



Key Facts:

- CEP has recorded 48 individuals and groups tied to the Muslim Brotherhood, including terrorist groups, foreign fighters, extremist propagandists, and political leaders.
- The writings of Muslim Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna and early Brotherhood ideologue Sayyid Qutb have helped mold the ideologies of violent terror groups like al-Oaeda, ISIS, and Hamas.
- Al-Qaeda co-founders Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri, proclaimed 9/11
 mastermind Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, and ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi all
 belonged to the Muslim Brotherhood before assuming roles in their respective terror
 networks.
- The Brotherhood politically supported the goals of the Iranian Revolution early on. Qutb was an influence on Iranian extremist Navvab Safavi, who in turn influenced current Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei to enter politics and introduced Ruhollah Khomeini to the Brotherhood.
- Internationally designated terror group Hamas is a direct offshoot of the Brotherhood, created as the organization's Palestinian wing.



The Muslim Brotherhood is a transnational Sunni Islamist movement that seeks to implement *sharia* (Islamic law) under a global caliphate. Founded in Egypt in 1928, the Brotherhood is that country's oldest Islamist organization and has branches throughout the world. A 2015 U.K. government investigation concluded that the Brotherhood has "promoted a radical, transformative politics, at odds with a millennium of Islamic jurisprudence and statecraft...."

In line with the British assessment, and despite the Brotherhood's official commitment to non-violence, CEP has documented ideological and operational links between the Brotherhood's ideology and violent terrorist groups like al-Qaeda and ISIS.

Brotherhood ideology has directly influenced several notable terrorist leaders. Al-Qaeda's founders were students of early Brotherhood ideologues such as theoretician <u>Sayyid Qutb</u>, whose works informed the Islamist Qutbism ideology advocating violent jihad to establish governance

¹ "Muslim Brotherhood Review: Main Findings," Gov.UK, December 17, 2015, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/486932/Muslim_Brotherhood_Review_Main_Findings.pdf.



according to *sharia*.² Proclaimed 9/11 mastermind Khalid Sheikh Mohammed read Qutb's writings while attending Brotherhood camps as a teenager in Kuwait.³ Al-Qaeda leaders Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri and ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi all belonged to the Brotherhood before assuming roles in their respective terror networks. As a result of these foundations, violent extremist groups such as ISIS serve as an extension of core Brotherhood ideology.⁴

The Brotherhood officially maintains a platform of non-violence but has nevertheless supported violent terrorism across the Middle East. Egyptian authorities have directly connected the Brotherhood to violence in Egypt since the 2013 fall of the Brotherhood-led government there. Egypt labeled the Brotherhood a terrorist organization in December 2013 after authorities linked the organization to a car bombing that killed 14 people. Further, the Brotherhood has supported the violent policies of its Palestinian offshoot, the internationally designated terror group Hamas. Hamas's 1988 charter describes it specifically as "one of the wings of the Moslem Brotherhood in Palestine," and the group enjoyed close relations with Egypt's Brotherhood-led government in 2012. Egyptian authorities accused Hamas and the Brotherhood of collaborating in the June 29, 2015, assassination of Egyptian Public Prosecutor Hisham Barakat. Hamas leaders have

Pale C. Fikmeier "Outh

² Dale C. Eikmeier, "Qutbism: An Ideology of Islamic-Fascism," *Parameters: U.S. Army War College Quarterly*, Spring 2007, 89, http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a485995.pdf; Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower*, (New York: Random House, 2011), 36; Johannes J. G. Jansen, The Dual Nature of Islamic Fundamentalism, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), 50.

³ National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, Thomas H. Kean, and Lee Hamilton. 2004. The 9/11 Commission report: final report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. (Washington, D.C.): 145, http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/911/report/911Report.pdf;

Terry McDermott, "The Mastermind," New Yorker, September 30, 2010,

http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2010/09/13/the-mastermind; Dale C. Eikmeier, "Qutbsim: An Ideology of Islamic-Facism," U.S. Army War College 37, no. 1 (2007): 89, http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a485995.pdf. "JORDANIAN INTELLECTUAL FEHMI JADAANE: ISIS IS NOT THAT DIFFERENT IDEOLOGICALLY FROM THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD," MEMRI, November 27, 2015, https://www.memri.org/tv/jordanian-intellectual-fehmi-jadaane-isis-not-different-ideologically-muslim-brotherhood; Ariel Ben Solomon, "ISIS and Muslim Brotherhood Share 'Same Ideology with Different Actions," *Jerusalem* Post, December 13, 2015, https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/ISIS-and-Muslim-Brotherhood-share-same-ideology-with-different-actions-437214.

