

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN EUROPE



PATRIOTS
FOR EUROPE FOUNDATION

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**IN THE FACE OF THE THREAT,
RESPOND WITHOUT WEAKNESS**

Preface

A number of books on the Muslim Brotherhood have been published in recent years. What was lacking, however, was a complete and serious study of the genealogy of the phenomenon in Europe, and its networks on our continent. This gap has now been filled, and not before time. How indeed can you effectively combat an organisation that has declared war on Europe, its nations and its civilisation, when you don't know its aims or its methods?

Far from being a recent phenomenon, the penetration of the Muslim Brotherhood into Europe, and with it the Islamism of which it is the main vector, has its roots in the Second World War and the immediate post-war period. Its development kept pace with immigration from Muslim countries. It is the latter that is gradually giving it the 'critical mass' it needs to pursue its strategy of conquering our continent. From a few hundred thousand around 1960, by 2010 there were 20 million Muslims living in Europe, and by 2016 there were 26 million¹. If the 30 million mark has not already been passed, it will be soon.

This meteoric rise naturally goes hand in hand with the growth in the number of mosques. In France, the Muslim

Brotherhood officially controls around 5% of mosques. But in reality, their influence can be found almost everywhere, including the bookshop opposite the Grande Mosquée de Paris, where its students come to buy texts for their studies.

While Qatar has long played a major role in funding the Muslim Brotherhood, it is now Erdogan's Turkey that hosts the organisation. Ankara is the source of the orders, the men and the projects designed to extend the power of the Brotherhood over Muslim communities, but also to develop their influence right into the heart of the European states by means of dual nationality and involvement in political parties and trade unions.

In the face of the Islamist threat, the response of European nations must be unified, coordinated and strong. Our democracies must show no weakness in the face of fanatics who think and profess that Europe is a *Dar al-Harb*², a land to be conquered.

Nicolas Bay

French Member of the European Parliament

¹ Pew Research Center estimates from November 2017.

² According to the canonical division of the world in Islam into

Dar al-Islam, "the domain of submission to Allah", and Dar al-Harb, "the domain of war".

GENERAL PRESENTATION OF THE BROTHERHOOD

The foundations

The Muslim Brotherhood has been in the news a great deal in recent years, alongside the Arab 'Springs' that have enabled its national political representatives in Egypt and Tunisia to rise to the highest political positions, while consolidating its positions in Morocco, Libya and, of course, Turkey, where the organisation is sponsored by the autocrat Tayyip Erdogan.

Time seems to have played a decidedly favourable role for the Islamist brotherhood since 1928, when it was founded in Egypt by the schoolteacher Hassan Al-Banna, who himself had been trained in the most orthodox Islam by a father who had graduated from the Islamic university of Al-Azhar and was the imam of his village. At the age of 14, having just been trained as a teacher, he became imam of the school where he worked and demanded that the school's timetable be adapted to suit prayer times. He founded the Brotherhood when he was just 21, and began preaching in the streets and cafés.

The organisation's historical setbacks show that, while it may suffer from tough bans for the time being, its ideas continue to percolate through against all odds, with the help of a very difficult to counter editorial activism, vaunting as it does the reconciliation of the legal schools of Sunni and Sufism. Al Banna was introduced at a very young age to this movement, which astonishingly, is presented as peaceful in the West ¹.

The founder set out his political and religious programme in a fifty-point manifesto published in 1936, giving Islam a truly totalitarian aspect, with the aim of infiltrating all strata of society, from the army to ministries and schools. These points include a ban on dancing, strict supervision of theatrical productions, a ban on gambling, the merging of elementary schools with mosques, the fight against foreign influences, etc. Ministries must be Islamised and the army must approach its missions in the light of the Islamic jihad. What's more, the army should be recruiting Muslim law graduates from Al Azhar! More generally, all

laws must be subjected to the scrutiny of Islamic jurisprudence, and citizens must be subject to religious supervision when it comes to their choices in clothing, spirituality and even holidays. To this end, a religious police force should be set up, in accordance with point 19 of the social and educational sections:

"Due consideration for the claims of the moral censorship [setting up of a morality police/hisba] and punishment of all who are proved to have infringed any Islamic doctrine or attacked it, such as breaking the fast of Ramadan, wilful neglect of prayers, Insulting the faith, and similar such matters."

In his speech to the Student Congress of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1938, Hassan al-Banna defined the totalitarian nature of his conception of Islam. Reading this extract will prove very significant:

"Global Islam

Brothers, from this rostrum, I affirm openly, clearly and forcefully that Islam has a meaning other than that of the simplification and reduction sought by the opponents and enemies of the faithful. Islam is creed, rite, homeland and ethnic group, greatness and strength, essence and matter, culture and legislation. It is the duty of the Muslim, by virtue of his Islam, to take an interest in all the affairs of his nation, for "he who does not concern himself with the affairs of the Muslims is not one of them."

Al-Banna's fascination with Nazism can be seen in the torch-lit street parades organised by the "Khaki Shirts", his youth organisation founded in 1940, which attacked the property of Jews, who were more numerous in Egypt at the time than they are today. During the "Black Saturday" riots in Cairo in January 1952, the property and possessions of Jews and Copts, assimilated with the West,

were attacked, with Coptic businesses being marked the day before. The Brotherhood's venom had radicalised the Muslim rioters during this little-known episode in Egypt's history.

In Hassan al-Banna's *Letter to Young People*, written in 1936, the founder took a very offensive stance.

It is important to bear in mind the historical context of colonisation: although the British withdrew in 1922, their influence over the first King Fouad I remained strong, and the 1936 Treaty of London signed by his son Farouk, who succeeded him that year, preserved the British monopoly on the Suez Canal. The year 1936 also saw Italy complete its invasion of Ethiopia, and marked the start of the Great Arab Revolt in Palestine against the British Mandate. Sudan, another Islamic land, was also still under British control. Hassan al-Banna tried to encourage young people to take action against the occupiers, particularly in the Palestinian region, against the British and the Jews, whether indigenous or immigrants. But his sights were set even higher: the reconquest of Andalusia, the Balkans, Sicily and even the Italian coast were all objects of his desire to restore a fantasised supranational caliphate:

"Our slogan will always be:

*Allah is our goal,
Allah's messenger is our guide,
The Koran is our constitution,
The fight is our path,
Death on Allah's path is our ultimate wish.*

Oh, young people!

Allah has certainly strengthened you through your attachment to Him, your faith in Him and the Islamic education you have received. He has assigned to you the highest rank in this world, the place of masters of the Universe, or the gracious place enjoyed by the teacher among his pupils:

You are the best community ever raised for humanity—you encourage good, forbid evil, and believe in Allah. (Sura The Family of Imran, verse 110)

And so We have made you believers an upright community so that you may be witnesses over humanity and that the Messenger may be a witness over you (Sura The Cow, verse 143).

The first thing Allah calls you to do is to have confidence

in yourselves, to measure the status (with which He has graced you), to be convinced of your place as masters of this world below [...]".

Al Banna then listed a series of objectives to be achieved, including the restoration of the Muslim Empire in the East and, more worryingly for the Europeans, the European lands conquered in the past:

"Then, we want the flag of Islam to fly high in the wind once again in all the regions that have been fortunate enough to welcome Islam for some time, and where the voice of the muezzin has resounded with takbirs [a war cry meaning "Allah is the greatest"] and tahlils [a cry of profession of faith]. Then misfortune saw to it that the lights of Islam withdrew from these lands, which reverted to unbelief. So Andalusia, Sicily, the Balkans, the Italian coast and the Mediterranean islands are all Muslim Mediterranean colonies, and they must return to Islam. The Mediterranean and the Red Sea must also become Muslim seas again, as they were in the past, even though Mussolini claimed the right to rebuild the Roman Empire. The so-called Empire of yesteryear was built on a foundation of greed and the desires of the passions. It is therefore our right to rebuild the Islamic Empire, which was established through justice and equality, and which spread the light of guidance among people.

We want, after this and with this, to expose our Islamic message to the whole world, to reach all the people, to spread to all the horizons of the earth, and to subdue all tyrants "until there is no more persecution, and religion is for Allah..." (hadith). On that Day, the believers will rejoice in divine help. He helps whom He wills, and He is the Mighty and Merciful."

In an interview book published in 2002, *L'islam en question* [Islam in question] (ed. Sindbab), Tariq Ramadan unabashedly endorsed his grandfather's thinking:

"I have studied Hassan al-Banna's thought in depth and I deny nothing of my lineage. His relationship with God, his spirituality, his mysticism, his personality and his critical thinking on law, politics, society and pluralism remain references for me, both in my heart and mind. [...] His commitment also continues to command my respect and admiration".²

The Muslim Brotherhood's use of violence

Jihad, understood as the war effort for armed combat in classical Islam, is the subject of a specific study by the founder, theorising its offensive aspect, and its

importance indicated by its positioning as the fourth pillar out of ten of allegiance to the Muslim Brotherhood. Entitled *L'Epître du Jihâd (The Epistle of Jihad)*, this

text was translated into French by a repentant member of the Islamist Brotherhood, Mohamed Louizi, in his indispensable book on the subject, *Pourquoi j'ai quitté les Frères Musulmans (Why I left the Muslim Brotherhood)* ed. Michalon, 2016. This text is based on the Koran, the hadiths³ and Muslim jurists from the four schools of Sunni, to demonstrate that war jihad is obligatory once a year, that those who do not take part in it are liable to punishment, and that it is not necessary to be attacked to fight the unbelievers.

Quoting an author of the Hanafi Sunni school, on the subject of "peaceful unbelievers", Al Banna writes: "We are collectively ordered to be the first to engage in combat against them after the transmission of our message even when they do not attack us". Conversion or death. Al-Banna then quoted the founder of the Maliki school to show that the Sunni schools had converged on the issue: "Jihad in the cause of Allah, every year, so that His word may be the highest, is a collective obligation" As for the jurist Al-Nawawi, one of the most eminent of the Shafi'i school, he is also called upon to justify the doctrine of the Muslim Brotherhood: "If the unbelievers are in their country and not attacking Muslims, jihad in this case has the status of a collective ordinance. Indeed, if some Muslims take it upon themselves to wage jihad against these unbelievers in their land, that is enough"

Mohamed Louizi⁴ confided that this text had been circulating discreetly among the executives of the **Union des Organisations Islamiques de France (UOIF)**, of which he was a member:

"Since its creation in 1983, The Epistle of Jihad, among other epistles, has been circulating secretly in Arabic in

the closed indoctrination circles of the UOIF. Some of its content is popularised by its ideological preachers in the Islamist movement, especially during Friday lectures and prayers, in order to keep the flame burning and mobilise 'reservist' Muslims for the jihad. The preachers I have known and listened to include Ahmed Miktar, the current Chair of the Imams of France (Imam of Villeneuve d'Ascq), Makhlouf Mamèche, the co-founder of the Averroès secondary school, and Mohamed Karrat, Rector of the Islamic centre in Villeneuve d'Ascq, mathematics teacher at the Averroès secondary school and trainer in the ideology of Hassan Al Banna, at the Al-Quds⁵ Institute".

Hani Ramadan, Tariq's brother, does not teach anything different from his grandfather in his sermons published in France and sold at the Grande Mosquée de Créteil, which is however presented as an exemplary mosque:

"The Muslim world is in turmoil. This force can and must be directed towards an Islamic state, a state that applies the Koran and the Sunna. [...] Muslims will never regain their lost happiness unless they return to jihad and seek to establish an Islamic State⁶"

It is astonishing that such an unabashedly violent ideology has not led to the banning of the organisation in Europe, as is the case in Russia, Egypt and the United Arab Emirates. Isn't the Brothers' logo with two crossed swords surrounded by the phrase from the Koran: "And prepare [against them whatever you are able of power and of steeds of war by which you may terrify the enemy of Allah and your enemy...] ⁷"

Targeted assassinations by the Brotherhood's Secret Organisation

Following the rejection of the movement's request to stand in the 1944 parliamentary elections, a series of targeted attacks was launched by the *Tanzim al-Serri*, the movement's "Secret Organisation". Prime Minister Ahmed Maher was assassinated in the middle of a parliamentary sitting in February 1945 by a member of the Brotherhood's Secret Organisation. Then, in January 1946, it was the turn of the Egyptian Finance Minister, Amin Osman, guilty of modernising Egypt, according to the Brotherhood. Judge Ahmed El-Khezendar, who had sentenced young Brothers to life imprisonment for attacks on Cairo's Jewish quarter and on foreigners' property, was shot nine times in November 1947 in front of his wife and children. His two killers, captured by local residents, had acted on the orders of Abdel Rahman El-Sendari, head of the Secret Organisation.

When Amin Osman was murdered, El-Banna did not hesitate to express his indignation, saying that the perpetrators "were not Brothers and were not Muslims"... even though they were members of the Brotherhood's Secret Organisation. Dissimulation is a propaganda tool that has been and continues to be widely used by the Brotherhood. At the time, Anwar Sadat was very involved in the Brotherhood, as well as being a member of the Free Officers. A secret alliance was formed between the two organisations, with the same objective: to overthrow Prime Minister El Nokrashy, who set about driving out the armed Brotherhood militias. It led to no good, and he was assassinated on 28 December 1948.

In 1980, in Bethesda, Maryland, USA, David Theodore Belfield, a close friend of Saïd Ramadan⁸ who converted to Islam under the name Salahuddin, assassinated the Iranian opponent Ali Akbar Tabatabai, Chair of the Iran Freedom Foundation, an opposition organisation to the young Islamic Republic which had been proclaimed on 12 February 1979. Perfectly aware of the crime, Saïd Ramadan (1926-1995), the Brotherhood's ambassador to Europe, took him in during his flight to Geneva and prepared his escape to Iran. "If he hadn't contacted a certain person by phone, I wouldn't be here today", confided the terrorist, for whom "no other person, not even my biological parents, knows me as well as he does⁹".

It has to be said that the Brotherhood was for a long time a model for Iranian revolutionaries, before the Islamic Republic in turn became a model for the former. Today,

Palestinian Hamas is financed by Iran. Counted among the main translators into Farsi of Sayyid Qutb's¹⁰ work is even Iran's current Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. Khomeini himself never hid his fascination for the texts of Al-Banna and Qutb.

Another advocate of the use of terrorism was Muhammad Al Ghazali (1917-1996), one of the principal thinkers of the Muslim Brotherhood in the 20th century. He approved the assassination of the Egyptian reformist thinker Farag Foda in 1992. The latter had in particular called for the secularisation of society and an end to discrimination against the Coptic minority. The sheikh, endowed with his status as a professor at the Islamic University of Al-Azhar, commented: "*If the government has trouble condemning apostates, anyone can do it*". He told the court hearing Farag Foda that apostates were those who refused to apply Sharia law, and that they deserved to be sentenced to death. He authored 94 books, and was a preacher in Cairo's largest mosques, often quoted as a reference by Tariq Ramadan in his lectures in the West. He died at the age of 78 in 1996. The more serious issue is that his books have been translated into French and distributed in Muslim Brotherhood mosques in France (copies can be found in the Grand Mosques of Reims and Créteil), and even in the FNAC bookstore, a company largely bailed out by the State after the Covid-19 crisis. Al-Ghazali justified armed jihad against those who do not observe the rules of the Sharia, as can be read in one of his landmark works found at the FNAC in Ternes in Paris as of October 2015, *L'Éthique du musulman (The ethics of the Muslim)* (published by Al Qalam, 2012):

"Some people mobilised for compulsory jihad advance tentatively [...] forsaking jihad is a door wide open to infidelity" (page 45)

In the short conclusion to this imposing treatise on Muslim law, Al-Ghazali sums up:

"The jihad, in terms of recommending good and evil, and the jihad with the different means to make the Word of God triumph, come under the ethics that I have analysed when speaking of the internal and external politics of Islam" (page 315).

Jihad is therefore understood as a coercive action aimed not simply at defending but at "ensuring the triumph" of Islam's political programme.

Another key thinker in the Islamist Brotherhood was Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966), who was appointed head of the **Propaganda Section** (*dawa'*) of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1951, a member of the **Guidance Bureau** (*irshâd*) and then a member of the **Brotherhood's Executive Committee** reporting to the then Supreme Guide (Al-Hudaybi, Guide from 1951 to 1973). From 1954 he edited *The Muslim Brotherhood Review*, the Brotherhood's official weekly, for ten years, interspersed with periods when publication was banned by Nasser's regime.

In 1953, he represented the Brotherhood at the General Islamic Congress in Jerusalem alongside Saïd Ramadan. His works are available in the Paris' Muslim bookshops, which line rue Jean- Pierre Timbaud, and works of apologetics are distributed in the Brotherhood's major mosques, such as in Bussy-Saint-Georges in Seine-et-Marne ¹¹. This fanatic of religious violence was hanged by Nasser in 1966, establishing his undying status as a martyr (*shahid*) and making him a myth among Islamists.

Le Monde, in its edition of 21 August 2013 ¹², pointed out that the new Supreme Guide of the MB, Mahmoud Ezzat, appointed following the imprisonment of Mohamed Badie, is a fervent devotee of Qutb's thought. According to the daily, Ezzat "is considered within the Brotherhood as the hawk of the Qutbist wing, the guardian of Sayyid Qutb's radical thinking. A movement that advocates armed struggle and terrorism and refuses any participation in political life ¹³."

This explains why Egypt imprisoned Ezzat in August 2020, after he had been on the run for seven years. He is accused of having planned the assassination of military personnel and the former Attorney General, Hicham Barakat, in 2015.

The landmark work in Qutb's thinking - sanctifying ultra-violence in the name of Allah - is entitled *Fî zilâl al-qur'ân (In the shadow of the Koran)* translated into French in 1988. The following excerpts are essential to understanding the inner workings of the Muslim Brotherhood:

"If we understand the nature of religion, we also understand the need for Islamic activism in the form of armed warfare in addition to struggle by preaching. We also understand that it is not a question of defensive activism in the narrow sense of the current term "defensive war", as some claim under the influence of present circumstances and out of an apologetic concern for Orientalists in response to their underhand attacks on the subject of jihad. No, it is a question of a principle of expansionist activism aimed at liberating humanity. [...]"

So yes, "No compulsion in religion". But as long as

these influences and material obstacles were there, it was necessary to start by clearing the ground by force, in order to then address the hearts and minds freed from these chains. Jihad is essential to preaching [...].

The ultimate aim of jihad is not to protect territory. Rather, it is the means of establishing the kingdom of God within the territory and then, from that base, moving out into the whole world, the whole human race. [...] Islam is such that it cannot exist without advancing, in order to save man from slavery to others than Allah. It cannot stop at this or that geographical borders [...]. The enemy camps may very well choose to remain without attacking Islam [...] but Islam cannot be in a real truce with them until they have declared their capitulation by paying capitation to guarantee free (Islamic) preaching without any material hindrance. ¹⁴"

The mere fact that a mosque is spreading the ideas of this warmonger, who has been a major inspiration for the Islamic State, should trigger the automatic administrative closure of the mosque. But there still needs to be the political will. Can we sincerely claim to be fighting "Islamic separatism" without banning the mosques that are spreading this terrorist thinking?

The objective of world domination is still current.

On the Arabic version of the Brotherhood's official website, which is far less politically correct than Ikwaweb, the English version, there are two texts entitled:

*The Objectives of the Muslim Brotherhood*¹⁵ and *The Muslim Measures of the Brotherhood*¹⁶ which set out the doctrine of jihad based on the writings of the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hassan al-Banna. Jihad, it says, is Islam's most important tool for progressive conquest, starting with the Muslim countries that are to be integrated into a restored caliphate on three continents, with a view to conquering the West and finally establishing a global Islamic state. The Brotherhood's Arabic website states:

"We want a Muslim individual, a Muslim home, a Muslim people, a Muslim government and a state that will guide Islamic countries, and that in the bosom of the Muslim diaspora and the lands stolen from Islam, jihad and the call [da'wa] of Allah be conducted.

[Then the] world will be happy to accept the precepts of Islam [...] The problem of conquering the world will not end until the flag of Islam and jihad flies in the sky.

[...] The objective is to establish an Islamic State of the united Islamic countries, a Nation under a single leadership whose mission will be to strengthen adherence to the law of Allah [...] and the strengthening of the Islamic presence in the global arena [...] . The aim is to create a global Islamic state. And if prayer is a pillar of faith, then Jihad is its pinnacle [...] and death in the way of Allah is the pinnacle of our aspiration.

[...] the Prophet Muhammad as leader and ruler, and jihad as the way".

The doctrine of the founder Hassan Al-Banna, which did not changed one iota in the mouth of Muhammed Mahdi Akef, ex-Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood (2004-2010). In an interview with Walid al-Kubaisi for a Norwegian documentary, Akef calmly stated:

"The aim of the Muslim Brotherhood is to create a global Islamic state. We Muslims are immigrating everywhere and there is still a long way to go before we take control of Europe"¹⁷ Back in 2004, this Supreme Guide of the Brotherhood (*murshid*) declared his "conviction that Islam will invade Europe and the United

*States, because Islam has a logic and a mission"*¹⁸.

Interviewed on 17 September 2007 by the Egyptian newspaper *Al-Karama*, Muhammad Mahdi Akef (then Supreme Guide) stated that the slogan of the organisation's election campaign would be: "Sharia is the solution". On 12 April 2007, he stated in a press release that "only Islam, which has been given to mankind by God, is the true expression of democracy."

One of the examples Akef took of America's "corrupt values" was the attempt to stop female circumcision in Africa! In July 2007, he wrote that " [the Americans] are incessantly spending billions of dollars to change the way Muslims live (...). They have even waged war against female circumcision, a common practice in 36 countries since the time of the Pharaohs. "

His predecessor, Supreme Guide Mustafa Mashur (1996-2002), was in favour of re-establishing the tax on Christians in accordance with the Dhimma status laid down in Sharia¹⁹. Mustafa Mashur, who lived in Germany for a long time in order to structure the Brotherhood in Europe, appears in a private video seized in 2001 by the Swiss police where, during a trip to Afghanistan in 1993, he swears " I assure you that, just as the USSR succumbed, America and the West will succumb, with the help of Allah"²⁰.

In July 2012, the Egyptian Safwat Hijazi, one of the Brotherhood's leading intellectuals, who regularly comes to France to preach at UOIF mosques or at its congress, said on television ²¹:

"If you read the literature of the Muslim Brotherhood, this is what can never be lost sight of: the Islamic Caliphate and world domination. Yes, we'll be masters of the world one of these days."

Hijazi was banned from France when he was announced at the UOIF congress in April 2012, in particular because of his anti-Semitic ²² statements. The media-friendly Imam of Ivry-sur-Seine, Mohamed Bajrafil, who is highly regarded by the media for his apparent moderation, reacted at the time by expressing surprise that he had been banned along with five other radical preachers, and revealed that he had often met him in France ²³.

This global expansion project is organised by the international organisation of the Muslim Brotherhood, **al-tanzim al-duwali**, which has no official existence but oversees Western offshoots such as the UOIF in France and the UCOII in Italy.

The fate of Christians according to the Muslim Brotherhood

Palestinian Hamas did not wait for the position of the guide Mustafa Mashur to levy a special tax on Christians living in Palestine

Christy, a Christian refugee from Bethlehem in London, told a conference ²⁴ in 2014 about the fate of her uncle, also living in the town where Jesus Christ was born, who was ordered to pay the *jizya*²⁵ When he decided to stop paying, he was imprisoned and then killed, which was ignored by the media. "*Palestinians killing other Palestinians, what a jungle!*" Christy lamented to a stunned audience. The number of Christians in Bethlehem fell from 85% forty years ago to 7% after the second intifada (2000-2002). Ramallah, 90% Christian in the twentieth century, is now only 5% Christian.

A 2013 article by Palestinian journalist Khaled Abou Toameh provided the following details of a disturbing situation hidden from the mainstream media: "*Of the 600 Christians from the Gaza Strip who arrived in Judea-Samaria in the last two weeks to celebrate Christmas, dozens have asked to move to Israel because they no longer feel comfortable living under Palestinian Authority and Hamas*" ²⁶.

The Guidance Bureau of the Muslim Brotherhood, chaired in the '80s by Sheikh Mohamed Abdallah Al-Khatib, specified the fate to be reserved for churches in "Islamic lands", an expression that often covers the reality of Christian lands that have been conquered.

In the December 1980 issue 56 of the *Al Dawa* magazine published by the Brotherhood, Abdallah Al-Khatib was very concise:

"The religious rule concerning the building of churches in Islamic lands covers three cases

1- The case of lands that did not exist before the arrival of Muslims, such as the districts of Al-Maadi and towns like Helwan (a suburb of Cairo): under no circumstances should there be a church or convent.

2- In the case of lands conquered by Muslims by force, such as Alexandria or Constantinople, there is no need to build a church. Some ulemas argued that it was even necessary to destroy those that existed, on the pretext that they had become the property of Muslims.

3- The case of lands peacefully occupied in agreement with their populations. The chosen rule is to leave churches and convents as they are, but not to authorise their restoration, or to rebuild those that have been demolished."

The only possible option for reconstruction in the third case would be for the number of Copts (he takes the case of Egypt) to be greater than the number of Muslims, and even then, the latter would have to give their permission! The pithy conclusion of the head of the Brotherhood is: "*It is therefore clear that there must be no churches in Islamic lands*".

Commenting on this text, the Egyptian Muslim MP Abdelrahim Ali choked up: "*What building can withstand the effects of time without being damaged? Isn't the exact translation of their thinking the proscription of any non-Muslim presence?*" ²⁷" asks Ali, who is also President of the Paris-based Centre for Middle East Studies (CEMO).

Turkey's lifeline

Following the flight of many of the Brotherhood's leaders to Turkey, this country, which is a friend of the Brotherhood, has been imaginative in taking advantage of its potential attractiveness to strengthen its claims in the former area of influence of the Ottoman Empire, and more broadly among Muslims in the West who see the neo-Sultan Erdogan as a protective father figure.

In April 2019, the Egyptian media outlet *Al-Bawwaba* revealed a real merger, the absorption of whole sections of the Brotherhood for the benefit of Turkey. A meeting of the international Muslim Brotherhood organisation with Erdogan was therefore held to agree on a new plan of activities in Europe and the Middle East.

The documents consulted by *Al-Bawwaba* indicate the existence of an agreement between the heads of the international organisation and Turkish officials in the presence of Qatari personalities, providing for the transfer of the assets of the Brotherhood's companies and organisations to the Turkish international investment Agency, which is part of the Justice and Development Party, under the supervision of law firms and lawyers.

Hamas also played an important role in this plan, which

stipulated that the movement's leading cadres - members of the Revolutionary Council and the Trade Union Councils, and businessmen - were to make haste to prepare for the movement's seventeenth annual Congress in Europe, to be held under the title "Palestine Europe Congress" in Copenhagen, Denmark, on 24 April 2019.

Documents from the meeting show that Hamas leaders received €350,000 from Tehran via Hezbollah to cover their travel expenses from various European countries to the Danish capital to attend the Congress.

The meeting discussed with concern reports by European experts on the link between the Brotherhood and violence, as well as the German intelligence report on the group's activity in Europe, and the decision by the Austrian Parliament to ban the Brotherhood's activities following concrete evidence of the group's involvement in supporting violence.

The meeting documents also address the issue of waves of refugees, how the group can exploit them, how to create charities for Muslim communities and how to welcome students and immigrants.

Bridges between the Muslim Brotherhood and the Islamic State

The Paris-based Centre for Middle East Studies reports²⁸ that the recent period has seen many elements of the Brotherhood join the ranks of Daesh, carry out operations for its benefit, or at least cooperate with it. The best known is Mahmoud Chafiq, who attacked St Peter's Church in Cairo in September 2016, and was a member of the Brotherhood group before joining Daesh or what is known as "Wilaya Sina". This is also the case of Omru ad-Dib, who appeared with a group in one of the organisation's videos, carrying out terrorist operations against the army and police forces. Similarly, Mohammad Magdi ad-Dalei, who held the post of emir of the "Hisba" in Wilaya Sina and who issued the fatwa authorising the killing of Muslims praying in the ar-Rawda mosque.

However, it was also elements of the Hamas movement with a Brotherist tendency who joined the Wilaya Sina, as revealed by the attack on 7 July 2017 against army checkpoints south of the town of Rafah: two ex-members of the Hamas movement, Moadh al-Qadi and Khalil al-

Hamayideh, were among the attackers. Consequently, the transformation did not take place only at the ideological level, but also in terms of participation in operations. Some of them were killed in clashes with Egyptian army forces, such as Mohammad Hassan Abou Chawich, and Abdel Hilal Qechta, a former member of the Ezzeddine al-Qassam brigades, who was killed in an air raid against Daesh targets in Sinai in December 2016.

In Tunisia, a report by the Tunis-based International Centre for Strategic, Security and Military Studies revealed information in April 2018 about the involvement of the Muslim Brotherhood group in Tunisia in operations to transport fighters to Syria and Iraq for the benefit of Daesh, before becoming involved again in the entry into Tunisia of fighters returning from combat zones, using false passports and illegally, and sometimes through fictitious work contracts in foreign countries.

European structures

The Brothers arrived in Europe at different times depending on the country, with the wave of Syrian militants fleeing Hafez Al Assad's repression in the '80s, as we will see in Spain, or Tunisian militants fleeing Ben Ali's repression in France, like Abdallah Ben Mansour ²⁹. Many of the original core members in France came as students, such as Ahmed Jaballah, who chaired the **UOIF** for a time but is above all the dean of the sharia school known as **IESH** ³⁰. In Germany, investment goes back further, with Saïd Ramadan visiting the Munich mosque in the 1960s, and the presence at the same time of the Syrian Ghaleb Himmat, who was able to set up the Islamic Community of Germany (**IGD**) in 1973. In Great Britain, the Indo-Pakistani current of the jihadist thinker Abu Ala Mawdudi, closely linked to the Egyptian Brotherhood, founded his Mission as early as 1962, and student societies were already operational under the impetus of the émigré Khurshid Ahmad (born in India in 1932) and the Pakistani Khurram Murad (1932-1996). A leader of the international Brotherhood organisation, Kamal Helbawy, arrived in England in the 1980s to head up the Islamic Institute in Leicester and the **Muslim Welfare House** in Finsbury Park.

The national organisations of the Brotherhood in Europe are overseen at European level by the **Union of Islamic Organisations in Europe (UOIE)**, created in 1989. Its first President, Ahmed al Rawi, acknowledges "*a common understanding*" and "*a close relationship*" with the Egyptian Brotherhood³¹. This federation includes the **UOIF** in France (now **Musulmans de France**), the **UCOII** in Italy, the **MAB** in the UK and the **IGD** in Germany, which we will analyse in the following chapters.

With regard to the supervision of Muslim students in Europe, the **Forum of European Muslim Youth and Student Organisations (FEMYSO)**, set up in 1996, is chaired by Intissar Kherri, daughter of Tunisian Muslim Brotherhood leader Rached Ghannouchi. The vice-chair is Hajar Al-Kado, daughter of Iraqi Muslim Brother Noah al-Kado of the Islamic Cultural Centre, who will be mentioned later. The second vice-chair is Youssef Himmat, the son of Ali Ghaleb Himmat, a pioneer in the establishment of the Brotherhood in Europe, who was a shareholder in the Swiss-based Al-Taqwa bank, managed by senior members of the Islamist Brotherhood. At its inception, **FEMYSO** was co-founded by the Saudi-based **World Assembly of Muslim Youth**, with Ibrahim El-

Zayat wearing the hats of **WAMY's** European representative and **UOIE** leader.

One of the other founders of **FEMYSO** is Farid Abdelkrim, a Muslim Brother born in Nantes in 1967 and who repented in 2015. In 2005, he published a "humorous" book about France, entitled "*Ils sont fous ces musulmans*" ("*These Muslims are crazy*"), the back cover of which reads as follows:

"The year is 2005 AD. All of Gaul is occupied by the Gauls... All of it? No! Villages populated by diehard Muslims continue to resist integration. And life is not easy for Republican garrisons".

It is instructive to note that he presents himself as a past member of the **FEMYSO Board of Elders**, and admits having sworn allegiance to the brotherhood (*baya'*) as we have seen.

Today, **FEMYSO** has 37 member organisations and goes before the **European Parliament**, the **Council of Europe** and the **UN** to be heard on integration issues.

The **Sisters'** women's associations are grouped together at continental level by the **Forum Of Muslim Women (EFOMW)**. In Switzerland, the representative is Nadia Karmous, who runs an Islamic "museum" housing the literature of major Brotherhood authors such as Sayyed Qutb.

The **European Council for Fatwa and Research**. Based in Dublin since 1997 within the Islamic Cultural Centre, it is chaired by Yussuf Al-Qaradawi, an Egyptian who took refuge in Qatar and is confident of a peaceful conquest of Europe through preaching. In January 2013, Al Qaradawi, considered to be the living spiritual leader of the Brotherhood, condemned France's intervention in Mali against the jihadists, reversing the situation: "*Military intervention has dangerous consequences, such as murder, the displacement of populations and famine*". As if the exile of north Malians had not already existed since the capture of Gao and Timbuktu! His premise is the risk of destabilisation does not come from Aqmi, Mujao and Ansareldine, but from the French army. In an interview with the **Al-Salih** newspaper in January 2011, he said:

"I am one of the soldiers of Islam. I am a soldier of Almighty God fighting with knowledge, work and recourse to God. I would like to end my life in martyrdom for the love of God. We have a well-known prayer: 'O Allah, we beseech you to grant us a happy life, death in

martyrdom, to win your judgement, and victory over enemies.' Praise be to God, we are happy with our convictions, and I hope that God will end my life with martyrdom, and that my martyrdom will be at the hands of a non-Muslim''.

At a session of the European Council for Fatwa and Research in Stockholm in July 2003, he logically declared himself in favour of martyrdom operations by Hamas terrorists, "*even if there are civilians among the victims*", he said.

