

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN EGYPT

Name: The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt

Year of Origin: 1928

Founder(s): Hassan al-Banna

Place(s) of Operation: Egypt

Key Leaders:

Acting:

- [Mahmoud Ezzat](#): Acting supreme guide
- [Mahmoud Hussein](#): Secretary-general
- [Mohamed Montasser](#): Spokesman
- [Talaat Fahmi](#): Spokesman
- Mohamed Abdel Rahman: Head of the Higher Administrative Committee
- [Amr Darrag](#): Senior member and co-founder of the Freedom and Justice Party
- [Ahmed Abdel Rahman](#): Chairman of the Brotherhood's Istanbul-based Office for Egyptians Abroad

Imprisoned:

- [Mohammed Morsi](#): Imprisoned former president of Egypt; former leader of the Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party
- [Mohammed Badie](#): Imprisoned supreme guide
- [Khairat el-Shater](#): Imprisoned deputy supreme guide
- [Mohamed Taha Wahdan](#): Imprisoned head of the Brotherhood's Egypt-based Crisis Management Committee
- Abdelrahman al-Barr: Imprisoned Brotherhood mufti and member of the Guidance Office
[Image: source: Ikhwan Web]
- Mahmoud Ghozlan: Imprisoned spokesman
- Gehad al-Haddad: Imprisoned former spokesman and political activist

Deceased:

- Mohammed Kamal: Prominent Brotherhood member and head of the High Administrative Committee (deceased) [Image not available]

Associated Organization(s):

- Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimeen
- Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin
- Gamaat al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin
- Ikhwan
- Muslim Brethren

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- Muslim Brothers
- Society of Muslim Brothers¹

The [Muslim Brotherhood](#) (i.e., the Brotherhood) is Egypt’s oldest and largest Islamist organization.² The Brotherhood rose to power following the 2011 ouster of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, with Brotherhood official [Mohammed Morsi](#) ruling the country from June 2012 to July 2013.³ Since Morsi’s overthrow, the Brotherhood has grown increasingly factionalized, with ideological and tactical rifts between the movement’s older and younger generations.⁴ Egypt’s military-run government—led by President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi—has sought to uproot the Brotherhood entirely, forcing many Brotherhood leaders into exile.⁵

The Brotherhood was formed in Egypt in 1928, four years after the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate.⁶ Since then, the Brotherhood has advocated for the re-establishment of a caliphate, a

¹ Toni Johnson, “Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood: Its History and Egypt’s Future,” *National Journal*, December 5, 2012, <http://news.yahoo.com/egypts-muslim-brotherhood-history-egypts-future-100348397--politics.html>; Brynjar Lia, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt: The Rise of an Islamic Mass Movement, 1928-1942* (Reading, England: Ithaca Press, 1998), 167; “Ikhwanweb Homepage,” Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Official English web site, accessed September 29, 2014, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/>; “Hassan al-Banna and his political thought of Islamic Brotherhood,” Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Official English web site, last modified May 13, 2008, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=17065>; “Profile: Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html>.

² “Profile: Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html>.

³ David. D Kirkpatrick, “Army Ousts Egypt’s President; Morsi Is Taken Into Military Custody,” *New York Times*, July 3, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/04/world/middleeast/egypt.html?_r=0.

⁴ Eric Trager and Marina Shalabi, “Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood Gets a Facelift,” *Foreign Affairs*, May 20, 2015, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/egypt/2015-05-20/egypts-muslim-brotherhood-gets-facelift>; Abdelrahman Ayyash and Victor J. Willi, “The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in 2016 Scenarios and Recommendations,” German Council on Foreign Relations, March 2016, <https://dgap.org/en/article/getFullPDF/27762>.

⁵ Louisa Loveluck, “Sisi says Muslim Brotherhood will not exist under his reign,” *Guardian* (London), May 5, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/06/abdel-fatah-al-sisi-muslim-brotherhood-egypt>; Nathan J. Brown and Michele Dunne, “Unprecedented Pressures, Uncharted Course for Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, July 29, 2015, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2015/07/29/unprecedented-pressures-uncharted-course-for-egypt-s-muslim-brotherhood/ie2g>.

⁶ Brian R. Farmer, *Understanding Radical Islam: Medieval Ideology in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 83; “Profile: Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html>; Jay Winter, “The birth of the Muslim Brotherhood,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 14, 2011, <http://articles.latimes.com/2011/mar/14/opinion/la-oe-winter-muslim-brotherhood-20110314>; Tareq Abu al-Ainain, “Egypt’s Brotherhood Strives for ‘Caliphate’ at Expense of Security,” Al-Monitor, June 2, 2013, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/security/2013/06/egypt-muslim-brotherhood->

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state ruled by sharia (Islamic law).⁷ The group's founder [Hassan al-Banna](#) espoused an ideology of "pan-Islamic nationalism"⁸ and launched Brotherhood branches as well as Brotherhood-affiliated mosques, schools, and sporting clubs.⁹ In its early years, the Brotherhood was focused on opposing secular and Western influence in the Middle East and the British colonial presence in Egypt. The group later sought to oppose the Jewish presence in Palestine.¹⁰

Using the slogan "Islam is the solution," the Egyptian Brotherhood has sought a gradual implementation of sharia. Banna believed that sharia would be implemented by first developing the Muslim individual, the Muslim family, the Muslim community, and finally the Muslim government, or Islamic state.¹¹ According to the Brotherhood's official English website, Ikhwanweb, Banna urged the Brotherhood members "who were looking for fast results" either to "learn to be patient and persever[e]" or else "leave the [Brotherhood] movement."¹²

The Brotherhood maintains that in order to re-establish Islamic governance, the group must first unite a "popular base [of people] that believes in the Islamic system and is aware of its main

[caliphate-national-security.html#](#); "The abolition of the Caliphate," *Economist*, March 18, 1924, <http://www.economist.com/node/11829711>.

⁷ Brian R. Farmer, *Understanding Radical Islam: Medieval Ideology in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 83; "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html>; Tareq Abu al-Ainain, "Egypt's Brotherhood Strives for 'Caliphate' at Expense of Security," Al-Monitor, June 2, 2013, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/security/2013/06/egypt-muslim-brotherhood-caliphate-national-security.html#>.

⁸ "Hassan al-Banna and his political thought of Islamic Brotherhood," Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood's Official English web site, last modified May 13, 2008, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=17065>.

⁹ "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," BBC News, December 25, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12313405>.

¹⁰ John Mintz and Douglas Farah, "In Search of Friends Among the Foes: U.S. Hopes to Work with Diverse Group," *Washington Post*, September 11, 2004, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A12823-2004Sep10.html>;

Agence France-Presse, "Timeline: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Al Arabiya, December 25, 2013, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/profiles/2013/12/26/Timeline-Egypt-s-Muslim-Brotherhood.html>;

Brian R. Farmer, *Understanding Radical Islam: Medieval Ideology in the Twenty-First Century*, (Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, 2007), 83; "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html>; "Myths and realities: The Muslim Brothers and armed activism," Al Jazeera, August 12, 2014,

<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/08/myths-realities-muslim-brothers--20148129319751298.html>;

"Hassan al-Banna and his political thought of Islamic Brotherhood," Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood's Official English web site, last modified May 13, 2008, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=17065>.

¹¹ Larbi Sadiki, "Egypt: The triumph of Hassan Al-Banna," Al Jazeera, July 4, 2012,

<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/07/20127212233901118.html>.

¹² "Hasan al-Banna and his political thought of Islamic brotherhood," Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood's Official English web site, May 13, 2008, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=17065>.

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ideas,” according to Ikhwanweb.¹³ The Brotherhood has nurtured its base primarily through grassroots efforts—including political organizing and religious indoctrination—as well as through the provision of public goods like health care and education. Beyond these efforts, Brotherhood leaders have also scouted potential members “at virtually every Egyptian University,” according to Brotherhood analyst Eric Trager. The Brotherhood has used its popular base to obtain increased political representation and power through democratic processes, despite the group’s ultimate political goal of establishing an Islamic state.¹⁴

Despite the group’s professed claim of adherence to nonviolence, the Brotherhood in Egypt has a history of engaging in violent activities. In 1940, the Egyptian Brotherhood launched an underground military wing called the Nizam al-Khass—the “secret apparatus”—largely in response to the failure of the Arab uprising in Palestine (1936-1939).¹⁵ Its members carried out numerous bombing operations and assassinations, including the 1948 murder of then-Prime Minister of Egypt Mahmoud El Nokrashy Pasha, who had recently banned the Brotherhood.¹⁶ Hassan al-Banna was assassinated one year later in what was believed to be a revenge assassination by a member of Egypt’s secret service.¹⁷ The group continued to engage in violent activities after Banna’s death. In October 1954, a member of the Brotherhood’s secret apparatus attempted to assassinate then-President Gamal Abdel Nasser. In retaliation, Nasser renewed the ban against the Brotherhood, executed several of its leaders, and jailed thousands of Brotherhood supporters.¹⁸

In the 1950s and ’60s, the Brotherhood grew more radical amid clashes with state authorities.

¹³ “The Principles of the Muslim Brotherhood,” Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Official English web site, accessed May 29, 2014, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=813>.

¹⁴ Abdullah al-Arian, “A State Without a State: The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood’s Social Welfare Institutions,” Middle East Political Science, September 20, 2014, <http://pomeps.org/2014/09/30/a-state-without-a-state-the-egyptian-muslim-brotherhoods-social-welfare-institutions/>; Eric Trager, “The Unbreakable Muslim Brotherhood: Grim Prospects for a Liberal Egypt,” *Foreign Affairs*, 90 (2011): 114, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/68211/eric-trager/the-unbreakable-muslim-brotherhood>.

