

The anti-Israeli organization “Masar Badil”

<u>Introduction</u>	2	<u>Contents</u>
<u>History</u>	3	
<u>Activities</u>	8	
Demonstrations		
May 15, 2021: Riots during demonstration in Berlin	8	
June 26, 2021: Protest in front of the Palestine Mission in Berlin	8	
August 16, 2022: Glorification of terror in Berlin	9	
February 4, 2023: Rally in Berlin	9	
April 8, 2023: “Death to the Jews” chants at demonstration in Berlin	9	
Conferences		
October–November 2021: Founding conferences in Madrid, Beirut and São Paulo	10	
October 2022: Conference and demonstration “Return and Liberation”, Brussels	10	
April 2023: “Liberation Conference” in Ottawa	11	
October 2024: Conference in Madrid on the anniversary of October 7	12	
Seminars		
November 29, 2020: Online preparation meeting for the founding	13	
November 11, 2022: Online seminar about Fathi Shaqaqi (PIJ)	13	
July 9, 2023: Online seminar with Fadia Barghouti (Hamas)	14	
November 2, 2023: Online seminar with Husam Badran (Hamas)	14	
November 11, 2023: Online seminar with Ali Abu Shaheen (PIJ)	16	
February 9, 2024: Online seminar with Ahmed al-Shami (Houthi)	16	
February 27, 2024: Online seminar with Basem Naim (Hamas)	17	
May 5, 2024: Online seminar with Osama Hamdan (Hamas)	18	
June 29, 2024: Online seminar with Ghazi Hamad (Hamas)	18	
July 7, 2024 Online seminar with Nasr al-Din Amer (Houthi)	19	
September 6, 2024 Online seminar with Sami Abu Zuhri (Hamas)	20	
<u>Ideology and relationship to Palestinian factions</u>	22	
<u>Imprint</u>	26	

Published on November 28, 2024

Masar Badil (MB) promotes armed struggle against Israel among the Palestinian diaspora in Europe, Canada, the United States and Brazil. It uses seminars, demonstrations and conferences to build a broad alliance that rejects Israel’s existence in its entirety. To this end, it invites senior figures from Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) and Yemen’s Houthi rebels, and honors terrorists from these groups as well as from Hezbollah and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The movement thus provides terror sympathizers in Europe with unique access to these actors. The group explicitly welcomes the violence of October 7 and opposes any form of historical peace process.

Introduction

Some of Masar Badil’s leaders live in Germany. In particular, activists from the now-banned Samidoun group are involved here; they participated in the occupation of the Institute of Social Sciences at Humboldt University in Berlin, among other things. MB is closely linked to the terrorist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and continues its tradition of forming broad alliances with Islamist actors in the fight against Israel.

The “Alternative Palestinian Revolutionary Path Movement” (Arabic for “Masar Badil”, short for “Alternative Path”) began its publicly visible activities in November 2020. Online seminars were held for the first time to promote a founding conference in Madrid in 2021. These efforts were preceded by increasing pressure of repression on some founders and their previous political structures. As a result, the future co-founders of the MB, Khaled Barakat and his wife Charlotte Kates, left Germany in February 2020 after Barakat was expelled and banned from re-entering the country for four years.¹ The two had previously been active in Berlin, including in Samidoun, and had also organized an event with PFLP terrorist Rasma Odeh.² Until 2016, Barakat publicly appeared as a top official of the PFLP,³ and his Canadian wife Charlotte Kates was the international coordinator of the Samidoun network,⁴ which positions itself as a support network for political prisoners, is close to the PFLP and has been banned in Germany since November 2023.⁵

History

In addition to the overlap in personnel, MB also makes use of Samidoun’s digital infrastructure: for example, newsletters are sent out on behalf of MB via Samidoun’s e-mail server.

The founding conference in Madrid in 2021 was organized by a self-described preparatory committee. According to a report on the MB website, this included Barakat, Samidoun activists Mohammed Khatib (European coordinator, Brussels), Zaid “Abdulnasser” T. (Berlin) and Jaldia Abubakra (Madrid), and PFLP activist Majed Dibsi. Khatib has also been referred to as an activist and spokesperson for the PFLP by Palestinian media outlets. Conferences were also held in Beirut (Lebanon), São Paulo (Brazil), at the same time as the Madrid event. MB’s key strategic and ideological positions were set out in a joint declaration of these three conferences⁶ and in a separate declaration from the Madrid conference.⁷

In October 2022, one year after its founding, MB held a conference in Brussels, the workshops of which, according to MB activist Ammar R., took place inside and outside the European Parliament, and mobilized for a “march of return and liberation” in which violence was openly glorified, and participants staged themselves in a martial way with flags and face masks.⁸

Even before October 7, 2023, statements show that the activists regard violence as a legitimate means: In June 2023, they praised a terrorist attack on their website that killed four civilians as a “heroic [...] operation” and called on people worldwide to support the

1 <https://www.tagesspiegel.de/berlin/khaled-barakat-darf-vier-jahre-nicht-nach-deutschland-4160878.html>

2 <https://www.amadeu-antonio-stiftung.de/samidoun-tarnung-fuer-terror-106121/>

3 PFLP website via <https://archive.is/l2ibK>

4 https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2014_2019/documents/dpal/dv/speakerbios/speakerbiosen.pdf

5 <https://www.bundesanzeiger.de/pub/publication/UMOWhKNEKJ5ZQUg5Kk6/content/UMOWhKNEKJ5ZQUg5Kk6/BAZ%20AT%2002.11.2023%20B12.pdf?inline>

6 <https://masarbadil.org/2021/11/1699/>

7 <https://masarbadil.org/2021/11/1702/>

8 <https://masarbadil.org/2022/11/3153/>

international boycott campaign and “armed resistance in Palestine and the region”.⁹ Following the terrorist attack by Hamas on Israel on October 7, 2023, public activity increased.



