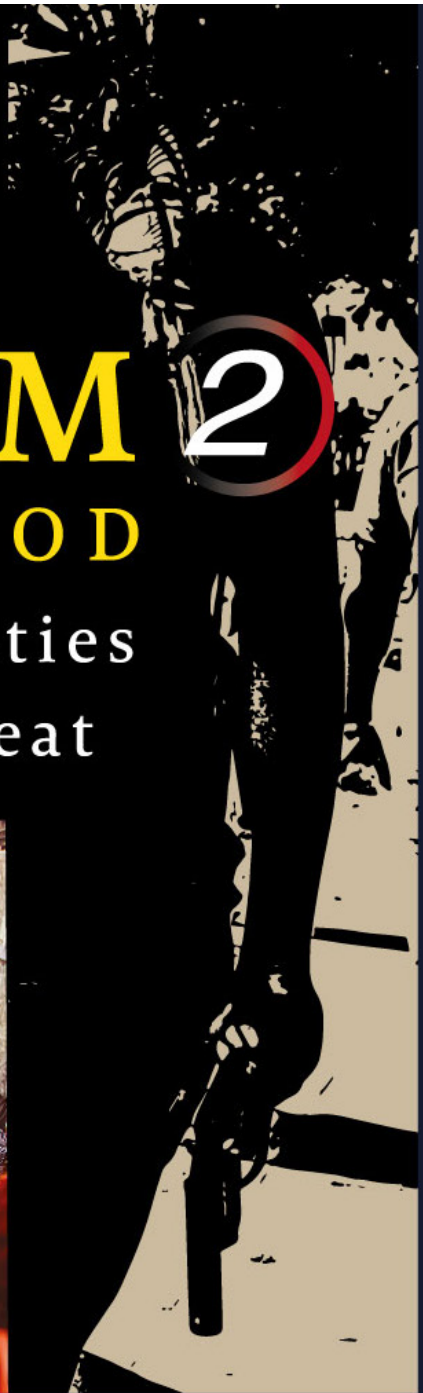



THE
MUSLIM **2**
BROTHERHOOD
Infiltrating Societies
& Circles of Threat





المركز المصري للفكر والدراسات الاستراتيجية
EGYPTIAN CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES



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BROTHERHOOD
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Introduction

The Muslim Brotherhood is the first intellectual reference for the majority of terrorist groups that hide behind Islam. Since the group was founded in 1928 by Hassan Al-Banna, it has been working in politics, often indirectly because it was either politically banned, or because it was hidden behind the guise of the daawa, raising its slogan “Two swords”. In fact, it has been a political group from the moment it was established. The organization seeks to make the governing system a “caliphate”, which is its highest goal. To achieve this target it exercises violence hiding behind many economic, service and daawa activities.

Throughout the group’s history, which is close to 100 years, it was banned in Egypt several times before it was declared a terrorist group in 2013, which led it to spread in many countries, coming face to face with many variables within the group’s structure and in the surrounding environment, whether in Egypt or abroad. These variables may push the group to latency or to follow methods of work that enable it to survive and continue its influence.

Hence, the Egyptian Center for Strategic Studies (ECSS), being an intellectual and research institution, seeks to offer readers and specialists an analytical study of the Brotherhood at this defining moment for the group. The organization faces major challenges, perhaps the most prominent of which is the exposure of its political objectives, dependence on violence and links to terrorist organizations, in addition to the exposure of its objectives to penetrate Western societies that have embraced the elements of the group for several decades. The ECSS looks into the impact of this critical stage on the Brotherhood’s future and the alternatives it could resort to pass this bottleneck. The ECSS presents this two-part study entitled “The Brotherhood”. The first part is titled (Sponsors of the organization and activity networks) that aims to elucidate the factors of the spread and influence of the Brotherhood, based on countries that support and sponsor the organization, and networks of action that give it the capacity to influence.

The Egyptian Center for Strategic Studies





Editorial

Since its inception, the Brotherhood has relied on its branches in several countries, and this approach has been clearly visible since the 1950s when the Brotherhood began to spread in Western countries that provided them with a safe haven after fleeing Egypt. The incursion of Brotherhood elements into Western societies has been confirmed, and the diversity of their activities in these societies has provided them with multiple channels to influence them, which has developed to threaten the nature of Western societies, and presents the work of political Islam groups, led by the Brotherhood, to create a parallel society within the indigenous community. Their effects on Western societies continue, as evidenced by the societal problems associated with them in these countries, such as identity conflicts, racial problems, and hate crimes, and yet these Western societies still refuse to recognize the Brotherhood as a terrorist group, and their relations and offices remain secure in Western countries.

Hence, the second part of the study “The Brotherhood” is entitled “Penetrating communities: The Organization’s Institutional Methodology” and includes five topics. The first, entitled “International Organization and Restructuring of the Future Movement of the Brotherhood”, describes the basic trend that governs the work of the international organization of the group since the beginning of the millennium, which is to transform the Brotherhood from an organization into a political current that is difficult to control by penetrating communities and reaching out to political circles and having power in the societies in which the group exists despite the different nature of these societies. The second topic, “The Muslim Brotherhood in the UK: A Special Case”, focuses on Britain, which has been associated with the group’s founding in Egypt since 1928, and the existence of a link between the Brotherhood and the UK in general and the British intelligence service in particular. At the present stage, London is an important headquarters for the international organization of the Brotherhood and the main center of its movement. The third topic, entitled “The Muslim Brotherhood in France... Islamicized”

presents the main interest in the French state, explaining how French society views political Islam groups, led by the Brotherhood, through some French literary works, which show the Brotherhood's reliance on slow infiltration to achieve the expansion of existence and influence in European societies.

The fourth paper "The MB in Europe between Safe Existence and Cautious Restriction", explains the state of the Brotherhood in Europe and how they enjoyed the freedom of movement and acceptance in European societies and how European societies and governments began to recognize the underlying threat posed by the Brotherhood-led political Islam groups, particularly France, which is trying to push for a European anti-Brotherhood trend. Finally, the fifth topic "The Brotherhood Networks in the US: Institutional influence) provides an explanation of the Brotherhood's network in the US, which began in the 1950s, and employs all its contacts to guide US policy in line with the group's interests and provides it with a haven in the American society.

The International Organization and Restructuring

The Future Movement of the Muslim Brotherhood

Maher Farghali

An expert on terrorist organizations

The Muslim Brotherhood's (MB) activities have developed through several stages, the most dangerous being its transformation into a general current, and the separation of operational MB institutions from the organizational backbone of the group, to operate through five approaches: the ideological approach; the independents; economic circles; a network of associations and mosques; a sector specialized in communicating with the international organization.

These papers focus on the structuring of the Brotherhood's global work, field organization, and its transformation into an organization-less system, the manifestations of new groups, the new secret apparatus, and the recent perceptions, which will help us understand the abilities of the MB and its movement during the coming period to overcome its difficult and fateful dilemma, as well as its ability to adapt to new developments and to invest them in its favor, structurally and organizationally, and its means to confront its designation as a terrorist organization.





Introduction

The MB's strategies have always revolved around the global organization being a coordinating body. However, what had been later revealed in terms of papers or confessions of some leaders demonstrated the principles of the global organization's policy, the most important procedural requirements for each principle, and some proposed tasks. For example, on-the-ground knowledge, seeking to establish an Islamic state, and accepting some kind of temporary cooperation between movements that share the same goals with the group.

In the time between the "Empowerment" document discovered with the Salsabil Case in Egypt and the "Plan" document of the Global Guidance Office in Istanbul in 2013, a lot has changed, with the inclusion of new organizational entities, each bearing the name of an office, to carry out the operational tasks paving for the stage of empowerment, which are offices very similar in the content of the internal sections known to each country where the organization has a branch in. Some of these offic-

es are fully developed, meaning they have no counterpart in local sections, and each local section does not necessarily have a counterpart office. Globally, this depends on the interim need for an international organization, and the importance of establishing international offices counterpart to some local sections. The offices are, in sum, the tributaries of supply, and feedback, to support global action. Hence, one of the results of this horizontal development was the establishment of several organizational bodies, including: secretariats, education offices, Sisters' offices, student offices, political offices, media offices, and financial offices, in addition to the development of the planning, support and backing and information centers, the establishment of centers for studies and research to achieve this step, and the use of these centers as a research façade to hold meetings.

The minutes of those meetings proved that there is a development that has already begun since 2009 with the experience of Jassim bin Sultan, the dissolving of the Brotherhood, and the success of that experiment in Qatar, by turning the organization into

a general current and a global experience. This indeed began with the failure of the Brotherhood to continue to rule in Egypt, and this is what this paper will prove, by discussing stages of structuring the activity of the International Brotherhood, how to work in an organization-less system, the new secret apparatus, and the Brotherhood's work in the new strategy, and the future of the organization.

(1) Stages of restructuring Brotherhood activities

The structure of the global Brotherhood's operation went through several stages, starting with the special section which Hassan Al-Banna called the Department of Communication with the Islamic World, which aimed at establishing branches of the group outside Egypt and to communicate with the figures and currents close to their ideas. It was headed by Abdel Hafiz Al-Seify from Iraq, Al-Fadil Al-Wartalany from Algeria, and Ismail Manda from Indonesia. The regulation of the organization was amended to adapt to the new situation. The group established the first division in the state of Djibouti in 1933.

The international organization at that time was divided into four committees: A committee for Islamic countries in the Middle East, a committee for Islamic countries in the Far East, a committee for Muslims in Central Asia, and a committee for Muslims in Europe. The committees began their work by gathering information about Islamic countries in 1945.

The global organization remained in this structure for a long time, and its goal was to expand, until the group was hit hard by Gamal Abdel-Nasser, after which several Brotherhood leaders and young members of the group fled following the arrest of Sayed Qutb's group in 1965, some of whom

thought of establishing a parallel organization or the revival of the group in another country. Among them was Mohamed Al-Mamoun Mahrezi, who established the so-called The Muslim Brotherhood in the Arabian Gulf, which is the organization that began the real structuring of the Brotherhood's work abroad, before Mustafa Mashhour kidnapped him and reintegrated the Muslim Brotherhood in the Arabian Gulf with the branches and the other arms that were starting to form.

At that time, the approach of work was as follows:

- A. Introducing the Brotherhood's daawa: The MB used the Hajj season to distribute booklets to introduce the Brotherhood's daawa.
- B. Selecting young elements and bringing them up on the Brotherhood methods, to form a frontline for their regions, and pillars for an organized work according to the group's organizational and movement fiqh. The method was based on writings of MB leading figure Mohamed Abul-Saud. The focus was on Oman, South Yemen, Mauritania, and Senegal, and neighboring Gulf countries, with Kamal Al-Sananiri as the figurehead.
- C. Postponement: Putting off programs when jurisprudences are approaching or moving away from the organization's line in neighboring areas.
- D. Treatment of deficiencies: Attaining a relationship with the follower and making the regions the tributaries of the organization in Egypt, which, if necessary, support them to continue the work, and take guidance and supervision from them.



In 1982, the most dangerous phase began in which the Brotherhood developed a 14-page plan entitled “Towards a worldwide strategy for Islamic policy (Points of Departure, Elements, Procedures, and Missions)”. For the first time, there was a clear global strategy, built on a set of principal points:

1. To know the terrain.
2. To demonstrate proof of the serious nature of work.
3. Flexibility at a local level.
4. Merging politics and education.
5. Seeking to establish an Islamic state.
6. Controlling local power centers through institutional action.
7. Mastering the art of the possible on a temporary basis without abusing the basic principles, constructing a permanent force of the Islamic daawa, and supporting movements engaged in jihad across the Muslim world.

8. Building and utilizing surveillance devices.

In the document’s Paragraph B (Procedures), the most important points are:

1. Create observation centers to gather information, if need be by relying on modern technological methods.
2. Create centers of study and research and produce studies on the political dimension of the Islamic movement.
3. Draw up a map of religious and ideological doctrines, to have a global vision spanning 100 years.
4. Make a doctrinal map and political studies of the Muslim world.
5. Using workers to serve daawa and mobilize the greatest possible number of supporters and officials.
6. Collect money, control expenses, and invest in general interests.

In paragraph C (Suggested missions):

1. To draw up an Islamic constitution.
2. To work in various influential institutions and use them in the service of Islam and use the work of economic, social, and other specialized Islamic institutions.
3. To build bridges between movements engaged in jihad in the Muslim world, and between Muslim minorities.

In the document of the meetings of the international organization in Germany, on 2 July 1982, an Egyptian delegation from the group stated that their private meetings were monitored, where the Egyptian security discovered that most of them were Egyptians, including the UAE representative.

The document stated that the international organization is diverse and international Islamic organizations “of course most of these organizations are affiliated with the Brotherhood”. It added that the Brotherhood at home does not have an authority over the Brotherhood abroad. The Brotherhood formed a new secret apparatus in 1976, which was the main reason for storming the headquarters of the group’s Al-Daawa magazine and the arrest of Brotherhood members resulting in the September 1981 resolutions and assigning Ibrahim Salah to make an arms deal. When he couldn’t let the cargo in Egypt he sold it to Iran. The document also stated that if any jihad leader is executed, there will be individual armed operations.

At the time of the document, Mostafa Mashhour had played a major role in the launch of the international organization of the Brotherhood, and after foreign rounds for years, during which he visited many countries, where the group has influence,

he returned to Egypt to be the Deputy General Guide, after the death of Mohammed Hamed Abul-Nasr in 1996. This was when the fourth phase in the plan to expand and structure of the international organization began, in which Mashhour headed many arms and branches, the most important of which were the Global Guidance Office called (Almanzour), Instructions office, Economic office, Operational office (Associations, Mosques and Bodies).