⁵ "Egypt: Muslim Brotherhood branded 'terrorist group' after bombing," *Telegraph* (London), December 24, 2013, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/egypt/10536505/Egypt-Muslim-Brotherhood-branded-terrorist-group-after-bombing.html.

⁶ "The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement," Avalon Project, Yale Law School, August 18, 1988, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp.



since disavowed any ties to the Brotherhood, but have at the same time insisted that the original charter—and its language in support of the Brotherhood—remains in effect.⁹

CEP has also recorded links between specific Brotherhood members and terror financing and recruitment. Violent extremists have used Brotherhood ideological materials as a gateway to more violent philosophies. For example, ISIS recruiter Ibrahim Osama introduced Turkish foreign fighter Huseyin Mustafa Peri to the concept of jihad through Brotherhood literature before recruiting him to fight for ISIS in Syria. Senior Brotherhood member Mohammad Jamal Khalifa was arrested in 1994 in connection with the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. Prior to his death in 2007, authorities linked Khalifa to the financing of al-Qaeda, his brother-in-law Osama bin Laden, and the Philippines-based Abu Sayyaf Group. 11

CEP has recorded 48 extremist entities—43 individuals and five terrorist organizations—with ties to the Muslim Brotherhood.

Individuals

- 1. Mahmoud Abdel-Latif [no image] (Foreign Policy, BBC News, Hudson Institute)
 - a. Domestic terrorist. Muslim Brotherhood member who attempted to assassinate Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser on October 26, 1954. Nasser launched a violent crackdown on the Brotherhood in response.
- 2. Abdullah Azzam (*Slate*, Daily Beast, *Time*, Institute for National Security Studies)
 - a. Political leader. Palestinian Islamist preacher who helped found al-Qaeda, Hamas, and Lashkar-e-Taiba. Often referred to as the father of global jihad. Instrumental in recruiting foreign fighters to Afghanistan in the 1980s. Theorized that Muslims should fight a single, global jihad against their enemies as opposed to smaller, separate national fights. Served as Osama bin Laden's mentor, and reportedly influenced such notorious terrorists as Abu Musab al-Zarqawi and Anwar al-Awlaki. Belonged to the Islamic Movement, a branch of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Palestinian territories in the 1960s. The movement evolved into Hamas in 1987. Helped write Hamas's founding charter. Following Azzam's death, Hamas included Azzam at the top of its list of martyrs. Bin Laden admitted in a December 1989 Al Jazeera interview that Azzam had openly supported Hamas financially and ideologically.

<u>hamas-killed-top-prosecutor.html</u>; "Egypt Hisham Barakat killing: 30 sentenced to death," BBC News, June 17, 2017, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-40313267.

 ⁹ Jack Khoury, "Hamas Denies Links With Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and Elsewhere," *Haaretz* (Jerusalem), March 23, 2016, http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/.premium-1.710423; "New Hamas policy document 'aims to soften image," BBC News, May 1, 2017, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-39744551.
 ¹⁰ Amberin Zaman, "Captured fighter details Islamic State's Turkey connection," Al-Monitor, June 17, 2015, https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/06/turkey-syria-iraq-isis-new-turkish-unit-lures-kurds.html.
 ¹¹ Bill Roggio, "Mohammed Jamal Khalifa, Osama bin Laden's brother-in-law, killed in Madagascar," Long War

¹¹ Bill Roggio, "Mohammed Jamal Khalifa, Osama bin Laden's brother-in-law, killed in Madagascar," Long War Journal, January 31, 2007, https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2007/01/mohammed jamal khali.php.