Regarding anti-Semitism and Hitler, here is what Al Qaradawi said on 28 January 2009 on *Al-Jazeera TV*:

"Throughout history, Allah has imposed upon the [Jews] people who would punish them for their corruption. The last punishment was administered by Hitler. With everything he did to them - even though they [the Jews] exaggerated the facts - he managed to put them in their place. It was a divine punishment. Allah willing, the next time it will be by the hand of the Muslims."

In a 2002 collection of its fatwas, with a preface by Tariq Ramadan, the **CEFR** recommends that women should not take the initiative to speak to "strange" men, i.e. men from outside the home.

The 33 members of the **CEFR** are executives of **national Brotherhood organisations**, such as the **UOIF**, often

imams with degrees from Islamic universities. Among the most vocal members was the Moroccan Youssef Ibram, who had to leave the Geneva mosque because of his refusal to condemn stoning. Among the Brotherhood established in France and unfortunately tolerated by the government, several are members of the Council: Ahmed Jaballah (former Chair of the UOIF), Tahar Mahdi, imam of the Grand Mosque of Cergy when it was inaugurated by Manuel Valls in 2012, Larbi Becheri, professor at the Brotherhood's Sharia school, pompously named the **Institut Européen des Sciences Humaines** [European Institute for Human Sciences], and Ahmed Miktar (born in Morocco), imam of the Villeneuve d'Ascq mosque, who openly supports the Brotherhood.

Certain members are closely linked to Qatar, as well as its chair, Ali al-Qaradaghi, who was a regular guest on Al Jazeera, and is a professor at the Doha Sharia faculty, as well as being on the board of directors of several national banks in the Islamist emirate.

The fact that these 33 members of the **CEFR** are under the presidency of Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, who advocates killing apostates from Islam³² as well as homosexuals, and opens up the possibility of beating women³³ should be enough to close their mosques and send them back to their countries of origin. But there has never been any question of this in France or elsewhere in Europe.

Notes

1. Paris, 2015
2. Alain Gresh and Tariq Ramadan, *L'Islam en question*, Sindbad, 2002, pp. 33-34.
3. Muhammad's words and deeds recorded and reported by a chain of transmitters. The second source of Islamic law is the Koran.
4. Mohamed Louizi, who headed the Lille section of the *Étudiants Musulmans de France* (1999-2003), was in this capacity in contact with the leaders of the UOIF.
5. Mohamed Louizi, *Pourquoi j'ai quitté les Frères Musulmans*, éditions Michalon, 2015, Page 233
6. Hani Ramadan, *Sermons du vendredi rappels et exhortations*, published by Tawid, 2011, page 465. This copy was purchased from the Grande Mosquée de Créteil in 2015.
7. Koran, Sura VIII: 60, Al-Anfâl ("The Spoils of War").
8. Son-in-law of Hassan Al-Banna, representative of the Brotherhood in Europe. Father of Tariq and Hani Ramadan.
9. Quoted in *Le Temps*, " *Tariq Ramadan et l'Iran, quels liens?* "February1 2010.
10. See below for a presentation of Sayyed Qutb.
11. February 2020 visit to the Grande Mosquée of Bussy-Saint-Georges.
12. Mahmoud Ezzat, un "homme de fer" à la tête des Frères musulmans, *Le Monde*, 21 August 2013.
13. Mahmoud Ezzat, un "homme de fer" à la tête des Frères musulmans, *Le Monde*, 21 August 2013
14. Translation by Olivier Carré in *Mystique et politique, le Coran des islamistes*, lecture du coran par Sayyed Qutb, 2004, Cerf.
15. <http://web.archive.org/web/20030606021813/http://www.ikhwanonline.com/Target.asp>
16. <http://web.archive.org/web/20050205212245/http://www.ikhwanonline.com/Means.asp>
17. Muhammed Mahdi Akef quoted in the documentary "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood: In Their Own Words".
18. Speech translated by MEMRI, 4 February 2004.
19. Interview with Khalid Daoud by Mustafa Mashur, *Al Ahram Weekly*, 5 July 1997
20. Video transcribed by journalist Sylvain Besson in *La Conquête de l'Occident*, published by Seuil, page 151.
21. https://www.youtube.com/v/kkIN7kCiQm0?version=3&hl=en_FR
22. Hijazi said on Hamas' Al-Aqsa television on 31 December 2008: "Are you threatening to kill us? By Allah, you threaten us with what we most desire [...] By Allah, if only I could carry my equipment, my weapon and be among you. If only I could stand among the young people of the Al-Qassam Brigades, hand them one of their missiles, wipe the dust from their faces from the missile that has just been fired, shout 'Allah Akbar' with them [...] Send these sons of apes and swine into the fires of hell, on the wings of Qassam rockets. Jihad is our way [...] Jews [...] deserve to die [...]"
23. Mohamed Bajrafil - Interdire la venue des prédicateurs musulmans en France, Youtube, 10 June 2012.
24. "Christy" on Palestinian human right abuses in the PA, Uppsala University, Youtube video, Jerusalem Institute of Justice account.
25. Additional compulsory tax for Christians and Jews under Muslim law.
26. <https://www.europe-israel.org/2014/07/reportage-gaza-ou-le-djihad-islamique-du-hamas-des-chretiens-forces-de-se-convertir-a-l-islam-a-mourir-ou-fuir/>
27. Abdelrahim Ali, *Les dangers de la pensée des Frères Musulmans sur les valeurs occidentales*, cahier n°1 du Centre des études du Moyen-Orient, 2017, page 15.
28. Aspects of the transformations of the Al Qaeda and Daech organisations, Saturday 3 November 2018, <https://www.lareference-paris.com/1270>
29. Former secretary general of the UOIF, his application for naturalisation was rejected in 1995 on the grounds of "extremism", but he nevertheless remained in France for many years.
30. European Institute for the Humanities, based in Saint-Léger du Fougeret and Saint-Denis.
1. Ian Johnson, "How Islamic Group's Ties Reveal Europe's Challenge" *The Wall Street Journal*, 29 December 2005.
32. "*The punishment for the murtadd (apostate) is death*" (*Al-Ahram Al-Arabi* (Egypt), 3 July 2004. Translation: MEMRI.
33. In his book "*Le licite et l'illicite*" (published by al-Qalam, 2001) he recommends the physical extermination of homosexuals (page 175) and the possibility of beating women (page 207).

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN GERMANY

Eastern refugees

To understand the breeding ground in which the first Muslim Brotherhoods in Germany took root in the 1960s, we need to go back to the turbulent origins of the Munich mosque, which in itself is a summary of the history of the establishment of Islam in the country. During the Second World War, the USSR's Turkmen, Dagestani, Uzbek and Tatar minorities, swallowed up by the advancing Wehrmacht, quickly attracted the attention of Nazi orientalists, as their demands relating to statehood and religion converged with the Nazi's anti-communist policy. It didn't take long for the Nazis in the *Ostministerium*, the ministry responsible for ethnic and political issues in the East, to realise that these minorities needed to be reinforced in their Muslim identity and trained to become human resources for the Army. At the head of this ministry was the erudite Gerhard Von Mende, who founded Koranic schools in Dresden and Göttingen to train mullahs with the Islamic specialist Bruno Spuler, with a view to uniting Shiites and Sunnis. The Muslim divisions of the Waffen-SS, the Bosnian Handshar and the Albanian Skanderberg, were provided with imams, and the minorities in the Caucasus were integrated into other units. The Crimean Tatar recruitment campaign devised by the *Ostministerium* was a phenomenal

success, with 20,000 men volunteering! Newspapers were specifically created to flatter the Muslim identity of these peoples.

The first link with the Muslim Brotherhood was the meeting between the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, who was totally committed to the Brotherhood, and Gerhard Von Mende, who saw him as a potential spiritual guide for the Tatars. But their late meeting in July 1944, when Soviet troops had already reconquered Crimea, rendered this project obsolete.

After the war, a diaspora of thousands of Turkmen remained stuck in West Germany, the FRG, unable to return to their homeland controlled by the Communists they had fought. The Federal Republic of Germany was trying to provide for these displaced people, and the West German Minister for Refugees, Theodor Oberländer, a former Nazi, took on Von Mende as a close adviser, as he knew all the details of the Muslim minorities. The Americans had also understood the advantage represented by these anti-communists, and the CIA created *Radio Liberty* for them, with former *Ostministerium* staff.

A mosque in Munich

It was in this context that the Munich mosque was born, out of Oberländer and Von Mende's desire to provide a community for the city's stateless immigrants, relying on an old acquaintance, Nurreddin Namangani, imam of an SS ³⁴ unit, whom they put in charge of the ecclesiastical administration for Muslim refugees in the FRG, with staff paid by the young republic! The aim in 1958 was to build a mosque in Munich ³⁵, with the invaluable support of

Namangani's former SS commander, the Muslim convert Wilhem Hintersatz, who, thanks to his contacts, obtained an appointment with the President of the German Federal Republic, Theodor Heuss ³⁶ to introduce him to his imam! Hintersatz wrote a long letter to present this project for a large mosque to the authorities of the FRG, specifying that he wanted it to include a school of theology and Arabic and a cultural centre with a large meeting room.

Saïd Ramadan enters the scene

After the Nasserite purge against the Muslim Brotherhood in 1954, Saïd Ramadan, stripped of his Egyptian nationality, wandered across the Middle East and, having settled in Jordan, obtained a diplomatic passport from that country to become ambassador-at-large to West Germany. Boldly, he contacted a professor of law in Cologne to offer to supervise a thesis on the comparative study of the application of Islamic law (Sharia) in Muslim countries. Professor Kegel, a specialist in civil law, approved the project of the man presenting himself as Secretary General of the World Muslim Congress in Jerusalem, a co-production between the Brotherhood and the Mufti of the Holy City. His thesis was praised by the jury (unlike Tariq Ramadan's very mediocre thesis) and his ambition to reconcile Sharia law and the modern world was appealing. "Intelligent but fanatical", admitted Professor Kegel fifty years later, when interviewed by journalist Ian Johnson. The thesis, entitled *La Charia, son envergure et son équité [Sharia, its scope and its fairness]*, has now been translated into

all European languages and distributed in the Brotherist mosques.

So, equipped with his doctorat and his role in the Egyptian brotherhood, in 1958, Saïd Ramadan was the guest of honour at the second meeting of the Ecclesiastical Administration for Muslim Refugees, which oversaw the Commission for the Construction of the Munich Mosque. Through his network, Ramadan contributed 1,000 of the 1,120 marks needed, and as a result was made an honorary member of the institution. He aroused the admiration of the young students present, including the Syrian Ghaleb Himmat, who was to become the linchpin of the Muslim Brotherhood in Germany. Hassan Al-Banna's son-in-law was living in Geneva at the time, just a few hours from Munich, so he often came to train the young people at the mosque. The foundations of the Brotherhood had been laid, and the time of veterans would soon be over.

The Islamic Society of Germany takes off

In 1960, Ghaleb Himmat founded the Islamic Society of Germany (**Islamische Gemeinschaft Deutschland**), known as the IGD, aged just 22! Fifty years later, the organisation would control 120 mosques across the country. Munich became the Muslim Brotherhood's rear base in Europe, and the IGD received substantial financial support from the Al Taqwa bank based in Switzerland, run by Yussuf Nada, the Brotherhood's banker. Himmat was to be on the Board of Directors of this bank, which would be in the eye of the storm after the attacks of 11 September 2001, having financed Al Qaeda, as we saw in the introduction.

As the Munich mosque is home to the IGD, its importance to the international Muslim Brotherhood organisation is paramount, so much so that the organisation's supreme guide (*murshid*), Mohammed Mahdi Akef, headed it

between 1984 and 1987.

Akef was the Brotherhood's supreme leader between 2004 and 2010. In a 2010 Norwegian documentary entitled *Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood: In their own words*, interviewed by a journalist, he said:

"The aim of the Muslim Brotherhood is to create a global Islamic state. We Muslims are immigrating everywhere, and there's still a long way to go before we take control of Europe".

Interviewed in 2007 by the Egyptian newspaper *Al-Karama*, the Guide presented his campaign slogan for the forthcoming elections: "Sharia is the solution". That same year, he took offence at a US campaign against female circumcision in Africa, accusing the US of wanting to

"change the way Muslims live".

As you can see, Mohammed Mahdi Akef is a hardliner. Ghaleb Himmatt, who was suspected by the United Nations of financing terrorism in 2005, had to hand over the running of the IGD to Ibrahim El Zayat.

El Zayat admits that the IGD "has its roots in the Muslim Brotherhood", while clumsily trying to deny that the Brotherhood's international organisation steers its German branch: "We are not led or dominated by the Muslim Brotherhood", adding "if you're talking about influence, all the major Islamic organisations in the West have been dominated by the ideas of the Islamic Movement ³⁷."

Born in 1969 with his father Farouk a member of the Brotherhood who had fled Egypt in 1960, Ibrahim was influenced by the Brotherhood from an early age. His father, a refugee in Germany, became imam of the mosque in Marburg, a university town north of Frankfurt, an ideal place to recruit young people.

Married to a German convert to Islam, he gave six children to the Islamist cause.

Bilal El Zayat, one of Ibrahim's brothers, founded the German Muslim Youth (**Muslimischen Jugend Deutschland**) and was a member of the Muslim Student Union (**Muslim Studenten Vereinigung**), which Ibrahim led for a time. Manal El Zayat, one of the sisters, went to study at the IESH in Saint-Léger du Fougeret, the Brotherhood's sharia school in Europe.

Ibrahim has been very actively involved with the Brotherhood for 30 years. With a degree in economics, he first set up his own real estate company for the construction of mosques, in order to prepare all the legal guarantees needed to bring projects to fruition. In this capacity, he joined the Board of Directors of Europe Trust, one of the Brothers' financial institutions based in London. He was also in charge of press relations for the FIOE, the umbrella organisation of the Brothers in Europe, which includes the German IGD, the UOIF in France and the UCOII in Italy, among others.

Ibrahim speaks several languages and has spoken at the European Parliament, notably at a seminar on diversity and integration organised by the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats in Europe.

The Islamist was sentenced in 2008 by the Egyptian Military Court of Justice to 10 years in prison for financing the Brotherhood, which is considered a terrorist movement in the country. At the time, the Brotherhood's official website, ***Ikwanweb***, reported on the trial, describing Ibrahim El Zayat as a "member of the Muslim Brotherhood" who had been unjustly charged.

Hartwig Möller, head of the security services in North Rhine-Westphalia, described him as "the spider in the Islamist organisation's web". And with good reason: Ibrahim El Zayat married the niece of Necmettin Erbakan, the founder of Milli Görüş (National Vision), the pope of radical Islamism in Turkey who died in 2011 and was a great ally of the Muslim Brotherhood.

The Millî Görüş organisation

In addition to his other duties, Ibrahim has joined the board of directors of the Europäische Moscheebau und Unterstützung Gemeinschaft (EMUG), the German-based company that controls the hundreds of Millî Görüş mosques across Europe!

The ideological convergence between the Brotherhood and Millî Görüş is total, especially since the leadership of the former has taken refuge in Turkey, and President Recep Erdogan is the protector of the Brotherhood, with a similar political programme. At Erdogan's funeral, the leader of the Brotherhood in Tunisia, Rached Ghannouchi, mourned the death of the man who had been "not just a friend, but a brother"³⁸

Millî Görüş controls 300 mosques in Germany and just under a hundred in France.

The movement, led by a nephew of the founder, Mehmet Erdogan, is classified as "fundamentalist Islamist" by German federal intelligence (Bundesverfassungsschutz), and in 2003 was placed on the list of associations that could serve as a rear base for terrorism in the country. Sigmar Gabriel, former Minister-President of Lower Saxony (SPD), likens the movement to Hamas, which he claims includes "Bin Laden sympathisers".

An investigation by the Düsseldorf Ministry of the Interior, published in January 1999, quotes an internal bulletin of the movement: "The Community is a means to an end - the end being to Islamise society"; "Millî Görüş is a shield protecting our compatriots from European barbarism"; "Democracy is a Western error".

Millî Görüş was in turmoil in December 2009, when the Cologne public prosecutor launched a huge search of around twenty of the movement's offices, as well as flats

belonging to its leaders. Suspicions centred on "at least €10 million embezzled", according to agency reports. The Kölnische Rundschau, a Cologne newspaper, was astonished that in parallel with this scandal "in not even 16 months, the Millî Görüş has been implicated 3 times in cases of honour killings."

This newspaper listed the grievances against the Islamist movement, with the question of banning it immediately raised:

"The list of allegations since the summer of 2008 is long: formation of a criminal enterprise, fraud, embezzlement of public funds, fraudulent fundraising, forgery, misappropriation of funds and money laundering. The Cologne public prosecutor has launched two new investigations into the misappropriation of social security contributions. It is believed to amount to some double figures in millions of dollars, according to the authorities, who on Wednesday launched a nationwide operation in 17 towns."

With media coverage damaging the movement's reputation, the debate led to the banning of the Islamic Community of Millî Görüş (IGMG). 'The question of a ban remains on the agenda', says CDU home affairs expert Wolfgang Bosbach in Cologne. Before the ban is examined, all compromising documents will be evaluated.

'We are dealing with the largest Muslim community in Germany. There have been repeated attempts to dissolve the organisation. But it must also have a sufficient chance of success,' said the Chair of the Bundestag's Committee on Home Affairs.'

However, as of 2020 the organisation was still permitted.

The Zentralrat organisation

Another national organisation is the Islamic Central Council of Germany, known by its abbreviation Zentralrat. This Council encompasses a vast network of mosques, including those with a Turkish background (inevitable when you want to be representative of Muslims in this country), and is dominated by the IGD. Represented in the media by more media-friendly figures such as German converts Axel Ayub Kohler and Aiman Mazyek, it is an official member of the Islamic Conference of Germany sponsored by the Ministry of the Interior, which meets regularly. At the 2018 event, Aiman Mazyek was seated next to Interior Minister Horst Seehofer, who very naively asked them to bring about a

"German Islam", an Islam "from Germany, for Germany".

The largest network of mosques in the country is run by the Islamic Council of Germany, *Islamrat*, which groups together 450 mosques. *The Zentralrat* is a more modest network that includes the Brothers from the IGD, but which is represented within the Deutsche Islamkonferenz, *the Islamic Conference set up by the government in 2006*.

The same mistake was made by Nicolas Sarkozy when he included the UOIF in the Conseil Français du Culte Musulman.

The Neuköln mosque in Berlin: Tunisian Brotherhood well established

The Tunisian Mohammed Taha Sabri is one of the leading figures in Brotherist Islam in Germany. His mosque, Dar As Salam, in Berlin's Neuköln district, is built on land belonging to the IGD Muslim Brotherhood. This "cultural centre" gives Arabic lessons twice a week to children, boys and girls separately.

Imam Taha Sabri still preaches there in Arabic, characterising integration as something to be combated. His ambiguous style is analysed by journalist Sascha Adamek as a double game. Taha Sabri delivered a sermon in 2016 in the presence of an Al Jazeera camera crew, in which he demonised every new reform as heresy and postulated the supremacy of Islam over all other religions. In 2013 and 2014, he invited extremist preachers: the Saudi Islamist Muhammad Al-Arifi, who came to Germany despite an entry ban, and the religious scholar Raed Fathi, who is linked to Hamas. In February 2013, Mohamed Al-Arifi told a television programme that Al-Qaeda **"does not tolerate bloodshed"** and referred to **"Sheikh Bin Laden, may God bless him and pray for his soul"**, giving this terrorist Islamic legitimacy (even if he says he does not share all his opinions), a sheikh being a doctor of law. Al-Arifi also supports the idea of a caliphate for Iraq. He was the one who led the prayer at the UOIF Muslim Brotherhood gathering in 2013.

Looking back, Taha Sabri publicly regrets inviting preachers to preach jihad. The Tunisian made the "Rabia" hand gesture, a sign of the Muslim Brotherhood named after a square in Cairo where the last militants of the Brotherhood gathered, making his affiliation clear. Sabri regularly takes part in events organised by the Palestinian Community in Germany (PGD), which is classified by the German services (Verfassungsschutz) as representing the terrorist organisation Hamas in Germany. He appeared with it as a speaker in 2017. When asked to clarify his position, he refused to distance himself from the Muslim Brotherhood³⁹.

Unfortunately, politicians regard him as a key contact for Muslims. Federal Foreign Minister Sigmar Gabriel met him to discuss Germany's position on the future of Jerusalem⁴⁰. Berlin's SPD mayor, Michael Müller, awarded Imam Sabri the Berlin State Order of Merit in October 2015, sparking fierce criticism.

One of the leaders of the Tunisian Muslim Brotherhood has preached at Dar As Salam in recent years: Abdelfattah Mourou, number two in the Ennahda Islamist party led by

Rached Ghannouchi. Both returned to Tunisia in 2011 as part of the 'Jasmine Revolution' that brought Ennahda to power. Mourou was elected to the Tunisian Assembly in 2014, then became its vice-president. On 25 July 2019, on the death of President Béji Caïd Essebsi, he took over as interim Speaker of Parliament. On 6 August, Ennahdha's Shura Council⁴¹ decided to nominate him as the party's candidate for the presidential election.

During a televised report in 2017 in the Es Salam mosque in Berlin, he welcomed journalists and took the opportunity to adapt his sermon in front of the few thousand worshippers whom he harangued in Arabic. Although he spoke not a word of German, this did not stop the Tunisian from expressing himself as if he too had obtained German nationality, like many of his bi-national audience. Knowing that journalists were recording him, he adapted his preaching but couldn't resist recalling the dichotomy between the Muslims who conquered Sicily, Spain and Austria, and the European infidels:

"Is this our country? It's our country because we've accepted citizenship! We didn't come to this country as conquerors, my sons, make no mistake!"

The conquest took place 1,000 years ago. At the time, they attacked and we attacked them. They came to occupy us in Carthage during the Battle of Carthage. And they occupied us in North Africa. And we went to Constantinople and wanted to destroy it. We went to Andalusia and occupied it for seven centuries. And we went to Sicily and occupied it for four centuries. They stopped us at Poitiers and didn't love us anymore ⁴²! Suleyman wanted to conquer Vienna! He laid siege to Vienna for six months and never got inside! They chased us out of Vienna, then caught up with us and took our country! They occupied our countries and cut them up! A division of our country! That's the reality of nations alongside each other! That's history. Today, we have arrived in Europe through contracts and deals⁴³! Germany was the first country to attract Muslims after the Second World War! At that time, it wanted to rebuild and asked Turkey to send 150,000 Turks. They came to start building the German economy. You can be proud to be here. And you could be proud of your beliefs at the same time! Who asked you to renounce your faith? I was forbidden to pray in my country of origin [in Tunisia, Mourou was banned from preaching as a Muslim Brother]! Here, you can pray wherever you like. And you'll find your halal food wherever you want! And your

wife is free to dress as she likes. And you can teach your children whatever you want! What more do you want⁴⁴?
"

Germany has in fact submitted to this, going so far as to include Islamic classes taught by Islamic preachers in its state schools, not to mention the *hijab* being permitted in schools.

In 2016, the Berlin mosque set up a "German Fatwa Committee" with theologians from the Muslim Brotherhood.

According to the mayor of Neuköln (a district of Berlin), Franziska Giffey (a member of the SPD), "*Almost all the Arab mosques in Berlin have links with the Muslim Brotherhood⁴⁵*". Seeing them as unavoidable, she visited

the mosque on several occasions, a normalisation move that drew criticism.

The mosque is now partnering with the city of Berlin to integrate the city's 'refugees', by welcoming and guiding these Muslim illegal immigrants. It makes a great fanfare of showing off its training sessions for refugees at its Islamic centre.

The Islamists organised the **Refugee Festival** in 2016 within a refugee accommodation centre, with 600 participants. The Neuköln district councillor for social affairs, Bernd Szczepanski, took the opportunity to ask all the immigrants present to get involved in making the Social Democrat party win, so as not to give "populist" movements such as the AfD and PEGIDA any chance.

The Penzberg mosque and the new Munich project

A Macedonian imam is playing his own game in Bavaria and has succeeded in making people forget his Brotherist background while rallying the Socialist mayor of Munich behind his plans. Benjamin Idriz, who came to Germany in 1995, is an Islamist who was highly trained at the Islamic law faculty in Damascus (Syria) and then at the IESH of the UOIF, the Muslim Brotherhood's sharia school based in France.

In 2007, he launched his grandiose project for the Bavarian capital, the Munich Islamic Forum (Münchner Forum für Islam, MFI), which was to include not only prayer halls and a library, but also a training centre for imams. In his letter of application to Qatar Charity, revealed in the *QatarPapers*⁴⁶, he clearly states that the aim is to combat the assimilation of Muslims into German society: "*Aims of the project: to raise awareness of Islam in the city. Publicising the construction of the Islamic centre. But also to strengthen the citizenship of Muslims without dissolving into society, and to work on anti-racism*". Idriz then states that three prayer halls have been closed in Munich following breaches of lease, and that only one small one remains, justifying his 680m² project just 300 metres from the town hall. In October 2015, Qatar Charity UK replied that it could not provide the €6,700 per month requested, but that it could provide

a grant of €96,915. Not enough to complete the project, but Benjamin Idriz is still very active in 2020 to bring it to fruition, as his highly professional website shows: <https://www.islam-muenchen.de>

What is very worrying is the total commitment of the social-democrat mayor Christian Ude to bringing the project to fruition, to the extent that he is on the board of the Islamic Forum. Worse still, in May 2011 the Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad Al-Thani, invited Christian Ude to discuss the project. In the end, the mayor's schedule did not allow it.

Imam Benjamin Idriz was hoping to count on the Emir of Sarjah Sheikh Sultan Al-Qasimi, who had already donated €2.5 million for his mosque in Penzberg, but the Emir declined this time.

Although Idriz denies being a Muslim Brother and avoids frequenting the IGD mentioned above, he nevertheless frequents the Muslim Brotherhood in France, as when he went to the laying of the foundation stone of the Hautepierre mosque in Strasbourg, in order to get closer to the management of Qatar Charity, which had financed the mosque.

New mosques and schools funded by Qatar Charity in Germany

The *Qatar Papers*, a leak of documents revealing the internal correspondence of the **Qatar Charity Foundation**, reveal that ten mosque projects, four of which have been actually financed to date, have been targeted by Muslim Brothers who have taken refuge in Qatar.

In addition to the MFI in Munich, Qatar has contributed €400,000 to the Dar As Salam mosque in Berlin and €300,000 to the mosque in Dinslaken, not far from Dortmund. The Islamic Centre in Berlin received €4.4 million between 2013 and 2014 alone.

Like the model applied in France with several collèges-lycées schools, the Muslim Brotherhood is launching schools in Germany with the help of Qatar. Those in charge of the Brotherist mosque in Mainz near Frankfurt are asking for €2.5 million to open an educational establishment.

"Brother" Samy El Hagrasy, founder of the Al-Nur mosque in Mainz, is also working on opening a secondary school. His wife already runs an Islamist kindergarten in the town. In a letter to Qatar Charity, the couple say they *"enjoy excellent relations with the Ministry of Education and the Federal Government"* and point out that 10% of Mainz's population is Muslim. To justify their plan to the Qatari Brotherhood, they castigate non-Muslims in the same letter: *"These are very dangerous times for Muslim children in Western societies. They are influenced by the amoral behaviour of other pupils and their teachers,*

many of whom dislike or even hate Islam."

Secession - or partition - from the rest of society is therefore an objective, with the help of German taxpayers, given that after 3 years, a public school in Germany receives an allocation of 75% of operational expenditure and half of additional property acquisitions. This is bound to happen, given their excellent relations with the administration. These are the arguments that Britta Iman Haberl and Samy El Hagrasy used to ask Qatar Charity for 2.5 million.

In Offenbach, an Islamist association received €150,000 to buy a building, with the help of the Qatari Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which wrote to Qatar Charity to support the donation. The Qatari embassy in Berlin is also helping to ensure that this funding goes ahead with the full approval of the German government.

It should be remembered that Berlin was Qatar's staunchest defender in its economic conflict with the Saudi Arabia-UAE axis and Egypt in 2017. In return, Emir Sheikh Tamim pledged €10 billion of investment in the country, in addition to the stakes already injected into Deutsche Bank, Porsche and Mercedes.

In November 2018, Federal Interior Minister Horst Seehofer said he wanted to *"limit foreign influences in the German Muslim clergy"*. Only "limit" and not put an end to it, which reassured Qatar.

Notes

The SS Ostturkisher Wafenverband.

34. *Une Mosquée à Munich, les nazis, la CIA et la montée des Frères Musulmans en Occident*, is also the title of a fascinating investigative book by Ian Johnson published in France by Lattès in 2011, which we have researched.

35. Theodor Heuss, who died in 1963, was President of the Federal Republic of Germany from 1949 to 1959. He was a long-time chair of the Liberal Democrat Party.

36. Quoted in *The New Muslim Brotherhood in the West*, Lorenzo Vidino, Columbia University Press, 2010, page 157.

37. Reported by the Turkish daily Hurriyet on 3 March 2011.

38. C. Wunderlich: *Nährboden für Islamismus?* In: *Die Welt*. 20. April 2017 (welt.de [abgerufen am 29. Dezember 2017]).

39. Damir Fras: *Antisemitismus: Sigmar Gabriel debattiert in Kreuzberg mit muslimischen Migranten*. In: *Berliner Zeitung*. (berliner-zeitung.de [abgerufen am 29. Dezember 2017])

40. The Islamist system of consultation within a select council

co-opted from "scholars" or doctors of the law.

41. It's worth noting that whether the protagonists are the Roman Empire, the Spanish Visigoth kings or Charles Martel, they are always included in the same qualifier "they", encompassing the infidels, in a highly reductive space-time amalgam.

42. Mourou is referring here to the terminology of the Muslim Brotherhood, imagining an intermediate stage between the Land (or House) of Islam and the Land of War, the Land of Contract, Dar Al-Sulh, where an agreement allows this cohabitation among the "infidel" people which is not natural in classical Islam.

43. Der "Moscheereport": Die Dar-as-Salam-Moschee, Youtube.

44. *Wegen Moschee-Foto - Proteststurm gegen Franziska Giffey*. In: *bild.de*. (bild.de [abgerufen am 29. Dezember 2017]).

45. Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, *Qatar Papers*, éditions Michel Lafont, 2019.

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN SWITZERLAND

The arrival of Saïd Ramadan

In 1958, Saïd Ramadan arrived in Switzerland, which enabled him to travel to Germany to meet his thesis supervisor and become involved in the Munich mosque, as we saw in the chapter on Germany.

In 1962, Saïd Ramadan was one of the twenty co-founders of the Islamic World League, created by Saudi Arabia, which at the time financed the Brotherhood (until 1971) in the face of Arab nationalism and communism, before falling out with it.

The Islamic Centre of Geneva was founded in 1961, financed by the Saudis and chaired by Saïd until the 1990s, when Hani Ramadan took over in 1995. The IGC co-founded the Association of Muslim Organisations of

Geneva in 2006.

On 30 August 1965, Nasser's regime accused Tariq and Hani's father of plotting a coup d'état with the help of other members of the Ikhwan⁴⁷. A trial opened in Cairo. Saïd boasted from his exile in Geneva that he was La Confrérie's "chief theoretician". He was sentenced in absentia to three 25-year terms for supplying funds and weapons to "terrorists" in Egypt. Researcher Alexandre del Valle explains: "*He then lost his Egyptian nationality, which did not prevent him from continuing his mission both in the Arab world and in the West with a Jordanian diplomatic passport*"⁴⁸."

Nazis get close to Saïd Ramadan

During his golden exile in Geneva, Saïd Ramadan also became the friend and business partner of François Genoud, a Swiss banker during the Third Reich and Adolf Hitler's legate in his will, who converted to Islam through contact with Palestinian and Brotherhood circles. Genoud, as a financier and ideologue devoted body and soul to Hitler and invited by the latter to support the Arab-Islamic cause to continue the fight against the Jews, spent his life recycling money from the Nazi regime for the benefit of Arab nationalists, Palestinian terrorists and the Muslim Brotherhood. In the Swiss circles of the Ramadan family was also the former Swiss neo-Nazi journalist Ahmed Huber - close to François Genoud - who remained a fellow traveller of the Brothers until the end of his life, while remaining faithful to his Nazi ideals. Converted to Islam in 1962 at the Islamic Centre in Geneva, he established solid relations with the Nasserite nationalist regime and the Egyptian Brotherhood.

During his trips to Egypt, Huber made friends with former German Nazi dignitaries, the best known of whom was Johannes von Leers, alias Omar Amine (who was one

of Goebbels' executors of "anti-Jewish propaganda", and who converted to Islam through contact with the Brotherhood) Interestingly, Ahmed Huber, who is well known in the Islamo-Nazi denialist world, made the acquaintance in Switzerland of Youssef Nada, the Muslim Brotherhood's head banker and founder of Al-Takwa Bank, based in Lugano in the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland.

In 1988, Ahmed Huber and François Genoud sat on the board of directors of Youssef Nada's bank, whose role was to finance the Brotherhoods' projects around the world. In the 1990s, Huber regularly attended events organised by the Muslim Student Organization in the United States, an organisation linked to the local section of the Brotherhood. He had also become close to the Iranian Islamic revolution, acting as an intermediary between the Brotherhood and Khomeini's Iran.

Youssef Nada, the notorious Brotherhood banker raided in Switzerland in 2001, is said by Brotherhood historian Chérif Amir⁴⁹ to have been an Abwehr agent.