As mentioned in a document known as (Empowerment in Egypt), the international organization relied on the so-called “movements”, which are the necessity of using concealment, camouflage, gradualism, establishing communication channels between the Brotherhood and ruling parties, and influential political figures, and making use of the state of “media outreach” and global media in creating space of freedom to the movement of the group in societies, penetrate press institutions, especially government ones, adjust with independent institutions, using elections to promote the inevitability of an Islamic solution and to the universality of the daawa, use mosques on the largest scale, professional unions and civil organizations to create a large space for the movement, as well as to maintain contact with international human rights movements.

The group developed a plan called (Empowerment), which was developed starting from 2004. Europe was one of its targets. There is a general plan and a four-year-changing plan. In the general plan, the organization must achieve 100 goals at the level of the group, individuals, and enemies (enemies of the Islamic project), the most important of those goals are proliferation, empowerment, reducing internal rifts, making individuals more loyal and obedient, getting rid of enemies, and creating internal crises for enemies. Each goal has



special programs and interim plans that change every four years, where a final review takes place in which the international organization takes stock of its achievements and the goals it needs to reach and considers its next four-year plan.

(2) From pyramid hierarchy to an organization-less system

With several plans drawn the Brotherhood came up with a new strategy based mainly on avoiding public debate about its true totalitarian intentions and marketing a different discourse until it rises to power in the East and implements the Empowerment project.

Instead of the hierarchical, pyramid-based strategy inherited from Hassan Al-Banna, the international organization, starting in 2005, adopted a method called “five-pointed sea star” in strategic planning, which is a system without organization; allied groups and individual allies rather than direct partners.

The five-pointed sea star is a shape based on making the group a general current. Experimenting with the plan began in Qatar in 1997 when the Brotherhood was dissolved and became a current within the Qatari society. Its implementation began officially after the success of the Egyptian revolution on 30 June, and the removal of the Brotherhood from power. Accordingly, the European arena knew about the separation of the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe from the International Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood, knowing that this federation includes hundreds of associations spread in most European countries, and is considered the European arm of the group. This is an application of the new approach of the group.

Since the Muslim Brotherhood is not a monolithic, formal hierarchical movement, but rather a complex fabric of institutions, groups, and individuals, with informal relations and linked by a common ideology, the new plan granted the organization the ability of resilience, adaptation, cohesion and recovery, because the nature and components of the system are unclear.

The new strategy is based on direct means of change, such as organizations, and indirect means, such as mass action, through containment, coexistence, neutrality, and polarization. The five-pointed sea star center is the ideology, and on its right is the catalyst, which is not necessarily Brotherhood-related, below it the hero, who is the supporter of the group in an indirect way, on its left the cluster circles, and below it the network.

(3) The new secret apparatus:

With the new strategy there were organized and coordinated attempts by the Brotherhood and its branches under various names, to work in a different way. To a large extent there were changes in the old structure of the group. The international organization now depends on several approaches: field organization, network, cluster circles, associations, mosques, educational and religious bodies, charitable and humanitarian institutions, women and youth organizations, funding, public relations, and independent individuals and institutions.

The Brotherhood had preceded these arrangements with meetings with European figures to discuss the differences between the group and the West, pluralism, the nature of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, whether it is religious or political, the opinion of the group regarding the political participation of women, and the problem of non-Muslim religious minorities in Islamic countries.

After the Arab Spring, the international organization decided to start its new plan and to complete the so-called Islamic Institution, which represents the group and its branches and divides the regions into seven parts: North Africa, which includes Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Mauritania, Europe, North and South America,

Canada, East Asia and the Pacific, Central Asia, Yemen, the Gulf, Iran, Afghanistan, and the Levant.

A supervisor was assigned to each region to develop new means of effective communication between regions.

On 15 January 2013, a meeting of the international organization was held in Turkey, in which it approved the nomination of the members of the new secret wing, the expansion of the international organization's Shura Council, expansion to represent areas of heavyweight such as the Gulf, the development of financial resources, the development of the office concerned with communication and promotion of daawa, determining bodies and entities that accommodate efforts, adopting a global charter for Islamic action and activating it, determining coordination mechanisms with the rest of the Islamic groups, developing the Department of Public Relations, providing the opportunity for meetings with an agenda with previous preparation, getting acquainted with the ideas and visions of countries, institutions and prominent figures, presenting some Brotherhood figures as symbols on the global arena, and working to establish lobbies in cooperation with some Islamic parliamentarians and some Western institutions.

Following this meeting, a decision was made on 1 May 2013 to expand the global office, activate zoning, and coordinate with various Islamic groups.

On 7 March 2013, the European Parliament held a meeting in Brussels attended by the most prominent leaders of the global organization from Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Malaysia, Gaza, and Turkey, leaders of the Salafist Nour Party in Egypt, and some Israeli experts, in which they discussed the future of political Islam after the Arab Spring, the position on political pluralism, and the relationship with Israel.

In June 2016, Khaled Mashaal, head of Hamas' political bureau, announced the new document for Hamas, in which he acknowledged in Article 20 the existence of Israel, and the movement's new charter, saying: It was prepared by the largest law firm in London, meaning Tony Blair's office.

Following Mohamed Morsi's fall, some members of the international organization met on 12, 13, and 14 July 2013, at the Holiday Inn Hotel, near Kemal Atatürk Airport in Istanbul, Turkey, and the rapporteur was Tunisian Rashid Ghannouchi, deputy secretary-general of the international organization, member of the Standing Advisory Committee and a member of the Committee of Elders of the International Organization meeting in 2008, Mahmoud Hussein Al-Ibiari, Ali Mohamed Ahmed Gawish, Ibrahim Al-Masri, secretary-general of the Organization of the Lebanese Brotherhood (Islamic Group), Ali Pasha Omar Hajj, inspector-general of the organization of the Brotherhood in the Horn of Africa, Mohamed Riad Shaqfa, comptroller-general of the Syrian Brotherhood, Mohamed Faraj Ahmed, leader of the Muslim Brotherhood in Kurdistan, Ziad Shafiq Muheisen Al-Rawi, Secretary-general of the organization of the Iraqi Muslim Brotherhood, a well-known doctor who lived for years in London. Al-Rawi was the liaison with the US intelligence before the overthrow of Saddam Hussein

Also in attendance were Sheikhan Abdul-Rahman Mohamed Al-Dabai, a leader of the Yemeni brotherhood organization and the former in charge of Arab Afghans of Yemeni origins, Mohamed Al-Hilali, the second deputy head of the Moroccan Unification and Reform Movement. Together, they approved the Egyptian branch's plan to confront the new regime and the new policy of turning the Brotherhood into a system without an organization, particularly in Europe, America and the Arab Gulf.

(4) The network and organization

The Federation of Islamic Organizations is the center of the new network of the international organization, the so-called operational office. The federation which has ostensibly declared its independence from the group holds an annual conference in Paris' Le Bourget. Its strength lies in being a member of the French Council of the Muslim Faith.

Europe's operational office is now led by Samir Falah, a resident of Germany, who is the Inspector-General of the group in Europe, and Rashid Ghannouchi, a spiritual guide to succeed the Lebanese Faysal Al-Mawlawi. They are assisted by workers in Brotherhood institutions such as Ammar Lasffer, Barham Semar, Hajj Thami Breez, Boubaker Haj Omar, Mohamed Al-Tayeb Al-Soghroni, Salih Arial, Hala Khumsi, Naseer Khouf, Mahmoud Awad, Makhlof Mammish, Bashar Al-Sayadi, Sahnoun Karad, Karim Mahnouj, Hassan Zawai, and Qutbi Abdul-Kabir.

The MB's founding generations retained their positions in the organization's religious and social affairs, such as Ahmed Al-Rawi and Anas Al-Tikrini from Britain, Ahmed Jaballah, Abu Bakr Omar and Omar Al-Asffar, Fuad Al-Alawi from France, Mustafa Al-Kharkio, Mohamed Al-Khalfi, Shakib bin Makhlof in Sweden, and Abu Shweima in Italy, Imad Al-Barani, and Mohamed Karmous in Switzerland.

Inheritance is common in the group, whether in the organization of the European youth, or the women organization. For example, the youth in Sweden are led by Ibn Mustafa Al-Kharraq and the head of the Swedish Scout Ibn Shakib bin Makhlof.

There are also mosques and cultural centers that contribute to the religious

framing of Islamic minorities, so do many official or semi-official institutions concerned with the representation of Islamic minorities with the administrative authorities in various European countries. Most of them come from Arab and Islamic countries. Before this complex scene, we are witnessing the emergence of religious challenges of political and ideological orientations, which contributed to complicating the Islamic presence in Europe.

What is meant by the manifestations are the ever-changing images of political Islam movements, and the transformations and reproduction processes that are taking place in Islamic organizations all the time, whether in the East or West, which is what Gilles Kepel, who met Ghannouchi recently, called “the cultural revolution of the third generation.”

The network led by Samir Falah is not involved in funding operations, which now have multiple facets, the most important of which are: Trade in halal meat, which provides the group with \$14 billion, printing and publishing companies, funding charities and donations, profits for Umrah and Hajj, and prepaid trips from the revival leaders.

Women and youth organizations are controlled by the third generation leaders’ sons and wives, including, for example, Noura Jaballah, the leader of the European Forum for Muslim Women, Ahmed Jaballah’s wife, a Tunisian, and they are the ones who made the case of the veil in Europe, where the prohibition was in their interest, as they established more than 20 educational schools in France, and more than 20 in Sweden under the pretext that they are institutions that do not prohibit the veil. Recently, they established a federation of Islamic schools based in Paris, supervised by the Algerian Makhoulouf

Mamish, and now Tariq Oubrou, the Muslim Brotherhood member, is being polished to be appointed as the Imam of Muslims in France.

Concerning public relations and the media approach, it is made up of figures who are not known organizationally, such as Farouk Mesihal, a member of what is known as the Egyptian Revolutionary Council, Soha Al-Sheikh, Nihal Abu Sitate, and Mohamed Hamdan, brother of Osama Hamdan, who is responsible for international relations in Hamas and one of the founders of the Norwegian Council in 1993, an umbrella that brings together 34 Islamic centers and institutions in Norway, where nine of the 10 largest institutions in the Islamic arena operating in Norway fall under the council. Among the most prominent of these institutions: The Albanian Islamic Cultural Center, the Islamic Cultural Center, The Islamic Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Muslim League in Norway, the Tawfiq Islamic Center, Minhaj-ul-Quran Department, Jamaat-e Ahl-e Sunnat center, which contributed in March 2011 to supervise the production of the film “Freedom, Equality, and the Muslim Brotherhood” by Walid Al-Qubaisi.

(5) The Secret Network and the Future:

According to Petra Ramsauer in her book “The Muslim Brotherhood: Secret Strategies and Global Network,” the Brotherhood will continue their old plan, in the same way as the old organized secret activity, but with a new image, which is to resort to abandoning the ostensibly global group project, while maintaining secret internal relations with the organization, and dissolving from the old religious discourse of the group, to present a new image of the Brotherhood

operations. This was evident in the British House of Commons' session with Ibrahim Mounir and his companions and in the 21st Muslims Conference in Switzerland, where the group presented itself with Western liberalism, and that it is the only solution to resist jihadist extremism.

The strategy is a form based on making the group a general current and trend, and accordingly, the European arena knew the separation of the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe from the International Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood, knowing that the federation includes hundreds of associations spread in most European countries and is considered the European arm of the group. This is an application of the group's new approach.

Therefore, it is expected that the international organization will go through a silent stage in its visible actions due to the current events, terrorist operations, and the rifts that occurred in the ranks of the group on the strategy. The new plan will constitute a long-term challenge because the group is no longer in its old form, but rather a system without an organization.

1. International groups with multiple manifestations:

According to the plan, there will be groups affiliated with the Brotherhood's international organization with multiple manifestations. The manifestations are the ever-changing images of political Islam movements, the transformations, and the reproduction of Islamic organizations taking place all the time, whether in the East or West, which is what Gilles Kepel called "the cultural revolution of the third generation of jihadists." It is a new phenomenon related to "jihad" work that is distinguished, for example, by employing people from the area concerned with the attack. This is what we have seen in several European cases in

recent years, perhaps the most prominent of which was of the young man, Marah, in southern France.

Speaking of these perceptions, we will find the international organization present, and this will refer us to a broad list of actors, starting with Islamic institutions and centers, and ending with names of intellectuals or those affiliated with the people of "theoretical Islam", and we will find the Brotherhood movement, where we see the European branches of the International organization of the Muslim Brotherhood, as we will find there a wide list of mosques and cultural centers that contribute to the religious framing of Islamic minorities, and we also find many official or semi-official institutions that deal with the representation of Islamic minorities with the administrative authorities in various European countries, and most of them are accounted for Arab and Islamic countries.

From the manifestation too, contrary to what prevailed before with organizations that are subject to a pyramid hierarchy, today we are faced with a system that leaves the "jihadist" in the target area, the freedom of initiative, according to the available circumstances and available capabilities; also, this new generation will target most of the countries of the European continent, in contrast to the generation of Al-Qaeda, which focused its greatest attention on America, as embodied on the ground by the attacks of September 11, 2001, as its goal of terrorism is double, which is to "terrorize the enemy and attract sympathizers."

These manifestations were noticed recently, during the past four years, groups have proliferated in Europe, and Islamic State members welcomed them on the organization's pages of Telegram, such as Al-Sarraj Al-Munir and Salah Al-Din, and in 2016 alone, more than 151 people were killed in Europe as a result of these groups, while

350 others were injured, according to a report by “Europol” on the development of terrorism in Europe.

2. Between latency and activity

The Brotherhood with its new plan will represent a great challenge, as this liquidity does not enable anyone to monitor the networks of the organization, as it is now legally moving in most countries, by building networks and mosques, obtaining associations, and moving to the streets, without declaring its affiliation to the group.

