

**“Hitler Put Them in Their Place”:  
Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood’s Jihad Against Jews, Judaism, and Israel**

**by**

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**for**

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## WHAT THE BROTHERHOOD BELIEVES

### Wishful Thinking in High Places:

“Ayatollah Khomeini will eventually be hailed as a saint.”

———Former U.S. Ambassador to the UN, Andrew Young (1979)<sup>1</sup>

“[The Muslim Brotherhood is] an umbrella term for a variety of movements, in the case of Egypt, a very heterogeneous group, largely secular, which has eschewed violence and has decried Al-Qaeda as a perversion of Islam.”

———Director of National Intelligence (DNI), James Clapper (2011)<sup>2</sup>

### Sober Warnings:

THE GLOBAL THREAT: “A radicalized understanding of Islam has taken hold, possibly over a wider swathe than at any other time in the fourteen centuries of Muslim history, and it has driven out or silenced every serious rival.”

———Director of the Middle East Forum, Daniel Pipes (2002)<sup>3</sup>

THE MISTAKE OF “ENGAGEMENT”: “To think that engaging the Ikhwan will somehow reduce support for extremism is a misplaced notion that is to misunderstand the politics of the region.”

———Senior Research Associate at the Centre for International Studies, Cambridge University, Alison Pargeter (2010)<sup>4</sup>

A MUSLIM ASSESSMENT: “The Muslim Brotherhood’s problem is that it has no shame. The beginnings of all the religious terrorism we are witnessing is in the Muslim Brother’s ideology of *takfir* [vilifying other Muslims]. . . . The founders of the violent groups were raised on the Muslim Brotherhood, and those who worked with bin Laden and al-Qaeda went out under the mantle of the Brotherhood.”

———Kuwait’s former Education Minister, Dr. Ahmad al-Rab’i (2005)<sup>5</sup>

### **In Their Own Words:**

THE DEATH CULT: “Degradation and dishonour are the results of the love of this world. Therefore, prepare for jihad and be the lovers of death. . . . Death is an art, and the most exquisite of arts when practiced by the skilful artist.”

———Brotherhood Founder Hassan al-Banna (c. 1940)<sup>6</sup>

VIOLENCE: “History does not write its lines except with. Glory does not build its lofty edifice except with skulls. Honor and respect cannot be established except on a foundation of cripples and corpses.”

———Brotherhood Leader and Osama bin Laden’s Teacher, Abdullah Azzam (2003)<sup>7</sup>

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

———Brotherhood Supreme Spiritual Leader, Mustapha Mashour (1981)<sup>8</sup>

KILL THE JEWS: “The Versailles Treaty was a disaster for the Germans as well as the Arabs. But the Germans know how to get rid of the Jews. . . . the Germans have never harmed any Muslim, and they are again fighting our common enemy who persecuted Arabs and Muslims. But most of all, they have definitely solved the Jewish problem. Arabs! Rise as one to protect your scared rights. Kill the Jews wherever you find them. . . . God is with you.”

———Brotherhood Ally, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Mohammad Amin al-Husayni (1943)<sup>9</sup>

HITLER’S FINAL SOLUTION: “Throughout history, Allah has imposed upon the [Jews] who would punish them for their corruption. The last punishment was carried out by Hitler. By means of all the things he did to

them—even though they exaggerated this issue—he managed to put them in their place.”

—————Muslim Brotherhood’s Current Spiritual Head Yusuf el-Qaradawi (2009)<sup>10</sup>

THE FUTURE OF PEACE: “There is no dialogue between us [Muslims and Jews] except by the sword and rifle. . . . [We pray Allah] to take this oppressive, Jewish, Zionist band of people. . . . do not spare a single one of them. . . . count their numbers and kill them down to the very last one.”

—————Muslim Brotherhood’s Current Spiritual Head, Yusuf al-Qaradawi (2009)<sup>11</sup>

PLANS FOR AMERICA: “[North America is] a kind of grand Jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within and ‘sabotaging’ its miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers so that it is eliminated and God’s religion is made victorious over all other religions.”

—————Member of the Brotherhood U.S. Shura Council, Mohammed Akram, from a secret memo (1991)<sup>12</sup>

WAR WITH ISRAEL: “[We will] continue to raise the banner of jihad against the Jews, [our] first and foremost enemies. . . . resistance is the only solution against the Zio-American arrogance and tyranny, and all we need is for the Arab and Muslim peoples to stand behind it and support it.

. . . We say to our brothers the mujahideen in Gaza: be patient, persist in [your jihad], and know that Allah is with you.”

—————Current Brotherhood Supreme Leader, Mohamed Badi (2010)<sup>13</sup>

## Introduction: 9/11 and 2/11

“9/11” is inscribed in U.S. history for terrible reasons no American will ever forget. In the chronicles of global history, “2/11” is of momentous importance for three reasons. On February 11, 1990, Nelson Mandela was released after 27 years imprisonment, mostly in South Africa’s Robben Island Bastille. On February 11, 1979, the Shah of Iran fell, ultimately to be replaced by Ayatollah Khomeini’s dictatorship. And now—on February 11, 2011—a popular Egypt Revolution has toppled President Hosni Mubarak, with ultimate consequences that are still unfolding.

The Muslim Brotherhood (in Arabic, *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*)—Egypt’s Islamist opposition to the Mubarak regime with a followership probably between 10 and 20 million—contributed an estimated 15 to 20 percent of the demonstrators in Cairo’s Tahrir Square. Fortunately, it played second fiddle to young, overwhelmingly moderate and secular democracy protestors. This contrasts with Iran in 1979 where Ayatollah Khomeini from his exile in France was much better positioned from the first to play puppet master, pulling the strings on what went on in the streets of Tehran.

Yet the Egyptian situation is so uncertain and complicated—with a diverse but inexperienced army of young democracy activists, the real military which controls the transition and is playing its cards close to the vest, and the Brotherhood occupying the third corner of a political triangle—that it would be foolish to rule out the possibility that Egypt’s democratic revolution could also be hijacked by disciplined and ruthless, undemocratic actors. Real friends of peaceful progress cannot afford to allow the Muslim Brotherhood to pose as the heroes of a revolution which they did not make and whose democratic aspirations they do not share.<sup>14</sup>

We should be especially troubled about one parallel between the Muslim Brotherhood and Khomeini’s movement: their shared obsessive hatred of Israel as an anti-Muslim “Zionist conspiracy” and their radical vision of a future apocalypse in which—not only the Jewish state—but Jews everywhere will be wiped from the face of the earth. In this respect, Iranian President Mohamed “Wipe Israel From the Map” Ahmedi-najed, is a true son of the Ayatollah Khomeini and potential model for the Brotherhood. This Report will put in context the theme of anti-Zionist, anti-Jewish genocidal paranoia that runs like a central thread through the Muslim Brotherhood’s 80-year history, commencing with its foundation in 1928.<sup>15</sup>

The only thing that exceeds the wide-ranging, global influence of the Muslim Brotherhood—whose reach extends beyond Egypt and the Middle East to Western Europe and North America—is the widespread ignorance about its history and current character and purposes by

western political and media elites and public opinion. (In 2006, Jeff Stein of *Congressional Quarterly*, quizzed Congressmen about their knowledge of basic facts about Islam, and found their bipartisan ignorance astounding.)<sup>16</sup>

If we do not want 2/11/11 to replicate 2/11/79—marking the triumph of another Islamist extremist regime extinguishing the democratic hopes of what initially was “a people’s revolution”—then now is the time that we learn as much as we can about the past and present of the Muslim Brotherhood, its paranoid anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism, and the extent of the threat it poses to the future of democracy and peace in Egypt and beyond.

