AL-HIWAR



The UK's *"resistance"*TV station



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Cover image translation:
'Quoted from X'
You kill a team and capture another team
Battle of Al-Aqsa Flood 25 May 2024

Contents

3	Executive summary
6	Al-Hiwar
7	Previous Ofcom breaches
8	Methodology
9	What does Al-Hiwar mean by "Resistance"?
11	"Resistance" and 7 October
13	Anniversary of the 7 October attacks
15	Glorifying Hamas leader Yahya Sinwar
17	Hosting individuals linked to Hamas and other terrorist organisations
19	Negative references to Jews and Judaism
21	"Jew" or "Zionist"? A case study
23	Conclusion

Executive summary

Al-Hiwar is an Arabic-language television channel based in London, licensed with Ofcom and run by a UK-registered company. Al-Hiwar has a YouTube channel with 1.85 million subscribers. CST has based the research in this report on videos uploaded to the Al-Hiwar YouTube channel, many or all of which will have also been shown via the Al-Hiwar satellite TV channel.

Since the attacks on 7 October 2023, Al-Hiwar has repeatedly broadcast content that is at least sympathetic to, and at times appears to be supportive of, Hamas, a proscribed terror organisation. This includes expressions of support for armed "resistance" and for the 7 October terrorist atrocity, which Al-Hiwar refers to using Hamas's name for the attack: "The Al-Aqsa Flood". These views are usually broadcast without challenge or balance.

Other programmes broadcast by Al-Hiwar include antisemitic views and expressions of hostility towards Jews, especially by viewers via phone-in shows. Sometimes this is challenged by the show's host, but at other times it is broadcast without any challenge and without the caller being cut off by Al-Hiwar.

Some of the content broadcast on Al-Hiwar may breach the Ofcom Broadcasting Code, specifically Section 2, relating to Harm and offence; Section 3, covering Crime, disorder, hatred and abuse; and Section 5, which deals with Due impartiality and due accuracy. Al-Hiwar has twice previously been found in breach of the code, in 2009 and 2018.

Taken as a whole, the examples highlighted in this report raise serious questions about

how a UK-based, Ofcom-licensed TV channel can broadcast so much material of this nature with relative impunity. This is something that Ofcom should investigate as a matter of urgency.

Views expressed on Al-Hiwar by presenters, guests, and viewers, all broadcast on or after 7 October 2023, include (all quotes are explained in greater detail later in this report):

Glorification of the 7 October attack and Hamas's "Resistance"

"The Resistance launched Operation Flood of al-Aqsa [the name given by Hamas to the 7 October attack], and captured dozens of Israelis, is this a historic turning point, a qualitative development... even the most pessimistic in the Occupying Entity could not have imagined that the Resistance would kill and capture dozens... Today's scenes of the Resistance may increase the pride and honour of this nation because it can defend its borders, its lands, and its holy sites."

Salih al-Azraq, 7 October 2023¹

"Al-Aqsa Flood is the strongest and greatest period of time that the nation is going through. We must take advantage of this." Ali al-Yousef, 1 January 2025²

"The moment of 7 October and the moment of al Aqsa Flood is still going on, and I think that the Arab nations join me with the same thought because despite all the sacrifices and despite the size of the disasters and

¹ Al Hiwar TV: A surprise operation that Tel Aviv did not expect

² Al Hiwar TV: Member of the Palestinian Scholars Association, Ali Al-Yousef: The nation has let Gaza down in a very significant way

what's happening in this war against our Palestinian nation but there is an important point which is, today we are for the first time we are fighting in this way, for the first time we feel that we have value and we are resisting." Hatem al-Harshi, 7 October 2024³

"We must insist that the Resistance cannot be defeated, will not surrender, and cannot be crushed, that there must be a defeat for this Entity [Israel] that will give a very big boost in the future, to find a global project."

Sami al-Arian. 5 December 2024

Denial of the sexual violence that occurred on 7 October

"In my opinion the Israeli occupation is an expert in the media and propaganda, they wanted at the beginning of the war to put in place some stories that were refuted in a clear way about raping women and beheading children, in my opinion, this demonisation was a prelude to commit crimes, war crimes against the Palestinian people." Khaled al-Tarani, 13 October 2023⁵

Quoting without challenge Hamas's glorification of deceased Hamas leader Yahya Sinwar

"The Islamic resistance group Hamas is mourning to our Palestinian nation, our nation and all the free people of the world. He was a man of nobility and courage, he devoted his life for the sake of Palestine and gave his life in the name of God on the path of liberation, he believed in God and God believed in him and

chose him as a martyr with his previous martyr brothers. We mourn our big national leader, our martyr mujahid brother: Yahya al-Sinwar, Abu Ibraheem, leader of the Political Office for the Hamas Group, and head of the al Aqsa Flood Battle who was promoted to a hero martyr." Khalil al-Hayyah, 18 October 2024⁶

Providing a platform for viewers to express support for Hamas

"God's mercy upon Abu Ibraheem [Sinwar], this hero broke our hearts, this man who fired the first bullet on the Zionists and the first bullet in liberating the occupied land what a man he was [speech unclear]...this man was martyred standing up with his head held up high" Ali from Britain, viewer phonein, 18 October 20248

Calls for all "Zionists" to be expelled from Israel

"And I say to all the Zionists, leave Palestine and go to where you came from, the places where you came from, go to them and leave Palestine, this blessed land, leave it to its people, the people whom you have expelled, and those whom you have oppressed, abused and killed their fathers and ancestors. Leave this land before the Great Flood comes to you, because we are living and we lived 2023 the era of the Flood, the Great Flood that changed the whole phase and changed the entire face of the earth. During these days, there will be another Flood God willing, and it will be a Flood from those free Arab and Muslim countries and from all around the

³ Al Hiwar TV: Political analyst Hatem Al-Harshi: Abu Obeida's speech confirms that the resistance is still doing well

⁴ Al Hiwar TV: What is expected of a world public opinion sympathetic to the people of Palestine?

⁵ Al Hiwar TV: Khaled Al-Tarani: The propaganda with which Israel justified the military operation has been completely refuted

⁶ Al Hiwar TV: The passing of Yahya Sinwar shook an entire nation and the free people of the world

⁷ Al Hiwar TV: The passing of Yahya Sinwar shook an entire nation and the free people of the world

⁸ Al Hiwar TV: The passing of Yahya Sinwar shook an entire nation and the free people of the world

world, those will come to you because you have no place here in the land of the Arabs and the land of Muslims, in the heart of our Arab land, leave us and get out of it, there is no place for you here."

