



Monitoring Arab TV in Europe:
Al Jazeera, Iqra and Al Alam

February 1-15, 2005

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Research conducted by

PROCHE-ORIENT.info

The Transatlantic Institute is a nongovernmental organization devoted to strengthening transatlantic ties and to promoting better understanding of core issues confronting the democratic world. Founded in Brussels in 2004, the Institute conducts seminars and conferences, sponsors research and engages in educational initiatives and programming. Independent and non-partisan, the Transatlantic Institute raises its funds from private donors. It is affiliated with the American Jewish Committee.

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FOREWORD

Much attention has been focused in the Western press in recent months on the dissemination of Arab-language media linked to terrorist organizations. But what are the other Arab-language television stations reporting? How does such a well-known station as Al Jazeera treat the West, women and Jews? Are they transmitting values which conform to European ideals?

The number of satellite dishes receiving Arab-language television in European cities and suburbs has risen significantly. And while no official statistics or ratings are available for these stations, television has become a primary vehicle for communicating information and ideas to Muslims around the world. Viewers across the continent are watching these shows in the comfort of their homes, in cafes, in restaurants and in hotels. Who are these viewers, and above all, why are they watching?

As an organization committed to the advancement of human rights, democracy and mutual understanding, it is our intent to spread awareness and generate new knowledge. We hope to inform the public so that they can better grapple with the political, economic and social implications of this programming for Europe—and, more broadly speaking, for the West.

This report is the first in a series of cooperative efforts between the Transatlantic Institute and Proche-Orient.info. The study was commissioned with the express goal of raising public awareness and facilitating informed decision-making.

Karen Weisblatt
Executive Director
Transatlantic Institute
March 2005

METHODOLOGY

Over the course of a two-week period dating February 1-15, 2005, Proche-Orient.info recorded programs aired on the following three satellite television networks: Al Jazeera, Iqra and Al Alam. These networks broadcast throughout the European Union and are also accessible on the Web.

Arab journalists and translators from Proche-Orient.info then viewed the complete collection of recordings which were later archived.

The translations were made directly from Arabic into French. The French transcript was then translated into English by an American interpreter, and independently verified twice.

For each target topic, Proche-Orient.info has selected excerpts to illustrate the material aired on these stations, but it should be noted that statements of a similar nature are prevalent on each network.

CHANNELS : TECHNICAL DETAILS

Al Alam

Street Address	Jam e Jam Avenue, ValieAsr Street
City	Teheran
Country	Iran
Telephone	+98 (0)21 216 2819 / 2839 / 2840
Fax	+98 (0)21 204 4223
Email	info@alalam.ir admin@alalam.org
Home Page	http://www.alalam.ir
Satellites	AsiaSat 2 Arabsat 2D Hot Bird 3 Nilesat 102 Intelsat Americas 5

ART Iqra

Street Address	P.O. Box 430
City	Jeddah
Country	Saudi Arabia
Postal/Zip Code	SA-21411
Telephone	+966 2671 0000 ex4000 / 3630
Fax	+966 2 671 0390 / 0614
Email	iqraatv2@art-jed.com iqraainfo@art-jed.com art-tv@online-amc.com info@iqraatv.com nabeel@art-jed.com tawfig@art-jed.com paul@add.ae webmaster@art-tv.net
Home Page	http://www.iqraatv.com
Satellites	PAS 7 (<i>Multichoice South Africa</i>) Eutelsat W4 Arabsat 2C Hot Bird 2 Nilesat 101 (<i>ADD</i>) EchoStar 9/Intelsat Americas 13 (<i>DISH Network</i>)

Al Jazeera

Street Address	P.O. Box 23123
City	Doha
Country	Qatar
Telephone	+974 4885 666 / 4890 890 / 4832 767
Fax	+974 4885 333 / 4834 089
Email	jazeera@aljazeera.net info@aljazeera.net supportnet@aljazeera.net marketing-europe@aljazeera.net
Home Page	http://www.aljazeera.net
Satellites	PAS 2 PAS 8 Telkom 1 (<i>TelkomVision</i>) Eutelsat Sesat Eurobird 1 (<i>Sky Digital</i>) Arabsat 2C Arabsat 3A Arabsat 2D Astra 1E Hot Bird 3 Eutelsat W1 Amos 2 (<i>Yes</i>) Nilesat 101 NSS 7 Intelsat 907 (<i>Trend TV</i>)

ANALYSIS

BY JEAN-YVES CAMUS*

INTRODUCTION

An overview of the material selected for this study reveals that the three Arab-language networks under review, in their own manner and style, convey extremist messages to audiences around the world.

Al Jazeera primarily models its programs around a debate forum, in which the public serves as the main conduit for conveying messages. On several programs, live studio audiences directly deliver violent points of view. Other programs feature call-in-audience participants, often European, who express radical views, frequently in a bid to outdo each other ideologically. The public debate forum contributes to the radical nature of the network.

Iqra, on the other hand, relies more heavily on sermons to deliver extremist messages.

Similar to Al Jazeera, Al Alam tends to use a debate forum, as opposed to news shows; virulent audience participation is encouraged. The network also specializes in “historical” television series, presenting the likes of panoramic portraits of the “Memory of the XXth Century” (see below), or commemorations of the 26th anniversary of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. These programs, often under the guise of scientific objectivity, provide great opportunities to promulgate radicalism.

The role of presenters and hosts on Al Jazeera and Al Alam is fundamental. They are constantly stepping out of their role as journalists to express opinions that are even more extreme than those of their guests. They discredit moderate guests by cutting them off and slanting the debate in favor of extremist guests, while making biased and radical comments on reports that are otherwise rather objective.

The choice of images on all three networks also plays a powerful role. The titles, trailers and fillers frequently employ extremely violent scenes, filmed primarily in Iraq or Israel/Palestine, which aim to demonstrate the terrorist nature of the U.S. and Israel.

* Jean-Yves Camus is a specialist on the Far Right in Europe. He is affiliated with the European Center on Racism and Anti-Semitism and is a regular contributor to Proche-Orient.info. Recent publications include: *Les Droites Nationales et Radicales en France (National and Radical Rights in France)* with René Monzat: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1992; *L'Extreme-Droite Aujourd'hui (The Far Right Today)*: Editions Milan, 1998; *Les Extremismes en Europe (Extremists in Europe)*: Editions de l'Aube, 1998 and *Le Monde Juif (The Jewish World)* with Annie-Paule Derczansky: Editions Milan, 2001.

These various techniques—emblematic of the purpose, media style and character of each of the networks—serve to make the networks pure propaganda tools. Consequently, this is not a question of “spin,” but rather the very essence of the political and religious message, sometimes delivered with so-called “non-secular” intentions. The message is anti-Western and anti-Semitic. It is rabid and relentless, often cloaked in religious terms, i.e. the Muslims versus the Jews, the Nazarenes and the Crusaders. At times, the focus shifts to Third World anti-imperialism, introducing anti-globalization positions.

It is important to keep in mind that these images and statements air continuously—24 hours a day, seven days a week—making it impossible for regular viewers not be influenced. These channels are available via satellite and on the Web.

One can begin to grasp the potential impact that these networks could have on their viewers, particularly those who are part of Europe's large Muslim immigrant population. Depending on the extent to which individuals of these populations are integrated into their host societies, these could be appealing messages which potentially reinforce a certain level of marginalization.

Al Jazeera, Iqra and Al Alam transmit messages that are absolutely contrary to the common and consensual basis of European values.

This analysis will focus on several themes rather than carrying out a case-by-case study of each network.

I. HATRED OF THE WEST, EUROPE AND AMERICA

Al Jazeera takes up the anti-war movement in Europe, which claims that the American intervention in Iraq was motivated by financial interests and a desire to dominate the region while using the spread of democracy as a pretext. America is described as racist towards Arabs, Muslims and all other minorities. Britain is accused of waging war against “the Arab language and the Koran” taught in British Islamic schools. Asserting that no one has the right to impose their values on the Arab world, the network plays upon the nationalist tendencies of the Arab masses. But it quickly deviates into a religious depiction of the wider conflict as a “struggle between the power of God and fake democracy.” During debates with a studio audience, the network even tolerates justifications for beheadings of hostages and gives a voice to partisans of the Islamist/non-secular alliance against the occupying forces in Iraq. In sum, the American presence there is described as part of a “Jewish plan.”

Iqra pushes anti-Western paranoia to the point of hysteria by justifying it religiously. The West invaded the Muslim world in order to destroy it. The weapons? “Culture, the economy and art,” as well as interest-paying banks, television, dancing and even AIDS, a “Western creation.” The clerics featured on the network express unanimous rejection of both the separation of religion and politics and inter-religious dialogue. By calling upon God to grant the Muslims “victory over the infidels,” the network promotes, purely and simply, Jihad.

