

Martyrdom and Visual Representations of the Palestinian Islamic Movements

Attila Kovács

At first glance, it might seem paradoxical to look for parallels and connections between Islam and its visual expressions if we remember the destruction of the monumental Buddha statue in Badyan in Afghanistan by militants of the radical Islamic movement Taliban »in the name of Islam«, as they reported,¹ or the Danish and later global case of the Muhammad caricatures. These cases have shocked the public worldwide and merely ‘confirmed’ the general ideas in the West that Islam—particularly its radical and militant manifestations—has a definitely negative and even damnatory approach to the visual with the only exceptions being in arabesques and calligraphy. But are these Western ideas accurate? Does Islam or its radical manifestations really reject visual representation in any form as an artistic expression or simply as a witness of a visual experience of the world? Such conclusions are premature. They would belong to the same sort of simplifications as the notion of the militant nature of Islam or its ‘intolerance’ and ‘dangerousness’.

Islam, Islams and Images

Before I attempt at answering unequivocally these questions, it is necessary to give a short definition of some basic notions or add some precision to some ‘Western’ ideas about Islam and eventually a clarification of some prejudices. The nature of these ideas is more that of intuitive feelings than of rational argument. Of course, I am not going to explain the whole background of the problem. I intend to position my following considerations about the relationship between Palestinian Islamic radicalism and its visual representations within a broader context. I find this necessary as there have been published so many and—regarding the approach and their scholarly soundness—such

1 Finbarr Barry Flood, »Between Cult and Culture: Bamiyan, Islamic Iconoclasm, and the Museum«, *Art Bulletin* 84,4 (2002), 641–659.

diverse studies about the ‘problem of Islam’ and especially about its ‘fundamentalist forms’.

Let me start with the basics: What does the notion of Islam mean? Finding one single or rather the most suitable answer to such an apparently trivial question is not easy. First of all, Islam is ‘more’ than merely religion. It is a lifestyle that includes a religious, political and also economic system. Islam is not a monolith, but a set of equal parallel traditions where none of them has a privileged position. Thus, from the historical, geographical and also socio-political perspective, it is more appropriate to speak of »Islams« (in the plural).² An identification of any segment of this mosaic with an imaginary ‘only true Islam’ would be worse than misrepresentation. Such misrepresentations are not an expression of ignorance or of a lack of information, but there is often an intention of political and religious fundamentalism (not only the Islamic one) in it.

Of course, the relationship of these »Islams« to visual representation has differed. The basic sources of Islamic thought—the *Qur’an*³ and the *Sunna* (tradition)⁴—did not prohibit visual representation in a categorical way, even though they viewed negatively above all figurative forms of visual representation. This has been valid especially in the religious context, which was intended to prevent any form of ‘idolatry’. Therefore, there are practically no figurative representations in mosques or in *Qur’an* manuscripts. This does not mean, however, that in other contexts the Islamic visual culture has not evolved to include representations of the prophets, angels, *jinn*, but excluding Allah. It is impossible to ignore the abundant visual heritage that is an integral part of both Islamic and world culture. Thus, the considerations of some Western scholars who see a direct connection between the supposed ‘prohibition’ of figurative representations and the evolution of ornamental and calligraphic art are legitimate only in part. Yet such considerations have considerably promoted the Western idea that ‘Islam refutes the visual, especially figurative representations’. Such a position is, however, far away from Islamic reality and practice.⁵

The aim of this article is not to analyze the relationship between Islam and the visual arts. Rather, I intend to deal with the form of visual representations that one would hardly classify as ‘art’. After all, the major part of such—not only Islamic—visual representations does not belong in this category. The topic of this article is the special modes of imaginative expression used by the propaganda of the radical Islamic

2 Cf. Abdul Hamid el-Zein, »Beyond Ideology and Theology: The Search for the Anthropology of Islam«, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 6 (1977), 227–254; Gabriele Marranci, *The Anthropology of Islam* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2008), 1–12; Daniel Martin Varisco, *Islam Obscured: The Rhetoric of Anthropological Representation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 1–20.

3 7.191–198; 16.20–22; 25.3–4; 35.40; 53.23.

