board the Mavi Marmara** (the largest delegation from any Arab country).

Analysis

3. **The vicious anti-Semitic line has always been an outstanding characteristic of Hamas,** being an important part of its identity and a tool for propaganda and recruitment among certain populations. It is reflected in numerous statements made by senior Hamas officials and clerics affiliated with the movement,¹ also appearing **in the Hamas 1988 charter.**² The anti-Semitic incitement is aimed to inculcate various targets audiences with hatred against the Jews and **provide legitimacy**—based on Islam as well as on the history of European countries—**for waging a campaign of terrorism to Israel's destruction and the expulsion of all Jews from it.** The terrorist campaign is Hamas' **alternative to the**

¹ Another example of anti-Semitic incitement shown on Al-Aqsa TV can be found in the Friday sermon broadcast on October 8. The preacher, a cleric named Wa'el al-Zard, lashed out at the Jews, **accusing them of violating the honor of Palestinian women held in Israeli prisons.**

² The Jews are portrayed in an extremely negative light in the Hamas charter. They are said to have been condemned to humiliation and a life of poverty for provoking the wrath of Allah, turning their backs on the Quran, and killing their prophets. The charter also contains anti-Semitic myths in the spirit of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (mentioned in Clause 32 of the charter) about the Jewish control over media, education, and cinema. The charter repeats the anti-Semitic myth according to which the Jews were behind most of the world's revolutions, and demonizes the Jewish people.

path of negotiations chosen by the Palestinian Authority (which “**trades away its homeland**”, according to Al-Zahar’s book), a path that Hamas denies.

4. Mahmoud al-Zahar’s speech is characteristic of an attitude prevailing among modern Arab and Muslim anti-Semitism, **turning the victim** (the Jew) **into a criminal**. Arab and Muslim anti-Semites show understanding and even justify the killing, expulsion, and persecution of Jews, **accusing them of bringing the persecution upon themselves by their eternally despicable qualities**. According to that approach, Jews in whatever society they lived brought upon themselves persecution and hatred in each and every generation, including in modern times, and even the Holocaust was the Jews’ fault.³

The distribution of anti-Semitic content by Hamas to Arab and Muslim communities in Western countries

5. Mahmoud al-Zahar’s anti-Semitic speech was shown on Al-Aqsa TV, the Hamas satellite channel, whose broadcasts are also watched by Arab and Muslim communities outside of the Middle East. It relies on the services of the **Egyptian satellite company Nilesat and the inter-Arab satellite company Arabsat**, mostly owned by Saudi Arabia (despite Hamas’ problematic relations with Saudi Arabia and Egypt). Through the Arabsat satellite (as well as a European satellite called Atlantic Bird 2), **Al-Aqsa TV is distributed to the Middle East, North Africa, and most of Europe** (the south and west parts of the continent). This means that **Muslim and Arab communities in southern and western Europe are still exposed to vicious anti-Semitic incitement spread by Hamas, one example of which is Mahmoud al-Zahar’s speech** (see Appendix III for information on how Al-Aqsa TV bypassed the French ban on its broadcasts).

Appendix I

Main points of Mahmoud al-Zahar’s speech

³ For further information, see study dated April 17, 2008: “Contemporary Arab-Muslim anti-Semitism, its Significance and Implications”. Another example of the approach which blames the Jews themselves for the persecutions they endured can be found in *Witnesses and Testimonies*, a series broadcast on Palestinian TV (controlled by the PA). Muhammad Dawhal, one of the people interviewed for the series in the episodes aired on October 17 and 24, 2010, said as follows: “**The Jews were hated in whatever society they lived...** the Jews are only interested in all Arab land... or at least the Arab region around Palestine... to control the region with its economic and material potential...”

1. Senior Hamas official Mahmoud al-Zahar has recently given an anti-Semitic speech shown live on Hamas' Al-Aqsa TV (November 5, 2010).

