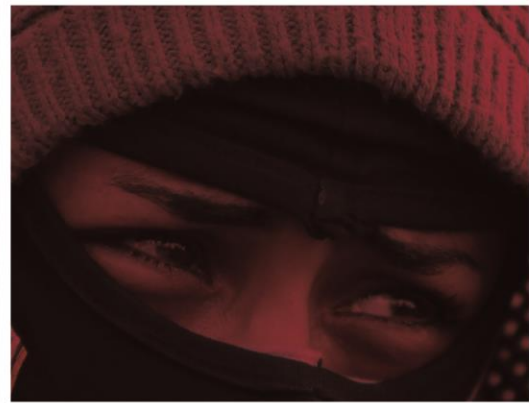


SPECIAL REPORT

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD



THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

NOTE ON METHODOLOGY

This Special Report aims to analyze the Muslim Brotherhood organization as a global movement, in particular their ideology and the key players involved in the movement as well as charting the extent of their global reach. It seeks to present the facts and summarize them for use by both the general public and researchers.

It is intended as an outline for the general reader and assumes no prior knowledge.

Every effort has been made to trace the provenance of sources and, where possible, rely on primary rather than secondary sources. Key sources and links to further information are provided in a bibliography at the end.

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CONTENTS

Note on Methodology & Introduction	
SECTION I – IDEOLOGY AND STRATEGY	5
Goals and Strategy of the Muslim Brotherhood – Overview	6
The Brotherhood's Ideology	7
Milestones	8
Ideological Roots	9
Muslim Brotherhood Intellectuals and Thinkers	11
Strategic Differences With Other Islamist Groups	13
Gradualism – A Central Muslim Brotherhood Strategy	13
Implementation of the Gradualist Strategy	15
Gradualism in America	16
Women's Rights	18
Terrorism and Violence	19
SECTION II – HISTORY AND IMPLEMENTATION	21
Timeline	22
The Muslim Brotherhood and the Nazi Regime	24
Muslim Brotherhood in Power in Egypt: 2012-2013	25
SECTION III – Structure and Leaders	29
Structure of the Muslim Brotherhood	30
The Central Muslim Brotherhood Unit	31
Affiliates	32
Muslim Brotherhood Worldwide	33
Wings of the Muslim Brotherhood	35
Who's Who in the Muslim Brotherhood	36
Bibliography	38

INTRODUCTION

The Muslim Brotherhood (*Al-Ihkwan al-Muslimun*) has emerged over the past century as one of the world's leading Islamist organizations. It is a Sunni, pan-Islamic organization based in Cairo, Egypt whose ultimate aim is the re-establishment of the global Islamic caliphate.² The organization is not a religious sect. Rather, the Brotherhood is a sophisticated social and political organization seeking an all-encompassing role for Islam in the lives of its members and in the broader society based on their interpretation of *Quran* and the *Sunna* (tradition).^{3 4}

The movement has a violent ideology as expressed in its support for *jihad* (holy war) against non-believers and in its desire to implement the *hudud* (punishments) proscribed by *sharia* (Islamic law)⁵, but it has adopted a public policy of non-violence as part of its long-term gradualist strategy in order to achieve its goals.⁶

Until recently, the Brotherhood's motto published publicly was: "Allah is our objective. The prophet is our exemplar. The Quran is our law. *Jihad* is our way. Dying in the way of Allah is our highest hope." This motto is no longer displayed on official *Ikhwan* (Brotherhood) publications.



Figure 1 The Brotherhood's motto is written on the outer circle of its logo. The word beneath the swords translates to "Make Ready," which is a reference to a Quranic verse exhorting Muslims to prepare for war against the enemies of Allah (Surah 8:60)

Officially, the Brotherhood renounced violence as a political strategy in 1971 as part of a deal with then Egyptian President Anwar Sadat who needed their support against the Nasserists.⁷ Since the Brotherhood's founding in 1928 as an indigenous reaction to what they considered to be the degraded status of contemporary Islam, they have played an active part in several major wars and revolutions worldwide, from the Algerian War of Independence (1954-62)⁸ to Egypt's Tahrir Square revolution (2011).⁹

In these and other struggles they fought alongside broader coalitions but advanced their own separate goals of Islamic rule and supremacy. They have branches in approximately 80 countries worldwide and have been the leading source of inspiration behind other Islamist organizations including Al Qaeda and the Islamic State.

SECTION I IDEOLOGY AND STRATEGY

“The Jews are behind materialism, animal sexuality, the destruction of the family and the dissolution of society.”

– Sayyid Qutb, Muslim Brotherhood Leader in his book, *Our Battle against the Jews*, 1951¹⁰

GOALS AND STRATEGY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD - OVERVIEW

Goals:

The stated goals of the Muslim Brotherhood are as follows:¹¹

1. Inform the world about Islam and spread its teachings
2. Unify the world under the banner of Islam
3. Raise the standard of living and achieve social justice
4. Fight disease, poverty, ignorance and hunger
5. Liberate the *Ummah* (Islamic nation) from foreign rule
6. Establish a worldwide Islamic state (caliphate)
7. Build a new world civilization based on *sharia* and Islam.

Strategy

The ultimate goal of the Muslim Brotherhood is the establishment of a global caliphate (Islamic state), in which a caliph (monarch) rules in accordance with *sharia* (Islamic law). Although their operational goals change according to circumstances – i.e., the Brotherhood's initial goal was to liberate Egypt from the British¹² – nevertheless, they still stay focused on their ultimate aim, and all of their actions are undertaken in this context.¹³

They seek to realize their long-term goal initially by spreading the message of Islam (termed *dawa* meaning proselytizing) and recruiting people into the organization. Later, this goal can be achieved through violent means and *jihad*, if necessary.¹⁴

Slow and steady growth and a willingness to work within existing structural frameworks are hallmarks of Muslim Brotherhood strategy. Their teachings go into detail about the importance of establishing charitable organizations, educational establishments, sporting clubs and other such institutions for the twin purposes of spreading the message of Islam and facilitating social justice. *Zakat* (charity), in particular, is utilized for these purposes and is therefore a priority for the Brotherhood.

Islamic education is given a key role. Most of the curriculum is textual study eg. the Quran and the *Hadiths* – the recorded teachings deeds and sayings of Muhammed. Education is particularly focused on youth, which play an essential part in the Brotherhood's overall strategy. Youth wings dedicated to the Brotherhood's ideology can be rapidly deployed to the streets when the leadership deems it necessary to advance their interests.

Armed *jihad* remains an integral part of their overall Islamist ideology, although the group officially renounces violence and members of the Brotherhood have not hesitated to use it when they see fit. The founding bylaws explicitly state, "The Islamic nation must be fully prepared to fight the tyrants and the enemies of *Allah* as a prelude to establishing an Islamic state."¹⁵

THE BROTHERHOOD'S IDEOLOGY

The Muslim Brotherhood can be considered to have founded modern political Islam (also called Islamism).¹⁶ Although it views both communism and capitalism equally as Western impositions hostile to Islam, the Brotherhood has borrowed tactics extensively from both communist and fascist movements.¹⁷ The language and attitudes of contemporary Brotherhood thought bear many similarities to left-wing discourse.^{18,19} For example, the Brotherhood's English website is couched in the language of struggle against oppression and contains similar fiery anti-imperialist and anti-racist rhetoric such as one might find in the pages of left-wing magazines, such as *The Socialist Worker*.²⁰

The Brotherhood has shown itself equally capable of appropriating right-wing forms as well, in particular discipline and imagery borrowed from European fascism, most obviously evidenced in their paramilitary wings.²¹



Relevant Documents

1. Original By-Laws of the Muslim Brotherhood
2. Founding Charter of Hamas 1988
3. Text on the importance of jihad by Hassan al-Banna
4. Milestones by Sayyid Qutb. English translation



The Brotherhood considers itself to be an Islamic revivalist movement that aims at rejuvenating staid and archaic forms of Islam, infusing them with fresh energy which will enable it to fulfill its 'destiny' of spreading throughout the world. Social justice and the elimination of poverty are also central tenets of the movement. Brotherhood ideologue Sayyid Qutb was influenced by communist ideas and viewed the Brotherhood as a revolutionary vanguard movement which would spearhead the revival of Islam.²²

Religiously, the Brotherhood adheres to Sunni rather than Shiite Islam. Within the Sunni sect the Brotherhood's ideology differs from both Wahabbist and Salafi Islam in several key ways -- in particular, in their willingness to work with other Muslim groups and their ability to temper ideology with pragmatism.

The Brotherhood sees no difference between religion and politics. For them, there is only Islam which they hold to be the only legitimate way of life and non-Islam. The ideal state according to the Brotherhood is a theocracy governed in accordance with *sharia* law.²³

The Brotherhood is opposed to secular Arab nationalism -- including both Baathism and Nasserism -- which it regards as *jahilliya* (an un-Islamic state of ignorance which is to be opposed and overthrown).^{24,25} However, they have been influenced by pan-Arabism.²⁶

Brotherhood ideologue Sayyid Qutb gave the term *jahilliya* its modern meaning and explained it in his seminal Islamist work, *Milestones* (see below).

Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna was inspired by earlier Islamic thinkers including Jamal al-Afghani, Abul Ala Maududi, Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Ridah.²⁷ These intellectuals laid the ideological groundwork for the concept of the modern Islamic state and are therefore known as Islamic revivalists. Al-Banna synthesized and developed these ideas into what became Muslim Brotherhood doctrine. He was also the originator of the idea that one should love death and crave a martyr's end.^{28,29} This ideology is best encapsulated in the oft-repeated slogan of Brotherhood affiliate Hamas, "We love death more than you love life."³⁰

Anti-Western Orientation

After Al-Banna established the organization, their first operational goal was to fight British colonialism in Egypt. But their anti-Western sentiments were not restricted merely to Britain and colonial powers; America was also regarded as "The Great Satan" and written about in very negative terms by various Brotherhood leaders.³¹ The Brotherhood website at the time of writing has a section on American news entitled, "The Great Satan."³²

Communism was also regarded as an un-Islamic imposition, although alliances with communists have been formed at different periods in order to combat Western forces in various Middle Eastern countries.³³

MILESTONES

Milestones, written in prison by leading Muslim Brotherhood intellectual Sayyid Qutb (published: 1964), is considered by many to be the founding text of modern political Islam and the jihadist movement.³⁴ It inspired generations of Islamic extremists including Bin Laden's mentor, Abdullah Yusuf Azzam, as well as the mastermind of 9/11, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, and the Hamas terror organization.³⁵

Although the Brotherhood doesn't publicly endorse the book, Hassan al-Hudaybi, the former Supreme Guide of the Brotherhood, ordered the book to be printed and recommended that it should be taught as part of the Brotherhood's educational program. He is quoted on the Brotherhood's Arabic website as saying, "With the blessing of *Allah*, this book strengthened the hope I had in him [Qutb]. May our Lord guard him. I read it, and I read it again. Sayyid Qutb is the hope that we want for *Da'wah* now, *Inshallah*."³⁶

Milestones details Qutb's idea of the one true way of Islam, stressing the importance of violent struggle against the 'infidel', the primacy of Islam and the glory of a martyr's death. It describes

any non-*sharia* system of government as existing in a state of *jahilliya* (the pre-Islamic state of ignorance).³⁷

As such, all non-*sharia* regimes, even those run by Muslims, are to be violently opposed. Yvonne Ridley, the famous British journalist who converted to Islam after her capture by the Taliban said that "the one book, apart from the Holy Quran, which has had the greatest impact on my life, is *Milestones*."³⁸

IDEOLOGICAL ROOTS

Islamic Revivalism (also referred to as Islamic reformism or modernism)

The Muslim Brotherhood is part of a broader movement loosely termed Islamic revivalism.³⁹ This movement came out of the late 19th century in response to several interrelated factors. The first of these was the relative military and economic weakness of Islamic states as compared to European, especially British, empires.⁴⁰ The second factor was the increased secularization of society, which they held to be due to Western influences.

Thinkers associated with Islamic revivalism preached a fresh interpretation of Islamic texts based on goals of pan-Islamic unity and the establishment of an Islamic state based on *sharia* law.⁴¹ Islamic revivalism is not, as many would have it, an old, traditional Islam, but a fundamentally modern movement influenced by modern developments.⁴² Related scholars and movements include the Young Turks (a movement in the 1870s) and the Wahhabis, a movement spread by 18th century theologian Mohammad ibn abd al-Wahhab.⁴³

Salafism, the Brotherhood's closest religious affiliation, is a branch of Islamic revivalism. The original Salafis were those from the first three generations of Muslims, and the term refers to their perceived original purity of faith. The Salafist movement of today, as such, is a return to the semi-mythical path of the original Salafis through a revitalized and rejuvenated Islamic observance and unity. Aspects of the movement reject later innovations in Islam as corruptions of the original faith. Modern Salafists, however, have no problem adopting and adapting Western science for their own purposes.⁴⁴ Much of Salafi theology is derived from the writings of 13th century conservative Islamic jurist Ibn Taymiyyah.⁴⁵

The growth of the modern Salafist movement must be understood in the context of a weak and corrupt Ottoman Empire yielding to European aggression over the course of the late 19th century.⁴⁶ Eventually this weakness culminated in the dissolution of the caliphate in 1924 by Kemal Ataturk (a secularist who founded modern Turkey) following the breakup of the Ottoman Empire by the victorious Allied powers after World War I. In India and Egypt, British imperialism and the failure of indigenous revolts encouraged the development of a new ideology in order to deal psychologically with the humiliating situation of being subjugated.^{47,48}

The early Islamic revivalists had a variety of views on violence and the West, and different doctrines developed over time. The thinkers below influenced the early thought of Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna and can be considered the forerunners of Muslim Brotherhood ideology, if not all modern Islamist, Salafist and *jihadi* ideology.