4 *Sahih Bukhari*, 34.318; 54.447, 450, 539; 58.213; *Sahih Muslim*, 24.:246, 5249, *passim*.

5 Cf. Oleg Grabar, »From the Icon to Aniconism: Islam and the Images«, *Museum International* 55 (no 218, 2003), 46–53; Silvia Naef, *Bilder und Bilderverbot im Islam* (München: C. H. Beck, 2007).

Palestinian movements. Of course, this is not specific for radical Islam, as other ideologies also make use of similar visual representations. What I find interesting is how this extremely radical segment of Islam uses and relates to this form of visual representation.

Propaganda, Mission, Visual Culture and Islamic Radicalism

Let us now have a look at the relationships of Islamic radicalism, fundamentalism, Islamism and visual culture, i.e. the visual, audiovisual and other representations of the radical Islamic movements. It is obvious that it still concerns a vast array of Islamic movements and a vast field of visual expressions. I shall first give an overview of Islamic radicalism, fundamentalism and Islamism. At the very first glance, there is an inconsistency to the notion, which reveals both an ample variety even in the narrow category of contemporary Islam and differing approaches of various scholars towards the problem of 'radical Islam'. In general, Islamic radicalism—speaking in broadest terms—includes various movements and groups from the militant group of 'direct action' to 'moderate' movements functioning on a legal political basis and in the system of parliament democracy.⁶ The connecting component of these different groups is often a simplified understanding of Islam as the mobilizing or operational ideology. The various segments of Islamic radicalism differ just like the various representations of the visual expressions more or less used by these movements. In general, the major part of these movements makes use of the visual in a very pragmatic and skillful way. They are aware that they can utilize the visual as an extremely sufficient means of radical Islamic propaganda and as a kind of similarly orientated mission.

The ideological equipment of each radical Islamic movement—its verbal or visual expressions—is a special set of signs and symbols that are easy and immediately comprehensible for the broader Muslim public. It often contains reinterpreted and indoctrinated forms of 'classical Islamic' notions and symbols that have changed their function and meaning in the new context. Along with their comprehensibility, it is also important that these verbal or visual signs and symbols be original and striking to identify each particular movement by elements of simplification and stylization. In some cases, the visual dimension of radical Islamic ideology has caused the set of symbols to be converted into a coherent and inner logical system with some certain sporadic iconographical elements.

The specific visual expressions of concrete radical Islamic movements can vary in broad scale from a simple black-and-white logo up to a sophisticated satellite TV broadcast. Let us take a look at a concrete example of the 'posters of the martyrs' of the

6 Dale F. Eickelman, »Changing Interpretations of Islamic Movements«, in *Islam and the Political Economy of Meaning. Comparative Studies of Muslim Discourse*, ed. by William R. Roff (London; Sydney: Croom Helm, 1987), 13–30.

Palestinian Islamic movements, such as *Hamas*, Islamic Jihad and Popular Resistance Committees.

Hamas, Islamic Jihad and the Cult of the »Martyrs«

Hamas (The Islam Resistance Movement, or *Harakat al muqawwama al-islamiya*), the Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine (*Harakat al-jihad al-islami fi Filastin*) and the Popular Resistance Committees (*Lijan al-Muqawwama ash-shabiya*) are the best-known representatives of Palestinian radical Islam. These movements operate especially in the Gaza Strip and in the »West Bank«. While Hamas is based on a rather widespread net of members (several tens of thousands) and sympathizers, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad has a smaller but intransigent and more radicalized membership, whereas the Popular Resistance Committees are a small militant group in favor of 'direct action'. All these movements use militant Islamic ideology and prefer armed attack against Israeli civil and military objects to all other modes of resistance. Armed actions are coordinated by their military wings. In the case of Hamas, it is the Brigades of the Martyr 'Izz ad-Din al-Qassam (*Kata'ib ash-shahid 'Izz ad-Din al-Qassam*), the Palestinian Islamic Jihad has the Phalanges of Jerusalem (*Siraya al-Quds*) and the Popular Resistance Committees movement has the Brigades of the Victorious Salah ad-Din (*Alwiya an-Nasir Salah ad-Din*). The forms of armed combat can vary: from operations executed by individual militants and small commandos, shooting in the street, stone throwing, tire burnings, launching ground-to-ground missiles (*Qassam* I, II, III; *al-Quds* I and II; and *an-Nasir* I, II, III and IV), up to so-called 'suicide bombers', which in the terminology of the respective movements are called 'martyr operations' (*ʿamalīyat istishbadiya*).⁷