### **Hassan Al-Banna’s Totalitarian Building Blocks**

In 1928, Mao Zedong had just escaped the Shanghai Massacre of communists by General Chiang Kai-shek’s Chinese Nationalists. General Francisco Franco, having returned from Moroccan wars, was politically sidelined teaching at Spain’s military academy. Joseph Stalin was still relatively unknown internationally, having just completed his Byzantine manoeuvres against Leon Trotsky to emerge as ultimate successor to Lenin. Adolf Hitler was still busy consolidating his position as Nazi Führer, a few years after the failed Munich Beer Hall Putsch and publication of *Mein Kampf*. Among would-be totalitarian leaders, only Benito Mussolini was a recognized national and international stature.<sup>17</sup>

Yet most obscure among an emerging generation of aspiring totalitarian leaders was an intense but other unprepossessing young man, born in an impoverished Egyptian village in 1906, who divided his time between school teaching and repairing watches. Participating as a teenager in the anti-British demonstrations of 1919, he studied in Cairo where his declining economic fortunes and increasing distaste for contemporary civilization reinforced his disillusion with the modern world. Al-Banna’s theology further crystallized along political lines in negative reaction to the abolition by Kemal Atatürk, Turkey’s secular reformer, of the Ottoman Caliphate which was the last Muslim institution to claim worldwide jurisdiction over Islamic believers.<sup>18</sup>

While tempting to apply the term “Islamofacist” to the Muslim Brotherhood that al-Banna founded in 1928, it’s important to keep in mind that the emphasis was always on a brand of Islam that was “Fundamentalist” in the most extreme sense of that overused term. Al-Banna and his followers were Salafists (followers of *al-salaf al salih* or “the pious ancestors”) who sought to return Islam to the pristine creed deemed to be preached by Mohammed and practiced by his companions and the first few generations of their descendants. Salafists like al-Banna looked suspiciously upon the succeeding thousand years of Quranic interpretation by Muslim scholars.<sup>19</sup>

From the perspective of orthodox Sunni critics of Salafism, al-Banna’s creed verged on a heretical attempt to assert that Salafists—a small fraction of the world’s billion Muslims—alone

have a direct pipeline to the faith of the Prophet Muhammad. As an Egyptian Chief Justice put it, the Brotherhood's Salafism was "a fascistic ideology" and "a perversion of Islam" based on "their fantastical reading of the Quran." But what was at issue here was not just theological differences, but life-and-death political issues. Al-Banna's Salafists still claim to have the right to dictate, on the basis of their understanding of the Quran, every aspect of the government and laws under which all members of the *Ummah* (Muslim community)—and, eventually, after global Islamization, every member of human family—will live in an Islamic utopia of a kind never before seen on earth.<sup>20</sup>

Despite his reverence for Muhammad's seventh-century world, al-Banna was very much a man of his own time and, especially, the totalitarian temptations that shaped so many political movements, both right and left, between the two world wars. Here are five "totalitarian building blocks" that al-Banna used to erect his Brotherhood's organizational structure and philosophy and that remain key to understanding the twenty-first century Brotherhood:

- **Führerprinzip:**

Like other aspiring totalitarians, al-Banna wed his organization to the principle of top-down leadership and absolute obedience from below. Every Brotherhood member pledged an unconditional oath, not to the Prophet Mohammed, but to Hassan al-Banna. Despite expenditures on soup kitchens and welfare benefits for poor Egyptians, the backbone of the Brotherhood's membership was not the bottom rung of Egyptian society but lower middle-class school teachers and civil servants. They were used to taking orders from the state, and dreamed of a future in which they would be giving orders as officials of the Brotherhood whose unquestioned authority was al-Banna. The joke was that, if the Supreme Spiritual Leader sneezed in Cairo, the entire Brotherhood membership in Aswan would say "God bless you."<sup>21</sup>

- **Revolutionary Vanguard:**

Al-Banna and his successors borrowed from the thinking of Maulana Mawdudi, the founder of Pakistan's Jamaat-e-Islami. Mawdudi fused Muslim extremism with Marxism in the concept of a radical Islamic movement as a "revolutionary vanguard": all-knowing, all-powerful, and with no obligation to follow the normal "rules of the game" in its ruthless pursuit of power. Ladan and Roya Boroumand, Muslim scholars and democratic activists, call Mawdudi's fusion "Leninism in an Islamic dress."<sup>22</sup>

Among other things, the Muslim Brotherhood's self-conception as a "revolutionary vanguard" meant that lying to gullible outsiders about the Movement's real methods and goals was and is entirely acceptable. This notion of "strategic deception" has a long history in Islamic political thought under the name of *taqiyya* or what George Orwell called "doublespeak." Tariq Ramadan,



al-Banna's grandson and son of the man who introduced the Brotherhood to Europe, is today's past master of the clever lie to whitewash the Brotherhood's history and doctrine.<sup>23</sup>

- **Jihadist Death Cult:**

The term “assassin” for a killer who risks or courts suicide goes back to the time of the first Crusade. (The association of “assassin” in Arabic for the drug “hashish” is not coincidental.) Even so, popular murder-suicide cults glorifying violent death as a form of martyrdom are very much a recent phenomenon in Islam, carrying the traditional doctrine of jihad or “warfare” to a new extreme. Much of the honor for making murder by suicide a political imperative belongs to the Muslim Brotherhood's Hassan al-Banna who taught: “Degradation and dishonour are the results of the love of this world. Therefore, prepare for jihad and be the lovers of death. . . . Death is an art, and the most exquisite of arts when practiced by the skilful artist.”<sup>24</sup>

There is a direct line from these statements to what Paul Berman calls “the totalitarian cult of death” among recent Brotherhood leaders. Abdullah Azzam, Osama bin Laden's teacher, writes that “History does not write its lines except with blood. Glory does not build its lofty edifice except with skulls. Honor and respect cannot be established except on a foundation of cripples and corpses.” Former Brotherhood spiritual leader, Mustafa Mashhur, has equated his organization with “a death machine.” And current Brotherhood spiritual leader, Yusuf al-Qaradawi, viewed on satellite TV by 40 million weekly, blesses “martyrdom operations” by Hamas, including wives abandoning the veil to become assassins against their husband's wishes. A Palestinian offshoot of the Brotherhood, Hamas glorifies “the language of bullets and bombs,” and proclaims “Allah is [Hamas'] goal, the Prophet is model, the Quran its Constitution, Jihad its path, and death for the cause of Allah its most sublime belief”—a direct borrowing from the Brotherhood's credo.<sup>25</sup>

We shall see how the Brotherhood, from its inception, has been on the cutting edge of suicide operations and terrorism. Philosophically, it targets Jews, not so much as military oppressors, but out of contempt “for their craven desire to live, no matter at what price and regardless of quality, honor, and dignity.”<sup>26</sup>

- **Dissimulating Democracy:**

In 2005, after emerging as the largest party from President Mubarak's far-from-fair parliamentary elections, Brotherhood leader Mahdi Akef seemingly extolled democracy: “The ballot box has the final say. We don't believe in any other means of taking power.” Today in 2011, the Brotherhood is once again burnishing its “democratic” credentials. Yet many of its pro-democracy statements remain equivocal: accepting political pluralism for now, but perhaps

not later when its time to adopt “an Islamic solution.” Even a cursory examination of the Brotherhood’s 80-year history causes one to question whether “Islamic democracy,” Brotherhood-style has much in common with that practiced by democratic nations around the world.<sup>27</sup>