Jamal al-Afghani -- Early founder of Islamic revivalism and pan-Islamic unity (born 1838/9 – March 9, 1897)

Jamal al-Afghani claimed to be from Afghanistan, although evidence suggests he was from Iran. He traveled widely throughout the Middle East and spoke several languages fluently. He agitated against what he saw as Western imperialist influence and in favor of Islamic unity. He became a Freemason while in Cairo in 1868 and moved throughout the Ottoman Empire and Persia spreading his ideas. In 1884, while in Paris, he began publishing the Arabic newspaper *Al-Urwah al-Wuthqa (The Indissoluble Link)* with his disciple Muhammed Abduh. It advocated pan-Islamic unity and influenced later generations of political Islamists. Al-Afghani himself was more concerned with the political rather than the theological concepts of Islamism.⁴⁹

Muhammed Abduh – Disciple of al-Afghani (1849- July 11, 1905)

An Egyptian Islamic jurist and reformer, Muhammed Abduh became best known for his relationship with Jamal al-Afghani and his role in founding Islamic revivalism. He published newspapers, articles and books advocating al-Afghani's pan-Islamic and anti-British views. He was expelled from Egypt in 1882 for six years for supporting the revolt of Ahmad Orabi (which began in 1879) in his position as editor of Egypt's state newspaper. He not only campaigned for Sunni/Shiite unity, but also for cooperation between Islam, Christianity and Judaism, as well as for acceptance of the Baha'i faith in Egypt. Abduh influenced Rashid Ridah (see below) and collaborated with him on the journal *Al-Manar*.⁵⁰

Rashid Ridah – Salafi and proponent of Islamic revivalism (September 23, 1865 – August 22, 1935)

Rashid Ridah was very critical of the corruption of the contemporary Ottoman Empire and what he perceived as the stagnation of contemporary Islam. He critiqued blind devotion to the texts and encouraged study and interpretation of the original sources of Islam by individuals. In 1897, he came to Cairo to write the weekly journal *Al-Manar (The Lighthouse)* with Muhammed Abduh. He influenced Hassan al-Banna and other later Islamic thinkers.⁵¹

Abul Ala Maududi – Founder of Jamaat e-Islami and credited with the idea of the *sharia* Islamic state. (September 25, 1903-September 22, 1979)

A journalist from Hyderabad, India, he received an intensive education both in Islam and the sciences. With the breakup of British India, he founded Jamaat e-Islami, Pakistan's – and later Bangladesh's – Islamist political party which had carried out paramilitary operations in order to agitate for an Islamic state in Pakistan based only on the *Quran* and the *Sunna*.⁵² He argued that a Muslim state was not an Islamic state unless it was governed in this way. Maududi went on to influence Sayyid Qutb, and he and al-Banna read each other's work.⁵³ Jamaat e-Islami is currently listed as a terrorist organization by the U.S. State Department.⁵⁴

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD INTELLECTUALS AND THINKERS

The following three thinkers form the bedrock of Muslim Brotherhood thought. They were influenced and inspired by the earlier Islamic revival thinkers (see above) and also by their unique experiences and background. Although there have been other thinkers and streams of thought within the Brotherhood, these three remain the most influential.

Hassan al-Banna – Founder of the Muslim Brotherhood (October 14, 1906 - February 12, 1949)

A schoolteacher from a rural town near Cairo, Egypt, Hassan al-Banna moved to Cairo in 1923. His father was an *imam*, and he received a rigorous education in Islamic texts from a young age. Al-Banna was influenced by Hanbali puritanism and was a member of the al-Hassafiyya Sufi order. Al-Banna was also influenced by Rashid Ridah's journal *Al-Manar*. He became involved with the Islamic Society for Nobility of Islamic Morals and the Young Men's Muslim Association. As he grew older, he became increasingly disillusioned and resentful of British rule, particularly its secularist influence on Egyptian society. He founded the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928 in the city of Ismailia with seven others.

Al-Banna built up the organization at a grassroots level, focusing on education and social work centered around local mosques. The Brotherhood grew rapidly. It took part in the 1948 war against Israel and the uprising against the British in 1952. Al-Banna was assassinated in 1949 by Nasser's regime for his alleged involvement in an assassination attempt on Nasser.⁵⁵

Sayyid Qutb – Leading Muslim Brotherhood Ideologue (October 9, 1906 – August 29, 1966)⁵⁶

Initially more secular and supportive of Nasser's coup against the Egyptian monarchy, Qutb soon turned towards more extreme Islamist views. His writing was marked by an intense hatred of America, particularly American women, which he picked up during an early visit there. He was jailed in 1954 by the Egyptian authorities for involvement in an assassination attempt on President Nasser and wrote his most famous piece, *Milestones* -- a treatise on political Islam -- while in prison. He was released as part of a general amnesty in 1964 but re-arrested in 1965 and hanged along with other Brotherhood leaders in 1966 after being accused of a second attempt to assassinate Nasser.

Qutb's works continue to be influential to this day. Historian Robert Irwin dubbed him, "The father of modern Islamist fundamentalism."^{57 58}

Sheikh Yussuf al-Qaradawi – Egyptian Islamic theologian (September 9, 1926 - present)

Sheikh Yussuf al-Qaradawi's TV show "*Shariah and Life*" on the Qatari Al-Jazeera network has an estimated audience of 40-60 million viewers worldwide.⁵⁹ Qaradawi is the founder of the popular website IslamOnline.⁶⁰ Considered to be the "Mufti of the Muslim Brotherhood," he turned down political leadership of the organization twice, explaining that he sees his role as a leader of all Muslims. Qaradawi is ranked number 31 in *The Muslim 500*, the list of the world's 500 most influential Muslims.⁶¹

Qaradawi is strongly associated with the Muslim Brotherhood, by whom his theological rulings are overwhelmingly followed. Qaradawi led Friday prayers during the Egyptian revolution against President Mubarak's rule.⁶² He is openly anti-Semitic and has praised terrorist attacks on Israeli civilians.⁶³ In 2013 he boycotted the 10th annual Doha interfaith conference on the grounds that it included Jews.⁶⁴

Qaradawi has been associated with victim blaming in rape cases and has officially endorsed wife beating, although only "lightly" and "as a method of last resort."⁶⁵

He tolerates, if not supports, the practice of female genital mutilation.⁶⁶

Perhaps his most famous and controversial legal decision in his capacity as a high-ranking Islamic judge was his support of the *fatwa* (which was officially issued by Ayatollah Khomeini) condemning Sir Salman Rushdie⁶⁷ to death for his book, *The Satanic Verses*, saying, "Rushdie disgraced the honor of the Prophet and his family and defiled the values of Islam."⁶⁸ A bounty of \$500,000 was later put on Sir Salman's head as a result of this *fatwa*.⁶⁹

"If we want to establish a real Muslim society, we should not imagine that such an end can be achieved by a mere decision issued to that effect by a king or a president or a council of leaders or a parliament. Gradualism is the means through which such an end can be fulfilled. Gradualism here refers to preparing people ideologically, psychologically, morally, and socially to accept and adopt the application of the sharia in all aspects of life, and to finding lawful alternatives for the forbidden principles upon which many associations have been founded for so long."

- Sheikh Yusuf Qaradawi.⁷⁰

STRATEGIC DIFFERENCES WITH OTHER ISLAMIST GROUPS

The differences between the Brotherhood, The Islamic State, Al Qaeda and other *jihadi* movements are largely tactical rather than strategic or philosophical; meaning, they share the same aims but disagree about methodology. Hizb-ut-Tahrir⁷¹ and other such organizations have denounced the Muslim Brotherhood as not being Islamic enough.⁷²

They oppose the Brotherhood's tactic of gradual change towards Islamic governance as making unnecessary concessions. Factions within the Muslim Brotherhood that have opposed gradualism have broken away, forming many of the more violent groups in Egypt.⁷³

This gradualist strategy also dictates most of the Brotherhood's work outside the Middle East, such as the Brotherhood's Media Centre⁷⁴ based out of London which runs their English language website, and the various Muslim Brotherhood entities in America, most prominently the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) and the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA).

GRADUALISM – A CENTRAL MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD STRATEGY

The implementation of the Muslim Brotherhood's strategy is conducted in adherence to "gradualism," a strategy of building a global Islamic state slowly through a gradual series of steps.⁷⁵ This strategy differs from that of the Salafists, whose strategy ranges from those who believe in the immediate implementation of the Islamic state (caliphate) to those who are entirely divorced from the political process.

The theological underpinnings of gradualism were outlined by the Brotherhood's spiritual leader Sheikh Qaradawi.⁷⁶

Pictured right:
A screenshot from an interview with Qaradawi in 2012 calling for gradualism in applying *sharia* law in Egypt in which he said there should be "no chopping off hands for the first five years."⁷⁷



THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

A written version of a full plan to recreate the caliphate through a 12-stage gradual plan was discovered by Swiss authorities in a villa belonging to one of the main financiers of the Muslim Brotherhood. The plan, called “The Project,” was written in 1982.⁷⁸ Similar plans have been discovered in America by the FBI⁷⁹, most notably the “1991 Explanatory Memorandum.”⁸⁰ The 1991 memorandum was part of a collection of documents called the Elbarasse archives, and was submitted as evidence in the Holy Land Foundation terrorism financing trial, the largest terrorism financing trial in American history.^{81 82}

The document reads *“The process of settlement is a ‘Civilization-Jihadist Process’ with all the word means. The Ikhwan [Muslim Brotherhood] must understand that their work in America is a kind of grand jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within and ‘sabotaging’ its miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers...”*⁸³

Qaradawi himself also issued a strategic outline for the Muslim Brotherhood entitled “Priorities of The Islamic Movement in The Coming Phase.” In the introduction he called on Muslims to “...contribute to the revival of the neglected faridas [enjoined duties] of enforcing the Sharia [Islamic Law] sent down by Allah; unifying the Muslim nation around the Holy Quran; supporting Allah's friends and fighting Allah's foes; liberating Muslim territories from all aggression or non-Muslim control; reinstating the Islamic caliphate system to the leadership anew as required by Sharia, and renewing the obligation to spread the call of Islam...”⁸⁴

The various strategic documents which have come to light share the common goal of establishing sharia law worldwide through a series of stages. The core of the strategy is based on building a substantial population of ideological supporters who will carry out the necessary steps laid out in the plan.

Each document breaks down the stages differently. Following is an exposition of the common elements they share. These stages are also alluded to in statements by Muslim Brotherhood leaders such as Qaradawi.

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

The gradualism strategy exists in two simultaneous streams: (1) the gradual development of a personal and communitarian Islam, and (2) the gradual spread of Islam into the political sphere. The two are intertwined and broadly follow the following four stages:⁸⁵

1. *Da'wa* (literally means the call to Islam) Part I - This first stage is characterized by education of Muslims. Here, the Muslim Brotherhood seeks to establish local study groups among Muslims, teaching them the tenets of Islam and presenting a positive and peaceful image of Islam, *sharia* and the Brotherhood organization. This first, non-violent stage focuses on both the individual and the family. Mosque and community building take place in this stage.
2. *Da'wa* Part II – active proselytizing through peaceful means of non-Muslims. This stage is aimed at converting wider sections of society. During this stage, the Brotherhood supplies literature, puts on conferences and spreads Islam through the host community. At this stage *Taqqiya* can be used, an Islamist doctrine that allows Brotherhood members to use misrepresentation as a tactic if they deem it necessary in order to achieve their goals.⁸⁶
3. *Jihad* – violent, if necessary, to spread Islam. *Jihad* only takes place once there are enough Muslims to wage it. This stage explicitly involves outward *jihad*, which is initially “defensive,” meaning it is used to liberate Muslim lands. This is in contrast to “inner jihad” which is a person’s internal struggle against negative characteristics. Later, the doctrine of *jihad* becomes “offensive” and is used to conquer the lands of the “infidel.” *Jihad* can be waged either against non-Muslims or against Muslim rulers who are deemed *takfir* (apostates) and thus unrepresentative of “true Islam.”
4. *Khalipha* -- the caliphate. This last stage is the re-establishment of an Islamic caliphate and the extension of its rule throughout the world. The caliphate is to be ruled by a caliph, a king who will rule in accordance with *sharia* law.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GRADUALISM STRATEGY

The Muslim Brotherhood organizes conferences, talks and community work in order to build trust and to establish and foster Islamic communities worldwide.⁸⁷ Political action includes, but is not limited to: dissemination of propaganda, lobbying political figures, supporting sympathetic political candidates, sending speakers on lecture circuits, film creation, social work, charity and, at the most extreme level, armed *jihad*.⁸⁸ The Brotherhood’s approach is sophisticated, complex and operates at on an international scale over a cross-section of institutional levels from personal connections to the halls of power.

