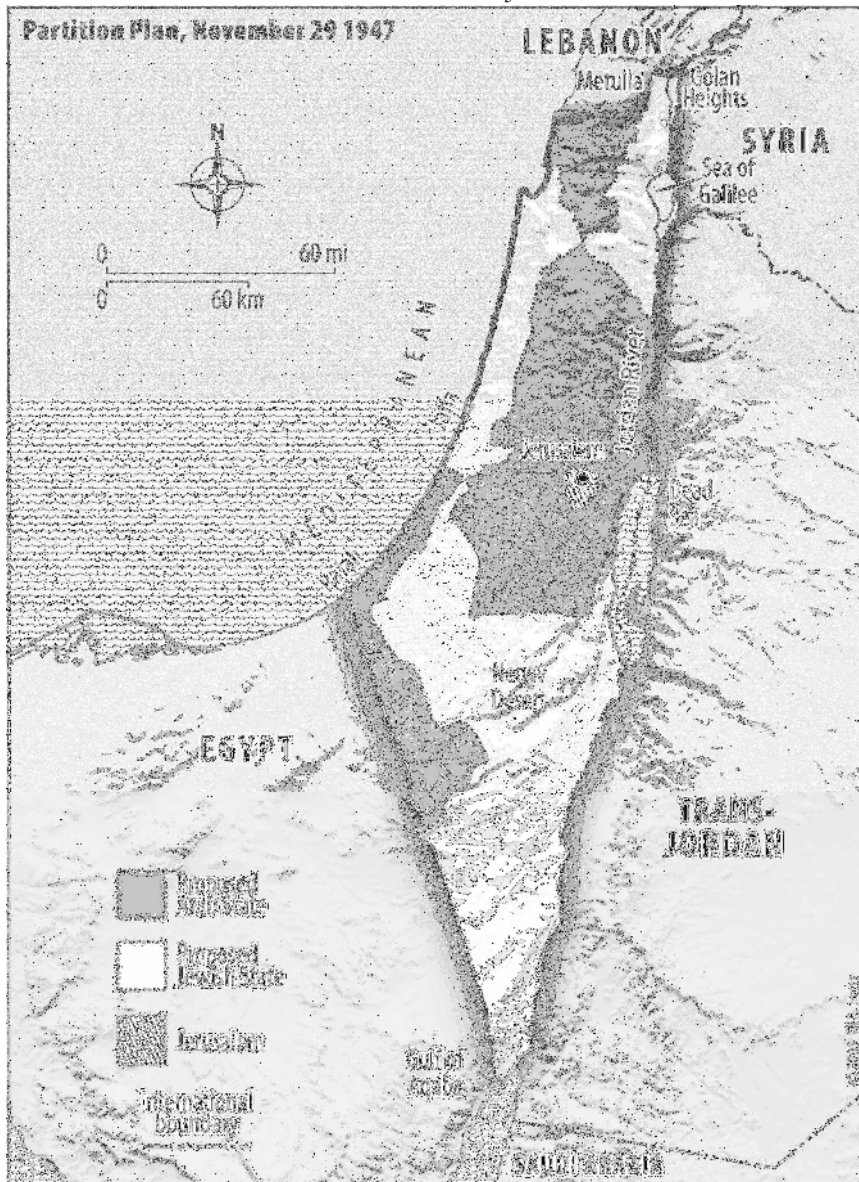


# Partition Plan (replaces British Palestine Mandate)

Map for two-state solution.

Includes internationalization of Jerusalem and Bethlehem.



Credit: [www.israelifrontline.com](http://www.israelifrontline.com), "UN Resolution 181 - The Partition Plan"

## III

**Zionism****Jewish National Liberation Catalyzes  
Islamic Antisemitism to New Extremes**

By Yisrael Ne'eman

**Overview**

Jewish national liberation, better known as “Zionism,” was and continues to serve as a lightning rod for Islamist antisemitism. Granting equal rights to Jews and other *dhimmi* minorities was painful enough from a religious perspective but the Jewish claim for sovereignty in the Land of Israel was considered the height of arrogance by a people rejected and discarded by Islam.

For the Ottomans, Zionism, similar to other national movements, was interpreted as an attempt at Jewish regional secession from the empire’s territorial holdings. The Land of Israel, or Palestine, was a *waqf* land conquered by Islam, of which no other people or nation could lay claim, specifically not *dhimmi* Jews. On the secular Jewish and Arab scenes, the Balfour Declaration was a British pledge for a Jewish National Home while the MacMahon Correspondence committed London to the establishment of an Arab kingdom throughout the Middle East. These conflicting promises made during WWI led to competing territorial claims by these two national entities. By the early 1920s the Jewish world, the European powers and the Arab Middle East began to take Zionism seriously as a player on the global scene.

During the British Mandate period, Haj Amin el-Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, represented both the Muslim fundamentalist and Palestinian Arab national identity. He integrated a viciously antisemitic pillar of hatred into his leadership, eventually culminating in his full cooperation with the Nazis in WWII. He participated in the extermination of Balkan Jewry and was indicted after the war but managed to flee to Egypt where the Muslim Brotherhood and its leader Hasan al-Banna welcomed him as a hero. During Haj Amin’s reign as Mufti of Jerusalem in the 1930s, Izz a-Din al-

Qassam led the Islamic Black Hand terror group, attacking Jews, Christians, moderate Muslims and the British.

In 1948, the Arab State armies, Haj Amin's Palestinian forces, the Muslim Brotherhood, and other Arab irregulars, failed to destroy the State of Israel. They took their retribution out on the remnants of Jewish communities in the Arab Muslim world after most Jews in these other countries had already fled to the newborn Israeli State. Yesterday's *dhimmi* Jews now lived independently in the heart of the Muslim world despite their stereotypes as cowards, an unacceptable affront to the Arab Muslim world.

Muslims used theology to explain Jewish independence and reverted back to the seventh century idea that Jews satanically embodied ultimate evil. Secular Arab nationalism adopted Islamist ideas demonizing Jewish nationalism. Religious Islamists did not disguise antisemitism as anti-Zionism, but made it clear that the existence of Israel was only one manifestation of universal Jewish evil. Striding hand in hand with traditional Christian European antisemitism and Nazism, Islamists remained loyal to Haj Amin's vision and demanded Jewish elimination. Israel's 1967 battlefield success led to an intensified crescendo of hatred. A propaganda reversal by the Arabs heralded Israel as the new Nazis. Previously in the early 1950s the Israelis were accused of being communists and Bolsheviks, the ideological opposite of fascists and Nazis. Even during the Oslo Accords peace dialogue of the 1990s and continuing into the 2000s, the Hamas Islamists, and at times secular Fatah Palestinian Authority officials including Yasir Arafat, used antisemitic diatribes and declared Jihad against Israel and Jews in general.

#### **Turkish Policy Toward Zionism 1882–1918**

At the turn of the century, the Ottomans ruled in the Land of Israel or what was commonly known as Palestine. It is unlikely the Turks noticed any great change in immigration in 1882, though Jews mark that year as the advent of the First Aliya and commencement of modern political Zionism. At the time, those early Jewish agricultural pioneers did not know their descendents would refer to them as "Zionists" years later. Already from the end of the eighteenth century onward, the Turks experienced an increase in Jewish immigration to the Holy Land, in particular to the four holy cities of Hebron, Jerusalem, Tiberias and Safed and the coastal port of Jaffa. Ideas advocating a Jewish State already in the mid nineteenth century began with Jewish thinkers like Moses Hess and Protestants such as the Englishman Lord Shaftesbury and the American John Nelson Darby as well as certain

English speaking consular officials in the Middle East.<sup>1</sup> Jews began to think in terms of modern nationalism while the European powers pursued policies further undermining the Ottoman Empire. There was a constant empowering of non-Muslim *dhimmi* communities who increasingly gained equal rights under European trade contracts and protection such as the Capitulation Treaties.

Jewish emigrants began leaving Eastern Europe as antisemitism became more intense. They made their way to Central and Western Europe, the shores of North America, or almost anywhere else outside of the Land of Israel. Jews who came to the Land of Israel continued to endure the *dhimmi* troubles of living under Turkish rule. After noting the Jewish tenacity toward development in the region, Mehmed Sharif Rauf Pasha, governor of the Jerusalem district from 1877-1889, restricted Jewish immigration and the selling of land to Jews in his region. Bans spread to other parts of the country as well.<sup>2</sup> Despite having officially gained equal rights in 1856 during the Ottoman “Tanzimat” reforms the Jews continued suffering the *dhimmi* style abuse and humiliation, but at this point there was no real opposition to Jewish immigration as a national movement. Only after Theodor Herzl orchestrated the First Zionist Congress in 1897 did the Jewish nationalist movement make international headlines. Native Ottoman Jews and those already in Palestine were forbidden from purchasing state-owned lands. Herzl sought both political and financial support in the Jewish community while engaging in world diplomacy and hoping for international recognition and the opportunity to cut a deal with the Turkish Sultan Abdul Hamid II. Herzl planned to raise money to pay off the Ottoman Empire’s debt in return for Jewish rights to the Land of Israel. As expected, the Sultan was averse to ceding any part of his empire; however, Jews could apply for Turkish citizenship. Although Herzl made little headway, even after his 1901 meeting with Abdul Hamid, the Sultan did address the Jews as a “nation” and apparently considered allowing land purchase in order to help fill Turkish coffers. But the overall policy of Ottoman obstructionism to Jewish immigration and development carried the day, and prevented many more Jews from arriving in the Holy Land.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Evangelical Protestant Zionism commences with the Protestant Reformation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Many of these ideas are drawn from interpretations of the New Testament Book of Romans, Chapter 11. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the impending of the Ottoman Empire this theological perspective took on political meanings as well, especially in Britain. The Second Coming of Jesus was expected as a result of the Jewish return to the Land of Israel or Palestine.

<sup>2</sup> Peters, Joan, *From Time Immemorial, The Origins of the Arab-Jewish Conflict over Palestine*, JKAP Publications, USA, 1984, pp. 202, p. 503 fn. 67 and pp. 204-205.

<sup>3</sup> Laqueur, Walter Zeev, *A History of Zionism*, Schocken Books, New York, USA,

Herzl visited Palestine in 1898 and immediately saw the contrast between decay in Ottoman administered Jerusalem, and the enthusiastic pioneering spirit in the farming villages where Jews lived.<sup>4</sup> Jewish pilgrims were allowed to travel to the area provided they came on a visa and left a financial deposit guaranteeing their exit within thirty days, but the ban on new immigration remained.<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, this opposition did not halt the flow of Jews into Palestine, which continued through the period of Turkish political instability and the overthrow by the “Young Turks” originally known as the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) in 1908. That same year the Sultan himself became an opponent of Zionism at the urgings of Muslim officials who advocated a halt in land sales to foreign Jews. Anti-Zionist attitudes were expressed in the Jaffa Arab newspaper, *Falastin*. In particular, the Arabs perceived Jews as a weakling people attempting to buy land through stealth and lack of Arab awareness.

By 1914, there were two Arab notables from Jerusalem elected to the Ottoman parliament, one each from the el-Husseini and Nashashibi families, both insisted on ending land transactions with the Jews.<sup>6</sup> The Zionist Organization hoped for a change in policy with a secular regime in power, but to no avail. Neither pan-Ottomanism, which emphasized the equality of all citizens of the Empire, nor pan-Turkism, which concentrated on Turkish nationalism and extending unification with ethnic Turks throughout the world, found Jewish national objectives to be in their interest. The Young Turks behaved no different toward Jews and Zionism than the previous pan-Islamic leaning rulers.<sup>7</sup> According to the Ottomans, Zionism was seen as “secessionism” used by Western powers to detach parts of their empire, as already happened in the Balkans. Hence, imperial opposition rooted in the desire to hold the empire together influenced the Ottomans. Arab anti-Zionism often made common cause with the Turks through their joint Muslim identity.<sup>8</sup> Pan-Ottomanism gave the Jews supposed individual rights, while pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism entirely left the Jews out of their definition of citizens with rights. The latter contributed to re-strengthening the existing Turkish-Arab bonds through common religious ideals. Later, just prior to WWI, Turkish power faltered as a result of wars with Italy and the

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1972, pp. 42-47 and 97- 119.

Peters, p. 209.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 110.

<sup>5</sup> Peters, p. 205.

<sup>6</sup> Gilbert, Martin, *In Ishmael's House, A History of Jews in Muslim Lands*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2010, pp. 140-142.

<sup>7</sup> Landau, Jacob, *Jews, Arabs and Turks*, Magnum Press, Jerusalem, 1993, pp. 170-173.

<sup>8</sup> Lewis, Bernard, *Semites and Anti-Semites*, W.W. Norton and Co., New York and London, 1999, pp. 167 and 170.



Balkan states. They needed Arab Muslim allies inside the empire, people who shared similar priorities and loyalties. Thus, it was important the Turks were not seen as making concessions to the Jews.