First, until well after World War II, “democracy” was a dirty word in the Brotherhood’s vocabulary—along with “secular, “western,” and “modern”—though “fascist” was defined more favourably. In a 1948 appeal, the Brotherhood informed Egypt’s King Farouk that “the Quran is our Constitution,” and that therefore “all political parties [should] forfeit their distinctive names and amalgamate . . . [into one] National Body.” Politics to the Brotherhood did not mean the give-and-take of parties and factions, guided by public opinion, and seeking the best possible result. It meant absolute obedience to the unerring Quran as interpret by Hassan al-Banna. As late as 1981, Brotherhood leader Mustapha Mashour declared: “Democracy contradicts and wages war on Islam. Whoever calls for democracy means they are raising banner’s contradicting God’s plan and fighting Islam.”<sup>28</sup>

In the Brotherhood’s version of “Islamic democracy,” homosexuality is a perversion punishable by death, and adultery by stoning. Islamic heads of state who violate this creed are “false Muslims” subject to assassination. Non-Muslims—especially Jews (the handful who may survive the Brotherhood’s coming apocalyptic war on world Jewry!), but also Egypt’s Coptic Christians—can, at best, hope for second class citizenship under “Islamic democracy.” This is the Brotherhood’s real Constitution and Bill of (Non) Rights.<sup>29</sup>

Its provisions have never been changed—only strategically hidden from public view—by al-Banna’s recent successors. Does the Brotherhood believe in democracy? Only if you mean—One Man, One Vote, One Time—followed by a Sunni version of the theocratic dictatorship that violently put down a true democratic revolution last year in the mullahs’ Iran. “Islamic Democracy” under Egypt’s Brotherhood is more likely to look like that of authoritarian Iran than that of Turkey, ruled by a conservative Islamist party, but still a democracy not a dictatorship. (The Muslim Brotherhood lauded Khomeini’s Revolution until Shia Iran went to war with Sunni Iraq.)<sup>30</sup>

- **Genocidal Jew Hatred:**

The roots of Hassan al-Banna’s anti-Semitism were his selective reading of the Quran emphasizing the negative conflicts between Muhammad and seventh-century Jewish tribes in Arabia as personifying Jewish perfidy and malevolence, everywhere and for all time, making the Jews synonymous with the *Dajjal*—the Islamic equivalent of the anti-Christ. The more favourable passages about Jews as “people of the Book” to be treated with respect were ignored. As we shall see, the Brotherhood’s hatred, not merely of Zionists but of Jews worldwide (the

terms “Zionist” and “Jew” are conflated) took on a whole new dimension of apocalyptic conspiracy mongering when al-Banna’s movement absorbed strains of Hitler’s genocidal anti-Semitism as mediated through the influence of Mohammad Amin al-Husayni, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.<sup>31</sup>

The Movement’s paranoid anti-Semitism made a seamless transition from wartime to postwar as the Brotherhood’s newspaper, as early as 1947, was accusing a worldwide Jewish conspiracy of sabotaging the early stages of the Aswan Dam electrification project. Then came the classic elaboration of Brotherhood Jew hatred by Sayyid Qutb, sent to the U.S. by Egypt’s Education Department for graduate study from 1948 to 1950, that resulted in his M.A. in psychology from the University of Northern Colorado. What Qutb really learned was hatred of modern America (which permeates the rambling, *Mein Kampf*-like memoir which we wrote while later imprisoned by the Nasser regime) fused with a cosmic Jew hatred that’s the main theme of his influential *Our Struggle With the Jews* (1954). The high levels of American support he found for the new Jewish state also shocked him.<sup>32</sup>

As historian Robert Wistrich summarizes, Qutb and his Brothers invoke the worst prejudices of medieval Christianity and freely borrow from the anti-Semitic arsenal of the hated West. The Egyptian Muslim Brothers liberally quote, for example, from Christian and anti-Talmudic, from Henry Ford’s *The International Jew*, from Nazi propaganda about Judeo-Masonry and Judeo-Communism, from Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*, from the *Protocols*, and Holocaust deniers. For Qutb, Jews are responsible for all the evils of modernity—Marx for “atheistic materialism,” Freud (abetted by Dr. Kinsey!) for “animalistic sexuality,” Durkheim for “the destruction of the family.” Qutb wanted to update and complete Hitler’s “solution to the Jewish Problem.” There is a straight line from Qutb to Yusuf al-Qaradawi, the Brotherhood’s current spiritual head (though he refuses to accept a formal title) who, as recently as 2009, was preaching “There is no dialogue between us [Muslims and Jews] except by the sword and rifle,” while praying to Allah “to take this oppressive, Jewish, Zionist band of people. . . . do not spare a single one of them. . . . count their numbers and kill them down to the very last one.”<sup>33</sup>

Apologists such as Tariq Ramadan present Qaradawi to western media and academic audiences as a “moderate.” One can only imagine what a truly extremist Muslim Brotherhood ideologue would say about the Jews! Qaradawi’s apologists note he sometimes distinguishes Jews from Israelis in his calls for genocide.<sup>34</sup> Yet his estimate of Hitler leaves little doubt that, for Qaradawi, “Jews” and “Israelis” are fused in his mind as part of the satanic Zionist menace:

Throughout history, Allah has imposed upon the [Jews] who would punish them for their corruption. The last punishment was carried out by Hitler. By means of all the things he did to them—even though they exaggerated this issue—he managed to put them in their place.<sup>35</sup>

## **The Unsanitized History of the Muslim Brotherhood**

Unfortunately, the recent apparent gaffe (since retracted) by the Obama Administration's Director of National Intelligence James Clapper characterizing the Muslim Brotherhood as "an umbrella term for a variety of movements, in the case of Egypt, a very heterogeneous group, largely secular, which has eschewed violence and has decried Al-Qaeda as a perversion of Islam" is not an isolated phenomenon.<sup>36</sup> It reflects the stunning success of Brotherhood propagandists active in Western Europe and North America in propagating what Soviet intelligence officers used to call a "legend" whose purpose is to invent and disseminate a new, false version to hide the real history of an individual or movement.<sup>37</sup>

Here, we will offer a capsule version of the truth about the Muslim Brotherhood's turbulent 80-year history, showing its violent, hateful evolution in national, regional, and global context during a century marked by war, revolution, and genocidal anti-Semitism.

