

Muslim Brotherhood

Name: Muslim Brotherhood

Type of Organization:

- Non-state actor
- political
- religious
- social service provider
- transnational

Ideologies and Affiliations:

- Islamist
- jihadist
- pan-Islamist
- Qutbist
- Sunni
- takfirist

Place of Origin:

Ismailia, Egypt

Year of Origin:

1928

Founder(s):

Hassan al-Banna

Places of Operation:

Egypt; Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated groups operate in Algeria, Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Libya, Morocco, the Palestinian territories, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen.

Overview

*Also Known As:*¹

- Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimeen
- Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin
- Gamaat al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin
- Ikhwan
- Muslim Brethren
- Muslim Brothers
- Society of Muslim Brothers

Executive Summary

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. While these branches operate under a variety of names and use a variety of social, political, and occasionally violent methods, they share a commitment to the overarching goal of establishing rule according to sharia. The most notable and lethal Brotherhood offshoot is [Hamas](#) [1], the Palestinian terror group operating out of the Gaza Strip. Some analysts also argue that the Brotherhood has served as the ideological forerunner of modern violent Islamist groups such as [al-Qaeda](#) [2] and [ISIS](#) [3]. The group has been labeled a terrorist organization by the governments

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of Bahrain,² Egypt,³ Russia,⁴ Saudi Arabia,⁵ Syria,⁶ and the United Arab Emirates.⁷

Founded in 1928 by schoolteacher [Hassan al-Banna](#) [4] in Ismailia, Egypt, the Brotherhood began as a pan-Islamist religious and social movement, building popular support through *dawa* (proselytization), political activism, and social welfare. Alongside its political and social activities, the Brotherhood operated an underground violent group—the “secret apparatus”—dedicated to the eradication of British rule in Egypt and of the Jewish presence in Palestine.

The Egyptian Brotherhood’s growth spurred the formation of affiliates in nearby countries such as Syria and Jordan. Dissemination of written works by [Sayyid Qutb](#) [5], one of the leading Brotherhood ideologues in the 1950s and 1960s, prompted further Brotherhood growth across the Arabian Peninsula, Palestinian territories, and Africa. As Zachary Laub of the Council on Foreign Relations writes, Qutb’s writings “provided the intellectual and theological underpinnings for many militant Sunni Islamist groups, including al-Qaeda and Hamas.”⁸ Indeed, Qutb’s writings helped inform the Islamist ideology known as Qutbism, which advocates violent jihad—and the killing of secular Muslims—in order to implement sharia.

The Brotherhood has survived in Egypt despite several waves of repression by the Egyptian government. Repressive measures have included legal prohibition of the group and imprisonment and execution of large numbers of Brotherhood members, including Qutb, whom the Egyptian government executed in 1966 for his part in the conspiracy to assassinate then-President Gamal Abdel Nasser. The Egyptian Brotherhood also benefitted from intermittent periods of toleration by the government, during which the group continued its social, religious, economic, and political activities, building up organizational strength unmatched by any other Egyptian opposition group. In addition, the group’s unofficial ideologue, Egyptian cleric [Yusuf al-Qaradawi](#) [6], has been unrestrained in delivering sermons and issuing militant *fatwas* (religious decrees) from his pulpit in Qatar.

As the Arab Spring came to a head in 2011, the Brotherhood’s resilience and robust infrastructure left it well placed to capitalize on shifting political landscapes in Egypt and elsewhere in the Middle East and North Africa. Several Brotherhood chapters formed political parties and performed well in their respective countries’ elections, particularly in Egypt with the Freedom and Justice Party, which ran senior Brotherhood official [Mohammed Morsi](#) [7] as its candidate for president.⁹ In Tunisia, Ennahdha won the first elections after former President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali’s ouster.¹⁰

Morsi served as president of Egypt between June 2012 and July 2013, though his government alienated much of the population due to perceptions that it governed poorly and overreached—including through the group’s attempts to rush through changes to the Egyptian constitution. In July 2013, after months of mass protests against the Brotherhood-led government, the Egyptian military overthrew Morsi and seized power, calling for new presidential and parliamentary elections and arresting Morsi and hundreds of Brotherhood officials and members on various charges. Egypt’s military-run government, led by President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, has sought to uproot the Brotherhood entirely.¹¹

Since Morsi’s ouster, an ideological and strategic rift has widened between the Egyptian Brotherhood’s older and younger generations. While the older generation—known as the “old guard”—reiterates its platform of non-violence and hopes that the military regime will collapse due to economic decline or an internal coup, for example, the younger generation has adopted increasingly jihadist rhetoric and resorts to low-level violence in pursuit of the overthrow of the Sisi regime.¹²

Ever since early 2017, U.S. President Donald Trump has considered designating the Brotherhood as a terrorist organization. The U.S. government has examined a possible designation several times, and Trump recently reinvigorated debate surrounding the issue after meeting with President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi on April 9, 2019.¹³ In a private meeting, Sisi reportedly urged Trump to join Egypt in branding the movement as a terrorist organization.¹⁴ Following Sisi’s visit, the White House directed national security and diplomatic officials to investigate potential sanctions against the group. However, critics of the designation claim that the Brotherhood does not meet the legal criteria for the designation and that such a designation could complicate relations with countries where Brotherhood-linked groups have a role in politics and government.¹⁵ As of September 2019, the Muslim Brotherhood is still not designated as a terrorist organization.

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Doctrine:

The Muslim Brotherhood was founded in 1928 to revive the caliphate, following the abolition of the Ottoman Empire by the Turkish Republic four years earlier.¹⁶ Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna rejected the phenomenon of Western-style nationalism and espoused an ideology of “pan-Islamic nationalism” in the hopes of bringing back the caliphate.¹⁷

“Islam does not recognize geographical boundaries, nor does it acknowledge racial and blood differences, considering all Muslims as one Umma (global community of Muslims). The Muslim Brethren (Muslim Brotherhood)... 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...”¹⁸ -Hassan al-Banna

Banna was concerned with what he considered the greatest threat to Islam: the rise of secularism and Western culture in Muslim societies. To counter this danger, Banna began dawa (proselytization) in schools, mosques, and coffee houses, spreading his pan-Islamist ideology and emphasizing the need to return to sharia.¹⁹

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Brotherhood’s most notable theorist, Sayyid Qutb, promoted jihad as an offensive force to be used against secular Arab governments.²⁰ Qutb argued that Muslim societies living under these governments existed in a state of *jahiliyya*, similar to Arabia’s pagan existence prior to the divine message of the Islamic prophet Muhammad. According to Qutb, this affliction could only be corrected by the implementation of sharia, brought about by offensive jihad and the killing of secular state officials.²¹ Indeed, Qutb helped to re-popularize the Islamic concept of *takfir*, by which Muslims serving a secular ruler are rendered apostates and thus legitimate targets for execution.²²

In the 1990s, the late Mohammad Ma’mun al-Hudaibi—who served as the Brotherhood’s supreme guide between 2002 and 2004—expounded upon the Brotherhood’s ideology in an interview with the Harvard International Review. Hudaibi stated that in a caliphate envisioned by the Brotherhood, daily life would be governed by Islamic teachings as interpreted by Islamic judges, with no need for a state’s rulers to impose man-made or “general laws.”²³

Hudaibi stressed that the holistic, Islam-centered caliphate was shattered by Western and Christian imperialism, including Britain’s rule over Egypt in the 19th and 20th centuries. While Muslim peoples eventually liberated themselves from Western rule, they were unable to reclaim the Islamic governance under which they had previously lived.²⁴ Therefore, Hudaibi explained, in order to repair society after its purported deterioration into Western imperialism, “Movements of Islamic revival became active to spread the correct Islamic ideas and to demand the application of the rulings of the Islamic Shari’ah...”²⁵ Among these movements was the Muslim Brotherhood. Since, according to the Brotherhood, the lack of holistic Islamic governance is the “problem,” the Brotherhood’s longstanding slogan has been that “Islam is the solution.”²⁶

Two Pillars

The Brotherhood has two pillars articulated by Hudaibi and published on the group’s website: 1) “The introduction of the Islamic Shari’ah as the basis controlling the affairs of state and society” and 2) “Work to achieve unification among the Islamic countries and states, mainly among the Arab states, and liberating them from foreign imperialism.”²⁷

According to Hudaibi, the Brotherhood seeks to re-establish Islamic governance from the bottom up by building a “popular base that believes in the Islamic system and is aware of its main ideas.”²⁸

The Brotherhood has built this popular base through grassroots efforts, including not only political organizing and religious indoctrination but also, most notably in Egypt, provision of health care, education, and other social welfare goods and services that governments often fail to deliver satisfactorily. In Egypt and elsewhere, the Brotherhood has used this popular base to obtain increased political representation and power through democratic processes, despite the group’s

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ultimate political goal of un-democratic, Islamist rule.²⁹

The Brotherhood seeks to implement its vision in stages. Banna promoted the gradualist construction of the Muslim individual, the Muslim family, the Muslim community, and finally the Muslim government, or Islamic State, which Banna believed would bind all Muslims to God.³⁰ Banna stressed that the Muslim Brotherhood was uninterested in revolutionary tactics, and instead operated with a slow and steady approach. Article 4, section 2 of the Brotherhood's 1945 basic regulations stated, "The Brethren [Brothers] will always prefer gradual advancement and development."³¹

According to the Brotherhood's official English website, Ikhwanweb, Banna would warn the Brotherhood members "who were looking for fast results that they would either have to learn to be patient and persevering or leave the movement."³² Today, the Brotherhood is split between the old guard that champions this strategy, and the younger generation that has voiced and demonstrated its support for a revolutionary approach using violent means.³³

Organizational Structure:

The Brotherhood's International Organization

The Brotherhood's International Organization is reportedly comprised of the group's global affiliates, which operate in at least 18 countries, including Egypt.³⁴ Former Brotherhood Deputy Supreme Guide Mohamed Habib told Egyptian newspaper Al-Ahrrar in 2008 that global Brotherhood affiliates share "the same ideology, principle, and objectives" as the Egyptian branch, but operate in a "decentraliz[ed]" fashion in order to respond to the unique challenges and contexts that each entity confronts.³⁵ Brotherhood scholars suggest that the International Organization is loose and often ineffective, as domestic circumstances outweigh each affiliate's loyalty to the larger global apparatus. In addition, there is believed to be little formal coordination between global affiliates.³⁶

There is disagreement as to the overall leader of the International Organization. While some reports name imprisoned Egyptian Brotherhood Supreme Guide [Mohammed Badie](#) [8] as the Organization's leader,³⁷ others indicate that it is led by the London-based Ibrahim Mounir.³⁸

Organizational Structure in Egypt

The Egyptian Brotherhood's leadership structure is hierarchical, designed to ensure each leader's commitment and adherence to the group's ideology, religious practice, and general beliefs. The supreme guide (murshid)—acting as the group's primary governor—oversees the Guidance Office (maktab al-irshad), which consists of 15-20 members. Each member of the Guidance Office is responsible for overseeing an area of interest, such as education, politics, and recruitment.³⁹

The Shura Council—the next rung down in the leadership hierarchy—is reportedly comprised of 100 Brothers. It is responsible for electing the members of the Guidance Office and voting on issues such as Brotherhood participation in various facets of Egyptian life.⁴⁰ In addition, each region operates an administrative council similar to the larger Shura Council. Regions are comprised of usras (families), which include approximately five Brothers.⁴¹

Power Balance in Egypt

During Mohammed Morsi's presidency from June 2012 to July 2013,⁴² Brotherhood Deputy Supreme Guide [Khairat el-Shater](#) [9] and Supreme Guide Mohammed Badie—now both imprisoned—were believed to largely oversee Morsi's political maneuvers and strategic decisions.⁴³ For example, every proposal made by Morsi—down to every word—had to reportedly be approved by Shater. In addition, Morsi regularly greeted Badie by kissing his hand, a gesture common among Brotherhood members to show obedience to a more powerful leader.⁴⁴

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Following Morsi's July 2013 ouster, Sisi's crackdown on the Brotherhood resulted in the imprisonment or execution of many of the group's leaders and members. Those who managed to escape fled to Turkey and Qatar.⁴⁵

Without coherent leadership, the Brotherhood has grown increasingly factionalized. In particular, ideological and tactical rifts have widened between the movement's older and younger generations.⁴⁶ The Brotherhood's youth have reportedly grown impatient with the old guard's gradualist approach, and have called for revolutionary and violent tactics against Egyptian authorities.⁴⁷ Younger members have carried out such violence, targeting authorities and infrastructure in small scale attacks including the use of Molotov cocktails, for example.⁴⁸

In February of 2014, the Egyptian Brotherhood held internal elections, replacing 65 percent of its older leaders overwhelmingly with younger, more revolutionary individuals. The elections led to the formation of the Crisis Management Committee—headed by Brotherhood member Mohamed Taha Wahdan—tasked with managing events on the ground in Egypt. Wahdan, loyal to the younger revolutionaries, is believed to have overseen the Brotherhood's rank and file in Egypt before his May 2015 arrest.⁴⁹ In April of 2015, Brotherhood members exiled in Istanbul created the Office for Egyptians Abroad—under the chairmanship of Brotherhood member Ahmed Abdel-Rahman—to organize the Brotherhood's leaders in exile and strengthen the struggle against President Sisi's military government.⁵⁰

As of 2016, the Brotherhood remains split between the old guard and the younger revolutionaries. The acting supreme guide, [Mahmoud Ezzat](#) [10], is a member of the old guard, though his leadership role is disputed by members of the younger generation. These members are also believed to hold important leadership positions.⁵¹

Financing

During Morsi's year-long presidency, the Muslim Brotherhood is believed to have received large sums of money from the Qatari government. Qatar reportedly loaned Morsi's government approximately \$2.5 billion, and aided Morsi's regime with grants and so-called "energy supplies," according to Reuters.⁵² Also during Morsi's presidency, Qatar's Sheikh Hamad bin Jasim bin Jaber Al Thani reportedly secretly transferred funds as high as \$850,000 to the Brotherhood.⁵³ Numerous transfers of money between Al Thani and top Brotherhood leaders reportedly occurred in early-mid 2013.⁵⁴

In addition to relying on outside funding, the Brotherhood owns valuable assets and sources of income in the countries in which it operates. In Egypt, the group collects taxes and fees from approximately 600,000 members,⁵⁵ and many Brotherhood leaders own commercial enterprises such as supermarkets and furniture stores which largely profit the Brotherhood.⁵⁶

Western groups affiliated with the Brotherhood are believed to set up vast 'charity' and fundraising operations within their local Muslim communities, sending all collected money back to larger Brotherhood operations in Egypt and Syria.⁵⁷ Other reports suggest that Muslim Brotherhood members living in Europe are often involved in money-laundering schemes launched to finance Brotherhood activities.⁵⁸

The government of Saudi Arabia financially supported the Brotherhood for decades but reduced its funding after the Brotherhood supported Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait in 1990.⁵⁹

Throughout its nearly nine-decade history, the Brotherhood has at times imposed *jizya* (a tax for non-Muslims) on Christians and other religious minorities.⁶⁰

Recruitment:

The Egyptian Brotherhood's recruitment process is tailored to prevent security officials from penetrating the group. According to Eric Trager in *Foreign Affairs*, local Brotherhood leaders scout potential members "at virtually every Egyptian

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University.”⁶¹ The members approach potential recruits in a non-political context and engage in activities such as tutoring or soccer. Recruiters do not initially reveal themselves as Brotherhood members. According to Khaled Hamza, an editor of the Brotherhood’s English-language website, the recruitment process can last up to a year. Hamza notes, “We are an ideological grass-roots group, and we use our faith to pick members.” In some cases, children as young as nine are targeted as recruits. The children of Brotherhood members are often exposed to Brotherhood activities at an early age.⁶²

The Syrian Muslim Brotherhood expanded its recruitment activities amidst the chaos of the Syrian civil war, setting up recruitment offices and urging members living in large Syrian cities to return to local communities and reconnect with the people there. A Syrian Brotherhood member familiar with recruitment told the Carnegie Endowment in 2013, “[there is a] real thirst for the Muslim Brotherhood inside Syria.” The Syrian Brotherhood found success in recruiting members from rebel-held areas of Syria, especially in and near Aleppo.⁶³

Training:

Physical Training

Because the Muslim Brotherhood does not have a military arm, the group does not carry out military training. However, a 2012 piece in *Der Spiegel* quoted a former Brotherhood member as saying that there are training camps in Egypt that train Brotherhood members in “hand-to-hand combat,” a claim that the Brotherhood reportedly denies.⁶⁴

In 1940, the Egyptian Brotherhood launched Nizam al-Khass, or the “secret apparatus,” largely in response to the failure of the Arab uprising in Palestine (1936-1939). The military wing was composed of civilians with varying degrees of paramilitary training.⁶⁵ It carried out numerous assassinations and bombings that concluded in the 1948 murder of Egyptian Prime Minister Mahmoud an-Nuqrashi Pasha, who had recently banned the Brotherhood.⁶⁶ During the 1952 Egyptian revolution that brought Gamal Abdel Nasser to power, members of the secret apparatus blocked the infiltration of British troops into the Suez Canal zone and secured the highway between Cairo and Ismailia.⁶⁷

Ideological Training

The Egyptian Brotherhood’s ideological training process consists of a series of stages during which members’ philosophical beliefs are monitored, shaped, and tested. In the preliminary stage, which can last from six months to four years, Brotherhood members closely observe the new recruit’s ideology. The recruit is referred to as a *muhibb*, or “lover.”⁶⁸

If the *muhibb*’s ideology proves developed and sturdy, the *muhibb* enters an *usra*, or “family” of approximately four or five Brotherhood members. The *usra* meets once a week and serves to educate and strengthen the ideology of the *muhibb*. After graduating from the *usra*, the *muhibb* becomes a *mu’ayyad*, or “supporter,” a stage that lasts from one to three years. Although the *mu’ayyad* cannot yet vote within the Brotherhood structure, he can preach, teach in mosques, and recruit new *muhibb*-level candidates. A *mu’ayyad* also has the responsibility of studying Hassan al-Banna’s texts.⁶⁹

After graduating from the *mu’ayyad* stage, the member become a *muntasib*, or “affiliated” individual. After one year at *muntasib* status, the Brother graduates to become a *muntazim*, or “organizer.” The *muntazim* stage generally lasts one year, and the individual is responsible for forming *usra* groups as well as memorizing of the Quran. A *muntazim* is regularly presented with false accusations and information to test his loyalty under pressure. In the final stage, the *muntazim* becomes an *akh-’amil*, “working brother,” and has the right to vote in Brotherhood elections and compete within the leadership hierarchy.⁷⁰

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³ Kareem Fahim, “Egypt, Dealing a Blow to the Muslim Brotherhood, Deems It a Terrorist Group,” *New York Times*, December 25, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/26/world/middleeast/egypt-calls-muslim-brotherhood-a-terrorist-group.html> [17].

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⁶ “The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 14, 2015, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis?fa=48370> [21].

⁷ Adam Schreck, “UAE backs Saudis with Muslim Brotherhood blacklist,” Associated Press, March 9, 2014, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/uae-backs-saudis-muslim-brotherhood-blacklist> [22].

⁸ Zachary Laub, “Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” Council on Foreign Relations, last modified January 15, 2014, <http://www.cfr.org/egypt/egypts-muslim-brotherhood/p23991> [23].

⁹ “Muslim Brotherhood-backed candidate Morsi wins Egyptian presidential election,” Fox News, June 24, 2012, <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2012/06/24/egypt-braces-for-announcement-president/> [24].

¹⁰ “Ennahda wins Tunisia’s elections,” Al Jazeera, October 28, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/10/2011102721287933474.html> [25].

