



Global Muslim Brotherhood  
Research Center



# The Global Anti-Aggression Campaign 2003-2016

A Global Muslim Brotherhood, Salafi and  
Jihadi Alliance Against The West

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# AUTHOR

## STEVEN MERLEY

Steven Merley is an investigator and intelligence specialist who since 1992 has specialized in the investigation of political extremism, beginning with the investigation of hate crimes and rightwing extremist groups in the United States. Since September 11, 2001, Mr. Merley has been collecting and analyzing intelligence on the Muslim Brotherhood throughout the world. He has worked closely with both the Wall Street Journal and The Times on articles about the Muslim Brotherhood and a variety of news publications have published his commentary on the Brotherhood. Other clients for his work have included NGOs, US think-tanks, and documentary filmmakers and he has authored numerous investigative reports on the Global Muslim Brotherhood. Mr. Merley has given presentations at Harvard University and at McGill University in Canada and spoken at events sponsored by the US State Department and privately for Congressional staffers and US government counter-terrorism specialists. He has also spoken twice at the European Parliament and in June 2013 presented a seminar at the British Parliament. His presentation at the British Parliament was the subject of a UK magazine article written by the renowned British journalist John Ware. Mr. Merley is currently the Editor of the Global Muslim Brotherhood Daily Watch, a daily intelligence digest covering the activities of the Global Muslim Brotherhood that is widely read by government agencies around the world including the US FBI and Department of Homeland Security.



# GLOSSARY

**1920 Revolution Brigades** – Sunni militia group in Iraq, which includes former members of the disbanded Iraqi army; engaged in armed attacks against Coalition forces.

**Afghan Services Bureau (Maktab Al-Khidamat)** – Pakistani organization considered as the precursor to Al-Qaeda.

**Ahrar Al-Sham (Harakat Ahrar ash-Sham al-Islamiyya)** – Salafist rebel group established in the early stages of the Syrian conflict.

**Al-Quds International Institution** – Lebanese organization with headquarters in Jerusalem founded by Youssef Qaradawi and the late Lebanese Muslim Brotherhood figure Faysal Mawlawi.

**Al-Abrar Charitable Society** – Located in the Lebanese Bekaa Valley and part of the Union Of Good.

**Al-Asala Party (Authenticity Party)** – Egyptian ultra-conservative Salafist political party created after the events of 2011.

**Al-Shabaab Foundation** – An off-shoot of the Union of Islamic Courts in Somalia once affiliated with Al-Qaeda.

**Alkarama Foundation** – Swiss organization purporting to be an independent human rights group.

**American Muslims for Jerusalem** – A coalition of US Muslim Brotherhood groups.

**Ansar Al-Islam** – Formerly an insurgent group affiliated with Al-Qaeda and active in Iraq and Syria, partially merged with the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL).

**Arab National Congress** – Anti-Imperialist group established in 1990 in order to preserve Arab nationalism.

**Arab Organization for Human Rights UK** – UK group with many ties to the Global Muslim Brotherhood.

**Association of European Muslims** – Italian organization headed by an Italian convert who is New Guinea's Consul to Italy.

**Association of Muslim Scholars** – Largest Sunni clerical body in Iraq.

**Awakening Movement / Al-Sahwa** – A Saudi religious movement that supported Al-Qaeda as well as the rebellion against the Saudi monarchy.

**British Muslim Initiative** – Political group split off from the Muslim Association of Britain and founded by fugitive Hamas commander Mohammad Sawalha and Anas Altikriti, described in a UK media report as “the key spokesman and lobbyist for the Muslim BROTHERHOOD in Britain, though he claims not to be a member himself.”<sup>424</sup> Speaking to the Foreign Affairs Select Committee in June 2016<sup>423</sup>, ALTIKRITI denied being a member of the Muslim BROTHERHOOD because “in Britain... we do not have a Muslim BROTHERHOOD”, however added that he “probably might” be a member of the Muslim BROTHERHOOD if there was an organisation in the UK. He also commented “...the closest there is to the Muslim BROTHERHOOD, and which espouses the basic tenets of the Muslim BROTHERHOOD ideology, is the Muslim Association of Britain, which I am a member of, I am a founding member of and I was a president of, and now I'm the chairman of.”

**Consultation Centre for Studies and Rights** – Turkish registered group now known as the International Coalition for Freedom and Rights, headed by Anas Altikriti, the key spokesman and lobbyist for the Muslim BROTHERHOOD in Britain.

**Cordoba Foundation** – UK think-tank described by former Prime Minister David Cameron as a “political front for the Muslim Brotherhood” and run by ANAS AL-TIKRITI, the key spokesman and lobbyist for the Muslim BROTHERHOOD in Britain.

**Council for Rights and Freedoms Egypt** – Egyptian human rights group which also operates a branch in Istanbul, member of the International Association Of Rights And Freedoms.

**Council on American Islamic Relations** – US group that emerged out of the Hamas infrastructure in the US.

**Egyptian Islamic Jihad** – Originally sought to overthrow the Egyptian government and install an Islamic state but merged with Al-Qaeda and led by Ayman al-Zawahiri since 1991.

**Egyptian Islamic Labor Party** – Islamist Egyptian political party.

**Egyptian Revolutionary Council** – Egyptian opposition group based in Turkey that includes the Global Muslim Brotherhood among its members.

**Ennahda Party** – Tunisian political party essentially representing the Global Muslim Brotherhood.

**European Council for Fatwa and Research** – Theological body, part of the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE) and headed by Youssef Qaradawi.

**Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe** – Umbrella organization representing the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe.

**Forward Thinking** – UK group supportive of the Global Muslim Brotherhood.

**Free Gaza Movement** – Western group that co-sponsored the Gaza flotilla and which emerged from the ISM (International Solidarity Movement).

**Global Coordinator to Support Rights and Freedoms** – New UK group that includes the GAAC as well as several Salafi bodies, the International Union Of Muslim Scholars, the Alkarama Foundation, and the CORDOBA FOUNDATION, headed by ANAS ALTIKRITI, key spokesman and lobbyist for the Muslim Brotherhood in Britain.

**Global Forum for Islamic Parliamentarians** – Global body grouping Islamist parliamentarians.

**Global Muslim Brotherhood** – The global network of individuals and organizations that developed as Muslim Brotherhood members who fled to other countries while fleeing the periodic crackdowns on the organization in Egypt.

**Global Relief Foundation** – US charity organization designated by the US in 2002 as a terrorist organization for its ties to and support of Osama Bin Laden, Al-Qaeda, and the Taliban.

**Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Unity Forum** – Kuwaiti group intending to promote Gulf unity.

**Hamas** – Palestinian ‘resistance’ group that emerged from the Muslim Brotherhood.

**Hizbullah (Party of God)** – Shi’a Islamist group and political party based in Lebanon.

**Human Rights Monitor** – UK Islamist ‘human rights’ organization.

**IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation (İHH İnsani Yardım Vakfı)** – Turkish Islamic charity that played a key role in the 2010 Gaza flotilla

**Institute for Strategic Thinking** – Turkish think tank headed by the AK Party Deputy Chairman.

**Institute of Islamic Political Thought** – UK group headed by Hamas supporter Azzam Tamimi and which included important Global Muslim Brotherhood leaders such as Youssef Qaradawi on its advisory board.

**International Association of Rights and Freedoms** – A Turkish based organization headed by Fawaz Sahoud Hilal Al Anzi which also operates a UK branch.

**International Institute of Islamic Thought** – US-based think tank founded in 1980 by the Global Muslim Brotherhood.

**International Islamic Coordination Council** – Salafi group that includes the GAAC and the Alkarama Foundation and others.

**International Society for the Protection of the Prophet** – Salafi group based in Vienna.

**International Union of Muslim Scholars** – Organization comprised of Muslim scholars headed by Global Muslim Brotherhood leader Youssef Qaradawi.

**Interpal (Palestinians Relief and Development Fund)** – UK charity that was the founding member of the Union of Good.

**Iraqi Accord Front (Tawafuq)** – Created in October 2005 by the Iraqi Islamic Party to contest the December 2005 general election.

**Iraqi Islamic Party** – Political party of the Muslim Brotherhood in Iraq.



**Islamic Action Front** – Political arm of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan.

**Islamic Army In Iraq** (الجيش الاسلامي في العراق) – A ‘resistance’ organization formed in Iraq following the 2003 invasion by United States and Coalition military forces.

**Islamic Assembly of North America** – US group led by a Saudi national and accused by the US government in 2004 of promoting violence on its website.

**Islamic Constitutional Movement** – Political party of the Muslim Brotherhood in Kuwait.

**Islamic Legitimate Body of Rights And Reformation** – Egyptian group consisting mainly of Salafists but includes Muslim Brotherhood figure Khairat Al-Shater.

**Islamic Movement** – The Muslim Brotherhood in Israel.

**Islamic Relief** – Global charity controlled by the Global Muslim Brotherhood.

**Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS)** – A Salafi/Jihadi group and self-proclaimed caliphate and Islamic state led by Sunni Arabs from Iraq and Syria.

**Islamische Gemeinschaft In Deutschland** – The Muslim Brotherhood in Germany.

**Islamiska Förbundet I Sverige** – Swedish member of the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe

**Jaish Al-Mujahideen** – Sunni militia group in Iraq similar in ideology to the Islamic Army In Iraq; claimed credit for attacks on US forces in Iraq, called for attacks against Denmark and Norway in response to the Danish cartoon crisis; and threatened attacks against the Vatican following comments made by Pope Benedict XVI in September 2006.

**Jamaat-e-Islami** – Pakistan’s oldest religious party and close to the Global Muslim Brotherhood.

**Muslim Brotherhood** – Founded in 1928 in Egypt by Hassan Al-Banna.

**Muslim Scholars Association, MSC** – A Salafi umbrella group based in Saudi Arabia.

**Muslim Thinkers Forum** – Kuwaiti Salafi group.

**Muslim World League** – Established in 1962 with the help of Muslim Brothers in order to assist in the propagation of Saudi ‘Wahhabist’ Islam.

**Palestine Liberation Army** – Palestinian military group controlled by its various host governments, usually Syria.

**Palestinian Islamic Jihad (Harakat al-Jihad al-Islami fi Filastin)** – Iranian backed Palestinian terrorist group formed in 1981 with the objective of destroying Israel and replacing it with a Palestinian state.

**Qatar Charity** – Quasi-governmental organization close to the Global Muslim Brotherhood and also a member of the Union of Good.

**Salafiyya Jihadiyya** – Moroccan terrorist group linked to Al-Qaeda and believed to be responsible for the May 2003 attacks on Jewish and Spanish targets in Casablanca.

**Sheikh Eid Bin Mohammad Al Thani Charitable Foundation** – Qatari charity and member of the Union of Good.

**Syrian Islamic Council** – Founded in April 2014 with the goal of becoming the chief opposition Sunni religious authority in Syria.

**Tayyar Ahlul Sunna** – Salafi Lebanese organization headed by Salem Al-Rafei.

**Ummah Party** – An outgrowth of the Muslim Brotherhood in the UAE with goal of reconciling the Muslim Brotherhood with Salafism.

**Union Des Organisations Islamiques De France** – The Muslim Brotherhood in France.

**Union of Good** – Worldwide coalition of charity organizations headed by Youssef Qaradawi which raises funds for Hamas.

**Union of Islamic Courts** – Now defunct group of Shari’a courts that united to form a rival administration in Somalia.

**World Assembly of Muslim Youth** – Saudi religious youth organization close to the Global Muslim Brotherhood.



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# FOREWORD

I began my investigations into the Muslim Brotherhood shortly after the attacks of September 11, 2001. Two things quickly became apparent, at least to me: that the individuals, organizations and other related components represented a global network as opposed to just the Egyptian organization, and that what I began to call this Global Muslim Brotherhood represented a threat to their host countries and by Western standards should clearly be considered as extremist. To my surprise I have spent a significant amount of time since those days attempting to explain this threat, an explanation which encompasses multiples levels of “mischief” carried out by the Brotherhood including hindering integration of Muslim minorities, fostering hatred of other ethnic and religious groups, inciting conflict in the Mideast and elsewhere, and helping to incubate terrorist through its rhetorical support, opposition to anti-terror measures, and its ubiquitous funding and support of Hamas and Hamas terrorism.

Yet despite the clear and well-documented evidence connecting the Global Muslim Brotherhood to extremism in its various forms, I have persistently encountered a single and pervasive obstacle in my attempts to convey the threat posed by these networks. I sometimes refer to this obstacle as NBL-Not Bin Laden- to encompass the reality that until recently Al Qaeda, and now ISIS appear to be the “gold standard” of Islamist threats and to whom in comparison, the Global Muslim Brotherhood can seem on the surface to be the lesser of two evils. The Brotherhood itself exploits this comparison in a good cop/bad cop portrayal of itself as representing moderation, particularly in contrast to the so-called jihadist groups such as Al Qaeda and ISIS. Further hampering an understanding of the Global Muslim Brotherhood threat is the widely repeated notion that the Brotherhood has in general have no dealings with the jihadist groups and are fact their competitors. Furthermore, it is said that in contrast to the jihadists, the Brotherhood adheres to a doctrine of “Defensive Jihad”, ruling that armed violence is justifiable only when Muslims, their lands, or their honor is under attack. These notions are responsible for the widely held belief that there is some kind of firewall between the Global Muslim Brotherhood and Al Qaeda, ISIS, and other related groups.

This report should serve as a serious corrective to all of the above mischaracterizations of the Global Muslim Brotherhood as it demonstrates unequivocally that its key leaders and organizations have been cooperating for over twelve years with a hitherto obscure group known as the GLOBAL ANTI-AGGRESSION CAMPAIGN (GAAC), a Salafi-led international umbrella organization that brings under its wings Salafi, Salafi-Jihadi, Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD and HAMAS leaders. At least seven leading GAAC figures and/or their organizations have been designated as terrorists by the United States, the EU, and/or the United Nations for their support of AL-QAEDA and related groups – with some of these leaders known to have been close to OSAMA BIN LADEN himself. Those so designated have included both the GAAC President and an organization controlled by the GAAC Executive Director. The report also demonstrates that the GAAC views the US as a key enemy of Islam and the purpose of the GAAC is to fight the US and its allies, thus making it clear that the divisions between the Global Muslim Brotherhood and its Salafi/Salafi-Jihadi counterparts are religious in nature and nothing to do with its view of the West. While Brotherhood leaders themselves have not been setting off bombs in Western capitals, this report shows that they clearly have no problem breaking bread with those who do and the so-called firewall referred to above exists only in the minds of Western analysts. This work should help such analysts as well as policy makers, academics, and other relevant actor choose more wisely who they select for their partners in the Muslim community.

The author wishes to thank Dr. Ehud Rosen for his substantial research and translations from the Arabic without which this report would not have been possible. Dr. Rosen completed his PhD studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London and specializes in modern political Islam, focusing on the ideology and history of the Muslim Brotherhood.

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# CONCLUSIONS

- 1 While claiming to be a “non-governmental, independent, peaceful, educational campaign of volunteers”, the GLOBAL ANTI-AGGRESSION CAMPAIGN (GAAC) is in reality a Salafi-led international umbrella organization that brings under its wings Salafi, Salafi-Jihadi, Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD and HAMAS leaders. The GAAC views the US as a key enemy of Islam and the purpose of the GAAC is to fight the US and its allies - a fight which has included close cooperation with the violent insurgency directed against Iraqi and Coalition forces in Iraq.
- 2 While Salafists have always appeared to have been in control of the GAAC, individuals and organizations tied to the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD have participated in its founding and re-launch - in one case serving as Vice-President of the organization – and/or have participated actively and extensively in international conferences either sponsored by GAAC or where GAAC was an organizer. Prominent among these Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD figures and organizations is the movement’s ‘spiritual leader’ YOUSSEF QARADAWI, UK fugitive and senior HAMAS commander MOHAMMAD SAWALHA<sup>424</sup>, Yemeni MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD leader and US designated terrorist ABD-AL-MAJID AL-ZINDANI, Tunisian ENNAHDA Party leader RACHID GHANNOUCHI, and ANAS ALTIKRITI, the key spokesman and lobbyist for the Muslim BROTHERHOOD in Britain.<sup>424</sup> Other GAAC figures have included leaders of the Jordanian and Egyptian MUSLIM BROTHERHOODs as well as individuals residing in Europe and the US.
- 3 At least seven leading GAAC figures and/or their organizations have been designated as terrorists by the United States, the EU, and/or the United Nations for their support of AL-QAEDA and related groups – with some of these leaders known to have been close to OSAMA BIN LADEN himself. Those so designated have included both the GAAC President and an organization controlled by the GAAC Executive Director. Arabic media reports also identify at least three GAAC figures as funders of the so-called ISLAMIC STATE OF IRAQ AND THE LEVANT (ISIS).
- 4 The main public activities of the GAAC have included sponsoring and/or participating in a series of international conferences centered on Iraq, Palestine, and the ‘Arab Spring.’ These conferences were attended by a wide variety of Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD and Salafist leaders – who at times called for violence in the form of a “third Jihadist” front directed at Israel, and for a declaration of war should Western warships enter “Muslim Waters.” As a result of the most recent GAAC conference in 2013, a new coalition emerged - including the GAAC, several Salafi bodies, QARADAWI’s INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS, and the CORDOBA FOUNDATION, headed by ANAS ALTIKRITI, the key spokesman and lobbyist for the Muslim BROTHERHOOD in Britain. In April 2015, that same coalition sponsored yet another conference in Istanbul establishing a new organization focusing on human rights in Iraq. ANAS ALTIKRITI played a major role in the conference that also featured a large number of Western and Arab organizations.
- 5 The twelve-year close cooperation between the GAAC and the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD points to the inadequacies of the conceptual categories used to describe today’s global Islamist movements. By its participation in the GAAC, the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD appears to have set aside its theological differences with the Salafists and the Salafi/Jihadis in order to join together in a fight against the US and its allies. This should call into question the entire history of Western efforts to engage with the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD - in a misguided attempt to find a reliable Islamic partner to help combat the very same groups with which the BROTHERHOOD has been cooperating.



# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

One of the common myths about the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD is that the movement somehow stands in opposition to the so-called Salafi/Salafi Jihadi movements, with some even claiming that the Salafists “emerged due to the absence of the Muslim Brotherhood.”<sup>a 1</sup> Others have claimed that it is the Salafists who are singularly anti-Western and who are “trying to push both secularists and other Islamists into the not-always-virtuous past.”<sup>2</sup> Even more polarized is the debate about the relationship of the BROTHERHOOD to terrorism itself – with one side claiming that the BROTHERHOOD is a peaceful group that long ago eschewed violence and the other attributing to the BROTHERHOOD almost every terrorist incident anywhere in the world. There are also some who try to walk a path between these two extremes, for example claiming that while the BROTHERHOOD itself is non-violent, it promotes violent radicalization through its rhetoric.<sup>3</sup> However, the reality is far more complicated than these simple and ideologically driven positions suggest. The cooperation between the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD and the GLOBAL ANTI-AGGRESSION CAMPAIGN (GAAC), the subject of this report, should serve as a stark reminder that a phenomenon as complex as the BROTHERHOOD will never be understood absent a sincere and comprehensive effort to understand what its leaders and organization are actually doing – as opposed to theories and frameworks purporting to explain what they are doing.

## THE GLOBAL MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

Before turning to these assumptions and debates, and then to the subject of this report itself, it is first necessary to briefly explain the nature of the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD. Founded in 1928 by Egyptian schoolteacher HASSAN AL-BANNA, the Egyptian BROTHERHOOD is best known as the wellspring of Islamism and Political Islam.<sup>b</sup> Far less familiar is the global

network of individuals and organizations that developed as Muslim Brothers dispersed to other countries while fleeing the periodic crackdowns on the organization in Egypt. A large number of these BROTHERHOOD refugees first settled in Saudi Arabia where they were instrumental in founding important Saudi organizations involved in the spread of Saudi-style ‘Wahhabist’ Islam.<sup>c</sup> Many of these Muslim Brothers [*Ikhwan*] also settled in Europe and the United States, where they went on to found what have become the most prominent Islamic organizations in their new home countries.<sup>4</sup> Once established, these organizations began seeking legitimacy and have worked to influence and control the development of Islamic discourse and political activity in their respective homes. Over time, these widely dispersed organizations and associated leaders came to form the network referred to here as the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD.