According to a report published by “Islamización”, the imams who have ties to the Brotherhood still control the religious daawa platforms, whether by their clear declaration that they belong to the group or considering that they have been prepared by the Brotherhood. The site gives some examples of some of the imams that Hakim Al-Karoui wants to include in an association that he intends to form to integrate Islamists. The most prominent of them is the Imam of Bordeaux “Tariq Oubrou”: For years he has openly and publicly defended the Islamic Caliphate and the Salafi interpretation of the Quran. He also revealed in a book published in 2013 that he belonged to the Muslim Brotherhood and that was at the same time that the Brotherhood’s armed groups carried out their attacks on 80 churches, as well as their attacks on some monasteries in various places.

The Mondafrique website www.mondafrique.com published an article entitled (French mosques that succumb to temptations), which was met with wide interaction by the media arms of the Muslim Brotherhood in an attempt to misdirect the truth about what is happening by them in terms of attempts to control mosques, the “halal” market, Hajj and Umrah.

Recently, following the Frenchization of Islam project that Macron led with advice from his Tunisian friend Hakim Karoui, some mosques walked the path of the brotherhood without awareness of the authorities whose former Minister of Interior Jean-Pierre Chevènement failed to manage the “Foundation for Islam in France”, and his inauguration to preside it provoked the discontent of the Muslims, which encouraged the state to present the “Great Imamate” project (The Caliphate), and to appoint the well-known Brotherhood leader Tariq Oubrou as its head.

In a conference held by the Brotherhood at Venue Mosque in the outskirts of Paris, with the participation of: Tunisia’s Dr. Abdel Mejeed Al-Najjar (Ennahda leader, member of the Tunisian Constituent Assembly), Tunisian Abdallah Ben Mansour (former Inspector of the Brotherhood of Europe), Moroccan Tarek Oubrou (grand imamate candidate in France), Mayotte Mohamed Bajrafil (a member of the Brotherhoods’ If-taa in France), Moroccan Mohamed Ben Ali (faculty member of the Paris Brotherhood College) and Moroccan Mohamed Hamri (a member of the Federation of Islamic Organizations), to demonstrate how Hakim Al-Karoui is trying to implicate the French authorities in a new policy of representing Muslims in France, which has led to the empowerment of the brotherhood elements of leading his new institution. This is the factor that has created a structural and organizational rift that created a suffocating crisis in the representation of Muslims in France.

Although the French Council of the Muslim Faith is an official institution for French Muslims, it practically represents Erdogan’s policy since The Turkish’s Ahmed Ogaras headed it, in addition to the new project that has been announced as two institutions in Paris: The first is under the cultural section of the 1901 Act, and the other is specialized in the aspect of worship and is



subject to the 1905 Act. The first was headed by Hakim Al-Karoui, while Tarek Oborou, imam of the Purdue Mosque, is the head of a foundation for worship, was assisted by Mohammed Bajrafil, imam of the Ivry-sur-Seine mosque, and Dr. Mohamed Ben Ali, imam of the San Tuan Mosque, both are members of the Brotherhood.

Here, we discuss the funding of the Brotherhood's activities in the mosques, as in addition to the organization's control over the halal, Hajj, and Umrah markets, Ghalib Bensheikh, the head of a French charity foundation, was entrusted to collect funds from the Gulf States. So, his visits to all Gulf states ambassadors were to convince them to join the project of the association.

Writers and researchers, including the Moroccan academic Dr. Abdel-Hay Al-Samlali, see that the demographic dynamic that Islam knows, dictates the organization of Muslims, but not in this way, which made the Brotherhood obtain a specific status, individual arrangements, and a separate place, such as the CFCM, and the presence

of Abdul-Haq Nabawi, who heads the Regional Council of Alsace Muslims, and Tariq Oborou, the Brotherhood star who was awarded the Republican Medal of Honor in April 2017, and nominated by Hakim Karoui, Macron's advisor to the Muslim imamate, although he is a committed activist in the Union of Islamic Organizations in France, affiliated with the Brotherhood.

3. Countering calls for terrorism by penetration:

The Brotherhood's international organization is currently working as advised by the Qatari Brotherhood member Jassem Sultan, which allows the structures to be set with a solid network of communication, while abandoning the pyramid hierarchical shape in favor of the five-arm-sea-star-shape, so that it would be difficult to identify it, through its secret, distinct structure, always surrounded by other participants who camouflaged their ties to the Brotherhood, and making it difficult to be detected.

With this plan, the Brotherhood is moving legitimately, by building networks, mosques, and human rights associations, to name a few, the Islamic Relief Organization is one of the largest organizations established by the group, and it is considered a clear example of how the new organizational work is.

The organization was founded by Ihssan Shabib in addition to Hani Al-Banna, and the second financier of the Muslim Eid Association. Its budget, in 2013, was \$ 126 million, and it is present in thirty countries. The organization was established in Birmingham, with the number 2365572, and it has branches in 28 countries, headed by a group of Brotherhood leaders, headed by Ahmed Kazem Al-Rawi, of Iraqi nationality.

A research conducted by an American journalist who specializes in counterterrorism affairs, Stephen Emerson, in one of his studies on the Brotherhood, confirmed that the organization and all its affiliated institutions, distributed in the form of associations, organizations and independent bodies, with cultural, scientific, social and religious aspects, are nothing more than Brotherhood facades, in a global current that has deliberate political dimensions, and that many Islamic associations and organizations are related to the Muslim Brotherhood, and are working to build parallel societies within Europe, with values that differ from the values and customs of European society.

In the same context, the Pakistani Yasmin Hussain, wife of Wael Mesbah, leader of the international organization, managed to get a leadership position in Amnesty International, and the book "The Shock" of the British Times shows how she met Morsi when he took office, and she stayed at the leader's house Hussein Al-Qazzaz, then she met with a government official and returned to London the next day, and how the organi-

zation infiltrated (Human Rights Watch). In March 2015, the Nobel Prize winners "Mairead Maguire," and "Adolfo Perez," with more than 100 academic figures launched a sharp attack on the most famous American organization in the field of human rights, accusing it of falling under the influence of the American administration, and they talked about transfers of American intelligence personnel inside it, and the writer confirms with multiple facts the intertwining relationship between the organization and the CIA and how its mission in Egypt was to protect the Muslim Brotherhood. It also discussed how the Brotherhood leader of the Cordoba Foundation in London, cooperated with Human Rights Watch, and how he succeeded in giving priority to the Brotherhood's point of view within this organization.

Accordingly, the Egyptian Institute for Political and Strategic Studies, affiliated with the group, confirmed in a lengthy study how the Brotherhood faced the decisions of designating them a terrorist group, and the identification of a higher body within the group that would oversee the plan of action and coordination between all Brotherhood levels, especially those concerned with international relations, considering that the matter is closely related to its tasks, especially in its international dimension. This body communicates with the bodies entrusted with the file of international relations abroad, benefits from their experiences in this regard, and communicates with some global public figures, whether political or religious, as well as some countries that may sympathize with the Brotherhood to benefit from its experience in this regard, and forming a professional legal and media team to lead this file, with the need for a major public relations company to carry out the process of promoting the Brotherhood's positive image concerning renouncing violence, as well as arranging communication with Congress represent-

atives, whether from Democrats who reject till this moment to stigmatize the Brotherhood with terrorism or the Republicans who can be convinced of the inaccuracy of this position, its impact on supporting extremism and on corrupting the relationship with Muslims in general, and forming a strong Islamic lobby to defend the group.

Conclusion

The separation between the old and new generations, interest in political work at the expense of daawa activities, the lack of political reality, the future changes of the organization in some countries, including Egypt, Jordan, Tunisia and Morocco, Egypt's monopoly of the position of the supreme guide, secret meetings with the Europeans, the silent anger among the ranks of the international organization's leaders, and the failure of the so-called Arab Spring revolutions and the rule of the Brotherhood, led to the consecration of the new plan for the group's international organization, which relies on making the group a general current.

Accordingly, the scene witnessed the separation of the Jordan Brotherhood, the dissolution of the party in Tunisia, transformations in the Moroccan Brotherhood, and the separation of the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe from the International Organization, after reviews made by its former leader, the Tunisian Abdullah bin Mansour, which caused sharp differences between the Qutbist wing led by Moroccan Shakib Benmakhlouf, the Iraqi Ahmed Al-Rawi and the Palestinian Anas Al-Tikriti that led to his dismissal and bringing the Tunisian Samir Al-Falah. The federation includes hundreds of associations spread in most of the European countries, and is considered the European arm of the group, in application of the group's new approach, which will depend on abandoning the ostensibly global group project, while maintaining secret internal relations with the organization, and dissolving from the old religious discourse of the group, to present a new image for Brotherhood operations.

The Muslim Brotherhood in the UK:

A Special Case

Mujahid Al-Sumaidaie

A researcher in terrorism studies

The Muslim Brotherhood's (MB) relationship with the United Kingdom (UK) is no longer a secret for Islamist movements. It is also an open secret that the Brotherhood tries to impose itself as an Islamist political solution to dominate Islamic regimes by claiming it represents moderate Islam, hiding terrorism under its wings. The group was the birthplace of many leaders of terrorist organizations, such as Ayman Al-Zawahiri, who was a member of the MB and is now the leader of Al-Qaeda terrorist organization after Osama bin Laden, as well as many Brotherhood members who left the group to become leaders in the Islamic State (IS) in the Syrian city of Raqqa and leaders of factions fighting alongside IS.


Historical Overview

The Muslim Brotherhood's link with the British goes back to the decades of British and French domination over the Middle East



MB presence in the UK



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- 1956** The UK secretly contacted the Brotherhood to gain information about Nasser. The contacts were uncovered by the British Embassy in Cairo.
 - 1990** The British government provided political asylum to the majority of Brotherhood members.
 - 2002** British Foreign Office maintained contact with Brotherhood members.
 - 2005** A series of documents revealed by the British press confirmed the strong relationship between the UK and the Brotherhood.
 - 2011** A British Foreign Ministry delegation visited the Brotherhood's administrative office in Alexandria.
 - 2014** It was revealed the MB managed more than 100 million pounds in Britain.
 - 2015** The House of Commons rejected a request from David Cameron, British prime minister, to declare the Brotherhood a banned terrorist group in the UK.
 - 2017** The UK designated Hasm and the Brigade of the Revolution as terrorist organizations.

and when ethnicities and opposing ideologies were exploited to implement Western interests and agendas in their countries. The Brotherhood is one such movement whose secret links with the UK dates back to the beginning of World War II, or in 1941. These movements did not conceal their funding by colonial Britain, giving them the ability to single out the uniqueness of building a religious ideology based on the implementation of Western agendas and to use religion to carry out these agendas.

In his Memoirs of “The Call and the Preacher” (Mudhakkirāt Al-Daawa wal-Daiyah), Hassan Al-Banna referred to receiving EGP 500,000 in financial aid from the Suez Canal Authority, owned by French and British governments at that

time, as a contribution to the construction of a Brotherhood mosque in Ismailia. The grant helped build the Brotherhood group. There is a lot of historical evidence that proves the MB’s relationship with the UK. At a time when Britain was negotiating to evacuate its troops from Egypt, the Brotherhood led by the second leader Hassan Al-Hudaibi officially met with the British ambassador to Egypt at the British Embassy. The government at the time accused the Brotherhood of obstructing the negotiations of British troops’ evacuation from Egypt. When president Gamal Abdel-Nasser came to power in Egypt, Western support for the Brotherhood to blow the Nasserist project in Egypt was one of the most prominent British alliances of the era. Part of Britain’s expansionist policy was to find

a Western ally in Egypt, and it was a successful strategy.

Many Brotherhood leaders have moved to Europe since the end of the 1950s and founded many Islamic centers that helped the group develop its relations with Western governments, including, for example, Said Ramadan who founded the Islamic Center in Geneva in 1961 to become the International Center for Brotherhood Leadership in Europe, according to Mark Curtis's 2014 book "Secret Affairs: Britain's Collusion with Radical Islam". Ramadan is the group founder's son-in-law.

The Brotherhood was able to take Britain as a safe sanctuary and establish a network of important political and social relations within British society that helped it expand in Britain by establishing the Muslim Association of Britain, founded by the Egyptian Kamal Al-Halbawi, the group's former secretary. Today, the group has 11 branches across Britain.

The 1960s saw a bitter conflict between the Brotherhood in Egypt as a result of Britain's support for the Brotherhood, where the Cairo government accused them at the time of masterminding a coup against the regime with the help of Britain, especially after Egypt's support for the Abdullah Al-Salal coup against the monarchy in Yemen, which was backed by Britain and Saudi Arabia. Following the attempted coup, many Brotherhood leaders were executed, including Sayed Qotb, one of the Brotherhood's most prominent theorists.

The UK's relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood

Relations between the UK and the Brotherhood have fluctuated over the past decades, as the kingdom has dealt with the Brotherhood on the basis of interest, and a cove-

nant between them called the "covenant of security", which provides the Brotherhood with the opportunity to work in the UK as long as they do not challenge its security, meaning that the UK doesn't become a target of terrorist attacks. This covenant was not immutable, as the UK deals with the Brotherhood according to the variables of the national interest, moving them when the interest requires so, and leaving them to their fate when the need no longer exists.

The Brotherhood in the 1960s and 1970s was a major cause of unrest in Egypt. This was used by Britain to confront the socialist and communist tide in Egypt, in an attempt to ruin Egypt's relations with the Soviet Union. The Brotherhood was used as a tool for pressure, as many sources indicated that it sometimes forged leaflets in their name to label the Egyptian army as infidels because it uses the arms of the Communists whom the group deems infidels, especially in Yemen when leaflets were handed out in the name of the Brotherhood to the Yemenis to fight the Egyptian army. This was among the most prominent examples of the Brotherhood's use of incitement in Egypt.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the UK became a hub for global jihad organizations, and the Brotherhood was part of these organizations. They were granted asylum in the UK and were allowed to establish Islamic centers that promoted their ideology to the extent at some point London was called Londonistan, due to the large number of Islamist groups in London.