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

As an example, the Muslim Brotherhood frequently uses the Western-based international legal system. In their London branch, they have recently (as of Jan 2, 2014) employed a team of internationally renowned British lawyers to start legal proceedings against the Egyptian government, potentially in the International Criminal Court, for the ousting of Mohammed Morsi, the former president of Egypt representing the Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice party.⁸⁹

In America Abdur Rahman Alamoudi, the founder of the Islamic Society of Boston (which one of the Boston bombers attended) and the founder and President of the American Muslim Council, has admitted to being a member of the Muslim Brotherhood.⁹⁰ He was invited to meet with several sitting US Presidents, including Bill Clinton and George W. Bush and was regarded by many as a moderate Muslim leader. Since 2004 he has been serving a 24 year jail sentence after pleading guilty to terrorism charges.⁹¹

GRADUALISM IN AMERICA

"Islam isn't in America to be equal to any other faith, but to become dominant. The Koran, the Muslim book of scripture, should be the highest authority in America, and Islam the only accepted religion on earth." – Omar Ahmad, founder of the Council of American-Islamic Relations (CAIR).⁹²

The Muslim Brotherhood's strategy in America is not substantially different from that which it implements in other countries. Initially it aims to establish and support the Muslim community in America, providing them with outreach services and access to an Islamic education which conforms to its extremist ideology. In this way they hope to co-opt the mainstream Muslim community to serve their purposes. This is based around the same study group model that the Brotherhood found to be so successful in the Middle East (expounded upon later in this fact sheet).

However, given that in America, the Brotherhood is not operating within the context of a Muslim-majority society, it has modified its message to adapt to the surroundings.

They are not ideologically opposed to using democracy, the building of interfaith coalitions or the language of human and civil rights as a means to advance their cause. On the contrary, in keeping with the organization's strategy of gradualism, the Brotherhood takes on the forms and practices of American organizations and democratic institutions in order to spread their message. As written in the Muslim Brotherhood's 1991 Explanatory Memorandum: "We must say that we are in a country which understands no language other than the language of the organizations, and one which does not respect or give weight to any group without effective, functional and strong organizations."⁹³

To that end, the Brotherhood in America has set up a network of front (and allied) organizations to help fulfill their goal of spreading the message of political Islam as the antidote to what they perceive as a corrupt Western society. Moreover, by presenting themselves as the protectors of Muslim civil rights, the Brotherhood has been able to deflect much criticism of their organizations as well as political Islam itself by claiming that such criticism stems from discrimination against Muslims, what they term: "Islamophobia."

Abdur Rahman Mohammed, a former Brotherhood operative, recorded being present at a Brotherhood meeting where the members decided to use the term "Islamophobia" as a political weapon. Mohammed said, "This loathsome term is nothing more than a thought-terminating cliché conceived in the bowels of Muslim think tanks for the purpose of beating down critics."⁹⁴

In 2012, the Associated Press removed the term Islamophobia from its official style guide.⁹⁵

The aforementioned 1991 Explanatory Memorandum, seized by the FBI and used as evidence in the Holy Land terror financing case, lists Muslim Brotherhood organizations and affiliated groups in America as "Our Organizations and those of our friends." Other documents and court testimonials have linked these groups to the Brotherhood.⁹⁶ By tracking those organizations and splinter groups thereof, as well as other Islamic organizations founded by known Brotherhood members or sympathizers, it is possible to gain an outline of the groups in America whose values are broadly in line with those of the Brotherhood.⁹⁷

For a more extensive listing of Islamist organizations in America, many of which are associated with the Muslim Brotherhood, see the relevant section on Clarion Project's website.⁹⁸

Prominent American Muslim Brotherhood Entities ⁹⁹

- Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR)¹⁰⁰
- Islamic Society of North America (ISNA)¹⁰¹
- International Institute of Islamic Thought¹⁰²
- Muslims Students Association (MAS)¹⁰³
- The Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS)¹⁰⁴
- Muslim American Society¹⁰⁵
- North American Islamic Trust (NAIT)¹⁰⁶
- Islamic American University¹⁰⁷

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

The Brotherhood has openly spoken out against the UN Declaration on Women's Rights (an outline of an international condemnation of violence against women), saying that that it would lead to the disintegration of society.^{108 109 110} The Brotherhood openly deplores the position of women in liberal, Western democracies.

Its brand of sexism combines a concept of female inferiority with a fear and mistrust of women, especially vis-à-vis their sexuality.¹¹¹ Consequently FGM, wife beating and marital rape are endorsed, although not encouraged, by the Muslim Brotherhood.¹¹²

The Brotherhood objects to:

"Giving wives full rights to file legal complaints against husbands, accusing them of rape or sexual harassment, obliging competent authorities to deal husbands punishments similar to those prescribed for raping or sexually harassing a stranger." -- Article 5 in a Brotherhood list of objections to the UN charter on Violence Against Women¹¹³

The Brotherhood's objection to the UN's declaration also clearly states the group's ongoing opinion that the husband is the final authority in all family matters, and that the wife must defer to him in everything, including financial matters, travel arrangements, sexual matters, place of abode, arrangements regarding the children and powers of divorce.¹¹⁴

The Brotherhood in Malaysia has launched an Obedient Wives Club, which urges women to "be submissive and keep their spouses happy in the bedroom."¹¹⁵ The club has branches across South East Asia.

Brotherhood spiritual leader Qaradawi has written a pamphlet on the Status of Women in Islam in which he says that a woman's legal testimony is worth half of that of a man and that "a woman's testimony does not count in major crimes" on the grounds that "there is very likely to be a kind of characteristic inattention on her part when it comes to handling these matters".¹¹⁶ He also rules on relationships between men and women.¹¹⁷

In 2005 he issued a fatwa condoning female genital mutilation in which he said "whoever finds it serving the interest of his daughters should do it, and I personally support this under the current circumstances in the modern world."

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

The Brotherhood maintains an active women's division, known as the Muslim Sisterhood, which participates at an active level including on the front lines in the Egyptian revolution, in Hamas' acts of terror and in the Syrian Civil War.^{118 119}

Women can run for election in Muslim Brotherhood political parties, although not for high offices such as president. Anything which is believed will tear women away from what is seen as their essential roles as wives and mothers is not sanctioned.

Nevertheless, the Brotherhood couches their approach to women in the language of equality and rights for Western audiences, despite their manifestly misogynistic views.

TERRORISM AND VIOLENCE

The Muslim Brotherhood is ideologically a part of the stream of puritanical Islam known as Salafism, whose aim is to replicate the 'purity' of the original companions of Mohammed. Salafist-aligned groups are the perpetrators of most of the terrorism in the world today and the ideology is sometimes referred to as Salafist-Jihadism or Jihadi-Salafist.¹²⁰

Although the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood has officially renounced the use of violence, that is more of a temporary, tactical consideration rather than a long-term philosophical commitment.

The Brotherhood does not condemn violence outright; they merely criticize its use in what they regard as inappropriate situations. For example, Brotherhood founder al-Banna criticized the "Special Organization" (the original Brotherhood paramilitary group) for what he regarded as excessive use of force without sufficient Islamic knowledge.¹²¹

In countries such as Syria, and in extreme situations, the Brotherhood runs full-blown paramilitary organizations complete with modern weaponry and a disciplined military hierarchy.¹²²

The Brotherhood has been the inspiration behind almost every Islamist group of note, including Al-Qaeda and Hamas.¹²³ Hassan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb both wrote extensively on the importance of *jihad* and on the concept that the greater *jihad* is not the internal *jihad* against the demons of the self, but rather the external *jihad* against the person and the lands of the *kuffar*, or non-believer.^{124 125} The doctrines of *dar-al harb* (the land at war) and *dar-al-Islam* (the land of Islam) feature in Brotherhood thought which refer respectively to the land of the "infidels" and the land of Muslims. This doctrine holds that the lands occupied by the "infidels" are at war with the lands of Islam until they are conquered, although it permits truces to be made when a lack of military might inhibits conquest.

These ideas were later modified by Brotherhood scholars in the West to introduce a third category *dar al-dawa* (land of proselytizing).¹²⁶ Indeed, the real difference between the Brotherhood and more violent groups such as Al Qaeda or the Islamic State are tactical rather than ideological: the Brotherhood simply does not believe that violent *jihad* is a realistic approach to achieving their goals at this time.¹²⁷

It is always possible that they will decide to re-embrace violent terrorism as a strategy.¹²⁸

SECTION II HISTORY AND IMPLEMENTATION

"The Muslim Brotherhood can be seen as the 'parent' of contemporary Islamism, spawning numerous and ideologically disparate Islamist organizations in the Middle East, including Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq; Europe; and North America."¹²⁹

Associate Professor Marion Boulby (of Lady Eaton College), an expert on Islamism.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD TIMELINE

1928 – Founding in Ismailia by Hassan al-Banna.¹³⁰

1933 – Muslim Sisterhood established in Ismailia.¹³¹

1935 – Muslim Brotherhood branch is established in what was then the British Mandate of Palestine.¹³²

1936 – Sheikh Izzat al-Din al-Qassam, a junior official for the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem is killed by the British, helping spark the Arab Revolt in Palestine. Hamas later named its rockets and armed wing (the Qassam Brigade) after him. Muslim Brotherhood members were very instrumental in the revolt. The Muslim Brotherhood paramilitary organization the Special Organization sent men to fight in the revolt.¹³³

1948 – Assassination of Egyptian Prime Minister Mahmud Fahmi al-Nuqrashi, widely suspected to have been carried out by a Muslim Brotherhood member.¹³⁴

1948-1950 – Muslim Brotherhood ideologue Sayyid Qutb visits America. He writes of his hatred for American culture, being particularly offended by what he perceived as a completely immoral society and open and vulgar sexuality of American women.¹³⁵

1949 – February 12, assassination of Hassan al-Banna. Conflict between government and Brotherhood afterwards. Thousands arrested, widespread riots breakout.¹³⁶

1952 – Egyptian revolution. Hizb-ut-Tahrir founded by Muslim Brotherhood member Taquidin Nabhani in Jerusalem.¹³⁷

1954 – Assassination attempt on General Gamel Abdel Nasser by a Muslim Brotherhood member.¹³⁸ Brotherhood suppressed and outlawed. Supreme Guide and eight others sentenced to death, but sentences commuted to life imprisonment.¹³⁹

1956 – Suez Crisis. Victory for President Nasser's ideology of Arab nationalism.¹⁴⁰

1964 – Sayyid Qutb released from prison as part of a general amnesty.¹⁴¹

1965 – Nasser claims that there was a Brotherhood plot to kill him and overthrow the government. 27,000 arrested, hundreds sentenced and at least 26 tortured to death.¹⁴²

1966 – 1,000 Brotherhood members in Egypt are arrested, 365 tried. Sayyid Qutb is hanged, along with the other top leadership.¹⁴³

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

1971 – May, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat releases remaining Brotherhood members in prison, including Supreme Guide Hassan al-Hudaybi. Some Brotherhood leaders involved in drafting the constitution. *Sharia* law to be one of the guiding sources of legislation.¹⁴⁴

1974 – Brotherhood splinter group Islamic Liberation Organization stages unsuccessful coup d'état.¹⁴⁵

1976 – As part of a deal with Sadat, Brotherhood permitted to start publishing *Al-Dawah*, a journal, though organization still officially illegal.¹⁴⁶

1981 – Sadat is assassinated by ex-Brotherhood members because of his peace treaty with Israel.¹⁴⁷

1982 – Uprising in Hamah by Syrian Muslim Brotherhood brutally crushed by President Hafez al-Assad, approximately 25,000 killed.¹⁴⁸

1984 – Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak recognizes Brotherhood as a religious organization but not a political one.¹⁴⁹

1985 – Hasan al-Turabi founds National Islamic Front, a Sudanese Muslim Brotherhood group.¹⁵⁰

1986 – Muslim Brotherhood affiliate Hamas founded in Hebron.¹⁵¹

1990 – Brotherhood boycotts Egyptian elections along with an opposition coalition.¹⁵²

2000 – 17 Egyptian Brotherhood members win seats running as independents even though the group remains banned.¹⁵³

2005 – 88 seats for Brotherhood members in Egyptian general election.¹⁵⁴

2008 – Brotherhood boycotts local elections in Egypt.¹⁵⁵

2010 – Brotherhood boycotts elections after Mubarak dominates first round using repressive tactics.¹⁵⁶

2011 – January, Brotherhood endorses revolutionary movement against Mubarak and sends members to join, although under strict controls.¹⁵⁷

2011 – April, Egyptian Brotherhood political wing founds the Freedom and Justice Party.¹⁵⁸

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

2012 – January, Brotherhood wins 47% in the Egyptian legislature. Salafist *Al-Nour* party comes in second with 30%. The two groups form an Islamist alliance enabling them to appoint their members for the 100-member Constituent Assembly.¹⁵⁹

2012 – April, Khairat al-Shater banned from running as an Egyptian presidential candidate due to his previous criminal conviction (for funding the Brotherhood under Mubarak when the organization was still illegal). Mohammed Morsi takes his place as the Brotherhood's presidential candidate.¹⁶⁰

2012 – May-June, Morsi wins Egyptian election against Ahmed Shafiq, Mubarak's former Prime Minister.¹⁶¹

2012 – Morsi grants himself immunity from judicial review in sweeping power grab.¹⁶²

2013 – July 3, Morsi overthrown in a coup by General Abdul Fattah al-Sisi after protests by approximately 15 million against Brotherhood rule.¹⁶³

2013 - September 23, Egyptian government bans Brotherhood as a terrorist organization, its assets seized by the state.¹⁶⁴

2014 – March, Saudi Arabia designates the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organization.¹⁶⁵ UAE backs the decision.¹⁶⁶

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD AND THE NAZI REGIME

During World War II, the Muslim Brotherhood fostered close links with the Nazi party. Hitler was a well-known admirer of Islam, and the Brotherhood's founder, Hassan al-Banna, shared Hitler's anti-Semitism.^{167 168} The Muslim Brotherhood supported Hitler during the war, with members acting as spies and fighters against the British, carrying out bombing raids and assassinations.¹⁶⁹ Haj-Amin al-Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, formed a Muslim legion of Bosnian soldiers who fought on the German side.¹⁷⁰ He also met with Hitler personally and initiated a plan to extend the Holocaust to the Middle East.

