

Name: Muslim Brotherhood in Turkey

Year of Origin: N/A

Founder(s): N/A

Place(s) of Operation: N/A

Key Leaders: N/A

Associated Organization(s): N/A

There is no political party in Turkey that distinctively and openly represents the Muslim Brotherhood (i.e., the Brotherhood). Some members of the leading Justice and Development Party (AKP), however—including Turkish President Recep Erdoğan—have provided various forms of support to the Brotherhood, including granting asylum to wanted Brotherhood members and equipping them with satellite television and radio stations. Despite being charged in absentia by the Egyptian government, some Brotherhood fugitives have been allowed to openly congregate in Turkey and organize against the Egyptian government.

Erdoğan's relationship with the Brotherhood dates back to the 1970s, when he first met Brotherhood spokesman Kemal Al-Helbawy at a series of conferences organized by the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), a Wahhabi-Salafist organization in Saudi Arabia that is believed to have funded <u>Hamas</u> and <u>al-Qaeda</u>.³ At the time, Erdoğan was the top advisor for Necmettin Erbakan, the leader of the short-lived Islamist National Order Party (MNP) in

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¹ Omer Taspinar, "Turkey: The New Model?", Brookings Institution, April 25, 2012, https://www.brookings.edu/research/turkey-the-new-model/; Svante Cornell and M.K. Kaya, "The Naqshbandi-Khalidi Order and Political Islam in Turkey," Hudson Institute, September 3, 2015, https://hudson.org/research/11601-the-naqshbandi-khalidi-order-and-political-islam-in-turkey.

² Svante Cornell and M.K. Kaya, "The Naqshbandi-Khalidi Order and Political Islam in Turkey," Hudson Institute, September 3, 2015, https://hudson.org/research/11601-the-naqshbandi-khalidi-order-and-political-islam-in-turkey; Mohammad Abdel Kader, "Turkey's relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood," Al Arabiya, October 14, 2013, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/14/Turkey-s-relationship-with-the-Muslim-Brotherhood.html; 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; "Egyptian court sentences Muslim Brotherhood members to life," Deutsche Welle, July 5, 2014, http://www.dw.com/en/egyptian-court-sentences-muslim-brotherhood-members-to-life/a-17760287; "Pro-Brotherhood TV presenter to stand trial in absentia on 8 July," Daily News Egypt, June 29, 2015, http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2015/06/29/pro-brotherhood-tv-presenter-to-stand-trial-in-absentia-on-8-july/. Steven Merley, "Turkey, the Global Muslim Brotherhood, and the Gaza Flotilla," Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2011, 31, http://www.icpa.org/text/Turkey Muslim Brotherhood.pdf.



Turkey. As Helbawy told the Wall Street Journal in 2011, "We always had ties with the Islamic movement or political party... even before the formation of the AKP."5

Erbakan's MNP—a nationalistic Islamist party that rejected Western influence—was banned in 1971 for violating Turkey's constitutional principal of secularism.⁶ Erbakan went on to establish a series of similar short-lived Islamist parties in the subsequent decades including the National Salvation Party (MSP) in 1972, the Welfare Party (RP) in 1983, and the Virtue Party (FP) in 1997. Each of these parties was banned by Turkey's constitutional courts within a span of several years for violating the constitutional principal of secularism.⁷

Following the shutdown of Erbakan's FP in 2001, Erdoğan and a group of his followers broke off to establish the AKP, a conservative political party that garnered support by promoting social services such as housing and health care. 8 In 2002, the AKP earned a majority of the votes in Turkey's general elections, effectively positioning Erdoğan as the Turkish prime minister. ⁹ In 2014, after serving three terms as prime minister, Erdoğan was elected president of Turkey. 10

Throughout their political careers, Erbakan and Erdogan both maintained working relationships with the global Brotherhood network. During the 1990s, Erbakan launched a series of Islamist conventions that sought to congregate Brotherhood leaders from the Middle East and North Africa regions to counter Western influence in the region. When Erbakan served as Turkey's

https://hudson.org/research/11601-the-naqshbandi-khalidi-order-and-political-islam-in-turkey; Mohammad Abdel Kader, "Turkey's relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood," Al Arabiya, October 14, 2013,

http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/14/Turkey-s-relationship-with-the-Muslim-Brotherhood.html.