- 3. Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi (SITE Institute, Guardian, Brookings Institution)
 - a. ISIS's self-appointed caliph since June 2014. In hiding since the collapse of ISIS's caliphate in Syria and Iraq. Joined the Brotherhood at the behest of his paternal uncle, Ismail al-Badri, while in graduate school in the 1990s at Iraq's Saddam University for Islamic Studies. Reportedly read the works of Muslim Brotherhood leaders who had espoused jihadism. Baghdadi's older brother, Jum'a, also belonged to the Brotherhood. Reportedly grew impatient with the mainstream Brotherhood by 2000 for what he saw as their prioritization of theory over action.
- 4. <u>Hassan al-Banna</u> (Al Jazeera, Al Jazeera, BBC News, Oxford Islamic Studies Online, *Jerusalem Post*, *Telegraph*, IDC Herzliya)
 - a. Political leader. Founder of Muslim Brotherhood. Formed the Brotherhood's underground military wing, the "secret apparatus," in the 1940s. Crafted a philosophy called "The Art of Death," reminding Brotherhood members of the prophetic saying that "He who dies and has not fought and was not resolved to fight, has died a jahiliyya [non-Muslim, or ignorant] death." Assassinated in February 1949 by the Egyptian secret service in retaliation for the December 1948 assassination of Egyptian Prime Minister Mahmoud an-Nuqrashi Pasha by members of the Muslim Brotherhood.
- 5. Mohammed Badie (Ahram Online, Al Jazeera, Al Jazeera)
 - a. Political leader. Official supreme guide (*murshid*) of the Muslim Brotherhood. Serving a life sentence in Egypt on multiple charges of planning and inciting violent attacks following the July 2013 coup against Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi. Mahmoud Ezzat has acted as the Brotherhood's temporary supreme guide since Badie's arrest in August 2013.
- 6. Muhammad al-Beltagy [image] (Washington Institute for Near East Policy, *Christian Science Monitor*, Ahram Online, *New York Times*, Agence France-Presse, Reuters)
 - a. Political leader. First elected to the Egyptian People's Assembly in 2005 as a member of the Muslim Brotherhood. Began protesting the Egyptian government after losing reelection in 2010. Arrested by Israeli forces in 2010 after participating in Turkey's aid flotilla to the Gaza Strip. Convinced the Muslim Brotherhood to support the revolution against Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in 2011. Arranged for Brotherhood ideologue Yusuf al-Qaradawi's February 2011 Tahrir Square speech after Mubarak's removal from office, during which Qaradawi called on protesters to maintain pressure on the Egyptian government. Helped establish the Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice political party after Mubarak's removal from office. Served in the Egyptian parliament as a Brotherhood representative. Arrested in August 2013 for involvement in violent protests after the 2012 fall of the Brotherhood-led government. Sentenced to life in prison.
- 7. Osama bin Laden (*Atlantic*, *New York Times*, Long War Journal)
 - a. International terrorist. Co-founder and leader of al-Qaeda, notorious for orchestrating the September 11, 2001, attacks that killed nearly 3,000 people. Killed May 2, 2011, during a U.S. raid in Pakistan. Belonged to the Brotherhood's



chapter in the Arabian Peninsula, according to al-Qaeda co-founder Ayman al-Zawahiri. In an April 2011 message sent just a week before his death, bin Laden said groups like the Brotherhood call only for "half solutions," but there are Salafist streams within the group that recognize the truth. Bin Laden predicted that the Brotherhood would align itself with the violent jihadism of al-Qaeda, saying "the return of the Brotherhood and those like them to the true Islam is a matter of time." Following bin Laden's death in 2011, the Brotherhood in Egypt released a statement referring to bin Laden by the honorific "sheikh." The Brotherhood also praised the "resistance" in Afghanistan and Iraq, crediting bin Laden.

- 8. Amr Darrag (Independent, Atlantic Council, Arabi21, Al-Islamiyoun)
 - a. Political leader. American-educated senior member of the Muslim Brotherhood and founding member of the Egyptian Brotherhood's outlawed Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) on whose platform Mohammed Morsi ran for president in 2012. Served as Egypt's former minister of Planning and International Cooperation during the last two months of Morsi's presidency. Retired from political work in December 2016 but told media he remained a member and supporter of the Muslim Brotherhood.
- 9. Mohammed Deif (BBC News, Washington Post)
 - a. Military leader. Leader of the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, the military wing of the Muslim Brotherhood-offshoot Hamas. Masterminded Hamas's rocket launching techniques, as well as suicide bus bombings, soldier kidnappings, and tunnel-digging techniques, according to Israeli authorities.
- 10. <u>Mahmoud Ezzat (Al Arabiya, Ahram Online, Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood's Official English web site)</u>
 - a. Political leader. Acting supreme guide of the Muslim Brotherhood. Former secretary-general of the Muslim Brotherhood who assumed the role of acting supreme guide in 2013 following the arrest of Supreme Guide Mohammed Badie. In August 2017, a Cairo criminal court accused Ezzat of planning attacks within Egypt from abroad and added his name to the country's national terror list.
- 11. <u>Talaat Fahmi</u> (<u>Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood's Official English web site</u>, <u>Middle East Eye</u>)
 - a. Political leader. Media spokesperson for the Muslim Brotherhood who referred to the Egyptian government in June 2016 as the "Zionists' henchmen." Reportedly based in Turkey and supported by the older generation of Brotherhood leaders.
- 12. Mahmoud Ghozlan [image] (Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Financial Times, Middle East Monitor, Ahram Online, Albawaba News, The New Arab)
 - a. Political leader. Member of Muslim Brotherhood Guidance Office. Previously served as secretary-general of the Brotherhood until his 2002 arrest. Released in 2005 and incarcerated again for eight months in 2007. Acted as a spokesman for the Brotherhood in 2012 and 2013. Claimed the Brotherhood would defend Brotherhood ideologue Yusuf al-Qaradawi after Dubai's police chief threatened his arrest for criticizing the United Arab Emirates' deportation of several supporters of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. Sentenced to death in Egypt in



2015, along with other Brotherhood members, for incitement to murder during anti-Brotherhood protests in August 2013. Later sentenced to life in prison after his death sentence was overturned.