The Nazis provided the Brotherhood with a printing press which they used to disseminate Arabic translations of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and the notorious, anti-Semitic *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.¹⁷¹

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

Husseini records in his memoirs, "Our fundamental reason for cooperating with Germany was a free hand to eradicate every last Jew from Palestine and the Arab World. I asked Hitler for an explicit undertaking to allow us to solve the Jewish problem in a manner befitting our national and racial aspirations and according to the scientific methods innovated by Germany in the handling of its Jews. The answer I got was: 'The Jews are yours.'"¹⁷²

The cult of death and martyrdom that al-Banna taught owes much to Nazi ideology.¹⁷³ The movement also borrows from European fascism such as its style of parading and extreme militant youth groups.¹⁷⁴

Al-Banna, as well as other key Brotherhood members such as Sayyid Qutb and current Muslim Brotherhood spiritual leader Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi have expressed extremely anti-Semitic views. Qaradawi was filmed stating his desire that the next Holocaust against Jews be perpetrated by Muslims.¹⁷⁵ Recently deposed Muslim Brotherhood President of Egypt Dr. Mohammad Morsi called Jews the "descendants of apes and pigs."¹⁷⁶

The Brotherhood has not made any statement rejecting anti-Semitism or apologizing for their past association with it.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD RULE IN EGYPT: 2012-2013

In 2011, the Arab Spring erupted in Egypt. A wave of popular discontent with President Hosni Mubarak's authoritarian rule and the severe economic hardship suffered by millions of Egyptians manifested itself in widespread street protests demanding that the government step down.

In keeping with its policies of gradualism, the Brotherhood took a backseat in the initial protests against the regime, not protesting as a group or attempting a takeover immediately. After Mubarak resigned and elections were called, the Brotherhood leadership initially announced that they would not field a presidential candidate. However, once they realized that the liberal opposition was split between the pro and anti-Mubarak camps, they changed direction and eventually ran their candidate, Mohammed Morsi, who won (the first candidate they ran was disqualified by the judiciary). Once in government, they immediately began to consolidate their power and attack their enemies, while attempting to maintain the guise of gradualism to a Western audience.

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

On December 29, 2011, just before the post-Mubarak elections, Muslim Brotherhood Supreme Leader Muhammed Badie made the following statement. “The Muslim Brotherhood is close to achieving the ‘ultimate goal’ set by the group’s founder Hassan al-Banna in 1928, which is the establishment of a ‘just and reasonable regime.’” Badie said that this process begins with the creation of a sound government and ends with the establishment of a just Islamic caliphate.¹⁷⁷

From June 2012 to June 2013, the Muslim Brotherhood was in power in Egypt. When Morsi won the presidential election with a slim 51.7% majority,¹⁷⁸ they completely controlled the Egyptian political sphere, enabling the Brotherhood, for the first time since the group’s establishment, to begin to unveil their political platform in a tangible way. Initially, the international response was positive. The regime was publicly backed by the Obama administration and many other world powers.¹⁷⁹ Morsi was even a runner-up for *Time* magazine’s ‘Man of the Year’ for 2012.¹⁸⁰

However, shortly after winning the election, the Brotherhood began to implement their policies overtly and moved to rapidly consolidate their power, eliminating others from the political sphere. They attempted to do this by placing Brotherhood members and sympathizers in top positions in the judiciary and military, while firing independents. Through an alliance with the Salafist ‘al-Nour’ party, they dominated the legislative assembly, enabling them to control the drafting process of the new Egyptian constitution.

During Morsi’s rule, he:

- Granted himself sweeping powers within his first 100 days in office, including the power to unilaterally amend the constitution. Morsi also claimed immunity from judicial review. The power grab was so extreme; he was accused of appointing himself “Egypt’s new Pharaoh.”¹⁸¹
- Wrote a constitution which put *sharia* law as the basis of Egyptian law.¹⁸²
- Took steps to control the media. State-run papers had to toe the party line; Brotherhood figures were given exposure (as opposed to opposition members); Salah Abdul Maqsoud, a Brotherhood member, was given the key post of Information Minister, giving him power to control the media.¹⁸³
- Released known terrorists from prison.¹⁸⁴
- Backed the terrorist regime of Hamas in Gaza.¹⁸⁵
- Tried to control the army by firing top generals and replacing them with those he thought would be loyal to the Brotherhood.¹⁸⁶
- Appointed a sympathetic prosecutor general to attack his political enemies.¹⁸⁷
- Appointed Brotherhood loyalists to key positions wherever possible and without consensus.¹⁸⁸
- Appointed a member of the terrorist group Gamaa Islamiya as governor of Luxor province.¹⁸⁹

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

- Took no concrete steps to prevent the widespread violence against minorities, despite repeated attacks on churches and the Coptic Christian community.¹⁹⁰
- Failed to attend the coronation of the Coptic pope, despite professing intentions to defend Coptic rights.¹⁹¹
- Rushed through a referendum on a draft constitution without political consensus.¹⁹² The constitution was passed by 63.8%, but the referendum was accused of irregularities. Because of low voter turnout, only 13.3% of eligible voters voted for the constitution.¹⁹³
- Cracked down on human rights NGOs and their foreign funding.¹⁹⁴
- Failed to address rampant electricity blackouts, growing foreign debt, rising prices and hunger.¹⁹⁵
- Refused to step down after 15 million Egyptians demonstrated, demanding that he resign.¹⁹⁶

The Brotherhood's short rule in Egypt revealed much about their goals and what they found important.

Within one year, the Brotherhood had alienated the Egyptian people and the military to the extent that over 15 million people took to the streets demanding their immediate removal from power.¹⁹⁷ In the end, the army deposed Morsi and the Brotherhood. Morsi's attempt to solidify his power and unroll the Brotherhood platform on a reluctant Egypt ultimately led to his overthrow.¹⁹⁸

Western supporters of the Brotherhood, in particular Brotherhood affiliates such as the Islamic Council of North America (ICNA) and the Muslim American Society (MAS) say that Morsi was the legitimately elected president and, therefore, deposing him was anti-democratic.¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ Protestors against Morsi argued that he betrayed the revolution and was implementing anti-democratic policies.²⁰¹ The army claimed that in deposing Morsi, they were acting in accordance with the will of the people.²⁰² For his part, Morsi refused all attempts at reconciliation with adversaries even once protests against him had become widespread, and he refused to call new elections. During this wave of civil unrest, the Brotherhood's headquarters were torched by an angry mob.²⁰³

Since deposing Morsi, the army has banned the Muslim Brotherhood and seized its assets, although the Brotherhood and its lawyers plan to appeal the ruling.²⁰⁴ A new constitution has been drafted.²⁰⁵ Morsi supporters have continued protests against the interim government some of which have been violent in nature. On July 27, 2013 government forces moved to disperse a sit-in by Muslim Brotherhood supporters at the Raaba mosque.²⁰⁶ Accounts differ as to exactly what happened. The Brotherhood claims that the army deliberately massacred peaceful protestors while the army claims that the Brotherhood supporters had amassed arms at the mosque and opened fire on the security forces. In any event, scores of Brotherhood supporters were killed. Another sit-in was dispersed at the al-Nahda mosque in August.²⁰⁷

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

Some commentators fear the brutality will lead to a resurgent Brotherhood as the police and government lose sympathy with the people.²⁰⁸ The four-fingered R4bia sign²⁰⁹ was adopted by Islamists worldwide as a symbol of solidarity with Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood after the confrontation at the Raaba mosque in Cairo. It is now used as an Islamist protest symbol and was even used by Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, on several occasions including in response to the decision by Egypt's interim government to expel Turkey's ambassador.²¹⁰

The Muslim Brotherhood is now listed as a terrorist organization by the Egyptian government.²¹¹

SECTION III

STRUCTURE & LEADERS

“...the United States and her allies should do all it can to support Egypt’s army and secular leaders, ensuring no future for the Muslim Brotherhood. An Egypt locked under sharia law and oppressing women, Christians or Jews would be a catastrophic setback for progress in the Middle East.” – US Senator Mark Kirk in a statement, February 2011²¹²

STRUCTURE OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

There are three tiers of membership in the Muslim Brotherhood.

1. *Nasr* (Advocate): This level is the introductory level. Focus is on building loyalty and trust as well as on Islamic study.
2. *Munaffidh* (Active): To attain this level, a member needs to have committed to piety, obedience and *jihad*.
3. *Naqb* (Leader): Access to this level is limited to members who have proven themselves and achieved a high level of *tarbiah* (training). This level “stands for the person entitled to practice education and *tarbiah* (training), take pledge of allegiance, participate in taking decisions and know the Muslim Brotherhood secrets. Moreover, he has the right to lead.”²¹³

The middle classes make up the vast majority of the Brotherhood membership. Although there are some who are working class, members consist mainly of small business owners, newly urban arrivals, university students and professionals. All members pay a fee to their local branch.²¹⁴

The Muslim Brotherhood is run by the “chairman.” He is head of the Guidance Bureau and advised by the General Shura Council.

On a national level, the General Shura Council is the Brotherhood’s legislative body. There are 100 members, which elect the General Guidance Bureau and the chairman. The legislative body also provides advice and approves decisions.

The Guidance Bureau is the Muslim Brotherhood's executive body, elected by the Shura Council. It has 18 members who must be at least 30 years old and of proven dedication. Executive officers are selected from the Bureau by the chairman. The Guidance Bureau institutes and implements policy.

On a local level, “brothers” are organized into “families” of five to ten people. They hold regular meetings led by a senior member for the purposes of bonding and studying together. Members must be nominated and approved, take an oath and pay a fee.

Branches are geographic regions comprised of up to 90 people. They elect 40 members to be on the branch shura council, which in turn elects seven to nine members for the branch administrative council. The administrative council sets policy, while the shura council runs activities and acts in an advisory and consultative capacity.

Three to four branches form a region, eight to 12 regions are also grouped. At each level, the combined shura councils elect the shura council for the next tier, which then elects an administrative council of nine to 11 members. This continues up to the national level of the General Shura Council.

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

Members are governed by strict rules. For example, the chairman may not run a business relating to the Muslim Brotherhood while in office to avoid allegations of corruption. He may select deputies from the Guidance Bureau.

THE CENTRAL MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD UNIT

Like all Islamist organizations, the Brotherhood maintains its goal of re-establishing the Islamic caliphate, uniting the world under the green banner of a resurgent Islam.²¹⁵ But their day-to-day operations are far more mundane. Activities are based around small groups of between five and 10 people led by a Brotherhood member at a local mosque.²¹⁶

Brotherhood members were interviewed by AP in Gaza. “The neighborhood mosque is the traditional base, particularly in areas where Brothers cannot operate openly. There they coach football teams, organize day trips and tutor students for free, while scrutinizing potential recruits,” said a former Brotherhood recruitment chief.²¹⁷ In Egypt they have set up hospitals, special clinics, pediatric ICUs, and provided social services and education. They have given scholarships to promising students, paid housing subsidies, grants for weddings and all sorts of other local support that the state is either unable or unwilling to provide. Their fundraising is done primarily through collecting *zakat*, the 2.5% of income each Muslim is obliged to give to charity. Locally they act as a social, religious and intellectual hub providing a variety of much needed services to an otherwise deprived populace.