- **An Evil Triad: Hassan al-Banna, Mohammad Amin al-Husayni, and Adolf Hitler**

Assassinated in 1949 in retaliation for the Muslim Brotherhood's role in murdering an Egyptian Prime Minister, Hassan al-Banna never stepped foot in Britain's Palestine Mandate. Yet Hamas considers him as "a martyr" to the Palestinian cause. There is a certain logic in this posthumous honor because, without the pro-Nazi alliance between al-Banna and Mohammad Amin al-Husayni, Jerusalem's Grand Mufti, before, during, and after World War II, the Muslim Brotherhood would never have achieved its prominence in Egypt or throughout the Middle East.<sup>38</sup>

Al-Banna never visited Jerusalem, but he sent his brother there in 1935—the year before the eruption of the bloody "Arab Revolt" against the Jewish community—to lay the foundations of a political-military alliance with the Mufti. Prominent since the 1929 anti-Jewish pogroms, the Mufti had modelled his auxiliary of 20,000 "child soldiers" on the Hitler Youth. He urged the Brotherhood to do the same in Egypt. Al Banna who already admired the Brownshirts readily agreed. A fascist party, Young Egypt, emerged with youthful paramilitary wing whose face was the "Green Shirts"—modelled of course on the Nazi youth cohort. Gamal Abdel Nasser and Anwar Sadat were attracted, but were also drawn into the orbit of the Brotherhood. The Brotherhood put serious business in the hands of a military fifth column or underground army modelled on General Franco's "phalanges" (the term was translated into Arabic as *kata'ib*), also sometimes called "The Secret Apparatus" or military wing (in Arabic, *Nizam al-Khass*). During World War II, a British intelligence analyst assessing the threat posed by the Brotherhood's "battalions," actually characterized them as "suicide squads" organized to practice "terror." Al-Banna received money from Nazi agents to establish his terror network.<sup>39</sup>

The Brotherhood's terror battalions were based in Egypt yet looked beyond it. Young members like Nasser and Sadat were recruited at the direction of the Mufti to spy on the British. They dreamed of the news that never came of a victory by General Rommel at El Alamein because this was supposed to be the trigger for a general anti-British uprising during which the Brotherhood would work with the Afrika Korps in eradicating—first Egyptian, then Palestinian—Jewry.<sup>40</sup>

A Middle East Holocaust was no idle threat. When the results of Rommel's lightning campaign were still in doubt, the rumor in Cairo was that Hitler had reserved two floors in the Shepheard's Hotel to accept the British surrender of Africa. The Zionist leaders in British Palestine knew they faced an impending catastrophe. The Mufti escaped British scrutiny in Jerusalem for the more friendly confines of Berlin where in November, 1941, he had tea with Hitler who asked him "to look in the innermost depths of his heart" that he (Hitler) "would carry on the battle to the total destruction of the Judeo-Communist Empire in Europe." He collaborated with the Nazis in organizing a special *Einsatzgruppe* Egypt, to be headed by SS Colonel Walter Rauff that was supposed to follow in the wake of Rommel's victorious army and systematically murder Egyptian and then Palestinian Jews. Inventor of the mobile death-gas van on the Russian front, Rauff never got further than Tunisia. Visiting Auschwitz with Himmler and Eichmann, the Mufti urged that the work of extermination be accelerated, and dreamed of the day when the Tel Aviv-Jaffa region could be made *Judenrein* without the need of railroad cars and the laborious "selection process" of the European Final Solution.<sup>41</sup>

After Rommel failed, the Mufti bemoaned Hitler's choice of invading Russia rather than first attacking the Middle East, as had Alexander the Great and Napoleon. Maybe Hitler was thinking a similar thought when he reportedly said that he "could win the war if he was a Mohammedan." Arab newspapers in Palestine pictured him and Mussolini in a god-like light, and Nazi propagandists brainstormed about depicting him as a Prophet surpassing Muhammad or (for Shia consumption) the Twelfth Imam who would bring on "the ends of days." With the help of the Muslim Brotherhood, the Germans would quickly have disposed of the Middle East's "Jewish problem"! In 1943, the Mufti reluctantly switched his advocacy to German mass bombing of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. The Germans did do some bombing, but the Mufti's more ambitious plan vetoed by Field Marshal Göring as impractical.<sup>42</sup>

From his base in Europe, the Mufti showed that he, too, could have a powerful impact. As "Hitler's Voice to the Arabs," his radio broadcasts told the Muslim Brothers and other sympathisers that:

The Versailles Treaty was a disaster for the Germans as well as the Arabs. But the Germans know how to get rid of the Jews. . . . the Germans have never harmed

any Muslim, and they are again fighting our common enemy who persecuted Arabs and Muslims. But most of all, they have definitely solved the Jewish problem. Arabs! Rise as one to protect your scared rights. Kill the Jews wherever you find them. . . . God is with you.<sup>43</sup>

He also urged the ambush of British troops, and sabotage of British oil pipelines, bridges, and lines of communication. In addition, he helped recruit as many as 100,000 European Muslims to fight for the Third Reich, primarily in the Balkans but also in Hungary. His two Muslim Waffen-SS divisions are credited with murdering 90 percent of Bosnian Jews. In an extraordinary show of influence, he also convinced Himmler and Eichmann to change their minds and reject an Allied-proposed swap of 4,000 Jewish children destined for the death camps in return for the release of 20,000 German POWs. The Mufti viewed every European Jew gassed as one less potential Palestinian refugee who would need to be liquidated by his followers with the help of the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>44</sup>

The full proof that al-Banna and the Mufti were indeed “blood brothers” came when the Mufti escaped Nazi Germany the day after it surrendered, fleeing to France where he was held under “house arrest” in a luxury villa. Clement Atlee’s British government, General Charles De Gaulle’s French government, and Tito’s Yugoslav government all decided it was not in their interests to extradite him to Nuremberg for trial as a war criminal. (Let it be remembered that, soon after World War II, the *New York Times* featured a fawning interview with the Grand Mufti.)<sup>45</sup>

A primary reason for the Mufti escaping prosecution was the thunderous campaign organized by the Muslim Brotherhood, whose membership had swelled to as many as 500,000 during the war, on the Mufti’s behalf. When the Mufti conveniently “escaped” from France and arrived in Cairo, the Brotherhood’s newspaper exulted that:

Thank you, our Lord, for your mercy . . . . The Arab hero and symbol of Al Jihad and patience and struggle is here in Egypt. The Mufti is among his friends. . . The Mufti is here, oh Palestine! Do not worry. The lion is safe among his brethren and he will draw plans of Al Jihad and struggle for you. We, here, shall be his soldiers and we shall not stop fighting for you until you rid yourself of Zionism. . . . Yet this hero who challenged an empire and fought Zionism, with the help of Hitler and Germany, Germany and Hitler are gone, but Amin al-Husseini will continue the struggle. . . . One hair of the Mufti is worth more than the Jews of the whole world. . . . Should one hair of the Mufti be touched, every Jew in the world would be killed without mercy.<sup>46</sup>

As Paul Berman points out, while even Nazi war criminals who fled to Argentina found it wise to keep a low profile for several years, it was only in the Arab world that its most notorious war criminal—Mohammad Amin al-Husayni, Jerusalem’s Grand Mufti—received a hero’s welcome, thanks to his impregnable reputation among the Muslim Brotherhood as a positive symbol of both anti-Jewish jihad and Nazi Judeocide.<sup>47</sup>

- **The Brotherhood’s Worst Nightmare: The New Jewish State**

As Holocaust Survivors, many defying the British blockade, began arriving in the Holy Land and the UN began its slow progress toward a Partition Plan envisioning a Jewish and a Palestinian state, Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood reacted with fury.<sup>48</sup>

On November 2, 1945—”Balfour Day” celebrated as a day of rage by anti-Zionists—mobs shouting “Death to the Jews” rioted in Cairo, Alexandria, and Port Said. Jewish businesses were pillaged by “hooligans and professional burglars” according to U.S. Naval Intelligence, but Coptic, Greek Orthodox, and Catholic organizations were also targeted. There followed a 1947 press campaign by the Brotherhood accusing Egyptian Jews with “secret plans to satisfy their greed” by controlling Egypt’s financial and political institutions.<sup>49</sup>

Brothers burned down a Coptic Church during a religious service. Among their slogans: “Today it is Zionism’s turn, tomorrow it will be Christianity’s; today is Saturday, tomorrow will be Sunday.” The Brotherhood demanded the reintroduction of the dhimmi laws reducing Jews and Copts to second-class citizenship. To protect Cairo’s Jewish Quarter, the Egyptian government had to declare a state of emergency and ban public demonstrations. Egyptians Jews were blackmailed into making anti-Zionist statements and contributing to extremist Islamic causes.<sup>50</sup>

