



THE QATARI REGIME, HAMAS AND THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD:

THE GLOBALISATION OF ANTISEMITISM AND ANTI DEMOCRACY

2023

ISGAP

THE INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF
GLOBAL ANTISEMITISM & POLICY

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

Jamā'at al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn



الإخوان المسلمون

Motto: "Allah is our objective. The Prophet is our leader. The Qur'an is our law. Jihad is our way. Dying in the way of Allah is our highest hope."

Founding Pledge: "Be soldiers in the call to Islam, and in that is the life for the country and the honour for the Umma. We are brothers in the service of Islam... Hence, we are the 'Muslim Brothers.'"

The Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy (ISGAP) is committed to fighting antisemitism on the battlefield of ideas.

ISGAP is dedicated to scholarly research into the origins, processes, and manifestations of global antisemitism and of other forms of prejudice, including various forms of racism, as they relate to policy in an age of globalization.

On the basis of this examination of antisemitism and policy, ISGAP disseminates analytical and scholarly materials to help combat hatred and promote understanding.

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Background

In July 2019 at the Department of Justice (DOJ) in Washington, D.C., Dr. Charles Asher Small, ISGAP Director, presented the findings of an ISGAP research project which began in 2012, entitled “Follow the Money.” This ongoing research project examines illicit funding of United States (US) universities by foreign governments, foundations, and corporations that adhere to and promote antisemitic and anti-democratic ideologies, with connections to terrorism and terror financing.¹

The project revealed, for the first time, the existence of substantial Middle Eastern funding (primarily from Qatar) to US universities that had not been reported to the Department of Education (DoED), as required by law. In fact, ISGAP’s research uncovered billions of dollars of unreported funds, which, in turn, led to the launch of a federal government investigation in 2019.

As part of its continued research, ISGAP has uncovered and established that the foreign donations from Qatar, especially, have had a substantial impact on fomenting growing levels of antisemitic discourse and campus politics, as well as growing support for anti-democratic values at US universities. With the explosion of antisemitism at US universities in recent weeks, there are also security concerns that have potential domestic and global implications.

ISGAP commissioned the Network Contagion Research Institute (NCRI) to investigate the levels and sources of such funding. In addition, we requested an exploration into the extent to which this undocumented funding correlated with a deterioration of liberal democratic norms around free speech and academic freedom as well as antisemitism on campus.

The study can be downloaded [HERE](#).

Together, we found that:

- The receipt of undocumented money was associated with the erosion of free speech norms. There were increased campaigns to punish scholars for their speech (this was associated with increased levels of such campaigns from both the left and the right).
- The receipt of undocumented money was associated with increased levels of campus antisemitism, and this relationship was exacerbated when the undocumented funding came from Middle Eastern/authoritarian states—Qatar is the largest donor to US universities.²
- The receipt of undocumented money predicted increased perceptions of campus antisemitism.

¹ “VOLUME II Examining Undocumented Foreign Funding of American Universities: Implications for Education and Rising Antisemitism,” *ISGAP* (2020), <https://isgap.org/post/2020/09/volume-ii-examining-undocumented-foreign-funding-of-american-universities-implications-for-education-and-rising-antisemitism/>.

² Sophie Shulman, “Tuition of terror: Qatari money flowed into U.S. universities – and now it’s fuelling violence,” *Ctech* (2023), <https://www.calcalistech.com/ctechnews/article/jwhsqhrt#:~:text=Since%20the%209%2F11%20attacks,pro%2DPalestinian%20groups%20on%20campuses.>

- The money preceded the rise of antisemitism and drove antisemitism into local communities.

Qatar is the largest foreign donor to US universities post 9/11 and funds Hamas.³ Despite its close ties to the United States and other Western countries, Qatar has built an extensive network of Islamist partners dedicated to expanding its influence.⁴ Furthermore, Qatar is home to numerous Islamist-inspired proscribed terrorist entities.⁵ For example, for decades it has continued to host, support, and represent the Muslim Brotherhood (MB); maintains ties with Iran; hosts the Taliban; supports and maintains an office for Hamas and its exiled leadership; and has backed militias in Syria and Libya.⁶

If one wants to understand Hamas, it is vital to examine its relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood and what it believes in, which, in turn, is the ideology being transferred to the United States by Qatar through higher education institutions.

³ Shulman, "Tuition of Terror"; Doron Peskin, "Cash flow: 16 years of Qatari money to Hamas has created a monster," *CTech* (2023), <https://www.calcalistech.com/ctechnews/article/lretnzx9l#:~:text=The%20Qatari%20government%20began%20financing,and%20through%20real%20estate%20companies>.

⁴ **Here we refer to Islamism the political ideology and not the religion of Islam as practiced peacefully by Muslims worldwide.**

John Jenkins, Dr Martyn Frampton and Tom Wilson, "Understanding Islamism," *Policy Exchange* (2020), <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/Understanding-Islamism.pdf>.

⁵ Einav Halabi and Lior Ben Ari, "Luxury hotels in place of bombed homes: The countries hosting Hamas leaders," *Ynet News* (2023), <https://www.ynetnews.com/magazine/article/s1n9yqift>.

⁶ David B. Roberts, "Reflecting on Qatar's 'Islamist' Soft Power," *Policy Brief* (2019): 1, https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/FP_20190408_qatar_roberts.pdf.

"The Jews are the agents of change and westernization, and responsible for the decline of the West as well as Islam."

– Al Banna

"An Islamic vanguard (Tali'a) should wage a jihad."

– Qutb

The Muslim Brotherhood marched through the streets calling out slogans such as: "Down with the Jews."

It is the duty of Muslims to "defend" Jerusalem with "their lives, their money and all they possess, or else they will be subject to Allah's punishment."

– Qutb

"Israelis are 'rapists' of Jerusalem." He called on all Muslims to "wage jihad with their money and their selves to free al-Quds."

– Badie, current MB "Supreme Guide"

"Oh God, kill them [the Jews], down to the very last one."

– Qaradawi

"Abduction and killing of Americans in Iraq is a [religious] obligation." Suicide bombings are "heroic operations of martyrdom."

"Jihad until death" against Israel.

– Qaradawi

"Inside every Jew around the world there is a hidden Zionist, and because Israel received support from Jews worldwide, you should boycott Jewish businesses and American goods because America supports Israel and without American support, Israel would not exist."

– Qaradawi

"[O]ne of the tricks played by world Jewry [...] is to eliminate all limitations, especially the limitations imposed by faith and religion, so that the Jews may penetrate into the body politic of the whole world and then may be free to perpetuate their evil designs. At the top of the list of these activities is usury, the aim of which is that all the wealth of mankind ends up in the hands of Jewish financial institutions which run on interest." - Qutb

"Jihad has been made obligatory for every Muslim by Allah. He has laid great stress on jihad and has promised limitless recompense for martyrs and fighters."

– Al-Banna

"I will shoot Allah's enemies, the Jews, and they will throw a bomb at me, and thus I will seal my life with martyrdom."

– Qaradawi

"Israeli women are not like women in our society because Israeli women are militarised. Secondly, I consider this type of martyrdom operation as an indication of the justice of Allah almighty. Allah is just. Through his infinite wisdom he has given the weak what the strong do not possess, and that is the ability to turn their bodies into bombs like the Palestinians do."

– Qaradawi

"The Holocaust was 'divine punishment'"

– Qaradawi

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

– Qaradawi

Qatar and the Muslim Brotherhood (MB)

It is important to note that when Hamas was created, it designated itself as “one of the wings of Moslem Brotherhood in Palestine. (sic)”⁷ Qatar has provided a safe haven for Hamas’ political leadership since 2012. In January 2015, then-Qatari Foreign Minister referred to then-Hamas politburo chief Khaled Meshaal as the country’s “dear guest.”⁸

Qatar is home to a relatively small population (2.6 million), only 11.6 percent of which is Qatari. However, it is a wealthy emirate country—with a GNP of 229,007 billion USD in December 2022—in the Gulf that gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1971.⁹ It has two key neighboring countries, Saudi Arabia and Iran, with which it shares the largest natural gas field in the world.¹⁰

Qatar positions itself as a critical mediator in regional disputes between various Arab and Muslim countries and aligns with the United States as a key Gulf partner in several defense pacts and agreements.¹¹ Perhaps most significantly, Qatar hosts thousands of US forces as well as the regional headquarters for the US Central Command (CENTCOM) in Doha and at various other military facilities.¹²

Qatar is ruled by the Al Thani Royal Family, who have embraced and promoted Islamist thinking and activism worldwide for many years.¹³

The Qatari establishment's commitment to Islamism runs deep. Their political, cultural, and social establishment has been profoundly influenced by MB activists

⁷ “Hamas Covenant 1988,” *The Avalon Project*, Yale University (1988), https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp.

⁸ “Hamas,” *Counter Extremism Project*, accessed November 14, 2023, <https://www.counterextremism.com/threat/hamas/report>.

⁹ “Qatar,” *The World Factbook*, updated November 6, 2023, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/qatar/>; “Qatar Gross National Product (GNP),” *CEIC*, accessed November 14, 2023, <https://www.ceicdata.com/en/indicator/qatar/gross-national-product>; “A Guide to the United States’ History of Recognition, Diplomatic, and Consular Relations, by Country, since 1776: Qatar,” *Office of the Historian*, accessed November 14, 2023, <https://history.state.gov/countries/qatar#:~:text=Qatar%20had%20previously%20been%20a,of%20ties%20with%20Great%20Britain>.

¹⁰ “Factbox: Qatar, Iran share world's biggest gas field,” *Reuters* (2010), <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-northfield-qatar-idUSTRE66P1VV20100726>.

¹¹ Bernd Kaussler, “Tracing Qatar’s Foreign Policy Trajectory and its Impact on Regional Security,” *Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies* (2015): 4, https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/lists/ACRPS-PDFDocumentLibrary/Kaussler_on_the_Development_of_Qatari_Foreign_Policy.pdf.

¹² “CENTCOM Commander Visit to Qatar Highlights Focus on “People, Partners, and Innovation,” *U.S. Central Command* (2023), <https://www.centcom.mil/MEDIA/PRESS-RELEASES/Press-Release-View/Article/3293580/centcom-commander-visit-to-qatar-highlights-focus-on-people-partners-and-innova/>.