2. In the speech, Mahmoud al-Zahar reiterated the thesis appearing in his book (see Appendix II) according to which **"Jews have no future between nations"**. Al-Zahar extensively covered the history of the murder and expulsion of the Jews from various European countries, claiming that they had been driven out as a result of their despicable qualities (murder, theft, betrayal, etc.). He then went on to **"prove" that the elimination of the State of Israel and the expulsion of the Jews "from the entire territory of Palestine" are necessitated by reality, and that the Jews will one day be driven out, "Allah willing"**.

3. In his speech, Mahmoud al-Zahar presented a pseudo-historic portrayal of the history of the expulsion of the Jews from various countries, showing understanding for the crimes committed against the Jews throughout history and ascribing the expulsions to the Jews' crimes and loathsome qualities. For example:

a. Pharaoh drove the Jews out of Egypt "because they **spilled the blood of the Egyptians** and conspired against them with their enemies", and after they abandoned their religion following Joseph's death.

b. In 1253 the French expelled the Jews for **"sucking the blood of the French, spilling their blood, slaughtering them, stealing their possessions, and conspiring against them..."**

c. In 1280 the Englishmen slaughtered the Jews and expelled them because they exposed their crimes—**"sucking their [i.e., the Englishmen's] blood and stealing their property..."**

4. Mahmoud al-Zahar goes on to list numerous other countries from which the Jews were expelled: France (one more time), Hungary, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Holland, Spain, Russia, and Germany. According to Mahmoud al-Zahar, **"the series of expulsions [of the Jews from the various countries] continue to this day"**.

5. At the end of that "historic" review, Al-Zahar presents the lesson and conclusions for his audience to consider: **"The expulsion will come, Allah willing, from Palestine, from the entire territory of Palestine, Allah willing.** We are no less strong or honorable as the peoples who expelled and uprooted them. **We are about to expel them.** We have learned

our lesson. **You have no place among us and [Jews] have no future between nations. You are about to disappear, and we are about to emerge victorious."**

Photographs from Al-Zahar's speech



from Palestine, from the entire territory of Palestine, Allah willing.



The expulsion will come, Allah willing



and uprooted them. We are about to expel them.



We are no less strong or honorable as the peoples who expelled them [the Jews]



You are about to disappear, and we are about to emerge victorious.

You have no place among us and [Jews] have no future between nations.

Overview

1. Mahmoud al-Zahar's anti-Semitic book *No Future Between Nations* was published in 2008 (first edition) **by the Algerian publishing house Dar al-Khalduniyya**. Judging by the book's foreword, subsequent editions were supposed to be published following Operation Cast Lead.

2. **A copy of the book was found on board the Mavi Marmara**, in the possession of one of the passengers who we believe was a member of the Algerian delegation in the flotilla.⁴ **Two Algerian activists**, one of them Abd al-Razzaq al-Maqri, who headed the Algerian delegation on board the Mavi Marmara, **wrote forewords for the book:**

- a. **Abd al-Razzaq al-Maqri**, an Islamic activist from Algeria. On the eve of the flotilla's departure (May 25), he appeared on the Hamas TV channel and expressed his willingness to die for "breaking the siege" on the Gaza Strip. Remarks made by Al-Maqri and other people interviewed on the Hamas channel (including Mahmoud al-Sawalha, a Hamas activist in Britain) show that their slogan on the eve of the flotilla's departure was "break the siege or die". Al-Maqri also said that the options available for the Algerian passengers were "giving up their lives, going to prison, or breaking [the siege]" (arab48.com, from MEMRI, June 2, 2010). In his foreword, Al-Maqri says that Mahmoud al-Zahar and he had doubts about the book's name, since he believes the title is too quick to lead the reader to the necessary conclusion, which is why he thought it should be changed. In the foreword, he praises Mahmoud al-Zahar, expresses pride over the fact that the book was published in Algeria, and accuses the Jews of siding with the French occupation in Algeria.

b.