⁴ Steven Merley, "Turkey, the Global Muslim Brotherhood, and the Gaza Flotilla," Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2011, 31, http://www.jcpa.org/text/Turkey Muslim Brotherhood.pdf.

⁵ Steven Merley, "Turkey, the Global Muslim Brotherhood, and the Gaza Flotilla," Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2011, 31, http://www.jcpa.org/text/Turkey Muslim Brotherhood.pdf.

⁶ Omer Taspinar, "Turkey: The New Model?" Brookings Institution, April 25, 2012,

https://www.brookings.edu/research/turkey-the-new-model/; Svante Cornell and M.K. Kaya, "The Naqshbandi-Khalidi Order and Political Islam in Turkey," Hudson Institute, September 3, 2015,

⁷ Omer Taspinar, "Turkey: The New Model?" Brookings Institution, April 25, 2012, https://www.brookings.edu/research/turkey-the-new-model/; "National Salvation Party," Oxford Islamic Studies, accessed October 18, 2016, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e1734.

⁸ Omer Taspinar, "Turkey: The New Model?" Brookings Institution, April 25, 2012, https://www.brookings.edu/research/turkey-the-new-model/.

⁹ Omer Taspinar, "Turkey: The New Model?" Brookings Institution, April 25, 2012, https://www.brookings.edu/research/turkey-the-new-model/; Lily Rothman, "How Turkey's Erdogan First Came to Power," Time, July 18, 2016, http://time.com/4410491/turkey-president-erdogan-history/.

¹⁰ Lily Rothman, "How Turkey's Erdogan First Came to Power," *Time*, July 18, 2016, http://time.com/4410491/turkey-president-erdogan-history/.



prime minister from 1996 to 1997, he even spoke of forming an "Islamic NATO." Following Erbakan's death in 2011, several leading Brotherhood figures attended his funeral, including Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal and the Brotherhood's former spiritual guide Mohamed Mahdi Akef. Germany's domestic intelligence agency also claims that the leader of the Islamische Gemeinschaft Deutschland (IGD), a Brotherhood-affiliated organization in Germany, is married to Sabiha Erbakan, the sister of Erbakan's nephew. ¹³

Although Erdoğan has attempted to distance the AKP from its history of Islamism, the party has demonstrated strong support for the Brotherhood, particularly after the July 2013 ouster of senior Brotherhood leader and Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi. With Erdoğan at its helm, the AKP has served as a sanctuary for members of the exiled Egyptian Brotherhood organization. An estimated 1,500 Brotherhood members sought sanctuary in Turkey after Morsi's 2013 downfall. Brotherhood members based in Turkey include Syrian Brotherhood communications director Omar Mushaweh, former senior leader Amr Darrag, acting Supreme Guide Mahmoud Ezzat, and spokesman Talaat Fahmi. 17

¹¹ Steven Erlanger, "New Turkish Chief's Muslim Tour Stirs U.S. Worry," *New York Times*, August 10, 1996, http://www.nytimes.com/1996/08/10/world/new-turkish-chief-s-muslim-tour-stirs-us-worry.html?pagewanted=all.
12 Svante Cornell and M.K. Kaya, "The Naqshbandi-Khalidi Order and Political Islam in Turkey," Hudson Institute, September 3, 2015, https://hudson.org/research/11601-the-naqshbandi-khalidi-order-and-political-islam-in-turkey; Svante Cornell and M.K. Kaya, "The Naqshbandi-Khalidi Order and Political Islam in Turkey," Hudson Institute, September 3, 2015, https://hudson.org/research/11601-the-naqshbandi-khalidi-order-and-political-islam-in-turkey; Barry Rubin, "The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies of a Global Islamist Movement," New York: St. Martin's Press, 2010, 155,

 $[\]underline{https://books.google.com/books?id=so3GAAAAQBAJ\&pg=PA155\&lpg=PA155\&dq=Necmettin+Erbakan+married+to+Muslim+Brotherhood+Germany\&source=bl\&ots=vQJF-$

HbFfj&sig=RKS0qtNFyTuaMGb_jo_IP6ZWx5s&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjozaa4pcLSAhUrqVQKHfL1BIgQ6AEIMzAE#v=onepage&q=Necmettin%20Erbakan%20married%20to%20Muslim%20Brotherhood%20Germany&f=false.