¹³ David B. Roberts, “Reflecting on Qatar’s ‘Islamist’ Soft Power,” *Policy Brief* (2019): 3, https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/FP_20190408_qatar_roberts.pdf.

who fled Egypt in the 1950s.¹⁴ These activists played an essential part in founding Qatar's Ministry of Education and helped establish Islamism in the emirate between the 1960s and 1980s.¹⁵

At this time, Qatar was an emerging state with a population of approximately twenty-five thousand and little governmental structure.¹⁶ They made use of *Salafi* imams, judges, and bureaucrats with Saudi training and began to promote a fusion of *Salafi* and MB thinking in periodicals such as *Majallat al Umma*.¹⁷ Oil and natural gas gradually replaced its traditional industries like pearling and fishing, which increased the profits of the ruling family. The combination of this newfound wealth, along with an influx of educated members of the MB, allowed Qatar to develop the Ministry of Education and an education system where MB members were essential on all levels.¹⁸

The Islamist ideology which permeated Qatar was notably influenced by the writings of MB scholars and ideologues, such as Sayyid Qutb.¹⁹ A group of MB members gradually re-developed strategies and began thinking in terms of 'human rights' and 'civil society' for its proselytizing [*da'wah*] system.²⁰

In 1999, the Qatari branch of the MB was officially disbanded by a vote amongst its members. **The primary explanation provided was that the Muslim Brotherhood's formal structure in places like Qatar became “an irrelevant matter,” as the group can easily offer the same services without any defined structure.**²¹ Despite this, the MB's ideology, network, and influence remain prominent in Qatar today, having developed a mutually beneficial relationship with the royal family.²²

¹⁴ David Roberts, "Qatar and the Muslim Brotherhood: Pragmatism or Preference?," *Middle East Policy Council*, accessed November 14, 2023, <https://mepc.org/journal/qatar-and-muslim-brotherhood-pragmatism-or-preference>.

¹⁵ Abdullah Al-Nafisi, "The Islamic situation in Qatar," *Islam Today* (2007), www.islamtoday.net/bohooth/artshow-19-8828.htm.

¹⁶ Roberts, "Qatar and the Muslim Brotherhood: Pragmatism or Preference?."

¹⁷ Andrew Hammond, "Qatar's leadership transition: like father like son," *European Council on Foreign Relations* (2014), https://ecfr.eu/publication/qatars_transition_like_father_like_son304/.

¹⁸ Andrew Lipp, "The Muslim Brotherhood: Exploring divergent views in Saudi Arabia and Qatar," *Iowa State University* (2019): 24, <https://dr.lib.iastate.edu/server/api/core/bitstreams/9c2921ba-f681-4be3-a4dc-680a9daf3706/content>.

¹⁹ David Roberts, "Qatar and the Muslim Brotherhood: Pragmatism or Preference?" *Middle East Policy* 21 no. 3 (2014): 88, <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12084>.

²⁰ Al-Nafisi, "The Islamic situation in Qatar," *Islam Today* (2007), www.islamtoday.net/bohooth/artshow-19-8828.htm.

²¹ Courtney Freer, "Rentier Islamism in the absence of elections: the political role of Muslim Brotherhood affiliates in Qatar and the United Arab Emirates," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 49 (2017): 487–488.

²² David Roberts, "Qatar and the Muslim Brotherhood: Pragmatism or Preference?," *Middle East Policy Council*, accessed November 14, 2023, <https://mepc.org/journal/qatar-and-muslim-brotherhood-pragmatism-or-preference>.

Western Concerns Over Qatar's Islamist Support

Western officials have raised concerns regarding Qatar's promotion and support of Islamism and terrorism over the years. For example, in December 2009, then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton commented on the issue of terror finance, saying, "Qatar's overall level of CT [counter-terrorism] cooperation with the U.S. is considered the worst in the region."²³ In April 2014, US Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence David Cohen, spoke about "Confronting New Threats in Terrorist Financing" and expressed a similar sentiment, saying, "Qatar, a longtime U.S. ally, has for many years openly financed Hamas, a group that continues to undermine regional stability." "Press reports," he added, "indicate that the Qatari government is also supporting extremist groups operating in Syria. To say the least, this threatens to aggravate an already volatile situation in a particularly dangerous and unwelcome manner."²⁴

Cohen continued to express his hopes that with the "new leadership" (of Sheikh Tamim Bin Hamad), "Qatar—a country that in other respects has been a constructive partner in countering terrorism—will continue to work closely with us to oppose and combat those who adhere to the warped and murderous ideology of Hamas and al-Qa'ida." In October of that year, however, he stated that "Qatar and Kuwait aren't doing enough to block the financing activities of the extremist group Islamic State," and that "Qatar and Kuwait are still 'permissive jurisdictions for terrorist financing.'"²⁵

As already stated, Qatar continued its support of Islamist and MB affiliates throughout the Arab world during and after the 'Arab Spring' revolutions in Libya, Tunisia, Syria, and Egypt.²⁶ Eventually, in 2017 neighboring Gulf countries and Egypt cut their diplomatic ties with Qatar and boycotted Qatari products for several years. Qatar's primary response to this boycott in the United States was to increase its lobbying efforts through hiring PR companies to improve its global image.²⁷ In May 2021, the Qatari ambassador to the United States told *Bloomberg*:

"We hired lobbyists to correct factual errors and address the damage the disinformation campaign did to our reputation . . . Qatar will continue its

²³ See Wikileaks Cable ID 09STATE131801_a, "Terrorist Finance: Action Request for Senior Level Engagement on Terrorism Finance," December 30, 2009, https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/09STATE131801_a.html.

²⁴ Remarks of Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence David Cohen before the Center for a New American Security on "Confronting New Threats in Terrorist Financing," March 4, 2014, <https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/j12308>.

²⁵ William Mauldin, "U.S. Calls Qatar, Kuwait Lax Over Terror Financing," *The Wall Street Journal* (2014), <http://online.wsj.com/articles/u-s-calls-qatar-kuwait-lax-over-terror-financing-1414108799>.

²⁶ Lipp, "The Muslim Brotherhood: Exploring divergent views in Saudi Arabia and Qatar," 28.

²⁷ Emma Leathley, "Qatar Spent Nearly \$5 Million on U.S. Influence Campaigns Following its Isolation by Saudi Coalition," *Open Secrets* (2017), <https://www.opensecrets.org/news/2017/10/qatar-spent-5-million-on-influence/>; Ilya Banares, Simone Foxman, and Nick Wadhams, "Qatar Adds U.S. Lobbying Muscle After Saudi Rift, Trump Snub," *Bloomberg* (2021), <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-04-27/qatar-adds-u-s-lobbying-muscle-after-saudi-rift-trump-s-snub?leadSource=verify%20wall>.

important work with the United States on issues like Afghanistan, Iraq, Horn of Africa, or assisting in the region [. . .] Now what we are doing is proactively engaging Congress, think tanks, and the media on what Qatar is doing in partnership with United States.”²⁸

Since 2017, Qatar has been involved in “Strategic Dialogue” in the United States and is cooperating with the United States against international terrorism,²⁹ in spite of Qatar’s poor treatment of the subject. In March 2022, President Biden designated Qatar as a major non-NATO ally of the United States.³⁰

In the past few years, Qatar’s disproportionate power has been exposed in various instances. For instance, the detention of the European Parliament's Vice-President Eva Kaili in September 2022, as a result of an investigation into a criminal organization, corruption, and money laundering that involves Qatar.³¹ Furthermore, an investigation into General John Allen was conducted (which was eventually dropped in early 2023) over his role in an alleged illegal foreign lobbying campaign on behalf of Qatar, when he served as President of the Brookings Institution, which is considered the most influential think-tank in the world.³²

What is more, Qatar has been involved in the 2022 World Cup scandal with FIFA.³³ More recently, Belgian police descended upon top political figures at the European Parliament in a cash-for-influence scandal,³⁴ which would quickly be dubbed ‘Qatargate,’³⁵ unveiling a murky underworld of foreign interference operating at the core of the European Union.

²⁸ By Ilya Banares, Simone Foxman, and Nick Wadhams, “Qatar Adds U.S. Lobbying Muscle After Saudi Rift, Trump Snub,” *Bloomberg* (2021), <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-04-27/qatar-adds-u-s-lobbying-muscle-after-saudi-rift-trump-s-snob#xj4y7vzkg>.

²⁹ “Qatar: Governance, Security, and US Policy,” *Congressional Research Service* (2021), 12–13, <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R44533/66>.

³⁰ “Biden designates Qatar as a major non-NATO ally of US,” *Reuters* (2022), <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/biden-designates-qatar-major-non-nato-ally-us-2022-03-10/>.

³¹ “European Parliament VP taken into custody,” *DW* (2022), <https://www.dw.com/en/european-parliament-vp-taken-into-custody/a-64047127>.

³² Adam Entous and Mark Mazzetti, “Justice Dept. Drops Investigation of Retired US General,” *The New York Times* (2023), <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/01/30/us/politics/john-allen-justice-department-investigation.html>.

³³ Finlay Dunseath, “Qatar FIFA World Cup controversy: What you need to know,” *RNZ* (2022), <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/what-you-need-to-know/480588/qatar-fifa-world-cup-controversy-what-you-need-to-know>.

³⁴ Sarah Wheaton and Nicolas Camut, “Qatar corruption scandal rocks EU Parliament,” *Politico* (2022), <https://www.politico.eu/article/belgium-police-raid-gulf-lobbying-eu-parliament/>.

³⁵ Jakob Hanke Vela and Claudia Chiappa, “Qatargate: European Parliament corruption scandal,” *Politico* (2023), <https://www.politico.eu/tag/qatargate-european-parliament-corruption-scandal/>.

Qatar's ongoing support of Islamist forces—strategic and tactic change

It seems that the failure of the post-'Arab Spring' Middle Eastern Islamist regimes and, more crucially, exposure of its extensive support in Islamist and MB-affiliated groups (and the pressure on Qatar from neighboring countries to cease this support) led Qatar to change the way it is given, either officially or via its semi-official arms (*Qatar Charity, QC; Qatar Foundation, QF; Qatar Investment Authority, QIA; and Qatar Fund for Development, QFFD*). However, since 2017 and the Covid pandemic, Qatari involvement in 'grassroots' activism seems to be less visible (it should be noted, however, that QC, for example, has had a strategic cooperation agreement with controversial Turkish bodies such as the *IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation*;³⁶ however, Qatari-Turkish cooperation in Islamist support is beyond the scope of this report).