In April, 1948, before the end of the British Mandate and outbreak of the Israeli War for Independence, three battalions of Egyptian Muslim Brothers arrived to fight the Jews. Already in 1945, Said Ramadan—later, a key organizer of the Brotherhood in Western Europe—had opened its Jerusalem Branch back in 1945. The Egyptian government, which initially refused to train Brotherhood volunteers, quickly changed its mind. One resident of Cairo’s Jewish Quarter remembers anti-Jewish “Pandemonium break[ing] loose” when Israel officially declared its independence. The truce of July, 1948, was marked by another “orgy of looting” and bombings of Jewish department stores, according to the British Ambassador. For three months, Egyptian Jewry was under siege.<sup>51</sup>

Though only 471 Brotherhood volunteers fought in the war, the Brotherhood’s stock back home increased immeasurably, with its membership swelling to perhaps a million. The Egyptian government has second thoughts about the Brotherhood’s loyalty. It ordered a crackdown during

which the police discovered “automatic weapons, grenades, gelignite with fuses, detonators packed in bags and crates, gun cotton, ammunition, bombs, as well as forged car numbers.”<sup>52</sup>

Moderate Prime Minister Mahmoud an-Nukrashi ordered the crackdown because the Brotherhood was attempting “to overthrow the established order in Egypt under cover of helping the struggle against Zionism in Palestine.” The Prime Minister had also been reluctant to go to war with the new Jewish state. He was assassinated, probably on orders of the Brotherhood, in late December, 1948. The assassination, probably by Egyptian security agents, of Hassan al-Banna, soon followed. A new, troubled era had begun.<sup>53</sup>

- **Fanatics and Pharaohs: The Brotherhood and the Modern Egyptian State**

Westerners have been perennially hopeful of finding “moderates” among the membership of radical Islamic organizations like the Brotherhood with whom they can reason and even do constructive political business. This faith in the Brotherhood’s “moderate voices” is often coupled with a belief that it’s really successive Egyptian governments that have been responsible for “radicalizing” the Brotherhood by order heavy-handed, ill-advised crackdowns. The truth is more complicated and somewhat different.<sup>54</sup>

We have just seen how the Brotherhood had a disastrous falling out with King Farouk’s government which has worked with the Brothers in welcoming the Grand Mufti to Egypt and trained its members to fight against Israel, before deciding that the Brotherhood was a bigger threat to the Egyptian than the Israeli state. The successor regime of Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser also initially embraced the Brotherhood when it came to power in 1952. By 1954, an assassination attempt on Nasser blamed on the Brotherhood, together with disagreements over secularism and how soon to go to war again with Israel, led Nasser to outlaw the Brotherhood and to jail many Brotherhood leaders including Sayyid Qutb, subsequently hanged for treason. Ironically, Nasser at the same time was arresting Egyptian Jews and hiring fugitive Nazi rocket scientists as well as anti-Semitic propagandists like Johann von Leers (who converted to Islam).<sup>55</sup>

Weakened by his humiliation during 1967’s Six Day War, Nasser eventually lessened pressure on the Brotherhood. His successor, Anwar Sadat, initially was even more friendly, legalizing the Brotherhood’s activities, amnestying its jailed members, opening the door to its gains among students (the *Jama’at al-Islamiyya* associations were organized in 1973) and professional organizations as well as prestigious Al Azhar University’s faculty, and showing his own piety in 1973 Yom Kippur attack on Israel by naming it “Operation Badr” (after the Prophet’s miraculous victory at Medina).<sup>56</sup>



Of course, this rapprochement ended violently with Sadat's peace deal with Israel and assassination by the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, an offshoot of the Brotherhood. The conventional view is that the Brotherhood was not responsible for assassination plans by "renegade" members such as Ayman al-Zawahiri, now Osama bin Laden's second in command. Yet it's notable that the Brotherhood leadership, as late as the 1990s, was basking in the reflected glory of Sadat's assassin, army officer Khaled Islambouli, by lauding him as "a martyr" to the Brotherhood's cause.<sup>57</sup>

President Hosni Mubarak pursued a two-sided strategy of political crackdowns on the Brotherhood under the ongoing Emergency Law passed after Sadat's assassination, combined with allowing its continued infiltration of Egypt's educational and cultural institutions in hopes that the Brotherhood's religious conservatism might discourage radical secular threats to his regime. Barred to running as a party in parliamentary elections, the Brotherhood was nevertheless allowed to field "independent" candidates who won a remarkable 20 percent of the seats in 2005.<sup>58</sup>

While Mubarak's political crackdowns on the Brotherhood were often brutal, he had his reasons. It should not be forgotten that Brotherhood members—or former Brotherhood members—had their fingerprints all over a violent decade. The terrorist outrages of the 1990s included the firebombing near Luxor that took hundreds of lives, including many tourists, the knife attack on 80 year-old Nobel Prize Winner for Literature Naguib Mahfuz, and attempts on the lives of the information minister, interior minister, and prime minister as well as Mubarak himself. Hundreds died in various disturbances. New radical groups like *al-Takfir was-l-Hijara*, *Jama'at al-Islamiyya*, and *abd Tanzim al-Jihad* received the blame, but all had roots in the Brotherhood whose "official" denials of responsibility by "respected sheikhs" who had made peace with the Mubarak regime were usually accepted at face value despite suspicions of complicity harboured by the Egyptian security police. (When young Brotherhood members began demonstrating "martial arts" at Al Azhar University in 2007, Mubarak's secret police were again made uncomfortable.)<sup>59</sup>

Mubarak's bitter critics inside and outside the Brotherhood scorned him as "the last Pharaoh." He in turn viewed them as politically duplicitous religious fanatics bent on overturning the Egyptian state. Both were probably correct!

### • **The Brotherhood's Global Reach**

The Brotherhood began to expand throughout the Middle East after World War II with mixed results. In Jordan, Brotherhood offshoots maintained relatively peaceful relations with the Hashemite monarchy, largely because King Hussein was more concerned with the threat posed by the PLO which launched the abortive Black September coup in 1970. On the other hand, the

Brotherhood in Syria attempted to overthrow the regime, causing President Hafez el-Assad to order a massacre of 20,000 Brotherhood members in 1982.<sup>60</sup>

Brothers fleeing President Nasser's crackdowns (including Sayyid Qutb's brother, Muhammad, who taught Osama bin Laden) began arriving in Saudi Arabia in the 1950s where they received a warm welcome from the religious and political establishment which viewed Salafist ideology as close to their own Wahhabi creed. A half century later, this relationship turned sour, especially after 2003 when Abdurahman Alamoudi, a naturalized U.S. citizen born into a rich Saudi family, was caught at Heathrow Airport with \$340,000 in Libyan cash intended to finance an assassination attempt on Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah. A Saudi Interior Minister accused the Brotherhood of "betrayal of pledges and ingratitude" being "the source of all problems in the Islamic world."<sup>61</sup>

In the 1960s, while Saudi-Brotherhood relations were still good, Saudi money financed the Brotherhood's initial expansion into Western Europe, including Germany where a Munich Mosque, founded in 1958 by an imam who had fought in a German SS Division, later became the terrorist training ground where the 9/11 hijackers were radicalized. The city of Aachen became "Europe's No. 1 stronghold of Jihadism," while across the border in Switzerland Islamofascist Achmed Huber presided over a money raising and laundering operation for the Brotherhood and later Osama bin Laden.<sup>62</sup>