Ali al-Yousef, 1 January 20259

Extreme contributions from callers unchallenged by hosts

"For the first time in history, the Israeli narrative that was built on the Holocaust has changed. For the first time in history, the entire world, except for the tyrants, criminals, and normalisers, is now pointing its finger at the Zionists, saying that they are the evil in this universe, they are committing genocide and injustice... Yes, this blessed Flood has restored the nation's glory. We hope for complete victory for the Palestinians."

Ahmad from Spain, 7 October 2024¹⁰

"Where are the Arabs, particularly the Arab Muslims? The most intense of the people in animosity towards the believers are the Jews and polytheists" he then claims that "The Jews are the cause of the problems; this is the enemy."

Abdullah from Libya, 20 October 2024¹¹

Antisemitism

On 7 November 2024 two presenters, Anas al-Tikriti and Azzam al-Tamimi, discussed whether Kamala Harris is Jewish, speculating that she was either Jewish or "became Jewish".12

"They say, there is a special treatment given to the Jewish community in France, they represent a lobby inside France, they represent a country within the country, their schools are different, their relationships are different, meaning there is a clear discrimination in France. There is also a powerful Zionist Lobby in France."

Salih al-Azraq, 13 November 2024¹³

"The Jews, the Jews are in the first class, don't tell me there is a nice Jew, the Jews are malicious from the old history, I read about Jews and I read about their beliefs and I know how they think. The Jews came into society, they formed big companies, big communication companies everywhere, they reached Morocco, they achieved normalisation, I suspect all these people in senior positions I suspect they are Zionist Jews." Sami from Tunisia, viewer phone-in, 14 October 2024¹⁴

"This strange time the International Criminal Courts that were established to protect the Jews who survived the Holocaust, is the same court now that's dealing with modern criminal Jews who are now following the Nazi example in slaughtering and murdering Palestinians." Ziad al-Aloul, 25 November 2024¹⁵

⁹ Al Hiwar TV: Member of the Palestinian Scholars
Association, Ali Al-Yousef: The nation has let Gaza down in a very significant way

¹⁰ Al Hiwar TV: The first anniversary of the flood: The resistance commemorates it by pelting the heart of Tel Aviv with rockets

¹¹ Al Hiwar TV: Gaza's tears have dried up. Hunger is intensifying as Israel has been preventing relief aid from entering for nearly two weeks

¹² Al Hiwar TV: What tipped the scales in Trump's favour and enabled him to win the White House?

¹³ Al Hiwar TV: A touching message from the South African Foreign Minister to the Palestinian people... What's the story?

¹⁴ Al Hiwar TV: Hezbollah recovers and carries out the largest operation against Israel since the beginning of the confrontation

¹⁵ Al Hiwar TV: The agreement with Lebanon is ready. Tel. Aviv is preparing to make concessions to stop the war. Will Netanyahu do it?

Al-Hiwar

Al-Hiwar, meaning "dialogue" in Arabic, states on its website that the channel "is a voice for Arabs abroad, a bridge of communication between Arabs and other peoples and cultures, and a platform for promoting the values of tolerance, democracy, and respect for freedoms and human rights".16

Al-Hiwar is owned by Sage Media,¹⁷ which was founded in 2005. According to Companies House records, the sole Director of Sage Media Ltd is Adnan Faour. In addition, Ossman Secretaries Ltd is listed as the company secretary. The channel claims the average number of people employed over the 2024 financial year was eight and that they have creditors totalling over £4.5 million.¹⁸ According to Middle East Eye, the British Palestinian academic and activist Azzam al-Tamimi is currently the Chairman and Editor in Chief of Al-Hiwar.¹⁹ Al-Tamimi's bio on the TRT World Forum website describes him as a co-founder of Al-Hiwar.²⁰

Al-Tamimi has in the past been reported as having said that "he would blow himself up in a strike against Israel, were he allowed back in the country".²¹ In a speech made at the Quds Day demonstration in London in 2006, al-Tamimi said of Israel that everybody in the world "must come together to eradicate this cancer from the body of humanity."²² In January 2009 he declared in a speech made in Hyde Park that "we are all Hamas".²³ According to The Times, in February 2018 al-Tamimi said live on air: "He who dies as he resists to the Zionist project, this is the highest degree of martyrdom in people's eyes, it is the true honorary badge."²⁴

In addition to its terrestrial television audience, Al-Hiwar has built up a significant social media presence. At the time of writing, its Facebook page²⁵ has 4.9 million followers, its Arabic-language YouTube channel²⁶ has 1.85 million subscribers and it has 127,300 followers on its X account.²⁷

¹⁶ Al Hiwar website (translation via Google Translate)

¹⁷ Sage Media Limited Companies House listing

¹⁸ Sage Media Limited Companies House accounts listing

¹⁹ Azzam Tamimi bio on Middle East Eye

²⁰Azzam Tamimi bio on TRT World Forum

^{21 &}lt;u>Hamas supporter who condones suicide bombing to speak at Birmingham University, The Telegraph</u>

^{22&}lt;u>"Dr" Azzam Tamimi Declares Support For Terrorism"</u>

²³ Azzam Tamimi Hyde Park speech, January 2009

^{24 &}lt;u>Hamas fugitive spouts hate on TV station based in London, The Times</u>

²⁵ Al Hiwar Facebook page

²⁶ Al Hiwar TV YouTube channel

²⁷ Al Hiwar X profile

Previous Ofcom breaches

Ofcom has twice ruled that Al-Hiwar breached the Broadcasting Code in relation to its output: once in 2009 and again in 2018.

In 2009 Ofcom found Al-Hiwar to be in breach of point 2.3 of the Broadcasting Code when it aired and "appeared to endorse" comments made on one of its shows by Tunisian politician Rachid Ghannouchi when he stated:

"In fact, the phrase 'to strike terror into them' is amazing because preparing power and strength does not mean to kill the others but rather to prevent them from attacking or carrying on aggression against you. That is why I quite like the Qassam rockets. During the war [referring to the Israeli incursion into Gaza] they did not kill anyone on the other side, they scared them only. It is a civilised weapon as it serves the purpose, it creates balance in power... Allah says not to exaggerate killing. Excess killing is not the purpose of war or jihad if aggression can be stopped by a Molotov bomb or Qassam rocket in order to create intimidation and balance in power because peace is the essence of Islam."28

Ofcom ruled that "Given the programme essentially permitted a guest in a discussion to praise the use of bombs, without challenge, Ofcom believed that there was insufficient justification for including the comments. As a consequence, the broadcaster failed to comply with generally accepted standards in breach of Rule 2.3 of the Code."