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Key Leaders



Mahmoud Ezzat
Acting supreme guide



Mahmoud Hussein
Secretary general of Egyptian chapter



Yusuf al-Qaradawi
Egyptian Qatar-based intellectual and spiritual leader



Ibrahim Mounir
Leader of the Brotherhood's international organization, based in the United Kingdom



Mohamed Montasser
Media spokesman in Cairo



Talaat Fahmi
Spokesman



Ahmed Abdel Rahman
Head of the Egyptian Brotherhood's Office for Egyptians Abroad



Amr Darrag
Senior Muslim Brotherhood member, former Freedom and Justice Party minister, former secretary-general of Egypt's Constituent Assembly



Mohamed Abdel Rahman
Head of the Higher Administrative Committee



Mohammed Morsi
Imprisoned former president of Egypt and member of the Muslim Brotherhood



Mohammed Badie
Imprisoned supreme guide of Egyptian chapter



Khairat el-Shater
Imprisoned deputy supreme guide



Mohamed Taha Wahdan
Former head of the Crisis Management Committee in Egypt, Former Chief of Education, Former Member of the Guidance Office

Muslim Brotherhood

History:

- January 2020:** Egyptian authorities accuse Hasm of seeking to disrupt the anniversary of Mubarak's overthrow by promoting fake news and spreading discord among Egyptians.
The government arrests six Hasm members accused of plotting to "target important figures and buildings as well as places of worship" and organize protests on the anniversary later that month. Egypt again accuses Brotherhood members in Turkey of orchestrating the plots and inciting the Egyptian public against the government. Sources: Agence France-Presse, "Egypt Arrests 6 Planning 'Chaos' on Uprising Anniversary," Naharnet, January 22, 2020, <http://www.naharnet.com/stories/en/268419-egypt-arrests-6-planning-chaos-on-uprising-anniversary> [75]; "Egypt expands arrest campaigns ahead of revolution anniversary," Middle East Monitor, January 23, 2020, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20200123-egypt-expands-arrest-campaigns-ahead-of-revolution-anniversary/> [76].
- October 22, 2019:** The Egyptian government arrests 22 Brotherhood members accused of causing public anger and encouraging anti-government sentiments.
The suspects are in possession of provocative posters, pepper spray, bladed weapons, and blank guns at the time of their arrest, according to police. The government accuses the Brotherhood of taking advantage of the murder of teenager Mahmoud al-Banna earlier that month. Source: *Al-Masry al-Youm*, "Egyptian authorities say 22 Brotherhood members arrested over Banna's murder," *Egypt Independent* (Cairo), October 22, 2019, <https://egyptindependent.com/egyptian-authorities-say-22-brotherhood-members-arrested-over-bannas-murder/> [77].
- September 2019:** On September 7, an Egyptian court sentences Badie and 10 other Brotherhood members to life in prison for aiding in a mass prison break during Egypt's 2011 revolution.
Eight other Brotherhood members receive 15-year sentences. On September 11, Badie and 10 other Brotherhood members are sentenced to life in prison on charges of spying in conjunction with Hamas. Sources: "Egypt sentences 11 Islamist leaders to life for spying," Associated Press, September 11, 2011, <https://apnews.com/2c101b12aefe4e0e992e396180da85f6> [78]; Samy Magdy, "Egypt court sentences 11 Islamists to life for prison breaks," Associated Press, September 7, 2019, <https://apnews.com/05c4bdc6153d4931a2d25f9755dcf9ee> [79].
- September 10, 2019:** Egyptian security forces arrest 16 suspected Muslim Brotherhood members for allegedly smuggling currency out of the country and plotting militant attacks in Egypt.
The Interior Ministry claims the suspects were collaborating with wanted Brotherhood members in Turkey to help smuggle wanted Islamists from Egypt to Europe. The Ministry also alleges that the suspects provided funds for Brotherhood members to carry out militant attacks in Egypt. Source: "Egypt Arrests 16 Suspected Muslim Brotherhood Members," *Voice of America*, September 10, 2019, <https://www.voanews.com/middle-east/egypt-arrests-16-suspected-muslim-brotherhood-members> [80].
- August 8, 2019:** Egyptian security forces carry out a search operation in Cairo, targeting Hasm militants suspected of carrying out an August 4 bombing in Cairo that killed at least 20 and wounded 47.
Security forces locate members of a Hasm cell and kill 17 of them. Sources: "Egyptian security forces kill 17 'terrorists' suspected in Cairo car blast: interior ministry," *France 24*, August 9, 2019, <https://www.france24.com/en/20190809-egypt-hasm-terrorists-suspected-cairo-car-blast-muslim-brotherhood> [81]; Jared Malsin, "Car Bomb Explosion in Cairo Kills at Least 20 People," *Wall Street Journal*, August 5, 2019, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/explosion-in-egypts-capital-kills-at-least-19-people-11564998602> [82].
- July 18, 2019:** Khairat el-Shater, the Brotherhood's supreme guide, denies charges of spying for Hamas following the 2013 coup that ousted then-president Mohamed Morsi.
According to court documents, el-Shater said he was asked by the intelligence services during Morsi's one-year tenure to meet Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh over border crossings talks. Since 2013, leaders of the now-banned Muslim Brotherhood have been convicted in myriad cases, many facing several death penalties and dozens of years in prison. Source: "Egypt: Muslim Brotherhood leader Khairat el-Shater denies spying charges in rare court statement," *Middle East Eye*, July 18, 2019, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/egypts-muslim-brotherhood-vice-chief-al-shater-talks-first-time-2013-reports> [83].
- June 17, 2019:** Mohamed Morsi, Egypt's first democratically elected president, dies after falling ill during a court hearing.
The Muslim Brotherhood accuses the Egyptian authorities of being responsible for Morsi's "deliberate slow death" due to the substandard conditions of the prison in which Morsi was detained. Source: Declan Walsh and David D. Kirkpatrick, "Mohamed Morsi, Egypt's First Democratically Elected President, Dies," *New York Times*, June 17, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/17/world/middleeast/mohamed-morsi-dead.html> [84].
- May 20, 2019:** Security forces launch a search operation in pursuit of Hasm militants who bombed a tourist bus in Cairo the day prior.
The operation kills 12 militants. The interior ministry claims that its national security forces had information that leaders of the armed Hasm group were planning "to carry out a series of attacks during the coming period to trigger chaos in the country." Source: "Egypt kills suspected fighters a day after tourist bus bombing," *Al Jazeera*, May 20, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/05/egypt-kills-suspected-fighters-day-tourist-bus-bombing-190520142349319.html> [85].
- April 17, 2019:** German officials accuse Islamic Relief Worldwide of "significant" connections to the Muslim Brotherhood, triggering concerns among politicians over the diversion of official funds to Islamists.
Source: Damien McElroy, "Germany confirms Islamic Relief ties to Muslim Brotherhood," *The National*, April 17, 2019, <https://www.thenational.ae/world/germany-confirms-islamic-relief-ties-to-muslim-brotherhood-1.850299> [86].
- April 11, 2019:** Egyptian security forces raid a terrorist hideout in the Qalioubiya province north of Cairo.
A shootout ensues and six members of the Hasm terrorist group are killed. Source: "Egypt: 17 Terrorists Killed in Arish, Qalioubiya," *Asharq Al-Awsat*, April 11, 2019, <https://aawsat.com/english/home/article/1675096/egypt-17-terrorists-killed-arish-qalioubiya> [87].
- February 20, 2019:** Egyptian authorities execute nine suspected Muslim Brotherhood members convicted of the involvement in the assassination of Egypt's top prosecutor Hisham Barakat.
In November of 2018, Egypt's top appeals court confirmed death sentences for the nine people convicted in then-chief prosecutor Barakat's murder in June 2015, when a car bomb exploded near his convoy as he drove through the capital. Source: "Egypt executes nine over 2015 murder of prosecutor Hisham Barakat," *Al Jazeera*, February 20, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/02/egypt-executes-2015-murder-prosecutor-hisham-barakat-190220114015671.html> [88].

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- **January 28, 2019:**The Muslim Brotherhood calls for the establishment of a united Egyptian opposition group abroad to regain control of Egypt from the Sisi administration.
In a statement marking the eighth anniversary of the January 25, 2011 revolution, the outlawed group claims the purpose of a unified opposition would be to liberate Egypt from military rule and to release political prisoners from incarceration. Source: "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood calls for a unified opposition," Al Jazeera, January 28, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/01/egypt-muslim-brotherhood-calls-unified-opposition-190128054410491.html> [89].
- **December 5, 2018:**An Egyptian court sentences Muslim Brotherhood leader Mohamed Badie and his deputy Khairat al-Shater to life in prison, in a retrial over violence during the overthrow of Islamist president Mohamed Morsi in 2013. The defendants faced charges of inciting violence against the demonstrators in front of the Brotherhood headquarters, aggravated battery and the possession of firearms. Source: "Egyptian court hands Muslim Brotherhood leaders life sentences: sources," Reuters, December 5, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-court/egyptian-court-hands-muslim-brotherhood-leaders-life-sentences-sources-idUSKBN1O4289> [90].
- **September 8, 2018:**An Egyptian court sentences 75 prominent members and affiliates of the Muslim Brotherhood to death, as part of a mass trial that includes 739 people charged after the violent dispersal of a protest camp in support of former Egyptian president Mohamed Morsi in 2013.
The 75 were given the death penalty for offenses ranging from murder to incitement to break the law, membership of a banned group, or being part of an illegal gathering. Among those who received death sentences were senior Muslim Brotherhood leader Essam el-Erian, politician Mohamed el-Beltagy, Salaafi preacher Safwat Hegazy, former youth minister Osama Yassin and cleric Abdel-Rahman el-Barr. The court also sentences the Muslim Brotherhood's supreme leader, Mohammed Badie, in addition to 46 others, to life in prison. Source: Adham Youssef and Ruth Michaelson, "Egypt sentences 75 Muslim Brotherhood supporters to death," *Guardian*, September 8, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/08/egypt-sentences-75-to-death-in-rabaa-massacre-mass-trial> [91].
- **August 16, 2018:**The head of the Egyptian Union of Human Rights Organizations (EUHRO), Naguib Ghobrael, reports that his organization, along with other international unions, have filed an international lawsuit against the Muslim Brotherhood over setting fire to 42 churches five years ago.
Source: "Muslim Brotherhood sued internationally over burning 42 churches," *Egypt Today*, August 16, 2018, <https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/2/56066/Muslim-Brotherhood-sued-internationally-over-burning-42-churches> [92].
- **August 2, 2018:**Egyptian security forces raid a hideout in Qalyoubia that is suspected of harboring members of the Hasm movement.
Five rebels are killed. Four of the five killed were wanted in military court cases over alleged assassination attempts targeting security officials. No information was revealed about the fifth killed person. Source: "Egypt announces extra-judicial killing of 5 members of Hasm movement," *Middle East Monitor*, August 2, 2018, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20180802-egypt-announces-extra-judicial-killing-of-5-members-of-hasm-movement/> [93].
- **February 15, 2018:**Egyptian security forces arrest former Islamist presidential candidate Abdel Moneim Aboul Fotouh on a warrant charging the 66-year-old doctor and politician with maintaining contacts with the Muslim Brotherhood and inciting to topple the government.
Source: Jacob Wirtschafter, "Egypt arrests former Brotherhood member for ties to banned group," *The National*, February 15, 2018, <https://www.thenational.ae/world/mena/egypt-arrests-former-brotherhood-member-for-ties-to-banned-group-1.705044> [94].
- **February 9, 2018:**Egyptian security forces arrest Strong Egypt's deputy leader, Mohamed Al Qassas.
Qassas is accused of being a Brotherhood member and spreading false news about the country's economic and political situation in an attempt to "disrupt public order." Source: Jacob Wirtschafter, "Egypt arrests former Brotherhood member for ties to banned group," *The National*, February 15, 2018, <https://www.thenational.ae/world/mena/egypt-arrests-former-brotherhood-member-for-ties-to-banned-group-1.705044> [94].
- **December 30, 2017:**Egyptian security forces exchange fire with three suspected militants on the outskirts of Giza.
The militants are killed in the battle. This is part of an effort by the authorities to pre-empt any attacks by militant groups ahead of Christmas and New Year celebrations and clamp down on members of Hasm, a group linked to the Muslim Brotherhood. Source: "Egypt security forces kill three suspected militants, arrest 10 others," Reuters, December 30, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-security/egypt-security-forces-kill-three-suspected-militants-arrest-10-others-idUSKBN1EO0GZ> [95].
- **August 16, 2017:**The Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan's political wing, the Islamic Action Front (IAF) and their coalition—the National Alliance for Reform—wins five of 12 seats in Amman and 25 of 48 provincial council seats.
These provincial council seats in Jordan's first ever provincial and municipal elections were established to decentralize government operations and localize decisions without interference from the central government of the kingdom. Source: "Jordan's Muslim Brotherhood claims victory in local elections," *Middle East Eye*, August 16, 2017, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/jordans-muslim-brotherhood-claims-victory-local-elections> [96].
- **May 8, 2017:**An Egyptian court sentences the Muslim Brotherhood's supreme guide, Mohammed Badie, along with two other Brotherhood members, Mahmoud Ghozlan and Hossam Abubakr, to life in prison for "planning violent attacks."
Badie and 37 others connected to the "Rabaa operations room" case are accused of conspiring to stir unrest during protests that followed the July 2013 military-led overthrow of Egypt's former president Mohamed Morsi. Source: "Egypt issues life sentence for Muslim Brotherhood chief," Al Jazeera, May 8, 2017, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/05/egypt-issues-life-sentence-muslim-brotherhood-chief-170508151622974.html> [97].
- **January 11, 2017:**The Islamic Action Front (IAF), the political wing of Jordan's Muslim Brotherhood, announces they will participate in the municipal and provincial elections at the end of the year.
The group's Shura council, its main consultative body, had decided to end a ten-year boycott of the municipal elections as provincial elections will be held in Jordan for the first time in the history of the country. Source: "Jordan Muslim Brotherhood to participate in municipal elections," *Middle East Monitor*, January 11, 2017, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20170111-jordan-muslim-brotherhood-to-participate-in-municipal-elections/> [98].
- **October 4, 2016:**Egyptian authorities announce that they have killed two Brotherhood members—Mohamed Kamal

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and Yasser Shahata Ali Ragab—in a shootout in Cairo.

The Brotherhood denies the claim, saying that the men were killed in detention. Source: “Senior Muslim Brotherhood leader killed in Egypt,” Al Jazeera, October 4, 2016, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/10/top-muslim-brotherhood-leader-killed-egypt-161004081124124.html>.

- **April 2016:**The Egyptian Brotherhood calls for mass protests to topple Sisi’s government. Its leaders release a statement: “The only solution now is to defeat and end this illegitimate coup, to reinstate democratic legitimacy, and put right all the ruinous coup’s injustices and crimes.” Source: “Egypt mobilises security forces as Brotherhood calls for mass protests,” Middle East Eye, April 25, 2016, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/security-forces-mobilise-anticipation-major-protests-egypt-2009083905>.
- **December 17, 2015:**In the culmination of an 18-month review ordered by British Prime Minister David Cameron, the Prime Minister’s Office finds that membership in the Muslim Brotherhood is “a possible indicator of extremism.” However, the U.K. does not officially designate the Brotherhood a terrorist organization. Source: Kylie Maclellan and Mahmoud Mourad, “UK review says Muslim Brotherhood membership a possible indicator of extremism,” Reuters UK, December 17, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-britain-politics-muslimbrotherhood-idUKKBN0U01A220151217>.
- **December 2015:**Brotherhood spokesman Mohammed Montasser calls on Egyptians to “bring down the military” through protests. The older leaders reject his call as contradictory to their decision-making processes. Source: Eric Trager and Marina Shalabi, “The Brotherhood Breaks Down,” *Foreign Affairs*, January 17, 2016, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/egypt/2016-01-17/brotherhood-breaks-down>.
- **November 27, 2015:**News reports reveal the Egyptian government’s plan to fire nearly 4,000 private and public sector employees for suspected affiliation with the Brotherhood. Source: “4,000 Egyptian workers to be fired on charges of affiliation with the Muslim Brotherhood,” Middle East Monitor, November 27, 2015, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/africa/22516-4000-egyptian-workers-to-be-fired-on-charges-of-affiliation-with-the-muslim-brotherhood>.
- **November 19, 2015:**Acting supreme guide [Mahmoud Ezzat](#) [99] flies out of Egypt despite warrants issued two years ago for his arrest. Source: “Brotherhood official on wanted list leaves Egypt,” Middle East Monitor, November 19, 2015, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/africa/22366-brotherhood-official-on-wanted-list-leaves-egypt>.
- **November 9, 2015:**The Cairo Criminal Court blacklists 18 high-ranking Brotherhood leaders, including [Mohammed Badie](#) [100]. Source: “Egypt blacklists 18 Muslim Brotherhood leaders,” Middle East Monitor, November 9, 2015, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/africa/22160-egypt-blacklists-18-muslim-brotherhood-leaders>.
- **November 3, 2015:**Sen. Ted Cruz (R-TX) introduces a bill calling for the U.S. to designate the Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organization. Source: “S.2230 - Muslim Brotherhood Terrorist Designation Act of 2015,” Congress.gov, November 3, 2015, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/114th-congress/senate-bill/2230/text>.
- **October 22, 2015:**Egyptian authorities arrest prominent Brotherhood businessman Hassan Malik. Source: “Egypt arrests senior Muslim Brotherhood figure,” Reuters, October 22, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-brotherhood-idUSKCN0SG2GF20151022#wGjvIKoX0siH3vB6.97>.
- **October 8, 2015:**An Egyptian court orders the release of “scores” of Brotherhood members who had been jailed for acts of violence. Source: Anadolu Agency, “Egypt court frees scores of Muslim Brotherhood members,” Middle East Eye, October 8, 2015, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/egypt-court-frees-scores-muslim-brotherhood-members-1987326320>.
- **September 25, 2015:**Nine Brotherhood members are reportedly killed in a raid by Egyptian security forces in Cairo. Source: “Egypt says police killed militants who attacked Italian consulate,” Reuters, September 25, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/09/25/us-egypt-violence-idUSKCN0RP1N820150925> [101].
- **September 15, 2015:**An Egyptian court sentences eight alleged Brotherhood members to death for the murder of two policemen and a guard during the violence following Morsi’s removal from office. Source: Associated Press, “Egypt sentences 8 alleged Muslim Brotherhood members to death over killing of police,” Fox News, September 15, 2015, <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2015/09/15/egypt-sentences-8-alleged-muslim-brotherhood-members-to-death-over-killing/> [102].
- **August 11, 2015:**The Cairo International Airport is momentarily closed following the hacking of its website by pro-Muslim Brotherhood hackers. The hackers write, “In revenge for the martyrs who have died by the bullets of the military gang and criminal Sisi since the coup, you will drown in the blood of those you have killed. We will follow you everywhere... the revolution continues and the land does not absorb blood.” The hacking occurs on the two-year anniversary of the military’s violent dispersal of the Rabaa sit-in. Source: “Muslim Brotherhood hackers briefly take over Cairo Airport website,” *Cairo Post*, August 14, 2015, <http://www.thecairopost.com/news/163991/news/muslim-brotherhood-hackers-briefly-take-over-cairo-airport-website> [103].
- **July 17, 2015:**Six Brotherhood members are killed in clashes with police in Cairo. Source: Ahmed Mohamed Hassan, “Six Muslim Brotherhood supporters killed in clashes in Cairo,” Reuters, July 17, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/07/17/us-egypt-violence-idUSKCN0PR0RA20150717> [104].
- **July 15, 2015:**Egypt’s acting prosecutor Ali Omran transfers the cases of 198 suspected Brotherhood members to the military court for “planning to target police officers and army officers in militant operations.” Source: “198 alleged Muslim Brotherhood members referred to military judiciary,” *Ahram Online*, July 15, 2015, <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/0/135473/Egypt/0/-alleged-Muslim-Brotherhood-members-referred-to-mi.aspx> [105].