¹⁵ Omar Ashour, “Myths and realities: The Muslim Brothers and armed activism,” Al Jazeera, August 12, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/08/myths-realities-muslim-brothers--20148129319751298.html>.

¹⁶ “Profile: Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html>; “Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Official Claims Group Has Revived Paramilitary Wing,” The Global Muslim Brotherhood Daily Watch, August 21, 2008, <http://www.globalmbwatch.com/2008/08/21/egyptian-muslim-brotherhood-official-claims-group-has-revived-its-paramilitary-wing/>.

¹⁷ John Mintz and Douglas Farah, “In Search of Friends Among the Foes: U.S. Hopes to Work with Diverse Group,” Washington Post, September 11, 2004, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A12823-2004Sep10.html>; Lorenzo Vidino, *The New Muslim Brotherhood In The West* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 168.

¹⁸ “Profile: Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html>.

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During this time, imprisoned Brotherhood theologian [Sayyid Qutb](#) wrote a number of influential works advocating jihad. In his book *Milestones*, Qutb re-popularized the Islamic concept of takfir, which permits the labeling of fellow Muslims as apostates, thus justifying their persecution and murder.¹⁹ By legitimizing and indeed imploring takfir, Qutb essentially provided a legal loophole sanctioning Islamists to wage jihad against state officials and ordinary civilians. Though Nasser legalized the Brotherhood in 1964,²⁰ he cracked down on the Brotherhood in 1965, throwing many of its leaders, including Qutb, into prison.²¹ Qutb was executed by hanging in 1966. His theories are believed to have inspired the leaders of subsequent Islamist terror groups including [al-Qaeda](#) and [ISIS](#).²²

Following the death of Nasser in 1970, the Brotherhood assumed a greater role in Egyptian society and officially renounced violence.²³ Nasser's successor, Anwar Sadat, initially cooperated with Brotherhood leaders in order to unite against his opponents, but the relationship soon ended due to differences in ideology.²⁴ During the 1980s, the Brotherhood attempted to infiltrate the political mainstream by forming alliances with a number of parties, including the nationalist liberal Wafd party, the Socialist Liberal Party, and the Socialist Labour Party.²⁵ Alliances with these parties enabled Brotherhood members to run for parliament on those

¹⁹ Alastair Finlan, *The Test of Terrorism: Responding to Political Violence in the Twenty-First Century*, (London: Routledge: 2015).

²⁰ David Bukay, *From Muhammad to Bin Laden: Religious and Ideological Sources of the Homicide Bombers Phenomenon*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers: 2008), 207.

²¹ Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower*, (New York: Random House, 2011), 36; Johannes J. G. Jansen, *The Dual Nature of Islamic Fundamentalism*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), 50; Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press: 2004), 261.

²² Youssef Aboul-Enein, "Learning from Adel Hammouda's Work on Militant Islamist Movements," Combatting Terrorism Center, September 15, 2008, <https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/learning-from-adel-hammouda%E2%80%99s-work-on-militant-islamist-movements>; Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower*, (New York: Random House, 2011), 34-35; Dale C. Eikmeier, "Qutbism: An Ideology of Islamic-Fascism," *Parameters: U.S. Army War College Quarterly*, Spring 2007, 89, <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a485995.pdf>.

²³ "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html>; Zachary Laub, "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Council on Foreign Relations, last modified January 15, 2014, <http://www.cfr.org/egypt/egypts-muslim-brotherhood/p23991>.

²⁴ "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html>; "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," BBC News, December 25, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12313405>.

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

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parties' tickets. In the mid-2000s, Brotherhood members won 20 percent of the seats in Egypt's People's Assembly party.²⁶

As the Arab Spring came to a head in 2011, the Brotherhood's resilience and robust infrastructure left it well positioned to capitalize in Egypt's new political landscape. The Brotherhood was officially legalized in early 2011,²⁷ forming the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) in June of that year.²⁸ The FJP ran senior Brotherhood member Mohammed Morsi on its party ticket, and Morsi was elected president of Egypt in June 2012.²⁹

Starting in November 2012, hundreds of thousands of Egyptians joined the Tamarod grassroots movement in protest against the actions of Morsi and his government, including the practice of attacking demonstrators and prosecuting journalists.³⁰ On November 22, 2012, Morsi granted himself unlimited powers in a new constitutional declaration, announcing his right to take "any measures he sees fit in order to preserve and safeguard the revolution, national unity or national security," according to a translation of Morsi's constitutional declaration by *Egypt Independent*.³¹ One week later, Morsi called for a referendum on the draft constitution, prompting fears of an Islamist overhaul of the constitution.³²

²⁶ "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," BBC News, last modified December 25, 2013,

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

Jason Brownlee, "The decline of pluralism in Mubarak's Egypt," *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 4 (2002): 6-14, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Jason_Brownlee2/publication/236831112_The_Decline_of_Pluralism_in_Mubarak's_Egypt/links/5416f9230cf2bb7347db83e6.pdf.

²⁷ "'Shariah in Egypt is enough for us,' Muslim Brotherhood leader says," Hurriyet Daily News, May 23, 2011, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=8220shari8217a-law-in-egypt-is-enough-for-us8221-tells-a-muslim-brotherhood-leader-2011-05-23>.

²⁸ Said Shehata, "Profile: Egypt's Freedom and Justice Party," BBC News, November 25, 2011, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-15899548>.

²⁹ "Muslim Brotherhood-backed candidate Morsi wins Egyptian presidential election," Fox News, June 24, 2012, <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2012/06/24/egypt-braces-for-announcement-president/>.

³⁰ Stephanie McCrummen and Abigail Hauslohner, "Egyptians take anti-Morsi protests to presidential palace," *Washington Post*, December 4 2012, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/egyptians-take-anti-morsi-protests-to-presidential-palace/2012/12/04/b16a2cfa-3e40-11e2-bca3-aadc9b7e29c5_story.html;

Patrick Kingsley, "Protesters across Egypt call for Mohamed Morsi to go," *Guardian* (London), June 30, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/30/mohamed-morsi-egypt-protests>;

"Profile: Egypt's Tamarod protest movement," BBC News, July 1, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-23131953>.

³¹ "Morsy issues new constitutional declaration," *Egypt Independent* (Cairo), November 22, 2012, <http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/morsy-issues-new-constitutional-declaration>.

³² Stephanie McCrummen, "Morsi sets date for referendum on charter as his Islamist supporters rally in Cairo," *Washington Post*, December 1, 2012, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/in-cairo-rival-protests-over-the-path-forward/2012/12/01/73bb2f1e-3bd7-11e2-9258-ac7c78d5c680_story.html.

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The Egyptian military ousted Morsi in July 2013 and suspended the constitution, placing Morsi and other Brotherhood leaders in military custody.³³ Seven months of violence ensued, primarily between authorities and Islamist protesters, resulting in the deaths of over 2,500 civilians and nearly 60 police officers.³⁴

On December 24, 2013, suspected Brotherhood members carried out a bombing attack on police headquarters north of Cairo, killing 15 people and wounding over 100.³⁵ The government held the Brotherhood responsible for the attack, formally designating the group as a terrorist organization on December 25, 2013.³⁶ In response, the group denounced “all violence” and reiterated its “commitment to peaceful protest,” according to the Brotherhood’s official website.³⁷

Since Morsi’s ouster, a rift has grown between the Brotherhood’s older and younger members. In the months following Morsi’s disposal in July 2013, the Brotherhood’s youth reportedly became impatient with the older members’ gradualist approach, and began calling for revolutionary and violent tactics against Egyptian authorities.³⁸ Younger members began to carry out a low-level insurgency, and created Facebook pages calling for the burning of police vehicles and the use of Molotov cocktails against authorities.³⁹ In January 2014, a message posted on the Brotherhood’s Arabic-language website—most likely by members of the younger strain—indicated a sharp reversal of the group’s commitment to non-violence: “We are at the beginning of a new phase

³³ David. D Kirkpatrick, “Army Ousts Egypt’s President; Morsi Is Taken Into Military Custody,” *New York Times*, July 3, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/04/world/middleeast/egypt.html?_r=0; Abigail Hauslohner, William Booth, and Sharaf al-Hourani, “Egyptian military ousts Morsi, suspends constitution,” *Washington Post*, July 3, 2013, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/egypt-morsi-defiant-under-pressure-as-deadline-looms/2013/07/03/28fda81c-e39d-11e2-80eb-3145e2994a55_story.html.

³⁴ Michele Dunne and Scott Williamson, “Egypt’s Instability by the Numbers,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, accessed May 12, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/03/24/egypt-s-unprecedented-instability-by-numbers/>.

³⁵ Kareem Fahim and Mayy El Sheikh, “Egyptian Officials Point at Islamist Group After Blast at Police Building,” *New York Times*, December 24, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/25/world/middleeast/egypt-car-bomb.html>.

³⁶ Kareem Fahim, “Egypt, Dealing a Blow to the Muslim Brotherhood, Deems It a Terrorist Group,” *New York Times*, December 25, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/26/world/middleeast/egypt-calls-muslim-brotherhood-a-terrorist-group.html>.

³⁷ “Muslim Brotherhood, Freedom and Justice Party Leaders Condemn All Violence,” Ikhwan Web Homepage, Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Official English web site, December 24, 2013, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=31480>.

³⁸ Eric Trager and Marina Shalabi, “Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood Gets a Facelift,” *Foreign Affairs*, May 20, 2015, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/egypt/2015-05-20/egypts-muslim-brotherhood-gets-facelift>.

