



## The issue of emigration from the Gaza Strip in light of President Trump's proposal

February 6 ,2025

### Overview<sup>1</sup>

- ▶ On January 25, 2025, after the ceasefire in the Gaza Strip went into effect, U.S. President Trump proposed the temporary or permanent relocation of all Gazans to Egypt, Jordan and other countries in light of the extensive destruction and to facilitate reconstruction. The proposal sparked condemnations from the Palestinians, Iran and Arab states, which accused it of being a "forced displacement" in violation of international law. Hamas threatened that any attempt to implement the plan would be met with a "firm response" and warned that it could potentially impact the continuation of the ceasefire.
- ▶ The proposal reignited the issue of emigration from the Gaza Strip in general and of young people in particular, known even before the Gaza Strip War. Unofficial data indicated that approximately 300,000 young people had left the Strip since Hamas took control in 2007, primarily due to the economic situation and lack of hope for the future.
- ▶ The Hamas leadership sought to downplay emigration, calling any reference to it a Palestinian Authority smear campaign, but a document found by the IDF in Gaza written by the Khan Yunis Brigade of Hamas' military wing indicated concerns over the departure of young people, who constituted a significant part of the movement's fighting force. According to the document, loyalty to the homeland and the "struggle" was a religious and moral duty, while emigration meant abandoning [Palestinian] identity and "surrendering to the enemy."
- ▶ **In ITIC assessment, the Palestinians and Arab states will continue to present a united front against the plan in an attempt to eliminate it in its early stages. However, even if the plan is not implemented, the opening of the Rafah Crossing and others at the end of the war could lead to a significant wave of emigration from Gaza because of the widespread destruction and uncertainty about the future. Such a scenario would pose a significant challenge to Hamas, which would do everything in its power to prevent the**

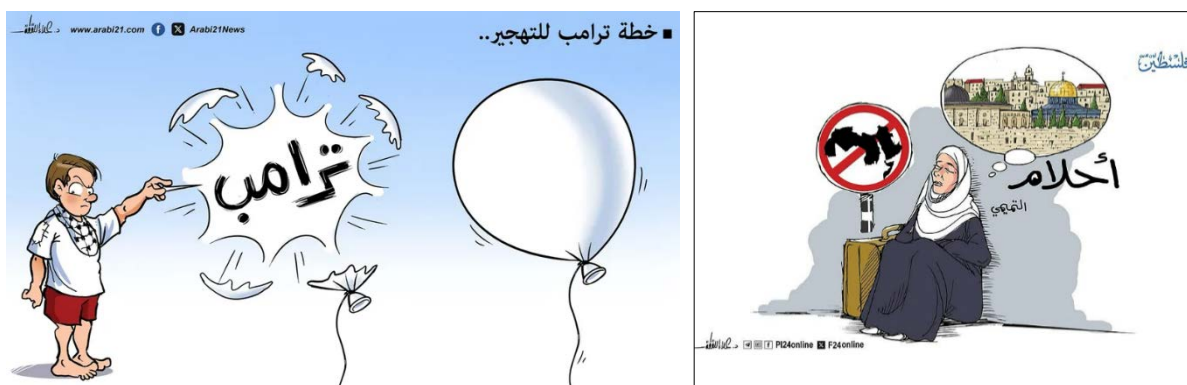
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<sup>1</sup> Click <https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en> to subscribe and receive the ITIC's daily updates as well as its other publications

emigration of young people, which could weaken its political and military stranglehold on the Gazan public.

## The Trump Resettlement Plan

- On January 25, 2025, President Trump proposed relocating more than a million Gazans to neighboring countries, primarily Egypt and Jordan, because of the extensive destruction caused during the war (CNN, January 25, 2025). Later, during a press conference with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Trump stated that the entire population of the Gaza Strip, approximately two million people, should leave for other countries. He said the United States would take control of the Strip, assume responsibility for destroying the remaining weapons and rebuild Gaza to transform it into the "Riviera of the Middle East." He claimed that the only reason people wanted to return to their destroyed homes in Gaza was because they had no other choice, while they could instead settle in "beautiful areas in peace and harmony" rather than being forced to return to ruins (The New York Times, February 5, 2025).
- His statements sparked condemnations among the Palestinians, led by the Palestinian Authority (PA) and Hamas, which accused him of attempting to forcibly displace the Gazans in violation of international law, and claimed they would never leave "Palestine." Arab states, particularly Egypt and Jordan, which were mentioned as potential destinations for Palestinian resettlement, also expressed strong opposition and noted the need to advance Gaza's reconstruction and promote the two-state solution as a resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.<sup>2</sup>



Right: "We dream of Jerusalem, not emigration" (Instagram account of Hamas' in-house cartoonist, Alaa' al-Laqta, February 4, 2025); Left: "Popping the Trump balloon" (Arabi21, January 29, 2025)

<sup>2</sup> For reactions to the plan, see Appendix 1.