In 2018 Ofcom considered whether Al-Hiwar had breached rules 2.3 and 3.1 of the Ofcom Broadcasting Code. After weighing up the evidence. Ofcom found Al-Hiwar not to be in breach of rule 3.1, a rule which relates to "Material likely to encourage or incite the commission of crime" but did find the channel to be in breach of point 2.3 of the Broadcasting Code once again. This time the breach was in relation to comments made by two people phoning into the show "Free Speech" which was discussing issues around the al-Agsa Mosque in Jerusalem. The first caller claimed on air that "we need to depend on the people, on armed resistance within Palestine and abroad", while the second caller stated that:

"We want the media and [inaudible] to show Muslims, that if they have weapons, they have to put them to use for the right cause, which is jihad. To open up the residences of these noble Muslim armies, which need to remove the rulers and return to the Muslim community...The noble free media needs to make Muslims understand that they have weapons they need to fight with. That they shouldn't fight [cut off]".

Ofcom referred to the "highly offensive" language used by two viewers who phoned into the show and stated that "no challenge was provided to the caller's statement regarding the need to depend 'on armed resistance within Palestine and abroad'. Further, although the presenter interjected in response to what Abu Abdelmalik had said, he did not counter, rebut or otherwise challenge the caller's positive references to violent action."²⁹

Methodology

This report examines over 120 videos of programmes and clips broadcast on Al-Hiwar TV and uploaded to the Al-Hiwar YouTube channel since February 2024. CST viewed and translated these videos and clips from Al-Hiwar's YouTube channel, rather than directly from broadcast. These

videos are mainly, but not exclusively, from the period following 7 October 2023. All the clips included in this report were watched and translated by a native Arabic speaker working for CST.



Al-Hiwar TV: Gaza's tears have dried up. Hunger is intensifying as Israel has been preventing relief aid from entering for nearly two weeks



Al-Hiwar TV: What is expected of a world public opinion sympathetic to the people of Palestine?



Al-Hiwar TV: The first anniversary of the flood: The resistance commemorates it by pelting the heart of Tel Aviv with rockets



Al-Hiwar TV: The passing of Yahya Sinwar shook an entire nation and the free people of the world



Al-Hiwar TV: Political analyst Hatem al-Harshi: Abu Obaida's speech confirms that the resistance is still doing well



Al-Hiwar TV: Member of the Palestinian Scholars Association, Ali al-Yousef: The nation has let Gaza down in a very significant way

What does Al-Hiwar mean by "Resistance"?

Several videos uploaded to the Al-Hiwar YouTube channel appear to glorify the actions of "the resistance in Gaza" in terms that make it clear that "resistance" is used by the presenters and guests to refer to the 7 October attack, and more generally to the use of violence by Hamas and other

armed groups. This is a running theme throughout the programming on the channel rather than being restricted to just one or two cases.

For example, a video uploaded to Al-Hiwar's YouTube channel on 26 May 2024³⁰ describes "the Resistance" as carrying out military actions which the clip describes as "heroic":

"This is what the Resistance managed to

prove through its heroic operations that they performed whether it's through traps or the killing of the soldiers and the Israelis and sniping them, destroying the tanks, exploding the buildings, snipe the snipers, spread panic and terror in the hearts of the Israelis and all these points have been proven not just in the field and the war but it's also the media war and the war of pictures and graphics. The Resistance were able to prove this by filming their heroic operations. Whilst the Israeli soldiers' top targets are women, children, elderly, genocide, ethnic cleansing and moral failure, there are many armies that failed morally before failing militarily, this is

what's happening with the Israeli army."

In October 2024, when discussing the death of Hamas leader Yahya Sinwar in Gaza, Al-Hiwar presenter Salih al-Azraq says explicitly that "the Resistance people" are in the armed wings of Hamas and Palestine Islamic Jihad:³¹

is used by the presenters and guests to refer to the 7 October attack, and more generally to the use of violence by Hamas and other armed groups

"I just want to point out to the audience that the absence of a leader doesn't mean the battle has stopped or has collapsed, the leaders are there to go through these battles to win or be martyrs so if one was martyred, it doesn't mean the battle ended. The Resistance people are in their places of al-Qassam and al-Quds Brigades and the rest."

The Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades and the al-Quds Brigades are the armed wings of Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad respectively, both of which are proscribed terrorist organisations in the UK. By naming these armed factions as the places where "the Resistance people" operate, al-Azraq reveals that his references to "the Resistance" are, at least on this occasion, a direct euphemism for the activities of armed terrorist groups.

³⁰Al Hiwar TV: The factions are able to move throughout Gaza and even bomb Israel

³¹ Al Hiwar TV: The passing of Yahya Sinwar shook an entire nation and the free people of the world

On 12 November 2024, a video entitled "The Arab Islamic Summit in Riyadh... outcomes that do not live up to the scale of the tragedy in Gaza" was uploaded to the Al-Hiwar YouTube channel.³² In this programme, al-Azraq refers to Hamas as an "honourable resistance movement":

"Not one of the leaders said yesterday, yes, we declare the truth from this platform that the Islamic resistance movement, Hamas and the rest of the movements are honourable resistance movements that have not committed any activities outside Palestine. If it would do an attack in London, if it would do an attack in America, you can call it a terrorist all you want, but it is fighting on its own soil!"

Other guests on Al-Hiwar use the term "Resistance" in a similar way. For example, on 10 December 2024 a video uploaded to the Al-Hiwar YouTube channel³³ featured Dr Faris al-Khattab, introduced as an Iraqi writer based in London, who said of combat in Gaza that:

"The lengthening in resistance of Hamas fighting I mean, in particular I say by

Hamas members, it is one of the most prominent signs of confrontation between the Palestinian and the Israelis after the al-Aqsa Flood on 7 October of last year. The Palestinian is fighting and waiting to achieve one of the Al Hassanian³⁴ whilst the Israeli is fighting in order to kill and destroy and in order to make this land not suitable in welcoming people to live on."