However, the UK was alarmed following the 2005 London Metro bombings, when 57 people were killed. The UK's relations with the Brotherhood were going back and forth, as the Brotherhood often uses their political relations within the British government to stop any decision that could pose a threat to their presence or political influence in the UK.



The UK continued its policy of turning a blind eye to the Brotherhood on its soil, and in some cases it dealt with ambivalence regarding the issue of the Brotherhood. In 2015, the House of Commons rejected a request by then prime minister David Cameron to designate the Brotherhood a banned terrorist group in the UK, but the House of Commons rejected the request and considered the Brotherhood a group that represents moderate political Islam.

In 2017, the British government designated Lewaa Al-Thawra (Brigade of the Revolution) and Hasam (Decisiveness) as terrorist movements. The two armed groups are affiliated to the Brotherhood. However, the MB claims the two groups are splinter cells from terrorist organizations as they target Egyptian security personnel and civilians with direct killings. It is worth noting that these two movements represent the arms of the Brotherhood to liquidate opponents, and they played a role in suppressing the Egyptian revolution that led to the overthrow of the Brotherhood's rule in 2013.

Muslim Brotherhood funds in the UK

Terrorism neither feeds on extremist ideas nor on grudges and hatred. It depends on money that helps it to adapt in any environment or to penetrate societies targeted by terrorism. The UK is an important center for the Brotherhood's money.

Sayed Ramadan was the first to establish the financial empire of the Brotherhood when he arrived in Geneva in 1958 where he established the Islamic Center in Geneva. Since that time he began the establishment of the financial empire of the Brotherhood in Europe. Switzerland was the headquarters, because of its complex mechanisms in tracking money as well as the high protection of investors by Swiss banks. Then, the Brotherhood began to build charitable institutions and companies that act as an umbrella to raise money for the Brotherhood to cover their expenses in Egypt.

In 2014, it was revealed that, in the UK alone, the Brotherhood manages more than 100 million pounds sterling. The Brotherhood established 23 charitable associations in Europe, 10 of which were in the UK. The

23 associations were controlled by three leaders of the Brotherhood. The first was the assistant of former president Mohamed Morsi, Essam Haddad and his son Jihad Haddad who were arrested on espionage charges in 2013. The second is Ibrahim Al-Zayat, who descends from an Egyptian father and a German mother, speaks Arabic and German fluently, and is accused of funding terrorism in a famous money laundering case in Germany. He runs a large financial institution there, which made Germany an incubator for the Brotherhood in Europe. Sources indicate that the Brotherhood under the leadership of Al-Zayat run in Germany 30 active associations, 511 mosques, 1,091 meeting places and 2,137 Islamic associations. The third is Ibrahim Mounir, the man responsible of the General Secretariat of the International Brotherhood Organization, and is suspect number 30 in the same case of Sayed Qotb in 1965. Mounir was sentenced to death in the same case, then the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, but he was released in 1975, which makes him an extension of the ideology of Sayed Qotb and carries the same ideology of labeling society as infidels and ignorant and using violence to achieve the goals of the organization. Mounir, the main arm

The UK and the terrorist Brotherhood



of the Brotherhood, who runs the organization from the UK and controls several important files for the international organization by reason of his control over the London office, is now the acting supreme guide of the Brotherhood after the arrest of Mahmoud Ezzat. The organization in Egypt turned to organized secret activities and is being run from abroad.

Muslim Brotherhood associations in the UK

Islamic forums and organizations are part of the political and economic composition of the MB and the bases to spread and establish control over Muslim communities abroad. Another basis is raising funds through donations and the use of these funds to build financial institutions in areas where government control is weak, such as the Al-Taqwa Bank founded by Youssef Nada in the Bahamas and is linked to the Al-Taqwa Foundation, which was found-



ed in Lugano, Switzerland. The foundation was directly linked to the bank, which was closed after the discovery of its association with the executors of the bombing of 11 September 2001.

Several states confiscated the money of Youssef Nada because he was implicated in terrorist activities. In 2002, Nada appeared before an Italian court for funding some groups with relations to Al-Qaeda organization, in addition to funding Hamas and the Armed Islamic Group with more than \$60 million funds from Al-Taqwa Bank. He was removed from the list of supporters of terrorism for lack of evidence on his direct involvement in supporting terrorism. However, the documents seized from the house of Youssef Nada by the Swiss police are so important that they include Brotherhood literature and plans on empowering the MB in governing and controlling the world, especially the West, papers on manipulating the law in Europe to consolidate their presence, and how to build safe havens for the funds to support Brotherhood movements around the world. The most important of these bodies are listed hereunder.

The Islamic Association in Britain

It is one of the associations run by the MB in the UK. It was established by Kamal Al-Halbawi in 1997, and after his split from the Brotherhood, the Iraqi Anas Al-Tikriti ran the association in 2005.

Islamic Relief Worldwide

This is a relief association established in Britain in 1989 by Ibrahim Al-Zayat, Ahmed Kazem Al-Rawi and Mohamed Omar Al-Alfi. It has an estimated financial liquidity of £21.4 million, and was later run by Essam Al-Haddad in 1992 until 2013, nine days after the removal of Mohamed Morsi. The resignation of Essam Al-Haddad came at the request of the organization's management for fear that the organization's funds would be traced and confiscated, and therefore he resigned.

Tic International Ltd

This is a wholesale clothing and footwear

trading company created by Hani Abdul-Jawad Al-Bunni and Mohamed Omar Al-Alfi. The declared cash is £258,000.

West of England Trust Ltd

It is a holding company established in 1994 to be the parent company of several companies. The names of the founders are undisclosed, but the information available about the company proves that the company was liquidated. It went bankrupt and was voluntarily closed by the founders. Its financial liquidity was £17 million.

Europe Trust

A credit company founded in 2003, with an estimated financial liquidity of £267,000, Europe Trust was founded by AbduloShahid Al-Ashaal, Ibrahim Al-Zayat and Ahmed Kazem Al-Rawi. The latter is the brother of Dr. Essam Al-Rawi, a member of the Muslim Scholars Association in Iraq that was established after the occupation of Iraq, a body also known for its direct contacts with the Brotherhood and its direct support from them. Dr. Essam Al-Rawi was assassinated in 2006 in Baghdad near his house in Daoudi district.

Jordan Company Secretaries Limited

It provides services to British companies, such as regular maintenance work. The company was established in 2007 by Abdul-Shahid Al-Ashaal and Michael White Weil. The company was dissolved on 13 October 2020 with a liquidity of EGP 630,000.

Tiseer Welfare Trust:

This is a company that provides education, training and patient care services. It

was established in 2007 by Abdul-Shahid Al-Ashaal, Mohamad Ali Hassanein, and Khurshid Khalifa. Its available liquidity is £6,000 and is still active.

Muslim Youth Forum:

The Brotherhood also runs the Muslim Youth Forum in Britain, which controls 42 organizations that bring together young people from more than 26 Muslim origins and communities in Britain, in addition to the Finsbury Park mosque, in agreement with the British government.

In sum, the Brotherhood's penetration into British society was so influential that they were able to prevent the British government from issuing a decision against them, by blocking it by the House of Commons. By using the House of Commons, the MB was able to prevent the passage of laws that criminalize or make the Brotherhood a banned terrorist organization in Britain. The main reason is due to the Brotherhood's relations with politicians in the UK, as well as the way the Brotherhood represents itself as a moderate political Islam organization, which accepts Western solutions, and in support of the West. In fact, the group works to liquidate its opponents by various means, including assassination.

The Muslim Brotherhood has worked since its inception at the beginning of the last century to build various financial empires in various places as an international organization dreaming of imposing its hegemony over the world. Therefore, it established religious associations and organizations in the US, Europe, and East Asia. These empires work on collecting money from donors to use them either in terrorist activities or to support instability in the country



British Labor Party leaders visit one of the Brotherhood headquarters in Britain

of origin to cause any confusion that helps them re-present themselves as a ready solution for the country's leadership.

The UK was deeply involved in building the Brotherhood's economic organization at the beginning of their emergence, and it still is a fertile ground for managing funds and money laundering operations between Europe and the country of origin.

If Egypt wants to stop the Brotherhood, it must stop the financial organizations that the Brotherhood is working to build in Europe, particularly in Germany and the UK, and halt the group's exploitation of freedoms they enjoy in these countries to destabilize the countries that they have influence in. Draining the financial sources of terrorism is the way to stop the activities of this terrorist group.

The Muslim Brotherhood in France ... Islamicized

Jasim Mohamed

Head of the European Center for Counterterrorism and Intelligence Studies

It seems to me that the study of the Islamists' expansion in western European countries in general, and in France in particular, requires not only analyzing the discourse, strategies, working methods and the supporting public, if any, but also the paths of these societies and the conditions of Muslims there, but the way to do so is difficult.

It is certainly difficult to follow all what French academics produce, but it can be said that the prevailing studies tend to address the issue, conditions, discourse and projects of the Islamists alone, without knowing much about the conditions, perceptions and discourse of French Muslims who do not belong to any faction of the Islamists. In general, this information comes from researches of specialists in public opinion studies and surveys, and electoral geography, who are not experts in Islamic affairs, but their writings help shape a perception of the paths and components of society.

This paper is concerned with the contents of two of the most prominent French





Macron's latest speech

Described Islam as “a religion that is in crisis all over the world”

Emphasized impartiality by state institutions.

Strengthening control of associations.

Structuring the educational system.

Countering Islamic isolationism.

books on the expansion of Islamists and the beginning of the implementation of their project based on the control of neighborhoods and cities, and on expanding their influence to push the largest number of Muslims to break with the rest of society and be hostile to it, while providing a critical reading to shed light on the environment in which this expansion is taking place.

“French Islands” an Approach to understanding the Muslims’ status in France

To achieve the goal of the study, a very interesting book, “The French Islands” by Jérôme Fourquet, will be discussed. It was published last year and is considered by many academics to be the most important book published by France in the past five years. Fourquet says the book is an examination (and confirmation) of philosopher Marcel José’s ideas. His main idea is that in the last 50 years France has witnessed the complete collapse of the intellectual, cultural and social system that formed its backbone for hundreds of years and that guaranteed the solidarity, harmony and cohesion of society, which is the Catholic

system. A while later the counter-system (the communist system) that was fighting the Catholic system collapsed.

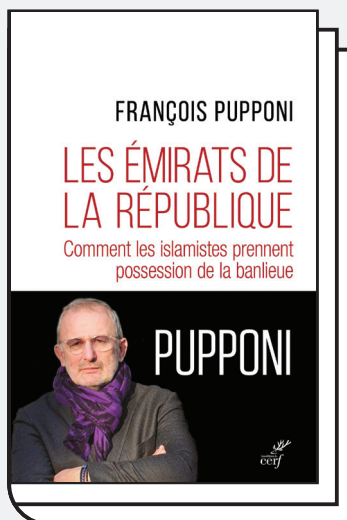
Fourquet says that society is now divided into islands and is regularly fragmented. He measured this collapse by the change in the numbers of births bearing names referring to the history of Christianity, the most important of which is “Mary”, the decline in the number of priests, worshippers and baptisms, the decline in the choice of burial and the high rate of cremation, and the change in public opinion about divorce, homosexuals, virginity, abortion, tattoo painting, etc. He refers to factors that have facilitated fragmentation, including the success of the elite in isolating itself from society, the inability to lead by example, the collapse of major newspapers, the fragmentation of the media system, and the multiplicity of social sites, etc.



The book presents a study of the situation of French Muslims based mainly on statistics and opinion polls. We could temporarily just say that the development of their situation is similar in some areas to the development of the rest of the national community and contradicts it in others, such as the rates of worshippers who refuse to drink, or who stipulate bride's virginity, are the same rates as those who are conservative towards non-Muslim marriage, and homosexuals. We will present some of the conclusions of this study that allow us to shed light on the books we are discussing.

Muslims as seen by François Pupponi

We begin with “The Emirates of the Republic,” by François Pupponi, a left-wing cadre who grew up in one of France’s poorest cities and was a mayor for 20 years. This small town relatively close to Paris is a city of immigrants (mostly Moroccan and African Muslims, recently joined by Pakistanis, Turks, Jews from North Africa and Christians from the Levant) and French displaced persons (from the countryside to the outskirts of Paris). Pupponi saw the “leap” of the extremists (the first faction was Turkish) on it and on factions of its Muslim youth and the resistance and terror of the people. He decided to be the spokesman of the people whose point of view does not reach the left-wing elites living in fancier neighborhoods that judge, make directions and know nothing, the people who are not interviewed by the media because they do not speak French and cannot find the appropriate vocabulary to express their opinion. He tells us that this is what led him to write “The Emirates of the Republic”.