³⁹ Eric Trager, “Egypt’s Invisible Insurgency,” *New Republic*, March 19, 2014, <https://newrepublic.com/article/117072/egypts-young-islamists-use-facebook-organize-violence>.

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where we summon our strength and evoke the meaning of jihad. [We] prepare ourselves...for relentless jihad where we ask for martyrdom.”⁴⁰

In response to the mounting jihadist rhetoric and small-scale violent attacks on the ground perpetrated by the younger members, the older generation—which urges a patient approach—has reportedly become more deferential to its younger members out of fear of losing support for the movement.⁴¹

In February 2014, the Brotherhood held internal elections, replacing 65 percent of its older leaders overwhelmingly with younger, more revolutionary individuals. The elections led to the formation of the Crisis Management Committee—headed by Brotherhood member Mohamed Taha Wahdan—tasked with managing events on the ground in Egypt. Wahdan, loyal to the younger revolutionaries, is believed to largely oversee the Brotherhood’s rank and file in Egypt.⁴² In April 2015, the Brotherhood created the Office for Egyptians Abroad—under the chairmanship of Brotherhood member Ahmed Abdel-Rahman—to organize the Brotherhood’s leaders in exile and strengthen the struggle against President Sisi’s military government. In a televised interview with Al Jazeera, Abdel-Rahman declared, “There will not be a political solution [with Sisi’s government] before the demands of the revolutionaries [Egyptian Brothers] on the ground are met... We will continue our revolution until victory.”⁴³

In 2016, a militant group called Hasm emerged in Egypt.⁴⁴ The group has mostly focused on carrying out several assassinations and assassination attempts targeting Egyptian authorities and security officials. Media sources have speculated that Hasm is connected to the Muslim Brotherhood, given that its activities have targeted individuals who have specifically acted against the Brotherhood in the past. For example, in November 2016, the group attempted to

⁴⁰ Abdelrahman Ayyash, “The Brotherhood’s Post-Pacifist Approach,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, July 9, 2015, <http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/?fa=60665>.

⁴¹ Nathan J. Brown and Michele Dunne, “Unprecedented Pressures, Uncharted Course for Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, July 29, 2015, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2015/07/29/unprecedented-pressures-uncharted-course-for-egypt-s-muslim-brotherhood/ie2g>.

⁴² Abdelrahman Ayyash and Victor J. Willi, “The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in 2016 Scenarios and Recommendations,” German Council on Foreign Relations, March 2016, 2, <https://dgap.org/en/article/getFullPDF/27762>.

⁴³ Eric Trager and Marina Shalabi, “Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood Gets a Facelift,” *Foreign Affairs*, May 20, 2015, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/egypt/2015-05-20/egypts-muslim-brotherhood-gets-facelift>; “أول ظهور،” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrCXjh8GoSM>; “إعلامي لرئيس مكتب اخوان مصر بالخارج,” YouTube video, 49:27, Posted by “مكتب اخوان مصر بالخارج,” April 22, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrCXjh8GoSM>.

⁴⁴ Michael Horton, “Is the Hasm Movement the Future of Militancy in Egypt?” Jamestown Foundation, September 22, 2017, <https://jamestown.org/program/is-the-hasm-movement-the-future-of-militancy-in-egypt/>.

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assassinate Ahmad Abu al-Fotouh, a judge in Morsi's 2015 trial.⁴⁵ Egyptian authorities allege that Hasm is the militant wing of the Muslim Brotherhood and is being aided by leaders of the Brotherhood.⁴⁶ The Brotherhood has denied any link to the group.⁴⁷ Hasm members have reportedly confessed to Egyptian authorities to receiving weapons and explosives training from the Brotherhood. In September 2018, Hasm spokesman Khaled Seifeddine denied any affiliation with the Brotherhood. He further claimed that the Brotherhood had failed in Egypt and had failed to resonate with the Egyptian people.⁴⁸

In June 2017, Egypt, the UAE, Bahrain, and Saudi Arabia cut diplomatic ties with [Qatar](#) in response to that country's ongoing support for the Muslim Brotherhood and other extremist and terrorist groups.⁴⁹

Today, the Brotherhood's leaders—both on the ground in Egypt and in exile—seek to regroup and reorganize.⁵⁰ Egypt's government continues to sentence Brotherhood members to death, maintaining a firm suppression of the 90-year-old Islamist organization.⁵¹

History:

- **1928:** The Muslim Brotherhood is founded by school teacher Hassan al-Banna in Ismailia, Egypt. The group is opposed to British colonial presence in Egypt and, later, to the Jewish presence in Palestine. It seeks to re-establish the Islamic caliphate.⁵²

⁴⁵ Ahmad Abd Alhaleim, "Hasm claim embassy bombing in Cairo, may be looking to expand," Al-Monitor, October 15, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/10/egypt-hasm-movement-attacks-local-figures-myanmar-embassy.html>.

⁴⁶ Ahmad Abd Alhaleim, "Hasm claim embassy bombing in Cairo, may be looking to expand," Al-Monitor, October 15, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/10/egypt-hasm-movement-attacks-local-figures-myanmar-embassy.html>.

⁴⁷ "Egypt launches major assault on militants ahead of election," Reuters, February 9, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-security/egypt-launches-major-assault-on-militants-ahead-of-election-idUSKBN1FTOSB?il=0>.

⁴⁸ Walid Abdulrahman, "Hasm Admits Muslim Brotherhood's Failure in Egypt," *Ashar Al-Awsat* (London), September 7, 2018, <https://aawsat.com/english/home/article/1387946/hasm-admits-muslim-brotherhoods-failure-egypt>.

⁴⁹ Patrick Wintour, "Gulf Plunged into Diplomatic Crisis as Countries Cut Ties with Qatar," *Guardian* (London), June 5, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/05/saudi-arabia-and-bahrain-break-diplomatic-ties-with-qatar-over-terrorism>.

⁵⁰ Umar Farooq, "Turkey Nurtures Egypt's 'Terrorist' Muslim Brothers," Daily Beast, April 15, 2015, <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/04/15/turkey-nurtures-egypt-s-terrorist-muslim-brothers.html>.

⁵¹ "Muslim Brotherhood: Death Sentences, Executions Will Not Intimidate Us," Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood's Official English web site, May 13, 2016, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=32538>.

⁵² John Mintz and Douglas Farah, "In Search of Friends Among the Foes: U.S. Hopes to Work with Diverse Group," *Washington Post*, September 11, 2004, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A12823-2004Sep10.html>;

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN EGYPT

- **1938:** The group grows to a reported 200,000 members.⁵³
- **1940:** Banna establishes the Brotherhood's military wing, the Nizam al-Khass, or "secret apparatus."⁵⁴
- **1948:** The Brotherhood is projected to have at least 500,000 members.⁵⁵
- **1948:** A member of the secret apparatus assassinates Egypt's Prime Minister, Mahmoud El Nokrashy Pasha, who had recently banned the Brotherhood.⁵⁶
- **1949:** The Egyptian secret service assassinates Banna near his office, likely in retaliation for Prime Minister Nokrashy Pasha's murder the year before.⁵⁷
- **1954:** A member of the Brotherhood's secret apparatus attempts to assassinate Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. In retaliation, Nasser bans the Brotherhood, executes several of its leaders, and jails thousands of Brotherhood supporters.⁵⁸
- **1964:** Nasser legalizes the Brotherhood.⁵⁹
- **1965:** Nasser cracks down on the Brotherhood, blaming the group for conspiring to overthrow his government in a revolutionary plot.⁶⁰
- **1966:** The Egyptian government executes Brotherhood ideologue and spiritual guide Sayyid Qutb.⁶¹

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⁵³ "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html>.

⁵⁴ Omar Ashour, "Myths and realities: The Muslim Brothers and armed activism," Al Jazeera, August 12, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/08/myths-realities-muslim-brothers--20148129319751298.html>.

⁵⁵ "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html>.

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⁵⁷ John Mintz and Douglas Farah, "In Search of Friends Among the Foes: U.S. Hopes to Work with Diverse Group," Washington Post, September 11, 2004, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A12823-2004Sep10.html>;
Lorenzo Vidino, *The New Muslim Brotherhood In The West* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 168.

⁵⁸ "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html>.

⁵⁹ David Bukay, *From Muhammad to Bin Laden: Religious and Ideological Sources of the Homicide Bombers Phenomenon*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers: 2008), 207.

⁶⁰ Stephen E. Atkins, *Encyclopedia of Modern Worldwide Extremists and Extremist Groups*, (Westport: Greenwood Press: 2004), 261.

⁶¹ "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html>.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN EGYPT

- **1970:** Anwar Sadat is elected president of Egypt following Nasser's death.⁶²
- **1970s:** The Brotherhood assumes a greater role in Egyptian society and officially renounces violence.⁶³
- **1980s – 1990s:** The Brotherhood carries out numerous attempts to infiltrate the political mainstream. Strategies include forming alliances with the nationalist liberal Wafd party, the Socialist Liberal Party, and the Socialist Labour Party. Such alliances allow Brotherhood members to run for parliament on those parties' tickets.⁶⁴
- **Mid-2000s:** Brotherhood members win 20 percent of the seats in Egypt's People's Assembly by running on allied parties' tickets.⁶⁵
- **April 7, 2008:** Under government restrictions, the Brotherhood is limited to running no more than two dozen candidates for the 52,000 seats available in the local council. The Brotherhood announces it will boycott the elections.⁶⁶
- **February 2011 – April 2011:** President Hosni Mubarak resigns from his post after waves of popular protests. The Brotherhood is officially legalized and forms the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) to contest Egyptian elections.⁶⁷
- **November 2011 – January 2012:** FJP candidates win a plurality in Egypt's parliamentary elections, claiming 235 out of 498 seats in the People's Assembly.⁶⁸
- **June 2012:** Mohammed Morsi, FJP candidate and Brotherhood official, narrowly wins Egypt's presidential elections and takes office as president of Egypt.⁶⁹

⁶² "Anwar Sadat," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed May 25, 2016, <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Anwar-Sadat>.