Compared to the Egyptian organization, there has been relatively little scrutiny of the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD. This is surprising since it has become far more important than the Egyptian organization that, until the events of the Arab Spring, was largely confined to activities inside Egypt where its members were (and now are again) under constant government surveillance and control. While at times denying its existence – a denial echoed by some Western analysts – Egyptian MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD leaders have at other times made statements appearing to acknowledge the reality of a Global BROTHERHOOD.<sup>d 5 6</sup> In addition, following the ‘Arab Spring’, a number of individuals tied to the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD appeared in various advisory positions to MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

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lenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder Bassam Tibi, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS, Berkeley · Los Angeles · Oxford, 1998, The Regents of the University of California. p. 13.

a Salafism usually implies a literalist, strict and puritanical approach to Islam, while Salafi Jihadis are a subset of the Salafists who advocate offensive Jihad against those they view as enemies of Islam.

b Islamism can be defined as a political ideology based on a ‘selective and arbitrary politicization of religion’. See: The Chal-

c The MUSLIM WORLD LEAGUE (MWL) and the WORLD ASSEMBLY OF MUSLIM YOUTH (WAMY) are the most prominent examples.

d For an example of such ‘denialism’, see: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2010/09/21/the-irrelevance-of-the-international-muslim-brotherhood/>



governments – although they themselves had earlier denied any BROTHERHOOD ties.<sup>a</sup>

In spite of the above, there do not appear to be any organizations outside the Middle East that refer to themselves publicly as the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD, making it necessary to employ other means for identifying Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD organizations and their leaders. A useful set of criteria includes examining the origins and founding of the organization in question and its leaders, contact information, links to other organizations, ideology, and conferences sponsored and/or attended. Identifying the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD is made easier in some European countries such as Germany, where the domestic intelligence agency annually designates the ISLAMISCHE GEMEINSCHAFT IN DEUTSCHLAND as representing the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD there.<sup>7</sup> In France, the UNION DES ORGANISATIONS ISLAMQUES DE FRANCE (UOIF) is often referred to as “close to the Muslim Brotherhood.” In addition, most of the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD organizations in Europe have banded together to form an umbrella organization known as the FEDERATION OF ISLAMIC ORGANIZATIONS IN EUROPE (FIOE), whose leaders have acknowledged their relationship with the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD.<sup>8</sup> Another study, authored by the writer of this report, has documented the history and structure of the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD in the United States.<sup>9</sup>

While much remains to be learned about how the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD is led and coordinated, the single most important individual in the network is its de facto spiritual leader, YOUSSEF QARADAWI. Illustrative of his importance and stature, in 2004 QARADAWI turned down the offer to lead the Egyptian BROTHERHOOD after the death of the Supreme Guide. At the time, an Egyptian BROTHERHOOD leader explained:

“*Sheikh al-Qaradhwawi is an influential scholar and one of the Muslim Brotherhood’s spiritual leaders in the world. Any Muslim Brother would be honoured to have him as supreme guide, but he turned down the offer for the post, citing health and other reasons, as he did in the past.*”<sup>10</sup>

QARADAWI himself explained that he had consciously decided not to limit his scope of maneuver by tying himself “to any movement which might constrain my actions.” Based in Qatar, QARADAWI has reportedly amassed substantial

wealth through his role as Shari’a advisor to many important Islamic banks and funds. He is also considered to be the ‘spiritual guide’ for HAMAS, and his fatwas in support of suicide bombings against Israeli citizens were instrumental in the development of the phenomenon.<sup>11</sup> QARADAWI has asserted that Islam will “return to Europe as a conqueror and victor, after being expelled from it twice.” He qualified this by adding: “Perhaps the next conquest, Allah willing, will be by means of preaching and ideology.”<sup>12</sup>

## GLOBAL ANTI-AGGRESSION CAMPAIGN

While claiming to be a “non-governmental, independent, peaceful, educational campaign of volunteers”, the GLOBAL ANTI-AGGRESSION CAMPAIGN (GAAC) is in reality a Salafi-led international umbrella organization that brings under its wings Salafi, Salafi-Jihadi, Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD and HAMAS leaders, some of whom are designated terrorists in the US and Europe. As one Turkish analyst explains:

“*The GAAC is a structure that wants to see cooperation under one roof for all movements resisting attacks on Muslim peoples worldwide. But the organization leans toward the “resistance” in Iraq, Palestine and Afghanistan, and is working to bring the resistance movements there under a single roof. In this way, the GAAC is a structure that has determined America and Israel to be fundamental threats. For this reason, more than resistance, it has taken on the appearance of an establishment that aims to damage American interests in every way.*”<sup>13</sup>

In line with the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD doctrine of ‘Defensive Jihad’, it is true that much of the GAAC’s focus has been in conflict areas such as Iraq and Palestine. However, this report has also identified multiple GAAC leaders, and/or groups controlled by those leaders, who have been designated as terrorists by the US and/or the EU for support of AL-QAEDA and related groups – with some of these leaders known to have been close to OSAMA BIN LADEN himself and Arabic media reports also identify at least three GAAC figures as funders of the so-called ISLAMIC STATE OF IRAQ AND THE LEVANT (ISIS). Thus, while BROTHERHOOD leaders may not be directly involved in building bombs or shooting innocent civilians, they apparently have no objections to associating with and at times supporting those who do. Yet, despite being the most important organization connecting the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD to its purported

a For a prominent example, see: <http://www.globalmbwatch.com/wiki/ayman-aly/>



## Brief history of the Global Anti Aggression Campaign 2003-2015



competitors in the Islamist world, to date almost no attention has been paid to the GAAC.

### GAAC FOUNDING AND RE-LAUNCH

GAAC was founded in April 2003, shortly after the outbreak of the second Gulf War in Iraq and as a new body of supporters of global Jihad against the United States and the “Crusader” West. The Campaign was initiated by the Saudi opposition figure SAFAR AL-HAWALI to counter what was described as a “vicious aggression by Zionists and the American administration” directed at the Muslim nation [umma]. GAAC founders included at least 495 individuals, among them Salafi, Salafi-Jihadi, MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD and HAMAS leaders, some of whom are designated terrorists in the US and Europe. The most prominent of these founders was Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD leader YOUSSEF QARADAWI, already discussed. Other notable founders included:

- ♦ HARITH AL-DHARI, designated by the US in March 2010 for providing financial, material, or technological support; and financial or other services to, or in support of, AL QAEDA in Iraq and Jordan, and believed to be the ‘spiritual head’ of the Iraqi insurgency.
- ♦ ABD-AL-MAJID AL-ZINDANI, a leader in the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD of Yemen with a long history of working with OSAMA BIN LADEN, who served as one of his ‘spiritual advisors’.
- ♦ SALMAN AL-AWDA, a colleague of SAFAR AL-HAWALI.
- ♦ Leaders of the Jordanian and Egyptian MUSLIM BROTHERHOODS.
- ♦ UK fugitive HAMAS commander MOHAMMAD SAWALHA, one of the co-founders of the BRITISH MUSLIM INITIATIVE.<sup>14</sup>
- ♦ A group of Kuwaiti Salafists including HAMID AL-ALI, designated by the US in July 2006 as a “Kuwait-based terrorist facilitator who has provided financial support for al Qaida-affiliated groups seeking to commit acts of terrorism in Kuwait, Iraq, and elsewhere.”

The GAAC was re-launched in February 2005 during a conference in Doha with the participation of SAFAR AL-HAWALI – who told the participants that the Third World War was not military but rather “a religious war, hostile to our deeply entrenched values and morals in all Muslim lands.”<sup>a</sup> The re-launch conference was headed

<sup>a</sup> The purpose of the relaunch is unknown but it is assumed that the GAAC leaders wanted to revitalize the organization.

# GAAC Leaders



## **SAFAR AL-HAWALI (SECRETARY-GENERAL)**

SAFAR AL-HAWALI is a Saudi cleric and scholar best known as the co-leader of the 'AWAKENING MOVEMENT' [Al-Sahwa], a religious movement that has supported AL-QAEDA, as well as the rebellion against the Saudi monarchy. AL-HAWALI has justified the 9/11 attacks as a response to the US strikes against AL-QAEDA, called for Jihad against the US and its allies, and signed a 2003 "open letter to the Iraqi people", calling for a defensive Jihad against the US in Iraq.



## **ABDUL RAHMAN BIN UMAIR AL-NUAIMI (PRESIDENT)**

ABDUL RAHMAN BIN UMAIR AL-NUAIMI is best known as an official of the ALKARAMA FOUNDATION, based in Geneva, Switzerland, and purporting to be an independent human rights organization. In 2013, the US designated AL-NUAIMI as a terrorist, calling him "a Qatar-based terrorist financier and facilitator who has provided money and material support and conveyed communications to al-Qa'ida and its affiliates in Syria, Iraq, Somalia and Yemen for more than a decade."



## **WALEED AL-TABTABAI (VICE-PRESIDENT)**

Waleed al-Tabtabai is a former Kuwaiti MP who has taken very conservative positions on social issues, including a proposal to ban Valentine's Day. AL-TABTABAI has also had a role in issues outside of Kuwait, including being on board MAVI MARMARA - the lead ship of the May 2010 Gaza Flotilla - and playing a role in the post-incident propaganda that took place in Kuwait. AL-TABTABAI has defended and praised US-designated terrorist and GAAC founder HAMID AL-ALI, as well as the 'martyred' AL-QAEDA operative ABU MUSAB AL-ZARQAWI.



## **RABIH HADDAD (EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR)**

During the 1990's, RABIH HADDAD worked for the AFGHAN SERVICES BUREAU, (MAKTAB AL-KHIDAMAT) in Pakistan, the organization considered to be the precursor to AL-QAEDA. He later became the chairman of the GLOBAL RELIEF FOUNDATION - designated by the US in 2002 as a terrorist organization for its ties to and support of OSAMA BIN LADEN, AL-QAEDA, and the TALIBAN. In July 2003 HADDAD was deported and returned to his native Lebanon on the grounds that he represented a threat to US national security.

by ABDUL RAHMAN BIN UMAIR AL-NUAIMI, a Qatari who would later be designated as a terrorist by the US in connection with his support for AL-QAEDA. Other notable individuals participating in the re-launch were YOUSSEF QARADAWI, HAMAS political leader KHALED MESHAAL, GAAC founder SALMAN AL-AWDA, and leaders in the Syrian and Egyptian MUSLIM BROTHERHOODS.

## GAAC ACTIVITIES

The bulk of the GAAC's public activities have centered on a series of international conferences. Two of those conferences were billed as 'Iraq Support' events and took place between 2006 and 2010:

- ♦ The 2006 conference featured HARITH AL-DHARI, leader of the Iraqi 'resistance', and ZIYAD AL-ANI, a leader of the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD in Iraq. At that event, conferees discussed the situation of the Iraqi people under the "hateful US occupation" and focused on ways to unite the Sunni forces in Iraq in order to oppose the American and Iranian 'strategies' for the country.
- ♦ The 2010 conference was titled the 'Iraqi Resistance Support Conference' and was held in Istanbul. One report claimed that the real organizer of the conference was HARITH AL-DHARI'S organization. Conference speakers emphasized that the use of violence was acceptable in order to "save people under oppression", and that this was not extremism since "extremism is not accepted [by Islam]."

From 2009-2010, the GAAC held three more conferences, this time centered on Gaza and Palestine:

- ♦ The February 2009 conference focused on the creation of a "third Jihadist front" in Gaza – the first two being Afghanistan and Iraq, and the conference statement called the dispatch of foreign warships into "Muslim waters" a declaration of war. The over 300 attendees included GAAC officials as well as important leaders in the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD such as YOUSSEF QARADAWI and RACHID GHANNOUCHI, head of the ENNAHDA PARTY in Tunisia.
- ♦ The second conference was held in May and was billed as the 'World Popular Conference for the Support of Palestine'. Co-sponsors included several Turkish organizations affiliated with the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD network in Turkey, along with the GAAC. Conference participants included leaders of the Turkish BROTHERHOOD organizations, Western flotilla activists, numerous Salafi leaders and a wide variety of individuals tied to the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD, including YOUSSEF QARADAWI.
- ♦ In July 2010, a third conference was held by the GAAC in Beirut to attempt to re-launch the second Gaza Flotilla.

From 2011-2015, the GAAC was also involved with three conferences in connection with the events of the 'Arab Spring':

- ♦ A December 2011 conference in Tunisia was titled 'We Have Been Born Free' and was opened by GHANNOUCHI.
- ♦ In June 2013, a conference was held in Cairo, centered on the 'Syrian Problem' and was sponsored by a coalition that included the GAAC and the ALKARAMA FOUNDATION, which was founded by AL-NUAIMI. The most prominent conference participant was YOUSSEF QARADAWI, and the participants called on Sunni Muslims to support the Syrian rebels "through every kind of jihad."
- ♦ In September 2013, a conference was held in Istanbul, centered on events in Egypt, and was co-organized by the GAAC, several Salafi bodies, the INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS (IUMS), the ALKARAMA FOUNDATION, and the CORDOBA FOUNDATION, headed by ANAS ALTIKRITI, the key spokesman and lobbyist for the Muslim BROTHERHOOD in Britain - who moderated a conference session.
- ♦ In April 2015, that same coalition sponsored yet another conference establishing a new organization focusing on

human rights in Iraq. ALTIKRITI played a major role in the conference that also featured 64 Western and Arab organizations from Iraq, Algeria, Saudi Arabia and Sudan, including the THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL (UNHRC), HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, and the Turkish IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation. RABIH HADDAD, the Executive Director of GAAC, was also in attendance.

## GAAC TODAY

Following the death penalty issued by an Egyptian court against deposed President MOHAMED MORSI in May 2015, a group of organizations including the GAAC issued a statement protesting the decision. Other signatories included the new coalition referred to above and the CORDOBA FOUNDATION, headed by ANAS ALTIKRITI, the key spokesman and lobbyist for the Brotherhood in Britain. The GAAC Arabic website, as well as its Twitter account and Facebook page, are currently featuring a notice for an upcoming conference in Istanbul “In support of the Al-Aqsa Mosque”, was scheduled to have taken place from 30 July to 1 August of this year.

The GAAC website lists a telephone number and postal code in Beirut, Lebanon, as well as bank account information in Beirut and Lausanne, Switzerland.<sup>15 16</sup> The GAAC website until recently featured English language webpages consisting largely of news items - both written by the GAAC and extracted from Western news sources and consistent with the GAAC theme that Muslims are under attack by the US and its allies. The English language GAAC webpages stopped updating in 2014. The website’s Arabic pages are entirely different in nature, with the message always much more radical and aggressive. For over a year, it seems that the GAAC has been focusing on updating its Arabic website.

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GAAC

As this report demonstrates, key Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD leaders and their organizations have been intimately involved for twelve years with the GLOBAL ANTI-AGGRESSION CAMPAIGN (GAAC), an organization dominated by Salafists with a history of support for violence directed mainly at the United States and its allies. While Salafists have always appeared to have been in control of the GAAC, individuals tied to the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD have participated in its founding and re-launch - in one case serving as Vice-President of the organization - and have participated

actively and extensively in its international conferences. Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD leader YOUSSEF QARADAWI has given his imprimatur to the GAAC through his role in its founding and his own participation in GAAC conferences. Additionally, in 2013 the GAAC became part of a new coalition of politically active Salafists that includes QARADAWI’s INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS. This coalition also includes the CORDOBA FOUNDATION, headed by ANAS ALTIKRITI and is headed by the Deputy Chairman of the Turkish AK Party, also close to the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD.<sup>a 17</sup>

This role played in the GAAC can be seen as part of the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD’s reaction to the September 11, 2001 attacks. The BROTHERHOOD has always displayed an ambivalent reaction to 9/11 - sometimes condemning it, at other times denying the attackers were Arabs, and at times appearing to celebrate the event. However, by its participation in the founding of the GAAC in 2003, the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD threw its weight behind those who view the US as the enemy of Islam - rather than directing its efforts against the Jihadists such as those who attacked the Twin Towers. The GAAC President ABDUL RAHMAN BIN UMAIR AL-NUAIMI has made it clear that the GAAC views the US as a key enemy of Islam and that the purpose of the GAAC is to fight the US and its allies, a fight which by his admission included close GAAC cooperation with the violent insurgency directed against Iraqi and Coalition forces in Iraq. While this support of the Iraqi insurgency, along with conferences centered on both Iraq and Palestine, may appear to fit with the BROTHERHOOD’s notion of ‘defensive Jihad’, this report has also documented that GAAC leaders and key individuals have been providing various forms of support for Salafi Jihadist groups including AL-QAEDA. GAAC founders, officers, and trustees include those who have been convicted and/or accused of the following:

- ♦ Working for the precursor organization of AL-QAEDA.
- ♦ Providing operational guidance for attacks against Iraqi and Coalition forces in Iraq.
- ♦ Giving religious sanction to Iraqi insurgency tactics such as kidnapping and killing foreigners.
- ♦ Recruiting Jihadists in Kuwait for terrorist activity including for AL-QAEDA in Iraq.

<sup>a</sup> By posing as a human rights group, this coalition represents the new growing trend seen in the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD, which is the creation of new front organizations using the mantle of human rights - the subject of a future GMBRC report.

- ♦ Serving as religious leaders and financiers for a Kuwait-based terrorist cell that plotted to attack US and Kuwaiti targets.
- ♦ Issuing fatwas legitimizing suicide operations, including “bringing down an airplane on an important site that causes the enemy great casualties.”
- ♦ Praising OSAMA BIN LADEN as “the lion of Islam” and “an international Muslim leader.”
- ♦ Suggesting an anthrax attack on the US that was “guaranteed to kill 330,000 Americans within a single hour.”
- ♦ Recruiting for AL-QAEDA training camps and playing a key role in the purchase of weapons on behalf of AL-QAEDA and other terrorists.



- ◆ Providing money and material support and conveying communications to AL-QAEDA and its affiliates in Syria, Iraq, Somalia and Yemen.
- ◆ Providing funds to two US-designated AL-SHABAAB figures.
- ◆ Having extensive contacts with a close associate of OSAMA BIN LADEN, who was convicted for his role in the 1998 bombings of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

At least seven of these leading GAAC figures and/or their organizations have been designated as terrorists by the United States, the EU, and/or the United Nations in connection with the above activities - including both the GAAC President and Executive Director.<sup>a b</sup> Arabic media reports also identify at least three GAAC figures as funders of the so-called ISLAMIC STATE OF IRAQ AND THE LEVANT (ISIS).

This history of the relationship between the GAAC and the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD raises important issues by calling into question the usefulness of the conceptual categories being employed to describe these Islamist movements. As scholar Thomas Hegghammer explains:

“As theological concepts, “Salafism” and “Jihadi-Salafism” thus have limitations when it comes to analysing Islamist militancy. Put simply, the adjective “Salafi” highlights a distinction that is secondary in informing political behaviour such

as violence. When we say that a Jihadi has become Salafi (or vice-versa), it tells us virtually nothing about whom he considers his main enemy or where and how he is going to fight. In order to capture these differences, we may need to approach the phenomenon from a different angle.<sup>18</sup>

Similarly, the history of the GAAC suggests that the theological distinction between Salafists and MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD also says nothing about whom these groups consider to be the “main enemy and therefore nothing about their willingness to work together against those they perceive to be the enemy.”

As already noted, it is clear that the GAAC and its leaders view the US and its allies as the key enemy of Islam. This view is consistent with an introductory course given to new Muslim Brothers in Egypt in which the US is deemed to be the leader of an “unholy alliance of secular crusaders and Zionists and Muslims devoted to worldly interest.” The course also informs new Brothers that it is this US-led coalition which has “invented globalization in order to corrupt Muslims who are the last bulwark to its hegemony.”<sup>19</sup>

By its participation in the GAAC, the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD appears to have set aside its theological differences with the Salafists and the Salafi/Jihadis in order to join this fight against the US. This should call into question the entire history of Western efforts to engage with the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD - in a misguided attempt to find a reliable Islamic partner to help combat the very same groups with which the BROTHERHOOD has been cooperating.<sup>c</sup> It should also call into question the wisdom of supporting so called ‘political Salafists’ who are said to endorse democracy - as the report demonstrates that they too are not averse to cooperating with those engaged in, or supporting violence against the West and its allies.

a While it is true that the above activities do not appear to have been publicly sanctioned by, or carried out by the GAAC itself, it is also true that no instance was found where the GAAC or any of its leaders or members have condemned them. It should also be noted that the GAAC President AL-NUAIMI has said that part of the GAAC’s work takes place in secret - so it is not possible to know the extent to which the GAAC was also involved in these activities.

b In an excerpt from an interview available on AL-HAWALI’s personal website, he attempts to clarify what might be seen as a contradiction between the Jihadi obligation to act against an ‘aggression’ and what are said to be the peaceful nature of the actions of the Campaign. According to AL-HAWALI, there are very important means like the media and the law to answer this “comprehensive aggression” which targets Islam in all aspects. The first step is to reach a fully accepted statement as to the nature of this “aggression” and clarify the truths of Islam. The second step should hopefully come after one or two generations in uniting the Muslim Ummah [nation] and its speech under entities and governments; this would bring about the process that will launch the true Jihad on which the

Prophet had also spoken. See: <http://www.alhawali.com/main/5754-4-search-دور-الحملة-العالمية-في-المقاومة-والتوعية.html>

c For a history of these attempts, see: ‘Washington’s Secret History with the Muslim Brotherhood’. <http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2011/feb/05/washingtons-secret-history-muslim-brotherhood/>

# REPORT

## FOUNDING OF GAAC

The GLOBAL ANTI-AGGRESSION CAMPAIGN (GAAC) was founded in April 2003, shortly after the outbreak of the second Gulf War in Iraq. An Israeli scholar described the GAAC founding as representing “a new body of supporters of global Jihad”:

“ In April 28<sup>th</sup> 2003, a forum of 225 Islamist clerics, scholars, and businessmen established in Makkah/ Saudi Arabia a new body of supporters of global Jihad against the United States and the “Crusader” West. They opened a special web site – [www.maac.ws](http://www.maac.ws) -- in both Arabic and English, and published their existence through the Al-Jazirah TV channel. The new forum was meant to be the first global Islamist reaction to the American war against Iraq.<sup>21</sup>

The GAAC founding declaration explains that the organization was based on the premise that the Muslim “Ummah” [nation] was being subject to a “vicious aggression” by what the statement calls Zionists and the American administration:

“ The Muslim Ummah has been subjected to vicious aggression at the hands of the forces of tyranny and oppression, especially the Zionists and the American administration led by right-wing extremists, that are working to expand their control over nations and peoples, loot their resources, to destroy their will, and to change their educational curricula and social system.<sup>a b 22</sup>

The declaration goes on to explain that the purpose of the GAAC was to counter the aforementioned aggression:

“ In rejection of this aggression the signatories to this Declaration summoned to proclaim (The Global Anti-Aggression Campaign), as a framework in which to unite the efforts of members of the Ummah in alerting the community concerning its right to

*self-defense and resistance to the aggression of its enemies in all possible legitimate and effective means. The founding of this campaign shall be in accordance with the instructions of Allah and His Messenger – peace and blessing be upon him – to cooperate in righteousness and piety, and to come to the aid of the oppressed and repel aggressors.*

At its August 2003 launching conference, several committees were established, and the Campaign’s activities were divided into regions to encompass 39 countries from which the founding members came. The GAAC founder SAFAR AL-HAWALI noted the important role played by Islamist parties in the founding of the Campaign, including the Pakistani parties whose leaders helped to found the Campaign. The peaceful nature of the Campaign’s activities was highlighted, together with the assertion that its activities do not violate any international conventions.<sup>23</sup>

In 2003, the same scholar described the core of the GAAC founders as “persons who are known for supporting the anti-Western Islamist struggle of the school of global Jihad” – some of whom were very popular among the generation of young supporters of AL-QAEDA in the Arab world:

“ The list of the founders of the new forum includes several prominent clerics and scholars who belong to the Saudi Islamist opposition, such as Ibrahim al-Harithy, Sheikh Salman al-Awdah, the brothers ‘Awadh and ‘Aidh al-Qarni, or Abdallah al-Shanqiti. Many of the Saudi founders are university lecturers, businessmen, and lawyers, who could very well represent the elite of the Saudi society. The same with the Yemeni and Egyptian founders. A new element to note here are 21 Iraqi clerics and scholars, among them several Shi’is, who could join such an initiative only following the release of Iraq from Saddam Hussein by “the American enemy.”<sup>24</sup>

Since the time of that writing, more comprehensive lists of the GAAC founding members have become available. The lists identify as many as 495 individuals, among them Salafi, Salafi-Jihadi, MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD and HAMAS leaders – some of whom are designated terrorists in the US

a The entire declaration is attached as Appendix 1 of this report.

b The Arabic version can be found at: <http://alarabnews.com/alshaab/GIF/02-05-2003/bayan.htm>



Picture taken at the GAAC Relaunch Conference, February 23rd–25th in Doha, Qatar. The picture shows (starting from left) Muhammad Bashar Al-Faithi, official spokesman of the Association of Muslim Scholars (Iraq), Khaled Mashaal, Abdul Rahman Al Nuaimi, Abdullah Nafisi

and Europe.<sup>25 26 27</sup> While most of these individuals are from Saudi Arabia and other Middle Eastern states, many others are based in Western countries such as Australia, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, Switzerland, Canada, the US, the UK and the Netherlands. The most prominent founding member of the GAAC is Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD leader and HAMAS spiritual patron YOUSSEF QARADAWI, discussed above. Also a founder, and profiled later in this report, is Saudi Sheikh SAFAR AL-HAWALI - the original Secretary-General of the GAAC and a key leader of the AWAKENING MOVEMENT [Al-Sahwa], during the 1990s, who is generally regarded as one of the main mentors of OSAMA BIN LADEN.<sup>a 28 29</sup>

Another significant GAAC founder was the late HARITH AL-DHARI, former head of the ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS (AMS) in Iraq. He was designated by the US in March 2010 for providing financial, material, or technological support, and financial or other services to or in support of AL-QAEDA in Iraq and Jordan, “including operational guidance for attacks against Iraqi Forces and Coalition Forces in Iraq.”<sup>30</sup> In 2007, AL-DHARI was described by Time Magazine as the “spiritual head” of the Iraqi insurgency which carried out various acts of terrorism and at one time openly supported AL-QAEDA:

“As leader of the Association of Muslim Scholars (AMS), the largest Sunni clerical body, al-Dari is the sect’s most prominent figure in Iraq. Many U. S. military commanders and Iraqi government officials believe he is the spiritual head of the insurgency, and accuse his son Muthanna of personally commanding a deadly terror group known as the Brigades of the 1920 Revolution (named after an anti-British uprising led by Harith al-Dari’s grandfather). Both al-Daris deny direct connection with the Brigades, but say Sunni insurgent groups are part of a legitimate, nationalist resistance to occupation. He has given religious sanction to some of the insurgency’s more controversial tactics, such as kidnapping and killing foreigners, citing precedents from Islamic history. In the past, Harith al-Dari and other AMS figures have given at least tacit backing — and occasionally open support — to al-Qaeda, believing the terror group would help the Sunni insurgency achieve its goal of driving American forces from Iraq. But in recent months, many Sunni leaders have grown uncomfortable with al-Qaeda’s indiscriminate bombing campaign, which targets Iraqi civilians more often than U. S. forces. Now, al-Dari says, insurgent groups “have changed their view of Al-Qaeda.”<sup>31</sup>

In a March 2010 interview, the GAAC Secretary-General ABDUL RAHMAN BIN UMAIR AL-NUAIMI was asked about the AMS. His reply indicates that the GAAC was intimately involved with the group’s activities:

“How do you look at anti-occupation forces including the Association of Muslim Scholars, and its role in resisting the American occupation of Iraq?”