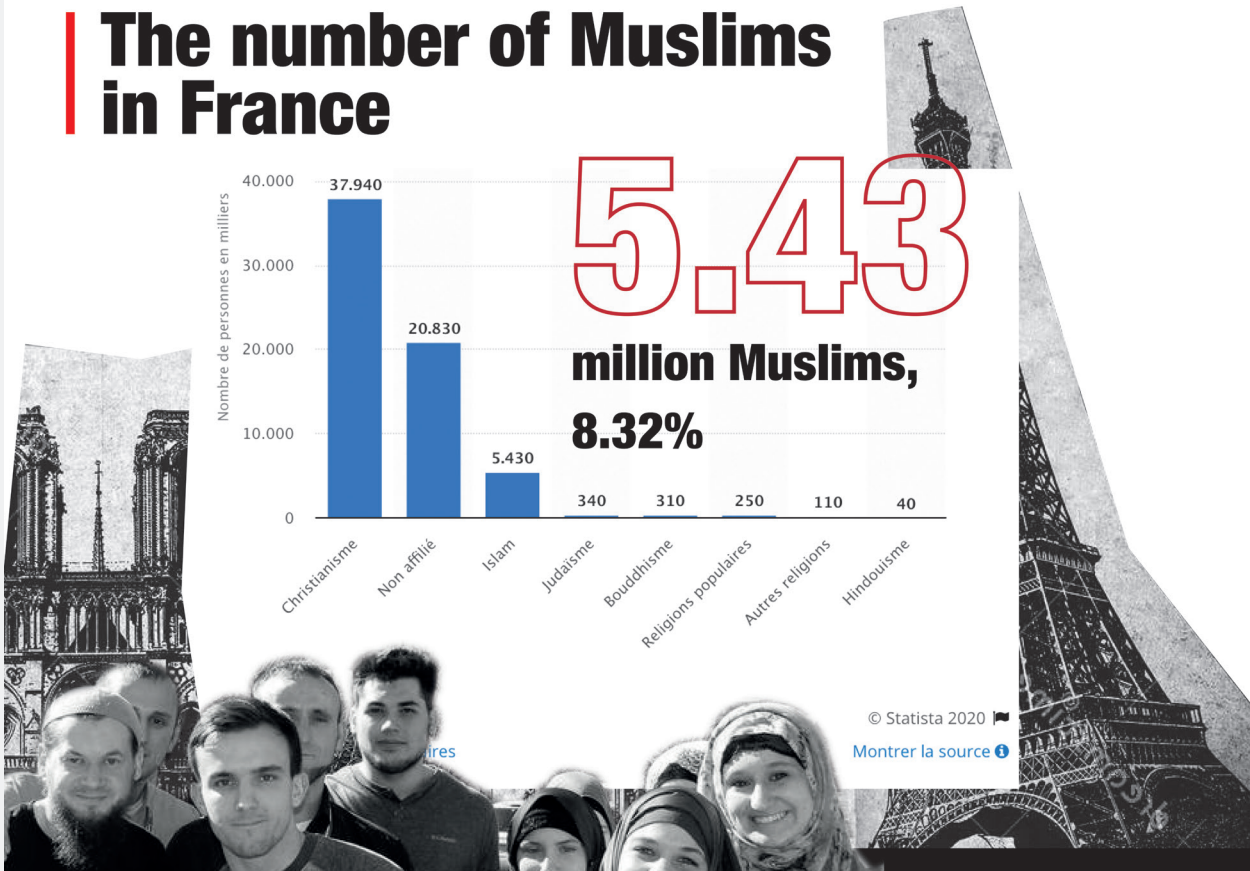
Pupponi describes the “religious situation” of Muslims in his city before the arrival of the extremists in 2014, saying: Half of them are religious (he means, like the French classification, that they are regular and diligent in worship), everyone chooses Islamic names for their children, everyone celebrates Islamic holidays, like how the French of Christian origins celebrate Christmas.

Most of them describe themselves as “French with Islamic culture,” and do not like to limit their identity to Islam.

They see Islam as a religion of tolerance and openness. They consider themselves an integral part of the “French family”, despite their nostalgia for the original homeland or their village, but their loyalty is to France, and they live and behave like the French.

In Pupponi’s book, extremists suddenly appeared as if they have grown up as an intruder, and he says bluntly: “They have nothing to do with the Muslims of France”, they are “different”. Their strange attire is proof of their separation from the French environment and their rejection of it. Elsewhere, Pupponi mentions that they are either French born in France, undutiful children or grandchildren of immigrants, or Turkish or Moroccan immigrants who arrived in France in the recent years. Unlike other Muslims, they are keen to wear a completely different style – the Salafi shirt, beard, abaya (garb), hijab (headscarf), or niqab (full face veil). In Pupponi’s city they number between 100 and 150, and in all of France between 72,000 and 150,000, according to his definition of extremism. If we compare these numbers with the number of individuals considered by the security to be danger-

The number of Muslims in France



ous, we find that two or three percent of the Islamicized may turn into terrorists, which is a really high percentage.

Polarization of the poor between Extremists and Leftists

Pupponi says the way out of poverty is success in education. He adds that the problem in his city (and elsewhere) is that those who succeed in studying ascend socially and leave the place, and those who fail to follow this path remain in the same location. The most intelligent of them enter the field of political (preferring extreme left-wing parties), civic and the cultural action, others work in small jobs or are unemployed and live on government support. Some of them are involved in the hash economy and market, and some slip into crime. He says that Islamists and rad-

ical leftists target these groups. Leftists tell them that France is a racist state that hates blacks and Arabs, and they talk about systematic discrimination by the state, and the Islamists tell them that it is an infidel state that hates Islam. The accusations of the two parties are invalid, but there are those who believe them. Whatever the case, most of the terrorists who came from the suburbs were criminals and thieves who “repented” and assumed that they followed the path of jihad.

In a quick comment, adding to Pupponi’s discussion, there are some indications that girls are more successful than men in terms of success at school and university studies, which allows them to leave poverty and live in fancier neighborhoods. This contributes to the discontent of boys against society and the educational institution, as well as members of their fami-

lies who reproach them with their inability to make achievements like girls, so it is easy to attract males, and statistics indicate that in many cities Fourquet found that men make up 52 per cent of Muslims in the poor neighborhoods, while women represent 56 percent of Muslims in the neighborhoods of the middle and upper classes.

However, the main concern of the vast majority of Muslims remains the social ascendancy (not the break with the society that represents the essence of the Islamists' project). Also, the social ascendancy requires the completion of studies and obtaining a university degree, then most of them seek to work in state agencies that do not exercise discrimination in appointment and promotion (unlike the private sector and some state agencies), the most important of which are the military, police and Ministry of Education, which guarantee a stable income.

Back to Pupponi. Of course, not all extremists are terrorists. They call themselves preachers. Pupponi says that they took advantage of the vacuum left by the decline of the Communist Party and played the role of activists roaming in the city. About 150 or 200 Islamists succeeded in completely subjugating neighborhoods in a city of 60,000 people and instilling fear in them. They mainly aim at subjugating and persecuting Muslim women and men, but they harass and disturb everyone. Who is responsible for this?

The press and the media tend to accuse mayors, be they right-wing or left-wing, of seeking to reach an electoral agreement with Islamists that guarantees them a presence in local councils or in some committees, and this presence in return allows them to build client networks and tighten their grip on certain sectors of Muslims. Sometimes Pupponi rejects this accusation

and at other times admits its validity. It is concluded from his writing that the main reason is the inaction of the representatives of the central authority, the governors and the national police; where mayors find themselves without power to support them, and some of them actually seek some compatibility with the Islamists.

Pupponi denounces the radical left-wing and some leftist groups who have become the godfathers of the Islamists, and the reasons for this blatant bias differ from one faction to another. Some of them hate the injustice of French society, others have not abandoned the comprehensive revolution project, and there are those who say that it is not permissible to criticize the religion of a minority, the members of which are among the vulnerable (as if the criticism of the Islamists is an attack on Islam, and we will get back to



What was expressed in French writings about political Islam groups in France is not the object of interest to intellectuals alone, but also of political circles in France, prominent among whom is French President Emmanuel Macron, who gave a historic speech on 2 October 2020, in which he declared that France must “fight against separatism” which seeks to “create a parallel order” and “reputation of the republic”.



this point later). Also, among them there are those who see that the decline in the numbers and importance of the working class forces the left-wing to search for a new electoral base in which Muslims and the children of immigrants are their backbone. Pupponi believes that these are committing a crime when they act as if the 150,000 extremists represent 8.5 million French people or French residents with Muslim names, and as if the extremists represent the correct interpretation of religion. It is noticeable here that Fourquet believes that this the number of Muslims in France is an exaggerated figure, and that the percentage of Muslims is less than this, although it has steadily increased.

Reading between the lines of Pupponi's book

Despite the importance of what was mentioned in Pupponi's book, some comments can be observed. First: Most studies say that Salafi and Islamists' activity began in France in the second half of the 1990s, but it seems that this activity neglected some

regions in the beginning, and it is known that the French hate or at least fear what is different, while they welcome integration and Francization, which explains Pupponi's focus on costume trauma. Second: Pupponi's book seems to confirm that there is a problem with the discourse and behavior of any outsider. Third: Certainly, Pupponi can be accused of underestimating social injustice, mistreatment of blacks and Arabs, civil discrimination against them, and the impact of poverty, and we refer here to the fact that injustice and discrimination is the most important argument put forward by the godfathers of Islamists. I do not think that Pupponi – when he was a leftist mayor for a very poor city – ignores the dark side of reality. I think that he realizes it, but he also sees that the Islamists are not seeking to solve it but rather to use it to create or break between Muslims and the rest of the people. He believes that the real problem-solver of the poor is the left-wing, the real left, not the left of the upper class neighborhoods.

Pupponi's assessment should be reviewed. He practices realistic politics, but he is not



an expert on Islamic affairs. We can believe him when he says that Islamists are a minority that has its own understanding of religion and a political project that is after spreading sedition in France, isolating Muslims from the rest of society, and applying Sharia in some regions. They also have a political tactic based on the aggressive presence in the street and constant pressure on everyone, especially unveiled Muslim women. But we see that it is not true when he assumes that Muslims have no real problems with the prevailing culture in society, and with the laws that permit, for example, abortion, same-sex marriage, disparaging and belittling religions. We also believe that the criteria that govern his evaluation – which are standards that many French people believe in – do not help to understand Muslims and their

discourse. For example, Pupponi believes that only the Islamists are the group that believes that the Sharia of Allah state the punitive measures and that it is superior to the statutory law. Pupponi's attack on the concept of punitive measures without fully understanding it, gives arguments to those who want to silence him, accusing him of Islamophobia. In general, the issue of punitive measures is liable to provoke tension and sedition, regardless of the good or bad intention of those involved. In the same regard, we notice in his book expressions or sentences that are not accepted by a faithful Muslim, such as, for example, "A religion coming from the seventh century", meaning that the Sharia is not valid in the modern age.

France moves to limit the influence of Islamists

What was expressed in French writings about political Islam groups in France is not the object of interest to intellectuals alone, but also of political circles in France, prominent among whom is French President Emmanuel Macron, who gave a historic speech on 2 October 2020, in which he declared that France must “fight against separatism” which seeks to “create a parallel order” and “repudiation of the republic”. He said: “In this radical Islamism a proclaimed, publicized desire, a systematic way of organizing things to contravene the Republic’s laws and create a parallel order, establish other values, develop another way of organizing society”.

Macron referred to the French state’s responsibility for the expansion and impact of this trend for Muslims and neglecting to develop the phenomenon of “ghettoization” of neighborhoods”, according to his description. He meant gathering people according to their origins so that they are unable to integrate or move up the social and economic ladder. The French president’s speech concerning the approach of some political Islam groups coincided with steps taken by officials to draft a bill against “separatism”, which is expected to be referred to parliament early next year, and other strict measures. Macron proposed a set of measures, such as requiring any association requesting state assistance to sign a laïcité (secularism) contract, imposing tight supervision on private religious schools and strictly limiting home schooling.

The French president said that the state would have the power to intervene if local authorities made unacceptable concessions to the Islamists, such as “religious lists” in school canteens or separate access to swimming pools.

The MB in Europe between

Safe Existence and Cautious Restriction

Dr. Tewfick Aclimandos

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The Brotherhood group is both a secret and a public organization. Its ideology and the largest part of the organization are known, but its objectives and many of its movements are secret. The Muslim Brotherhood (MB) has a comprehensive project, “Mastering the World”, and insist on the rule of Islam, interpreting everything in life from birth to death and all activities from worship to scientific research according to Islam. However, they do not make public the methodology of implementing their project. This duality is what raises different European attitudes towards the group.

It is not entirely clear whether in Europe they are following a systematic and detailed plan to spread their ideas, tighten the grip on Islamic societies and communities, and remove the holders of other perceptions and interpretations, or do they only adept at seizing opportunities, look closely at what is happening and try to exploit it, with the help of their cadres, where many of them devoted themselves to daawa and political work. Nonetheless, their plans for empowerment in Europe and the world were found in Yusuf





Nada's house in the aftermath of 9/11, but they seem more like general outlines than a detailed plan. On the other hand, there are some constants in their behavior, including piety, supremacy, claiming oppression and aggression to be empowered.

The beginning of the MB in Europe:

This can be seen in a Brigitte Marshall book, some interviews with Lorenzo Vidino, and an article by Guido Steinberg. The Brotherhood has been present in Europe since the 1950s. They set off from Switzerland and Germany to spread to most of Western Europe. Germany was the main center. The Brotherhood initially chose universities as a field for their work and targeted immigrant Muslim students to join them, as many Arab students have gone to German universities to study engineering and medicine. On the other hand, the Brotherhood cooperated with Western intelligence services to collect information about Soviet activity in the Middle East and its arming of Arab regimes.

Said Ramadan used Western money to build mosques in Germany and spread the work of the organization. It seems that most govern-

ments did not pay attention to the Brotherhood activity in Europe before the Iranian revolution, whether it had interests in the Middle East, or before 9/11. In other words, the Brotherhood enjoyed two or four decades of calmness to build their organizations and networks.

The Brotherhood remained safe in European societies even after they became involved in politics in many Arab countries and came to power in the home country (Egypt) in 2012. The importance of their actions in Europe increased after they were declared a terrorist group in many Arab countries after 2013.

France, the Muslim Brotherhood threat and Political Islam Groups:

European countries are beginning to sense the threat that political Islam groups pose to European societies, and France has begun to confront this threat, raising the problem of their influence. When President Emmanuel Macron came to power, his position on political Islam was unclear but he was aware that terrorism and illegal immigration were ma-

for threats. However, many of his statements seemed to embrace some of the sayings of the defenders of Islamization. One is that there is no such thing as a national culture (French), that colonialism is a crime against humanity, and that French secularism has been disturbingly radicalised to become a “revenge” that fights religions and does not stand neutral.