- 13. Ismail Haniyeh (Reuters, Times of Israel, AccessADL)
 - a. Political leader. U.S.-designated chief of Brotherhood-offshoot Hamas's political bureau. Formerly served as deputy leader of Hamas between 2014 and 2017 and as Hamas's prime minister in Gaza between 2007 and 2014. Has called for and supported terrorist violence by Hamas and other Palestinian terrorist groups. Joined Yusuf al-Qaradawi's International Union of Muslim Scholars in 2012 in a bid to raise Hamas's international profile.
- 14. <u>Ali Khamenei</u> (*Comparative Strategy*, *Journal of Islamic and Muslim Studies*, Khamenei.ir, European Eye on Radicalization)
 - a. Political leader. Supreme leader of Iran who succeeded Ruhollah Khomeini in 1989. Heard the anti-Shah fundamentalist cleric Navvab Safavi speak at his school as a teenager. Safavi modeled his Fedayeen-e-Islam terror group after a Brotherhood subgroup and corresponded with Brotherhood leaders. Credited Safavi with engaging him in politics as he began supporting the ideology of Safavi's Fadayan-e-Islam movement, which justified terrorism against the Shah's government and its supporters. Translated two books by Brotherhood ideologue Sayyid Qutb into Persian.
- 15. <u>Ruhollah Khomeini</u> (*Journal of Islamic and Muslim Studies*, *Jewish Chronicle*, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, European Eye on Radicalization)
 - a. Political leader. Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran and its first supreme leader. The Brotherhood politically supported Khomeini's 1979 Iranian Revolution. Khomeini's Iran issued a postage stamp in 1984 commemorating the 1966 execution of Brotherhood ideologue Sayyid Qutb. In 1988, Khomeini's government unilaterally released Egyptian prisoners of war who had fought alongside Iraq in the Iran-Iraq War at the request of Brotherhood leader Shaikh Muhammad Ghazzali. In 1982, Brotherhood leader Umar Telmesani said the Brotherhood supported Khomeini politically, though Sunnis and Shiites remained religiously divided. In January 2009, Brotherhood leader Muhammad Mahdi Akef told the Mehr News Agency the Brotherhood "supports the ideas and thoughts of the founder of Islamic Republic." Akef praised Khomeini's "continuation of the Muslim Brotherhood's attitude toward fighting occupation."
- 16. Abdel Meguid Ahmed Hassan [no image] (BBC News, New York Times, New York Times)
 - a. Domestic terrorist. Member of the Muslim Brotherhood who assassinated Egyptian Prime Minister Mahmoud El Nokrashy Pasha on December 28, 1948. Hanged on April 25, 1950. Four accomplices received life sentences. Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna was shot to death shortly after the assassination by an unknown gunman in retaliation.
- 17. <u>Mahmoud Hussein</u> (<u>Hudson Institute</u>, <u>Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood's Official English web site</u>)
 - a. Political leader. Longtime member of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood who has served as the group's secretary-general since 2010. While his role as secretary-



general is reportedly contested by members of the Brotherhood's revolutionary youth, Hussein is believed to receive continued support from the group's older generation.