“The role of these forces is essential and leading role in this matter specifically the Association of Muslim Scholars in Iraq (HEYET), its representative Sheikh Harith al-Dhari. HEYET is one of the major supporters of the global campaign to resist aggression (Qawim), and we coordinate with them in all aspects of resistance to American occupation in Iraq.”<sup>32</sup>

In a video posted the same month of his death, YOUSSEF QARADAWI mourned HARITH AL-DHARI.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>34</sup> QARADAWI said he had known AL-DHARI for many years, adding that AL-DHARI had been a long-time member of his INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS (IUMS) and that he had always

a The AWAKENING MOVEMENT is sometimes cited as an example of the ‘Politicos’ sub-type of Salafism. See: [http://archives.cerium.ca/IMG/pdf/WIKTOROWICZ\\_2006\\_Anatomy\\_of\\_the\\_Salafi\\_Movement.pdf](http://archives.cerium.ca/IMG/pdf/WIKTOROWICZ_2006_Anatomy_of_the_Salafi_Movement.pdf)



seen in AL-DHARI the representative of the “pure truth” who was loyal to Allah alone and committed to Jihad.

Five leading Kuwaiti Salafists were also among the GAAC founders: among these was HAMID AL-ALI, an influential cleric and former Secretary-General of the Salafi Movement in Kuwait.<sup>35 36 37</sup> In 2007, a US think tank described AL-ALI as “one of the leading voices of the jihadi movement” who had been arrested in Kuwait after he published fatwas declaring Kuwait and other governments non-believers [*kuffar*] for supporting what he believed was the non-Islamic countries’ aggression against the Muslim world.<sup>a 138</sup> In July 2006, the US Treasury designated AL-ALI as a:

“*Kuwait-based terrorist facilitator who has provided financial support for al Qaida-affiliated groups seeking to commit acts of terrorism in Kuwait, Iraq, and elsewhere.*”<sup>39</sup>

According to the US Treasury, AL-ALI was involved in recruiting Jihadists in Kuwait for terrorist activity, including for AL-QAEDA in Iraq, and paying their travel expenses. He was also a religious leader and financier for a Kuwait-based terrorist cell that plotted to attack US and Kuwaiti targets in early 2005; he provided opportunities for potential recruits to obtain explosives training in 2004; he used his website to provide technical advice for making explosives, chemical, and biological weapons; and he issued fatwas legitimizing suicide operations, including “by bringing down an airplane on an important site that causes the enemy great casualties.” Al-Ali was further designated by the United Nations Security Council in 2007 for the same reasons, and in 2008 the EU placed him under “restrictive measures”, in connection with associations to OSAMA BIN LADEN, the AL-QAEDA network, and/or the TALIBAN.<sup>40 41</sup> AL-ALI has also written an article praising the ‘martyred’ AL-QAEDA operative MUSAB AL-ZARQAWI. In 2009 he urged Somalia to banish all foreign forces and resort to Jihad, praising the Somali “mujahidin” who were fighting what he called the American-backed Ethiopian intervention.<sup>42 43</sup>

Another of the Kuwaiti Salafist founders of GAAC was ABDALLAH AL-NAFISI - a Kuwaiti professor and former member of parliament best known for his 2009 suggestion for an anthrax attack on the US. AL-NAFISI said that such an attack was “guaranteed to kill 330,000 Americans within a single hour if it is properly spread in population centers there”, adding “9/11 will be small change

in comparison.”<sup>b 44 45</sup> AL-NAFISI also referred to “so-called terrorists” such as Mullah Omar as “the world’s most God-fearing people.”<sup>46</sup> In 2001, AL-NAFISI was listed as a member of the board of advisors of the INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC POLITICAL THOUGHT (IPT), a UK-based organization headed by HAMAS supporter and UK MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD figure AZZAM TAMIMI.<sup>47 48</sup> Other IPT advisors at that time who are also mentioned in this report are YOUSSEF QARADAWI and FAYSAL MAWLAWI.

Yet a third Kuwaiti founder of GAAC was HAKIM AL-MUTAIRI, described by various sources as an Islamist graduate in religious studies at Birmingham University - who went on to become the leader of the Salafist movement in Kuwait.<sup>49 50</sup> According to a British academic, in 2008 AL-MUTAIRI founded the Salafist UMMA PARTY, described by the same academic as a Salafist transnational movement seeking to use the electoral process in order to “create a Muslim society, implement Sharia and free the Gulf from the presence of foreign troops.” In 2011, AL-MUTAIRI reportedly praised OSAMA BIN LADEN as “the lion of Islam” and “an international Muslim leader” whose heroism will be properly celebrated once all Muslims are freed from secular rule.”<sup>51</sup>

In addition to the above Salafi/Salafi Jihadi leaders, there were also a large number of Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD leaders who were founders of GAAC. In addition to YOUSSEF QARADAWI, already identified above, another prominent example is cleric ABD-AL-MAJID AL-ZINDANI, a leader in the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD of Yemen with close ties to QARADAWI - having served on the board of QARADAWI’s UNION OF GOOD.<sup>52</sup> In February 2004, the US Treasury designated AL-ZINDANI as a terrorist, stating that he had a long history of working with OSAMA BIN LADEN, and serving as one of his “spiritual advisors.”<sup>53</sup> The Treasury said that in that capacity, AL-ZINDANI influences and supports many terrorist causes - including recruiting for AL-QAEDA training camps and playing a key role in the purchase of weapons on behalf of AL-QAEDA and other terrorists. The Treasury also said that AL-ZINDANI served as a contact for ANSAR AL-ISLAM (AI), a Kurdish-based terrorist organization linked to AL-QAEDA and designated by the EU. Other notable GAAC founders tied to the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD and/or HAMAS include:

a Kuffar (Kafir, Arabic: كافر) is an important Qur’anic concept for distinguishing believers and non-believers of Islam.

b ABDALLAH AL-NAFISI has also been described by one scholar as a “former Ihkwan.” See: <http://bit.ly/1cOwNm5>

- ♦ AHMED ABU LABAN (Denmark, deceased, played critical role in 2006 cartoon crisis)<sup>54</sup>
- ♦ AHMED HUSSEIN GHANEM (Sweden, one-time head of the ISLAMISKA FÖRBUNDET I SVERIGE)<sup>55</sup>
- ♦ ESSAM AL-ARIAN (Egypt, leader in the Egyptian MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD)<sup>56</sup>
- ♦ FAYSAL MAWLAWI (Lebanon, deceased, EUROPEAN COUNCIL FOR FATWA AND RESEARCH)<sup>57 58</sup>
- ♦ HAMED BITAWI (Palestine, HAMAS)<sup>59</sup>
- ♦ HAMZA MANSOUR (Jordan, ISLAMIC ACTION FRONT)<sup>60 61</sup>
- ♦ HAMAM SA'ID (Jordan, MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD)<sup>62</sup>
- ♦ ISHAQ FARHAN (Jordan, founder of ISLAMIC ACTION FRONT)<sup>a 63</sup>
- ♦ MOHAMMED AKRAM ADLOUNI (Lebanon, AL-QUDS INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTION)<sup>64 65</sup>
- ♦ YUNUS AL-ASTAL (Palestine, HAMAS)<sup>66</sup>
- ♦ MOHAMMAD SAWALHA (United Kingdom, MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD/HAMAS)<sup>67 68</sup>
- ♦ TARIQ SUWAIDAN (Kuwait, MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD)<sup>69</sup>
- ♦ YUSUF MOHAMMED IBRAM (Switzerland, EUROPEAN COUNCIL FOR FATWA AND RESEARCH).<sup>70 71 72</sup>

Also included among the GAAC founding members were two leaders of the JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI, the Islamist political organization and movement located mainly in Pakistan and with offshoots in other countries such as Bangladesh:<sup>b</sup>

- ♦ QADI HUSSEIN AHMED (Pakistan, deceased, former head of JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI)<sup>73</sup>
- ♦ GHULAM AZAM (Bangladesh, deceased, former JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI leader).<sup>74</sup>

Two leaders of the PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD (PIJ) were also included:

- ♦ MOHAMMED AL-HINDI

a Also a director of the INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT (IIIT), part of the US MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD.

b The JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI (JEI) was founded in 1941 and is Pakistan's oldest religious party. The party had its origins in the thoughts of Maulana Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi (1903-79), the most important Islamist intellectual in the history of Southeast Asia. Maududi was also a major influence on the global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD - with whom the JEI has long enjoyed close relations.

- ♦ A B D U L L A H AL-SHAMI.

In addition to the founders, a GAAC webpage from that time identifies the organization's officers, all of whom were Saudis:<sup>c 75</sup>



- ♦ SAFAR AL-HAWALI, Secretary-General (GAAC founder, profiled below)
- ♦ KHALED BIN ABDUL RAHMAN AL-OJAIMI, Deputy-Secretary-General (WORLD ASSEMBLY OF MUSLIM YOUTH)<sup>d 76</sup>
- ♦ MUHSIN BIN HUSSEIN AL-AWAJI, Official Spokesman (prominent liberal Islamic scholar once jailed for his criticisms of the Saudi government and currently under investigation for his criticism of the late Saudi king's policies towards the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD).<sup>77 78</sup>

The webpage also identifies the GAAC Executive Committee members at that time - all of whom were also Saudi.<sup>e</sup>

## 2005 RE-LAUNCH

According to various news reports, in February 2005 the GAAC held a three-day conference in Doha, Qatar, that can be described as a 're-launch' of the organization.<sup>79</sup> The conference was described in one report as follows:

“An international forum of Islamic scholars has agreed to set up a committee to counteract aggression against the Islamic world. A 31-member secretariat with representatives from several countries will work out an action plan for the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign, which is a forum of Islamic clerics who have said the Islamic world is under threat from the West. “Most Muslims have not come to the realisation that the Third World War is not military, to be fought from the air in Apache helicopters or on a battlefield,” said Safar Bin Abdul Rahman Al Hawali of Saudi Arabia, the campaign chairman. “This is a religious war, hostile to our deeply entrenched values and morals in all Muslim lands. “The ummah [community]

c All three listed have Saudi telephone numbers.

d Aka KHALID AL-HUJAIMI, KHALID BIN ABDUL-RAHMAN LADJIMI, خالد بن عبد الرحمن العجمي

e The members are attached as Appendix 1 of this report.

*of Muslims from every colour, nation and race is ignorant about the plight of men, women and children who are under attack from forces alien to Islam.” In its final declaration, the forum called on all Muslims to unify and counteract aggression in all its forms by peaceful means. Participants said this could be achieved through peaceful means, including politics, diplomacy, education, information and media campaigns to have a dialogue with the West. The declaration also focused on the role of the leadership in guarding the community against aggressors. Participants also drafted the campaign’s constitution and agreed the committee would act accordingly. While calling for more information on the issue, female journalists were asked not to approach the conference’s participants.<sup>80</sup>*

According to a Qatari news media report, the conference was headed by ABDUL RAHMAN BIN UMAIR AL-NUAIMI, described as the head of the organizing committee and chairman of the ARABIC CENTRE FOR STUDIES AND RESEARCHES, and identified as the new GAAC Secretary-General.<sup>a b81</sup> Other reports identify various Salafi and Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD leaders participating in the re-launch, including:<sup>c 82 83 84</sup>

- ♦ YOUSSEF QARADAWI (see above)
- ♦ ABBAS AL MADANI (Algeria, ALGERIAN LIBERATION FRONT Leader)
- ♦ ABDUL RAZZAQ SHAYJI (Kuwait, GAAC founder, spokesman for the Salafi movement)<sup>85</sup>
- ♦ ABDUL WAHAB MESEIRI (Egypt, author of an anti-Semitic encyclopedia)<sup>86</sup>
- ♦ ALI SADREDDINE AL-BAYANOUNI (Syrian MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD leader)
- ♦ FAHMI HUWAYDI (Egypt, former Al-Ahram writer, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS)<sup>87 88</sup>
- ♦ ISHAQ FARHAN (Jordan, founder of GAAC and ISLAMIC ACTION FRONT)<sup>d 89</sup>

a Other GAAC officers were also identified and are discussed below.

b A conference photo reveals that the conference was sponsored by the ARABIC CENTRE FOR STUDIES AND RESEARCHES. See <http://www.ye1.org/forum/threads/93210/>

c Where affiliations are not referenced, they are contained within the original source identifying the individual in question.

d Also a director of the INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT (IIIT), part of the US MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD. See: <http://www.globalmbwatch.com/international-institute-of-islamic-thought/>

- ♦ KHALED MESHAAL (HAMAS political leader)<sup>90</sup>
- ♦ MOHAMMAD ALI AL JOZO (Lebanon, mufti)
- ♦ SALMAN AL-AWDA (Saudi Arabia, GAAC founder, profiled below)
- ♦ SULAIMAN ABU NARO (Sudan, Emir of the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD)<sup>91</sup>
- ♦ TAISIER AL TAMIMI (Palestine, chief mufti of Palestine).

In July 2007, the GAAC Executive Director RABIH HADDAD described the organization as:<sup>92</sup>

“..... a framework that coordinates the efforts of individuals and institutions in the Muslim Ummah (Nation) to assert its right of self defense and to resist aggression in a civilized, peaceful manner.

However, in 2010 the GAAC Secretary-General ABDUL RAHMAN BIN UMAIR AL-NUAIMI, made it clear in an interview that the purpose of the GAAC is to fight against the United States and that at least part of its work is conducted in secret:

HEYET Net - The enemies of Islam today are many. Even, the list of enemies includes near before far. In your opinion who are the enemies of Islam today?

Al Nuaymi - Apparent enemy of Muslims and Islam today is America. They are looking in every nook and corner includes a bit of Islam in different parts of the ground, to launch war on it. There is no doubt it in this matter. Then there are the followers of America in the Islamic world who carry out U. S. policy. These are also the enemies of this religion, and Muslims in general.

HEYET Net - What is your evidence for that?

Al Nuaymi - In regards of America, it does not need evidence. What it did against Muslims is clear. However for their followers, some of them declare this publicly, and repeating that it is forced and others remain silent and exercise this role.

HEYET Net - What is your position on them?

Al Nuaymi - We, as Global Anti-Aggression Campaign, try to explain and show this picture, and expose these enemies and break the siege imposed on this Ummah. By clarifying our vision as Muslims the reality which we live, and this fear of Islam and Muslims, we must know how to deal with it.



They think and believe that Islam restore humanity to the Middle Ages, and people who believed such are a high level of politicians, they look at Islam from the perspective of another.



HEYET Net - Is there coming projects to support and assist the Iraqi resistance?

Al Nuaymi - This is what we hope, work on and seek it. But we do not want to reveal about these things. They are secret, so that the work will be comprehensive without external influences.<sup>93</sup>

## GAAC LEADERS

Based on various sources, the following individuals are known to be or have been officers of GAAC since its re-launch in 2005:<sup>94 95 96</sup>

- ♦ SAFAR ABDUL-RAHMAN AL-HAWALI - President (profiled below)
- ♦ ABDUL RAHMAN BIN UMAIR AL-NUAIMI - Secretary-General (profiled below)
- ♦ WALEED AL-TABTABAI - Vice President (profiled below)<sup>97</sup>
- ♦ ABDUL LATIF ARABIYAT - Vice President (Jordan, MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD)<sup>98</sup>
- ♦ KHALED BIN ABDUL RAHMAN AL-OJAIMI - Vice President (WORLD ASSEMBLY OF MUSLIM YOUTH)<sup>a 99</sup>
- ♦ MOHAMMED BIN HAMED AL-AHMARI - Deputy Secretary-General (Saudi/Qatar, former Chairman ISLAMIC ASSEMBLY OF NORTH AMERICA, General Supervisor of two websites: alasr.ws and ar.islamway.net)<sup>b 100 101</sup>
- ♦ ABBAS AROUA - Deputy Secretary-General and head of the Human Rights Committee (Switzerland, medical physicist, co-founder of ALKARAMA FOUNDATION (discussed below)<sup>102</sup>
- ♦ MOHAMMED ABDUH IBRAHIM ALI - Deputy Secretary-General and head of the Economic Committee (Egypt, scholar at AL-AZHAR named in Arabic media reports as an ISIS financier)<sup>c 103 104</sup>
- ♦ RABIH HADDAD - Executive Director (profiled below)
- ♦ ZUHEIR AL-UBAIDI - Political and Foreign Relations Committee (Lebanese academic)<sup>105</sup>
- ♦ YAHYA ABU-ZAKARIA - Media Committee (Journalist, Algeria)<sup>d 106</sup>
- ♦ UMAR ABDULLAH - Cultural Committee (Secretary-General of the Engineers Community, Egypt)<sup>107</sup>
- ♦ SHAHATA MAHROUS (Family and Society Committee)
- ♦ ALI ABU AL-SUKAR - Anti-Normalization Committee (Jordan, ISLAMIC ACTION FRONT).<sup>108</sup>

GAAC webpages also list Trustees of the organization, most of whom are Salafis but notably also includes MOHAMMAD SAWALHA, a former Hamas commander close to the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD in the UK, and ALI MUHAMMAD SALABI, the so-called spiritual guide of the Libyan revolution and close associate of YOUSSEF QARADAWI.<sup>109 110 111 112</sup> Other GAAC trustees include:

- ♦ HASSAN BIN ALI AL-SHARIF AL-KETTANI (Morocco, a former ideological leader of the SALAFIYYA JIHADIYYA in Morocco who was imprisoned in connection with the 2003 Casablanca bombings and pardoned by the King in 2011.<sup>113</sup> Among his stated tutors are 'Wahhabi' scholars such as SAFAR AL-HAWALI and ABDUL AZIZ BIN BAZ and MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD leaders including MUHAMMAD QUTB, SAYYID SABIQ and ABD-AL-MAJID AL-ZINDANI, discussed above.)<sup>114</sup>
- ♦ MAGDY KORKOR (Egypt, an engineer who served as Secretary-General of the Egyptian ISLAMIC LABOR PARTY, afterwards General-Coordinator of the opposition KEFAYA group, and more recently Secretary-General of the now dissolved MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD affiliated Independent [Istiqlal] Party)<sup>e 115 116</sup>
- ♦ HAKIM AL-MUTAIRI (Kuwait, 'democracy' activist, supporter of Jihad in Syria, in 2011 praised OSAMA

a Aka KHALID AL-HUJAIMEE, KHALID BIN ABDUL-RAHMAN LADJIMI, خالد بن عبد الرحمن العجيمي

b In 2004, the US government accused the IANA as one of the websites that "accommodated materials that advocated violence against the United States." See: <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/04/27/us/computer-student-on-trial-over-muslim-web-site-work.html>

c Several Sermons by Mohammed Abduh Ibrahim are available on the YouTube channel of Ahl Al-Sunna wa'l Jamaa Mosque in Al-Maadi, Cairo, see <https://www.youtube.com/user/CheikhMABdu/playlists>

d His writings of the last few years adopt an anti-Islamist tone.

e His CV says he was a GAAC Trustee from 2005 "to date", and the CV appears to be current as of 2011.

BIN LADEN as “the lion of Islam”, and “an international Muslim leader”)<sup>117 118 119</sup>

- ♦ MOHAMMED AYASH AL-KUBAISI (Iraq, COMMITTEE OF THE ULEMA, GAAC founder, named in Arabic media reports as an ISIS financier)<sup>120 121</sup>
- ♦ ABDUL SALAM DAUD AL-KUBAISI (Iraq, GAAC founder, former head of the ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS)<sup>122</sup>
- ♦ MOHAMMED MUSA AL-AMIRI AL-BAIDANI (Yemen, co-founder of the RASHAD UNION PARTY, described as Yemen’s first Salafi political party and led by ABD AL-WAHHAB MUHAMMAD ‘ABDUL RAHMAN AL-HUMAYQANI and ABDUL MAJID AL-ZINDANI, both US-designated terrorists.<sup>123 124</sup>
- ♦ HASSAN AHMED DOKKI (UAE, co-founder of the UMMAH PARTY and fugitive from the UAE living in Turkey)<sup>a 125 126</sup>
- ♦ ADEL AL-MAAWDEH (Bahrain, a former long-term MP who is seen as “one of the prominent faces of the Salafist movement.”<sup>127</sup>
- ♦ ABDALLAH AL-NAFISI (GAAC founder described above).