As for real estate, absentee *effendi*, or upper class Arab land-owners did sell private land to Jews. Within a short time the Jewish *dhimmi* image began to change as Jews worked the land, learned skilled trades and formed a national movement. The same *effendi* that sold land complained to the Turks of Jewish immigration and condemned the Jews for purchasing land. By 1909, the *effendi* charged the Jews with trying to displace the *fellahin*, or Arab peasantry, and lumped all Jews together as an adversary, whether Zionist or not. A Jew living in the Muslim world who supported Jewish nationalism, which was completely disconnected from Islam, was seen as a traitor and theoretically could face the death penalty. The Arab peasantry thought of Jews as *dhimmi*, even if the statute was nullified and no longer enforced. Even more significantly, if Jews could attain improved social standing, then why should they, the Muslim peasantry, be left behind? Certain “Ottomanist” Arab leaders and intellectuals protested as well, however they claimed to be only anti-Zionist and not antisemitic. The Arab peasants saw these protests as insincere and for the most part ignored them.<sup>9</sup> They viewed Arabs who sold land to Jews as betrayers of the *dhimma* status. The Arab upper class *effendi* was worried by the latter conclusion even more so once the socialist Laborites took the helm of the Zionist movement by the 1930s. The Laborite atheism and socialism/communism were viewed as dual evils facing traditional Islam, and said to be comparable to the Jewish-pagan alliance mentioned in the Koran (see Chapter I “Negative Image of the Jew in the Muslim/Arab World”).

World War I proved to be a major disaster for the Jewish community in Palestine, regardless of whether they supported the Zionist national idea or were ultra-orthodox communities awaiting the advent of the Messiah. Turkey joined the war in November 1914, but it took only a month for Djemal Pasha, the Turkish commander in Palestine, to issue expulsion orders for all those with Russian citizenship, condemning them as enemy aliens. Six to seven hundred Jews were shipped out before intervention by German Zionists halted the decree. As the Turks waited for another opportunity, 12,000 Jews departed on their own by early 1915 due to the threatening conditions. More decrees were on the way. Jews and Christians could no longer buy exemption from military service, a modern form of *dhimma* type taxation; they were forced into slave labor conditions, building roads and working in quarries, suffering mortal danger on a daily basis and often dying

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<sup>9</sup> Peters, pp. 213-214.

in epidemics or by starvation. Young Jewish men in particular were incarcerated in slave labor camps in Damascus, Bursa and Istanbul. Deha a-Din, the Turkish Secretary for Jewish affairs, banned all Zionist activities of any sort; he closed newspapers, schools and the Zionist Organization's Anglo-Palestine Bank. He confiscated Jewish crops and cattle, and increased taxes to impossible levels while the Turks encouraged Arabs to individually attack the remaining Jews. Within the first two years of WWI 8,000 Jews died, mainly from disease and starvation.<sup>10</sup>

Some Jews tried to prove their loyalty by joining the Turkish Army, but convinced no one. Despite these early efforts, the Zionist movement realized that Jewish national interests lay with the British.<sup>11</sup> Using newfound organizational skills and political strength, limited as it was, Jewish deportees organized the Zion Mule Corps in 1915, and later the 38<sup>th</sup>, 39<sup>th</sup> and 40<sup>th</sup> Royal Fusilier battalions, to fight against the Turks on the side of the British. The Zion Mule Corps, a transport unit, saw action in the Battle of Gallipoli, and some of the other battalions were involved in the offensive against the Turks in 1918 in Palestine.<sup>12</sup> After the first expulsions, Jews established the NILI<sup>13</sup> spy ring to supply information and to help plan the impending British offensive into Palestine from Egypt. Although fairly successful, the Turks uncovered the NILI operation by the middle of 1917.<sup>14</sup> True to form the Turks expelled the remainder of the Jewish community from Jaffa and Tel Aviv already in March 1917,<sup>15</sup> further reinforcing Jewish pro-British sentiment. Following the Turkish massacres of one and a half million Armenians in 1915, the remaining Jews figured they would suffer the same fate whether during the war or in its aftermath. Hence a British victory was imperative. As a result of the overall suffering, the Jewish population dropped from 85,000 before the war to 58,000 in its aftermath.<sup>16</sup> Yet despite everything the "new" Jewish nationalists became warriors in complete contrast to their stereotype as understood by the average Muslim, be he Arab or Turk.

Palestinian Arab Muslims solidly supported the Turks. Jewish fear of the local Turks and Arabs ran high as those two groups worked together,

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<sup>10</sup> Sachar, Howard M., *A History of Israel, From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2007, pp. 89-91.

Laqueur, pp. 176-180.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, p. 234.

<sup>12</sup> Sachar, pp. 112-115.

<sup>13</sup> NILI is the acronym for "Netzach Yisrael Lo Yishaker" translated as "The Eternal One of Israel Will Not Lie."

<sup>14</sup> Sachar, pp. 103-105.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p. 113.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, p. 181 and Peters, p. 215

forming one Ottoman Islamic front at the outset of the war. To quote the Palestinian historian Muhammed Muslih at length:

Most members of the Palestinian nobility opted to identify with Ottomanism throughout the years of World War I. Thus, when the Ottoman Empire entered the war on the side of Germany against Russia, Britain, and France on November 5, 1914 many Palestinian notables remained loyal supporters of the sultan. No sooner had Sultan Muhammad Rashad proclaimed jihad (holy war) against the Allies at the start of hostilities than his call gathered momentum and support throughout Palestine.

In Nablus, for instance, a big crowd gathered at the palace of the al-Nimr family with a huge camel which they slaughtered as a pledge of obedience to the sultan. In a resounding voice they all chanted: "God grant victory to the Prince of the Muslims our Sultan." Drawing on the support of local notables such as Sadiq Agha al-Nimr, the Ottoman state was able to recruit Nablusites to serve in the army. . . .

In Jerusalem, the situation was not different. Here Shukri al-Husayni, Raghیب al-Nashashibi, and other prominent urban notables also maintained their Ottoman patriotism and their support for the Ottoman regime.<sup>17</sup>

Muslih further states that Arabs from Acre and Jaffa, along with the rest of Arab populations throughout the land, remained loyal to the Ottomans up to the end of the war. The famed Arab revolt led by Sharif Hussein in the Arabian Peninsula had little impact on either Palestinian or Syrian Arabs. Hussein himself fully broke away from the Turks and sided with the British after the Turks refused to make him governor of the Hejaz and recognize his hereditary rights to Mecca and the Hejaz.<sup>18</sup> "Ottomanism," or a renewed loyalty to the Ottoman Empire, could not satisfy the rising nationalist non-Muslim former *dhimmi* communities who often felt little allegiance to an oppressive regime now cloaked in broad-based secular nationalism where all were said to be equal. In practice Ottomanism played out in its most logical form, as a redirected hybrid state authority working for the benefit of all

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<sup>17</sup> Muslih, Mohammed, *The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism*, Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington DC, 1989, pp. 89-90. Muslih further mentions numerous pro-Ottoman leaders who either fled with the retreating Turkish army or were deported by the British due to these loyalties.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.



Muslims. It was a cross between the empire's attempt at secular nationalism and pan-Islam.<sup>19</sup> This fell very much in line with the pre-WWI thinking in Sharif Hussein's own family, that the possibility of a dual Turkish-Arab monarchy, modeled on the Austro-Hungarian example, could be the preferred solution as opposed to a clash with the authorities in Istanbul.<sup>20</sup> After all, Sharif Hussein was responsible for the Mecca and Medina holy sites.

The British MacMahon Correspondence (1915) and the Balfour Declaration (1917) made promises to both Arabs and Jews concerning post war arrangements. These conflicting obligations became the dominant points of controversy once the British and their allies won the war. No doubt the Arabs who supported Sharif Hussein felt betrayed when the British did not follow through with forming a unified Arab kingdom (Pan-Arabism). They expected a kingdom including all regions of Arab claims in the Middle East in return for their wartime efforts against the Turks. Instead they received a series of semi-independent entities either as British (Iraq, Palestine and the split off of Transjordan) or French mandates (Lebanon and Syria), which would receive independence at a later date, but these entities were not unified.<sup>21</sup> The Zionists obtained a "national home," or what the Jews hoped would be a state in the making, but with less commitment from Britain than expected.<sup>22</sup>

When the Ottoman Empire collapsed, the modern "secular" Turkish state formed under Mustafa Kamal (known as "Ataturk") solidified its Muslim-Turkish identity by eliminating its Christian population. In the northeast close to one and a half million Armenians were killed during WWI, a continuance of persecutions beginning in the 1890s. During the Greco-Turkish War (1919-22) an estimated one and a half million Orthodox Christians were expelled from the western part of the country and likewise, half a million Muslims were expelled or fled Greece for Turkey. Hundreds of thousands were killed and wounded on both sides.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Landau, p. 172.

Pan-Islam is the vision of unifying all Muslims under one regime loyal to Sharia law.

<sup>20</sup> Antonius, George, *The Arab Awakening*, Capricorn Books, New York, (1946) 1965, pp. 110-111 and 130-133.

<sup>21</sup> Hourani, Albert, *A History of the Arab Peoples*, Faber and Faber, London, 1991, pp. 315-319.

<sup>22</sup> Weizmann, Chaim, *Trial and Error*, Hamilton, LTD, London, 1949, pp. 252-262.

<sup>23</sup> "Greco-Turkish War," *Wikipedia*, retrieved July 20, 2011, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greco-Turkish\\_War\\_\(1919%E2%80%9322\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greco-Turkish_War_(1919%E2%80%9322)).

### Islamic Fundamentalism and Palestinian Nationalism in the British Mandate

The collapse of Pan-Arabism and the establishment of the British-administered Palestine Mandate to advance the Jewish National Home catalyzed the Arab *effendi* into a new avenue of action, a localized Palestinian Arab nationalism eventually led by Haj Amin el-Husseini. Many try to present Palestinian Arab nationalism as only a secular nationalism, when in fact it was a mixture between regional Palestinian Arab identification and Islam. Haj Amin represented this integrated identity more than anyone else. He later became the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, an Islamic clerical position he used as a springboard to achieve Arab and Islamic national interests.

Haj Amin was educated in Cairo, and received both an Arab and Islamic education serving as a Turkish officer during the war. Once the British were on the offensive he disappeared and made his way back to his native Jerusalem, re-emerging in its aftermath as an advocate of Pan-Arabism. In Jerusalem, he stirred up Arab mobs against the Jews and turned the Muslim Nebi Musa celebrations of 1920 into an anti-Jewish pogrom, killing several and wounding dozens. This violent move gained him hero status and notoriety among Arab Islamists. He was convicted by a British court for inciting the riots, yet amnestied. After promising future good behavior, he returned to Jerusalem, whereupon the British helped him become Grand Mufti, the leading Muslim cleric, although he was not even thirty years old. Politically savvy, he established the Supreme Muslim Council (SMC), developed official *waqf* lands (in this case lands held by the Muslim authorities in land registries), and built the largest political patronage system in the Palestine Mandate. He brilliantly outmaneuvered the older generation and its representative organization, the Arab Executive, which collapsed in 1934.<sup>24</sup> Overall sentiment was not just anti-Zionist but antisemitic as evidenced by the 1921 Haifa Congress of Palestinian Arabs which declared the inability of the Jew to live with others due to clannishness, demands for privileges, greed, wealth and overall plotting to take control of the country while driving its inhabitants into poverty.<sup>25</sup>

During the 1920s, Haj Amin renovated the mosques on the Temple Mount, which Muslims call the Haram al-Sharif, and constantly put out religious-political messages castigating Zionism, the British and the Mandate established in the name of the Jewish National Home. Still, the situation remained calm. Tensions arose over Jewish prayer rights at the Western Wall

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<sup>24</sup> For an in depth review of Haj Amin's rise to power and the development of Palestinian Arab nationalism in its early phases see Yehoshua Porath's two volumes: *The Emergence of the Palestinian National Movement 1918-1929*, (1974) and *The Palestine Arab National Movement 1929-1939*, Frank Cass, London, 1977.

<sup>25</sup> Gilbert, *Ishmael's House*, p. 149.

during Yom Kippur in October 1928 when the Jews placed a divider between men and women in violation of the status quo disallowing any physical changes in the prayer section. Finally the tension exploded with the summer riots and pogroms Haj Amin led against Palestinian Jewry in August 1929. A false rumor was spread accusing the Jews of planning to destroy the Al-Aksa Mosque and replace it with the Third Temple. This same Islamic battle cry has continued for close to a century. In a well-planned attack, Haj Amin and his followers slaughtered mostly non-Zionist Jews in Jerusalem, Hebron and Safed, as well as in other towns in outlying regions. No differentiation was made between ultra-orthodox Messianists, secular Zionists or any other type of Jew. The violence was purportedly directed against the Zionist movement, yet in the holy cities the Jewish Orthodox pietists who rejected Zionism paid the highest price.<sup>26</sup> Haj Amin and his followers no doubt knew the difference between these two groups, the former activist and the latter passive. However all Jews fell into the exact same domain, as *dhimmi*s who raised their heads far too high and did not know their relegated place in Islamic society.

Zionism empowered the entire Jewish world, regardless of whether a Jew was religious or not. Jews living in the “national home” saw themselves as equal citizens not to be persecuted. The “new” Zionist Jew physically fought against persecution and dreamed one day of an independent state, which at the end of the 1920s appeared to be anything but assured. Nothing could have galled Islamic traditionalists more than Jews returning to theologically endowed *waqf* lands, captured by Islam and to be ruled in eternity by Muslims in the name of Allah. The Jews had League of Nations support for the Palestine Mandate “Jewish National Home” objective and were seen as the vanguard for a European-Western type society in the midst of the Arab/Muslim world. One either had to deny the Jews were a people in the national secular definition, as the PLO would do in the 1960s, or one had to declare them an evil nation to be punished, oppressed and destroyed if necessary, as advocated by the Koran, the Hadiths and continuing Islamic traditions. By no means a secularist, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem Haj Amin and his followers chose the latter definition. In so doing they remained within Islamic traditions and with perfect logic would find their allies in the Axis Powers, most specifically Hitler’s Nazi regime in the 1930s and even more so during WWII. Haj Amin and his supporters took a giant step beyond the oppressive medieval and czarist style antisemitism by allying themselves with Nazism and the “Final Solution” of Jewish annihilation in the 1940s.