- 18. Mohammad Jamal Khalifa [image] (U.S. Congress, Guardian, Long War Journal)
 - a. Financier. Saudi businessman and senior Brotherhood leader married to one of Osama bin Laden's sisters. Arrested in the United States in 1994 in connection with the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. Reportedly in possession of terror training manuals and bin Laden's phone number at the time of his arrest. Held for six months and then deported to Saudi Arabia. Sentenced to death in absentia in Jordan for allegedly funding a bombing campaign. Later operated a charity in the Philippines that allegedly funneled money to the Abu Sayyaf Group and also laundered money for bin Laden. Killed in 2007 in Madagascar in mysterious circumstances.
- 19. <u>Abul Ala Maududi</u> (U.S. Army War College, <u>Dawn</u>, Great Muslims of Undivided India, Vying for Allah's Vote)
 - a. Political leader, propagandist. Islamic theologian and prolific author whose theories helped form the tenets of Qutbism, an ideology based on the teachings of deceased Muslim Brotherhood ideologue Sayyid Qutb that is believed to have influenced numerous violent extremist groups including al-Qaeda and ISIS. Founded the political Islamist group Jamaat-e-Islami (JeI) in British India in 1941. Moved to the United States in 1979 for medical care. Died in Buffalo, New York, that September.
- 20. <u>Mohamed Montasser</u> (<u>Ikhwanonline</u>, <u>German Council on Foreign Relations</u>, <u>Hudson</u> Institute, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, *Foreign Affairs*)
 - a. Political leader. Spokesman for the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt from January 2015 until December 2017. Part of the Brotherhood's youth wing, which promotes a violent response to the perceived repression of the Brotherhood. Accused the Brotherhood's old guard of an ineffective, rigid leadership style, while challenging the insistence on non-violent protests. His name is believed to be an alias and his true identity is unknown.
- 21. Khaled Meshaal (Facebook, CNN, Guardian)
 - a. Political leader. Qatar-based former chief of Brotherhood-offshoot Hamas's political bureau for 13 years. Took over Hamas's political bureau after the 2004 assassinations of Hamas co-founder Ahmed Yassin and his successor, Abdel Aziz Rantisi. Oversaw the violent Hamas takeover of the Gaza Strip in 2007 from the Palestinian Authority. Stepped down in 2017.
- 22. <u>Mohammed Morsi</u> (<u>Reuters</u>, <u>Guardian</u>, <u>Deutsche Welle</u>, <u>Reuters</u>, <u>Reuters</u>, <u>Twitter</u>, <u>Al-Monitor</u>)
 - a. Political leader. Former president of Egypt and longtime member of the Muslim Brotherhood. Removed from office in 2013. Currently serving an Egyptian prison sentence on charges relating to spying, killing of protesters, and insulting the judiciary.
- 23. Essam Mustafa [image] (U.S. Department of the Treasury, U.S. Department of the Treasury, *Telegraph*)



- a. Financier. INTERPAL trustee, co-founder and former secretary-general of the Union of Good. Formerly served as a member of the executive committee of Brotherhood-offshoot Hamas. Photographed alongside Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh in the Gaza Strip in 2014. The U.S. government designated the Saudi Arabia-based Union of Good in 2008 as "a broker for Hamas" that facilitates financial transactions between charitable organizations and the terror group. A group of Hamas leaders created the charity in 2000. Brotherhood ideologue Yusuf al-Qaradawi was among the founders of the Union of Good and its first chairman.
- 24. Omar Bakri Muhammad (BBC News, New America, *Independent*, *Daily Mail*, *New York Times*, *The National*)
 - a. Propagandist. Prominent Sunni Islamist cleric who has a long record of supporting terrorism. Former leader of U.K.-based Islamist organizations Hizb ut-Tahrir and the now proscribed al-Muhajiroun, which British officials have linked to multiple terror attacks. Has justified the murder of anyone who does not subscribe to an extreme interpretation of Islam. Influenced foreign fighters and jihadists including Michael Adebolajo and Michael Adebolawe, who murdered British soldier Lee Rigby in May 2013 in London. Rumored to have ties to al-Qaeda and has called for the group's flag to be flown over Lebanon's presidential palace. Imprisoned in Lebanon since May 2014 on terrorism charges. Reportedly joined the Brotherhood in his native Syria at a young age and radicalized through the group, by his own account. The relationship "really took off from the age of 15," according to Bakri Muhammad. Reportedly expelled from the Brotherhood in 1977.
- 25. Abd al-Rahman bin 'Umayr al-Nu'aymi (First Islamic Finance Conference Doha, Reuters, U.S. Department of the Treasury, Qaradaghi.com)
 - a. Financier. U.S.- and U.N.-sanctioned terrorist financier based in Qatar. The U.S. Department of Treasury sanctioned Nu'aymi in December 2013 for providing financial support to al-Qaeda, Lebanon-based Asbat al-Ansar, al-Qaeda in Iraq, and al-Shabaab. As a chief al-Qaeda financier, Nu'aymi has channeled millions of dollars from primarily Qatari-based donors to al-Qaeda affiliates in Yemen, Syria, Somalia, and Iraq. Nu'aymi is a co-founder of the Sheikh Eid bin Mohammed al-Thani Charity, of which Ali al-Qaradaghi was also a founding member.
- 26. Ahmed Idris Nasreddin [no image] (<u>U.S. Department of the Treasury</u>, <u>U.S. Department of the Treasury</u>)
 - a. Financier. Internationally designated financier of terrorism who was a director of Bahamas-based Bank Al Taqwa, created in 1988 with Brotherhood backing. The bank facilitated financing to al-Qaeda, Hamas, and other terror groups. The U.S. Department of the Treasury designated Nasreddin in 2002 and removed him from its financial sanctions list in 2007.
- 27. Mojtaba Mir-Lohi [image] (Al Arabiya, TRAC, Khamenei.ir, European Eye on Radicalization)
 - a. Religious leader. A.k.a. Navvab Safavi. Iranian Shiite cleric who formed the extremist group Fedayeen-e-Islam (Organization of Islamic Society) in 1946 while a theology student. The group sought to purify Iran by eliminating what it