Later in the show another guest, Adel al-Hamedi, introduced as a Tunisian writer and political analyst, discusses the 7 October attack (using its Hamas name "the al-Aqsa Flood") as one of "the achievements of the Resistance", indicating again that in this context, the term "Resistance" refers to the use of violence by Hamas and other Palestinian armed groups. He says:

"Again, I think that what is happening is all the result of the al-Aqsa Flood, the result of the persistence of the Palestinian people, all of this is from the achievements of the Resistance which everyone should pay attention to. What the Occupation is doing, this confusion and inability to face challenges and the failure to answer real questions is evidence of the impact of the Resistance."

³² Al Hiwar TV: The Arab-Islamic Summit in Riyadh:
Outcomes Do Not Rise to the Scale of the Tragedy in Gaza

³³ Al Hiwar TV: Fatah rejects partnership with Hamas to manage Gaza Strip... Here are the details

³⁴ Al Hassanian: referred to in the Quran as either martyrdom or victory

"Resistance" and 7 October

Al-Hiwar

lengthy

without

balance

In a short video uploaded to the YouTube channel on 7 October 2023 entitled "A surprise operation that Tel Aviv did not expect", 35 presenter Salih al-Azrag posed a series of questions to the camera relating to that day's Hamas attack on Israel. The four-minute video effectively serves as an advertisement for how Al-Hiwar will be covering the story of the attack, called "al-

Agsa Flood" by Hamas. The term "The Resistance" in the following extract appears to have been used as a direct identifier for Hamas and other armed groups that launched the military operation on that day and killed and captured Israelis. Al-Azrag opens the segment with these words:

"The Resistance launched Operation Flood of al-Agsa, and captured dozens of Israelis, is this a historic turning point, a qualitative

development... how does this look to you? Operation Flood of al-Agsa and the breakin the areas around the Gaza Strip, even the most pessimistic in the Occupying Entity could not have imagined that the Resistance would kill and capture dozens. In your opinion, has the Resistance succeeded in breaking the Occupier's power or not?"

At the end of the piece al-Azraq says to the camera: "Today's scenes of the Resistance may increase the pride and honour of this

nation because it can defend its borders, its lands, and its holv sites, but some regimes have become familiar with kneeling and submission as some may say and there is no way to bring them back."

In all the clips viewed and translated by CST while researching this report, there were no videos that discussed in plain terms the

repeatedly broadcasts statements by **Hamas leaders** or spokespeople challenge or

killing of civilians that occurred on 7 October. On the contrary, at times this was explicitly denied. On 13 October 2023, a video entitled "Khaled al-Tarani: The propaganda with which Israel justified the military operation has been completely refuted" was uploaded to the Al-Hiwar YouTube channel.³⁶ This featured the analyst Khaled al-Tarani saying:

"In my opinion the Israeli occupation is an expert in the media and propaganda, they wanted at the beginning of the war to put in place some stories that were refuted in a clear way about raping women and beheading children, in my opinion, this demonisation was a prelude to commit crimes, war crimes against the Palestinian people."

³⁵ Al Hiwar TV: A surprise operation that Tel Aviv did not expect

³⁶ Al Hiwar TV: The propaganda with which Israel justified the military operation has been completely refuted

The host, Jamal Ahmed, does not push back with information about the evidence of rapes committed against Israeli civilians on 7 October.

Al-Hiwar repeatedly broadcasts lengthy statements by Hamas leaders or spokespeople without challenge or balance. For example, in a video uploaded to Al-Hiwar's YouTube channel on 26 May 2024, 37 the host, Salih al-Azraq, announced that they would watch part of a statement made by Hamas spokesman Abu Obaida on the previous day, and then discuss his comments. In this statement broadcast on Al-Hiwar, Abu Obaida says:

"A complex operation was carried out by our Mujahideen this afternoon, Saturday, north of the Gaza Strip, where our Mujahideen were able to lure a Zionist force into one of the tunnels in Jabalia camp and ambushed them inside this tunnel and at its entrance, and by the power of God they were able to engage with members of this force from zero distance, then the Mujahideen attacked with explosive devices the support force

which rushed to the place and they managed to hit them directly. Then our Mujahideen withdrew after blowing up the tunnel used in this operation, after they killed, wounded and captured all members of this force and seized its military equipment. Every single day the enemy spends in its aggression on our people, will have a high and heavy price, and we will continue to make the enemy pay this price with God's help. We continue to confront the aggression in every street, neighbourhood, city and camp in our sector from Beit Hanoun to Rafah, and we will reveal about new details of these operations at the right time, God willing."

In fact, no Israeli soldiers have been kidnapped in Gaza during the conflict that followed the 7 October attack, meaning that the statement by Abu Obaida claiming that Israeli soldiers were "captured" in an operation in Gaza is inaccurate. This was not corrected by Al-Hiwar, bringing into question the accuracy and impartiality of the broadcast.

³⁷ Al Hiwar TV: The factions are able to move throughout Gaza and even bomb Israel

Anniversary of the 7 October attacks

On 7 October 2024, the first anniversary of the 7 October attack by Hamas on Israel, a video entitled "Political analyst Hatem al-Harshi: Abu Obaida's speech confirms that the resistance is still doing well"³⁸ was uploaded to the Al-Hiwar YouTube channel. The video features an interpretation by Hatem al-Harshi of a speech given by Hamas spokesman Abu Obaida to mark the anniversary of the 7 October attack. Within his analysis, al-Harshi says:

"Abu Obaida appears before us after a whole year with this speech to say that the Resistance is still continuing its attrition operations and that there may be tens of hundreds of Israeli prisoners looming on the horizon. Therefore, the Resistance today is fine, our nation despite the great sacrifices they have made over the past year, despite the pain, and despite the great tragedy that has fallen on us in the Gaza Strip, we are still resisting."

Later on in the programme, in response to a question from the host, Salih al-Azraq, al-Harshi appears to praise the 7 October attacks. Al-Azraq says: "As we speak there are sirens going on in Tel Aviv", and al-Harshi replies:

"Yes and this is another confirmation that the moment of 7 October and the moment of al-Aqsa Flood is still going on, and I think that the Arab nations join me with the same

thought because despite all the sacrifices and despite the size of the disasters and what's happening in this war against our Palestinian nation but there is an important point which is, today we are, for the first time we are fighting in this way, for the first time we feel that we have value and we are resisting... today this Resistance and after a whole year, Abu Obaida comes out and confirms that the Resistance is still resisting after one year those who were wailing to end the Resistance and its military abilities, but now Tel Aviv is being hit and bombed after one year from 7 October to say to everyone that we are still here and that we are rightful owners and that Israel is on the wav to be removed."