**Right: An Alaa' al-Laqtta cartoon of an elderly Palestinian holding a key symbolizing the [so-called] "right of return," says, "These things aren't for sale" (X account of The Popular Conference of Palestinians Abroad, February 6, 2025). Left: Egypt and Jordan oppose Trump's "displacement" idea (al-Masry al-Youm, February 6, 2025)**

## Emigration from the Gaza Strip before the Gaza Strip War

### Young people

- ▶ Emigration from the Gaza Strip, particularly by young people, increased in recent years, even before the outbreak of the Gaza Strip War, which began with the Hamas' terrorist attack and massacre on Israel on October 7, 2023. According to unofficial data, approximately 250,000 young people aged 18 to 29 have left the Gaza Strip since Hamas took control in 2007, citing as reasons the economy, unemployment, loss of hope for the future, the destruction of the private sector and Israeli restrictions.<sup>3</sup>
- ▶ In June 2024, Dr. Khalil Shikaki's Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research published the results of a survey which focused on emigration and was conducted among residents of the Gaza Strip, Judea and Samaria between September 28 and October 8, 2023. According to the so-called Arab Barometer poll, 44% of young people in Gaza (aged 18 to 29), 38% of all men and 31% of Fatah operatives (compared to 14% of Hamas operatives) had considered emigrating. Among respondents in Gaza, 54% cited economic reasons as the primary factor, followed by educational opportunities (18%), security concerns (7%), corruption (7%), and political reasons (5%). Turkey was mentioned as the leading destination (22%), followed by Germany (16%), Canada (12%), and Qatar (10%) (PCPSR website, June 26, 2024).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For further information, see the September 2023 ITIC report, [The mass exodus of young men from the Gaza Strip.](#)"

<sup>4</sup> Responding to the poll were 339 Gazans and 790 Palestinians from Judea and Samaria.

## The Hamas regime copes with the emigration of the young

- ▶ The Hamas administration in the Gaza Strip sought to downplay the extent of emigration, claiming references to it were attempts by the PA to discredit Hamas and that the young people who left had been motivated primarily by humanitarian reasons, needed medical treatment or wanted to visit relatives (Sama, September 8, 2023; Filastin al-A'an, September 10, 2023). However, a document found by the IDF in the Gaza Strip indicated that emigration was a concern for Hamas leadership, particularly at the command level of its military wing, as the young people seeking to emigrate constituted the core of its fighting force.
- ▶ The memorandum from the Khan Yunis Brigade of Izz al-Din al-Qassam from October 2023 [exact date unspecified], was addressed "to all the mujahideen." It was entitled, "Young people chasing a mirage and moving from the house of honor to the disgrace of exile," represented the emigration of young people as a dangerous religious, moral and social threat. It warned that an easy and comfortable life in a foreign country was an illusion, claiming that emigration led to alienation from religion, moral decline and abandoning the "national struggle." The main theme was that "struggle" was the only path to "liberation and honor," whereas emigration was a betrayal of values, Islam and the "national cause."<sup>5</sup>

**There has been much discussion about the emigration of young people from the Gaza Strip, most of whom have gone to European countries on a journey fraught with great dangers before reaching their destinations. Those who do manage to arrive face disasters of religion and morality, known only to Allah, unless they were fortified in their minds and faith against the doubts that the Crusader world raises against Islam, doubts so deep that they lead to fear and its portrayal as a source of terrorism...**

فقد كثر الحديث في الآونة الأخيرة عن هجرة الشباب من قطاع غزة، حيث يتوجه أكثرهم إلى بعض الدول الأوروبية في رحلةٍ محفوفةٍ بالمخاطر الجسام قبل أن يصلوا إليها، ومن قَبُرَ له أن يصل؛ فإن بانتظاره من المصائب المتعلقة بدينه، أو خُلِقَه، ما لا يعلمه إلا الله، ما لم يكن محصناً سلفاً فكرياً وعقيدةً تجاه الشبهات التي يُثيرها العالم الصليبي، ضدَّ الإسلام؛ لدرجة الترهيب منه بوصفه مصدرَ الإرهاب، وما لم يكن قد أُوتِيَ نصيباً من التربية والتركية ما

### Warning of the challenges of emigration (Document 1)

- ▶ The author noted that young people involved in preparations for jihad and seeking to emigrate could be committing a grave sin. Moreover, the document warned that such young people were considered a "treasure" for most intelligence agencies around the globe, including the Israeli Mossad.

<sup>5</sup> The full document in Arabic appears in Appendix 2.

**The young men of the resistance, especially the servants of Allah who are the bravest among the battalions' youth, if one of them leaves the Stronghold of Gaza, he will become a target for intelligence services which will attempt to extract the information he possesses about the men of the resistance and its capabilities. Even if he stands firm under the pain of torture, he will have gone from the frying pan into the fire, or he may collapse and reveal his secrets, thereby exposing his people to the wrath of the Omnipotent. The result will be that he remains in prison for several years, and who knows, he may die under torture, with no one to ask about him or respond, or he may be released with an illness or a disability that could reach the level of insanity or worse.**

إن شباب المقاومة: من عباد الله أولو البأس الشديد من شباب الكتائب، إذا خرج أحدهم من عرين غزة سيكون هدفاً لأجهزة المخابرات؛ لا عتصار ما لديه من معلومات عن رجال المقاومة، وما لديها من المقدرات؛ فلما أن يصمد تحت العذاب الأليم، فيكون كمن قرَّ من الرمضاء إلى النار، وإما أن ينهار، فيقشي بما لديه من أسرار، ويتعرض بذلك لغضب الجبار، وسخط القهار، والنتيجة أن يلبث في السجن عدَّة سنين، ومن يدري؛ فقد يموت تحت التعذيب، حيث لا سائل عنه ولا مجيب، وقد يخرج بأفء أو عاهة، قد نصل إلى حدِّ الخبل في العقل، وما شابه ذلك.