Instead, Qatar has adjusted its support on many occasions to fields and groups whose work come under one of the four pillars of its strategic governmental "Qatar National Vision 2030," a project which,

*aims to transform Qatar into an advanced country by 2030, capable of sustaining its own development and providing a high standard of living for its population and future generations:*³⁷

- Human development
- Social development
- Economic development
- Environmental development

Qatar provides a high standard of living for the Qatari population. The GDP per Qatari capita is among the top five in the world.³⁸ Free from personal taxes,³⁹ and gratis K-12 and higher education.⁴⁰ *QF* also provides jobs to graduates of the Qatari education system and Qatari graduates of foreign universities, to attract them to the country.

³⁶ "Qatar Charity strategic cooperation agreement," *IHH* (2014), <https://ihh.org.tr/en/news/ihh-qatar-charity-strategic-cooperation-agreement-2503>.

³⁷ "Qatar National Vision," *Government Communications Office State of Qatar*, accessed November 14, 2023, <https://www.gco.gov.qa/en/about-qatar/national-vision2030/>.

³⁸ Danielle Richardson, "The tax system in Qatar," *Expatica* (2023), <https://www.expatica.com/qa/finance/taxes/qatar-tax-78184/#:~:text=Qatar%20does%20not%20levy%20income,self%20employed%20workers%20in%20Qatar.s://www.worldometers.info/gdp/gdp-per-capita/>.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ "Education and schools for expats in Doha," *Expats Arrivals*, <https://www.expatsarrivals.com/middle-east/qatar/doha/education-and-schools-doha#:~:text=Public%20schools%20in%20Doha%20receive,citizens%20and%20eligible%20expat%20students>.

Under this strand, Qatar makes substantial donations to US higher education and the operation of QF's 'Education City' in Doha,⁴¹ which hosts leading international branch campuses (IBC).⁴² The agreements between the universities and Qatar are kept confidential. These agreements cover the total cost of operating the campuses, including scholarly and administrative salaries. Overall, through QF, the State of Qatar spent more than 20 billion USD to build and maintain these campuses.⁴³

This is perceived as beneficial to higher education in Qatar, promoting societal engagement and sociocultural development, along with enhancing Qatar's status as a leading driver of change in the Gulf region and beyond.⁴⁴ QF also tries to attract leading scholars from around the world to academic summits, conferences, and seminars and invests many millions of USD in these events.⁴⁵

Some of the 'entities' operating under QF's wings have served as vehicles for liaising with Islamist players, promoting their agenda and acceptance by Western actors. 'Education City' is also home to the Hamad Bin Khalifa University (HBKU), which was founded in 2010 "to continue fulfilling QF's vision of unlocking human potential."⁴⁶ The HBKU cooperates with many Western universities on various projects, including conferences. Its College of Islamic Studies (CIS) includes several research centers, among them at least two of which were previously led by key MB-affiliated scholarly figures. The CIS has also signed a "Memorandum of Understanding" to strengthen research cooperation with the Islamist International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM),⁴⁷ defined as a laboratory of the concept of "Islamization of Human Knowledge,"⁴⁸ which was developed by US Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated figures.

The CIS has been cooperating with the Turkish-based Center for Islam and Global Affairs (CIGA), a research and public policy center affiliated with the Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim

⁴¹ "Education City," *Visit Qatar*, <https://visitqatar.com/intl-en/highlights/iconic-places/education-city#:~:text=Unlike%20any%20other%20place%20in,cultural%20institutions%2C%20and%20much%20more>.

⁴² John T. Crist, "Innovation in a Small State: Qatar and the IBC Cluster Model of Higher Education," *The Muslim World* (2014), <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/muwo.12082>.

⁴³ "Qatar," *Scribd*, <https://www.scribd.com/document/484502449/qatar-pdf>; "Education City lifts construction sector in Qatar," *Meed* (2010); <https://www.meed.com/education-city-lifts-construction-sector-in-qatar>; Chris Havergal, "Hosting US branch campuses 'costs Qatar £280 million annually,'" *Times Higher Education* (2016) <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/hosting-us-branch-campuses-costs-qatar-ps280-million-annually>

⁴⁴ Pamela Walsh, "Establishment of an American Branch-Campus Model of Higher Education: Qatar's Early Goals, Rationales, and Challenges," *Athens Journal of Education* 6, no. 4, (2019): 279–281, <https://www.athensjournals.gr/education/2019-6-4-2-Walsh.pdf>.

⁴⁵ Louis Bolling, "Leading global education initiative set to convene next month in Qatar," *HuffPost* (2017) https://www.huffpost.com/entry/leading-global-education-initiative-set-to-convene_b_59e71218e4b0e60c4aa3667c; "Explore our latest events and activities," *Qatar Foundation* <https://www.qf.org.qa/events>; "WISE 11," *Qatar Foundation* <https://www.wise-qatar.org/wise-11/>

⁴⁶ "About Hamad Bin Khalifa University," *Hamad Bin Khalifa University*, accessed November 14, 2023, <https://www.hbku.edu.qa/en/about-hamad-bin-khalifa-university>.

⁴⁷ "HBKU's College of Islamic Studies Signs MoU with International Islamic University Malaysia to Foster Educational Development," *College of Islamic Studies* (2021), <https://www.hbku.edu.qa/en/news/CIS-SP-SMoUIUMFED>.

⁴⁸ See Sari Hanafi, "From streamlining to mainstreaming 'Islamization of knowledge': The Case of the International Islamic University of Malaysia," *American Journal of Islam and Society* 38 1, no. 2 (2021): 101–135, <https://www.ajis.org/index.php/ajiss/article/view/1086/2058>.

University, which was founded by a foundation headed by President Erdoğan's son Bilal Erdoğan.⁴⁹ CIGA's Director is Sami Al-Arian,⁵⁰ an indicted Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) leader, who, in 2015, was stripped of his US citizenship and deported to Turkey.⁵¹

Another example of reported Qatari funding is the Al-Sharq Forum.⁵² Al-Sharq, which according to its website, has branches in Geneva, London, Istanbul, and Kuala Lumpur; defines itself as an "independent, international non-profit organization that aims to consolidate the values of pluralism and justice, while developing long-term strategies and programs that contribute to the political development, economic prosperity, and social cohesion of the people of the Al Sharq region and the world."⁵³ The Al-Sharq Forum operates a wide range of academic and research activities, as well as "a network of committed and active youth, leading change towards a more inclusive and just world." Its partners include well-respected western research institutions, as well as the *HBKU*.⁵⁴ The Al-Sharq Forum is believed to be funded by Qatar; its heads and senior staff are MB-affiliated figures.⁵⁵

⁴⁹Halil I Yenigun, "A Response to Criticisms from the Center for Islam and Global Affairs on Turkey's Soft Power Strategies," *Jadaliyya* (2019).

⁵⁰ "Sami Al-Arian," *Middle East Eye*, accessed November 14, 2023, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/users/sami-al-arian>.

⁵¹ Yehudit Barsky and Ehud Rosen, "Islamist Antisemitism in the United States," *INSS* (2023), <https://www.inss.org.il/publication/islamist-antisemitism/>.

⁵² M. Hakan Yavuz, "Erdoğan's Soft Power Arm: Mapping the Muslim Brotherhood's Networks of Influence in Turkey," *Center for Research & Intercommunication Knowledge* (2020), <https://crik.sa/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Erdogans-Soft-Power-Arm.pdf>.

⁵³ *Al Sharq Forum*, <https://www.sharqforum.org>.

⁵⁴ "Partners and Collaborators," *Al Sharq Forum*, <https://www.sharqforum.org/#partners>.

⁵⁵ Yavuz, "Erdoğan's Soft Power Arm."

Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood, and Qatar

HAMAS is the acronym for Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiya (Islamic Resistance Movement). Hamas emerged in 1987 during the first Palestinian uprising and refers to itself as the “one of the wings of Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine.”⁵⁶

The group is committed to armed resistance against Israel and the creation of an Islamic Palestinian state instead of Israel. Hamas has been the de facto governing body in the Gaza Strip since 2007, when it ousted the Palestinian Authority from power.

From its inception, in addition to calling for *jihad* against Israel, Hamas’ Covenant (Charter) exposed their *jihadist* mindset through their association with the Muslim Brotherhood member, Abdullah Azzam (1941–1989),⁵⁷ one of the most influential ideologues for violent *jihadist* groups (such as al-Qaeda).

According to Article Twelve, “resisting and quelling the enemy become the individual duty of every Muslim, male or female. A woman can go out to fight the enemy without her husband’s permission.”⁵⁸

This line mirrors Azzam’s famous *fatwa* on the individual duty of *jihad*,⁵⁹ which extremist groups still echo today (for example, to justify the participation of women in violent operations under specific circumstances).

- Goals of Hamas:

*“The Islamic Resistance Movement is a distinguished Palestinian movement, whose allegiance is to Allah, and whose way of life is Islam. It strives to raise the banner of Allah over every inch of Palestine.”*⁶⁰

- On Jews:

“The Day of Judgement will not come about until Muslims fight the Jews (killing the Jews), when the Jew will hide behind stones and trees. The stones and trees will say, O Muslims, O Abdulla, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him. Only the Gharkad tree, (evidently a

⁵⁶ “Hamas Covenant 1988,” Article two, *The Avalon Law Project*, Yale University, August 18, 1988, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp.

⁵⁷ Ian Black, “The Caravan: Abdallah Azzam and the Rise of Global Jihad review—recent history at its finest,” *The Guardian* (2020), <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2020/may/17/the-caravan-abdallah-azzam-and-the-rise-of-global-jihad-review-recent-history-at-its-finest>.

⁵⁸ “Hamas Covenant 1988,” Article twelve, *The Avalon Law Project*, Yale University, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp.

⁵⁹ Devorah Margolin, “The Changing Roles of Women in Violent Islamist Groups,” in *Perspectives on the Future of Women, Gender, & Violent Extremism* (2019), <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs5746/files/The%20Changing%20Roles%20of%20Women%20in%20Violent%20Islamist%20Groups.pdf>.