And now he has gone from one extreme to another and has come to regard the “separatism” that the Islamist project carries and its deliberate tendency to extremism as a major threat to the future of France and the cohesion of its society. He discussed this “threat” at length in a speech on 2 October which was preceded by a Senate report in July from which Macron took excerpts in his speech.

Both the speech and report expressed that danger is not limited to terrorism but extends to the Islamist project that deliberately seeks to tighten its grip on neighborhoods and cities, and impose Sharia law at the expense of man-made laws, for the Islamists to pave the way for changing and controlling the rules of the game in France. It is a project adopted by a minority of France’s Muslims, but this is a tireless vigilant minority that exerts constant pressures and makes activities that have a profound negative impact on the cohesion of society and the daily life of citizens.

France against the Islamist project, not against Islam

This French approach has both advantages and disadvantages, and its advantages are manifested in several issues, most notably that it avoids resolving the issue of the Brotherhood’s position on violence and terrorism: are they directly involved in violence and terrorism, are they just content

to create an environment that legislates it, or are they fighting this terrorism? On the other hand, it explicitly states that the Brotherhood project cannot be reconciled with the founding values and concepts of the French Republic. This approach answers who accuse the French state of using double standards, tolerating Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, and being anti-Islamic, and saying that the latter is the only one that does not accept the rules of the game, and actively seeks to break with the rest of society as a prelude to subjugation, and to impose a logic that makes full loyalty to religion and the only valuable sect that governs the relationship with other citizens of the homeland. On this issue, President Macron also clearly enjoys the support of a majority that grows with every act of terrorism.

But this broad approach of confrontation has some drawbacks, the first of which is: the state has been accused of being hostile to Islam and all Muslims despite the French president’s keenness to distinguish between Muslims and Islamists, as some suggest that the words of Macron or the Senate reveal a lack of scrutiny. For example, the Senate report condemns Islamists, whether those who practice terrorism or devote themselves to daawa. The report is concerned with the Islamists’ understanding of religion, but it is easy to claim that it targets Islam. In another example, the president considered that any believer has the right to see that the laws of his religion are better and superior to man-made laws, as long as he does not use this as a means to refuse to apply man-made laws. A considerable number of religious people of all faiths rejected the principle of equality between men and women but abide by the provisions of man-made laws. The lack of scrutiny leads to the rejection of seemingly legitimate demands for Muslims under the pretext of fighting sectarianism, such as with the hijab or halal meals in schools and universities.



of certain tools and resources that may not be available to the state in general and in the present circumstances in particular. The confrontation, as envisaged by the Senate Committee, requires a double effort from the police, internal and foreign intelligence, bodies concerned with monitoring places of worship and foreign funding, ministries of education, higher education and housing, the development of provinces, cities, sports, and localities, as well as the work of the ministries of foreign affairs, defense and health. It may require the establishment of new bodies or the revival of old bodies and funding Islamic culture awareness programs. When President Macron said the state will commit to protecting the defenders against terrorism, he pledged more than the resources available for such a comprehensive confrontation.

The third is the result of the draft laws and actions taken against associations that convey hate speech and against groups seeking to separate the greatest number of Muslims from the rest of society, that may challenge their constitutionality as anti-freedoms, and the judiciary may intervene to monitor

by political forces allied with Islamization and from certain sectors of the state and its members who fear the consequences of the confrontation on the internal peace and their lives. Last but not least, masses of intellectuals will reject it for various reasons, including the need to respect cultural pluralism and freedoms. According to them fighting Islamists is a persecution of Muslims and the vulnerable, the popularity of Muslims is due either to the state's failure to get rid of the colonial legacy and from its stances towards the Arab, the brown and the black, or to a legitimate desire to cling to identity and heritage.

It is linked to the fact that confrontation requires addressing the crises that have led to many being inclined to extremism and rejecting the values of the society in which they live. Here, the views of experts and those concerned differ. There is no room to delve into the debates of the French political and university groups, and I will suffice by saying that some of these problems do not have a quick solution, like the problem of racial discrimination. For example, there is a cultural gap between the religious (mainly

Muslims, but this also applies to Catholics and Jews) and the rest of the French (irreligious and non-practicing people). This gap is constantly widening, and increases as the law expands the scope of freedoms. Opinion polls have shown that 28 percent of France's Muslims believe in values that are incompatible with the values of the republic and the spirit of its laws. They also believe that Sharia law supersedes them, and the percentage among young people is much higher than this.

In general, the liberal model, whatever it is, has historically been unable to address minority problems without slipping into grotesque authoritarianism, unless it adopts a political formula that acknowledges sectarianism. It is based on guaranteeing the political rights of all citizens while protecting them from state interference in their private affairs. This means that the state cannot, for example, fight discrimination against a certain group without resorting to some form of repression.

Islamists' practices rejected in France:

Both the Senate report and President Macron's speech listed the rejected practices. Some of these practices show the depth of misunderstanding and suspicion and the wide extent of the confrontation. The general principle, according to the report, is that citizens are equal, in contrast to their choices. Choices that violate the freedoms of others, disturb public order, or affect the values of the republic are rejected. The concept of public order is wide, while the concept of the values of the republic is over-narrowed.

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There is a gradual emergence of a kind of consciousness about the real role of the Muslim Brotherhood in shaking stability and their relationship with jihadist organizations

The report indicates that Muslims have the right to practice their rituals and change their behavior to conform to the teachings of their religion as they understand it, but they are keen to adopt this behavior in the public sphere and in public services that are supposed to be neutral places. Of course, Muslims will respond that the authorities tolerate crosses and signs of belonging to Judaism, and the state will respond that these Christian and Jewish religious signs do not mean rejecting the values of the republic, a response that has something of significance but is not accurate.

According to the report, the Islamists spread a discourse that states the necessity of separation from the rest of the French nation; if the believer wants his faith to be sound and free of impurities. They also reject the right of a French Muslim to change his religion or leave his religious milieu. The report said

that renewing religious discourse is not a purely Islamic matter because it affects the relationship of Muslims with each other and with non-Muslim citizens, but at the same time it says that the state must avoid interfering in the debate between Muslims, that is, it must avoid favoring an interpretation at the expense of the other.

The unacceptable behaviors, according to the report, are conveying hate speech through mosques and religious schools, not recognizing equality between men and women, seeking to prevent mixing between them in schools and youth centers, raising children, especially girls, with the education that undermines their dignity and keeps them away from the rest of the nation, putting pressure on parents in order not to enroll their chil-



dren in government schools, urging children and adolescents to clash with teachers over some curricula, seeking to create an “Islamized” environment in some neighborhoods that apply Sharia law and are not subject to the laws of the republic, prohibiting the sale of pork and alcohol and exerting pressure on unveiled women, etc. There is also the expansion of offering and selling books that promote extremism and exaggerated interpretations and fighting the emergence of moderate interpretations, and last but not least, there are issues of foreign funding, the presence of foreign imams in France, and the attempts of some countries, especially Turkey, to use their people and loyalists to destabilize internal stability.

All this and others target the Brotherhood and other actors, and the Brotherhood is sometimes mentioned specifically, with difficulty to determine all their activities and the depth of their penetration into Islamic bodies. The media talks about the Brotherhood coverage, and Interior Minister Gérard Darmanin announced his intention to dis-

solve some associations, including those that are considered Brotherhood tools, and the escape of the head of one of them and his request for political asylum in Turkey has drawn public attention.

Is France leading an European trend against the Muslim Brotherhood?

It seems that Macron’s decisions (confronting Islamism and Turkey) do not explain the same motives and calculations. Facing Islamization is explained by its effective role in destabilizing and disturbing public security, and confronting Turkey is a rejection of its role in Syria and Libya, its harassment in Greece and Cyprus, and its practice of an extremely rough policy based on blackmail. However, the confidence of the two decisions and the confusion in the interpretation of Macron’s speech, gave a chance to the Muslim Brotherhood and Turkey to claim that France launched a Crusade against Islam and that whoever is allied with it is betraying religion. This Turkish Brotherhood discourse



allowed Macron and his supporters to claim that the problem of Turkey and the Brotherhood is not with the person of President Macron, but with the civilized model of France. The French saying is more accurate than the Turkish.

The ambiguous point is the role of Turkey and the Brotherhood in the terrorist attacks that struck France and Austria. It is clear that the inciting discourse played a big role in pushing terrorists to act, but the French government did not speak of a direct role for the Turkish state apparatus in preparing for these incidents but accused a Brotherhood activist in the incident of killing French teacher Paty. In contrast, some experts said that the attack by Turkish nationalists on Armenians in a French city was often carried out with Ankara's blessing. In any case, Turkey has tools that allow desta-

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It seems that Macron's decisions (confronting Islamism and Turkey) do not explain the same motives and calculations. Facing Islamization is explained by its effective role in destabilizing and disturbing public security

bilizing France, with the presence of half a million Turks in the country and the increase in the role of Turkish elements in these attacks. On the other hand, France is striving to deal with the threat coming from within, despite the popular support and the French adherence to the secular model.

Here, a question arises about the position of the rest of the European Union on the confrontation between France and political Islam groups, on terrorism, and if Europe is going to classify the Brotherhood as a terrorist organization. It is too early to answer this question, but there is a gradual emergence of a kind of awareness of the real role of the Muslim Brotherhood in destabilization and the nature

of their relations with the jihadi organizations. This urged Austrian Chancellor Kurtz to declare the necessity of combating and

criminalizing all Islamist factions. There is no room for monitoring and evaluating all indicators, but German Chancellor Angela Merkel spoke for the first time about a struggle with Islamist terrorism after the Vienna attacks. Most European leaders were avoiding describing terrorism as Islamist, linking it to extremism instead. Observers wondered if the close ties with Austria that urged Merkel to make this change.

In general, we do not believe that the proposal to designate the Brotherhood as a terrorist organization will meet European consensus now. There are several countries, the majority in Eastern Europe, that have not been hit by terrorism until now, and do not want to open the door to something that does not concern them, according to their perception. In addition, some observers write that France and Austria are special cases, due to the poor conditions of Muslims living there, and for their active participation in the war against the Islamic State. Whatever the evaluation of this perception, there is no doubt that it exists.

Finally, declaring war on the Brotherhood, of course, affects relations with sectors of European Muslims, and with Turkey and other Islamic countries. This leads to saying that the Turkish and Qatari inciting behavior will play a role in the decision, whether to take the decision or avoid it, and stressing again the German pivotal role. So far, the German authorities have sought to avoid a clash with Turkey, for reasons the most important of which is the importance of the Turkish community in Germany and the ability of the Turkish president to move it. Therefore, Berlin is expected to reject any decision designating the Brotherhood as a terrorist organization despite Merkel's hatred of the Turkish president.

However, matters are more complicated than it appears. Former French president Sarkozy established excellent relations with Qatar and gave the Brotherhood freedom of movement despite his strong hostility to the Turkish president and his bad relations with him. Is it possible to envision a scenario in which European countries are fighting the Brotherhood and offering concessions to the Turkish president, or vice versa? This seems unlikely now, but experience warns us against rushing to determine anything.

Muslim Brotherhood Networks in the US:

Institutional Influence

Salah Wahba

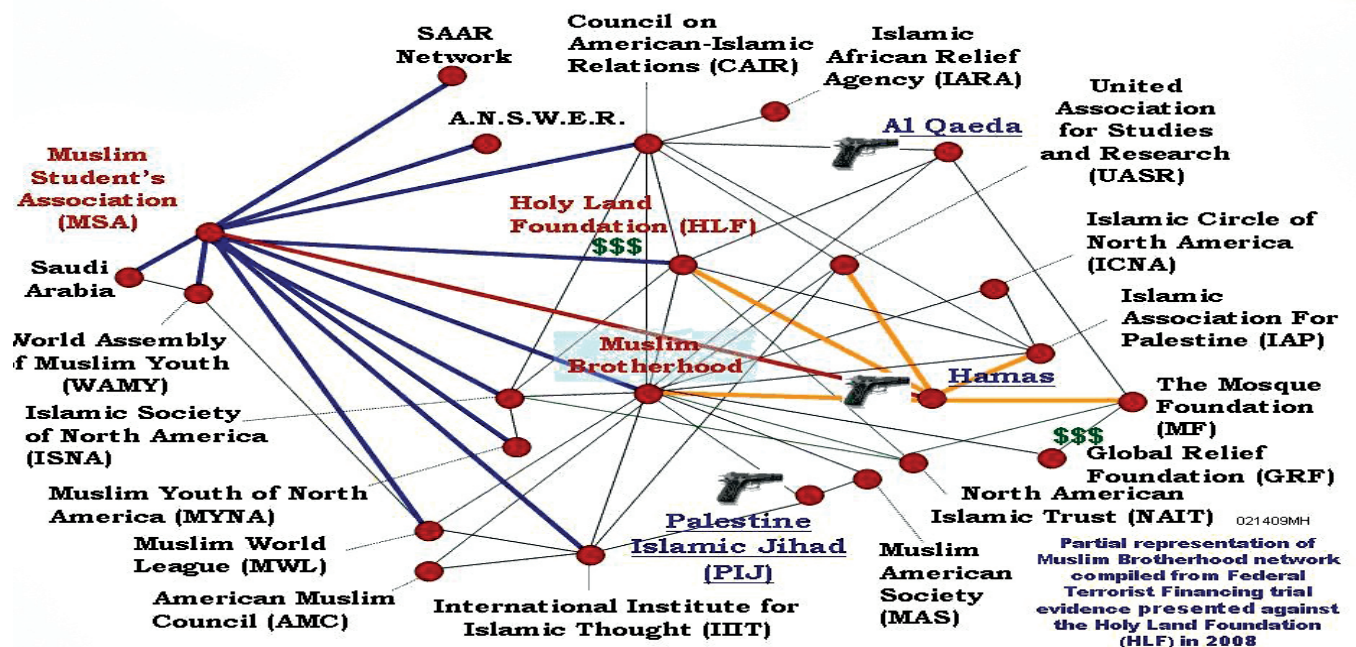
Researcher at the Egyptian Center for Strategic Studies

Brothers, the boundaries of your homeland do not end at the borders of Egypt. Nay, they extend over every inch of land where a Muslim is," these words, by Hassan Al-Banna in his 1931 speech to the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) in Egypt on occupied Palestine, reveal the unbridled desire of the organization's founder to spread his group and ideas across the world, and that his group members are a nation of a special nature living in a vast homeland.