⁶³ "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Al Jazeera, February 6, 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201126101349142168.html>; Zachary Laub, "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Council on Foreign Relations, last modified January 15, 2014, <http://www.cfr.org/egypt/egypts-muslim-brotherhood/p23991>.

⁶⁴ "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," BBC News, December 25, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12313405>.

⁶⁵ "Profile: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," BBC News, December 25, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12313405>.

⁶⁶ Mohammed Herzallah and Amr Hamzawy, "Egypt's Local Elections Farce Causes and Consequences," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, April 2008, 6, http://carnegieendowment.org/files/egypt's_local_elections_final2.pdf.

⁶⁷ "'Shariah in Egypt is enough for us,' Muslim Brotherhood leader says," Hurriyet Daily News, May 23, 2011, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=8220shari8217a-law-in-egypt-is-enough-for-us8221-tells-a-muslim-brotherhood-leader-2011-05-23>; "Egypt: Muslim Brotherhood sets up new party," BBC News, April 30, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-13249434>.

⁶⁸ "Egypt's Islamist parties win elections to parliament," BBC News, January 21, 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-16665748>.

⁶⁹ David D. Kirkpatrick, "Named Egypt's Winner, Islamist Makes History," *New York Times*, June 24, 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/25/world/middleeast/mohamed-morsi-of-muslim-brotherhood-declared-as-egypts-president.html?pagewanted=all>.

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- **November 2012 – July 2013:** Hundreds of thousands of Egyptians join the Tamarod grassroots movement in its protest against Morsi’s actions and the actions of his government, including attacks on demonstrators and prosecutions of journalists. By July 2013, the Tamarod movement has collected more than 22 million signatures on a petition demanding that Morsi resign and call for early elections.⁷⁰
- **November 22, 2012:** Morsi grants himself unlimited powers in a new constitutional declaration, announcing his right to take “any measures he sees fit in order to preserve and safeguard the revolution, national unity or national security,” according to a translation by *Egypt Independent*.⁷¹
- **December 1, 2012:** Morsi calls for a referendum on the draft constitution, prompting fears of an Islamist coup.⁷²
- **July 3, 2013:** The Egyptian military removes Morsi from power, suspends the constitution, and calls new elections for the presidency and Shura Council. Brotherhood supporters take to the streets and engage in protests and sit-ins.⁷³
- **August 14, 2013:** The Egyptian military-backed interim government raids and breaks up camps of Brotherhood supporters, known as the Rabaa sit-in. Hundreds of people are killed and thousands are injured. In retaliation, Brotherhood supporters loot and burn churches and police stations. The interim government declares a month-long state of emergency.⁷⁴
- **September 23, 2013:** An Egyptian court issues a preliminary injunction seeking to dissolve the Brotherhood.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Stephanie McCrummen and Abigail Hauslohner, “Egyptians take anti-Morsi protests to presidential palace,” *Washington Post*, December 4 2012, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/egyptians-take-anti-morsi-protests-to-presidential-palace/2012/12/04/b16a2cfa-3e40-11e2-bca3-aadc9b7e29c5_story.html; Patrick Kingsley, “Protesters across Egypt call for Mohamed Morsi to go,” *Guardian* (London), June 30, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/30/mohamed-morsi-egypt-protests>; “Profile: Egypt's Tamarod protest movement,” BBC News, July 1, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-23131953>.

⁷¹ “Morsy issues new constitutional declaration,” *Egypt Independent* (Cairo), November 22, 2012, <http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/morsy-issues-new-constitutional-declaration>.

⁷² Stephanie McCrummen, “Morsi sets date for referendum on charter as his Islamist supporters rally in Cairo,” *Washington Post*, December 1, 2012, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/in-cairo-rival-protests-over-the-path-forward/2012/12/01/73bb2f1e-3bd7-11e2-9258-ac7c78d5c680_story.html.

⁷³ Abigail Hauslohner, William Booth, and Sharaf al-Hourani, “Egyptian military ousts Morsi, suspends constitution,” *Washington Post*, July 3, 2013, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/egypts-morsi-defiant-under-pressure-as-deadline-looms/2013/07/03/28fda81c-e39d-11e2-80eb-3145e2994a55_story.html.

⁷⁴ David D. Kirkpatrick, “Hundreds Die as Egyptian Forces Attack Islamist Protestors,” *New York Times*, August 14, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/15/world/middleeast/egypt.html?_r=0.

⁷⁵ David D. Kirkpatrick, “Egyptian Court Shuts Down the Muslim Brotherhood and Seizes Its Assets,” *New York Times*, September 23, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/24/world/middleeast/egyptian-court-bans-muslim-brotherhood.html>.

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- **October 9, 2013:** The Minister of Social Solidarity officially bans the Brotherhood and seizes its assets.⁷⁶
- **December 24, 2013:** The Egyptian government blames the car bombing of a police building in the city of Mansoura on the Brotherhood.⁷⁷
- **December 25, 2013:** The Egyptian government designates the Brotherhood a terrorist organization, making it a crime to join or support the group.⁷⁸
- **February 2014:** The Brotherhood replaces 65 percent of its leaders in internal elections. Ninety percent of the new leaders are from the Brotherhood's younger generation. The Brotherhood also forms the Office for Egyptians Abroad in order to organize the Brotherhood's leaders and members in exile.⁷⁹
- **June 9, 2014:** President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi officially becomes president of Egypt.⁸⁰
- **August 10, 2014:** An Egyptian court dissolves the Freedom and Justice Party.⁸¹
- **March 7, 2015:** Egypt carries out its first execution of a Muslim Brotherhood supporter, Mahmoud Hassan Ramadan, who had been imprisoned and handed the death sentence for his role in the 2013 protests following Morsi's ouster. Ramadan had reportedly played a role in an incident in which children were thrown from a building.⁸²
- **April 21, 2015:** Amr Darrag, co-founder of the FJP, tells Reuters that new young leadership is taking over the Brotherhood. He says, "It is always good to have fresh blood ... (this was) one of the blessings of the coup [Morsi's ouster]."⁸³

⁷⁶ Yussef Auf, "The Muslim Brotherhood: A New Ban," Atlantic Council, October 23, 2013, <http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/menasource/the-muslim-brotherhood-a-new-ban>.

⁷⁷ Kareem Fahim and Mayy El Sheikh, "Egyptian Officials Point at Islamist Group After Blast at Police Building," *New York Times*, December 24, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/25/world/middleeast/egypt-car-bomb.html>.

⁷⁸ Kareem Fahim, "Egypt, Dealing a Blow to the Muslim Brotherhood, Deems It a Terrorist Group," *New York Times*, December 25, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/26/world/middleeast/egypt-calls-muslim-brotherhood-a-terrorist-group.html>.

⁷⁹ Eric Trager and Marina Shalabi, "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood Gets a Facelift," *Foreign Affairs*, May 20, 2015, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/egypt/2015-05-20/egypts-muslim-brotherhood-gets-facelift>; George Fahmi, "The Struggle for the Leadership of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," Carnegie Middle East Center, July 14, 2015, <http://carnegie-mec.org/2015/07/14/struggle-for-leadership-of-egypt-s-muslim-brotherhood/idbr>.

⁸⁰ "Sisi takes power in Egypt," Al Jazeera, June 8, 2014, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2014/06/sisi-be-sworn-as-egypt-president-20146843619902534.html>.

⁸¹ Lin Noueihed, "Egypt court dissolves Muslim Brotherhood's political wing," Reuters, August 10, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-brotherhood-idUSKBN0G90AM20140810>.

⁸² "Egypt carries out first execution of Mursi supporter," Reuters, March 7, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/03/08/us-egypt-execution-islamist-idUSKBN0M30AU20150308>.

⁸³ Humeyra Pamuk, "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood says new leaders taking over," Reuters, April 21, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/04/21/us-egypt-mursi-brotherhood-idUSKBN0NC1S020150421>.

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- **May 16, 2015:** An Egyptian court hands the death sentence to Morsi and over 100 Brotherhood supporters for their roles in a mass prison break in 2011. As he hears the verdict, Morsi reportedly punches his fists in the air and smiles.⁸⁴
- **June 2015:** Brotherhood members kill Egyptian Public Prosecutor Hisham Barakat, according to Egyptian authorities.⁸⁵
- **December 2015:** Brotherhood spokesman Mohammed Montasser calls on Egyptians to “bring down the military” through protests. The older leaders reject his call as contradictory to their decision-making processes. The younger and older generations begin operating different Brotherhood websites.⁸⁶
- **January 7, 2016:** Brotherhood members and security forces exchange fire outside of a Cairo hotel.⁸⁷
- **April 2016:** The Brotherhood calls for mass protests to topple Sisi’s government. Its leaders release a statement, declaring: “The only solution now is to defeat and end this illegitimate coup, to reinstate democratic legitimacy, and put right all the ruinous coup’s injustices and crimes.”⁸⁸
- **October 4, 2016:** Egyptian authorities announce that they killed two Brotherhood members—Mohamed Kamal and Yasser Shahata Ali Ragab—in a shootout in Cairo. The Brotherhood denies this, saying that the men were killed in detention.⁸⁹
- **November 10, 2016:** Egyptian authorities uncover a cache of weapons allegedly belonging to Brotherhood supporters. The Interior Ministry claims that the “armed wing of the Muslim Brotherhood intended to use the weapons in terrorist attacks.”⁹⁰

⁸⁴ “Mohammed Morsi, Egypt’s ex-leader, sentenced to death,” BBC News, May 16, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-32763215>;

Michael Georgy, “Egypt’s Mursi defiant as court seeks death penalty,” Reuters, May 16, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/05/16/us-egypt-court-mursi-defiance-idUSKBN0010GE20150516>.