⁶⁰ “Hamas Covenant 1988,” Article six, *The Avalon Law Project*, Yale University, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp.

certain kind of tree) would not do that because it is one of the trees of the Jews" (related by al-Bukhari and Muslim)."⁶¹

*"The enemies have been scheming for a long time . . . and have accumulated huge and influential material wealth. With their money, they took control of the world media . . . With their money they stirred revolutions in various parts of the globe . . . They stood behind the French Revolution, the Communist Revolution and most of the revolutions we hear about . . . With their money they formed secret organizations—such as the Freemasons, Rotary Clubs and the Lions—which are spreading around the world, in order to destroy societies and carry out Zionist interests . . . They stood behind World War I . . . and formed the League of Nations through which they could rule the world. They were behind World War II, through which they made huge financial gains . . . There is no war going on anywhere without them having their finger in it."*⁶²

*"Zionism scheming has no end, and after Palestine, they will covet expansion from the Nile to the Euphrates River. When they have finished digesting the area on which they have laid their hand, they will look forward to more expansion. Their scheme has been laid out in the 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion.'"*⁶³

*"The HAMAS regards itself the spearhead and the vanguard of the circle of struggle against World Zionism . . . Islamic groups all over the Arab world should also do the same, since they are best equipped for their future role in the fight against the warmongering Jews."*⁶⁴

- On the destruction of Israel:

*"Israel will exist and will continue to exist until Islam will obliterate it, just as it obliterated others before it."*⁶⁵

- The exclusive Muslim ownership of Palestine:

*"The land of Palestine is an Islamic Waqf [endowment/trust] consecrated for future Muslim generations until Judgment Day. No one can renounce it or any part or abandon it or any part of it."*⁶⁶

*"Palestine is an Islamic land . . . Since this is the case, the Liberation of Palestine is an individual duty for every Muslim wherever he may be."*⁶⁷

⁶¹ " Hamas Covenant 1988," Article seven, *The Avalon Law Project*, Yale University, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp.

⁶² " Hamas Covenant 1988," Article twenty-two, *The Avalon Law Project*, Yale University, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp.

⁶³ " Hamas Covenant 1988," Article thirty-two, *The Avalon Law Project*, Yale University, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ " Hamas Covenant 1988," *The Avalon Law Project*, Yale University, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp.

⁶⁶ " Hamas Covenant 1988," Article seven, *The Avalon Law Project*, Yale University, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp.

⁶⁷ " Hamas Covenant 1988," Article thirteen, *The Avalon Law Project*, Yale University, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp.

- The call to *jihad*:

“The day the enemies usurp part of Muslim land, *Jihad* becomes the individual duty of every Muslim. In the face of the Jews' usurpation, it is compulsory that the banner of *Jihad* be raised.”⁶⁸

“Ranks will close, fighters joining other fighters, and masses everywhere in the Islamic world will come forward in response to the call of duty, loudly proclaiming: 'Hail to *Jihad*!' This cry will reach the heavens and will go on being resounded until liberation is achieved, the invaders vanquished, and Allah's victory comes about.”⁶⁹

- Rejection of a Negotiated Peace Settlement:

“[Peace] initiatives, and so-called peaceful solutions and international conferences are in contradiction to the principles of the Islamic Resistance Movement . . . Those conferences are no more than a means to appoint the disbelievers as arbitrators in the lands of Islam . . . There is no solution for the Palestinian problem except by *Jihad*. Initiatives, proposals and international conferences are but a waste of time, an exercise in futility.”⁷⁰

Hamas’ 2017 political document

On May 1, 2017, Hamas convened a press conference in Qatar to unveil a new policy document, the first since the release of its organizational charter in 1988. The document—a supplement to Hamas’ 1988 charter—omits the original charter’s references to Jews and frames the Palestinian struggle as nationalistic rather than religious.⁷¹

Though the document accepts the idea of a Palestinian state along the pre-1967 lines, the charter continues to withhold recognition of the State of Israel. As the document outlines, Hamas continues to embrace “armed resistance” against Israel in its pursuit of the “liberation” of Palestine “from the river to the sea.”⁷²

Additionally, the document does not mention Hamas’ origins within the Muslim Brotherhood, which the group’s leaders have claimed to disavow. To demonstrate, in March 2016, Hamas spokesman Sami Abu Zuhri denied any links between Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood.⁷³ Ahead of the document’s release, Hamas leaders said that the new document does not replace the original 1988 charter, which remains in effect with its linkage to the Brotherhood.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ “Hamas Covenant 1988,” Article fifteen, *The Avalon Law Project*, Yale University.

https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp

⁶⁹ “Hamas Covenant 1988,” Article thirty-three, *The Avalon Law Project*, Yale University.

https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ “Hamas,” *Counter Extremism Project*.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Amina Ismail and Ahmed Aboulenein, “Egypt accuses Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas of assassinating prosecutor,” *Reuters* (2016), <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-violence-idUSKCN0W80GV>.

⁷⁴ “New Hamas policy document 'aims to soften image,’” *BBC News* (2017),

Qatar and Hamas

Over the years, Qatar has hosted political offices for various groups which the West regards as terrorist organizations; these include Hamas, the Afghan Taliban, and Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood.

In April 2017, Yousef al-Ghariz, the adviser to Qatar's ambassador to the Palestinian territories and head of the Qatari Committee for Reconstruction of the Gaza Strip, told *Al-Monitor* that Qatar works with both Hamas and the Palestinian Authority. He also said that Qatar “doesn’t get involved in any internal Palestinian political disputes.”⁷⁵

On Friday October 13, 2023 Meshaal (who resides in Qatar) called on the Muslim world to protest in support of Palestinians, singling out those countries with large populations of Palestinian refugees.⁷⁶

“Tribes of Jordan, sons of Jordan . . . This is a moment of truth, and the borders are closed to you, you all know your responsibilities,” Meshaal proclaimed.⁷⁷

Ismail Haniyeh, one of Hamas’ leaders, resides in Doha,⁷⁸ Qatar’s capital. So, too, does Khaled Mashal,⁷⁹ who preceded Haniyeh and now serves as his second-in-command. Khalil al-Hayyah, who had served as the deputy of Yahya Sinwar (Hamas’s leader in Gaza), also decamped to Doha.⁸⁰ Markedly, this list has not exhausted the names of leading Hamas officials who are hosted by Qatar.⁸¹

Qatar has invested heavily in the Gazan economy. In October 2012, the country launched a 254 million USD plan to modernize Gaza.⁸² The country later increased its investment to 400 million USD.⁸³

After Hamas and Fatah signed a reconciliation agreement in April 2014, the Palestinian Authority refused to pay the salaries of Hamas civil servants in Gaza.⁸⁴ In June, Qatar

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-39744551>.

⁷⁵ Khaled Abu Amer, “Qatar's lifeline to Gaza,” *AL-Monitor* (2017), <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2017/03/palestine-qatar-reconstruction-committee-gaza-consensus.html>.

⁷⁶ Nicole Johnston, “Israel-Hamas war: The tiny gulf state of Qatar may end up playing an outsized role in negotiations,” *Sky News* (2023), <https://news.sky.com/story/israel-hamas-war-the-tiny-gulf-state-of-qatar-may-end-up-playing-an-outsized-role-in-negotiations-12984839>.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Khaled Abu Toameh, “Hamas leader Haniyeh decides to settle in Qatar – report,” *The Jerusalem Post* (2020), <https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/hamas-leader-haniyeh-decides-to-settle-in-qatar-report-616253>.

⁷⁹ Aaron Boxerman, “Khaled Mashaal tapped as Hamas's diaspora director,” *The Times of Israel* (2021), <https://www.timesofisrael.com/khaled-mashaal-tapped-as-hamass-international-director/>.

⁸⁰ Elior Levy, “From refugee camps to 5-star hotels: Hamas' top officials leave Gaza en masse,” *Ynet News* (2022), <https://www.ynetnews.com/magazine/article/r1vi7hp3f>.

⁸¹ “Commanders in exile: Gazan faction heads quit the Strip,” *i24 News* (2022), <https://www.i24news.tv/en/news/middle-east/palestinian-territories/1642069442-commanders-in-exile-gazan-faction-heads-quit-the-strip>.

⁸² “Qatar Funds Major Project to Rebuild Gaza,” *Haaretz* (2012), <https://www.haaretz.com/2012-10-16/ty-article/qatar-funds-major-gaza-rebuild/0000017f-e0f4-d568-ad7f-f3ff11260000>.

⁸³ “Qatar ups Gaza investment to \$400 million,” *The Express Tribune* (2012), <http://tribune.com.pk/story/455921/hamas-qatar-ups-gaza-investment-to-400-million/>.

⁸⁴ Nidal al-Mughrabi, “Palestinian reconciliation pact threatened by disunity,” *Reuters* (2014), <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-palestinian-rivals-unity-idUKKBN0EL17120140610>.

stepped in and attempted to transfer hundreds of millions of dollars to Hamas through Arab Bank to pay the salaries of forty-four thousand civil servants, but the United States reportedly blocked the transfers.⁸⁵

In November 2018, Qatar transferred 15 million USD to the Hamas government to pay civil servants. Israel reportedly approved the payment on condition that it did not go directly to Hamas. Qatari monitors oversaw the direct distribution of the funds to civil servants. Qatar promised to pay 90 million USD over a six-month period.⁸⁶

A U.S. lawsuit filed in June 2020 alleged that Qatar provided funding to Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) through three Qatari financial institutions: the Qatar Charity, Masraf Al Rayan, and Qatar National Bank.⁸⁷

The Qatar Charity is a member of the U.S.-sanctioned Union of Good charity network. All three institutions have links to members of the Qatari royal family.⁸⁸

The plaintiffs are friends and family members of ten United States citizens who died in terror attacks committed in Israel, which were carried out by Hamas and PIJ. The lawsuit accuses Qatar of coopting “*several institutions that it dominates and controls to funnel coveted U.S. dollars (the chosen currency of Middle East terrorist networks) to Hamas and PIJ under the false guise of charitable donations.*”⁸⁹

As of 2023, Qatar reportedly provided 30 million USD per month in stipends for families, fuel for electricity, and aid in paying municipal salaries. As of May 2023, Qatar had provided half of a five million USD grant to Hamas to pay municipal salaries. Qatar reportedly suspended payments that June.⁹⁰

By July, Hamas reportedly was unable to pay its fifty thousand municipal employees because of delays in a monthly payroll grant from Qatar. Hamas had not paid salaries since May, and Hamas financial sources told international media that they faced a new economic crisis. Hamas called on Qatar to increase its payroll grant from five to seven million USD to cover increased spending and debt repayment.⁹¹

⁸⁵ Elhanan Miller, “US blocked Qatari funds intended for Hamas employees,” *The Times of Israel* (2014), <http://www.timesofisrael.com/us-blocked-qatari-funds-intended-for-hamas-employees/>.