In France and the UK, governments concerned about the loyalties of their growing Muslim minorities turned to what were essentially Brotherhood front groups to act as middle men between them and Muslims at home and abroad. After France's banlieus suburbs erupted in 2005, the Union of Islamic Organizations in France (UIOF) played this role. In the UK, the Muslim Association of Britain (MAB)—from the first, a Brotherhood front—was approached by the security services to keep the lid on domestic Islamic radicals (including those at London's Finsbury Mosque) and also intercede for Brits kidnapped in Iraq and the Holy Land. All this was happening while MAB was actively involved in a political campaign with British communists justifying terrorist attacks on American and British soldiers in Afghanistan and Iraq and calling for the destruction of Israel.<sup>63</sup>

Perhaps the low point came in 2005 when former London Mayor Ken Livingston rolled out the red carpet for Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi—head of Europe's Fatwa Council as well as the Brotherhood's uncrowned spiritual king—lauding him as "the most positive progressive force for change" and "very similar to the position of Pope John XXIII" despite Qaradawi's unchanged positions unfriendly to gays, women, and "infidels" and support of suicide bombing and "terror that is permitted by Islamic law."<sup>64</sup>

Parallels have been drawn between the Brotherhood's "Cairo Comintern"—the so-called *Tanzeem al-Dawli* ("international organization")—controlling far-flung branches and the iron discipline imposed by Moscow Comintern on its satellite parties. This comparison is overdrawn in that Brotherhood branches in Europe and the U.S. treated the Egyptian Brotherhood more like a revered elder brother than an absolute authority on strategy and tactics. In terms of chutzpah, perhaps nothing can accede a 2003 Internet blast by Tariq Ramadan—chief apologist for the Brotherhood's extraordinary global network—accusing French Jewish intellectuals of "dual loyalties" privileging the interests of "world Zionism" over France. In January 2009 during Israel's Gaza incursion, Brotherhood branches in 80 countries coordinated their protests, singing the same protest songs from Cairo to London.<sup>65</sup>

With origins dating back to the organization of the Muslim Students Association (MSA) in 1963, and well-funded by the Wahhabi network of "sharia finance" which included the much-investigated Al Taqwa Bank, the Muslim Brotherhood began expanding its U.S. network in the 1980s. Then, Brothers, for their own reasons, shared America's interest in seeing the Soviets defeated by the mujahideen in Afghanistan. By 1990, their chief focus had changed to the advocacy of Hamas. Documents and secret FBI wiretaps released during the two Holy Land Foundation (HLF) trials, the second ending in 2008 in a conviction for illegal fundraising for Hamas, provide a treasure trove of information on the motivations and plans of the American Brothers (most of whom refused to publicly admit their Brotherhood membership or ties).<sup>66</sup>

*An Explanatory Memorandum on the Strategic Goals for the Group in North America*, prepared in 1991 by Mohammed Akram, a member of the Shura Council of the U.S. Brotherhood for its member's "eyes only," states that the "Civilization-Jihadist Process" for North America is "a kind of grand Jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within and 'sabotaging' its miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers so that it is eliminated and God's religion is made victorious over all other religions." Sam Al-Arian a former University of South Florida computer science professor, who pled guilty in 2006 to aiding "a certain terrorist organization," had on his computer a "Charter" which experts described as a terrorist game plan originally drawn up by the Brotherhood. Abdurahman Alamoudi, founder of the Saudi-bankrolled American Muslim Council (AMC) who had access to both the Clinton and George W. Bush White Houses, was recorded criticizing Al-Qaeda's attack on America's East African embassies only because no Americans were among the casualties, while complimenting Hezbollah's slaughter of Jews at the Buenos Aires Jewish Community Center in 1994 as "a worthwhile operation."<sup>67</sup>

The success of Brotherhood agents and associates in insinuating themselves in the very highest levels of political power in the U.S. has continued almost to this very day. Despite many reports from its own analysts about the behind-the-scenes sympathies for terrorism of the American

Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), since its foundation, not until 2008 did the FBI end its Muslim outreach “partnership” with that organization.<sup>68</sup>

The only prudent conclusion at this point is that the Muslim Brotherhood’s ill-intentioned rendezvous with America is far from a finished story.

### **Conclusion: Egypt in the Balance**

The current three-sided game between democracy activists, the military, and the Brotherhood is only in the first inning. Yet in the wake of the tumultuous beginning—Egypt’s extraordinary 2/11 Revolution—much speculation centers around the role the Muslim Brotherhood will play in shaping the end result. Most estimates place the Brotherhood’s following at 10-15 percent of Egypt’s 80 million people, but political scientist Robert A. Pape cites estimates as high as a third. It must also be remembered that the Brotherhood can appeal to the beliefs (or prejudices) of tens of millions more Egyptians, according to polls showing 80 percent support for death sentences for homosexuals, adulterers, and Muslims who convert to another religion.<sup>69</sup>

The Brotherhood’s recent record as part of Egypt’s “democracy movement” is highly suspect. Both before and after its strong showing in the 2005 parliamentary, the Brotherhood issued long awaited new political manifestos that began with a seeming embrace of democracy but ended with what fine print full of recycled demands for political discrimination against women and Copts as well as creation of a “council of clerics,” modelled on Iran’s, to have a veto over the will of parliament and people. One manifesto devoted three and a half pages to the Brotherhood’s priority on fighting in Israel and Iraq, but only half a page to “combating poverty” in Egypt. Skeptical of the Brotherhood’s magical cure-all—“Islam is the Solution”—democracy activists were aghast.<sup>70</sup>

A recent *Wall Street Journal* profile contrasts the Brotherhood’s two faces: Moaz Abdel Karim, an affable 29 year-old with all the correct views on democracy; and 66 year-old Mohamed Badi, who promises to “continue to raise the of jihad” against the Jews, the Brotherhood’s “first and foremost enemies.” He further states that “resistance is the only solution against the Zio-American arrogance and tyranny, and all we need is for the Arab and Muslim peoples to stand behind it and support it. . . . We say to our brothers the mujahideen in Gaza: be patient, persist in [your jihad], and know that Allah is with you.” Qaradawi recent military-sanctioned return to Egypt to give a Friday sermon to an estimated two million worshippers in Tahrir Square is a bad sign for reformers who support peace.<sup>71</sup>

Essam el-Eryan is a lonely reformist of the Brotherhood’s 12-member supreme council that is head by Badi. Mohamed Morsy, accusing Israel of violations of Egypt’s peace treaty with Israel.

dodged on CNN questions about the treaty's future. Rashad al-Bayoumi announced that: "After President Mubarak steps down and a provisional government is formed, there is a need to dissolve the peace treaty with Israel." Muhammad Ghannem exhorted the Egyptian people "to prepare for war with Israel." A fourth spokesman said that Egypt would adhere to the treaty—but only if Israel "improved its treatment of the Palestinians." Bear in mind that the Brotherhood opposes Israeli-Palestinian peace talks to bring about such "improvements."<sup>72</sup>

A few years ago, Fouad Ajami, among the wisest observers on the Middle East, speculated about Egypt after Mubarak:

The country is too wise, too knowing, too tolerant to succumb to a reign of theocratic zeal. Competing truths, whole civilizations, have been assimilated and brokered here; it is hard to see Cairo, possessed of the culture that comes to great, knowing cities, turning its back on all that.<sup>73</sup>

Let's hope that Ajami proves correct. But this happy outcome will have to be realized, not with the help, but over the insidious opposition of Egypt's Brotherhood of Jew haters.

