

# Post-Mubarak Egypt: The Dark Side of Islamic Utopia

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The Muslim Brotherhood [*Ikhwan al-Muslimim*], along with the more radical Salafi Islamists, has turned out to be the overwhelming victor in the first two rounds of the democratic elections currently taking place in post-Mubarak Egypt. Though they did not initiate the wider popular movement toward democracy, the Islamist forces in Egypt, as in Tunisia and Libya, have been the chief beneficiaries of the collapse of longstanding authoritarian and repressive regimes in North Africa. In Egypt, the two largest Islamist parties won about 75 percent of the votes in the second round of legislative elections, held in mid-December 2011. The Muslim Brotherhood (running under the euphemistic name “Freedom and Justice Party”) was said to have gained 49 percent of the votes and the newly-formed Salafist Islamic party called Al-Nour received a stunning 28 percent of the ballots cast. In the first round a month earlier, the two movements had together obtained 69 percent of the votes.<sup>1</sup> No one has benefitted more than the Muslim Brotherhood, the only well-organized and structured force in the country, from the political vacuum created by years of governmental repression. The success of Al-Nour, which had existed for barely nine months, was, however, the biggest surprise. Its call for the strict application of *Sharia* law in Egypt evidently did not deter voters.

These results, along with the clear victory of the Islamist Ennahda (*al-Nabda*) party in Tunisia's first free elections, seem to suggest that the main outcome thus far of the “Arab Spring” has been an accelerated islamization of the Middle East.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Libya's new interim leader, Mustafa Abdel-Jalil, immediately promised to revoke Colonel Qadhafi's ban on polygamy since that law is considered “contrary to *Sharia*.” Other Islamists such as Abdul Hakim Belhadi (a suspect in the Madrid terrorist bombing of 2004) and Sheikh Ali Salibi—a close associate of Yusuf

Qaradawi, the Egyptian-born spiritual head of the global Muslim Brotherhood—are also influential figures in the present Libyan leadership.<sup>3</sup> Yet another revealing representative of the Islamist wave is Tunisia's new leader, Rached Ghannouchi, having been influenced by the writings of Muslim Brotherhood theorists like the martyred Egyptian thinker Sayyed Qutb.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, the idea, so popular among some leading Western journalists (including Tom Friedman and Nicholas Kristof), that such Islamist leaders have suddenly become converts to liberal democracy does not stand up to serious scrutiny. This is especially true of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, the patience and prudence of which should not be naively mistaken for “moderation.”<sup>5</sup>

The *Ikbwan* is an organization over eighty years old with a long history of victimization, having been repressed first under the Egyptian monarchy (its founder Hassan al-Banna was murdered in 1948 by King Farouk's police), and then—with even greater severity—under Gamal Abd al-Nasir, Anwar al-Sadat, and Hosni Mubarak. The Brothers learned from this harsh school the need for caution, yet they have never deviated from Hassan al-Banna's central axiom: “Allah is our objective; the Prophet is our leader; the Quran is our law; jihad is our way; dying in the way of Allah is our highest hope.”<sup>6</sup> Their radical vision remains focused on the comprehensive attainment of a fully Islamic society and way of life. Only their methodology has become more gradualist, which has inevitably led over the years to more revolutionary defections from the movement, such as the group of Islamic radicals who assassinated President Sadat thirty years ago. One of those conspirators was the Egyptian jihadist Ayman al-Zawahiri, currently head of al-Qa'ida.