In a separate video entitled "The first anniversary of the Flood: The Resistance commemorates it by pelting the heart of Tel Aviv with rockets", 39 uploaded on 7 October 2024, in which two individuals phoning into the programme expressed their support for the "al-Aqsa Flood". Again, there is no pushback to these comments from host Salih al-Azraq.

At fifty-one minutes and fifty seconds into the show, al-Azraq introduces "Ahmad from Spain" to give his view. "Ahmad from Spain" says:

³⁸ Al Hiwar TV: Abu Obeida's speech confirms that the resistance is still doing well

³⁹ Al Hiwar TV: The first anniversary of the flood: The resistance commemorates it by pelting the heart of Tel Aviv with rockets

"For the first time in history, our glories return and for the first time in history we regain some of our dignity and we hope that things are going as the people of the al-Agsa Flood wanted. For the first time in history, the Zionist enemy is breaking and entering a devastating war while it is defeated since 7 October. For the first time in history, the Israeli narrative that was built on the Holocaust has changed. For the first time in history, the entire world, except for the tyrants, criminals, and normalisers, is now pointing its finger at the Zionists, saying that they are the evil in this universe, they are committing genocide and injustice. Despite the victims, despite the wounds, despite the pain, despite the men we lost. Palestine earned this. The Palestinian issue has returned to the world's agenda. It imposed itself after Netanyahu had been investing in normalisation and exploiting his relations with the normalisers. Yes, this blessed Flood has restored the nation's glory. We hope for

complete victory for the Palestinians."
Two minutes later, al-Azraq introduces another caller, "Salma from Algeria", who says:

"On this blessed anniversary, on this glorious day, on this blessed day, in sacrifice for this holy cause, we pray for all our martyrs, for every honourable human being. We see with our own eyes that the pillars of oppression have united throughout the world and imposed their authority on Palestine. But when the pillars of oppression unite, it is the beginning of its collapse. We believe in this, and with God's help Palestine will have victory whether the people like it or not and letting down the normalisers and all their followers."

Al-Azraq simply replies: "Thank you, Salman, from Algeria."

Glorifying Hamas leader Yahya Sinwar

In October 2024 Yahya Sinwar, the leader of Hamas in Gaza and architect of the 7 October attack, was killed by Israeli forces in Gaza. Two days later, on 18 October 2024, Al-Hiwar uploaded to its YouTube channel a 56-minute programme called "The passing of Yahya al-Sinwar shook an entire nation and the free people of the world". 40 This programme featured lengthy, unmoderated content from Hamas leaders which was broadcast uncritically, and open, repeated glorification of Sinwar, Hamas, "Resistance" and martyrdom. Sinwar was referred to as a "martyr" throughout.

In the programme, presenter Salih al-Azraq says to the camera:

"How can a person who defends his people and land be described as a terrorist? Many may ask! Al-Azhar al-Sharif [a leading Islamic religious institution in Egypt] confirmed that the martyrs of the Palestinian Resistance were real resisting people and were not terrorists as the enemy is trying to picture them, al-Azhar mourned the martyrs of the Resistance who were killed by the criminal Zionist hand which wreaked our Arab land with corruption. He also confirmed that the Resistance and defending the nation and the land and dying for the sake of this is an honour like no other!"

Khalil al-Hayyah, then Deputy Chairman of the Hamas Political Bureau, was quoted at length by al-Azraq in one segment in the programme. Al-Azraq says:

"The vice president Khalil al-Hayyah of the Hamas movement announced the president

of the Political Office Yahya Al Sinwar was martyred and he emphasised on following the path of combating the Occupation until defeating it. And al-Hayyah said 'the Islamic resistance group Hamas is mourning to our Palestinian nation, our nation and all the free people of the world. He was a man of nobility and courage, he devoted his life for the sake of Palestine and gave his life in the name of God on the path of liberation, he believed in God and God believed in him and chose him as a martyr with his previous martyr brothers. We mourn our big national leader, our martyr mujahid brother: Yahya al-Sinwar, Abu Ibraheem, leader of the Political Office for the Hamas Group, and head of the al-Agsa Flood Battle who was promoted to a hero martyr whilst coming forward and clashing with his weapon facing the Occupation army on the front line until the last second of his life, moving around all the fighting points providing support on the beloved land of Gaza and defending the Palestinian land and its holy sites, inspiring with patience, support and resistance'."

Part of the programme included the opportunity for viewers to phone into the show and express their opinions on Sinwar and his death. One such interaction was with a caller described as "Ali from Britain", who said:

"God's mercy upon Abu Ibraheem [Sinwar], this hero broke our hearts, this man who fired the first bullet at the Zionists and the first bullet in liberating the occupied land, what a man he was [speech unclear]...this man was martyred standing up with his head held up high."41

⁴⁰ Al Hiwar TV: The passing of Yahya Sinwar shook an entire nation and the free people of the world

⁴¹ Al Hiwar TV: The passing of Yahya Sinwar shook an entire nation and the free people of the world

Al-Azraq doesn't challenge this comment but simply asks "Okay, now in your opinion, will his body be used in the awaited negotiation, or how will the Occupier deal with his body?" "Ali from Britain" responds: "The body is honourable but in dirty hands, God help them, I have nothing to say, I swear I am very sad, I swear I am very tired, this great man and those.... My brother, we have a saying, 'the one who reads has gone and the one who remains makes a mess', God will give patience to the Palestinians and God will give them victory. This is forbidden, I swear to God this is forbidden, I've never cried in my life before but this is not right."