“Sultan Qaboos shared that he placed a great deal of importance on education, and noted that a study of history provided the context needed to better understand present trends and events. Regarding claims that some rulers in the region wanted to keep their people uneducated in order to more easily control them, the Sultan explained that this strategy could easily backfire as it also left the populace more susceptible to influence by extremists, such as the Muslim Brotherhood. Former Egyptian president and pan-Arabist leader Gamal Abdal Nasser, the Sultan said, had ‘set the region back’ by being ‘anti-everything’ and engaging in vitriolic rhetoric designed to keep the masses ignorant.”²¹⁸

-- Leaked US diplomatic cables about the sultan of Oman.

Islamic education, with an extremist interpretation, is a top priority of the Brotherhood, and local groups meet primarily to study Islamic texts, generally around once per week.²¹⁹ They also pinpoint potential problems in the personal or political lives of their members and offer appropriate help according to each circumstance.

Accordingly, the Brotherhood can arrange matches for marriage, provide emergency medical treatment and reassure a Muslim’s faith. This small textual study group serves to recruit new members, select and advance leadership and offer appropriate training.²²⁰ Initiative can be rapidly rewarded with new responsibilities given to members in order to advance them and give them appropriate experience.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD WORLDWIDE

- Algeria – Took part in the Algerian war of independence against France. Now exists as the Movement for the Society of Peace.²²⁵
- Bahrain – Al-Eslah Society with political wing Al-Menbah Islamic Society.²²⁶ Won 4 out of 40 seats in 2006 election. Helped block ratification of International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.²²⁷
- Egypt (Headquarters) – Deposed from government in populist uprising backed by the military. Leaders under arrest.
- Gaza Strip and the West Bank – Muslim Brotherhood affiliate Hamas controls the Gaza strip.²²⁸
- Iraq – Iraqi Islamic Party. Now part of the Sunni *Mutahidoun* list which together gained 23 seats in the 2014 election. Yekgirtu, the Kurdistan Islamic Union has 4 seats, and has ties with the Brotherhood party.^{229 230 231 232}
- Jordan – Political representation as the Islamic Action Front. 5.5% in the Jordanian Parliament.²³³
- Kuwait – Hadas in parliament.²³⁴
- Libya – Justice and Construction Party.²³⁵ Won 10% in 2012 elections.²³⁶ In the 2014 elections party lists were forbidden but analysts say that around 30 seats were won by Islamists including the Brotherhood.²³⁷
- Morocco –Justice and Development Party. Affiliated with the Brotherhood but has disavowed Egyptian Brotherhood in recent years and heavily supports the king.²³⁸
- Qatar – Brotherhood exiles including Hamas leader Khaled Mashaal and spiritual leader Sheikh Yousuf al-Qaradawi have found a haven in Qatar and are supported in the state-owned media, Al-Jazeera. In March 2014 Saudi Arabia threatened to close its border with Qatar unless its support for the Muslim Brotherhood ends.²³⁹
- Saudi Arabia – Listed as a terrorist organization.²⁴⁰

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

- Somalia – Exists as al-Islah, broadly non-violent. The Brotherhood has also inspired other Islamist movements that operate in Somalia. President Obama recognized and has considered arming al-Islah.²⁴¹
- Sudan – Muslim Brotherhood closely affiliated with the government since the 1989 coup. An offshoot called the National Islamic Front also wields power. Links with terrorist groups and the genocide in Darfur.
- Syria – Currently fighting on the rebel side in the civil war.²⁴²
- Tunisia – Brotherhood-inspired Ennahda (Renaissance) party. Took 41% in 2011 elections.²⁴³ January, 2014, Ennahda president resigns after widespread protests, handing power to caretaker government according to political agreement.²⁴⁴
- UK – Brotherhood operates media center and its English website from London.²⁴⁵ Brotherhood affiliates took over the notoriously extremist Finsbury Park Mosque after the removal of radical preacher Abu Hamza. Relationships with numerous British Islamic organizations.²⁴⁶
- United Arab Emirates (UAE) – Brotherhood currently being repressed by the regime. Over 100 members awaiting trial.²⁴⁷
- USA – Debate concerning reach and role in USA, conducts interfaith and outreach work through the medium of front groups, some of which were implicated in Holy Land Foundation terrorism financing trial. Produced 'Explanatory Memorandum' laying out a strategy for “civilization-jihad.”^{248 249}
- Yemen – Yemeni Congregations for Reform (Islah), opposition in parliament.²⁵⁰

WINGS OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD²⁵¹

Political Wing

In the different countries in which it is active, the Muslim Brotherhood operates a political movement. In Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood is represented by the Freedom and Justice Party, and in other countries by other respective political parties. The Freedom and Justice Party was dissolved by the government in August 2014.²⁵² Each political party is administered separately but carries out Brotherhood policy in the political sphere in the particular country.²⁵³

Women's Wing

Women comprise a large proportion of the Muslim Brotherhood membership and field candidates for the political wing, however, all senior positions in the movement are filled by men.²⁵⁴ Female Genital Mutilation is still advocated by the mainstream Brotherhood leadership. According to Open Democracy in the 2012 election campaign the Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party offered discount female circumcision as part of its community outreach program.²⁵⁵ Women are very active in the organization and, in Egypt, run a movement against the government called *Women Against the Coup*. The mother of Huma Abedin, an aide to democratic presidential hopeful Hillary Rodham Clinton, is reportedly an active member of the Egyptian Muslim Sisterhood.^{256 257 258}

Youth Wing

The Youth Wing runs education, social activities and training for the young. The Youth Wing played a large part in the 2011 Revolution.²⁵⁹

Paramilitary Wing

Initially the Brotherhood had a paramilitary wing which fought against the British and the nascent state of Israel. Officially, the Brotherhood now rejects violence, but affiliates worldwide maintain active paramilitary units, most notably the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas.

WHO'S WHO IN THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD²⁶⁰

Due to the unstable political situation in Egypt and moves being made against the Brotherhood at this time, the Brotherhood's top leadership may change as individuals are arrested, executed or exiled.

The Brotherhood has a very clear leadership development track that trains and fosters up and coming leaders from an early age. Most of the current top leaders joined while they were still in high school and have worked their way up through the ranks.

This system leads to a highly experienced leadership who all adhere to the official ideology and strategy. Many of them have proven their loyalty to the organization with long stints in prison under Mubarak, Sadat and even Nasser. As in any large organization, the Brotherhood has seen its fair share of factionalism, however, due to the secretive nature of the Brotherhood – in particular pertaining to the highest levels of its leadership – little can be deduced on that score.

Divisions in the past have been between those who are more or less violent, with those more in favor of violence tending to splinter off and form their own groups, while those favoring a more gradualist approach have remained in the Brotherhood.

Nevertheless, the Brotherhood has proven over the past that the removal of their top leadership has little effect on the operations of the group. They always have replacements ready and have managed to maintain cohesion of purpose, which stops them from relying too heavily on any individual members, no matter how high ranking.

The Brotherhood also has a policy of making marriages between the families of their leadership in order to foster closer ties between members.

Many of the Brotherhood's leadership are currently either in prison or on the run.

Contemporary Leaders

- **Mohammed Morsi** – Leader of the Egyptian Brotherhood’s Freedom and Justice Party and former president of Egypt. Deposed by General Abdel Fattah al-Sisi after Morsi’s rule became widely hated, inciting a popular uprising. Currently sentenced to death on various charges including inciting the murder of protesters and "espionage and conspiring to commit terrorist acts in Egypt with the Palestinian movement Hamas, Lebanon's Hezbollah and Iran's Revolutionary Guards."²⁶¹²⁶²
- **Mohammed Badie** - Supreme Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood, perceived as weak and malleable. It is thought that other senior members control the real decision making. He has been sentenced to death in June and life in prison in September, although the death sentence is subject to appeal.²⁶³
- **Mahmoud Ezzat** – Former deputy Supreme Guide, took over as interim leader after the arrest of Badie by the military. He is married to the daughter of previous Supreme Guide Mahdi Akef.²⁶⁴
- **Khairat al-Shater** – Viewed by many as the Brotherhood’s strategic advisor and chief financier, al-Shater was the original Brotherhood nominee for president of Egypt. He was disqualified, however, on an administrative technicality, having served time in prison under Mubarak for financing the Brotherhood, which was at the time illegal. He is currently standing trial.²⁶⁵
- **Mahmoud Ghozlan** – Brotherhood spokesperson. Married to the sister of al-Shater. He is currently standing trial.²⁶⁶

High Profile Muslim Brotherhood Terrorists:

- Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, mastermind of 9/11 – Kuwaiti Muslim Brotherhood member, joined at age 16, went on to join Al-Qaeda.²⁶⁷
- Abdullah Azzam, Osama Bin Laden’s Mentor – Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood member, nicknamed the “Father of Global *Jihad*.” He has been described as a disciple of Sayyid Qutb. Persuaded Bin Laden to go to Afghanistan to fight the Soviets and co-founded Al-Qaeda with him.²⁶⁸²⁶⁹ Wrote a guide to global *Jihad*.²⁷⁰
- Ayman al-Zawahiri, joined the Brotherhood at age 14, current Al Qaeda head.²⁷¹
- Anwar al-Awlaki who inspired the 2009 Fort Hood killings, among other attacks, was president of the Muslim Students Association, a Muslim Brotherhood affiliate, while at Colorado State University.²⁷²

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Papers on the Muslim Brotherhood by Leading Think Tanks

Scholarly research on the Muslim Brotherhood has been undertaken by a variety of different organizations due to the group's influence and importance in world affairs. This research has contributed significantly to the information presented here and is listed below for further reference and the interest of the reader:

Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood ([Council on Foreign Relations](#))

Muslim Brotherhood and the U.S. Government ([The Gatestone Institute](#))

Who's Who In the Muslim Brotherhood ([The Washington Institute For Near East Policy](#))

Victory or Death: The Muslim Brotherhood in the Trenches ([The Hudson Institute](#))

The Future of the Muslim Brotherhood ([The Carnegie Endowment For International Peace](#))

The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria ([The Carnegie Endowment](#))

Film Documentaries on the Muslim Brotherhood

Various organizations and film companies have produced documentaries and films about the Muslim Brotherhood. A cross-section is presented below with the maximum variety of opinions. The views expressed in the documentaries referenced here are the views of the producers alone and do not reflect the views of the Clarion Project:

- [BBC](#)
- [National Geographic](#)
- [Walid al-Kubaisi](#)
- [Frontline – A PBS Documentary](#)

The following films have been produced by state-owned media outlets under regimes with no tradition of a free press and a clear history of supporting terrorism.

- [Al Jazeera – Muslim Brotherhood under Mubarak](#) (Qatar)
- [Press TV – About the Future of Egypt](#) (Iran)

Leading Books About the Muslim Brotherhood

- *The Society of Muslim Brothers* by Richard P. Mitchell
- *The Broken Crescent* by Fereydoon Hoveyda
- *Islamic Fundamentalism in Egyptian Politics* by Barry Rubin
- *Nazis, Islamists and the Making of the Modern Middle East* by Barry Rubin
- *The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt: Democracy Redefined or Confined* by Mariz Tadros
- *The Muslim Brotherhood: Hasan al-Hudaybi and ideology* by Barbara Zollner

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

- *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza: The Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Jihad* by Ziyad Abu Amr
- *Islamism and Islam* by Bassam Tibi
- *Raising a Jihadi Generation* by John Guandolo
- *The New Muslim Brotherhood in the West* by Lorenzo Vidino

ENDNOTES

¹ <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/399387/Muslim-Brotherhood>

² The caliphate was a political and religious institution that unified the Muslim *ummah* (nation) under one ruler. Although Muslims have not been united into a single state since 749 C.E., the caliphate remained as an institution in various forms and under various dynasties until the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate by Kemal Ataturk in 1924. The restoration of this caliphate was and is a goal for all Islamists. Calls for it can be found in the rhetoric of numerous Islamist politicians. At a campaign speech as part of Dr. Mohammed Morsi's election bid for president of Egypt, Egyptian cleric Safwat Higazi addressed the crowd calling for a new caliphate, saying, "We can see how the dream of the Islamic caliphate is being realized, Allah willing, by Dr. Mohammed Morsi and his brothers, his supporters and his political party." Transcript: http://www.memri.org/clip_transcript/en/3431.htm, Clip: <http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/3431.htm>. In the writings of Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna, he states categorically, "Islam does not recognize geographical boundaries, nor does it acknowledge racial and blood differences, considering all Muslims as one *ummah*. The Muslim brethren consider this unity as holy and believe in this union, striving for the joint action of all Muslims and the strengthening of the brotherhood of Islam, declaring that every inch of land inhabited by Muslims is their fatherland ...The Muslim brethren do not oppose every one's working for one's own fatherland. They believe that the caliphate is a symbol of Islamic union and an indication of the bonds between the nations of Islam. They see the caliphate and its re-establishment as a top priority; subsequently, an association of Muslim people should be set up, which would elect the *imam*." Quoted from the Muslim Brotherhood official English website <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=17065>

³ "As a young man, al-Banna became attracted to cutting-edge European theories of holistic education, and he sought to incorporate these concepts into his system of religious education, albeit with an Islamic aim. In his memoirs, for instance, al-Banna recalled the experience of opening the Brotherhood's first official school, which was established in 1931 in the town of Ismailiya, above the society's first mosque. He expressed deep appreciation for holistic educators like Maria Montessori and Friedrich Froebel, saying that he could actually picture them teaching in their own schools." *Ehud Rosen*, 2008, *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology* Vol 7. (The Hudson Institute) <http://www.hudson.org/research/9881-the-muslim-brotherhood-s-concept-of-education>

⁴ "The curricular basis of al-Banna's instruction in sincere faith was, naturally, the *Quran* and the *Sunna*. A student was expected not to simply memorize the *Quran* but taught to internalize its lessons and principles, at least as these were understood by the Brotherhood, so that he applied *sharia* in everything he did." *Ibid*.