¹⁴ Mohammad Abdel Kader, "Turkey's relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood," Al Arabiya, October 14, 2013, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/14/Turkey-s-relationship-with-the-Muslim-Brotherhood.html; Gonul Tol and Feyza Gumusluoglu, "Turkey's Choices: Muslim Brotherhood or Regional Isolation," Middle East Institute, May 2, 2016, http://www.mei.edu/content/article/turkey's-choices-muslim-brotherhood-or-regional-isolation.

¹⁵ Mohammad Abdel Kader, "Turkey's relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood," Al Arabiya, October 14, 2013, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/14/Turkey-s-relationship-with-the-Muslim-Brotherhood.html; 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.

16 Patrick Kingsley, "Decimated Muslim Brotherhood Still Inspires Fear. Its Members Wonder Why." https://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/04/15/turkey-nurtures-egypt-s-terrorist-muslim-brothers.html.

16 Patrick Kingsley, "Decimated Muslim Brotherhood Still Inspires Fear. Its Members Wonder Why." https://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/04/15/www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2017/bttps://www.nutimes.com/2017/07/15/world/aurone/muslim-brotherhood.html

Why," New York Times, July 15, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/15/world/europe/muslim-brotherhood-qatar-egypt-turkey-saudi-arabia.html.

¹⁷ Hollie McKay, "Syrian Muslim Brotherhood revives amid ongoing civil war, lashes out at the U.S. and Israel," Fox News, July 9, 2018, https://www.foxnews.com/world/syrian-muslim-brotherhood-revives-amid-ongoing-civil-



AKP's support for the Brotherhood has strained its relationships with other regional powers, including the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, each of which has designated the Brotherhood as a terrorist organization. After Saudi Arabia, Egypt, UAE, and Bahrain severed diplomatic ties with Qatar in 2017 and demanded the emirate sever its links to the Brotherhood, Turkey sided with Qatar in the dispute.

Erdoğan himself has also indicated his support for the Brotherhood. "It is not an armed group, but...an ideological organization," he stated in a February 2017 interview with Al Arabiya in response to international pressure against the organization. "There would be no tolerance for the Muslim Brotherhood in Turkey if they had to do with terrorism, and we have not seen or observed any action [from them] that indicates this." Erdoğan has also maintained that Morsi is the legitimate leader of Egypt, reiterating his support for Morsi as recently as May 2015.²¹

Erdoğan also permits the global Brotherhood to hold conferences in Turkey. Days after Morsi's ouster in July 2013, Istanbul hosted two international Brotherhood assemblies, during which exiled Brotherhood leaders assessed the possibility of reinstating Brotherhood leadership. The meeting was reportedly attended by Brotherhood representatives from the Middle East and North Africa, including representatives from Morocco, Malaysia, Mauritania, Libya, Somalia, Syria,

war-lashes-out-at-the-u-s-and-israel; Robert Fisk, "Amr Darrag: Ex-Muslim Brotherhood minister in exile still believes Egypt's military regime can be replaced with 'moderate' Islamic rule," *Independent* (London), May 5, 2015, <a href="http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/amr-darrag-exmuslim-brotherhood-minister-in-exile-still-believes-egypts-military-regime-can-be-replaced-with-moderate-islamic-rule-10227129.html; 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; Mamoon Alabassi, "Rift

https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/egypt/2016-01-17/brotherhood-breaks-down; Mamoon Alabassi, "Riff widens in Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood after spokesman's sacking," Middle East Eye, December 17, 2015, http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/egypts-muslim-brotherhood-split-after-row-over-spokesperson-sacking-966712164.

¹⁸ Gonul Tol and Feyza Gumusluoglu, "Turkey's Choices: Muslim Brotherhood or Regional Isolation," Middle East Institute, May 2, 2016, http://www.mei.edu/content/article/turkey's-choices-muslim-brotherhood-or-regional-isolation.

¹⁹ Patrick Kingsley, "Turkey Throws Support Behind Qatar in Rift Among Arab Nations," *New York Times*, June 7, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/07/world/europe/turkey-qatar-support.html?action=click&module=RelatedCoverage&pgtype=Article®ion=Footer.

²⁰ "Turkey's Erdogan: Muslim Brotherhood is ideological, not terrorist organisation," Middle East Monitor, February 17, 2017, https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20170217-turkeys-erdogan-muslim-brotherhood-is-ideological-not-terrorist-organisation/.