Focus on Al Taqwa bank

Among the instruments used by the Ikhwan groups around the world to finance jihad and evangelism, via donations to Allah's NGOs, one bank has played a decisive role for decades: Al-Taqwa Bank (from the Arabic word for "fear of God" or "piety"). Al-Taqwa Management is in fact a banking system with offices in several countries (Switzerland, the Bahamas, Italy, the Caribbean, Austria, Liechtenstein), which was founded in Switzerland in 1988 by two senior Muslim Brotherhood figures: bankers Youssef Nada, of Egyptian origin, and the Syrian-Italian Ali Ghaleb Himmat, both based between Lugano and the neighbouring Italian commune-enclave of Campione d'Italia, on the shores of Lake Lugano, known for its tax-exempt status. Nada, the more prominent of the two, was imprisoned by Nasser from 1954 to 1956, and found refuge in Libya in the 1960s, then had to flee when Colonel Gaddafi took power. There began a long exile in Europe, first in Greece, then in Austria, and finally in Italy and the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland. The region was a success for him, as he built up his fortune in cement. He then invested in banking. He is also regarded as one of the fathers of Islamic finance. With three headquarters around the world (Switzerland, Liechtenstein and the Bahamas), the

Islamic Bank has prospered for decades, collecting funds from the Gulf States for redistribution to European Islamist Brotherist organisations. Al-Taqwa thus created a vast network of NGOs, mosques and Islamic centres linked to the Brotherhood. Operating in thirty countries, the institution manages funds from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Qatar.

Brotherhood specialists Del Valle and Razavi have consulted the list of the bank's main shareholders and describe them in their recent book *Le Projet [The Project]* (L'Artilleur, 2019):

"Among Taqwa Bank's historic shareholders were Youssef al-Qardaoui, Ahmed Idris Nasreddin, co-founder of the group and former Kuwaiti consul in Milan (who was arrested after 11 September 2001 for alleged links with al-Qaeda), as well as members of Hamas and individuals linked to al-Qaeda. Al-Taqwa's shareholders and creditors also included Huda Mohamed bin Laden and Iman bin Laden, two brothers of the former head of Al Qaeda, and the Grenoble branch of the Islamic Union of Students of France, renamed Étudiants Musulmans de France (EMF) in 1996.⁵⁰"

A fruitful raid in 2001

In early November 2001, a raid was launched at the home of Youssef Nada, whose institution had been cited by George W Bush as a source of funding for Al-Qaeda. Two large luxury villas make up this corner of paradise near Lugano in Switzerland. The second tenant is none other than Ali Ghaleb Himmat, his friend and co-founder of the institution.

Al-Taqwa's offshore structures were also raided in Liechtenstein, but the bulk of its activities were run out of the Bahamas.

Al-Taqwa and its leaders first came to the attention of Western intelligence agencies in the 1990s. A video cassette of the Algerian Islamic Armed Groups (GIA) was then circulated with the address of a company, the Gulf Company, run by an associate of the bank. The Italian services had been looking into other activities carried out by this man, Ahmed Idriss Nasreddin. They had found it curious that he was sending exorbitantly priced vegetables to Bosnia, in the midst of the Islamist war against Serbia. They also found that he paid the rent for the Islamic Centre in Milan, which until 1995 had been

run by a member of the Egyptian armed group Gamaa islamiya. A CIA report described Al-Taqwa as an establishment linked to terrorism.

In the aftermath of the attacks in New York and Washington, America made further accusations against Al-Taqwa. On 7 November 2001, the White House stated that the company had provided "financial advice and money transfer services" to Al-Qaida and other radical Islamist groups. Shortly afterwards, a letter sent to Switzerland by the US Treasury Department stated that Al-Taqwa, founded in 1988 "with significant support from the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood", had financed Palestinian Hamas, the Islamic Salvation Front and the GIA in Algeria, as well as the Tunisian branch of the Brotherhood, Ennahda.

The letter states that the company is said to have collected funds from Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates for Al-Qaida at its offices in Malta and Lugano. In October 2000, Al-Taqwa is said to have released a "clandestine line of credit for a close associate of Osama Bin Laden" thanks to a sophisticated stratagem:

"This Bin Laden lieutenant had a line of credit at a financial institution in the Middle East, which withdrew [the money] from a similar account number at Bank Al-Taqwa. Unlike other accounts - even those of private customers - this one was blocked by the computer system and required special privileges to access. There was no identifiable name associated with the account⁵¹ " world."

Among the "tons" of writings, letters and handwritten notes found on 7 November 2001, the Swiss investigators discovered the Project, a document planning the ideological and material conquest of the West, step by step, discreet at first, as part of a "civilisational Jihad".

The Lebanese leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, Fayçal Mawlaoui (+2011), and founding member of the UOIF in France, explained that Al-Taqwa has long served as a savings bank for various components of the Muslim Brotherhood, according to his interview with journalist Sylvain Besson:

"At the time, there were very few Islamic banks in the Arab world. The bank operated in an Islamic way, and the Islamic Movement of Lebanon (another name for the Brotherhood) had invested around \$100,000 in Al-Taqwa. We received dividends of around \$7,000 a year. When the bank crashed, the money was lost."

But before this 'crash', the shady bank had accumulated two hundred million dollars, mainly from aristocrats and clerics in the Gulf States, according to Mushtak Parker of Islamic Banker Magazine.

In addition to its management functions, the company provided financial support to all Muslim Brotherhood institutions in the West, including the Islamic Foundation in Leicester in the UK, where Tariq Ramadan studied, and the American WISE Institute, which is close to the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

According to Fayçal Mawlaoui, the bank collapsed during the Asian currency crisis of 1998, after an unfortunate investment in a textile factory in Malaysia. When it went into liquidation at the end of 2001, its losses amounted to some \$75 million.

In early 2005, three years after the raids, the investigation into Al-Taqwa was closed for lack of evidence. On both sides of the Atlantic, some investigators admitted that they had no evidence of the company's direct support for terrorist activities. But "Operation Lago", the code name for the raid secretly prepared by Interpol on the villas of Youssef Nada and Ali Ghaleb Himmat, produced interesting results in terms of the Brotherhood's ideology.

According to a Swiss Federal Police document, " *The Al-Taqwa investigation (Operation Lago) reveals more than just money transfers to and from Switzerland. In fact, the tonnes of documents found at the home of Youssef Nada (director of Al-Taqwa structures) and Ali Ghaleb Himmat (his second in command) also confirm the role played by the Muslim Brotherhood in inspiring and supporting - directly or indirectly - radical Islam throughout the*

The "Project" to infiltrate Western societies

The Muslim Brotherhood's official "bible" for penetrating non-Muslim societies was already well known. It is a work published in Beirut in 1979 entitled *La Culture et les Qualités de l'armée de Dieu* [The culture and qualities of the army of God], by Saïd Hawwa. He describes the methods suitable for "political jihad in infidel countries". So the Project is not an isolated text, but part of a wider reflection by the Brothers. Israeli intelligence specialist Reuven Paz, interviewed by journalist Sylvain Besson in his investigation *"La conquête de l'occident-le Projet secret des islamistes* [The conquest of the west, the secret Islamic Project]" (Seuil, 2005), explains:

"This project is part of the charter of the international Muslim Brotherhood organisation, which was officially established on 29 July 1982. It reflects a vast plan dating back to the 1960s, with the immigration of Muslim Brotherhood intellectuals, mainly Syrians and Egyptians, to Europe. Before the summer of 1982, they had already succeeded in establishing a network of "cultural centres" in Geneva, Munich, London, Vienna... The idea for the international organisation came mainly from Saïd Ramadan (Tariq's father), who wanted to shift the Muslim Brotherhood's centre of gravity to Europe and North America.

For example, this "project" sets out the need to *"work to establish the Islamic State, in parallel with progressive efforts to control local centres of power through institutional work". He also invites activists to master the art of the possible, in a provisional spirit. [...] knowing that Allah's precepts are all applicable It is necessary to ordain the suitable and forbid the blameworthy [...] . But we must not provoke a confrontation with our*

adversaries on a local or global scale, which could be disproportionate and lead to attacks on the daawa (preaching) or its followers. "

During the raid on Yussef Nada's house in Lugano, the police found another juicy document. A videocassette shot during a trip to Afghanistan in 1993. It features Mustafa Mashour, the future Supreme Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood, Ahmad Hussein, then leader of the Pakistani Jamat-e-Islami, Ghaleb Himmat, co-founder of Al-Taqwa, and Yussuf Al-Qaradawi of the European Fatwa Council and close to the UOIF (Muslim Brotherhood in France). Mashour is heard making a speech that should not have filtered beyond the Brotherhood's leaders. He begins by congratulating the Afghan victory (legitimate in the face of Soviet occupation), then says he hopes the Jihad will liberate the occupied Muslim territories of Palestine, Bosnia, India and Chechnya. But he doesn't stop there. *"I assure you," he says, "that just as the Soviet Union fell, so America and the West will fall, with Allah's help.*

At the time, Mashour was the number 2 in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, the organisation's world headquarters. When he died in November 2002, 100,000 Egyptians paid tribute to him in Cairo. Despite the damning evidence contained in the seizures of documents and the proof of indirect terrorist financing by Al-Taqwa Bank and its subsidiaries or sister shell companies, as a true expert in "judicial jihad", Youssef Nada managed to have Switzerland condemned in 2012 by the European Court of Human Rights, which ruled that the Swiss authorities had "violated his right to respect for his private life".

Saïd Ramadan and the Islamic Republic of Iran

From Switzerland, Saïd maintained a correspondence with the black Islamic supremacist activist Malcolm X, whom he hosted twice in Geneva. More compromisingly, he was the mentor of Daoud Salahuddin, the pseudonym of another African-American convert to Islamism, David Theodore Belfield, who in 1980 assassinated in Maryland USA the Iranian opponent Ali Akbar Tabatabai, Chair of the Iran Freedom Foundation, an opposition organisation to the young Islamic Republic which had been proclaimed on 12 February 1979.

In December 1979, Salahuddin consulted Saïd Ramadan about his intention to become an agent of the Mullahs' regime. Saïd Ramadan actually met Belfield/Salahuddin in May 1975 at the Islamic Centre in Washington, and

quickly became his friend. It is an incredible fact that, despite the media attention given to Tabatabai's assassination, in particular following the publication of an article in the *International Herald Tribune* on 24 July in which the FBI identified the perpetrator of the murder, Belfield/Salahuddin was able to peacefully spend a further seven days in Geneva without being questioned. Saïd Ramadan was in fact suspected of having sheltered him on his way to Iran while he was being sought by the European police. That's how lax Switzerland was towards the Muslim Brotherhood, at least at the time.

In 2002, Salahuddin said of his links with Saïd, despite the fact that they were concealed by his sons Hani and Tariq: *" I don't think any other person, not even my biological*

parents, knew me as well as he did". This complicity with a killer agent in the service of Khomeini's Islamic Republic demonstrates once again the jihadist/violent links of Brotherist figures who were nonetheless adored in the West...

In 2002, the Centre islamique de Genève (CIG) had just 20 members, but its activities involved almost 500 people, particularly during Friday prayers.

Its "objectives and statutes" state the following: *"The aims of the IGC are to form a united front of believers to tackle together the task of combating atheistic materialism, to identify and refute tendentious presentations of Islam and Muslims, to organise tours to propagate correct notions about Islam and Muslims, to carry out and encourage research, collect, translate and disseminate texts on Islam, meet the social, cultural and religious needs of Muslim students and refugees in Europe and, finally, open kindergartens, schools, mosques and Islamic centres in Europe."*

Saïd Ramadan died in 1995, having largely paved the way for his sons Hani and Tariq. That same year, Tariq was preparing his dissertation, an apologia on the Brotherhood, which he passed in 1999. Armed with this precious credential, his media career got off to a flying start.

In the canton of Geneva, there is another Brotherist association, the Association culturelle meyrinoise (ACMM), which has managed to join the Cartel des associations communales de Meyrin. Organising "sports activities for themselves and among themselves" as good community members, and giving lessons in the Koran and Islam, does not prevent them from taking part in the "Meyrin-les-Bains" community festival, all wearing hijab, and from obtaining a community hall for their activities. These Muslim women attend the annual conference of the Muslim Brotherhood at Le Bourget, clarifying their ideological orientation.

The Karmous couple, the pillars

Mohamed Karmous, the discreet treasurer of the Muslim Brotherhood's sharia school, the IESH, which we will discuss in the chapter on France, is based in Switzerland, where he teaches science at an engineering school (the HES-SO). In 2007, he was intercepted by French customs in Pontarlier while carrying €50,000 in cash - no mean feat. He told the police that he made the round trip to give the money to Zuhair Mahmood, then director of the Islamist institute, for the benefit of the IESH. Mahmood made no secret of his membership of the Muslim Brotherhood to journalists Chesnot and Malbrunot, who interviewed him recently about the founding of the IESH: *"At the time, the question for us was: should the institute be reserved for the Muslim Brotherhood alone, or should it be run by the Brotherhood for the benefit of all Muslims? In the end, we chose the second option"*⁵².

In 2007, Karmous told the French police that he had obtained these funds from a Qatari professor living in Geneva, Ahmed Alhmdi.

Mohamed Karmous, a Tunisian, is the Brotherhood's point man in Switzerland. Together with his wife Nadia, he founded the Islamic Cultural Institute of Switzerland (ICMS), the League of Muslims of Switzerland, which runs the Muslim Socio-Cultural Centre in Lausanne, and chairs Wakef Suisse, which runs the Salah-Eddine Centre in Biel in central Switzerland. This latter structure, which brings together the country's main imams, aims primarily to buy building land or buildings in order to create

mosques, with the support of Qatar Charity. And that's not all! Mohamed Karmous also heads the Islamic community in the canton of Ticino.

The League of Muslims of Switzerland is a member of the Union of Islamic Organisations in Europe (UOIE), which brings together all the national branches of the Muslim Brotherhood. The LMS cites as a reference the "Compendium of Fatwas" issued by the European Fatwa Council under the leadership of Al Qaradawi.

That's a lot for one man, and his Algerian wife Nadia is at his side to run their flagship museum, the Musée des civilisations de l'Islam (MUCIVI/Museum of Islamic Civilizations) in La Chaux-de-Fonds, housed in a splendid historic Art Nouveau building. A real museum, with a succession of rooms presenting Islam's supposed great contributions to humanity. Anything that predates the Islam born in the seventh century is confined to a brief presentation of this pre-Islamic period, described as ignorant (jahaliya in Arabic). The museum, which opened in 2016, was largely funded by Qatar Charity. Nadia Karmous, like her husband, is close to Tariq Ramadan, whom they have defended tooth and nail during his legal setbacks. The journalists Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot visited this "museum" and found all the thinkers of the Muslim Brotherhood prominently displayed in the library, including books by Sayyid Qutb, theorist of global offensive armed jihad, and of course Hassan Al-Banna and Al Qaradawi.

Mrs Karmous is also a member of the Brussels-based Forum of Muslim Women via its Association of Muslim Women of Switzerland.

The Qatari financial tap flows generously for the Karmous. In 2011 alone, seven payments totalling €1,400,980 bolstered the coffers of the Centre sociocultural des Musulmans de Lausanne. In 2013, three payments from Qatar Charity totalling 159,434 Swiss francs filled the coffers of the Islamic Cultural Centre in Lugano.

But let's get back to the Museum of Islamic Civilisation. Mireille Valette, a Swiss journalist specialising in Islamism, provides us with valuable information on its other funding and its 'scientific director' Khaldoun Dia Eddine, a Syrian Muslim Brother who has long been tolerated in Switzerland:

"He was an influential shareholder in Al Takwa Bank. In 2002, he became Chairman of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Refugee Aid Committee and was involved in a number of controversial associations, ranging from arms trafficking to aid for terrorism.

He was also a member of the Ticino Islamic Community. And the International Islamic Charitable Organization, Sharq Kuwait branch in Meyrin (2001-2010), based at his home. He sat alongside Ghaleb Himmat and Youssef Al-Qaradawi.

The Islamic Charitable Society of Kuwait is a donor to the museum. According to US documents published by Wikileaks⁵³, it has been put on a red list of terrorist organisations, along with other donors to the museum: Zakat House (Kuwait) and Qatar Charity. The Emir who heads the latter is also Chairman of Qoranona, an organisation that was entered in the Berne Commercial Register in 2014 with the Salafist Nicolas Blancho. In June 2014, Mohamed Karmous received a cheque for \$140,000 from Kuwaiti ambassador to Switzerland Bader Al-Tunaiib for his museum. He states that this support is given "to Muslims in many parts of the world". A few months earlier, his counterpart in Canada offered a leader of the Muslim Brotherhood in Quebec \$76,000 for an Islamic school in Montreal.

The Muslim Brotherhood has been very influential in Kuwaiti politics for around ten years. As in Qatar, where Al-Qaradawi lives. Some donors are linked to the ruling family or to powerful Islamisation companies.⁵⁴

The model Brothers of Fribourg

The **Frislam - Fribourgeois musulmans** association has managed to win over the town hall of this charming town by organising a fast-breaking party with a free meal on the central Place Georges-Python every year since 2017. Over a thousand people attended the latest festivities, which were a great success.

Financed by Muslim small local businesses such as an estate agency and restaurants, it has managed to make professional marketing and attract the cameras and microphones of the Swiss media. What's more, the University of Fribourg has a research centre called the **Centre Suisse Islam et Société** (CSIS), which offers Masters courses and has formed a partnership with Frislam. Frislam also welcomes the "*support of the Federal Commission against Racism (FCR) and the City of Fribourg*".

It is easy to link Frislam to the thinking of the Muslim Brotherhood. Its website⁵⁵ features an "*Introduction to Religious Sciences by Imam Abdullah Malik - Based on the works of Professor Moncef Zenati, lecturer at the Institut Européen des Sciences Humaines (IESH)*". AKA, the Muslim Brotherhood's European Sharia school based in the Nièvre region!

Moncef Zenati is the French translator of books by Hassan Al-Banna and Yussûf Al-Qaradâwî, whose books he says should be "eaten and drunk"⁵⁶. An executive of the UOIF (now Musulmans de France), Zenati has never compromised on Sharia law: "*Sharia law corresponds to divine law. The Sharia is the body of laws, all the laws, concerning all areas (...) Positive law reflects the imperfection of the human being and his weakness.*"⁵⁷.

The page dedicated to this course refers to the thirteenth-century Sunni jurist Ibn Qayyim, known for his harshness towards Christians, for whom he wanted a strict Dhimma regime with a ban on ringing bells or restoring churches. His treatise on the fate of Christians, entitled *Akâm ahl dhimma*, is known only to Arabists. According to him, Christians must pay a tax, the *jizya*, when they are "degraded and defeated", their churches must not display crosses and proselytising to Muslims is forbidden. Ibn Qayyim also planned to confiscate churches if their number seemed too large in relation to the Christian population in the Islamic lands, which was historically declining. We can only draw parallels with the governance of modern Turkey, which has converted many churches in Cyprus and on its territory.

Here is the quote found on Frislam: "*Ibn Qayyim: Legislation according to the Sharia is just in its totality,*

merciful in its totality, beneficial in its totality"⁵⁸

The course is organised by Saâd Dhif, Frislam's secretary-general and a lieutenant in the army. Swiss journalist Mireille Valette investigated this little world and concludes: "*Dhif aspires to continue his military career and become a captain. The Frislam Steering Committee includes another army officer who is thought to be Saâd's brother: Yassine Dhif. The Swiss television programme **Infrarouge** gave a very good description of them*"⁵⁹ in April 2016."

Journalist Amin Abdelmajide was outraged that the Swiss Centre for Islam and Society is using public funds to promote a positive image of Islam with the help of Frislam. He writes:

"A radiant name: *PositivIslam*. This is a project run by the Centre Suisse Islam et Société (CSIS) in collaboration with the Frislam association in Fribourg", says Mallory Schneuwly Purdie, head of the project funded by the Federal Social Insurance Office (OFAS), in an article. What's social security got to do with it?

Harald Sohns, from the Communications Department, replied by email that the FSIO was supporting this project to prevent the radicalisation of young people on the Internet as part of the "*national action plan to combat radicalisation and violent extremism*". "*PositivIslam*" was chosen and the programme entrusted to CSIS. It is funded by the Office to the tune of CHF 40,000. But my correspondent doesn't explain what link social insurance has with violent extremism... Were the other patrons' purses empty?

CSIS has recruited around fifteen young French and Italian speakers to train them to "*use new media to put forward an alternative and positive vision of Islam*". Short, punchy content using humour and irony. The artists are supposed to offer an alternative "*to the divisive messages circulating on the net, some of which refer to an extreme interpretation of Islam*". Reading Frislam?

And what does project leader Schneuwly Purdie think of this partner that the CSIS supports and is so close to? Nothing. Mallory runs for cover: she hasn't said anything, seen anything or heard anything: "*The CSIS is working with the Frislam association only as part of the PositivIslam project,*" she replies by email. "*The aim of this collaboration was to promote the pilot project in youth associations, particularly with a view to recruiting bloggers. The pilot project ends on 31 December, as does this collaboration.*"

Since CSIS doesn't see the slightest problem, perhaps the army and the Fribourg authorities will?

Positivislam is not too dangerous given the appalling quality level of its productions. By way of new techniques, apprentice bloggers choose writing above all else. And they trot out the usual clichés: my testimony, my conversion, my encounter with racism...

By funding groups of Muslims to combat radicalism (by

explaining to us how Islam is a perfect religion and they themselves are perfect citizen-believers), the Confederation and its satellite are giving a new lease of life to evangelism, to its acquittal of Islam and to frenetic entryism into our institutions. The CSIS never ceases to stress how much mosques and Muslim associations deserve subsidies for their role as "*partners in integration*"⁶⁰.

The canton of Vaud

The Centre islamique de Prilly (CCML), formerly based in Lausanne, welcomed foreign Muslim Brotherhood members to come and preach, as recently as January 2020, just before the Covid crisis, when a "jurisprudence conference" was led by a member of the Brotherhood's European Fatwa Council, Khaled Hanifi.

At previous conferences, Sheikh Omar Abdelkafi was invited to the CCML. He is a member of the "*World Union of Muslim Scholars*" ... another of Al-Qaradawi's creations. An organisation of which Tariq Ramadan also had the honour of being a member shortly before his downfall. Abdelkafi heralds the death penalty for unveiled women.

Another guest was Hassan Iquioussen, a French preacher whose lectures extolled the return of the caliphate led by the Muslim Brotherhood before their fall in 2011. Iquioussen ticks all the boxes: denial of the Armenian genocide, fan of Erdogan, supports *Jihâd fîsabilillah*, the

fight on the path of God, against the "hypocrites" and the "external enemy", his conferences are always a delight for observers of the Brotherhood⁶¹, given how transparent he is.

The imam of this centre/mosque in Prilly, Abdelwahed Kort, refuses to condemn stoning⁶².

The largest mosque in the canton of Vaud is the Muslim Cultural Complex in Lausanne, run by Abdelwahed Kort, who has invited 'Brother' Iquioussen on numerous occasions. When Imam Kort was asked by Télévision Suisse Romande in 2015 whether he condemned stoning, he replied "It's complex", in order to remain faithful to the Islamist line, which provides for this punishment in the case of sexual relations outside marriage. This does not prevent him from trying to win over the media by saying that he wanted a "radical reform that would make Islam compatible with our society and our times"⁶³.

Coordination of Swiss Islamic Organisations

One of the main federations of Swiss mosques is the **Coordination des organisations islamiques suisses** (COIS), which includes the Muslim Brotherhood of the League of Muslims of Switzerland⁶⁴. Farhad Afshar is the Chair of COIS, which groups together Albanian, Turkish and Bosnian community associations- a veritable lobby for Turkey's Islamist dictatorship. In 2008, Afshar said he was in favour of introducing a little Sharia into Swiss law: *"Muslim parents who wish to favour their son in the inheritance can do so by using the non-reservative share (...) However, they cannot force him to assume the counterpart provided for by Muslim law: the financial responsibility for his sister. There is scope here where a form of community justice could be beneficial."* Referring to the Embrach mosque that was put in the

spotlight after young worshippers left for Syria, he believes that one of the reasons for this is the lack of integration in Switzerland. He advocates putting Islam on an equal footing with Catholicism and the Reformed churches.

In addition to the Ligue des musulmans, the COIS includes the Union des associations musulmanes de Fribourg and the Union vaudoise des associations musulmanes. The latter organisation comprises 17 mosques, including the Complexe culturel des musulmans de Lausanne mentioned above, which regularly invites Tariq Ramadan to give lectures. UVAM also includes mosques in Montreux, Renens, Crissier, Préverenges, Morges, Vevey and Payerne.

The Islamic Community of Ticino

The **Islamic Community of Ticino** (CIT), one of the canton's two main associations, is an offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood.

This was brilliantly demonstrated by a Swiss politician and editorialist named Giorgio Ghiringhelli, who had the good sense not to take at face value a press release from the Lugano Socialist Party presenting the CIT as a *"peaceful, democratic and constructive association that strives to integrate Muslims"*.

He published a study, which showed that the administrators of the CIT were well-known Muslim Brotherhood members:

- Ahmed Nasreddin, one of the founders of Al Taqwa Bank, created and chaired the

CIT until 2003.

- Ali Ghaleb Himmat took over as CIT Chairman in 2004, the same year that the aforementioned Mohamed Karmous from Neuchâtel joined the management team.

- Youssef Nada is one of the founders of Bank Al Taqwa in Lugano, which was set up in 1988. He ran it with Himmat, whose daughter he married. Nada, now out of the picture, is known as one of the financial brains of the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe.

In 2005, a split in the CIT gave rise to the *"League of Muslims of Ticino"* led by Gasmi Slaheddine along with Imam Samir Radouan Jelassi, who trained at the IESH in Château-Chinon in the Nièvre region.

The Cultural Association of Muslims of Neuchâtel (ACMN)

The Association culturelle des musulmans de Neuchâtel (ACMN) and the women's group *"Lumière de l'islam [Light of Islam]"* are very influenced by the brotherhood: on at least six occasions in 2016 and 2017, they invited Abu Ramadan, the imam of Bienne who had called for the annihilation of non-Muslims in a sermon. Abu, a Libyan who lives on Swiss welfare and speaks no French, often rubbed shoulders with Hani Ramadan at these meetings, as well as Lotfi Hammami, who heads the **Neuchâtel Union of Muslim Associations**.

The Rencontres des Musulmans de Suisse

On the model of the UOIF's "Rencontres [Meetings]" in France, where all the regional leaders of the Middle Eastern Brotherhood have come, the Brotherhood has organised an annual congress at the Fribourg Forum since 1995, sponsored by the Brotherhood's television station Iqraa and Secours Islamique. The usual guests include Hani Ramadan and Moncef Zenati, as well as the extremist imam Youssef Ibram, who has been active in Switzerland for 35 years without being bothered by the authorities.

Of Moroccan origin, Youssef Ibram studied for six years in Saudi Arabia. In Switzerland, he was Imam of the Grand Wahhabi Mosque in Geneva from 1983 to 1993. The imam then officiated at Zurich's Rötelistrasse mosque for twelve years and joined the Muslim Brotherhood's European Fatwa Council. In 2004, he caused controversy in an article for *Coopération* by refusing to condemn stoning. The imam was forced to leave Zurich. No problem: the Wahhabi mosque in Geneva, where he first preached, took him in. He even became "First imam"!

In December 2009, minarets were banned in Switzerland. A journalist from *Protest-Info* interviewed a number of key figures, including Youssef Ibram. Extract:

Ibram : *Islamic law and its sharia section only apply to Muslim countries. But even among these countries, not all practise it! Only Saudi Arabia more or less follows this code.*

The journalist : *Is Saudi Arabia right to apply it?*

Ibram : Yes (...) *it comes as close as possible to the Koran and I defend the Koran. (...) It is because the Arabian Peninsula has never been colonised that it has remained as close to Islam as possible.*

In a German-language TV report broadcast by *Temps présent* on 20 May 2010, journalist Karin Bauer observed: "*Youssef Ibram castigates Western decadence*", and states that in our society "*light clothing is seen as an expression of elevation*". And he tells Muslim women: "*If you don't lower your eyes, you're going to become a disciple of Satan!*"

It is important to note that Youssef Ibram is a member of the European Council for Fatwa and Research, and as such is invited to many European Brotherist mosques.

By tolerating such extremists, Switzerland is unlikely to see a reversal in the rise of Islamism in the country.

Turkish Imams, allies of the Muslim Brothers

In Switzerland, the Turkish-Islamic Foundation is an appendage of the Diyanet, the Turkish Ministry of Islamic Affairs. Its 34 imams, paid by Turkey, must be in step with their President, Recep Erdogan, sponsor of the Muslim Brotherhood. The mosques are bastions of cultural conservation, and no concessions are made to the West, especially not the use of an official Swiss language. All mosque websites are in Turkish. The Swiss Foundation is based in Zurich, and once a month it convenes its imams for a day of debriefing and offers "in-depth theological briefings given by scholars specially flown in from Turkey". Turkish mosques are registered administratively in Switzerland under a name in the official language that has nothing to do with its real name in Turkish. For non-Muslims, the **Eyup Sultan Mescidi** mosque is known as the Centre islamique et culturel turc de Lausanne. In the summer of 2020, a controversy arose because this mosque received 40,000 Swiss francs from the Office fédéral de la police (Fedpol), officially to help with the costs of security at the site, despite the fact that Swiss mosques have never been attacked and are under no threat. The mosque's leader, Celal Yilmaz, himself told the local press: "We have never had any threats"⁶⁵.

Turkish Islamists therefore have every reason to look forward to a bright future in Switzerland.

Notes

- 47 .*al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn*, the Muslim Brotherhood in Arabic.
- 48 Del Valle, Alexandre. *Le Projet: La stratégie de conquête et d'infiltration des frères musulmans en France et dans le monde*, (p. 94 Kindle), published by L'artilleur
- 49 Chérif Amir, *Histoire secrète des Frères Musulmans*, Ellipses, 2010.
- 50 Pr. cit. page 284.
- 51 Source: letter from George B. Wolfe of the US Treasury Department to Deputy Attorney General Claude Nicaté (Switzerland), dated 4 January 2002, "Re: Al-Taqwa/Nada Management organization".
- 52 Quoted in *Qatar Papers*, Michel Lafon, 2019, page 124.
- 53 https://wikileaks.org/plusd/cables/08TELAVIV1411_a.html
- 54 Mireille Valette, *La Chaux-de-Fonds and the Islam of the Muslim Brotherhood: demonstration ahead!* Boulevard de l'islamisme blog, 29 May 2016.
- 55 <https://www.frislam.ch/17-09-17-introduction-aux-sciences-religieuses-i-resume/>
- 56 Online conference "Who are Sheikh Moncef Zenati's teachers", Youtube.
- 57 Conference "What is Sharia law?" on 12 April 2014 in Paris. Youtube.
- 58 <https://www.frislam.ch/17-09-17-introduction-aux-sciences-religieuses-i-resume/>
- 59 <https://www.rts.ch/play/tv/lactu-en-video/video/portrait-de-yas-sine-dhif-pharmacist-officer-and-muslim?id=7664932&station=a9e7621504c6959e35c3ecbe7f6bed0446cdf8da>
- 60 Mireille Valette and Amin Abdelmajide, Frislam: des citoyens modèles s'abrevent à la doctrine des Frères musulmans, Blog Boulevard de l'islamisme, 2 November 2018.
- 61 Read his full profile in Joachim Véliocas' book *Mosquées radicales, ce qu'on y dit ce qu'on y lit*, published by DMM, 2016, pages 19 to 34.
- 62 Temps présent, 30 April 2015, "Mon imâm chez les Helvètes" ("My imam among the Helvetians")
- 63 Quoted by Mireille Valette in her book *Le radicalisme dans les mosquées suisses*, Xénia éditions, 2017, page 94.
- 64 On its website, the Ligue des musulmans de Suisse presents the opinions of the Union of Islamic Organisations in Europe (FOIE) on the front page, showing its ideological submission to the Muslim Brotherhood.
- 65 "We are not Erdogan's mosque", 24heures, 7 August 2020.

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN FRANCE

The beginnings of a presence in France

The Union des organisations islamiques de France - renamed Musulmans de France in 2018 - was founded in 1983 by foreign students. Three students from the Middle East living in eastern France: Ahmed Mahmoud, born on 5 March 1947 in El-Minia, Egypt, Zuhair Mahmood, born on 1 July 1952 in Mosul, Iraq, both engineering students and Mohamed Khaldoun Bacha, born in 1955 in Syria, who came to study medicine. They were respectively chairs of the Association des musulmans de France, the **Association islamique de l'Est de la France** (AIEF) and the **Centre culturel islamique de Franche-Comté** (CCIFC).

At its inception, the UOIF represented only six or seven small associations, including AMAM⁶⁶, the **Groupe islamique en France** (GIF) and the **Ligue socio-culturelle islamique** in Lille. The Chair of the latter, the Syrian cardiologist Mohamed Jammal, known for his role in the **Islamic Vanguard**s, the activist faction of the Syrian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, even became on 8 July 1985 the treasurer of this coalition which was joined over the months by a number of other small Islamist groups with equally small numbers.

In October of the same year, two Tunisians: Ahmed Jaballah, from Antony in the Paris suburbs and brother of the GIF's chair, and Abdallah Ben Mansour, a founding member and leader of the GIF when it was created, took over the reins of the **Union des organisations islamiques en France**, as chair and secretary general respectively. This corresponds to the transfer of the UOIF headquarters from Nancy to Amiens and the accentuation of its

cosmopolitan character.

In fact, in addition to its Syrian, Egyptian, Iraqi and Tunisian founders, that year saw the appointment to its board of directors - which in 1985 included no French people, even by naturalisation - of a Yemeni engineer living in Limoges: Abderrahman Bafadel, born on 9 April 1948 in Hadramaout (South Yemen). The leader of the Lebanese Muslim Brotherhood, Fayçal Mawlawi (1941-2011), was also a discreet mentor, and gave his name to the "*Fayçal Mawlawi Prize*" awarded by the UOIF to the best activist of the year at its annual meeting at Le Bourget, with €6,000 at stake.

In 1996, a Moroccan from Cenon in Gironde, Lhaj Thami Breze, born in 1957 in Dar El Gueddari (Morocco), took over as General Secretary for many years. Until this nomination, he was best known as the main driving force behind the **Islamic Council of the Aquitaine region**. His arrival at the head of the complex structure that the UOIF has become led to the departure of Abdallah Ben Mansour as Secretary General, to be replaced by a neighbour of the new Chair in Cenon: Fouad Alaoui Bouarraqui, born on 30 September 1961 in Taza (Morocco). He is the founder of UISEF, the **Union islamique des sections des étudiants de France**, which was set up in Bordeaux in 1989.