⁸⁵ Reuters, “Egypt arrests militants, links them to Muslim Brotherhood,” Yahoo News, November 4, 2016, <https://www.yahoo.com/news/egypt-arrests-militants-links-them-muslim-brotherhood-082447987.html?ref=gs>;
Nour Youssef, “Egypt Says Muslim Brotherhood, Backed by Hamas, Killed Top Prosecutor,” *New York Times*, March 6, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/07/world/middleeast/egypt-says-muslim-brotherhood-backed-by-hamas-killed-top-prosecutor.html>.

⁸⁶ Eric Trager and Marina Shalabi, “The Brotherhood Breaks Down,” *Foreign Affairs*, January 17, 2016, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/egypt/2016-01-17/brotherhood-breaks-down>.

⁸⁷ Declan Walsh, “Muslim Brotherhood Supporters Clash With Security Forces Outside Cairo Hotel,” *New York Times*, January 7, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/08/world/middleeast/egypt-hotel-muslim-brotherhood.html>.

⁸⁸ “Egypt mobilises security forces as Brotherhood calls for mass protests,” Middle East Eye, April 25, 2016, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/security-forces-mobilise-anticipation-major-protests-egypt-2009083905>.

⁸⁹ “Senior Muslim Brotherhood leader killed in Egypt,” Al Jazeera, October 4, 2016, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/10/top-muslim-brotherhood-leader-killed-egypt-161004081124124.html>.

⁹⁰ “Egypt says foils Muslim Brotherhood plot on eve of planned protests,” Reuters, November 10, 2016, <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-currency-protests-idUSKBN1352EU>.

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- **November 2016:** On November 15, an Egyptian court overturns Morsi's death sentence for his role in the 2011 prison break and orders a retrial. On November 22, a court overturns Morsi's life sentence related to charges of spying for Iran and Hamas.⁹¹
- **June 2017:** Egypt, the UAE, Bahrain, and Saudi Arabia cut diplomatic ties with Qatar in response to that country's ongoing support for the Muslim Brotherhood and other extremist and terrorist groups.⁹² Two weeks later, the four countries issue a list of demands to Qatar, including that it cut ties with the Muslim Brotherhood.⁹³
- **September 16, 2017:** An Egyptian court reduces Morsi's sentence for spying for Qatar from 40 years to 25 years.⁹⁴
- **December 30, 2017:** Morsi and 19 other defendants are sentenced to three years in prison and fined for insulting the judiciary in media statements and on social media.⁹⁵
- **July 2018:** An Egyptian court sentences 75 people, including Brotherhood members, to death for participation in violent protests in August 2013 following Morsi's removal from office. Amnesty International condemns the trial and the sentence as unfair.⁹⁶
- **September 2018:** On September 8, an Egyptian court sentences 75 people to death for participation in an August 2013 protest. Among those sentenced are leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood. Muslim Brotherhood head Mohammed Badie is sentenced to life in prison. Later that month, an Egyptian court removes Badie from the country's terrorism list.⁹⁷

⁹¹ Reuters, "Mohamed Morsi death sentence overturned," *Guardian* (London), November 15, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/15/mohamed-morsi-death-sentence-overturned>; Agence France-Presse, "Egypt court quashes Morsi life sentence over Hamas espionage," *Times of Israel*, November 22, 2016, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/egypt-court-quashes-morsi-life-sentence-over-hamas-espionage/>.

⁹² Patrick Wintour, "Gulf Plunged into Diplomatic Crisis as Countries Cut Ties with Qatar," *Guardian* (London), June 5, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/05/saudi-arabia-and-bahrain-break-diplomatic-ties-with-qatar-over-terrorism>.

⁹³ "Saudi-led bloc modifies demands to end Qatar crisis," *BBC News*, July 19, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-40654023>; Eric Trager, "The Muslim Brotherhood Is the Root of the Qatar Crisis," *Atlantic*, July 2, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/07/muslim-brotherhood-qatar/532380/>.

⁹⁴ "Egypt court sentences Mursi to 25 years in Qatar spy case," *Reuters*, September 16, 2017, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-court/egypt-court-sentences-mursi-to-25-years-in-qatar-spy-case-idUSKCNIBR0ES>.

⁹⁵ Adham Youssef, "Former Egypt president Mohamed Morsi found guilty of insulting judiciary," *Guardian* (London), December 30, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/dec/30/egypt-mohamed-morsi-guilty-of-insulting-judiciary>.

⁹⁶ "Egypt court sentences 75 to death over 2013 pro-Morsi protests," *BBC News*, July 28, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-44993661>.

⁹⁷ "Egyptian court sentences hundreds over 2013 protest," *France 24*, September 8, 2018, <https://www.france24.com/en/20180908-egypt-court-sentence-photographer-2013-protest-mohamed-badie-morsi-abu-zaid>; Ali H. M. Abo Rezeg, "Egypt court removes Brotherhood leader from terror list," *Anadolu Agency*,

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- **February 2019:** Egyptian authorities hang nine suspected Brotherhood members found guilty of participating in the 2015 assassination of Egyptian prosecutor Hisham Barakat. Moataz Matar, a host on Turkey’s Brotherhood-affiliated al-Sharq channel, calls for protests in Egypt on February 27. The protests do not materialize.⁹⁸

Violent Activities:

In 1940, the Egyptian Brotherhood founded an underground military wing known as the “secret apparatus.” Its members assassinated Prime Minister Mahmoud El Nokrashy Pasha in 1948,⁹⁹ and attempted to assassinate President Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1954.¹⁰⁰ The Brotherhood officially renounced violence in the 1970s,¹⁰¹ and has continued to reiterate its commitment to peaceful protest.¹⁰² Following Morsi’s ouster, however, violent clashes erupted between Brotherhood members and Egyptian authorities. The interim government blamed a December 2013 car bombing on the Brotherhood¹⁰³ and swiftly labeled the group a terrorist organization.¹⁰⁴ Sisi’s government has since blamed numerous small-scale attacks on the Brotherhood.¹⁰⁵

September 26, 2018, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/egypt-court-removes-brotherhood-leader-from-terror-list/1265769>.

⁹⁸ Amina Ismail, “Egypt executes nine over public prosecutor’s killing,” Reuters, February <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-execution/egypt-executes-nine-men-over-killing-of-public-prosecutor-prison-source-lawyer-idUSKCN1Q9125>; Amr Emam, “Calls for Muslim Brotherhood protests fall flat but fears of violence persist,” *The Arab Weekly* (London), March 17, 2019, <https://thearabweekly.com/calls-muslim-brotherhood-protests-fall-flat-fears-violence-persist>.

⁹⁹ “Profile: Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” BBC News, December 25, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12313405>.

¹⁰⁰ “Profile: Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” BBC News, December 25, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12313405>.

¹⁰¹ Zachary Laub, “Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” Council on Foreign Relations, last modified January 15, 2014, <http://www.cfr.org/egypt/egypts-muslim-brotherhood/p23991>.

¹⁰² “Muslim Brotherhood, Freedom and Justice Party Leaders Condemn All Violence,” Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Official English web site, December 24, 2013, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=31480>.

¹⁰³ Kareem Fahim and Mayy El Sheikh, “Egyptian Officials Point at Islamist Group After Blast at Police Building,” *New York Times*, December 24, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/25/world/middleeast/egypt-car-bomb.html>.

¹⁰⁴ Kareem Fahim, “Egypt, Dealing a Blow to the Muslim Brotherhood, Deems It a Terrorist Group,” *New York Times*, December 25, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/26/world/middleeast/egypt-calls-muslim-brotherhood-a-terrorist-group.html>.

¹⁰⁵ David D. Kirkpatrick, “Two Officers Killed by Militants, Egypt Says,” *New York Times*, March 19, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/20/world/middleeast/military-officers-killed-by-militants-egypt.html>; Dina el-Husseiny, “Small Blasts Across Cairo Disrupt Calm Since Election,” *New York Times*, June 25, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/26/world/middleeast/cairo-explosions-end-postelection-peace.html>; Associated Press, “Car bomb kills Egypt’s top prosecutor as Islamists seek revenge for Muslim Brotherhood crackdown,” *Daily*

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- **1930s – 1940s:** Brotherhood violence is aimed toward Jewish Egyptians in reaction to Jewish presence in Palestine, as well as aggressive rioting, bombings, and assassinations towards British forces in Egypt. Brotherhood members fight jihad in Palestine.¹⁰⁶ Hasan al-Banna introduces his philosophy called “The Art of Death,” reminding Brotherhood members of the Prophetic saying that “He who dies and has not fought and was not resolved to fight, has died a jahiliyya [non-Muslim, or ignorant] death.”¹⁰⁷
- **December 1948:** Members of the Brotherhood’s secret apparatus assassinate Egyptian Prime Minister Mahmoud El Nokrashy Pasha.¹⁰⁸
- **October 1954:** Brotherhood members attempt and fail to assassinate President Gamal Abdel Nasser. The group continues to grow underground despite a heavy crackdown on the group.¹⁰⁹
- **1954 – 1966:** The period of *mihna* (ordeal) in which Nasser’s repression of the Brotherhood deeply radicalizes the group, prompting further violence, attempted assassinations, and terrorist plots.¹¹⁰
- **July 2013:** Clashes erupt between Muslim Brotherhood protesters and Egyptian security officials following President Mohammed Morsi’s ouster.¹¹¹
- **August 2013:** The Brotherhood loots and burns Egyptian churches and police stations in response to the death of hundreds and imprisonment of thousands of members.¹¹²

News, June 29, 2015, <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/world/car-bomb-kills-egypt-top-prosecutor-article-1.2275009>.