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- **July 1, 2015:** Egyptian security forces kill nine Brotherhood members in a terror raid. The Brotherhood releases a statement calling Sisi a “heinous murderer.” Sources: “Muslim Brotherhood Statement on Cold-Blooded Assassination of Its Leaders Wednesday,” Ikhwan Web, July 1, 2015, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=32199> [106]; Polly Mosendz, “Muslim Brotherhood Calls for Rebellion Against Egypt’s President Following Death of Leaders,” *Newsweek*, July 1, 2015, <http://www.newsweek.com/muslim-brotherhood-calls-rebellion-against-egypts-president-following-death-349297> [107].
- **July 1, 2015:** Egyptian authorities reportedly shoot dead nine armed Brotherhood members in Cairo. The men had reportedly planned to carry out a terrorist attack. Source: “Egypt security forces kill nine ‘armed men’ in Cairo suburb,” *Al Arabiya*, July 1, 2015, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2015/07/01/Egypt-security-forces-kill-nine-armed-men-in-Cairo-suburb-.html>.
- **June 29, 2015:** A car bomb targets and kills Egypt’s top prosecutor, Hisham Barakat. The perpetrators are suspected to be Brotherhood-sympathizing Islamists. The Brotherhood’s spokesman Muhammad Muntasir later blames Barakat’s murder on Sisi’s regime. Sources: Associated Press, “Car bomb kills Egypt’s top prosecutor as Islamists seek revenge for Muslim Brotherhood crackdown,” *NY Daily News*, June 29, 2015, <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/world/car-bomb-kills-egypt-top-prosecutor-article-1.2275009> [108]; “Muslim Brotherhood holds Sisi regime responsible for assassination,” *Middle East Monitor*, June 30, 2015, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/africa/19548-muslim-brotherhood-holds-sisi-regime-responsible-for-assassination> [109].
- **June 29, 2015:** Brotherhood members backed by Hamas kill Egyptian Public Prosecutor Hisham Barakat, according to Egyptian authorities. Sources: Reuters, “Egypt arrests militants, links them to Muslim Brotherhood,” *Yahoo News*, November 4, 2016, <https://www.yahoo.com/news/egypt-arrests-militants-links-them-muslim-brotherhood-082447987.html?ref=gs>; Nour Youssef, “Egypt Says Muslim Brotherhood, Backed by Hamas, Killed Top Prosecutor,” *New York Times*, March 6, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/07/world/middleeast/egypt-says-muslim-brotherhood-backed-by-hamas-killed-top-prosecutor.html>.
- **June 14, 2015:** Egypt’s public prosecutor transfers the cases of 58 civilian Brotherhood members to the military court. Source: “Egypt prosecutor refers 58 Brotherhood supporters to military prosecution,” *Reuters*, June 14, 2015, <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/06/14/uk-egypt-brotherhood-idUKKBN00U0SP20150614> [110].
- **June 8, 2015:** Egypt recalls its U.S. ambassador amid anger over Washington’s reported meetings with Muslim Brotherhood members. Source: Arshad Mohammed, “Egypt summons U.S. ambassador over Muslim Brotherhood,” *Reuters*, June 8, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/06/09/us-egypt-usa-idUSKBN00P00920150609> [111].
- **June 2, 2015:** Egyptian authorities arrest two Brotherhood leaders amid heightened pressure on the group. Source: Associated Press, “Egypt arrests 2 Muslim Brotherhood leaders, amid divisions,” *Yahoo News*, June 2, 2015, <http://news.yahoo.com/egypt-arrests-top-muslim-brotherhood-leaders-075427497.html> [112].
- **May 28, 2015:** Egyptian security forces reportedly arrest and detain the Brotherhood’s Mohamed Taha Wahdan, a member of the group’s Guidance Office and leader of the Crisis Management Committee. Source: “Egypt detains top Muslim Brotherhood leader,” *Daily Sabah* (Istanbul), May 28, 2015, <http://www.dailysabah.com/mideast/2015/05/28/egypt-detains-top-muslim-brotherhood-leader>; Abdelrahman Ayyash and Victor J. Willi, “The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in 2016 Scenarios and Recommendations,” *German Council on Foreign Relations*, March 2016, 2, <https://dgap.org/en/article/getFullPDF/27762>.
- **May 27, 2015:** The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood posts a report on a newly created website called the Nida Al-Kinana, or “Egypt Call.” The report is signed by 159 Brotherhood clerics and 10 pro-Brotherhood religious bodies from across the Muslim world. The report refers to the Egyptian regime as “criminal and murderous” and declares that the Egyptian population must eliminate it “using the appropriate means, such as civil disobedience.” Source: “Pro-Muslim Brotherhood Clerics Call To Overthrow Al-Sisi Regime In Egypt, Restore Mursi To Presidency,” *MEMRI*, June 17, 2015, <http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/8612.htm> [113].
- **May 26, 2015:** The Egyptian government disbands 50 NGOs with links to the Muslim Brotherhood across five governorates: Behaira, Fayoum, Bani Suef, Gharbia, and Cairo. Source: “50 Muslim Brotherhood NGOs disbanded in 5 governorates,” *Ahram Online*, May 26, 2015, <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/131215/Egypt/Politics-/Muslim-Brotherhood-NGOs-disbanded-in-governorate.aspx> [114].
- **May 17, 2015:** Al-Qaradawi condemns the death sentences leveled against himself, Morsi, and over 100 Brotherhood members, calling the rulings “nonsense.” In a message broadcast on Al Jazeera in Qatar, al-Qaradawi declares, “These rulings have no value and cannot be implemented because they are against the rules of God, against the people’s law...no one will accept it.” Source: Ben Tuft, “Senior Muslim cleric Qaradawi denounces death sentences against Mohamed Morsi and Muslim Brotherhood leaders as ‘nonsense’,” *Independent* (London), May 17, 2015, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/senior-muslim-cleric-qaradawi-denounces-death-sentences-against-mohamed-morsi-and-muslim-brotherhood-leaders-as-nonsense-10256086.html> [115].
- **May 16, 2015:** An Egyptian court hands the death sentence to Morsi, Qatar-based al-Qaradawi, and over 100 Brotherhood supporters for their roles in a mass prison break in 2011. As he hears the verdict, Morsi reportedly punches his fists in the air and smiles. Sources: “Mohammed Morsi, Egypt’s ex-leader, sentenced to death,” *BBC News*, May 16, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-32763215> [116]; Michael Georgy, “Egypt’s Mursi defiant as court seeks death penalty,” *Reuters*, May 16, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/05/16/us-egypt-court-mursi-defiance-idUSKBN0010GE20150516> [117].
- **May 7, 2015:** “Hundreds” of Syrian Muslim Brotherhood members return to Syria amid the country’s ongoing civil war. The members reportedly hope to rebuild the Brotherhood movement inside Syria. Source: Dasha Afanasieva, “Banned in Syria, Muslim Brotherhood members trickle home,” *Reuters*, May 7, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/05/07/us-syria-crisis-brotherhood-idUSKBN0NR20Y20150507> [118].

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- May 2015:**The Jordanian Brotherhood's reformist offshoot, Zamzam, announces its intention to legally pursue control of the Jordanian Brotherhood's assets.
Hammam Saeed, leader of the original Brotherhood, calls Zamzam a "government conspiracy." Source: "Egyptian Prime Minister Ibrahim Mahlab speaks at a press conference in Amman on Wednesday," *Jordan Times* (Amman), May 27, 2015, <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/egyptian-prime-minister-ibrahim-mahlab-speaks-press-conference-amman-wednesday-petra> [119].
- May 2015:**Egyptian Brotherhood Secretary General Mahmoud Hussein confirms via social media that he is still the group's secretary general and that Mahmoud Ezzat is the acting supreme guide.
In response, spokesman Mohammed Montasser—loyal to the younger generation—posts to Facebook that Hussein is not the secretary general, and that the group's supreme guide remains the imprisoned Mohammed Badie. Sources: Sonia Farid, "Internal conflict: Is the Muslim Brotherhood falling apart?" *Al Arabiya*, June 2, 2015, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/analysis/2015/06/02/Internal-conflict-Is-the-Muslim-Brotherhood-falling-apart-.html>; Samuel Tadros, "The Brotherhood Divided," Hudson Institute, August 20, 2015, <http://www.hudson.org/research/11530-the-brotherhood-divided>.
- April 21, 2015:**Amr Darrag, co-founder of the Freedom and Justice Party, tells Reuters that new young leadership is taking over the Brotherhood.
He says, "It is always good to have fresh blood ... (this was) one of the blessings of the coup [Morsi's ouster]. The Muslim Brotherhood is deeply rooted in Egyptian society ... We have been there for more than 80 years. It is an establishment, not a one-man show. We are sure we will come back." Source: Humeyra Pamuk, "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood says new leaders taking over," Reuters, April 21, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/04/21/us-egypt-mursi-brotherhood-idUSKBN0NC1S020150421> [120].
- April 11, 2015:**An Egyptian court sentences Mohammed Badie and 13 other Brotherhood leaders to death for inciting violence during riots following Morsi's ouster in 2013.
Source: "Egypt sentences Muslim Brotherhood leader, others to death," Reuters, April 12, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/04/12/us-egypt-court-brotherhood-idUSKBN0N30E620150412> [121].
- April 9, 2015:**Turkey's President Erdogan says that Egypt must free Morsi and lift all death sentences for Muslim Brotherhood supporters before Ankara will "consider an improvement in relations with Cairo."
Source: Humeyra Pamuk, "Turkey's Erdogan says Egypt should free Mursi before it can restore ties," Reuters, April 9, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/04/09/us-turkey-egypt-idUSKBN0N00XY20150409> [122].
- April 8, 2015:**An Egyptian court tries an additional 279 Brotherhood members over August 2013 riots in which two policemen were killed.
The charges include vandalism and murder. Source: "Egypt to try another 379 Brotherhood members over sit-in violence," Reuters, April 8, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/04/08/us-egypt-court-idUSKBN0MZ2EY20150408> [123].
- April 2015:**A group of exiled, Istanbul-based Brotherhood members announce the establishment of the Office for Egyptians Abroad under Ahmed Abdel Rahman's leadership.
Source: Georges Fahmi, "The Struggle for the Leadership of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, July 14, 2015, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2015/07/13/struggle-for-leadership-of-egypt-s-muslim-brotherhood-pub-60678>.
- March 31, 2015:**An Egyptian court frees 68 activists including members of the Muslim Brotherhood.
Source: "'Egypt court frees 68 activists in rare move,'" Reuters, March 31, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/03/31/us-egypt-court-idUSKBN0MR1HQ20150331> [124].
- March 29, 2015:**Egypt's public prosecutor lists 18 top Brotherhood leaders as terrorists, including imprisoned Supreme Guide Mohammed Badie.
Source: "Egypt lists top Brotherhood leader, 17 others as terrorists: state media," Reuters, March 29, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/03/29/us-egypt-brotherhood-idUSKBN0MP0T620150329> [125].
- March 7, 2015:**Egypt carries out its first execution of a Muslim Brotherhood supporter, Mahmoud Hassan Ramadan, who had been imprisoned and handed the death sentence for his role in the 2013 protests following Morsi's ouster.
Ramadan had reportedly played a role in a violent incident in which children were thrown from a building. Source: "Egypt carries out first execution of Mursi supporter," Reuters, March 7, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/03/08/us-egypt-execution-islamist-idUSKBN0M30AU20150308> [126].
- February 15, 2015:**An Egyptian court charges Morsi with sharing state secrets with Qatar and endangering national security.
Two days later, it announces that Morsi will face trial in a military court alongside senior Brotherhood leaders Mohammed Badie and Khairat el-Shater. Sources: "Egyptian court puts ousted president Mursi on trial over Qatar link," Reuters, February 15, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/15/us-egypt-mursi-idUSKBN0LJ0ET20150215> [127]; "Deposed Egyptian president Mursi to face military court," Reuters, February 17, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/17/us-egypt-court-idUSKBN0LL1JX20150217> [128].
- February 2015 - March 2015:**Saudi Arabia reportedly "warms" to the Muslim Brotherhood in an attempt to bolster its Sunni coalition against Shiite rebels in Yemen.
The new Saudi king, Salman bin Abdulaziz, takes the throne in late January 2015 following the death of King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz al Saud. Salman appears sympathetic to the Brotherhood, according to reports. Sources: Yaroslav Trofimov, "Saudis Warm to Muslim Brotherhood, Seeking Sunni Unity on Yemen," *Wall Street Journal*, April 2, 2015, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/saudis-warm-to-muslim-brotherhood-seeking-sunni-unity-on-yemen-1427967884> [129]; Catherine E. Shoichet and Laura Smith-Spark, "Thousands say farewell to Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah," *CNN*, January 23, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/01/23/middleeast/saudi-arabia-king-abdullah-death/index.html> [130]; H.A. Hellyer, "The new Saudi king, Egypt and the MB," *Al-Monitor*, March 23, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/03/saudi-arabia-new-egypt-muslim-brotherhood.html#> [131].
- February 2015:**Jordanian authorities sentence Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood deputy leader Zaki Bani Rushaid to 18 months in prison for "souring ties with a foreign country" after he criticizes the United Arab Emirates on Facebook.
Source: Rana F. Sweis, "Jordan Gives Prison Term for Criticism on Facebook," *New York Times*, February 15, 2015,

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<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/16/world/middleeast/jordan-sentences-muslim-brotherhood-leader-for-facebook-post.html> [132].

- **January 31, 2015:**An Egyptian court bans Hamas's military wing, the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, and lists it as a terrorist organization.
An Egyptian appeals court retracts the designation in June 2015. Sources: Mchael Georgy, "Egyptian court bans Hamas' armed wing, lists as terrorist organization," Reuters, January 31, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/31/us-egypt-hamas-idUSKBN0L40BS20150131> [133]; Daniel Costa-Roberts, "Egyptian court overturns designation of Hamas as a terrorist group," PBS Newshour, June 6, 2015, <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/egyptian-court-overturns-designation-hamas-terrorist-group/> [134].
- **January 25, 2015:**The Brotherhood's Qatar-based ideologue and spiritual adviser Yusuf al-Qaradawi calls for protests in Egypt on the anniversary of the country's uprising against ousted president Hosni Mubarak. Al-Qaradawi declares that Morsi is Egypt's "legitimate" leader. Source: "Qatar-based cleric urges protests in Egypt on uprising's anniversary," Reuters, January 25, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/25/egypt-qatar-idUSL6NOV402Z20150125> [135].
- **January 18, 2015:**Jailed Mohammed Morsi blames the Egyptian army for deaths in the 2011 uprising that toppled Egypt's former president, Hosni Mubarak.
Source: "Egypt's Mursi accuses army of role in deaths during 2011 protest," Reuters, January 18, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/01/18/us-egypt-mursi-sisi-idUSKBN0KR0QQ20150118> [136].
- **December 2, 2014:**An Egyptian court sentences 185 Muslim Brotherhood members for attacking a police station near Cairo in 2013 in which 12 policemen died.
Source: "Egyptian court 185 to death for attack on police," Reuters, December 2, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/12/03/us-egypt-courts-death-idUSKCN0JG22B20141203> [137].
- **November 30, 2014:**An Egyptian court jails Brotherhood leaders for "insulting" the court after it announces that charges against ousted president Hosni Mubarak are dropped.
The Brotherhood members reportedly create disorder by chanting "void, void" after hearing the verdict. Source: "Muslim Brotherhood leaders jailed for insulting court a day after Mubarak verdict," Reuters, November 30, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/30/us-egypt-brotherhood-idUSKCN0JE0UH20141130> [138].
- **November 15, 2014:**The United Arab Emirates list the global Muslim Brotherhood, and some of its Western organizations (FIOE, UOIF, Cordoba Foundation, CAIR, etc.) as terrorist organizations.
Source: "UAE lists Muslim Brotherhood as terrorist group," Reuters, November 15, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/15/us-emirates-politics-brotherhood-idUSKCN0IZ0OM20141115> [139].
- **October 26, 2014:**The Brotherhood's Tunisian political party Ennahdha comes in second place—losing 16 seats—in Tunisia's parliamentary elections.
These elections follow the October 2011 elections for the national constituent assembly in which Ennahdha won a plurality of the votes. Ennahdha's leader Ali Laarayedh accepts defeat and congratulates the winning secular party. Source: Eileen Byrne, "Tunisia's Islamist party Ennahda accepts defeat in elections," *Guardian* (London), October 27, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/oct/27/tunisia-islamist-ennahda-accept-defeat-elections> [140].
- **October 2014:**The Egyptian government announces that it has paid back \$500 million of the approximately \$7.5 billion in loans that Qatar lent Morsi's government during its year in power.
Source: "Egypt has paid back \$500 million to Qatar: central bank governor," Reuters, October 11, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/11/us-egypt-qatar-deposits-idUSKCN0I009A20141011> [141].
- **September 30, 2014:**An Egyptian court hands prison terms to 68 Muslim Brotherhood members for their role in inciting deadly violence in protests following Morsi's ouster.
Source: "Egyptian court jails 68 Muslim Brotherhood supporters," Reuters, September 30, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/09/30/us-egypt-courts-brotherhood-idUSKCN0HPOZW20140930> [142].
- **September 21, 2014 - September 30, 2014:**Rumors emerge that Turkey may accept Qatar's expelled Muslim Brotherhood members.
On September 15, after returning from Qatar, Turkish President Erdogan tells the media, "If they [Muslim Brotherhood leaders] request to come to Turkey, we will review these requests case by case. If there are no reasons preventing them from coming to Turkey, we can facilitate their requests. They can come to Turkey like any foreign guest." Soon after, media report that Brotherhood leader Amr Darrag and Wagdi Ghoneim have already arrived in Turkey. Sources: Paul Alster, "Turkey may welcome Muslim Brotherhood brass after ouster from Qatar," Fox News, September 21, 2014, <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2014/09/21/turkey-may-welcome-muslim-brotherhood-brass-after-ouster-from-qatar/> [143]; "Three Muslim Brotherhood leaders arrive in Turkey after leaving Qatar," *Sunday's Zaman* (Istanbul), September 19, 2014, http://www.todayszaman.com/diplomacy_three-muslim-brotherhood-leaders-arrive-in-turkey-after-leaving-qatar_359250.html [144].
- **September 13, 2014:**Reports emerge that Qatar will expel seven senior Muslim Brotherhood members in an attempt to improve relations with neighboring Gulf states.
The Muslim Brotherhood verifies the claim. Senior Brotherhood leader Amr Darrag writes on the group's website: "Some symbols of the Muslim Brotherhood and its political wing...who were asked by authorities to move their residence outside the state of Qatar have now honored that request." He also writes that the Brotherhood leaders would relocate to "spare Qatar embarrassment." For example, Brotherhood ideologue Yusuf al-Qaradawi remains in Qatar and continues to operate freely in the country. Sources: Paul Alster, "Turkey may welcome Muslim Brotherhood brass after ouster from Qatar," September 21, 2014, <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2014/09/21/turkey-may-welcome-muslim-brotherhood-brass-after-ouster-from-qatar/> [143]; David K. Kirkpatrick, "Muslim Brotherhood Says Qatar Ousted Its Members," *New York Times*, September 13, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/14/world/middleeast/bowing-to-pressure-qatar-asks-some-muslim-brotherhood-leaders-to-leave.html?_r=0 [145]; "Qatar expels leading Muslim Brotherhood figures," Middle East Eye, September 13, 2014, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/qatar-expels-leading-muslim-brotherhood-figures-258673559> [146]; Gianluca Mezzofiore, "Turkey to Welcome Seven Muslim Brotherhood Exiles from Qatar," *International Business Times*, September 16, 2014, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/turkey-welcome-seven-muslim-brotherhood-exiles-qatar-1465700> [147].