Al Alam also promotes this message by evoking the Western conspiracy thesis, even going so far as to suggest that the Zarqawi gang works for the U.S. and Mossad. This

same thesis of the manipulation of radical Islamists in order to damage Islam is also applied to the case of Algeria. The “Americano-Zionist conspiracy” becomes a world view, and only armed Jihad is depicted as being able to liberate Muslims and, in particular, the Palestinians.

Al Alam’s propaganda on this topic is more pernicious than the other two networks because it is transmitted through speeches from the highest authorities of the State of Iran, such as Rafsanjani. Moreover, Al Alam rarely turns to the Iranian mullahs—considered to be too stereotypical and who have little credibility among Western Sunnis—favoring instead Arab refugees in Europe and “enlightened” Arab intellectuals.

II. WOMEN

Western conspiracy theories are also used to justify the mistreatment of Muslim women. For example, several programs claim that Western opposition to female circumcision is simply an attempt to “de-Islamify” Muslims. Iqra considers the only appropriate status for a woman is to be at home. Any liberalization of that status, such as being granted the right to drive, is perceived as the result of a Western conspiracy against Saudi Arabia.

In a pure Salafist vein, the network glorifies polygamy, the wearing of the full headscarf from the youngest age and rejects intermarriage with “foreigners.” Again, it is Al Alam that goes furthest through its subtle use of women who, themselves, stand in defense of crimes of honor against females.

III. JEWS, ANTI-SEMITISM AND RADICAL ANTI-ZIONISM

The three networks make no distinction between Jews and Israel, and never mention Israelis, which indicates that they consider the State of Israel to be “a Jewish state for Jews.” Their objective is to de-legitimize the right of this state to exist, because it is a Jewish state.

The vocabulary of denial is omnipresent. For Al Jazeera, Israel is “a land usurped from its rightful inhabitants.” The network speaks of a “falsification of Israeli democracy” and interviews the author of the Atlas of Palestine, intending to prove “the historical right of the Palestinians to every inch of Palestine prior to 1948.” An Arab nationalist network, Al Jazeera nevertheless presents the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as an ethnic-religious conflict: “...an eternal conflict, due to the belief in a Promised Land on the one side, and support for Arab nationalism on the other.” It glorifies terrorism by interviewing the hijacker Leïla Khaled. It refuses any compromise on Israel’s right to exist as demonstrated during an interview with Butros Butros Ghali when the interviewer cross-examines him and invokes the theory of a Jewish conspiracy to explain the Camp David accords. Every age-old anti-Jewish cliché can be heard on the network.

On Iqra, the focus on anti-Semitism is used to explain the world order as well as problems in Muslim society. Israel is “uniquely responsible for the failure and defeat of the Arab world” whose “decline” is due to the fact that the “flags of the Jews and Nazarenes are flying high.” The program “With the Youth” teaches that we are living

through a “destructive plot, a third world war” hatched by “Jews and Crusaders” against the umma (Muslim community). In general, Jews are presented as the enemies of Islam from the time of Mohammed. Their de-humanization is relentless. During the program “Terrorist,” they are shown as murderers and rapists, caricatured as scheming, rich and arrogant.

The vocabulary used to depict Jews is similar to that used by the Extreme Right in Europe. A journalist from *Al Ahrām* asserts, as a Russian anti-Semite might, that the Yukos affair “has opened people’s eyes to Jewish involvement.” The station accuses the Jews of habitually depicting themselves as victims in order to more easily dominate the world and even goes so far as to claim that: “World Zionism allied itself with the Nazis in order to kill Jews.”

The height of anti-Semitism is attained on Al Alam with the program “Memory of the XXth Century,” which attributes responsibility for the Second World War to France and Great Britain, who wronged Germany. The program regularly uses images of Hitler and Nazism. The theme of Jewish conspiracy goes as far as being revisionist: “Zionism” is attacked as using anti-Semitism and the Holocaust for “political ends.” Every crime is attributed to the Jews, including the assassination of Rafic Hariri, since Israel is the sole “terrorist” state in the region and because the Jews have “committed the worst crimes since the beginning of the world.” In the final assessment, the network concludes that the solution lies in the destruction of the State of Israel, for “it is written in the Koran.”

On all three networks, the power of Jewish money throughout the world is tirelessly denounced.

IV. JIHAD

On this topic, there is little difference between the three stations.

Al Jazeera lends strong support to the notion of Jihad through its weekly sermons featuring Sheikh Qaradawi.

On Iqra, another “moderate,” Amr Khaled, asserts that “martyrs will go to paradise.”

Al Alam broadcasts “overt calls to Jihad.” As an Iranian network, it also glorifies the Iranian weapons program which is depicted as an integral part of Islam’s religious obligation to Jihad.

V. HOMOSEXUALITY

The topic is not discussed on any network program.

CONCLUSION

The subsequent excerpts prove that there is no real distinction between material aired by religious and non-religious, moderate and radical stations. Overall, hate propaganda against the West, Christians and Jews is rabid and ubiquitous, constituting a “weltanschauung.” Moreover, though each network is of a different nationality, the national distinction is irrelevant; each employs journalists from throughout the Muslim world and interviews guests from all over, including the West. The number of viewers from Europe who participate on the programs via telephone demonstrates that these networks have a genuine audience extending beyond the Arab-Muslim world.

AL JAZEERA

Al Jazeera is a satellite television news network founded in 1996 in Qatar. It is sponsored and financed by the Emir of Qatar. It broadcasts in Europe and throughout the world.

Al Jazeera revolutionized Arab media with its open style, quite different from the stilted style of other Arab networks. It also introduced genuine debate involving differing points of view, including those of Israelis and voices from Jordan and Egypt which had previously been banned.

Nevertheless, Al Jazeera wishes to attract the Arab public and, more widely, Arabic-speaking viewers; it does not hesitate to play up to a vast audience.

All of the network's programs are rebroadcast at different hours throughout the day.

Female presenters are not veiled, except for on live religious programming broadcasted on Sundays and again throughout the week.

Note: During the period of February 1-15, normal programming was interrupted on the 14th and 15th in light of the assassination of Rafic Hariri.

I. HATRED OF THE WEST, EUROPE AND AMERICA

February 1, 2005

America started the war. Spreading democracy is only a pretext.

The following is an excerpt from a frequently broadcasted trailer for a new series: "A war is underway and America has to win it according to a new script drafted by the neo-conservatives. This script is based on pre-emptive strikes and the power of money, justified under the pretext of spreading democracy by force if necessary."

A series of images follow on the screen, depicting war, President George Bush and his principal collaborators, the American flag and banners proclaiming 'Stop Bush' and 'Bush criminal.'

February 1, 2005

"Has America not committed a monumental error in targeting Muslim charity organizations when the tsunami demonstrates the need for them?"

The following is a trailer for an upcoming prime-time program, entitled "Al Ittijah al Mouakess" ("The Other Side"): "Has America not committed a monumental error in targeting Muslim charity organizations when the tsunami demonstrates the need for them? Hasn't the catastrophe wrought by the tsunami demonstrated the importance of the functions of these charities at a time of earthquakes and other disasters? Hasn't the blockade imposed on Muslim aid agencies stymied relief efforts intended for the victims in Southeast Asia? What would happen if the Arab world were hit by such a catastrophe?"

February 2, 2005

In Iraq, witnesses confirm that the Finance Minister's driver was murdered...by the Americans.

As part of a report covering gunshots fired at the car of the Iraqi Finance Minister, which subsequently killed his driver, the commentator declares: "Eyewitnesses have confirmed that he was killed by the Americans." A witness then testifies to this on camera.

February 3, 2005

"Nobody has the right to impose laws or policies on us, above all, those of a cultural nature."

The following is from a trailer for the program “Jalissouna Haza el Ousbouh” (“Our Guest of the Week”), a cultural program which reviews books and interviews writers. The host presents an upcoming program: “Arab reforms: Between the oppressiveness of absolute power and the mirage of democracy. The discussion will focus on America's determination to impose reforms and the refusal of the people to accept them.” A guest adds in affirmation: “Nobody has the right to impose laws or policies on us, above all, those of a cultural nature.”

February 3, 2005

“They [Americans] pretend they want to spread democracy, when they only wish to maintain it in America while blocking it elsewhere.”

“Bila Houdoud” (“Without Borders”) is a weekly political program hosted by Ahmed Mansur, one of the network’s stars. Mansur begins the program with a long introduction on the moral debacle of the Arab umma and its inability to find the right path.