²¹ 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; Jack Moore, "Turkey's Erdogan: 'Morsi is Egypt President, Not Sisi," *Newsweek*, May 22, 2015, http://europe.newsweek.com/turkeys-erdo-morsi-egypts-president-not-sisi-327640?rx=us.



and Iraq.²² In August 2015, Istanbul hosted the Conference for Countering Despotism and Bloodshed, a two-day symposium in which Brotherhood members and sympathizers openly criticized the Egyptian government. Pro-Brotherhood speakers at the event labeled the Egyptian government as illegitimate and urged Egyptians "not [to] abide by any of the state's decrees and should, instead strive to rise against them."²³

In addition to hosting pro-Brotherhood conferences, Erdoğan has also allowed the Egyptian Revolutionary Council (ERC), a pro-Brotherhood activist group, to operate out of Istanbul. Opposed to the July 2013 coup in Egypt, the ERC is dedicated to persuading foreign governments to dissociate from the Sisi's government.²⁴ Although the ERC does not operate on behalf of the Brotherhood, many of its exiled members and sympathizers have joined the organization. Established in August 2014, the ERC has since met with human rights missions and various diplomats from across Europe, but has drawn criticism from Egypt, which designates the Brotherhood as a terrorist organization.²⁵

Despite banning and censoring thousands of oppositionist news outlets since taking the presidency in 2014, Erdoğan allows a handful of pro-Brotherhood stations to operate within the country. Stations such as Rabia TV, al-Sharq, and al-Watan (formerly Misr Alaan)—run by exiled Egyptian Brotherhood members such as former Secretary General Mahmoud Hussein and Brotherhood politician Basim al-Khafagy—often broadcast pro-Islamist messaging including glorified accounts of Brotherhood clashes with the Egyptian government and threats directed at Western-owned companies in Egypt to leave the country.²⁶

²² Mohammad Abdel Kader, "Turkey's relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood," Al Arabiya, October 14, 2013, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/14/Turkey-s-relationship-with-the-Muslim-Brotherhood.html.

https://www.memri.org/reports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-egypt-turkish; Mostafa Hashem, "The Great Brotherhood Divide," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, March 02, 2016, http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/?fa=62942; Mary Atkinson, "Egypt asks France to shut down pro-Brotherhood satellite channel," Middle East Eye, May 13, 2015, http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/egypt-asks-france-shut-down-pro-brotherhood-satellite-channel-208107289; Fehim Tastekin, "Turkey accused of

²³ Sonia Farid, "The Brotherhood's Istanbul conference: Turkey's message to Egypt?" Al Arabiya, August 18, 2015, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/analysis/2015/08/18/The-Brotherhood-s-Istanbul-conference-Turkey-s-message-to-Egypt-.html.

²⁴ 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.

 $^{^{25}}$ Umar Farooq, "Turkey Nurtures Egypt's 'Terrorist' Muslim Brothers," Daily Beast, April 15, 2015, $\underline{\text{http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2015/04/15/turkey-nurtures-egypt-s-terrorist-muslim-brothers.html}.$

²⁶ "Muslim Brotherhood Operatives in Turkey Call For Killing Egyptian Officials, Threaten Egypt; Turkish MP: Turkey Shelters 'Many MB and Hamas Members,'" MEMRI, February 6, 2015,



Many of the pro-Brotherhood channels also reportedly attempt to incite violence against the Egyptian government.²⁷ In 2015, Egypt convicted two al-Sharq television hosts in absentia for attempting to incite violence against its security forces and conspiring against the Egyptian government.²⁸ That same year, Turkish authorities shut down al-Watan precursor Misr Alaan after one of its hosts called for the assassination of Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi.²⁹ Separately, on Rabia TV, Egyptian Brotherhood cleric Salama Abd al-Qawi has said that killing Sisi "would be a good deed" and that the person who did it would be brought "closer to Allah."³⁰

Rabia TV also broadcast a statement threatening Western companies, tourists, and governments visiting Egypt. Broadcast in January 2015, the statement called for "all foreign nationals - foreigners, Arabs, and Africans - and all employees of foreign companies" to "leave the country [Egypt] immediately." After that, the statement continued, "they may be targeted by the movements of revolutionary retribution. You are hereby warned."³¹

Analysts have also suggested that Turkey has supplied weapons and activists to the Muslim Brotherhood for its activities in Egypt. Turkish intelligence officer Irshad Hoz, for example, was arrested by authorities in Egypt in connection to the Brotherhood.³² Egypt has also accused the

escalating violence in Egypt," Al Monitor, February 6, 2015, http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/02/turkey-egypt-muslim-brotherhood-escalating-violence.html.