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- **August 30, 2014:** Egypt Supreme Guide Mohammed Badie's death sentence is reduced to a life-sentence in Egyptian prison.
Source: "Badie Death Sentence Reduced to Life in Egypt," Al Jazeera, August 20, 2013, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/08/death-sentence-badie-reduced-life-20148305040329928.html> [148].
- **April 28, 2014:** An Egyptian court sentences Muslim Brotherhood Supreme Guide Mohammed Badie and 628 other Brotherhood members to death for violence and killing policemen.
The court also upholds death sentences for 37 of the 529 Brotherhood members sentenced to death in March, with the rest of the sentences commuted to life imprisonment. Source: "Brotherhood leader Badie among 683 members sentenced to death by Egypt court," *The National* (Abu Dhabi), April 28, 2014, <http://www.thenational.ae/world/middle-east/brotherhood-leader-badie-among-683-members-sentenced-to-death-by-egypt-court#ixzz33DGSYsah> [149].
- **March 31, 2014:** British Prime Minister David Cameron announces an investigation into the Muslim Brotherhood, including both its activities in Egypt and its conduct in the United Kingdom.
The investigation will be carried out by Britain's domestic and foreign intelligence agencies, while British ambassador to Saudi Arabia is tasked with a report on the Brotherhood's "philosophy and values and alleged connections with extremism and violence." Cameron places the investigation in the context of his government's counter-extremism activities, stating, "We want to challenge the extremist narrative that some Islamist organisations have put out... What I think is important about the Muslim Brotherhood is that we understand what this organisation is, what it stands for, what its beliefs are in terms of the path of extremism and violent extremism, what its connections are with other groups, what its presence is here in the United Kingdom. Our policies should be informed by a complete picture of that knowledge. It is an important piece of work because we will only get our policy right if we fully understand the true nature of the organisation that we are dealing with." Source: Kareem Fahim and Mayy El Sheikh, "Egyptian Officials Point at Islamist Group After Blast at Police Building," *New York Times*, December 24, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/25/world/middleeast/egypt-car-bomb.html> [150].
- **March 24, 2014:** An Egyptian court sentences 529 members of the Brotherhood to death.
Source: Asma Alsharif, "Egyptian court sentences 529 Brotherhood members to death," Reuters, March 24, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/03/24/us-egypt-brotherhood-courts-idUSBREA2N0BT20140324> [151].
- **March 9, 2014:** The United Arab Emirates announces support for the designation of the Brotherhood as a terrorist organization by Saudi Arabia.
Source: Adam Schreck, "UAE backs Saudis with Muslim Brotherhood blacklist," Associated Press, March 9, 2014, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/uae-backs-saudis-muslim-brotherhood-blacklist>.
- **March 7, 2014:** Saudi Arabia declares the Brotherhood a terrorist organization, although does not take official measures against its members.
Source: David D. Kirkpatrick, "Saudis Put Terrorist Label on Muslim Brotherhood," *New York Times*, March 7, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/08/world/middleeast/saudis-put-terrorist-label-on-muslim-brotherhood.html> [152].
- **March 5, 2014:** Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain withdraw their respective ambassadors from Qatar, claiming Qatar has involved itself in their internal affairs and endangered security in the region through its support for the Muslim Brotherhood.
Source: Phillip Walter Wellman, "3 Gulf States Withdraw Ambassadors from Qatar," Voice of America, March 5, 2014, <http://www.voanews.com/content/saudi-arabia-bahrain-uae-withdraw-ambassadors-from-qatar/1864426.html> [153].
- **December 25, 2013:** The Egyptian government designates the Brotherhood a terrorist organization, making it a crime to join or support the group.
Source: Kareem Fahim, "Egypt, Dealing a Blow to the Muslim Brotherhood, Deems It a Terrorist Group," *New York Times*, December 25, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/26/world/middleeast/egypt-calls-muslim-brotherhood-a-terrorist-group.html>.
- **December 24, 2013:** Following a car bombing of a police building in the city of Mansoura, the Egyptian government blames the attack on the Brotherhood.
Source: Kareem Fahim and Mayy El Sheikh, "Egyptian Officials Point at Islamist Group After Blast at Police Building," *New York Times*, December 24, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/25/world/middleeast/egypt-car-bomb.html> [150].
- **September 23, 2013:** An Egyptian court issues a ruling to dissolve the Brotherhood and seize its assets.
David D. Kirkpatrick, "Egyptian Court Shuts Down the Muslim Brotherhood and Seizes Its Assets," *New York Times*, September 23, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/24/world/middleeast/egyptian-court-bans-muslim-brotherhood.html>.
- **August 2013:** Egypt's military arrests many senior Brotherhood leaders, including the Brotherhood's Supreme Guide Mohammed Badie.
Source: Matthias Gebauer, "Battling the Islamists: Egypt Risks Further Radicalization," *Der Spiegel* (Hamburg), August 20, 2013, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/muslim-brotherhood-leader-mohammed-badie-arrested-in-egypt-a-917597.html> [154].
- **August 14, 2013:** The Egyptian military-backed interim government raids and breaks up camps of Brotherhood supporters, known as the Rabaa sit-in.
Hundreds of people are killed and thousands are injured. In retaliation, Brotherhood supporters loot and burn churches and police stations. The interim government declares a month-long state of emergency. Source: David D. Kirkpatrick, "Hundreds Die as Egyptian Forces Attack Islamist Protestors," *New York Times*, August 14, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/15/world/middleeast/egypt.html?_r=0 [155].
- **July 3, 2013:** The Egyptian military removes Morsi from power, suspends the constitution, and calls new elections for the presidency and Shura Council.
Brotherhood supporters take to the streets and engage in protests and sit-ins. Source: Abigail Hauslohner, William Booth, and Sharaf al-Hourani, "Egyptian military ousts Morsi, suspends constitution," *Washington Post*, July 3, 2013, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/egypts-morsi-defiant-under-pressure-as-deadline-looms/2013/07/03/28fda81c-e39d-11e2-80eb-3145e2994a55_story.html [156].

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- July 2013:** A reformist initiative called the Zamzam movement breaks away from the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood. Zamzam commits to the Brotherhood's Islamist ideals, but opposes the traditionalists' focus on regional issues over Jordanian affairs. Sources: Taylor Luck, "In Jordan, the Muslim Brotherhood is the master of its own demise," *National* (Abu Dhabi), March 22, 2015, <http://www.thenational.ae/opinion/in-jordan-the-muslim-brotherhood-is-the-master-of-its-own-demise> [157]; Osama Al Sharif, "Jordan takes sides in Islamist rift," *Al-Monitor*, May 12, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/05/jordan-government-side-muslim-brotherhood-society-split.html> [158].
- November 2012 - July 2013:** Hundreds of thousands of Egyptians join the Tamarod grassroots movement in its protest against Morsi's actions and the actions of his government, including attacks on demonstrators and prosecutions of journalists. By July 2013, the Tamarod movement has collected more than 22 million signatures on a petition demanding that Morsi resign and call for early elections. Sources: Stephanie McCrummen and Abigail Hauslohner, "Egyptians take anti-Morsi protests to presidential palace," *Washington Post*, December 4 2012, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/egyptians-take-anti-morsi-protests-to-presidential-palace/2012/12/04/b16a2cfa-3e40-11e2-bca3-aadc9b7e29c5_story.html [159]; Patrick Kingsley, "Protesters across Egypt call for Mohamed Morsi to go," *Guardian* (London), June 30, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/30/mohamed-morsi-egypt-protests> [160]; "Profile: Egypt's Tamarod protest movement," *BBC News*, July 1, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-23131953> [161].
- December 1, 2012:** Morsi calls for a referendum on the draft constitution, prompting fears of an Islamist coup. Source: Stephanie McCrummen, "Morsi sets date for referendum on charter as his Islamist supporters rally in Cairo," *Washington Post*, December 1, 2012, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/in-cairo-rival-protests-over-the-path-forward/2012/12/01/73bb2f1e-3bd7-11e2-9258-ac7c78d5c680_story.html [162].
- November 22, 2012:** Morsi grants himself unlimited powers, not subject to review or cancellation by the judiciary or other Egyptian authorities, "in order to preserve and safeguard the revolution, national unity and national security." Source: "Morsy issues new constitutional declaration," *Egypt Independent* (Cairo), November 22, 2012, <http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/morsy-issues-new-constitutional-declaration> [163].
- June 2012:** Mohammed Morsi, FJP candidate and Brotherhood official, narrowly wins Egypt's presidential elections and takes office as president of Egypt. Source: David D. Kirkpatrick, "Named Egypt's Winner, Islamist Makes History," *New York Times*, June 24, 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/25/world/middleeast/mohamed-morsi-of-muslim-brotherhood-declared-as-egypts-president.html?pagewanted=all> [164].
- November 2011 - January 2012:** FJP candidates win a plurality in Egypt's parliamentary elections, claiming 235 out of 498 seats in the People's Assembly. Source: "Egypt's Islamist parties win elections to parliament," *BBC News*, January 21, 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-16665748> [165].
- October 23, 2011:** Elections for the national constituent assembly are held in Tunisia. Ennahdha, the Brotherhood's Tunisian political party led by Rachid al-Ghannouchi, places first with more than 37 percent of votes. Source: Issandr El Amrani and Ursula Lindsey, "Tunisia Moves to the Next Stage," Middle East Research and Information Project, November 8, 2011, <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero110811> [166].
- February 2011 - April 2011:** President Hosni Mubarak resigns from his post after waves of popular protests. The Brotherhood forms the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) to contest Egyptian elections and reneges on its previous pledge not to run a candidate for the Egyptian presidency. Source: "Egypt: Muslim Brotherhood sets up new party," *BBC News*, April 30, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-13249434>.
- February 2011:** Tunisian President Ben Ali leaves the country and settles in Saudi Arabia. The Tunisian transition begins. Source: "Tunisia: President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali forced out," *BBC News*, January 15, 2011, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12195025> [167].
- 2011:** At the head of Syria's civil war, Syria's Muslim Brotherhood assumes the most prominent role of any group in the opposition Syrian National Council. The Brotherhood provides arms and funds to the rebels and acts to affiliate itself with rebel militias called the "Shields of the Revolution," while denying formal connections to the Shields. The Brotherhood also founds a political party called Waad in June 2013 and publicly launches it, after significant delays, in March 2014. By party statute, the Brotherhood constitutes one-third of Waad's membership (with another third constituted by non-Brotherhood Islamists), but claims that Waad is not controlled by the Brotherhood. As protests against Bashar al-Assad erupt, Syrian Brotherhood members use Istanbul as a hub from which to consolidate political power amongst the opposition. Sources: Liz Sly, "Syria's Muslim Brotherhood is gaining influence over anti-Assad revolt," *Washington Post*, May 12, 2012, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/syrias-muslim-brotherhood-is-gaining-influence-over-anti-assad-revolt/2012/05/12/gIQAtIoJLU_story.html [168]; Associated Press, "Syria's Muslim Brotherhood faces uphill battle," *USA Today*, August 10, 2013, <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2013/08/10/syrias-muslim-brotherhood-faces-uphill-battle/2638787> [169]; Raphael Lefevre, "The Belated Birth of the Waad Party," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, December 16, 2013, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=53926> [170]; Zaidan Zenklo, "Syrian Waad Party denies being Muslim Brotherhood arm," *Al-Monitor*, November 25, 2013, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2013/11/new-syria-party-denies-brotherhood-affiliation.html#ixzz33B1eZNXn> [171]; Hassan Hassan, "How the Muslim Brotherhood Hijacked Syria's Revolution," *Foreign Policy*, March 13, 2013, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/03/13/how-the-muslim-brotherhood-hijacked-syrias-revolution/> [172].
- December 2010:** Tunisian Mohamed Bouazizi sets himself on fire. His self-immolation represents the start of the so-called Arab Spring that will pave the way for MB parties in Tunisia and Egypt. Source: Salman Sheikh, "Mohamed Bouazizi: A fruit seller's legacy to the Arab people," *CNN*, December 17, 2011, <http://www.cnn.com/2011/12/16/world/meast/bouazizi-arab-spring-tunisia/> [173].
- April 7, 2008:** The day before Egypt's municipal elections, the Muslim Brotherhood announces it will boycott them. The announcement comes after the group is allowed to compete for 20 seats among the 52,000 total local council seats available. Source: Mohammed Herzallah and Amr Hamzawy, "Egypt's Local Elections Farce Causes and Consequences," *Carnegie Endowment for International*

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Peace, April 2008, http://carnegieendowment.org/files/egypt's_local_elections_final2.pdf [174].

- **November 24, 2008:** Five former leaders of the HLF, a Muslim charity based in the United States, are found guilty by a U.S. court for facilitating the transfer of more than \$12 million to Hamas. The U.S. government presents testimony during the trial that, in the FBI's words, "[I]n the early 1990's, Hamas' parent organization, the Muslim Brotherhood, planned to establish a network of organizations in the U.S. to spread a militant Islamist message and raise money for Hamas. The HLF became the chief fundraising arm for the Palestine Committee in the U.S. created by the Muslim Brotherhood to support Hamas." Sources: "No Cash for Terror: Convictions Returned in Holy Land Case," Federal Bureau of Investigation, November 25, 2008, <http://www.fbi.gov/news/stories/2008/november/hlf112508> [175]; "Federal Judge Hands Down Sentences in Holy Land Foundation Case," Federal Bureau of Investigation, May 27, 2009, <http://www.fbi.gov/dallas/press-releases/2009/dl052709.htm> [176].
- **December 2001:** The U.S. Treasury Department designates the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF), then the largest Muslim charity based in the U.S., as a "Specially Designated Global Terrorist" group. The U.S. Treasury accuses the HLF of providing millions of dollars of logistical support to Hamas. U.S. authorities raid the group's headquarters, and seize its assets. It is revealed in a 2008 trial that the HLF was founded by Muslim Brotherhood members. Source: "Statement of Secretary Paul O'Neill on the Blocking of Hamas Financiers' Assets," U.S. Department of the Treasury, December 4, 2001, <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/po837.aspx> [177].
- **October 8, 1997:** After years of repeated attacks on civilians in Israel, Hamas is designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) by the U.S. Department of State under the Immigration and Nationality Act. Source: Department of State, Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, "Designation of Foreign Terrorist Organizations," *Federal Register* 62, no. 195 (October 8, 1997): 52650, <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-1997-10-08/pdf/97-27030.pdf> [178].
- **1992:** The Jordanian Brotherhood establishes a political party, the Islamic Action Front (IAF). Source: Neven Bondokji, "The Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan: Time to Reform," The Brookings Institution, April 2015, 3, <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2015/04/22-muslim-brotherhood-in-jordan-bondokji/en-muslim-brotherhood-in-jordan.pdf> [179].
- **May 1991:** A U.S.-based Brotherhood member, Mohammed Akram, sends an 18-page memorandum to the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood's leadership council. In the memorandum, Akram writes that the Brotherhood "works to expand the observant Muslim base; aims at unifying and directing Muslims' efforts; presents Islam as a civilization alternative; and supports the global Islamic State, wherever it is." Source: Lorenzo Vidino, *The New Muslim Brotherhood In The West* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 171.
- **1989:** The Jordanian Brotherhood wins 22 of 80 parliamentary seats under the banner "Islam is the Solution," the slogan of the global Muslim Brotherhood. Source: Jonathan Schanzer, "The Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan," *Wall Street Journal*, February 22, 2011, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748704409004576146221164497158> [180].
- **1987:** Hamas (the Islamic Resistance Movement) is formed in Gaza as a Palestinian offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood. Article Two of Hamas's charter states: "The Islamic Resistance Movement is one of the wings of Moslem Brotherhood in Palestine." Hamas soon begins engaging in terrorism and continues to support the use of violence against Israel in pursuit of its destruction. Sources: Andrew Higgins, "How Israel Helped to Spawn Hamas," *Wall Street Journal*, January 24, 2009, <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB123275572295011847> [181]; "The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement," Avalon Project, Yale Law School, August 18, 1988, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp [182]; Zachary Laub, "Hamas," Council on Foreign Relations, last modified August 1, 2014, <http://www.cfr.org/israel/hamas/p8968> [183].
- **February 1982:** Syrian President Hafez al-Assad launches a brutal crackdown on the Brotherhood that, for its indiscriminate execution, becomes known as the Hama massacre. Tens of thousands of armed Brotherhood members and civilians are killed. Membership in the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood becomes a capital offense. The Syrian Brotherhood is suppressed, with its key leadership operating in exile and allying itself with other Syrian opposition forces. Many Syrian Brotherhood members move to Europe. Sources: "Syria Profile," BBC News, last modified September 16, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14703995> [184]; Robin Wright, *Dreams and Shadows*, (New York: Penguin Press: 2008), 248.; Azmat Khan, "On 30th Anniversary of Hama Massacre, Syrian Troops Lock Down City," *Frontline*, February 2, 2012, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/foreign-affairs-defense/syria-undercover/on-30th-anniversary-of-hama-massacre-syrian-troops-lock-down-city> [185]; Mohammad Saied Rassas, "Syria's Muslim Brotherhood: Past and Present," *Al-Monitor*, January 5, 2014, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/politics/2014/01/syria-muslim-brotherhood-past-present.html> [186]; Michael Jacobson, "What Role for the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria's Future?," Washington Institute for Near East Policy, March 11, 2005, <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/what-role-for-the-muslim-brotherhood-in-syrias-future> [187].
- **1980 - 1999:** The Egyptian Brotherhood carries out numerous attempts to infiltrate the political mainstream. Strategies include forming alliances with the nationalist liberal Wafd party, the Socialist Liberal Party, and the Socialist Labour Party. Such alliances allow Brotherhood members to run for parliament on those parties' tickets. Source: "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," BBC News, December 25, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12313405>.
- **1979:** A Muslim Brotherhood defector group, the Combatant Vanguard, takes up arms against Syria's Hafez Assad regime. In an especially brutal attack, the group kills 83 Alawite student officers at the Syrian military's artillery school in Aleppo. Source: "The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 29, 2014, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370> [21].
- **1970 - 1979:** After the death of Egypt's Prime Minister Gamal Abdel Nasser, the Brotherhood assumes a greater role in Egyptian society while remaining officially banned. Source: "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," *Al Jazeera*, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html> [14].
- **1966:** The Egyptian government executes Brotherhood ideologue and spiritual guide Sayyid Qutb.

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Source: "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html> [14].

- **1965:**The Egyptian government claims to discover the Brotherhood's organization of a revolutionary plot. Around 18,000 individuals with Brotherhood ties are arrested, 100-200 imprisoned, and several dozen die in custody. Many Brotherhood members seek sanctuary in Saudi Arabia. Source: "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html> [14].
- **1960 - 1969:**Brotherhood activists immigrate to the United States and Europe and, in the coming decades, establish numerous institutions, including the Muslim Students Association (MSA), North American Islamic Trust (NAIT), and Islamic Society of North America (ISNA).
Sources: John Mintz and Douglas Farah, "In Search of Friends Among the Foes: U.S. Hopes to Work with Diverse Group," *Washington Post*, September 11, 2004, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A12823-2004Sep10.html> [70]; Lorenzo Vidino, *The New Muslim Brotherhood In The West* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 168.
- **1954:**A member of the Brotherhood's secret attempts and fails to assassinate Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. In retaliation, Nasser bans the Brotherhood, executes several of its leaders, and jails thousands of Brotherhood supporters. Source: "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html>.
- **1949:**The Egyptian secret service assassinates al-Banna near his office, likely in retaliation for Prime Minister Nuqrashi's murder the year before.
Source: John Mintz and Douglas Farah, "In Search of Friends Among the Foes: U.S. Hopes to Work with Diverse Group," *Washington Post*, September 11, 2004, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A12823-2004Sep10.html> [70].
- **1948:**A member of the Nizam al-Khass assassinates Egypt's prime minister, Mahmoud an-Nuqrashi Pasha, who had recently banned the Brotherhood.
Source: "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html> [14].
- **1942:**Abdul Latif Abu Qura establishes the Muslim Brotherhood branch in Jordan.
Sources: Neven Bondokji, "The Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan: Time to Reform," The Brookings Institution, April 2015, 1, <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2015/04/22-muslim-brotherhood-in-jordan-bondokji/en-muslim-brotherhood-in-jordan.pdf> [179]; Mohammad al-Fodeilat, "How Jordan's Islamists Came to Dominate Society: an Evolution," Al-Monitor, September 10, 2012, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/culture/2012/09/jordan-muslim-brotherhood-islamists-salafists-sufis.html#> [188].
- **1940:**Al-Banna establishes the Brotherhood's military wing, the Nizam al-Khass, or "Secret Apparatus."
Source: Omar Ashour, "Myths and realities: The Muslim Brothers and armed activism," Al Jazeera, August 12, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/08/myths-realities-muslim-brothers--20148129319751298.html> [73].
- **1928:**Founded by school teacher Hassan al-Banna in Ismailia, Egypt.
The group is opposed to British colonial presence in Egypt and, later, to the Jewish presence in Palestine. Its main goal is to re-establish the Islamic caliphate. Sources: John Mintz and Douglas Farah, "In Search of Friends Among the Foes: U.S. Hopes to Work with Diverse Group," *Washington Post*, September 11, 2004, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A12823-2004Sep10.html> [70]; Agence France-Presse, "Timeline: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Al Arabiya, December 25, 2013, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/profiles/2013/12/26/Timeline-Egypt-s-Muslim-Brotherhood.html> [189]; Brian R. Farmer, *Understanding Radical Islam: Medieval Ideology in the Twenty-First Century*, (Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, 2007), 83; "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html> [14].