At this point, al-Azraq comments on Ali's call as follows:

"Thank you Ali from Britain, if this man was called or described as a terrorist in many Western capitals and particularly the Occupation Entity, he has for sure supporters and many fans, one of them the one who was just talking to us now, we can't blame anybody, we are not here to say Sinwar was a criminal or to bless him or embrace his jihad... He is a man who was fighting on his land and the last battle was in Gaza and according to international laws it's an occupied land, he wasn't fighting in New York or London, he was fighting on his land and amongst his people and he was killed. So the guestion that many ask is how can a fighter like this be described as a terrorist, he is supposed to be - maybe, maybe according to this view - he is supposed to be an example, this may be said in truthful capitals with justice

and freedom, they may say there is a man called Sinwar who was killed on his land while fighting and he was like a country's president, he was Hamas Party Leader which rules the Gaza Strip, practically he was a leader, who is able to take his weapon and defend his land from the Arab leaders? Of course this is a talk for many tweeters and activists, as I said I am not here to stand by any side, my part is to manage this 'dialogue' but for sure it's a big event and will have an impact after, the parties of the Resistance paid many lives of martyrs and leaders but the Resistance and jihad didn't stop, even the Palestinian activities increased and their weapons changed from simple to weapons that reach the heart of the Occupation Entity."

Another caller introduced as "Mahmood from Britain" also used his appearance on Al-Hiwar to glorify and praise Sinwar, and through him every Hamas fighter:

"Tell the US, the Zionists, the Arabs, that nothing will change, killing al-Sinwar, even if they killed all the Hamas leaders from the first line and the second line, they will still not release the hostages unless with a good deal and will not recognise Israel as a country, I say congratulations to every fighter that becomes a martyr. There are no five star hotels or tunnels used as human shields but with his weapon was martyred and congratulations to him and God has chosen him to be a martyr... be strong, if a martyr dies today tomorrow another thousand will be born!"

Hosting individuals linked to Hamas and other terrorist organisations

Al-Hiwar consistently hosts figures connected to Hamas and other terrorist organisations, often without identifying their links to Hamas to viewers.

Mohammad Sawalha



A guest who has appeared several times on Al-Hiwar is Mohammad Sawalha, who was reportedly a senior Hamas leader in the West Bank before fleeing to the UK in the 1990s, and has since served on Hamas's ruling politburo. 42 He has appeared on the programme London Dialogue several times to discuss the Israel-Palestine conflict and other issues. Sawalha's previous roles in Hamas are not mentioned when he is introduced to viewers.

Tayseer Suleiman



Tayseer Suleiman is a founder of the al-Qassam Brigades, who spent over 18 years in prison in Israel. He has appeared on Al-Hiwar on at least two occasions.

Suleiman claimed in an interview with Middle East Monitor in 2018 that "The Izz al-din al-Qassam Brigades were formed l managed the setting up of the group and maintaining contact with Gaza and the West Bank."43 The Izz al-din al-Qassam Brigades are the military wing of Hamas and have been proscribed in the UK since March 2001. Suleiman appears as a guest on two Al-Hiwar programmes uploaded to the Al-Hiwar YouTube channel on 15 June 2025⁴⁴ and 6 January 2025.45 On both occasions he was introduced as a "writer and political" analyst from Istanbul." While it was mentioned that he was a "person who was in Israeli prisons for many years," no mention was made of his previous ties to Hamas.

^{43 &#}x27;As long as there's occupation, there'll be resistance', Middle East Monitor

⁴⁴ Al Hiwar TV: When will America enter the war to save Netanyahu after his strike failed to achieve its goals?

⁴⁵ Al Hiwar TV: With the positive repercussions of the negotiations... Is Gaza on the verge of a real deal this time?

Sami al-Arian



Sami al-Arian is a frequent guest on the panel show London Dialogue which is a regular feature of Al-Hiwar's programming. Al-Arian was deported from the United States in February 2014⁴⁶ following several years of house arrest, after pleading guilty to a charge of conspiracy to provide services to Palestinian Islamic Jihad in 2006.⁴⁷ He now resides in Istanbul and currently works as an academic at Istanbul Zaim University.⁴⁸ On 5 December 2024, on an episode of London Dialogue, al-Arian claimed that:

"There is no doubt that the public global opinion has been reshaped with its awareness in the manifestations of al-Aqsa Flood... We must insist that the Resistance cannot be defeated, will not surrender, and cannot be crushed, that there must be a defeat for this Entity [Israel] that will give a very big boost in the future, to find a global project."⁴⁹

Al-Arian appeared in at least seven programmes on Al-Hiwar between December 2023 and December 2024.

Salah al-Din al-Awawdeh



Salah al-Din al-Awawdeh has appeared on Al-Hiwar at least twice, where he was introduced simply as "a writer and researcher from Istanbul". However, according to the New York Times he is "a Hamas member and former fighter in its military wing who is now an analyst based in Istanbul."50 The Times of Israel describes him as "A former officer in Hamas's al-Qassam Brigades".51 The Quds News website states (in Arabic) that "Awawdeh was arrested in 1993 on charges of belonging to al-Qassam Brigades, carrying out a number of operations against the occupation forces in the Hebron area, and shooting at enemy soldiers, killing and wounding a number of them. He was sentenced to life imprisonment". 52 There are two videos on the Al-Hiwar YouTube Channel where he is interviewed about events in Israel and the Palestinian territories, one dated 7 February 2024⁵³ and the other dated 11 February 2025.54 On neither occasion were viewers informed about his ties to Hamas.

⁴⁶ Sami Al-Arian, professor who defeated controversial terrorism charges, is deported from the U.S., The Intercept

⁴⁷ Sami Al-Arian pleads guilty to conspiracy to provide services to Palestinian Islamic Jihad

⁴⁸ Professor Dr Sami Al-Arian bio on Istanbul Zaim University website

⁴⁹ Al Hiwar TV: What is expected of a world public opinion sympathetic to the people of Palestine?

⁵⁰How Hamas is fighting in Gaza: Tunnels, traps and ambushes, The New York Times

^{51 &}lt;u>Hamas hiding among civilians in Gaza to protect itself, ambush IDF troops. The Times of Israel</u>

⁵² Al-Awawdeh to Al-Quds News Agency: The Palestinian prisoners' battle with the enemy is open, and we must stop it. The Quds News

⁵³ Al Hiwar TV: The factions will not make concessions, and Netanyahu will pay the price

^{54&}lt;u>Al Hiwar TV: Egypt and Jordan's mediation mission has</u> become more difficult, and a resumption of the war on <u>Gaza is possible</u>

Negative references to Jews and Judaism

Al-Hiwar has broadcast several discussions that included hostile and pejorative references to, and descriptions of, Jews and Judaism, or the use of "Jews" and "Zionists" interchangeably. Some examples of this discourse are provided here.