Until the mid-90s, the UOIF was called the Union of Islamic Organisations "*in*" France, not "*of*" France. Which makes all the difference. From its point of view, this means that France is on the way to becoming a land of Islam (*Dar al Islam*). It is true that

when you see mosques being built every month, when you think it's already normal for Sharia law to be applied in schools (no pork in canteens) and swimming pools (special timetables in several towns), and when there is an *Eid-el-Kabir* holiday granted by a circular from the French Education Ministry, you might well think they are right.

Real Muslim Brothers sought

Abdallah ben Mansour, the former Secretary General, fully accepts the intellectual link between the UOIF and the Muslim Brotherhood: *"To have a mosque, you need an association. We students were the most literate people in the community, and we created the twelve associations that came together to form the UOIF. They were led by the students because they were the elite of the Muslims in France. Even if they weren't members, all these students came from the Muslim Brotherhood school of thought. There are no organic links between the organisations they have created in Europe and the Brothers, but our general ideological framework coincides with that of the Brothers⁶⁷".*

In an interview with the Algerian newspaper *L'Expression* on 16 May 2002, Lhaj Thami Breze had to explain the presence at the congress that same year of the then leader of the Algerian Muslim Brotherhood, Mahfoud Nahnah (who died in 2003), leader of the Movement of Society for Peace (MSP).

"Isn't your organisation close to the Muslim Brotherhood?"

We are Muslim Brothers, but we are not the Muslim Brotherhood. In my opinion, everyone should be proud of the Muslim Brotherhood. Sheikh Nahnah has a Muslim Brotherhood movement. The Muslim Brotherhood represents renewal. We are a trend, a movement that draws its foundations, its doctrine in France independently of any ideological or political affiliation. The Muslim Brotherhood, we know it well, is the best movement there is. They have adapted well to modernity and they have also adapted the discourse and practice of Islam to our times. I think along the same lines as Sheikh Nahnah, who is a modern and moderate figure."

This is how the Muslim Brotherhood operates throughout the world, as autonomous associations with no organic links to the general leadership based in Cairo, in order to integrate nationally and not suffer from the fire and brimstone image of Brotherhood movements abroad that opt for more muscular activism.

Fouad Alaoui, still Secretary General of the UOIF, has admitted in the past that Faycal Mawlawi, head of the Lebanese branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, the ***Jaamat Islamiya***, had "for a long time" been one of his "religious references⁶⁸" The latter also admits to having helped the UOIF in its early days: *"I contributed to the creation of both organisations, first in France and then at European level⁶⁹",* he told journalist Sylvain Besson, referring to the FOIE (Union/Federation of Islamic Organisations in Europe), which is co-organised by the national associations of Europe.

In a book of interviews in 2013⁷⁰, the imam of Bordeaux, Tareq Oubrou, admitted to being a member of the Brotherhood: *"The Muslim Brotherhood movement claims to modernise religion, without touching anything essential. This discourse, which is barely audible, is losing ground. I continue to be a member of this movement."*

Repentant former members of the UOIF are now admitting that they had to swear allegiance to the *Baya'* brotherhood, demonstrating that the Muslim federation is indeed in league with it. These include UOIF student leaders Farid Abdelkrim and Mohamed Louizi, who have published books providing information on the internal workings of the organisation.

Here is the oath of allegiance taken by Mohamed Louizi in 2000 in front of Amar Lasfar, founder of the Islamic League of the North, the structure representing the UOIF in the region. After a series of lessons behind closed doors, he was summoned one Saturday evening with four other candidates to swear the following oath in Arabic:

"I pledge before Allah, the Almighty, to strictly observe the provisions and precepts of Islam and to wage jihad to defend its cause. I pledge before Him to respect the conditions of my allegiance to the Muslim Brotherhood and to fulfil my duties towards our Brotherhood. I pledge before Him to obey His leaders in good times and in bad, as far as I am able,

as long as the orders given to me do not oblige me to commit a sin. I swear allegiance to them and Allah is my witness."

And yet Amar Lasfar, Chair since 2013, tells journalists that his organisation is not a member of the Muslim Brotherhood! This is the same Amar Lasfar, whose lectures on evangelism dating from 1994 have resurfaced on **YouTube**⁷¹ where he can be heard explaining how to conquer power in the West. The option of using force is not ruled out, provided it is used "at the appropriate time":

"The third option (to Islamise the West) is a purely political one. We succeed in conveying Allah's message (...) through a coup d'état. By working politically to infiltrate town councils and parliaments and seizing power politically. And after that, Allah's message will come through. This is the option defended by the Hizb-ut-tahrir (pro-caliphate party). The fourth option is force. Some Muslims believe that the use of force helps to impose Allah's message. There are armed groups, which people call extremists, who practise violence and believe that there is no other option than violence to wrest power and proclaim Islam (...)", he explains, before warning that "this is not the right option". "If force is misused, if it is not used at the right time, in the right place, it becomes a blemish and causes discord (...)".

As far as town councils are concerned, a textbook case is

the victory in becoming mayor of Goussainville of Abdelaziz Hamida, previously a kingpin of the town's UOIF mosque. It should be noted that his team includes Mohamed Saou, former La République en Marche point of contact for the Val d'Oise, who was magnificently successful in his infiltration. Alongside Goussainville, Garges-lès-Gonesse narrowly missed falling into the hands of another Brotherhood sympathiser, Samy Debah, founder of the CCIF. A deputy mayor of Beauvais, Mohrad Laghari, supported the town's UOIF mosque project, and attends the Islamists' annual conference at Le Bourget. He moved from Caroline Cayeux's UMP majority to La République En Marche, whose press releases he now writes using inclusive language... But sometimes his natural best resurfaces like this Ramadan meal (iftar) in June 2018 in the Saint-Jean district of Beauvais, where he attacked MP Agnès Thil (whose LREM nomination for the legislative elections he was competing for). The latter confided to Le Parisien:

*"When I went to greet him, he verbally abused me," she says. He said to me: "You're on my territory, Saint-Jean is mine, you don't belong here. You are a disgrace to the LREM movement". Several people had to hold him back to prevent him from attacking me"*⁷²

The "long-termist" vision of Chair Amar Lasfar in the 90s is therefore showing its full relevance.

The Brotherhood's mega-structures: the great multipurpose mosques

Mulhouse

Of the 2,600 mosques that include prayer rooms, France has around a hundred that are very monumental with a dome and/or minaret.

The Muslim Brotherhood or its allies, even though they are in the minority in terms of controlled places of worship (around 200), have managed to build around thirty of these mega-mosques. The main ones are Créteil, Cergy, Mulhouse, Poitiers, Hérouville (Caen), Nantes, Reims, and Bussy-Saint-Georges.

The strategy is to create multi-purpose spaces with, in addition to the prayer room, classrooms to provide extra-curricular activities for children if the creation of real schools is not yet possible, shops, sports clubs and even a swimming pool as in Mulhouse. This is known as "*Tawtine*", and involves territorialisation through the acquisition of real estate to create a visible presence, with schools, if possible healthcare centres as in Egypt, cultural institutes, etc.

These grassroots elements need to be complemented by a network of banks, insurance companies, crèches and businesses, as theorised by one of the Brotherhood's leaders, Khairat al-Chater, in a secret document seized from his company, entitled The Tamkine Document. The "*Tamkine*" concept is a method of seizing power in stages. Obviously, France is not Egypt and is only at the very beginning of the process.

The An Nour centre is the Brotherhood's flagship project in Mulhouse, supported from the outset by Sheikh Al-Qaradawi's appeals for donations from Qatar, whose foundation released €14 million for its construction! The centre, in the heart of Europe, less than an hour from Germany, is the focus of much attention, as demonstrated by the visit of Hamad Abdelkader Al-Sheikh, head of Qatar's Islamic preaching organisation in 2015, as well as other leading figures. Al-Jazeera even broadcast live the "Meeting of Muslims of Alsace" organised by the **Association of Muslims of Alsace** (AMAL), which runs the mosque. Kuwait has also donated €3.7 million.

It has to be said that the endowment fund collecting these huge donations is run by a certain Ayyoub Abouliaquin, founder of AMAL and former director of... Qatar Charity UK! The days when AMAL met in a small prayer room flying the Hamas flag⁷³ are long gone.

It has to be said that Mulhouse town council bears a heavy responsibility, having made the acquisition of the land possible with a grant of €235,000, reported the *Dernières nouvelles d'Alsace* in its edition of 23 January 2009, when the mayor was Jean-Marie Bockel (+2020), a minister born of Nicolas Sarkozy's 'openness'.

Successive LR mayors have allowed the project to flourish, including Jean Rottner and Michèle Lutz. Similarly, the LR MP Arlette Grosskost came every year to the Ramadan meals of the Brotherhood and to its "gathering", as she did in 2010 in the company of Brotherhood leaders such as Safwat Higazi, who wants to kill Jews "with his teeth", now imprisoned in Egypt for terrorist activities⁷⁴. Not to mention the presence of Tariq Ramadan. But that didn't stop France 3 from calling it a "friendly fair".

In May 2019, the first prayer rang out in this giant mosque. Because there's a lot more to it than just the 843m² prayer hall, which can accommodate 2,900 men. Ten classrooms to teach young people, a 25-metre swimming pool, a 410m² cross-fit gym and a sports hall for group classes. A 420m² women's area, a computer room, a 316m² media library and a 4,000m² basement.

The Passerelle endowment fund, through which the necessary millions were channelled, has other ambitions, such as the purchase of a 291m² property in Strasbourg to house a halal medical practice with several doctors!

This fund emerged from media anonymity in March 2019, at the time of Michael Chiolo's terrorist attack at Condé-sur-Sarthe prison, because his companion, the equally terrorist Hanane Aboulhana - also killed by the police - was the executive secretary of Passerelle, and a former AMAL member! It all makes sense when you consider that Hani Ramadan has often been invited to give lectures⁷⁵ at AMAL, as he openly advocates an armed jihad with a view to establishing an Islamic state:

*"The Muslim world is in turmoil. This force can and must be directed towards an Islamic state, a state that applies the Koran and the Sunna. (...) Muslims will never regain their lost happiness if they do not return to jihad and seek to establish an Islamic State"*⁷⁶.

For Tariq's brother, who dutifully had this published, the Muslim community "abandoned jihad and suffered the

consequences", in reference to the fall of the Ottoman Caliphate in 1924.

Emmanuel Macron's visit to Mulhouse in February 2020 to express his desire to attack Islamism was surreal, just a stone's throw from this Muslim Brotherhood base. The most naïve might have thought that he was going there to announce the closure of this Islamist centre, but no, he didn't even mention its existence in his long speech on the Islamist threat.

The Grande Mosquée of Créteil

Créteil's grandiose 3,700m² mosque, complete with minaret, was built with the help of public funds⁷⁷, even though the town's imam was an Islamist defended by the association running the mosque, the **Union des associations musulmanes de Créteil** (UAMC).

Ilyes Hacene, then imam of the Créteil mosque, was closely monitored by the Renseignements Généraux [France's Counter Terrorism Command] which noted that his preaching was tinged with "*ideology inciting discrimination, hatred and violence against the Western world and the Jewish people*" According to the RG, he also sent young French Muslims to Salafist universities in Damascus. This was June 2008 and the new mosque would be inaugurated six months later. *Le Parisien* reported at the time how the Islamist was defended by his fellow believers: "*Chair of the Union des associations musulmanes de Créteil and head of the brand new mosque, which will soon be completed, Karim Benaïssa spoke out against a 'machination' when this affair first came to light last autumn, and denounced the 'unfounded' accusations against the Imam of Créteil*"⁷⁸.

The town is leasing the land on a long term lease basis, at an annual rent of €15,000, which is a bargain when you consider the surface area of 3,700m². More than two million euros in subsidies from the city and the Region (then socialist), out of a budget of 5.5 million, to build what remains one of the largest mosques in France.

Imâm Hacene, who was still in office at 2020, has been refused naturalisation by the French government because of his extremism, despite the fact that many UOIF imams have been naturalised over the last twenty years.

The inauguration in December 2008 was attended by the Bishop of Créteil, Mgr Santier, the Prefect and the then President of the region, Jean-Paul Huchon. The place is an architectural success: a magnificent mosaic fountain, a hammam, a library and bookshop, a cafeteria, classrooms and conference rooms, all in the shadow of a 25-metre

minaret.

Previous speakers at the Créteil mosque include Ahmed Jaballah, president of the UOIF, and Saïd Ramadan Al Bouti (who died in 2013), a theorist of classic jihad. In his book *Islamistes, apologistes et libres penseurs* [Islamists, apologists and free thinkers], Ghassan Finianos, also Syrian, professor of Arabic thought at the University of Bordeaux, explains that "*Al-Bouti justifies violence with a view to conquering power and, consequently, spreading the values of Islam*"⁷⁹.

Saudi Salafism is also present: in September 2015, the "eminent" Sheikh Abd-Allah Al-Ubayd came to give a lecture.

In the "Averroès" bookshop on the ground floor of the Créteil mosque, you can find the manual *La Voie du Musulman* [The Way of the Muslim] by Abu Bakr Al Jazairi (+2018), an Algerian sheikh who is very popular with the Muslim Brotherhood. This work prescribes offensive jihad as soon as military superiority is achieved, the murder of apostates and homosexuals, and even of those who neglect prayer. The manual also states that Christians do not have the right to build churches in Muslim lands! Hatred of the West is also evident in another work by Al Jazairi found at the location by researcher Joachim Véliocas⁸⁰:

"Europe will one day suffer the worst misfortune and agony for its crimes against Islam, the religion of Allah which is also its own, because it cannot have any other. For whatever happens to her, she has no one to blame but herself, for Allah is not unjust"⁸¹.

Books by the Muslim Brotherhood's Yusuf Al Qaradâwî, Mohamad Al Ghazâli and Hani Ramadan are widely available in the mosque's bookshop.

The *Monthly* publication of the Grande mosquée of Créteil, entitled *Alkhaf*, confirms the institution's credentials. A look at the archives reveals that the Muslim Brotherhood is heavily represented. Al-Qaradawi is cited, as is Sayyed Qutb, presented as a "*famous scholar*"⁸² - as he is indeed, famous to jihadists of all stripes who know his writings inside out.

The Hanbalite jurist Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (1292-1350) is cited in no fewer than forty-six articles! In a context of cohabitation with non-Muslims, this is worrying because this jurist wrote a legal treatise devoted exclusively to the fate of the *dhimmi*, i.e. Jews and Christians in a minority situation. This book, entitled *The Status of Tributaries* (*Akâm ahl al dimma*), which is regularly republished in Saudi Arabia and Lebanon⁸³, sets out the condition of submission-humiliation of non-Muslims. Its content is

edifying: the pact of *dhimma* and the linked compulsory payment of tax (*jizya*), includes a litany of harassment and discriminations. This pact is broken if Christians proselytise, if they ring their bells and erect crosses on their churches (p. 719). Shops where they sold wine had to be burnt down (p. 283), they were forbidden any right of inheritance, captives taken from among their children were considered Muslims (p. 900), their churches confiscated if the bells were rung... At the beginning of this comprehensive treatise on pure and perfect discrimination, Ibn Qayyim, the "great scholar"⁸⁴ of the Créteil mosque, defines the *jizya* paid by the *dhimmi* as a "tribute" which strikes the heads of the infidels to humiliate and subjugate them, i.e. "*until they give the tribute to save their necks*"⁸⁵ (p. 23). Ibn Qayyim is merely commenting on verse 29 of Sura IX:

"Fight those who do not believe in Allah or in the Last Day and who do not forbid what Allah and His Messenger have forbidden, and who do not adopt the religion of truth from those who were given the Scripture, until they pay the Jizya with willing submission, while feeling subdued".

For Qayyim, the tax must be paid from the "*debased and defeated*" *dhimmi* (p. 23), and mentions that some jurists specify "*dragged to the place of payment with brutality. His hand will be pulled with force and he will be reviled*", just as Ibn Hanbal, founder of the Hanbalite Sunni school followed at the Créteil mosque, specifies that they should be "*dragged by the hands and branded on the neck if they do not pay*".

Since the infidel is an "enemy of God", he cannot be greeted with the "greeting of peace"⁸⁶. A Muslim cannot visit a sick *dhimmi*, and if he is married to a Christian woman, he must forbid her to go to church. The "scholar" of Muslims in the Val de Marne also theorised the despoiling of Christians: "*If the Christians have become few in number and their churches numerous, the majority will be taken from them. What Muslims need to take is taken*" (p. 687).

On Wednesdays, around a hundred children flock to Islamic classes at the large mosque, ideally situated next to a school and the Léon Blum lycée, on the edge of the town's lake and park. As a result, generations of Muslim pupils will be exposed to the thinking of the Muslim Brotherhood. The prefect, the town hall and the Ministry of the Interior are largely responsible for this Islamist network. How can the place remain open when the local intelligence service had warned of the imam's extremist profile?

The Al-Tawba mosque in Val-de-Bussy

Every Friday, the two large car parks bordering this large domed mosque fill to capacity. Young men aged between 18 and 40 in particular, many of them recent immigrants, converge on the imposing building inaugurated in 2014, which Mayor Hugues Rondeau wanted to complete his "*esplanade of religions*" alongside an Indonesian temple and another Chinese one. Just ten minutes from Disneyland Park, this is the little-known largest mosque in Seine-et-Marne. It has a large bookshop and café, where you can find Muslim Brotherhood literature in French and Arabic. This is worrying when you consider that a primary school and a secondary school opened in the mosque for the start of the 2020 school year (see the next chapter on Muslim Brotherhood schools).

In February 2020, a filmed visit to the mosque's bookshop by the researcher Joachim Véliocas⁸⁷ revealed that theorists of armed jihad for the construction of Islamic states such as Al-Mawdûdi, Al-Jazairi and Sayyed Sabiq had their works on display on the shelves, as well as a collection of apologias on Brother Sayyed Qutb, a reference for terrorists. There are several copies of Al-Qaradâwî's *The Science of Priorities*⁸⁸, and its chapter devoted to 'education before combat on the path of God' is of interest at a time when the mosque is spending its energy training young people. On page 222 we read: "*This training, which aims to build a generation of true believers, empowered to carry the torch of reform and renewal, is a prerequisite for any action of exhortation to combat on the path of God; the which fight makes recourse to arms the means of bringing about change in society and the establishment of the State.*"

So we've been warned: we're at the stage of "*prerequisite*" training for young Muslims before combat.

The Grande mosquée of Reims

In operation since 2014, the Grande mosquée of Reims, managed by the **Association of the Mosque and Islamic Centre of Reims** (AMCIR), a member of the UOIF/MF, was not inaugurated until March 2019. The imam, Rachid El Haouari, was born in Morocco in 1976 and is a naturalised French citizen.

At the inauguration, representatives of Kuwait, along with the ambassador and an official from the Islamic country's Ministry of Islamic Affairs, were present alongside the sub-prefect, LR mayor Arnaud Robinet, who has always supported the project, and LREM MP Aina Kuric. This would have gladdened the heart of the head of the Brothers in France, Amar Lasfar, Chair of Musulmans de

France (the new name for the UOIF), who was also present to cut the ribbon on the 3,700m² monument featuring a minaret and dome. The €7 million project was funded by Kuwait (€3 million) and Qatar. The attendance on Fridays is impressive, with around a thousand men. A shop inside sells the works of the Brotherhood's thinkers, including *The Way of the Muslim*, a manual by Abu Bakr Al Jazairi explaining that "*those who deny the divine decrees concerning prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, obedience to parents or Jihad are renegade [...] punishable by death*"⁸⁹. This best-seller sold in the mosque prescribes the "use of weapons" against Christians who refuse to "pay tribute".

Muslim Brotherhood leaders came to preach in the building, including the Tunisian Zied Daoulatli, for whom "*The Turkish AKP (Erdogan's party) is a model for the Muslim world*"⁹⁰ or Abdelkebir Kotbi who, just ten days after the *Charlie Hebdo* attack, called on "*the French government to criminalise insults to religions*"⁹¹.

Every September, during the Heritage Days, the mosque opens its doors to attract the city's non-Muslims by showing its best side. Because the great mosques of the Brotherhood are now part of France's "*heritage*" that can be visited.

Hérouville-Saint-Clair in Calvados

The Hérouville-Saint-Clair mosque is also a model mega-mosque. It includes a nursery and primary school, a Koranic institute, an Arabic teaching centre and a religious training institute. According to its website, the large library includes works by the jihadist thinker Sayyed Qutb, among 2,700 books spread over 200m². It comes as no surprise that Hani Ramadan travelled from Switzerland in 2008 to give a lecture at the end of the school year. In this town too, the Ministry of Education is permitting the primary school, known as An Nour, to remain open.

The Assalam mosque in Nantes

The Assalam mosque in Nantes cost €6 million, half of which was financed by a wealthy Qatari national. With its 17-metre minaret and cupola, it is the largest in western France. But that wasn't enough, so a "*cultural centre*", financed to the tune of €200,000 by the PS town council, has been in operation since 2010 to teach Sharia law.

The local daily *Presse-Océan* reported on 11 May 2009:

"*The Association Islamique de l'Ouest de la France (Islamic Association of Western France) is providing almost all the funding for the building, estimated at €4.4*

million, with the town contributing €200,000 for the cultural centre. The subscription launched by the association has raised almost 1.5 million to date, just enough to pay for the structural work. "But now that work has started on the site, donations will be pouring in," says Ahmed Loukili, the project's technical manager. "

Tariq Ramadan has a sell-out talk

The AIOF is affiliated to the Union des organisations islamiques de France (UOIF), reputed to be close to the Muslim Brotherhood, and whose Chair, Lhaj Thami Breze, was present in Nantes yesterday. " *This new mosque will have its doors open. It will teach Islam, but also the values of citizenship, mutual aid and openness to others*". The laying of the foundation stone took place alongside the first annual meeting of Western Muslims organised by AIOF at the Cité des Congrès. Guest of honour: the highly controversial Tariq Ramadan, whose lecture on the theme of " *Living together in society*" was sold out.

Since 2018, a Muslim secondary school called "Al Bader" has been housed in the cultural centre of the Assalam mosque. Two year seven and year eight classes on the first floor of the Centre Culturel. Unfortunately, the education authority has given the go-ahead for the college to open.

Villeneuve d'Ascq

The Grande mosquée in Villeneuve d'Ascq, which cost

€4.5 million, is to be extended to open even more "tutoring" classes at a cost of €2 million.

Qatar Charity paid for a large part of the building, which includes a minaret and dome. The rector is Mohamed Karrat, who promotes Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood and teaches mathematics at the Lycée Averroès in the Lille mosque.

On his personal website, the Imam, Ahmed Miktar, expresses his wish that "*the Islamic renaissance desired by my dear Brotherhood of the Muslim Brotherhood will be achieved with my help*"⁹² Miktar, a Moroccan whose presence in France is tolerated for some reason, founded the Conseil des Imâms de France with other UOIF counterparts. An institute called Al Qods is part of the Villeneuve d'Ascq Islamic Centre, which provides training for the most studious Islamists and has had Hani Ramadan to speak on several occasions. Another speaker, Yussef Ibram (who came in December 2017), approves of the Sharia law applied in Saudi Arabia⁹³, and who challenges women as follows: "*If you don't lower your eyes, you will become a disciple of Satan!*"⁹⁴". One of the main books studied at the Al Quds Institute is entitled *Les fondements du droit musulman (Ousoûl Al Fiqh)* by Hassan Amdouni. In which we may read that "a hundred lashes" for unmarried couples ("fornicators") has "an obvious meaning" that requires "no interpretation"⁹⁵. Other books recommended on the institute's Facebook page include those by Yussûf Al-Qarâdawî, who is also a stickler for corporal punishment.

Other major mosques

In **Poitiers**, a gigantic mosque with a large minaret is nearing completion, named the "Mosque of the Martyrs' Pavement", in homage to the Arab conquerors of 732 who died as heroes against the Franks.

The **Agen** mosque, inaugurated in 2013, is run by the Association des musulmans d'Agen, which is close to the Brotherhood of the UOIF federation (recently renamed Musulmans de France). The 1,750m² venue welcomes between 200 and 800 people for the five prayers of the day, and up to 1,200 worshippers for the Friday sermon at 1pm.

350 children aged between 6 and 15 attend the Saturday Arabic and Koran classes, via the "Savoir et transmettre [Learning and passing on]" association, which runs the courses at the site. In 2016, there were 200 of them, which shows how indoctrination is on the rise in the sector. The imam, Hassane Hda, born in Morocco in 1965 and naturalised French like many foreign imams, worked at the UOIF mosque in Bordeaux from 1995 to 2010, which makes him a contemporary of Tareq Oubrou, who openly claims to be a member of the Muslim Brotherhood. The leader of the mosque, Messaoud Settati, is also a Moroccan who unfortunately obtained French nationality. This mosque, which invites Brotherist preachers such as Hassan Iquioussen (many times) and Mohamed François (April 2019), has a bookshop selling works promoting jihad by the Brotherhood's thinker Mohamed Ghazali (1917-1996) and Abu Bakr Al Jazairi, mentioned above.

In **Clermont-Ferrand**, the UOIF's main mosque expanded in 2017 with the purchase of five buildings covering a surface area of 2,223m². The centre runs Arabic classes attended by 250 children. One of the people in charge for a

long time was Bouchir Bouhzer, the brother-in-law of Fouad Alaoui, formerly Chair of the UOIF.

The Essonne Prefet attended the inauguration of the **Massy** mosque in April 2019. The lectures the mosque organises are broadcast on its **YouTube** channel. Guests include Hassan Iquioussen and Hani Ramadan.

In **Villeurbanne**, the foundation stone for the extension of the Othmane mosque (a member of the UOIF - MF) was laid on Friday 14 June 2019, marking the start of a project due for completion at the end of 2021. Three million euros were needed to complete the project. Two million euros had already been raised, enough to start the work.

In **Montpellier**, the Union des Musulmans de l'Hérault mosque, inaugurated in 2013, received €230,000 from Qatar out of a total cost of €1.1 million. The mosque invited Hani Ramadan in 2016, just before his entry ban.

In **Longwy** in Lorraine, a town with 4 mosques, one called Tawid has just been constructed at a cost of €2.3 million. It includes a Koranic school.

At **Savigny-le-Temple** in Essonne, the great mosque on a 2820m² site has a primary school, Koran study institute, and media library. The imam, Richi Abdel Hakim, publishes photos on Facebook supporting the Muslim Brothers imprisoned in Egypt, and the symbol of the Brotherhood, a 4-fingered hand on a yellow background. The mosque has 36000 Facebook followers.

Future major mosques

Ivry-sur-Seine, a commune of 60,000 inhabitants bordering Paris, is due to have a major mosque by 2022. In mid-December, the Muslim collective of Ivry Annour and the Communist municipality of Val de Marne signed a memorandum of understanding on the land that the town will cede for the construction of the future mosque. Until now, the Annour association has been praying in more modest premises and organising numerous activities under the leadership of the media imam Mohamed Bajrafil. In the biography on his website, he says that he was influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood, Safwat Hijazy and Al Qaradawi, his "references".

The new mosque will be built on the commercial zone near the Seine, covering an area of 4,500 m² at a cost of €6 million. The collective has already raised €2.3 million over the last five years and is still counting on a pledge of €700,000. It will have a capacity of 5,000 followers and a 20-metre minaret will mark the presence of this community linked to the Brotherist preachers.

Most of the imams leading the conferences, courses and prayers are from the Islamic brotherhood.

Abdallah Ben Mansour, a founding member of the UOIF, came to give a lecture on 20 May 2019. This Tunisian Muslim Brother said at the 2013 UOIF congress " **When Muslims have implemented Sharia law throughout the world, everyone will be happy** ".

On 24 October 2019, it was the Moroccan Salafist preacher Zine El Abidine Balafrej who was invited.

Moroccan sociologist Hicham Houdeifa described him on *Al Fanar*: "*Balafrej is a star of the Salafist movement in Morocco, with his own YouTube channel, Facebook page and website. He teaches and preaches in mosques, publishes books and issues fatwas. His lectures are attended not only by students, but also by followers and fans.*"

He defended the niqab (covering the whole face) and said that Moroccan tradition calls for women to show only "one eye" and that a "*respectable* munaqqaba (*veiled woman*) *cannot enter a café where there are men or sit with unveiled women*". If she does, she is "*a liar*" and perhaps "*a prostitute*"⁹⁶.

Youssef Achmaoui, one of the mosque's imams, takes part in Muslim Brotherhood gatherings as a speaker, as he did in Nantes in 2014.

A video message in support of the project by Walid Abdel Maksoud, a graduate of the Institut Européen de Sciences Humaines (IESH) in Paris, the Muslim Brotherhood's sharia school in France, was reposted by the mosque's Facebook account. In a video⁹⁷ of preaching devoted to jihad in the surah Ashraf, Maksoud talks about "**3 things that are a foundation of the faith and practice of the Muslim**", the third of which, "**doing jihad, this third pillar is not insignificant because Allah mentions it about fifteen times in the Koran**". Of course, jihad is presented as a fight against tyranny and injustice, but the definition of injustice for the Muslim Brotherhood allows them to brandish this concept as soon as their projects are obstructed by firm governments that know how to contain them.

In **Le-Mée-sur-Seine** in Seine-et-Marne, the UDI mayor's office voted in September 2019 to approve a lease to make land available for a large mosque for the benefit of the Union des Musulmans du Mée, which invites pro-Brotherhood preachers such as Ahmed Jaballah, head of the UOIF, and Nourredine Aoussat to conferences.

Still in Seine-et-Marne, **Combs-la-Ville**, 28 kilometres south of Paris, already has a prayer room run by the Association culturelle et éducative des Musulmans de Combs-la-Ville, set up in 1991. This association has already raised €447,000 for the construction of a large mosque, even though its primary object, as its name indicates, is education, which is why it is governed by the law of 1901 and not 1905. With just €6,000 needed to get construction under way, it is highly likely that the monument will commence building works in 2020. The preachers invited by the mosque are allies of the Muslim Brotherhood, such as Hassan Iquioussen and Mohamed Bajrafil in 2019. Also, the Salafist imam of the Gonesse mosque, Ahmed Hilali, recently in the media for being the imam of Mickaël Harpon, the murderer at the Paris police prefecture, was a guest at the Combs-la-Ville mosque on 30 March 2019!

Another mosque with a minaret is nearing completion in **Rouen**, called Al Kaouthar, run by the Union des Musulmans de Rouen, which distributes Hassan Al Banna's texts on its website.

In **Amiens**, a major mosque project is being supported by the town council, in particular by Modem deputy Jean-Christophe Loric, for the benefit of the Association des Musulmans de Picardie. The Moroccan Chair of the AMP, Ahmed Berami, promotes Brotherhood thinkers and presents Hamas as a "resistance" movement. The head of the education department is none other than Abdallah Ben Mansour, a UOIF figure and member of the Tunisian Muslim Brotherhood Ennahda.

In **Beauvais**, the large mosque, costing €4.5 million, is in the process of being built. The Espoir et Fraternité [Hope and Fraternity] association is showing off its ambitions by announcing that 250 children will be enrolled in Arabic and Koran classes. The fact that the deputy mayor of Beauvais, Mohrad Laghrari, was an ally of the association, visiting the association's stand at the UOIF congress at Le Bourget, was a major factor in obtaining planning permission.

In **Grenoble**, the Association des Musulmans Unis (AMU) is led by Imam Allal Jamad, born in Morocco in 1959 and naturalised in France. Surprising, given that his links with radical preachers are well known, as is AMU's

membership of the UOIF. For example, the association recently invited Hassan Iquioussen (February 2019) and Ismaïl Abou Ibrahim, the Salafist imam of the Bleuets mosque in Marseille.

In May 2019, Minister Olivier Véran came to share a Ramadan dinner at the AMU. In a video of the evening, the then Member of Parliament for Isère is heard to say: "*I hope your mosque project will go ahead quickly, I've seen the funds counter, there's a bit still to go but half of it's already there*".

The Union des associations culturelles et culturelles des musulmans de **Metz** (UACM) has won its bid. His plans for a large mosque will finally come to fruition on a 12,000m² plot of municipal land rented for just €15 a year. The Socialist mayor Dominique Gros, supported at the time by the UMP, made a full commitment in 2013 with the completion of this lease, which is a huge gift to the association. As a result, a special derogation from the town hall has allowed the minaret to rise to 35 metres, despite an urban planning scheme that would not allow it to exceed 17 metres. A colossal budget of €15 million, thanks to undisclosed foreign donors. Especially as annual operating costs will cost 1.5 million.

Le Républicain Lorrain of 10 February 2018 describes the grandiloquence of the site: "*The project is divided into three areas. The religious centre and its annexes with a large prayer room; the educational centre with a classroom and training room (350 pupils will be able to attend simultaneously for, among other things, learning Arabic, tutoring or calligraphy classes), a library and a museum; a service centre with a restaurant and a hammam.*"

The UACM is a federation of associations specially created to set up this large mosque project, bringing together five Islamic associations in the city, two of which are Turkish, one L'Amicale Turc et Français, which reports to Turkey's Ministry of Islamic Affairs, and the other, Millî Görüş, an Islamist movement that is a partner of the Muslim Brotherhood on the world stage and is also working for a political caliphate. In fact, on its official Facebook page, the Grand Mosque thanks the Millî Görüş (CIMG) for helping to organise its summer 2019 fair. The mosque's imam, Mohamed Hicham-Joudat, holds his seminars at the UOIF mosque in Woippy while awaiting completion of the works. He would like to see the Alsace-Moselle concordat extended to Islam so that it can enjoy the same benefits as other faiths: Islamic teachers in state schools paid for by taxpayers, mosques built with public funds and imams paid in the same way. At the same time, Mohamed Hicham-Joudat founded the Lorraine Council of Imams, chaplains and preachers, whose seminars are

presented by the Muslim Brotherhood, Ahmed Miktar from the UOIF mosque in Villeneuve d'Ascq and Azzedine Gaci from Villeurbanne.