⁸⁶ Nidal al-Mughrabi, “Qatar pays Gaza salaries to ease tensions; Israel says money's not for Hamas,” *Reuters* (2018), <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-palestinians-gaza/qatar-pays-gaza-salaries-to-ease-tensions-israel-says-moneys-not-for-hamas-idUSKCN1NE1ET>.

⁸⁷ Spencer Hsu, “Lawsuits by U.S. victims accuse top Qatar banks and charity of financing terrorism in Israel,” *The Washington Post* (2020), https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/legal-issues/lawsuits-by-us-victims-accuse-top-qatar-banks-and-charity-of-financing-terrorism-in-israel/2020/12/15/4ebea7fe-244a-11eb-a688-5298ad5d580a_story.html.

⁸⁸ “Qatar, Money and Terror,” *Counter Extremism Project*, accessed November 14, 2023, <https://www.counterextremism.com/content/qatar-money-and-terror>.

⁸⁹ Ray Hanania, “Lawsuit names Qatar’s royal family in killings of 10 Americans in Israel,” *Arab News* (2020), <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1688051/middle-east>.

⁹⁰ Nidal Al-Mughrabi, “Hamas unable to pay salaries in Gaza after Qatari aid delay, officials say,” *Reuters* (2023), <https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/hamas-unable-pay-salaries-gaza-after-qatari-aid-delay-officials-say-2023-07-16/>.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

The Muslim Brotherhood

"Allah is our objective. The Prophet is our leader. The Qur'an is our law. *Jihad* is our way. Dying in the way of Allah is our highest hope."⁹² – *Muslim Brotherhood Motto*

The Ikhwan al-Muslimeen, or Muslim Brotherhood (MB), is a pan-Islamist⁹³ organization that was founded in Egypt in 1928. It was the world's first Islamist group and, in many ways, gave birth to all subsequent Islamist and *jihadist* groups that followed. It seeks to synchronize Islam and politics so that the state can be used as a tool to enforce a single interpretation of Islam on society. It is also inherently anti-Western, anti-Semitic, homophobic, sexist, and disdainful of non-Islamist Muslims and liberals.

In its early years, the MB worked for evolutionary change through institutional renewal. During the 1930s, however, it developed an ideology of belligerent *jihad* directed against colonialism, cultural modernity, and the Jewish presence in Palestine.

The Muslim Brotherhood appears to be the intellectual inspiration behind all Islamist groups (and their *jihadist* offshoots) that operate today, such as ISIS, al-Qaeda, and Hamas. Sunni *jihadist* groups are grounded in the firm ideological roots that key MB ideologues pioneered in the last century.

The group was formed by a schoolteacher called Hassan al-Banna (1906–1949), who was involved in Egyptian nationalist politics and political activism that focused on the British occupation of Egypt. He was also deeply conspiratorial, antisemitic, and an admirer of Adolf Hitler and the Nazis.⁹⁴ Al-Banna claimed that Western civilization, “. . . is a civilization which carries in its own body the viruses of its own destruction.”⁹⁵ **He further stated that “. . . The Jews are the agents of change and westernization, and responsible for the decline of the west as well as Islam.” The Muslim Brotherhood, under Al-Banna, translated *Mein Kampf* into Arabic and called it *My Jihad*, while constructing alliances with and support to the Nazi regime.**⁹⁶

⁹² Lorenzo Vidino, “The Muslim Brotherhood’s Conquest of Europe,” *Muslim Brotherhood Movement*, accessed December 22, 2004, www.ummah.org.uk/ikhwan/.

⁹³ Here we refer to Islamism the political ideology and not the religion of Islam as practiced peacefully by Muslims worldwide.

⁹⁴ Translated from the Arabic and annotated by Charles Wendel, “Five Tracts of Hasan al-Banna (1906–1949) A Selection from the Majmu’at Rasa’il al-Iman al-Shahid Hasan al-Banna,” *Point De Bascule* (2014), <http://pointdebasculecanada.ca/hassan-al-banna-praises-hitler-as-a-model-for-attaining-fortune-influence-and-success/>.

⁹⁵ Hassan Hat-Hoot, *The Unique Decade 1942–1952: Ten Years with the Imam Hasan Al-Banna (First Edition)*, (Cairo: Dar Al-Shurook: 2000), 116–118.

⁹⁶ Matthias Küntzel, “The Nazi-Islamist Connection,” *Jewish Political Studies Review* (2006), <https://www.jcpa.org/phas/phas-eiteneier-s06.htm>.

In its early years, the Brotherhood worked to seize political power through a gradual process, beginning with education, recruitment, and then training. However, it soon developed an ideology of belligerent *jihadism* which was directed against colonialism, cultural modernity, and **the Jewish presence in Palestine**. Al-Banna frequently glorified *jihad* and the physical act of self-sacrifice:

*“Jihad has been made obligatory on every Muslim by Allah. He has laid great stress on Jihad and has promised limitless recompense for martyrs and fighters . . . There is no system in the world which places so much emphasis on jihad and fighting; use of power; mutual discipline and unity; and defense of rights, as in Islam . . . the verses of the Quran and the traditions of the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.) are full of these high teachings. They, in clearest terms, invite towards jihad, fighting and art of fighting and draw attention towards all means of land and sea fighting.”*⁹⁷

By the 1940s, the Brotherhood established a covert paramilitary branch, al-Tanzim al Khas, which initiated a campaign of terror against the pro-Western Egyptian government. What is more, this branch stands accused of assassinating a number of political personalities, including two prime ministers. Its activities led to the eventual assassination of al-Banna in February 1949.⁹⁸

In the wake of al-Banna’s death, Syed Qutb (1906–1966) emerged as a key Brotherhood ideologue. Qutb promoted the doctrine of *takfir* (the judgement of Muslims)—including individuals, regimes, societies, and states—to be apostates and infidels if they did not wholly conform to his highly politicized interpretation of Islam. This condemnation was subsequently used to justify combative *jihad* against them.⁹⁹

Qutb believed that all Muslim societies had reverted to pre-Islamic paganism (*jahiliyya*). Therefore, Qutb viewed those he designated “truthful Muslims,” to be surrounded by idolatry. Qutb developed the meaning of the term *hijra* (emigration) from a simple description of Muhammad’s migration, to symbolize an ideological goal in the staged process of developing true Islamic societies.¹⁰⁰

Qutb stated there to be three definite stages of the *hijra* process and his revolution:¹⁰¹

1. Proclamation (*da‘wa*) of the message to *jahili* (the state of pagan ignorance and immorality in pre-Islamic Arabian) society. This is what Muhammad did in Makkah.

⁹⁷ Hasan al-Banna, *Selected Writings of Hasan al-Banna Shaheed*, trans. S.A. Qureshi (New Delhi: Militant Book Centre, 1999), 31–32.

⁹⁸ Bruno Schmidt-Feuerheerd, “Ideology, organisation, and path dependency: The use of violence among Egyptian Islamist movements,” *Sage Journals* (2023), <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/02633957231195456>.

⁹⁹ “Takfir,” *Counter Extremism Project*, <https://www.counterextremism.com/content/takfir>.

¹⁰⁰ Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, “The Qur’anic Justification for an Islamic Revolution: The View of Sayyid Qutb,” *Middle East Journal* 37, no. 1 (1983): 27, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4326521>.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, 23–24.

2. Separation (*mufassala*) from unbelievers and all *jahili* society. This parallels Muhammad's migration to Medina to organize the new Muslim community. Qutb conceived this stage to not constitute a total physical separation, but rather a spiritual separation, while remaining in society to proclaim, recruit, and organize.
3. Finally, the fight (*jihad*) to implement God's new society on earth, similar to Muhammad's victorious return to Makkah. *Jihad* is aimed first at Islamizing Muslim societies, toppling apostate Muslim rulers and establishing Islamic states under *shari'ah*. These Islamic states are then able to extend *jihad* to the whole world.

In 1966, Qutb was executed for his activities. Qutb's influential works included his now infamous "Milestones," which is believed to have inspired Ayman al-Zawahiri, Osama bin Laden, and Abdullah Azzam.¹⁰² In fact, these leading *jihadist* figures, with the exception of bin Laden, were members of the Brotherhood in their youth and were inspired by Qutb's work.¹⁰³

The Brotherhood renounced violence in the late-1970s and declared that it would operate as a non-violent political movement. Its more violence-inclined cadres subsequently formed a terrorist group, Tanzeem-al-Jihad. However, this did not prevent the Brotherhood from espousing anti-Western, antisemitic, and anti-liberal rhetoric. It also failed to prevent the Brotherhood from keeping its commitment to an original aim: namely, the establishment of a global Islamist state.

Abdullah Azzam (1941–1989), Osama bin Laden's mentor during the Afghan *jihad*,¹⁰⁴ was a member of the Muslim Brotherhood.¹⁰⁵ Azzam was active in recruiting Arab *mujahidin* for the *jihad* in Afghanistan. What is more, he was the chief promoter of the internationalization of *jihad*, which led to the creation of al-Qaeda and the Salafi-Jihadi movement. **Crucially, he aided in the establishment of al-Qaeda, Hamas, and Lashkar-e-Taiba.**¹⁰⁶

Abdullah Azzam saw *jihad* as the greatest religious obligation after faith (Iman), an act of communal worship and God's ordained method for establishing Islam in the world. Azzam claimed that *jihad* constitutes the apex of a staged process that includes *hijra*, preparation, and *ribat* (defensive living on the frontline). Azzam argued that this obligation of *jihad* had been forgotten, and its neglect had caused contemporary Muslim humiliation. When not under direct attack by unbelievers,

¹⁰² Lawrence Wright, "The Man Behind Bin Laden," *The New Yorker* (2022), <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2002/09/16/the-man-behind-bin-laden>.