The guest, Mahmud Jibril, an expert on Arab strategy, asserts: “The U.S. wants to keep the countries of the Third World in a state of ignorance in order to dominate them. They pretend they want to spread democracy, when they only wish to maintain it in America while blocking it elsewhere. The U.S. calls for something they themselves do not have, and nobody is aware of that. This is what we see in their treatment of the prisoners at Abu Ghraib in Iraq. This is the American mentality with respect to Arabs, blacks and Hispanics...America is terrorizing the world with its military might. America does not have the means to finance its 400,000 troops across the world”

February 8, 2005

Iraqi elections: “The struggle is between the power of God and fake democracy.”

“Al Itijah el Mouakess” (“The Other Side”) features a debate devoted to the Iraqi elections. The host's introduction poses the following questions: “Does history repeat itself? Are not the 2005 Iraqi elections an exact repeat of those held in the 1920's under the British? Is this not another example of old-time imperialism where the new Iraqi government appears to be a national government when in fact it is a colonial creation?”

Guest Samir Obeid, Spokesman for the Movement for Democratic Renewal party, answers: “I claim that January 30, 2005 was the fall of the Iraqi nation. The elections were conducted on a basis established by Paul Bremer and Feltman, who is a Jewish advisor from the American Department of Justice...The voters went to the polls under the menace of death, starvation and abduction.”

February 11, 2005

Great Britain: "War is declared against the Arab language and the Koran in Islamic schools."

The following information was reported in a news program: "Private Islamic schools in Britain have been the object of severe criticism on behalf of the Inspector General of Schools who accuses them of failing to fulfill their duties to teach religious tolerance and to prepare their students to integrate into British society."

The Al Jazeera correspondent further reports: "These schools, according to two headmistresses, teach a much heavier program than the official curriculum. What has drawn criticism is the teaching of the Koran and Arabic (an image of students studying the Koran in Arabic is shown on the screen). The Avenue School, for example, teaches the Koran and Arabic in addition to the official curriculum, claims a headmistress, and that is what concerns the Inspector General."

February 12, 2005

"I am all for beheading hostages who work for the Americans."

The "Open Debate" of this early evening program is devoted to the "demon of terrorism." Who are the terrorists? The Americans or the Islamists? And how can we put an end to it? The opinions vary greatly.

Abdallah Nibari, a Kuwaiti representative, incriminates political Islamists and recognizes that for years the State has encouraged Islamists out of fear for internal stability.

Host: "Why, with such conviction, do you accuse the Islamist movements? There must be something else, let's look at it together."

Abdel-Monem Abou-Fatouh, principal opponent to this point of view, is a member of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. The members of the audience, for the most part youths, are even more virulent: "The violence in Iraq, as far as I'm concerned, is not terrorism," says one. The Kuwaiti guest, alone in his opinion, emphasizes his position, while the young man reasserts his opinion: "The occupation and Abu Ghraib are the worst forms of terrorism."

The member of the Muslim Brotherhood intercedes: "The primary purpose of the American invasion of Iraq was not to get rid of Saddam Hussein, but to take over the oil and to set up a forward base in the region. We are, as Muslims and Arabs, very proud of the resistance to the occupation, but we reproach any attacks against civilians, such as those perpetrated by the American occupying forces in Iraq." Another youth from the audience adds: "I am all for beheading hostages who work for the Americans." Another member of the audience states: "I am not religious, and I don't agree with the Islamist ideology, but I fully support the Islamists in all of their efforts against the Americans, and I believe that secular Arabs must ally themselves with the Islamists."

February 13, 2005

Concerning international banks which open Islamic branches: “This is a betrayal that we must reject, because payment of interest is abhorrent to Allah.”

This episode of “Sharia and Life” featured Sheikh Wahba Zouheiri from Damascus, a fill-in for the regular host, Sheikh Qaradawi. The topic of the day is the Islamic fiqh (legal system) and modern economic laws inspired by the West. This vast subject incorporates discussions of banking systems, structures of companies, loans and insurance, among other issues.

The Sheikh points out: “The Western fiqh, which has its origins in the French Revolution, is based, in fact, on Islam. Numerous books have been published to that effect. Muslim men and women must learn this part of the fiqh, as they learn others concerning their religious obligations in order to avoid haram (the forbidden). This concerns the holy Sharia...What is forbidden in the banks is the system of interest that was abhorrent to Allah...”

Therefore, international banks that open Islamic branches represent: “A betrayal that we must reject.”

A television viewer from Germany asks: “I noticed that you are talking about individuals, but what about states? We know that more than 2,000 billion dollars from the Gulf States and Saudi Arabia, oil money, which the Arab citizen is being deprived of, are placed in Zionist banks, American banks, in Europe...”

Host: “Your point is clear, thank you.”

II. WOMEN

February 2, 2005

“The interest shown by the West in female circumcision (in Muslim countries) is suspect.”

A news program reports: “A conference sponsored by UNICEF is taking place in Djibouti, with the participation of experts, politicians and clerics, in order to examine ways to confront the practice of female circumcision in numerous Muslim countries and Africa...The interest shown by the West on the subject raises a number of questions. Moreover, those responsible have not omitted to say that, in light of other suffering, there are better and more urgent things to be concerned about than female circumcision. For their part, the people of these countries wish to continue the practice, whatever happens, for they insist that they are obeying the requirements of Islam.”

III. JEWS, ANTI-SEMITISM, AND RADICAL ANTI-ZIONISM

February 1, 2005

“Israel decides to install Falashas on land confiscated from its legal inhabitants in order to solve its population problem.”

An Al Jazeera correspondent comments on information according to which Prime Minister Ariel Sharon has given his approval for the arrival of 700 Falashas in Israel. This report was rebroadcast throughout the day on all news-related programs.

“... Israel realizes the true dimensions of its demographic problems in a country created by expelling the original inhabitants, who legally owned the land, and by implanting people who come from elsewhere. The Israeli government has also understood that European and American Jews are unwilling to leave their respective countries and give up their wealth and security to live in a country whose future is fraught with danger. The Israelis have consequently built their country on the dispossessed, people who have fled famine, the Falashas, and have determined to establish themselves on lands confiscated from their legal inhabitants.”

February 2, 2005

“An eternal conflict between Jews and Arabs?...An in-depth report on the causes of the Middle East conflict, covering an area extending from the Atlantic ocean to the Indian sub-continent.”

The trailer for “Al Bahss an el Massir” (“The Search for Destiny”), a weekly program, states: “The destiny of the Middle East was laid out by the colonial forces at the beginning of the last century. Is this destiny ongoing? The truth on the conflict between Arabs and Jews. Is it an eternal conflict due to the belief in the Promised Land, on one side, and support for Arab nationalism on the other? In ‘Search for Destiny,’ an in-depth report on the causes of the Middle East conflict, covering an area extending from the Atlantic ocean to the Indian sub-continent.”

February 2, 2005

Images of the Intifada.

Between two frequently broadcasted programs on Al Jazeera, a montage of extremely violent images of the Intifada is aired. Israeli soldiers are shown taking action during the night as well as assuming combat positions against stone-throwers draped in Palestinian flags.

February 3, 2005

A program glorifies the “heroic” Leïla Khaled who blew up an American plane and hijacked an Israeli plane.

“Ziyara Khassa,” (“Personal Visit”) sketches a portrait of a well-known personality: “‘Personal Visit’ this time takes us to Tyre, in Southern Lebanon. In 1969, our guest hijacked an American plane traveling to Damascus and blew it up. Later, it was acknowledged that the leader of the hijackers was a Palestinian woman. A short while after, she hijacked a plane belonging to the Israeli airline El Al. One of the hijackers was killed; a second survived. It was the same woman. 35 years after the hijackings, we visit this heroic woman, Mrs. Leïla Khaled, who fought for the independence of her country. She was inspired by Ezzedine Al Kassam, Che Guevara, Ho Chi Minh and Gamal Abdel Nasser. She was a follower of Georges Habash's movement and worked closely with Dr. Wadih Haddad on whose orders she executed the two hijackings.”

The cover of a book then appears on the screen, bearing the title *The Falsification of Israeli Democracy*.

February 9, 2005

The Atlas of Palestine proves the “historic right of the Palestinians to every inch of Palestine prior to 1948...a birth certificate, a map of the future.”

“Bila Houdoud” (“Without Borders”) is presented by Ahmed Mansour.

“After 20 years of toil and effort, the day has come to announce the appearance of the Atlas of Palestine. This is the first documented work on the historic rights of the Palestinians to the land of Palestine based on dozens of international sources and references. The Atlas is 450 pages long, in large format and color, and it includes: 55 lists; details of the locations of 1,300 towns and villages; 11,000 land marks and the names of 20,000 locales that prove the historical and future right of the Palestinians to every inch of Palestinian territory. According to its author, the Atlas is a map of the future and records the right of return of the Palestinian people. The author is Selman Abu Setta, Founder and President of the Palestine Land Society in London.”