⁵ These violent tendencies are documented in many places, included here are three broad outlines: Richard P. Mitchell, *The Society of Muslim Brothers* (New York City: Oxford University Press, 1969), pgs 193-4, <http://www.memri.org/report/en/o/o/o/o/o/193/5992.htm>, "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood" <http://www.cfr.org/egypt/egypts-muslim-brotherhood/p23991#p2>

⁶ Screenshot of the Muslim Brotherhood website, advocating "gradualism." Last accessed Jan. 12, 2014

<http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=799&ref=search.php>

The Brotherhood Under Mubarak, 1981-present

During the presidency of Hosni Mubarak, who succeeded Sadat in 1981 and has remained in power ever since, the Brotherhood's relations with the government are still essentially what they were under Sadat: the Brotherhood is tolerated to a degree, but is officially illegal, is not allowed to distribute literature or assemble in public, and is subject to periodic arrests. It has nevertheless published two newspapers (*Liwa' al-islam*, "The Banner of Islam", and *al-I'tisam*, "Adherence"), maintained regional and national offices and made public statements, and books by prominent Brothers are sold in bookshops. The Brotherhood has held to its reformist outlook, pursuing a long-term, gradualist approach to the establishment of an Islamic state with popular consent, by reforming society from the bottom up, using persuasion and other nonviolent means. (Wickham 2002, 66, 101, 113-114, 128-130, 135, 138, 150)

⁷ "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood", Council on Foreign Relations, <http://www.cfr.org/egypt/egypts-muslim-brotherhood/p23991#p2>. Officially, the Brotherhood's position on non-violence remains unchanged. Recently, they released a statement condemning violence on their English language website after the Mansoura bombing. <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=31480>

⁸ "Between 1953 and 1954, Sheikh Ahmad Sahnoun spearheaded the Brotherhood's Algerian branch, and the group was notably instrumental in the revolution against France (1954-1962) using the Brotherhood doctrine of an Islamic national identity to create a united front against the Western force." Mathieu Guidere, *Historical Dictionary of Islamic Fundamentalism* (Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, 2012) p.239.

Time magazine also ran an article comparing the 2013 situation in Egypt to the Algerian Civil War, which is of interest. <http://world.time.com/2013/07/08/how-egypts-turmoil-echoes-algerias-bloody-civil-war/>

⁹ "The Muslim Brotherhood's 'official' presence on the day of rage (January 25, 2011) was restricted to a stand-in by 50 symbolic figures in front of the Supreme Court in the center of Cairo. However the youth belonging to the Brotherhood were among those who participated in the protests demanding freedom, dignity and bread. They participated in their individual capacities as youth, rather than as representatives of the Muslim Brotherhood."

¹⁰ Sayyid Qutb, *Our Battle Against the Jews*, (1951)

¹¹ Original Bylaws of the Muslim Brotherhood, Article II
<http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/673.pdf>

¹² "The Brotherhood earned legitimacy among its core constituency, the lower-middle class, as the most effective organized resistance against British domination (1882-1952). Banna 'rejected the Western model of secular, democratic government, which contradicted his notion of universal Islamic rule,' notes Lawrence Wright in *The Looming Tower*." Council on Foreign Relations Muslim Brotherhood Paper:
<http://www.cfr.org/egypt/egypts-muslim-brotherhood/p23991>

¹³ Reporting on then Muslim Brotherhood Supreme Guide Mohammad Badie by the Egypt Independent in 2011: "The Muslim Brotherhood is close to achieving the 'ultimate goal' set by the group's founder Hassan al-Banna in 1928, which is the establishment of a 'just and reasonable regime.' The project begins with the creation of a sound government and ends with the establishment of a just Islamic caliphate, said Mohamed Badie, the Supreme Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt on Thursday, in his weekly message on the

group's official website." <http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/brotherhood-close-achieving-its-ultimate-goal-says-badie>

¹⁴ *Da'wa* is a mainstream Islamic concept not specific to the Muslim Brotherhood and somewhat akin to the idea of missionizing in Christianity. It includes both the conversion of non-Muslims and the strengthening of the faith of Muslims. It is particularly emphasized by the Brotherhood in the writings of their leaders and in their organization and structure. The name of the Brotherhood monthly magazine until it was shut down in 1981 was *Al-Da'wah*. (source <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=799&ref=search.php>) The importance of *Da'wah* for the Brotherhood is mentioned by almost all major sources on the group, as well as the group's own literature. The mainstream concept is explained here: <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e511>

¹⁵ Original By Laws of the Muslim Brotherhood

<http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/673.pdf>

¹⁶ "The movement of the Muslim Brothers has long been one of the foremost pillars of political Islam in both its violent and non-violent forms. The group's ideology of a *nizam Islami* (Islamic system of government) reflects an utterly totalitarian political agenda." Tibi, Bassam. *Islamism and Islam*. New Haven: Yale University Press 2012. p9

See also Kuntzel, *Jihad and Jew-Hatred*. Kuntzel called the Muslim Brotherhood, "The ancestor of all forms of Islamism" <http://www.matthiaskuentzel.de/contents/hitlers-legacy-islamic-antisemitism-and-the-impact-of-the-muslim-brotherho>

¹⁷ http://www.phil.uni-passau.de/poltheorie/Downloads/Hansen/Hansen_Kainz_Radical_Islamism.pdf

¹⁸ <http://www.islamic supremecouncil.org/understanding-islam/anti-extremism/56-the-globalization-of-ijihad-from-islamist-resistance-to-war-against-the-west.html?start=2>

¹⁹ "Some leftists reinterpret Qutb's anti-Westernism as anti-capitalism and thus support Islamism out of a mistaken belief that it is an ally against globalization." Tibi. *Islamism and Islam*. Preface, xi.

²⁰ The *Socialist Worker* published this article supporting the rebels in Syria. The style is similar to Muslim Brotherhood: <http://socialistworker.org/2013/04/09/supporting-syrias-revolution>

²¹ <http://www.hudson.org/research/9881-the-muslim-brotherhood-s-concept-of-education>

²² "Largely on account of his Leninist background, Qutb envisaged the establishment of an Islamic state by means of a revolution led by a specially trained group versed in Islamic values. The project toward the creation of such a group, indeed, can be seen as an attempt to replace Lenin's proletarian vanguards with their Muslim counterparts. For Qutb, the salvation of Muslims, as well as the entirety of humanity depended on an Islamic state that would represent a third way, i.e., an alternative to socialism and capitalism." Ed. Thompson, *Islam & The West: Critical Perspectives on Modernity*. (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2003) p45

²³ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12313405>

²⁴ <http://www.newrepublic.com/article/world/magazine/107238/baathism-obituary>

²⁵ <http://www.saylor.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/Nasserism.pdf>

²⁶ <http://www.aljazeera.com/focus/arabunity/2008/02/200852519420197834.html>

²⁷ <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=17065>

²⁸ Kuntzel, *Jihad and Jew-Hatred*. He writes "This culture of death which extinguishes the instinct that normally unites all human beings – the survival instinct – is something beyond imagination. It is something George Orwell was not able to write about." <http://www.matthiaskuentzel.de/contents/hitlers-legacy-islamic-antisemitism-and-the-impact-of-the-muslim-brotherhood>

²⁹ Hassan al-Banna wrote an article in 1948 titled "The Industry of Death." In it he talks about the glory of a martyr's death and the importance of cultivating enthusiasm for it. Al-Banna writes, "Death is indeed an industry like all other industries. There are those who do it well and know how to die with honor and choose to die in the honorable theater and at the appropriate time. They sell the drops of their blood for the highest possible price and gain through it the greatest earnings a man can imagine." http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/Data/articles/Art_20567/E_144_13_3071796.pdf

³⁰ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PAOzy2zwyxo> This is but one example for the purpose of reference, but the phrase can be found spoken, written and disseminated by many leading Hamas figures and other Islamists and is frequently heard at their rallies.

³¹ William O. Beeman, "The 'Great Satan' vs the 'Mad Mullahs', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 3, Iranian Intellectuals (1997-2007) (Dec., 2007), pp. 423-426

³² <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/tagBView.php?id=The%20Great%20Satan>



³³ The Brotherhood has traditionally hated any ideology that deviates from their understanding of Islam. They hate communism, in particular, because it is both foreign and secular, and, like their brand of Islam, is a universalist ideology seeking to impose its worldview onto them. Lefevre writes " 'Combatting Communism in Syria' was even listed by Mustapha al-Sibai [a Syrian politician and academic] as one of the most pressing priorities of the Muslim Brotherhood, which had historically despised Marxism, seeing it as 'anti-religious' and a 'foreign doctrine not needed by Muslims because they already have a better one derived from Islam.' " Lefevre, Raphael, *Ashes of Hama: The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria*. (New York: Oxford University Press: 2013)

³⁴ <http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/sayyid-qutb%E2%80%99s-%E2%80%9Cmilestones%E2%80%9D-and-its-impact-on-the-arab-spring>

³⁵ Tibi. *Islamism and Islam*. "No Islamist would call him marginal. Qutb is the *rector spiritus* [ruling spirit] of Islamism, and the binary worldview he established is passed on to younger generations as an essential part of Islamist indoctrination." – Preface, p. xi.

³⁶ <http://www.ikhwanonline.com/Article.aspx?ArtID=53887&SecID=290> The passage quoted was translated by Clarion Project's in-house Arabic Analyst Ran Meir. The link provided is to the original Arabic on the Brotherhood's website. A screenshot is also available on the Clarion Project website: <http://www.clarionproject.org/document/muslim-brotherhood-fmr-leader-qutb-endorsement-arabic>

³⁷ In mainstream Islam, the concept of *jahilliya* refers to the Arabian world as it existed before the arrival of Mohammed. Qutb's expansion of the concept to include modern states that don't adhere to strict *sharia* was his own innovation, partially building on the work of the Indian Islamist thinker Abul Ala Maududi.

³⁸ Yvonne Ridley's review of *Milestones*. <http://groups.yahoo.com/neo/groups/PakistaniAwam/conversations/topics/3552>

³⁹ <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t253/e9>

⁴⁰ This refers to military weakness in particular, as evidenced by British and French colonial enterprises in Muslim countries, but it also refers to cultural and economic weakness.

⁴¹ Hashmi, Sohail H. *Islam, the Middle East and the Pan-Islamic Movement*. (London: Palgrave Press, 2009) <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/FacultyInformation/shashmi/articles/islam%20middle%20east%20and%20panislam.pdf>

⁴² <http://www.newstatesman.com/node/145894>

⁴³ <http://historyofislam.com/contents/resistance-and-reform/shaykh-ibn-abdul-wahhab-of-najd/>

⁴⁴ An explanation of the theology of Salafism can be found here:

http://www.cerium.ca/IMG/pdf/WIKTOROWICZ_2006_Anatomy_of_the_Salafi_Movement.pdf

⁴⁵ http://lb.boell.org/sites/default/files/uploads/2014/07/the_elevation_of_salafi_thought.pdf

⁴⁶ For an excellent introduction to history of that period, see Quataert, Donald. *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Second Edition, 2005)

⁴⁷ The Saudis revolted against Ottoman and later British rule in Arabia and Iraq, and uprisings against the British were crushed in Egypt and Sudan. In 1919, Hassan al-Banna took part in the revolts in Egypt as a schoolboy.