¹⁰³ Asaf Maliach, "Abdullah Azzam, al-Qaeda, and Hamas: Concepts of Jihad and Istishhad," *Military and Strategic Affairs* 2, no. 2 (2010), [https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/systemfiles/\(FILE\)1298359986.pdf](https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/systemfiles/(FILE)1298359986.pdf).

¹⁰⁴ Neil Krishan Aggarwal, "Abdullah Azzam, Osama bin Laden, and Ayman Al-Zawahiri from Al Qaeda," in *Militant Leadership: Person-Centered Studies from Kashmir*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 169–221.

¹⁰⁵ "Abdullah Azzam," *Counter Extremism Project*, accessed November 14, 2023, <https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/abdullah-azzam>.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

jihād was to be seen as a communal obligation (*fard kifāya*), where an army is dispatched at least once a year "to terrorize the enemies of Allah." However, when infidels occupy Muslim land, *jihād* becomes a compulsory individual Muslim obligation (*fard ‘ayn*) until the land is liberated.¹⁰⁷

The Brotherhood has a history of working with global activists to establish various front organizations in, for example, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Europe.¹⁰⁸ These may be linked through a complex web of apparently distinct entities to launch a concerted and multi-pronged attack on communities in order to popularize Islamism. Additionally, Brotherhood members are encouraged to join other organizations, that may or may not be Islamist in their origin, in order to influence or co-opt them into alliances.

The Brotherhood’s decision to remain non-violent and engage in the democratic process was pragmatic rather than ideological. This is a vital distinction that appears to elude many Western observers. Crucially, shunning violence out of fear that it may undermine the goal of achieving an Islamist state is not equivalent to eschewing violence because it is inherently wrong. Hence, when Brotherhood outfits consider violence to be a conducive tactic for achieving its ends, they embrace it. This was illustrated through the activities of Hamas on October 7, 2023.

¹⁰⁷ Abdullah Azzam, *Defense of the Muslim Lands* (London: Ahle Sunnah Wal Jamma‘at, 2002), 4–17, 29–33; Abdullah Azzam, *Join the Caravan* (London: Azzam Publications, 1996), 36–38.

¹⁰⁸ “Muslim Brotherhood Review: Main Findings,” *Open Government License* (2015), https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a8076bfe5274a2e8ab504ab/53163_Muslim_Brotherhood_Review_-_PRINT.pdf.

Historical Leaders

1. Hassan al Banna, Founder



Since it was founded in north-eastern Egypt in 1928 by Hassan al-Banna,¹⁰⁹ the tentacles of the Muslim Brotherhood have metastasized. With a growth in popularity, this so-called political and social revolutionary movement has now extended its reach globally.¹¹⁰

In the same way that Hamas, al-Qaeda, Islamic Jihad and ISIS, the Muslim Brotherhood base much of their ideology on the teachings of ideologues who were influenced by Adolf Hitler.¹¹¹ Al-Banna owned Hitler's autobiography and political anthology, *Mein Kampf* (*My Struggle*), which was translated into Arabic with the title *My Jihad*.¹¹² What is more, Al-Banna harbored copies of the Nazi party newspaper *Der Sturmer*, published by the infamous Jew-hater Julius Streicher.¹¹³ The volumes were adapted to suit the Arab world.

Throughout his leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood, al-Banna closely adhered to Hitler's eliminationist ideology of each obstacle that obstructed his political progression. Al-Banna believed that by removing all liberal opponents who desired reform and change, the unification of Arab society would be attainable.

In essence, the Nazi ideology that al-Banna incorporated into the Muslim Brotherhood fomented a desire to eradicate all Jews in the Middle East.

¹⁰⁹ Zachary Laub, "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," *Council on Foreign Relations* (2019), <https://www.cfr.org/background/egypts-muslim-brotherhood/>.

¹¹⁰ Martyn Frampton, *The Muslim Brotherhood and the West: A History of Enmity and Engagement* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2019).

¹¹¹ Amir Darwish, "Fascistic Tendencies in the Muslim Brotherhood," *Fair Observer* (2022), <https://www.faiobserver.com/politics/fascistic-tendencies-in-the-muslim-brotherhood/>.

¹¹² Tony Duheume, "The Nazi Roots of the Muslim Brotherhood," *Alarabiya News* (2018), <https://english.alarabiya.net/features/2018/06/27/ANALYSIS-The-Nazi-roots-of-Muslim-Brotherhood>.

¹¹³ Robert S. Wistrich, "Dehumanizing the Other: Muslim Arab Antisemitism Today," *Nativ*, accessed November 14, 2023, <http://www.acpr.org.il/nativ/0902-wistrich-E.pdf>.

2. El Haj Amin al-Husseini



Haj Amin al-Husseini constituted another leading member of the Muslim Brotherhood. Al-Husseini ran the Palestine branch of the Muslim Brotherhood. Born in Ottoman Jerusalem in 1893, Haj Amin al-Husseini is regarded by many as the father of Arab terrorism.¹¹⁴

Hitler hosts Grand Mufti of Jerusalem Haj Amin al-Husseini in 1941 in Germany – The full transcript of the meeting is available [here](#).

Through his leadership of the Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood, his infamous exploits aided in the creation of one of the most hideous political terror groups. This group blended Muslim beliefs with vile Nazi ideology and spawned many groups to follow the same cause.¹¹⁵

While an officer in the Ottoman Turkish army, Al-Husseini was stationed in the city of Smyrna, where he became a willing participant in the Armenian genocide, in which one-and-a-half million Christians were reportedly slaughtered by Turkish troops.¹¹⁶ This event turned al-Husseini into a leading advocate for the creation of an Islamic Caliphate. This vision was shared by all his adherents, who believed that this could only materialize through the annihilation of all Jews and Christians living in the Middle East.¹¹⁷

The rise of the Palestinian wing of the Muslim Brotherhood came amid a crucial historical context: the 1917 Balfour Declaration. In November 1917, the British government pledged “the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people,” with an added provision that “nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.” On January 3, 1919, the Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann and the Arab leader Emir Feisal made an agreement over the implementation of the Balfour Declaration.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Duheume, “The Nazi Roots of the Muslim Brotherhood.”

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Blaine Taylor, “Grand Mufti al-Husseini: Britain’s Deadliest Enemy?,” *Warfare History Network* (2012), <https://warfarehistorynetwork.com/article/britains-deadliest-enemy/>; Catherine Halley, “September 1922: The Great Fire of Smyrna,” *Jstor Daily* (2022), <https://daily.jstor.org/september-1922-the-great-fire-of-smyrna/>.

¹¹⁷ Duheume, “The Nazi Roots of the Muslim Brotherhood.”

¹¹⁸ “Balfour Declaration,” *Britannica* (2023), <https://www.britannica.com/event/Balfour-Declaration>.

In response to the agreement, violent riots took place between Jews and Arabs in 1920. Al-Husseini was an active organizer of such opposition and subsequently became a leading figure in the nationalist campaign to destabilize the British Mandatory Government in Palestine.¹¹⁹ Al-Husseini was charged with incitement over his role in the four-day uprising, which left 47 Jews dead and dozens more wounded. To escape imprisonment, al-Husseini fled to Syria.¹²⁰

During al-Husseini's presidency of the Supreme Muslim Council, he could appoint or dismiss officials connected to the Muslim religious court, subsequently imposing a rigid form of Islam in Palestine. Throughout al-Husseini's tenure, his associates sought to incite the Arab population to revolt with deadly violence against the Jewish community by spreading false rumors about the latter's activity.¹²¹

However, al-Husseini escalated his deadly campaign during the 1936 Arab Revolt. Al-Husseini recruited armed militias to attack Jews. As a result of his role, in 1937 al-Husseini was stripped of office and eventually escaped to Germany, where he assisted the Nazis in creating anti-Jewish propaganda. Al-Husseini also aided the Nazis in recruiting Muslims for a special SS division.¹²²

The inauguration of Hitler's so-called 'Final Solution' coincided with al-Husseini's arrival, which has led many observers to argue that he actively participated in the Holocaust. This argument can be further augmented through the testimony of SS officer Adolf Eichmann's deputy, Dieter Wisliceny, at his trial in Nuremberg, where he admitted that al-Husseini was a chief initiator of the Nazi plan.¹²³

It has also been established that the Mufti of Jerusalem was funded by money confiscated from detained Jews, and that his armed militias were paid for with Nazi money.¹²⁴

During World War II, the Muslim Brotherhood in both Egypt and Palestine strongly supported the Nazis. For example, MB leadership organized mass demonstrations, meting out extreme violence against the Jewish community. They marched with slogans such as, "down with the Jews." Notably, it was at this time that the slogan: "Jews out of Egypt and Palestine" was coined, along with the even more infamous cry, "the Koran is our constitution, *jihad* is our way, martyrdom is our desire."¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ "Hajj Amin al-Husayni: The Mufti of Jerusalem," *USHMM*, accessed November 14, 2023, <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/hajj-amin-al-husayni-the-mufti-of-jerusalem>.

¹²⁰ Duheume, "The Nazi Roots of the Muslim Brotherhood."

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ "Hajj Amin Al-Husayni: Wartime Propagandist," *USHMM* <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/hajj-amin-al-husayni-wartime-propagandist>

¹²⁵ Duheume, "The Nazi Roots of the Muslim Brotherhood," *Alarabiya News* (2018) <https://english.alarabiya.net/features/2018/06/27/ANALYSIS-The-Nazi-roots-of-Muslim-Brotherhood>

Hamas was created in December 1987 as the armed wing of the Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine. Its leader, Shaykh Ahmad Yassin, a fond admirer of Hassan al-Banna, joined the Brotherhood in the 1960s. Hamas's covenant therefore reflects that of its founding party.¹²⁶

3. Sayyid 'Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Qutb – Known as Sayyid Qutb



Sayyid Qutb; 9 October 1906 – 29 August 1966

Sayyid Qutb was a leading member of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in the 1950s and 1960s. Qutb is considered by many as ‘the Father of Salafi *jihādism*,’ the religious-political doctrine that underpins the ideological roots of global *jihād*ist organizations such as al-Qaeda, ISIS, and Hamas. Author of 24 books and at least 581 articles, he is best known in the Muslim world for his work on what he believed to be the social and political role

of Islam, particularly in his books *Social Justice* and *Ma'alim fi al-Tariq (Milestones)*.¹²⁷

Qutb spent 1948–1950 in the United States on an educational scholarship. Here, he studied the United States educational system. Despite the fact that this period was known for its conservatism, the United States was a culture shock for Qutb. He viewed abundance in sexual sins, materialism, “excessive” freedoms, the mixing of sexes, lack of spirituality, racism, sports, and music. His faith provided him consolation. However, although Qutb became radicalized while living in the United States, his Islamic transformation was underway prior to his travel abroad.¹²⁸

When he returned to Egypt, his alienation only intensified. His home country was becoming Westernized and distant from its conservative Islamic heritage. Immediately upon his return, Qutb resigned from his job, joined the Muslim Brotherhood, and became an editor for their official propaganda magazine.¹²⁹

Under Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1954, the MB felt betrayed by a sense of social marginalization. Resultantly—especially in 1964—Qutb formulated ideas about the necessity of a *jihād* against the un-Islamic government. Consequently, he was imprisoned for a plot to assassinate Nasser. During his time in prison, he wrote his

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ John L. Esposito, *Islam and Politics* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1998), 139; Badmas 'Lanre Yusuf, “Sayyid Qutb: A Study of His Tafsīr,” *The Other Press* (2009): 85.