Masar Badil: We call on all revolutionary forces and liberation movements to support the heroic Palestinian resistance

Oct 7, 2023 | News, Statements



Statement by Masar Badil on October 7, 2023 (Source: Screenshot/Website Masar Badil)

On the morning of October 7, Masar Badil published an appeal in support of the “heroic Palestinian resistance” and the ongoing attack (“Al-Aqsa Flood”) at that time. The article was illustrated with a photo from the protest on October 29, 2022 in Brussels, showing masked Samidoun/MB activists holding a banner with rockets and the silhouette of Mohammed Deif, the leader of Hamas’ al-Qassam Brigades.¹⁰ Two days later, they issued a call to “participate actively in the Battle of the Al-Aqsa Flood by defending our people in the Gaza Strip by all means available, including [...] besieging the embassies of the Zionist regime”.¹¹ In the following months, several publicly accessible online seminars featured well-known representatives of Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad and the Yemeni Houthis, among others. MB amplified voices against Israel and its alleged and actual supporters and sympathizers in Europe. In doing so, the organization denies any right of Israel to exist and is committed to violent struggle. Their language is becoming increasingly aggressive. After the killing of Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah in September 2024, they mourned the death

⁹ <https://masarbadil.org/en/2023/06/3990/>

¹⁰ <https://masarbadil.org/en/2023/10/4361/>

¹¹ <https://masarbadil.org/en/2023/10/4377/>

of the "exceptional, historic leader" and called for "death to the enemies and the racist Zionist entity".¹² Even before that, MB had declared its solidarity with the Iranian regime and described the Iranian attack on Israel in April 2024 as "part of the long decolonizing tradition and expression of principled international solidarity among the peoples of the Global South".¹³ Leading figures regularly appear on the Iranian state television channel "Press TV" and Hezbollah channel "Al-Manar TV". MB has repeatedly called for widespread participation in militant action, the invasion or besieging of Israeli and US embassies around the world, and participation in "the battle for the liberation of Palestine".¹⁴

In April 2024, Kates was briefly arrested by Vancouver police for calling Hamas' October 7th attack a "heroic and brave act" and shouting "Long live October 7th" at a rally. Hamas, the PFLP, the PIJ, Hezbollah and the Houthi rebels are not terrorists, but brave "resistance fighters" and "heroes", Kates said.¹⁵

In an online seminar with a Hamas spokesman, Mohammed Khatib, an MB activist and Samidoun coordinator for Europe, called October 7 a "glorious day". Due to his activities within Samidoun and MB, the Belgian government announced in April 2024 that it would withdraw his refugee status.¹⁶

On the anniversary of October 7, MB organized a conference and numerous events in Madrid, including a demonstration with around 500 participants.

12 <https://masarbadil.org/en/2024/09/5259/>

13 <https://masarbadil.org/en/2024/04/4598/>

14 <https://masarbadil.org/en/2024/05/4718/>

15 <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/hate-investigation-demonstration-comments-1.7190914>

16 <https://www.nzz.ch/zuerich/vorfall-in-roter-fabrik-gemeinderaete-fordern-massnahmen-gegen-antisemitismus-id.1849218>

In addition to dozens of online seminars, MB has been organizing events in Germany, Spain, France, Belgium, Sweden, Canada, Brazil and Lebanon since 2020. The proximity of the MB network to Germany was evident from the beginning of its activities through the location of its leading activists. Khaled Barakat and Charlotte Kates lived in Berlin, and co-founder Zaid "Abdulnasser" T. coordinated the Samidoun network in Germany from here. In addition, numerous activists living in Berlin who were part of the Samidoun network, which has since been banned in Germany, participated in demonstrations, conferences and seminars. Until the ban, some people had a dual role, in which they were officially active in both organizations at the same time and took on leading roles. A long-standing activist of the German activist group "Palästina-Komitee Stuttgart" also took part in one of the first seminars.

The first sighting of MB references in Germany can be attributed to an activist displaying a poster referring to MB at a Samidoun rally in Bonn in November 2020.¹⁷ He later became part of the preparatory group for the founding in Germany.

In May 2021, MB and Samidoun called for a demonstration in Berlin. It was marked by riots and numerous antisemitic calls for violence. In April 2023, they mobilized again together with Samidoun for a protest in Berlin. In addition to numerous anti-Israeli and violence-glorifying slogans, one participant shouted "Death to the Jews!"¹⁸

In May 2024, anti-Israel activists occupied a building at Humboldt University in Berlin. An activist associated with MB was among those who barricaded themselves inside the building. Shortly after, at least two other MB activists took part in protests in front of the building, including Zaid "Abdulnasser" T.



Demonstration in front of an occupied HU-Berlin building (Source: picture alliance/dpa | Soeren Stache)

¹⁷ Facebook post by Samidoun via <https://archive.li/fU94i>

¹⁸ <https://democ.de/artikel/tod-den-juden-tod-israel-antisemitische-parolen-bei-palaestinenser-demo-in-berlin/>

In an interview that was broadcast as part of public broadcaster ZDF's frontal program, Zaid "Abdulnasser" T., a member of the MB's executive committee, said that the students had been urged to make radical decisions and to work to ensure that the university broke off all relations with "that entity" (Israel). According to T., MB has conducted online seminars to bring activists in the diaspora together with "leaders of the resistance in the region", spokespersons from Yemen, Palestine, leaders of the resistance from Hamas, Islamic Jihad and others, "who express their opinions without filters. And people asked questions in the chat".¹⁹

The following overview is a selection of the activities of MB in Germany and online activities. Activists living in Germany were involved in a large part of the activities shown below.

¹⁹ ZDF frontal, broadcast from October 8, 2024

Demonstrations

Activities

May 15, 2021: Riots during demonstration in Berlin

A demonstration in Berlin (Neukölln) in May 2021 attracted around 3,500 people. Samidoun and Masar Badil had called for the demonstration on so-called Nakba Day as part of the international "Week of Palestinian Struggle". This protest followed international protests in the wake of developments in the Jerusalem neighborhood of Sheikh Jarrah. The person who registered the demonstration is the Samidoun and MB activist Musaab A.

Among the participants were supporters of various Palestinian factions, including the PFLP and Hamas, as well as the boycott movement BDS and isolated supporters of the Turkish extreme right-wing group "Gray Wolves". Chants calling for the elimination of Israel could be heard; participants chanting antisemitic slogans, including "O Qassam, o darling, strike, destroy Tel Aviv" and "Khaybar, Khaybar o Jews, the army of Muhammad will return".