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Violent history:

The Brotherhood and Brotherhood affiliates have engaged in violence against the ruling governments in Egypt, Syria, Israel, and the Palestinian territories. Since its inception, the Brotherhood's ideology has authorized violent resistance against unjust and secular rulers.⁷¹

- **1930s-1940s:** Brotherhood violence is aimed towards Jewish Egyptians in reaction to Jewish presence in Palestine, as well as aggressive rioting, bombings, and assassinations towards British forces in Egypt.⁷² Brotherhood members fight jihad in Palestine. Hasan al-Banna introduces his 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."⁷³
- **December 1948:** Brotherhood members assassinate Egyptian Prime Minister Mahmud al-Nuqrashi.⁷⁴
- **October 1954:** Brotherhood members attempt and fail to assassinate President Gamal Abdel Nasser. The group continues to grow underground despite a heavy crackdown on the group.⁷⁵
- **1954-1966:** The period of *mien* (ordeal) in which Nasser's repression of the Brotherhood deeply radicalizes the group, prompting further violence, attempted assassinations, and terrorist plots.⁷⁶
- **June 1979:** The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria launches an attack during the Islamic uprising, killing 83 cadets at Aleppo Artillery School.⁷⁷
- **June 1980:** During the Islamic uprising in Syria, Muslim Brotherhood members attempt to assassinate Hafez al-Assad using grenades and machine guns. They fail, and a government crackdown on the group results in many Brotherhood deaths.⁷⁸
- **November 1981:** The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria carries out three car-bomb attacks against military and government forces and infrastructure in Damascus, resulting in the deaths of hundreds of people.⁷⁹
- **July 2013:** Clashes erupt between Muslim Brotherhood protesters and Egyptian security officials following President Mohammed Morsi's ouster.⁸⁰
- **August 2013:** The Brotherhood loots and burns Egyptian churches and police stations in response to the death of hundreds and imprisonment of thousands of members.⁸¹
- **December 23, 2013:** The Egyptian government blames the Brotherhood for an explosion that leaves 15 dead and hundreds wounded outside of a police station in the Nile Delta.⁸²
- **December 24, 2013:** The Egyptian government blames the Brotherhood for a car bombing outside a police building in the city of Mansoura.⁸³
- **March 19, 2014:** Brotherhood members shoot an Egyptian brigadier general and colonel in a continuing retaliation against security forces following the removal of Morsi from office.⁸⁴
- **May 20, 2014:** Three police officers controlling a protest against the military-backed government are killed in a drive-by shooting by Muslim Brotherhood members.⁸⁵
- **June 25, 2014:** Five small bombs in Cairo are set off within two hours, injuring six. The Interior Ministry blames the Muslim Brotherhood.⁸⁶
- **June 30, 2014:** Brotherhood members set off a bomb near the Presidential office in Cairo, killing two policemen.⁸⁷
- **August 2, 2014:** At least 11 Egyptian soldiers are killed in an attack by Sinai Islamists affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood.⁸⁸
- **June 29, 2015:** Brotherhood members backed by Hamas are behind the murder of Egyptian Public Prosecutor Hisham Barakat, according to Egyptian authorities.⁸⁹

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- **January 7, 2016:** Egyptian Brotherhood members and security forces exchange fire outside of a Cairo hotel.⁹⁰
- **December 9, 2016:** Hasm militants detonate a bomb on a main road in Cairo. The attack, considered the deadliest assault on Egyptian security forces in recent months, kills six policemen and injures three others.⁹¹
- **October 1, 2017:** A small explosion occurs at Myanmar’s embassy in Cairo. The attack is in retaliation for Myanmar’s military crackdown on Rohingya Muslims. There are no reports of casualties or injuries. Hasm, the alleged militant wing of the Muslim Brotherhood, is accused of carrying out the attack.⁹²
- **March 25, 2018:** A bomb planted under a car detonates in Alexandria, Egypt right as the police Major General Mostafa al-Nemr drives past. Two policemen are killed and five others are wounded while Nemr sustains no injuries. It is suspected that the Muslim Brotherhood is behind the explosion given that the attack occurs two days before a contested presidential election.⁹³
- **May 19, 2019:** Suspected Hasm militants plant a bomb that targets a tourist bus near the Giza Pyramids in Egypt. The explosion wounds 17 people.⁹⁴
- **August 4, 2019:** A rebel drives an explosives-filled car into central Cairo, damaging a cancer hospital. At least 20 people are killed. Hasm, a militant group with links to the Muslim Brotherhood, is suspected of carrying out the attack.⁹⁵

⁷¹ Sujata Ashwarya Cheema, “Sayyid Qutb’s Concept of Jahiliyya as Metaphor for Modern Society,” *Islam and Muslim Societies* 2, no. 2 (2006), http://www.academia.edu/3222569/Sayyid_Qutbs_Concept_of_Jahiliyya_as_Metaphor_for_Modern_Society [190].

⁷² Richard Paul Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); “Profile: Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” BBC News, last modified December 25, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12313405> [191].

⁷³ “The Muslim Brotherhood: Understanding its Roots and Impact,” Foundation for Defense of Democracies, accessed September 10, 2015, <http://www.defenddemocracy.org/the-muslim-brotherhood-understanding-its-roots-and-impact/> [192].

⁷⁴ “Profile: Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” BBC News, December 25, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12313405> [191].

⁷⁵ “Profile: Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” BBC News, December 25, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12313405> [191].

⁷⁶ Samuel Tardos, “Victory or Death: The Muslim Brotherhood in the Trenches,” Hudson Institute, August 2, 2013, <http://www.hudson.org/research/9687-victory-or-death-the-muslim-brotherhood-in-the-trenches> [193].

⁷⁷ Yvette Talhamy, “The Syrian Muslim Brothers and the Syrian-Iranian Relationship,” *Middle East Journal* 63, no. 4 (2009): 561-580, http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/the_middle_east_journal/summary/v063/63.4.talhamy.html [194].

⁷⁸ Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville, *Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East* (Oakland: University of California Press: 1990), 328-329.

⁷⁹ Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville, *Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East* (Oakland: University of California Press: 1990), 328-329.

⁸⁰ Abigail Hauslohner, William Booth, and Sharaf al-Hourani, “Egyptian military ousts Morsi, suspends constitution,” *Washington Post*, July 3, 2013, accessed May 30, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/egypts-morsi-defiant-under-pressure-as-deadline-looms/2013/07/03/28fda81c-e39d-11e2-80eb-3145e2994a55_story.html [156].

⁸¹ David D. Kirkpatrick, “Hundreds Die as Egyptian Forces Attack Islamist Protestors,” *New York Times*, August 14, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/15/world/middleeast/egypt.html?_r=0 [155].

⁸² Associated Press, “Egypt Car Bombing Targets Police,” *New York Times*, December 23, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/24/world/middleeast/egypt-explosion.html> [195].

⁸³ Kareem Fahim and Mayy El Sheikh, “Egyptian Officials Point at Islamist Group After Blast at Police Building,” *New York Times*, December 24, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/25/world/middleeast/egypt-car-bomb.html> [150].

⁸⁴ David D. Kirkpatrick, “Two Officers Killed by Militants, Egypt Says,” *New York Times*, March 19, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/20/world/middleeast/military-officers-killed-by-militants-egypt.html> [196].

⁸⁵ David D. Kirkpatrick, “Killings Revive Fears in Egypt Before Election,” *New York Times*, May 20, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/21/world/middleeast/egypt.html> [197].

⁸⁶ Dina el-Husseiny, “Small Blasts Across Cairo Disrupt Calm Since Election,” *New York Times*, June 25, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/26/world/middleeast/cairo-explosions-end-postelection-peace.html> [198].

⁸⁷ Kareem Fahim, “Blast Kills 2 Police Officers Near Presidential Palace in Cairo,” *New York Times*, June 30, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/01/world/middleeast/blast-kills-2-police-officers-near-presidential-palace-in-cairo.html> [199].

⁸⁸ “Egyptian Security Forces Killed in Sinai Attacks,” Al Jazeera, September 2, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/09/egypt-security-forces-killed-sinai-attacks-20149210354214745.html> [200].

Muslim Brotherhood

- ⁸⁹ Reuters, "Egypt arrests militants, links them to Muslim Brotherhood," Yahoo News, November 4, 2016, <https://www.yahoo.com/news/egypt-arrests-militants-links-them-muslim-brotherhood-082447987.html?ref=gs> [201]; Nour Youssef, "Egypt Says Muslim Brotherhood, Backed by Hamas, Killed Top Prosecutor," *New York Times*, March 6, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/07/world/middleeast/egypt-says-muslim-brotherhood-backed-by-hamas-killed-top-prosecutor.html> [202].
- ⁹⁰ Declan Walsh, "Muslim Brotherhood Supporters Clash With Security Forces Outside Cairo Hotel," *New York Times*, January 7, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/08/world/middleeast/egypt-hotel-muslim-brotherhood.html> [203].
- ⁹¹ Sudarsan Raghavan and Heba Mahfouz, "Explosion kills 6 Egyptian police officers, wounds others in Cairo," *Washington Post*, December 9, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/explosion-kills-6-egyptian-policemen-injures-others-in-cairo/2016/12/09/1faa86ab-963b-4818-bc3f-30f056da0099_story.html [204].
- ⁹² "Egypt's Hasm militants claim attack targeting Myanmar embassy," Reuters, October 1, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-security/egypts-hasm-militants-claim-attack-targeting-myanmar-embassy-idUSKCN1C705D> [205].
- ⁹³ "Bomb kills two in Alexandria ahead of Egypt presidential vote," Middle East Monitor, March 25, 2018, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20180325-bomb-kills-two-in-alexandria-ahead-of-egypt-presidential-vote/> [206].; Jared Malsin and Amira El Fekki, "Alexandria Security Chief Targeted in Egypt Bomb Attack," *Wall Street Journal*, March 25, 2018, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/alexandria-security-chief-targeted-in-egypt-bomb-attack-1521893526> [207].
- ⁹⁴ "Explosion hits tourist bus near Egypt's Giza Pyramids," Al Jazeera, May 19, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/05/explosion-hits-tourist-bus-egypt-giza-pyramids-190519125849368.html> [208].
- ⁹⁵ Samy Magdy, "Cab bomb collides with vehicles in Egypt capital, killing 20," Associated Press, August 5, 2019, <https://www.apnews.com/2e69f9d17d0d43e5a31be12a030e7da2> [209].

Muslim Brotherhood

Designations:

Designations by the U.S. Government:



The U.S Department of the Treasury Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) designates Harakat Sawa'id Misr (HASM) and Liwa al-Thawra, two Islamist groups active in Egypt with suspected ties to the Muslim Brotherhood, as specially Designated Global Terrorists (SDGTs) under Executive Order 13224 on January 31, 2018.⁹⁶

Designations by Foreign Governments and International Organizations:



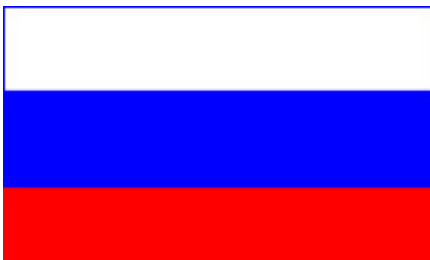
Bahrain designated the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization on March 21, 2014.⁹⁷



Egypt designated the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization on December 25, 2013.⁹⁸

On January 18, 2017, an Egyptian court adds former football star Mohamed Aboutrika to the country's terror list under the suspicion that he financed the Muslim Brotherhood.⁹⁹

On June 27, 2018, Egypt adds the names of 187 persons to its terror list over their alleged membership to the Hasm movement, a group that is suspected to be affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood.¹⁰⁰



Russia banned the Muslim Brotherhood from operating inside Russia in 2003.¹⁰¹ Russia designated the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization on July 28, 2006.¹⁰²



Saudi Arabia designated the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization on March 7, 2014.¹⁰³

Muslim Brotherhood



Syria designated the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization in 1980.¹⁰⁴



The United Arab Emirates designated the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization on November 15, 2014.¹⁰⁵ On the same day, the United Arab Emirates designated several Brotherhood-affiliated groups in the West, including the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), the International Islamic Relief Organization, the Muslim American Society (MAS), and the Union of Islamic Organizations of France.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁶ "OFFICE OF FOREIGN ASSETS CONTROL - Specially Designated Nationals List Update." U.S. Department of the Treasury, January 31, 2018, <https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/OFAC-Enforcement/Pages/20180131.aspx> [210].

⁹⁷ "Bahrain backs Saudi Arabia, UAE, Foreign Minister says," Bahrain News Agency, March 21, 2014, <http://www.bna.bh/portal/en/news/609752> [15]; Habib Toumi, "Bahrain Confirms Full Support to Saudi Arabia, UAE," *Gulf News* (Dubai), March 22, 2014, <http://gulfnnews.com/news/gulf/bahrain/bahrain-confirms-full-support-to-saudi-arabia-uae-1.1307223> [16].

⁹⁸ Kareem Fahim, "Egypt, Dealing a Blow to the Muslim Brotherhood, Deems It a Terrorist Group," *New York Times*, December 25, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/26/world/middleeast/egypt-calls-muslim-brotherhood-a-terrorist-group.html> [17].

⁹⁹ "Egypt puts ex-footballer suspected of funding Muslim Brotherhood on terror list," *France 24*, January 18, 2017, <https://www.france24.com/en/20170118-egypt-football-star-mohamed-aboutrika-terror-list-muslim-brotherhood> [211].

¹⁰⁰ "Egypt adds 187 names to terror lists," *Middle East Monitor*, June 27, 2018, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20180627-egypt-adds-187-names-to-terror-lists/> [212].

¹⁰¹ Gabriela Baczynska, "Russia may ease Muslim Brotherhood ban to boost Egypt ties," *Reuters*, December 28, 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/12/18/us-egypt-politics-russia-idUSBRE8BH0VD20121218> [18].

¹⁰² "Russia names 'terrorist' groups," *BBC News*, July 28, 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/5223458.stm> [19].

¹⁰³ Rania el Gamal, "Saudi Arabia designates Muslim Brotherhood terrorist group," *Reuters*, March 7, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/03/07/us-saudi-security-idUSBREA260SM20140307> [20].

¹⁰⁴ "The Muslim Brotherhood in Syria," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=48370> [21].

¹⁰⁵ Adam Schreck, "Emirates brands Muslim Brotherhood terrorists," *Associated Press*, November 15, 2014, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/d2e355128c2f46158798f7230050bafb/emirates-brands-muslim-brotherhood-terrorists> [213].

¹⁰⁶ "UAE blacklists 82 groups as 'terrorist'," *Al Arabiya*, November 15, 2014, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2014/11/15/UAE-formally-blacklists-82-groups-as-terrorist.html> [214].

Muslim Brotherhood

Associations:

Ties to Extremist Entities:

As one of the oldest and broadest-reaching Islamist organizations in modern times, the Muslim Brotherhood has spawned Sunni Islamist entities which are now largely recognized as terrorist organizations.

Muslim Brotherhood



[Al-Qaeda](#) [2]

Muslim Brotherhood philosophy is believed to have spurred the creation of al-Qaeda. Sayyid Quth's ideology, expressed in his work *Milestones*, inspired Osama bin Laden, Abdullah Azzam, and others to found al-Qaeda.¹⁰⁷ The current emir of al-Qaeda, Ayman al-Zawahiri, joined the outlawed Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt as a teenager.¹⁰⁸



[Hamas](#) [215]

Hamas, the political Islamist organization in the Palestinian territories, is a nationalist offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood.¹⁰⁹ Founded in 1988, article two of Hamas's charter defines itself as "one of the wings of the Muslim Brothers in Palestine." It continues, "The Muslim Brotherhood Movement is a world organization, the largest Islamic Movement in the modern era."¹¹⁰

However, political realities on the ground have often dictated the strength of Hamas's desired relationship to the Brotherhood. In March 2014, Hamas was banned by the Egyptian government as part of a larger crackdown on the Brotherhood.¹¹¹ In response, Hamas weakened ties with the Brotherhood in the interest of strengthening its relationship with Egyptian authorities responsible for the Rafah border into Gaza, a lifeline upon which Gazans rely heavily.¹¹²

In March 2016, Egypt's Interior Ministry accused Hamas of conspiring with the Muslim Brotherhood and coordinating the June 2015 assassination of Hisham Barakat, Egypt's chief prosecutor, in a Cairo car bombing. Later that month, Hamas removed all pictures of former Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi and any other signs of Muslim Brotherhood links from its Gaza offices. The move reportedly came after a meeting between Hamas leaders and Egypt officials who demanded Hamas renounce its links with the Brotherhood before Egypt would restore relations with Hamas.¹¹³ Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri later denied any links between his group and the Muslim Brotherhood.¹¹⁴ In May 2017, Hamas released a new guiding political document, which made no mention of the Muslim Brotherhood.¹¹⁵

In July 2019, Khairat el-Shater, the Brotherhood's supreme guide, denied charges of spying for Hamas following the 2013 coup that ousted then-president Mohamed Morsi. According to court documents, el-Shater said he was asked by the intelligence services during Morsi's one-year tenure to meet Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh over border crossings talks.¹¹⁶ On September 11, 2019, imprisoned Brotherhood Supreme Guide Mohammed Badie and 10 other Brotherhood members were sentenced to life in prison on charges of spying in conjunction with Hamas.¹¹⁷

Muslim Brotherhood



Holy Land Foundation

In December 2001, the U.S. Treasury Department designated the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, then the largest Muslim charity based in the U.S., as a “Specially Designated Global Terrorist” group. U.S. authorities raided the group’s headquarters and seized its assets.¹¹⁸

In November 2008, five former leaders of the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development (HLF), a Muslim charity based in the U.S., were found guilty by a U.S. court for facilitating the transfer of more than \$12 million to Hamas.¹¹⁹

The U.S. government presented testimony during the trial. According to the FBI, “[I]n the early 1990’s, Hamas’ parent organization, the Muslim Brotherhood, planned to establish a network of organizations in the U.S. to spread a militant Islamist message and raise money for Hamas.

The HLF became the chief fundraising arm for the Palestine Committee in the U.S. created by the Muslim Brotherhood to support Hamas.”¹²⁰ Among the seized evidence presented by the U.S. government was an internal Brotherhood “Explanatory Memorandum On the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America,” addressed to the members of the Brotherhood’s Shura Council, and dated May 22, 1991.¹²¹ The document articulated the Brotherhood’s goals for North America as, among others, “present[ing] Islam as a civilization alternative, and support[ing] the global Islamic State wherever it is.”¹²² The document also emphasized that to achieve these and other multi-stage goals, “the Movement must... carry out this grand mission as a ‘Civilization Jihadist’ responsibility which lies on the shoulders of Muslims and—on top of them—the Muslim Brotherhood in this country.”¹²³ This meant that the Brotherhood’s “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 so that it is eliminated and God’s religion is made victorious over all other religions.”¹²⁴

The document emphasized the importance of establishing an “Islamic Center” in each city as a base for the Brotherhood’s multifaceted work, as well as many other institutions that would serve as the foundation of the group’s jihad efforts in North America. The document also included a list of Brotherhood organizations and “the organizations of our friends,” which included prominent Muslim organizations in America, including the Islamic Society of North America, Muslim Students Association, North American Islamic Trust, and Islamic Circle of North America.¹²⁵



Hasm Movement

Hasm (“Decisiveness”) is an Egyptian militant group that emerged in 2014. Police suspect it is a violent wing of the Muslim Brotherhood, though the Brotherhood denies any ties to militant groups. Hasm has claimed it wants to end the “military occupation of Egypt by militias of (President) Abdel-Fatah el-Sissi.”¹²⁶ Hasm has accused the Egyptian government of imprisoning thousands of innocent people which has incentivized the group to target security forces as well as carry out assassination attempts on public figures.¹²⁷

Hasm claimed responsibility for a December 9, 2016, bombing that killed six police officers outside of Cairo. The group also claimed responsibility for an assassination attempt on a senior Egyptian prosecutor that September. As of December 2016, Hasm had claimed responsibility for at least half a dozen attacks since the group’s emergence that July.¹²⁸

On September 30, 2017, Hasm claimed responsibility for a small explosion at Myanmar’s embassy in Cairo. It was the group’s first reported attack on a civilian target. There were no casualties. The group claimed the attack was in response to Myanmar’s military crackdown on Rohingya Muslims.¹²⁹ In 2019, Hasm was responsible for two major explosions—one in May that killed 17 people near the Giza Pyramids, and one in August that damaged a cancer hospital and killed over 20 people.¹³⁰

In January 2019, Egyptian authorities also arrested several Hasm members accused of planning to disrupt the January 25 anniversary of the revolution against Hosni Mubarak. According to the Interior Ministry, a Brotherhood member in Turkey had directed the local Hasm members.¹³¹ In January 2020, Egyptian authorities again accused Hasm of seeking to disrupt the anniversary of Mubarak’s overthrow by promoting fake news and spreading discord among Egyptians. The government arrested six Hasm members accused of plotting to “target important figures and buildings as well as places of worship” and organize protests on the anniversary later that month.¹³² Egypt again accused Brotherhood members in Turkey of orchestrating the plots and inciting the Egyptian public against the government.¹³³

Ties to Other Entities:

Muslim Brotherhood



Qatar

Qatar has long supported the Brotherhood through financial, public diplomacy and media-based pathways, with Qatar's backing largely based on the entities' similar interpretations of political Islam. The Qatar-owned satellite network Al Jazeera is often perceived as biased towards the Brotherhood.¹³⁴

Qatar loaned Morsi's government approximately \$7.5 billion during the Brotherhood's year in power.¹³⁵ Qatar also reportedly aided Morsi's regime with grants and "energy supplies," according to Reuters.¹³⁶ During

Morsi's presidency, funds as high as \$850,000 were reportedly secretly transferred to the Brotherhood from Qatar's former Prime Minister Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim bin Jaber Al Thani.¹³⁷

Qatar refused to join suit as its Gulf neighbors labeled the Brotherhood a terrorist organization in 2013 and 2014.