¹²⁸ Paul Berman, “The Philosopher of Islamic Terror,” *The New York Times Magazine* (2003), <https://www.nytimes.com/2003/03/23/magazine/the-philosopher-of-islamic-terror.html>.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

most influential book, *Milestones*. He was released in 1964, only to be rearrested the following year and executed by hanging in 1966.¹³⁰

Milestones could be described as “the Islamist manifesto.” This may be accurate especially when considering that the book demands the enforcement of *Shari’ah*. However, “**the jihadi manifesto**” is perhaps a more accurate description, as it is also a call to arms against those who oppose their vision. With every mention of “Islam,” one may be correct in deducing this to refer not to the religion as a whole, but rather to “Islamism” or “political Islam.”

Qutb writes:

“Mankind today is on the brink of a destruction, not because of the danger of complete annihilation, which is hanging over its head—this being just a symptom and not the real disease—but because humanity is devoid of those vital values which are necessary not only for its healthy development but also for its real progress. [. . .]”

Democracy in the West has become infertile to such an extent that it is borrowing from the systems of the Eastern bloc, especially in the economic system, under the name of socialism. It is the same with the Eastern bloc. Its social theories, foremost among which is Marxism, in the beginning attracted not only a large number of people from the East but also from the West, as it was a way of life based on a creed. But now Marxism is defeated on the plane of thought, and if it is stated that not a single nation in the world is truly Marxist, it will not be an exaggeration. [. . .] It is essential for mankind to have new leadership.”¹³¹

The following are three major themes from Qutb's militant book, *Milestones*:¹³²

1. We live in jahiliyya.

Sayyid Qutb considered all societies, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, as in *jahiliyya* (in ignorance of Islam), not unlike Arabs before the advent of the prophet. This idea was not original to Qutb. Several scholars have used it since the rise of Islam. For example, Ibn Taymiya in the fourteenth century used this label to denounce enemies of Islam and to justify waging war on them. Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, to whom *Wahabism* is credited, also used this concept to start a puritanical Salafi movement in the eighteenth century. What is unusual about that term is that it was not meant to be used after humanity had been enlightened by the revelation of Islam. Pakistani Islamist Abul A’la Maududi, Qutb’s contemporary, was the first modern writer to use *jahiliyya* to denounce a Muslim society in which the government refused to rule by *Shari’ah*. Qutb was heavily influenced by Maududi’s

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Sayyid Qutb, *Milestones*, ed. A.B. al-Mehri, (Birmingham: Maktabah Booksellers and Publishers, 2006).

¹³² Ibid.; The *jihadi* manifesto: Sayyid Qutb’s *Milestones* Summary and excerpts from the radical text that inspired terror attacks over the last 40 years.

writings. Crucially, Maududi and Qutb both equate modernity with *jahiliyya*: modernity is “ignorance.”

Qutb translated Maududi’s idea into the Arabic language, introducing the concept to a new audience. He made it central to his vision. For Maududi, Muslim leaders who did not support *Shari’ah* were the main targets of criticism. Qutb developed the idea that Muslim society itself was also culpable of failing to oust their *jahili* governments. This fomented the future justification for terrorist attacks which slaughter unarmed Muslims in their home countries. Moreover, Qutb highlighted that the definition of *jahiliyya* encompasses the entire world, Muslim and non-Muslim.

2. Sovereignty of Allah (*Hakimiyyah*) is non-negotiable.

Hakimiyyah translates to demanding no governance except by Allah, and no legislation except from Allah. Consequently, a society may only be called Muslim if *Shari’ah* is enforced. This theme is directly associated with theme a) above, and has also been presented by other pre-Qutb scholars, including Maududi.

3. An Islamic vanguard (*Tali’a*) should wage a *jihad*.

The notion of an Islamic vanguard assuming control of the state was not original to Qutb. In fact, the organization in which Qutb was a leading member, the Muslim Brotherhood, was founded by Hassan al-Banna for this very aim. The Brotherhood, however, was notoriously deceptive about their method of assuming power. They understood that publicly condoning violence would result in state sanctions. Notwithstanding, Qutb blatantly called for violent attacks against personnel and institutions of all un-Islamic governments. In short, Qutb’s most important intellectual contribution was arguably his redefinition of *jihad* from a struggle against an external infidel enemy, to an offensive against any entity, including “wayward Muslims,” in order to establish an Islamist state which imposes *Shari’ah* collectively.

Other Key Narratives:

1. The Western scheme against Muslims

Qutb was the first Muslim “scholar” to refer to the United States as the “Great Satan.” Before him, it was the United Kingdom or France.

Qutb wrote:

“The Western ways of thought and all the sciences started on the foundation of these poisonous influences with an enmity towards all religions [a reference to the historic conflict between science and the Church], and in particular with greater hostility towards Islam. This enmity towards Islam is especially pronounced and many times is the result of a

well thought out scheme, the object of which is first to shake the foundations of Islamic beliefs and then gradually to demolish the structure of Muslim society.”

Qutb appears to blame internal problems on external agents (the West) that protected (or paralyzed) Muslim intellectuals from self-criticism for decades. “The West,” whose main mission was to steer Muslims away from their faith, became the enemy.

American and Zionist conspiracy theories abound among many Muslims today and have become part of the collective psyche. In fact, Coca-Cola was forced to deny that their logo reads “no Mohammad, no Mecca” in Arabic when reversed. Furthermore, several clerics spread the rumor that Pepsi stands for “Pay Every Penny to Save Israel.”

One could say that such an absurd rumor has origins in Qutb’s book, where he spoke of the schemes of “**world Jewry**” (additional commentary below). This perhaps constitutes one of the earliest mentions in contemporary Islamic literature of the threat of Jewish power over global organizations, in order to undermine Muslim faith and society.

2. The Jewish scheme against Muslims

Qutb wrote (and the Muslim Brotherhood believe that):

“[O]ne of the tricks played by world Jewry [. . .] 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. At the top of the list of these activities is usury, the aim of which is that all the wealth of mankind ends up in the hands of Jewish financial institutions which run on interest.”

Qutb could have expressed anger towards the young nation of Israel; instead, he chose to condemn “all” Jews.

4. Yusuf al-Qaradawi (also spelled Yusuf al-Qardawi)



Qaradawi with leaders of Hamas—kissing his hand, a gesture of utmost love and gratitude and subservience.

Yusuf al-Qaradawi (1926–2022) was an Egyptian Islamic scholar based in Doha, Qatar, and chairman of the International Union of Muslim Scholars.¹³³ Qaradawi served as the unofficial chief ideologue of the Muslim Brotherhood.

Qaradawi's death ended a long and influential career, during which he called for the murder of Americans, homosexuals, and Jews.

Qaradawi served as the chairman of numerous Islamic organizations and operated on a variety of media platforms, including a televised broadcast on *Al Jazeera*, which reached approximately sixty million viewers.¹³⁴

He was a co-founder of the popular Islamic website IslamOnline.net, which features a large number of his fatwas,¹³⁵ many of which are included in the Muslim Brotherhood's educational curriculum.¹³⁶

In the United Kingdom, Qaradawi was a trustee of The Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies and the President of the Dublin-based European Council for Fatwa and Research.¹³⁷

Through his speeches and writings, Qaradawi demonstrated consistent support for terrorist groups which seek to undermine a peaceful resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

In a fatwa on January 24, 2011, Qaradawi expressed his desire to see a "conquered" Jerusalem, in which he negated the Jewish attachment to Jerusalem, and stated that it is the duty of Muslims to "defend" Jerusalem with "their lives, their money and all they possess, or else they will be subject to Allah's punishment."¹³⁸

¹³³ "Qatar-based cleric calls for Egypt vote boycott," *AFP* (2014), <https://web.archive.org/web/20140616031315/https://uk.news.yahoo.com/qatar-based-cleric-calls-egypt-vote-boycott-192234858.html>.

¹³⁴ Alexander Smolczyk, "The Voice of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," *Spiegel International* (2011), <https://www.spiegel.de/international/world/islam-s-spiritual-dear-abby-the-voice-of-egypt-s-muslim-brotherhood-a-745526.html>.

¹³⁵ "Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, an Influential Islamic Scholar of the Present Age," *Islam Online*, accessed November 14, 2023, <https://islamonline.net/en/yusuf-al-qaradawi-an-influential-islamic-scholar-of-the-present-age/>.

¹³⁶ "Sheik Yusuf al-Qaradawi: Theologian of Terror," *ADL* (2013), <https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/anti-semitism/arab-world/Sheik-Yusuf-al-Qaradawi-2013-5-3-v1.pdf>.

¹³⁷ Owen Bowcott and Faisal al Yafai, "Scholar with a streetwise touch defies expectations and stereotypes," (2004), <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2004/jul/09/religion.immigrationpolicy>.

¹³⁸ "Sheik Yusuf al-Qaradawi: Theologian of Terror," *ADL* (2013), <https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/anti-semitism/arab-world/Sheik-Yusuf-al-Qaradawi-2013-5-3-v1.pdf>.