**The danger that "fighters" who emigrate would be imprisoned or be interrogated by intelligence agents (Document 1)**

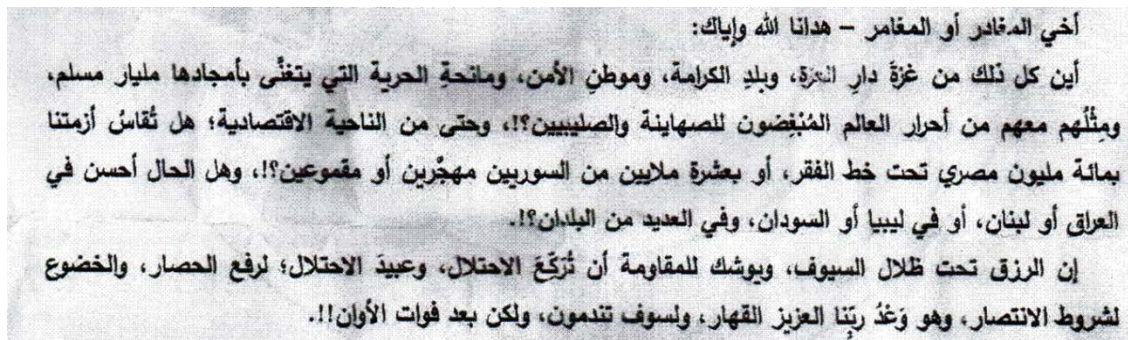
- ▶ The document suggested that anyone seeking to emigrate should prepare a list of the dangers awaiting them to ensure they were ready to face them. However, he warned that even if emigration led to gain, it remained a grave sin that could result in the émigré's being lost both in this world and in the afterlife.
- ▶ It also cautioned that if the émigrés were to marry "barbarian foreign women" and have children, the children risked "absorbing" the customs of foreign countries, making it difficult to instill in them the traditions of their father's homeland if they later decided to return. Additionally, the document questioned why jihad in the path of Allah required parental approval, while emigration for profit or marriage did not.
- ▶ The document ends with an impassioned plea to potential émigrés not to abandon the Gaza Strip, emphasizing the honor and pride of a place "fighting for freedom." It gives two choices, struggle and surrender, and criticizes those who leave while others remain to fight and endure hardship. The main theme is that victory is assured for those who hold steadfast to their principles and that Allah tests the faithfulness of believers in this world.

**My departing or adventurous brother, may Allah guide us and you:**

**Where does all of this stand in relation to Gaza, the home of pride, the land of honor, the homeland of security and the stronghold of freedom, whose**

**glory is sung by a billion Muslims, along with an equal number of free people of the world who hate the Zionists and the Crusaders?! Even from an economic perspective, do we measure our crisis against one hundred million Egyptians living below the poverty line, or ten million displaced or oppressed Syrians?! Is the situation any better in Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Sudan or many other countries?!**

**Life is lived under the shadow of swords, and it is the resistance that will bring the servants of the occupation to their knees, lift the siege and dictate the terms of victory, which is the promise of Almighty Allah. You will regret [emigrating], but only when it is too late!!**



The importance of the "resistance" vis-à-vis emigration (Document 1)

- To understand the dangers of emigration and the religious prohibitions associated with it, the document recommended reading the booklet written by Saudi Arabian academic Muhammad Salem al-Zameli called, *Before You Emigrate..... A Warning and Reminders*, a copy of which was also found by the IDF.<sup>6</sup>



The front cover of the booklet

- The booklet, based on quotations from the Qur'an, the Hadiths and writings of Islamic scholars, discusses the meaning of emigration in Islam and its implications for the émigré's religious, social and personal identity. It represents emigration as both physical and spiritual

<sup>6</sup> Muhammad Salem al-Zameli, *Before You Emigrate..... A Warning and Reminders*, Mecca 2015.

estrangement, and notes the conflict between the desire for a comfortable life in foreign countries and the need to uphold religious and traditional values.

► According to al-Zameli, emigration means being a stranger in a strange land, whether in time or location. Emigration is estrangement from place, family, society, life among brothers and friends, and a detachment from one's homeland and roots. Emigration distances the soul from the homeland; it is not merely a physical transition but a migration of the spirit, of the homeland, leading to the loss of roots and identity.