The Brotherhood has in reality always been radical, anti-Western, viscerally hostile to Israel, and openly antisemitic—points invariably downplayed in recent Western commentary on the “Arab Spring.” Antisemitism and conspiracy-mongering have, of course, been part of Egypt's political discourse ever since the military coup that brought Nasir to power almost sixty years ago.<sup>7</sup> Religious intolerance toward the 8 million Christian Copts in Egypt is also not new, though it has escalated in recent years and Copts remain a favorite target of the Islamists. But the anti-Jewish conspiracy theories of the Brotherhood and Egyptian preachers are in a class of their own. In an interview on Al-Rahma TV (October 26, 2011), the virulently antisemitic cleric Amin al-Ansari even claimed that Jews manipulate women in order to maintain their control of the world, citing *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and adding: “... when Zionism and Judaism benefit, it means the decline not only of Muslim women, but of humanity as a whole.”<sup>8</sup> Such Muslim concern for women evidently did not extend to the chief correspondent for CBS News, the non-Jewish American reporter Lara Logan. In February 2011, she was beaten and raped in broad daylight by a frenzied throng of Egyptian men in

Cairo's Tahrir Square, who were screaming "Jew! Jew!" even as they assaulted her.<sup>9</sup> This shocking event (studiously ignored by *The New York Times* print edition) was virtually contemporaneous with the return of Yusuf al-Qaradawi (the most celebrated Muslim Brotherhood cleric in the world) to Egypt after fifty years in exile.

The still vigorous 84-year-old, often misleadingly portrayed in the West as a "moderate," came to Tahrir Square on February 18, 2011 to lead a huge crowd (some reports say more than a million-strong) in Friday prayers and to preach a rousing sermon.<sup>10</sup> On the one hand, he called for pluralistic democracy in Egypt, while at the same time offering an impassioned "message to our brothers in Palestine," in support of their approaching liberation. "I have hope," he proclaimed, "that Almighty Allah, as I have been pleased with the victory in Egypt, that he will also please me with the conquest of the al-Aqsa Mosque [in Jerusalem]."<sup>11</sup> Many in his audience of over a million Egyptians would have been aware that Qaradawi had on several occasions defended suicide bombing attacks against ordinary Israeli civilians (including women and children); that he favored a complete boycott of all Israeli as well as American products; and that a Jewish state within any borders was wholly immoral and illegitimate in his eyes.<sup>12</sup> Qaradawi, like most Muslim Brotherhood preachers, is indeed not just an impassioned Israel-hater but a fully-fledged antisemite. In a sermon during Israel's Cast Lead Operation in Gaza (January 9, 2009), broadcast to millions on Al-Jazeera TV, he referred to the Jews as "treacherous aggressors," a "profligate, cunning, arrogant band of people." He fervently prayed to Allah to annihilate these oppressive, Jewish Zionist criminals. Not a single Jew, he declared, should be spared by the Almighty. "O Allah, count their numbers, and kill them, down to the very last one."<sup>13</sup> A few weeks later, in a statement on Al-Jazeera TV (January 28, 2009), the leading Sunni Muslim cleric in the world added the following gloss on Hitler and the Holocaust:

Throughout history, Allah has imposed upon the Jews people who would punish them for their corruption... The last punishment was carried out by [Adolf] 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 hands of the believers.<sup>14</sup>

If this is not genocidal antisemitic incitement, then the term has little meaning.

The current supreme leader of the Brotherhood, Mohamed Budi, undoubtedly shares such views on Israel, Zionism, and the Jews. His advice in 2010 to the *Mujabideen* in Gaza to continue to "raise the banner of jihad against the Jews, [our] first and foremost enemies" was essentially echoing an undeviating gospel

of hatred. Like Sheikh Qaradawi, the current leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood clearly believe that loathing of Jews and the destruction of Israel is mandated by God himself. Every Jew in the world is thereby designated an enemy within this ideology. Nor is it an accident that Qaradawi, like other Egyptian clerics, should quote an anti-Jewish saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad in a notorious *hadith* on the preconditions for the Day of Judgment. In his commentary, Qaradawi emphasized that the coming apocalyptic battle will *not* be “between Arabs and Zionists, or between Jews and Palestinians, or between Jews or anybody else.” His conclusion could not be more explicit. “This battle will occur between the collective body of Muslims and the collective body of Jews, that is all Muslims and all Jews.”<sup>15</sup>