The police finally tried to break up the march due to non-compliance with rules imposed because of the coronavirus pandemic. This led to violent clashes between demonstrators and the police. Bottles, stones and firecrackers were thrown at police forces.²⁰



Banner from MB at demonstration on May 15, 2021 in Berlin-Neukölln. (Source: democ)

June 26, 2021: Protest in front of the Palestine Mission in Berlin

Together with Samidoun, the MB preparatory committee called for a protest in front of the Palestine Mission in Berlin. The protest in front of the Palestinian Authority (PA) representation in Berlin was prompted by the death of opposition member Nizar Banat in PA police custody.

²⁰ <https://democ.de/artikel/massive-gewalt-und-offener-judenhass-bei-palaestina-demos-in-berlin/>

August 16, 2022: Glorification of terror in Berlin

A small group of Samidoun activists protested in Berlin (Neukölln) in August 2022. They also displayed a banner marked MB ("O there will come a time that will overcome the wrong time" in Arabic, "Long live the Palestinian resistance" in English, name of MB in Arabic). Samidoun and MB activists took turns holding a sign congratulating Hamas military leader Mohammed Deif on his birthday ("Happy birthday, my lord the leader: Mohammed Deif" in Arabic).

February 4, 2023: Rally in Berlin

A small group of Samidoun and MB activists protested in Berlin. The MB website later published a speech an activist had given on behalf of the movement. According to the script, MB declared its solidarity with Musab Shtayyeh, a commander of Hamas' Qassam Brigades who was arrested by PA forces in September 2022, and condemned the PA's actions. The speech ended with a militant call for Palestinians everywhere, whether in Berlin, Paris, London, Beirut, Istanbul or Chile, to sacrifice themselves for liberation in the same way as they do in Palestine: "Down with the Zionist entity! Down with America, down with colonialism! Shame on the traitors! Long live the Palestinian resistance in all its forms, especially the armed Palestinian resistance.! Resilience to our prisoners in the jails! Glory and immortality to our righteous martyrs!".²¹

April 8, 2023: "Death to the Jews" chants at demonstration in Berlin

The demonstration on Berlin's Sonnenallee made international headlines after a participant climbed onto the organizers truck and chants the slogan "Death to the Jews!". Before that, a song with the line "Death to Israel!" was played from the truck. The protest was organized by Samidoun and MB.²²

²¹ <https://masarbadil.org/2023/02/3281/>

²² <https://democ.de/artikel/tod-den-juden-tod-israel-antisemitische-parolen-bei-palaestinerser-demo-in-berlin/>

Conferences

The founding of MB was marked by three simultaneous conferences in Madrid (Spain), Beirut (Lebanon) and São Paulo (Brazil) in 2021. In the following years, the organization held annual conferences, during which public demonstrations were also held.

October–November 2021: Founding conferences in Madrid, Beirut and São Paulo

From October to November 2021, MB held a conference in Madrid under the title “La Conferencia de la Ruta Alternativa Palestina”. This conference was promoted on the English and Arabic MB websites as early as May 2021, and the preparatory committee was presented then as well. It included several Samidoun and MB founding members such as Jaldia Abubakra, Khaled Barakat, Zaid “Abdulnasser” T. and Mohammed Khatib. In addition to a demonstration, several seminars and conferences in other cities took place as part of the founding conference in Madrid, in which people participated either on-site or digitally. Many MB activists living in Germany joined the demonstration in Madrid. On October 30, 2021, a conference was held in parallel in Beirut. Among the numerous participants were Rita Hamdan of the Arab Socialist Action Party Lebanon, the Lebanese equivalent of the PFLP, Mustafa Awad, who is associated with Samidoun and the PFLP, and the former Palestinian ambassador to India, Osama Al-Ali, who in the past expressed sympathy for Hitler and the Holocaust.²³ Another conference took place in São Paulo. In preparation for the event, MB published a video message from PIJ official Sheikh Nafez Azzam calling for participation in the conferences.²⁴

October 2022: Conference and demonstration “Return and Liberation”, Brussels

From October 24 to 29, 2022, MB organized a week of action in Brussels under the title “March for Return and Liberation,” culminating in a demonstration through the city center. The supporting program included lectures and seminars, such as a lecture by Khaled Barakat in memory of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad terrorist Fathi Shaqaqi. According to the MB activist Ammar R., workshops were also held in the European Parliament.²⁵

To emphasize the transnational character of Masar Badil, events were also organized outside of Brussels as part of the week of action, such as a march in Lannemezan (France), to the prison where Georges Ibrahim Abdallah is serving his sentence, or a seminar “Pan-Arabism, the Left and Islamic Resistance Movements Confronting the Zionist Project” in Beirut. Ahead of the conference, videos were released with messages of greeting from senior officials from various factions calling for participation in events during the conference, including Khaled al-Batsh (PIJ),²⁶ Ahmad Bahar (Hamas) and Salman Abu Sitta.²⁷

On October 29, 2022, hundreds of demonstrators marched through Brussels. The march was led by Samidoun and MB activists wearing Kufiyas. They were also wearing headbands with the Arabic inscription “Lions’ Den” (Arin al-Usud) as a reference to the terrorist group of the

23 <https://www.memri.org/tv/osama-al-ali-fmr-palestinian-ambassador-india-hitler-holocaust-jews-catastrophe>

24 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-GaHO_wl7uo (removed)

25 <https://masarbadil.org/2022/11/3153/>

26 <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=485809283570771>

27 <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=520365602883723>

Terrorist propaganda for the West

The anti-Israeli organization “Masar Badil”

same name, and a banner showing rockets and the silhouette of Mohammed Deif, leader of Hamas’ al-Qassam Brigades. The group included numerous activists living in Germany. In addition to antisemitic slogans, the group chanted Arabic slogans such as “Down with the olive branch, long live the rifle!” and “No peace, no watermelon, we need bullets and rockets!”. In his speech, Mohammed Khatib called on the Zionist movement to fear MB: “It is our resolute path to restore [Palestinian diaspora’s] voices and its guns. It is our resolute path to establish a Palestinian, Arab, and international supporting community that will stand by the Palestinian armed resistance”.²⁸