¹⁰⁶ Richard Paul Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); “Profile: Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” BBC News, last modified December 25, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12313405>.

¹⁰⁷ “The Muslim Brotherhood: Understanding its Roots and Impact,” Foundation for Defense of Democracies, accessed September 10, 2015, <http://www.defenddemocracy.org/the-muslim-brotherhood-understanding-its-roots-and-impact/>.

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¹⁰⁹ “Profile: Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” BBC News, December 25, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12313405>.

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¹¹¹ Abigail Hauslohner, William Booth, and Sharaf al-Hourani, “Egyptian military ousts Morsi, suspends constitution,” *Washington Post*, July 3, 2013, accessed May 30, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/egypts-morsi-defiant-under-pressure-as-deadline-looms/2013/07/03/28fda81c-e39d-11e2-80eb-3145e2994a55_story.html.

¹¹² David D. Kirkpatrick, “Hundreds Die as Egyptian Forces Attack Islamist Protestors,” *New York Times*, August 14, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/15/world/middleeast/egypt.html?_r=0.

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- **December 23, 2013:** The Egyptian government blames the Brotherhood for an explosion that leaves 15 dead and hundreds wounded outside of a police station in the Nile Delta.¹¹³
- **December 24, 2013:** The Egyptian government blames the Brotherhood for a car bombing outside a police building in the city of Mansoura.¹¹⁴
- **March 19, 2014:** Brotherhood members shoot an Egyptian brigadier general and colonel in a continuing retaliation against security forces following the removal of Morsi from office.¹¹⁵
- **June 25, 2014:** Five small bombs in Cairo are set off within two hours, injuring six people. The Interior Ministry blames the Muslim Brotherhood.¹¹⁶
- **June 29, 2015:** Suspected Brotherhood members target and kill Egypt's top public prosecutor, Hisham Barakat.¹¹⁷
- **January 7, 2016:** Brotherhood members and security forces exchange fire outside of a Cairo hotel.¹¹⁸
- **July 16, 2016:** Armed men shoot dead Major Mahmoud Abdel Hamid, an Egyptian police official. Hasm claims responsibility for the assassination.¹¹⁹
- **August 5, 2016:** Armed men fire shots at Ali Gomaa, the former Grand Mufti of Egypt. Hasm claims responsibility for the assassination attempt.¹²⁰

¹¹³ Associated Press, "Egypt Car Bombing Targets Police," *New York Times*, December 23, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/24/world/middleeast/egypt-explosion.html>.

¹¹⁴ Kareem Fahim and Mayy El Sheikh, "Egyptian Officials Point at Islamist Group After Blast at Police Building," *New York Times*, December 24, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/25/world/middleeast/egypt-car-bomb.html>.

¹¹⁵ David D. Kirkpatrick, "Two Officers Killed by Militants, Egypt Says," *New York Times*, March 19, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/20/world/middleeast/military-officers-killed-by-militants-egypt.html>.

¹¹⁶ Dina el-Husseiny, "Small Blasts Across Cairo Disrupt Calm Since Election," *New York Times*, June 25, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/26/world/middleeast/cairo-explosions-end-postelection-peace.html/>

¹¹⁷ Reuters, "Egypt arrests militants, links them to Muslim Brotherhood," Yahoo News, November 4, 2016, <https://www.yahoo.com/news/egypt-arrests-militants-links-them-muslim-brotherhood-082447987.html?ref=gs>; Associated Press, "Car bomb kills Egypt's top prosecutor as Islamists seek revenge for Muslim Brotherhood crackdown," *Daily News*, June 29, 2015, <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/world/car-bomb-kills-egypt-top-prosecutor-article-1.2275009>.

¹¹⁸ Declan Walsh, "Muslim Brotherhood Supporters Clash With Security Forces Outside Cairo Hotel," *New York Times*, January 7, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/08/world/middleeast/egypt-hotel-muslim-brotherhood.html>.

¹¹⁹ Khalid Hassan, "Can Egypt's security stop terrorist attacks by small groups?" Al Monitor, January 2, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/12/egypt-assassination-security-terrorism-hasm-brotherhood.html>.

¹²⁰ Amr Mostafa, "Who's behind assassination attempt on former Egyptian mufti?" Al Monitor, August 16, 2016, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2016/08/egypt-assassination-attempt-mufti-ali-gomaa-gulen-turkey.html>.

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- **September 24, 2016:** A car bomb targets Zakaria Abdel Aziz, an assistant to Egypt’s prosecutor general. He survives the assassination attempt, which is claimed by Hasm.¹²¹
- **November 4, 2016:** A bomb explodes in parked car targeting Ahmad Abu al-Fotouh, a judge in the 2015 trial of ousted President Morsi. Fotouh survives, but three others are killed. Hasm claims responsibility for the assassination attempt.¹²²
- **September 30, 2017:** A bomb explodes at Myanmar’s embassy in Cairo. Hasm claims responsibility for the attack.¹²³
- **October 21, 2017:** Hasm launches rocket attacks on security officials as they attempt to raid the group’s hideout, killing over 50 soldiers and policemen.¹²⁴

Ties to Extremist Groups:

Al-Qaeda: The philosophy of Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood is believed to have spurred the creation of al-Qaeda. Specifically, Sayyid Qutb’s theories, expressed in his work *Milestones*, inspired Osama bin Laden, Abdullah Azzam, and others to found al-Qaeda.¹²⁵ The current emir of al-Qaeda, Ayman al-Zawahiri, joined the outlawed Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt as a teenager.¹²⁶

Hamas: Hamas, the political Islamist organization in the Palestinian territories, is a nationalist offshoot of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood.¹²⁷ Founded in 1988, article two of Hamas’s charter defines itself as “one of the wings of the Muslim Brothers in Palestine.” It continues, “The Muslim Brotherhood Movement is a world organization, the largest Islamic Movement in

¹²¹ Reuters, “Recently emerged militant group claims attack on Egyptian prosecutor,” Al Arabiya, September 30, 2016, <https://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/2016/09/30/Car-bomb-explodes-near-Egypt-prosecutor.html>.

¹²² “Egyptian judge who tried Mursi survives assassination attempt,” Reuters, November 4, 2016, <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-egypt-violence/egyptian-judge-who-tried-mursi-survives-assassination-attempt-idUKKBN12Z1KV>; Ahmad Abd Alhaleim, “Hasm claim embassy bombing in Cairo, may be looking to expand,” Al-Monitor, October 15, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/10/egypt-hasm-movement-attacks-local-figures-myanmar-embassy.html>.

¹²³ Ahmad Abd Alhaleim, “Hasm claim embassy bombing in Cairo, may be looking to expand,” Al-Monitor, October 15, 2017, <https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2017/10/egypt-hasm-movement-attacks-local-figures-myanmar-embassy.html>.

¹²⁴ “Egypt: Hasm militants kill dozens of police after botched raid,” Deutsche Welle, October 21, 2017, <http://www.dw.com/en/egypt-hasm-militants-kill-dozens-of-police-after-botched-raid/a-41059029>.

¹²⁵ “Profile: Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood,” BBC News, December 25, 2013, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12313405>.

¹²⁶ “Profile: Ayman al-Zawahiri,” BBC News, August 13, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-13789286>.

¹²⁷ Andrew Higgins, “How Israel Helped to Spawn Hamas,” *Wall Street Journal*, January 24, 2009, <http://online.wsj.com/articles/SB123275572295011847>.

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the modern era.”¹²⁸ However, political realities on the ground have often dictated the strength of Hamas’s desired relationship to the Brotherhood. In March 2014, Hamas was banned by the Egyptian government as part of a larger crackdown on the Brotherhood.¹²⁹ In response, Hamas weakened ties with the Brotherhood in the interest of strengthening its relationship with Egyptian authorities responsible for the Rafah border into Gaza, a lifeline upon which Gazans rely heavily.¹³⁰ In March 2016, Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri denied any links between Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood.¹³¹ In May 2017, Hamas unveiled a new policy document, which reframed the Palestinian struggle as a nationalistic rather than religious one. The document also made no mention of Hamas’s origins within the Muslim Brotherhood. Nonetheless, Hamas leaders have said the new document does not replace the original 1988 charter, which remains in effect with its linkage to the Brotherhood.¹³²

Designations by Governments and Organizations:

Bahrain

Bahrain designated the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization on March 21, 2014.¹³³

Egypt

The Egyptian government designated the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization on December 25, 2013.¹³⁴

Russia

¹²⁸ Andrew C. McCarthy, “Hamas is the Muslim Brotherhood,” National Review Online, January 29, 2011, <http://www.nationalreview.com/corner/258381/hamas-muslim-brotherhood-andrew-c-mccarthy>.

¹²⁹ Hazem Balousha and Patrick Kingsley, “Egyptian court bans Hamas amid crackdown on Muslim Brotherhood,” *Guardian* (London), March 4, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/04/egyptian-court-bans-hamas-activities>.