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<sup>26</sup> Porat, *1918-1929*, chapter “The Conflict over the Wailing Wall,” pp. 258-273. Such ultra-orthodox adherents believe only in a Messianic redemption and reject all moves to build a state, secular or otherwise.

Yet before Haj Amin found his way to the Nazis he was unquestionably a politician playing many sides of the same game. In the ensuing British investigation, Haj Amin pressed to have land sales to Jews and Jewish immigration halted while demanding an immediate Palestinian Arab State. The British initially agreed to the Passfield White Paper of 1931 basically accepting these demands, but reversed themselves and did not change their policies. An increase of Jewish immigration continued especially in the 1930s as a result of Hitler's rise to power. Retaining control, Haj Amin and his followers moved somewhat closer to the British, apparently as a tactical move, afraid of losing power and in the hope of one day gaining independence.<sup>27</sup>

Conflicting trends continued as tens of thousands of Jews arrived yearly to the Palestine Mandate in the mid-1930s as a result of Nazi persecutions and endemic antisemitism in Central and Eastern Europe. Land sales to Jews by the *effendi* upper classes continued behind the scenes while many of the same families publicly condemned Jewish purchases. Jewish immigration and investment brought economic boom to Palestine. It was one of the few successful economies during the Great Depression. In the 1930s, former Arab peasants in search of jobs moved to cities where Jewish and British Mandatory development prevailed. They came from all around the Middle East, some immigrating after their landowners sold the fields they worked. This simple lower class population was the most susceptible to Islamic messages, especially when those messages came from a Muslim cleric.<sup>28</sup>

Sheikh Izz a-Din al-Qassam was one of the most outspoken Muslim clerics who challenged the leadership of the Grand Mufti Haj Amin. Syrian born and Egyptian educated, al-Qassam considered Haj Amin to be overly cautious. Al-Qassam constantly preached Jihad, and inspired the more outwardly radical Islamists. He began a revolt against the Jewish National Home and the British without Haj Amin's support. Once pressures reached the point of no return, the Grand Mufti was forced to join. It is believed al-Qassam began planning the Islamic revolt in the period between the Yom Kippur incident of 1928 and the Mufti-initiated pogroms in the summer of 1929. Eventually, Izz a-Din al-Qassam became a symbol of the Islamic struggle for domination in Palestine and later against Israel.

By the mid 1930s the moderate Arab Executive opposition was vanquished (see above) but even Haj Amin and his Supreme Muslim Council

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<sup>27</sup> For a survey of the Mufti's tactical pro-British policies in the early 1930s see Yehuda Taggar, *The Mufti of Jerusalem and Palestine Arab Politics 1930-1937*, University of London, London, 1973.

<sup>28</sup> General overview by Porat, *1929-1939*.

(SMC) were seen as too accommodating to the British. Secular and religious ideological groups said to support the Mufti challenged him to take action against the British and the Jews. At this point, the radical, nationalist pan-Arab youth groups organized on the European fascist-Nazi models now found common cause alongside the extreme Islamists.

Leading the extremists, Al-Qassam stressed commitment to the purification of Islam, Muslim solidarity, xenophobia, and Jew-hatred. Proclaiming Jihad through the authority of the Koran, he organized a methodical armed struggle and developed religious justification for the 1929 massacres. He differed with the Mufti and SMC over their use of funds for the renovation of the Al-Aksa Mosque domain on the Temple Mount. He saw Haj Amin and the SMC as not confronting true issues, and focusing instead on renovating a mosque. For al-Qassam, Arab nationalism meant little, since Islam and Arabism were one. The Arab world was the birthplace of Islam, with the Arabs being the purest, most committed and faithful believers. For him the Palestine national and political struggle was a Muslim struggle, in which they would prove the superiority of Islam. He began by organizing the “Black Hand” terror group, mostly in the cities of Nablus, Jenin and Nazareth, to kill Jews in the northern districts of the mandate. He preached Jihad and self-sacrifice while training his followers in combat. He recruited lower class workers and youth from the Young Men’s Muslim Association (YMMA) in the Haifa region where he lived. Al-Qassam’s objectives were clear—abolish the Jewish National Home and British Mandate, force the present Palestinian leadership to resign, form alliances with Britain’s enemies and accomplish it all through armed struggle.

Armed bands commenced terror actions in the spring of 1931 against Jewish farming villages and those traveling the roads. Tensions rose after Hitler’s election in 1933, which resulted in increased German Jewish immigration. The advent of Nazism encouraged the Arabs that liberation was at hand and a global war would doom the Western European powers in the Middle East. In the wake of the 1929 massacres, the British caught a Jewish importer bringing 800 rifles and 400,000 rounds of ammunition through Jaffa port, in what came to be known as the “cement barrel incident.” This situation proved to Muslims the Jews had no intentions of enduring victimization again. With less than one hundred followers, al-Qassam went on a major offensive in the autumn of 1935 after preaching Jihad in the Haifa region villages. He and his followers sold personal valuables and used the money to purchase guns, ammunition and explosives.

The British described al-Qassam as an extremely dangerous religious fanatic. Hiding out in northern Samaria, he led prayer services, preached Jihad, obtained local support and infused his loyalists with a “*mujahadin*” or a



holy warrior identity taken from the days of the Prophet Mohammed and beyond. The group terrorized the land especially murdering Jewish farmers. He met his end after killing a policeman. The British now had a very good reason to pursue the Qassamists as criminals. They caught up with the group near the village of Ya'bad that November. Several people were killed, including the sheikh himself; others were arrested. The marauders made their point by fighting to the end and became martyr-heroes in the eyes of many Muslims. Al-Qassam's funeral procession was dramatic and impressive with shops closed and black flags draped along the route. His death became the basis of a new personality cult further exploited by Jamal al-Husseini and some in the Nashashibi clan to strengthen their young recruits. These groups were modeled on the Hitler Youth and the Italian fascist youth movements.

By early 1936 rebellion was in the air. Haj Amin urged caution, believing the time was not ripe for a full-scale revolt, and held to a temporary policy of cooperation with the British Mandate authorities. It is believed he approved of al-Qassam's activities, but could not be directly associated with them. It is noteworthy that Fatah's Yasir Arafat appears to have held a similar policy sixty years later in the 1990s when trying to politically smooth over Hamas' terror. Haj Amin had no disagreement on the need for an extreme anti-Jewish policy. Overall, the lower class hero al-Qassam undermined the Mufti who represented the *effendi*. Most likely al-Qassam saw Haj Amin as playing politics with Islam and not as the active Jihadist he should have been. Islamic radicalism shifted to the countryside while urban leaders, usually more moderate and representing wealth, began losing political power. By April, the Arab Higher Committee, representing virtually all Palestinian factions, with Haj Amin in its lead, called for a general strike. Within months the British established the Peel Commission, which became the first to recommend an Arab-Jewish two-state solution. The Islamists and Haj Amin rejected the compromise, although the moderates are said to have considered the idea, but in the end found it unacceptable. In the Jewish community, the Labor Zionist leadership was willing to discuss the issue but with many reservations, while the right wing Revisionists were not.

For the Qassamites the strike was not strong enough and any thought of compromise was even worse. Armed insurrection now broke out with the ghost of Sheikh Izz a-Din al-Qassam in the lead. The Black Hand terror campaign led by Sheikh Farhan al-Sa'di was renewed against Arab police officers working in the Mandatory Police and suspected collaborators. Often the terror was accompanied by *fatwas* from Islamic authorities in Damascus supporting the murders. Jews, Christian Arabs, British officials and many Muslim Arab politicians who were dubbed "traitors," such as Haifa's mayor Hasan Shukri and even the Mufti himself, received death threats. In 1938

moderates demanded protection after the Qassamites assassinated Lewis Andrews, the Acting District Commissioner for Galilee. When the British finally acted to break the back of the revolt they realized they had lost control over northern Samaria, western and lower Galilee. Britain banned the Arab Higher Committee and the SMC, exiled several Arab leaders, apprehended and executed al-Sa'di, when finally committing enough men to crush the armed bands. By 1939 they regained control.

During the revolt anarchy broke loose, the Mufti himself managed to flee to Lebanon in 1937, and the moderates led by the Nashashibi clan worked with the British to establish "Peace Bands" to defeat would-be assassins, many of whom originated with the el-Husseinis. Samaria and Galilee were inundated with the roaming armed units wreaking havoc, the most chilling attack taking place in Tiberias in 1938. Terrorists slaughtered nineteen Jews, eleven of them children, burnt down a synagogue and assassinated the Jewish mayor of Tiberias. By now many of the Arab upper class fled, especially the Christians. Law and order collapsed in the Mandate and the British were forced into an anti-insurgency counter offensive.<sup>29</sup>

In particular, Britain enlisted the aid of a policing force known as the Special Night Squads (SNS), made up of volunteers from the Jewish community under the command of the British officer Orde Wingate. Wingate believed in active defense, not just the restraint preached by many Jewish leaders to avoid clashes with the Arabs. The SNS guarded the oil pipeline originating in Iraq, cutting through the Lower Galilee and ending at the Haifa port. They kept Arab marauders on the defensive, brought increased security to areas in the north where anarchy ruled and, most importantly, continued a renewed tradition of Jews fighting back when attacked.<sup>30</sup> Jewish self-confidence returned and the image of the Jew as a coward was shattered.

For many this was a Palestinian Arab civil conflict as much as it was a rebellion against the Mandate. By the end, the el-Husseinis took up the radical position and battled the pro-British Nashashibis leading to internecine warfare between the two families, a conflict that continued for years, especially in the Jerusalem region. The massive British response killed and arrested enough of the Qassamites to put an end to the revolt by mid-1939. In the Judean hills they repressed the el-Husseini revolt, but extremism

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<sup>29</sup> Lachman, Shai, "Arab Rebellion and Terrorism in Palestine 1929-1939: The Case of Sheikh Izz a-Din al-Qassam and His Movement," *Zionism and Arabism in Palestine and Israel*, Kadouri, Elie and Haim, Sylvia, eds., F. Cass, London, 1982.

Morris, Benny, *Righteous Victims*, Vintage Books, New York, USA, 2001, chapter "The Arabs Rebel," pp. 121-154.

<sup>30</sup> Morris, pp. 148-149 and Sachar, pp. 215-216.

ruled the day, leading to the renewal of village clan feuds, financial extortions and attacks against Christians. In May, His Majesty's Government issued the White Paper severely curtailing Jewish immigration and land sales to Jews while recommending independence for a Palestinian State within five years. Despite the seeming loss in the field, the Arab revolt, or more historically correct the "Islamic" revolt, achieved its major objectives. The British had in essence cancelled the terms of the Palestine Mandate and the original objective of creating a Jewish National Home.<sup>31</sup>

The Qassamites were the first to integrate militant nationalism with extremist Islam. They became the role model for many groups due to their tenacious guerilla activities. These organizations included the secular PLO, established years later. However, it is more accurate to categorize Yasir Arafat and the PLO as behaving closer to the el-Husseini mode and doing their best not to make the ultimate sacrifice. Both Arafat and el-Husseini shifted sides, played politics and used extremist language while continuing to hold power in a balancing act, integrating an uncompromising Arab nationalism beholden to Islamic symbols and motifs. Sheikh Izz a-Din Qassam served as a model of personal sacrifice and behaved much more within the definition of an Islamic fanatic, intent on destroying all his enemies at whatever cost necessary. Eventually he became a folk legend. On the other hand, the wily Haj Amin mixed ardent nationalism with Islam and would live to fight another day, a lesson learned by Arafat in the 1970s. During WWII, Haj Amin el-Husseini integrated himself with the Nazi Axis from Iraq to Berlin and sought to help Hitler achieve his Final Solution in Eastern Europe. A brief survey of Haj Amin's WWII activities appears below. For a fuller review and analysis see Chapter VIII "The Czarist-Nazi Integration into the Palestinian Islamist Jihad."

#### **Haj Amin el-Husseini's Alliance with the Nazis**

Overall Nazi ideals were fairly well received in the Arab/Muslim world, and in particular in the Muslim Brotherhood. Likewise, Haj Amin el-Husseini felt a strong affinity toward the Axis powers and became their leading Arab/Muslim world ally. We find that Nazism also influenced the future Baathist leadership of Syria and the Egyptian Free Officers, led by Nasser in the 1950s, just like the rising Palestine national movement. By adopting Nazism, Haj Amin went well beyond the Charter of Omar stipulations. The Jews were not to be a second class *dhimmi* community allowed to exist upon declaring its loyalty to their Muslim overlords, but rather all Jews were to be annihilated. After the outbreak of the 1936 Arab Revolt in the Palestine

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<sup>31</sup> Morris, pp. 151-160.

Mandate, Haj Amin fled the following year to Lebanon and then onward to Baghdad. He joined the Iraqi pro-fascists led by Rashid Ali al Kilani in the overthrow of the overtly pro-British regime in April 1941.