The members of all these movements who died in these or other such military actions during demonstrations or as a result of Israeli military repressions become

7 About the problem of martyrdom in the context of the Palestinian Islamic movements: Eli Alshech, »Egoistic Martyrdom and Hamās' Success in the 2005 Municipal Elections: A Study of Hamās Martyrs' Ethical Wills, Biographies, and Eulogies«, *Die Welt des Islams* 48 (2008), 23–49; Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, »The Return of Martyrdom: Honour, Death and Immortality«, *Totalitarian Movements & Political Religions*, 4,3 (2003), 11–34; Anat Berko and Edna Erez, » "Ordinary People" and "Death Work": Palestinian Suicide Bombers as Victimizers and Victims«, *Violence and Victims* 20,6 (2005), 603–623; Mia M. Bloom, »Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbiddings«, *Political Science Quarterly* 119,1 (2004), 61–88; Muhammad M. Hafez, *Manufacturing Human Bombs: The Making of Palestinian Suicide Bombers* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 2006); Meir Hatina, »Theology and Power in the Middle East: Palestinian Martyrdom in a Comparative Perspective«, *Journal of Political Ideologies* 10,3 (2005), 241–267; Raphael Israeli, »Islamikaze and their Significance«, *Terrorism and Political Violence* 9,3 (1997), 96–121; Raphael Israeli, *Islamikaze: Manifestations of Islamic Martyrology* (London: Frank Cass, 2003); Laleh Khalili, *Heroes and Martyrs of Palestine: The Politics of National Commemoration* (Cambridge: London: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

‘martyrs’ (*shuhada*’, singular: *shahid*) in the interpretation of their movements. It would take a long explanation to define exactly who may become a martyr in the Islamic context. In the case of the Palestinian Islamic movements, the current interpretation says that the militants died »in the defensive armed *jihad*«, which is one possibility of how to attain the status of a ‘martyr’. It is, however, more complicated in attacks where women and children have died (these cases can hardly be qualified as acts of »the defensive armed *jihad*«), and particularly in the cases of the so-called suicide bombers who by their suicide—condemned by Islam—lose any right to the status of ‘martyr’ (which is the interpretation of the majority of Islamic authorities). But this does not mean that their own movement and a big part of the Palestinian public do not honour them. In some cases a ‘cult of the martyrs’ arises. This happens especially in the Gaza Strip and in some refugee camps in the occupied West Bank, e.g. Janin.

Such a ‘cult of the martyrs’⁸ can widely influence Palestinian society and may have complex manifestations: verbally, as a part of the Palestinian narrative in the occupied territories and in exile, as both the topic of Friday sermons and part of the study curricula in the Palestinian National Autonomy (PNA) areas, and visually, as ‘posters of the martyrs’ or graffiti and videos with similar content. Without exaggeration one can point out that the Palestinian radical Islamic movements are fascinated by visual expression. This might seem paradoxical, as a radical Islamic movement is expected to interpret Islam strictly and inflexibly even in such questions of visuality and figurative representation, as was the case of the Taliban in Afghanistan or the *Wahhabi* movement in the Arabian Peninsula two centuries ago. Now this is not, however, the case. The abovementioned Palestinian movements have made ample and skillful use of visual means for the propagation and presentation of their radical Islamic ideology.

What does such a poster look like and what does it testify? And finally, where is it to be found? Even if the ‘posters of the martyrs’ are often called ‘artistic images’ or ‘posters’ (*lanhat fanniya*), it is quite difficult to consider them works of art. They are visual means that have been made for the purpose of propaganda and piety.