Activists from MB demonstrating in Brussels on October 29, 2022, (Source: Instagram)

April 2023: “Liberation Conference” in Ottawa

From April 28 to 30, MB and Samidoun organized a conference in Ottawa (Canada) which was only moderately attended compared to previous events. At a demonstration held during the conference, Khaled Barakat spoke in front of a few dozen participants. He thanked the “heroic forces of the Kata’ib Al-Qassam [of Hamas], Saraya al-Jihad [Iranian proxy group in Iraq], the Kata’ib Abu Ali Mustafa [of the PFLP] and all Palestinian resistance factions who put their lives” and called for “unity of all fronts and in all arenas of the Palestinian, Lebanese, Yemeni, Syrian and Iraqi resistance”.

²⁸ <https://www.memri.org/tv/pro-palestinian-rally-brussels-armed-resistance-shoot-rifles-rockets-ambassador-be-afraid>

October 2024: Conference in Madrid on the anniversary of October 7

On the occasion of the anniversary of the “glorious October 7”²⁹, MB organized a conference in Madrid from October 1 to 7.³⁰ Around 500 participants joined the demonstration that took place during the conference on October 6, 2024. At the closing rally, Charlotte Kates again spoke of October 7 as a “heroic operation of the Palestinian resistance”, which “defends humanity”, “with every gun; with every bullet; with every missile”.³¹



Charlotte Kates speaks at an MB demonstration on 6 October 2023 in Madrid (source: democ)

29 <https://masarbadil.org/en/2024/05/4695/>

30 <https://masarbadil.org/en/2024/07/5026/>

31 <https://democ.de/artikel/samidoun-masar-badil-madrid/>

Seminars

In numerous online seminars and other online events, MB promotes its movement and ideas. Some of these are streamed live and later posted online, while others are not recorded and only open to registered participants. In general, the seminars are held in Arabic with simultaneous translation into English and Spanish. In addition to representatives of various militant organizations, popular social scientists and speakers such as As'ad Abu-Khalil, Salman Abu Sitta and Mounir Shafiq also occasionally accept the invitations of MB.

The movement uses social media channels on mainstream platforms such as Facebook, Instagram and X (formerly Twitter), as well as low-reach channels on Telegram and Odysee. Events are also advertised via Telegram channels such as "Resistance News Network", the largest English-language Telegram channel, which disseminates propaganda content from all factions involved in the armed fight against Israel.

In addition to event announcements and recordings of seminars, MB promotes a broad anti-Israeli alliance in short videos and on its multilingual website.

While the online seminars are conducted via Zoom, in the past viewers were also able to participate via Facebook. Registration is done directly through Zoom or through an online form. Recordings of these seminars remained accessible on Facebook later and were also uploaded to YouTube. Since MB's YouTube presence was removed in July 2024, the organization switched to the alternative social media platform Odysee.

November 29, 2020: Online preparation meeting for the founding

During one of its first online events, Masar Badil presented itself and its core political ideas. According to a BDS activist who lives in Germany and who was present, more than 100 people joined the event. Hatem Al-Muhtaseb (Palestinian Youth Movement USA, and part of the preparatory committee) spoke of a "Judaization" of Palestine, which is besieged and suffocated by the Zionist enemy. The Palestinian Authority was rejected entirely and described as a tool of the occupation. Participants were called upon to take action and bring together as many institutions, academics, national bodies, activists, workers and Palestinians in the diaspora as possible to organize for the Palestinian cause. Palestine could only be a complete unity from the river to the sea. Vague statements were made about the position of MB within Palestinian organizations; MB is not an alternative to a party or movement, but a collective movement that unites all these groups under the banner of the Palestinian people. It is an extension of the existing organizations and part of the Palestinian nation and its institutions.

A well-known activist of the antisemitic boycott movement BDS in Berlin was taking part in the seminar and argued that efforts in the political struggle must be intensified, just as the Jews would do. He attracted attention in Berlin by disrupting an event with a Holocaust survivor³² and attempting to take legal action against the BDS resolution of the German Bundestag.³³

32 <https://www.jpost.com/diaspora/antisemitism/bds-jew-hater-convicted-for-violent-assault-in-germany-637527>

33 <https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/riri-hylton/three-activists-go-trial-challenging-israeli-apartheid-berlin>

November 11, 2022: Online seminar with Khaled Barakat (MB) about Fathi Shaqaqi (PIJ)

In an online seminar at the end of the "Return and Liberation Week", Khaled Barakat talked about the life and career of Fathi Shaqaqi, a founder of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), who he honored as a martyr. The week also marked the first anniversary of the founding of Masar Badil. The reaction of the "fascist" and "racist" Zionists to the actions and events of MB was described a step in the right direction. In this context, Barakat talked about the repression he and other activists have experienced, explicitly including the "comrades" from the Samidoun network. Zionist organizations would repeatedly try to criminalize Samidoun. Barakat mentioned the important role of the PIJ during the first intifada and Shaqaqi's relations to other "revolutionary forces" such as Hezbollah, Hamas and the PFLP. In the Palestinian cause, any differences, such as those between Hamas and the PFLP, should be ignored. Here Barakat also referred to Sheikh Izz ad-Din al-Qassam and praised his militant struggle against colonialism, while the Palestinian left and communists were immersed in theoretical debates in the 1930s. Barakat described Al-Qassam and his followers as revolutionary fighters who fought in the right place. In conclusion, the necessity of armed struggle and violence was emphasized once again, without which the unifying goals of Barakat, Shaqaqi and Al-Qassam could not be achieved. Today, Al-Qassam is scientifically linked to the first political plans for the expulsion of Jews from Palestine in the mid-1920s.

July 9, 2023: Online seminar with Fadia Barghouti (Hamas)

In a seminar with the Palestinian Hamas activist Fadia Barghouti,³⁴ wife of the imprisoned Mahmoud Barghouti, various forms of Palestinian resistance and the current situation in Palestine were discussed. She defended the right of Palestinians to resist the occupation, including through armed struggle, because there would be no other way for the Palestinian people.