Qaradawi's goal was to change the Israeli-Palestinian conflict into a religious discussion, and to make Jerusalem the quandary of every Muslim. His vision was for every Muslim to believe that their greatest concern was Palestine.¹³⁹

A selection of Qaradawi's beliefs and statements are as follows:

- "I will shoot Allah's enemies, the Jews, and they will throw a bomb at me, and thus I will seal my life with martyrdom."¹⁴⁰
- Qaradawi lashed out at Jews, even calling on God to "kill them, down to the very last one."¹⁴¹
- Qaradawi declined to participate in the eighth annual conference organized by the Doha International Center for Interfaith Dialogue because of the participation of two Jewish people. In a statement released by Qaradawi's office, he reportedly said, "how can we conduct a dialogue in a time when they seize lands, shed blood, burn farms and demolish houses? Palestine's conundrum has to be resolved first before we sit together at the same table."¹⁴²
- In 2013, Qaradawi repeated his call to boycott the tenth annual Doha interfaith conference, held in Qatar, for including Jews. He addressed the issue during his April 26 Friday sermon at the Omar Bin al-Khattab Mosque in Doha, stating, "no way I will put my hand in their hands." He also spoke of Jewish people, saying, "their hands are soiled with blood. Their hands are the hands of killing, the hands of tyranny and the hands of injustice. I cannot contaminate my hands by putting it in their hands."¹⁴³
- Qaradawi previously declared that the "abduction and killing of Americans in Iraq is a [religious] obligation"¹⁴⁴ and defended suicide bombings as "heroic operations of martyrdom."¹⁴⁵ Qaradawi has also called for Muslims around the world to become foreign fighters in Syria and supported "jihad until death" against Israel.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁹ Yusuf al-Qaradawi, *Jerusalem: The Concern of Every Muslim* (Sacramento: Scribe Digital, 2012).

¹⁴⁰ During a sermon that aired on the Arabic satellite channel Al-Jazeera TV on January 28, 2009.

¹⁴¹ During a sermon that aired on the Arabic satellite channel Al-Jazeera TV on January 9, 2009.

¹⁴² "Sheik Yusuf al-Qaradawi: Theologian of Terror," *ADL* (2013), <https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/anti-semitism/arab-world/Sheik-Yusuf-al-Qaradawi-2013-5-3-v1.pdf>.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ The Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), "Reactions to Sheikh Al-Qaradhawi's Fatwa Calling for the Abduction and Killing of American Civilians in Iraq," *Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Center for Special Studies (C.S.S)* (2004), https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/Data/pdf/PDF_simuchin_282_2.pdf.

¹⁴⁵ Michael Slackman, "Islamic Debate Surrounds Mideast Suicide Bombers," *Los Angeles Times* (2001), <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2001-may-27-mn-3226-story.html>.

¹⁴⁶ Mark Gardner and Dave Rich, "The Thought of Qaradawi," *Democratiya* 13 (2008), https://www.dissentmagazine.org/wp-content/files_mf/1390340895d13GardnerRich.pdf.

- Chief of Hamas’s political bureau, Ismail Haniyeh, joined Qaradawi’s International Union of Muslim Scholars in 2012 in a bid to raise Hamas’s international profile.¹⁴⁷ Qaradawi met with Haniyeh during a 2013 visit to the Gaza Strip. Qaradawi declared his support for Hamas and the elimination of Israel.¹⁴⁸
- Qaradawi advocated for suicide bombings against Jews. Furthermore, in 2004, he gave an interview to the *BBC* justifying Palestinian terror and the killings of Israeli women and children, saying,¹⁴⁹

*“Israeli women are not like women in our society because Israeli women are militarized. Secondly, I consider this type of martyrdom operation as indication of justice of Allah almighty. Allah is just. Through his infinite wisdom he has given the weak what the strong do not possess and that is the ability to turn their bodies into bombs like the Palestinians do.”*¹⁵⁰
- Qaradawi justified the Holocaust as “divine punishment.”¹⁵¹ “Throughout history, Allah has imposed upon the [Jews] people who would punish them for their corruption. The last punishment was carried out by Hitler. By means of all the things he did to them—even though they exaggerated this issue—he managed to put them in their place. This was divine punishment for them. Allah willing, the next time will be at the hand of the believers.”¹⁵²
- He regularly denied Israel’s right to exist, claiming that the land on which Israel is located never belonged to the Jews. “Palestine is for the Arab Islamic nation” and is a “cause for all Muslims and it is a religious and moral duty to defend it.”¹⁵³
- He argued that every Jewish person was a hidden Zionist and that, because Israel receives support from Jews worldwide, one should boycott

¹⁴⁷ “International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS),” *Counter Extremism Project*, accessed November 14, 2023, <https://www.counterextremism.com/threat/international-union-muslim-scholars-iums>.

¹⁴⁸ Abeer Ayyoub, “Visit by Egyptian Cleric to Gaza Divides Palestinian Leaders,” *AL-Monitor* (2013), <https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2013/05/qaradawi-hamas-gaza.html>.

¹⁴⁹ “Al-Qaradawi full transcript,” *BBC News* (2004), <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/3875119.stm>.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ Georgia Gilholy, “Muslim group mourns cleric who said Holocaust ‘put Jews in their place,’” *The Jewish Chronicle* (2022), <https://www.thejc.com/news/news/muslim-group-mourns-cleric-who-said-holocaust-put-jews-in-their-place-3TAb9LAgKD4iWf2Z8Zd1wZ>.

¹⁵² “Sheik Yousuf Al-Qaradhawi: Allah Imposed Hitler upon the Jews to Punish Them - "Allah Willing, the Next Time Will Be at the Hand of the Believers," *Memri TV* (2009), <https://www.memri.org/tv/sheik-yousuf-al-qaradhawi-allah-imposed-hitler-upon-jews-punish-them-allah-willing-next-time-will>.

¹⁵³ “Qaradawi: Palestine is a cause for all Muslims,” *Middle East Monitor* (2018), <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20180516-qaradawi-palestine-is-a-cause-for-all-muslims/>.

Jewish businesses and American goods because America supports Israel, and without American support, Israel would not exist.¹⁵⁴

- Qaradawi often repeated his “teaching” that “the last punishment [upon the Jews was] carried out by Hitler... the next time will be at the hand of the believers.”

Qaradawi was banned from entry into the United States,¹⁵⁵ France,¹⁵⁶ the United Kingdom,¹⁵⁷ the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Tunisia (among other nations), but gained refuge in Qatar.¹⁵⁸

The United States has sanctioned the charity that he chaired, the Union of Good, as a foreign terrorist organization.¹⁵⁹

“People who want to understand the ideology of Hamas need to understand Al-Qaradawi.” – Dr. Nesia Shemer of Bar-Ilan University’s Department of Middle Eastern Studies.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁴ “Qaradawi on Muslims and Jews,” *CST Blog* (2011), <https://cst.org.uk/news/blog/2011/02/23/qaradawi-on-muslims-and-jews>.

¹⁵⁵ “Yusuf al-Qaradawi,” *Counter Extremist Project*, accessed November 14, 2023, <https://www.counterextremism.com/extremists/yusuf-al-qaradawi>.

¹⁵⁶ “The ‘global mufti’ Sarkozy barred from entering France,” *France 24* (2012), <https://www.france24.com/en/20120328-sarkozy-bars-global-mufti-entering-france-sheikh-yusuf-qaradawi-toulouse-shooting>.

¹⁵⁷ “Muslim cleric not allowed into UK,” *BBC News* (2008), <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/7232398.stm>.

¹⁵⁸ “Yusuf al-Qaradawi,” *Counter Extremist Project*.

¹⁵⁹ “Yusuf al-Qaradawi’s Ties to Extremists,” *Counter Extremist Project*, accessed November 14, 2023, https://www.counterextremism.com/themes/custom/cep/templates/reports/yusuf_al_qaradawi/files/Yusuf_al-Qaradawi_Ties_to_Extremists_092822.pdf.

¹⁶⁰ Maayan Hoffman, “Could the death of Yusuf Al-Qaradawi temper Hamas?,” *All Israel News* (2023), <https://allisrael.com/could-the-death-of-yusuf-al-qaradawi-temper-hamas>.

Conclusion

The state of Qatar is using its resources to support and provide safe haven for the Muslim Brotherhood and their ideologues.¹⁶¹ This includes Hamas and other organizations that are proscribed as terrorist entities in the United States and other Western countries.¹⁶² Furthermore, Islamist ideology influences the highest levels of institutions within Qatar.¹⁶³ In recent years and months, ISIS and Hamas have demonstrated the catastrophic consequences of this ideology.

This report demonstrates that the MB and their offshoots, including Hamas, are the antithesis of the values which Western countries have ceaselessly fought to uphold (including, in recent history, in World War II).

Furthermore, as ISGAP's recent report "[The Corruption of the American Mind](#)" uncovered,¹⁶⁴ an increase in money from countries, including Qatar, directly correlates to an expansion of anti-democratic values and antisemitic sentiments.

Crucially, it now appears necessary to synthesize the relationship between Qatar and the Islamist ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood, in the same way that many equate China and the Chinese Communist party.¹⁶⁵

The events of October 7, 2023 only bolster this realization. Indeed, senior leaders of Hamas continue (at the time writing) to receive sanctuary in Qatar.¹⁶⁶

There appears to be sufficient evidence for the United States and its allies to reassess their relationship with Qatar and hold the state accountable for its actions. This seems to be imperative to ensure that we retain control of our values, national security, and the potential for future peace in the Middle East.

¹⁶¹ "Qatar: Extremism and Terrorism," *Counter Extremism Project*, accessed November 14, 2023, <https://www.counterextremism.com/countries/qatar-extremism-and-terrorism>.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Here we are talking about Islamism the political ideology, and not Islam.

¹⁶⁴ Charles Asher Small, et al., "The Corruption of the American Mind," ISGAP (2023), https://isgap.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/The-Corruption-of-the-American-Mind_DKFormat2.pdf.

¹⁶⁵ "The Chinese Communist Party: Threatening Global Peace and Stability," *U.S. Department of State*, accessed November 14, 2023, <https://2017-2021.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/FINAL20one-pager20Threatening20Global20Peace20Security-1.pdf>.

¹⁶⁶ Marc Daou, "Most wanted: The Hamas leaders on Israel's radar," *France 24* (2023), <https://www.france24.com/en/middle-east/20231103-most-wanted-the-hamas-leaders-on-israel-s-radar>.