Abu Setta: “Every atlas and map is like a birth certificate of the respective region. Ben Gurion, at the end of the 1948 War and after signing the armistice with Syria, created a committee composed of rabbis, historians, geographers and zoning experts. Its mission was to erase every Arab and Canaanite name and to replace them with Hebrew names.”

Host: “And they succeeded.”

Abu Setta: “They drew up a map, but they did not succeed. This Atlas is proof of that and is a counter-response to their map.”

Host: "This is the first time since the occupation of Palestine 56 years ago that such a work has been produced...."

Host: "We resume our conversation with the author of the first complete atlas that proves, in a scientific and categorical manner, the rights of the Palestinians to every inch of their land prior to 1948."

Abu Setta: "We begin the Atlas with the story of the British Mandate and the way in which it was used as a tool by the Zionists to set up the State of Israel."

Host: "This was an attempt to totally and completely change the nature and make-up of a country."

Abu Setta: "An attempt to exterminate, geographically and historically, an entire people..."

February 12, 2005

Butros Ghali, Camp David and peace are responsible for the Palestinian disaster.

This is the sixth and final episode of a very long interview with Butros Ghali for the program "Witness to the Century."

The journalist's aggressiveness toward his guest is clearly apparent: "We cannot understand the Palestinian cause without referring to Camp David (*Note: The 1978 Summit*)." He says to Butros Ghali, who asks him to take a new approach to the changing world of today: "This was a very serious development for me that determined what I am today."

Butros Ghali believes that the move taken by Sadat opened Egypt to the West, while the rest of the Arab world remains mired in its problems because they are stuck in the past.

Journalist: "These are problems you have created."

Butros Ghali, momentarily irritated: "Your explanations are not rational; each time you reply to me that this particular person has been chosen by the Jews while another has the blessing of the Jews."

Journalist: "They offered peace on the condition that Egypt abandon the Palestinian cause...Today, Egypt is bound to that commitment and the Palestinians are being massacred; and you can't say or do anything about it...Every treaty has bound the hands of Egypt."

Butros Ghali: "The Arab world sees conspiracies everywhere, and you don't want to rub the Arab world the wrong way. Consequently, you have become fixated on Camp David and continue to imagine conspiracies."

Journalist: "The result is clear. Israel has paralyzed Egypt and Yasser Arafat was imprisoned."

IV. JIHAD

February 6, 2005

“We advise all Muslim minorities living in Europe to involve themselves in public life and to integrate in order to have more influence. That way, when they [Europeans] are invited to convert to Islam, they will accept...”

“Al Charia wal Hayat” (“Sharia and Life”) is a weekly religious program, aired Sundays at 19h30, devoted to Islam and contemporary issues. It is also an open forum for the Islamist preacher Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, President of the European Council for Fatwa and Research. Sheikh Qaradawi responds to questions posed by the host and the television audience, with many calls originating in Europe.

The topic of the day is political and civil liberties in Islam. Remarks made by Sheikh Qaradawi include:

“When Muslim countries are occupied by foreigners and the enemies of Islam, people have the right to resist the occupiers. Civil liberties are demanded by Islamists, among whom many great reformers and revivalists can be found.”

Host: “Let's talk about Iraq. The Iraqis faced a terrible dilemma. On the one hand, the Fatwas commanded them to undertake Jihad against the American invaders, and on the other, they faced a totalitarian regime with a despotic dictator. How are they supposed to choose between a dictatorship and colonialism?”

Sheikh Qaradawi: “Human beings must choose between the lesser of two evils. The evil represented by the colonialists is the greater, because the occupiers have interests and objectives that are contrary to those of the umma. As for the dictator, he was nonetheless part of the umma, and therefore the lesser of two evils...On whose behalf has the occupier come? On behalf of Israel, of course, whose objective is the destruction of the region.”

Host: “You initially said that granting freedom is the preamble of the application of Sharia.”

Sheikh Qaradawi: “Freedom is part of Sharia...If we wish to apply Sharia like the Salafists, we must establish a climate of liberty. Once the people are free, they themselves will demand the implementation of Sharia. The secularists say that the people do not want Sharia. Give the people the freedom to say what they want. Ask them if they want the Sharia of Mohammed or the Sharia of Marx, Napoleon or the Americans. Ask them if their Kaaba is Mecca, Washington, London or Paris.”

“...We must obtain from the West all that is scientific and technical. As for the philosophical origins of the West, inspired by the pagan ideas of the Greeks and Romans, we must reject them...”

A television viewer from Algeria comments: “Democracy is the practical application of the capitalist system based on the separation of religious and public

life. All that emanates from it is impiety, and therefore, formally forbidden by Sharia. Freedom is totally contrary to Islam, for we are all the slaves of God and his prophet Mohammed. The word 'freedom' is a Western word..."

Sheikh Qaradawi: "We advise all Muslim minorities living in Europe to involve themselves in public life and to integrate in order to have more influence. That way, when they [Europeans] are invited to convert to Islam, they will accept..."

V. HOMOSEXUALITY

The topic is not discussed on any network program.

IQRA

Iqra is a Wahhabite religious satellite network financed by Saudi investors. The studios are, for the most part, located in Dubai, but many of the programs are recorded in Saudi Arabia where prayers, sermons and talk shows are rebroadcast. This network, widely-watched throughout the Arabic-speaking world, gained its popularity by featuring the most famous and strict Muslim Koranic televangelists, notably Amr Khaled.

We have assembled this portion of the report from a selective screening of Iqra's programs. However, all of Iqra's programs, without exception, deserve to be featured in their entirety. Below is a literal transcription of statements taken from its programs.

Iqra's female presenters are veiled and its participants wear the traditional Saudi headscarves in the fundamentalist manner (that is, the scarf is not maintained in place by the traditional black headband, but are worn in the manner of Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, former leader of Hamas). The network's programs are rebroadcast at different times throughout the week.

Iqra airs in Europe, Africa and the Middle East via C-band satellite. As of April 1, 2005, the network will broadcast via Nile Sat, extending coverage to the U.S. In France, Iqra is broadcast by internet, television and a telephone provider, Free (Freebox).

I. HATRED OF THE WEST, EUROPE AND AMERICA

February 1, 2005

“It’s the rule in America... Interest paid by banks is poisonous and must be avoided.”

The host of “Science and the Economy” introduces the theme of the evening: “Tonight we are going to discuss the sin of usury... All loans, whatever their nature, are illegal and forbidden, and that includes all loans without exception...”

The show’s guest, Ossama Rahima, Professor at the University of Damascus, states: “Usury and loans threaten the economy with total collapse. Usury provokes monetary inflation... The inflation is created by banks that borrow in order to lend, and go so far as to issue checks unconditionally. This is the rule in America...Interest paid by banks is poisonous and must be avoided.”

February 1, 2005

American reality TV is “a glorification of vice,” “a diabolical subterfuge against Islam” similar to “HIV/AIDS.”

The hour-long program “With Awadi” voices the religious line. Tonight’s show focuses on the vices of American reality television.

“There exists in the U.S. a school of thought, materialistic and non-religious, which claims that art must mimic reality...For us, the answer is in our Islam. Reality, as represented in programs like ‘American Idol,’ ‘Big Brother’ and ‘Superstar,’ is nothing other than the glorification of vice...The producers of these programs, who are our enemies, have used a diabolical subterfuge to impose their ideas on us. The minds of our Arab intellectuals have been colonized by the West. These are the minds of beggars...Let’s take the example of HIV/AIDS. This is a Western creation. But the West is technologically advanced, so they have blocked the advance of the disease there. But when HIV was transferred to Africa, it added to the weaknesses already present and there is now a disaster. It is the same for reality television.”

February 4, 2005

“The invasions of today take place at the level of culture, the economy and art...The West stole the knowledge and know-how of our great medical doctors, scholars, mathematicians and philosophers of the past. We must recuperate this knowledge and these skills intelligently, while rejecting everything else that comes from those countries.”

Today’s episode of “Khawater El Noujoum” (“The Word from the Stars”) features Hassan Yussef, a great Egyptian actor from the 1960s and 1970s, who

abandoned his career to devote himself to Islam, with the exception of a few religious films.

“Are the youth of today more fortunate than in my time? Certainly. But young people today, such as those who dance at parties like girls, will never be able to repulse the enemies of the umma. The issue is no longer about military invasion but cultural and philosophical invasion, which we must constantly be on guard against. The invasions of today take place at the level of culture, the economy and art. Take any commercial street in Cairo, go into a cafe and you will find young men and women smoking the narguila (water pipe) with their eyes glued to a big-screen television. Such scenes can hardly make us optimistic for the future. These are the youth who are going to repel invasions from the West?...The West stole the knowledge and know-how of our great medical doctors, scholars, mathematicians and philosophers of the past. We must recuperate this knowledge and these skills intelligently, while rejecting everything else that comes from those countries.”