Such Muslim fundamentalist doctrines on Israel and the Jews are intimately connected to an obsession with purging Muslim countries of all and any Western influences—seen as part of a larger Jewish-Zionist conspiracy against Islam. Since 1928, when Sheikh Hasan al-Banna founded the Muslim Brothers in Ismailiyah, the notion that Jews are by nature evil and can never peacefully co-exist with others has been axiomatic for the fundamentalist organization. An equally self-evident corollary is the denial of any possibility of Jewish self-rule (let alone a Jewish state) or even of civic equality with Muslims. The establishment of Israel in 1948 further reinforced this Islamist doctrine of Zionism as a malevolent force and a permanent enemy.<sup>16</sup> It was given a more systematic expression in the 1950s by Sayyed Qutb, the most important and influential of the Brotherhood’s thinkers, who was repeatedly imprisoned, tortured, and eventually executed by Nasir’s police state in 1966. For Qutb, the term “Jews” became virtually interchangeable with “enemies of Islam.” The struggle against the Jews would continue indefinitely because the Jewish enemy would never rest until Islam was destroyed. Qutb was even convinced that Nasir himself was an “agent of Zionism” as were all the secular nationalist westernizing regimes in the Middle East. Qutb also railed against the “army of the learned”—the secularist professors, philosophers, writers, poets, and scientists carrying Muslim names yet undermining the sacred religion of Islam “in the service of Zionism.”<sup>17</sup>

Qutb’s heirs in the Brotherhood were especially outraged by President Sadat’s visit to Jerusalem in 1977 and his “fallacious peace” with the arch-enemy Israel. After 1979, their spiritual leader and the chief editor of *al-Dawah* [The Call to Islam], Umar al-Tilmisani, spared no effort in denouncing the diabolical nature of the Jews and Israel’s malicious intent to destroy the Islamic foundations of Egypt. Normalization of relations with Israel, he wrote, would only lead to deceitful anti-Muslim propaganda, white slavery, drug-taking, general economic exploitation, and the infiltration of a wholly decadent mass culture.<sup>18</sup> For al-Tilmisani and his fellow Muslim brothers thirty years ago, normalization with Israel was the greatest

“catastrophe” imaginable—nothing less than “the most dangerous cancer eating away at all the life cells in our bodies.”<sup>19</sup> Exchanging ambassadors with the Jewish State was equivalent to “opening the gates of evil on Egypt,” a spiritual death in exchange for the bribe of billions of American dollars and final capitulation to the “world Zionist conspiracy.” Following Sadat’s assassination (a revolutionary fundamentalist act), the already cold peace with Israel became virtually frozen—not least because of the strength of the Muslim Brotherhood and its allies. During the next three decades of Hosni Mubarak’s repressive rule, demonization of the Jews continued unchecked in the Egyptian media, despite massive American economic aid to Egypt and a common strategic interest with Israel in containing Islamism. Nonetheless, antisemitism remained, as before, the daily bread of Egyptian politics. Mubarak and his government colleagues permitted it as a safety valve and an outlet for popular rage that might otherwise have turned against the corruption of the regime. The fundamentalists, in turn, maintained their long-term goals of one day destroying the peace with Israel, thereby “saving Islam” and establishing an authentic Islamic state ruled by *Sharia* law.

As recently as January 1, 2012, the deputy leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, Dr. Rashad Bayoumi, told the Arabic daily *al-Hayat* that his organization will never “recognize Israel at all,” whatever the circumstances. He emphasized that the Brotherhood regarded Israel as a “criminal enemy” and would initiate legal proceedings toward cancelling the 1979 peace treaty.<sup>20</sup>