The links are all the clearer with the Brotherhood in that the UACM had its own stand at the UOIF's (renamed

Musulmans de France) annual Paris Show in Le Bourget in 2017. The UACM also plays an active role in the regional version of the Islamist conferences in Mulhouse, such as the one held on 26 November 2017, which featured lectures by Ahmed Jaballah and Hassan Iquioussen.

Muslim Brotherhood schools and institutes in France

La Fédération Nationale de l'Enseignement Musulman

The UOIF pulled off a coup by organising the "*first national conference on private Muslim education*" on 23 May 2015 in Bagnolet. The media gave extensive coverage to the launch of the Fédération Nationale de l'Enseignement Musulman (FNEM), with Bernard Toutlemonde, a former school principal and Inspector General of the French Ministry of Education, giving the inaugural lecture. Pascal Balmand, General Secretary of Catholic Education and a former professor at Science-Po and Picpus, was another figure who lent himself to the game of respecting the Muslim federation, and had the honour of making the first speech of the day.

"Some forty private Muslim school projects are trying to get off the ground" ran the headline in *Le Monde* in May 2015. In 2016, 27 nursery schools and around ten secondary schools were already up and running.

The controversy surrounding the Averroès secondary school in Lille

Inaugurated in 2003, the Averroès secondary school, housed in the Lille-Sud mosque, is the flagship school of the Union des organisations islamiques de France, thanks to its good results at the baccalaureate and the professional nature of its management.

Headed by Amar Lasfar, leader of the UOIF, it attracted controversy in 2015 when Sofiane Zitouni, a former - philosophy teacher at the Lycée Averroès, wrote an article in *Libération*⁹⁸ denouncing the school's supposed anti-Semitism and Islamism.

Mohamed Louizi, a repentant former member of the

UOIF, was keen to defend his counterpart Sofiane Zitouni, providing information corroborating the radical nature of the school. Louizi has amassed so much information about his former organisation that he has written a book about it, available free on the internet. In it, he denounced preaching by mathematics teacher Mohamed Karat⁹⁹ viewable on YouTube under the title "*La victoire de Gaza*" given in August 2014 at the Villeneuve d'Ascq mosque. Louizi explains: "*Evidence has now been provided to show, without the shadow of a doubt, that at least one maths teacher at the 'Averroès College-Lycée' is an ideologue, who unashamedly airs his views in public, popularising and reproducing, with unprecedented verbal violence, all the Islamist rhetoric concerning the discourse of the Brotherhood, from Hassan Al-Banna to Hamas. His speech is accessible to everyone on the net.*

(...) *The word 'Peace' was only spoken once.*

What is most incredible, but hardly surprising, is that the "Muslim Brotherhood", its founder and its armed wing (Hamas), alone account for a total of 28 mentions. "

Makhlouf Mameche, deputy head of the Lycée Averroès and Vice-Chair of the Union des organisations islamiques de France in charge of private education, often gives lectures at the Lille mosque, where the Lycée Averroès is located. In one of his lectures in November 2012, he advocated discretion and caution in advancing the Islamist agenda:

"This is how the Prophet planned, in total secrecy, his plan of action, his project, his programme. We mustn't reveal everything we do to others, dear brothers and sisters, but we must work secretly until we have put the whole project in place. "

Then Mameche took a warlike example:

"One of [the Prophet's] companions said to him: "If you

allow us, tomorrow we will attack the inhabitants of Medina". The companions were ready! From the moment they took an oath, from the moment they understood their role in society, they were ready! But the Prophet said to him "There is no reason for this attack at the moment, go back to your camps". Because the companions at that time were in a weak position. (...) he told them "Later", when all the conditions are right "

Patience and hard work for a growing community are advocated, and any equivalence with their minority situation in France is purely coincidental:

"When you're in a weakened state, you have to wait a little. You need to acquire the strength to be able to react. As France's Muslim community, we need to work gently, without crying wolf. We need to increase our actions without making too much noise. "

Makhlouf Mameche chairs the FNEMF, which is worrying given his close ties with Hani Ramadan, who has been invited several times by parents of pupils at the school to give talks. Hassan Iquioussen, pro-caliphate, denier of the Armenian genocide and an outspoken defender of the Brotherhood¹⁰⁰, taught ethics at lycée in the early years. As a result of the contract signed with the state in 2008, teachers are chosen from a list submitted by the Éducation Nationale, at least in the case of humanities teachers.

Mameche talks to Saphirnews about setting up schools in Mulhouse, Paris, Rouen, Besançon, Strasbourg, Grenoble, Valenciennes and Dunkirk, among others, and talks about the start of the FNEMF:

"When the Federation was created, five establishments were members. These are the major schools in France: Lycée Averroès in Lille, the first Muslim lycée in France in 2013, and the first Muslim lycée to have signed a contract of association with the State; the al-Kindi school group in Lyon, which signed a contract with the State this year; the Éducation et Savoir secondary school in Vitry-sur-Seine; the Ibn Khaldoun secondary school in Marseille; and the La Plume primary school in Grenoble, which has been in existence for 10 years but has not yet signed a contract with the state. They represent a total of between 1,200 and 1,300 students¹⁰¹."

The Villejuif secondary school.

One of the FNEM's flagship establishments is the Éducation et Savoir school in Villejuif, which is expanding in 2019. At a gala fundraising dinner in 2018, the Imam Ilyess of the Créteil Grand Mosque was present, as was the Chair of the UOIF/MF Ahmed Jabballah.

Unfortunately, the Créteil education authority has given the go-ahead for this collège-lycée.

Halluin school

In Halluin, the Al-Fitra primary school also opened its doors in September 2015. Adjacent to the town's great Tawid mosque (with minaret), it welcomed 80 pupils for its first school year. An excellent start for this town of 21,000 inhabitants. It is therefore necessary to identify the profile of the mosque from which this institution emanates in order to assess its degree of radicalism.

A sermon from Thursday 10 April 2014 available online, sees "musical instruments" as one of the "signs of the end times", instrumental music being banned among Salafists. And yet music is part of the curriculum in French primary schools, which clearly shows the gap with the French concept of introducing children to music from an early age.

Here is the content of the sermon:

"O Muslims,

The appearance of musical instruments and the fact that they are lawful has been widespread for a long time, but today they are even more so, in all four corners of the world.

So much so that it's becoming extremely difficult to find someone who doesn't listen to music, either voluntarily or under duress. There are 3 main temptations which are related to each other:

- *music intoxicates the heart*
- *alcoholic beverages, they make you lose your mind*
- *the devil's female flutes, tempting souls with their voices.*

Shaytan has established an unbreakable link between these 3 temptations¹⁰²."

A licence to kill those of lukewarm faith is noted in a sermon on 17 April, also devoted to the "signs of the end of times", based on a saying of the Prophet :

"Abdallah ibn Massoud reported that the Messenger of Allah (SAWS) said: " A group of people will appear at the end of time, they will be young, weak-minded and proclaiming the words of the best of creation, their faith will not go beyond their throats, they leave religion like an arrow leaves its target. Wherever you meet them, kill them, for in their killing there is a reward on the Day of Resurrection for him who kills them¹⁰³."

Rachid Haddach is one of the guest speakers at the Halluin mosque. His lectures are posted online on the mosque's

website. On Facebook, he boasts¹⁰⁴ that he is taking part in a conference with the Secretary General of the Muslim World League, the Saudi Sheikh Abdel Mohsen At-Turki, who is responsible for spreading Wahhabism throughout the world. According to Haddach, it was a "wonderful meeting". So it comes as no surprise that Haddach is collaborating with the Atlas¹⁰⁵ training institute, which teaches Sharia online and whose fourth term is devoted to the study of the *Forty Hadith of Nawâwi*, a book of Sharia prescriptions, the 14th of which calls for the apostate to be put to death and the 29th of which considers holy war to be the "pinnacle of religion". Most Atlas teachers were trained in Saudi Arabia.

In August 2015, Haddach described a video lecture by Professor Yahia Michot as a "very fine intervention", comparing the fate of the Jews during the Second World War with that of the Muslim invaders in Andalusia, who were unjustly expelled after the Reconquista, according to him.

On 21 March 2015, Haddach took part in a joint conference with Ahmed Jaballah, the current Chair of the UOIF, at the Lieusaint mosque.

The Muslim school, which expects to be under contract with the state in five years' time, teaches children in a community environment, where the Islam practised in Saudi Arabia is seen as a model to be followed. Worrying.

The Corbeil-Essonnes school

Another Muslim school that opened at the start of the 2015 academic year is the Excellence school in Corbeil-Essonnes, which caters for 144 children from year 2 to year 4, and from year 7 to year 9. Two hours a week are devoted to Islam, and six to Arabic! Mohammed Reda, 44, talks to *Le Parisien*. "I have enrolled my three children in the school. I'm a Muslim from the Maghreb, my wife is French, and we wanted our children to keep this marriage of cultures¹⁰⁶." In the photos of the classrooms posted on Facebook by the school, only Arabic letters are displayed on the wall on large sheets, covering the whole of the room.

Décines

South of Lyon, the Al-Kindi secondary school in Décines opened against the advice of the rector, Alain Morvan, who admitted that he had been pressured by the then Minister of the Interior, Nicolas Sarkozy. He was sacked shortly after denouncing the establishment's radicalism.

Built on an 8,500m² site, with 500 pupils by 2019, it was approved as a 'contract' school in an unusually short space of time in 2008, thanks to a helping hand from the Ministry of the Interior at the time. It should be remembered that by being under contract, the school receives subsidies from the Region.

The aims of the Lycée Al-Kindi was developed by one of its leaders during a *videoreport*¹⁰⁷ produced by the UOIF at the Bourget meeting in April 2009. The school's primary objective would not be to prepare young people primarily for vocational courses, but "to train them and help them become future project leaders, whether in education or in associations, to help structure the Muslim community throughout France". In short, to prepare the future leaders who will set up a parallel national network of Islamic education. Proof that Rector Morvan's concerns were not unfounded, here's what the Lyon Plus newspaper reported in its 22 March 2010 edition: "Last Saturday was open day at Lycée Al Kindi. The event was well attended and the students were delighted to show off their work. In a room presenting Islamic civilisation courses, posters explain ablutions. And a panel on marriage, produced by two year 11 students, which reads: 'Women must obey their husbands, unless this is contrary to the precepts of Islam. They must not go out without their permission'."

Two Muslim schools in Nanterre.

At the start of the 2015 academic year, two Muslim schools opened in Nanterre. These two new Muslim establishments in Hauts-de-Seine "have literally been taken by storm", reported *Le Parisien*. Out of more than 500 requests for enrolment, only 152 pupils got a place in classes from year 2 to year 8. Arabic and Islam are compulsory subjects. The headmaster of the Ibn Badis school, Sabar Kabbouchi, has a beard 20 cm long, and all the female teachers wear hijab. The school is located on the premises of the city's recently built grand mosque. "For twenty places in the first year of primary school, we have had fifty applications, and around forty for years 3 and 4," Rachid Abdouni, Chair of the Orientation association, told *Le Parisien*. Abdouni is also deputy secretary of the UNSA union for local civil servants. He heads the Irchad association, which manages the Nanterre mosque, the foundation stone of which was laid in the presence of the mayor and the prefect.

The other school, Loukman, is run by the IDEAL collective, with no links to the Brothers' FNEM. The Académie de Versailles authorised the opening of this school in 2015.

The setbacks of the Aubervilliers secondary school

The La Réussite secondary school in Aubervilliers was one of the first Muslim schools to open, but 14 years after its opening, it is still having trouble making ends meet. The school fees paid by parents are not enough to cover operating costs, and annual deficits amount to €300,000. La Réussite has had to close its Sixth form. Every year since the school opened in 2001, an application for the approval required to obtain subsidies has been sent to the education authority. Until 2008, these requests were all rejected.

A *Street Press* journalist met the director of the establishment, which is at the centre of a legal turmoil:

"The legal proceedings brought against Dhaou Meskine in 2006 probably did not make the case any easier. That year, the former imam of Clichy-sous-Bois was indicted for illegal financial and property transactions linked to a terrorist organisation." Since then, he has been acquitted and has grown a few grey hairs. When he mentions the repeated approaches to the rectorat, the cleric scratches his head. Between sips of tea, he expresses his incomprehension:

"With the same premises, the same paperwork and the same people, they gave approval [the first step before going under contract, ed.] for the lycée part in 2008, but not for the collège. Why give it to the lycée, which has just opened, and not to the collège, which was launched years ago?"¹⁰⁸

In Seine-Saint-Denis, four other Muslim schools have been set up: the Bellevue Mohammed Hamidullah school group in Clichy-sous-Bois, the APCS El Dirrayah school in Sevran, and two others in Sevran and Aulnay. This makes the 93 département, Seine-Saint-Denis, the best provided for in Muslim schools.

A new school in Clermont-Ferrand

A mosque project is due to be built within the next 5 to 10 years on boulevard Étienne Clémentel, in the northern suburbs of Clermont-Ferrand. The current Assalam mosque, which is a member of the UOIF, will be extended onto a neighbouring plot of over 2,200m² that is currently being acquired. The site will be home to a private Muslim secondary school, the first in Auvergne. It should eventually accommodate five hundred to six hundred pupils. €7 million is needed to build the complex. To date (April 2016), €640,000 has been raised, 80% from local supporters, but also from patrons from all over France and Europe.

The Ibn Khaldoun secondary school in Marseille

Also in the UOIF's orbit, the Ibn Khaldon secondary school in Marseille, which opened in 2009, saw its year 7 classes benefit from the state contract at the start of the 2015 academic year. Managed by Mohsen NGazou, who is also an imam, the establishment benefited from a \$500,000 donation from the Islamic Development Bank of Saudi Arabia. At the time of the contractual agreement with the state, which enables the school to benefit from a grant of €600 per pupil per year from the Region, a journalist from *La Provence* went to investigate on site. On arrival, she explained: *"The visit began with a slight sense of unease: 'Sorry, I don't shake hands with women', said the smiling but contrite receptionist to whom we extended ours."*¹⁰⁹

Moshen NGazou has a number of educational responsibilities within the UOIF, the UOIE in Brussels and the FNEM. *"He is one of the few members of the movement who unashamedly disseminates the ideology of Hassan AlBanna"*¹¹⁰ says Mohamed Louizi, who has left the UOIF.

A quick glance at the Facebook page shows us the school outings: on 4 April 2016, the management took pupils on a trip to London. The East London Mosque was one of the places visited, as illustrated by a photo posted online by the management. A member of the Muslim Council of Great Britain, which has a reputation for radicalism, the "East London Mosque" has welcomed Abdurraheem Green for conferences, a speaker who declares *"Democracy is incompatible with Islam"*. Another fire and brimstone lecturer is Anwar al-Awlaki, who gave a series of lectures in 2003 at the establishment, known for his support for the Somali jihadists, the Shebabs, who pledged allegiance to Al Qaeda in 2012. Suspected of being a member of Al-Qaeda, and repeating calls for jihad against the United States, his country of birth, Al-Awlaki was killed by an American drone strike in Yemen in September 2011.

Marseilles senator Samia Ghali (PS) boasted on her Facebook page that she had defended the request for a contract of association with the state to the Ministry of Education.

La Plume school in Grenoble

Until 2016, La Plume school shared its premises with the Al Kawtar mosque, which was closed by the prefect at the beginning of February 2019 for its imam's calls for jihad.

The school has a stand at the UOIF congress. Like the mosque, the school invited speakers from the CCIF. A CCIF report states that "*The French state and its institutions are responsible for 70% of Islamophobic acts*". It also matters little to them that Samy Debah, a former fundamentalist Tabligh preacher and founder of the CCIF, has said that the laws banning religious symbols in schools (2004) and the burqa (2010) "*are Islamophobic laws*".

Another guest of l'Ecole de la plume is Mondon Karima, who recently declared in the international press that "*being a Muslim in France means living in a regime of APARTHEID*" and that "*French Muslim women suffer many PERSECUTIONS*". Apartheid, persecution, Mondon Karima knows the meaning of words, she introduces herself as a history and French teacher.

Lingosheim near Strasbourg

At Lingosheim in Alsace, the Iqraa school is housed within the mosque itself. The *Qatarpapers*¹¹¹ revealed that the Qatar Charity foundation paid €101,816 in 2014 to the association Éducation et Réussite, which runs the school. This school caters for children from nursery school to collège. The mosque's Facebook page relays conferences from the Brotherist "Havre de Savoir" website. The pupils make cardboard "black stones" from Mecca and minarets as handicrafts. The only video of a class taken on the spot shows a lesson in which the life of Mohammed is recounted for the 13-15 age group.

Vaulx-en-Velin

The Nouvel Horizon primary school in Vaulx-en-Velin offers 5 hours of Arabic per week, 2.5 hours of sacred texts and one hour of faith education! This school opened in 2011 as a Koranic school... and then became a primary school at the start of the 2011/2012 academic year. The treasurer is Kamel Oueslati, a Tunisian national known to the SCRT as a "Salafist".

Val-de-Bussy in Seine-et-Marne

The Avenir Val-de-Bussy school, located in the enclosure of the Brotherist mosque, was registered with the Créteil education authority in April 2020. A double year 2 and year 3 class started in September of the same year. The headmistress, who is not wearing hijab, and speaks perfect French, is put forward to reassure the institutions. The aim is to gradually open up all classes up to high school level.

In the video presentation, full of Arabic expressions and spelling mistakes, the leader of the Tawba mosque, Farid Chaoui, points out that the aim of opening a school was present from the very beginning of the opening of the Islamist centre.

Turkish Islamists also opening schools

In addition to these Brotherist schools, we should mention their great historical allies in the Milli Görüş (Turkish Islamists), who share the same ideology and also open schools every year in France. The Maison d'Alarqam school group in Vénissieux, the Collège La Vertu (located in the Turkish mosque in Annecy), the Eyyûb Sultan school group in Strasbourg, the Bellevue Muhammed Hamidullah school group in Clichy, the La Lumière du Savoir school group in Corbeil- Essonnes & La Plume Bleue primary school in Villefranche-sur-Saône are all part of the Union Européenne Pour l'Enseignement Privé Musulman (UEMP) created by the Millî Görüş. Other UEMP establishments are being planned in Belfort, Bordeaux, Albertville, Metz, Besançon and Rennes, and the state has failed to abort these new sowings of Islamism.

The European Institute of Human Sciences, the imam school.

The UOIF has two schools for imams. The centre at Saint Léger du Fougeret, in the Nièvre region, is the historic site of the pompously-named Institut européen de sciences humaines (IESH), which opened its doors in 1990 with Saudi funding and was inaugurated in the presence of Yussef Al-Qaradâwî, a long-standing member of the 'scientific council'. The founder of the IESH, Zuhair Mahmood, a self-confessed Muslim Brother, told journalists Chesnot and Malbrunot about the initial strategy: "*At the time, the question for us was this: Should the institute be reserved for the Muslim Brotherhood alone, or should it be run by the Brotherhood for the benefit of all Muslims? In the end, we chose the second option*¹¹²".

Ahmed Jaballah, Chair of the UOIF at the end of the 1980s, is one of the faculty administrators. In a text for his pupils entitled "*Nos religions et leurs interdits, le cas de la religion musulmane*" [*Our religions and their prohibitions, the case of the Muslim religion*], he sets out a series of actions that merit "*legal sanctions*". Among the various reprehensible actions, we can read "*Apostasy is totally prohibited*".¹¹³ This is very worrying, because the punishment for apostates under Islam (Sunni or Shia) is

death.

The Qatar Charity Foundation finances accommodation for IESH students, to the tune of at least €450,000 in recent years, according to the *Qatar Papers*.

The Saint-Léger du Fougeret centre sometimes serves other purposes, as for example in September 1993, when a Kuwaiti delegation approached the institute's managers to conclude a commercial agreement for the purchase of meat. In January 1994, Kuwait's Minister of Islamic Affairs and Religious Affairs promoted Ahmed Jaballah to *supervisor in France of meat exported to Kuwait*. A very honourable privilege, and perhaps not without financial implications.

In terms of the mentality of the school's pupils, Nabil Ennasri, who has become a famous preacher in the movement, wrote an article¹¹⁴ soberly entitled "*When are the next riots in France?*" posted online on 11 October 2009 on *Oumma.com*, the most widely read Muslim online media in France. Written in the wake of the acquittal by the Assize Court of a police officer who killed an Arab burglar in a hit-and-run, it ends with this sentence: "*Don't be surprised if another outbreak of violence, harsher and more violent, risks setting fire to the French suburbs once again. In any case, you can't say we didn't warn you...*". This has the merit of clarity.

Israeli journalist Zvi Jecheskeli, who infiltrated the IESH for a documentary, was amused to note that the Arabic translation of the sign at the entrance reads simply "*Sharia school*".

In the summer of 2020, the French courts took an interest in the suspect financing of the IESH. Several transfers of cash had been detected between the Gulf States, Kuwait and Qatar, and the establishment. In August 2018, the "*School of Imams*" reportedly received a donation of €750,000 from Qatar Charity. Then, in November 2019, €150,000 from the Islamic Affairs Department of Kuwait, and €600,000 from a British bank account that has financed a Muslim centre in Marseille. While this procedure is not illegal, the investigators are seeking to determine whether the endowment fund financed projects for which invoices were issued, which would be the case. The authorities are also investigating whether some of the funding intended for the institute has been diverted for private use.

According to *Le Parisien*, the authorities have identified a discrepancy between IESH's turnover and its property investments. In particular, the courts are looking into the sources of funding that enabled the discreet construction, in 2018, of a 26-unit student accommodation complex in La Courneuve at a cost of €2 million. The university campus project is also in the spotlight.

In May 2019, a charity dinner organised by the IESH branch in Saint-Denis (93) was held to raise funds for the Mauritania-based Training Centre for Brotherist Ulemas, chaired by Sheikh Mohamed Hassan Dedew. The latter, who took part in the event by videoconference, described the "*punishment*" meted out to the editorial staff of *Charlie Hebdo* in September 2020 as "well-deserved", and urged Muslims to avenge the Prophet in order to "*quench the thirst for vengeance that burns in our breasts*". He recorded the following prayer:

" O! Allah, just as you inflicted death on those who mocked the prophet when he was alive, inflict death on those who mock him today! [...] Inflict on them the worst assault¹¹⁵! "

Terrorists who have passed through the IESH.

The IESH alumni directory includes Thomas Barnouin, who left to wage jihad in Syria and Iraq in the ranks of the Islamic State, and is now being held in a Kurdish prison. Other former students include Reda Hame, who was recruited in Syria to attack a concert hall in Paris, and Inès Madani, who was sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment at trial for attempting to blow up a car near Notre Dame in September 2016. According to *Le Parisien*, which investigated the school in its edition of 30 July 2020, "*a handful of other IESH students, with less media resonance, also left to fight in Syria*".

Rachid Zejli, the Moroccan imam of the Ghazzali mosque in Troyes, recruited the Moroccan terrorist Abdelilah Ziyad as imam of his mosque. In 1997, the Paris court sentenced him to eight years' imprisonment for "criminal conspiracy in connection with a terrorist enterprise". A hidden camera from the programme *Complément d'enquête* filmed the terrorist preaching in this mosque, which extends a friendly invitation to Mayor François Baroin to eat during Ramadan.

In 1993, Ziyad co-founded the Mouvement Islamiste Combattant, which recruited Moroccan terrorists, and was previously an activist in Abdelaziz Nuamani's terrorist group Shabiba, whose mission was to attack "bad Muslims" and "apostates". He is considered to be the mastermind behind the attack on the Atlas Asni hotel in Marrakech in August 1994, in which two people were killed. He was released from prison in 2001 (so soon!), then reappeared in Chartres (Eure-et-Loir) where he crossed paths with Omar Ismail Mostefaï, one of the Bataclan suicide bombers.

When asked about the decision to include Ziyad in his

team by the local press, Rachid Zejli explained the terrorist's links with the IESH: "*He [Abdelilah Ziyad] was recommended to us by a friend. We then learned that he had recently been taken on by the European Institute of Human Sciences in Château-Chinon*"¹¹⁶.

The boom in sharia training institutes

SHATIBI CENTRE

Created in Stains in 2014, directed by Nabil Ennasri, known for his blog on Qatar hosted on *LeMonde.fr*, the centre includes no fewer than 15 professors, most of whom came through the IESH. The annual cost of the course is €365.

Nabil Ennasri, who we saw above provocatively wondering when the next riots in France will take place, succeeded in his thesis entitled *Yûsuf al-Qaradhâwî et la politique étrangère du Qatar : une diplomatie 'religieuse'?:2003-2013*, because of an examining board made up of UOIF fellow travellers such as the sociologist Vincent Geisser.

The centre has been a great success thanks to its director's high profile among practising Muslims.

LA MAISON DES SAVOIRS

The "La Maison des savoirs" [House of Knowledge] institute is run by Zakaria Seddiki, who was the first director of the Muslim Brotherhood's sharia school in France, the IESH.

ETHICS TRAINING INSTITUTE

Fethalla Otmani, an expert at the European Fatwa Council, founded the Ethics Training Institute in 2016 with Tariq Ramadan. In addition to their lessons, which can be viewed on the Internet, they also give talks in Brotherist mosques. The annual course fee is €280.

TRAINING INSTITUTE FOR MUSLIM STUDIES

The Bordeaux-based IFEM, which has real premises with three permanent teachers, is run by Saïd Moktafi, a graduate of IESH, a network engineer and Chinese martial arts instructor.

The institute describes its activities as follows: "*Based on an annual course (3 years) and modular formulas, the IFEM will enable you to deepen your knowledge in various subjects.*" According to their visuals, these subjects are "Islamic sciences", "Koran" and "Arabic language". Among the "reference works" are those by Moncef Zenati, a Brotherhood leader in France, who argues in favour of Sharia law.

The 'guest of honour' at the gala dinner to fund the institute in December 2019 was Youssef Ibram of the European Council for Fatwa (CEFR), who wrote a collection of fatwas in which we read that the terrorist who targets Israel is approved of, "the martyr operation pleases Allah" as we read in a CEFR opinion of 2003. We saw above that Ibram approves of Sharia law in Saudi Arabia and orders women to lower their eyes. His refusal to condemn stoning led to him leaving the Zurich mosque of which he was imam. The management did not appreciate his frankness in front of the "unbeliever" media, and his lack of caution with a view to gaining acceptance.

The IFEM is a great success, with classes of around thirty students each.

INSTITUT DES SCIENCES HUMAINES NAWÂWÎ

The Institut des Sciences Humaines Nawâwî [Nawâwî Institute of Human Sciences], based in Saint-Étienne since 2015, offers courses in "Islamic sciences" and is run by Andallah Haloui, a graduate of the IESH. At its fundraising gala dinner in October 2018, the headliner was Brother Larbi Becheri, Dean of the IESH, as well as three professors from this leading Shariah institute of the Brotherhood! The institute runs its courses "face-to-face" on its premises.

Muslim Students of France/EMF

The EMF [Muslim Students of France] was set up in 1996 by the governing bodies of the Union des organisations islamiques de France. This Muslim students' union is supported at European level by the Forum of European Muslim Youth and Student Organisations (FEMYSO), discussed in the introduction.

One of the founders of the EMF is Mahmoud Doua, Tareq Oubrou's right-hand man in Bordeaux for the past twenty

years. During a televised debate¹¹⁷, Doua compared the Belgian police who charge women wearing burqas (enforcing a local bylaw banning face covering except on carnival days) with the Saudi Arabian police! In March 2011, Doua was a guest on the *France 2* programme *Face aux Français*. When asked by an audience member about the persecution of Christians in Muslim countries, the man who became imam in Cenon dared to deny it: "*I can't let that go. The persecution of Christians in the East is*

misinformation... There is no proof of this".

In his book *Pourquoi j'ai quitté les Frères Musulmans* [Why I left the Muslim Brotherhood], Mohamed Louizi, who headed the EMF section in Lille, recounts the EMF's hidden strategy developed at the Brussels headquarters of the Federation of Islamic Organisations in Europe (FOIE).

*"When, in 2002-2003, I was chair of the Lille section of the **Muslim Students of France** association, affiliated to the UOIF, and therefore a member by right of the board of the LIN, representing students, I had to, in parallel with my student responsibilities, act as a conduit for Muslim Brotherhood ideas within the student community, during Friday sermons in campus prayer halls, and within the closed educational cells of the movement, where new recruits are groomed and recruited.*

*[...] This is the document **Le Guide Éducatif**, adopted throughout Europe and recommended by the FOIE.*

[...] To present the FOIE and the UOIF with a fait accompli. Let the denial stop. The FOIE, and its subsidiary UOIF, carry in their hearts and actions the standards of the Muslim Brotherhood ideology in Europe and France, full stop [...]

- The "Introductory" phase, aimed at people aged 17 and over. This stage is aimed at future recruits selected from the previous phases to join the Muslim Brotherhood through the organisations affiliated to the FOIE in each country. Those selected will undergo basic religious training, learn about the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood, familiarise themselves with the concept of working in a structured and organised group, and take part in a political awareness course, etc. The trainer should draw on Brotherist references to prepare his lessons: Hassan Al Banna, Fayssal Mawlaoui, Sayyed Sabiq, Mostapha Zarka, Fathi Yakan, etc.

It (the document) also proposes, among other things, to study the concept and rules of Jihad, in the sense of fighting for the cause of Allah, and the notion of the hegemony and domination of Islam: the Tamkine. The

bibliographical references, as far as Islamist commitment and activism are concerned, are 99% clearly Muslim Brotherhood [...] Chakib Benmakhlouf, former Chair of the FOIE (2006-2010), said in an interview with the London Arabic newspaper Ascharq Al-Awsat on 20 May 2008, I translate: 'Within the FOIE, we have a plan of action, we have a 20-year plan of action; for the short term, the medium term and the long term'. "

In 2002, the EMF won 22% of the votes on the Grenoble campus in the Crous elections, its record at national level. Universities with a lesser reputation for Islamisation were then nibbled away, as in Orléans where the Islamists obtained 21% in 2018. In Lille, the Islamist union exceeded 10%. In 2003, EMF Lille refused to take part in an interdenominational visit to Auschwitz to raise students' awareness of the Shoah.

During the student demonstrations against the CPE in 2006, the EMF encouraged its troops to join the far-left revolt against the CPE. In 2007, in its newspaper Cogitons, it denounced the "police repression" during the filtering of students entering the Sorbonne during the demonstrations against the LRU law. Another element corroborating this Islamo-communist convergence is the presence of the EMF-Amiens in a collective bringing together the Young Communists, the Young Socialists, the SUD trade unions and the UNEF, as indicated on a poster announcing a debate on *"The French State, Etat sécuritaire ?"*¹¹⁸, organised by the same group, led by the deputy mayor of Amiens, Émilie Therouin (Greens) and a representative of the Ligue des droits de l'homme. (Conference held on 9 October at the Faculty of Law and Economics).

In 2014, the EMF joined forces with the CCIF to publish a "guide against Islamophobia" to denounce discrimination based on the wearing of the hijab, or censures for absence during Muslim holidays.

In 2020, EMF was present in 21 universities.

CFCM and AMIF join forces to organise Islam

On 6 March 2020, *Le Monde* published an article by the leaders of the Association musulmane de l'islam de France (AMIF) and the Conseil Français du Culte Musulman (CFCM) - whose board has just been reshuffled - entitled *"Nous avons décidés d'unir nos forces"* [We have decided to join forces].

A raft of proposals were on the table, including the management of halal and pilgrimage market resources in

order to free up resources for the benefit of this dual action, the "fight against extremism" and the continuity of Turkish and Maghrebian funding (regions from which the leaders were drawn) By saying that it wants to ban funding from countries other than those "with a proven sociological link to France", it is trying to oppose Qatari and Saudi funding while allowing Turkey, Morocco and Algeria to continue funding their mosque networks. But from now on, the sheer numbers of Muslims will enable

them to finance their own mosques, so this is a secondary issue.

We need to look at the identity of the signatories of this piece to understand that the promise of the "*fight against extremism*" may be possible against the takfirist thinking of the Islamic State, but certainly not against the extremism of the Muslim Brotherhood and Turkey, with which the members of the CFCM and AMIF are imbued.

For example, Ibrahim Alci, Vice-Chair of the CFCM and one of the four signatories of the tribune, will be running the large Turkish Eyyup Sultan mosque in Roubaix, and showed the Turkish ambassador to France around the building site in October, demonstrating that this mosque is committed to Erdogan's Islamism. Let's not forget that Erdogan's religious administration has organised prayers for the success of the jihad in Syria, particularly against the Kurds, in tens of thousands of mosques across the country. The Islam practised in Turkey is now compatible with that of the Sultan Murad jihadist brigade operating in Syria and Libya, as well as that of the Turkestan Islamic Party, which is also active in these religious war zones.

With 8 of the 17 elected members of the new CFCM board of directors, the Turks cannot be ignored in the organisation, and Erdogan's Islamo-political and caliphal line will not be challenged.

The Muslim Brotherhood were marginalised and only won one of the seventeen elected representatives, so got in through the back door with the AMIF, which includes many of its sympathisers on its "*theological council*". Hakim El Karoui, who chairs the AMIF, is the media-friendly face of this areopagus of clerics trained at the school of the Islamist brotherhood.

Imâm Mohamed Bajrafil from Ivry-sur-Seine is also a member of AMIF's Theological Council. He describes himself as having been trained in the school of the Muslim Brotherhood by Safwat Hegazi and Al Qaradâwî (he is proud to present them as his "references" in his autobiography on his official website). In his recent book *Islam de France an I*, (éditions Plein jour, 2015) Bajrafil describes as "*the reference book of Muslim law in the management of power*" (p. 37) the book *Les Statuts gouvernementaux* by El Mawerdi (972-1058), a treatise on the law that should guide an ideal caliphate, which prohibits the building of churches among other legal discriminations against Christians :

"They may not erect new synagogues or churches in Islamic countries, which may be demolished to their detriment" (page 308, published by Éditions du patrimoine Arabe et Islamique, library of the Institut du

Monde Arabe). The refusal of *Dhimma* status, including harassment and tax (*jizya*), shall result in the annihilation of the Christians. Page 31 of the *Government Statutes* states: **"To fight those who, after being invited, refuse to embrace Islam, until they convert or become tributary"**.