In a video uploaded to the Al-Hiwar YouTube channel on 7 November 2024, Azzam al-Tamimi and Anas al-Tikriti casually discussed whether Kamala Harris is a Jew;⁵⁵

Anas al-Tikriti: "I read it and noticed that they said that in addition to this, you called them negative points by Kamala Harris and another point; they said that she is not Christian, and the Americans only vote for the Christians, a proper Christian meaning they have a church and have a priest and go to confession."

Azzam al-Tamimi: "What is her religion?"

Anas al-Tikriti: "She is Jewish, her husband is Jewish, she may be from a different religion, maybe Hindu, and then became Jewish."

Azzam al-Tamimi: "So she became Jewish?"

Anas al-Tikriti: "This is what it looks like, but I don't know exactly."

A video dated 25 November 2024⁵⁶ features Ziad al-Aloul, previously the sole director of the British campaign group Palestinian Forum in Britain which was dissolved in 2016⁵⁷, who was introduced as a spokesman of the Conference for Foreign Affairs of Palestine. In the clip, al-Aloul claims that Israel is led by "criminal Jews" who are repeating the crimes of Nazism, saying:

"This strange time the International Criminal Courts that were established to protect the Jews who survived the Holocaust, is the same court now that's dealing with modern criminal Jews who are now following the Nazi example in slaughtering and murdering Palestinians."

In a video dated 15 November 2024, Ali Ben Arafa, introduced as a Tunisian writer and researcher, also equated Israel with Nazi Germany, saying:⁵⁸

"The Holocaust in which the Zionist or the Jew was the victim, today the scene has become that this Zionist has become the perpetrator and therefore there is a big change in the Holocaust picture itself where the Zionist is the perpetrator and the Palestinian is the victim, and social media, as I mentioned, brought the picture closer to the general public."

Antisemitic views claiming that Jews in France have undue power and influence, and that they "represent a country within the country", were aired in a video dated 13 November 2024.⁵⁹ In this clip, the presenter Salih al-Azrag said:

"They say, there is a special treatment given to the Jewish community in France, they represent a lobby inside France, they represent a country within the country, their schools are different, their relationships are different, meaning there is a clear discrimination in France. There is also a powerful Zionist Lobby in France."

⁵⁵ Al Hiwar TV: What tipped the scales in Trump's favor and enabled him to win the White House?

⁵⁶ Al Hiwar TV: The agreement with Lebanon is ready. Tel. Aviv is preparing to make concessions to stop the war. Will Netanyahu do it?

⁵⁷ Palestinian Forum in Britain company information

⁵⁸ Al Hiwar TV: Including famine... UN committee accuses Israel of committing "genocide" in Gaza

⁵⁹ Al Hiwar TV: A touching message from the South African Foreign Minister to the Palestinian people... What's the story?

Several programmes included comments that described Israel as too dangerous for Jews due to violent attacks by Hamas and other armed Palestinian groups, and speculated that due to this lack of security Israel would no longer exist and its Jewish citizens would have to flee to other countries. For example, in a video uploaded on 5 December 2024,60 called "How will calming the Lebanese front affect the volatile Gaza Strip front?", Azzam al-Tamimi says:

"This is the Entity that lied to the Jews and said to them, it will be a safe haven for them after what they have been through from Holocaust and the persecution in Europe, it turns out that this place is actually the most dangerous place for Jews on earth."

Mohammad Sawalha, also a guest on the show, adds:

"The Zionist project today is considered a failed project because the essence of the project 'Zionism' is that Israel was the country that provided security for Jews everywhere around the world, security and prosperity, but today this place is not safe for the Jews and there is nothing that makes any Jew in the world to come to this Entity to settle down as was the original Zionist idea!"

Comments such as this can be ambiguous, and shorn of context can be read in different ways. However, it is worth considering that in this case, these comments are being made by presenters or guests who have at other times expressed supportive attitudes regarding the activities of "the Resistance" – which is the cause of this supposed level of insecurity for Israeli Jews.

The idea that a Resistance-induced collapse of the State of Israel leading to Israeli Jews having to flee to other parts of the world was welcomed in a programme titled "The nation has let Gaza down in a very big way"61 dated 1 January 2025. In this show, Ali al-Yousef, introduced as a member of the "Palestinian Scholars Association", said:

"And I say to all the Zionists, leave Palestine and go to where you came from, the places where you came from, go to them and leave Palestine. this blessed land, leave it to its people, the people whom you have expelled, and those whom you have oppressed, abused and killed their fathers and ancestors. Leave this land before the Great Flood comes to you, because we are living and we lived 2023 the era of the Flood, the great Flood that changed the whole phase and changed the entire face of the earth. During these days, there will be another Flood God willing, and it will be a Flood from those free Arab and Muslim countries and from all around the world, those will come to you because you have no place here in the land of the Arabs and the land of Muslims, in the heart of our Arab land, leave us and get out of it, there is no place for you here."

That al-Yousef viewed the 7 October attacks in a positive light was summed up by another comment he made during the same show:⁶²

"Al-Aqsa Flood is the strongest and greatest period of time that the nation is going through. We must take advantage of this."

^{61 &}lt;u>Al Hiwar TV: The nation has let Gaza down in a very significant way</u>

⁶² Al Hiwar TV: The nation has let Gaza down in a very significant way

⁶⁰ Al Hiwar TV: How will calming the Lebanese front affect the volatile Gaza Strip front?

"Jew" or "Zionist"? A case study

This section details a number of antisemitic and extreme comments made by viewers on a phone-in show, al-Rai al-Hurr, broadcast on Al-Hiwar over a series of days in October 2024.

In some cases, the presenter, Salih al-Azraq, tries to stop viewers from using the word "Jew" when expressing antisemitic views, asking them instead to say "Zionist". On other occasions, he does not push back and allows them to express antisemitic views without challenge. Even when he does ask viewers to say "Zionist" instead of "Jew", he does not cut them off entirely, even though he appears to know that they are making antisemitic comments. Instead, he simply asks them to adhere to the rules of the show.

2 October 2024: "Falling in the first ambush... the Israeli incursion into Lebanon will not be a picnic"63

Mohammad from Egypt: "Many leaders were assassinated in Gaza, but the new people that come out are better than the previous ones and more persistent and closer to the end of Israel than the previous ones. Regarding the Iranian hit, I see it as contrived, exactly like how Jews think: 'Hit before you get hit'..."

Salih al-Azraq: "I always refuse to use the word 'Jews', speak to me about the Zionists, the Israelis, leave aside the religions."