With regard to Israel and the Jews, the fundamentalist attitude has never deviated during the past few decades, closely linked as it is to a truly paranoid fear of “Judaization”—often a synonym for secularism, westernization, liberal modernity, or “globalization.” Paradoxically, Brotherhood ideologues, despite their rabid anti-Westernism, have no problem in drawing liberally on non-Muslim sources for their radical antisemitism—whether it be the Russian Tsarist *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* forgery, Henry Ford’s *The International Jew*, Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*, European antisemitic propaganda about Judeo-Masonic conspiracies, Christian anti-Talmudism, blood-libel slanders, or Western Holocaust denial.<sup>21</sup> Egypt has long been saturated by this type of semi-pornographic stream of antisemitic vitriol directed at the “Satanic Jews,” publicly licensed and frequently legitimized by seemingly respectable journalists, academics, and Egyptian intellectuals. Such libels have been common among Nasirists, a number of Egyptian “liberals,” and even some leftists as well as among Islamists of every shade or coloring.<sup>22</sup> Though the question of Palestine is often present as the trigger for such deep antagonism, much of the hostility also relates to the presumed “cultural assault” on Egypt that derives not only from Israel’s physical existence but from the imagined “essence” of Judaism and Jewry.<sup>23</sup>

The current unleashing of radical Islamist forces throughout Egypt has hardly improved matters. Thus, at a venomous Muslim Brotherhood rally in Cairo's most prominent mosque on November 25, 2011, Islamic activists ominously chanted "Tel Aviv, judgment day has come," vowing to "one day kill all Jews." The rally had been called to promote the "battle against Jerusalem's judaization" and was peppered with hate-filled speeches about the "treacherous Jews." There were explicit calls for jihad and for the liberation of all of Palestine as well as references to the well-known *hadith* concerning a future Muslim annihilation of the Jews. Dr. Ahmed al-Tayeb, head of Egypt's Al-Azhar University (the most senior clerical authority in Sunni Islam), even claimed that to this day Jews everywhere in the world are seeking to prevent Egyptian and Islamic unity. He added: "The al-Aqsa Mosque is currently under an offensive by the Jews... We shall not allow the Zionists to judaize al-Quds [Jerusalem]." <sup>24</sup> Such threats have been a consistent theme among Egyptian Islamic preachers and spokesmen of the Muslim Brotherhood for the past eighty years. The theme of the "treacherous Jews" has deep roots indeed in the Quran and *hadith*. It has also animated the Palestinian Hamas ever since its creation twenty-four years ago—inspiring its visceral Jew-hatred, rabid anti-Westernism, and jihadist ideology. Not surprisingly for an organizational offshoot of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas's Sacred Covenant of 1988 includes in its preamble an emphatic quote from Sheikh Hassan al-Banna: "Israel will exist, and continue to exist, until Islam abolishes it..." <sup>25</sup> Hamas's Islamic credo, its advocacy of jihad, its antisemitic world-view, and hatred of Israel are all inextricably linked to the ideology of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood—of which it proudly claims to be the Palestinian wing. Article 7 of the Hamas Covenant underlines, for example, the continuous jihad of the Brotherhood against "the Zionist invasion" in 1936, 1948, and 1968, as the unbreakable chain connected to the founding of Hamas itself in 1988. All of these revolts were driven by the same conviction that Palestine is an *inalienable* possession "for all generations of Muslims" until the end of time. <sup>26</sup>

The mob assault in 2011 on the Israeli embassy in Cairo was not led by the Islamists but rather by a motley crew of anarchists, "democrats," and apolitical hardcore soccer fans known as the Ultras, some of whom even waved Egyptian flags with swastikas and chanted slogans such as "We will export no gas, we shall burn you with gasoline." <sup>27</sup> Evidently, with or without the blessings of Allah, or citations from the Quran, the Egyptian masses required no special guidance in focusing on the traditional scapegoat of Israel in order to vent their mounting frustrations. Admittedly, such pressure from the Egyptian street does not mean that the fragile peace treaty with Israel will be cancelled overnight. But the calls for such a step have been repeatedly heard in recent months from the "liberal" and more leftist sectors of the political spectrum as well as from the Islamist parties.

This trend reflects a broader, nationalist mood within the midst of the revolutionary chaos that co-exists alongside the antisemitic religious ideology of the Brotherhood.