Al-Banna's moves revealed that his desire for the group to proliferate across the world were not mere slogans, but a far-reaching strategy. In general, the Brotherhood's activity has not only affected the countries and regions of the Middle East and Europe, but has extended to the US since the 1950s. The increasing number of immigrants from the group to Western countries, primarily the US, after tightening the noose on them at the home of the parent group in Egypt during the rule of late president Gamal Abdel-Nasser, revealed that the group worked to penetrate American society and create a wide network of relations and influence.

Muslim Brotherhood in North America

FBI IDENTIFIED TERRORIST NETWORK IN OUR SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITIES





First communication links

With the US leading the Western camp after the end of World War II, the first revealed communication between the US and the Brotherhood began through an interview between Al-Banna and Philip Ireland, the first secretary of the American embassy in Cairo on 29 August 1947. Al-Banna asked Washington to form a “joint office” from the Brotherhood and the US to combat communism, and then the Brotherhood’s relationship with Washington was strengthened in the mid-1950s, especially after the decision to dissolve the group, when some of them attempted to assassinate Nasser, in what became known as the 1954 “Mansheya incident.”

Some figures opened the channels of communication between the Brotherhood and the US, the most important of whom are Said Ramadan (the architect of the group’s foreign relations in the 1940s and 1950s) and Ahmed Al-Qadi (the spiritual leader of the Brotherhood in the US).

Ramadan is considered the first founder of the Brotherhood’s relations abroad, due to his influential activities since he joined

the group and his kinship with Hassan Al-Banna. After the 23 July 1952 Revolution in Egypt, American interest in nationalist ideas emerging in the Arab region was apparent, and attention turned to Ramadan, who became the group’s foreign minister. In 1953, Ramadan met US president Dwight Eisenhower in the oval office at the White House, on the sidelines of a forum on Islamic culture. The forum was held at the Nassau base of Princeton University. This forum was organized by the US government, and it summoned the participants because it thought they could cooperate with it in a way that benefits its interests. The US Department of State’s Bureau of International Information, which has been connected to the CIA since 1952, was among the funders of the conference, and it indicated in one of its official confidential documents that the conference aimed at gathering the figures who have great influence in forming Islamic public opinion in several fields to boost American influence in the region. Hence, the relationship between inviting Ramadan and Washington’s desire to confront the activities of the Soviets and Nasser through the Islamic trend, especially the MB, becomes clear.

Al-Qadi traveled to Austria in 1954. He joined the medical school and graduated in 1961, got married to a woman whose family are Brotherhood members. Al-Qadi moved to the US in 1965, where he undertook the task of spreading the group's ideology and Al-Banna's approach, establishing bases for the organization in various American states, and consolidating the system of families and donations that were collected from members, in addition to organizing meetings in which the group's strategy was determined in the later stages and ways to attract more people to join the organization.

He played a vital role in founding the Brotherhood's affiliated organizations in the US and North America, where he held several key positions in those organizations and headed the group in America since 1984. As a Brotherhood leader, he was interrogated by the federal authorities about the internal activities of the organization in America, but he claimed that the group made efforts to serve Muslims in the US. He established a "bigger" project in Florida, which included a high-level medical clinic, an Islamic school, and a large mosque, to be the nucleus of an Islamic medical college project in America to attract Arab and Muslim scholars, but this project caused the international organization to discharge him from the leadership of the group in the US in 1994.

Wider communication with the American administration and the leaders of the Brotherhood began in 1982, as Omar Al-Telmsany was welcomed during a visit to the US. Following his return, he announced at a meeting of the Guidance Bureau on 15 September 1985, that the American administration decided to support religious groups —consistent with its policy in Afghanistan at this stage —through associations and its embassies in Islamic countries.

From then on, the Brotherhood became active in the US, and it was able to estab-

lish a lobbying group through the organizations they founded or infiltrating in some research centers. Abdel-Rahman Al-Amoudi is the most prominent example of their activity in American institutions. He is a Brotherhood member of Eritrean origins, and he became an adviser to president Bill Clinton.

MB strategy to penetrate Western societies

The MB sought to infiltrate Western societies to reach the influential political, economic and media elites in those countries and create a direct communication link to achieve their interests and protect their projects, including the UD. Towards this end, the group followed a slow and long-term strategy based on the proliferation of student associations and organizations alongside cultural and religious organizations among Arab and Muslim students in various states, to quickly transform them into councils to spread further. The group used the same strategy in Europe and some Arab countries.

"A Global Strategy for Islamic Policy" is a document known in European security circles as the "The Project" document. It was seized by the Swiss security services on 7 November 7 2001, when security raided the villa of Youssef Nada, a prominent leader of the international organization of the Muslim Brotherhood and the director of Al-Taqwa Bank, which is linked to close financing operations of the Brotherhood in the Campione neighborhood on the Italian-Swiss border, at the request of the US, after the September incidents. The document largely reveals this MB strategy.

The document was dated 1 December 1982. It includes 12 points of flexible, multi-stage, and long-term approach to penetrate Western societies. Nada indicated in



the investigations conducted with him by the Swiss security services that this document was prepared by Islamic researchers affiliated to the group.

Some of the main points are:

1. To know the terrain and adopt a scientific methodology for its planning and execution.
2. To demonstrate proof of the serious nature of the work.
3. To reconcile international engagement with flexibility at a local level.
4. To reconcile political engagement and the necessity of avoiding isolation on one hand, with permanent education and institutional action on the other.
5. To be used to establish an Islamic State; parallel, progressive efforts targeted at controlling the local centers of power through institutional action.
6. To work loyally alongside Islamic groups and institutions in multiple areas to agree on common ground, to “co-operate on the points of agreement and set aside the points of disagreement”.
7. To accept the principle of temporary cooperation between Islamic movements and nationalist movements in the broad sphere and on common ground.

The group created an integrated plan starting from the formation of a network of relations and contacts with the target community, to coordination with jihadist groups around the world and supporting them in various forms, in addition to forming a branch dedicated to monitoring information to make political decisions for the group in the penetrated country, and heavily relying on a clear media policy that serves the group’s goals, which is what we see currently in several countries of the world.

Brotherhood strategy to penetrate American society

The Brotherhood benefited from the Immigration and Nationality Act issued in 1965. The act served as the beginning of a major shift in the Brotherhood’s penetration of the US and the influx of a large number of Brotherhood members from Egypt, Arab countries and Asia to the US. The process of penetrating American society passed through several phases, the most important of which are:

Phase I: The stage of gathering and mobilizing, the formation of the movement coincided with the beginning of Islamic ac-

tivism in North America or shortly before it, where the formation of volunteers began, but without any organizational framework, and it was just groups of enthusiasts or activists in their countries who were from the Brotherhood or another group or had no affiliation. So they were joined by activity and work with the team, and this was the stage of planting the seed of the Brotherhood in North America.

Phase 2: It has an organizational nature, as groups have been set up at the level of North American countries with a coordinating organizational framework called the “Coordination Council”, which was concerned with coordinating between international groups, verifying their effectiveness, benefiting from their experiences and coming up with recommendations, but they are not binding on the groups and are not yet within an organizational framework.

The groups were assigned leaders. Other groups were formed to gather leaders. Countries that did not have a group were represented in a “Coordination Council” to be connected to the nearest geographical group in a neighboring country, as was the case with Egypt, Iraq, and Jordan.

In these groups the Brotherhood added some of its intellectual frameworks and organizational structures that necessitated their belonging to the group, and accordingly, the group provided them with all the books, propaganda materials, and daawa materials they needed, which would facilitate for them the promotion of the ideology of the Brotherhood. The organizational framework of these organizations were the Islamic cultural groups, not the Brotherhood directly, that promoted that Islam is the main reason for youth to join these groups.

In this phase, the Brotherhood recruited several young people to join those groups and put them in an intensive program

based on recognition of the group’s principles and daawa. The program ended upon submitting the pledge of allegiance and emphasizing that joining the Brotherhood is not an honor, but an assignment for Muslims to sacrifice everything for the sake of upholding the religion, and connecting Brotherhood members in each state to each other in an organized manner to form Brotherhood families that organize a meeting once a month or six weeks, and the main concern was to push these elements to the front ranks to unite.

The strategic goal of the MB in the US

The document “An Explanatory Memorandum: On the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America” dated 22 May 1991, revealed the group’s steps to penetrate American society in particular.

The document was seized in 2004 when an American police officer in Maryland noticed a woman filming parts of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge and arrested her and the driver of her car. The driver’s name was Ismail Al-Barsi, a member of the MB of a Palestinian origin and US nationality. Searching their home in Virginia, the document, which was prepared by Mohamed Akram, a member of the MB in the US, as well as 5,000 other documents related to the group, were found.

The memorandum provides a complete map of the group’s objectives in the US in what the group calls “settlement”. The document states that “Brotherhood elements in the US must be aware that they are in “civilizational jihadism and a kind of great jihad to destroy the Western civilization from within and its miserable houses to evacuate them.”

The memorandum, at its onset, sets out the overall objective of the document and the



concept and process of settlement, and the comprehensive settlement institutions, which are the most important part of the document. It revealed the Brotherhood's steps to penetrate the US society at the political, media, economic, scientific, professional, cultural, intellectual, administrative, legal, socio-propaganda, youth, and women's institutions levels.

Brotherhood networks in the US

The group began establishing entities and institutions in three main phases. The first was through student work and was based on the exploitation of Arab and Muslim students in American educational communities. The second was based on the formation of social and professional organizations aiming at providing social and cultural services to Muslims in America to increase their association with the parent organization to ensure the continuation of their loyalty to the group or to recruit new members. And the third phase is based on establishing political organizations to play a political role in the US to serve the group's goals in the US and outside its borders.

Student unions

The Brotherhood's institutional activity was not limited to charities. It began with association activities through several associations affiliated with the group at the beginning of its penetration into American society. The first association was established on 1 January 1962, at the University of Illinois, and later associations from Indiana and Minnesota joined it. The number of members of that association was estimated at 15 and has doubled in a few months to reach about 200 individuals.

The group also established the Muslim Students' Association in the US and Canada in 1963 and sought to enter association activity through the Islamic Medical Association in 1967, the Association for Muslim Doctors and Engineers in 1969, the Islamic and Social Trade Union in 1971, the Union of Islamic Social Scientists in 1972, the Association of Muslim Scientists and Engineers in 1974, and the Muslim Arab Youth Association in 1977.

Organizations and Institutions

The Muslim Student Association

Founded in 1968 and operated in the years before its establishment unofficially, its main objective, before the adoption of the New Immigration and Nationality Act, was based on the preparation of and care for Arab and Muslim expatriate students at various American universities to return home after the end of their studies to be active members of the MB and other political Islam groups as globally qualified, contributing to the arrival of these groups to power one day.

North American Islamic Trust

The trust was founded on 23 May 1973, based on partnership between Al-Amin Mosque in Gary, Indiana, the Kan Ann Arbor office for book services in Michigan, Al-Alamiah for animation printing in Tacoma, Washington and Maryland, and Al-Islamiyah for book services in Cincinnati, Ohio, with a budget of \$340,000. The endowment aims at serving Muslim students in America and Canada through non-profit activities. In September 1976, the Islamic endowment acquired a plot of land of 124 acres west of Indianapolis Airport in Indiana to build the permanent headquarters of the Muslim Student Association.

The MM Fund in the US

The fund was established in the early 1970s with Al-Qadi named its secretary-general. He traveled among states to collect donations and participation shares, which were estimated at three percent of the Brotherhood's total per capita income to finance the group's daawa projects, conferences, seminars, printing, and publish-

ing books that include the Brotherhood's ideology, and others.

During Al-Qadi's leadership, he relied on a new organizational idea to evaluate and monitor performances based on the Brotherhood's Shura Council to issue executive decisions that are distributed to the various regions in the US, and the responsible persons of those regions distribute them to the members until they reach the members of the Brotherhood at the end of the organizational hierarchy, to advance the group's position in American society.

Islamic Circle of North America

The circle was officially approved in 1979, but it has been practicing actual work since 1968 and it is a part of the Muslim Student Association. Its work initially focused on education and spiritual development for American Muslims. In the early 1980s, the activity of the organization expanded and it began to launch several expansion projects to attract a larger number of members and allocate activities for women and girls. It established a branch in Jamaica other branches in various US states. The circle formed a special council for social justice in 2009 and cooperated with many other organizations affiliated with the Brotherhood to achieve integration between them.

Islamic Association for Palestine

The association was established in 1981 in implementation of the directives of the group's international organization to create a Palestine committee at the level of the Brotherhood's organizations in any country in which it is present. The association became very active after the Palestinian uprising in 1987. Sheikh Omar Al-Sabouni, Muhammad Jagliet, Muhammad Al-Hanouiti, Musa Abu Marzouq, and Jamal Said be-

longed the Brotherhood's cadres in Palestine and hold Palestinian nationality except for Jamal Said, who holds Jordanian nationality.

Islamic Society of North America

It was founded in January 1983 by several active students in the Muslim Students Association in Indiana. Its objectives initially revolved around religious and social issues mainly to strengthen the trust of Muslims in America in their religion and to create bonds between families and different generations by organizing annual conferences that provide an opportunity for acquaintance and sometimes marriage among the people of the community.