February 9, 2005

“May our faces turn white and their faces turn black...God, give us victory over the infidels!”

Presented as an intermission between two programs, a prayer ends as follows: “Oh God, whiten our faces; that our faces may turn white and their faces turn black. Give us the fortitude we need on this earth. Oh God, unite our peoples around Your Book and the exhortation of Your Prophet. God, give us victory over the infidels.”

February 13, 2005

“The Jews and Christians of today, because they lack a decent religion, are so confused that they have turned to other religions, even Sikhs and yoga.”

“Awrak” is an-hour long theological program. The preacher is from Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Today's topic: Jewish attempts to harm Muslims continue.

“We have said unto the Jews, be Jews; and to the Nazarenes, be Nazarenes. And how do they reply? By asking the Muslims to leave the light and join them in their darkness. Islam is a universal religion because we believe in all of the prophets...The Jews and Christians of today, because they lack a decent religion, are so confused that they have turned to other religions, even Sikhs and yoga...The imbeciles among the people are the Jews (this sentence is repeated dozens of times)...The consciences and hearts of the Jews are dead and they have no feelings whatsoever.”

February 14, 2005

“These are the new invaders represented, in particular, by the U.S. This new master of the world wants to uproot us...In short, they are trying to force us to separate church and state.”

On “Fatwa Live,” the host begins, by way of introduction: “Every project that we try to implement in the Islamic world proves that there is a new order that is trying, ferociously and brutally, to dominate the Arab and Muslim world...”

The guest, Egyptian theologian Muhammad Selim Al-Awa, Secretary General of the International Association of Muslim Scholars, adds: “These are the new invaders, represented in particular by the U.S. This new master of the world wants to uproot us, so that we cannot bounce back when we are knocked down. They believe they can completely eliminate our culture. In short, they are trying to force us to separate church and state. They want us to change the texts of our Koran and our Sunna...”

Host: “You insist upon the idea of democracy. But do we really need this imported idea from the West?”

Guest: “Yes, true democracy, but that is not what America wants. We have to resist all attempts at interference...American or Western. The problem is the Israeli takeover which we saw today with the assassination of Hariri in Beirut.”

II. WOMEN

February 1, 2005

“I tell you that those people who demand the liberation of women want them to be neither housewives, nor responsible in their duties to their husbands, nor capable of creating a healthy society...The plot against the nation and its believers is enormous and ongoing.”

“The Cenacle of the Week” is a one-hour religious program. Tonight, Sheikh Saad El Bariq speaks from Jeddah. Extracts from a broadcast in which each word deserves to be repeated:

“They [Westerners] demand that we liberate women. For us, women are not animals that we imprison. But a woman's place is at home. They tell us: Give women the right to drive and that will satisfy us...If granting women the right to drive serves any purpose, then that's fine. But there is no purpose...I tell you that those people who demand the liberation of women want them to be neither housewives, nor responsible in their duties to their husbands, nor capable of creating a healthy society...The plot against the country and its believers is enormous and ongoing.”

February 5, 2005

“Muslims must not marry foreigners, especially Europeans.”

Tonight's episode of "Awlawiyat" ("Priorities"), a debate show, poses the following question for discussion: Is it better to marry an Arab or a foreigner? Clerics, psychologists, teachers and the public are invited to debate the issue. The general tone of the program is a warning against marrying "foreigners, in particular Europeans, for reasons you are already, unfortunately, aware of." The reasons are mentioned throughout the program, and focus on lax mores and non-submissiveness to the husband.

February 9, 2005

"Let us pray that God grants us the favor of being women in paradise. God has said to men that their wives will be purified and will no longer have their periods."

Mayar el Bilawy, formerly an actress from Egypt who has since taken the veil, hosts this program for women. The topic of the day is paradise.

"All inhabitants of paradise are 33 years old. That's good news, isn't it? More good news for women: A wife who loves her husband will go to paradise with him and she will be, for him, the most beautiful woman of all. Let us pray that God grants us the favor of being women in Paradise. God has said to men that their wives will be purified and will no longer have their periods. What made me abandon my acting career was my burning desire for paradise."

February 9, 2005

"As women, we cannot abandon our primary role which is to be a housewife."

"The World of Economics" begins as follows: "Today, we have a special program. Why? Because we are going to discuss women, who make up half of our society. Our first guest is a virtuous woman, Mona Haddad Yakan from Lebanon (*Note: She is veiled.*)"

Mona Haddad Yakan speaks: "Islam has not imposed work on women outside of the home, and that is for a woman's well-being. As women, we cannot abandon our primary role, which is to be a housewife."

February 11, 2005

The headscarf vs. French laws on secularism.

A group of religious Muslims, mainly from Europe and the United States, are featured on a program to discuss the benefits of wearing the headscarf. Concerning the age at which the headscarf should be worn, opinions differ. One of the guests "denied this privilege" to her seven year old daughter. Another, who wore it from the age of two, draws tender smiles. The show denounces the French law on the veil in the name of personal liberty.

February 14, 2005

Decision-making within the family.

“Happy Families” is a program which aims to advise on domestic issues. Tonight’s episode focuses on who should make decisions if a family is to be happy.

The host cites the example of Abraham’s second marriage. This marital union only took place with the agreement of his first wife, Sarah, out of respect and good will. Moreover, when the Prophet married Salama, he asked her how long their honeymoon should last (a Muslim must devote three to seven days entirely to his wife if it is a first marriage). Salama replied three days, during which he abstained. An emotional Saudi woman later recounts how her husband consulted her for advice on purchasing furniture and clothing.

February 15, 2005

“A woman must keep her eyes closed and extinguish all desire from her heart so that Allah almighty can arrange things for her own good. May God hear all unmarried women and grant them the husband they deserve...It is the husband who is responsible because he is everything.”

“Majalet al Mara’a” (“The Magazine for Women”) has invited a young Egyptian Islamist, wearing an Adidas track suit, to comment on love and marriage:

“These stories are appealing because it is the devil who embellished them, but they are only about suffering and misery and God curses them. Every problem between a married couple is the responsibility of the husband because he is everything. He is the master of the house...A wife must keep her eyes closed and extinguish all desire from her heart so that Allah almighty can arrange things for her own good. May God hear all unmarried women and grant them the husband they deserve... It is the husband who is responsible because he is everything.”

III. JEWS, ANTI-SEMITISM, AND RADICAL ANTI-ZIONISM

February 3, 2005

“Israel is solely responsible for the state of affairs in the Arab world.”

This is from an international press review. Reacting to extracts from the media, the commentator asserts: “The failure and decline characterizing the state of affairs in the Arab world is entirely due to Israel.”

February 3, 2005

“Why are we seeing such decadence, such degeneration, crime, violence, rape and theft? It is because the flags of the Jews and Nazarenes and other religions are flying high...we must spread Islam throughout the entire planet.”

“Fi Rihab al Charia” (“On the Path of Sharia”), a politico-religious program, discusses security as a gift from Allah to the Believer. “Who deserves security? The Muslims, of course. In order to rule once again, Islam must be spread throughout the planet, and the flag on which is written ‘There is only one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet’ must fly in every corner of the earth. Why are we seeing such decadence, such degeneration, crime, violence, rape and theft? It is because the flags of the Jews and Nazarenes and other religions are flying high.”

February 5, 2005

“God will not hold it against us for the situation of our brothers in Palestine.”

On a nightly program hosted by Amr Khaled, the most famous of the Koranic televangelists who is now barred from visiting Egypt and lives in both Beirut and London, the audience is brought to tears as they chant a collective prayer. They cry, “God will not hold it against us for the situation of our brothers in Palestine.”

February 5, 2005

In Russia the Yukos affair “has opened people's eyes to Jewish involvement...There is a clear need to free Russian decision-making from the control of these people, who have cornered Putin.”

In an international press review, Nasr Mohammed Aref, Professor at Zayed University, comments on the Jews of Russia. Concerning an article in the *St. Petersburg Times* denouncing the Jewish takeover of Russia and addressing an appeal signed by 500 Russian intellectuals, the host noted with insistence that Jews hold the levers of power in Moscow.

Nasr Mohammed Aref added: “The Jews, throughout history, have always played the victim, portraying themselves as oppressed while holding the economic power and becoming themselves the oppressors.”

Ossama Saraya, of the Egyptian government-controlled daily *Al Ahram*, is interviewed from Cairo. The host deplores the accusations of anti-Semitism brought against the Arabs and asks: “Why do the Jews insist on portraying themselves as victims?” Saraya's response: “In Russia, the Yukos affair has opened the media's eyes and the public's eyes to Jewish involvement...There is a clear need to free Russian decision-making from the control of these people who have cornered Putin.”