It is sobering to observe how few professors of Middle East studies at American or European universities seem able or willing to grasp the true nature of the Muslim Brotherhood, let alone display any interest in its visceral anti-Westernism or ferocious antisemitism. Today, very few academics seek to elucidate its core ideology or long-term goals, let alone acknowledge their incompatibility with liberal democracy, human rights, or a stable world order. Instead, the general consensus was that overthrowing Mubarak would lead to pluralistic democracy with the Muslim Brothers pursuing a benignly constructive role.

Typically, fundamentalist attitudes to Egypt's Jews and Christians, or to the antisemitic legacy, were either whitewashed or simply ignored. At the same time, the implications of Egypt's revolution for American (and Israeli) strategic interests were generally viewed through rose-tinted glasses.<sup>28</sup> Much the same can be said of British, French, and German academic responses to the recent upheavals in the Middle East, with a few honorable exceptions. Regarding antisemitism in particular, the prevailing trend in Germany (as elsewhere in Western Europe) has been to trivialize the genocidal expressions of antisemitism in the Muslim world, to misleadingly compare them to "Islamophobia" in the West, or to simply rationalize them out of existence.<sup>29</sup>

A recent article by Middle East analyst Barry Rubin on the Muslim Brotherhood as a kind of functional equivalent to the long-since defunct Communist International can help us restore a broader perspective. The Brotherhood has been steadily expanding its influence in recent decades across the Middle East and even into Europe and North America. Moreover, it has now emerged as the strongest political force in Egypt, poised, for the first time, to achieve control of the state. As Rubin points out, the movement is maturing into a "transnational alliance" between governments and powerful opposition movements in various Middle Eastern countries. His chilling scenario for the end of 2012 seems more than plausible:

... the overwhelming majority of Muslims in the Middle East—in Egypt, the Gaza Strip, Iran, Lebanon, Libya, Tunisia and Turkey, about a quarter-billion people in all—will be governed by radical Islamist regimes that believe in waging jihad on Israel and America, wiping Israel off the map, suppressing Christians, reducing the status of women to even lower than it is now, and in their right as the true interpreters of God's will to govern as dictators.<sup>30</sup>

The only addition that I would make to this all-too-sobering prospect is that Islamist regimes are also animated by an endemic, irrational, and religiously-oriented antisemitism that bodes ill for the comfortable liberal assumption that they can be easily bought off, contained, or relied upon to spontaneously embrace universal human rights. The ability of the Brotherhood and its Islamist offshoots to polish their “democratic” image for Western consumption should not be underestimated nor should it fool anyone. Not only Israel, but Europe, America, and the more liberal sectors of Arab public opinion in the Middle East should get ready for more stormy weather ahead.