Let us take a closer look at these posters. Its first necessary component is »genre painting«—usually a photograph—of the ‘martyr’ who poses with a gun in his hand. Sometimes the ‘martyr’ is completely armed—his guns are, remarkably, of American or Israeli origin and rarely of »Eastern« manufacture, such as the AK-47 Kalashnikov. On the poster, his exact name and grade are given, and the precise circumstances and date of his death are indicated. In front of the name, there is the title of ‘martyr’ (*shahid*)

8 Mahmoud Abu Hashhash, »On the Visual Representation of Martyrdom in Palestine«, *Third Text* 20, 3/4 (2006), 391–403; Lori A. Allen, »The Polyvalent Politics of Martyr Commemorations in the Palestinian Intifada«, *History & Memory* 18,2 (2006), 107–138; Attila Kovács, »Šuhada’: Cesty palestýnských “mučovníkov” na druhý svet« [Shuhada’: The Roads of Palestinian ‘Martyrs’ to the Otherworld], in: *Cesty na druhý svet: smrt’ a pohreb v náboženstvách sveta* [Roads to the Otherworld: Dead and Burial in the Religions of the World], ed. by Milan Kováč, Attila Kovács and Tatiana Podolinska (Bratislava: Central European Religious Studies CERES, 2005), 148–162.

and/or the sentence 'died in the *jihad*' (*mudjahid*) if he died in 'active' combat (plates 1 to 4). Further, there is the name of the organization to which the 'martyr' belonged, including its logo, which serves as a clear identification sign and sort of a 'trademark' for the respective organization.

On the Hamas logo (see plates 7, 8, and 15), there are two crossed swords in front of the cupola of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, on the left and right side we find the green-white-black-red Palestinian flag with the inscription of the Muslim confession of faith (*shahada*). Above the Dome there is a map depicting Palestine. Below the logo there is an inscription saying »the Islamic Resistance Movement—Hamas«. On the posters, the adherence to Hamas is often symbolized only by its green flag with the inscription of the Muslim confession of faith and the symbol of the Qassam Brigades (see plates 1 and 2): a masked figure with the typical Palestinian headwear (*kefiyya*) and the green headband with the *Qur'an* in one hand and a US machine gun in the other and with a fastened green Hamas flag on the back. There is the Dome of the Rock (*Qubbat as-sabru*) behind the 'martyr' and the inscriptions with the full name and the motto of the Qassam Brigades around him.

The basic motive of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad logo (plates 4 and 5) is also the Dome of the Rock and the map of Palestine in the forefront. Behind the cupola, the barrels of crossed guns are visible with two fists underneath. Around it, there are two inscriptions: the name and the motto of the organization. The Jerusalem Phalanges have a suggestive symbol: the name of the organization with the letter *alif* finishing in a fist holding a gun. It reminds one of the logo of the Lebanese movement Hezbollah. The Palestinian Islamic Jihad flag is black; there is the *shahada* inscribed on it.

The symbol of the Popular Resistance Committees also strikingly resembles the logo mentioned above—the letter *alif* in the name of the movement raised by a machine gun; there is the cupola of the Dome of the Rock above it and the symbol is bordered by the Palestinian national flag. The Brigades of the Victorious Salah ad-Din have a similar symbol with the sole difference being that between the name of the Brigades and the golden cupola there is a stylized Salah ad-Din figure sitting on horseback and with a saber in his hand (plate 6).

Among the usual symbols, there is the *Qur'an*—it is in the hand of the 'martyr' or in another position—and the mosque *al-Aqsa* (see plates 1, 4, and 5) and/or the Dome of the Rock, which symbolizes the »Palestinian homeland« along with the maps (plate 5) and flags. On the posters, there is often the image of a »destroyed enemy« in the shape of a tank, a watchtower, the so-called star of David (*Magen David*) or the destructive result of an action (plates 2, 20), usually in flames. Sometimes in this segment clear anti-Semitic symbols and allusions appear which are also used in other visual expressions of the movements. Similar tendencies may appear in the case of some texts mentioned above. Along with this kind of text, there are some *Qur'an* quotations, fighting slogans or quotations by important ideologues of radical Islam.