¹³⁰ Adnan Abu Amer, “Hamas tones down Brotherhood links to improve Egypt ties,” Al-Monitor, May 13, 2014, http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/05/gaza-egypt-hamas-brotherhood-elections.html#.

¹³¹ Jack Khoury, “Hamas Denies Links With Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and Elsewhere,” *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), March 23, 2016, <http://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/.premium-1.710423>.

¹³² “New Hamas policy document ‘aims to soften image,’” BBC News, May 1, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-39744551>.

¹³³ “Bahrain backs Saudi Arabia, UAE, Foreign Minister says,” Bahrain News Agency, March 21, 2014, <http://www.bna.bh/portal/en/news/609752>; Habib Toumi, “Bahrain Confirms Full Support to Saudi Arabia, UAE,” Gulf News (Dubai), March 22, 2014, <http://gulfnews.com/news/gulf/bahrain/bahrain-confirms-full-support-to-saudi-arabia-uae-1.1307223>.

¹³⁴ Kareem Fahim, “Egypt, Dealing a Blow to the Muslim Brotherhood, Deems It a Terrorist Group,” *New York Times*, December 25, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/26/world/middleeast/egypt-calls-muslim-brotherhood-a-terrorist-group.html>.

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Russia designated the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization on July 28, 2006.¹³⁵

Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia designated the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization on March 7, 2014¹³⁶

United Arab Emirates

The United Arab Emirates designated the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization on November 15, 2014.¹³⁷

In Their Own Words:

April 2016

Official statement calling for protests:

“The only solution now is to defeat and end this illegitimate coup, to reinstate democratic legitimacy, and put right all the ruinous coup’s injustices and crimes.”¹³⁸

August 11, 2015

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

“In revenge for the martyrs who have died by the bullets of the military gang and criminal Sisi since the coup, you will drown in the blood of those you have killed. We will follow you everywhere... the revolution continues and the land does not absorb blood.”¹³⁹

Amr Darrag, Senior member and co-founder of the Freedom and Justice Party, April 2015

“It is always good to have fresh blood ... (this was) one of the blessings of the coup [Morsi’s ouster]. The Muslim Brotherhood is deeply rooted in Egyptian society ... We have been there for more than 80 years. It is an establishment, not a one-man show. We are sure we will come back.”¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ “Russia names ‘terrorist’ groups,” BBC News, July 28, 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/5223458.stm>.

¹³⁶ Rania el Gamal, “Saudi Arabia designates Muslim Brotherhood terrorist group,” Reuters, March 7, 2014, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/03/07/us-saudi-security-idUSBREA260SM20140307>.

¹³⁷ Adam Schreck, “Emirates brands Muslim Brotherhood terrorists,” Associated Press, November 15, 2014, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/d2e355128c2f46158798f7230050bafb/emirates-brands-muslim-brotherhood-terrorists>.

¹³⁸ “Egypt mobilises security forces as Brotherhood calls for mass protests,” Middle East Eye, April 25, 2016, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/security-forces-mobilise-anticipation-major-protests-egypt-2009083905>.

¹³⁹ “Muslim Brotherhood hackers briefly take over Cairo Airport website,” *Cairo Post*, August 14, 2015, <http://www.thecairopost.com/news/163991/news/muslim-brotherhood-hackers-briefly-take-over-cairo-airport-website>.

¹⁴⁰ Humeyra Pamuk, “Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood says new leaders taking over,” Reuters, April 21, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/04/21/us-egypt-mursi-brotherhood-idUSKBN0NC1S020150421>.

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Mohammed Montasser, Spokesman, June 30, 2015

“The current Egyptian situation has exceeded everyone’s capacity. There is no way to stop the bloodshed except by breaking the military coup and reviving the revolution.”¹⁴¹

Mohammed Badie, Imprisoned Supreme Guide, May 18, 2014

“We have fought only against the Jews, and Kamel Al-Sharif may testify about the conduct of the Muslim Brotherhood in the [1948] war in Palestine. We fought against the Jews.”¹⁴²

Mohammed Badie, Imprisoned Supreme Guide, October 2012

“It is time for the Muslim [nation] to unite for the sake of Jerusalem and Palestine after the Jews have increased the corruption in the world...Zionists only know the way of force.”¹⁴³

Khairat el-Shater, Imprisoned Deputy Supreme Guide, April 5, 2012

“Sharia was and will always be my first and final project and objective.”¹⁴⁴

Guide Mohammed Mahdi Akef, Former Supreme Guide, September 2011

“We believe that Zionism, the United States, and England are gangs that kill children and women and men and destroy houses and fields. Zionism is a gang, not a country. So we will resist them until they don’t have a country.”¹⁴⁵

Khairat el-Shater, Imprisoned Deputy Supreme Guide, April 21, 2011

“Everywhere, the Brothers are working to restore Islam in its all-encompassing conception to the lives of people. Thus the mission is clear: restoring Islam in its all-encompassing conception, subjugating people to God, instituting the religion of God, the Islamicization of life, empowering

¹⁴¹ “Muslim Brotherhood holds Sisi regime responsible for assassination,” Middle East Monitor, June 30, 2015, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/africa/19548-muslim-brotherhood-holds-sisi-regime-responsible-for-assassination>.

¹⁴² “Muslim Brotherhood Leader Muhammad Badi’s Day In Court: We Fought Only Against The Jews, Not Against The Egyptian People,” MEMRI, May 21, 2014, <http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/7996.htm>.

¹⁴³ “2012 Report on International Religious Freedom,” U.S. Department of State, May 20, 2013, <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2012/frontmatter/208112.htm>.

¹⁴⁴ “Egypt Brotherhood candidate says sharia is main goal,” Reuters, April 5, 2012, <http://af.reuters.com/article/topNews/idAFJQE83401Y20120405>.

¹⁴⁵ Eric Trager, “The Unbreakable Muslim Brotherhood: Grim Prospects for a Liberal Egypt,” *Foreign Affairs*, 90 (2011): 114, <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/68211/eric-trager/the-unbreakable-muslim-brotherhood>.

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of God’s religion, establishing the renaissance of the ummah [worldwide Muslim nation] on the basis of Islam... Every aspect of life is to be Islamicized.”¹⁴⁶

Mohammed Morsi, Former President of Egypt, September 23, 2010

“These futile [Israeli-Palestinian] negotiations are a waste of time and opportunities. The Zionists buy time and gain more opportunities, as the Palestinians, the Arabs, and the Muslims lose time and opportunities, and they get nothing out of it... This [Palestinian] Authority was created by the Zionist and American enemies for the sole purpose of opposing the will of the Palestinian people and its interests...”¹⁴⁷

Mohammed Morsi, Former President of Egypt, September 23, 2010

“No reasonable person can expect any progress on [negotiations]. Either [you accept] the Zionists and everything they want, or else it is war. This is what these occupiers of the land of Palestine know – these blood-suckers, who attack the Palestinians, these warmongers, the descendants of apes and pigs.”¹⁴⁸

Mohammed Morsi, Former President of Egypt, September 23, 2010

“We should employ all forms of resistance against them. There should be military resistance within the land of Palestine against those criminal Zionists, who attack Palestine and the Palestinians. There should also be political resistance and economic resistance through a boycott, as well as by supporting the resistance fighters. This should be the practice of the Muslims and the Arabs outside Palestine. They should support the resistance fighters and besiege the Zionist wherever they are. None of the Arab or Muslim peoples and regimes should have dealings with

¹⁴⁶ Oren Kessler, “Every aspect of life is to be Islamicized,” *Jerusalem Post*, April, 10, 2012, <http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Every-aspect-of-life-is-to-be-Islamicized>.

¹⁴⁷ “Morsi in 2010: No to Negotiations with the Blood-Sucking, Warmongering ‘Descendants of Apes and Pigs’; Calls to Boycott U.S. Products,” MEMRI, accessed May 30, 2014, http://www.memri.org/clip_transcript/en/3702.htm.

¹⁴⁸ “Morsi in 2010: No to Negotiations with the Blood-Sucking, Warmongering ‘Descendants of Apes and Pigs’; Calls to Boycott U.S. Products,” MEMRI, accessed May 30, 2014, http://www.memri.org/clip_transcript/en/3702.htm.

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them. Pressure should be exerted upon them. They must not be given any opportunity, and must not stand on any Arab or Islamic land. They must be driven out of our countries.”¹⁴⁹

Mohammed Morsi, Former President of Egypt, September 23, 2010

“[T]hese negotiations must stop once and for all. Everybody must turn to the support of the resistance, which is the option chosen by the Palestinians and by us all – the Arabs and the Muslims, Palestinians and others. We must all realize that resistance is the only way to liberate the land of Palestine.”¹⁵⁰

Mohammed Morsi, Former President of Egypt, January 10, 2010

“Dear brothers, we must not forget to nurse our children and grandchildren on hatred towards those Zionists and Jews, and all those who support them. They must be nursed on hatred. The hatred must continue.”¹⁵¹

Mohammed Morsi, Former President of Egypt, September 15, 2007

“The US administration has never presented any evidences on the identity of those who committed that incident [9/11 attacks]... The Muslim Brotherhood and others demanded a transparent trial with clear evidence and to have court rulings. We confirm that this isn’t a defense to those who committed these actions but we only seek the truth.”¹⁵²

Mohammad Mahdi Akef, former Supreme Guide, December 2005

“Western democracies have slammed all those who don’t see eye-to-eye with the Zionists regarding the myth of the Holocaust.”¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ “Morsi in 2010: No to Negotiations with the Blood-Sucking, Warmongering ‘Descendants of Apes and Pigs’; Calls to Boycott U.S. Products,” MEMRI, accessed May 30, 2014, http://www.memri.org/clip_transcript/en/3702.htm.