⁴⁸ Bilveer Singh, *The Talibanization of Southeast Asia: Losing the War on Terror to Islamist Extremists*. (Westport: Praeger Security International, 2007) p17

⁴⁹ <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t243/e8>

⁵⁰ http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e15?_hi=0&_pos=4

⁵¹ <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e1979>

⁵² <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/oct/03/bangladesh-party-leader-accused-war-crimes>

⁵³ <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195390155/obo-9780195390155-0129.xml>

⁵⁴ <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2011/195553.htm>

⁵⁵ The Muslim Brotherhood's English language website provides a comprehensive introductory biography of their founder. <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=17065>

⁵⁶ <http://www.islamtimes.org/vdof.ydjiw6dc17raw.html>

⁵⁷ <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/nov/01/afghanistan.terrorism3>

⁵⁸ A collection of quotes from Qutb's writing has been collated here:

http://gemsofislamism.tripod.com/milestones_qutb.html

⁵⁹ <http://www.frontpagemag.com/2013/frank-crimi/al-jazeera-star-death-to-apostates/>

⁶⁰ <http://islamonline.net/>

⁶¹ <http://themuslim500.com/profile/sheikh-dr-yusuf-al-qaradawi>

⁶² <http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/02/17/138093.html>

⁶³ <http://www.meforum.org/530/must-innocents-die-the-islamic-debate-over>

⁶⁴ <http://blog.adl.org/international/qaradawi-doha-interfaith-conference-keep-jews-out>

⁶⁵ <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/oct/29/religion.uk1>

⁶⁶ <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2010/oct/15/female-genital-mutilation-yusuf-al-qaradawi>

⁶⁷ Sir Salman Rushdie was knighted by the Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain, Northern Ireland and her other realms in the Birthday Honors List of 2007. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/6222414.stm>. The move was welcomed by the intellectual community and added to Sir Salman's already extensive list of honors and prizes that includes the Booker of Bookers Prize, the Whitebread award (on two separate occasions) and the James Tait Black memorial prize. <http://www.theguardian.com/society/2007/jun/16/books.politics>

⁶⁸ <http://www.spiegel.de/international/spiegel-interview-with-al-jazeera-host-yusuf-al-qaradawi-god-has-disappeared-a-376954.html>

⁶⁹ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/politics/top-authors-denounce-500000-new-bounty-on-rushdie-8145243.html>

⁷⁰ http://www.onislam.net/english/ask-the-scholar/shariah-based-systems/judiciary-and-police-systems/169643-gradualism-in-applying-the-shariah.html?Police_Systems

⁷¹ <http://www.hizb.org.uk/current-affairs/problem-with-gradualism-egypts-military-coup-highlights-the-problem-with-this-methodology>

⁷² <http://www.ikhwanis.com/>

⁷³ <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/opeds/Zelin20130820-Jihadology-BrotherhoodBreakaway.pdf>

⁷⁴ *Foreign Policy* has done an excellent in-depth report on the Brotherhood's London branch. http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/09/26/london_underground_muslim_brotherhood#sthash.odY1c3F.dpbs

⁷⁵ <http://www.investigativeproject.org/3336/muslim-brotherhood-cleric-calls-for-gradualism-in>

⁷⁶ http://www.onislam.net/english/ask-the-scholar/shariah-based-systems/judiciary-and-police-systems/169643-gradualism-in-applying-the-shariah.html?Police_Systems.

⁷⁷ Translation provided by MEMRI: <http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/3287.htm>

⁷⁸ <http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/687.pdf>

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

⁷⁹ <http://www.clarionproject.org/analysis/gradualism-islamist-strategy-victory>

⁸⁰ http://www.clarionproject.org/Muslim_Brotherhood_Explanatory_Memorandum

⁸¹ <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A28476-2004Aug24.html>

⁸² <http://www.clarionproject.org/news/holy-land-foundation-terror-financing-trial-documents>

⁸³ http://www.clarionproject.org/Muslim_Brotherhood_Explanatory_Memorandum

⁸⁴ https://web.archive.org/web/20070504212834/http://www.witness-pioneer.org/vil/Books/Q_Priorities/introp1.htm

⁸⁵ <http://www.investigativeproject.org/2373/hand-book-shows-icna-true-goals>

⁸⁶ The doctrine of taqiyya is explained here: <http://www.meforum.org/2095/islams-doctrines-of-deception>. Its use by Muslim Brotherhood affiliates is shown here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jvhzgFhrkuE&list=PLdKVao0EJoBNorgRsdQdBoILzD6SMkc2h>

⁸⁷ <http://crisisproject.org/egypt%E2%80%99s-muslim-brotherhood-presenting-a-friendly-face-in-london/>

⁸⁸ <http://www.clarionproject.org/analysis/new-coalition-us-islamists-influence-politics>

⁸⁹ The lawyers include Michael Mansfield, who represented Mohamed al-Fayed in the inquest into the death of Princess Diana and families of the 1972 Bloody Sunday massacre http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/09/26/london_underground_muslim_brotherhood#sthash.podY1c3F.dpbs

⁹⁰ <http://www.clarionproject.org/analysis/boston-bombers-mosque-has-muslim-brotherhood-ties>

⁹¹ <http://www.defenddemocracy.org/media-hit/treasury-department-tars-alamoudi-founder-of-the-islamic-society-of-boston/>

⁹² <http://www.danielpipes.org/rr/394.pdf>

⁹³ http://www.clarionproject.org/Muslim_Brotherhood_Explanatory_Memorandum, page 12

⁹⁴ <http://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/ground-zero-mosque-built-u-s-muslims-access-american-dream-article-1.440737>

⁹⁵ It was removed, along with several other words, from its official style guide on the grounds that a phobia is “an irrational, uncontrollable fear, often a form of mental illness” and therefore unsuitable for use “in political or social contexts. <http://www.politico.com/blogs/media/2012/11/ap-nixes-homophobia-ethnic-cleansing-150315.html>

⁹⁶ <http://www.investigativeproject.org/3486/under-oath-alamoudi-ties-mas-to-brotherhood>

⁹⁷ <http://www.investigativeproject.org/737/forgotten-investigation-emails-offer-insight-into-iiit-probe>

⁹⁸ <http://www.clarionproject.org/islamist-organizations>

⁹⁹ <http://www.investigativeproject.org/737/forgotten-investigation-emails-offer-insight-into-iiit-probe>

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.clarionproject.org/analysis/council-islamic-relations-cair>

¹⁰¹ <http://www.clarionproject.org/analysis/islamic-society-north-america-isna>

¹⁰² <http://www.clarionproject.org//analysis/international-institute-islamic-thought>

¹⁰³ <http://www.clarionproject.org/analysis/muslim-students-association>

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.clarionproject.org/analysis/association-muslim-social-scientists-north-america>

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.clarionproject.org/analysis/muslim-american-society-mas>

¹⁰⁶ <http://www.clarionproject.org/analysis/north-american-islamic-trust-nait>

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.clarionproject.org/analysis/islamic-american-university-o>

¹⁰⁸ The Brotherhood made a public declaration on the subject. A screenshot is provided below taken from their website. The article was dated March 14, 2013. <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=30731A>

MB Statements



**Muslim Brotherhood Statement
Denouncing UN Women Declaration for
Violating Sharia Principles**

**Muslim Brotherhood slams proposed UN CSW
document which contradicts principles of Islam
and destroys family life and entire society.**

¹⁰⁹ Text of the UN document:

[http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/csw57/CSW57_Agreed_Conclusions_\(CSW_report_excerpt\).pdf](http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/csw57/CSW57_Agreed_Conclusions_(CSW_report_excerpt).pdf)

¹¹⁰ <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/2013/03/16/Egypt-s-Brotherhood-slams-un-Islamic-U-N-declaration-on-women-rights-.html>

¹¹¹ http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/04/23/why_do_they_hate_us

¹¹² Qaradawi says that the practice is permitted.

<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2010/oct/15/female-genital-mutilation-yusuf-al-qaradawi>

¹¹³ <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/03/15/us-women-un-rights-idUSBRE92E03D20130315>

¹¹⁴ http://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/15/world/middleeast/muslim-brotherhoods-words-on-women-stir-liberal-fears.html?_r=1&

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

¹¹⁵ http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/06/19/obedient-wives-club-opens_n_879917.html. The *Guardian* has also reported on it: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jul/06/outrage-at-obedient-wives-club-singapore>

¹¹⁶ <http://www.globalgrey.co.uk/Books/Sufism/Status-Of-Women-In-Islam.pdf>, p7-8

¹¹⁷ http://www.muftisays.com/blog/Muadh_Khan/3331_26-05-2013/shaykh-yusuf-qaradawi-ha-on-niqab-and-quotinteractionquot-of-men-and-women.html

¹¹⁸ <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/07/09/the-sisters-of-the-muslim-brotherhood.html>

¹¹⁹ <http://www.majalla.com/eng/2013/11/article55247035>

¹²⁰ http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20080500_cscp_report_vries.pdf

¹²¹ <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=22942>

¹²² <http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/2013/10/29/militias-for-syrian-muslim-brotherhood/grhp>

¹²³ <http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/testimony/353.pdf>

¹²⁴ <http://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/resources/quotes/sayyid-qutb-on-jihad-and-mission>

¹²⁵ <http://www.militantislammonitor.org/article/id/379>

¹²⁶ Lorenzo Vidino, *The New Muslim Brotherhood in the West*, (Columbia University Press, 2010) ch2

¹²⁷ Quintan Wiktorowicz, *A Genealogy of Radical Islam*, Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, (Taylor and Francis: 2005) Volume 28: 75-97

<http://www.intellectualltakeout.org/sites/www.intellectualltakeout.org/files/A%20Genealogy%20of%20Radical%20Islam.pdf>

¹²⁸ <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2013/11/egypt-brotherhood-change-politics-terrorism.html>

¹²⁹ From Oxford Bibliographies, the leading research website:

<http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195390155/obo-9780195390155-0137.xml?rskey=5MoZIE&result=3&q=Islamism#firstMatch>

¹³⁰ <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/399387/Muslim-Brotherhood>

¹³¹ <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/11/egypt-muslim-sisterhood-social-work-politics.html>

¹³² Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Jerusalem the Biography*. (London: Phoenix, 2012)

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/399387/Muslim-Brotherhood>

¹³⁵ <http://www.islamdaily.org/en/islam/6965.sayyid-qutb-terrorism-and-the-origins-of-militant-.htm>

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ <http://english.hizbuttahrir.org/index.php/about-us>

¹³⁸ http://www.nmhtthornton.com/mehistorydatabase/nasser_assassination_attempt.php

¹³⁹ http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/07/16/echoes_of_nasser_egypt_muslim_brotherhood_history#sthash.7izOEsM7.dpbs

¹⁴⁰ A good summary of the affair, which signified the end of British involvement in Egypt and highlighted the decline of the British Empire and America's new position as the world's leading superpower can be found here: <http://www.economist.com/node/7218678>

¹⁴¹ <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/~orr201/classweb/worldpolitics116/pages/chronology.html>

¹⁴² Barry Rubin, *Islamic Fundamentalism in Egyptian Politics*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990), p.15. Many of the Muslim Brotherhood's current leadership were arrested and tortured during this time. <http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/your-torture-still-shows-our-bodies-brothers-tell-nasser-s-defense-minister>

¹⁴³ <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/~orr201/classweb/worldpolitics116/pages/chronology.html>

¹⁴⁴ Rubin, *Islamic Fundamentalism in Egyptian Politics* p.16.

¹⁴⁵ http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=4072

¹⁴⁶ Rubin, *Islamic Fundamentalism in Egyptian Politics*. p.17.

¹⁴⁷ Original piece by the *New York Times*
<http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/big/1006.html>

¹⁴⁸ Lefevre. *Ashes of Hama*.

¹⁴⁹ <http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/blogs/the-muslim-brotherhood-a-timeline/>

¹⁵⁰ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3190770.stm>

¹⁵¹ Yousef, Mosab Hassan *Son of Hamas*.

¹⁵² <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2010/1016/eg6.htm>

¹⁵³ <http://carnegieendowment.org/2008/08/20/egyptian-parliamentary-elections-in-shadow-of-2000/6dk2>

¹⁵⁴ <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2010/1016/eg6.htm>

¹⁵⁵ http://carnegieendowment.org/files/egypt's_local_elections_final2.pdf

¹⁵⁶ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-11935368>

¹⁵⁷ Al-Jazeera has the most extensive and detailed timeline of the Egyptian Revolution available: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/01/201112515334871490.html>

¹⁵⁸ <http://www.fiponline.com/>

¹⁵⁹ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-16665748>

¹⁶⁰ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-17761955>

¹⁶¹ <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2012/06/201262412445190400.html>

¹⁶² <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/german-media-morsi-power-grab-a-move-toward-egyptian-islamization-a-869320.html>

¹⁶³ The *Washington Post* interviewed General al-Sisi shortly after the event. He detailed his reasons for overthrowing Morsi. http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/rare-interview-with-egyptian-gen-abdel-fatah-al-sissi/2013/08/03/a77eb37c-fbc4-11e2-a369-d1954abcb7e3_story.html

¹⁶⁴ <http://rt.com/news/egypt-muslim-brotherhood-terrorist-802/>

¹⁶⁵ <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2014/03/07/Saudi-Arabia-declares-Muslim-Brotherhood-terrorist-group.html>

¹⁶⁶ <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2014-03-09/u-a-e-supports-saudi-arabia-against-qatar-backed-brotherhood.html?cmpid=yhoo>

¹⁶⁷ “Hitler had been much impressed by a scrap of history he had learned from a delegation of distinguished Arabs. When the Mohammedans had attempted to penetrate beyond France into Central Europe during the eighth century, his visitors had told him, they had been driven back at the Battle of Tours. Had the Arabs won this battle, the world would be Mohammedan today. For theirs was a religion that believed in spreading the faith by the sword and subjugating all nations to that faith. The Germanic peoples would have become heirs to that religion. Such a creed was perfectly suited to the Germanic temperament. Hitler said that the conquering Arabs, because of their racial inferiority, would in the long run have been unable to contend with the harsher climate and conditions of the country. They could not have kept down the more vigorous natives, so that ultimately not Arabs but Islamized Germans could have stood at the head of this Mohammedan Empire.” Speer, Albert. *Inside the Third Reich*. (New York: Schuster and Schuster, 1970) Chap. 6

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

¹⁶⁸ <http://www.matthiaskuentzel.de/contents/hitlers-legacy-islamic-antisemitism-and-the-impact-of-the-muslim-brotherhood> and <http://www.jcpa.org/phas/phas-kuntzel-s05.htm>

¹⁶⁹ <http://www.esdp-course.ethz.ch/content/pubkms/detail.cfm?lng=en&id=39768>

¹⁷⁰ Hoare, Marko Attila. *Bosnian Muslims in the Second World War*. (C Hurst & Co Publishers, 2013) p 53

¹⁷¹ Kuntzel, Matthias. *Jihad and Jew-Hatred: Islamism, Nazism and the Roots of 9/11*. (New York: Telos Press Publishing, 2007). Quoted in a *New York Times* review of his book:

http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/06/books/review/Goldberg-t.html?_r=0

¹⁷² Patterson, David. *A Genealogy of Evil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, page 41.