On the posters, sometimes several 'martyrs' are displayed, or there are, next to the 'protagonist', some of the most prominent figures from the history of a particular movement or from Islamic history, which both play an important role in the ideological

conception of the movements. In the case of Hamas or the Qassam Brigades, we find most frequently the figure of the founder and long-time leader *sheikh* Ahmad Yassin (1936–2004; see plates 8 to 14) who died as a victim of an Israeli attack, or another former leader of the movement with a similar destiny, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz ar-Rantisi (1947–2004; see plate 7). Some living Hamas leaders such as Mahmud az-Zahhar (b1945) or Khalid Mash‘al (b1956) are also shown. The former Qassam Brigades commanders, especially Salih Shahada (1954–2002), Imad ‘Aqil (1969–1993) and Yahya ‘Ayyash (1966–1996), with the nickname ‘the Engineer’ (*al-Muhandis*), are very frequently featured on the posters. The personalities from Islamic history depicted on the posters are the Prophet Muhammad and especially Salah ad-Din al-Ayyubi (1137–1193), the famous victor over the crusaders. For the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, a similarly prominent personality on the ‘martyr posters’ is Fathi ash-Shiqaqi (1951–1995), its longtime leader assassinated on Malta by the Israeli Mossad (plate 5). For the Popular Resistance Committees, such a personality is Abu Yusuf al-Qawqa (see plate 6). Some ‘female martyrs’ also play an important role for the respective movements (e.g. Hanadi Jaradat, 1975–2003; see plate 4).⁹

The ‘martyr posters’ usually appear immediately after the death of a movement member. They are distributed in printed form in various sizes, especially at the ‘martyr’s’ funeral which is often transformed into demonstrations and protests. They are placed also in the streets of the neighbourhood where the ‘martyr’ lived. The posters often show the whole life and afterlife itinerary of the martyr, as can be seen on the set of the images dedicated to Ahmad Yassin (see plates 8 to 14).¹⁰ The moment of death is shown when Sheikh Yassin was by the Israeli security forces in a rocket attack on his way home from morning prayer (see plates 9 and 10); then as a sheikh in the way of the biblical Elias or ancient Helios, he rides a chariot drawn by winged horses—or is it a better technical solution for his wheelchair? (see plate 11); we can see him riding in

9 About the Palestinian female suicide bombers or martyrs: Mia Bloom, »Female Suicide Bombers: A Global Trend«, *Dadalus* 136,1 (2007), 94–102; Frances S. Hasso, »Discursive and Political Deployments by/of the 2002 Palestinian Women Suicide Bombers/Martyrs«, *Feminist Review* 81 (2005), 23–51; Terri Toles Patkin, »Explosive Baggage: Female Palestinian Suicide Bombers and the Rhetoric of Emotion«, *Women and Language* 27,2 (2004), 79–88; Yoram Schweitzer, *Female Suicide Bombers: Dying for Equality?* (Tel Aviv: The Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, 2006); Barbara Vitor, *Army of Roses: Inside the World of Palestinian Suicide Bombers* (New York: Rodale, 2003).

10 About his life and death: Ziad Abu-Amr, Shaykh Ahmad Yasin and the Origins of Hamas, in *Spokesmen for the Despised: Fundamentalist Leaders of the Middle East* ed. by R. Scott Appleby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 225–256; ‘Atif ‘Adwan, *Asb-shaykh Ahmad Yasin: hayatuhu wa jihaduhu* [Sheikh Ahmad Yassin: His Life and Struggle], (Bayt Hann: al-Jámica al-islamiya, 1991); Attila Kovács, »Život, smrt’ a nesmrtefnost’ Ahmada Jásina: mučeník, svátec, mystik, terorista?« [The Life, Death and Immortality of Ahmad Yassin: Martyr, Saint, Mystic, Terrorist?], in *Svátec a jeho funkcie v spoločnosti* [The Saint and His Functions in Society], ed. by Rastislav Kožíak and Jaroslav Nemeš (Bratislava: Chronos, 2006), 261–274.