► The booklet outlines various dangers that emigration may pose, such as exposure to foreign cultures which could influence a Muslim's behavior and faith; visits to immoral places, corruption and temptations; detachment from one's original religious and social environment and assimilation; negative cultural and media influences from Western propaganda, which portrays Western culture as ideal; unconscious economic support for non-Muslim countries, which could aid them in their struggle against Islam; exposure to physical and psychological dangers, diseases, uncertainty and constant stress; exposure to unhealthy food, epidemic-prone areas and risks of sexually transmitted diseases; and situations where individuals might be forced to lie to survive in a foreign country, contradicting the principles of integrity in Islam.

► Al-Zameli specified exceptional cases in which emigration from one's homeland was permissible, such as traveling for a pilgrimage to the three holy mosques in Islam [the Grand Mosque in Mecca, the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem]; emigration from infidel countries as a religious duty; cases of life-threatening danger; temporary emigration for advanced studies unavailable in one's homeland; travel for specialized medical treatment not available in one's homeland; and necessary travel for earning a livelihood.

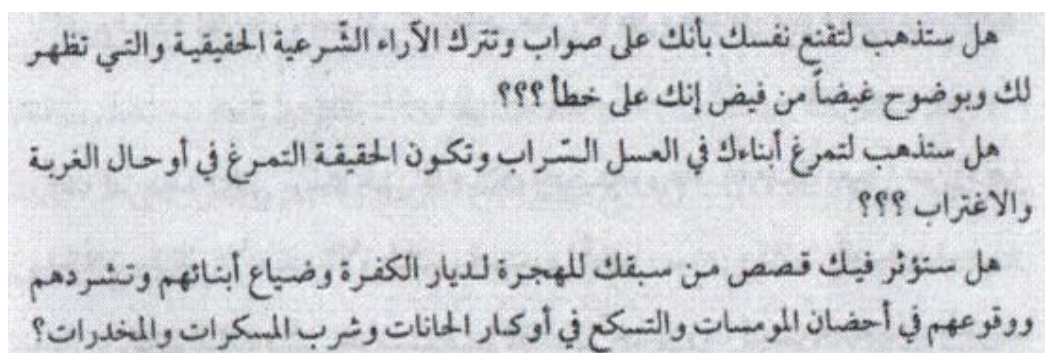
► If one is forced to emigrate, al-Zameli stressed the importance of adhering to key principles to ensure the preservation of religious faith in a challenging environment, including maintaining extensive knowledge of religious fundamentals to prevent deviation from faith; upholding moral values, avoiding bad company and staying away from questionable places; strictly observing prayers, fasting and zakat [giving charity]; not deviating from Sharia even if it requires a great effort; refraining from participating in social events which contradict Islamic principles; avoiding immoral content or activities which are inconsistent with Sharia; and refraining from working in industries based on earning interest, alcohol, or gambling, while seeking employment that complies with halal guidelines.

- ▶ According to al-Zameli, if emigration is necessary, one must relocate to countries where Islam can be fully practiced. Only in cases of existential necessity for religious purposes or studies should one reside in countries considered "infidel." He warned that prolonged stays in non-Muslim countries could lead to the adoption of foreign habits and a Western lifestyle, ultimately leading to forgetting or abandoning Islamic values.
- ▶ After detailing dangers and justifications, al-Zameli addressed his readers, asking if they still considered "traveling to distant countries and emigrating to a crazy nation?" He asked questions in a final attempt to convince them that emigration was a sin and that had only negative consequences for the individual and their religious faith.

**Will you go and convince yourself that you are right while abandoning the true religious teachings that clearly show you are wrong???**

**Will you go and allow your children to wallow in the honey of illusions, when in reality, they are sinking into the mud of alienation and estrangement???**

**Are you not affected by the stories of those who emigrated before you to the lands of the infidels, how their children were lost, became homeless, fell into the hands of prostitutes, spent their nights in bars and dens drinking alcohol and taking drugs?**



Questions for the potential émigré, page 62

## Appendix 1: Reactions to the American Proposal

### The Palestinian arena

- ▶ PA chairman Mahmoud Abbas condemned Trump's call for the "takeover of the Gaza Strip and the uprooting of Palestinians from their homeland." He stated that they would not allow any infringement of Palestinian rights, for which they have fought for years. He said the call violated international law, adding that regional peace and stability would not be achieved without the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. He also reiterated that the



PLO was the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and that no one had the right to make decisions about their future on their behalf (Wafa, February 5, 2025).

► PLO executive committee secretary Hussein al-Sheikh said the Palestinian leadership reaffirmed its firm stance regarding the two-state solution based on international legitimacy and international law. He added that the leadership rejected calls for the "uprooting of the Palestinian people from their homeland" (Hussein al-Sheikh's Facebook page, February 5, 2025).

► The office of the PA "president" strongly opposed and condemned the plan, whose objective was to displace the Gazans, calling it "crossing red lines." The office warned that the Palestinian people would not abandon their land or holy sites and would not allow a repetition of the catastrophes of 1948 and 1967 (Wafa, January 26, 2025).

► Mahmoud al-Habbash, advisor to Mahmoud Abbas, warned that the plan would destabilize peace, shatter the Palestinian issue and harm Arab states. He suggested that Trump "return Gazans to their homes within the 1948 territories," referring to Israel. He also praised the positions of Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan in rejecting the plan (al-Arabiya, February 5, 2025).