## 1. SAFAR ABDUL-RAHMAN AL-HAWALI (SECRETARY-GENERAL)

SAFAR ABDUL-RAHMAN AL-HAWALI was born in 1950 in the Al-Baha region of Saudi Arabia. He began his higher studies at the ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY OF MEDINA and then at the UMM AL-QURA UNIVERSITY in Mecca, where he obtained a master’s degree and then a doctorate in 1986 with a thesis on the topic of secularism.<sup>128</sup> At one point, the exiled Egyptian MUHAMMAD QUTB, brother of the infamous MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD ideologue SAYYID QUTB, was a prominent member of the faculty at the ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY OF MEDINA, as well as at the KING ABDULAZIZ UNIVERSITY IN JEDDA, and he became AL-HAWALI’s supervisor.<sup>129</sup> AL-HAWALI went on to accept a teaching position at UMM AL-QURA - where his teachings centered on the defense from what he saw as Western attempts, chiefly by the US, to introduce secularization to the Islamic world.<sup>130</sup>

AL-HAWALI became best known in the 1990’s as a co-leader with SALMAN AL-AWDA of the ‘Awakening Movement’ – described by a French scholar as “a religious movement known for its open support of rebellion against the Saudi monarchy and support of AL-QAEDA.”<sup>b 131</sup> Consistent with the nature of the GAAC, the ideology of the AWAKENING MOVEMENT has been described by one scholar as:

“...an amalgam of Wahabbi conservatism and Muslim Brotherhood pragmatism, [which] grew on Saudi University campuses from the early 1970’s onward under the influence of exiled teachers from the Egyptian and Syrian Muslim Brotherhood.”<sup>132</sup>

During the 1991 Gulf War, the two clerics agitated against the Saudi regime - along with the US and Israel - for accommodating American troops on Saudi territory.<sup>133</sup> In 1994, AL-HAWALI and AL-AWDA were arrested and imprisoned by the Saudi government, following a demonstration in AL-AWDA’s hometown in an action that led to rioting

a The UMMAH PARTY was created in 2013 as an outgrowth of AL ISLAH, the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD in the UAE. The group’s writings are said to “reconcile Salafism’s borderless struggle for global Islamization with the Brotherhood’s more tailored approach of transforming countries one at a time.” See: <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/07/the-muslim-brotherhoods-more-frightening-offshoot/277786/>

b The AWAKENING MOVEMENT was reported to have played a significant role in shaping OSAMA BIN LADEN’S ‘Jihadist mindset’. Also, 9/11 hijacker SAEED AL-GHAMDI is reported to have video-taped praise for both AL-HAWALI and AL-AWDA in his will. MOUNIR EL-MOTTASEDEQ, convicted of assisting MOHAMMAD ATTA and other members of the ‘Hamburg cell’ that planned 9/11, made repeated calls to AL-HAWALI’S Riyadh offices in the months prior to 9/11. See: <http://www.investigativeproject.org/171/the-saudi-hate-machine>

by their supporters. In July 1999, the two were released and placed under legal supervision, but they continued their political activities in connection with events outside the Kingdom.<sup>a 134</sup> These activities included justifying the 9/11 attacks as a response to the US missile strikes against AL-QAEDA following the 1998 US Embassy bombings in Africa; calls for Jihad against the US and its allies; and signing a 2003 “open letter to the Iraqi people”, calling for a defensive Jihad against the US in Iraq.<sup>135</sup>

On 15 October 2001, six weeks after the 9/11 attacks, AL-HAWALI wrote an open letter to President George W. Bush that included the following excerpts:<sup>136</sup>

- ♦ I write to you as a member of an oppressed and persecuted community ... It is regrettable that the United States, a nation founded by immigrants fleeing persecution, has taken for itself the position of the Roman Empire which persecuted the followers of Christ ...
- ♦ Iraq violated the same or fewer international agreements then [sic] those that Israel has and continues to violate. Iraq's excuse in doing so was similar to those used by America to incorporate Texas into its territory. As for Israel's excuse for occupying Palestine, it is worse than the British justification for keeping America as a British colony, and more repulsive than your ancestor's [sic] excuse for the genocide of the American Indian! ...
- ♦ [W]hen America decides that someone is a terrorist or an extremist it places them in the position of legendary heroes in the eyes of the oppressed and the wretched who need some airing after their long defeat and subservience ...
- ♦ Does the American administration have a conscience? Does this biased stance which has dismayed the entire world have any justification and will it ever end? Is America Greater Israel or is Israel Lesser America? ...
- ♦ We are used to America to inflict [sic] deep wounds and then putting a small bandage on them, but your present attack on Afghanistan has violently removed those bandages and opened a wound in the heart of every Muslim....
- ♦ You have granted an everlasting pardon to yourselves and to the Zionist State, and to every hostile tyrant, and you have issued an excommunication for anyone who hesitates to join your endless hostility by describing them as terrorists or supporters of terrorism....

This letter was followed one year later in October 2002 by a far milder letter addressed to the US Congress, asking that they refrain from waging war on Iraq.<sup>137</sup> However, following

a AL-AWDA in particular became very close to QARADAWI.

the 2003 Iraq War, AL-HAWALI and AL-AWDA were among 26 Saudi scholars who signed an open letter urging Iraqis to support Jihad against US-led forces.<sup>b 138</sup> Despite these positions and his ties to AL-QAEDA, in November 2003 AL-HAWALI was part of a group of more than 40 Saudi scholars who met with then Crown Prince Abdullah to discuss mediation between the government and those waging a campaign to overthrow the Saudi regime. A news report covering the meeting cited AL-HAWALI as saying:

“ Our problem as Muslims is with those who seek to destroy us and our religion – and they are well known – not with the Arab and Islamic governments in our countries.<sup>139</sup>

SAFAR AL-HAWALI is known to have suffered from serious medical issues; therefore the level of his actual involvement in running the campaign is unclear.<sup>140</sup> Usually AL-HAWALI'S blessings are delivered at the opening of the international conferences that the GAAC has been organizing in the past few years, and which are discussed later in this report. His last public reported appearance was in December 2011 at a conference in Tunisia, discussed later in this report. Giving the conference opening address, he was reported to have said:

“ The regimes, which the winds of revolution have not reached, ought to learn the lesson from what has taken place, reconcile with their peoples, undertake comprehensive reforms, open the field for the establishment of political parties and professional syndicates, and hold free and impartial elections.<sup>c 141</sup>

At the time, the report said that AL-HAWALI was still running the GAAC.

## 2. ABDUL RAHMAN BIN UMAIR AL-NUAIMI (PRESIDENT)

An online bio describes ABDUL RAHMAN BIN UMAIR AL-NUAIMI as a former Qatari history professor at the University of Doha, who participated in the creation of a number of humanitarian and human rights organizations

b Most of the 26 Saudi scholars were reportedly receiving salaries from the Saudi government, but it is not clear if these included AL-HAWALI or AL-AWDA. See: [http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle\\_East/GI08Ak01.html](http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle_East/GI08Ak01.html)

c The report noted that this statement was in complete contradiction to everything that AL-HAWALI had said in the past about democracy – including calling the democracy and freedom of the West as “freedom of lust.”

and research institutes in the Arab World.<sup>a 142</sup> According to a Canadian newspaper, AL-NUAIMI had also been an adviser to the Qatari government and at one time president of the Qatar Football Association.<sup>143</sup> A UAE newspaper adds that AL-NUAIMI says he had been banned from entering several Arab countries because of his criticism of them - with a colleague naming Saudi Arabia as one of those countries.<sup>144</sup> A Qatari newspaper notes that he heads an Arab Studies Center in Doha, specializes in studying social and political affairs in the Arab world, and has published several booklets.<sup>145</sup>

However, substantial evidence suggests that rather than being a human rights activist, AL-NUAIMI is actually an Islamist whose organizational affiliations exist to serve Islamist goals. This evidence includes the following:

- ♦ The Facebook page of the Arab Studies Center, referred to above, has published articles and papers concerning various issues of Islamist interest as well as anti-Western and anti-Zionist content.<sup>b 146</sup>
- ♦ According to a Qatari newspaper, AL-NUAIMI was arrested in 2009 after he pressed the Qatari Consultative Council to oppose co-education at the Qatar University, and he was released three years later.<sup>147</sup>
- ♦ AL-NUAIMI was also a founding member of the prominent Qatari charity SHEIKH EID BIN MOHAMMAD AL THANI CHARITABLE FOUNDATION,<sup>148</sup> named after a member of the country's ruling family and known to have been an original member of the Union of Good. The latter is headed by Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD leader YOUSSEF QARADAWI, and was designated by the US as a terrorist organization for the funding of HAMAS.<sup>149 150 151</sup>
- ♦ In November 2011, Egyptian media reported that Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD leader YOUSSEF QARADAWI had arrived in Cairo to follow the incidents in Tahrir Square, and that he was accompanied by AL-NUAIMI.<sup>152</sup>

AL-NUAIMI is probably best known as a founding and former member of the board of trustees of the FONDATION ALKARAMA (ALKARAMA FOUNDATION), based in Geneva, Switzerland, and describing itself as an "independent human rights organization established in 2004 to

assist all those in the Arab World subjected to or at risk of extra-judicial executions, disappearances, torture and arbitrary detention."<sup>c d 153</sup> An ALKARAMA FOUNDATION webpage says that the organization was created as a Swiss association in July 2004 by Qatari and Algerian human rights defenders ABDUL RAHMAN BIN UMAIR AL-NUAIMI, RACHID MESLI and ABBAS AROUA, in order to address alleged human rights violations in Arab states. ALKARAMA was established because at the time, UN human rights mechanisms were said to rarely apply in the Arab world.<sup>e154</sup> The page goes on to say that ALKARAMA would act through UN mechanisms and suggests that these mechanisms would be used to serve Islamist goals:

“..... raise awareness of the UN's human rights protection mechanisms in the Arab civil society, including amongst social groups who often viewed these instruments as ineffective or understood rights as “Western concepts”, in particular Islamist groups, political opposition parties and journalists.

A Qatari newspaper report said that according to the ALKARAMA FOUNDATION, it has been supported since its creation by donations from the individual members of the Foundation's Council; and that as of 2007, following its 'restructuring' as a Swiss foundation, the Council began collecting funds from other unidentified private Arab donors.<sup>155</sup>

An ALKARAMA webpage provides a chronology of the organization's human rights activities from 2007. A Qatari media report has said that the organization worked closely with international human rights organizations, such as the United Nations, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.<sup>156 157</sup> However, a government-owned UAE newspaper noted that ALKARAMA regularly



a Qatar University said he has had no affiliation with the university since 2009. See: <http://dohanews.co/us-adds-qatari-human-rights-advocate-to-terrorist-watch-list/>

b Aka المركز العربي للدراسات والأبحاث, Arab Studies Centre in Doha.

c ALKARAMA was not actually registered in Geneva until 19 June 2007. See: <http://ge.ch/hrcintapp/externalCompanyReport.action?companyOfcId13=CH-660-1422007-28&ofcLanguage=4>. An ALKARAMA webpage says the decision to register as a Foundation under Swiss law was taken in the interests of “greater stability and transparency, by enabling the Swiss authorities to review the organization's financial records on a yearly basis.”

d Alkarama means ‘dignity’ in Arabic.

e ABBAS AROUA was identified above as the GAAC Deputy Secretary-General.



criticizes US allies in the Arab world - including the UAE, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. Another Qatari newspaper report adds that the Foundation is “believed to have had an active role in changing regimes”, and it “fully supported unrest and revolutions in Arab countries, in some cases, as the organization said, assisting activists and leaders in fomenting them.”<sup>158 159</sup> ALKARAMA was a signatory to at least one petition of the so-called ‘BDS Movement’, a global campaign aiming to isolate Israel politically and economically, heavily supported by international far-left activists and the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD.<sup>160 161</sup>

From 2012-2013, the ALKARAMA FOUNDATION website describes what it calls “reprisals” taken against the organization and which it explains as follows:

“Akarama’s action, documenting and denouncing violations, has made many states in, or with interests in the region resent its work, which has led to reprisals against our organisation (smear campaigns, trials and arrests of members, accusations that the organisation was pro-Israeli, pro-Qatari, protecting terrorists or supporting political groups and other contradictory accusations). Some of the smear campaigns have also targeted some of Akarama’s Founding Members or Staff, in their own capacity and not necessarily because of their relation with Akarama.”<sup>162</sup>

One of those actions described as a “reprisal” was the December 2013 US designation of AL-NUAIMI as a Specially Designated Global terrorist:

“Nu’aymi is a Qatar-based terrorist financier and facilitator who has provided money and material support and conveyed communications to al-Qa’ida and its affiliates in Syria, Iraq, Somalia and Yemen for more than a decade. He was considered among the most prominent Qatar-based supporters of Iraqi Sunni extremists. Both Nu’aymi and Humayqani are at the center of global support networks that fund and facilitate terrorism. .... In 2013, Nu’aymi ordered the transfer of nearly \$600,000 to al-Qa’ida via al-Qa’ida’s representative in Syria, Abu-Khalid al-Suri, and intended to transfer nearly \$50,000 more. Nu’aymi has facilitated significant financial support to al-Qa’ida in Iraq, and served as an interlocutor between al-Qa’ida in Iraq leaders and Qatar-based donors. Nu’aymi reportedly oversaw the transfer of over \$2 million per month to al-Qa’ida in Iraq for a period of time. He also served

*as an interlocutor between these Qatari nationals and al-Qa’ida in Iraq leaders. Between 2003 and 2004, Nu’aymi provided support to the Iraqi insurgency more broadly and served as a conduit for their broadcast materials to media outlets. Nu’aymi as of mid-2012 provided approximately \$250,000 to two U. S. -designated al-Shabaab figures, Mukhtar Robow and Sheikh Hassan Aweys Ali, the latter of whom is also designated by the United Nations (UN). Also in 2012, Nuaymi provided financial support to a charity headed by Yemen-based Abd al-Wahhab Muhammad ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Humayqani, who channeled funding to AQAP.*<sup>163</sup>

AL-NUAIMI has denied the US charges, which he called “totally unfounded”, and ascribed them to his “publicly declared opposition to U. S. policies in the Arab world and, in particular, in the Gulf area since the invasion of Iraq in 2003.”<sup>164</sup> Following the US designation, an ALKARAMA official said that AL-NUAIMI “decided to resign from the foundation to avoid any misinterpretation.”<sup>165</sup> However, as of this writing, AL-NUAIMI’s name is still listed on the ALKARAMA website as a Founding Member.<sup>166</sup>

### 3. RABIH HADDAD (EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR)

#### BACKGROUND

According to a 2004 local media report, RABIH HADDAD grew up in Lebanon with Christian parents and converted to Islam when he was 19, partly to impress his future wife SALMA AL-RUSHAID from Kuwait.<sup>167</sup> Fearing for his safety, his parents sent their eldest son to the US. In 1980, HADDAD began studying mechanical engineering at the University of Nebraska. HADDAD describes feeling like a hypocrite for not actually practicing the religion, and after praying for guidance in 1986, decided to devote his life to Islam. He contacted AL-RUSHAID, who was studying in Ashland, Ohio, and whom he had not seen for years; and in 1986 visited her in Ashland where he proposed. They married in Ohio the following year and AL-RUSHAID returned with HADDAD to Nebraska where she finished her degree in political science. In 1988, HADDAD and his wife decided to move to Pakistan - which was facing a refugee crisis as a result of the Soviet war in Afghanistan. HADDAD later said: “Here I was, a new Muslim looking for ways to please God”, and added: “that was my calling right there.” HADDAD said he and his wife sold their belongings and lived off the proceeds while doing volunteer work, and that he was later hired by MUSLIM AID, a



British charity established by Yusuf Islam - also known as the singer Cat Stevens. MUSLIM AID went on to become a founding member of the UNION OF GOOD, identified above as a HAMAS fund-raising network tied to the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD. HADDAD said he worked for other humanitarian groups as well, helping them obtain permits to move food, blankets and other supplies into Pakistan and Afghanistan.

What HADDAD failed to mention in the interview is that according to the US Treasury Department, in the early 1990s he was actually working for the AFGHAN SERVICES BUREAU (MAKTAB AL-KHIDAMAT) in Pakistan, the organization considered to be the precursor to AL-QAEDA.<sup>168</sup> According to the Treasury Department:

“MAK was designated by President Bush in E. O. 13224 and was subsequently included on the UN 1267 Sanctions Committee’s consolidated list. The organization has helped funnel fighters and money to the Afghan resistance in Peshawar, Pakistan, and established recruitment centers worldwide to fight the Soviets. Azzam, who served as a mentor to UBL, was killed in 1989. He is also regarded as a historical leader of HAMAS, which was designated under E. O. 13224. At a recent immigration hearing, Haddad conceded that he met Azzam in Pakistan and characterized him as a “hero.”<sup>169</sup>

Between 1988 and 1992, HADDAD and his wife divided their time between Pakistan and Kuwait, where they visited with AL-RUSHAID’S family. HADDAD says he stayed in contact with people with whom he worked in Pakistan and who had returned to the United States. He and his former co-workers wanted to continue to provide humanitarian aid to Afghan refugees in Pakistan - following the withdrawal of many relief organizations after the Russian departure in 1989. HADDAD suggested starting an Islamic charity, later to become known as the GLOBAL RELIEF FOUNDATION (GRF). His former co-workers in the US established the GRF - which was initially housed in a two-bedroom apartment in Palos Hills, a suburb south of Chicago and known to be a center for Muslim Brotherhood activity in the US.<sup>a</sup> HADDAD said he initially remained in Kuwait but was in close contact with the GRF board. In July 1993, HADDAD and his family moved from Kuwait to Chicago - where HADDAD became chairman of

the GRF board and a GRF fund-raiser, travelling widely in the United States to raise money. The GRF moved its headquarters to an office building in Bridgeview, Illinois, another Chicago suburb that is known to be a center for the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD and HAMAS.<sup>170</sup> In 1996, HADDAD and his family moved back to Kuwait in order to “settle near home.” After unsuccessfully looking for work in Lebanon, the family moved back to the US with the intention of returning to the GRF, which was said to be rapidly growing.

However, in 1999, wishing to “avoid Chicago’s intense urban life”, the family settled in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on the recommendation of friends, where HADDAD continued to raise money for GRF and where he volunteered as an imam, leading prayers at an area mosque.<sup>b</sup> In March 2001, a US publication reported that HADDAD co-presented a session on ‘Effective Relief Work’ at the first Conference on Palestine in Ann Arbor held on 17 March at the University of Michigan campus. Other participants at the conference included representatives of the COUNCIL ON AMERICAN ISLAMIC RELATIONS (CAIR), part of the US MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD; the far-left INTERNATIONAL ACTION CENTER, headed by former US Attorney General Ramsey Clark; and the AMERICAN MUSLIMS FOR JERUSALEM (AMJ), a coalition of US MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD groups.  
171 172

## DESIGNATION OF GRF

A former GRF official has said that the organization’s members raised money by speaking about the refugee crisis at mosques and other community gatherings around the country, and local media reported that the group raised only about \$180,000 in its second year.<sup>173</sup> The official told local media that when GRF was first founded, it provided some aid to Afghanistan and later did so through other humanitarian groups. However, when the TALIBAN took over, GRF “couldn’t do work there.” HADDAD said that GRF “didn’t like dealing with them because of their interpretation of Islam.” For example, the TALIBAN did not permit the education of women - which HADDAD said



a For example, Palos Hills is near the BRIDGEVIEW MOSQUE. See: <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/chi-0402080265feb08-story.html#page=1> for a report on Brotherhood/Hamas activity at the mosque.

b Likely the Islamic Center of Ann Arbor.



Panel speakers and audience at the 2006 "Iraqi Support" conference organized by GAAC in Istanbul.

was not prohibited by the Qur'an. By the 10th year of its operation, the GRF had raised \$20 million, and became the second-largest US Islamic charity behind the Texas-based Holy Land Foundation.<sup>a</sup> Local media reported that GRF had about 20,000 donors in the United States and Europe; 15 full-time employees at its Chicago office; and employed about 150 nurses, doctors, teachers, program directors and others on four continents on a part-time basis – according to court records and statements by GRF officials.<sup>174</sup>

However, on 18 October 2002, and following earlier raids and asset freezes, the US Treasury Department announced that it had designated the GRF as a terrorist organization – explaining that it allegedly had ties to, and supported, OSAMA BIN LADEN, AL-QAEDA, and the TALIBAN:<sup>b 175</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The HOLY LAND FOUNDATION and its leaders were later convicted of providing material support to HAMAS and related offenses.