Without any ambiguity, Bajrafil is logically defending the spiritual "grand manitou" of the Muslim Brotherhood, Youssef Al Qaradawi, of whom he spoke very highly in a conference¹¹⁹: He describes him as "*a great man*" even though he condemns his vision of Hitler as the bearer of divine punishment against the Jews (he could not in any case endorse this thesis publicly and hope to prosper in the French media). However, he considers him to be "*a very great scholar, someone from whom we have learned a great deal from his philosophy of Sharia*". His prescriptions to kill apostates and Jews and to conquer Europe must indeed be the mark of a great and enlightened scholar.

On the subject of Tariq Ramadan, he carefully avoids harsh criticism, saying "*at least he has worked, he has used his head, he has brought out of his head what he thinks is good for his community (...)* Why warn against Tariq Ramadan?¹²⁰".

Tariq Oubrou is also a member of the theological council of the AMIF, which is definitively infiltrated by the Brotherist movement. In an interview book entitled *Le Prêtre et l'imâm (The Priest and the Imam)* published in August 2013, the imam of Bordeaux claimed to be a member of the Muslim Brotherhood. When asked about the "growing influence of Islamist groups" in France, Tareq Oubrou admitted that he "*continues to be a member of the [Muslim Brotherhood] movement*" without criticising it in any way, claiming that it "*modernises the religion without touching the essentials*". In a lecture entitled *Les bases de la compréhension de l'islam chez l'imâm Al-Banna [The Basis of Imâm Al-Banna's Understanding of Islam]*, given to a audience of the faithful, he set out his profound vision of Islam, which is not very much in keeping with the ideals of the French Republic. He is heard to say these sentences:

"Politics is a given, is a part, is an element of Islam. The Prophet was a head of state [...] The politics of Muslims is not the politics of others, the politics of others is built on lies [...] Islam as the Koran intends touches all areas of life. It's a state, it's a country [...] it brings the whole community together in a geography. There are no borders [...] the border between two countries is a despicable heresy in Islam. The Muslim Brotherhood does not recognise borders between Muslim peoples. [...] The Caliphate is an obligation, and the gathering

of Muslims, the union around this Caliph is an obligation. And as long as Muslims are not united around the Caliphate, they are sinners, except for those who work to restore the Caliphate ".

The French government must absolutely prevent the CFCM and the AMIF from collecting and regulating money on the halal market, as they intend to do, and from training imams. The planned association " *will also have the task of collecting donations and legacies likely to finance the response to the national challenges we have just described*".

On the pretext that we will always find someone more extremist than them, we should trust them to "*ban ideologies that use religion for political ends*". The editors were careful not to mention the words Brotherhood and Salafism, of course.

" *The fight against extremism and violence committed in*

the name of Islam is essential. It is through ambitious cultural and theological work, which is also effective in its dissemination, that we will be able to counter the rhetoric of hatred, separation and secession that is proliferating on today's social networks" reads the letter. When we know that Bajrafil shared the headline billing with Hassan Iquioussen at a gala in support¹²¹ of a Mauritanian Islamist group at the UOIF headquarters in Saint-Denis in May 2019, and that he invited Moroccan Salafist preacher Zine El Abidine Balafrej to his mosque in Ivry-sur-Seine on 24 October 2018.

We need to keep a close eye on this joint project, especially as Hakim El Karoui knows the President of the Republic personally. If this project were to succeed, Emmanuel Macron would be definitively disqualified from claiming to be fighting against political Islam and the "separatism" of Islamists.

The media

AJ + The little Al Jazeera on the social networks

The little sister of *Al-Jazeera*, launched at the end of 2017 to target young people connected to social networks, *AJ +* borrows the codes and obsessions of the French far left, both in its use of inclusive writing and its support for indigenous theories and victim narratives, as well as in its anti-racist paranoia. To achieve this, considerable resources are employed, with the hiring of several French editors and ethnic French presenters such as Alexis Magnaval or non-veiled female presenters to reach a non-Muslim audience. Very clever, and it works. The success of the medium, backed up by a huge advertising budget on social networks, is a big hit.

A few illustrations of the subjectivity of this false propaganda media:

On 5 February, a montage was produced to generate feeling against the trial of a young Swedish woman who had prevented a plane from taking off because an Afghan refugee was on board, without mentioning that the man in question was being deported for raping a woman. This information was truncated in order to defend the activists for the unconditional opening of European borders, who are objective allies of the Muslim Brotherhood.

On 2 February 2019, *AJ +* carried out a report in Saint-Denis de la Réunion by sympathetically interviewing Mohamed Baghatte, imam of the Noor-al-islam mosque, which has been sharing Tariq Ramadan's videos for years. In the same month, the Qatari channel produced a

sympathetic montage in memory of Cheikh Anta Diop, recalling his thesis on the supposed "Negro" origin of ancient Egypt, and his belief in an African-centric origin of humanity. The Pharaohs were black according to this "specialist", who is the darling of anti-French circles. The great French Egyptologist Jean Yoyotte, who held the Chair of Egyptology at the Collège de France from 1992 to 2000, said that " *Cheik Anta Diop was an impostor. An Egyptologist who couldn't read a single hieroglyph.*"

The lack of intellectual rigour of the journalist-activists of *AJ +* shines through in many of the articles.

AJ + is relentless in its support for the social networking battles being waged by hashtags such as *#BlackHogwarts*, denouncing the lack of "black characters" in... the Harry Potter saga. Relaying false polemics on racial notions is a habit of the channel in order to make historic French people feel guilty, and even the philosopher Élisabeth Badinter takes the blame. One of *AJ +*'s leading journalists, Yasmina Bennani, discusses the issue of "white feminism". *Within [feminism], which is supposed to be universal, one trend is increasingly accused of not including all of us," she says. It's 'white feminism'.* They interview activists obsessed with racial issues, such as Fania Noël, an activist with the Afro-feminist collective *Mwasi*, who denounced an "*ethnocentric, liberal and imperialist*" feminism. The CNRS expert called in was Christine Delphy, who described historical French feminists such as Élisabeth Badinter as " *completely nuts. (...), they may be feminists but they are also racists*". The video ends with this very

biased conclusion: *"Is white French feminism Islamophobic and racist?"*

It is a militant channel, as when it defended a woman who was not allowed in a Paris gym for wearing a *hijab* in the water, a basic hygiene measure. So it was only to be expected that **AJ** + would support Amena Khan, a blogger who became the first hijabi woman to be the face of L'Oréal.

The "experts" brandished by **AJ** + in its videos very often have one thing in common: they are close to, or even founding members of, the Parti des indigènes de la République (PIR), the association founded by Houria Bouteldja, which openly supports Palestinian Hamas. In less than a year, the channel has invited Christine Delphy and Nacira Guénif-Souilamas, as well as Imen Habib, all of whom signed the PIR appeal in 2005.

Obviously, **AJ** + publishes content that is very favourable to... Tariq Ramadan. While under investigation for rape allegations, the former Islamist leader was described as a "professor" and a "Swiss intellectual", and featured in a video highlighting the struggle of his supporters, with the tagline **#FreeTariqRamadan**.

Brotherist websites

Des Dômes et des Minarets [Domes and Minarets], with 99,000 'likes' on Facebook, is one of the biggest sites in France favourable to the Muslim Brotherhood and allied Turkish networks. It lists all the mosques and schools built over the last fifteen years. It is run by Brahim Zardoua from Mulhouse, who is delighted with the Brotherist mega-mosque in his city; he revealed a preview of the basement: *"In the basement, there is a semi-Olympic swimming pool, several sports halls (weight training, fitness), a funeral area with a mortuary, hairdressing salons, a hammam, a jacuzzi and a spa. These services will naturally respect Islamic ethics and morality"*¹²².

Islam et Infos [Islam and Information] has a community of 521,000 followers on Facebook. Managed by Elias Imzalène. He boasted, with photos, that he had been introduced to the Senate and the European Parliament in Strasbourg through his political contacts.

The Muslim Post, founded by Lofti Bel Hadj, a Tunisian economist who for a time was in charge of communications for the Muslim Brotherhood's Ennahda party. Since 2017, he has been working to reveal information that will help Tariq Ramadan's defence in his legal battle against accusations of sexual assault. The

editor-in-chief of the Muslim Post is his son Yunes Bel Hadj. At the time of the raids on Islamist associations in the midst of the state of emergency in December 2015, The Muslim Post headlined *"The hunt for Muslims is gaining momentum"*, lamenting that Salafism was *"misunderstood by the police"*.

Saphirnews, with 157,000 Facebook subscribers, is one of the oldest Muslim news websites in France, and has been relaying news from the UOIF movement since its beginnings. In 2004, when Hamas leader Sheikh Yassin was killed by Israel, the site, which was still called Saphirnet, immediately announced a rally in *"tribute to the martyr"*. When Abdelkader Bouziane, the imam of Vénissieux, was deported to Algeria in May 2004 for defending his right to beat his wife, it published a support article entitled *"The imbecilic deportation of the imam of Vénissieux"*. When foreign extremist preachers were banned in April 2012 from speaking at the UOIF's annual gathering, a supportive article¹²³ denounced a *"highly political decision"*; *"a sign of manifest hypocrisy"*.

Oumma.com, the benchmark with 924,000 Facebook subscribers, is the oldest Muslim information website. In the early days, advertisements for Yussûf Al Qaradâwî's books flashed across the home page. The site publishes articles by the Indigènes de la Républiques (supporters of Palestinian Hamas) denouncing *"the rumour that the neighbourhoods are rotten with bearded extremists"*¹²⁴. During ultra-violent riots in Perpignan in May 2005, **Oumma.com** published an article entitled *"Gypsies and law enforcement, same fight?"*¹²⁵ denouncing the police intervention in these raving terms: *"Helicopters hunt down young people in the heart of the city, and elite troops chase and hit anything that moves"*.

The site fans the flames, as when it wrote an article¹²⁶ against the police during the Clichy-sous-Bois riots in 2005, relaying rumours of a tear-gas grenade deliberately fired into a mosque. In fact, it was two police officers outside who freed themselves from 50 threatening rioters by firing a grenade, the fumes from which ended up in an unmarked room used as a prayer hall. Even Abderrahmane Bouhout, Chair of the association that runs the mosque, admitted to the police that he was unable to pinpoint where the grenade was found!

Also on **Oumma.com**, the activist Nabil Ennasri from the UOIF Sharia school wrote an article entitled *When are the next riots in France?* in October 2009, and still online in 2020. Following the acquittal of a police officer who killed an Arab burglar in a hit-and-run on 1 October 2009 by the Gard Assize Court, Nabil Ennasri expressed his indignation and ended his column with the following sentence:

"We should not be surprised if another outbreak of violence, harsher and more violent, risks setting fire to the French suburbs once again. In any case, you can't say we didn't warn you...".

Notes

66 Association of Muslims of Alsace-Moselle.

67 Interview by Sylvain Besson with Abdallah ben Mansour, 27 March 2005, quoted in *La conquête de l'Occident, le Projet secret des islamistes*, Seuil, 2005, page 100.

68 .quoted in " *OPA sur l'islam de France* ", Fiammeta Venner, Calmann- Lévy, 2005, page 23

69 Interview by Sylvain Besson with Faycal Mawlawi, quoted in *La conquête de l'Occident, le Projet secret des islamistes*, Seuil, 2005, page 102.

70 *Le Prêtre et l'Imâm*, Bayard, 2013, page 134.

71 Une conférence choc d'Amar Lasfar, Président de l'UOIF, refait surface, Youtube, 27 March 2018. "Ring" user account.

72 Beauvais: violent altercation between Agnès Thill, LREM deputy, and Mohrad Laghrari, deputy mayor, *Le Parisien*, 10 June 2018.

73 On 25 August 2009, France 3 Alsace filmed a Palestinian Hamas flag flying over the prayer hall during a report on the AMAL premises.

74 On the Hamas channel, Al-Aqsa TV, on 31 December 2008 Safwat Higazi incited terrorism: " *We don't care if we get killed, that's what we aspire to. Martyrdom for Allah is Allah's victory through us. It's heaven for the first drop of blood from a martyr. I refuse to accept condolences or consolation for a martyr. It saddens me enormously when I see it on television. A Palestinian woman from Gaza weeping and praising a martyr (...) we always see women and mothers of martyrs in Palestine weeping with joy, preparing for another martyr, another man, who will take up the banner (...). By Allah, I'd like to bring a weapon and be among you, I'd like to be alongside the youth of the Al-Qassam brigades, wiping the dust from their faces after launching a missile, and shouting Allah is great with them. (...) You [Hamas] are paving the way for the war foretold by the prophet Mohammed* ".

75 Conference held on 26 October 2009 on the premises of AMAL, still online on the Youtube account of the An Nour mosque as of 15 September 2020. 76 Hani Ramadan, *Sermons du Vendredi, rappels et exhortations*, published by Tawid, 2011, page 465.

77 More than two million euros in subsidies from the city and the region (then socialist), out of a budget of 5.5 million.

78 L'imâm déchu de sa nationalité française", *Le Parisien*, June 2008.

79 Ghassan Finianos, *Islamistes, apologistes et libres penseurs*, Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 2006, page 71.

80 See his book *Mosquées radicales, ce qu'on y dit, ce qu'on y lit*, published by DMM, 2016.

81 Abu Bakr Al Jazairi, *La Doctrine du croyant*, published by Al Azhar, 2016.

82 Zaynab Al Ghazaly: " *But how strong are you?* ", December 1, 2015, *Le journal de la Grande mosquée de Créteil*.

83 The work cited is the first edition by Subhi Sâlih in 1961, based on transcriptions by Marie-Thérèse Urvoy in her *Essai de critique littéraire dans le nouveau monde arabo-islamique*, Cerf, 2011.

84 *Entre 'salafisme' et 'soufisme'*, chez Ibn Taymiya, Ibn al Qayyim & Ibn al Jawzi, Mensuel de la grande mosquée de Créteil, 1 July 2011.

85 The " *Well-Guided*" Caliph Omar (634-644) is said to have written to his governors asking them to order that the neck of a dhimmi be "stamped" (*an yutham*).

1 6 Ibn Qayyim argues in this sense by pointing out that the Prophet never wrote to the king of the infidels beginning with *al-salâm 'alayjum*, but always with " *greetings to those who follow the guidance* "; he is also said to have said of the People of the Book: " *Never begin with them with a greeting* " (p.197).

87 Researcher at the Observatoire de l'Islamisation and the Paris-based Centre for Middle East Studies.

88 Yûsuf Al-Qaradâwî , *La Science des priorités*, Editions Maison d'Ennour, 2007.

89 Abu Bakr Al Jazairi, *La Voie du Musulman*, published by Albouraq, 2014 page 395.

1 0 Interview with Zied Daoulati in Global Net, Friday 4 February 2011.

91 .French Muslim leader asks to 'criminalize insulting religion' Anadolu Agency, 17 January 2015.

92 .<http://ahmedmiktar.eklablog.com>

93 Interview with Protest info, December 2009: Journalist: " *Is Saudi Arabia right to apply Sharia law?* "Yussef Ibram: " *Yes*".

94 Ibram's comments are transcribed in Mireille Valette's book *Le radicalisme dans les mosquées Suisses*, Xénia, 2017, page 47.

95 Dr Hassan Amdouni, Ousoûl Al Fiqh, *Les fondements du droit musulman*, Tome 1, éditions Le Savoir, 2006, page 56

96 .<https://www.al-fanarmedia.org/2017/03/can-extremism-fought-classroom/>

97 .<https://youtu.be/3NIHaBI6dOI>

98 Opinion piece by Sofiane Zitouni in Libération, entitled " *Pourquoi j'ai démissionné du lycée Averroès* " (" *Why I resigned from Lycée Averroès* "), 6 February 2015.

99 Pages 153 et seq. of the book "Lycée Averroès : l'arbre qui cache-le-desert-05.pdf.

<http://mlouizi.l.m.f.unblog.fr/files/2015/03/lycee-averroes-larbre-qui-cache-le-desert-05.pdf>.

100 See the chapter devoted to it in the book *Mosquées Radicales, ce qu'on y dit, ce qu'on y lit* (published by DMM, 2016) written by Joachim Véliocas.

101 Private education: " *Education is the number one challenge for Muslims* ", *Saphirnews*, 6 October 2014.

.<http://mosquee-halluin.fr/preche-du-vendredi/17-04-2015-les-signes-de-la-fin-des-temps-le-vin-la-fornication-et-les-instruments-de-musique>

103.<http://mosquee-halluin.fr/preche-du-vendredi/10-04-2015-les-signs-of-the-end-of-time-the-khawaridjs-and-the-false-prophets>

104.Rachid Haddach's Facebook page, posted 22 November 2014. 105 Rachid Haddache has his lectures online on the Atlas website, and promotes them on Facebook on 22 March.

106 The second Muslim school in Essonne opened in Corbeil,

Ariane Maurisson, *Le Parisien*, 26 July 2015

107 [http://www.ramf-](http://www.ramf-uoif.fr/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=63)

uoif.fr/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=63 108. Matthieu Bidan, *Le chemin de croix des écoles musulmanes*, Street Press, 16 March 2015

109 Delphine Tanguy, *L'État reconnaît le collège musulman Ibn Khaldoun*, *La Provence*, 10 July 2015.

110 Mohamed Louizi, *Pourquoi j'ai quitté les Frères Musulmans*, published by Michalon, 2016, page 202.

111 Christian Chenot and Georges Malbrunot, *Qatar Papers*, Michel Laffon, 2019, page 72.

112 Zuhair Mahmood quoted in Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, *Qatar Papers*, Michel Lafon, 2019, page 124.

113 "The transgression of the unlawful entails for its perpetrator, if he has not made an act of sincere repentance, not only divine wrath but also the appropriate judicial sanction defined by the law"; "apostasy is totally prohibited". Ahmed Jaballah, *Nos religions et leurs interdits*, le cas de la religion musulmane

114. <https://oumma.com/a-quand-les-prochaines-emeutes-en-france/> 115. Translated by Global Watch Analysis in September 2020 : A Muslim Brotherhood leader, director of the Ulemas training centre in Doha, calls for the murder of Charlie

Hebdo. <https://global-watch-analysis.com/>

116 Read in *L'Est-Eclair* on 12 December 2015

117 Programme *C'est dans l'air*, Le voile : deuxième round, France 5, Friday 19 June 2009.

118 Poster found on www.emf-amiens.net in October 2008.

119 Mohamed Bajrafil - *Les propos dits antisémites de Yousef al Qaradawi*, Youtube, 5 February 2013.

120 Mohamed Bajrafil - Criticism of Tariq Ramadan, Youtube, 5 November 2013.

121 Un gala de soutien au profit du Centre de formation des oulémas mauritaniens soulève certaines interrogations, Cridem.org, 18 May 2019.

122 *What's in the basement of the An-Nour centre in Mulhouse*, Dômes et Minarets, published on 13 July 2019.

123 Hanan Ben Rhouma, *Al-Qaradawi and El-Masri banned from France? L'après-Toulouse: l'UOIF sous le feu des critiques*, Saphirnews, Monday 26 March 2012.

124 Mouvement des Indigènes de la République, *Philippe de Villiers calls for civil war*, Oumma.com, 16 July 2005.

125 Published by Oumma.com on 30 May 2005, Collectif spontané, populaire et citoyen : Résistance.

126 Interview with "Djamel" by Oumma.com

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN ITALY

The establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood in Italy began in the early 1990s with the creation of the *Unione delle comunità e organizzazioni islamiche in Italia* (known by its acronym UCOII), initially led by the Brotherhood's leader in Syria, Nour Dachi, and by his Palestinian counterpart Ali Abu Shwaima as Secretary General. The latter, who unfortunately has been naturalised in Italy, also founded the Brothers' sharia school in France, the Institut européen des sciences humaines (IESH). Shwaima made headlines in 2006 when he taunted Daniela Santanchè, a member of parliament, as she left a television studio: "She sows hatred, she's an infidel". Ms Santanchè had argued that the veil - head covering - was not an obligation, which had aroused the ire of the leader of the UCOII and also Imam of Segrate: "It's not true that there is no obligation to wear the veil in the Koran. I'm an imam and I don't allow ignorant people to talk about Islam. You are ignorant of Islam and have no right to interpret the Koran".

The thirty-year-old Yassine Lafram, imam in Bologna, now heads the UCOII, having succeeded the Palestinian Izzeddine Elzir, imam in Florence. Lafram, who became a naturalised Italian citizen in 2016, publicised his awarding of nationality by the Democratic mayor of Bologna, Virginio Meloni, and has an excellent relationship with the archbishop of Bologna, Mgr Zuppi. The latter, who finds it "normal" to build a large mosque in his town on communal land made available for 99 years, invited Lafram to meet Pope Francis in October 2017, who awarded him the pontifical medal on the occasion. Unfortunately, the normalisation of the Brotherhood was achieved with the help of the Church.

The strategy employed by the young Bologna imam continues to be victim narrative and accusatory inversion, particularly when he accused the daily *Il Resto del Carlino* of "media terrorism" and "Islamophobia" for having published on its front page the results of a problematic sociological survey on Muslims. In this 2017 poll, 25% of Italian Muslims described holy war as "just", 33% thought the West would be conquered, and 38% thought religion should govern the state.

Lafram regularly promotes the NGO **Islamic Relief**. We may recall that in July 2020, Heshmat Khalifa, the charity's global director, resigned after the British press dug up his Facebook posts referring to Jews as "*grandchildren of apes and pigs*".

Ultimately, Chair Lafram's close ties to extremist sheikhs is not surprising. In November 2014, he posed all smiles with the Saudi sheikh 'Aed Al Qarni, praising the "modesty" of the man who opposes any normalisation of relations with the Israeli state, and who is banned from entering the United States. Al Qarni has strongly criticised the law banning the niqab in France and describes himself as one of the "swordsmen of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia", praising his country, which he believes applies Sharia law in full, unlike Turkey, which he considers too moderate in this ¹²⁷.

The UCOII brings together eighty large mosques and three hundred prayer halls in Italy, many of which are financed by the Qatar Foundation.

In the 1990s, the UCOII published around fifty thousand copies of the Koran translated into Italian, thanks to the editorial work of one of its most active members at the time, the convert Hamza Roberto Piccardo.

The Brotherist mosque project in Rome

According to tradition, the conquest of Rome was announced by the "prophet" Mohammed, and a well-known hadith¹²⁸ relates this conversation:

"Ibn Qatîl reports: We were at 'Abdullah Ibn 'Umar's when someone asked him, 'Which of the two cities, Rome or Constantinople, will be taken first?'"

Abdullah then had a chest with a ring brought to him, from which he drew a text that read: 'We were in the house of the Messenger of God, when he was asked: "Which of these two cities, Rome or Constantinople, will be taken first?'"

The Messenger of God replied: "The city of Heraclius, i.e. Constantinople, will be the first to be taken"¹²⁹.

This prophecy is not questioned by Sunni scholars. The Muslim Brotherhood takes this very seriously. The head of the Kuwaiti Muslim Brotherhood at the UOIF Gathering in 2009 harangued the audience, telling them not to be embarrassed by the idea of spreading this prophecy, and was widely applauded. Tareq Oubrou, an imam in Bordeaux who has been pushed forward by the French authorities to represent a "republican Islam" in the media, was asked about this passage at the annual congress he was attending, to which he replied:

'As for the conquest (fath) referred to in the very specific hadith, it is not said that it must be a military operation, but could be a simple peaceful presence, a 'witnessing presence' '. "(Profession imam, Albin Michel, page 138)

The idea of a military conquest is absurd today, so the Muslim Brotherhood interprets this hadith in a proselytising and demographic way.

The spiritual leader of the Brotherhood, Yussef Al-Qaradawi, takes the same line. On the Qatari channel Al Jazeera in 2007 he declared:

"The companions of the Prophet Mohammed heard [from him] that two cities would be conquered by Islam, Romiyya (Rome) and Constantinople, the Prophet Mohammed having specified that the city of Heracles (today Istanbul) would be conquered first. And that's what happened. Constantinople has been conquered, but the second part of the Prophecy, the conquest of Rome, has yet to be fulfilled. This means that Islam will return to Europe. (...) I predict that Islam will return to Europe without recourse to the sword. This will be done through preaching and ideas."

The Qatar Charity Foundation is forcing the issue by subsidising 45 mosque projects across Italy at a total cost of over €50 million. Italy is the Islamist foundation's main target in terms of budget, certainly in view of its prophetic dimension.

Rome was obviously one of the cities chosen, along with the "centre", in reality a mosque, Al Huda, run by a member of the Tunisian party Ennahda, which received 4 of the €5.7 million of the total cost. The aim is to compete with the Great Mosque of Rome, financed and run by Saudi Arabia, which has been in existence for a long time.

The Milan monumental project

In the same vein, in 2015 Al Qaradawi wrote a "letter of recommendation" calling on wealthy Muslims to donate to the Great Mosque of Milan project, on the letterhead of the World Union of Muslim Scholars, which he chairs.

The initiative to build a large mosque in Milan was launched by a federation of Islamic associations in Milan, **Coordinamento delle Associazioni Islamiche di Milano** (CAIM), including, as its official website indicates¹³⁰, the Turkish ultra-Islamists of Milli Görüş¹³¹, the current mosque on Via Jenner owned by UCOII, the Muslim Brotherhood in Italy and the Young Muslims of Italy. The federation's big Eid prayer in a stadium in August 2009 was led by the Tunisian Muslim brother, Sheikh Abdelfattah Mourou. Another large mosque in rue Padova has been broadcasting the muezzin's call over

loudspeakers since April 2011¹³².

This project for a large mosque (with a budget of ten million euros) has caused controversy, but the bishops support it in the name of "dialogue", as does the left-wing mayor Giulano Pisapia. The Northern League is the only movement to denounce the Islamist project.

Yet Muslims already have a large mosque in Milan, housed in a three-storey, three-thousand square metre property on a former AEM (Municipal Electric Company) site acquired by Kabakebbji Mohamed Maher. He is Chairman of the **Waqf al-Islam** (Islamic Heritage) Foundation of the UCOII (Union of Islamic Organisations and Communities, Italy). In spring 2007, a request for "a new complex to be used as a cultural and prayer centre" was presented to the Milan city council by Mahmoud Asfa, the Algerian imam of the mosque in Via

Padova, presided over by the Syrian Mohamed Baha 'el-Din Ghrewati, who was implicated in a judicial investigation into the structure of Muslim Brotherhood propaganda.

On 4 September 2010, Cardinal Tettamanzi approved the construction of this large mosque in Milan, with the support of Mgr Ambrogio Spreafico, Chair of the Episcopal Commission of the CEI (Italian Bishops' Conference) for the Evangelisation of the people and cooperation between Churches. He sent a petition to the Ministry of the Interior asking it to accede to the Muslims' request.

Il Giornale covered¹³³ this series of jousts between the then Minister of the Interior, Roberto Maroni, and the cardinal:

The controversy is still raging, not only in Milan, after Cardinal Tettamanzi submitted a request to the institutions to build a mosque for Muslims. At the town hall, the Northern League remained opposed to the construction of a Muslim place of worship and openly rowed with the cardinal. Interior Minister Roberto Maroni (Northern League) sent a frosty reply to Tettamanzi: "*I'm the Minister of the Interior, not a mosque builder! We intervened at the so-called mosque in rue Jenner [a garage, transformed into a 'place of prayer' that spilled out into the street, onto the pavement and the public highway ed.],*" explains Maroni, "*because there was a public order problem.*"

Reaction from the first deputy mayor of Milan: "*I respect Cardinal Tettamanzi's ideas, but the mosque is not a priority for us. It's surreal that the current spokesman for the Islamic centre on rue Jenner, Abdel Shaari, should be talking about ethics. After all, this is a man who was cheek by jowl with Imam Abu Imad, who was convicted of conspiracy to commit terrorism. Obviously he didn't realise that he was working with a preacher who was brainwashing would-be suicide bombers*".

Imam Abdel Shaari's reaction: "*I agree 100% with the cardinal's very fine speech and I thank him for his stance. This is not the first time that his eminence has made such a speech, confirming that he is the only moral voice in this city, while the political parties continue to be xenophobic and sow fear and intolerance*".

The UCOII Brothers had warmly thanked Bishop Angelo Bagnasco, who heads the Italian Bishops' Conference, for his support for a large mosque in Milan. In fact, the coordinator of the large mosque project, Davide Piccardo, is the son of the former secretary general of the UCOII. At a Muslim Brotherhood meeting in Milan on 3 June 2016 with Tariq Ramadan and Mahmoud El Abiary¹³⁴,

Piccardo had come to the defence of the Brotherhood's Kuwaiti leader, Tareq Al-Suwaïdan, who was due to attend, banned from Italy for his extremist views. Suwaïdan was not welcome because of his hatred of Jews and his desire to see Muslims conquer Rome (in accordance with a prophecy of Mohammed), as he pointed out when he came to the UOIF congress in France in 2009.

Among the mosques on the outskirts of Milan, the Islamic Centre of Milan and Lombardy is also linked to the UCOII Brothers, and its Chair Ali Abu Shwaima was even the first secretary of this organisation. It has a dome and a minaret. In its July 2017 issue, its monthly magazine defended the owner of the Islamic channel *Peace TV*, Zakir Naik, whose passport was revoked in India for making comments encouraging young people to go and do jihad and "promoting hatred between religious groups", according to India's National Investigation Agency. The journal *Il Messaggero del Islam*¹³⁵ published by the Lombardy Islamic Centre describes him as a scholar who "has a profound knowledge of the entire field of sacred texts".

This prolific writer and star TV presenter maintains that the Koran allows Muslims to have sexual relations with women who are their slaves (which is true), and approve of the execution of homosexuals and wife-beating. His arrest by Interpol can certainly be explained by his support for Bin Laden: "*If Bin Laden is fighting the enemies of Islam, I'm for him. If he terrorises America, the world's biggest terrorist country, I'm for him. Every Muslim must be a terrorist. If he terrorises terrorism, he's following Islam*".

In a television programme, Zakir Naik told a non-Muslim viewer who asked him about his religious freedom that, in an Islamic state, "the propagation of other religions is prohibited. The same goes for the construction of places of worship".

So much for the Islamic Centre's reference scholars. Abu Shwaima is also a member of the Fédération des organisations islamiques d'Europe (FIOE), which brings together the Muslim Brotherhood of the UOIF in France and the UCOII in Italy. He was one of the founders of the UOIF's school of imams, the IESH¹³⁶, inaugurated in 1992 alongside Yussef Al Qaradawi, a leading Brotherhood scholar who advocates killing homosexuals and apostates and is a fervent supporter of Hamas.

Milan is so welcoming to Islamists, it comes as no surprise that on 18 August 2013, world leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood met at the Westin Hotel in Milan to discuss the recent popular military coup in Egypt overthrowing Brotherist President Morsy. Mahmoud

Ibyari, the Brotherhood's number three, was there.

Ravenna

In October 2013, the largest mosque in the Emilia-Romagna region was inaugurated in Ravenna, on the initiative of the Centro di culturale e di studici islamici della Romagna, a member of the UCOII Islamists. A **Ravenna Web TV** report shows the array of Islamic dignitaries present: Qataris, Algerians, Bosnians, the chair of the UCOII, Izeddin Elzir, who was in charge of press relations.

The Islamic Centre's official Facebook page is instructive. Content includes the preaching of Hamza Roberto Piccardo¹³⁷, former national secretary and spokesman for the UCOII Brothers, known for having translated and edited into Italian the Islamic jurisprudence manual *The Way of the Muslim* (Al Minhaj al Muslim) by the Algerian Abu Bakr Al Jazairi, large extracts of which we transcribed in a previous work¹³⁸. This book prescribes launching an armed offensive jihad against non-Muslims, killing Muslims who abandon prayer, as well as apostates. According to Al Jazairi, who was a professor at the Islamic University of Medina for many years, in the same work: " *The Prophet is explicit: 'Churches must not be built or restored in Islamic lands'*¹³⁹ ".

The leader of what is the largest mosque in the region out of 176 registered places of worship, and the second largest in Italy, is Bakir Osmani. On his Facebook profile, he shares quotes from Zakir Naik, the extremist owner of the misnamed **Peace TV** who, as we saw earlier, is openly nostalgic for Bin Laden. The mosque's official page also

shares videos from **Peace TV**. Osmani shares photos of the mosque's football team posing with a Saudi Arabian flag at the end of a match. On 12 January 2015, just a few days after the **Charlie Hebdo** massacre, he chose to publish a slogan entitled "Je suis Mohamed" ("*I am Mohamed*").

The appearance of the preacher Aidh Al Karni at a UCOII congress in April 2015 prompted him to comment: " *Sheikh Ayd Karni Ma Shaa Allah* ", a common expression among Muslims meaning "*what Allah desired has happened*". Al Karni, a Saudi born in 1960, is well known in the Salafist world. He openly supports the jihadists in Syria and has issued a fatwa ordering the assassination of Bashar Al-Assad.

In a conference Aidh Karni said: "*the Koran contains perfect laws for governing states*¹⁴⁰ ", including the laws of war, he added. The leader of the mosque does not see any terrorists among the Muslims, as demonstrated by the sharing of a crude photo montage showing Barak Obama and Vladimir Putin all smiles in a ruined city that resembles Aleppo, having them 'say': "*And they have people believe that the Muslims are the terrorists!*¹⁴¹". Ousmani has never condemned the crimes committed by Saudi-funded jihadist brigades such as **Ahrar Al Cham** and **Jaych Al Islam**, which have confiscated humanitarian aid in East Aleppo to the detriment of the population.