The new Iraqi regime worked to attain an alliance with Hitler, but the British counter attacked too quickly forcing Rashid Ali and Haj Amin to seek refuge in Nazi Germany. As the regime collapsed in early June, incensed Iraqi mobs massacred 180 Jews in what became known as the “Farhud.” Although forced out of the Middle East, Haj Amin was not to be deterred. The Mufti worked tirelessly to gain an audience with Hitler and secure an agreement whereby he and the Arab/Muslim world would be recognized as full Axis allies in the battle against the Jews, Britain and the Soviets. The opportunity arrived with their meeting on November 28, 1941 where a joint commitment was made to destroy the Jews and secure the Mufti as the Nazi representative in the Arab world. The Germans would engage in a Middle Eastern offensive at some unspecified future date. It appears Hitler was not particularly impressed with the Mufti’s claim to leadership.

To prove his loyalties, Haj Amin helped organize the pro-Nazi Albanian and Bosnian Muslim units to aid Hitler in his war aims. The Mufti became intimate with the extermination camp commanders while his pro-Nazi Muslim forces were in training; however, these troops did not live up to expectations, ideologically or militarily. Haj Amin was successful as a public propagandist demanding Jewish annihilation. This is evident in numerous speeches and in particular in his viciously antisemitic pamphlet, *Islam and Judaism*, distributed to pro-Nazi Muslim troops. Most notably, his pamphlet accuses the Jews of paganism and attempting to kill the Prophet Mohammed. In particular, when using quotes from the Hadith he urges Muslims to slaughter the Jews.

Accused of war crimes, the Mufti was indicted after WWII but managed to flee to Egypt in 1945 where he was welcomed by the Muslim Brotherhood and would continue his activities in recruiting for the battle against Israel in 1948. He never recanted his demands for Jewish destruction.<sup>32</sup>

#### **The Muslim Brotherhood and the Palestine Mandate 1945-48**

As a result of the Arab Muslim revolt in the late 1930s, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood was forced to solidify its ideology in full support of the Qassamites. Jihad was an obligation in the battle against the Jews, all of whom were deemed Zionists, implacable enemies of Islam and lackeys of

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<sup>32</sup> For further details and citations see Chapter VIII “The Czarist-Nazi Integration into the Palestinian Jihad,” subsection “The Grand Mufti Haj Amin el-Husseini and the Nazis” in this work *Hamas Jihad*.

Western imperialism. The Brotherhood did its best to influence Egyptian policies and pushed for an official governmental condemnation of the 1939 White Paper believing the policy it advocated did not go far enough in putting an end to the Jewish National Home. After holding a conference in January 1939 declaring Islam as totally perfect and the only way of life, the Muslim Brotherhood began to grow in significant numbers beyond the 800 members counted three years earlier. Despite the growth of the organization, it was too late to join the struggle in Palestine, which the British had crushed.

In Egypt the leader of the Brotherhood, Hasan al-Banna and his deputy Ahmed Sukkari spent much of WWII in detention for their anti-British diatribes. The overwhelming British presence, coupled with a corrupt government not serving the people's interests, led to a massive increase in Brotherhood membership by the end of the war. Widely varying estimates claim between 100,000 to 500,000 Muslims joined the Brotherhood by 1945. At the time of the Israeli War of Independence it is believed the membership had at least doubled. The Brotherhood reached out to the Palestine Mandate, set up its first organizational branch in the fall of 1945 and two years later had a Palestinian membership of 12,000-25,000 and 25 branches, with Haj Amin el-Husseini as the nominal leader and al-Banna's hand-picked representative. This was somewhat of a false arrangement since the Mufti could not enter Palestine without being arrested because he was still wanted by the British for his wartime activities. Hence, he remained in Egypt. On the other hand, such a move reinforced the Mufti's standing as the leader of Palestinian Muslims and kept loyalties tied to the Cairo Center and al-Banna.

There was much discussion about Islam, morality, the Koran, social justice and the need for a war against the Jews in Palestine, but the physical effort demanded for engagement in the much acclaimed Jihad was lacking. Mahmud Labib, the Brotherhood's military commander, arrived in Palestine to unify the different youth movements of the Najjada and Futuwwa under his wing but before accomplishing his goal, the British deported him. The Arab Muslim militias lacked motivation, equipment, training, dedication and discipline during the 1948 conflict. These failed human capabilities became obvious during the early Palestinian Arab phase of the war. Their breakdown began with the rejection of the Partition Plan on November 29, 1947, and continued until January 1948, well before Israel declared independence and the Arab invasion began. These groups simply disintegrated although there were those who joined the Egyptian Brotherhood. Due to the Arab-Jewish irregular battles, much of the solid urban Palestinian middle class left the country during this period. Had Labib remained, it is possible he would have attained some form of unity.



There was no Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood unit. Cairo remained the center for political and military organization. In November 1945, groups began demonstrations against Jews, Zionism and the British. Ten to twenty thousand showed up for this first show of strength, which evolved into anti-Jewish, anti-Christian riots in Cairo and Alexandria. Muslims plundered Jewish and Christian properties, desecrated, and in some cases destroyed, synagogues and churches. Al-Banna condemned the violence, but scrupulously took no action to stop it. Instead, Muslims declared a boycott against Egyptian Jewry, since all were defined as “Zionists.”

On the political level, the Brotherhood leadership made it clear to the Anglo-American Committee of 1945-46 seeking conflict resolution that no compromise was possible in Palestine. They saw themselves as a vanguard in the battle against the establishment of a Jewish State. Along with other Islamists they called for the establishment of an independent Muslim state in Palestine. The next Brotherhood-led Islamist demonstration involved 100,000 participants, took place shortly after the Partition Plan and called for the liberation of Palestine through blood. This was the largest demonstration in Cairo at the time and its effect reverberated throughout the region. Two months later al-Banna was bold enough to warn the UN Secretary General not to interfere in the Palestine conflict.<sup>33</sup>

The Brotherhood is said to have first penetrated into the Mandate with its Jerusalem office in 1943 under the name the “Makarem” society. During WWII, officials toured Lebanon, Syria and Palestine, immediately setting up several offices in Gaza after the war. They established their main Brotherhood headquarters in Jerusalem’s Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood in May 1946. There were numerous Palestinian notables and delegates from outside of Palestine in attendance at a later convention in Haifa to discuss overall Middle Eastern issues. On the political level, the Jaffa National Committee urged cooperation with Arab nationalists, Christians and communists in opposing the Partition Plan of November 1947.<sup>34</sup>

In late October 1947, the Brotherhood began recruiting for the Jihad campaign and supposedly the first two days brought in 2,000 volunteers, with the number reaching 10,000 in early 1948. By early March, it was said 1,500 volunteers were inside Palestine. The numbers were wildly exaggerated with no more than fifty Jihadists training in Damascus, while a few others were involved in crossing the Egyptian Sinai border into the Negev. Apparently,

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<sup>33</sup> Mayer, Thomas, “The Military Force of Islam: The Society of the Muslim Brethren and the Palestine Question, 1945-48,” *Zionism and Arabism in Palestine and Israel*, pp. 100-107.

<sup>34</sup> Hroub, Khaled, *Hamas, Political Thought and Practice*, Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington DC, 2002, pp. 15-18.

only a few hundred Muslim Brothers enlisted in Colonel Abd al-Aziz's Volunteer Forces on the Southern Front in Palestine. Still, the political impact of the Brotherhood was much greater in forcing a reluctant Egyptian government to send an invasion force into the Negev to wipe out what was called "the Zionist terrorist gangs." The decision to invade the Negev occurred on May 11, four days before the Mandate expired. Previous to this decision, the Egyptian government already allowed Brotherhood military training under Cairo's supervision, wary that such abilities would backfire and be used against their regime. By joining the conflict, Egypt put the Brotherhood onto the battlefield within its own army, hoping to direct radical Islamic fire against the newborn Jewish State. The Brotherhood forced the Egyptian government to take the lead in its Jihad policy.<sup>35</sup>

In early April, before Israeli independence, the Muslim Brotherhood was involved in the attack on the religious kibbutz (collective farm) Kfar Darom in the Gaza region astride the road leading to Tel Aviv. Roving bands under the command of Colonel Al-Aziz infiltrated across the border from Sinai to gain information about Jewish defenses. There they met with local Arabs who assured them of a quick and easy victory and the Egyptians took the initiative. They charged the perimeter fence and broke through until reaching the defensive trenches. At that point, heavy fire held them back as they attempted a second breakthrough with armored cars, but that also failed. The withdrawal turned into a disaster when an Egyptian artillery shell fell short, killing their own men. The next day tanks appeared and one broke into the kibbutz, but a "Molotov cocktail" stopped it. Eventually, Jewish forces drove off the Brotherhood and their allies using explosive-filled *teffilin* (phylacteries) bags.<sup>36</sup> The attacks continued throughout the spring and failed. This being an untenable situation, Kfar Darom was abandoned by its Jewish defenders on July 8, at the outset of a major Egyptian offensive.<sup>37</sup>

When the Jews of Kfar Darom went to bury the bodies of Brotherhood members left behind they found matches, razor blades and a parchment the deceased wore around their necks, which declared the combatants as righteous Muslims fighting Jihad. Local Arabs later informed the Jews the matches were for burning the kibbutz to the ground and the razors were for castrating any prisoners taken. As brave and fanatical as the Muslim Brotherhood soldiers were, they did not have the ability to capture a fortified

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<sup>35</sup> Mayer, pp. 107-111.

<sup>36</sup> Kurzman, Dan, *Genesis 1948: The First Arab Israeli War*, Sefel Ve Sefel Publishing, Jerusalem, (1970), 2005, pp. 257-259.

<sup>37</sup> Morris, p. 238.

kibbutz. Al-Aziz was told to work on sabotaging water pipelines instead but he rejected the idea.<sup>38</sup>

Later Al-Aziz's brigade made its way to the southern outskirts of Jerusalem and took part in the battle of Kibbutz Ramat Rachel, almost capturing it in its entirety toward the end of May. The seesaw battle was witness to much looting and plundering by Arab villagers from Sur Baher and Al-Aziz's own troops, which led to a breakdown of discipline after the initial victory. Israeli forces counter attacked and retook the kibbutz in its entirety, only to lose most of it, except for the concrete dining hall, to the Egyptians shortly after. Israeli forces finally secured the kibbutz after Jordanian troops reinforced the Egyptians and ordered a withdrawal on May 25.<sup>39</sup> Besides doing battle in the Jerusalem region where they participated in limited activities in Silwan, Ramallah and the Battle of Kastel it is said the Brotherhood lent money to the basically defunct Arab Higher Committee for arms purchases. On the coast, they participated in the defense of Jaffa until its capture in May 1948. In addition the former Grand Mufti of Jerusalem Haj Amin el-Husseini, as an ally of the Muslim Brotherhood attempted to organize his Palestinian "Jihad Army" in the Jerusalem region under the command of his charismatic nephew Abdul Qader el-Husseini but when the latter was killed at the Battle of Kastel in April 1948<sup>40</sup> the military fortunes of the el-Husseini clan ended.

In the north Fawzi Qawuqji, another Arab Nazi collaborator who spent time in both Iraq and Hitler's Germany during WWII, invaded from Syria into the Galilee already in early January 1948, four months before the end of the British Mandate. Qawuqji led his several thousand man Arab Liberation Army (ALA) throughout the Galilee and reached as far south as the Nazareth region but was forced to withdraw in the face of counterattacks by Jewish forces. The ALA eventually retreated to south Lebanon as a result of the

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<sup>38</sup> Kurzman, p. 259.

<sup>39</sup> Herzog, Chaim, *The Arab-Israeli Wars*, Steimatzky, Israel, 1984, pp. 60-61, Morris, pp. 224-225, and Kurzman, pp. 334-339.

<sup>40</sup> The Battle of Kastel in April 1948 marks the beginning of the collapse of the el-Husseini led Palestinian Arab militias. The Arabs won the battle and some fifty men remained to guard the village. However all left to attend Qader el-Husseini's funeral and Kastel was recaptured by Jewish forces a short time afterwards. This brings up many questions as to whether there was a loyalty to Palestinian Arab nationalism or if such commitments were only personal to one's commander.

Israeli counterattack known as “Operation Hiram” culminating at the end of October 1948.<sup>41</sup>

### Jihad and the Dhimma: 1948 and Beyond

As pointed out by many, the greatest defeat and resulting humiliation of Islam came as a result of Israeli independence in 1948. Israel survived despite five Arab countries—Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon, along with contingents from other Arab lands—declaring war on and invading the newborn state. The two-state solution of “an Arab and Jewish State” to be carved out of Mandated Palestine failed when the Palestinian Arab State was not declared and remained stillborn. As a result of the war some regions allotted to the Palestinian Arabs were incorporated into Israel. Jordan annexed the West Bank and East Jerusalem while Egypt established a military administration in the Gaza Strip. Nineteen years later in 1967 when Israel’s Arab neighbors once again threatened her with annihilation, the Six Day War ensued and Israel captured additional territories (see below). Nowadays, adherents of the Sunni Muslim Brotherhood alongside the Iranian Shiite Khomeinists<sup>42</sup> still agree on the need to eradicate Jewish independence. Jewish national assertion was deemed as nullifying Islamic superiority, and thus the continuing Jihad. Encapsulated within this epic are the former Jewish communities who lived under the *dhimma* in past generations, and immigrated to Israel en masse during this two-decade interim. Not only did the Jihad backfire, but these Jews integrated within the sovereign Jewish State on *waqf* lands. From the secular nationalist perspective, Jews were on Palestinian Arab “national lands.”