<sup>b</sup> Full Treasury press release: [http://www.treasury.gov/press-](http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/po3553.aspx)



RABIH HADDAD is delivering the keynote address at the conference

“ The Global Relief Foundation (GRF), has connections to, has provided support for, and has provided assistance to Usama Bin Ladin, the al Qaida Network, and other known terrorist groups. One of the founders of GRF was previously a member of the Makhtab Al-Khidamat, the precursor organization to al Qaida. The GRF has received funding from individuals associated with al Qaida. GRF officials have had extensive contacts with a close associate of Usama Bin Ladin, who has been convicted in a U. S. court for his role in the 1998 bombings of the U. S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. GRF members have dealt with officials of the Taliban, while the Taliban was subject to international sanctions.<sup>176</sup>

On 16 July 2003, and following a period of detention in a federal facility on the grounds of being a flight risk, US media reported that HADDAD had been deported and returned to Lebanon – following a November 2002 immigration ruling that he and his wife and three children should be deported as a threat to national security.<sup>177</sup> The arrest, detention, and subsequent deportation of RABIH HADDAD generated substantial media and other attention, and HADDAD and other GRF officials denied that the organization had any ties to terrorism.<sup>178</sup> While a review and analysis of the evidence against GRF is beyond the scope of this report, the NATIONAL CENTER ON PHILANTHROPY AND THE LAW at New York University published such a review in October 2004, concluding:

“ The government never proved a criminal case against GRF fund-raiser Haddad. Instead, Haddad was deported to his native Lebanon in

*July 2003 after an immigration judge found him ineligible for asylum because he was a security danger to the United States, a decision which was affirmed by the Board of Immigration Appeals. The decision to deport him rather than continue the criminal investigation was made in Washington, without consultation with the Detroit case agent who had investigated Haddad. Despite the findings of the immigration judge, Haddad's deportation generated considerable sympathy for him and condemnation of an alleged violation of his civil rights by the U. S. government. The government contends that ample evidence demonstrated that Haddad had significant terrorist ties and was a substantial threat to the United States.*<sup>179</sup>

A GAAC webpage from May 2006 identifies HADDAD as one of the organization's Trustees.<sup>180</sup>

HADDAD is also Assistant Secretary of a Salafi Lebanese organization called TAYYAR AHLUL SUNNA, which was launched in 2013.<sup>181</sup> The organization is headed by Sheikh SALEM AL-RAFEI, a leader of the Lebanese Salafi movement.<sup>182</sup>

#### 4. WALEED AL-TABTABAI (VICE-PRESIDENT)

According to his CV, WALEED AL-TABTABAI received his undergraduate education at the University of Kuwait. He was awarded a PhD in Islamic studies by AL-AZHAR in 1992.<sup>183</sup> The CV also says that AL-TABTABAI was an assistant professor at the University of Kuwait from 1992 until he was elected to the Kuwaiti parliament in 1996. AL-TABTABAI is best known as one of Kuwait's leading 'Salafis' who has taken very conservative positions on social issues since at least 1998. In that year, he called for a popular downtown cinema to change its name, claiming it was offensive to Islamic sensibilities.<sup>184</sup> Since then, AL-TABTABAI has spearheaded an effort which blocked women from participating in city council elections for the first time; urged the government to cancel plans to hold a football tournament for women; called for the segregation of boys and girls in private schools; headed a committee which proposed a law to criminalize "imitating a member of the opposite sex"; and proposed the banning of Valentine's Day "to prevent such alien events from impacting Kuwaiti society and spreading corruption among the Kuwaiti youth."<sup>185 186 187 188 189</sup>

In December 2005, he said that allowing non-Muslims to build places of worship in Kuwait is illegal under Islamic law.<sup>190</sup>

As a member of parliament from 1996 until sometime in 2012, and longtime chairman of its Human Rights Committee, AL-TABTABAI was known for such colorful incidents as being involved in a fistfight over Kuwaiti detainees in Guantanamo being described as terrorists; calling for moving the Arab League headquarters from Cairo to Caracas after Venezuela expelled Israel's ambassador over Gaza; and saying in November 2010 that the current parliament should be dissolved – after accusing 30 MPs of having close ties to the government.<sup>a 191 192 193 194</sup> Since then, AL-TABTABAI was arrested in October 2012 during a massive demonstration against a decision to change the electoral law.<sup>195</sup> In early May 2015, it was widely reported that AL-TABTABAI had once again been arrested, this time for Twitter comments alleging Iran was pressuring Kuwait to replace the crown prince with a new heir who has strong relations with Tehran.<sup>196</sup>

AL-TABTABAI has also had a role in issues outside of Kuwait including:

- ♦ In February 2006, during the Danish cartoons crisis, he and two other Kuwaiti MPs met with a delegation from Norway in order to discuss the crisis.<sup>b 197</sup> In 2008, following another republication of the cartoons, AL-TABTABAI was one of several parliamentarians who called for a boycott of Danish goods.<sup>198</sup>
- ♦ In March 2007, Dutch media reported that AL-TABTABAI had worked with the founders of the ESSALAM MOSQUE in Rotterdam, known to be close to the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD in the Netherlands.<sup>199</sup>
- ♦ In June 2010, AL-TABTABAI headed a delegation of GAAC founding members aboard the MAVI MARMARA, the infamous ship that was boarded by Israeli forces during the Gaza Flotilla episode.<sup>200</sup> He also played a role in the post-incident propaganda that took place in Kuwait.
- ♦ In September 2010, AL-TABTABAI was quoted in an Iranian news report as saying that the burning of a Qur'an by a US pastor was a "provocation to the entire Muslim world."<sup>201</sup>

a In October 2012, media reports began to refer to AL-TABTABAI as an ex-MP. See: <http://www.middle-east-online.com/english/?id=54997>

b A Norwegian publication had apparently republished the cartoons. The delegation included MOHAMMAD HAMDAN, known to be a Hamas/Muslim Brotherhood activist in Norway. See: <http://www.globalmbwatch.com/2011/07/28/norwegian-muslim-leaders-call-for-unity-not-likely-to-include-jews/>



- ♦ In June 2013, AL-TABTABAI was identified by US media as the campaign organizer for the GREAT KUWAIT CAMPAIGN, a private organization of hardline Kuwaiti clerics and politicians that raised several millions of dollars intended to arm Salafist Syrian rebels.<sup>a b 202</sup>

AL-TABTABAI is also known for his defense of the US-designated terrorist and GAAC founder HAMID AL-ALI, the Kuwaiti cleric discussed above. When AL-ALI praised the ‘martyred’ AL-QAEDA operative ABU MUSAB AL-ZARQAWI in 2006, a Saudi newspaper reported that AL-TABTABAI was one of those who defended AL-ALI, and that AL-TABTABAI had praised the Kuwaiti judiciary that acquitted AL-ALI following his arrest for his controversial fatwa.<sup>203</sup>

## HISTORY OF GAAC ACTIVITIES

### 1. FEBRUARY 2006 DANISH CARTOON CRISIS

In February 2006, Qatari media reported that in the wake of the Danish cartoon crisis, ABDUL RAHMAN BIN UMAIR AL-NUAIMI headed a panel in Doha of ten associations and charitable Qatari bodies, including the QATAR CHARITY and the SHEIKH EID CHARITY, “to wage the campaign to make the world respect Muslims and Islam.” During this panel, he stated:

“ Our aim is much more than just seeking apology from Denmark for the newspaper caricatures that insulted the prophet of Islam. We will carry out the campaign outside Qatar’.<sup>204</sup>

According to another Qatari media report, a day later the GAAC issued a statement on the Danish cartoon crisis that called on Muslims around the world to “unitedly fight the attacks on their faith”, and said that the publication of the cartoons by a Danish daily were part of these attacks.<sup>205</sup> The



Panel at 2009 „World Popular conference for the Support of Palestine” showing (starting from left) Raed Salah, Bulent Yildirim, Youssef Qaradawi and two unknown panelists

report said that the GAAC Secretary-General ABDUL RAHMAN BIN UMAIR AL-NUAIMI called on all Muslims to continue boycotting Danish products and brands “until Copenhagen bows to demands of the entire Islamic community.” The report also indicates that the GAAC statement went on to suggest that under the guise of the War on Terror, Muslims worldwide were being “persecuted” and that Islam was being depicted “as a religion that spawns hatred and violence rather than peace and love, it actually stands for.” As evidence, the GAAC alleged, “various forces supporting Israel and an organization called Extremist Protestants were pursuing Islamic charities.” Consequently, these charities had been severely compromised.

A report by a Swiss think-tank also reports that in early 2006, the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs appointed a three-member delegation as part of an effort to mediate the crisis.<sup>206</sup> The delegation of the Muslim world was “mandated” by the GAAC, the INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF SUPPORT OF THE FINAL PROPHET<sup>c</sup> and the INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS (IUMS) - chaired by YOUSSEF QARADAWI, among other NGOs. The delegation was said to be assisted by TARIQ RAMADAN, the grandson of the founder of the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD, and a well-known figure in the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD. At the end of the meeting, the Muslim delegation submitted a list of demands to the Danish delegation for the Danish Government that included the withdrawal of Danish soldiers from Iraq and Afghanistan.<sup>d</sup>

- a AL-TABTABAI is known to have been a supporter of AHRAR AL-SHAM, a Salafist rebel group established in the early stages of the Syrian conflict - which includes among its members Islamist prisoners released in 2011 by the Syrian regime, as well as previous AL-QAEDA militants. The group was never declared a terrorist organization by the United States and was seen as a bridge between the secular rebels and the extremists. See: <https://chronicle.fanack.com/syria/history-past-to-present/the-syrian-opposition-who-is-who-and-who-is-withagainst-whom/>
- b In 2013, an Iranian news report contained a photo purporting to show AL-TABTABAI with a “militant group” in Aleppo. See: <http://en.alalam.ir/news/1486926>

c Likely the INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE PROPHET

d The demands included several elements: (a) to distance the

## 2. DECEMBER 2006 IRAQI SUPPORT CONFERENCE

In December 2006, the GAAC held a conference “in support of the Iraqi people” in Istanbul and described by the organization as follows:

“ In view of the critical and serious stage Iraq has been experiencing since the start of the unjust American occupation of its land and what Sunnis in particular have been suffering, in terms of the targeting, whose features and dimensions have started to unfold, the views of many people who are interested in Iraqi affairs and who are following the situation, including scholars and thinkers in the Arab and Islamic world, have been unanimous on the importance of holding a meeting to shed light on the truth of the crisis and the scale of the suffering and to try to discuss the best mechanisms to overcome this ordeal as soon as possible. The Global Anti-Aggression Campaign took the initiative and called for and organized this conference. It also gave the conference the title of supporting the Iraqi people and held it in the city of Istanbul, Turkey, on Wednesday and Thursday 2223/11/1427 AH, corresponding to 1314 December 2006. Most of the Sunni parties in Iraq were invited to the conference, and they participated in it, along with their brothers, the scholars and thinkers and representatives of civil and media institutions in the Arab and Islamic countries. The conferees discussed the situation of the Iraqi people under the hateful US occupation and the flagrant Iranian interference. They were appalled by the systematic marginalization of the Sunnis; the targeting of their ulema, imams, areas, and mosques; and the liquidation of their men and women based on their identity.<sup>207</sup>

The conference was first scheduled to take place in November, to coincide with a planned visit to Turkey of then Iraqi Shiite PM NOURI AL-MALIKI. Leaked US State

official Danish position from that of Jyllands-Posten and to take measures of appeasement expressing goodwill; (b) to establish legislation that protects the rights of Muslims and the image of Islam; (c) to recognize Islam as a component of the religious landscape in Denmark and work for it to be seen in practice on the same footing as other religions; (d) to establish an observatory funded by official authorities to monitor the realization of respect for Muslims and their religion in the political, economic, cultural, and educational fields; (e) to organize an international conference on dialogue among civilizations in Copenhagen or in another European country, chosen by common agreement; (f) to withdraw Danish soldiers from Iraq and Afghanistan.



Closing statement of the “Iraqi Resistance Support Conference” in Istanbul, 2010. Referring to Istanbul as “Islambul”.

Department cables describe Iraqi efforts to have the conference cancelled by the Turkish government, on the grounds that it was sectarian and divisive.<sup>208</sup>

Based on the list of speakers and the titles of their lectures, it appears the conference tried to focus on finding a way to unite all Sunni forces - in order to oppose the American and Iranian ‘strategies’ for the country which were also discussed.

<sup>209</sup> GAAC officials who attended included AL-HAWALI, AL-NUAIMI, AL-TABTABAI, AL-OJAIMI and HADDAD; as well as GAAC figures AL-AWDA, AL-DHARI and AL-NAFISI. All these officials and figures have been discussed above. Among the speakers at the conference were: <sup>a b c</sup>

- ♦ HARITH AL-DHARI (IRAQI ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS and profiled above)

- a Some were said to participate by phone and/or fax.
- b Where participant affiliations are not referenced, they can be found in the original source for the conference.
- c Many of the organizations identified are believed to be ‘Jihad-ist.’

## The Zionist Entity Declares War on Humanity

Written by Global Anti-Aggression Campaign

MONDAY, 31 MAY 2010

- Press Release -

In a logic-defying escalation, and a fresh manifestation of Zionist arrogance and tyranny, the IDF carried out an act of pure piracy in international waters this morning, against the "Freedom Convoy" that was headed to Gaza carrying humanitarian aid and relief goods in an attempt to break the criminal siege of Gaza which has been in place for well over two years.

News reports were still pouring in at the time of writing this release, but it has been clearly established that there are a number of casualties with no less than 10 fatalities. Some reports clearly mentioned that Sheikh Raed Salah was among the seriously injured.

The Global Anti-Aggression Campaign condemns this new Zionist crime against humanity in the strongest possible terms, and calls upon all governments, political and legal commissions, human rights organizations, PVOs, and NGOs to take appropriate action in retaliation against the Zionist entity's despotism that shows absolute no regard for human life and ignores scores of UN resolutions and all international laws.

The Zionist piracy against this un-armed humanitarian convoy constitutes a flagrant declaration of war against all of humanity. The World community must act swiftly to ensure the release of the convoy and all those on board its ships in order to curtail the serious ramifications that this crime will have regionally and internationally. All those involved in the piracy should stand trial for their crimes against humanity while the Zionist entity should bear full responsibility for the dead and injured as well as the survivors of this crime who were on board the civilian convoy.

In particular, the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign expresses its grave concern for the safety of its Vice President: Dr. Waleed Al-Tabtabai and the accompanying delegation of GAAC founding members, and holds the government of the Zionist entity directly responsible for their well being and safe return.

General Secretariat  
Global Anti-Aggression Campaign  
31-05-2010



Screenshot, showing a press release posted on the English GAAC website on May 31st regarding the Gaza Flotilla.

- ◆ ZIYAD MAHMOUD AL-ANI (Iraq, leader in the IRAQI ISLAMIC PARTY) <sup>a 210</sup>
- ◆ NASSER AL-OMAR (Saudi, close to HAMAS; supporter of Jihad in various countries who also claimed that America was 'disappearing').<sup>211</sup>
- ◆ ADNAN AL-DULAIMI (Head of the IRAQI ACCORD FRONT)
- ◆ IBRAHIM AL-SHIMRI (Head of the ISLAMIC ARMY IN IRAQ)
- ◆ SAMI AL-HAQQ (Head of the Society of ISLAMIC SCHOLARS IN PAKISTAN)
- ◆ MOHAMMED ABDOH IBRAHIM (GAAC Deputy Secretary-General)
- ◆ An unidentified representative of the 1920 REVOLUTION BRIGADES <sup>b</sup>
- ◆ ABDUL KARIM ABDUL RAZZAQ (ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS, IRAQ)
- ◆ ABDUL RAHMAN AL-QAYSI (JAISH AL-MUJAHIDEEN)
- ◆ MOHAMMED ABDUL KARIM (Sudan, MUSLIM SCHOLARS ASSOCIATION)
- ◆ FADHL AL-RAHMAN (Head of the Opposition, Pakistani Parliament)
- ◆ MOHAMMED BASHAR AL-FIDHI (official spokesman, ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS, IRAQ)
- ◆ MAGDY KORKOR (EGYPTIAN ISLAMIC LABOR PARTY)

a The IIP is the Muslim Brotherhood in Iraq.

b Iraqi Jihadi group.



- ♦ MOHAMED BIN MUSA AL-AMERI AL-BAYDANI (Yemen, MUSLIM SCHOLARS ASSOCIATION)
- ♦ MOHAMED ALI AL-JOZO (Mufti of Mount Lebanon)

The conference concluded with a statement that, among other things, blamed the violence in Iraq on the “US occupation and Iranian interference”, and said “The US occupation is providing a political umbrella for the ugly massacre that is taking place in Iraq.” The statement further praised “the heroic role of the Iraqi resistance, which disrupted the US-Zionist scheme and opposed the Safavid Iranian goals”, and called for “Supporting the valiant Iraqi resistance, which has proven, with God’s help, that it is the protective shield for Iraq and its people in the face of the occupation forces.”<sup>a 212</sup>

### 3. JUNE 2007 HORN OF AFRICA CONFERENCE

The Washington Post reported in June 2007 that a tripartite conference titled ‘Foreign Interventions and the Future of

- a The Safavid dynasty was one of the most significant ruling dynasties of Persia (modern Iran) following the Muslim



Facsimile of Reuters Homepage, featuring an interview in March 2011 with Islamic Jihad leader Al Zumar. He was featured as a speaker during „We have been born free“ conference in December 2011.

conquest of Persia in the seventh century.



Anas Al-Tikriti, CEO of Cordoba Foundation and the key spokesman and lobbyist for the Muslim BROTHERHOOD in Britain participated in the September 2013 Istanbul conference.



Rachid Ghannouchi, leader of the Tunisian Muslim Brotherhood offshoot Ennahda, hosted and opened a GAAC conference shortly after his party gained power in 2011.

the Horn of Africa’ was held in Doha under the auspices of the GAAC.<sup>213</sup> Attendees included former UNION OF ISLAMIC COURTS leader in Somalia SHARIF AHMED, the former speaker of the Somali parliament, and members of the Somali Diaspora. According to the report, the purpose of the conference was to establish a “Somali national movement for the liberation of the country from the foreign oppressive occupation by all legitimate means available.” In its ‘Doha Communiqué’, the conference denounced the “barbaric

Ethiopian occupation which committed atrocities, looting, mass displacement and rape”; appealed for international aid; and demanded that the United Nations assume responsibility towards the victims. The communiqué concluded with a call for a Somali national movement “for the liberation of the country.” A preparatory committee was announced -- composed of 15 members representing the UNION OF ISLAMIC COURTS, members of the Somali Parliament, Somali Diaspora and various segments of Somali society.<sup>214</sup>

### 4. FEBRUARY 2009 ‘THIRD JIHADIST FRONT’ CONFERENCE

A GAAC webpage dated 29 December 2008 announced the launch of a ‘Campaign For The Victory Of Gaza’.<sup>215</sup> According to the announcement, the campaign proposed assisting Gaza across multiple dimensions - political, legal, and financial. Examples included issuing fatwas; approaching the media; mobilizing the ‘Islamic street’ for demonstrations and strikes; mobilizing student circles; collecting funds;



## The World Amid A Coup Against The Will & Free Choices Of Rhe People

فندق رتاج - اسطنبول ، 25 - 26 سبتمبر 2013 م  
Retaj Royalehotel, Istanbul 25-26 September, 2013



2013 Conference „The World Amid A Coup Against The Will & Free Choices Of Rhe (sic!) People



calls to cut all ties with Israel and deport its ambassadors; a call to nullify all mutual defensive pacts within the Arab League; and to amend the treaty of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC, now known as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation), so that a joint military force equal to NATO can be formed to intervene in such cases. Interestingly, the proposals included supplying a ship to carry humanitarian aid to Gaza from Cyprus and using it for media purposes. A Palestinian news agency reported that it was agreed during the conference that it would be important to send Arabic, Islamic and international Marine campaign of ships carrying “humanitarian” supplies that would leave simultaneously for Gaza.<sup>216</sup>

In February 2009, the BBC reported on an Istanbul conference organized by the GAAC. Some referred to the conference as the ‘International Conference for the Victory of Gaza’.<sup>217</sup> According to the BBC and other reports on the conference, over 300 individuals – including many conservative Sunni sheikhs and scholars as well as HAMAS leaders – heard “speaker after speaker call for jihad against Israel in support of HAMAS.” The BBC report also said that in closed meetings, delegates focused on the creation of a “third Jihadist front” – the first two being Afghanistan and Iraq. The report cited Saudi religious scholar MUHSIN AL-AWAJI as stating that “Gaza gives us power, it solves our differences. We are all now in a unified front against Zionism.” Finally, the BBC account noted that:

“To laughter in the audience, another speaker noted that twice as many babies were born as children were killed during the war. Every death, I was told, was a martyrdom on the road to liberation.

On 12 February 2009, the conference statement was issued. The statement soon drew significant media attention in the UK because of its implied call for Muslims to attack foreign navies in “Muslim waters”; and because of the signature of a prominent UK Muslim leader. According to a UK newspaper summary, the statement:

“.....describes Israel’s recent military campaign as “the manifest victory which Allah has granted us in the land of Gaza.” It opposes the “so-called Arab peace initiative” and the Palestinian Authority and issues a series of obligations to the “Islamic Nation”, calling on it to “carry on with the jihad and resistance against the occupier until the liberation of all Palestine.” Obligation six declares that Muslims must seek to open the crossings in Palestine so that “money, clothing, food, medicine, weapons and

other essentials” can enter Gaza and Palestinians “are able to live and perform the jihad in the way of Allah Almighty.” It warns: “The closure of the crossings, or the prevention of the entry of weapons through them, should be regarded as high treason in the Islamic Nation, and clear support for the Zionist enemy.” The most contentious obligation instructs Muslims to attack foreign navies. In January, Gordon Brown offered Royal Navy resources to help monitor events in Gaza and to stop weapons being smuggled into the territory. But, according to the Istanbul declaration, there is an obligation for “the Islamic Nation to regard the sending of foreign warships into Muslim waters, claiming to control the borders and prevent the smuggling of arms to Gaza, as a declaration of war, a new occupation, sinful aggression, and a clear violation of the sovereignty of the Nation.” It continues: “This must be rejected and fought by all means and ways.”<sup>a 218 219</sup>

Individuals of interest who signed the statement included GAAC officers/founders WALEED AL-TABTABAI, HARITH SULAIMAN AL-DHARI, MOHAMMAD SAWALHA and ABDUL SALAM DAUD AL-KUBAISI all both profiled above. Other signatories of interest included:

- ♦ RACHID GHANNOUCHI (United Kingdom, Tunisian ENNAHDA PARTY leader)<sup>222</sup>
- ♦ MUHAMMAD BIN NASR AL-HAZMI (Yemen, MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD)<sup>223</sup>
- ♦ HAMAM SA’ID (Jordan, MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD leader)
- ♦ DAUD ABDULLAH (United Kingdom, Deputy Secretary General of the MUSLIM COUNCIL OF BRITAIN).<sup>b</sup>

## 5. MAY 2009 WORLD POPULAR CONFERENCE FOR THE SUPPORT OF PALESTINE

In May 2009, a second major conference, titled ‘World Popular Conference for the Support of Palestine’, was held in Istanbul, Turkey. The conference was also sponsored by several Turkish organizations affiliated with the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD network in the country, including the

a The full conference statement and its signatories is attached as Appendix 3.

b ABDULLAH became embroiled in a public controversy over his signature on the statement. See: <http://www.globalmb-watch.com/2009/03/26/conflict-escalates-between-mcb-and-uk-government/>

notorious IHH, as well as the INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS (IUMS) and the GAAC.<sup>a</sup> 224 225 The 600 reported conference participants included leaders of the Turkish Brotherhood organizations, Western flotilla activists, GAAC founder AWAD AL-QARNI, and a variety of individuals tied to the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD or allied organizations including:

- ◆ YOUSSEF QARADAWI
- ◆ MOHAMMED AKRAM ADLOUNI (Lebanon, AL-QUDS INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTION) 226 227
- ◆ ABD AL-RAHMAN SIWAR AL-DHAHAB (Sudan, Deputy Head of UNION OF GOOD, former Sudanese President) 228
- ◆ OSAMA HAMDAN (Lebanon, HAMAS) 229
- ◆ MOHAMMAD HUSSEIN FADLALLAH (Lebanon, HIZBULLAH) 230
- ◆ RAED SALAH (Israel, ISLAMIC MOVEMENT) 231
- ◆ ISSAM EL-BASHIR (Kuwait, EUROPEAN COUNCIL FOR FATWA AND RESEARCH, former Sudanese minister) 232
- ◆ ANWAR IBRAHIM (Malaysia, opposition politician, close to global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD) 233
- ◆ FAHMI HUWAYDI (Egypt, former Al-Ahram writer, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS) 234 235
- ◆ ESSAM YUSUF (United Kingdom, UNION OF GOOD, INTERPAL) 236
- ◆ BULENT YILDRIM (Turkey, head of the IHH HUMANITARIAN RELIEF FOUNDATION)

Also attending were groups of individuals identified as Iranians, Russians, or Chinese - who could not be further identified.