February 6, 2005

“World Zionism allied itself with the Nazis in order to kill Jews and take their wealth.”

Iqra broadcasts “Irhabyoun” (“Terrorists”) daily at 15h30. Until October 2004, this program was also broadcasted weekly by Al Manar, the Hezbollah television network. The trailer for this show depicts ultra-orthodox Jews alongside blood-red Hebrew characters. The voiceover declares:

“The Zionist crimes are so numerous that several hours are not enough to list them. These crimes have been perpetrated in Palestine, Jordan and Lebanon.”

“(In Lebanon on March 10, 1978) Zionist soldiers opened fire on a car...with the deliberate intention of killing its occupants.”

A witness is interviewed: “To accept peace for land is to give in to Jewish terrorism.”

“The Jews of Europe turned to the Nazis...to force Jews from Western Europe to go to Palestine...World Zionism allied itself with the Nazis in order to kill Jews and take their wealth...They have used terrorism before the creation of their state and after it.”

On February 3rd, another episode of “Irhabyoun” depicted a group of orthodox Jews conspiring against Muslims: “When you seize a town, kill them all, their children in front of them, demolish their homes and rape their women...” The narrator adds: “Zionist colonialism differs from other forms of colonialism, since it calls for the cleansing of the peoples it occupies so that the Zionist element will dominate...”

February 7, 2005

“God crushed the Crusaders and Jews...They want to despoil us and usurp our holiest sites in order to give them to the Jews by force.”

“Maa El Chabab” (“With the Youth”), hosted by Sheikh Mohamad Al Kattan, comments on a passage from the Koran and explains its application to contemporary life. Addressing the youth, Al Kattan states: “Oh God, do not make of us an arm of rebellion in the hands of the tyrants. Oh God, by Your mercy save us from the tribes of the infidels. Under the grave conditions which our umma face and the insurrections to come, may you find there your imprecation in the name of God, your slogan. Recite this invocation throughout the day. It is an invocation to God, to the Koran, by which Allah has saved the umma throughout its history. God crushed the crusaders and today he will crush the Jews and their protectors. They want to despoil us and usurp our holiest sites in order to give them to the Jews by force...Dear friends, this destructive conspiracy, this Third World War, this Planetary War, plotted by our enemies can only be won with patience and prayer.”

February 11, 2005

“They won't leave Gaza until they have exhausted its supply of water.”

“Yaoumiyat Falistinia” (“Daily Papers of Palestine”) addresses the question of water “exploited exclusively by the settlers, which deprives our people of access to clean water. They won't leave Gaza until they have exhausted its supply of water...They will deliberately let the produce rot at the check points where trucks have to wait up to three days, a week, even ten days.” Witnesses follow, confirming the Jews’ deliberate intention to ruin the Palestinians. The director of the Palestinian Ministry of Agriculture agrees. A voiceover states: “One day, the Jews will hide behind boulders and rocks, and each boulder and rock will cry out, ‘Oh Muslim, come, a Jew is hiding behind me.’”

February 11, 2005

The Jews, enemies of Islam.

Each night at 23h00, a half-hour historical series is broadcast, entitled “Stories from Before the Descent of the Koran.”

The series, which takes place at the time of Mohammad, focuses on the persecutions suffered by the first Muslims. The February 4th episode, which takes place during the Meccan period, is comparable in its bloodiness to Mel Gibson's “The Passion of the Christ.” Repeated appeals are made to resist the “enemies of Allah.” The February 11th episode is exclusively devoted to the conflict between Jews and Muslims. The Jews, wearing enormous Stars of David around their necks, are furious at the spread of Islam. Jewish women, unveiled and with ample locks, curse Mohammad. The men refuse to respond to a representative of Mohammad who proposes to them an alliance because they are the people of the first revelation. They object that the Muslims are idolaters and laugh in ridicule.

IV. JIHAD

February 4, 2005

“We are on a mission from God to spread his religion throughout the earth by preaching his message. If, however, others prevent us from doing so, God has ordered us in that case, and only in that case, to spread his religion by the sword.”

At midnight, “Fi Rihab al-Sharia” (“On the Path of Sharia”) features Sheikh Mussa ben Muhammad al-Qarni, who says:

“God has ordered you not to listen to either the Jews or the Nazarenes. It is the West, with its arms, that wants to drag us into decadence. The Jews and the Nazarenes are the real terrorists with their guns, their tanks and their planes. America, with its guns and planes, pretends to have discovered freedom. But we are on a mission from God to spread his religion throughout the earth by preaching his message. If, however, others prevent us from doing so, God has ordered us in that case, and only in that case, to spread his religion by the sword. Wisdom counsels us to put them away, but if we must, then we will draw our swords.”

A viewer from Mossul praises the Sheikh for his appeals “against the infidels” and thanks him for “his firm support for our Jihad. We are not afraid of America; pray for the mujahidin.”

Finally there is a call from a Palestinian viewer. The Sheikh, with a broad smile, thanks the last two callers for “their calls coming from two different countries, one at war with the Jews, the other at war with the Nazarenes.”

February 7, 2005

“Everybody knows that American companies are Zionist-owned and promote terrorism in Iraq.”

“Afak” (“Horizon”) studies the “means of treating the problem of extremism.” The guest on the program, the Saudi cleric Abdallah El Saleh, condemns terrorist acts committed in the lands of Islam, notably in Saudi Arabia. The host retorts: “Many people wonder about the acts of martyrdom committed in Palestine and which, thank God, have been approved of, and encouraged by, a majority of the ulema. Would you condemn the same actions committed in Palestine as you would condemn those committed in Saudi Arabia?”

Sheikh Saleh, angered, replies: “They are fighting against a tyrannical, murderous, oppressive country that kills innocent people. Such acts are deplorable only when they are committed in a Muslim country belonging to Dar Al Islam and protected by the grace of God...”

A call later comes from a viewer in the United Arab Emirates: “It is about time that we reconsider the Zionist companies that do business in our countries as well as the army bases that have been established here. Aren't they responsible for every reprehensible action committed in our countries and others? Where are the Fatwas against that? Everybody knows that American companies are Zionist-owned and promote terrorism in Iraq.”

February 11, 2005

“They, the martyrs of Islam, who died defending Islam, his dearest, his friends (of Mohammed)...”

At 22h00 every night, a program featuring Amr Khaled is rebroadcast. With an enthusiastic tone and in passionate detail, he recounts the last days of the life of Mohammed: “He went to the tomb of the fallen martyrs of Islam, his brothers, his friends; and he, the Prophet, beloved of God, said to them: ‘You have gone before

me, I will join you. They, the martyrs of Islam, who died defending Islam, his dearest, his friends....” The program was recorded during Ramadan when combat operations were underway in Falluja in Iraq. In his final prayer, Amr Khaled asks: "Oh God, save our brothers in Falluja, help them, save them, give them strength, Oh God, help them." The audience is brought to tears.

V. HOMOSEXUALITY

The topic is not discussed on any network program.

AL ALAM

Al Alam television is an Iranian satellite network (Shiite) headquartered in Tehran. It has the unique feature of being broadcast in Arabic throughout the world, yet aired in Persian domestically.

The station broadcasts in Europe via Hotbird3 and in North and Central America via Intelsat Americas 5.

Al Alam characterizes itself as the “Islamic network that offers up-to-date information that is credible and objective; that reunites Muslims across the world in order to resist the Western cultural invasion; that corrects the erroneous image of Islam in the world; and that insists on the importance of women and their roles in edifying a healthy society.” It claims, against all evidence, not to have “any political, ethnic or religious” affiliations, which assures its global appeal with respect to all Muslim societies.

Its objective is to secure a link between Sunni and Shiite populations as well as with Islamic minorities outside of the Arab world.

To achieve that goal, the network has set up headquarters in Tehran, Baghdad and Beirut. However, several programs are broadcast live (simultaneously) from Washington and London. It has correspondents in every Arab capital and in several major Western cities.

The female anchors are all veiled.

NOTIFICATION

The network shows short films, entitled "Zakirate al Karn Al Ichrine" ("Journal of the 20th Century"). This program is not part of the regular schedule and is broadcast irregularly for several minutes between news programs, weather reports and the "Souwar Minal Alam" ("Images without Commentary"). At the time of this network's monitoring, the program was devoted to the Second World War, "a conflict between two great imperialist powers, France and Great Britain, who excluded Germany from a share of colonial power, which was the cause of the war." The background images show Hitler in a series of different settings, starving women and children (images from the deportation) and Nazi parades.

Video clips of crowds welcoming and cheering Khomeini are aired to commemorate the 26th anniversary of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Each clip ends with an image of the Shah leaving the country against a backdrop of the Iranian flag decorated in one corner with the Star of David.