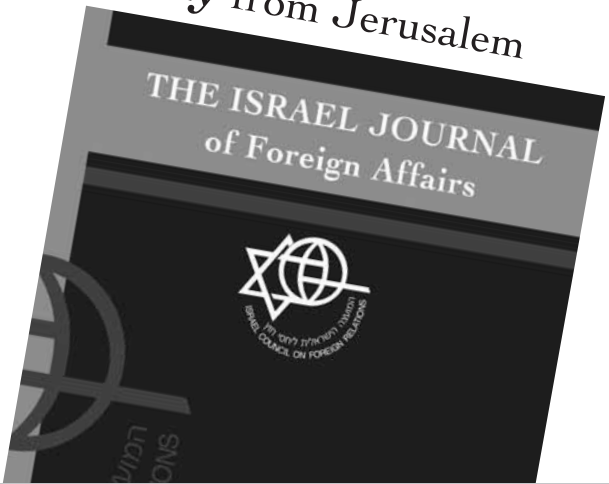
## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Tzvi Ben Gedalyahu, “Egypt’s Islamist Extremists Claim Landslide Win,” [www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/150856#.Tu-w51bNSIU](http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/150856#.Tu-w51bNSIU) (December 19, 2011).
- <sup>2</sup> Benny Morris, “Arab Spring or Islamist Surge?” *Australia-Israel Review* (December, 2011), 20–21.
- <sup>3</sup> Dore Gold, “Diplomacy after the Arab Uprisings,” *The Jerusalem Post*, December 15, 2011.
- <sup>4</sup> See Rachid al-Ghannouchi, “Secularism in the Arab Maghreb,” *Islam and Secularism in the Middle East*, Azzam Tamimi and John L. Esposito (eds.) (London, 2000), pp. 115–123. See also Azzam S. Tamimi, *Rachid Ghannouchi: A Democrat within Islamism* (Oxford, 2001).
- <sup>5</sup> See Nicholas Kristof, “Joining a dinner in a Muslim Brotherhood home,” *The New York Times*, December 7, 2011. For a more critical analysis, see Uriya Shavit, “Islamotopia: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Idea of Democracy,” *Azure* XLVI (Autumn, 2011), 35–62. See also Hillel Fradkin and Lewis Libby, “Egypt’s Islamists: A Cautionary Tale,” *Commentary* (April, 2011), 17–21.
- <sup>6</sup> Quoted by Fradkin and Libby, *op. cit.*, p. 19. On Al-Banna, see Brynjar Lia, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt: The Rise of an Islamic Mass Movement, 1928–1942* (Ithaca, 1998).
- <sup>7</sup> For example, on the Nasirist period, see the classic study by Y. Harkabi, *Arab Attitudes to Israel* (Jerusalem, 1972).
- <sup>8</sup> Quoted by Or Avi-Guy, “Anti-Semitism re-emerges in the Arab Spring,” *The Jerusalem Post*, December 15, 2011.
- <sup>9</sup> Andrew G. Boston, “Lara Logan and Egyptian Jew-Hatred,” *American Thinker*, February 16, 2011; Martin Krossel, “Western Media Ignore Anti-Semitism in Egypt,” *Frum Forum*, February 23, 2011, [www.frumforum.com/media-ignores-anti-semitism-in-egypt](http://www.frumforum.com/media-ignores-anti-semitism-in-egypt).
- <sup>10</sup> For an account of Qaradawi’s unique status, see Jakob Skovgaard-Peterson, “Yusuf al-Qaradawi and al-Azhar,” *Global Mufti: The Phenomenon of Yusuf al-Qaradawi*, Bettina Gräf