A Turkish news report on the conference said the theme of the conference was “civil solidarity in support of the just and legitimate resistance of the Palestinian people”, and that workshops were held focusing on the “practical aspects of this project.”<sup>237</sup> The report also said that projects created as a result of the conference would be carried out or “outsourced” under the name of the conference, and cited speakers such as Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD leader YOUSSEF QARADAWI who told the conference that “rescuing Palestine from occupation” was the common duty of all

Muslims around the world. Finally, the report noted that a message from Gaza HAMAS ‘Prime Minister’ ISMAIL HANIYEH was read at the conclusion of the conference.

## 6. APRIL 2010 IRAQI RESISTANCE SUPPORT CONFERENCE

According to a Turkish newspaper, in April 2010 the GAAC organized the ‘Iraqi Resistance Support Conference’ that was held at the Cevahir Hotel in Istanbul.<sup>238</sup> However, the newspaper claimed that the real organizer of the conference was the IRAQI MUSLIM SCHOLARS DELEGATION (IMAH) - which the paper said “forms the top level of GAAC.” The paper further described the IMAH, saying it:

“...also has bureaus in Ankara. Established with the participation of university professors, academics, scientists, imams and students in 2003 in the years following the invasion, the organization would later become a central authority for the organizations and structures opposing the invasion of Iraq. The secretary-general of IMAH is Shaykh Harith al-Dhari. Al-Dhari holds the position of spokesperson for all of the Iraqi resistance groups that have gathered together and all of the dozens of other resistance movements in that country, large and small.

The paper said that the conference speakers emphasized that violence “can only ever be considered as acceptable when used to save people under oppression, and that extremism is not accepted [by Islam].” They also said that there was a terrorist movement in Iraq but that it had settled into the country following the US invasion; in contrast, organizations like AL-QAEDA were unable to gain a foothold in Iraq before the invasion.

## 7. JULY 2010 GAZA FLOTILLA 2 CONFERENCE

Shortly following the 2010 Gaza Flotilla, the GAAC issued a statement condemning what it called “this new Zionist crime against humanity”:

“On its part the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign condemned “this new Zionist crime against humanity in the strongest possible terms, and calls upon all governments, political and legal commissions, human rights organizations, PVOs, and NGOs to take appropriate action in retaliation against the Zionist entity’s despotism that shows absolute no regard for human life and ignores scores of UN resolutions and all international laws. “The Zionist

a The IHH was the Turkish charity that owned the MAVI MARMARA, the ship that was involved in the violent altercation with Israeli naval forces during the 31 May 2010 Gaza Flotilla episode. For more on IHH, see: <http://www.globalmbwatch.com/2014/07/21/turkish-ihh-recruiting-human-shields-gaza-organization-part-turkish-muslim-brotherhood-network/>

*piracy against this unarmed humanitarian convoy constitutes a flagrant declaration of war against all of humanity. The world community must act swiftly to ensure the release of the convoy and all those on board its ships in order to curtail the serious ramifications that this crime will have regionally and internationally. All those involved in the piracy should stand trial for their crimes against humanity while the Zionist entity should bear full responsibility for the dead and injured as well as the survivors of this crime who were on board the civilian convoy. "The Global Anti-Aggression Campaign expresses its grave concern for the safety of its Vice President Waleed Al-Tabtabai and the accompanying delegation of GAAC founding members, and holds the government of the Zionist entity directly responsible for their well being and safe return."*<sup>239</sup>

In July 2010, the GAAC reported holding a meeting in Beirut "for coordination and networking between the various actors in preparation for the Freedom Flotilla 2" – which was said to be attended by a coalition of organizations which had sent the first flotilla. Participants included:<sup>a 240</sup>

- ♦ MOHAMMAD SAWALHA (INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO BREAK THE SIEGE ON GAZA)
- ♦ ARAFAT MADI and AMIN ABU RASHID (EUROPEAN CAMPAIGN TO END THE SIEGE ON GAZA)
- ♦ HUWAIDA ARRAF (FREE GAZA MOVEMENT)
- ♦ OSAMA QARAITAM (INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS)
- ♦ MOHAMMED SALEM AL-RASHED (editor of Kuwait's largest Islamic weekly magazine AL-MUJTAMA, represented the Coordinating Bureau of the WORLD POPULAR CONFERENCE IN SUPPORT OF PALESTINE)<sup>b</sup>
- ♦ ESSAMYUSUF (Vice President, UNION OF GOOD).

During the meeting, various issues connected to the flotilla were discussed – including broadening the goal of the flotilla to breaking the 'siege' completely by opening all crossings, including the Gaza port and airport. The press conference which followed included ABDUL QADER GHOUQAH, Secretary General of the ARAB NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC), an anti-Imperialist body established in 1990 in

order to preserve Arab nationalism; HANI SULEIMAN, head of the Lebanese delegation to the first Gaza flotilla, and organizer of the Nakba Day events in Lebanon in 2011; and ZAHER AL-KHATIB, a former Lebanese MP from the pro-Assad camp, known as anti-Israeli and anti-American.

## 8. 2011 ARAB SPRING CONFERENCE

In December 2011, soon after RACHID GHANNOUCHI's ENNAHDA PARTY gained power in Tunisia, a GAAC conference on the 'Arab Spring' was held in Tunis. The conference, titled 'We Have Been Born Free', was led by the GAAC's RABIH HADDAD and opened by GHANNOUCHI.<sup>241 242 243</sup> The opening address was given by GAAC leader SAFAR AL-HAWALI; and GAAC officers WALEED AL-TABTABAI and KHALED BIN ABDUL RAHMAN AL-OJAIMI also spoke. Other conference speakers included:

- ♦ ABDALLAH AL-NAFISI (GAAC founder and Kuwaiti professor, known for suggesting an anthrax attack on the US, discussed above)<sup>244</sup>
- ♦ TAREK AL-ZUMAR (a former member of the EGYPTIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD who spent many years in prison following the assassination of President ANWAR SADAT, currently a member of the GAMA'A AL-ISLAMIYYA's political party.)<sup>245 246 247</sup>
- ♦ NASSER AL-OMAR (Saudi Arabia, cleric, close to HAMAS; supporter of Jihad in various countries who also claimed that America was "collapsing"), General-Supervisor of almoslim.net)<sup>248 249</sup>
- ♦ HAMZA ABU FARIS (Libya, Minister of Waqf, researcher for the EUROPEAN COUNCIL FOR FATWA AND RESEARCH)<sup>250 251</sup>
- ♦ ABDAL WAHHAB AL-HUMAYQANI (Yemen, designated by the US in 2013 at the same time as ABDUL RAHMAN BIN UMAIR AL-NUAIMI for his role in AL-QAEDA IN THE ARABIAN PENINSULA – including orchestrating an AQAP attack on a Yemeni Republican Guard base)<sup>252</sup>
- ♦ NADIR AL-TAMIMI (Palestine, Mufti of the PALESTINE LIBERATION ARMY, in 2011 called for Western leaders "to pay the jizya poll tax, or else you will bring the sword to your necks.")<sup>253</sup>
- ♦ KHAYRALLAH TALIB (Syria, SYRIAN ISLAMIC COUNCIL)<sup>c 254</sup>

a For more on the flotilla groups and their leaders, see: [http://jcpa.org/text/Turkey\\_Muslim\\_Brotherhood.pdf](http://jcpa.org/text/Turkey_Muslim_Brotherhood.pdf)

b For information on this conference, see: [http://jcpa.org/text/Turkey\\_Muslim\\_Brotherhood.pdf](http://jcpa.org/text/Turkey_Muslim_Brotherhood.pdf)

c The role of the Muslim Brotherhood in the SIC is complex. See: <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=55580>

- ◆ HASSAN AHMED DOKKI (UAE, co-founder of the UMMAH PARTY and fugitive from the UAE living in Turkey)<sup>a 255 256</sup>
- ◆ WAGDY GHONEIM (Egyptian cleric known for anti-Semitic speeches, close to the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD)<sup>257</sup>
- ◆ HAKIM AL-MUTAIRI (GAAC founder discussed above)
- ◆ MOHAMMED AL-FAZZAZI, (Morocco, a leading Salafi-Jihadi figure, arrested and imprisoned in relation to the 2003 Casablanca bombings)<sup>258</sup>
- ◆ MOHAMMED ABDOH IBRAHIM (GAAC Deputy Secretary-General).
- ◆ ASSOCIATION OF EUROPEAN MUSLIMS (Italian organization headed by ALFREDO MAIOLESE, convert and New Guinea's Consul to Italy)<sup>267 268</sup>
- ◆ MUSLIM SCHOLARS ASSOCIATION (International Salafi umbrella group based in Saudi Arabia, which includes MOHAMMED AL-ARIFI, see below, and Yemeni Muslim Brotherhood leader ABDUL MAJID AL-ZINDANI).<sup>269 270 271 272</sup>

SULTAN also reported that the IICC held several meetings - including in Egypt and Qatar - and that it managed to bring together the Salafists in various countries such as Tunis and Yemen, following their decision to become involved in politics after the 'Arab Spring'.

#### 9. APRIL 2013 IRAQI SPRING SEMINAR

A GAAC webpage indicates that in April 2013, the GAAC held a seminar on the 'Iraqi Spring', to commemorate 10 years of the "Zio-American' aggression."<sup>259</sup> Among the speakers was SALEM AL-RAFEI, identified above as a leader in the Lebanese Salafi movement, and who in his address encouraged the Sunni-Muslim revolutionaries to sacrifice their lives and take control over Iraq and Syria.<sup>260</sup>

#### 10. JUNE 2013 SYRIAN SCHOLARS CONFERENCE

In June 2013, Egyptian media reported that a conference was held in Cairo that included more than 70 religious organizations from across the Arab world. It was titled 'The Scholars Stance towards the Syrian Problem', and sponsored by the INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC COORDINATION COUNCIL (IICC), described in 2012 by Egyptian journalist and IICC official GAMAL SULTAN as including:<sup>b261</sup>

- ◆ GLOBAL ANTI-AGGRESSION CAMPAIGN
- ◆ MUSLIM THINKER'S FORUM (Kuwait, includes GAAC figure ABDALLAH AL-NAFISI)<sup>262 263 264</sup>
- ◆ ALKARAMA FOUNDATION (profiled above)
- ◆ INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE PROPHET (based in Vienna, Austria)<sup>265 266</sup>

According to Arabic media, the most prominent conference participant was YOUSSEF QARADAWI.<sup>273</sup> Other conference participants included:<sup>274 275 276</sup>

- ◆ MOHAMMED AL-ARIFI (Saudi cleric banned from the UK, accused of recruiting young Britons for Jihad in Syria)<sup>277</sup>
- ◆ HASSAN ABOUD (head of the Salafi-Jihadi AHRAR AL-SHAAM, a Syrian rebel militia supported by WALEED AL-TABTABAI as discussed above).<sup>278</sup>
- ◆ SALAH SULTAN (Egyptian Ministry of Endowments during MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD government, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS, EUROPEAN COUNCIL FOR FATWA AND RESEARCH).<sup>279</sup>
- ◆ SAFWAT HEJAZY (Egyptian cleric banned from the UK and France for glorifying terrorist violence)<sup>280</sup>

The participants called on Sunni Muslims to support the Syrian rebels "through every kind of jihad, including armed military jihad, financial jihad, and any other kind of assistance that can save them from the deadly and criminal fist of the sectarian regime." The clerics also called on Sunni Muslims worldwide to embark on Jihad for the sake of the Syrian people, and urged Arab and Muslim governments to take a firmer stance against the Syrian regime, assist the rebels, and sever their ties with Russia, Iran and China.<sup>281</sup>

#### 11. SEPTEMBER 2013 WILL OF THE PEOPLE CONFERENCE

From 25-26 September 2013, a conference was held in Istanbul titled 'The World Amid a Coup Against The Will and Free Choices of the People'.<sup>282</sup> The conference program described the main organizers as the MUSLIM THINKERS FORUM, described above; and the GLOBAL FORUM FOR ISLAMIC PARLIAMENTARIANS,

a The UMMAH PARTY was created in 2013 as an outgrowth of AL ISLAH, the Muslim Brotherhood in the UAE. The group's writings are said to "reconcile Salafism's borderless struggle for global Islamization with the Brotherhood's more tailored approach of transforming countries one at a time. See: <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/07/the-muslim-brotherhoods-more-frightening-offshoot/277786/>

b المجلس التنسيقي الاسلامي العالمي





Announcement of the 2015 GAAC conference published on [aqsanusra.qawim.net](http://aqsanusra.qawim.net)

a group describing itself as “a global independent body grouping Islamist parliamentarians of all countries for coordination, consultation and cooperation.”<sup>283</sup> Partner organizations included:

- ♦ GLOBAL ANTI-AGGRESSION CAMPAIGN (GAAC)
- ♦ INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS (see above)
- ♦ ALKARAMA FOUNDATION (profiled above)
- ♦ INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC THINKING (Turkish think tank headed by the AK Party Deputy Chairman)<sup>284 285</sup>
- ♦ CORDOBA FOUNDATION, London (see above)<sup>286</sup>
- ♦ INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC COORDINATION COUNCIL (see above)
- ♦ CONSULTATION CENTRE FOR STUDIES AND RIGHTS, Istanbul (now known as the INTERNATIONAL COALITION FOR FREEDOM AND RIGHTS created in November 2013 and headed by ALTIKRITI).<sup>287 288 289</sup>

Video of the conference also indicates that ANAS ALTIKRITI participated in the conference and conference material lists him as one of the session moderators.<sup>290 291</sup>

Other participants in the conference included:<sup>292</sup>

- ♦ SALIM AL-SAYDI (deputy head of the Muslim Thinkers Forum)<sup>293</sup>
- ♦ ISSAM EL-BASHIR (former Sudanese minister under HASSAN AL-TURABI, EUROPEAN COUNCIL FOR FATWA AND RESEARCH, ISLAMIC RELIEF)<sup>294</sup>
- ♦ ZAKI BIN IRSHEID (Jordan, MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD)<sup>295</sup>
- ♦ MAHA AZZAM (EGYPTIAN REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL)<sup>296</sup>
- ♦ ALI AL-QARADAGHI (INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS)<sup>297</sup>
- ♦ BEKIR BOZDAĞ (Turkish Deputy Prime Minister)
- ♦ HUSSEIN AL-KAZAZ, (Egypt, businessman and economic advisor to the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD, advisor to President Morsi)<sup>298</sup>
- ♦ ABDUL HAMID JELASSI (Tunisia, senior leader in ENNAHDA Party)<sup>299</sup>
- ♦ YASSEN AKTAY (Turkey, chairman of the INSTITUTE OF STRATEGIC THINKING, AK Party Deputy Chairman)<sup>300 301</sup>
- ♦ OLIVER MCERNAN (UK, head of FORWARD THINKING, has appeared with Global Muslim Brotherhood leaders).<sup>302</sup>

A program aired on Turkey's TRT TV channel raised several points about the conference:<sup>303</sup>

- ♦ The conference dealt with the democratic process in the Arab world in light of the 'Arab Spring', and what was titled as “the revolution against the will of the people”, especially the toppling of the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD regime in Egypt.
- ♦ Turkish Deputy Prime Minister BEKIR BOZDAĞ, maintained that the Turkish government does not support anyone; rather, the government was concerned that the revolution was against democracy.
- ♦ The important role played by the IUMS and IICC in organizing the conference was raised several times, despite the fact that in the official program these organizations are listed as partners, and not as the main organizers.

During the program HASAN YUSUF, a member of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, was interviewed from London. According to YUSUF, what was expected from the conference was legal assistance against the SISI regime, as well as help with the media since Egyptian media speaks against Islamists and the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD. In addition, YUSUF asserted that AL-QARADAGHI



called for the formation of an international committee that would collect material regarding war crimes committed by the new, non-MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD regimes (to which he referred as 'revolutionary'), Egypt in particular; as well as a media committee to coordinate the message. Efforts were said to be underway to form the war crimes committee.

A new coalition emerged from this conference known as the GLOBAL COORDINATOR TO SUPPORT RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS.<sup>a</sup> A statement dated 29 June 2014 explained the founding of the organization as follows:

As a response to the decisions of the international conference (the world under the reversal on the peoples will) which had been organized 25&26 September 2013 in Istanbul – Turkey with the attendance of more than 200 international , Arab and Islamic organizations & persons of 22 country. The conference had been organized by the Muslim intellectuals forum and the international forum of Islamic parliamentarians and their partners .it recommended the establishment of coordinating office to follow up the decisions of the con-



ference including launching an international cooperation to support rights and democracy and to be against the reversal on the peoples will. The founders met on 9/10/2013 and they established (The international coordinating to support rights & liberties) with the role of coordinating the international, regional and Arab efforts to support rights and liberties and to be against the reversal on the peoples will. One of the priorities of the coordinating is supporting the efforts of peoples in the Arab world or any other international initiatives towards rights and liberties.<sup>b</sup> 304

a التنسيقية العالمية لدعم الحقوق و الحريات

b Errors part of the original text.

The statement also indicated that the new organization would be registered in Istanbul and that its board was comprised of the following organizations:

- ♦ GLOBAL ANTI-AGGRESSION CAMPAIGN
- ♦ INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS (see above)
- ♦ THE MUSLIM INTELLECTUALS FORUM (likely the same as the MUSLIM THINKERS FORUM, see above)
- ♦ GLOBAL FORUM FOR ISLAMIC PARLIAMENTARIANS (see above)
- ♦ THE INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC COORDINATION COUNCIL (see above)
- ♦ GULF AND ARABIAN PENINSULA UNITY FORUM – KUWAIT (launched in Bahrain in October 2011, the Forum claims to be the first created in the Gulf to maintain unity and joint political interests)<sup>305</sup>
- ♦ ALKARAMA FOUNDATION<sup>c</sup> (profiled above)
- ♦ INSTITUTE OF STRATEGIC THINKING (Turkey, think tank headed by the AK Party Deputy Chairman)<sup>306 307</sup>
- ♦ CORDOBA FOUNDATION (United Kingdom, see above)<sup>308</sup>
- ♦ ISLAMIC LEGITIMATE BODY OF RIGHTS AND REFORMATION – EGYPT (founded 2011, mainly Salafists but includes MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD figure KHAIRAT AL-SHATER).<sup>309</sup>

The statement went on to identify the chairman of the organization as ABDULLAH AKASH AL-ABDALI, a former Kuwaiti parliamentarian, and his three Deputies:<sup>310</sup>

- ♦ YASSEN AKTAY (Turkey, chairman of the INSTITUTE OF STRATEGIC THINKING, AK Party Deputy Chairman)<sup>311 312</sup>
- ♦ IHAB SHEEHA (Egypt, leader of the Salafist AL-ASALA PARTY)<sup>313</sup>
- ♦ MOHAMMED SALEM AL-RASHED (editor of Kuwait's largest Islamic weekly magazine AL-MUJTAMA, executive vice president of GULF AND ARABIAN PENINSULA UNITY FORUM).<sup>314</sup>

The following committees of the GLOBAL COORDINATOR TO SUPPORT RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS were also identified:

- ♦ LEGAL AND IDEOLOGICAL COMMITTEE headed by ALI AL-QARADAGHI,

c Referred to in the source as the JURISTS ASSOCIATION – Geneva.

## INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS (IUMS)

- ◆ HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE headed by ABDUL RAHMAN BIN UMAIR AL-NUAIMI
- ◆ POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC COMMITTEE headed by NASSER AL-SANE (Kuwait, former MP, member of the ISLAMIC CONSTITUTIONAL MOVEMENT, head of the SOCIAL REFORM SOCIETY)<sup>a 315 316</sup>
- ◆ MEDIA COMMITTEE, headed by MUHAMMAD AL-QADDOUSI (Egyptian broadcaster and poet).<sup>317 318</sup>

The GLOBAL COORDINATOR TO SUPPORT RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS has a currently inactive Facebook page - with postings chiefly about Gaza as well as a YouTube channel, and a Twitter feed that has not been updated since the founding conference.<sup>319 320 321</sup> The group's Facebook page lists a contact telephone number in Kuwait.

## 12. APRIL 2015 IRAQI HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE

From 16-17 April 2015, a founding conference was held that established a new organization known as the INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COALITION FOR IRAQ (IHRCI).<sup>b376</sup> The conference took place in Istanbul under the auspices of the GLOBAL COORDINATOR TO SUPPORT RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS and was reportedly organized by Iraqi jurists together with Arab and international humanitarian organizations, under the slogan "no violations". The IHRCI website says that representatives of 'more than 64 organizations' attended the conference, among them international and Arab organizations from Iraq, Algeria, Saudi Arabia and Sudan, including:

- ◆ THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL (UNHRC)
- ◆ HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH
- ◆ AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL
- ◆ ARAB ORGANIZATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (AOHR)
- ◆ IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation<sup>c</sup>

a The ISLAMIC CONSTITUTIONAL MOVEMENT is the political arm of the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD in Kuwait, see: <http://carnegieendowment.org/2007/02/13/pushing-toward-party-politics-kuwait-s-islamic-constitutional-movement>

b AL-ITILAF AL-HUQUQI AL-DUWALI MIN AJL AL-IRAQ

c Turkish charity close to the Muslim Brotherhood in Turkey that was central in the organization of the May 2010 Gaza Flotilla,

The conference featured speeches and specialized sessions focusing on documenting and archiving material regarding the alleged violations of human rights in Iraq as well the the potential of taking these issues to international tribunals and raising media awareness on the issue.