As shown above, Jewish independence was fortified and continues to thrive today because some 800,000 Middle Eastern and North African Jews immigrated or “made *aliya*” to Israel in the early days of statehood. Previously, Zionism was contained within a religious afterlife understanding represented in the Messianic arrival believed to promise Jewish national

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<sup>41</sup> Herzog, pp. 89-91.

<sup>42</sup> Patterson, David, *A Genealogy of Evil, Anti-Semitism from Nazism to Islamic Jihad*, Cambridge University Press, New York, NY, USA, 2010. pp. 131-132 Quote, “in 1937 Ruhullah Khomeini hooked up with the Brotherhood and studied the writings of Hasan al-Banna; thus the seed of the Brotherhood’s evil was planted in the thinking of the future Ayatollah of Islamic Jihadist Iran.”

redemption and sovereignty.<sup>43</sup> Over the centuries these communities often lived under the harsh everyday *dhimma* afflictions and/or persecutions. In the post WWII era when harassed by Arab nationalism despite promises of equality these communities exhibited the highest percentage of emigration to Israel, often in the range of 90 percent. Most of Middle Eastern Jewry turned discrimination and their “out group” status into a socially cohesive force, shifting into a secular national redemption expressed through participation in the establishment and development of the modern Jewish nation state.<sup>44</sup> Many in Israel saw this as a true “ingathering of the exiles.”

Secular Arab nationalism from the mid-1940s to the 1960s was no less insistent than the Jihadis in demanding Jewish national demise. Arab nationalism adopted the same absolutist beliefs, paralleling the Islamists beginning with their opposition to the Partition Plan of 1947, and their subsequent dispatch of troops to attack the newly declared Jewish State. The secular Arab beliefs were explained in the sixth point of the Arab League’s eight-point “Declaration of Intervention” on May 15, 1948, as follows:

Therefore, as security in Palestine is a sacred trust in the hands of the Arab States, and in order to put an end to this state of affairs and to prevent it from becoming aggravated or from turning into [a state of] chaos, the extent of which no one can foretell, in order to fill the gap brought about in the governmental machinery in Palestine as a result of the termination of the mandate and the non-establishment of a lawful successor authority, the governments of the Arab States have found themselves compelled to intervene in Palestine solely in order to help its inhabitants restore peace and security and the rule of justice and law to their country, and in order to prevent bloodshed.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Many of these ideas are best known to Jews from the writings of the famous rabbi Moshe ben Maimon (1135-1204) better known as the Rambam or Maimonides. In particular his 13 Articles of Faith showing belief in a Messianic End Time are often recited with morning prayers.

<sup>44</sup> Although on a completely different topic, it took Sephardi/Mizrachi Jews from the Arab/Muslim lands some forty years to integrate socio-economically and gain political power in Israeli society. Today few would doubt their major impact and contribution to modern Israel although there continue to be claims that these communities are not fully represented in all avenues in Israeli society and in some cases suffer from discrimination.

<sup>45</sup> Medzini, Meron, ed., *Israel's Foreign Relations, Selected Documents, 1947-1974*, Isratypeset, Jerusalem, 1976, p. 138.



On the same day, the Secretary General of the Arab League, Azzam Pasha was much more direct. He saw the Jews as easy prey for slaughter. “This will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacres and the massacres of the Crusades.” To this he added the threat of annihilation to Middle Eastern Jewry stating explicitly, “There are over one million Jews in the Arab Lands. Their lives will be forfeit as well when we conquer the Jews.”<sup>46</sup>

As regards the “Declaration of Intervention” the “sacred trust” or *waqf* of Islamic responsibility was and is transferred to secular Arab nationalism through the Arab States. The lack of a “lawful successor authority” compelled the Arab countries to intervene to guarantee the “rule of justice.” Israel’s acceptance of the Partition Plan meant there would be a twin Arab State in Palestine, yet no mention is made of its legitimacy in the “Declaration of Intervention.” From the Arab Muslim perspective, the Jewish State by definition is an unlawful entity, but why the inferred negation of the Palestinian Arab State? The answer is found in UN Resolution 181, which called for linkage in the two-state solution, acceptance by one side of its own independence and lending support to the other’s side’s claim to sovereignty. In such a case, Palestinian Arab nationalism would be tarred with compromising the Islamic *waqf*, or Arab national lands, should it accept the two-state solution. This is an original sin of betrayal. It was best to reject both claims simultaneously and force a military showdown, whereby the Arab world would be victorious and any thought of recognizing Jewish sovereignty scuttled. Better yet, the invading Arab countries could divide Palestine for themselves in an effort to commence with the Pan-Arabist goal of one unified Arab nation instead of a plethora of small regional entities.

The Arab objective was not only the destruction of the Jewish political entity, but in the words of Azzam Pasha, the objective was “a war of extermination.” The Mufti Haj Amin el-Husseini declared from Cairo, “I declare a holy war, my Muslim brothers! Murder the Jews! Murder them all!”<sup>47</sup>

Jordan in particular viewed all Palestine as its domain and did not accept the “right” of Palestinians to establish an independent entity. When the war ended, Jordan held the West Bank, East Jerusalem’s walled Old City and

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<sup>46</sup> “What if the Jews Lost Any War,” quotes 5 and 7, Peace for Our Time?, retrieved July 22, 2011, [www.peaceforourtime.org.uk/page146.html](http://www.peaceforourtime.org.uk/page146.html). There have been arguments over the years as to the timing of the “extermination” quote, whether it was expressed in the autumn of 1947 during the Partition Plan debate or on the day Israel declared independence. This author believes it makes no difference. The intention of the quote was clear and never retracted.

<sup>47</sup> Sharan, Shlomo, and Bukay, David, *Crossovers Anti-Zionism and Anti-Semitism*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 2010, quoted on p. 31.

most of the holy sites in what had been Mandated Palestine. Jordan refused to accept the Egyptian puppet-state dominated by Haj Amin el-Husseini, declared on October 1, in Gaza. Although formally recognized by other Arab countries, King Farouk and others would see to its early demise when Egypt extended its military administration to the territory.<sup>48</sup> Previously, in February 1948, the Arab League itself rejected a Palestinian government as advocated by Haj Amin and decided instead on the establishment of a committee to handle Palestine questions.<sup>49</sup> Seeking conflict resolution with the Jewish State, King Abdullah I of Jordan not only agreed to an armistice in April 1949, but initialed a peace agreement with Israel in late 1950. The information leaked and an Islamist assassinated Abdullah on the Temple Mount, or Al-Aksa the Noble Sanctuary domain, in July 1951.

The rise of Nasserism and the Syrian revolutionary Baath secular Arab nationalism solidified the anti-Israel front, yet neither wanted the Muslim Brotherhood at the helm of a Palestinian State. No peace agreement with Jordan would be forthcoming as the conservative monarchy, led by King Hussein beginning in 1953, was not in a position to concede sovereignty over a region deemed as belonging to the Arab nation. Both North African Nasserism and western Asian Baathism make claims to full Arab ownership of all lands throughout the Middle East. These two secular Arab nationalist doctrines would dominate the second half of the twentieth century.

Led by Egypt's President Nasser, Arab fury continued to boil in the interim period after 1948 and before the 1967 Six Day War. This was despite the cease-fire after the 1956 Sinai Campaign, Israel's complete withdrawal from Sinai and its demilitarization as part of the UN mediation to prevent hostilities. Below are declarations from the 1960s, demanding Israel's demise:

Arab unity is taking shape toward the great goal – i.e. the triumphant return to Palestine with the banner of unity flying high in front of the holy Arab march. (Cairo Radio, 1963)<sup>50</sup>

We swear to God that we shall not rest until we restore the Arab nation to Palestine and Palestine to the Arab nation. (Nasser, 1964)<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Gilbert, Martin, *Israel: A History*, Black Swan, London, 1999, p. 230.

<sup>49</sup> Lebel, Jennie, *The Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el-Husseini and National Socialism*, Cigoja Stampa Publishers, English translation, Paul Munch, Belgrade, 2007.

<sup>50</sup> Laqueur and Rubin, quoted on p. 167.

<sup>51</sup> Sachar, quoted on p. 616.

Morale is very high among the members of our armed forces because this is the day for which they have been waiting – to make a holy war in order to return the plundered land to its owners. In many meetings with army personnel they asked when the holy war would begin – the time has come to give them their wish. (Egyptian General Abdul Mushin Murtagi, commander in Sinai, May, 1967)<sup>52</sup>

These are Jihadi sentiments from Egyptian sources, even if couched in more secular terms. There is to be “Arab unity” and a “holy Arab march” evincing the well known demand for Islamic unity and sacred entrance into a “holy war,” or Jihad, as required “in order to return the plundered land to its owners.” This is the concept of defensive Jihad in full (see Chapter II on “Ideologues”) whereby Palestine is viewed as *waqf* lands, but in the Arab national sense is “restored to their rightful owners.” The Arabs “shall not rest” until they achieve their objective. In this case, we are speaking of secular Pan-Arab nationalism led by Nasser, the same Nasser who executed Sayyid Qutb for his Muslim Brotherhood extremism. Secular Arab nationalism adopted Islamic absolutism and Jihad.

This is reinforced with the “total war,” a continuation of the “defensive” Jihad ideal whereby an entire society is obligated to the military campaign, as we see below.

We raise the slogan of the people’s liberation war. We want total war with no limits, a war that will destroy the Zionist base. (Syrian Pres. Nuredime el-Atassi, May 1966)<sup>53</sup>

The Arab people want to fight. We have been waiting for the right time when we will be completely ready. Recently we have felt that our strength has been sufficient and that if we make battle with Israel we shall be able, with the help of God, to conquer. Sharm e-Sheikh implies a confrontation with Israel. Taking this step makes it imperative that we be ready to undertake a total war with Israel. (Nasser, May 1967)<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Laqueur and Rubin, quoted on p. 172.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, quoted on p. 168.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, quoted on p. 173.

Our battle will be a general one and our basic objective will be to destroy Israel. (Nasser, May 1967)<sup>55</sup>

Syria's President el-Atassi defined the battle against Israel as a "people's liberation war" to "destroy Israel" in accordance with Nasser's declared objective shortly before the June 1967 War. Peace was never an option:

We feel that the soil of Palestine is the soil of Egypt, and of the whole Arab world. Why do we all mobilize? Because we feel that the land of Palestine is part of our land, and are ready to sacrifice ourselves for it. (Nasser, 1962)<sup>56</sup>

We say: We shall never call for, nor accept peace. We shall only accept war and the restoration of the usurped land. We have resolved to drench this land with our blood, to oust you, aggressors, and throw you into the sea for good. We must meet as soon as possible and fight a single liberation war on the level of the whole area against Israel, imperialism and all the enemies of the people. (Syrian defense minister Hafiz el-Assad, 1966)<sup>57</sup>

Nasser declared Palestine is part of Egypt while Hafiz el-Assad believed it to be inconsequential how much Arab blood is spilt. For Assad, all the land of Western Asia is Arab land, unified into a single whole known as "Greater Syria," as expressed in the Baath literature. Israel was to be destroyed "to restore the honor of the Arabs of Palestine," as noted below in tandem by Egypt.

The Arab people is firmly resolved to wipe Israel off the map and to restore the honor of the Arabs of Palestine. (Cairo Radio, May 26, 1967)<sup>58</sup>

The image of Israel and the Jew had changed. Suddenly Israel was more powerful than "empires" which previously fell to the Arab armies. But "full rights" in the Arab homeland would prevail and Israel was to be strangled as shown here.

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<sup>55</sup> Gilbert, *Israel*, quoted on p. 373.

<sup>56</sup> Laqueur and Rubin, quoted on p. 167.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, quoted on p. 168.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, quoted on p. 173.

The noose around Israel's neck is tightening gradually . . . Israel is mightier than the empires which were vanquished in the Arab East and West . . . The Arab people will take possession of their full rights in their united homeland. (Egyptian newspaper Al-Gumhuriya, 1963)<sup>59</sup>

Assessing the prevailing atmosphere in the Arab world in May 1967, Israel's Foreign Minister Abba Eban recorded the following impressions he had during an emergency cabinet meeting.

There was no doubt that the howling mobs in Cairo, Damascus and Baghdad were seeing savage visions of murder and booty. Israel for its part, had learned from Jewish history that no outrage against its men, women and children, was inconceivable. Many things in Jewish history are too terrible to be believed, but nothing in that history is too terrible to have happened. Memories of the European slaughter were taking form and substance in countless Israeli hearts. They flowed into our room like turgid air and sat heavy on all our minds. (Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban, May 1967)<sup>60</sup>

Originating from a Western background, Eban related the atmosphere to the Holocaust inspired exterminationist hatred of Nazi Germany and its accomplices. His perception of the Arab demand for Jewish annihilation was correct, but the catalyst was a mixture of the Arab Muslim fury over the breaking of the terms of the *dhimma* and the Arab clash with foreign Western powers who supported that same *dhimmi* group holding sovereignty in the Arab Middle East. The modern period sees the adaptation of Nazi solutions into the Arab world by way of the Muslim Brotherhood. This goes far beyond the murderous outbreaks of violence against the Jews of Iraq, Syria, Libya, North Africa and Yemen in the 1940s and continuing into the 1950s.