► Hamas called Trump's remarks "hostile" and a disservice to regional stability, fueling the fire. Hamas called on the American administration to retract its statements, adding that the Palestinian people would not allow any country to occupy their land or assume control over them. Hamas also urged the Arab League, the UN and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation to monitor the dangers posed by such statements (Hamas Telegram channel, February 5, 2025).

► The Hamas government media information office in Gaza strongly rejected the plan, calling it "racist and condescending, "as if we are a group of slaves who can be expelled or have our fate dictated by American political whims." Hamas conceded that they agreed with Trump on one point, that Gazans did not want to return to their destroyed refugee camps, but argued that it was because they had never chosen to live there in the first place, having been forcibly displaced from their original homes (Hamas media office Telegram channel, February 5, 2025).

► Senior Hamas figure Sami Abu Zuhri said Trump's statements sowed chaos and tension. He said the Gazans would not allow such plans to come to fruition and the correct course of

action was "to end the occupation and aggression" against the Palestinians, not "expulsion" (Shehab News Agency, February 4, 2025).

► Senior Hamas figure Izzat al-Rishq said the remarks reflected confusion and deep ignorance about "Palestine" and the Middle East. He claimed Gaza was not a no-man's land subject to unilateral decisions but an inseparable part of "occupied Palestinian land," and that any solution had to be based on ending the "occupation" and realizing Palestinian rights rather than the coercive approach of a real estate dealer. He said the Palestinian people, together with their "resistance forces,"<sup>7</sup> the Arab and Islamic nations and "supporters of justice" around the world would prevent any attempt to impose plans of emigration or expulsion upon them (Hamas Telegram channel, February 5, 2025).

► A "Hamas source in Gaza" warned that the movement would respond with "firm action" if Trump or the Israeli far right attempted to advance the plan to evacuate the Gazans. He said there would be significant regional repercussions and that "no one can predict what would happen." "Hamas sources" stated that the movement's leadership had not yet discussed the proposals, but a "source close to the leadership in Gaza" said that while they were accustomed to such statements, this time they were taking them seriously because they had been presented publicly to the whole world. He also warned that the plans amounted to a new "occupation," and therefore the response would be "resistance and necessary force." A "Hamas source outside Gaza" warned that any attempt to displace the population would impact the next phases of the ceasefire agreement (al-Sharq al-Awsat, February 6, 2025).

► The Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) said Trump was deluding himself if he believed his proposal could uproot Palestinians from their land after 15 months of war with American weapons had failed to do so. The PIJ noted that Palestinians would continue to adhere to "resistance" as they had before Trump and would continue to do so afterward (al-Jazeera Mubasher, February 4, 2025).

► The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) condemned Trump's statements, calling them a continuation of the "genocidal war" waged by the "Zionist occupation" with American backing and an attempt to [allegedly] perpetuate "ethnic cleansing." The PFLP stated that Gaza was not a real estate asset but an inseparable part of "historic Palestine" and that any attempt to control Gaza would fail in the face of Palestinian "resistance" (al-Quds Telegram channel, February 5, 2025).

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<sup>7</sup> Terrorist organizations.

- ▶ Muhammad al-Buraim (Abu Mujahid), spokesman for the Palestinian Resistance Committees, said that the Palestinian people and the "resistance" would not allow the "Zionist enemy" to achieve his objectives while maintaining their hold on the land despite the heavy sacrifices. He claimed that the "expulsion" plan had failed, as displaced Palestinians had returned to their land despite the bombings and destruction. He added that Egypt and Jordan would not permit an alternative homeland to be established for Palestinians and would stand firm against Trump's plans (al-Aqsa Telegram channel, February 5, 2025).
- ▶ The al-Quds daily's editorial was entitled, "Trump's delusions...a declaration of war." It stated that the Palestinian people would remain steadfast and rooted in their land and homeland, clinging to every inch of soil, while Trump would inevitably disappear and ultimately leave the White House. It emphasized the need for a Palestinian national consensus and a united stance among all Arab states against the "schemes targeting the Palestinian cause" (al-Quds, February 6, 2025).
- ▶ Fayez Abu Shamala, a political commentator from Khan Yunis,<sup>8</sup> wrote (in Arabic and Hebrew), "To our Israeli and American enemies: We, the people of Gaza, are capable of rebuilding Gaza with our own hands and brains. Stay away from us with your tanks and planes, and let us build Palestinian Gaza. We will be the ones to turn Gaza into a paradise, on the condition that you stay away" (Fayez Abu Shamala's X account, February 5, 2025).