considered impure individuals. Fedayeen-e-Islam supported Ruhollah Khomeini's vision of an Islamic republic in Iran during the 1970s and members became foot soldiers for the government after the 1979 Iranian Revolution. Safavi met with Brotherhood ideologue Sayyid Qutb in 1953. Qutb invited Safavi to visit Egypt and Jordan, where he met other leaders of the Brotherhood. Allegedly introduced Khomeini to the Muslim Brotherhood and influenced Khamenei toward religious extremism. Executed in 1956.

- 28. Huseyin Mustafa Peri [image] (Al-Monitor)
 - a. Foreign fighter. Turkish college dropout who began reading Brotherhood materials supplied by ISIS recruiter Ibrahim Osama. Osama then helped Peri become a foreign fighter for ISIS in Syria in 2014. Captured by Turkish forces in Syria in June 2015.
- 29. <u>Yusuf al-Qaradawi</u> (<u>Al-Monitor</u>, <u>Al Jazeera</u>, <u>Reuters</u>, <u>Reuters</u>, <u>Middle East Monitor</u>, Marefa, Twitter, Twitter, Fox News, *Guardian*, Al Jazeera, Egypt Today)
 - a. Propagandist. Qatar-based Islamist theologian and the unofficial chief ideologue of the Muslim Brotherhood. Co-founder of the International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS). Served as president of the IUMS until November 2018. Has supported jihad in Syria, as well as suicide bombings and terrorism against Americans and Israelis. Designated a terrorist by Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Egypt. Barred from entering the United States, United Kingdom, France, and Tunisia.
- 30. Ali al-Qaradaghi (Al-Monitor, Reuters, Al-Monitor, Middle East Monitor, Marefa)
 - a. Propagandist. Secretary-general of the International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS). Has publicly stated Hamas is "defending the rights of the nation" and the IUMS views Hamas "from the perspective of the Palestinian cause, which must remain the pre-eminent cause not just for the union but for all Arabs, Muslims and free humanitarians of the world." Brotherhood ideologue Yusuf al-Qaradawi handpicked Qaradaghi as secretary-general in 2010. Qaradaghi has defended Qaradawi from accusations of supporting terrorism, though both have been vocal advocates for the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas.
- 31. <u>Sayyid Qutb</u> (*The Looming Tower*, <u>Parameters: U.S. Army War College Quarterly</u>, <u>BBC News</u>, <u>Foreign Policy</u>)
 - a. Political leader. Lead theologian of the Muslim Brotherhood until his execution on August 29, 1966. Conspired with the Free Officers—a secular, nationalist, pan-Arab movement headed by Gamal Abdel Nasser—to overthrow the ruler of the British-tied Egyptian monarchy, King Farouk. Imprisoned after the Brotherhood's failed 1954 assassination attempt against Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Re-popularized the Islamic concept of *takfir*, by which Muslims serving a secular ruler are rendered apostates and thus legitimate targets of execution. His writings—particularly *Milestones* and *In the Shade of the Quran*—are believed to have inspired the leaders of future Islamist terror groups, including al-Qaeda founders Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri.
- 32. Ahmed Abdel Rahman (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington Institute for Near East Policy)