The Arab States mobilized and threatened Israel with annihilation by early June 1967. Israel struck first yet the Arab defeat was perceived as only a temporary setback to be rectified by Jihad. As a result of the Six Day War Israel captured Sinai and the Gaza Strip from Egypt, the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan and the Golan Heights from Syria. As such, it was the exhortation of Muslim clerics hailing from 34 different countries and representing 750 million Muslims worldwide when they met in Cairo in

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid, quoted on p. 167.

<sup>60</sup> Gilbert, *Israel*, p. 369.

October 1968 to decide upon Jihad and not conflict resolution. “*It is the religious duty of Moslems to liberate Jerusalem and to guard its holiness and its Arab character: No Moslem country could maintain relations with Israel. Collaboration with the enemy is a violation of the sacred doctrine of Islam.*”<sup>61</sup>

Today the Khomeinist Iranian understanding of Jihad is sharp, clear and focused. Khomeini himself saw America as the “Great Satan” and Israel as the “Little Satan.”<sup>62</sup> Most notably Jews are the enemy, as Khomeini himself explained: “From the very beginning, the historical movement of Islam has had to contend with the Jews, for it was they who first established anti-Islamic propaganda and engaged in various stratagems, and as you can see, this activity continues down to the present.”<sup>63</sup>

Referring to Israel, Khomeini determined a “handful of wretched Jews” destroyed the Al-Aksa Mosque (a lie) and continued to occupy Muslim lands, this having “resulted from the failure of the Muslims to fulfill their duty of executing God’s law and setting up a righteous and respectable government.”<sup>64</sup> The government should obviously be Islamic, any secular type would be a betrayal. Worse yet, it is said, Jews rule these secular governments. To quote Amir Taheri in *Holy Terror*:

According to the theorists of Holy Terror it is possible to convert Christians to Islam, whereas Jews will never abandon their faith. Jews who pretend to have converted to Islam are “agents on secret missions.” All those who tried to Westernize Muslim countries are said to have been Jews, starting with Khedive Mehmet Ali Pasha and including Kamal Ataturk, Reza Shah Pahavli, his son Muhammad Reza Shah and even Gamal Abdul-Nasser. Anwar Sadat was “a Jew who lived like a Jew and died like a Jew.” Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, is also a Jew and a “secret agent of world Jewry.” The principle is that it is impossible for anyone born into a genuine Muslim family to act against the fundamentalist interpretation of Islam; those who do not see Islam as the exponents of Holy Terror must by definition be Jews.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Lebel, italics in the original, p. 304.

<sup>62</sup> Lewis, Bernard, *The Crisis of Islam, Holy War and Unholy Terror*, Phoenix, London 2004, p. 74.

<sup>63</sup> Khomeini, Ruhollah, *Islam and Revolution I*, translated and annotated by Hamid Algar, Mizan Press, Berkeley, 1981, p. 27.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid, pp. 46-47.

<sup>65</sup> Taheri, Amir, *Holy Terror*, Sphere Books, Ltd, London, 1987, p. 192.



Khomeini himself made the well-known accusation against the Shah,<sup>66</sup> while other condemnations of Jewish connections came by way of Sunni thinkers such as Qutb (see Chapter II “Ideologues”) and spread throughout the Arab and Muslim world. Turning to Holy War, in his famous essay “Key to the Secrets” Khomeini explained what he meant by Jihad in what Taheri entitled “Islam is Not a Religion of Pacifists,” published in 1942. The text was republished several times in the 1980s:

Those who know nothing of Islam pretend that Islam counsels against war. Those [who say this] are witless. Islam says: Kill all the unbelievers just as they would kill you all! . . . Kill in the service of Allah those who may want to kill you! Does this mean that we should surrender [to the enemy]? Islam says: Whatever good there is exists thanks to the sword and in the shadow of the sword! People cannot be made obedient except with the sword! The sword is the key to Paradise, which can be opened only for Holy Warriors!<sup>67</sup>

Iranian President Ahmadinejad, who reigned from 2005 to 2013, insisted on destroying Israel, as reported in the *New York Times* in 2005.<sup>68</sup> Ahmedinejad claimed he referenced Ayatollah Khomeini when he reiterated the Shiite regime’s demand for the extermination of the Jewish State. The next day he addressed a crowd at an anti-Israel rally where he defended his remarks while the crowds shouted, “Death to Israel; death to the Zionists,” and burned Israeli flags. Egypt and even the Palestinian Authority rejected his demand for Israel’s destruction.<sup>69</sup> As of 2016, the Iranians continued to threaten Israel with destruction even under the “moderate” President Hassan Rouhani.

#### **The PLO and PA Adopt the Hamas Jewish Stereotype**

The Muslim Brotherhood was established in 1928 in Egypt and existed well before either the secular Fatah or Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) came on the Palestinian scene in the mid-1960s. The PLO is a conglomerate of varying groups and represents an anti-Zionist secular Palestinian nationalism, while verbally distancing itself from Brotherhood

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid, footnote 10, p. 187.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, quoted from “Islam is not a Religion of Pacifists,” p. 226.

<sup>68</sup> Fathi, Nazila, “Wipe Israel Off the Map,” *New York Times*, October 27, 2005, retrieved January 20, 2016,

[www.nytimes.com.2005/10/26/world/africa.26iht-iran.html](http://www.nytimes.com.2005/10/26/world/africa.26iht-iran.html).

<sup>69</sup> Reported in the BBC on Oct. 28, 2005.

antisemitic stereotypes. The PLO *Charter* and its supporters explain their respect for Judaism as a religion, but condemn Zionism as “imperialism” never forgetting to differentiate between Jews and the State of Israel. They maintain there is no geographic historical connection between Palestine/Land of Israel and Judaism, thereby denying one of the pillars of the Hebrew Scriptures or Old Testament (see Chapter VII *The Palestinian National Charter*, especially Article 20). Many third parties have bought into this line of reasoning over the years, especially those from the far left, and in part even some “human rights” organizations.

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat (died 2004) was the most effective spokesman of this position. In addition to declarations from the *Charter*, his infamous November 13, 1974 speech at the United Nations was saturated with fierce anti-Zionism, while encouraging a supposedly friendly attitude toward Jews. He denounced “colonialism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism in each of its instances.” Arafat denied Jewish nationalism, and said Zionism was a “scheme” for:

. . . the conquest of Palestine by European immigrants, just as settlers colonized, and indeed raided, most of Africa. This is the period during which, pouring forth out of the West, colonialism spread into the further reaches of Africa, oppressing, plundering the people... This period persists into the present. Marked evidence of its totally reprehensible presence can be readily perceived in the racism practiced both in South Africa and in Palestine.<sup>70</sup>

In 1947 the UN recognized the legitimacy of Zionism, or Jewish nationalism, alongside Palestinian Arab national claims and decided on the Partition Plan, a compromise all Arabs rejected. Arafat testified to this rejection, claiming Palestinian Arab nationalism was legitimate while Jewish nationalism was not. “This General Assembly early in its history approved a recommendation to partition our Palestinian homeland. This took place in an atmosphere poisoned with questionable actions and strong pressure. The General Assembly partitioned what it had no right to divide – an indivisible homeland.”<sup>71</sup>

PLO Chairman Arafat went on to describe Palestinian suffering as a result of the ensuing war and blamed the “colonialist settlers” because of their “dissatisfaction with the decision.” The Arabs themselves were fully

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<sup>70</sup> “Speech of Yasser Arafat Before the UN General Assembly, November 13, 1974,” retrieved August 2, 2011, [www.mideastweb.org/arafat\\_at\\_un.htm](http://www.mideastweb.org/arafat_at_un.htm).

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

cognizant of their own decision to reject the Partition Plan and wage war. After losing the 1948 War, the Arab world narrative became one of Palestinian suffering and victimhood. After he described the 1967 Six Day War as the “result of Zionist aggression” and blamed the State of Israel for all ills in the Middle East, Arafat returned to focusing foremost on the Palestinian dispersion. Parroting *The Palestinian National Charter*, Arafat claimed Muslims, Christians and Jews would all live together peacefully in the state he envisioned, conveniently forgetting its overall definition as a Palestinian Arab State (Articles 1, 12 and 14 of the PNC). His statements meant Jews would need to accept a Palestinian Arab identity, or should they insist otherwise, equality in the state-to-be appears questionable.

Arafat said Palestinians would continue to “distinguish between Judaism and Zionism. While we maintain our opposition to the colonialist Zionist movement, we respect the Jewish faith,” all the time denying Jewish nationhood. He closed by claiming, “Today I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom fighter’s gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand.” This is a similar statement as found in Article 31 in *The Hamas Covenant* where Jews can live a *dhimmi* existence; war and peace are contingent on whether Jews denounce Zionism, Jewish pride, collective identity and rights. This would be the life of the Jews—the same people Arafat defined as neither a nation nor a people.

A year later in November 1975, the UN General Assembly declared “Zionism is Racism” and despite the repeal of the decision in 1991, Arafat left the indelible worldwide impression of Jewish nationalism as equal with racial discrimination. Israel was tainted with the brush of colonialism, imperialism, exploitation and overall oppression. Arafat and the Palestine national movement legitimized additional diatribes and stereotypes of the Jew as the ultimate evil should Jews dare to be brash enough to not only seek independence, but stand up against Arab attacks. Similar to Hamas, Arafat blamed any aggression against Jews on Jews, even though they were the victims. Arafat gave major support to Hamas and borrowed from the Muslim Brotherhood through the delegitimization of the Jewish State, justifying it all through his supposedly anti-colonial, freedom loving, Third World liberationist perspective. Anti-Zionism and Israel bashing are easily translated into support for Hamas antisemitism. If Jews are responsible for Zionism as deemed evil by Arafat and the Palestinians, then it follows that Jews are intrinsically evil, since by Arafat’s definition Jewish nationalism is responsible for colonialism, imperialism and universal oppression. It is of little significance that not every single Jew is included in this stereotype. (For more see Chapter VII, “A Comparative Analysis.”)

Arafat ignored the detail that over half of the Jews in Israel were and are of Asian and African backgrounds, a group oppressed and despised by so many in the Arab Muslim world. Asian and African Jews became the backbone for building a new Jewish society no longer willing to have their identity dictated to them by those from their former states of residence. Even UN Resolution 242 in November 1967 attested to this fact concerning Middle Eastern “refugees.” The refugees are a problem brought about as a result of the Arab rejection of the two-state solution and their 1948 invasion into Israel. Jihadism justified the invasion, as did Arafat. The resolution called for “achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem,” devoid of any reference to whether the aforementioned were Arabs or Jews from Palestine or Jewish refugees from the Arab Muslim world.<sup>72</sup> The Arab invasion resulted in a Palestinian Arab refugee problem and the expulsion-flight of Jews from Arab countries.

Arafat, the PLO and their “anti-colonialist” allies use the veneer of modern secular analysis to condemn redemptive Jewish nationalism through the use of “Palestinianism.” Arab Christian clergy originally advanced the idea of Palestinianism, as Bat Ye’or pointed out in her work *Islam and Dhimmitude*. The idea included “supersession” whereby Muslim and Christian Arabs adopted a secular Palestinian identity and replaced Israel while condemning the Jews as European invaders. The movement is understood to be theological, denying any Jewish claim to the Land of Israel. Instead, Christians and Muslims are to act together as a unified Palestinian Arab people, replacing the Jewish claim, or covenant. This newly constituted Palestinian people, never mentioned in antiquity, takes on secular sanctity as an indigenous group having dwelled eternally between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea. Such a claim is anything but factual. On the subliminal Christian theological level, the Savior Jesus exchanges identity, replacing his Judaism with a secular Palestinian Arab identity—a complete fabrication. Next, all the Jews were identified as Judas Iscariot embodying the ultimate evil and condemned to damnation forever. This supposedly “secular” Palestinianism now takes on overwhelming theological

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<sup>72</sup> “UN Resolution 242,” retrieved August 2, 2011,

<http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/un%20security%20council%20resolution%20242.aspx>. At the very outset in late 1948 with the establishment of UNRWA, whose mission it was to deal with all refugees from the conflict, this included Jews as well. By the early 1950s Israel rehabilitated its own refugees, resettling them in regions within the sovereign state and not leaving them in camps.

significance, certainly for Christians, but for Muslims as well who see Jesus as a prophet.<sup>73</sup>

In the mid-twentieth century Arab Muslims began to redefine “Zionism,” equating it to Nazism. They exclaimed the Jews were the Nazi oppressors and the Palestinians their victims. Muslims adopted this same originally antisemitic Palestinian Christian narrative as they moved from an Islamic identity to a victimized Palestinian identity. This is the height of “victim reversal” where Israelis and Jews are given Nazi traits while the Palestinians place themselves in the role of the Jewish victims of the German Third Reich. Let us not forget that the greatest Palestinian leader of all time, Haj Amin el-Husseini was a Nazi collaborator aiding in the transport of Balkan Jewry to the death camps. Hamas Islamists concurred with equating Jews to Nazis in Articles 20, 31 and 32 of their *Covenant*. Muslims identifying with the Palestine national movement reinforce this absolutism through extension of the *dhimma*. A secular form of absolutism nullifies the Jewish claim to independence when the national cultural homeland of Palestine takes on the holiness of *waqf* lands.<sup>74</sup> In their mind, no other national group can claim rights to the land, regardless of their attachment through history, culture and/or religion. Not only does secular Palestinian Arab nationalism rewrite history and theology, in particular the Hebrew Scriptures, or Old Testament, but also the Koran. It completely eradicates the memory of the Jewish connection to the Land of Israel as made clear in Article 20 of the *PNC*.