²⁷ 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.

Turkey-based TV host sentenced to 8 years in prison," *Daily News Egypt*, September 13, 2015, http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2015/09/13/turkey-based-tv-host-sentenced-to-8-years-in-prison/; "TV host handed 10 year sentence for 'attempt to overthrow regime," *Daily News Egypt*, July 8, 2015,

http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2015/07/08/tv-host-handed-10-year-sentence-for-attempt-to-overthrow-regime/.

²⁹ "Istanbul-based Pro-MB channel to stop broadcast after Turkish pressure," NSNBC International, August 16, 2015, https://nsnbc.me/2015/08/16/istanbul-based-pro-mb-channel-to-stop-broadcast-after-turkish-pressure/; "Calls to Kill President Al-Sisi and Egyptian Journalists on Muslim Brotherhood TV Channels Based in Turkey," MEMRI, January 29, 2015, https://www.memri.org/tv/calls-kill-president-al-sisi-and-egyptian-journalists-muslim-brotherhood-tv-channels.

³⁰ "Calls to Kill President Al-SISI and Egyptian Journalists on Muslim Brotherhood TV Channels," MEMRI, accessed March 7, 2017, https://www.memri.org/tv/calls-kill-president-al-sisi-and-egyptian-journalists-muslim-brotherhood-tv-channels.

³¹ "Muslim Brotherhood Operatives in Turkey Call For Killing Egyptian Officials, Threaten Egypt; Turkish MP: Turkey Shelters 'Many MB and Hamas Members,'" MEMRI, February 6, 2015, https://www.memri.org/reports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-egypt-turkish.

³² Mohammad Abdel Kader, "Turkey's relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood," Al Arabiya, October 14, 2013, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/14/Turkey-s-relationship-with-the-Muslim-Brotherhood.html.



Turkish government of conspiring with the Muslim Brotherhood. In November 2017, Egyptian authorities detained 29 individuals on suspicion of espionage for Turkey. Egypt's General Intelligence Services (GIS) alleged that they had been passing information to Turkish intelligence services as part of a plot to bring the Muslim Brotherhood back to power in Egypt.³³

In early 2019, Turkey began deporting some members of the Brotherhood, raising concerns within the organization about their continued safe haven in the country. In January 2019, Turkey deported Muslim Brotherhood member Mohamed Abdelhafiz Ahmed Hussein after he arrived from Somalia with a forged visa seeking asylum. He had been convicted in absentia in Egypt of murder in relation to the 2015 assassination of general prosecutor Hisham Barakat and sentenced to death. Brotherhood members in Turkey reportedly feared that Turkey would begin to deport them to appease the European Union. A month later, Turkish government officials claimed they had no information Hussein was facing charges anywhere and demanded an investigation into Hussein's deportation. The government launched an investigation and suspended eight police officers. That March, the Turkish government announced the deportation of 12 Brotherhood members to Egypt, where they are wanted on various charges. Other Brotherhood members launched a campaign to pressure the government to reverse the decision. The government announced the decision.

Despite the deportations, the Turkish government has publicly remained supportive of the Brotherhood. After U.S. President Donald Trump announced in April 2019 that he is considering declaring the international Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization, a spokesman for

³³ "Egypt detains 29 people on suspicion of espionage for Turkey," Reuters, November 22, 2017, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-court/egypt-detains-29-people-on-suspicion-of-espionage-for-turkey-idUSKBN1DM1AN.

³⁴ Waleed Abdul Rahman, "Turkey's List of Deportation Angers Muslim Brotherhood," *Asharq al-Awsat* (London), March 18, 2019, https://aawsat.com/english/home/article/1639146/turkey%E2%80%99s-list-deportation-angers-muslim-brotherhood; Selam Ramadan, "The Changing Face of Turkey's Relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood;" 7D News, February 8, 2019, https://the-muslim-brotherhood; "Egypt to execute nine prisoners accused of killing public prosecutor: Amnesty," Middle East Eye, February 19, 2019, https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/egypt-execute-nine-prisoners-accused-killing-public-prosecutor-amnesty; Waleed Abdurrahman, "Turkey's Deporting of Young MB Member Reveals Split Within Group," *Asharq al-Awsat* (London), February 13, 2019, https://aawsat.com/english/home/article/1589566/turkey%E2%80%99s-deporting-young-mb-member-reveals-split-within-group">https://aawsat.com/english/home/article/1589566/turkey%E2%80%99s-deporting-young-mb-member-reveals-split-within-group; "Turkey probes deportation of Egyptian facing death penalty," Reuters," February 6, 2019, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-egypt/turkey-probes-deportation-of-egyptian-facing-death-penalty-idUSKCN1PV0XL.