- a. Political leader. Longtime member of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and head of its Office for Egyptians Abroad in Istanbul, Turkey. Manages the affairs of exiled Brotherhood members, as well as the activities of younger leaders on the ground in Egypt.
- 33. Abdel Aziz Rantisi [image] (New York Times, Guardian)
 - a. Political leader. Co-founder of Hamas in 1987 as the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood. Assumed the Hamas leadership after the March 2004 assassination of Hamas leader and co-founder Ahmed Yassin in an Israeli airstrike. Killed in an April 17, 2004, Israeli airstrike.
- 34. Ahmad Al-Raysuni [image] (Middle East Monitor, Moroccan Times, Daily Sabah, Al Arabiya, AccessADL)
 - a. Religious leader. President of the International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS). Citizen of Morocco who has been critical of the Moroccan government and called French a dying language. Formerly served as vice president of the IUMS before becoming its president in November 2018. The IUMS includes among its members Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh. Saudi Arabia, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain added the IUMS to its collective terrorism list in February 2017 for the group's "work to promote terrorism through the exploitation of Islamic discourse, which they use as cover to carry out various terrorist activities." Replaced Yusuf al-Qaradawi as president of the IUMS in November 2018. Qaradawi first appointed Raysuni as his deputy in 2013.
- 35. Abd Al-Sabour Shahin [image] (MEMRI, MEMRI)
 - a. Academic. Professor at Cairo University who claimed that a "dirty Zionist" fabricated the September 11, 2001, attacks to justify attacking Islam. Died in 2010. Declared his support for Qaradawi's 2004 fatwa calling for the murder of U.S. civilians in Iraq. Declared that he supports Qaradawi's "Fatwa one-hundred percent, since if it were not for the occupation [the American civilians] would not be coming to Iraq...." He noted that Europeans in Iraq should be protected.
- 36. <u>Khairat el-Shater (Reuters, Reuters, Ahram Online, The National, Deutsche Welle, Wall Street Journal)</u>
 - a. Political leader. Imprisoned deputy supreme guide and a chief financier of the Muslim Brotherhood who plays a key role in policymaking and as a chief strategist, though it is unclear to what extent he currently operates from prison. The organization's first candidate for the Egyptian presidency in 2012 before he was banned from running, allowing for Mohammed Morsi to replace him and win the runoff presidential election. Arrested numerous times on charges ranging from terrorism and inciting violence against protesters to profiteering and money laundering. Imprisoned in Egypt since July 5, 2013, on charges of inciting violence in the days before Morsi's 2013 ouster and for spying for Hamas.
- 37. <u>Khalid Sheikh Mohammed</u> (*New Yorker*, *Guardian*, Long War Journal, 9/11 Commission Report)
 - a. International terrorist. Al-Qaeda operative and self-professed mastermind of the 9/11 attacks. Claims to have planned or helped to plan 30 other terrorist attacks or plots. Held at the U.S. detention center at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. His older



brother Zahed became a Brotherhood student leader at Kuwait University and inspired Sheikh Mohammed to begin attending Brotherhood-run camps in Kuwait at the age of 16.

- 38. <u>Hani al-Sibai</u> (*The National*, *Telegraph*, *Telegraph*, <u>U.S. Department of the Treasury</u>, *Guardian*)
 - a. Propagandist. U.S. and U.N.-designated Islamist preacher and recruiter located in London. The United Kingdom is legally unable to deport him because of the threat of torture or death in his native Egypt. Has provided "training and providing material support to al Qaida, as well as conspiring to commit terrorist acts," according to U.S. Treasury. Suspected of radicalizing Mohammed Emwazi, better known as the ISIS terrorist Jihadi John. Convicted of plotting terror attacks in Egypt. Previously acted as legal counsel for the Brotherhood and other Islamist groups in Egypt and allegedly tortured by Egyptian authorities for this.
- 39. <u>Yahya Sinwar</u> (<u>Times of Israel</u>, <u>Times of Israel</u>, <u>Associated Press</u>, <u>U.S. Department of State</u>, Ma'an News Agency)
 - a. Political leader. U.S.-designated senior leader of the Brotherhood-offshoot Hamas with ties to the group's political and military wings. Elected as Hamas's political chief in the Gaza Strip in February 2017, replacing then-deputy Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh. Founding member of the forerunner of the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, the military wing of Hamas. Also founded Hamas's Majd intelligence service, which targets alleged collaborators with Israel. Arrested by Israeli authorities in 1988 for murdering Palestinian collaborators with Israel, and for his role in the capture and murder of two Israeli soldiers. Sentenced in 1989 to four life sentences. Released in October 2011 as part of a prisoner swap of 1,000 Hamas prisoners for kidnapped Israeli soldier Gilad Shalit.
- 40. Mohamed Taha Wahdan (Sasa Post, Hudson Institute, Youm7, Ahram Online,
 - a. Political leader. Member of the Muslim Brotherhood's Guidance Office. Sentenced to three years in prison in May 2015 for his role in a July 2013 raid on the Ismailiya police station in protest of the military coup against Egypt's Brotherhood-led government. Charged in May 2015 while in prison with membership in a banned organization and incitement to violence.
- 41. Ahmed Yassin [image] (Twitter, Twitter, Council on Foreign Relations, CNN)
 - a. Political leader. Co-founder of Hamas in 1987 as the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood. Convicted in 1989 of ordering Hamas to kidnap and kill two Israeli soldiers. Released from prison in 1997. Killed in a March 2004 Israeli airstrike.
- 42. Abd al-Majeed al-Zindani (*New York Times*, U.S. Department of the Treasury, U.S. Department of the Treasury, U.N. Security Council, Al-Monitor)
 - a. Financier. U.S.- and U.N.-designated recruiter and fundraiser for al-Qaeda and a reported "one-time mentor of Osama bin Laden," according to the *New York Times*. The U.S. Treasury accuses al-Zindani of actively recruiting for al-Qaeda training camps and playing a "key role" in purchasing weapons for the terror group and of financially supporting Muslim Brotherhood-offshoot Hamas. Provided "direct support to terrorism" and has directly influenced al-Qaeda