## The Arab world

- ▶ King Abdullah II of Jordan met with PA chairman Mahmoud Abbas and expressed opposition to any attempts to annex land or uproot Palestinians (Jordanian Royal Court X account, February 5, 2025). He also spoke with UAE President Mohammed bin Zayed, warning against attempts to "displace Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza" and stating that "no solution would come at the expense of Jordanian and regional security" (Petra News Agency, February 5, 2025).
- ▶ Jordanian Foreign Minister Ayman Safadi said "Jordan is for Jordanians, and Palestine is for Palestinians." He firmly rejected the displacement of Palestinians and stressed that Jordan's position would remain unchanged (al-Mamlaka TV, January 26, 2025).
- ▶ The Egyptian foreign ministry stated that Egypt rejected any infringement on Palestinian rights, whether through land annexation, displacement or encouraging their transfer from

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<sup>8</sup> Fayez Abu Shamala's political positions oppose the PA and negotiations, but he does not hesitate to criticize the Hamas regime.

their land, whether short-term or long-term, as it threatened to escalate the conflict. The ministry added that resolving the Palestinian issue remained the central topic in the Middle East and that Egypt supported the legitimate rights of Palestinians in their homeland (Egyptian foreign ministry Facebook page, February 26, 2025).

► "Egyptian diplomatic sources" reported that discussions between Egyptian, Jordanian and American officials addressed the dangers of Trump's plan, which could destabilize the region. "Senior sources" stated that Cairo opposed the displacement of Palestinians to Sinai because of security concerns and potential harm to the peace agreement with Israel. However, Egypt was willing to allow the entry of Palestinians in humanitarian cases but not for permanent settlement (al-Araby al-Jadeed, January 27, 2025).

► The foreign ministers of Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the UAE, along with PLO executive committee secretary Hussein al-Sheikh, sent a joint letter to United States Secretary of State Marco Rubio expressing their opposition to plans to displace Gazans. The letter stated that "reconstruction in Gaza should involve direct participation by Gazans" and that Palestinians would remain in their land and contribute to rebuilding it (Reuters, February 4, 2025).

► The Hezbollah-affiliated Lebanese daily al-Akhbar reported that Egypt was in contact with Arab and Palestinian figures to coordinate a unified position against the American plans. "Egyptian sources" stated that Cairo was working to advance discussions with European countries so that along with Arab actors, especially Saudi Arabia, pressure could be exerted on Washington to abandon the idea of "displacement." According to the report, Egypt also warned the Americans of "the expected violent response from the resistance" if discussions on "displacement" continued (al-Akhbar, February 6, 2025).

► The Saudi Arabian foreign ministry reiterated the kingdom's absolute rejection of any violation of Palestinian rights. The statement noted that the international community had a duty to alleviate the suffering of the Palestinian people, who would remain rooted in their land and would not leave it. It further stated that the position was not subject to negotiation and that a lasting and just peace could not be achieved without securing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people in accordance with international decisions. The statement also noted that the position had been communicated to both the previous and current American administrations (Saudi Arabian foreign ministry X account, February 5, 2025).

- ▶ Qatari foreign ministry spokesman Majed al-Ansari refrained from directly condemning the plan. He said Qatar had received various ideas from the parties involved in the negotiations for Gaza's future, including the United States. He described them as part of broader discussions about "the day after the war" but said that achieving peace required an international effort led by countries such as the United States (Fox News, February 5, 2025).
- ▶ The Arab League condemned Trump's statement, declaring it a violation of international law and a recipe for instability, as it did not contribute to achieving the two-state solution. The statement noted that Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip formed the territory of the future Palestinian state (Wafa, February 5, 2025).



**Right:** Headline from the Saudi-owned al-Sharq al-Awsat, "Widespread Arab and international opposition to Trump's bombshell" (al-Sharq al-Awsat, February 6, 2025). **Left:** Headline from the Qatari-owned al-Araby al-Jadeed, "Opposition to Trump or Inaction" al-Araby al-Jadeed, February 6, 2025)

## Iran and the "resistance axis"<sup>9</sup>

- ▶ Iranian leader Ali Khamenei published a statement in Hebrew, declaring that "all of Palestine, from the river to the sea, belongs to the entire Palestinian people" (Iran's leader's Hebrew X account, February 6, 2025).
- ▶ Iranian Foreign Minister Abbas Araghchi mocked Trump's proposal to transfer Palestinians from Gaza to other countries. He suggested an alternative solution, "sending Israelis to Greenland," claiming that in that way Trump could kill two birds with one stone (Sky News, January 28, 2025).
- ▶ Iranian foreign ministry spokesman Esmail Baghaei strongly condemned the latest statements by American officials regarding control over the Gaza Strip. He claimed that the proposal was consistent with "the occupation's plan to erase Palestine." He called on the

<sup>9</sup> Iran, Syria, Hezbollah, the Palestinian organizations, the Shi'ite Houthis in Yemen and the pro-Iranian militias in Iraq.

international community and the UN to denounce the idea, adding that Trump's intention to control Gaza was an unprecedented violation of international law and the UN Charter. He also urged Islamic nations to cooperate and adopt an unequivocal, unified stance (Tasnim, February 6, 2025).

► Hassan Mousavi, political advisor to Hezbollah's secretary general, accused Trump of demanding that Gazans be expelled from their ancestral land [sic] to Egypt and Jordan. He condemned the silence and apathy of the "free world," which, he claimed, had "filled the streets with calls for Palestine and condemnation of the genocide<sup>10</sup> war against Gaza" but was now failing to act. He called for raising voices against the "ongoing and new American-Zionist aggression" and criticized "cowardly Arabs" for causing all hope to be lost (Hezbollah combat information Telegram channel, February 5, 2025).