However, in mid-September 2014, top Muslim Brotherhood members claimed that they had been "asked to leave Qatar" as the small Arab country came under pressure from its neighbors to cut off support for the Brotherhood.¹³⁸



Turkey

Turkey has long been a hub for the Brotherhood's international organization. Especially following President Morsi's ouster, regrouping and logistical efforts to strengthen the international Brotherhood community were reportedly hosted by Istanbul.¹³⁹ Turkey has also reportedly provided the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood with weaponry and intelligence.¹⁴⁰

According to Mohammed Abdel Kader of the Saudi-based Al Arabiya Institute for Studies, Turkey's support has highlighted "Erdogan's ties with the Muslim Brotherhood.... and their mutual interest in restoring 'the era of Islamic rule,' seen by the Brotherhood as the basis for protecting 'the Islamic nation.'" ¹⁴¹ However, when Egyptian President el-Sisi took office, relations between Turkey and the Brotherhood weakened due to Turkey's fear of alienation and reprisal from Egypt and the Gulf states.¹⁴²

In May 2010, the Turkish humanitarian NGO the Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH) crewed a Turkish flotilla through international waters, edging the ships toward Gaza in an attempt to break the Israeli blockade and supply what it claims was humanitarian aid. The Israeli navy raided one of the ships, the *Mavi Marmara*, resulting in the death of nine IHH members onboard. A detailed report on the incident, published by the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, asserts that the IHH networked with and received financial support from the Turkish Muslim Brotherhood. According to the report, IHH and the Turkish Brotherhood were provided passengers for the flotilla from the global Muslim Brotherhood organization.¹⁴³

Ties to Extremist Individuals:

Muslim Brotherhood

Recep Tayyip Erdogan

Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan is a longtime supporter of the international Muslim Brotherhood and a close ally of former Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi.¹⁴⁴

Erdogan was a vocal opponent of Morsi's removal from office and the Egyptian military regime that took his place, and has vouched for Morsi's democratic intentions.¹⁴⁵ In response to the military crackdown on Morsi supporters in Rabaa al-Adawiya Square in August 2013, Erdogan blamed the international community for Morsi's removal, saying, "It is clear that the international community, by supporting the military coup and remaining silent over previous massacres instead of protecting democracy and constitutional legitimacy in Egypt, has encouraged the current administration to carry out [the crackdown on Rabaa al-Adawiya Square]."¹⁴⁶ In public speeches, Erdogan has flashed the four-fingered "Rabia" hand salute, a Brotherhood symbol signifying resistance against the Egyptian security forces.¹⁴⁷

In September 2014, amid the reported expulsion of Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood leaders from Qatar, Erdogan appeared ready to grant Brotherhood leaders asylum. He told reporters, "If they file a request to move to Turkey we will assess their situation and they can move to Turkey if there is no reason to prevent their entry."¹⁴⁸ Erdogan's government has close ideological ties to the Brotherhood. It has maintained warm relations with the Islamist group in hopes of sustaining and strengthening its influence in the region.¹⁴⁹¹⁵⁰

Hamad bin Jassim bin Jaber Al Thani

Former Qatari Prime Minister Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim bin Jaber Al Thani has reportedly secretly transferred funds as high as \$850,000 to Muslim Brotherhood leaders during Mohammed Morsi's presidency.¹⁵¹ A document dated March 28, 2013 detailed the allocation of funds from Hamad bin Jassim to a "long list" of Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood leaders.¹⁵²

¹⁰⁷ "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," BBC News, December 25, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12313405> [191].

¹⁰⁸ "Profile: Ayman al-Zawahiri," BBC News, August 13, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13789286> [216].

¹⁰⁹ Andrew Higgins, "How Israel Helped to Spawn Hamas," *Wall Street Journal*, January 24, 2009, <http://online.wsj.com/articles/SB123275572295011847> [217].

¹¹⁰ Andrew C. McCarthy, "Hamas is the Muslim Brotherhood," *National Review Online*, January 29, 2011, <http://www.nationalreview.com/corner/258381/hamas-muslim-brotherhood-andrew-c-mccarthy> [218].

¹¹¹ Hazem Balousha and Patrick Kingsley, "Egyptian court bans Hamas amid crackdown on Muslim Brotherhood," *Guardian* (London), March 4, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/04/egyptian-court-bans-hamas-activities> [219].

¹¹² Adnan Abu Amer, "Hamas tones down Brotherhood links to improve Egypt ties," *Al-Monitor*, May 13, 2014, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/05/gaza-egypt-hamas-brotherhood-elections.html#/> [220].

¹¹³ "Hamas removes picture of Morsi, Muslim Brotherhood in Gaza," *Middle East Monitor*, March 22, 2016, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/middle-east/24610-hamas-removes-picture-of-morsi-muslim-brotherhood-in-gaza> [221].

¹¹⁴ Jack Khoury, "Hamas Denies Links With Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and Elsewhere," *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), March 23, 2016, <http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/.premium-1.710423> [222].

¹¹⁵ "Document of General Principles & Policies," Hamas, May 1, 2017, <http://hamas.ps/en/post/678/a-document-of-general-principles-and-policies> [223]; Patrick Wintour, "Hamas presents new charter accepting a Palestine based on 1967 borders," *Guardian* (London), May 1, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/may/01/hamas-new-charter-palestine-israel-1967-borders> [224].

¹¹⁶ "Egypt: Muslim Brotherhood leader Khairat el-Shater denies spying charges in rare court statement," *Middle East Eye*, July 18, 2019, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/egypts-muslim-brotherhood-vice-chief-al-shater-talks-first-time-2013-reports> [83].

¹¹⁷ "Egypt sentences 11 Islamist leaders to life for spying," *Associated Press*, September 11, 2011, <https://apnews.com/2c101b12aefe4e0e992e396180da85f6> [78].

¹¹⁸ "Statement of Secretary Paul O'Neill on the Blocking of Hamas Financiers' Assets," U.S. Department of the Treasury, December 4, 2001, <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/po837.aspx> [177].

¹¹⁹ "No Cash for Terror: Convictions Returned in Holy Land Case," *Federal Bureau of Investigation*, November 25, 2008,

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<http://www.fbi.gov/news/stories/2008/november/hlf112508> [175].

¹²⁰ “Federal Judge Hands Down Sentences in Holy Land Foundation Case,” Federal Bureau of Investigation, May 27, 2009, <http://www.fbi.gov/dallas/press-releases/2009/dl052709.htm> [176].

¹²¹ “Exhibit Elbarasse Search - 3,” USA v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, September 25, 2008, <http://www.txnd.uscourts.gov/judges/hlf2/09-25-08/Elbarasse%20Search%203> [225].

¹²² “Exhibit Elbarasse Search - 3,” USA v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, September 25, 2008, <http://www.txnd.uscourts.gov/judges/hlf2/09-25-08/Elbarasse%20Search%203> [225].

¹²³ “Exhibit Elbarasse Search - 3,” USA v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, September 25, 2008, <http://www.txnd.uscourts.gov/judges/hlf2/09-25-08/Elbarasse%20Search%203> [225].

¹²⁴ “Exhibit Elbarasse Search - 3,” USA v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, September 25, 2008, <http://www.txnd.uscourts.gov/judges/hlf2/09-25-08/Elbarasse%20Search%203> [225].

¹²⁵ “Exhibit Elbarasse Search - 3,” USA v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, September 25, 2008, <http://www.txnd.uscourts.gov/judges/hlf2/09-25-08/Elbarasse%20Search%203> [225].

¹²⁶ Nour Youssef, “Bomb at Checkpoint in Cairo Area Kills 6 Police Officers,” *New York Times*, December 9, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/09/world/middleeast/cairo-giza-bomb.html?ref=world> [226].; “Egypt violence: Six police officers killed by militants in Cairo,” BBC News, December 9, 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-38267046> [227].; “Egypt’s former grand mufti survives shooting west of Cairo,” Associated Press via Daily Mail, August 5, 2016, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-3725357/Egypt-s-former-grand-mufti-survives-shooting-south-Cairo.html> [228].

¹²⁷ Dr. Shay Shaul, “Egypt - The Hasm Terrorist Group,” International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, March 19, 2017, <https://www.ict.org.il/Article/1965/egypt-the-hasm-terrorist-group#gsc.tab=0> [229].; Sudarsan Raghavan, “Explosives-packed car kills 20, injures dozens in Cairo collision,” *Washington Post*, August 5, 2019, https://beta.washingtonpost.com/world/explosives-packed-car-kills-20-injures-dozens-in-cairo-collision/2019/08/05/1cf14256-b798-11e9-8e83-4e6687e99814_story.html?noredirect=on [230].

¹²⁸ “Egypt’s Hasm militants claim attack targeting Myanmar embassy,” Reuters, October 1, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-security/egypts-hasm-militants-claim-attack-targeting-myanmar-embassy-idUSKCN1C705D> [205].; Nour Youssef, “Bomb at Checkpoint in Cairo Area Kills 6 Police Officers,” *New York Times*, December 9, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/09/world/middleeast/cairo-giza-bomb.html?ref=world> [226].; “Egypt violence: Six police officers killed by militants in Cairo,” BBC News, December 9, 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-38267046> [227].

¹²⁹ “Egypt’s Hasm militants claim attack targeting Myanmar embassy,” Reuters, October 1, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-security/egypts-hasm-militants-claim-attack-targeting-myanmar-embassy-idUSKCN1C705D> [205].

¹³⁰ “Explosion hits tourist bus near Egypt’s Gaza Pyramids,” Al Jazeera, May 19, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/05/explosion-hits-tourist-bus-egypt-giza-pyramids-190519125849368.html> [208].; Samy Magdy, “Cab bomb collides with vehicles in Egypt capital, killing 20,” Associated Press, August 5, 2019, <https://www.apnews.com/2e69f9d17d0d43e5a31be12a030e7da2> [209].

¹³¹ “Egypt arrests 54 suspected of planning violence on uprising anniversary,” Reuters, January 29, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-security/egypt-arrests-54-suspected-of-planning-violence-on-uprising-anniversary-idUSKCN1PN1UZ> [231].

¹³² Agence France-Presse, “Egypt Arrests 6 Planning ‘Chaos’ on Uprising Anniversary,” Naharnet, January 22, 2020, <http://www.naharnet.com/stories/en/268419-egypt-arrests-6-planning-chaos-on-uprising-anniversary> [75].

¹³³ “Egypt expands arrest campaigns ahead of revolution anniversary,” Middle East Monitor, January 23, 2020, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20200123-egypt-expands-arrest-campaigns-ahead-of-revolution-anniversary/> [76].

¹³⁴ Christia Case Bryant, “Behind Qatar’s bet on the Muslim Brotherhood,” *Christian Science Monitor*, April 18, 2014, accessed May 30, 2014, <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2014/0418/Behind-Qatar-s-bet-on-the-Muslim-Brotherhood> [232].

¹³⁵ “Egypt has paid back \$500 million to Qatar: central bank governor,” Reuters, October 11, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/10/11/us-egypt-qatar-deposits-idUSKCN0I009A20141011> [141].

¹³⁶ “Egypt to repay \$2.5 bln Qatari deposit at end-Nov-Cbank source,” Reuters, November 6, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/11/06/egypt-qatar-deposits-idUSL6N0SW1U420141106> [63].

¹³⁷ Paul Alster, “Secret Document Appears to Show Qatar Payoffs to Key Morsi Cronies,” Fox News, June 9 2013, <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2013/07/09/secret-document-appears-to-show-qatar-payoffs-to-key-morsi-cronies/> [64].

¹³⁸ David D. Kirkpatrick, “Muslim Brotherhood Says Qatar Ousted Its Members,” *New York Times*, September 13, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/14/world/middleeast/bowing-to-pressure-qatar-asks-some-muslim-brotherhood-leaders-to-leave.html?action=click&contentCollection=Middle%20East&ion=Footer&module=MoreInSection&pgtype=article> [233].

¹³⁹ Mohammad Abdel Kader, “Turkey’s relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood,” Al Arabiya, October 14, 2013, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/14/Turkey-s-relationship-with-the-Muslim-Brotherhood.html> [234].

¹⁴⁰ Mohammad Abdel Kader, “Turkey’s relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood,” Al Arabiya, October 14, 2013, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/14/Turkey-s-relationship-with-the-Muslim-Brotherhood.html> [234].

¹⁴¹ Mohammad Abdel Kader, “Turkey’s relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood,” Al Arabiya, October 14, 2013, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/14/Turkey-s-relationship-with-the-Muslim-Brotherhood.html> [234].

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¹⁴³ Steven G. Merley, "Turkey, the Global Muslim Brotherhood, and the Gaza Flotilla," Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, accessed June 17, 2015, 8, http://www.jcpa.org/text/Turkey_Muslim_Brotherhood.pdf [236]; Robert Booth, "Israeli attack on Gaza flotilla sparks international outrage," *Guardian*, May 31, 2010, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/may/31/israeli-attacks-gaza-flotilla-activists> [237].

¹⁴⁴ Ayhan Simsek, "Support for Muslim Brotherhood isolates Turkey," Deutsche Welles, August 21, 2013, <http://www.dw.de/support-for-muslim-brotherhood-isolates-turkey/a-17037906> [238].

¹⁴⁵ Sebnem Arsu, "Turkey Open to Bids for Refuge by Muslim Brotherhood Exiles," September 15, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/16/world/europe/turkey-open-to-bids-for-refuge-by-muslim-brotherhood-exiles.html?_r=0 [239].

¹⁴⁶ "U.S. condemns killings of Egypt protesters, Turkey wants U.N. action," Reuters, August 14, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/08/14/us-egypt-protests-reaction-idUSBRE97D11920130814> [240].

¹⁴⁷ Thomas Seibert, "Turkey Takes in 'Terrorists' from the Muslim Brotherhood," Daily Beast, September 19, 2014, <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/09/19/turkey-takes-in-terrorists-from-the-muslim-brotherhood.html> [241].

¹⁴⁸ Paul Aster, "Turkey may welcome Muslim Brotherhood brass after ouster from Qatar," Fox News, September 21, 2014, <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2014/09/21/turkey-may-welcome-muslim-brotherhood-brass-after-ouster-from-qatar/> [143].

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¹⁵² Paul Alster, "Secret Document Appears to Show Qatar Payoffs to Key Morsi Cronies," Fox News, June 9 2013, <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2013/07/09/secret-document-appears-to-show-qatar-payoffs-to-key-morsi-cronies/> [64].

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Media Coverage:

Media coverage/analysis of group

During the 2011 revolution that toppled Egypt's Mubarak regime, Western media found they had to explain the Muslim Brotherhood to audiences unfamiliar with the group. This created an opportunity for the Brotherhood to spin its introduction to the Western public, as Brotherhood senior official Mohammed Morsi did in an op-ed in London's *Guardian* newspaper in February 2011, days before Mubarak's fall from power. The Brotherhood is "at the heart of Egyptian society," Morsi wrote.¹⁵³ Speaking directly to Western readers, Morsi listed the Mubarak government's crimes against the Brotherhood, painting the organization as another victim of the repressive regime, "constantly targeted by some of the most brutal government measures."¹⁵⁴ The Brotherhood, according to Morsi, aims "to remove all forms of injustice, tyranny, autocracy and dictatorship, and we call for the implementation of a democratic multiparty all-inclusive political system that excludes no one."¹⁵⁵ Intentionally or not, the *Guardian* gave the Brotherhood a platform to appeal to international audiences.

Qatar's Al Jazeera

Al Jazeera quickly cemented itself as the Arab media champion of Egypt's revolution, earning adulation from the masses and ire from Mubarak's government, which revoked the network's broadcasting license and shut down its Cairo bureau during the regime's final weeks in power.¹⁵⁶ Soon after Mubarak's regime fell, Al Jazeera stepped up its support for the Brotherhood, prompting some outside analysts to criticize the network's behavior as shameless. Sultan Al Qassemi, a UAE-based commentator, said Al Jazeera established a live Egypt broadcast days after Mubarak's fall for the purpose of "dedicating its coverage in favor of the Muslim Brotherhood around the clock."¹⁵⁷

Al Jazeera has long broadcast a program hosted by radical Brotherhood ideologue Yusuf al-Qaradawi, famous for his incitement against Jews and support of Palestinian suicide bombings against Israel. During protests in Egypt's Tahrir Square in February 2011, Al Jazeera broadcasted a speech by al-Qaradawi in which he proclaimed his hope that "as God has delighted me to see a liberated Egypt, [so too will God] delight me with a conquered Al Aqsa [a holy mosque in Jerusalem]."¹⁵⁸

Before Morsi even took office as president of Egypt, Al Jazeera reported that his election had turned the situation at the Egypt-Gaza Rafah border crossing "upside down," with people moving easily through the checkpoint for the first time since Israel imposed a blockade on Gaza.¹⁵⁹

In *Foreign Policy*, Sultan Al Qassemi reported that on June 30, 2013, while hundreds of thousands of Egyptians clamored for Morsi to step down, Al Jazeera Arabic diverted its coverage to air an interview with a Syrian dissident and soccer updates. Though Al Jazeera's dedicated Egypt channel did cover the protests, Al Qassemi noted that the channel isn't as widely available in the Middle East as its parent network.¹⁶⁰

One week after Morsi was deposed by the Egyptian military in July 2013, Al Jazeera promptly covered protests against the takeover, labeling the takeover a "coup," and reported on the steadfast support that Morsi's followers were maintaining.¹⁶¹ Al Jazeera's English network also broadcast damning reports claiming that the U.S. "quietly funded senior Egyptian opposition figures who called for toppling of the country's now-deposed president Mohammed Morsi."¹⁶² According to the report, activists on the U.S. payroll included "an exiled Egyptian police officer who plotted the violent overthrow...an anti-Islamist politician who advocated closing mosques and dragging preachers out by force, as well as a coterie of opposition politicians..."¹⁶³

Al Jazeera came to the Brotherhood's defense after the group was labeled a terrorist organization, noting that the designation came one day after a deadly car bombing in Mansoura, an attack for which Ansar Bayt Al-Maqdis claimed credit. Al Jazeera noted that "the government blamed the Brotherhood for the attack, though it provided no evidence

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connecting the group to the attack.”¹⁶⁴

On March 24, an Egyptian court sentenced 529 Brotherhood members to death for various charges, including murder, “violence, inciting murder, storming a police station, attacking persons and damaging public and private property.”¹⁶⁵ Al Jazeera’s story about the verdicts centered on the “widespread outrage and international condemnation” expressed by foreign governments and human rights groups.¹⁶⁶

Al Jazeera early on labeled the military ouster a coup, which, according to the *Washington Post*, turned Al Jazeera “into a virtual enemy of the state in Egypt.”¹⁶⁷ Yigal Carmon, president of the Washington-based Middle East Media Research Institute, told the *Post* that Al Jazeera attacks the military and defends the Brotherhood “in every way possible.”¹⁶⁸ Al Jazeera America presents the news in a more balanced format than its Middle East counterpart, according to Carmon, who added that Al Jazeera “is talking with a forked tongue in two languages.”¹⁶⁹

On the same day that Egyptian army chief Abdel Fattah el-Sisi was elected Egyptian president, Al Jazeera ran a story on its website’s front page titled, “American Report: El-Sisi’s Popularity Limited,” which cited a Pew report claiming that “el-Sisi’s popularity does not exceed 54 percent, and 4 out of 10 Egyptians support Morsi over el-Sisi.”¹⁷⁰