She emphasized the importance of armed resistance and cited groups such as the Jenin Brigades and the "Lions' Den" (Arin al-Usud) in Nablus as examples of new forms of resistance that were reaching young people particularly through their strong presence in social media. One speaker added that the broad popular resistance, such as protests and strikes, and the armed resistance complement each other; one cannot exist without the other.

November 2, 2023: Online seminar with Husam Badran (Hamas)

Almost a month after Hamas' attack on Israel, senior Hamas member Husam Badran spoke at an online seminar. He was responsible for numerous suicide bombings during the Second Intifada. At the beginning, Charlotte Kates expressed regret that the event, which supposedly had around 600 registrations, should have taken place on Zoom, but that her account had been deleted at short notice.

34 <https://www.srf.ch/audio/rendez-vous/hamas-im-westjordanland-frauen-uebernehmen-das-zepter?id=12514328>



Online seminar with Husam Badran on 2 November 2023 (Source: Screenshot/Zoom)

In addition to extensive praise for the “flawless” operation of October 7, Badran explicitly addressed the audience, which, according to the moderator, included international progressive left-wing activists. Badran described the importance of international solidarity movements for the Palestinian resistance. He emphasized that there was no division between Palestinians, Arabs and supporters worldwide, as the main goal is liberation from occupation. He highlighted that the activities and demonstrations, especially by leftist movements in the West, were very important. These movements would help to correct the image of the Palestinian resistance movement:

“Every movement in the West by free forces, by left-wing movements, which we perceive to be deeply convinced of freedom and the evil of the occupation, and which love justice and believe that the oppressed peoples must realize their rights, is crucial.

I am speaking to you directly from the heart of the struggle and from long experience in the resistance. Your movements are very important – on the streets, in the various centers, even at the press conferences that we see with Western personalities who support the occupation. We see the presence of many leftists at such conferences. Communication [...] on social media is also important to explain the Palestinian cause, which is that we are a people living under occupation, and we do not want to coexist with this occupation.

Every movement that takes place in the West is important, and your voice reaches us.

Believe me, even if it is only a small town here or there, we follow everything in detail. The leadership of the resistance receives daily reports on these movements, their impact and their role. We believe that you have played an important role in reversing the Zionist narrative that portrayed the resistance as barbaric and terrorist”.

November 11, 2023: Online seminar with Ali Abu Shaheen (PIJ)

Ali Abu Shaheen, a senior member of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), spoke to Mohammed Khatib about the armed resistance and the successes achieved in the 7 October attack. Khatib began by making it clear that, as Palestinians in the diaspora, they would follow the path set by the resistance and that it was an honor to have a representative of the resistance, led by the PIJ, present again.

Ali Abu Shaheen emphasized that the negotiating position is currently very good because the resistance was holding numerous civilians of different nationalities and soldiers, unlike before. This was a suitable means of exerting pressure in future negotiations to free Palestinian prisoners, he said.



Online seminar with Ali Abu Shaheen on 11 November 2023 (Source: Screenshot/Zoom)

He continued that ideological differences do not matter, because they were united in the cause of liberation. Thus, left-wing organizations such as the PFLP were just as much part of the resistance as the PIJ or Hamas. He stated that all three groups had recently met and discussed strategic issues.

He also thanked the activists who were taking part in protests worldwide:

"The demonstrations across Europe, America, the Arab and Islamic world have had a profound moral impact on our people. We thank all those who have participated, and we also recognize the role of social media in revealing the truth and spreading images of resistance, martyrs and children. This is part of the struggle. They are part of this humanitarian, ethical and revolutionary struggle for justice. Whether it is sharing on social media or attending demonstrations, exhibitions and other events, you can make a difference".

Khatib concluded by expressing his gratitude and saying, "We fully trust the resistance's analysis and decision-making, and we're grateful for the support and guidance from the resistance."

February 9, 2024: Online seminar with Ahmed al-Shami (Houthi)

In a 45-minute seminar, Mohammed Khatib and Houthi spokesman Ahmad Al-Shami discussed similarities and overlaps in the fight against the enemy, the Zionist lobby with its

three arms (USA, Great Britain and Israel). Khatib stressed MB's opposition to putting the Houthis on Western terror lists. These lists, he said, include only revolutionary forces fighting against global imperialism. Both representatives expressed their mutual loyalty, respect and support on behalf of their organizations.



Online seminar with Ahmed al-Shami on 9 February 2024 (Source: Screenshot/Zoom)

February 27, 2024: Online seminar with Basem Naim (Hamas)

Hamas official Basem Naim was invited to speak at a two-hour seminar. Naim, who has repeatedly denied that civilians were killed on October 7 and is considered one of the most important disseminators of disinformation about the Hamas attack on Israel,³⁵ was greeted warmly and respectfully by Khaled Al-Raheb, who introduced him as "brother and friend" and as one of the most important Palestinian figures. Al-Raheb said that Masar Badil had the warmest feelings of loyalty and solidarity towards him. In his presentation, Naim talked about the different fronts needed in this struggle, emphasizing the need for a military as well as an international front. October 7 reactivated this important international front, and the oppressed were now defending themselves against the colonizer. He described Hamas as a resistance group that believes in a moderate and open Islam, in political and social plurality, in coexistence. They have no problem with Judaism or Jews as individuals. However, he adds: "We believe that all Palestine is a pure right for the Palestinians [...] from the river to the sea".

He also legitimized Hamas' violence with the right to resist and placed himself in the tradition of anti-colonial struggles for freedom, which could only have been waged with violence. Israel's nature was described as brutal, fascist, racist and bloody, that should be ended in the same way. October 7 was thus logical and necessary. Naim condemned Germany's labelling of Hamas as terrorists and presented it as pure arbitrariness. With the ongoing "Judaization" of Jerusalem, the Palestinian people had no choice but to kill or be killed themselves. In the further course of the event, Naim spread classic, secondary antisemitic narratives: Israel, the country that bases its entire existence and legitimacy on the genocide of the Jews, would

35 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2024/01/21/hamas-attack-october-7-conspiracy-israel/>

now itself be committing genocide. The Zionist entity would be destroyed by this accusation and the Al-Aqsa operation was comparable to the Battle of Stalingrad.