the Paradise garden that is full of light (see plate 12), looking, together with ‘Abd al-‘Aziz ar-Rantisi (1947–2004), ‘from Heaven’ onto the militants of the Qassam Brigades (plate 13). Finally we see him in various »halls of fame« in the company of other martyrs from his movement, depicted as sunflowers in Paradise (see plate 14), or together with Hasan al-Banna and Rantisi (see plate 15), or in an alternative of Mount Rushmore where he is represented together with Rantisi, Isma‘il Abu Shanab (1955–2003) and Salih Shahada (see plate 16). The symbolic representations of the ‘martyrs’ and of ‘martyrdom’ are also important. Such a symbol may appear as the body (see plates 17 and 18), sometimes with the soul in the shape of a dove or another bird (see plate 18), and a lot of blood shown in a very naturalistic manner (see plate 19) or flowers—roses and tulips, usually in a red colour—symbolizing Paradise (see plates 4, 14, 15, and 19). The picture of a tulip suggests some reference with Iran, where this flower (as an old Zoroastrian symbol) has become an integral part of the iconography of the martyrs from Imam Hussein up to the victims of the Islamic revolution. In other contexts, the tulip can hint at the ancient story about Adonis where a tulip grew from his blood. The last symbols standing for ‘martyrs’ are various guns (see plate 20).

In the recent past, especially since the beginning of the second *al-Aqsa* intifada, these posters have appeared also on websites¹¹ of the various movements, where they are complemented with a detailed curriculum vitae and a communiqué (or video) of the ‘martyr’, formulating the motives and goals of his act. The posters are multifunctional: they serve as a death announcement, as advertising material, an object of piety for the family or clan, and—last but not least—as a ‘sacred image’. Anyway, for sympathizers and adherents of the Palestinian radical Islamic movements it is an image of an Islamic hero who—although in the context of a small group—is ‘an example to be followed’.

Conclusions

In the visual propaganda of the radical Palestinian Islamic movements, these ‘martyr images’ take up a central position. In areas as the Gaza Strip where hopelessness and desperation reign, these ‘graffiti and poster heroes’ inspire the young generation of Palestinians. Of course, even without these ‘posters’, this would also be the case. The visualization of this kind of radical Islamic propaganda has helped to transform the ‘martyrs’ from the Qassam Brigades and the Islamic Jihad into ‘superstars’ who are, in these areas, at least as popular and famous as music or movie stars. It should also be stated that besides other common means and media (such as ideological booklets or pamphlets, discussion circles, summer camps, etc.), visual representation as ‘martyr

11 The websites of Hamas: <www.palestine-info.info>, the web forum of the movement: <www.paldf.net/forum>, Brigades ‘Izz ad-Din al-Qassam: <www.alqassam.ps>, Islamic Jihad in Palestine: <www.qudsway.net>, the Jerusalem Phalanges: <www.sarayaalquds.org>, the Popular Resistance Committees: <www.moqawmh.com> (last retrieval for all May 13, 2010).

posters' or other visual and audiovisual expressions have become a part of the technical equipment of the radical Palestinian Islamic movements. These visual means as media of the ideology of the political movements are becoming increasingly important.

Comenius University in Bratislava, Department of Comparative Religious Studies



Plate 1

Poster of the 'martyr' of Qassam Brigades 'Abd al-Karim Sha'ban Bikrun (author unknown).



Plate 2

Poster of the 'martyr' of Qassam Brigades Muhammad Hazza' al-Ghul (author: 'Abu Mukin').



Plate 3

A poster of the 'martyr' Ibrahim Abu ar-Rabb (author: 'Abu Tabit al-Hamsawi').



Plate 4

Poster of the most important female 'martyr' of the Phalanges of Jerusalem Hanadi Jaradat (author unknown).



Plate 5

Poster of the late leader of the Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine, 'martyr' Dr. Fathi ash-Shiqaqi (author unknown).



Plate 6

Poster of the late leader of Victorious Salah ad-Din Brigades, 'martyr' Abu Yusuf al-Qawqa (The Information Office of Victorious Salah ad-Din Brigades).



Plate 7

Poster of the late leader of Hamas, 'martyr' Abd al-Aziz ar-Rantisi (author: 'Abu Id').