Another Al Jazeera report noted that rival presidential candidate Hamdeen Sabahi’s office complained that the police and military were denying his representatives access to polling stations. The story quoted Emad Shahin, a political science professor at Columbia University, who likened the election to a “Mercedes racing a bike.” Shahin said that el-Sisi was “feeding on people’s fears, and intellectuals surrounding him have been playing the security card and how his military background make him fit for the task.”¹⁷¹

Largely anti-Muslim Brotherhood Media

While Al Jazeera gave prominent airtime to al-Qaradawi and other Islamists affiliated with the Brotherhood, numerous Saudi-owned papers took the opposite approach, depicting an ominous rise of Islamist and Salafist parties in Egypt and lamenting the failure of liberal youth movements to organize politically. In July 2011, Tariq al-Homayed, the former editor-in-chief of the Saudi-owned, London-based *Asharq Al-Awsat* newspaper, wrote an op-ed titled, “Are We Looking at Egyptistan?”¹⁷² Though al-Homayed granted that the Islamists had the right to express their opinions, “whether we like it or not,” he concluded by asking, “Will the [Egyptian] political forces—particularly the youth and liberals—wake up from their delusions today... or will they continue to waste these historic opportunities to build a democratic Egypt?”¹⁷³

Other Saudi and Saudi-owned pan-Arab media also voiced their concerns about the Brotherhood after its candidate, Mohammed Morsi, won Egypt’s presidential election in June 2012. Abdulrahman Al-Rashed, general manager of the Al Arabiya news channel, noted that while Morsi gave the Gulf states assurances that he would not interfere with their affairs, “[W]hat would he do if Israel attacked Hamas in Gaza?” He also wondered which Palestinian faction Morsi would support, and whether he would “remain silent about Iran’s ideological and religious activities...as seen in Tehran’s support for local groups and attempts to spread the Shiite ideology amongst some Egyptian circles?”¹⁷⁴

Throughout the first half of 2013, tensions persisted between Morsi and the judiciary, which struck down Morsi’s request for early parliamentary elections, as well as between Morsi and the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces. Morsi’s government also made headlines for harassing journalists who were accused of insulting the president. Al Arabiya published a scathing report in April titled, “Bassem Youssef and the Muslim Brotherhood’s War on Media in Egypt.”¹⁷⁵

After the Egyptian military set a 48-hour deadline on July 1 for all political parties to resolve their differences, Al Arabiya mockingly reported on the new clock set up by the Egyptian grassroots movement Tamarod to count the hours and minutes until Morsi’s resignation with the headline, “Move over, MorsiMeter! ‘MorsiTimer’ Counts down Egypt Army Deadline.”¹⁷⁶

Hours after the military removed Morsi from office on July 3, the Saudi paper *al-Riyadh* published the “cable of

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congratulations” that King Abdullah sent to interim Egyptian President Adli Mansour and the Egyptian military, in which he praised Egyptian army chief Abdel Fattah el-Sisi for managing “to save Egypt at this critical moment from a dark tunnel God on could apprehend its dimensions and repercussions....”¹⁷⁷

Just months after Morsi took office, Saudi outlets were already mocking him by reporting on the “Morsi Meter,” a tool created by Morsi’s activist opponents to track his lack of progress in fulfilling campaign pledges.¹⁷⁸

The Saudi-based paper *al-Eqtisadiya* reported on the protests in support of and against Morsi’s decree, giving far more space to the latter. The paper quoted protesters chanting “Down with Morsi,” and “Down, Down with the Guide’s rule.”¹⁷⁹

Refusing to accept the interim military rule, Morsi’s Islamist supporters staged sit-ins in Cairo’s Rabia al-Adawiya Square and Nahda Square. In late July, security forces clashed with Brotherhood supporters there, reportedly killing and injuring hundreds of protesters. On July 27, Al Jazeera broadcast scenes from a local hospital where the wounded were being treated, as an angry doctor at the hospital shamed the army for carrying out such violence.¹⁸⁰ In August, Al Jazeera produced a documentary detailing its side of the Rabia story. The documentary shows the crowd there ostensibly protesting peacefully before being shot by Egyptian soldiers firing live-ammunition.¹⁸¹

However, the extent of the carnage in Rabia al-Adawiya Square became a point of contention. The Muslim Brotherhood reported at the end of August that over 4,000 protesters had been killed.¹⁸² In contrast, the military claimed that on August 14, the day that it invaded the square to break up the protests, “between 683 and 1,000 people, including 43 police officers” died in the carnage.¹⁸³

Writing for Al Arabiya, Abdallah Schleifer seemed to take sides with the interim government, as he wondered how much attention European and American leaders would pay to the killings of policemen by the Brotherhood. He criticized the Brotherhood’s allegedly non-violent approach, writing, “Non-violence does not mean building barricades to hold off the Egyptian riot police and breaking up pavement stones to throw at them.” He added that a BBC cameraman who caught footage of the Rabia al-Awaiya mosque’s roof noted that “gunfire was not just coming in, but also going out, from the mosque at the same time.”¹⁸⁴

When Saudi-owned *Asharq al-Awsat* reported on the government’s intensified crackdown, it interviewed anonymous Egyptian security officials who “affirmed that the Muslim Brotherhood had allied itself with two Al-Qaeda linked groups, Ansar Bayt Al-Maqdis and the Al-Furqan Brigade.”¹⁸⁵

Even Al Arabiya described Sisi’s victory as “pyrrhic,” because while Sisi wanted “an overwhelming turnout that would accord legitimacy to his July ouster” of Mohammed Morsi, only about 44 percent of Egyptians voted. The low turnout came despite the government’s extension of voting for an extra day and declaration of a national holiday so that citizens could make it to the polls.¹⁸⁶

On March 24, an Egyptian court sentenced 529 Brotherhood members to death for various charges, including murder, “violence, inciting murder, storming a police station, attacking persons and damaging public and private property.”¹⁸⁷ Al Arabiya struck a vastly different tone with its coverage than Al Jazeera, with the Saudi-owned station simply laying out the charges, while including a short section on U.S. government concern about the death sentences.

Morsi’s constitutional decree in November 2012 also drew scorn from his opponents within Egypt. Cairo’s *Al Ahrām*, traditionally close to the Mubarak regime, ran an article summarizing the reaction from American media outlets: “President Morsi’s Decisions Creating New Pharaoh.”¹⁸⁸

Amid the Morsi government’s ineptitude, corruption, and unfulfilled promises, the Tamarod youth movement emerged, seeking to garner 15 million votes in order to force Morsi out of office on June 30.¹⁸⁹ Part of the large shift against the Brotherhood may also be due to an alleged pact by Egypt’s six main television stations to characterize the organization as a terrorist group. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, anchors from each channel thanked the military for overthrowing

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Morsi and covered themselves in Egyptian flags on air while playing the national anthem.¹⁹⁰

By mid-June 2013, Tamarod had garnered massive support throughout Egypt, with protesters swelling the streets of major cities. Egypt's *al-Masry al-Youm* reported that Tamarod activists were being harassed and attacked by Muslim Brotherhood "militias" during their peaceful demonstrations.¹⁹¹

It is important to note that at least 22 Al Jazeera staff members from the Egypt office resigned on July 8 over what they described as the network's "biased coverage" on Egypt. One of the anchors interviewed by Dubai's *Gulf News* reported that "the management in Doha provokes sedition among the Egyptian people and has an agenda against Egypt and other Arab countries."¹⁹²

American and Israeli Media

As Egyptians took to the streets in protest of Mubarak, the United States and Israel initially held back support for the protests against their ally, instead focusing on regional stability. Western media picked up on these concerns, primarily regarding the future of the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty. The downfall of the Mubarak regime would have "a massive effect, mainly negative, on Israel's position in the region," according to Israel's *Haaretz* military expert Amos Harel, who added it could threaten the Egyptian and Jordanian treaties.¹⁹³

On February 23, 2011, eight days before Mubarak officially stepped down from office, the *New York Times* ran an op-ed by Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a former Brotherhood member, in which she warned the West about the Brotherhood's increasing power and suggested ways in which the U.S. might counter it.¹⁹⁴

As Mubarak fell and the Brotherhood became a key player in the new Egyptian political world, Western media continued to focus on the question of the treaty. Days before Mubarak left power, the *Washington Times* reported on a Japanese interview with a Brotherhood leader who called for any future Egyptian government to withdraw from the Israel-Egypt peace treaty, while a Brotherhood spokesman told CBS that the Brotherhood would respect the treaty as long as Israel made progress with the Palestinians.¹⁹⁵

In a February 6, 2011 interview with Germany's *Der Spiegel*, Egyptian opposition leader Mohamed ElBaradei addressed Israeli concerns. Israel has a treaty with a single man, Mubarak, and not the Egyptian people, he said, adding that the Israelis "should understand that it is in their long-term interest to have a democratic Egypt as a neighbor."¹⁹⁶ Prefacing his comments with how he disagrees with the Brotherhood's ideology, ElBaradei defended the Brotherhood, which he said had "agreed to play by democratic rules."¹⁹⁷

In the lead-up to Egyptian elections and during the early days of the Brotherhood government, many U.S. and Israeli media outlets questioned what a Brotherhood-led government would mean for the Israel-Egypt peace treaty and U.S.-Egyptian relations if Egypt nullified the treaty. U.S. media outlets were deluged with op-eds warning against the Brotherhood's rise to power. For example, Fawaz A. Gerges, a professor of international relations at the London School of Economics, called in a CNN op-ed for the opposition to find a voice, or else "the Muslim Brotherhood will probably be the dominant power in the next Egyptian parliament and that could pit the movement against the army...."¹⁹⁸ Including the Brotherhood in a transitional government would be "a mistake of historic proportions," according to U.S. Sen. John McCain (R-AZ).¹⁹⁹

As the Brotherhood emerged as the leading political party in Egypt, media outlets continued to question what that would mean for the United States and Israel. The *New York Times* reported that the young people who had driven the revolution had lost control of it as the Brotherhood gained power.²⁰⁰ Questions in the Western media continued to swirl around what role the Brotherhood would play and whether the Israel-Egypt peace treaty would survive. "While the two countries have benefited from a peace treaty for more than 32 years, the prevailing atmosphere of uncertainty is unsettling," the American Jewish Committee's Kenneth Brandler wrote in an op-ed for Fox News.²⁰¹

Western media did not rush to embrace Morsi after his victory in the June 2012 presidential elections, and speculation

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continued about what his presidency would mean for the U.S. and Israel. Dan Efron in the *Daily Beast* wrote, “He won’t attack Israel and he’s unlikely to tear up the peace treaty, at least initially. But Israelis are worried that Mohammed Morsi... will lead an isolation campaign against the Jewish state, shore up Hamas in the Gaza Strip, and bring relations between the two countries to their lowest point in more than 30 years.”²⁰²

The United States has refused to call the Egyptian army’s July 2013 removal of the Brotherhood a coup, and media outlets have taken note. CNN’s Jake Tapper observed that hours after Morsi’s overthrow, President Obama “purposely avoided using the word ‘coup.’”²⁰³ The “coup” label carries legal repercussions for U.S. aid, so “while what happened in Egypt fits the definition of a military coup—don’t expect to hear that four letter word from the administration,” Tapper warned.²⁰⁴ However, CNN itself ran a story on the day of Morsi’s disposal with the headline: “Coup topples Egypt’s Morsi; deposed president under ‘house arrest.’”²⁰⁵

Other media sources such as *Foreign Policy*, also found themselves questioning why the United States would not label the Brotherhood’s overthrow a coup: “Though few think the ruling Muslim Brotherhood governed in an inclusive fashion during its one year in power, and many decried Morsi’s authoritarian power grabs over parliament and the judiciary, reporters pushed officials to call a spade a spade.”²⁰⁶

Despite disagreement over how it happened, Western pundits have largely embraced the fall of the Brotherhood government as positive. The Brotherhood revealed itself to be “a Leninist-style organisation, intent on power for power’s sake, that was leading the country into Islamic totalitarianism and economic ruin,” wrote Hugh Miles in the *Telegraph*.²⁰⁷

¹⁵³ Muhammad Mursi, “This Is Egypt’s Revolution, Not Ours,” *Guardian* (London), February 7, 2011, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/feb/08/egypt-revolution-muslim-brotherhood-democracy> [243].

¹⁵⁴ Muhammad Mursi, “This Is Egypt’s Revolution, Not Ours,” *Guardian* (London), February 7, 2011, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/feb/08/egypt-revolution-muslim-brotherhood-democracy> [243].

¹⁵⁵ Muhammad Mursi, “This Is Egypt’s Revolution, Not Ours,” *Guardian* (London), February 7, 2011, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/feb/08/egypt-revolution-muslim-brotherhood-democracy> [243].

¹⁵⁶ “Egypt Shuts Down Al Jazeera Bureau,” Al Jazeera, January 30, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/01/201113085252994161.html> [244].

¹⁵⁷ Sultan Al Qassemi, “Morsi’s Win is Al Jazeera’s Loss,” Al-Monitor, July 1, 2012, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2012/al-monitor/morsys-win-is-al-jazeeras-loss.html> [245].

¹⁵⁸ “Sheik Yusuf al-Qaradawi: Theologian of Terror,” Anti-Defamation League, March 15, 2011, http://archive.adl.org/nr/exeres/788c5421-70e3-4e4d-bff4-9be14e4a2e58_db7611a2-02cd-43af-8147-649e26813571.frameless.html [246].

¹⁵⁹ “Fawz Morsi Yenakis Ijaban ala Muabir Rafah,” Al Jazeera, June 28, 2012, <http://www.aljazeera.net/news/pages/839b0903-7295-4967-a3b2-fb79f9f4b998> [247].

¹⁶⁰ Sultan Al Qassemi, “How the Voice of Arab Freedom became a Shill for Egypt’s Islamists,” *Foreign Policy*, July 11, 2013, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2013/07/11/al_jazeera_egypt_qatar_muslim_brotherhood [248].

¹⁶¹ “Mudhaharat dud Al-Inqilab wa Al-Ikhwan Yushidun bi Morsi,” Al Jazeera, July 11, 2013, <http://aljazeera.net/news/pages/63f4ae31-b9b0-4643-a80b-2380a23f95b2> [249].

¹⁶² Emad Mekay, “Exclusive: US Bankrolled Anti-Morsi Activists,” Al Jazeera English, July 10, 2013, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2013/07/2013710113522489801.html> [250].

¹⁶³ Emad Mekay, “Exclusive: US Bankrolled Anti-Morsi Activists,” Al Jazeera English, July 10, 2013, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2013/07/2013710113522489801.html> [250].

¹⁶⁴ Gregg Carlstrom, “Egypt Declares Brotherhood ‘Terrorist Group,’” Al Jazeera English, December 25, 2013, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2013/12/egypt-declares-brotherhood-terrorist-group-201312251544398545.html> [251].

¹⁶⁵ “Egypt Sentences 529 Brotherhood Members to Death,” Al Arabiya English, March 24, 2014, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2014/03/24/Egypt-529-Mursi-supporters-sentenced-to-death.html> [252].

¹⁶⁶ “Egypt Mass Death Sentences Spark Outrage,” Al Jazeera English, March 25, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/03/20143258145216875.html> [253].

¹⁶⁷ Paul Farhi, “Al Jazeera Faces Criticism in Egypt over Its Coverage of Muslim Brotherhood,” *Washington Post*, January 6, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/al-jazeera-faces-criticism-in-egypt-over-its-coverage-of-muslim-brotherhood/2014/01/05/04a397f4-74b3-11e3-9389-09ef9944065e_story.html [254].

¹⁶⁸ Paul Farhi, “Al Jazeera Faces Criticism in Egypt over Its Coverage of Muslim Brotherhood,” *Washington Post*, January 6, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/al-jazeera-faces-criticism-in-egypt-over-its-coverage-of-muslim-brotherhood/2014/01/05/04a397f4-74b3-11e3-9389-09ef9944065e_story.html [254].

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Muslim Brotherhood

Rhetoric:



[289]

[Ayman al-Zawahiri, April 2014 \[289\]](#)

Video condemning an Egyptian crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood:

"We call on the people to put their revolution on the right track and undertake slogans calling for Islamic Sharia, the path of freedom, social justice and human dignity."²⁰⁸



[290]

[Message left by pro-Brotherhood hackers on Cairo International Airport's website, August 11, 2015 \[290\]](#)

Message left by pro-Brotherhood hackers on Cairo International Airport's website:

"In revenge for the martyrs who have died by the bullets of the military gang and criminal Sisi since the coup, you will drown in the blood of those you have killed. We will follow you everywhere... the revolution continues and the land does not absorb blood."²⁰⁹



[291]

[Muhammad Muntasir, spokesman, June 30, 2015 \[291\]](#)

In reference to the murder of Egypt's top prosecutor Hisham Baraket that the Brotherhood has blamed on Sisi's regime:

"The current Egyptian situation has exceeded everyone's capacity. There is no way to stop the bloodshed except by breaking the military coup and reviving the revolution."²¹⁰



[292]

[Hammam Saeed, supreme guide of the Jordanian Brotherhood, July 20, 2014 \[292\]](#)

"These Arab regimes have made us accustomed to taste the bitterness of defeat and now the day has come that someone (Hammas) has ended this humiliation and weakness by their heroic resistance."²¹¹



[293]

[Mohammed Badie, Brotherhood supreme guide, May 18, 2014 \[293\]](#)

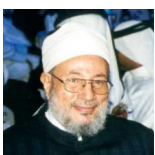
"We have fought only against the Jews, and Kamel Al-Sharif may testify about the conduct of the Muslim Brotherhood in the [1948] war in Palestine. We fought against the Jews."²¹²



[294]

[Hammam Saeed, supreme guide of the Jordanian Brotherhood, March 14, 2014 \[294\]](#)

"We will not accept less than the annulment of the peace treaty and deportation the Israeli ambassador and to announce that Jews are enemies for our nation [sic]."²¹³



[295]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, May 9, 2013 \[295\]](#)

"Our whole ambition is to die on the path to Allah, and for long life to Palestine... I am sure we will conquer. Nobody thought that the people would triumph and oust the tyrants who ruled Egypt and Tunisia. And Syria will also emerge victorious, as well as Islam... Our wish should be that we carry out Jihad to death... We should seek to liberate

Muslim Brotherhood

Palestine, all of Palestine, inch by inch.”²¹⁴



[296]

[*Hammam Saeed, supreme guide of the Jordanian Brotherhood, January 18, 2013 \[296\]*](#)

Jordan will become a “state in the Muslim Caliphate.”²¹⁵



[297]

[*Mohammed Morsi, former Egyptian president, January 2013 \[297\]*](#)

“Morsy told the senators that the values of Islam teach respect for Christianity and Judaism, and he asserted repeatedly that he had no negative views about Judaism or the Jewish people, but then followed with a diatribe about Israel and Zionist actions against Palestinians, especially in Gaza. Then Morsy crossed a line and made a comment that made the senators physically recoil in their chairs in shock, [U.S. Senator Chris] Coons said. ‘He was attempting to explain himself ... then he said, ‘Well, I think we all know that the media in the United States has made a big deal of this and we know the media of the United States is controlled by certain forces and they don't view me favorably,’ Coons said. *The Cable* asked Coons if Morsy specifically named the Jews as the forces that control the American media. Coons said all the senators believed the implication was obvious. ‘He did not say [the Jews], but I watched as the other senators physically recoiled, as did I,’ he said. ‘I thought it was impossible to draw any other conclusion.’”²¹⁶



[298]

[*Khairat el-Shater, Imprisoned Egyptian first deputy to the supreme guide, April 5, 2012 \[298\]*](#)

“Sharia was and will always be my first and final project and objective.”²¹⁷



[299]

[*Former Supreme Guide Mohammed Mahdi Akef, September 2011 \[299\]*](#)

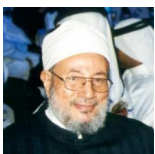
“We believe that Zionism, the United States, and England are gangs that kill children and women and men and destroy houses and fields. Zionism is a gang, not a country. So we will resist them until they don't have a country.”²¹⁸



[300]

[*Khairat el-Shater, Imprisoned Egyptian first deputy to the supreme guide, April 21, 2011 \[300\]*](#)

“Everywhere, the Brothers are working to restore Islam in its all-encompassing conception to the lives of people. Thus the mission is clear: restoring Islam in its all-encompassing conception, subjugating people to God, instituting the religion of God, the Islamicization of life, empowering of God's religion, establishing the renaissance of the ummah [worldwide Muslim nation] on the basis of Islam... Every aspect of life is to be Islamicized.”²¹⁹