Online seminar with Basem Naim
27 February 2024 (Source: Screenshot/
Zoom)

During the seminar, terrorists Georges Ibrahim Abdallah (PFLP-EO/LARF), Izz ad-Din Al-Qassam (militant Islamist, namesake of the Qassam Brigades), Sheikh Ahmad Yassin (Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas), Wadie Haddad (PFLP) and Yahya Ayyash (Hamas) were commemorated. At the end of the seminar, Mohammed Khatib celebrated October 7 as a "glorious day" in the history of the Palestinian people and emphasized the strengthening of the diaspora as one of the most important achievements. Zionism was equated with National Socialism and Netanyahu's allies were called antisemites.

May 5, 2024: Online seminar with Osama Hamdan (Hamas)

Osama Hamdan, the political leader of Hamas responsible for international relations, was the guest at a seminar lasting almost two hours. The event was considered a continuation of a series of exchange formats with the Palestinian resistance. During the seminar, Hamdan also glorified the acts of October 7 as the high point of the Palestinian resistance. October 7, he said, had brought the Palestinian cause back to the center of attention and stood against occupation and Zionism.

June 29, 2024: Online seminar with Ghazi Hamad (Hamas)

In the two-hour seminar, high-ranking Hamas member Ghazi Hamad placed October 7 in the long tradition of the Palestinian struggle since the early 20th century. With the attack, he claimed, it was possible to end the phase of normalization and establishment of Israel in the region and to show that militarily they were able to inflict great damage on Israel. A Jewish state would not be accepted, as Palestine is historically the land of the Palestinians.



Online seminar with Ghazi Hamad
29 June 2024 (Source: Screenshot/
Zoom)

In the 20th century, Palestine took in persecuted Jews, but these turned against the Arabs, "permeated by abominable Zionist ideas". He was very moved by the large demonstrations in Europe and at US universities, Hamad said, adding that a major breakthrough had been achieved for the Palestinian cause. In conclusion, he thanked everyone present and Masar Badil. Hamas would always be ready to meet with all supporters of Palestine – including in person – and to form broad fronts. The only country they would not talk to is Israel:

"We wanted to be open to everyone and have contact with everyone and form a front that unites divided Palestine, and that was honestly our approach. There is still a lack of developing our relations, and I hope that your conference will be a sign that we can meet. I mean, not on Zoom, we can meet in person. Face to face, as they say. We are discussing this issue. We in the Hamas movement are prepared to meet with any person who is committed to the Palestinian cause and wants to support it in any way, politically, financially or in the media".

July 7, 2024 Online seminar with Nasr al-Din Amer (Houthi)

Khaled Barakat chaired a seminar with Nasr al-Din Amer, deputy head of the Houthi media authority and chairman of the board of the Houthi Saba News Agency. According to Barakat, the aim of holding regular seminars was to convey the perspective of the resistance to a broad audience. In addition to revolutionary forces and friends of the movement, this also includes researchers and individuals around the world. In addition to Nasr al-Din Amer, Samidoun and representatives of the "Women of Palestine for Dignity Movement" (Al-Karama) also attended the seminar. Charlotte Kates, as international network coordinator of Samidoun, expressed her support for the Yemeni resistance at the beginning of the seminar and emphasized the importance of the Houthi rebels. She also emphasized the importance of supporting the BDS movement for the Palestinian cause. She invited all participants to become part of the Samidoun network and work together for the liberation of Palestine from the river to the sea. Regarding the connection between Samidoun and Masar Badil, she said: "Samidoun is also part of the Masar Badil Palestinian Revolutionary Movement".



Online seminar with Nasr al-Din Amer
07.07.2024 (Source: Screenshot/Zoom)

Nasr al-Din Amer emphasized the close ties between the resistance struggles in Yemen and Palestine, their flags being united, and that Yemeni support for Gaza was inevitable. They would be prepared for any further struggles that may arise. He described October 7 as a natural consequence of 76 years of oppression and injustice. In response to a question from participants about how to support the resistance, al-Din Amer listed some alternatives that have proven useful. Since not everyone could fight with weapons, he said, people should take part in demonstrations, sit-ins and protests at universities and in public places. He reiterated these demands in the further course of the webinar: "Those who live in regions where direct engagement with the enemy is not possible can participate through demonstrations, media work and economic boycotts." Everyone can get involved: "People with technical and engineering knowledge can contact resistance groups in Palestine directly or, if this is difficult, other dedicated groups outside Palestine." Barakat concluded by emphasizing the common struggle of the Yemenis and Palestinians. Yemen had brought the Arab and Islamic worlds back to the true struggle in the region, which is between the Arab people and the Zionist entity.

September 6, 2024 Online seminar with Sami Abu Zuhri (Hamas)

On September 6, 2024, Masar Badil held a seminar with Sami Abu Zuhri, head of Hamas' political bureau abroad. The focus was on the attacks by Hamas since October 7, 2023, which, according to Abu Zuhri, must be continued or repeated, no matter the cost. After almost a year, Israel and the United States had not achieved their goals. Hamas still has the hostages and Israel is unable to free its soldiers alive, only as corpses, he said. Hamas and the resistance remain unbroken. Although there were victims on their own side, with Palestinians and leaders killed, this was described as "a natural price to pay". Hamas leaders, like all Palestinians, are willing to sacrifice everything: "This cause is sacred". He said he hoped that after allies from Lebanon, Iraq and Yemen joined the fight, "the entire Ummah will rise up and join this battle".



Online seminar with Sami Abu Zuhri
6 September 2024 (Source:
Screenshot/Zoom)

According to Abu Zuhri, the role of Palestinians in the diaspora is crucial. They are the most important group to support the people of Gaza. The “Jewish lobbies that incite and support murder and crimes in Palestine” must be countered by Arab and Muslim lobbies, Abu Zuhri said. The organization of the MB conference in Madrid to mark the anniversary of October was an “important and good example”. Hamas supports these initiatives and calls for them to be repeated in all Western cities. He also called for the protests at universities in the West to be expanded.