Florence

In December 2017, the Archbishop of Florence, Cardinal Giuseppe Betori, ceded land belonging to his archdiocese to the Muslims so that they could build their large mosque. The press showed the meeting between the cardinal and the Chair of the town's Muslim association, Izeddine Elzir, on the day the protocol was signed. The man is none other than the former Chair of UCOII, the organisation mentioned above representing the Muslim Brotherhood in Italy.

The cardinal drew on the last Council to justify his land deal: "*All this is part of the resolute implementation of the principle of religious freedom promoted by the Second Vatican Council, which also includes freedom of worship. We can't make declarations if we don't back them up*", declared Betori. "*I am pleased to be able to demonstrate how the Catholic Church in Florence respects religious*

*freedom and promotes freedom of worship*¹⁴² ", added the cardinal. Only the elected members of the Fratelli d'Italia party were indignant, commenting that the construction of the mosque " *is a swindle against the residents of Sesto Fiorentino (the area around the site)* ", declared the leader of the party in Giovanni Donzelli's region. It's an institutional and urbanistic constraint - Donzelli emphasises - for which the protagonists will assume all the political responsibilities. As a Catholic, concludes Donzelli, "*I would expect the Church to be concerned with protecting the interests of Christians rather than encouraging the construction of new mosques*¹⁴³ "

This mosque in Florence received at least €1.6 million from Qatar Charity, according to the sum of the various transfers consulted by journalists Chesnot and Malbrunot for their investigatory book **Qatar Papers** (published by

Michel Lafont, 2019).

Other mosques financed by Qatar Charity for the benefit

of the Muslim Brotherhood include those in Turin, Verona, Naples, Modena and Saronno.

Bergamo

Bergamo was the scene of a legal imbroglio between the Brotherhood mosque called the "*Islamic Centre*" run by Mohamed Saleh and the Jordanian cardiologist Imad El Joulani, who raked in 5 million in donations from Qatar by presenting himself as the leader of the Islamic community of Bergamo, a misleading title when he was actually working "off his own bat" with a hangar that needed to be refurbished. Having presented himself as the representative of all the city's Muslims, and playing on the ambiguity of his association's name, Joulani was acquitted by the Italian courts against the official mosque of the Ucoii network, which had tried to recover the

considerable sum.

In 2016, after his mosque was closed by the authorities following allegations of wrongdoing, Mohamed Saleh decided to encourage his followers to pray in the street in order to put pressure on the town hall, which was putting the brakes on the development of this extremist mosque. The Northern League governs this province, where it won 51% of the vote in 2019, compared with 19% for the Democratic Party (Pdl), which supports the Muslim Brotherhood in the towns it governs.

Vicenza

There are seven mosques in the province of Vicenza, in Lonigo, Cassola, Schio and Arzignano, including of course the one in Vicenza, called Et Tawba, which is attended by over five hundred men every Friday. Friday sermons advocate the application of Sharia law, such as the one transcribed in January 2012 in which Imam Arif explains that: *"Everything that is written in the Koran and in the hadiths demonstrates the importance of rights for Islamic Sharia law and the obligation for every Muslim to know them"*. The reading recommendations on the mosque's website refer to a selection of books by Islamist ideologues advocating armed jihad, such as Abul A'la Maududi, books by Zakir Naik, mentioned above, and

Tariq Ramadan. One author, Mujahed Badaoui, whose book *"Islam and Peace"* has been translated into Italian, explains that Muslims must fight to ensure that Allah's laws are applied throughout the world: *"In the application of Islamic jurisprudence, codified in the Koran and in the Tradition of the Prophet Muhammad, the great difference existing between the legislative system prescribed by God to His creature and a system developed by man is brought out; (...) Striving for the practical realization of the ideals expressed by Islam is nothing more than the practical realization of the effort to which all believers must strive, aiming at the attainment of universal peace and the triumph of the good through all the earth."*

Saronno

The Saronno Islamic Cultural Centre, the name of the mosque affiliated to the Ucoii, boasts a very imposing building. Arabic and Italian lessons are given every week, and the preaching is done in Arabic by Najib AlBared, the imam who barely speaks Italian. His young Italian-speaking right-hand man translates all the sermons, and creates events designed to gain acceptance in society, such as regularly inviting classes of secondary school pupils from the town to present a positive image of Islam, or the "Green Deen" ecological day, a play on the words "Green God", where Qatar's academics worked on the subject with Italian convert Morgan Ghidoni, a member of Brescia's mosque who is well versed in the relationship

between the environment and Islam. For the Iftar meals during Ramadan, the mosque invites the town's parish priests, the Catholic faithful, the scouts and the mayor, all of whom are happy to take part. The Islamists have set up a stand in the commercial streets of the city to present Islam, and their excellent relations with the mayor should help.

Professor of Islamology Paulo Gonzaga from the Catholic University of Milan came to present his book of apologia, *Discovering Islam* in September 2018. A partnership has even been set up with the Catholic university, whose lecturers teach directly in the prayer room.

Brescia

The Muslim Brotherhood is very well established in Brescia, where it has a large new mosque inaugurated in 2016 by a delegation from Qatar, which financed part of the building. The Islamic Centre in Brescia, for example, is run by a Yemeni imam, Amin El-Amzi, and the convert to Islam Morgan Ghidoni, both members of the Muslim Brotherhood, who met in Yemen at the Sharia faculty of the Islamic University of Sana, from which they graduated. Amin El-Amzi is a member of the European Fatwa Centre run by Qaradawi, the intellectual centre of the Brotherhood in Europe. As for Ghidoni, he is a member of the Association of Italian imams and spiritual guides.

The mosque offers intensive courses in Islam and Arabic, with a five-year programme to master the language.

When asked by the Muslim magazine *Oasis*¹⁴⁴ "What are the intellectual references of the Islamic centre?" Morgan Ghidoni replied in April 2020:

"The European Fatwa Council is certainly an important reference. I believe that Shaykh Yūsuf al-Qaradāwī has given so much to the Council and to the Islamic world. In any case, his opinions are not sacred law, but they are studied, appreciated and his thoughts enrich us. But it's not infallible. As you well know, in Islam, only the Prophet is infallible. Other references are undoubtedly the Italian Association of Imams and Religious Guides and the UCOII, to which we are linked."

We may remember that Qaradawi teaches that homosexuals, apostates and Israelis must be killed and Europe conquered.

Twice a month, in conjunction with the town hall, schoolchildren from the Brescia region visit the mosque, where the people in charge present their Islamism in a very favourable light, with displays and models worthy of a real museum.

Sicily, a historic revenge

We have seen that in 1936 Hassan Al Banna harangued his followers by raising the prospect of a reconquest of Andalusia, the Balkans and Sicily. In the Islamist imagination, the volcanic island is a humiliating historical loss. So Qatar, through its foundation, is pulling out all the stops in terms of support. Especially as the Muslim Brotherhood is organised under the banner of the Comunita Islamica di Sicilia (CIS), which is attached to the UCOII.

The city of Catania has fallen victim to the takeover of one of its theatres, which has been converted into the so-called Mercy Mosque, a place where Islamists have been busy welcoming Muslim migrants who have landed on the island to provide them with humanitarian aid. According to the imam, Kheit Abdelhafid, who also runs the regional CIS structure, 50,000 illegal immigrants have passed through the mosque to receive help.

The Brotherist mosque was inaugurated in 2012 by the town's mayor, accompanied by the regional prefect. The heads of Qatar Charity, Ahmed Al-Hammadi and Mohamed Al-Kuwari, were also present.

Further north in Messina, a building has been purchased for the benefit of the organisation for the thousand or so Muslim worshippers present in the town, a figure that

swells with the annual arrival of canoes from Libya. On each occasion, the structure of the mosque, this time dressed up as a "cultural and religious centre", includes not only the prayer room, but also meeting rooms, a library and classrooms. Qatar, through its foundation, has made a donation of €457,000.

In its presentation brochure for Arab donors, Qatar Charity describes its work on the island as follows:

"Islam entered the island in 827 and remained for 472 years, during which time the region enjoyed security, stability and the development of all the human sciences (...) the vestiges of this presence are still visible today." The brochure continues: "The historic buildings in the centre of Messina are inspired by traditional Islamic architecture, and the former owners' Arab origins."

The desire to re-Islamise Sicily was clearly expressed through the ideas of roots and converting the natives:

"The aim of QC's projects in Sicily is to embed Islamic culture on the island and make the true face of Islam known to all those who are interested in this religion and who would like to convert to it. It is for these reasons that Qatar Charity is building several multifunctional Islamic centres."

Related associations

The Association of Imams and Religious Guides of Italy

Founded on the initiative of the San Giovanni in Lupatoto mosque run by the Muslim Brotherhood, the **Associazione degli Imâm e delle guide religiose in Italia** trains the Brotherhood's imams in Italy. The association has been noted for its links with the most extremist leaders of the Egyptian brotherhood, such as Tareq Al Suwaidan, who was invited in 2016 and who, as we have seen, calls for Rome to be conquered in accordance with Mohammed's prophecy.

On the Israelis, he said in a sermon: *"All mothers in the Islamic nation, not just Palestinian mothers, must breastfeed their babies with hatred for the children of Zion. We loath them. They are our enemies"*. In November 2014, the Belgian Prime Minister declared that *"this preacher has unacceptable anti-Semitic beliefs and his presence here is a threat to public order"* and refused him permission to enter Belgium. He has also been declared an "undesirable person" in America - where he was investigated as a financier of the Muslim Brotherhood - and in Great Britain. Suwaidan is known as the head of the Muslim Brotherhood in Kuwait, a major supporter of the jihadists in Syria, and has a colossal fortune. It is astonishing that Italy issued him with a residence visa, which he wanted to use to give lectures in the Brotherist mosques of Como and Reggio Emilia. Finally, the then Minister of the Interior, Angelino Alfano, banned him from setting foot on Italian soil.

Mohsen Khochtali, head of interfaith dialogue at the Verona Islamic community, defended Tareq Al Swaidan, revealing the ideological orientation of his mosque.

Only Northern League MP Lorenzo Fontana denounced the visit of the Islamist in the press: *"It is worrying," he said, "that the Islamic association, which is responsible for training imams, the very imams who will then preach in Italy, should invite a representative of the Muslim Brotherhood to our country for a ten-day series of travelling meetings, a figure who expressly incites hatred and martyrdom against Israel and for his positions is banned in Belgium and unwelcome in other countries"*¹⁴⁵.

Giovani musulmani in Italia

Founded in early 2001 by the Moroccan Khalid Chaouki and the Tunisian Osama al Saghira, **Giovani musulmani in Italia**, Young Muslims of Italy, the youth movement

directly affiliated to the Ucoii, has since spread to the organisation's mosques. From several hundred in the 2000s, it has grown to over a thousand members since 2010, while working closely with the Muslim Scouts who attend its events. In 2004, its founder aroused the ire of the Ucoii and its more radical members for having signed a "Manifesto against terrorism" with other more moderate Muslim organisations, in which Islamic terrorism was clearly denounced. The GMI board voted to expel Khalid Chaouki, at a time when he was a regular guest in the media, presenting a reassuring face. The Ucoii Brothers did not forgive him for signing this manifesto, which they felt was wrong because it made no mention of Israeli and American "terrorism". Chaouki explained that they *"judged me as if I were in a medieval court"*, even deeming me *"dangerous, unworthy, harmful, incompatible with my community, they told me so"*. A "terrible" signal for the vice-president of Milan's Jewish community, Daniele Nahum, who sees a "change in the political direction of the Young Muslims' Association, the opposite of that led by Khalid". The breakdown in dialogue with Jewish associations dates back to 2004. Khalid Chaouki, who has since joined the Democratic Party, denounces the dangerous extremism of the Ucoii Brothers. Better late than never. For his part, the other co-founder of GMI, Osama al Saghira, son of a Brotherhood activist who fled Ben Ali in 1994, has become an MP and spokesman for Ennahda, the Brotherhood party in Tunisia. His father is the imam of the Al Huda mosque in Rome mentioned above, in the Centocelle district, a sort of embassy of the Tunisian Brotherhood where the entire leadership has passed through.

Osama al Saghira, to a student newspaper at the University of Padua, which interviewed him in February 2013, when asked *"Are you moderate Muslims?"*, replied:

"I don't like the use of this term in Italy: it seems that in order to be considered democrats, we have to distance ourselves from our own faith. The strength of our movement, on the other hand, is that there is no contradiction between Islam and freedom".

Speaking to the newspaper Foglio in 2009 (when he was a 25-year-old student awaiting Italian citizenship, which he obtained in 2011), he said, with a stern tone of warning: *"Most young Muslims have grown up in Italy, but very few have obtained Italian citizenship, and for this reason they have a distorted perception of democracy. I fear the risk of a drift in identity among young Muslims, because if you don't belong to any nation, then you belong to the religious community, where it's easier to listen to a*

madman who talks about Italians as infidels or political groups that deny democracy".

But as soon as he became an Italian citizen in 2011, he left to join his family's Islamist party in his country of origin.

A GMI official in Modena, Chaimaa Fatihi, showed her extremism by defending the aforementioned Tareq Al Suwaidan, who was finally banned for extremism in April 2016, arguing that since the Israelis are carrying out "genocide" in Palestine, the Kuwaiti who calls for them to be fought cannot be condemned. But Suwaidan wants to exterminate the Jews as a whole: *"Nothing can be achieved except by blood. The Jews will find their end in our hands"*.

Associazione Donne Musulmane in Italia

The Associazione Donne Musulmane in Italia , Association of Muslim Women of Italy (ADMI), based in Perugia, was founded in 1985 by Kuwaiti-born Zaynab Khalil. The association tries to explain to women how to reconcile Islamic law and life in the West, particularly at school and in hospital. According to Mrs Khalil, the question most frequently asked by parents is *"Is it permissible for our children to accept invitations to a non-Muslim friend's birthday party?"*

An intelligent woman, Mrs Khalil tells the members of the association that it is possible to take courses on Catholicism in order to understand it, and to accept being treated by a male doctor in hospital if there are no female doctors. On the other hand, the chairwoman of the association is adamant about wearing the Islamic headscarf, even at job interviews for the association's girls, who must be prepared to be turned down for a job rather than uncover themselves¹⁴⁶.

Zaynab says she represents Italian women, but she still tried to move to Saudi Arabia with her children, a country she left simply for the Italian healthcare system, as she tells *Umbria Integra* newspaper in July 2018:

"We tried to move to Saudi Arabia and stayed for 9 months, but the children were ill. So we came back. In Italy, they're foreigners, in Saudi Arabia, they're 'Italians'".

The **European Forum for Muslim Women** is the European structure of the Association of Muslim Women of Italy, and Mrs Khalil explains how the project was set up:

"The European Forum of Muslim Women was set up in 2011, when we met with representatives of Muslim

women's associations in Switzerland. We were 16 associations from across Europe. It took 4 years to form a real "forum". In 2015, we held a meeting in Brussels to launch it and now we're moving forward to meet on the most topical issues facing our society.

Together with ADMI, we plan to follow up the Aisha project, which has already been launched in Milan by my daughter Sumaya [Sumaya Abdel Qader, born in 1978, is currently a councillor in the Milan municipality- ed.] The project is aimed at young Muslim women and girls who want advice on how to behave in the family, in society, in Italy and in Europe."

ADMI takes part in prayers and street demonstrations, such as in 2008 during a demonstration for Palestine in the Duomo cathedral square in Milan, where demonstrators climbed onto the square's equestrian statue with flags and organised a huge pray-in¹⁴⁷.

The Council for Relations with Islam

Following on from the 2010 Committee for Italian Islam, a government initiative to give Islam official representatives in Italy, the **Consiglio per le relazioni con l'Islam** was set up in 2016, with no fewer than 7 of the 15 seats going to the Muslim Brotherhood of the Ucoii. One of its decisions was to create an official register of imams in Italy. In February 2017, its members signed a national pact for an Italian Islam, with the aim of "creating a legitimate and civilised Italian Islam" through the training of imams (with the contribution of the Ministry of the Interior and state universities), the use of Italian in sermons and inter-religious and intercultural territorial dialogue, including access for non-Muslims to

mosques, which does not meet any significant demand. As we have seen, universities provide training in knowledge of Italian law, but there is a risk of creating chairs of Islamology held by Muslims in universities.

To close this Italian chapter, we should bear in mind the confession made by the head of the Italian Muslim Association, Abdul-Hadi Palazzi, to the Lebanese Father Samir Khalil, which he recounts in his book *Cent questions sur l'islam*. The Muslim leader warns about one of the Egyptian Brotherhood's major strategies: regularly sending students and graduate workers to Europe in order to penetrate all social strata.

Notes

- 1 28. Saudi Sheikh Aed Al-Qarni Apologizes For Previously-Held Radical Views, Says: I Am Now One of KSA's "Swords"; Some Saudi Scholars Are Paid By Qatar to Preach Extremism, Rotana Khaliyya T, MEMRI Institute Translation, May 6, 2019.
- 129 A hadith is a saying or gesture by Muhammad reported by his contemporaries and then recorded by preservers of tradition.
- 130 (Ahmad 2/176, ad-Dârimi 1/126, and Al-hâkim 3/422).
- 131 [.http://www.cai-milano.it/](http://www.cai-milano.it/)
- 132 On this Turkish Islamist movement, read our book *Mosquées Radicales* (published by DMM, 2016).
- 133 Magdi cristiano Allam, Quel minareto a Milano E' un altro passo verso l'islamizzazione, *Il Giornale*, 24 April 2011.
- 134 *Il Giornale*, 6 September 2009.
- 135 Mahmoud El Abiary runs the Islamist Brotherhood's European media and has close links with the Pakistani Islamists of Jamaat-e-Islami.
- 136 [.http://centroislamico.it/messaggero/booklets/207_booklet.html#/page/27](http://centroislamico.it/messaggero/booklets/207_booklet.html#/page/27)
- 137.1 Institut Européens des Sciences Humaines.
- 138 Published on 20 May 2017, page Moschea Grande di Ravenna.
- 139 See *Mosquées Radicales, ce qu'on y dit, ce qu'on y lit*, published by DMM, 2016.
- 140 Abû Bakr A-Jazâ'irî, *La Voie du Musulman*, published by Maison d'Ennour, 2011, page 271.
- 141 *Allah Alone is Sufficient for Me* - Sh-Aidh Al Qarni, Youtube, 14 January 2013.
- 142 Facebook status of Bakir Ousmani dated 8 January 2016.
- 143 Reported by *La Nazione* on 14 December 2017.
- 144 Reported by *La Nazione* on 14 December 2017.
- 145 [.https://www.oasiscenter.eu/it/intervista-amin-el-hazmi-morgan-ghidoni](https://www.oasiscenter.eu/it/intervista-amin-el-hazmi-morgan-ghidoni)
- 146 Lorenzo Fontana quoted in *Corriere del Veneto*, 2 April 2016.
- 147 [.https://www.umbriaintegra.it/lass-donne-musulmane-ditalia-intervista-zaynab-khalil/](https://www.umbriaintegra.it/lass-donne-musulmane-ditalia-intervista-zaynab-khalil/)
- 148 See the Youtube video ADMI - Associazione Donne Musulmane d'Italia - Attivita' 2008

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN SPAIN

The number of mosques in Spain is increasing rapidly. In 2018, the Observatory of Religious Pluralism in Spain revealed that 46 new mosques or prayer halls had been created in the space of just six months! There are a total of 1,632 mosques in the country, with a higher concentration in Catalonia, the Valencia region and Andalusia.

Unlike France, with the UOIF, and Italy, with the UCOII, Spain does not have a large-scale national organisation bringing together the Muslim Brotherhood, and the latter are more like individuals with a local influence or shuttling between the Maghreb and Europe, with Spain as a gateway.

Alexandre del Valle and Emmanuel Razavi report in their book *Le Projet* on the first seeds sown by the Brotherhood in Spain: "*As early as 1971, a Syrian born in Homs, called Nizar Ahmad al-Sabbagh, based in the symbolic city of Granada, set up a publishing house, The Islamic House, which published texts by Hassan al-Banna, Saiyyd Qutb and Abu Ala al-Mawdoudi, among others. This was one of the first founding acts of The Brotherhood on Iberian soil*"¹⁴⁸

Historically, Spain, and Catalonia in particular, have always been hotbeds of jihadists for the GIA in the 80s and 90s and for Al Qaeda in the 90s and 2000s.

There are links between Al Qaeda and the Muslim Brotherhood, and some members of the Brotherhood have gone further than just preaching activism.

Mustafa Setmariam Nasar (Abu Musab al-Suri), a Syrian Muslim Brother, moved to Spain in the late 1980s. He was able to acquire Spanish nationality by marrying a Spanish woman. His links with the GIA in Algeria and the Taliban in Afghanistan show that jihadists do not operate in a vacuum and know how to transcend trends when it comes to fighting non-Muslims. His photo appeared in 2010 in the first issue of Inspire, the English-language newsletter of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, with an article published under the name Abu Mu'sab al-Suri. He was arrested in Pakistan in 2005. He is one of the main contemporary jihad theorists with a 1,600-page book,

*The Islamic Call to Global Resistance*¹⁴⁹. In this book, Nasar (or Al Suri) proposes that the next stage of jihad should be characterised by terrorism created by individuals or small autonomous groups (what he calls "leaderless resistance") which will exhaust the enemy and prepare the ground for the much more ambitious goal of waging conventional war with an "open front".

Another Syrian Muslim Brother who took refuge in Spain in the 1980s, Imad Eddin Barakat Yarkas, alias Abu Dahdah, was one of the leaders of the "Syrian network" that recruited jihadists for the Bosnian theatre of operations, financing weapons and arranging false papers. A structured network, then, which had even attempted to take control of the Madrid Tetuan mosque under the name of "Islamic Alliance" with Sheikh Salah as its religious referent. Found to be involved in the Al Qaeda network, Abu Dahdah was sentenced in September 2005 to 27 years in prison as the main mastermind. His sentence explicitly states that the network had sent its men to several mosques in order to impose their vision of ultra-Islamism. It has to be said that Dahdah had numerous telephone conversations with Al Qaeda ideologue Abu Qatada, and that he made many mysterious trips to the East.

In 2004, it was Taysir Alouni, the Syrian correspondent of the Muslim Brotherhood channel *Al-Jazeera*, based in Spain, who was imprisoned for links with Al Qaeda. The Qatari channel vehemently defended its "journalist", denouncing an attack on press freedom and castigating Spain. But the seven years he was sentenced to were fully justified by the Audiencia Nacional, Spain's High Court, given his close links with the terrorist network on the Iberian peninsula. Operation Tigris, carried out by the Spanish police in 2004, uncovered a network directed from Syria, the majority of which was made up of Moroccans in Spain.

In the early 2000s, the Tunisian Muslim Brotherhood took over the Valencia mosque, known as the Valencia Islamic Cultural Centre, run by Ridha Barouni, suspected by the Spanish authorities of having links with Sudanese terrorist organisations.

In fact, the **Liga Islámica para el Diálogo y la Convivencia en España** (Lidcoe) is now based in Valencia and is linked to the Union of Islamic Organisations in Europe. This league is trying to unite as many mosques as possible. Some of its members also work for Islamic Relief Spain, and other members are also part of the Ennahda Tunisian Brotherhood.

On Lidcoe's homepage in September 2020, the headline of an article read "I'm a journalist, a Muslim, and in a burkini, so what? "

This little league includes the Catalan Islamic Cultural Centre in Barcelona, run by Salem Ben Amara, which, according to a report by the CNI (Centre national d'investigation), received €300,000 from Qatar to expand. Other members include the An Nour Islamic Centre in Ripoll and the ArRisala mosque in Zaragoza.

The Tayba centre in Madrid is also one of the pillars of the network. Aimed at educating young Muslims in the Spanish capital, the "Tayba Muslim Youth Association" has a website with a list of Islamic books available for download.

An unsigned book in Spanish entitled *Islam, a way of life*, probably written by one of the Brotherhood's leading figures in Spain, explains the differences between Western democracies and Islamic "democracy":

"What distinguishes Islamic democracy from Western democracy is that while the latter is based on the concept of popular sovereignty, the former is based on the principle of the popular Caliphate. In Western democracy, the people are sovereign. In Islam, sovereignty is vested in God, and the people are his caliphs or representatives. In the first, people bring their own laws, in the second, they must follow and obey the laws ("Sharia") given by God through His Prophet.

In one, the government undertakes to carry out the will of the people; in the other, the government and the people who form it must all carry out God's plan.

In short, Western democracy is a class of absolute authority that exercises its powers freely and uncontrollably, whereas Islamic democracy is subject to divine law and exercises its authority in accordance with God's commandments and within the limits prescribed for it."

The totalitarian aspect of the Brotherhood's Islam is well captured:

"The "Sharia" lays down guidelines for regulating our individual and collective lives. These directives cover

subjects as varied as religious rites, social and economic affairs, the administration of citizens' rights and duties, the judicial system, the laws of war and peace, and international relations. In short, it encompasses all the different departments of human life. [...]

Another remarkable feature of the Sharia is that it is an organic whole. The whole project of life proposed by Islam is animated by the same spirit and therefore, any arbitrary division of the project will end up damaging the spirit as well as the structure of the Islamic order. In this respect, it can be compared to the human body, which is an organic whole".

The next chapter is logically entitled "The proposal for an Islamic State", obviously ideal for the Brotherhood, as in this extract:

"In Islam, the purpose of the State is not merely political administration, nor is it to carry out through it the collective will, or the will of a particular group of people. More than this, Islam requires a high ideal and you must use all the means at your disposal to create this Islamic state. "

Violence to establish this state is not ruled out a priori.

The conclusion is obvious to the faithful: *"By keeping this pattern in view, this Islamic State can plan its programmed happiness for every era and in every circumstance."*

This book is in Spanish, available for open consultation on the Tayba website, which makes you wonder about the content of all the Islamic books in Arabic that are also on offer.

This vision of the Sharia as the supreme normative law in all areas is also reflected in the free newspaper "Islam Hoy" published by the Islamic Community of Spain, whose headquarters are at the Great Mosque of Granada, the largest in Andalusia:

"What happens with the legislative branch? In Islam there is no such thing. In Islam, the Law comes from Allah. The alternative is nihilism and pure convenience (...) In Islam, fysis ('natural law') prevails over nomos ('positive law')¹⁵⁰".

Tayba's group outings focus on Spain's Islamic heritage, the only area worthy of cultural visits. From the Alcazars of Zaragoza and Segovia to the Muslim vestiges of Madrid, the idea is that Spain is fundamentally a Muslim country.

The network also refers to the Muslim women's association Achime, founded in 2012, which aims to help women live as Muslims in Spanish society. Outings,

spiritual retreats and holidays together forge the unity of the group, where 90% of the women wear hijab.

Despite the doctrine being disseminated, the Spanish Ministry of Justice awarded its "*Pluralism and living together for religious entities*" prize to the Tayba association on 15 June 2018. During the ceremony, all the women in the association wore hijab.

Maysouns Douas, a Madrid city councillor who is close to the Islamist association where she publishes her columns, is the first Muslim woman to be elected to this local assembly. Born to Moroccan parents and wearing her headscarf like a flag, she has taken on a number of fashionable themes to get people talking about her: "*I am a Muslim feminist, an entrepreneur, a social activist and an expert in innovation*", to which she adds her commitment to "*innovation in social mobility*", as she explained to the *Arabnews* media in May 2020.

She has a PhD in physics and four children, and is trying to win over Madrid's executive electorate by peppering her speech with fashionable concepts: "*My aim is to make Madrid a more innovative city by making it more welcoming to disruptive and technological start-ups*". The other strand of her policy is to impose the idea of "positive discrimination", of "*diversity as a value*", and to combat "*prejudice against Muslims*". Claiming to be a fighter for women's rights, she obviously says nothing about the inequality of inheritance between men and women provided for by Sharia law and reaffirmed by the Tunisian president in the summer of 2020, or the imposition of head covering, or repudiation which is part of Moroccan law.

It was a tremendous success in penetrating the **Madrid Mas** political group, which claims to be on the "feminist and progressive" left, and heralds a bright future for Islamo-Leftism south of the Pyrenees.

Mansur Abdusalam Escudero, the head of the highly institutional **Fédération des Entités Islamiques d'Espagne (Federation of Islamic Entities of Spain)**, the equivalent of the French CFCM, may not be a Brotherist, but he seems to be along the same lines:

*"The constant influx of immigrants through the Straits, Spain's low birth rate, the openness of Hispanic intellectuals to Islam, the gradual desertification of Andalusia [mean that] only a government of fundamentalist morons or [Catholic] religious fanatics could not foresee that Andalusia would soon be an Islamic landscape ruled by Morocco."*¹⁵¹

The main Moroccan Islamist movement, **Justice et Charité**, led by charismatic leader Sheikh Abdessalam Yassine until his death in 2012 which was mourned by all

the French-speaking Muslim websites (*Oumma*, *Saphirnews*) recommended "having lots of children with Spanish women", in a report on expansion in Spain in the daily *El Mundo* on 28 February 2010.

The **Justice and Benevolence** Party is a sort of synthesis between Salafism and the Muslim Brotherhood. In his 1974 letter of defiance to Hassan II, entitled *Islam or the Flood*, Sheikh Yassin called on him to completely Islamise the country, and cited the Brotherhood's Hassan al-Banna and Sayyed Qutb as references. Yassine, who asked the King of Morocco to take him on as Minister of Islamic Affairs, was interned in a psychiatric asylum for 24 months. It is important to note that Abdallah Yassine was trained by a Sufi master, like Hassan Al Banna, demonstrating the porosity between Sufism and Islamism. The Moroccan diaspora is very large in Spain, and the **Justice and Benevolence** movement, now chaired by the founder's daughter, is a major obstacle to integration, not to mention assimilation.

In the town of Fuengirola, a leading figure in Brotherism runs the Islamic Community of Sohail (the name of Fuengirola's historic Arab fort). Fuad Kamal Mostafa also presides over the Masjid Al-Fatwâ legal advisory body on the peninsula, and has written a book entitled *La Mujer en el Islam* [Women in Islam], in which he lists the "lawful methods" for physically correcting women...

The Spanish specialist in Islamism Javier Yague devoted a study to the evolution of the Brotherhood in 2019 for the **Observatorio del terrorismo**:

"The Muslim Brotherhood continues to try to extend its 'fiefdom' in Spain, as shown by the expulsion order issued against Alaa Mohamed Said, President of the Islamic Union of Imams and Guides of Spain, for having tried to convert the oratory in which he practised as an imam, (the headquarters of the al-Firdaws Islamic community in Logroño), into a centre for spreading the message of the Muslim Brotherhood (he is also said to have received funds to the value of €1.5 million from Qatar to undertake this mission)."

The funding for these centres and organisations, as well as other projects (Islamic College of Valencia), comes mainly from Qatar and Islamic charities such as Secours Islamique or others such as Islamic Appeal, as well as other organisations around the world linked to the Muslim Brotherhood or related movements."

In recent years, Qatar has shown a growing interest in fomenting the Brotherhood in the Peninsula. Journalists Razavi and Del Valle analyse the situation in their essay *Le Projet*:

"Proof of the importance of Spain in the eyes of the Muslim Brotherhood: their new Qatari spiritual leader, Jassim Sultan, has made personal visits to Spain at the invitation of the Islamic Communities of Catalonia, notably at their congress in 2015. An example of the debates was focus on the "civic participation of Muslims in society". His visit came at a pivotal time, as his Emirati sponsor - also a sponsor of Barça - is stepping up his efforts to forge closer links with the business community

in Barcelona, notably setting up, via Al-Jazeera, sports partnerships with the Médiapro audiovisual group, which specialises in the acquisition of football-related television rights. Since then there has been a revolving door of lobbyists, investors and other agents of influence in the Catalan capital as well as in the province of Valencia, all with links, from near or far, to members of the organisation in Qatar or France. "

Notes

148 Emmanuel Razavi and Alexandre del Valle, *Le Projet*, éditions de l'Artilleur, 2019, page 214 of the Kindle version.

149 *.Da'wat al-muqawamah al-islamiyyah al-'alamiyyah*

150 November 2013 issue of *Islam Hoy*, bought on site by the authors.

151 Reported by Professors Barquero Cabrero and Ramos Fernandez in their book *El Islam a las puertas de Europa*, published by Furtwangen, 2011.

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN GREAT BRITAIN

The establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood in Great Britain must be seen in tandem with that of its closest allies, who share the same doctrine and pool their infrastructure and propaganda with the Brotherhood. This is the Jama'at-e-Islami movement, founded in Pakistan in 1941 by Abul Ala Mawdoudi, a doctrinaire very close to Saïd Ramadan, who reproduced his writings in the brotherhood's monthly magazine **Al Muslimun**. His main works, which are still a reference for the Brotherhood today, call for violent revolutionary action to establish Islamic states:

"Islam wishes to destroy all States and Governments on the face of the earth that oppose the ideology and programme of Islam, whatever the country or nation"¹⁵².

The totalitarian aspect of the programme is recognised by Mawdoudi in another book:

"Everything in the universe is "Muslim" because it obeys God by submitting to His laws (...). Islam means politics, economics, legislation, science, humanism, health, psychology and sociology"¹⁵³.

His ideas had a decisive influence on the radicalisation of Pakistan, which was spearheaded by President Zia ul-Haq (presidency from 1978 to 1988), who included a number of Sharia laws in the Penal Code by decree, and promoted state-run Koranic schools. This policy of total islamisation of Pakistan (flogging for extramarital relations, death penalty for blasphemy, etc.) was implemented with the help of the Jama'at-e-Islami.

A close disciple of Mawdoudi (who died in 1979), Kurshid Ahmad, wanted to set up a training institute in Great Britain in order to infuse the movement's doctrine into the Indo-Pakistani diaspora, which was already numerous when it was established in 1961. The first was the "Islamic Mission", responsible for spreading doctrine (*Daawa'*) through preaching. It was based in Islington, north London, and today has 49 branches educating thousands of young people. This was followed by the construction of large mosques such as the East London Mosque, now the new headquarters. Then, in 1973, the creation of the famous Islam Foundation based

in Leicester, the equivalent of the Institut Européen des Sciences Humaines in France, the UOIF's sharia school. Leicester, which has become the English-speaking intellectual centre of the Islamists, was home to Tariq Ramadan for a year in 1996, the year after the death of his father Saïd, a friend of the Jama'at movement. Tariq Ramadan took advantage of the Islam Foundation's studious environment and documentary resources to write his book "Être un Musulman européen" (Being a European Muslim), published by the same foundation. This would be a pivotal period insofar as, with his father gone, he was preparing to take up the torch of propaganda and even become the informal spokesman for the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe.