► Houthi movement leader Abdul-Malik al-Houthi stated that the goal of the United States and Israel was the "destruction, total control and complete expulsion" of Palestinians from Gaza. He claimed that the only thing preventing it so far was the "Palestinian resistance" (al-Masirah, February 3, 2025).

► The Houthi political bureau condemned the statements made by the American president. In an official statement, it declared that Yemen would stand shoulder to shoulder with "Palestine" in its struggle against all forms of "aggression" against it and its rights. The statement also claimed that the United States had been the primary partner in "the genocidal crimes" in Gaza and was now leading the project of "forced displacement" (SABA News Agency, February 5, 2025).


► Houthi political bureau member Mohammed al-Bukhaiti stated that American "arrogance" would not spare anyone if it encountered submission from the Arab world. He stressed that choosing the "resistance support front" was the right course of action and added that if Egypt or Jordan decided to confront Washington, the Houthis would stand by them "with full force and without reservation" (Mohammed al-Bukhaiti's X account, February 5, 2025).

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<sup>10</sup> According to claims from the ministry of health in Gaza, about 43,000 people were killed in the Gaza Strip; according to the IDF, almost half of them Hamas and PIJ terrorist operatives. Hutus in Rwanda killed between 500,000 and 800,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutus, the Turks killed between 664,000 and 1.2 million Armenians, the Nazis killed six million Jews, and Stalin killed between an estimated six and nine million people (Wikipedia).

## Appendix 2: Document 1.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ



**EZZEDEEN AL-GASSAM BRIGADES**  
MILITARY WING OF HAMAS MOVEMENT  
KHANYOUNIS PHALANXE



الجناح العسكري لحركة المقاومة الإسلامية حماس  
لسواء خسان يونس

**يعمم على جميع المجاهدين**

**(ركنُ الشباب وراء السراب، والتولي من دار الكرامة إلى عار الخراصة)**

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله الذي أقسم على حتمية الابتلاء بشيء من الخوف والجوع، ونقص من الأموال، والأنفس، والشمرات، وجعل ذلك طريقاً للجنة، ومقدمة للنصر والتمكين؛ فقال عز وجل:

"أَمْ حَسِبْتُمْ أَنْ تُدْخَلُوا الْجَنَّةَ وَلَمَّا يَأْتِكُمْ مَثَلُ الَّذِينَ خَلَوْا مِنْ قَبْلِكُمْ مَسْتَكْبِرِينَ؟ تَتَذَكَّرُونَ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَآتَوْا مَعَهُ مَنًى لَمْ تَكُنْ لَهُمْ آيَةٌ أَنْ يَأْتِيَ اللَّهُ بِشَيْءٍ لَنْ تَأْخُذَهُ إِلَّا إِنَّ نَسْفَتَهُ اللَّهُ قُرْآنًا [البقرة: 214]

ويعسد:

فقد كثر الحديث في الآونة الأخيرة عن هجرة الشباب من قطاع غزة، حيث يتوجه أكثرهم إلى بعض الدول الأوروبية في رحلة محفوفة بالمخاطر الجسام قبل أن يصلوا إليها، ومن قُدر له أن يصل؛ فإن بانتظاره من المصائب المتعلقة بدينه، أو خلقه، ما لا يعلمه إلا الله، ما لم يكن محصناً سلفاً فكرياً وعقيدة تجاه الشبهات التي يثيرها العالم الصليبي ضد الإسلام؛ لدرجة الترهيب منه بوصفه مصدر الإرهاب، وما لم يكن قد أُوتي نصيباً من التربية والتركية ما

يحفظه الله تعالى به من أعاصير الشهوات، وبشرط أن تظل أسباب تجديد الإيمان، وزيادة الخشية من الله، تحييه بسياج من الإشفاق من عذاب الله؛ كأن يرتبط بالمراكز الإسلامية، أو الشباب المؤمن، وصحية كتاب الله... الخ.

وإذا كانت هجرة سائر الشباب حوباً كبيراً؛ فإنه عندما يكون بعضهم من الإيجابي المنخرط في الإعداد والجهاد نكون أمام إحدى الموقبات؛ فإن هذا النوع من الشباب صيدٌ سمين، وكثرت ثمين، لمعظم أجهزة المخابرات في العالم، لا أستثنى منها الموساد؛ فإنه يرتغ ويلعب بحرية في تلك البلاد.

إن شباب المقاومة... من عبادة الله وأولو البأس الشديد من شباب الكتائب، إذا خرج أحدهم من عرين غزة سيكون هدفاً لأجهزة المخابرات؛ لاغتصار ما لديه من معلومات عن رجال المقاومة، وما لديها من المقدرات؛ فلما أن يصمد تحت العذاب الأليم، فيكون كمن قر من الرمضاء إلى النار، وإما أن ينهار، فيفشي بما لديه من أسرار، ويتعرض بذلك لفضب الجبار، وسخط القهار، والنتيجة أن يلبث في السجن غذ سنين، ومن يدرى؛ فقد يموت تحت التعذيب، حيث لا سائل عنه ولا منجيب، وقد يخرج بأقية أو عاهة، قد تصل إلى حد الخلل في العقل، وما شابه ذلك.