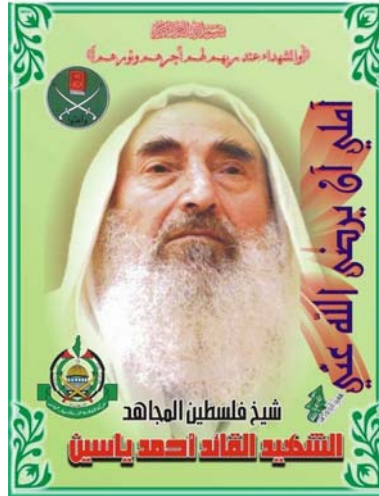


Plate 8

Poster of the late leader and 'spiritual guide' of Hamas, 'Sheikh of Palestine' and 'martyr' Ahmad Yassin (author: 'Samir Abu Mubammad').



Plate 9

Assassination act of Ahmad Yassin (author unknown).



Plate 10

The scene of assassination of Ahmad Yassin (author: 'Abu al-^عIrq').

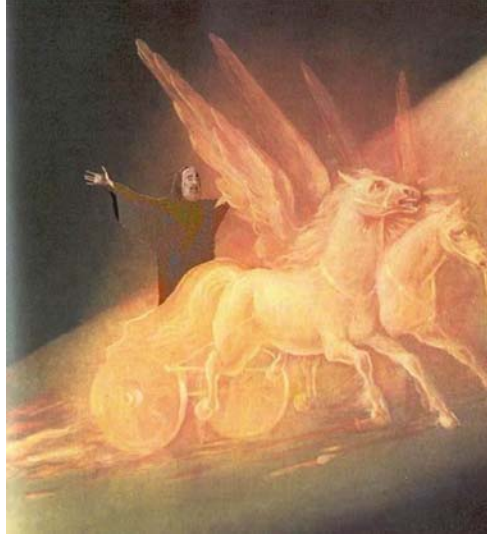


Plate 11
*Poster showing Sheikh Yassin's 'journey to Paradise'
(author unknown).*



Plate 12
*Poster for the »Week of Martyrs 2006«
showing Sheikh Yassin riding in Paradise on horseback (author: 'Khaleel').*



Plate 13

Sheikh Yassin and Rantisi watching at troops of the Qassam Brigades 'from Heaven'
(author: 'Khaleel').



Plate 14

Sheikh Yassin and other 'martyrs' of Hamas as flowers of the 'Garden of Paradise'
(author: 'Abbas').



Plate 15
 Poster for the 18th anniversary of the Hamas showing Hassan al-Banna, the founder of Muslim Brotherhood, together with Yassin and Rantisi, below the motto «Hamas: Missions, Ideas, Martyrdom» (author: 'Samir Abu Muhammad').

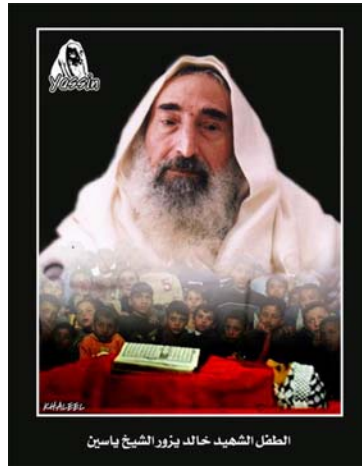


Plate 17
 Poster showing Sheikh Yassin with a 'child martyr' (author: 'Khaleel').



Plate 16
 «The greatest ones of the community» as an alternative of the US national monument on Mount Rushmore: The American presidents are substituted by the Hamas leaders Ahmad Yassin, Isma'il Abu Shanab, Rantisi, Salih Shabada (from left to right) (author: 'Eyalash').



Plate 18

Poster of the 'martyr' of Qassam Brigades, Muhammad al-Ghalban
(author: 'Khaleel').



Plate 19

Poster for the »Week of Martyrs 2006« showing a tulip in a glass full of blood
as symbol of martyrdom (author: 'Khaleel').



Plate 20

»This is in our hands«, a poster displaying an M16 rifle together with some 'martyrs' and photographs showing the consequences of 'suicide attacks' by the Hamas movement (author: 'Abu Mukin').