¹⁵⁰ “Morsi in 2010: No to Negotiations with the Blood-Sucking, Warmongering ‘Descendants of Apes and Pigs’; Calls to Boycott U.S. Products,” MEMRI, accessed May 30, 2014, http://www.memri.org/clip_transcript/en/3702.htm.

¹⁵¹ “Egypt’s Morsi in 2010: Obama Insincere; We Must Nurse Our Children and Grandchildren on Hatred of Jews,” MEMRI, January 10, 2010, http://www.memritv.org/clip_transcript/en/3713.htm.

¹⁵² “Morsi: 9/11 a global calamity, not only for U.S.,” Ikhwan Web Homepage, Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Official English web site, September 15, 2007, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?ID=14069&LevelID=1&SectionID=71>.

¹⁵³ “Tehran to convene conference on Holocaust ‘myth,’” *New York Times*, January 15, 2006, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/15/world/africa/15iht-iran.html?_r=0.

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Official Brotherhood Release

“We have a specific task to establish God’s rule on the basis of our faith. This is our true and effective way to escape all our internal and foreign problems, whether political, economic, social or cultural.”¹⁵⁴

Mustapha Mashour, former Supreme Guide, 1981

“Democracy contradicts and wages war on Islam. Whoever calls for democracy means they are raising banners contradicting God’s plan and fighting Islam.”¹⁵⁵

Sayyid Qutb, Ideologue, in his book *Milestones*, 1965

“In all modern jahili [pagan] societies, the meaning of ‘morality’ is limited to such an extent that all those aspects which distinguish man from animal are considered beyond its sphere. In these Societies, illegitimate sexual relationships, even homosexuality, are not considered immoral.”¹⁵⁶

Sayyid Qutb, Ideologue, in his book *Milestones*, 1965

“World Jewry[’s]...purpose is to eliminate all limitations, especially the limitations imposed by faith and religion, so that the Jews may penetrate into body politic of the whole world and then may be free to perpetuate their evil designs.”¹⁵⁷

Sayyid Qutb, Theologian, 1964

“Indeed, people are not Muslims, as they proclaim to be, as long as they live the life of Jahiliyyah. If someone wishes to deceive himself or to deceive others by believing that Islam can be brought in line with this Jahiliyyah, it is up to him. But whether this deception is for others, it cannot change anything of the actual reality. This is not Islam, and they are not Muslims.”¹⁵⁸

Sayyid Qutb, Theologian, 1964

¹⁵⁴ Dr. Sayed Mahmoud Al-Qumni, “The Muslim Brotherhood's Initiative as a Reform Program: A Critical Review,” The Brookings Institution, October 2004, 5, <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Events/2004/10/05-islamic-world/caiopaper1.pdf?la=en>.

¹⁵⁵ Lorenzo Vidino, *The New Muslim Brotherhood in the West* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 58.

¹⁵⁶ Sayyid Qutb, *Milestones*, (Damascus: Dar al-Ilm: 1965), 98.

¹⁵⁷ Sayyid Qutb, *Milestones*, (Damascus: Dar al-Ilm: 1965), 111.

¹⁵⁸ David Aaron, *In Their Own Words: Voices of Jihad* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2008), 62.

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“Since the objective of the message of Islam is a decisive declaration of man’s freedom, not merely on the philosophical plane but also in the actual conditions of life, it must employ Jihaad.”¹⁵⁹

Sayyid Qutb, Theologian, 1949

“Whatever system is to be established in the world ought to be on the authority of God, deriving its laws from Him alone.”¹⁶⁰

Sayyid Qutb, Theologian, 1949

“It is in the very nature of Islam to take initiative for freeing the human beings throughout the earth from servitude to anyone other than God; and so it cannot be restricted within any geographic or racial limits, leaving all mankind on the whole earth in evil, in chaos and in servitude to lords other than God.”¹⁶¹

Sayyid Qutb, *Jihad in Modern Islamic Thought A Collection*, Date unknown

“Those who say that Islamic Jihad was merely for the defense of the ‘homeland of Islam’ diminish the greatness of the Islamic way of life and consider it less important [than] their ‘homeland.’... However, [Islamic community] defense is not the ultimate objective of the Islamic movement of jihad but it is a mean of establishing the Divine authority within it so that it becomes the headquarters for the movement of Islam, which is then to be carried throughout the earth to the whole of mankind....”¹⁶²

Hassan al-Banna, Founder, Date unknown

“Islam does not recognize geographical boundaries, not does it acknowledge racial and blood differences, considering all Muslims as one Umma. The Muslim Brethren consider this unity as holy and believe in this union, striving for the joint action of all Muslims and the strengthening of the brotherhood of Islam, declaring that every inch of land inhabited by Muslims is their fatherland... The Muslim Brethren do not oppose every one’s working for one’s own fatherland. They believe that the caliphate is a symbol of Islamic Union and an indication of the bonds

¹⁵⁹ David Aaron, *In Their Own Words: Voices of Jihad* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2008), 61.

¹⁶⁰ David Aaron, *In Their Own Words: Voices of Jihad* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2008), 62.

¹⁶¹ David Aaron, *In Their Own Words: Voices of Jihad* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2008), 62.

¹⁶² Dale C. Eikmeier, “Qutbism: An Ideology of Islamic-Fascism,” *Parameters: U.S. Army War College Quarterly*, Spring 2007, 89, <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a485995.pdf>.

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between the nations of Islam. They see the caliphate and its re-establishment as a top priority, subsequently; an association of Muslims people should be set up, which would elect the imam.”¹⁶³

Hassan al-Banna, Founder, Date unknown

“For the Islamic Sacred Law and the decisions of the Islamic jurists are all-sufficient, supply every need, and cover every contingency, and they produce the most excellent results and the most blessed fruits. If the punishments prescribed by God were carried out, they would be a deterrent dismaying even the hardened criminal...”¹⁶⁴

Hassan al-Banna, Founder, Date unknown

“[T]he Noble Qur’an appoints the Muslims as guardians over humanity in its minority, and grants them the right of suzerainty and dominion over the world in order to carry out this sublime commission. Hence it is our concern, not that of the West, and it pertains to Islamic civilization, not to materialistic civilization.”¹⁶⁵

Hassan al-Banna, Founder, Date unknown

“Now you can see from all this how the men of learning...agree unanimously that *jihad* is a communal obligation imposed upon the Islamic *umma* in order to broadcast the summons [to embrace Islam], and that it is an individual obligation to repulse the attack of unbelievers upon it. Today the Muslims, as you know, are compelled to humble themselves before non-Muslims, and are ruled by unbelievers. ...Hence it has become an individual obligation, which there is no evading, on every Muslim to prepare his equipment, to make up his mind to engage in *jihad*, and to get ready for it until the time is ripe...”¹⁶⁶

Hassan al-Banna, Founder, Date unknown

¹⁶³ Hassan al-Banna and his political thought of Islamic Brotherhood,” Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Official English web site, last modified May 13, 2008, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=17065>.

¹⁶⁴ Hasan al-Banna, *Five Tracts of Hasan Al-Banna: A Selection from the Majmu at Rasail al-Imam al-Shahid Hasan al-Banna*, translated and annotated by Charles Wendell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 72.

¹⁶⁵ Hasan al-Banna, *Five Tracts of Hasan Al-Banna: A Selection from the Majmu at Rasail al-Imam al-Shahid Hasan al-Banna*, translated and annotated by Charles Wendell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 71.

¹⁶⁶ Hasan al-Banna, *Five Tracts of Hasan Al-Banna: A Selection from the Majmu at Rasail al-Imam al-Shahid Hasan al-Banna*, translated and annotated by Charles Wendell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 150.

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“Islam does not recognize geographical boundaries, nor does it acknowledge racial and blood differences, considering all Muslims as one Umma (global community of Muslims). The Muslim Brethren (Muslim Brotherhood)... believe that the caliphate is a symbol of Islamic Union and an indication of the bonds between the nations of Islam. They see the caliphate and its re-establishment as a top priority...”¹⁶⁷

Sayyid Qutb, Theologian, Date unknown

“Let us...plant the seeds of hatred, disgust, and revenge in the souls of these children. Let us teach these children from the time their nails are soft that the white man is the enemy of humanity, and that they should destroy him at the first opportunity.”¹⁶⁸

Sayyid Qutb, Theologian, Date unknown

“There are two parties in all the world: the Party of Allah and the Party of Satan – the party of Allah which stands under the banner of Allah and bears his insignia, and the Party of Satan, which includes every community, group, race, and individual that does not stand under the banner of Allah.”¹⁶⁹

Sayyid Qutb, Theologian, Date unknown

“With their spite and deceit, the Jews are still misleading this nation, and distracting her away from her Koran in order that she may not draw her sharp weapons and her abundant ammunitions from it... [The Jews’] aim is clearly shown by the Protocols [of the Elders of Zion]. The Jews are behind materialism, animal sexuality, the destruction of the family and the dissolution of society. Principal among them are Marx, Freud, Durkheim and the Jew Jean-Paul Sartre.”¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ “Hassan al-Banna and his political thought of Islamic Brotherhood,” Ikhwanweb: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Official English web site, last modified May 13, 2008, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=17065>.

¹⁶⁸ Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower*, (New York: Random House, 2011), 27-28.

¹⁶⁹ David Aaron, *In Their Own Words: Voices of Jihad* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2008), 155.

¹⁷⁰ David Aaron, *In Their Own Words: Voices of Jihad* (Santa Monica: RAND Corporation, 2008), 159.