³⁵ Waleed Abdul Rahman, "Turkey's List of Deportation Angers Muslim Brotherhood," *Asharq al-Awsat* (London), March 18, 2019, https://aawsat.com/english/home/article/1639146/turkey%E2%80%99s-list-deportation-angers-muslim-brotherhood.



Erdogan's Justice and Development Party responded that such a move would hurt democratization and human rights across the Middle East while helping ISIS.³⁶

History:

- **1970s:** Recep Tayyip Erdoğan attends a series of conferences organized by the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), a Wahhabi-Salafist organization in Saudi Arabia believed to have funded Hamas and al-Qaeda. During this meeting Erdoğan meets the Brotherhood's then-spokesman Kemal Al-Helbawy.³⁷
- **1990s:** Erbakan launches a series of Islamist conventions in Turkey, attended by various Brotherhood representatives from the Middle East and North Africa.³⁸
- **February 27, 2011:** Brotherhood leaders attend Erbakan's funeral, including Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal and former Brotherhood spiritual guide Mohamed Mahdi Akef.³⁹
- **July 3, 2013:** Egyptian President and senior Brotherhood leader Mohammed Morsi is ousted in a military coup. Many Brotherhood members begin to seek refuge in Turkey. 40
- **July 10, 2013:** Brotherhood representatives from the Middle East and North Africa meet in Istanbul to assess the possibility of reinstating the Egyptian Brotherhood government.⁴¹
- **December 2013:** Egyptian Brotherhood members launch the Rabia television channel in Istanbul.⁴²

³⁶ "Turkey's AK Party: U.S. move against Muslim Brotherhood would damage democracy in Middle East," Reuters, April 30, 2019, <a href="https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-muslimbrotherhood-turkey/turkeys-ak-party-us-move-against-muslim-brotherhood-would-damage-democracy-in-middle-east-idUSKCN1S62JX.

³⁷ Steven Merley, "Turkey, the Global Muslim Brotherhood, and the Gaza Flotilla," Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2011, 31, http://www.jcpa.org/text/Turkey Muslim Brotherhood.pdf.

³⁸ Steven Erlanger, "New Turkish Chief's Muslim Tour Stirs U.S. Worry," *New York Times*, August 10, 1996, http://www.nytimes.com/1996/08/10/world/new-turkish-chief-s-muslim-tour-stirs-us-worry.html?pagewanted=all.

³⁹ Svante Cornell and M.K. Kaya, "The Naqshbandi-Khalidi Order and Political Islam in Turkey," Hudson Institute, September 3, 2015, https://hudson.org/research/11601-the-naqshbandi-khalidi-order-and-political-islam-in-turkey.

⁴⁰ Mohammad Abdel Kader, "Turkey's relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood," Al Arabiya, October 14, 2013, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/14/Turkey-s-relationship-with-the-Muslim-Brotherhood.html; Gonul Tol and Feyza Gumusluoglu, "Turkey's Choices: Muslim Brotherhood or Regional Isolation," Middle East Institute, May 2, 2016, https://www.mei.edu/content/article/turkey's-choices-muslim-brotherhood-or-regional-isolation.

⁴¹ Mohammad Abdel Kader, "Turkey's relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood," Al Arabiya, October 14, 2013, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/14/Turkey-s-relationship-with-the-Muslim-Brotherhood.html.

⁴² "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood opening TV station in Turkey," UPI, December 7, 2013, http://www.upi.com/Egypts-Muslim-Brotherhood-opening-TV-station-Turkey/38311386441223/.