## NOTES

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- <sup>1</sup> “Young Praises Islam as ‘Vibrant’ and Calls the Ayatollah ‘a Saint’,” *New York Times*, February 8, 1979.
- <sup>2</sup> Josh Gerstein, “DNI Clapper Retreats from ‘Secular’ Claim on Muslim Brotherhood,” *Politico* (February 10, 2011) <[http://www.politico.com/blogs/joshgerstein/0211/DNI\\_Clapper\\_Egypt\\_MuslimBrotherhood\\_largely\\_secular.html](http://www.politico.com/blogs/joshgerstein/0211/DNI_Clapper_Egypt_MuslimBrotherhood_largely_secular.html)>.
- <sup>3</sup> Daniel Pipes, *Militant Islam Reaches America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2002), pp. 250-51.
- <sup>4</sup> Alison Pargeter, *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Burden of Tradition* (London: Saqi Books, 2010), p. 224.
- <sup>5</sup> “Former Kuwaiti Education Minister: All of al-Qaeda’s Terrorism Started from the Ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood,” trans. by MEMRI Special Dispatches Series 941, July 25, 2005, quoted in Pargeter, *Muslim Brotherhood*, 206-7; “A Bit of Shame,” *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* (London), July 25, 2005.
- <sup>6</sup> Ephraim Karsh, *Islamic Imperialism: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 209.
- <sup>7</sup> Paul Berman, *Terror and Liberalism* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2004), p. 119; A. James McGregor, “‘Jihad and the Rifle Alone’: ‘Abdullah ‘Azzam and the Islamist Revolution’” p. 108 (Fall, 2003), <<http://www.lib.unb.ca/Texts/JCS/Fall03/mcgregor.pdf>>.
- <sup>8</sup> Lorenzo Vidino, *The New Muslim Brotherhood in the West* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), p. 58.
- <sup>9</sup> Maurice Pearlman, *Mufti of Jerusalem: The Story of Haj Amin El Husseini* (London, Victor Gollancz, 1947), p. 49.
- <sup>10</sup> “Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi: Allah Imposed Hitler on the Jews to Punish , ‘Allah Willing, the Next Time Will be at the Hands of Believers’,” trans. by the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), February 3, 2009.
- <sup>11</sup> Yusuf al-Qaradawi, “There Is No Dialogue between Us and the Jews, Except by Sword and Rifle,” trans. by MEMRI, July 27, 2004, quoted in *The Legacy of Islamic Antisemitism*, ed. by Andrew G. Bostom (New York: Prometheus Books, 2008), p. 684.
- <sup>12</sup> Vidino, *The New Muslim Brotherhood*, pp. 90-91.
- <sup>13</sup> “Muslim Brotherhood Leader: Only Jihad Can Restore the Muslim Ummah to Its Former Glory; ‘The Hour is Near when [We will] Rid the Ummah of this Foreign Body [Israel] that has been Malevolently Planted in Its Midst’,” trans. by MEMRI, Special Dispatch No.2988, June 1, 2010, <<http://www.scribd.com/doc/38843164/How-Islam-Confronts-the-Oppression-and-Tyranny-Against-the-Muslims-Dr-Muhammad-Badi>>.
- <sup>14</sup> Robert A. Pape, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2005), p. 271; Gilles Kepel, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 106-35.
- <sup>15</sup> Robert S. Wistrich, *A Lethal Obsession: Anti-Semitism from Antiquity to the Global Jihad* (New York: Random House, 2010), pp. 830-78; Pargeter, *Muslim Brotherhood*, pp. 42, 114.
- <sup>16</sup> Vidino, *The Muslim Brotherhood*, p. 101-02; Steven Emerson, *American Jihad: The Terrorists Among Us* (New York: Free Press, 2002), p. 7.

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<sup>17</sup> A. James Gregor, *Contemporary Radical Ideologies: Totalitarian Thought in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Random House, 1968).

<sup>18</sup> Brynjar Lia, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt: The Rise of an Islamist Mass Movement, 1928-1942* (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1998); Kepel, *Jihad*, pp. 43-44; Pargeter, *Muslim Brotherhood*, pp. 18-19; Ana Belén Soage and Jorge Fuentelsaz Franganillo, "The Muslim Brothers in Egypt," in *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies of a Global Islamist Movement*, ed. by Barry Rubin (New York: Macmillan, 2010), pp. 39-41.

<sup>19</sup> Kepel, *Jihad*, pp. 219-22; Kepel, *The War for Muslim Minds* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 177-88, 190-92, 255-59, 285; Vidino, *The New Muslim Brotherhood*, pp. 75-76; Pargeter, *Muslim Brotherhood*, p. 38.

<sup>20</sup> David G. Dalin and John F. Rothmann, *Icon of Evil: Hitler's Mufti and the Rise of Radical Islam* (New York: Random House, 2008), p. 37; Pargeter, *Muslim Brotherhood*, p. 99.

<sup>21</sup> Karsh, *Islamic Imperialism*, p. 209 (quote); Pargeter, *Muslim Brotherhood*, pp. 24, 43; Soage and Franganillo, "The Muslim Brothers in Egypt," in *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies*, pp. 43-44; Berman, *Flight of the Intellectuals*, p. 32.

<sup>22</sup> Loretta Napoleoni, *Modern Jihad: Tracing the Dollars Behind the Terror Networks* (London: Pluto Press, 2003), pp. 154-55; Soage and Franganillo, "The Muslim Brothers in Egypt," in *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies*, p. 42; Ladan and Roya Boroumand, "Terror, Islam and Democracy," *Journal of Democracy*, 13, 2 (April, 2002), p. 8, <<http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/gratis/Boroumand.pdf>>.

<sup>23</sup> Wistrich, *Lethal Obsession*, pp. 311-14; Melanie Phillips, *Londonistan* (New York: Encounter Books, 2006), pp. 174-75; Berman, *Flight of the Intellectuals*, pp. 15-26; Dexter Van Zile, "Tariq Ramadan Obscures the Truth about Muslim Brotherhood," CAMERA (February 16, 2011), <[http://www.camera.org/index.asp?x\\_context=2&x\\_outlet=35&x\\_article=1996](http://www.camera.org/index.asp?x_context=2&x_outlet=35&x_article=1996)>.

<sup>24</sup> Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. by E. J. Costello (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1957), pp. 241-45; Walter Laqueur, *The New Face of Terrorism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 140-42; Pargeter, *Muslim Brotherhood*, pp. 178-79, 193-94; Karsh, *Islamic Imperialism*, p. 209 (quote).

<sup>25</sup> Mustafa Mashhur, "The Laws of Da'wa: Jihad is the Way," trans. by Palestinian Media Watch, <[http://palwatch.org/STORAGE/special%20reports/Jihad\\_is\\_the\\_way\\_by\\_Mustafa\\_Mashhur.pdf](http://palwatch.org/STORAGE/special%20reports/Jihad_is_the_way_by_Mustafa_Mashhur.pdf)>; Karsh, *Islamic Imperialism*, p. 214; McGregor, "'Jihad and the Rifle Alone': 'Abdullah 'Azzam and the Islamist Revolution'" p. 108 (Fall, 2003), <<http://www.lib.unb.ca/Texts/JCS/Fall03/mcgregor.pdf>>.