Mohammad from Egypt: "I am sorry, but I don't agree with you, the difference is not big."

Salih al-Azraq: "Can you follow the rules of the show regardless of your personal view, you can say the Israelis..."

Mohammad from Egypt: "Listen to me, listen to me, okay fine; the Zionists, there is no country called Israel, like your guest said the defence army, this is not a defence army, it's the Zionist Army, it's the aggression's army and those young people that are being mentioned are invaders and mercenaries. This is God's will so that it will be the end of Israel."

14 October 2024: "Hezbollah recovers and carries out the largest operation against Israel since the beginning of the confrontation"64

Sami from Tunisia: "The Jews, the Jews are in the first class, don't tell me there is a nice Jew, the Jews are malicious from the old history, I read about Jews and I read about their beliefs and I know how they think. The Jews came into society, they formed big companies, big communication companies everywhere, they reached Morocco, they achieved normalisation, I suspect all these people in senior positions I suspect they are Zionist Jews."

⁶³ Al Hiwar TV: Falling in the first ambush... The Israeli incursion into Lebanon will not be a picnic

⁶⁴ Al Hiwar TV: Hezbollah recovers and carries out the largest operation against Israel since the beginning of the confrontation

20 October 2024: "Gaza's tears have dried up. Hunger is intensifying as Israel has been preventing relief aid from entering for nearly two weeks"⁶⁵

Mohammed from France: "Before you urge Algeria, take out the people that you have, take out those Jews that you have in Morocco who are ruling over you."

Abdullah from Libya: "Where are the Arabs, particularly the Arab Muslims? The most intense of the people in animosity towards the believers are the Jews and polytheists... The Jews are the cause of the problems; this is the enemy."

Kareem from Morocco: "We all trust our brothers in al-Qassam Brigades and in the Resistance which lifts the nation's head up high despite the destruction."

21 October 2024: "Netanyahu continues his crimes in Gaza and Lebanon and condemns the targeting of his home" 1966

Mohammed from Algeria: "The other Algerian said 'the Christians and the Jews'. No, the Jews are polytheists, not the Christians, but the Christians are moderates, this is what the Jews made us mistaken, did you understand me Salih? You always say I can't say 'Jews'."

Salih al-Azraq: "Thank you Mohammed, with all my respect to you, you don't understand anything we are saying, my dear, we don't want to refer to the religion, not because we are scared of anyone, firstly to respect some of the global rules and secondly standing by and out of respect for a certain sector, whether large or small, of Jews who stand with our cause, meaning they are with the Palestinians against this criminal entity and they are Jews. It is more correct and correct politically to say the Zionists or the criminal Israelis or Apartheid."

27 October 2024: "Arab airspace is open to Israeli aircrafts and closed to Palestinians"

Abu al-Waleed from Jordan: "The Muslim lands need an organised leadership that has a united opinion about wanting to liberate al-Aqsa Mosque from the hands of Jews and the hands of non-Jews, especially the conspirators against Palestine."

Abu Ratib from Tunisia: "The Arab leaders, where are they now? They are rushing to satisfy America and the Jews and say that they are afraid of revolutions against them."

28 October 2024: "Israel's first declared and direct aggression against Iran... Will Tehran respond or negotiate to stop the war?"68

Mohammed from Algeria: "Look at Lebanon today and what happened to it, in that there are 500,000 people that have left, no matter what they all left, this is the plan of the Jews and the plan of the Iranians."

⁶⁵ Al Hiwar TV: Gaza's tears have dried up. Hunger is intensifying as Israel has been preventing relief aid from entering for nearly two weeks

⁶⁶ Al Hiwar TV: Netanyahu continues his crimes in Gaza and Lebanon and condemns the targeting of his home

^{67 &}lt;u>Al Hiwar TV: Arab airspace is open to Israeli aircraft</u> and closed to Palestinians

^{68 &}lt;u>Al Hiwar TV: Israel's first declared and direct</u> aggression against Iran... Will Tehran respond or negotiate to stop the war?

Conclusion

As this report shows, expressions of support for armed resistance by Hamas and other armed Palestinian factions, including those proscribed as terrorist organisations in the UK, are commonplace on Al-Hiwar. Sometimes this is couched as support for "the Resistance"; at other times it is explicit. But it is always obvious to the viewers that this view is broadly held and encouraged by hosts, guests, experts and viewers, without significant challenge or alternative viewpoints to provide balance.

This report is not the first time that Al-Hiwar's role in broadcasting such views has been highlighted, and the fact that it has been allowed to carry on doing so with relative impunity is a matter of grave concern. As such, police should investigate whether any terrorism offences have been committed by the channel, its producers, presenters and guests.

In addition, this report raises urgent questions regarding Al-Hiwar's ongoing status as an Ofcom-licensed channel. It is likely that some of the content highlighted in this report may breach the Broadcasting Code, specifically Section 2, relating to Harm and offence; Section 3, covering Crime, disorder, hatred and abuse; and Section 5, which deals with Due impartiality and due accuracy. However, it is not possible to make formal complaints about each item of content highlighted in this report. This

is partly because complaints are supposed to be made within 20 days of broadcast; but even without this delay, complaints would not be possible because the clips and translations used in this report were taken from Al-Hiwar's YouTube channel rather than directly from broadcasts.

This is a loophole that ought to be closed urgently. YouTube is increasingly the medium of choice for TV viewing, including watching it via TV sets rather than mobile phones or computers. Currently, if a viewer watches Al-Hiwar via its existing satellite broadcast, the content is regulated according to the Broadcasting Code. However, if that same viewer watches that same programme on the same TV via YouTube, on Al-Hiwar's official branded YouTube channel, it is subject to a different regulatory framework. This is nonsensical and ought to be changed, so that broadcast content posted on an Ofcom licensee's branded YouTube channel remains subject to the Broadcasting Code.

Irrespective of this loophole, the apparent expressions of support for terrorism and support for extremism and antisemitism highlighted in this report, taken together, provide the basis for a holistic investigation to assess whether Al-Hiwar remains a suitable licence holder for broadcast in the UK.



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- Facilitate Jewish life by protecting Jews from the dangers of antisemitism, and antisemitic terrorism in particular.

- Help those who are victims of antisemitic hatred, harassment or bias.
- **Promote research** into racism, antisemitism and extremism; and to use this research for the benefit of both the Jewish community and society in general.
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