In 1932, the vehemently Jihadist pro-Nazi antisemite Indian Muslim Sayyid Abul A’la Maududi published his article “Suicide of Western Civilization.” In his article, he explained Jewish suffering as Divine punishment for previous misdeeds and rebellion against Allah during the Exodus from Egypt despite their trek toward the Promised Land. Quoting Koran 7:137, which spoke of “the land We had blessed, and the most fair word of Allah was fulfilled upon the people of Israel,” he justified the continued persecution of the Jews “by the tyrant rulers of Iraq, Greece and Rome.” These leaders made the Jews homeless while they “wandered from country to country in utter humiliation. They were deprived of every authority. For the last 2,000 years, they are suffering so miserably with the

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<sup>73</sup> This “Palestinianization” approach is best expressed by the Palestinian Christian organization “Sabeel.” Aligned with the Mainstream Protestant churches Sabeel claims it is anti-Israel but not antisemitic. Often these Palestinian Arab Church leaders call for Israel’s destruction. Sabeel is known for attempts at re-writing the New Testament by eliminating any reference to Jesus as a Jew. Overall Sabeel works to eradicate any connection between Jews and the Land of Israel.

<sup>74</sup> Bat Ye’or, *Islam and Dhimmitude*, translated from the French by Miriam Kochan and David Littman, Fairleigh Dickenson University Press, Teaneck, New Jersey, 2002, pp. 317-321.

divine curse that they find no place to live in with peace and honour all the world over.”

Maududi's article shows a traditional antisemitic mentality by a non-Arab Muslim up until the advent of the State of Israel. Due to the Arab failure in the 1948 War the Muslims were and are humiliated through their defeat and establishment of Jewish sovereignty in the Land of Israel. Such a feeling of disgrace was intensified after 1967 when the remainder of the Land from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea, including the Old City of Jerusalem, was captured by Israel. This leads to a devastating theological contradiction for Islam as the Jews were fulfilling the covenant and no longer must wander. In 1991, when Maududi's article was reprinted, a footnote was attached, which explained that “people doubt the authenticity of the Quranic prophecy” because the Israeli State continues to survive. The explanation blames America, England, Russia and France for Israel's existence, and Muslims are assured that when the Western powers are “incapable of supporting Israel” the “Arab countries around shall push this bundle of filth into the Mediterranean Sea” bringing about well-deserved calamity upon the Jews.<sup>75</sup> Maududi's hatred for Jews, admiration for Nazism and hope for an Islamic-style National Socialism impacted Arab Islamist movements and thinkers.<sup>76</sup> Islamists today view Israel's existence as a temporary phenomenon, one presenting a challenge and whose ultimate end is extermination. Islamists like Maududi understand the threat to Koranic prophesies and interpretations should Israel continue to survive. For them it is a “Zero Sum Game,” Jihadi existence is predicated on Jewish destruction. This type of thinking is overtly similar to the WWII German racial understanding of the need to exterminate the Jews, but is set in an Islamic theological domain.

Historian Bernard Lewis believes anti-Zionism evolved into antisemitism at the outset of the twentieth century prior to WWI, when certain Arab intellectuals accused the Jews of using their enormous financial leverage and Western patronage to make gains at Arab expense. In addition, Russian Orthodox Christian influence and certain Western missionary activities impacted the Palestinian Eastern Christian churches so much so that these in turn catapulted the “crucifixion accusation” into Islamic thinking. Islam began to blame the Jews for Jesus' death and the crime of deicide despite the fact the Koran clearly denies the Jews crucified Jesus. Yet the deicide accusation made by certain Christian sects began its transfer into Islam despite the Koran's denial of Jewish responsibility for the death of Jesus. In

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<sup>75</sup> Maududi, Sayyid Abul A'la, *West versus Islam*, translated by S. Waqar Ahmad Gardezi and Abdul Waheed Khan, Markaz Maktaba Islami Publishers, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 66-68.

<sup>76</sup> Patterson, pp. 58-64.



fact, Koran 4:156-157 explains that the Jews falsely took credit for the death of Jesus. Hence began the deadly upgrade of Muslim anti-Jewish behavior into a condemnation of full “collective and hereditary Jewish guilt.”<sup>77</sup>

During the Mandate period, the Arab leadership further attacked Zionism and Jews on the socio-economic level, denouncing them to the British as Bolsheviks. The Labor Zionist construction of a workers’ movement, based on equality for all, greatly aggravated the Arab upper class *effendi* who feared such ideas would inspire their oppressed peasants and workers to rebel against the landowners and economic elite. They condemned the voluntary communal kibbutz framework as similar to the forced labor of the Russian *kolbozy*. The *effendi* saw Zionists and Jews in full alliance with the Soviets despite vicious anti-Zionism and antisemitism emanating from Moscow.<sup>78</sup> Certain aspects of European Christian demonization of the Jews made full inroads into the Arab Muslim world as attested to in the great Czarist forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* where Jews were accused of wielding international influence by serving as communists and capitalists simultaneously. Arab Muslim leadership adopted this political stereotype of Jews as well.

The traditional Muslim stereotype of the Jew as the object of ridicule and embodying impoverished, humiliated, defeated cowardice in his very being, gave way in the face of twentieth century realities of Israeli military success, particularly in 1948 and 1967. Other characteristics, such as wickedness and slyness, remained a part of the Jewish stereotype. Traditionally, no one feared the hostile impotent Jew, but rather he was the object of laughter. Reconciling the old stereotype with the new reality, those of the traditional European Christian antisemitic determination of the Jew as a deadly “cosmic evil” became relevant, the emphasis now focused on Jewish craftiness, trickery and deceit.<sup>79</sup> In the Arab Muslim mind, the Jews transformed into an all powerful, Satanic, anti-Allah entity fulfilling the need for an all encompassing vilification to explain Arab defeats.<sup>80</sup>

It was against such a background, in the heydays of the Oslo Accords, that Arafat is thought to have jettisoned his openly “Palestinianist,” anti-Zionist

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<sup>77</sup> Lewis, *Semites and Anti-Semites*, pp. 172-173.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 177-183.

<sup>79</sup> Such vilification of Jews in Europe particularly solidified in the Middle Ages when the Blood Libel accusation became common. During the Reformation institutionalized demonization of the Jews became central to the Lutheran Church with Martin Luther himself denouncing “Jewish evils.” In Eastern Europe the Russian and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches purveyed a popular Jew hatred. See works by Christian scholars Father Edward H. Flannery *Anguish of the Jews*, Malcolm Hay *Thy Brothers’ Blood*, Reverend James Parkes *The Conflict of Church and Synagogue*, among others.

<sup>80</sup> Lewis, *Semites and Anti-Semites*, pp. 128-130 and 204-205.

stance as described above, or so it seemed. In his letter to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on September 9, 1993, he declared: “the PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.” He then accepted UN Resolutions 242 and 338 calling for an end to the conflict and agreed to enter negotiations to arrive at conflict resolution.<sup>81</sup> Today it appears this was a well-planned tactical move to force Israel into concessions. Israel may be granted the “right to exist,” but Arafat, by way of careful omission, never accepted the claim of Israel as the nation state of the Jewish People. Jews could live there, but the Jewish People had no legitimate claim to the Land of Israel, or in his perspective, “Palestine.” Thus, there may be a two-state solution, yet any state other than Arab Palestine, as defined by *The Palestinian National Charter*, lacked legitimacy. By never changing the PNC, as the 1998 Wye Accords later demanded, agreements with Israel were contrary to its foundational principles and allowed for future cancellation of any such accords.

This echoes the “abrogation” clause in Koran 2:106 as a sacred understanding transferable to the international arena. (See Chapter IX “Conflict Resolution in the Shadow of Islamic Abrogation” for an explanation concerning the nullification of Koranic clauses).

Despite the lack of clarity in 1993 there was great hope for conflict resolution, yet the seven years of the Oslo process were not smooth. With numerous terror attacks, most carried out by Hamas, the Arafat-dominated Palestinian Authority continued its verbal assault against Israel, which set the stage for more conflict. In 1998, Deputy Minister of Supplies Abd Al-Hamid Al-Qudsi declared, “Israel did not change its strategy, which aims to kill and destroy our people.” In 1999, Arafat’s wife Suha accused Israel of using poisonous gas to induce cancer in women and children.<sup>82</sup>

Just prior to the failed July 2000 Camp David negotiations, mediated by President Bill Clinton between Yasir Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, the Palestinian Authority Minister of Supplies Abd El Aziz Shahian revealed the true objectives of the PLO. “The Palestinian people accepted the Oslo agreements as a first step and not as a permanent arrangement, based on the premise that the war and struggle on the ground [i.e., locally against Israeli territory] is more efficient than a struggle from a distant land...

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<sup>81</sup> “Israel-PLO Recognition-Exchange of Letters between PM Rabin and Chairman Arafat-Sept 9- 1993,” *Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, retrieved May 4, 2010, <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/ForeignPolicy/Peace/Guide/Pages/Israel-PLO%20Recognition%20-%20Exchange%20of%20Letters%20betwe.aspx>

<sup>82</sup> Bard, Mitchell G., “Myths and Facts Online, Arab/Muslim Attitudes Toward Israel,” *Jewish Virtual Library*, subtitle “Fabrications of Abuses,” quotes 2 and 3, retrieved May 17, 2010, [www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/myths/mf25.html](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/myths/mf25.html).

for the Palestinian people will continue the revolution until they achieve the goals of the '65 revolution..."<sup>83</sup>

Returning to the secular PLO/Fatah, and those who are said to be Israel's peace partners, the PA appointed Al-Aksa Mosque Sheikh Hian al Adrisi addressed 22,000 Friday afternoon worshipers with the following tirade igniting the Palestinian Low Intensity Conflict of 2000-2004, known as the Second Intifada, on September 29, 2000. The lie that anti-Zionism had no connection to antisemitism, as PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat constantly asserted, is suddenly revealed as beyond "inaccurate."

It is not a mistake that the Koran warns us of the hatred of the Jews and put them at the top of the list of the enemies of Islam. Today the Jews recruit the world against the Muslims and use all kinds of weapons. They are plundering the dearest place to the Muslims, after Mecca and Medina and threaten the place the Muslims have faced at first when they prayed and the third holiest city after Mecca and Medina. They want to erect their temple on that place . . . The Muslims are ready to sacrifice their lives and blood to protect the Islamic nature of Jerusalem and Al-Aksa!<sup>84</sup>

Two weeks later, the Palestinian Authority appointee Dr. Abu-Halabia of the "Fatwa Council" had this to say in Gaza: "The Jews are Jews, whether Labour or Likud, the Jews are Jews. They do not have any moderates or any advocates of peace. They are all liars. They are the ones who must be butchered and killed . . . Have no mercy on the Jews, no matter where they are, in any country. Fight them wherever you are. Whenever you meet them, kill them. Wherever you are, kill those Jews and those Americans who are like them . . ." <sup>85</sup>

Simultaneously on October 13, 2000, Palestinian Authority TV accused Jews of being outright murderers and terrorists as part of their essential being. "The Jews are the Jews. There never was among them a supporter of peace. They are all liars ... the true criminals, the Jewish terrorists, that slaughtered our children, that turned our wives into widows and our children into orphans, and desecrated our holy places. They are terrorists. Therefore it is necessary to slaughter them and murder them according to the words of

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<sup>83</sup> "WHY DID YASSER ARAFAT SIGN THE OSLO ACCORD?" Quote 9, *Peace for Our Time?*, retrieved December 31, 2015, [www.peaceforourtime.org.uk/page24.html](http://www.peaceforourtime.org.uk/page24.html).

<sup>84</sup> Bard, "Myths and Facts Online," quote 2, retrieved May 17, 2010.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, quote 3.

Allah.”<sup>86</sup> Notice the quote speaks of “Jews” and not “Zionists” or “Israelis,” and religiously references Allah’s commands.

The attempts through the Oslo Accords to achieve peace were exposed as a deception, as made perfectly clear in the words of Arafat confidant Faisal el-Husseini in 2001. “We are ambushing the Israelis and cheating them . . . If we agree to declare our state over what is now 22 percent of Palestine, meaning the West Bank and Gaza, our ultimate goal is the liberation of all historic Palestine from the River to the Sea . . . We distinguish the strategic, long-term goals from the political phased goals, which we are compelled to temporarily accept due to international pressure.”<sup>87</sup>

El-Husseini’s statement eight years after the Oslo Accords was a throwback to PLO rejectionist resolutions taken in June 1974 in Cairo declaring what became known as the “Step by Step Approach” to Israel’s destruction. To quote from three of the ten decisions (clauses 2, 3 and 4):

The PLO will struggle by all possible means and foremost by means of armed struggle for the liberation of the Palestinian lands and the setting up of a patriotic, independent, fighting peoples’ regime in every part of the Palestine territory which will be liberated.

The PLO will struggle against any proposal to set up a Palestine entity at the price of recognition, peace and secure boundaries, giving up the historic right and depriving our people of its right to return and to self-determination on its national soil.