- **July 2015:** An Egyptian court sentences al-Sharq host Moataz Matar to 10 years in prison for spreading false news, harming social order, and attempting to incite violence against the Egyptian government.⁴³
- August 2015: The Turkish government shuts down pro-Brotherhood television channel Misr Alaan after one of the station's hosts called for the assassination of Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. Brotherhood members subsequently form a new station, al-Watan.⁴⁴
- **September 2015:** An Egyptian court in Giza sentences Mohamed Nasser—host of a Turkish television show on the pro-Brotherhood al-Sharq station—to eight years in prison for attempting to incite violence and conspiring to overthrow the government.⁴⁵
- **February 2017:** Erdoğan defends the Muslim Brotherhood in response to international pressure against the organization. "It is not an armed group, but…an ideological organization," he states in an interview with Al Arabiya. ⁴⁶
- **June 2017:** Saudi Arabia, Egypt, United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain end diplomatic ties with Qatar and demand the emirate sever its links to the Brotherhood, Turkish officials declare their support for Qatar in the dispute.⁴⁷
- **November 22, 2017:** Egyptian authorities detain 29 individuals on suspicion of espionage for Turkey. Egypt's General Intelligence Services (GIS) allege that they were passing information to Turkish intelligence services as part of a plot to bring the Muslim Brotherhood back to power in Egypt.⁴⁸

⁴³ "TV host handed 10 year sentence for 'attempt to overthrow regime," *Daily News Egypt* (Cairo), July 8, 2015, http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2015/07/08/tv-host-handed-10-year-sentence-for-attempt-to-overthrow-regime/.

⁴⁴ "Istanbul-based Pro-MB channel to stop broadcast after Turkish pressure," NSNBC International, August 16, 2015, https://nsnbc.me/2015/08/16/istanbul-based-pro-mb-channel-to-stop-broadcast-after-turkish-pressure/; "Calls to Kill President Al-Sisi and Egyptian Journalists on Muslim Brotherhood TV Channels Based in Turkey," MEMRI, January 29, 2015, https://www.memri.org/tv/calls-kill-president-al-sisi-and-egyptian-journalists-muslim-

brotherhood-tv-channels.

45 "Turkey-based TV host sentenced to 8 years in prison," *Daily News Egypt* (Cairo), September 13, 2015, http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2015/09/13/turkey-based-tv-host-sentenced-to-8-years-in-prison/.

⁴⁶ "Turkey's Erdogan: Muslim Brotherhood is ideological, not terrorist organisation," Middle East Monitor, February 17, 2017, https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20170217-turkeys-erdogan-muslim-brotherhood-is-ideological-not-terrorist-organisation/.

⁴⁷ Patrick Kingsley, "Turkey Throws Support Behind Qatar in Rift Among Arab Nations," *New York Times*, June 7, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/07/world/europe/turkey-qatar-support.html?action=click&module=RelatedCoverage&pgtype=Article®ion=Footer.

⁴⁸ "Egypt detains 29 people on suspicion of espionage for Turkey," Reuters, November 22, 2017, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-court/egypt-detains-29-people-on-suspicion-of-espionage-for-turkey-idUSKBN1DM1AN.



- January 2019: On January 17, Muslim Brotherhood member Mohamed Abdelhafiz Ahmed Hussein arrives in Istanbul from Somalia with a forged visa seeking asylum. On January 18, Turkey deports Hussein to Egypt, where he has been convicted in absentia of murder in relation to the 2015 assassination of general prosecutor Hisham Barakat and sentenced to death. Brotherhood members in Turkey reportedly express fear that Turkey may deport them to appease the European Union. A month later, Turkish government officials claim they had no information Hussein was facing charges anywhere. They demand an investigation into Hussein's deportation.⁴⁹
- **February 2019:** Turkish officials launch an investigation into Hussein's deportation and suspend eight police officers involved in the case. After Egypt executes nine Brotherhood members on February 20, 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. ⁵⁰
- March 2019: The Turkish government announces the deportation of 12 Brotherhood members to Egypt, where they are wanted on various charges. Other Brotherhood members launch a campaign to pressure the government to reverse the decision.⁵¹
- **April 2019:** U.S. President Donald Trump announces he is considering declaring the international Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization. A spokesman for Erdoğan's Justice and Development Party responds that such a move would hurt democratization and human rights across the Middle East while helping ISIS.⁵²