<sup>26</sup> Berman, *Terror and Liberalism*, p. 68 (quoting Qaradawi).

<sup>27</sup> Soage and Franganillo, "The Muslim Brothers in Egypt," in *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies*, pp. 50-51; Pargeter, *The Muslim Brotherhood*, pp. 216-18.

<sup>28</sup> Jeffrey Herf, *Nazi Propaganda for the Arab World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 151-52; Pargeter, *The Muslim Brotherhood*, pp. 45, 217, 221.

<sup>29</sup> Vidino, *The New Muslim Brotherhood*, pp. 64, 67-68 144-45; Phillips, *Londonistan*, p. 123.

<sup>30</sup> Pargeter, *Muslim Brotherhood*, pp. 16-18; Kepel, *Jihad*, pp. 354-60; Ziad Abu-Amr, *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), pp. 123-24.

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<sup>31</sup> Wistrich, *Lethal Obsession*, pp. 563-44, 808-10; Matthias Kuntzel, *Jihad and Jew Hatred: Islamism, Nazism and the Roots of 9/11*, trans. by Colin Meade (New York: Telos Press, 2007).

<sup>32</sup> Herf, *Nazi Propaganda*, p. 254; Bernard Lewis, *The Crisis of Islam: Holy War and Unholy Terror* (New York: Modern Library, 2003), pp. 78-79; Wistrich, *Lethal Obsession*, pp. 45-36, 49; Dalin and Rothmann, *Icon of Evil*, p. 38. In 1946, even before arriving in the U.S, Qutb, has written in an Egyptian newspaper: “All these Westerners are the same: a rotten conscience, a false civilization. How I hate these Westerners. How I despise them all without exception.” Quoted in Emerson, *American Jihad*, p. 249.

<sup>33</sup> Wistrich, *Lethal Obsession*, pp. 45-46; 600, 809; Qaradawi, “There Is No Dialogue between Us and the Jews, Except by Sword and Rifle,” MEMRI, July 27, 2004, quoted in *The Legacy of Islamic Antisemitism*, p. 684.

<sup>34</sup> Ana Belén Soage, “Yusuf el-Qaradawi: The Muslim Brother’s Favorite Ideological Guide,” in *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies*, p. 24.

<sup>35</sup> “Sheikh Yusuf el-Qaradawi: ‘Allah Imposed Hitler on the Jews to Punish Them, ‘Allah Willing, the Next Time Will be at the Hands of Believers’,” trans. by MEMRI, Special Dispatch 2224, February 3, 2009, <<http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/802/3062.htm>>; Paul Berman, *The Flight of the Intellectuals* (Brooklyn, NY: Melville House, 2010), p. 78.

<sup>36</sup> Gerstein, “DNI Clapper Retreats from ‘Secular’ Claim on Muslim Brotherhood,” *Politico* (February 10, 2011) <[http://www.politico.com/blogs/joshgerstein/0211/DNI\\_Clapper\\_Egypt\\_MuslimBrotherhood\\_largely\\_secular.html](http://www.politico.com/blogs/joshgerstein/0211/DNI_Clapper_Egypt_MuslimBrotherhood_largely_secular.html)>. Clapper’s remarks may have been a trial balloon preparing for the U.S government “engaging” the Brotherhood—a position that has been gaining adherents, especially since 2007. See Cheryl Benard, *Civil Democratic Islam: Partners, Resources, and Strategies* (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 2003), <[http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph\\_reports/2005/MR1716.pdf](http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monograph_reports/2005/MR1716.pdf)>; Robert Leiken and Stephen Brooke, “The Moderate Muslim Brotherhood,” *Foreign Affairs* (March-April, 2007), <<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/62453/robert-s-leiken-and-steven-brooke/the-moderate-muslim-brotherhood>>; “Changing Course: A New Direction of U.S. Relations with the Muslim World,” *Report of the Leadership Group on U.S.-Muslim Engagement*, U.S.-Muslim Engagement Project, September, 2008, <[http://www.usmuslimengagement.org/storage/usme/documents/Changing\\_Course\\_SecondPrinting.pdf](http://www.usmuslimengagement.org/storage/usme/documents/Changing_Course_SecondPrinting.pdf)>. Alison Pargeter, author of an important new book on the Brotherhood, is skeptical: “To think that engaging the Ikhwan will somehow reduce support for extremism is a misplaced notion that is to misunderstand the politics of the region.” See Pargeter, *Muslim Brotherhood*, p. 224.

<sup>37</sup> Paul Berman’s *The Flight of the Intellectuals* (2010) is a trenchant analysis and critique of how the Brotherhood has been winning the media wars.

<sup>38</sup> Wistrich, *Lethal Obsession*, p. 735; Berman, *Flight of the Intellectuals*, p. 38; Klaus-Michael Mallmann, Martin Cuppers, and Krista Smith, *Nazi Palestine: The Plans for the Extermination of the Jews in Palestine by Smith* (New York: Enigma Books, 2010), p. 33.

<sup>39</sup> David M. Rosen, *Armies of the Young: Child Soldiers in War and Terrorism* (Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005), pp. 104-108; Pargeter, *Muslim Brotherhood*, pp. 27-29; Mallmann, Cuppers, and Smith, *Nazi Palestine*, p. 33; Soage and Franganillo, “The Muslim Brothers in Egypt,” in *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies*, pp. 40-41; Kuntzel, *Jihad and Jew Hatred*, quoted in Jeffrey Goldberg, “Seeds of Hate,” *New York Times Book Review*, January 6, 2008, <[http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/06/books/review/Goldberg-t.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/06/books/review/Goldberg-t.html?_r=1)>.



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- <sup>40</sup> Soage and Franganillo, "The Muslim Brothers in Egypt," in *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies*, p. 42; Dina Porat, *The Blue and the Yellow Stars of David: The Zionist Leadership in Palestine and the Holocaust, 1939-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990); Mallmann, Cuppers, and Smith, *Nazi Palestine*, pp. 140-49.
- <sup>41</sup> Robert S. Wistrich, *Hitler and the Holocaust* (New York: Modern Library, 2001), p. 110 (Hitler quote); Berman, *Flight of the Intellectuals*, p. 95; Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach Into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006), p. 45; Eugen Kogon, Hermann Langbein and Adalbert Ruckerl, eds. *Nazi Mass Murder: A Documentary History of the Use of Poison Gas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 53; Dalin and Rothmann, *Icon of Evil*, pp. 51, 58-61, 67; Berman, *Flight of the Intellectuals*, p. 93; Mallmann, Cuppers, and Smith, *Nazi Palestine*, pp. 116-25.
- <sup>42</sup> Dalin and Rothmann, *Icon of Evil*, pp. 58-59, 67; Berman, *Flight of the Intellectuals*, p. 78; Mallmann, Cuppers, and Smith, *Nazi Palestine*, pp. 30, 39, 147.
- <sup>43</sup> Dalin and Rothmann, *Icon of Evil*, pp. 43, 52 (quote); Berman, *Flight of the Intellectuals*, p. 92.
- <sup>44</sup> Dalin and Rothmann, *Icon of Evil*, pp. 53, 56-59; Mallmann, Martin Cuppers, and Krista Smith, *Nazi Palestine*, p. 100.
- <sup>45</sup> Dalin and Rothmann, *Icon of Evil*, pp. 65, 79; Laurel Leff, *Buried by the Times: The Holocaust and America's Most Important Newspaper* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 326.
- <sup>46</sup> Herf, *Nazi Propaganda for the Arab World*, pp. 242-44.
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