⁴ The Algerian delegation on board the Mavi Marmara was the largest among the Arab world delegations, and the second largest after Turkey. It consisted of 32 people, most of them affiliated with moderate Islam, **but some affiliated with radical Islam as well** (particularly members of Al-Islah, a national reform movement affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood).

Abd al-Razzaq al-Maqri (<http://fr.hmsalgeria.net>)

(<http://fr.hmsalgeria.net>)

b. **Abd al-Rahman Shibani**, chairman of the Association of Muslim Clerics in Algeria and president of the Algeria branch of the Al-Quds Association. Shibani praises Al-Zahar for tackling “Netanyahu’s lies”⁵ in his book. He praises Al-Zahar, “one of the leaders of the resistance”, and writes that he is particularly happy to have gained so much knowledge while reading the book. He says he hopes that “we or our sons can pray in the Al-Aqsa Mosque after Palestine, **the whole of Palestine, is liberated from the filth of the Jews and their dirty deeds**”.

Excerpts from the book

3. Mahmoud al-Zahar dedicates the book to “the millions of shaheeds, the wounded, and the crippled, victims of Zionism and colonialist occupation, the millions of people who were deported or kicked out of their homeland because of the crimes of the occupation, and all those interested in knowing the truth behind Zionism and its agents... **to anyone who wishes to know the role played by the Jews throughout history...**”

4. **Al-Zahar compares Judaism to an artificial transplant completely rejected by the human body.** He quotes a verse from the Quran: “You will surely find the most intense of the people in animosity toward the believers [to be] the Jews and those who associate others with Allah” (Surat al-Ma’idah, 82). According to Al-Zahar, that verse **reflects a truth according to which the Jewish foreign object is doomed to be rejected**, even if at a certain time the object was stronger than the Arab and Muslim body.

5. Al-Zahar argues that this is not just a historic, social, or political truth—it is also a medical issue, since the human body will reject a transplant—be it a heart, a kidney, or skin—without antibody inhibitors. According to Al-Zahar, the political inhibitors for weakening national sentiments, which the West attempts to secretly introduce among the Muslims, are the collaborators, the weak, and those who trade away their homeland (obviously hinting at the Palestinian Authority).

6. **Mahmoud al-Zahar develops his book’s main thesis, according to which Judaism and Jews have no future between nations:**

⁵ The book’s English title **is supposed to present a response to Netanyahu’s book *Place Among the Nations*.**

a. Mahmoud al-Zahar writes that the Jewish leaders have managed to create a false national consciousness, the falsehood of which is explored in the book. The question is, however, do those leaders know that on the other side there are millions of deprived, dispossessed people whose dignity was stripped away and who no longer have any glimmer of hope except for their faith. **There are millions, and perhaps as many as one billion people by the next century**, who have their eyes set on Jerusalem and are listening to its suffering. The hearts of those people move before their arms, and they will scream at the oppression: **you have no future in our land... you have no future between nations**" (p. 52).

b. At the end of his book, on p. 616, Al-Zahar writes as follows: "I am certain that the current state of affairs does not reflect the future, and that the peace of intimidation will not be embraced by the Islamic nation, an honorable and god-fearing nation..." He goes on to say that **war could be the key for a peace** based on justice. He quotes a hadith (an Islamic tradition) attributed to Muhammad, which is frequently used by Islamic anti-Semites: **"When you fight the Jews, the rock behind which the Jew hides shall tell you, 'oh, Muslim! This is a Jew behind me, come and kill him!'** And if the Jews refuse to accept that truth, they can refuse as long as they like..." Al-Zahar asserts that **"as for Zionism**, its past and present are indeed dubious, and Allah willing, **its future will be one of defeat**. While it is true that it has a place nowadays, **it is likewise true that it has no future between nations**".