The conference was opened and closed by ANAS ALTIKRITI. His opening remarks were followed by ABDUL AZIZ AL-JUMAYLI, who represented the GLOBAL COORDINATOR TO SUPPORT RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS and also headed the preparatory committee of the conference. AL-JUMAYLI defined the newly established body as a civil society organization that would focus on the issues of human rights.<sup>377</sup> Another member of the preparatory committee was HUSSEIN AL-ZUBAIDI, said to head a national relief organization which focuses on the Diyala province of Iraq.<sup>378</sup>

Others in attendance at the conference were:

- ◆ TOBY CADMAN, UK lawyer specializing in human rights
- ◆ JAMAL AL-NAJDI, Sudanese human rights activist
- ◆ MUHAMMAD JAMIL, head of the AOHR
- ◆ RABIH HADDAD, the Executive Director of GAAC<sup>379</sup>

JAMIL spoke about the necessity of banning terrorist groups which claimed they were fighting terror, among them the Shiite militias in Iraq, a subject that he said was largely neglected. Both JAMIL and CADMAN have interacted with the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD.<sup>d</sup>

According to the conference closing statement, the new organization will focus on:

- 1 Documenting violations of human rights in Iraq as well as creating awareness about the subject
- 2 Cooperating with international institutions and organizations in building files of human rights violations in order to bring them to the "international stage"

see [http://jcpa.org/text/Turkey\\_Muslim\\_Brotherhood.pdf](http://jcpa.org/text/Turkey_Muslim_Brotherhood.pdf)

d For example, both JAMIL and CADMAN were in attendance at a November 2013 event in Istanbul centered on the deposition of former Egyptian President Morsi and which also featured German Muslim Brotherhood leader IBRAHIM EL-ZAYAT and ISMAIL PATEL, close to the Hamas support infrastructure in the UK.

- 3 Calling on official international organizations to take responsibility for the issue of human rights in Iraq, Including the relevant UN assemblies
- 4 Calling on the relevant Iraqi governmental institutions and senior leaders to carry out their responsibilities on the subject.

An executive management was reportedly created to ensure that these tasks are carried out.

ANAS ALTIKRITI was interviewed at length about the conference and the newly established body.<sup>380</sup> He spoke about both the importance and difficulty of human rights work in Iraq where different armed groups are committing violations. He also said that he has been warning against making the issue of human rights -- especially in third world countries -- an international issue, out of fear that it would eventually be used against these countries but nevertheless, he said the people of Iraq had no alternative channels. ALTIKRITI added that the world must also understand that ISIS was not the only problem Iraq was facing as too many think, but there were also other militias like [the Shiite] AL-HASHAD AL-SHA'ABI. According to ALTIKRITI, people involved in the new body were interested in bringing those in charge of the situation to face international courts, including politicians. He also stressed the necessary for the mobilization in different issues via civil society organizations because governments do not tend to act unless they have an interest in doing so.

## GAAC TODAY

### 1. WEBSITE:

The GAAC's first website was established sometime around May 2003, and early web pages featured news about the campaign as well as articles critical of events in Iraq and Palestine.<sup>322 323 324</sup> An Israeli scholar has written that a website which monitored Jihadist activity had notified the site's hosting company and the site was subsequently taken down.<sup>325</sup> As of May 2005, the domain hosting the GAAC site was no longer active.<sup>326</sup>

The GAAC registered two additional Internet domains in 2004. The first domain, qawim.org, was created in August 2003; until approximately August 2006, it was registered to an individual who could not be identified - using a PO Box and telephone number in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.<sup>327</sup> From around August 2006 until around August 2008, this domain was registered to the same individual using an address in the

Bekaa Valley of Lebanon.<sup>a 328</sup> The technical contact for the domain at this time was listed as KASSEM SAWAN at the same Lebanese address. Both individuals listed the same phone number used by KASSEM SAWAN to register the AL-ABRAR CHARITABLE SOCIETY, also located in the Bekaa Valley and known to be part of the UNION OF GOOD, discussed above.<sup>b 329</sup> Until sometime in April 2015, this site was being hosted on servers located in the US and mirrored the main GAAC website, but appears inactive at the time of this writing.

The second GAAC domain, qawim.net, appears to be the main GAAC website and was first registered in 2004 to ABDURRAHMAN IBN SIDDIG, using domain servers located in the UAE. Since around December 2006, this domain has been registered to a California company known as LUNARPAGES - which has also hosted qawim.net as well as the AL-ABRAR CHARITABLE SOCIETY.<sup>330 331</sup> Similar to the older domain, the GAAC English language webpages on the new domain consist largely of news items both written by the GAAC and extracted from Western news sources, some with re-written titles and all consistent with the GAAC theme that Muslims are under attack by the US and its allies. The most recent examples include:<sup>332</sup>

- ♦ FBI Used No-Fly List to Bully Muslims Into Becoming Informers
- ♦ CIA Kidnapped, Tortured the "Wrong Guy," Says Former Agency Operative Glenn Carle
- ♦ US launches new open-ended war in the Muslim world
- ♦ West exploits epidemic to increase military foothold in Africa
- ♦ Documents to Hide Truth About Tracking OSAMA BIN LADEN.

The latest GAAC news story is from October 2014, and since then the page has not been updated.<sup>c</sup>

Although the GAAC operates an English website, most of its focus has been in Arabic and on updating and maintaining its Arabic website and social network tools. The Arabic website contains timely articles written especially for it, has an archive of various communiqués [*bayans*] issued by the Campaign, and promotes the culture of 'resistance'

a The Bekaa Valley is best known as a center for HIZBULLAH.

b From around August 2008 to date, the domain has been privacy protected and no further information is available.

c At the time of this writing, the website hosted on this domain is not functional with "dead" homepage links and all other links resulting in server error messages.

[*muqawama*] by publishing articles and poems. A special section is dedicated to reporting the “axis of evil” – under which are included the US and British governments, Israel and the Iranians (Shiites).<sup>333</sup> These have been the subjects of most of the Campaign’s denunciation. As the Israeli scholar previously referred to has noted, the messages reflected in English and Arabic are entirely different in nature: the Arabic messages have always been much more radical and aggressive.<sup>334</sup>

The GAAC also operates a Facebook page which mainly connects to the articles published on its website, as well as a less active Twitter account.<sup>335 336</sup> The introductory words on the GAAC’s Twitter account are noteworthy: “Aggression unchallenged becomes an epidemic.”

## 2. RECENT ACTIVITY

In January 2015 RABIH HADDAD was interviewed at length on the MISR ALAAN TV channel, known to be affiliated with the Egyptian MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD. Haddad said he saw in the counter revolution in Egypt against the will of the people (i.e. the overthrowing of the Muslim Brotherhood regime) a form of aggression, against which the Campaign was struggling. Haddad claimed that the actions which brought about the replacement of the ‘will of the people’ with the SISI regime were funded by multinational companies working for the interests of ‘neo-liberalism’, which control such areas as food and petrol supplies, agriculture etc. The starting point of these companies’ wide influence was Camp David (i.e. the signing of the Egypt-Israel peace agreements). He added that a certain level of awareness had to be reached so the Egyptians could resist these companies, whose names he refused to disclose.<sup>337</sup>

Following the death penalty issued by an Egyptian court against deposed President Mohamed Morsi in May 2015, a group of organizations issued a statement protesting the decision.<sup>338</sup> The signatories on the statement express their concerns regarding the death sentences imposed on President MORSI, the first elected President; SAAD AL-KATATNI, the first elected chair of the Parliament; and many other MPs. They maintain that justice in Egypt had collapsed, and that the actions of the regime since 3 July 2013 have reached a level of war crimes and crimes against humanity. The signatories call upon the ‘free people of the world’ to put pressure on their governments and on international human rights organizations to pressure the Egyptian regime, and on the UN Human Rights Committee to appoint a special envoy to make sure justice is done with all acts of execution and imprisonment.

The organizations that signed the statement included:

- ♦ GLOBAL ANTI-AGGRESSION CAMPAIGN (GAAC)<sup>a</sup>
- ♦ GLOBAL COORDINATOR TO SUPPORT RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS<sup>b</sup>
- ♦ GLOBAL FORUM FOR ISLAMIC PARLIAMENTARIANS<sup>c</sup>
- ♦ ARAB ORGANIZATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS UK (tied to Global Muslim Brotherhood)<sup>339</sup>
- ♦ HUMAN RIGHTS MONITOR (NOURELDIN ABDELHALIM, former Operations Manager for EDUCATION AID FOR PALESTINIANS, a member of the UNION OF GOOD)<sup>d 340 341</sup>
- ♦ JOURNALISTS WITHOUT BORDERS<sup>e f</sup>
- ♦ INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS (IARF) (a Turkish based organization headed by FAWAZ SAHOUD HILAL AL ANZI which also operates a UK branch)<sup>g 342 343 344</sup>
- ♦ COUNCIL FOR RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS EGYPT (an Egyptian human rights group which also operates a branch in Istanbul, member of the INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS)<sup>345 346</sup>
- ♦ INTERNATIONAL COALITION FOR FREEDOMS AND RIGHTS (formerly known as the CONSULTATION CENTRE FOR STUDIES AND RIGHTS, Istanbul, headed by ANAS ALTIKRITI)<sup>347</sup>
- ♦ NAJDA FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (United Kingdom, registered in 2013 to ALAA KHALEFA, a designer at ALARABY TV NETWORK and volunteer for NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR CHANGE – EGYPT, associated with MOHAMMED ELBARADEI)<sup>h 348 349 350</sup>

a الحملة العالمية لمقاومة العدوان

b التنسيق العالمية لدعم الحقوق والحريات

c المنتدى العالمي للبرلمانيين الإسلاميين

d NOURELDIN ABDELHALIM is the registrant for humanrights.net and humanrights.info as well as insaniya.org, whose website theme and logo closely match that of humanrights.org. See: [https://whoisology.com/archive\\_5/insaniya.org](https://whoisology.com/archive_5/insaniya.org) and <http://insaniya.org/>

e إعلاميون بلا حدود

f JOURNALISTS WITHOUT BORDERS may either be the well-known REPORTERS WITHOUT BORDERS, or possibly the organization of young Palestinian media students based in Ramallah. See: <https://www.facebook.com/JWB.Palestine>

g الرابطة العالمية للحقوق والحريات

h نجدة لحقوق الإنسان - لندن



On 20 May 2015, the GAAC Facebook page posted a notice about an upcoming GAAC three-day conference that would focus on the AL-AQSA MOSQUE.<sup>351</sup> The conference was scheduled to have been held in Istanbul during the weekend of 30 July – 1 August.<sup>352</sup>

### 3. CONTACT INFORMATION

The GAAC website currently lists a telephone number and postal code in Beirut, Lebanon, as well as bank account information for the ARAB FINANCE HOUSE SAL in Beirut and the BANK CREDIT SUISSE in Lausanne, Switzerland.<sup>353 354</sup> The site also contains a membership application and annual dues of \$50.<sup>355</sup>

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GAAC

As this report has demonstrated, key Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD leaders and their organizations have been intimately involved for twelve years with the GLOBAL ANTI-AGGRESSION CAMPAIGN (GAAC), an organization dominated by Salafists with a history of support for violence directed mainly at the United States and its allies. While Salafists have always appeared to have been in control of the GAAC, individuals tied to the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD have participated in its founding and re-launch – in one case serving as Vice-President of the organization – and have participated actively and extensively in its international conferences. Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD leader YOUSSEF QARADAWI has given his imprimatur to the GAAC through his role in its founding and his own participation in GAAC conferences. Additionally, in 2013 the GAAC became part of a new coalition of politically active Salafists that also includes QARADAWI's INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS. This coalition also includes the CORDOBA FOUNDATION, headed by ANAS ALTIKRITI, key spokesman and lobbyist for the Muslim Brotherhood in Britain, and is headed by the Deputy Chairman of the Turkish AK Party, also close to the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD.<sup>a 356</sup>

This role played in the GAAC can be seen as part of the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD's reaction to the 11 September 2001 attacks. The BROTHERHOOD has

always displayed an ambivalent reaction to 9/11 – sometimes condemning it, at other times denying the attackers were Arabs, and at times appearing to celebrate the event. However, by its participation in the founding of the GAAC in 2003, the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD threw its weight behind those who view the US as the enemy of Islam – rather than directing its efforts against the Jihadists such as those who attacked the Twin Towers. The GAAC President ABDUL RAHMAN BIN UMAIR AL-NUAIMI has made it clear that the GAAC views the US as a key enemy of Islam and that the purpose of the GAAC is to fight the US and its allies, a fight which by his admission included close GAAC cooperation with the violent insurgency directed against Iraqi and Coalition forces in Iraq. While this support of the Iraqi insurgency, along with conferences centered on both Iraq and Palestine, may appear to fit with the BROTHERHOOD's notion of 'defensive Jihad', this report has also documented that GAAC leaders and key individuals have been providing various forms of support for Salafi Jihadist groups including AL-QAEDA. GAAC founders, officers, and trustees include those who have been convicted and/or accused of the following:

- ♦ Working for the precursor organization of AL-QAEDA.
- ♦ Providing operational guidance for attacks against Iraqi and Coalition forces in Iraq.
- ♦ Giving religious sanction to Iraqi insurgency tactics such as kidnapping and killing foreigners.
- ♦ Recruiting Jihadists in Kuwait for terrorist activity including for AL-QAEDA in Iraq.
- ♦ Serving as religious leaders and financiers for a Kuwait-based terrorist cell that plotted to attack US and Kuwaiti targets.
- ♦ Issuing fatwas legitimizing suicide operations, including "bringing down an airplane on an important site that causes the enemy great casualties."
- ♦ Praising OSAMA BIN LADEN as "the lion of Islam" and "an international Muslim leader."
- ♦ Suggesting an anthrax attack on the US that was "guaranteed to kill 330,000 Americans within a single hour."
- ♦ Recruiting for AL-QAEDA training camps and playing a key role in the purchase of weapons on behalf of AL-QAEDA and other terrorists.
- ♦ Providing money and material support and conveying communications to AL-QAEDA and its affiliates in Syria, Iraq, Somalia and Yemen.
- ♦ Providing funds to two US-designated AL-SHABAAB figures.
- ♦ Having extensive contacts with a close associate of OSAMA BIN LADEN, who was convicted for his role

a By posing as a human rights group, this coalition represents the new growing trend seen in the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD, which is the creation of new front organizations using the mantle of human rights – the subject of a future GMBRC report.



in the 1998 bombings of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

At least seven of these leading GAAC figures and/or their organizations have been designated as terrorists by the United States, the EU, and/or the United Nations in connection with the above activities - including both the GAAC President and Executive Director.<sup>a b</sup> Arabic media reports also identify at least three GAAC figures as funders of ISIS.

This history of the relationship between the GAAC and the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD raises important issues by calling into question the usefulness of the conceptual categories being employed to describe these Islamist movements. As scholar Thomas Hegghammer explains:

“As theological concepts, “Salafism” and “Jihadi-Salafism” thus have limitations when it comes to analysing Islamist militancy. Put simply, the adjective “Salafi” highlights a distinction that is secondary in informing political behaviour such as violence. When we say that a Jihadi has become Salafi (or vice-versa), it tells us virtually nothing about whom he considers his main enemy or where and how he is going to fight. In order to capture these differences, we may need to approach the phenomenon from a different angle.”<sup>357</sup>

Similarly, the history of the GAAC suggests that the theological distinction between Salafist and MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD also says nothing about whom these

groups consider to be the “main enemy and therefore nothing about their willingness to work together against those they perceive to be the enemy.”

As already noted, it is clear that the GAAC and its leaders view the US and its allies as the key enemy of Islam. This view is consistent with an introductory course given to new Muslim Brothers in Egypt in which the US is deemed to be the leader of an “unholy alliance of secular crusaders and Zionists and Muslims devoted to worldly interest.” The course also informs new Brothers that it is this US-led coalition which has “invented globalization in order to corrupt Muslims who are the last bulwark to its hegemony.”<sup>358</sup>

By its participation in the GAAC, the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD appears to have set aside its theological differences with the Salafists and the Salafi/Jihadis in order to join this fight against the US. This should call into question the entire history of Western efforts to engage with the Global MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD - in a misguided attempt to find a reliable Islamic partner to help combat the very same groups with which the BROTHERHOOD has been cooperating.<sup>c</sup> It should also call into question the wisdom of supporting so called ‘political Salafists’ who are said to endorse democracy - as the report demonstrates that they too are not averse to cooperating with those engaged in, or supporting violence against the West and its allies.

a While it is true that the above activities do not appear to have been publicly sanctioned by, or carried out by the GAAC itself, it is also true that no instance was found where the GAAC or any of its leaders or members have condemned them. It should also be noted that the GAAC President AL-NUAIMI has said that part of the GAAC’s work takes place in secret - so it is not possible to know the extent to which the GAAC was also involved in these activities.

b In an excerpt from an interview available on AL-HAWALI’s personal website, he attempts to clarify what might be seen as a contradiction between the Jihadi obligation to act against an ‘aggression’ and what are said to be the peaceful nature of the actions of the Campaign. According to AL-HAWALI, there are very important means like the media and the law to answer this “comprehensive aggression” which targets Islam in all aspects. The first step is to reach a fully accepted statement as to the nature of this “aggression” and clarify the truths of Islam. The second step should hopefully come after one or two generations in uniting the Muslim Ummah [nation] and its speech under entities and governments; this would bring about the process that will launch the true Jihad on which the Prophet had also spoken. See: <http://www.alhawali.com/main/5754-4-search-دور الحملة العالمية في المقاومة والتوعية.html>

c For a history of these attempts, see: ‘Washington’s Secret History with the Muslim Brotherhood’, <http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2011/feb/05/washingtons-secret-history-muslim-brotherhood/>



# APPENDIX 1

## GAAC Executive Committee<sup>360</sup>

ALI BIN OMAR BADAHDAH (Imam and Khateeb of SAEED BIN JUBAIR MOSQUE, member of the faculty of KING ABDULAZIZ UNIVERSITY, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MUSLIM SCHOLARS)<sup>a 361 362</sup>

- ♦ FARID BEN OTHMAN HABIB (cleric named in Arabic media reports as an ISIS financier)<sup>363 364</sup>
- ♦ HASSAN BIN ALI AL-ZAHRANI (Assistant Professor, Faculty of Medicine KING FAHD MEDICAL CITY)<sup>365 366</sup>
- ♦ HUSSEIN BIN MOHAMMED AL-BARR (Faculty of Medicine, KING ABDUL AZIZ UNIVERSITY, member of the Municipal Council in Jeddah)<sup>367</sup>
- ♦ BASSIM BIN ABDULLAH ALIM (INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC LAWYERS ORGANIZATION, launched in February 2012 by the MUSLIM WORLD LEAGUE)<sup>368 369 370</sup>
- ♦ AWAD BIN MOHAMMED AL-QARNI (a leading Saudi cleric and former university professor).<sup>371 372</sup>
- ♦ SAID BIN NASSER AL-GHAMIDI (Professor of Religion, University of Umm Al-Qura, signed a letter in support of Iraqi “Resistance”)<sup>373 374</sup>

<sup>a</sup> In 2009, delivered a talk on the ‘Palestinian Cause’ on the virtual world known as Second Life. See: <http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/babylonbeyond/2009/03/saudi-arabia-cl.html>



# APPENDIX 2

## GAAC Founding Declaration<sup>375</sup>

### MAKKAH ANTI-AGGRESSION CAMPAIGN

The Muslim Ummah has been subjected to vicious aggression at the hands of the forces of tyranny and oppression, especially the Zionists and the American administration led by right-wing extremist, that are working to expand their control over nations and peoples, loot their resources, to destroy their will, and to change their educational curricula and social system.

This aggression is comprehensive in nature and has taken the form of falsifying facts, ridiculing Islamic values, attacking the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad Allah's blessing and peace be upon him, deceptive media campaigns, and economic extortion. One of the worst forms it has taken has been armed attacks on peaceful countries and peoples such as the American and British invasions we have seen in Iraq and Afghanistan which have destroyed industrial facilities and infrastructure, killed women, children and the elderly, and destroyed cities over the heads of their occupants in an insult to the concept of human dignity which are protected by all laws and religions, and in violation of treaties and conventions. This is besides what the Zionists are doing through occupying Palestine, expelling unbending people infringing their rights, and defiling Islamic holy places.

This sinful aggression has caused humanity to revert to the hateful days of colonialism when the imperial states violated the inviolability of weak peoples - exploiting their resources and fiddling with their values- when the law of jungle reigned supreme.

In rejection of this aggression the signatories to this Declaration summoned to proclaim (The Global Anti-Aggression Campaign), as a framework in which to unite the efforts of members of the Ummah in alerting the community concerning its right to self-defense and resistance to the aggression of its enemies in all possible legitimate and effective means.

The founding of this campaign shall be in accordance with the instructions of Allah and His Messenger - peace and

blessing be upon him - to cooperate in righteousness and piety, and to come to the aid of the oppressed and repel aggressors. The goals of the campaign are as follows:

- 1 To work to alert the Ummah concerning the plans of its enemies, calling on the community to protect its identity.
- 2 To repel the aggression of our enemies with all possible legitimate means.
- 3 To reawaken the Islamic spirit among Muslims to serve their Faith and nation, and to defend their rights.
- 4 To clarify the true image of Islam, to explain the humanitarian and ethical aspects of its laws, and to expose the falsehood of the campaigns of prejudice against Islam.
- 5 To work for cooperation and coordination between the efforts of both governmental and non-governmental organizations in service to Muslim causes throughout the Islamic World.
- 6 To work for active cooperation among peoples, organizations, and international bodies opposed to the oppression and domination of peoples and their resources.

The Global Anti-Aggression Campaign is a non-governmental, independent, peaceful, educational campaign of volunteers. Participation is open to all members of the Ummah.

We call on all peoples, governments, supporters of truth and justice, and friends of peace to cooperate with the campaign to reject this aggression, and to work together to spread the values of truth and justice.





# APPENDIX 3<sup>a</sup>

## February 2009 'Third Jihadist Front' Conference Statement

13/02/2009

In the name of Allah the Most-merciful the All-merciful

**A statement by the religious scholars and proselytisers (du'a) of the Islamic Nation (ummah) to all rulers and peoples concerning events in Gaza**

Praise to Allah who strengthened His troops, aided His servants and alone routed the Zionist Jews, who says,

'It was incumbent on Us to aid the believers.' [Quran 30:47]

And blessing and peace be on the Imam of the mujahidin who says,

'There will remain a group of my Ummah adhering to the truth, and those who oppose them will not harm them until Allah's command comes.' [Hadith]

(And now to our topic).