Later he spoke again of a “Jewish lobby” in the United States and said that Netanyahu was taking advantage of the fact that “most of the decision-makers in both major American parties are Jewish”. Furthermore, he said that they were confronted with lobbies that controlled the US government. In conclusion, he said that they would not only liberate Gaza, “but also liberating the nation and the world from the grip of these cursed Jewish lobbies”.

Masar Badil summarizes its ideological and strategic positions in policy statements and a declaration adopted at the founding conference in Madrid in November 2021. In interviews on the website and on television, MB activists define their position within the Palestinian resistance.³⁶

Ideology

At the core of the 2021 founding declaration is the conviction of the Palestinian people's right to “return and self-determination”, the condemnation and rejection of the Palestinian Authority (PA) and its leaders, and the call for resistance. In doing so, MB refers to the Palestinian National Charter, which the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) adopted in 1964 and amended in Cairo in 1968. According to the National Charter, the entire territory of Palestine, from the Jordan to the Mediterranean, must be liberated from Zionism. It is the indivisible homeland of the Arab Palestinians. Only in this way can peace and quiet be restored to the region, which has been destroyed by “racist” and “fascist” Zionism, which is described as an imperialist project. The only way to liberation, according to the National Charter, is armed resistance.³⁷ MB calls for the unity and mobilization of all Palestinian, Arab and international forces in the struggle against “Zionist colonialism”. The attempts to normalize Palestinian-Arab-Israeli relations must be fought—including through political, social, economic and cultural boycotts. Within Palestine, MB must overthrow the corrupt and Zionist-controlled PA.³⁸

In the run-up to the founding conference, the preparatory committee defined various principles of the joint struggle: According to these, it is clear that Palestine in its historical borders is a unified region without distinction between the 1948 and 1967 territories and is an integral part of the Arab nation and the homeland of the Palestinian people. The ongoing catastrophe since 1947 (Arabic: Nakba), characterized by expulsion, ethnic cleansing and colonization, represents an ongoing injustice. This was caused by the Zionist movement, which was supported globally by imperialism and regionally by reactionary forces. This injustice can only be redressed by the return of the Palestinians to their homeland, the restoration of their property and compensation. The PLO was formed to organize the struggle of the Palestinian people, and any amendment to the National Charter that impairs complete liberation is invalid. All agreements with Israel since the Madrid Conference of 1991 are considered illegitimate.

The struggle is not only taking place in the Palestinian territories: the bond between the Palestinians living there, and the diaspora is characterized as an important tool in the fight. Furthermore, the Palestinian people share some elements of their history with liberation movements worldwide and are therefore comrades-in-arms in their struggles.

Any attempt to hinder the Palestinians' liberation struggle is considered a crime and legitimizes the daily Zionist colonial crimes. Finally, according to the “principles of struggle”, the Palestinian people see themselves as the vanguard of the Arab liberation movements against Zionism and imperialism and call on all other peoples to support this struggle.³⁹

36 <https://masarbadil.org/2022/11/3153/>

37 <https://masarbadil.org/en/palestinian-national-charter/>

38 <https://masarbadil.org/en/2021/11/1695/>

39 <https://masarbadil.org/en/principles-of-struggle/>

The preparatory committee also set out the goals of the Madrid conference: it should draw international attention to the fact that the path of negotiation with Israel, as symbolized by Madrid (1991) and Oslo (1993), has failed catastrophically. The date of the founding conference refers to these two conferences, which both took place in the fall. Any concession made at the time should be publicly rejected at the MB conference. In this way, the meeting should contribute to hindering the normalization movements between the Arab states and Israel.

The voice of the Palestinian masses, according to the preparatory committee, should be liberated and their leading role in the national liberation movement restored in order to protect their rights and reclaim their institutions.

Another aim of the conference is to make the Palestinian diaspora live up to its historical responsibility of supporting the national movement and strengthening the Palestinian masses in Palestine. It should also strengthen the global support for the Palestinian cause and remind the public that the Palestinian liberation movement is part of the global struggle against imperialism, Zionism and exploitation. Finally, a unified organizational framework is needed to lead the masses.

In an interview, Ammar R., a Masar Badil activist living in Sweden, emphasizes that MB is an attempt to build or initiate a revolutionary people's movement fighting for the return and liberation of the Palestinians in exile. The fact that "Zionist organizations" and state structures would attack MB and affiliated groups would only make them stronger. R. is also asked about the fact that Palestinian voices were disturbed by masked activists at the 2022 march in Brussels or by the glorification of Mohammed Deif (Hamas), the "Lions' Den" (Arin al-Usud) or the Jenin brigades. R. replies that these incidents did not happen by chance. Rather, they are part of MB's approach of making it clear that the movement stands united behind all parts of the resistance. It is necessary to expand the boundaries of solidarity: those who stand up for the rights of the Palestinian people must also stand by the martyrs and prisoners and not be swayed. R. also defended posters with pictures of Ahmad Sa'adat (secretary general of the PFLP) and Georges Ibrahim Abdallah at the marches: The marches should have unequivocally expressed solidarity with the armed resistance and the claim to liberate Palestine from the river to the sea. This was positively received by Palestinian voices; there was only criticism from "organizations and agents of the Zionist movement". According to R., MB's explicit aim is to normalize the diaspora's relationship with all forms of resistance, including the various organizations and brigades, and to fight for the recognition of armed resistance as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. MB therefore maintains good relations with most national organizations and explicitly does not see itself as a competing party or faction. There would be hostility within Palestine towards the PA, which is a gang of corrupt capitalists who cooperate with the enemy. Even if the constitution of a liberated Palestine only had to be determined by the people when the time came, MB envisions a socialist Palestine from the sea to the river that is free from all forms of discrimination. This could not be achieved with a one-state solution, in which Palestinians would be fully integrated into the Israeli state. The "Zionist settlement" had to be completely eliminated and dissolved.⁴⁰