But the society has developed itself to enter the political field through the establishment of the Fiqh Council of North America to achieve real political weight for the society and its members in the US. The society carried the Brotherhood ideology as the printing house of the society, in 1990, published a translated version of Sayed Qutb's book "Milestones". The cover of its monthly magazine "Islamic Horizons", the March / April 1999 issue, carried a picture of the Brotherhood's founder, Hassan Al-Banna, and the issue was entirely about his ideas, personality, and upbringing. The body did not last long, as the social policy has changed after the events of 11 September 2001, and the Fatwa Council established by the group issued fatwas against terrorism, but this change was likely only superficial to preserve the association from any risks.

SAAR Foundation

It was founded on 23 July 1983, in Herndon, Virginia, and the board of directors of the foundation included Hisham Yahya Al-Talib, Jamal Al-Din Barzinji, Ahmed Al-Hajj Toutungi, Ismail Al-Farouqi, Abdel-Hamid

Soliman, and others from an Arab bank. The foundation aimed at serving Muslims in the Middle East and Asia. It started on donations but turned to huge investments later.

The foundation used to get about \$20 million annually, and proceeded to fund student scholarships for Muslims wishing to study in the US, and quickly became one of the hallmarks in America in the 1980s and had huge investments in real estate, food and juices after it bought Mar Jack company in Georgia, established its factory, and opened branches in Chile and Zimbabwe.

The SAAR Foundation funded several organizations affiliated with the Brotherhood in America, such as the International Institute for Islamic Thought, the Islamic Society of North America, and others. SAAR was dissolved in December 2000.

The International Institute of Islamic Thought

Founded in 1985 in Virginia with the aim of training and educating preachers and scholars in the field of Islamizing the social sciences and engaging in this field through writing and speaking in a broad media approach, the institute directed a large part of its interest to publishing influential books in the Islamic world in various fields and succeeded in obtaining \$25 million from the Islamic Development Bank in support of this project.

Fiqh Council of North America

The council was established in 1986 and is affiliated with the Islamic Society of North America. Its origins go back to the Religious Affairs Committee of the then Muslim Student Association and developed into a fiqh committee. The council was registered on 14 June 1994 in Virginia and was adminis-

tered by Taha Jaber al-Alwani, Jamal Al-Din Barzengi, and Abdel-Rahman Al-Amoudi. The council received great support from the International Institute of Islamic Thought and the SAAR Foundation.

Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development

From the womb of the Islamic Association for Palestine, the organization was founded in 1988 to be a cover for collecting donations and funds under the pretext of helping Palestinians and those affected by the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories. But in fact, the largest part of this money was directed to Hamas, the nascent organization of the group in Palestine.

Following 11 September 2001, the US administration froze the funds and assets of the organization, which was rejected by the Brotherhood's entities in America. In 2008, the US judiciary issued prison sentences for Moufid Abdel-Qader, Muhammad Al-Muzain, Ghassan Al-Elashi, Shukri Abu Bakr, Abdulrahman Odeh, all of whom were leaders in the organization. Their sentences ranged from 15 to 60 years on charges of involvement in money laundering operations for Hamas, estimated at \$12 million.

Muslim Public Affairs Council

The council was established in 1988 by the leaders of the Islamic Center of Southern California and managed by Dr. Hassaan Hathout, who joined the Brotherhood in 1941 through its founder, Hassan Al-Banna. Hathout was so influenced by Al-Banna that he wrote the book "The Unique Decade (1942-1952): Ten Years with Imam Hassan Al-Banna" to document that stage in his life. Hathout was assisted in running the council by his brother Maher and their colleague Dr. Al-Alfi and Dr. Khaled Abul-Fadl.

American Muslim Council

Abdel-Rahman Al-Amoudi, of an Eritrean origin, with the support of the Muslim Brotherhood, established the American Muslim Council in 1990. The council was aimed at increasing political awareness and engaging in political activities among American Muslims. It succeeded in highlighting the Muslim community in the American political arena, and the council was able to include in the opening schedule of the American House of Representatives an Islamic supplication given by the African-American preacher Siraj Wahaj in 1991 and 1992. In 1996, Hillary Clinton approved the White House inviting Muslims to break their fast during the holy month of Ramadan every year in an annual tradition. The council disappeared from public activity after the arrest of Al-Amoudi for his involvement in a terrorist plot affiliated with Al-Qaeda in September 2003.

Muslim American Society

It was founded in 1992 in Virginia by a group of Brotherhood members who immigrated to America. The society includes nearly 1,000 active members. It partnered with the Islamic Circle of North America, which was founded in 1972, and followed the Salafi approach and the Islamic Group of Pakistan. Annual conferences were held for the two groups. The organization established the Islamic American University (IAU) and Salah Sultan, the Egyptian Brotherhood leader, was its first president.

Council on American-Islamic Relations

It is considered one of the strongest Brotherhood branches in the US. The Council of American-Islamic Relations was founded in 1994 in Washington, DC, by Nihad Awad and Omar Ahmed of Palestinian origins,

Ibrahim Huber of Canadian origins, and Omar Ahmed, who was an employee at a high-tech factory in California. They financed the organization at its launch, and Awad and Huber devoted themselves to achieve its goals.

The organization was dedicated to defending the rights of Muslims and Arabs, confronting racist crimes against them, and defending Islamic issues, influencing the American decision-making process, and exploiting this role in influencing American foreign policy to support Muslim Brotherhood branches abroad, specifically in the Middle East. Thus, the organization plays a double role, the internal aspect concerned with addressing Muslim issues, which created a broad base of influence within the US, and an external aspect based on the exploitation of this influence to tip US foreign policy in favor of the Brotherhood's agenda.

The council's activities raised suspicions, which prompted American journalist Chris Gaubatz to claim that he converted to Islam, grew his beard, approached Anwar Al-Wakil, the imam of the Dar Al-Hijrah Mosque in Washington, DC, and joined the organization under the pretext of training in the programs it provides to Muslim youth. He was very close to its leaders for an entire year and was able to obtain the content of 12,000 documents and several audio recordings and conversations that were supposed to be executed at the organization's headquarters in Washington.

Chris Gaubatz, in cooperation with his father David Gaubatz and American journalist Paul Sperry, published the contents of the documents and other findings in a book about mafias of religions. Gaubatz referred in his book to the text of one of the documents on the annual plan of the Council on American-Islamic Relations, which urged influencing Congress members responsi-

ble for drawing up policies that may affect the lives of Muslims, such as members of the Justice, Intelligence and National Security Committees, by planting trainees of the organization in the offices of various members of Congress. Other documents indicated the existence of millions of dollars in financial links between the council and the various Brotherhood branches in Europe and the Middle East.

In light of the facts and compelling evidence revealed by the book, 2012 witnessed the presentation of Republican Representative Michele Bachmann, a Congresswoman from Minnesota, Rep Trent Franks from Arizona, and Louis Gohmert from Texas, Tom Ronnie and Lynn Westmoreland, of a letter to the head of the CIA, the US Department of Defense, the Department of Homeland Security, the Department of Justice, and the State Department, to inquire about the extent of MB penetration into the American political system.

Tom Rooney added in his letter that the Brotherhood had succeeded in the ranks of the American administration, and the CIA needed to investigate the higher positions that the group might have penetrated, whether in the army or intelligence, and the direct threat of this carries to the American national security. Other congressmen opposed these moves, claiming that they are racist and that the offices of all members of Congress are full of young trainees who come to Washington from around the US and work for free, and the trainees consider that they have had a rare opportunity to see the details of the work of the legislative branch.

Islamic Fund of North America

It was established in 2001 by MB members. The fund is the financial portfolio through which the international organization of

the MB funds its activities in various parts of the world. The fund owns real estate assets in more than 40 countries and controls over 1,200 mosques in the US and Canada, and several Islamic centers to serve as a platform to spread the group's ideology and recruit more youth.

The repercussion of the Brotherhood's proliferation in American society:

After establishing its foundations in American society, the Brotherhood proceeded to focus on establishing a wide network of relations with members of Congress, the White House, diplomats, journalists and the media, clerics, cultural institutions, institutions for interfaith dialogue, associations specialized in combating vice and addiction, and institutions working to spread justice and peace in the world.

Abdel-Rahman Al-Amoudi, director of the American Muslim Council, is one such example. He won the confidence of the Defense Department in choosing Islamic clerics who dealt with the American army, and participated in the financial contributions of election campaigns of several American politicians in Congress and the White House. Al-Amoudi participated in the election campaign of Hillary Clinton for her candidacy for membership in the Senate from New York State and financed the election campaign of Republican activist Grover Norquist. He had a close relationship with former US president Bill Clinton, the proof being that Al-Amoudi was visiting Libya with special permission from US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, at the time, despite the fact the US law prohibits Americans from visiting Libya, in addition to his appointment as the Goodwill Ambassador to the US State Department during the 1990s.

Al-Amoudi also participated in the presidential election campaign of former president George W. Bush, and his deputy, Sami Al-Erian, was assigned to it to carry out several electoral works. After his victory, Bush appointed Suhail Khan, who was in close contact with the Brotherhood organization, in the Public Liaison Office at the White House, which allowed the group more access to the corridors of government in the White House.

He also participated in many seminars, conferences, closed and public sessions with American decision-makers, and conducted interviews with American newspapers about the conditions of Muslims in the US, which was reflected in the interests of the Brotherhood organization and the achievement of several gains in America on one hand, and in serving the interests of the group in several countries, topped by the Middle East, on the other hand.

Despite the intertwined relationships of Al-Amoudi with a number of the prominent figures in the American political arena, which gave him more freedom, he was arrested in September 2003 for his involvement in Al-Qaeda's plan to assassinate an Arab leaders. He was arrested with \$340,000 in his possession.

Investigations revealed that Al-Amoudi transferred millions of dollars to illegal groups abroad, in addition to funding the activities of Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman in America. Al-Amoudi was sentenced to 23 years in prison.

The future of relations between Washington and the Brotherhood

The Brotherhood's aspirations for the future depend on the group's ability to direct its relations with Washington, which is subject to several determinants, including:

1. The organization's status in the US: This variable is related to several issues, foremost among which is the strength of the influence of the Brotherhood's organization networks and groups associated with it in the US.
2. Declining strength of the organization at home: The Brotherhood faces several challenges. On the level of leadership, the group announced the appointment of Ibrahim Mounir, who lives in London, as the acting supreme guide, in a precedent and a contradiction to the doctrine of the group that it adopted since its inception, which is based on the principle that the supreme guide must manage the group's affairs from Egypt. That the group's leadership changes from home to abroad proves the magnanimous challenge the MB is facing. The lack of leadership in Egypt leads to the difficulty of structuring the organization at its home center.

The group's organizational structure is undergoing a state of replacement and renewal to meet the current challenges. The MB announced the abolition of the General Secretariat, and replaced it with the formation of a new aid committee headed by Ibrahim Mounir, which confirms the weakness of the group's organizational structure. It is worth mentioning that experience has shown the group can overcome challenges and rebuild itself.

3. The group's status outside the home country: The MB's position in the Arab arena is witnessing a great challenge, as the countries of the Arab Quartet (Egypt, the Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain) have decided to designate the Brotherhood as a "terrorist movement." Syria took the same decision in 1982, not to mention dissolving the group in Jordan by a court ruling in 2020. Although Sudan has not banned the group, the

post-revolution Sudanese state seeks to dismantle it. In the same context, Mauritania has worked to undermine the group's influence and close its affiliated associations.

4. The development of the European position towards the Brotherhood, which resulted from the realization of the seriousness of the influence of the Brotherhood and the various political Islam groups associated with it on European societies, and the repercussions of their movements. Their tendency to establish parallel societies in European societies may contradict the identity of these societies and their cultures. There is no doubt that European policies that tend to restrict the Brotherhood's influence in Europe will draw the US' attention to see the potential threat the MB poses to American society.



The Egyptian Center for Strategic Studies (ECSS), established in 2018 as an independent think tank, seeks to introduce different perspectives and alternatives regarding strategic shifts taking place on the national, regional and international levels. The ECSS is particularly focused on incidents important to national security and Egyptian interests.

The ECSS targets decision-makers, by providing choices and alternatives when dealing with domestic, regional and international challenges, as well as researchers and experts specialized in the political, economic, social, and security fields, in Egypt and abroad. Through its wide array of services, the ECSS aspires to contribute to enlightening and guiding debates and public opinion in Egypt and the Middle East, as well as to enrich the principles of thinking and scientific research. The ECSS does a variety tasks, activities and provides services such as assessments, political analysis, workshops, forums, and conferences, in addition to monthly publications in Arabic and English. The ECSS website publishes analyses of the different developments taking place on the Egyptian, regional, and international fronts, as well as the production of different research programs.

Programs and sections

First: The International Relations Program

It focuses on studying the Middle East and global strategic shifts and their effects on Egypt's interests and security. The program comprises specialized units in American, European, Asian, African, and Arab studies.

Second: The Security and Defense Program

It analyzes national security issues with their multi-faceted dimensions through its units dedicated to cyberspace security, armament, extremism, terrorism, and armed conflicts studies.

Third: The Public Policy Program

It is interested in studying public policies cases and shifts through its units: economics and energy unit, public opinion unit, and woman and family unit.

The research units are flexible, reflecting the research agenda adopted by the ECSS during a specific period of time, according to an objective assessment of the reality on the ground on the national, regional and international levels, as well as the existing challenges and threats.

In addition to the research programs, the ECSS houses the "**Egyptian Observatory**", concerned with issues that occupy the Egyptian and international public opinion. It provides accurate and analytical follow-up on the issues of concern to decision-makers in the Middle East and the world. The ECSS also has a blog for young researchers and contributing writers from different nationalities to express their views and ideas about the accelerating world events.

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