leaders, according to the United Nations. Co-founded Yemen's al-Islah (Reform) party, the local political arm of the Muslim Brotherhood.

- 43. <u>Ayman al-Zawahiri</u> (<u>BBC News</u>, <u>U.S. Department of State</u>, <u>Daily News Egypt</u>, <u>Jerusalem Post</u>)
 - a. Political leader. Co-founded al-Qaeda with Osama bin Laden in 1988. Previously joined the then-outlawed Brotherhood as a teenager in Egypt, for which he was arrested at age 15. Went on to join the Egyptian Islamic Jihad (EIJ) in 1973. Arrested with other EIJ members in 1981 for the assassination of President Anwar al-Sadat. Condemned Egypt's crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood in 2014 and called on followers to kidnap Westerners. Zawahiri's brother Muhammad al-Zawahiri reportedly colluded with then-Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi in 2012.

Terrorist Organizations

- 1. Al-Qaeda (Frontline, BBC News, BBC News, U.S. Congress)
 - a. Terrorist organization. Transnational jihadist network that seeks to establish a caliphate (global Muslim state) under *sharia*. Believes it is fighting a "defensive jihad" against the United States and its allies, defending Muslim lands from the "new crusade led by America against the Islamic nations...." Most notoriously responsible for the multiple attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, that killed nearly 3,000 people. Brotherhood Supreme Guide Mohammed Badie gave a 2010 sermon that paralleled the 1996 al-Qaeda declaration targeting the West, calling for resistance through "jihad and sacrifice and by raising a jihadi generation that pursues death just as the enemies pursue life." Several al-Qaeda leaders have also passed through the Brotherhood, including Osama bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri, and Khalid Sheikh Mohamed.
- 2. Fedayeen-e-Islam [image] (Jewish Chronicle, TRAC, Al Arabiya)
 - a. Terrorist organization. Iranian fundamentalist group founded in 1945 by Navvab Safavi. Supported Ruhollah Khomeini's calls for the creation of an Iranian Islamic republic in the 1970s and acted as foot soldiers during the 1979 Iranian Revolution. Members went on to serve in the Iranian government.
- 3. <u>Hamas (Reuters, U.S. Department of State, Al-Monitor, BBC News, BBC News, Public Safety Canada)</u>
 - a. Terrorist organization. Muslim Brotherhood offshoot based in the Gaza Strip and Qatar. Designated as a terrorist organization by United States, European Union, Australia, and multiple other countries. Responsible for dozens of suicide bombings, shootings, and rocket attacks that have killed U.S. and Israeli citizens. Calls for the destruction of Israel and the creation of an Islamic Palestinians state in its place. International Union of Muslim Scholars Secretary-General Ali al-Qaradaghi has said Hamas is "defending the rights of the nation" and the IUMS views Hamas "from the perspective of the Palestinian cause, which must remain



the pre-eminent cause not just for the union but for all Arabs, Muslims and free humanitarians of the world."

4. ISIS (The New Arab, Al-Monitor, Jerusalem Post)

a. Terrorist organization. ISIS has publicly scorned the Brotherhood as a "devastating cancer" devoted to the religion of democracy rather than Allah. Despite their operational differences, the Brotherhood has provided the platform used to indoctrinate young men into Islamism and a bridge for recruits to graduate into the more violent Islamism of ISIS. Factions within the groups have also supported each other based on shared goals, common enemies, and support for a united Islamist front.

5. Nusra Front (Jabhat Fateh al-Sham) (*The National*, Reuters)

a. Terrorist organization. Syrian rebel group dedicated to replacing President Bashar al-Assad's government with an Islamist regime. Nusra Front leader Abu Muhammad al-Golani has been critical of the Brotherhood for deviating from traditional Islamic teachings, yet the Nusra Front has been documented using materials from the Brotherhood in the group's religious indoctrination program. The Brotherhood defended the Nusra Front in 2012 after the United States labeled the group a terrorist organization, calling the designation "very wrong and too hasty" given what he called the "grey atmosphere" at the time in Syria.