The PLO will consider any step toward liberation which is accomplished as a stage in the pursuit of its strategy for the establishment of a democratic Palestinian state, as laid down in the decisions of previous National Council meetings.<sup>88</sup>

The PLO would use any land from which Israel withdrew as a staging ground to continue the struggle for the “liberation” of all Palestine. Palestinians would not establish an entity at the price of conceding their historic full right of return. There would be nothing less than “self-

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<sup>86</sup> Bostom, Andrew, *The Legacy of Islamic Antisemitism, From Sacred Texts to Solemn History*, Prometheus Books, Amherst, New York, 2008, quoted from Palestinian TV, p. 681.

<sup>87</sup> Bogdanor, Paul, quote 74, “Understanding the Arab-Israel Conflict,” from the *Jerusalem Report*, retrieved July 12, 2010, <http://www.paulbogdanor.com/israel/quotes.html>.

<sup>88</sup> Laqueur and Rubin, quoted from *Resolutions 2, 3 and 4*, p. 222.

determination on its national soil.” The Palestinians “will consider any step toward liberation which is accomplished as a stage in the pursuit of its strategy,” meaning any land obtained by the PLO in any manner, including negotiations, is an advance toward the realization of *The Palestinian National Charter*. The PNC to this day continues to call for Israel’s destruction and a one state Palestinian Arab solution (See Chapter VII “A Comparative Analysis”).

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat himself was of this opinion as he continued negotiations for implementation of the Oslo Accords. In a Johannesburg mosque, six days after signing the Oslo I Accords in May 1994 commonly known as “Gaza and Jericho First,” he declared, “The Jihad will continue, and Jerusalem is not [only] for the Palestinian people, it is for all the Muslim nation.” He then compared the Oslo Accords to the agreement made between Mohammed and the Meccans in 628, whereby the Prophet agreed to a ten year truce, which the Muslims violated two years later when they captured the city and killed many of the inhabitants. This is the concept of *budna*, or Islamic cease-fire, as discussed in Chapter I. Arafat continued his appeal. “We are in need of you as Muslims, as warriors of Jihad.”<sup>89</sup> The Jihad went well beyond Jerusalem when Arafat addressed Arab diplomats in Stockholm in February 1996:

The PLO will now concentrate on splitting Israel psychologically into two camps . . . We plan to eliminate the State of Israel and establish a Palestinian state. We will make life unbearable for Jews by psychological warfare and population explosion. Jews will not want to live among Arabs. I have no use for Jews. They are and remain Jews. We now need all the help we can get from you in our battle for a united Palestine under Arab rule.<sup>90</sup>

The Jews were to be destroyed as seen above, whether from the Palestinian Authority Fatah perspective, or from the Hamas point of view. The Palestinian Authority’s Ibrahim Madhi had this to say in a sermon about the Jews in Gaza City in 2002 during the Low Intensity Conflict, or Second Intifada:

The Jews await the false Jewish messiah, while we await, with Allah’s help... the *Mahdi* and Jesus, peace be upon him. Jesus’

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<sup>89</sup> “Arafat’s Johannesburg Speech,” *Information Regarding Israel’s Security*, retrieved July 12, 2010, [www.iris.org.il/quotes/joburg.htm](http://www.iris.org.il/quotes/joburg.htm).

<sup>90</sup> Bogdanor, quote 67, from the *Jerusalem Post*, retrieved July 12, 2010.

pure hands will murder the false Jewish messiah. Where? In the city of Lod, in Palestine. Palestine will be, as it was in the past a graveyard for the Tatars and to the Crusader invaders, [land for the invaders] of the old and new colonialism . . .

A reliable *Hadith* [tradition] says: ‘The Jews will fight you, but you will be set to rule over them.’ What could be more beautiful than this tradition? ‘The Jews will fight you’ – that is, the Jews have begun to fight us. ‘You will be set to rule over them’ – Who will set the Muslim to rule over the Jew? Allah . . . Until the Jew hides behind the rock and the tree.

But the rock and tree will say: ‘Oh Muslim, oh servant of Allah, a Jew hides behind me, come and kill him.’ Except for the *Gharqad* tree, which is the tree of the Jews.

We believe in this *Hadith*. We are convinced also that this *Hadith* heralds the spread of Islam and its rule over all the land. . .<sup>91</sup>

Sheikh Mahdi then continued, “Oh Allah, accept our martyrs in the highest heavens . . . Oh Allah, show the Jews a black day . . . Oh Allah, annihilate the Jews and their supporters . . . Oh Allah, raise the flag of Jihad across the land.”<sup>92</sup>

In August 2002, the Palestinian Authority’s Communications Minister Imud Falouji declared Yasir Arafat’s claims, as well as claims made in the *Palestinian National Charter*, that the Jews were only a religious community but never a nation, as eternal falsehoods. The PLO completely contradicted itself and adopted the Islamist Jihadist perspective on the Jews, “The Jewish nation, it is known, from the dawn of history, from the time Allah created them, lives by scheme and deceit.”<sup>93</sup> Just like Hamas, Falouji recognized the Jews as a nation, even if he detested them.

In 2004, Sheikh Ibrahim Mudayris and Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim Maadi were among those who referenced the Koran (5:60, 7:166 and 2:65) when condemning the Jews as apes and pigs in speeches on the official Palestinian Authority TV. Mudayris went on to paraphrase *The Hamas Covenant* Article 7, once again with the demand to slaughter cowardly Jews who hide behind

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<sup>91</sup> Alexander, Yona, *Palestinian Secular Terrorism*, Transnational Publishers, Ardsley, New York, 2003, taken from Memri Report #370, p. 58.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Bard, “Myths and Facts Online,” quote 8, retrieved May 17, 2010.



rocks and trees. By January 2005, he like many others, paraphrased Nazi vilifications of the Jews as a lethal disease by declaring, “The Jews are a cancer spreading in the body of the Arab nation and the Islamic nation, a cancer that has spread and reached the Arab institutions, the villages and the refugee camps.” In May 2005 he said, “. . . the Jews are a virus like AIDS hitting humankind . . . Jews are responsible for all wars and conflicts . . .”<sup>94</sup> It is easy to see the similarity between accusations made in *The Hamas Covenant* Article 22 echoing Nazi ideals and the statements made through official Palestinian Authority media.

Falouji lined up with Muslim Brotherhood/Hamas beliefs and accusations concerning the Jews, while Sheikh Mudayris compared Jews to AIDS—a disease in need of extermination. Other peoples would be allowed to live a crippled *dhimmi* existence, but Jews would not have the opportunity to even be *dhimmi* because they would be dead. His statements fit perfectly with Hamas spokesman Ghazi Hamad’s declaration to the BBC on November 8, 2006, that “Israel should be wiped from the face of the earth.” He also compared the Jewish State to “a cancer that should be eradicated.”<sup>95</sup>

The end game was and is provided by the modern spiritual leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, the Egyptian cleric Yusuf al-Qaradawi. At one point, al-Qaradawi was supposedly a liberal who urged interfaith dialogue, but he underwent an interesting transformation over the years. In 2006 he appeared as an anti-Zionist, but still attempted to prove himself not an antisemite by declaring: “Our war with the Jews is over land, brothers. We must understand this. If they had not plundered our land, there wouldn’t be a war between us.” And yet in the same clip from *Qatar Television* he continued explaining the conflict with Israel in religious terms. “They fight us with Judaism, so we should fight them with Islam. They fight us with the Torah, so we should fight them with the Qur’an. If they say ‘the Temple,’ we should say ‘the Al-Aqsa Mosque.’ If they say: ‘We glorify the Sabbath,’ we should say, ‘We glorify the Friday.’ . . . Religion must lead to war.”<sup>96</sup>

Al-Qaradawi condoned and encouraged suicide-homicide bombings against all Israelis<sup>97</sup> regardless of age or sex. Condemning the Torah in 2009,

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid, quotes 13 through 17 under subheading “Anti-Semitism,” and including a similar accusation by Hezbollah, retrieved May 17, 2010.

<sup>95</sup> Bogdanor, quote 84, from *PA TV* May 13, 2005, retrieved July 12, 2010.

<sup>96</sup> Appearance by Yusuf Qaradawi on Qatar TV entitled “Our War with the Jews Is in the Name of Islam” (originally from MEMRI clip #1052), quoted in Bostom, Andrew, ed., *The Legacy of Islamic Antisemitism*, p. 455.

<sup>97</sup> al-Qaradawi, Yusuf, “[UNTITLED],” in Bostom, Andrew, *The Legacy of Jihad: Islamic Holy War and the Fate of Non-Muslims*, Prometheus Books, Amherst, New York, p. 249.

he declared: “Everything in the Torah constitutes a call for war.” He demanded Jewish destruction: “Oh Allah, take this oppressive, Jewish Zionist band of people. Oh Allah, do not spare a single one of them.”<sup>98</sup> He showed his true hand with the demand he made on *AlJazeera TV* on January 28, 2009, for Muslims to continue in the footsteps of Adolf Hitler. “Throughout history, Allah has imposed upon the Jews people who would punish them for their corruption. The last punishment was carried out by Hitler. By means of all the things he did to them – even though they exaggerated this issue – he managed to put them in their place. This was divine punishment for them. Allah willing, the next time will be at the hand of the believers.”<sup>99</sup>

Al-Qaradawi echoed Sayyid Qutb almost exactly when exhorting the “believers,” his fellow Muslims, to continue Hitler’s work. On January 30, 1939, the sixth anniversary of his rise to power Hitler made his famous speech to the Reichstag accusing world Jewry of instigating the coming conflict. “Today, I will once more be a prophet. If the international finance-Jewry inside and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations of the world into a world war yet again, then the result will not be the Bolzhevization of the earth, and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe.”<sup>100</sup>

Nearly seventy years to the day after Hitler made clear his intentions to destroy world Jewry in an address to the German parliament, the foremost Muslim Brotherhood spiritual leader Yusuf al-Qaradawi reminded his followers of their duty to finish the Holocaust extermination process. Abdul Al’a Maududi, Hasan al-Banna, Sayyed Qutb, Haj Amin el-Husseini, the Ayatollah Khomeini and Abdullah Azzam would be proud.

Unfortunately for all of the above the rise of Zionism completely changed the game and the Jewish stereotype. Jews sought to build a nation state in the Land of Israel and were willing to physically defend themselves. On the other hand the Jewish national movement accelerated the process whereby traditional Islamic antisemitism absorbed Nazi stereotypes in what would become Jihadist antisemitism. Jewish national success forces much of the Koran into a theological contradiction and intensified loathing toward the Jews. In the specifically Palestinian Arab Muslim sense such attitudes are traced through Haj Amin el-Husseini, Izz a-Din al-Qassam and eventually

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<sup>98</sup> “Yusuf al-Qaradawi,” *Wikipedia*, retrieved July 15, 2010, [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yusuf\\_al-Qaradawi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yusuf_al-Qaradawi).

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> “Hitler Predicted Holocaust as early as January 30, 1939,” in *Militant Islam Monitor*, retrieved July 15, 2010, <http://www.militantislammonitor.org/article/id/3853>.

Hamas of today. *The Palestinian National Charter* and Yasir Arafat attempted to distance themselves from such ideals but as seen above leaders of the Fatah dominated Palestinian Authority do not differentiate between Zionists and Jews, demanding death for both.

By the early 1960s secular Arab nationalists began popularizing Israel's extermination through the use of Jihadi terminology. Egypt's President Nasser reached a venomous pinnacle of hatred through such diatribes just prior to the 1967 Six Day War. Not playing their stereotyped role as commanded by the popular Arab Muslim script, the Jewish State defeated the Arabs in 1948, Egypt in 1956 and a coalition of Arab armies again in 1967. These victories humiliated the Arabs, since they suffered defeat by a people they believed deserved Allah's constant punishment. The Jewish State transformed the overall Jewish image into one of a tough opponent that could only be subdued by full Arab unity and preparedness. By the 1980s, Hamas would compare the Zionists to the Crusader and Mongol adversaries of yesteryear (*The Hamas Covenant* Articles 29, 34 and 35). The fact that Jewish sovereignty disrupted the Jihadi and *dhimma* initiative infuriated the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas, making the Israeli State entity the front line enemy reviled more than any other. Muslim Arab nationalists secularized their hatred, but used the same terminology of extermination against the Jewish State. Justification for Jewish extermination was developed through "Palestinianism," inspired by both Christian and Muslim theological condemnations of Jews, yet defining the conflict as national secular.

The Oslo Accords of the 1990s appeared to legitimize a double nationalist claim of Jews and Arabs to what the Jews call the "Land of Israel" and the Arabs refer to as "Palestine." During the 2000-2004 Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) or Second Intifada (see Chapter V on "Hamas Ideological Victory") the secular Palestinian Authority under Yasir Arafat moved toward Jihadi Islamist expression. They came full circle, virtually adopting the Hamas stereotype of the Jews as an evil nation to be destroyed, one undermining the Prophet Mohammed and opposing Islam in perpetuity. In comparison, *The Palestinian National Charter* written in 1968 appeared moderate when it "only" denied Jewish nationalism, peoplehood or any connection to the Land of Israel (Palestine) and did not call for Jewish destruction. In the coming chapters we will take a more in depth approach when tracking the transformation of Fatah/PA into an increasingly Islamic organization.

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