⁴⁹ Waleed Abdul Rahman, "Turkey's List of Deportation Angers Muslim Brotherhood," *Asharq al-Awsat* (London), March 18, 2019, https://aawsat.com/english/home/article/1639146/turkey%E2%80%99s-list-deportation-angers-muslim-brotherhood; Selam Ramadan, "The Changing Face of Turkey's Relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood," 7D News, February 8, 2019, https://tdnews.com/news/the-changing-face-of-turkey-s-relationship-with-the-muslim-brotherhood; "Egypt to execute nine prisoners accused of killing public prosecutor: Amnesty," Middle East Eye, February 19, 2019, https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/egypt-execute-nine-prisoners-accused-killing-public-prosecutor-amnesty; Waleed Abdurrahman, "Turkey's Deporting of Young MB Member Reveals Split Within Group," *Asharq al-Awsat* (London), February 13, 2019, https://aawsat.com/english/home/article/1589566/turkey%E2%80%99s-deporting-young-mb-member-reveals-split-within-group.

⁵⁰ 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; "Turkey probes deportation of Egyptian facing death penalty," Reuters," February 6, 2019, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-egypt/turkey-probes-deportation-of-egyptian-facing-death-penalty-idUSKCN1PV0XL.

⁵¹ Waleed Abdul Rahman, "Turkey's List of Deportation Angers Muslim Brotherhood," *Asharq al-Awsat* (London), March 18, 2019, https://aawsat.com/english/home/article/1639146/turkey%E2%80%99s-list-deportation-angers-muslim-brotherhood.

⁵² "Turkey's AK Party: U.S. move against Muslim Brotherhood would damage democracy in Middle East," Reuters, April 30, 2019, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-muslimbrotherhood-turkey/turkeys-ak-party-us-move-against-muslim-brotherhood-would-damage-democracy-in-middle-east-idUSKCN1S62JX.



Violent Activities:

Analysts have suggested that Turkey has supplied weapons and activists to the Muslim Brotherhood. Turkish intelligence officer Irshad Hoz, for example, was arrested by authorities in Egypt in connection to the Brotherhood.⁵³ Turkey also hosts dozens of pro-Brotherhood satellite news stations that reportedly attempt to incite violence against the Egyptian government.⁵⁴

Ties to Extremist Groups: Not determined.

Designations by Governments and Organizations: Not determined.

In Their Own Words:

January 10, 2015

Egyptian Brotherhood cleric Salama Abd al-Qawi calling to kill Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi on Rabia TV:

"Doing this [killing Sisi] would be a good deed that would bring [the killer] closer to Allah."55

January 2015

Turkish-based and pro-Brotherhood Rabia TV channel releases Brotherhood statement threatening Westerners and Western enterprises in Egypt:

"First, we give all foreign nationals - foreigners, Arabs, and Africans - and all employees of foreign companies the opportunity to leave the country [Egypt] immediately... After that, they may be targeted by the movements of revolutionary retribution. You are hereby warned. Second, all the foreign companies operating on Egyptian soil have...to withdraw all their franchises from Egypt and terminate their operations. Otherwise, all their projects may be targeted by the rebels. Third, all foreign nationals working in embassies – diplomats and ambassadors – have an opportunity to leave the country... Fourth, all tourists who wish to come to Egypt must cancel their trips. They are not welcome on Egyptian soil in these difficult days. Fifth, all the countries that provide material or political support to the coup must stop this support immediately...

⁵³ Mohammad Abdel Kader, "Turkey's relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood," Al Arabiya, October 14, 2013, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/perspective/alarabiya-studies/2013/10/14/Turkey-s-relationship-with-the-Muslim-Brotherhood.html.

⁵⁴ 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. ⁵⁵ "Calls to Kill President Al-SISI and Egyptian Journalists on Muslim Brotherhood TV Channels," MEMRI, accessed March 7, 2017, https://www.memri.org/tv/calls-kill-president-al-sisi-and-egyptian-journalists-muslim-brotherhood-tv-channels.



Otherwise, all their interests in the countries of the Middle East will be subject to harsh attacks with dire consequences." 56

nttps://www.memri.org/reports/musiim-orothernood-operatives-turkey-caii-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-egypt-turkish.

⁵⁶ "Muslim Brotherhood Operatives in Turkey Call For Killing Egyptian Officials, Threaten Egypt; Turkish MP: Turkey Shelters 'Many MB and Hamas Members,'" MEMRI, February 6, 2015, <a href="https://www.memri.org/reports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-threaten-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-turkey-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-call-killing-egyptian-officials-turkey-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-ports/muslim-brotherhood-operatives-turkey-ports/muslim-brotherhood