The close links with the Arab Muslim Brotherhood have therefore always endured, especially as the latter, which is numerically less significant across the Channel, has always needed the support of the former's infrastructure.

It was with the help of the Asian Jama'at-e-Islami that the Brothers penetrated a number of academic institutions, such as the Islamic Institute of London, directed by the late Kalim Siddiqui (1931-1996), a British citizen of Indian origin who "fought for Muslims in England to be able to apply the principles of Koranic life, including polygamy, immediate divorce, the abolition of co-education, and Muslim state schools"¹⁵⁴.

One of the pioneers of the establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood in England, the Egyptian Kamal Helbawy (born 1939), headed the Chair of Arabic Studies at the Kurshid Ahmad Institute of Arabic Studies in Pakistan. There he gave lectures on the famous *Daawa'*, before bringing it to Europe by founding the **Muslim Association of Britain** (MAB) in 1997. Already highly experienced as the director of the Muslim Welfare House in Finsbury Park in the early 1980s, as a volunteer in Afghanistan and as the first director of Saudi Arabia's famous World Assembly of Muslim Youth in 1972, he was naturally chosen by the Brotherhood's consultation council (*shura*) to launch the Brotherhood's branch in Great Britain. He was also director of studies at the Leicester Foundation during his first stay in England in the 1980s, so the confusion between Jama'at e islami and the Egyptian brotherhood is definitely persistent.

He was also a member of the highly influential Muslim Council Of Britain (MCB) in 2000 and 2004, as a founding member of this federation of 250 Islamist organisations which - before its extremist nature became obvious - had the attentive ear of the government, and was long presented as an organisation representative of the kingdom's Muslims. Largely financed by the British authorities until 2007, the MCB discredited itself through

the extremist positions taken by its members, such as its press relations secretary Inayat Bunglawala, who described Bin Laden as a "freedom fighter", comments made just five months before September 11 2001... It wasn't until a BBC prime-time documentary broadcast recordings of imams from the organisation saying that Tony Blair's war on terror was "a war on Islam" that the harmfulness of this federation of mosques became clear to the general public. In the same documentary, the Imam of Birmingham said of the London bombings in 2005 that "the official version of the 7 July attacks makes no sense". Then, as if that wasn't enough, in the summer of 2006, MCB General Secretary Muhammad Abdul Bari publicly defended arranged marriages as a "magnificent system", in the midst of a controversy over so-called 'honour killings' in the Muslim community in England.

With the MCB out of the way, let's return to the **Muslim Association of Britain (MAB)**, which was set up to be totally committed to the Muslim Brotherhood. According to Brotherhood specialist Lorenzo Vidino, "the MAB is the quintessential new Muslim Brotherhood organisation in the West in its origins, ideology, connections and methodology"¹⁵⁵. Among the leaders are Mohamed Sawalha, a member of the political committee of the **International Organisation of the Muslim Brotherhood** (Tanzim Al-Dawil), Anas al Tikriti, whose father Osama is the head of the Iraqi branch of the Brotherhood (Islamic Party of Iraq), and Azzam Tamimi, former head of the parliamentary group **Brothers in Jordan** (Islamic Action Front). The highly professional team then set about creating a myriad of associations, magazines and local television channels, and promoting its speaker-presenters.

Mahmoud El-Abiary, a naturalized Austrian although born in Egypt, is said to be the Secretary General of the International Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood (**Tanzim Al-Dawil**), and also chose England as his preaching base. Among other things, he is the editor of the Brotherhood's weekly magazine, *Risalat al-Ikwan* (The Brotherhood's Letter).

Initially, this propaganda machine had to go beyond its Arab identity to reach as many Asian Muslims as possible. Then came Britain's entry into the war against Afghanistan and Iraq, an event that provided an opportunity in terms of communication.

Its 400 members succeeded in bringing together 15,000 Muslims (according to the police) in central London in April 2002 for a demonstration against Israeli policy, where, alongside the flags of Hamas and Hezbollah, Israeli and American flags were dutifully burnt. The

MAB had obviously invited its friends from the MCB and the Islamic Mission to take part, and the observers were "amazed" by the professionalism of the organisation. Left-wing organisations such as the Socialist Workers' Party and the Communist Party, which led the hard-left activists, had created the Stop The War Coalition (STWC) a few months earlier, which joined the march. What's more, after the event, the STWC management were so impressed that they invited the Muslim Association of Britain to join them. It was a difficult decision to make, given that the left-wing coalition included atheist Marxists and homosexuals amongst others. It was agreed that the alliance would be balanced and not an absorption, with the proviso that food at future events would be *halal*, that the sexes would not mix and that prayer areas would be provided. The Stop The War Coalition accepted the *deal* and a remarkable red-green coalition was formed, heralding the "Islam-Marxist" phenomenon and illustrating the validity of the theses of the political scientist Alexandre del Valle.

Hamas' fight for a "free Palestine" was then included in the slogans of the next STWC demonstrations. The shared hatred of Israel and the United States smoothed out the deep divisions and the slogan adopted for the demonstration in September 2002 was "No war in Iraq: Justice for Palestine". That same year, in Cairo, the Muslim Brotherhood organised the first "International Anti-Zionist Conference", where, as the title suggests, the aim was to demand the outright disappearance of the Israeli nation-state, with the participation of European left-wing extremists.

Then, in 2004, the alliance between the hammer and the scimitar took shape in the political movement RESPECT/The Unity Coalition, which ran in the London municipal elections and the European elections in 2004, bolstered by research showing that many Muslim Labour voters were turning away from the party in the wake of Tony Blair's military adventure in Iraq. Left-wing Labour Party MPs such as George Galloway and Socialist Workers Party leader Lindsey German ran alongside journalist Yvonne Ridley, who converted to Islam after being kidnapped by the Taliban, and Islamist candidates from the MAB! Results were mixed in areas with high Muslim concentrations, but only George Galloway won a seat in the 2005 national election by standing in East London.

The real victory of the MAB Muslim Brotherhood in 2004 was to organise a conference of the European Fatwa and Research Council under the chairmanship of Yussûf Al-Qaradâwî, who was then officially invited to City Hall by the Labour mayor Ken Livingston! A surreal press

conference was given by the Mayor of London alongside the spiritual leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, during which the latter roundly criticised the new French law banning the wearing of the *hijab* in secondary schools. The media platform offered was undreamt-of for the MAB.

Some voices, including Jewish and homosexual organisations, were outraged by this deference to a man who wants to destroy Israel and kill homosexuals, but the Mayor of London defended him tooth and nail:

"One of the most eminent and moderate Muslim scholars in the world ", no less, adding " Sheikh Qaradawi has, I think, a similar position to Pope John XXIII. An absolutely healthy Islamist According to Livingstone, the criticisms levelled at him are nothing more than a " hysterical outburst of racism and Islamophobia ".

Just two weeks before his visit, Qaradawi said on his own Al-Jazeera television programme that *" The tyranny of the Jews as a sect is clear, which means that while there can be Jews in the West who are oppressors and others who are not, their tyranny is manifest, enormous and unequalled "*. And just a month before his London visit, in a mosque in Doha, he invoked heaven against the Jews: *" O God, take care of our enemies, the enemies of Islam. O God, deal with the usurpers, oppressors and tyrannical Jews¹⁵⁶."*

The partnership between London mayoralty and the MAB Brothers did not end there. In 2006, the Islamists organised a fair called Islam Expo, modelled on the UOIF's annual gatherings at Le Bourget in France, with a £200,000 grant from Ken Livingston. The mayor attended the opening ceremony before the Brotherhood's preachers led the lectures.

This is how, in less than ten years of activity, 400 active Muslim Brothers have been able to organise events with national media coverage and win over the "progressive" mayor of one of Europe's biggest capitals. A masterstroke.

However, London voters rejected Livingston at the polls in 2008, and he was succeeded by Boris Johnson, who was less inclined towards this type of unholy alliance.

In the years that followed, Islamist pressure led to a dramatic decline in freedom of expression in the UK. The director of the BBC admitted in 2013 that he treated the subject of Islam with much more restraint than Christianity because "Muslims are violent". Channel 4, a rival channel, did not broadcast a documentary on the life of Mohammed made with a Cambridge historian, in order to comply with a request for censorship from Muslim

associations. Islamic totalitarianism has already won many battles in Europe, the most crucial of which is that of freedom of expression. In January 2013, *The Telegraph* reported another episode of self-censorship. The BBC cut a passage from a play about so-called honour killing in the Muslim community to avoid "potentially distorting the position of the majority of British Muslims on honour based crime". Playwright Gurpreet Kaur Bhatti, who was asked to change a line on Radio 4, criticised the censorship required by the production as "extraordinary".

The Cordoba Foundation

Anas Altikriti, who chaired the MAB, focused mainly on his influential organisation, the Cordoba Foundation, which is a state-approved charity. This organisation advocates multiculturalism based on the Al-Andalus model, and publishes reports on "Islamophobia", with the support of "progressive forces", anti-racists and third worldists. Samir Afghar, a specialist in Islamism, distinguishes three "currents of expression" of Muslim Brotherhood thought, but classifies Altikriti as one of those under the authority of the Brotherhood's Supreme Guide.

In a tweet on 11 June 2012, Altikriti did not deny his closeness to Hamas as he informed his subscribers of his lunch with the "Palestinian Prime Minister", Ismail Haniyéh, head of Hamas. The Hurry Up website has preserved a photo posted by Altikriti in which he posed, smiling with Haniyé, but which no longer appears on his "twitter feed". Altikriti, "spokesman and lobbyist for the Muslim Brotherhood in Britain", was one of a panel of "witnesses" invited by the British Parliament during its enquiry into political Islam and the Brotherhood. An exchange between Altikriti and one of the members of parliament is worth reproducing:

Nadhim Zahawi: - In your written submission you are well disposed towards the Muslim Brotherhood and you are (...) perceived to have organisational links with them. But am I right in thinking you are not a member?

Dr Altikriti : - I think "perceived" is the magic word in your question. It is perceived that there are organisational links. There is no organisational link with the Muslim Brotherhood. But it is clear that the Brotherhood's ideology symbolises something in a region that has been deprived of humanity, democracy and civil liberties for at least a century and is in great need of them. The ideological basis of Islamic values, which should permeate all spheres of life, particularly politics, as part

of a peaceful transformation and reform of society and governments, including everyone and excluding no-one - yes, I share this ideological basis entirely.

Nadhim Zahawi: - But you're not a member of the Muslim Brotherhood anywhere?

Dr Altikriti : - Well, in Britain we don't have a Muslim Brotherhood. We don't have a Muslim Brotherhood organisation. This is my country; I belong to the organisations here. And the one that is closest to the Muslim Brotherhood and espouses the basic principles of the Brotherhood's ideology is the Muslim Association of Britain, of which I am a founder member, of which I was president, and of which I am chairman".

East London Mosque

The East London Mosque is an institution for the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe. So much so that the management of the Ibn Khaldoun secondary school in Marseille, a UOIF school, took its pupils there on a trip to London, as evidenced by a photo posted online by the management on 4 April 2016.

A member of the Muslim Council of Great Britain, the "East London Mosque" has hosted Abdurraheem Green for conferences, where he famously told worshippers that "*democracy is antithetical to Islam*". Another fire and brimstone lecturer is Anwar al-Awlaki, who gave a series of lectures in 2003 at the school, and is known for his support for the Somali jihadists, the Shebabs, who pledged allegiance to Al Qaeda in 2012. Suspected of being a member of Al-Qaeda, and repeating calls for jihad against the United States, his country of birth, Al-Awlaki was killed by an American drone strike in Yemen in September 2011.

Qatar Charity becomes Nectar Trust: financial support

Qatar Charity is the largest charity in Qatar, and in 2012 it inaugurated a European branch which remains relatively independent of the parent organisation.

Its UK branch was registered as a UK company on 26 March 2012 and with the UK Charity Commission on 27 March 2012. It began operations in 2014, the year it was inaugurated by the Qatari ambassador and Sheikh Hamad bin Nasser Al-Thani.

Recently, Doha resorted to a manoeuvre by changing the name "Qatar Charity" to "Nectar Trust", to ward off any accusations of its suspicious activities. Its first director

was the Moroccan Ayyoub Abouliaqin, the driving force behind the Grand Mosque in Mulhouse.

Ayyoub Abouliaqin, Director General of Qatar Charity UK, said that Qatar Charity's head office in Doha was managing 110 cultural programmes in cooperation with 58 European organisations, in addition to 6 programmes in collaboration with local organisations in the UK, and 2 programmes in Ireland.

Qatar Charity has spent nearly half a billion riyals (around \$140 million) on these programmes over the last five years.

Qatar Charity-United Kingdom has set two objectives which it has sought to achieve since 2016:

Firstly, to set up organisations in countries where there are many social projects (with priority given to the UK, France and Italy). These organisations will assume responsibility for the projects in their countries.

Secondly, plans have been drawn up for Qatar Charity-United Kingdom's sister organisations in other European countries. In 2016, Qatar Charity's priorities shifted from the UK, France and Italy to Belgium. According to the 2015 Qatar-Charity-UK Secretariat report, £3,760,768 funded charitable activities, and in 2016, £2,899,378 funded the same activities.

The "Sheffield Project", a large multi-purpose mosque, is one of Qatar Charity's biggest projects in the UK in 2015, funded to the tune of £638,695. Covering an area of 3,390 m², it includes a crèche, school, cultural and social centre, prayer room and sports hall. In 2016, expenditure amounted to £704,983. The aim is to look after 20,000 Muslims from the whole Sheffield area!

Under Ayyoub Abouliaqin's leadership, Qatar Charity UK has also developed a partnership with Mosaic, a foundation chaired by Prince Charles that helps propel the careers of young Muslim talent from modest families. In Birmingham, the Qatari NGO is also a partner of the Muath Trust, which supports vocational training for young people aged 13 to 19 from Muslim communities, reports the *Qatar Papers* investigation (Michel Lafon, 2019).

At the end of 2017, Qatar Charity changed its name to the Nectar Trust to cover its tracks, certainly anticipating the controversy surrounding its funding of jihadist movements in the Sahel and Syria. Four months after the blockade of Qatar by Britain's friends Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt, it smacked of "trickery". Qatar Charity's head office in Doha continues to fund the Nectar Trust, which has taken over the same

functions. Its balance sheet as at 31 March 2018 shows that the London-based organisation is pouring millions into Islamic medical centres, sports centres and classrooms in Belgium, all within the same complex!

France is also being targeted by the London fund, with no less than £7 million earmarked for the mega-mosque in Mulhouse and the one in the Haute-pierre district of Strasbourg.

That same year 2018, Nectar Trust again funded the Sheffield centre, and through a charity called Iftaar UK, paid for free Ramadan meals for poor worshippers at mosques in Cardiff, Glasgow, London, Middlesbrough and Birmingham. That's more than 11,000 satiated faithful, forever indebted to these Brotherhood mosques, many of whom it's a safe bet will go on to become devoted followers of the preachers.

Notes

- 152 Abu Ala Mawdoudi, *Jihad in Islam*, chapter VII, Lahore, Pakistan, Islamic Publication.
- 153 Abu Ala Mawdoudi, *Towards Understanding the Koran*, chapter VII, Lahore, Pakistan
- 154 Cf K. Siddiqui, 1990, *Institute of Contemporary Islamic Thought Revue*, Crescent International, Zafar Bangash (2009).
- 155 Lorenzo Vidino, *The New Muslim Brotherhood in the West*, Columbia University Press, 2010, page 140.
- 156 Sermon given at the Umar Bin Al Khattab mosque in Doha, translated by BBC Monitoring International Report on 4 June 2004.

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN IRELAND

In 2007, an AFP dispatch noted the meteoric rise in the number of Muslims in Ireland: "*Islam is consolidating its position as the third religion in Ireland with an increase of more than 70% in the number of Muslims on the island between 2002 and 2006, according to official statistics published on Thursday. Ireland, traditionally a Catholic country of emigration, showed a sharp rise in immigration in its 2006 population census, with 420,000 foreign-born residents, thanks to a decade of economic boom*"¹⁵⁷.

In August 2011, the Irish government cracked down on the Muslim Brotherhood. **The Islamic Cultural Centre of Ireland** (ICCI), linked to the Muslim Brotherhood, protested after the Immigration and Naturalisation Service renewed the ban on Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi¹⁵⁸ which had been in place since 2009. The ban was prompted by the President of the **European Council for Fatwa and Research** (CEFR)'s support for the Hamas attacks, and his advocacy of killing homosexuals. The Irish authorities could have added his teaching to slaughter apostates and his vision of Hitler as a divine instrument. The CEFR has its head office on the premises of the Dublin Cultural Centre, hence the irritation of those in charge.

Interviewed by *The Irish Central*¹⁵⁹, the President of the Islamic Cultural Centre, the country's largest Muslim organisation, Nooh al-Kaddo refused to condemn the man who is "widely respected" as well as being a true "scholar". "*His positions are faithful to the teachings of Islam*", explained al-Kaddo, who is also a member of the Union of Islamic Organisations in Europe. The huge Irish centre, built with funds from the United Arab Emirates in 1994, includes a school, shops, no fewer than ten flats, a library, a restaurant and a primary school. Its imam is an Egyptian, Hussein Halawat, a graduate of the Islamic University of Islamabad and Al-Azhar, who claims to have memorised the Koran from the age of five. He was Secretary General of the European Fatwa Council in the 2000's.

Unfortunately, the Irish government will not go so far as to simply ban the Islamist centre, which continues to ply Irish Muslims with the jihadist doctrine of the Brotherhood.

Imam Halawat alone would justify the dissolution of this Islamic centre.

He has been living in Ireland for 25 years, but has not yet mastered English. In 2017, he made headlines for his comments about homosexuals. His children, who returned to live in Egypt under the Morsi presidency, were all arrested¹⁶⁰ for violence and sabotage in Cairo during the violent attacks by Brotherist militants against the popular uprising that deposed the Islamist president in 2011. Questioned by the Irish press, the imam defended the Brotherhood, denying that it was a terrorist organisation, despite the 80 churches and 10 monasteries burnt down and numerous towns with Christian populations attacked during the summer of 2013 (in particular the Christian towns of Delga and Sohag terrorised by the Muslim Brotherhood) In the Tunisian media outlet *Kapitalis* at the time, journalist Makrem Ben Reguiga described what French journalists did not want to see of the events in Egypt:

"As we watched the live footage from the various pro- and anti-Muslim Brotherhood satellite channels, we were able to see, live across many media outlets, the huge stockpiles of

ammunition, weapons of war, rockets, machine guns, rifles, handguns, etc. held or left by the "pacifist" sit-in protesters at the Rabaa Adaouia and Ennahdha sites. (...) Finally, let's not forget the rest of the toll that the Muslim Brotherhood is hiding: dozens of administrative sites, including the Ministry of Finance, set on fire, several armoured personnel carriers stolen, Cairo University's School of Engineering ransacked and then set on fire, numerous police stations set on fire and police officers injured or killed, and... 40 churches burned. The Muslim Brotherhood's desire to set the country aflame is clear, with a strategy of armed civil war and far from any logic of civil peace and the democratic process¹⁶¹.

Defending this terrorist brotherhood should be a simple reason to expel the imam of Dublin's Islamist centre. But the country's authorities are letting the rot set in at the local Muslim community.

Worse still, the Minister of State for Integration, Conor Lenihan, came to the ICCI's Ramadan meal in 2007 to praise the good relations between Muslims in Ireland and Ireland. The Irish President herself, Mary Robinson, inaugurated the Kaddo and Halawat institute-mosque in 1996. The ICCI is a mega-mosque hosting, in addition to the inevitable classrooms and bookshop, a restaurant, fitness room and ten flats to house the brothers. The institute has translated the Koran into Gaelic.

Imam Hussein Halawat also set up the Irish Imams Council, which when it was launched in 2006 had 16 imams, no mean feat in this small country where the number of Muslims is still modest. His right-hand man in charge of the two structures is Ali Selim, an Egyptian trained like him at the Islamic University of Al-Azhar (Cairo). In 2006, the latter was singled out by the Irish press for saying that "*in the event of Muslims becoming the majority*", he would like Ireland to adopt Sharia law, the Islamic penal code. Worse still, he refused to condemn Bin Laden, saying in October 2006, "*I need to meet him in order to judge him*".

The Imams' Council's initiative is intended to counter the pre-existing Supreme Muslim Council of Ireland (SMCI), led by South African Imam Shaheed Satardien, who, when interviewed at the time of the Halawat Council's creation, said he was concerned that the country was becoming a "fundamentalist furnace" and that an "ocean of extremism" was pouring out onto Muslim youth. Let's follow some of his thinking...

If you consider that Ali Selim, the number 2 of the ICCI and the Council of Imams, claims that the London terrorist attack on London Bridge in 2006 was not the work of Muslims because the images of the terrorists

(although clearly identified) were manipulated, and that 11 September was the result of a conspiracy, you can see Mr Shaheed Satardien's point.

The ICCI hosts prestigious speakers for the Brotherhood, such as Sheikh Salman Al-Awda in 2007, who has been imprisoned since 2017 in Saudi Arabia, his own country, for his membership of the Muslim Brotherhood, much to the despair of the Qatari channel Al Jazeera, which described him as a "reformer". Al-Awda, who advocates the criminalisation of homosexuality, has 14 million followers on Twitter. He has been banned from Denmark since 2017, where he was due to attend a conference. Another Brotherhood speaker at the ICCI in Dublin was Wagdy Ghoneim, a Hamas supporter and advocate of limb amputations under Sharia law, who is now banned from entering the UK. For him, Jews are simply descended from monkeys¹⁶².

So it comes as no surprise that the ICCI organised a demonstration outside the Israeli embassy in Ireland in March 2004 to protest against the neutralisation of the founder of Palestinian Hamas, Ahmad Yassin, the mastermind behind the attacks on buses full of civilians and on the Dolphinarium discotheque in Tel Aviv in June 2001, among other horrors.

The subversion of banking institutions

The ICCI, which prides itself on being representative of all Muslims in Ireland, has entered into a partnership with Alliance Irish Bank to offer 'halal' financial products and specific Islamic loans for Muslim property buyers.

The Muslim Association of Ireland

Set up in 2001, the Muslim Association of Ireland was founded by international students such as Mansour Sheleg, a medical student, and Libyan Adam Argiag, an agronomy graduate, along with 70 other members. Its premises and events were attended by 300 foreign Muslims, including Pakistanis, Nigerians, Arabs, Bangladeshis and Kurds, with a majority of Libyans, according to Argiag. During his presidency, he gave lectures to student teachers to explain Islam to them, and forged cordial relations with political figures by debating subjects such as integration or the European constitution, which contains provisions favourable to the 'right of minorities'.

Another member of the MAI board, Khairi Duibi, manager of a halal convenience store, also ran the Muslim

Scouts of Ireland. The presidency of the Muslim Scouts was taken over by Mansour Sheleg, who had time on his hands as he had not completed his medical degree.

The link with the Muslim Brotherhood becomes clear when you consider that the MAI's imam chaplain, Omar Al-Khadrawi, is a member of the Council of Imams and of the **Union of Islamic Organisations in Europe** (UOIE), the parent body of all the Brotherhood's branches in Europe. He is also Imam of the Tallaght Mosque in Dublin, part of the ICCI network. The MAI is listed as a member of the UOIE but still tries to deny its membership of the Brotherhood, without convincing anyone. Especially as the student movement had invited Brother Azzam Tamimi, a supporter of the Palestinian Hamas, in 2008.

During the war between Israel and Hezbollah in Lebanon,

MAI, ICCI and the Palestinian right institute signed a joint declaration denouncing the supply of arms to Israel by Great Britain.

Abdelrazak Zeroug, moderator of the Arab Community Forum, says the ICCI is guilty of acting in a vacuum and complains that other Muslim voices have been marginalised in its favour. *"Many organisations try to make a contribution or put forward suggestions for the community, but find that all the doors are closed and nobody listens to them. Within the community, there is the impression that the ICCI dominates everything and isolates everyone."*

In fact, in Ireland, the Muslim Brotherhood has succeeded in passing itself off as the unavoidable voice of a community of which it presents itself as the sole representative.

Notes

157 AFP dispatch dated 29 November 2007.

158 Above all, Al Qaradâwî presides over the highly influential International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS), which is highly respected in the Sunni world.

159 Controversial Muslim cleric again denied entry visa to Ireland, *Irish Central*, 8 August 2011.

161 Ibrahim, Somaia, Fatima and Omaira, who were finally acquitted.

162 Makrem Ben Reguiga, *Faut-il pleurer les Frères Musulmans d'Égypte ?* Kapitalis, 15 August 2013

163 Lecture at Brooklin College, 24 May 1998.

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN THE NETHERLANDS

In January 2007, the Rotterdam City Council, which saw Tariq Ramadan as a moderate "reformist" Muslim intellectual capable of working towards integration, hired him as an "advisor on integration and multiculturalism". Hassan al-Banna's grandson was finally sacked in August 2010, when the Mayor of Rotterdam was accused of having an advisor hosting a television programme on an Iranian channel - Press TV - financed and run by the services of Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei, since April 2008. The programme was entitled *L'Islam et la Vie* (*Islam and Life*), almost the same title as Al Qaradawi's programme on *Al-Jazeera*, entitled *La Charia et la Vie* (*Sharia and Life*).

The Dutch domestic secret services (AIVD) are looking closely at the Muslim Brotherhood's strategy in their country, which is also the target of numerous claims including, of course, mosques. Well aware of the double discourse permitted by *takkyā*, here is one of their analyses published in December 2009:

"Not all the Muslim Brotherhood or their sympathisers are recognisable as such. They do not always reveal their religious beliefs and ultra-Orthodox agenda to the outside world. Seemingly cooperative and moderate in their behaviour towards Western societies, they certainly have no violent intentions. But they are seeking to pave the way for ultra-orthodox Islam to play a growing role in the Western world by exerting their influence on immigrant Muslim communities and by forging good relations with opinion leaders: politicians, civil society, representative social organisations, non-Muslim clerics, academics, journalists, and so on. This committed policy has been noticeable in recent years, and has certainly contributed to a liberalisation of the movement's ideas. It presents itself as the widely supported and legitimately representative advocate of the Islamic community. But the ultimate goal - although never openly formulated - is to create, to implant before extending, an ultra-Orthodox Muslim bloc in Western Europe..."¹⁶³

Integration Minister Ella Volgelaar was embarrassed

when, in 2007, the daily *De Telegraaf* revealed that an Islamist activist named Yahya Bouyafa, linked to the Muslim Brotherhood and receiving money from the Europe Trust¹⁶⁴, one of the Brotherhood's banks in Europe, had been hired by her ministry. His role in her team was to promote integration and combat radicalisation! When questioned by parliamentarians about this enormity, the minister tried unconvincingly to play it down by saying that he was not a Brother, even though he was in contact with several Brotherhood sympathisers. The fact that the security services had assured her that Bouyafa posed no problems in terms of terrorism was enough to reassure her, she explained. But the fact that a subversive discourse that could lead to separatism also poses a concern for the nation in the long term did not cross her mind.

The Muslim Brotherhood's major Turkish allies, the Millî Görüş, were working on plans for a third mosque in Amsterdam in 2007. Negotiations (led by the mayor of Amsterdam) between the property developer and Millî Görüş broke down because of questions about the integrity of the Islamist association. Just as the local council was about to revoke planning permission, the mask fell on the vehement nature of the organisation:

"If Amsterdam refuses to build the new mosque," warned Millî Görüş, "resistance will be

enormous. Al Jazeera will pick up on this. If the authorities thwart this project, there will be demonstrations. We will appeal to Turks all over Europe." The Turkish representative added that he hoped " *these demonstrations will not be violent*" but that they " *could get out of hand. Our members are passionate people (sic), and there could be an unbalanced person among them*". In other words, real blackmail to use urban violence.

In the Netherlands, Millî Görüş, an Islamist movement with international allies in the Brotherhood, is speeding up its expansion. In November 2004, the president of the movement's youth section, Mehmet Öztoprak, resigned from his position following an article in the professional newspaper *De Journalist* in which Öztoprak denied the Holocaust, seeing only "at most a few thousand" Jewish victims in the Second World War...

In the centre of Amsterdam, the project for a " *great mosque of the West* " (Westernmoskee), deliberately provocatively named " *Aya Sofya* " (in correct Greek, Hagia Sophia; in Turkish, this name refers to the cathedral of Holy Wisdom, which was transformed into a mosque after the Turks took Constantinople in 1453). The De Manderen company is the financial arm of the *Aya Sofya* mosque association, the local name for Millî Görüş.

However, the Islamist nature of the new director of Millî Görüş/Aya Sofya soon became apparent when the association challenged a clause in the mosque's management contract, namely the clause banning radical preaching...

The first cracks appeared when the head of Aya Sofya, represented by Hacı Karakaer, a young teacher with a reputation for progressiveness and close ties to the Labour Party, and a reassuring profile, was replaced by Fatih Uçler Dag, a staunch Islamist.

In April 2007, the links between Millî Görüş and the Muslim Brotherhood came to light, but Job Cohen, the Labour mayor of Amsterdam, began by relativising the danger of the project, which he still considered "nice" at the time. However, the rupture was consummated when Fatih Uçler Dag, the new local representative of Millî Görüş, decided to engage in blackmail to push the project forward:

"If Amsterdam refuses to build the new mosque, the resistance will be enormous."

The Al Jazeera channel will take up the story. " *If the authorities thwart this project, there will be demonstrations. We will appeal to Turks all over Europe.* " The Millî Görüş representative added that he hoped

"these demonstrations will be non-violent " but that they " *could get out of hand. Our members are passionate people, and there could be an unbalanced person among them.*"

Amsterdam City Council then severed all ties with Aya Sofya. The French media outlet *Riposte-laïque* reported on the worrying legal consequences: "To add insult to injury, *De Manderen* was the subject of a financial investigation. Posing as an Islamic investment fund, the company allegedly raised funds for the mosque by promising pious donors a 40% return on investment; its director, *Uzeyir Kabaktepe*, is accused of having transferred €1.3 million to his personal accounts; and what's more, the police found a cache of weapons in his home; this is all the more surprising and worrying given that *Kabaktepe* was the only 'moderate' in the *De Manderen* group. Was he less moderate than previously thought, or had he been tricked? "

Dutch mosques funded by the European Muslim Brotherhood Trust

In addition to the large mosque in Amsterdam (the Blue Mosque in the suburb of Sloterdijk, financed by Kuwait via the Europe Trust Nederland), the Kuwaiti government pays the salaries of the imam of the Sunni-Malaki mosque in Amsterdam, through the pan-European Muslim Brotherhood organisation Europe Trust, of which Kuwait is one of the main financiers. It should be remembered that the Europe Trust, based in Great Britain, a major ally of Kuwait and largely financed by the latter, according to the American magazine *Middle East Quarterly*, channels "money from the Persian Gulf to groups sympathetic to the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe, mainly for the construction of mosques"¹⁶⁵ Co-directed by Ahmad al-Râwî, a Muslim Brotherhood executive in the UK, and Nooh Al-Kaddo, an Iraqi who runs the Islamic Cultural Centre of Ireland (ICCI), the Europe Trust is linked to the European Council for Fatwa and Research headed by Yussuf Al Qaradawi. Al-Kaddo is also a representative of Human Appeal International, a charity linked to Hamas which runs the largest mosque in the European Union, the al-Salâm Mosque in Rotterdam (with its 50-metre high minarets, the highest point in the city). This mosque received €2 million from Kuwait, the building's owner. The Kuwaiti Minister for Religious Affairs, Moutlak al-Qarawi, heads the Europe Trust Nederland, whose mission is to spread Islam to non-Muslims.

Notes

164 AIVD, *The Radical Dawa in Transition: The Rise of Islamic Neoradicalism in the Netherlands*, <https://www.aivd.nl/actueel-publicaties/aivd-publicaties/the-radical-dawa-in> (accessed 5 December 2009).

165 Joost de Haas, "Moskeeën in de ban Moslimgroep", *De Telegraaf*, 24 March 2007.

166 Leslie Lebel, *Middle East Quarterly*, summer issue, "The Islamist threat to European Security", *Middle East Quarterly*, 2014.

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN DENMARK

Chapter X

According to the Danish media outlet *Berlingske*, the Qatari Muslim Brotherhood has taken control of the **Hamad Bin Khalifa Centre for Civilisation** mosque in Rovsingade, which has received DKK 227 million in donations from Qatar, or €30 million! The Qatari financial organisation that made the donation is the Copenhagen Store Fund. The newspaper reported in June 2020 that the board of the fund behind the mosque had been replaced, so that five people from Qatar now have an absolute majority. One of the new board members is Shaheen al-Ghanim, who was director of the Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs, which, according to *Berlingske*, is a kind of ministry of religion in Qatar.

The 'Hamad Bin Khalifa Centre for Civilisation' has been the subject of fierce criticism. For example, Imam Abu Bilal, convicted of calling for the killing of Jews,

preached several times in the mosque. When this information was published in February 2020, representatives of the Grand Mosque stated that Abu Bilal was not considered extreme...

When information about the major donations was revealed in February, there was panic at Christiansborg Castle, where the Prime Minister lives. Lastly, two of the three board members affiliated to Qatar at the time were resident in the desert state of Qatar.

The foreign spokeswoman for the Danish People's Party, Pia Kjærsgaard, told the newspaper this time:

"If you sit on the board of a mosque in Denmark but live in Qatar, the interests you are trying to protect are clear. And it's not Denmark".

She added, *"my hair stood on end"* when she heard about Qatar's donation to the Grand Mosque.

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