40 <https://masarbadil.org/2022/07/2829/>

In public, MB emphasizes its independence from other political groups. In an interview in July 2022, for example, the MB activist Jaldia Abubakra criticized that hostile Zionist organizations would invent lies about MB and alleged ties to Hezbollah, Hamas and the PFLP. Although MB is proud of the struggle of these resistance forces and defends it in the West, it has no organizational or financial ties to any Palestinian or Arab party, according to Abubakra.⁴¹

Ideologically and in terms of personnel, MB is nevertheless particularly close to the PFLP. The organization and its founding and leading figures are given a special role in online seminars and in propaganda. At the first online event in November 2020, Khaled Barakat promoted MB and justified his rejection of the 1991 Madrid Conference, which MB rejected at its founding conference, with the views of George Habash.⁴² Barakat also refers to Habash in other seminars.⁴³ Habash co-founded the “Arab Nationalist Movement” (ANM) in the 1950s and later founded the PFLP, serving as its general secretary until 2000.

In a Facebook video from September 2022,⁴⁴ MB honours various martyrs of the Palestinian liberation struggle, including leading figures and terrorists from Fatah, the PFLP, DFLP, Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), Hamas and Hezbollah.⁴⁵ Among those honoured are – in addition to leading figures and founding fathers of the aforementioned movements – Samir Kuntar, who was involved in a terrorist attack in Nahariya (Israel) in 1979 in which three civilians, including two little girls, were murdered. The video also makes a special reference to the PFLP: while the list of honorees starts with Wadie Haddad, who co-founded the PFLP and is considered the coordinator of its terror, the video ends with a portrait and quote from George Habash.

Khaled Barakat, who is also one of the leading figures of Samidoun, plays a central role within MB. Interviews with or opinion pieces by Barakat frequently appear on the MB website. In online seminars, he sometimes moderates the welcome of guests or the discussion. Until 2016, Barakat publicly appeared as a top official of the PFLP, e.g. on its website.⁴⁶

In June 2023, the PFLP issued a brief statement distancing itself from MB. To prevent the misuse of its name, it wanted to make it clear that the party had no links or relations with MB and was not responsible for the positions or activities advocated by MB.⁴⁷

On the same day, MB reaffirmed this distancing on its Arabic website, stating that there are no organizational, financial or other relationships between the PFLP and MB and the

41 <https://masarbadil.org/2022/07/2827/>

42 <https://www.facebook.com/masarbadil/videos/788484305062696>

43 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cw-iaPiflvA> (removed)

44 <https://www.facebook.com/masarbadil/videos/1045390812844184/>

45 Portraits of Wadie Haddad (PFLP), Ghassan Kanafani (PFLP), Majed Abu Sharar (Fatah), Hanna Muqbel, Khaled Nazzal (DFLP), Mustafa Akawi (PFLP), Fathi Schaqaqi (PIJ), Imad Mughniyeh (Hezbollah), Ahmed Yassin (Hamas), Ahmed al-Jabari (Hamas), Samir Kuntar (PLF, Hezbollah), Bassel al-Araj, Khaled Mansour (PIJ), Nizar Banat, Tayseer al-Jabari (PIJ), Shireen Abu Akleh, Ibrahim al-Nabulsi are shown.

46 PFLP website via <https://archive.is/l2ibK>

47 PFLP website via <https://archive.li/1YwQp>

associated institutions and individuals. In the statement, MB emphasizes that it perceives the PFLP as a progressive force in the liberation struggle and appeals to the unity of all resistance forces.⁴⁸

With its radical rejection of any concessions, negotiations and recognition of Israel, and its commitment to violent resistance, MB is clearly following in the tradition of the Palestinian Rejectionist Front. Since the early 1970s, the term has been used to describe alliances of different Palestinian factions united in their rejection of any negotiations with Israel. After the Yom Kippur War in 1973, the PLO under Yasser Arafat had implicitly admitted for the first time with its ten-point program that a two-state solution could – at least temporarily – be possible. The PFLP strongly opposed this and formed the Rejectionist Front with the PFLP-GC, two Palestinian offshoots of the Baath movement and other smaller groups. Although its members formally remained part of the PLO, they boycotted important committees. It was only after a declaration against negotiations with Israel was accepted in 1977 that they gradually re-established their regular membership.

The internal Palestinian struggles for power and strategic direction also determined external actions, including terrorist attacks: When PLO leader Yasser Arafat stated before the United Nations General Assembly in New York in November 1974 that he had come with an olive branch in one hand and the rifle of a freedom fighter in the other, and hinted at a provisional acceptance of Israel, this triggered an escalation of terror by the PFLP-SC under Wadie Haddad, to whom the MB refers favorably. High-profile attacks were intended to undermine the peace talks.

In 1983, further rejectionist coalitions were formed against the recognition of Israel within the borders of 1967. In 1991, the PFLP, DFLP, Hamas and PIJ then reacted to the Madrid Peace Conference with an “Alliance of Palestinian Forces” (APF). The radical opposition to this conference prompted MB to hold its founding conference 30 years later in Madrid. This “alliance of Palestinian forces” also jointly rejected the Oslo negotiations in 1993. In military terms, the alliance took joint action on October 7, 2023, when the PFLP, DFLP and PIJ participated in the antisemitic massacres coordinated by Hamas.⁴⁹

48 <https://masarbadil.org/2023/06/3951/>

49 <https://www.hrw.org/report/2024/07/17/i-cant-erase-all-blood-my-mind/palestinian-armed-groups-october-7-assault-israel>

Imprint

Publisher

democ e. V.
Postfach 440648
12006 Berlin
Germany

Email: kontakt@democ.de
Phone: +493057712221

Year of Publication

2024

Responsible according to German press law

Linus Kebba Pook

Editorial team

democ e. V.

Disclaimer

The information in this dossier has been formulated to the best of our knowledge and in good faith. The publisher does not guarantee that the information is complete or up to date. This publication contains links to third-party websites over whose content the publisher has no influence. Therefore, the publisher cannot guarantee this third-party content. The provider or operator of the respective pages is always responsible for the content of the pages indicated or linked. democ e. V. is solely responsible for the content of this publication.