- and Jakob Skovgaard-Peterson (eds.) (London, 2009), pp. 27–53; and Husam Tamman, “Yusuf Qaradawi and the Muslim Brothers: The Nature of a Special Relationship,” *ibid.*, pp. 55–83. Also useful, though somewhat indulgent, is the Wikipedia entry, accessed on 15 March 2011, [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/yusuf\\_al-Qaradawi/](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/yusuf_al-Qaradawi/).
- <sup>11</sup> See Alexander Smoltczyk, “The Voice of Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” *Spiegel Online*, February 15, 2011. See also Oren Kessler, “Yusuf al-Qaradawi—a ‘man for all seasons’,” *The Jerusalem Post*, February 20, 2011. The quote is taken from Fradkin/Libby, “Egypt’s Islamists,” *op. cit.*, p. 21.
- <sup>12</sup> “Yusuf al-Qaradawi tells BBC Newsnight that Islam justifies suicide bombings, [www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2004/07\\_july/07/newsnight.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2004/07_july/07/newsnight.shtml); also / [www.islamonline.net/servlet/Satellite?pagename=IslamOnline-English-Ask\\_Scholar/FatwaE/FatwaEcid=1119503543546](http://www.islamonline.net/servlet/Satellite?pagename=IslamOnline-English-Ask_Scholar/FatwaE/FatwaEcid=1119503543546).
- <sup>13</sup> “Sheik Yusuf Al-Qaradhawi on Al-Jazeera Incites Against Jews, Arab Regimes and the US,” MEMRI—Special Dispatch No. 2183, January 12, 2009, [www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archivesArea=sdID=SP218309](http://www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archivesArea=sdID=SP218309).
- <sup>14</sup> “Sheik Yousuf Al-Qaradhawi: Allah imposed Hitler upon the Jews to Punish Them—” ([www.memritv.org/clip/en/2005.htm](http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/2005.htm)), MEMRI-TV, Clip no. 2005, Al-Jazeera TV (Qatar), January 28–30.
- <sup>15</sup> Jeffrey Goldberg, “Sheikh Qaradawi Seeks Total War,” February 23, 2011, see [www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/02/Sheikh-qaradawi-seeks-total-war/71626/](http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/02/Sheikh-qaradawi-seeks-total-war/71626/). This anti-Jewish *hadith* appears in the Charter of Hamas (the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood) and ends: “The last day will not come unless you fight Jews. A Jew will hide himself behind stones and trees and stones and trees will say, “O Servant of Allah—or O Muslim—there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him.”
- <sup>16</sup> See Ronald L. Nettle, “Islam vs. Israel,” *Commentary* (December 1984), 26–30; and Nettle, “Islamic Archetypes of the Jews: Then and Now,” *Anti-Zionism and Anti-Semitism in the Contemporary World*, Robert S. Wistrich (ed.) (New York, 1990).
- <sup>17</sup> Sayyed Qutb’s seminal essay “Our Battle against the Jews,” written in the early 1950s, was first published in Saudi Arabia in 1970, four years after his execution by Nasir. Ronald L. Nettle, *Past Trials and Present Tribulations: A Muslim Fundamentalist’s View of the Jews* (Oxford, 1987) is a translation into English of Qutb’s text with some additional comments by the translator. It was commissioned by the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- <sup>18</sup> See my *A Lethal Obsession: Anti-Semitism from Antiquity to the Global Jibad* (New York, 2010), p. 807.
- <sup>19</sup> Nettle, “Islam vs. Israel,” *op. cit.*, p. 28.
- <sup>20</sup> “Muslim Brotherhood Vows to Not Recognize Israel,” *The Jerusalem Post*, January 1, 2012.
- <sup>21</sup> Robert S. Wistrich, *A Lethal Obsession*, *op. cit.*, pp. 809–811. See also Matthias Küntzel, *Djihad und Judenbass* (Freiburg, 2002), pp. 28–102 on the Nazi roots of Islamist antisemitism.

- <sup>22</sup> See Rivka Yadlin, *An Arrogant Oppressive Spirit: Anti-Zionism as Anti-Judaism in Egypt* (Oxford, 1989), published for the Vidal Sassoon International Center.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103–129.
- <sup>24</sup> Eldad Beck, “Cairo rally: One day we’ll kill all Jews,” *ynetnews.com*, November 25, 2011. See also Or Avi-Guy, “Anti-Semitism re-emerges ...,” *op. cit.*
- <sup>25</sup> See Wistrich, *A Lethal Obsession*, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>27</sup> Josef Joffe, “Arabischer Frühling, Erwachen im Herbst,” [www.zeit.de/2011/38/Israel/komplettansicht](http://www.zeit.de/2011/38/Israel/komplettansicht). See also Samuel Tadros, “One Nation for New Holocaust,” *The Weekly Standard*, October 4, 2011.
- <sup>28</sup> Janet Doerflinger, “Whitewashing the Muslim Brotherhood,” *FrontPageMagazine.com*, May 20, 2011, [www.meforum.org/2910/whitewashing-muslim-brotherhood](http://www.meforum.org/2910/whitewashing-muslim-brotherhood).
- <sup>29</sup> See Clemens Heni, *Schadenfreude. Islamforschung und Antisemitismus in Deutschland nach 9/11* (Berlin, 2011), for an incisive critique of the willful failure of most German academics to grasp the nature of Islamism, jihad, and antisemitism in the Arab Middle East. Also relevant is my *Muslimische Antisemitismus. Eine aktuelle Gefahr* (Berlin, 2011).
- <sup>30</sup> See Barry Rubin, “Islamism: 21st Century Communism,” *The Jerusalem Post*, December 11, 2011.

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