I. HATRED OF THE WEST, EUROPE AND AMERICA

February 2, 2005

“A mobilization to resist the Western cultural invasion.”

The weekly program “From Tehran” depicts life in Iran. Today's program is devoted to the 26th anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution.

An Egyptian political analyst specializing in Iranian affairs, Saïd Idriss, states: “...the incessant American-Zionist conspiracies neutralized the Iraq of Saddam and the Islamic Republic of Iran in an eight-year war in order to eliminate the danger of an Iranian-Iraqi alliance, consolidated on the basis of Islam and against the Zionist enemy. Such an alliance would have permitted the Islamic nation to be in a stronger position and would have allowed it to eradicate the Zionist entity.”

During the same program, Ayatollah Kaabi, a member of the Assembly to Discern the Interests of the State, denounces “the invasion of Western culture” and calls for “a mobilization to resist the Western cultural invasion.”

February 2, 2005

“I'm not saying that Zarqawi and his group work for the Americans...but one has to consider that there may have been infiltrators.”

“After the Event” features Rahil Ghoraiïbi, Adjunct Secretary General of the Jordanian Islamic Action Front, who asserts: “(In Iraq) the Americans subcontract to mercenaries certain acts committed against civilians...not all the claims made on the Internet are true...beyond that, the resistance is legitimate and the Iraqis must resist...”

The host interrupts: “So the resistance, according to you, is Iraqi. Nevertheless, there are foreigners who are fighting there and many Iraqis do not want their help.”

Ghorabi: “I am talking about the resistance that kills people everyday, in the ranks of the occupiers, but I willingly acknowledge that the Mossad is also involved and other agents who are trying to harm the image of the resistance by attacking civilians in its name. There are forces who want to sow discord among the different sects and to provoke a war between Sunnis and Shiites...The American media have focused attention on the abductions in Iraq and on the beheadings committed by Zarqawi and his group. I'm not saying that he works for the Americans...But one has to consider that there may have been infiltrators, to focus the entire world's attention on Zarqawi in order to distract from what happened at Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo, but also to distract from the crimes committed by the Americans elsewhere, crimes against entire towns...”

“I acknowledge that the acts committed by the resistance have damaged the Iraqi cause, but those acts are a thousand times less serious than the horrors committed by the Americans.”

February 4, 2004

Concerning the troika with respect to nuclear issues: “Don't trust the English, mentors to the Americans.”

During the evening news, the Iranian nuclear dossier and the negotiations with the European troika are addressed. A sermon by Ayatollah Ahmad Jannati is aired: “The British are the fathers of the Great Satan, America. Don't trust the English, mentors to the Americans... The English are the masters of subterfuge and deception. Iranian negotiators must be on guard...”

February 6, 2005

Concerning the fight against Islamist resistance members and terrorists in Algeria: “The Algerian government has infiltrated so-called terrorist groups and has thus contributed to worsening the image of Muslims...”

“After the Event” addresses the “reasons for the erroneous image of Islam in the West.”

The host asks: “This phenomenon, doesn't it reflect an American-Zionist conspiracy against Islam?...Since the Cold War ended, the media and Western experts are running a campaign of indoctrination intended to alarm public opinion to the growing danger of Islam, to the point where a majority of Westerners now associate terrorism with Islam...Aren't the Jewish lobbies and international Jewry responsible for such indoctrination against Islam and Muslims? Or perhaps the West is still on a crusade and wants to destroy Islam and Muslims in order to convert them to Christianity?”

A live caller from Beirut comments: “The hostility between Islam and the West is ancestral and historical...It comes from, most recently, the complex Muslims have regarding Western modernity, which they lack...” While defending Western democracy, he adds: “Today, the danger is that certain extremists who are hostile to Islam have come to power in the U.S. and are attempting to impose their own agenda on the entire world.”

Abdelrahman Jaafar, a Muslim lawyer from London adds: “Democracy, liberty and power (over the media) in the West have always been controlled by a handful of people. We know that the Zionists own and control an impressive amount of the media in the West. And they exploit this power in order to tarnish the image of Islam in the West.”

Muhammad Hassan Al Moussaoui, an immigrant in London, intervenes to explain why the Muslims themselves are responsible for their image and how

their attitudes have increased hostility from the West. He is repeatedly interrupted by the host, preventing him from delivering his message clearly.

The host then turns to Jafaar, the lawyer: “Can the behavior of some Muslims in the West account for the anti-Muslim campaign there?”

Jaafar: “It's true that Muslims must respect the values of Islam. There is a particularly striking image coming from Algeria. The Algerian government has infiltrated so-called terrorist groups and has thus contributed to worsening the image of Muslims...The West has seized upon this image...The West tolerated killings (in Algeria) committed by the government, but vigorously condemned Islamist operations...” Jaafar remarks on the 9/11 attacks and how “Israel benefited from the attacks.”

Azzam Tamimi, Director of the Center for Islamic Studies in Britain, rejects “the theory of a new (Western) crusader hegemony in the religious sense.” Concerning 9/11, however, he adds: “9/11 did not damage the image of Muslims. It was the direct result of the oppression of which Muslims are victims.” “The diagnosis is wrong. There are those who say that after 9/11, the U.S. implemented its policies of revenge. The reality is that these policies are what motivated the 9/11 attacks in the first place.”

II. WOMEN

February 7, 2005

“They want to abolish ‘crimes of honor,’ forgetting that men have their honor and dignity too.”

This episode of the weekly program “To Get Together,” addresses the question of divorce. “One of the main causes of divorce is the neglect of the husband by the wife...” the host asserts. Observing that the number of divorces in Arab-Muslim societies is growing, he asks: “Is [the increase] not due to rampant Westernization and the Western cultural offensive?”

Mohammed Wehbi Sleiman, Professor at the Islamic University of Damascus, states: “...we are under the influence of the Western media which shows us falsified images of beautiful women. A man who sees these images is distracted and starts to compare his wife to these beautiful girls. This creates tension between the two...”

Nayla Rachdane, former Jordanian legislator, says: “...The international NGOs raise issues otherwise unknown or foreign to our societies, such as sexuality and divorce...Their objective is to infiltrate us, to pressure our societies in order to obtain legislative reforms which will result in the dislocation of the family from society. Take the example of the abolition of ‘crimes of honor.’ They want it so that a man, if he surprises his wife with a lover, cannot react. They want to abolish ‘crimes of honor,’ forgetting that men have their honor and dignity too...I do not defend these

crimes, but I understand that a man who kills his wife in such cases should benefit from mitigating circumstances.”

III. JEWS, ANTI-SEMITISM AND RADICAL ANTI-ZIONISM

February 4, 2005

“Israel destroys a Muslim cemetery in Haifa in order to make way for its own infrastructure.”

Aired during the 23h30 nightly news, this report concerns the destruction of a Muslim cemetery in Haifa by the Israelis: “This is not the first example of Israeli aggression against Muslim holy sites...The Israeli government's racist policies are applied to everything that is Muslim and Arab.”

February 7, 2005

“945 newspapers and magazines are owned by Jews across the world: 244 in the U.S. alone, 348 in Western Europe, 118 in South America, 42 in Africa, 5 in Turkey, 3 in India...”

“Al Alam Cultural” begins with a summary of issues to be discussed, including “the banning in France of ‘Bab Al Chams’ (‘The Doors of the Sun’),” “the suffering of the Palestinian people under the Zionist occupation” and the “ramifications on Arab cinema concerning the law against anti-Semitism.”

The program then shows a clip that explains how television was used by the Islamic resistance in Southern Lebanon (Hezbollah), which filmed operations against the Zionist occupation. Television was instrumental in influencing Western opinions about the conflict; images like Israelis massacring young Palestinians in the Al-Doura affair were critical. The report claims that “the damage these images did to the Zionist movement spurred Jewish associations and the Zionist lobby in France to block the airing of cinematographic work documenting the suffering of the Palestinian people...”

Mahmud Yusef, Professor of Public Relations at the Faculty of Information in Cairo, vigorously criticizes the American law banning anti-Semitic remarks. Announced by President Bush on October 16, 2004 in Florida, this legislation obliges the State Department to censor anti-Semitic activities around the world and to evaluate the attitudes of other countries concerning this subject. “The Zionists exploit anti-Semitism for purposes of extortion and to silence any voice that is critical of its projects...945 newspapers and magazines are owned by Jews across the world; 244 in the U.S. alone, 348 in Western Europe, 118 in South America, 42 in Africa, 5 in Turkey, 3 in India...”

“A colossal media empire...Jews directly or indirectly control international media. Not to mention Hollywood, a Jewish fortress placed at the disposition of the Zionist

cause...Hollywood produces, each year, between 30 to 50 films intended to harm the image of Arabs and Muslims..."