[301]

[*Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, February 18, 2011 \[301\]*](#)

“I have hope that as God has delighted me to see a liberated Egypt, [so too will God] delight me with a conquered Al Aqsa [Jerusalem].”²²⁰

Muslim Brotherhood



[302]

[*Mohammed Morsi, former Egyptian president, September 23, 2010*](#) [302]

“These futile [Israeli-Palestinian] negotiations are a waste of time and opportunities. The Zionists buy time and gain more opportunities, as the Palestinians, the Arabs, and the Muslims lose time and opportunities, and they get nothing out of it... This [Palestinian] Authority was created by the Zionist and American enemies for the sole purpose of opposing the will of the Palestinian people and its interests...”²²¹



[303]

[*Mohammed Morsi, former Egyptian president, September 23, 2010*](#) [303]

“No reasonable person can expect any progress on [negotiations]. Either [you accept] the Zionists and everything they want, or else it is war. This is what these occupiers of the land of Palestine know - these blood-suckers, who attack the Palestinians, these warmongers, the descendants of apes and pigs.”²²²



[304]

[*Mohammed Morsi, former Egyptian president, September 23, 2010*](#) [304]

“We should employ all forms of resistance against them. There should be military resistance within the land of Palestine against those criminal Zionists, who attack Palestine and the Palestinians. There should also be political resistance and economic resistance through a boycott, as well as by supporting the resistance fighters. This should be the practice of the Muslims and the Arabs outside Palestine. They should support the resistance fighters and besiege the Zionist wherever they are. None of the Arab or Muslim peoples and regimes should have dealings with them. Pressure should be exerted upon them. They must not be given any opportunity, and must not stand on any Arab or Islamic land. They must be driven out of our countries.”²²³



[305]

[*Mohammed Morsi, former Egyptian president, September 23, 2010*](#) [305]

“[T]hese negotiations must stop once and for all. Everybody must turn to the support of the resistance, which is the option chosen by the Palestinians and by us all - the Arabs and the Muslims, Palestinians and others. We must all realize that resistance is the only way to liberate the land of Palestine.”²²⁴



[306]

[*Mohammed Morsi, former Egyptian president, March 20, 2010*](#) [306]

“The Zionists have no right to the land of Palestine. There is no place for them on the land of Palestine. What they took before 1947-8 constitutes plundering, and what they are doing now is a continuation of this plundering. By no means do we recognize their Green Line. The land of Palestine belongs to the Palestinians, not to the Zionists.”²²⁵



[307]

[*Mohammed Morsi, former Egyptian president, March 20, 2010*](#) [307]

“We must confront this Zionist entity. All ties of all kinds must be severed with this plundering criminal entity, which is supported by America and its weapons, as well as by its own nuclear weapons, the existence of which is well known. It will bring about their own destruction. The peoples must boycott this entity and avoid normalization of relations with it. All products from countries supporting this entity - from the U.S. and others - must be boycotted.”²²⁶

[*Mohammed Morsi, former Egyptian president, March 20, 2010*](#) [308]

Muslim Brotherhood



[308]

“We want a country for the Palestinians on the entire land of Palestine, on the basis of [Palestinian] citizenship. All the talk about a two-state solution and about peace is nothing but an illusion, which the Arabs have been chasing for a long time now. They will not get from the Zionists anything but this illusion.”²²⁷

[*Mohammed Morsi, former Egyptian president, March 20, 2010*](#) [309]



[309]

“They have been fanning the flames of civil strife wherever they were throughout history. They are hostile by nature.”²²⁸

[*Mohammed Morsi, former Egyptian president, March 20, 2010*](#) [310]



[310]

“The Zionists understood nothing but the language of force.”²²⁹

[*Mohammed Morsi, former Egyptian president, January 10, 2010*](#) [311]



[311]

“Dear brothers, we must not forget to nurse our children and grandchildren on hatred towards those Zionists and Jews, and all those who support them. They must be nursed on hatred. The hatred must continue.”²³⁰

[*Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, January 30, 2009*](#) [312]



[312]

“Throughout history, Allah has imposed upon the [Jews] people who would punish them for their corruption. The last punishment was carried out by Hitler. By means of all the things he did to them - even though they exaggerated this issue - he managed to put them in their place. This was divine punishment for them. Allah willing, the next time will be at the hand of the believers.”²³¹

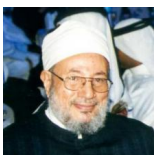
[*Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, January 28, 2009*](#) [313]



[313]

“To conclude my speech, I’d like to say that the only thing I hope for is that as my life approaches its end, Allah will give me an opportunity to go to the land of Jihad and resistance, even if in a wheelchair. I will shoot Allah’s enemies, the Jews, and they will throw a bomb at me, and thus, I will seal my life with martyrdom.”²³²

[*Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, January 9, 2009*](#) [314]



[314]

“Oh Allah, take this oppressive, Jewish, Zionist band of people... do not spare a single one of them. Oh Allah, count their numbers, and kill them, down to the very last one.”²³³

[*Mohammed Morsi, former Egyptian president, September 15, 2007*](#) [315]

“The US administration has never presented any evidences on the identity of those who

Muslim Brotherhood



[315]

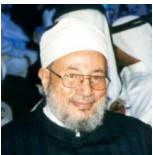
committed that incident [9/11 attacks]... The Muslim Brotherhood and others demanded a transparent trial with clear evidence and to have court rulings. We confirm that this isn't a defense to those who committed these actions but we only seek the truth."²³⁴



[316]

[Mohammad Mahdi Akef, former Brotherhood Supreme guide, December 2005 \[316\]](#)

"Western democracies have slammed all those who don't see eye-to-eye with the Zionists regarding the myth of the Holocaust."²³⁵



[317]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, October 2005 \[317\]](#)

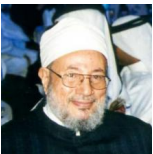
"One wonders if the west has given up on Christianity. We supposed that the west's history and roots were in Christianity and the latter objects to homosexuality. The Torah also says sodomy is punished by God. We shouldn't give the impression that Muslims are alone on this."²³⁶



[318]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, September 2005 \[318\]](#)

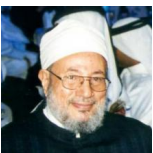
"There was a demonstration against me in London because I spoke out against homosexuality. People seem to have forgotten that it wasn't me who came up with this mindset. It's part of God's order spoken of by Moses and even mentioned by Jesus."²³⁷



[319]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, July 13, 2004 \[319\]](#)

"There is no dialogue between us [Muslims and Jews] except by the sword and the rifle..."²³⁸



[320]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, May 28, 2004 \[320\]](#)

"The Jews caused us a great injustice, the greatest injustice. They have expelled our people, stolen our land, shed our brothers' blood, and are still shedding blood, and there should be no contact between them and us. How could I agree to meet with them? They have killed our brothers in Rafah and destroyed their homes, and today I am supposed to shake their hand? The problem between them and us should be solved first. There is no way I will take part or agree that any observant Muslim take part in a dialogue with those Jews before our problem with them is solved. True, there are a few Jews who do not agree, but about these, Islam says that the majority rules all, while the minority has no influence. We judge according to the majority... The Jews around the world, as a rule, support Israel. And this is well known. Therefore, we will not agree to meet with them until our problem with the Zionist entity and those Westerners and Christians who support them is solved."²³⁹

Muslim Brotherhood



[321]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, May 15, 2004 \[321\]](#)

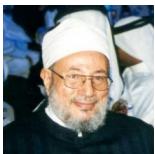
“Violence exists everywhere and terrorism exists everywhere, even within America, and America may be one of the reasons for the spreading of the violent ideology around the world because of the culture it spreads, violent films, the violent TV series, westerns... This is America and even the children... We have seen children shooting their classmates.”²⁴⁰



[322]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, 2004 \[322\]](#)

“We must be aware that in regulating the sexual drive Islam has prohibited not only illicit sexual relations and all what leads to them, but also the sexual deviation known as homosexuality. This perverted act is a reversal of the natural order, a corruption of man's sexuality, and a crime against the rights of females. (The same applies equally to the case of lesbianism.)”²⁴¹



[323]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, 2004 \[323\]](#)

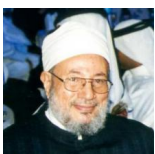
“The spread of this depraved practice [gay sex] in a society disrupts its natural life pattern and makes those who practice it slaves to their lusts, depriving them of decent taste, decent morals, and a decent manner of living.”²⁴²



[324]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, July 19, 2003 \[324\]](#)

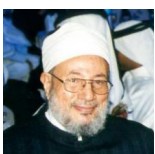
“[D]ue to the colonialist, occupying, racist, and [plundering] nature of Israeli society, it is, in fact, a military society. Anyone past childhood, man or woman, is drafted into the Israeli army. Every Israeli is a soldier in the army, either in practical terms or because he is a reservist soldier who can be summoned at any time for war. This fact needs no proof. Those they call ‘civilians’ are in effect ‘soldiers’ in the army of the sons of Zion.”²⁴³



[325]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, July 19, 2003 \[325\]](#)

“Israeli society has a unique trait that makes it different from the other human societies, and that is that as far as the people of Palestine are concerned, it is a ‘society of invaders’ who came from outside the region - from Russia or America, from Europe or from the lands of the Orient - to occupy Palestine and settle in it... Those who are invaded have the right to fight the invaders with all means at their disposal in order to remove [the invaders] from their homes and send them back to the homes from whence they came... This is a *Jihad* of necessity, as the clerics call it, and not *Jihad* of choice... Even if an innocent child is killed as a result of this *Jihad* - it was not intended, but rather due to the necessities of the war... Even with the passage of time, these [Israeli] so-called ‘civilians’ do not stop being invaders, evil, tyrants, and oppressors...”²⁴⁴



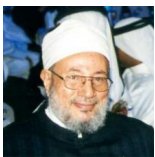
[326]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, July 19, 2003 \[326\]](#)

“Our brothers in Palestine are, without doubt, in a situation of extreme necessity to carry out martyrdom operations in order to unsettle their enemies and the plunderers of their land and to sow horror in their hearts so that they will leave, and return to the places

Muslim Brotherhood

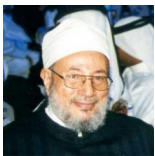
from whence they came... What weapon can harm their enemy, can prevent him from sleeping, and can strip him of a sense of security and stability, except for these human bombs - a young man or woman who blows himself or herself up amongst their enemy. This is a weapon the likes of which the enemy cannot obtain, even if the U.S. provides it with billions [of dollars] and the most powerful weapons, because it is a unique weapon that Allah has placed only in the hands of the men of belief. It is a type of divine justice on the face of the earth... it is the weapon of the wretched weak in the face of the powerful tyrant...²⁴⁵



[327]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, July 19, 2003 \[327\]](#)

"[T]he one who carries out a martyrdom operation does not think of himself. He sacrifices himself for the sake of a higher goal, for which all sacrifices become meaningless. He sells himself to Allah in order to buy Paradise in exchange. Allah said: 'Allah has bought from the believers their souls and their properties for they shall inherit Paradise...[Koran 9:111]'"²⁴⁶



[328]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, July 19, 2003 \[328\]](#)

"While the [person who commits] suicide dies in escape and retreat, the one who carries out a martyrdom operation dies in advance and attack. Unlike the [person who commits] suicide, who has no goal except escape from confrontation, the one who carries out a martyrdom operation has a clear goal, and that is to please Allah..."²⁴⁷



[329]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, July 2003 \[329\]](#)

"The martyrdom operations carried out by the Palestinian factions to resist the Zionist occupation are not in any way included in the framework of prohibited terrorism, even if the victims include some civilians."²⁴⁸



[330]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, March 7, 2003 \[330\]](#)

"[Suicide bombings are] the supreme form of *Jihad* ... that is allowed by the *Shari'a*... These are heroic operations of martyrdom."²⁴⁹



[331]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, March 7, 2003 \[331\]](#)

"Resisting the invaders is an individual duty [incumbent] on all Muslims. If the enemies invaded a Muslim country, the people of that country should resist and expel them from their territories... It is an individual duty on all Muslims, men and women... If they succeeded in forcing the enemies out, it is all right... But if they did not, it is incumbent on their Muslim neighbor countries to defend them..."²⁵⁰

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, March 7, 2003 \[332\]](#)

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[332]

"O God, destroy the Zionist, the American, and the British aggressors. O God, shake the ground under them and protect us from them."²⁵¹



[333]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, January 8, 2003 \[333\]](#)

"Those killed fighting the American forces are martyrs, given their good intentions, since they consider these invading troops an enemy within their territories but without their will... The issue is not with the Americans who are peace-loving, but with their arrogant government."²⁵²



[334]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, October 18, 2002 \[334\]](#)

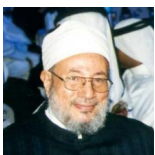
" Hamas and its counterparts cannot be wiped out, for they are the mouthpiece of the Islamic nation all over the world."²⁵³



[335]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, September 16, 2001 \[335\]](#)

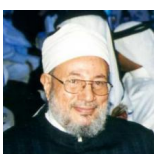
"The West has made Islam his enemy for many reasons. One is [the Middle East's natural] resources. [Since] the days of the Crusades, there are some mental complexes from which the West has not freed itself. [The West] attacked the Muslim countries, but Islam triumphed, with 'Immad Al-Din Zangi, Saladin, Baibars , and others... Colonialism's aspirations are greedy and full of hate; this hatred still motivates it... The Taliban have nothing to do with this matter [9/11]; they are preoccupied with their own internal problems... I also think that Osama bin Laden no longer has the means to carry out something like this..."²⁵⁴



[336]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, September 16, 2001 \[336\]](#)

"A Muslim is forbidden from entering into an alliance with a non-Muslim against another Muslim... Allying with others to kill [Muslims] is collaborating in sin and aggression... It is also forbidden to hand over Muslims to others. Something like this is inconceivable. *Shari'a* says that if a Muslim country is attacked, the other Muslim countries must help it, with their souls and their money, until it is liberated. Islam sees Muslims everywhere as one nation, and it does not recognize geographical borders or [differences of] race, color, or language. It sees Muslims as one nation in *Dar Al-Islam*, united in Islamic belief and Muslim brotherhood. Co-religionists must not rise up against each other for other peoples' causes, particularly when it is not proven that the crime was carried out by one of those [Islamic] countries..."²⁵⁵



[337]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, September 16, 2001 \[337\]](#)

"Even if the U.S. is guilty, in that it supports Israeli terror, I say that this does not mean that we may attack civilians in the U.S., because the civilians are not guilty. We should

Muslim Brotherhood

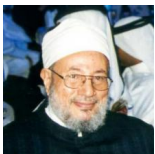
fight the American military if we can, and if we cannot, we should fight the U.S. economically and politically. Let us boycott the U.S... It is absolutely forbidden for Arab and Islamic countries to allow their bases to be used to attack Afghanistan... [If the clerics in Afghanistan call Muslims to *jihad*], Muslims must help as best they can, as they did during the Russian occupation of Afghanistan...²⁵⁶



[338]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, September 16, 2001 \[338\]](#)

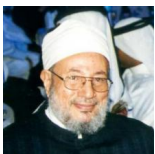
"I do not think that a Muslim would let an Islamic homeland like Palestine, and Jerusalem, remain in the hands of the Zionists, who plunder it and damage its holy sites... All I said is that this oppressed people that was expelled from its home has the right to defend itself, and that every man has the right to become a human bomb and blow himself up inside this military society. Israeli society is a military society; anyone who is not currently a soldier is a soldier in the reserves. I issued this religious ruling, and all the Islamic clerics have ruled like me, except for a few. Hundreds of Muslim clerics have ruled that these martyrdom operations are one of the most sublime types of *Jihad* for the sake of Allah. Many have asked me whether it is permitted to carry out operations outside of Palestine, and I always say no. I support what Hamas says, that every martyrdom operation must be within the lands of Palestine..."²⁵⁷



[339]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, June 19, 2001 \[339\]](#)

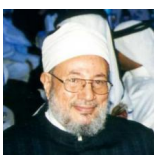
"[There are two types of *Jihad*:] 'A *Jihad* which you seek [an attack], and a *Jihad* in which you repulse an attack. In the *Jihad* which you are seeking, you look for the enemy and invade him. This type of *Jihad* takes place only when the Islamic state is invading other [countries] in order to spread the word of Islam and to remove obstacles standing in its way. The repulsing *Jihad* takes place when your land is being invaded and conquered... [In that case you must] repulse [the invader] to the best of your ability. If you kill him he will end up in hell, and if he kills you, you become a martyr [Shahid]..."²⁵⁸



[340]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, June 19, 2001 \[340\]](#)

"There are various ways to prepare for *Jihad*: there is mental preparation, there is physical preparation, and there is material preparation, meaning the preparation of the weapons. The Prophet [Muhammad] prepared all his friends first mentally, since equipment and weapons cannot fight by themselves but rather need hands to operate them, and those hands must also have a purpose."²⁵⁹



[341]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, June 19, 2001 \[341\]](#)

"Why were we defeated in 1967? Officers stated that we had vast amounts of weapons but we did not provide the warrior with mental preparation. We did not prepare him to fight for religious belief and for defending religious sanctuaries. We are the oppressed, and the duty is [incumbent up]on us. He who got killed is a [Shahid] in heaven... The first assignment is to prepare the hero who is willing to put his life in his own hands for Allah's sake, and he who does not care whether he encounters death or death encounters him... [he] is not a suicide [bomber]. He kills the enemy while taking self-risk, similar to what Muslims did in the past... He wants to scare his enemies, and the religious authorities

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have permitted this. They said that if he causes the enemy both sorrow and fear of Muslims ... he is permitted to risk himself and even get killed.”²⁶⁰



[342]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, March 2001 \[342\]](#)

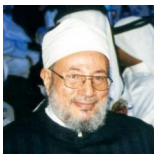
“Muslim jurists have held differing opinions concerning the punishment for this abominable practice. Should it be the same as the punishment for fornication, or should both the active and passive participants be put to death? While such punishments may seem cruel, they have been suggested to maintain the purity of the Islamic society and to keep it clean of perverted elements.”²⁶¹



[343]

[Official Muslim Brotherhood Release, 2001 \[343\]](#)

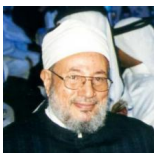
“We have a specific task to establish God’s rule on the basis of our faith. This is our true and effective way to escape all our internal and foreign problems, whether political, economic, social or cultural.”²⁶²



[344]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, 2000 \[344\]](#)

“Islam wants this nation to consult with each other, and stand as a united body, so no enemy can penetrate it. This is not what democracy is for. Democracy is a system that can’t solve all societal problems. Democracy itself also can make whatever it wants as lawful, or prohibit anything it does not like. In comparison the Shari’ah as a political system has limits.”²⁶³



[345]

[Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Brotherhood spiritual and intellectual leader, 2000 \[345\]](#)

“As a Muslim society we should adopt it in an Islamic context of a society that seeks to live with its Sharia laws. Our society should abide by what have been made lawful by Allah SW [Subhanahu wa’ta’ala, Glorious and Exalted] and abide by what also made unlawful by him SW [sic]. In comparison democracy, with a slim majority can cancel all laws and rules. It can even eliminate itself with this type of margin. In fact, in some case democracy may become worse than dictatorship.”²⁶⁴



[346]

[Mustapha Mashour, former General Guide of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, 1981 \[346\]](#)

“Democracy contradicts and wages war on Islam. Whoever calls for democracy means they are raising banners contradicting God’s plan and fighting Islam.”²⁶⁵



[347]

[Taha al Alwani, President of the Fiqh Council of North America \[347\]](#)

“[Homosexuals are] deviants [who should not be given] any opportunity to mix with and corrupt [Muslim] children [or to enter a Mosque].”²⁶⁶

²⁰⁸ Adam Koppeser and AbdelHalim H. AbdAllah, “Al Qaeda Chief Declares Solidarity with Muslim Brotherhood, Urges Followers to Kidnap Westerners,” *Daily News Egypt*, April 27, 2014, <http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2014/04/27/al-qaeda-chief-declares-solidarity-muslim-brotherhood-urges-followers-kidnap-westerners/> [348].

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²⁶⁶ Lorenzo Vidino, *The New Muslim Brotherhood in the West* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 67-68.