وهنا أتوجه بالسؤال له، ولكل النازحين المهاجرين: أنتظن أنك لو جُنت الأرض كلها لاهتأ وراء المال سوف تحصل أكثر من رزقك المكتوب؟! ألسنت مؤمناً أنه لن تموت نفس حتى تستكمل رزقها وأجلها؟!

ثم إنه هل يُنال الرزق بعسوية الله أم بطاعته؟! ألم يهزم الله الرزاق ذو القوة المتين أن أهل القرى لو آمنوا واتقوا لفتح عليهم بركات من السماء والأرض، ولأكلوا من فوقهم، ومن تحت أرجلهم، ولو استغفروا ربهم لأرسل السماء عليهم مدراراً، ولأمدهم بأموال وبنين، ولجعل لهم جنات، ولجعل لهم أنهاراً؟!


**EZZEEDEN AL-QASSAM BRIGADES**  
 MILITARY WING OF HAMAS MOVEMENT  
 KHANTOUNIS PHALANXE

  
 الجناح العسكري لحركة المقاومة الإسلامية حماس  
 لسواء حسام يونس

**رسالة لرجال الدين:**

قبل أن تهاجروا يجب أن تستحضروا قائمة من المخاطر والمفاسد بانتظاركم؛ حتى تقيموا الوزن بالقسط، ولو صرتم في بلاد الكفر والسوق والعصيان كقارون أو هامان؛ هل كنتم من الراحين أم من الخاسرين؛ فإن الهجرة والرحيل فيهما إثم كبير، ومنافع للناس، وإثمه أكبر من نفعهما، وقد تُشنون ممن خسر الدنيا والآخرة، ذلك هو الصخران العيين، وختنكم أن تفرقوا كُنْهياً من ستين صفحة بتأليف الأخ الأستاذ/ محمد سالم الزاملني بعنوان: (قبل أن تهاجر ... ومضات وتكثير).

فقد نكر فيه من المفاسد الكثير، ونقل عدداً من الفتاوى تقضي بحرمة هذه الهجرة، فضلاً عن قصص لعدي من النادمين، لاسيما خطر الموت المصنّف في قائمة الانتحار بالفرق في قاع البحار، ثم في خطر الردة والكفر، أو الجنابة على الزوجة والأولاد؛ فإن الحرية الشخصية، أو عبادة الهوى والشيطان، تمنع الأب أو الولي - تحت طائلة القانون - أن ينهي أياً من رعيته عن أي من كبائر الإثم والفواحش، وقد يتورط الكثيرون فيزوجون من فتيات العلوج الأعاجم، فيقع في الارتباط بالمومسات، وحتى لو كُنَّ مسلمات؛ فإن خطر خسران الأولاد عند أي خلاف قائم، وحتى لو بقيت الأمور سعتاً على غنل كما يقول المثل؛ فإن أولئك الأولاد يتشربون عادات تلك البلاد، ويصبح من العسير أن يتأقلموا مع أعرافنا؛ فيما لو فُكر المهاجر أن يعود إلى بلده؛ فإزاء دينه من الفتن التي هي كقطع الليل المظلم، أو حتى لو كان رغبةً منه في استرضاء والديه بعد طول الحزن على فراقه؛ وإذا كان الجهاد في سبيل الله موقوفاً على إذن الوالدين؛ فكيف بالهجرة من أجل دنيا يُصيبتها، أو امرأاً ينكحها؟!، إنه لو لم يكن في المغادرة إلى الثلة والمهانة التي تتنافى مع عزة الإسلام؛ لأنها تجعل للكافرين على المؤمنين سبيلاً، ولو لم يكن إلا تبلد الإحساس تجاه الكفر، والسوق، والعصيان، وذهاب القيرة على محارم الله، وموت القلوب لكثرة ما يرى من العيوب، أو يسمع من أخبار التنويع لدى القطيع الذي لا يغار على دين، ولا على عرض؛ لكفى ذلك دليلاً على أشد الحرمة، وبقناعة الكبيرة.

**أخي المغامر أو المغامر - هدانا الله وإياك:**

أين كل ذلك من غرّة دار البر، وبلد الكرامة، وموطن الأمن، وماتحة الحرية التي يتغنى بأمجادها مليار مسلم، ويمثلهم معهم من أحرار العالم المنبؤون للصهانية والصلبيين؟!، وحتى من الناحية الاقتصادية، هل نقاسن أزمنا بمائة مليون مصري تحت خط الفقر، أو بعشرة ملايين من السوريين مهجرين أو مقموعين؟!، وهل الحال أحسن في العراق أو لبنان، أو في ليبيا أو السودان، وفي العديد من البلدان؟!،

إن الرزق تحت ظلال السيوف، ويوشك للمقاومة أن تُزجج الاحتلال، وعبء الاحتلال؛ لرفع الحصار، والخضوع لشروط الانتصار، وهو زغد ربنا العزيز القهار، وسوف تندمون، ولكن بعد فوات الأوان!!،

والله غالبٌ على أمره، ولكنكم تسملون.