Yussef continues: "The Zionists have permitted themselves to shamelessly exploit the Holocaust for political ends. The Jews want us to turn our backs on our history...and on our religion and to forget the crimes they have committed on earth since the beginning of creation..."

February 11, 2005

"After all, we do not believe that the Jewish presence in Palestine will be eternal. Its presence is destined to end."

"Al Rai Al Awwal" ("First Opinion") uses a debate forum to incite hatred against Jews and the destruction of the State of Israel. The program broadcasts weekly from Beirut. Callers from around the world are encouraged to comment on current events. Today's episode focuses on the Sharm El-Sheik summit between Abbas and Sharon.

Introduction: "The summit is intended to guarantee the security of Israel, without quid pro quo. On what basis has Mahmoud Abbas made concessions? How will the Palestinian resistance react? How long will the truce or cease fire last?"

Ali Al Fakir, a former Palestinian minister, states: "After all, we do not believe that the Jewish presence in Palestine will be eternal. Its presence is destined to end...We are not only against meetings between Arab and Jewish personalities because it is haram (forbidden), but also because these meetings are synonymous with concessions and the loss of our rights...It is shameful. If the Jews were not occupiers, we could consider welcoming them as we do other religions. But in the case of Jews in Palestine, they are occupiers, and we should not meet with them, welcome them or shake their hands...We are certain that Israel and the Jewish presence in Palestine will end. It may happen soon, in a decade, in a century or later. But it is certain that Israel will disappear. This is an Islamic legitimacy, it is written in our Koran and in the Sunna."

A Saudi participant comments: "The Jews, the Zionists and behind them the Westerners, have a plan for our region. They will undertake no action other than that which is part of their plan. If the Israelis came to Sharm El-Sheik, it's because they profit from it. But what is worse is the Egyptians, who were buried alive by Sharon in the Sinai, and the Jordanians, who were given no quarter in 1967, who are today the most fervent defenders of Israel. Where does their good will come from? It is disappointing to note that they are contributing to the erosion of our region in accordance with Sykes-Picot."

Ali Fakir reacts: "But what I don't understand is that the Jews, by nature, give up nothing unless they are in a position of weakness. Today, while they are in a position of strength, I don't believe they will concede anything at Sharm El-Sheik. This is just another ploy. The Jews are like that by nature...Some simple-minded people, among those at the summit, naively think that by placing Israel before its responsibilities, and exposing it before the world, we will benefit...Wake up, Arabs! Wake up! Since when have the Zionists cared about what the world thinks? The sons of Zion control the world. The world's leaders meet in Masonic temples to rule the world at their orders...I doubt that the criminal Sharon (he then lists the massacres committed during Sharon's career) could aspire to peace. He is a bloodstained criminal."

Host: "But some believe that he is the only Israeli leader capable of making peace."

Ali Fakir: "I am dedicated to the destruction of the Zionist entity. Sooner or later, the ignorance and the arrogance of the Jews will drive others to rebel. The day when the Arab nation will have power, it will wipe out Israel and Sharon. I am dedicated to that, and it is written in the Koran."

February 13, 2005

"The Zionist occupation of Palestine for the past 50 years is the same as the 198 year occupation by the Crusaders."

"After the Event" discusses the Sharm El-Sheik summit with Egyptian strategist expert Hussam al-Souaïlem and a Palestinian, Imad al Falouji.

Souaïlem, a moderate who is frequently interrupted by the host, supports the conclusion of the Israeli-Palestinian accords.

Falouji: "This is an Israeli-American ploy intended simply to put an end to the Intifada. That explains the absence of any concessions made to the Palestinians. The Zionist occupation of Palestine for the past 50 years is like the 198 year occupation by the Crusaders. It was only through Arab resistance against the Crusaders that they were finally defeated."

February 14, 2005

On the assassination of Hariri: "Only a terrorist state, like the Zionist entity, has the means to commit an attack of such magnitude..."

Daily news programs throughout the day speak about the assassination of Rafic Hariri as an "Israeli operation." The spokesman for the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hamid Redha Assafi, declares: "Only a terrorist state, like the Zionist entity, has the means to commit an attack of such magnitude..."

IV. JIHAD

February 5, 2005

"I say this knowing very well that it will be interpreted as a veiled call for Jihad."

The program "Al Mihwar-Al Quds" ("The Axe of Jerusalem") broadcasts words against a backdrop of very violent images, including the destruction of Palestinian homes and property by the Israeli army, the launching of missiles and the separation wall.

The topic of the day is as follows: “What decisions will the Palestinian Authority take to confront Israeli hegemony?”

Nazem Badr, a member of the political wing of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, says: “...the most effective measure will remain, in my opinion, popular resistance in and around Jerusalem...It may take dozens of years. But it is the method most likely to guarantee results. I say that knowing very well that it will be interpreted as a veiled call for Jihad. All Palestinians must be mobilized to defend their Holy City.”

February 5, 2005

“Jihad can be in the service of God, or the country or humanity...”

Every night, the network broadcasts a report on the “achievements of the Iranian Revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran on the occasion of the 26th anniversary of the revolution of February 1979.” It is a propaganda report on the values of Islam, on the break with American imperialism, on the rehabilitation of justice and on the continuing support for the oppressed.

Images of military parades are shown, demonstrations of force, displays of long range missiles, followed by details of the aeronautical industry and the defense industry of Iran.

Rafic Atoui, a Lebanese university student, refers to the Koran: “Prepare all your forces to terrorize the enemy...The extent of Iranian preparation is a source of pride. The preparation for combat, for resistance, for Jihad...And Islam calls for Jihad...Jihad can be in the service of God, or the country or humanity...”

February 6, 2005

“We are prepared to liberate Palestine as Islam requires of us: ‘Prepare yourselves to terrorize your enemies and the enemies of God.’”

Still on the subject of the anniversary of the revolution, the program tonight is devoted to the influence it has had on the Palestinian cause, especially after the secular Palestinian forces worked to distance the cause from Islam. Thanks to the Iranian revolution, the Islamic dimension devoted to liberating all of Palestine is now anchored in the consciousness of the Islamic nation. “The Islamic Revolution in Iran resisted every American and Zionist conspiracy, and breathed new life into the umma. The power of the Islamic Republic is indispensable to the establishment of a balance of power in the region and in the world...”

Salim Al-Nayabidi, a Palestinian cleric adds: “The first concern of the Islamic Republic was the liberation of Palestine. We were with them from the beginning.” Citing a verse from the Koran, he continues: “We are prepared to liberate Palestine as Islam requires of us. Prepare yourselves to terrorize your enemies and the enemies of God.”

February 10, 2005

Khatami incites an enormous crowd to chant anti-Western slogans.

Al Alam interrupts its normal programming to broadcast a live speech by President Khatami given before tens of thousands of Iranians on the occasion of the 26th anniversary of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. A sea of people chants anti-Western and anti-American slogans as soon as the President warns against an American or an Israeli attack against Iran.

Khatami denies all accusations against Iran brought by the West, notably those reproaching Iran for human rights violations. Khatami states: "Democracy installed by the humane and humanitarian Islamic Revolution in Iran allows for a diversity of opinions...But these differences and divisions among Iranians become unanimous in defense of our territory against any form of aggression from wherever it comes." The tens of thousands of Iranians assembled on Liberty Square in Tehran represent a formidable demonstration of strength.

February 11, 2005

"The Americans need to be reminded about their repeated defeats and the failure of their plots...Our revolution will continue and will be extended beyond our borders, beyond the region and beyond the Muslim countries."

The broadcast of a Friday prayer and sermon at Mecca calls on Muslims to be self-critical during the first day of the year 1 of hegira. He invites Muslims to review their history in order to understand how the umma were victorious in the past.

The sermon from Mecca is followed by a sermon from the President of the Assembly to Discern the Interests of the State, Ayatollah Hashemi Rafasanjani. He has just returned from the 26th anniversary celebrations of the Iranian revolution.

"We enter our 27th year, and by threatening Iran during the last 26 years...the Americans need to be reminded about their repeated defeats and the failure of their plots. They need to be reminded how they were defeated under the Shah and how their spies were captured...and the failure of their attempt to rescue the hostages in the desert. They need to be reminded that even when they supported Saddam with all their might, they were unable to defeat our revolution...Our revolution will continue and will be extended beyond our borders, beyond the region and beyond the Muslim countries. Our revolution will be a force for good as long as people are oppressed on earth..."

Concerning Iraq, Rafasanjani says: "We hope that the deliverance of the Iraqi people is near, like the deliverance of the Egyptians under Pharaoh. Pharaoh saved Moses from drowning. But it was Moses, peace be upon him, who put an end to the tyrant."

V. HOMOSEXUALITY

The topic is not discussed on any network program.