c. On pp. 68-69, Al-Zahar portrays the Jews and Zionists as being responsible for anti-Semitism: "We have the right to wonder about the reasons why Jews were persecuted by the nations among which they lived, whether it was a flaw shared by all the world's nations, infected with the disease of anti-Semitism, **or the behavior of the Jews themselves, or is anti-Semitism the creation of the Jews themselves, who thus sought to justify their crimes**. No one believes the story that all the nations came together to persecute one people just because they are Jews. **The truth is that it is a result of the actions of the Jews themselves and their animosity towards the nations among which they lived**. Zionism has a considerable part in creating that state of animosity towards the Jews, in accordance with its plans".

d. On pp. 70-71, Mahmoud al-Zahar further states the following: "Why is it that all countries, as Netanyahu himself admitted, did not want to let the Jewish race in? And why is it that some nations attacked them with the purpose of uprooting them, after they had sucked their lifeblood and everything that is good in it? And why is it that the Jew is not ashamed of accusing all those who oppose him, using the worst racist

insults? It is very easy to accuse others of anti-Semitism, but what is that anti-Semitism which the Jews use against anyone who opposes them, like a snake and its prey? [...] The bigger question is who stands behind the nations' animosity towards the Jews and who benefits from that situation. **The answer to that question is: the Zionists are the cause that generates anti-Semitism and they are the ones who benefit the most from it.**"

e. On p. 506, Al-Zahar says that even the disappearance of the "independent Jewish entity" from the scene will not put an end to the animosity against the Jews (i.e., even the goal of eliminating the State of Israel would not be the end of the battle against the Jews): "Even if the independent Jewish entity ceases to exist, the state of special, constant animosity will not end, since the nations of eastern and western Europe as well as Arab countries lived in that kind of relationship with the Jews for many centuries prior to the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine. **That is the primal nature of the Jews, which gradually grew stronger until it dropped to the bottom of the swamp with the acceptance of Zionism**".

Appendix III

The circumvention of the French ban on Al-Aqsa TV's broadcasts

1. As mentioned elsewhere, on June 7, 2010, the government of France instructed the French broadcasting service to terminate the broadcasts of Al-Aqsa TV through the satellites of the European telecommunications company Eutelsat. Prior to that, **France had received a warning from the European Commission that Al-Aqsa TV repeatedly violated European laws and preached hatred and violence, mostly against Israel and Judaism** (AFP, June 7, 2010).

2. Following that instruction, Hamas elements took immediate action to overrule the ban, which proved futile. On June 24, Noorsat, a company which had leased to Hamas satellite broadcasting capabilities to Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East, announced **the termination of Al-Aqsa TV's broadcasts** (Al-Aqsa TV, June 25, 2010).

3. **Hamas found a way to circumvent the French ban.** According to Muhammad Thuraya, the deputy director of Al-Aqsa TV, immediately after the termination of Al-Aqsa TV's broadcasts was announced, officials were able to reach an agreement with a new intermediary company from Kuwait called Gulsat. Thuraya further added that **the channel was interested in expanding its coverage to South American countries such as Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Columbia, and Cuba.** In addition, he promised that the channel would also reach such countries as **Kurdistan, Turkistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, east China, and Russia** (Al-Aqsa TV, June 25, 2010).

4. **Gulsat Communications was established in 1995 under cooperation with the Kuwaiti Ministry of Telecommunications and the U.S.-based Hughes Network Systems. It is a daughter company of United Networks, itself part of KIPCO, a leading investment company in the region.** The company leases to Al-Aqsa TV frequencies on the **Atlantic Bird 2 satellite, also owned by the French-based Eutelsat.** The range of the satellite is similar to that of Atlantic Bird 4, which was used by Noorsat, the company that terminated its broadcasts of Al-Aqsa TV.⁶ **As of the writing of this document, Al-Aqsa TV continues to broadcast on the Atlantic Bird satellite, which helps distribute Hamas' hate-filled programming in western and southern Europe.**

⁶ For details, see our August 23, 2010 Information Bulletin: "A number of satellite companies (including Western companies) continue providing communication services for Hezbollah and Hamas' television and radio, even though restrictions have been imposed by Europe and the United States. Supported by foreign companies, Hezbollah and Hamas are able to extend their range around the world, including Muslim communities".