¹⁷³ Kuntzel, *Jihad and Jew-Hatred*. The idea of martyrdom has a long history in Islam, based on earlier Jewish and Christian ideas of sacrificing one's life to sanctify the name of God. Throughout history, thousands have been willing to lay down their lives for their faith. Hassan al-Banna developed this concept in Islam with a 1938 article entitled, "The Industry of Death." In it, he says, "to a nation that perfects the industry of death and which knows how to die nobly, God gives proud life in this world, and eternal grace in the world to come."

¹⁷⁴ <http://www.thecommentator.com/article/2657/hamas-s-hitler-youth-style-movement-prepares-for-jihad>

¹⁷⁵ <http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/2005.htm>

¹⁷⁶ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/egypt/9804498/US-condemns-Mohammed-Morsi-anti-Semitic-remarks.html>

¹⁷⁷ <http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/brotherhood-close-achieving-its-ultimate-goal-says-badie>

¹⁷⁸ http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/06/24/egypt-election-results-morsi-president_n_1622133.html

¹⁷⁹ <http://www.politico.com/politico44/2012/06/white-house-congratulates-egypts-morsi-127117.html>

¹⁸⁰ <http://poy.time.com/2012/12/19/times-person-of-the-year-issue-cover-gallery/slide/runner-up-mohamed-morsi/>

¹⁸¹ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/egypt/9697347/Mohammed-Morsi-grants-himself-sweeping-new-powers-in-wake-of-Gaza.html>

¹⁸² http://mideastafrica.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/12/13/islam_in_egypts_new_constitution#sthash.JIByQrCG.dpbs

¹⁸³ <http://rt.com/news/press-crackdown-egypt-mursi-996/>

¹⁸⁴ <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2012/07/release-of-islamists-convicted-o.html#>

¹⁸⁵ <http://www.haaretz.com/news/middle-east/hamas-chief-meets-egypt-s-morsi-in-cairo-hails-new-era-1.452281>

¹⁸⁶ http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/13/world/middleeast/egyptian-leader-ousts-military-chiefs.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0

¹⁸⁷ <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentP/1/58934/Egypt/BREAKING-President-Morsi-sacks-prosecutorgeneral.aspx>

¹⁸⁸ <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/morsis-provocative-appointments>. Additionally here: <http://www.mcclatchydc.com/2013/05/07/190613/mohammed-morsi-reshuffles-egypts.html>. Brotherhood members were elevated across the board under Morsi's rule, these are only two examples.

¹⁸⁹ <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/17/morsi-appoints-islamist-governor-luxor>

¹⁹⁰ <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2013/04/20134994910991737.html>

¹⁹¹ <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/58322/Egypt/Politics-/Bishop-Paul-President-Morsi-will-not-attend-new-Co.aspx>

¹⁹² <http://www.hrw.org/news/2012/11/29/egypt-new-constitution-mixed-support-rights>

¹⁹³ <http://www.globalresearch.ca/statistically-examining-cairos-constitutional-referendum-did-morsi-hijack-democracy/5320067>

¹⁹⁴ <http://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2013/06/02988/ngo-law-becomes-test-for-egypts-morsi/>

¹⁹⁵ <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/07/why-egyptians-are-so-unhappy-with-morsi-in-one-chart/277511/>

¹⁹⁶ <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/27/tamarod-egypt-morsi-campaign-oppsition-resignation>

¹⁹⁷ <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/07/morsi-brotherhood-lost-egypt-bsabry.html>

¹⁹⁸ <http://carnegieendowment.org/2013/09/23/what-path-will-egypt-s-muslim-brotherhood-choose/gnx6>

¹⁹⁹ <http://www.clarionproject.org/analysis/america-islamist-groups-hold-rallies-morsi>

²⁰⁰ <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/jul/04/egypt-coup-military-morsi-democracy>

²⁰¹ <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/massive-protests-in-egypt-against-president-morsi/>

²⁰² <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/83375/Egypt/Politics-/Egyparts-army-chief-says-will-continue-protecting-pe.aspx>

²⁰³ <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/01/egypt-muslim-brotherhood-offices-civil>

²⁰⁴ <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2013/11/egypt-court-upholds-muslim-brotherhood-ban-2013116101936365849.html>

²⁰⁵ <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/12/egypts-new-proposed-constitution-sabry.html>

²⁰⁶ <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/27/egypt-muslim-brotherhood-morsi-supporters-killed?guni=Article:in%20body%20link>

²⁰⁷ <http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/08/14/al-nahda-sit-in-dispersal-eyewitness-accounts/>

²⁰⁸ Farid Zahran is sourced here, but other commentators have also discussed this issue.

<http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/12/11/will-the-muslim-brotherhood-return-to-the-political-scene/> Human Rights Watch has called for the army to halt the violence against Brotherhood supporters and respect the rule of law. <http://www.hrw.org/news/2013/07/08/egypt-halt-arbitrary-action-against-brotherhood-media>

²⁰⁹ <http://www.onislam.net/english/news/global/464262-rabia-gives-muslim-world-new-hope.html>

²¹⁰ <http://www.worldbulletin.net/?aType=haber&ArticleID=123562>

²¹¹ <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/4114/muslim-brotherhood-terrorist-group>

²¹² <http://www.kirk.senate.gov/record.cfm?id=330818>

²¹³ <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=817>

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=17065>

²¹⁶ The *Times of Israel* interviewed members of Hamas in order to gain a picture of the internal day to day workings of the Muslim Brotherhood. <http://www.timesofisrael.com/inside-the-muslim-brotherhood/> The Frontline documentary is also very useful. <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/egypt/110220/inside-the-muslim-brotherhood>

²¹⁷ <http://www.timesofisrael.com/inside-the-muslim-brotherhood/>

²¹⁸ <http://www.theguardian.com/world/us-embassy-cables-documents/143790>

²¹⁹ This has been a feature of the Brotherhood since its foundation and was the principal means through which Hassan al-Banna spread the membership originally in the group's early days. The first step in the

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

Da'wa process is strengthening the faith of the individual, which is accomplished through study. The sources on this topic are mentioned earlier in the document: <http://www.hudson.org/research/9881-the-muslim-brotherhood-s-concept-of-education>

²²⁰ <http://www.arabwestreport.info/year-2012/week-25/47-muslim-brotherhoods-organizational-structure-any-christian-similarity>

²²¹ The Muslim Brotherhood has branches across the world. Due to the group's secretive nature, it has not been possible to show all of the Brotherhood's groups and affiliates, and even less possible to list all Brotherhood-inspired groups. They attempt to coordinate between groups, but it is difficult to bring disparate factions together. The Brotherhood's English website has an international section, which brings news concerning Brotherhood activities around the world. Estimates of global membership are not possible to give with any level of accuracy. <http://www.ipost.com/Breaking-News/International-Muslim-Brotherhood-establishing-new-organization-to-bring-Islamists-to-power-world-wide-327500>

²²² The original Muslim Brotherhood Palestine policy of non-violence is described here Mosab Hassan Yousef, *Son of Hamas*. (Carol Stream, Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers, 2010.) The Moroccan Islamist movement has disavowed their Muslim Brotherhood origins: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/tr/contents/articles/politics/2013/02/interview-morocco-mp-benkirane.html#>

²²³ Mosab Hassan Yousef, *Son of Hamas*.

²²⁴ http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/27/world/africa/moderate-islamist-party-winning-morocco-election.html?_r=0

²²⁵ <http://www.hmsalgeria.net/>

²²⁶ http://www.aleslah.org/eslah_wp/

²²⁷ <http://www.gulf-daily-news.com/NewsDetails.aspx?storyid=136119>

²²⁸ <http://hamasinfo.net/>

²²⁹ <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/05/uncertainty-as-iraq-election-results-revealed-201452611145311548.html>

²³⁰ <http://www.iraqiparty.com/>

²³¹ <http://www.niqash.org/articles/print.php?id=2648&lang=en>

²³² <http://www.kurdiu.org/>

²³³ <http://www.parliament.jo/en>

²³⁴ <http://www.icmkw.org/site/index.php>

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD SPECIAL REPORT

²³⁵ <http://www.ab.ly/ar/>

²³⁶ <http://www.libyaherald.com/2012/07/18/party-results/>

²³⁷ <http://www.turkishweekly.net/news/169449/-libya-publishes-parliamentary-election-results.html>

²³⁸ <http://www.pjd.ma/>

²³⁹ <http://www.worldtribune.com/2013/12/01/muslim-brotherhoods-new-safe-haven-qatar-with-an-assist-from-al-jazeera/>

²⁴⁰ <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/03/07/us-saudi-security-idUSBREA26oSM20140307>

²⁴¹ <http://www.thenewamerican.com/usnews/foreign-policy/item/15095-obama-paves-way-to-arm-muslim-brotherhood-linked-regime-in-somalia>

²⁴² http://articles.washingtonpost.com/2013-04-25/world/38807328_1_muslim-brotherhood-brotherhood-s-syria

²⁴³ <http://www.bloombergvew.com/articles/2011-10-30/islamists-victory-in-tunisia-a-win-for-democracy-noah-feldman>

²⁴⁴ <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/10/world/middleeast/tunisias-leader-resigns.html>

²⁴⁵ <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/index.php>

²⁴⁶ <http://www.aawsat.net/2013/04/article55298325>

²⁴⁷ <http://gulfnnews.com/news/region/egypt/rise-and-fall-of-muslim-brotherhood-in-uae-1.1170002>

²⁴⁸ <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A12823-2004Sep10.html>

²⁴⁹ http://www.clarionproject.org/Muslim_Brotherhood_Explanatory_Memorandum

²⁵⁰ <http://al-islam.net/new/>

²⁵¹ There are separate sections on the Brotherhood's English website for women and youth divisions: <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/>. The information was correct as of January 5, 2014.

²⁵² <http://www.euronews.com/2014/08/09/egypt-court-bans-freedom-and-justice-party-/>

²⁵³ <http://www.fjponline.com/>

²⁵⁴ <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=29390>

²⁵⁵ <https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/mariz-tadros/mutilating-bodies-muslim-brotherhood%E2%80%99s-gift-to-egyptian-women>

²⁵⁶ <http://www.ahram.org.eg/NewsQ/233696.aspx>

²⁵⁷ <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/151/82850/Egypt/Features/-Inside-Egypt-Muslim-Sisterhood.aspx>

²⁵⁸ <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=31444>

²⁵⁹ <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=29391>

²⁶⁰ The majority of this information was taken from the Washington Institute for Near East Policy report. The names that appear also are noted in a variety of news reports concerning the Brotherhoods activities, and most of the references given in this fact sheet contain the names of one or more of these individuals. The Washington Institute list is far more extensive than the list given here. Only the most important figures were included in this fact sheet. <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/whos-who-in-the-muslim-brotherhood>

²⁶¹ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-24772806>

²⁶² <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-32763215>

²⁶³ <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/09/15/us-egypt-brotherhood-courts-idUSKBN0HA1IJ20140915>

²⁶⁴ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/egypt/10253714/Egypt-crisis-Muslim-Brotherhood-names-interim-leader-after-supreme-guide-Mohammed-Badie-arrested.html>

²⁶⁵ <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/News/7468/17/Trial-and-punishment.aspx>

²⁶⁶ <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/113175/Egypt/Politics-/Hunger-striker-Soltan-ordered-to-return-to-prison-.aspx>

²⁶⁷ Accused of being the mastermind of 9/11 and a slew of other terrorist activities by the 9/11 Commission Report. Terry McDermott, *Perfect Soldiers: The 9/11 Hijackers: Who They Were, Why They Did It*. (New York: Harper Paperbacks: 2006) p111.

²⁶⁸ <http://www.pbs.org/moyers/journal/07272007/alqaeda.html>

²⁶⁹ Thomas Hegghammer, "Abdallah Azzam, Imam of Jihad" in Kepel, Gilles; Milelli, Jean-Pierre. *Al Qaeda in Its Own Words*. Pascale Ghazale, trans.(Cambridge, Mass.:Belknap Press of Harvard University Press: 2008)

²⁷⁰ <http://www.kalamullah.com/Books/defence.pdf>

²⁷¹ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-13789286>

²⁷² http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/09/world/09awlaki.html?pagewanted=2&_r=0