This statement is addressed to the Islamic Nation, its religious scholars, its rulers and its peoples. In it we congratulate the whole family of Islam on the manifest victory which Allah has granted us in the land of Gaza, a land of pride and dignity, over the Zionist Jewish occupiers. Allah has appointed it as the first step in the complete victory for all of Palestine and the holy places of the Muslims. Furthermore, we herein emphatically affirm various resolutions and judgments.

### **I. Affirmation of the following unequivocal resolutions:**

1. We affirm that the victory that Allah accomplished by means of our brothers the mujahidin, our defiant and steadfast kinsfolk in Gaza, was indeed achieved through His favor and help - exalted be He! It was also achieved through fulfilling the religious obligation of jihad in His way. This is a confirmation of His statement sublime is He! -

'How often a small party overcame a large party, by Allah's leave.' [Quran, 2:249]

2. We affirm that this manifest victory has clearly disclosed the volume of international and local military and political conspiracy against the jihad and the mujahidin in Gaza, as represented by the following:

- ◆ Military co-operation in tightening the blockade and closing the crossings to the people of Gaza, especially the Rafah crossing
- ◆ Public or quasi-public support for the enemy
- ◆ The prevention of demonstrations and popular events held in support of the mujahidin; the arrest, trial and severe punishments of those who instigate them • The aggressive pressure put on the mujahidin to break their will and force them to

<sup>a</sup> It should be noted that the three Danish signatories took their names off the Declaration, which currently has 87 signatories. The original version is available on several websites which forwarded it, see for example: <http://www.muslim.org/vb/archive/index.php/t333600.html>; <http://almoslim.net/node/107077>

agree to their [the conspirators] terms and the stipulations of the Zionist enemy • The attempt to present the Hamas government as the cause of this malicious Jewish Zionist war over Gaza

- ◆ The absence of any official and effective Arab and Islamic stance and its weakness in reflecting the will of the Arab and Islamic peoples to help our brothers in Gaza win. This indicates the width of the gap between the Nation and those rulers who lead it
- ◆ The use of funds for reconstruction and aid to those hurt as a negative pressure card on the mujahidin to abandon their legitimate demands, or some of them
- ◆ The prevention of delivery of aid and reconstruction funds to the Hamas government and the reliable authorities in Gaza; deeming the Palestinian Authority, represented by the presidency of Abbas and the Fayyad government, the sole representative of the Palestinian people, without the Hamas government; and the delivery of such funds and aid to increase their grip on the legitimate elected government of Hamas. This redoubles the suffering of the people of Gaza at the time they mostly need those funds and aid.

3. We affirm in full conviction that the Palestinian Authority, whose mandate is coming to an end, is not eligible to represent the Palestinian people. It stands outside the will of its people, and has given up the choice of jihad in the way of Allah Almighty as an effective means in defeating the occupation and the liberation of the Islamic holy places. It adopts the wishes of the Nation's enemies in exchange for the illusions of false peace.

4. We affirm in full conviction that the so-called Arab peace initiative is a proven betrayal of the Islamic Nation and the Palestinian cause, and a blatant betrayal of the Palestinian people. It aims to criminalise the Resistance [muqawama] against the Zionist occupying entity in perpetuity through its de facto recognition of it, as well as the confiscation of the right of refugees to return to their homes and their property.

## II. Affirmation of the following legal judgments:

1. The obligation of the Islamic Nation to rush to the aid of the people in Gaza; to rebuild what the Zionist aggression destroyed; to compensate the injured and support the widows, orphans, those suffering permanent disabilities, and the old and infirm.

2. The obligation of the Islamic Nation to restrict itself to dealing only with the legitimate elected Palestinian government (Hamas) in the delivery of aid and reconstruction of dwellings. It is the sole government authorised to do that by reason of its official legitimacy as well as its maintaining the Resistance against the Jewish Zionist occupation, its integrity, and its solidarity with the people in all circumstances.

3. The obligation of the Islamic Nation not to recognise the Palestinian Authority, whose mandate is ending, as representative of the Palestinian people. It must not elect it again, in view of its proven financial and administrative corruption as well as its squandering of time and assets behind the false peace process. It is also necessary to work seriously to choose a new authority that will guard the Palestinian ranks, respect their will and their right to resist the occupation, and work for the complete liberation of its land and holy places.

4. The obligation of the Islamic Nation to circulate a declaration to withhold aid funds from the undeserving or placing them in the hands of those who are not trustworthy. It must regard this as a legal betrayal that should be prosecuted, and punish those who cause mayhem, negligence and waste of these funds.

5. The obligation of the Islamic Nation to find a fair formula of reconciliation between the sons of the Palestinian people, under whose responsibility a legitimate authority will be formed that will attend to the fixed norms and the legitimate and national rights; and will carry on with the jihad and Resistance against the occupier until the liberation of all Palestine.

6. The obligation of the Islamic Nation to open the crossings -- all crossings -- in and out of Palestine permanently, in order to allow access to all the needs of the Palestinians -- money, clothing, food, medicine, weapons and other essentials, so that they are able to live and perform the jihad in the way of Allah Almighty. The closure of the crossings or the prevention of the entry of weapons through them should be regarded as high treason in the Islamic Nation, and clear support for the Zionist enemy.

7. The obligation of the Islamic Nation to regard everyone standing with the Zionist entity, whether countries, institutions or individuals, as providing a substantial contribution to the crimes and brutality of this entity; the position towards him is the same as towards this usurping entity.

8. The obligation of the Islamic Nation to regard the sending of foreign warships into Muslim waters, claiming to control the borders and prevent the smuggling of arms to Gaza, as a declaration of war, a new occupation, sinful aggression, and a clear violation of the sovereignty of the Nation. This must be rejected and fought by all means and ways.

To conclude: the Nation's scholars and proselytisers remind the Islamic Nation, rulers and ruled alike, of the necessity of returning to its religion, adhering to the book of its Lord and the *sunna* of his Prophet, working for its unity, and seizing control of the instruments of power that will make possible its supremacy and the preservation of its holy places and provisions

'Allah prevails in his purpose, but most people know not.' [Quran, 12: 21]).

#### The signatories

- 1) Sheikh Ahmad Sulaiman Ahif, Yemen
- 2) Dr. Ahmad al-Ghamidi, Saudi Arabia
- 3) Dr. Ahmad al-Misbahi, Yemen
- 4) Sheikh Ahmad Abdul Razzaq al-Raqihi, Yemen
- 5) Proselytiser [da'iya] Ahmad Muhammad Abdullah, Egypt
- 6) Sheikh Isma'il Abdul Bari, Yemen
- 7) Sheikh Isma'il Uthman Muhammad, Sudan
- 8) Dr. Amin Ali Muqbil, Yemen
- 9) Proselytiser Al-Amin Karkush, Algeria
- 10) Sheikh Bilal Baroudi, Lebanon
- 11) Proselytiser Tawarim Kishlakci, Turkey
- 12) Dr. Harith Sulaiman al-Dhari [Iraq]
- 13) Dr. Hakim al-Matiri, Kuwait
- 14) Proselytiser Hasan Salem Hasan, Qatar
- 15) Proselytiser Khalid al-Dhahir, Lebanon
- 16) Proselytiser Khalil Asi, Denmark
- 17) Proselytiser Daud Abdullah, Britain
- 18) Sheikh Raed al-Jabouri, Iraq
- 19) Sheikh Rachid al-Ghannouchi, Tunisia [resides in Britain]
- 20) Proselytiser Ribhi Subhi al-Atiwi, Jordan
- 21) Proselytiser Rabi Haddad, Lebanon
- 22) Dr. Sami Muhammad Saleh
- 23) Proselytiser Sami Najid Sa'id, Jordan
- 24) Dr. Shafi al-Hajiri, Qatar
- 25) Dr. Shaker Tawfiq al-Adouri, Jordan
- 26) Proselytiser Shah Jahan Abdul Qayyum, Britain
- 27) Dr. Shawkat Karashji, Kosovo
- 28) Sheikh Safwan Murshid, Yemen
- 29) Sheikh Salah Nasr al-Bahr, Yemen
- 30) Dr. Adel Hasan Yusuf al-Hamad, Bahrain
- 31) Sheikh Arif bin Ahmad al-Sabri, Yemen
- 32) Sheikh Abbas Ahmad al-Nahari
- 33) Sheikh Abdul Hai Yusuf, Sudan
- 34) Sheikh Abdul Rahman al-Khamisi, Yemen
- 35) Proselytiser Abdul Rahman Abdullah Jami'an, Kuwait

- 36) Dr. Abdul Salam Daud al-Kubaisi, Iraq
- 37) Dr. Abdul Samid al-Radhi, Morocco
- 38) Dr. Abdul Aziz Kamel, Egypt
- 39) Dr. Abdul Ali Masul, Morocco
- 40) Proselytiser Abdul Fattah Hamdash, Algeria
- 41) Dr. Abdul Karim al-Sheikh, Sudan
- 42) Sheikh Abdullah Ahmad al-Adini, Yemen
- 43) Sheikh Abdullah Hasan Khayrat, Yemen
- 44) Sheikh Abdullah Faysal al-Ahdal, Yemen
- 45) Sheikh Abdul Majid bin Muhammad al-Rimi, Yemen
- 46) Sheikh Abdul Malik al-Wazir, Yemen
- 47) Sheikh Abdil Wahid al-Khamisi, Yemen
- 48) Sheikh Abdul Wahhab al-Hamiqani, Yemen
- 49) Dr. Abdul Wahhab bin Lutf al-Dulaimi, Yemen
- 50) Proselytiser Izz al-Din Jarafa bin Muhammad, Algeria
- 51) Proselytiser Azzam al-Ayyubi, Lebanon
- 52) Dr. Ali Muhammad Maqboul al-Ahdal
- 53) Proselytiser Imad al-Din Bakri, Sudan
- 54) Proselytiser Imad Sa'ad, Iraq
- 55) Sheikh Omar Sulaiman al-Ashqar, Palestine
- 56) Proselytiser Faris Muhammad, Denmark
- 57) Sheikh Latif al-Sa'idi, Britain
- 58) Dr. Muhsin al-Awaji, Saudi Arabia
- 59) Proselytiser Muhammad al-Khalid, Denmark
- 60) Sheikh Muhammd al-Sadiq Mughlas, Yemen
- 61) Prof. Muhammad al-Ani, Britain
- 62) Proselytiser Muhammad al-Ghanim, Saudi Arabia
- 63) Proselytiser Muhammad al-Mufrih, Saudi Arabia
- 64) Sheikh Muhammad Ahmad al-Wazir, Yemen
- 65) Sheikh Muhammad bin Musa al-Amiri, Yemen
- 66) Sheikh Muhammad bin Nasr al-Hazmi, Yemen
- 67) Dr. Muhammad Juhaid Bu Aynain
- 68) Dr. Muhammad Ahmad Abdullah, Bahrain
- 69) Proselytiser Muhammad Khalid Muwasi, Palestine
- 70) Proselytiser Muhammad Salem al-Ali
- 71) Sheikh Muhammad Sa'ad al-Hatami, Yemen
- 72) Proselytiser Muhammad Sawalha, Palestine [resides in Britain]
- 73) Sheikh Muhammad Abdul Karim al-Da'is, Yemen
- 74) Sheikh Muhammad Abdul Karim Abu Faris
- 75) Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah al-Ghubaisi, Yemen
- 76) Sheikh Muhammad Ali al-Anasi, Yemen
- 77) Sheikh Muhammad Ali Mir'i, Yemen
- 78) Dr. Muhammad Magdi Krekar, Egypt
- 79) Sheikh Mudashir Ahmad Isma'il, Sudan
- 80) Sheikh Murad Ahmad al-Qudsi, Yemen
- 81) Dr. Mustafa al-Rif, Morocco
- 82) Proselytiser Nasser al-Fadhala, Bahrain
- 83) Dr. Nasser Jasim al-Sani, Kuwait
- 84) Proselytiser Nasif Nasser, Palestine
- 85) Proselytiser Nadhir Alan, Turkey
- 86) Sheikh Huza bin Sa'ad al-Asouri, Yemen



- 87) Dr. Hamam Sa'id, Jordan
- 88) Dr. Walid Musa'id al-Tabatibai, Kuwait
- 89) Proselytiser Yusuf al-Jababli, Tunisia
- 90) Proselytiser Yusuf Muhammad al-Barahimi

الحملة العالمية لمقاومة العدوان - بيان من علماء ودعاة الأمة الإسلامية إلى الحكام والشعوب كافة حول أحداث غزة

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# Addendum May 2016

## GAAC International Conference in support of Al-Aqsa, February 2016

On 12-14 February 2016, GAAC held an international conference in Istanbul in support of the Al-Aqsa Mosque and titled "Support in Al-Aqsa – a matter for the Nation [*ummah*] and priorities for action".<sup>1</sup> The conference took place at the Retaj Royale Istanbul hotel and consisted of workshops dedicated to specific issues and concluded with an "International Day In Support Of Al-Aqsa and Bayt Al-Maqdis" during which the conference participants gathered together.<sup>2</sup> Unlike in the past, publicity material for the conference was available only in Arabic and, in this case, Turkish. No English publications about the conference were available, and it was not reported by any English language media outlet. A conference website was hosted as a subdomain of the main GAAC Internet domain and pointed back to the GAAC Facebook page.<sup>3</sup>

When announcing the conference, GAAC Executive Director RABIH HADDAD reportedly expressed his hope that it would pose a "step forward in the world of Arab and Islamic conferences" due to its 'uncommon', practically oriented structure -- the conference was planned to be comprised only of specialized workshops on specific topics related to support of AL-AQSA, and each workshop was set to deliver an annual plan with achievable goals.<sup>4</sup> No speeches or general lectures were to be given. According to a Palestinian media report, the workshops were dedicated to the issues of politics; media; awareness; legal [*shari*] / ideological perspective; development; [human] rights; and 'resisting [*muqawamah*] the aggression'.<sup>5</sup>

One of the persons of interest at the conference was RIFAI AHMAD TAHA, described by various sources as a founding member, military leader and a key official of the US/UK designated terrorist group AL-GAMA'A AL-ISLAMIYA (ISLAMIC GROUP).<sup>6 7 8</sup> TAHA himself acknowledges being "one of the planners" of the assassination of Egyptian President ANWAR SADAT in 1981 following which he

was arrested and served a five-year sentence for terrorist activities.<sup>9 10</sup> TAHA has also been accused of plotting an assassination attempt against Egyptian President HOSNI MUBARAK during a visit to Ethiopia in 1995 and planning the 1997 massacre of tourists in Luxor.<sup>11 12 13</sup> Following his release from prison, he left Egypt and eventually settled in Afghanistan where he was a signatory to the infamous February 1998 fatwa "Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders" in which OSAMA BIN LADEN said "The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies -- civilians and military -- is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy mosque [Mecca] from their grip,"<sup>b 14 15 16</sup>

In August 1998, the US placed TAHA on the list of Specially Designated Terrorists together with OSAMA BIN LADEN, the ISLAMIC ARMY (aka Al Qaeda), and ABU HAFS AL-MASRI.<sup>c 17</sup> According to the New York Times, TAHA was "an associate of OSAMA BIN LADEN's since at least 1998" and in September 2000, AL JAZEERA aired a video of TAHA together with BIN LADEN and AYMAM AL-ZAWAHIRI calling for the release from imprisonment in the US of OMAR ABDUL RAHMAN, the so-called "Blind Sheikh."<sup>18 19</sup> At the end of the video, AL-ZAWAHIRI called for violence against the US. Six days after the bombing of the USS Cole in October 2000, TAHA called for launching attacks on US and "Jewish" interests in the region stating "let the embassies and centers be burned down, ships and destroyers destroyed and individuals killed."<sup>20</sup> In 2001, Taha was arrested in Damascus and returned to Egypt where he was once again imprisoned.<sup>d 21 22</sup> According to an Egyptian

a Bayt Al-Maqdis is an Islamic term for the Temple Mount and encompasses not only the Al-Aqsa mosque but the surrounding area as well. See <http://www.islamiclandmarks.com/palestine-masjid-al-aqsa/masjid-al-aqsa>

b TAHA was later forced to withdraw his signature under pressure from the ISLAMIC GROUP. See <http://www.unhas.ac.id/rhiza/arsip/TheLoomingTower.pdf> p. 260

c Possibly as a result his being named an unindicted co-conspirator in the US federal indictment of Osama Bin Laden and other AL QAEDA leaders in connection with the East African embassy bombings. See <http://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/802160/indict.pdf>

d The specific case under which he was prosecuted is unclear but

media report, he was released on 5 September 2012 in events following the toppling of HOSNI MUBARAK and on 11 September participated in a demonstration in front of the US Embassy in Cairo where he joined what were described as other “Al Qaeda affiliated jihadists” calling on their followers to punish the producers of the controversial film “Innocence of Muslims”<sup>a 23 24 25</sup> In April 2016, TAHA was reportedly killed in Syria by a US drone strike while mediating amongst various AL QAEDA-related factions.<sup>26 27</sup>

According to a variety of sources, other participants at the events included or were expected to include:<sup>b 28 29</sup>

- ◆ YAHYA JAMMEH, President of Gambia
- ◆ MAHATHIR MOHAMED, former Malaysian President
- ◆ MOHAMED NAZZAL, HAMAS
- ◆ MOHAMED AL-HINDI, PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD (PIJ)
- ◆ SAMI AL-ARIAN, a former leader of the PIJ in the US<sup>c</sup>
- ◆ WAGDY GHONEIM (Egyptian cleric known for anti-Semitic speeches, close to the MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD)<sup>30</sup>
- ◆ NAWWAF HAYEL TAKROURI, Secretary-General of the PALESTINE SCHOLARS ASSOCIATION IN THE DIASPORA, IUMS<sup>d 31</sup>
- ◆ AHMED BIN RASHED BIN SAID, a Saudi writer and academic
- ◆ MOHAMMAD AL-HODAIF, Saudi writer

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Taha says it was the “Returnees from Afghanistan” case and that he received a death sentence. See <http://english.aawsat.com/2012/09/article55240490/interview-egyptian-islamic-group-leader-rifai-taha>

- a The film resulted in demonstrations and violent protests beginning in Egypt and spreading to other Arab and Muslim nations and western countries.
- b If an individual has no additional footnote or endnote, then his affiliation was entirely provided by the source(s) listing his name.
- c AL-ARIAN was deported by the US to Turkey in 2015. See <http://www.tampabay.com/news/courts/sami-al-arian-leaves-us-and-goes-to-turkey/2216534>
- d هيئة علماء فلسطين في الخارج, (PALESTINE SCHOLARS ASSOCIATION IN THE DIASPORA) is an Islamist association headquartered in Turkey with several branches in the Middle East and Europe that was launched in February 2009. The Association is aimed at bringing together all Palestinian scholars under one roof. Among its stated goals is supporting the Palestinian spirit of jihad and Resistance [*muqawamah*], see: <http://palscholars.com/page/4/>

- ◆ HASSAN AHMED DOKKI, GAAC trustee, fugitive from the UAE<sup>e</sup>
- ◆ ABDULLAH AKKASH, former Kuwaiti MP
- ◆ NABIL SHABEEB, Syrian Islamic writer
- ◆ YASSIN HAMMOUD, Secretary-General of the AL-QUDS INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTION
- ◆ NASSER FADHALA, former Bahraini MP
- ◆ AHMED AL-UMARI, Lebanese preacher
- ◆ ABDUL RAHMAN QARADAWI, likely son of YOUSSEF QARADAWI<sup>32</sup>
- ◆ HASSAN BIN ALI AL-KETTANI<sup>33</sup>
- ◆ HASAN QATERJI, head of the ISLAMIC UNION ASSOCIATION in Lebanon<sup>f 34</sup>
- ◆ ABD AL-FATTAH EL-AWAISI, Palestinian academic<sup>g 35</sup>

HASAN QATERJI was also pictured during a side meeting with the Turkish IUMS member SALEH AL-GHURSI and ÖMER FAROUK KORKMAZ, titled a media personality and advisor to the Turkish PM.<sup>h 36</sup>

As part of the conference, video posted on YouTube shows a Friday sermon dedicated to the topic of jihad delivered by WAGDY GHONEIM who said that Jihad is of relevance to the conference and added “We are the nation [*ummah*] of jihad”.<sup>37</sup> Throughout the sermon, GHONEIM referred to the centrality of jihad on all its forms, including militant jihad, explaining that it derives directly from the Quran; therefore jihad cannot be considered a violent action, and it is untrue to say that all Muslims are violent.

## INTERNATIONAL DAY IN SUPPORT OF AL-AQSA AND BAYT AL-MAQDIS

According to an invitation for the “International Day In Support Of Al-Aqsa And Bayt Al-Maqdis”, other groups that partnered with GAAC in organizing that event included:<sup>i 38</sup>

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e See main report p. 40

f جمعية الاتحاد الإسلامي

g EL-AWAISI founded the field of ‘Islamic Jerusalem studies’ in the UK and is currently based in Malaysia, see: <http://www.ieijs.uum.edu.my/index.php/affiliate/research-fellows/userprofile/fattah>

h It is not clear whether or not this meeting took place as part of the GAAC events.

i The conference was produced by a Turkish company called A ONE GROUP.

- ◆ PALESTINE SCHOLARS ASSOCIATION IN THE DIASPORA
- ◆ THE İRADE INTERNATIONAL YOUTH ASSOCIATION<sup>a</sup>
- ◆ THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS (IARF)<sup>b</sup>

According to the event schedule, featured speakers and their titles included:<sup>39</sup>

- ◆ RABIH HADDAD, GAAC
- ◆ HUSSAN KAMEL YILMAZ, Vice President of the Turkish PRESIDENCY OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS [*Diyanet*]<sup>c</sup>
- ◆ MOHAMED NAZZAL on behalf of HAMAS<sup>d</sup>
- ◆ MOHAMED AL-HINDI, on behalf of the PIJ<sup>e</sup>
- ◆ BULENT YILDRIM, IHH
- ◆ NAWWAF HAYEL TAKRORUI, Secretary-General of the PALESTINE SCHOLARS ASSOCIATION IN THE DIASPORA
- ◆ JALAL AAOUITA<sup>f</sup>

A Hamas affiliated newspaper reported that MOHAMED NAZZAL said the AL-QUDS INTIFADA taking place in the West Bank over the last few months is considered the third Intifada, and it is “a message from the Palestinian people to all that they do not surrender despite the difficult circumstances...”. NAZZAL added that many of the attacks in the ‘Al-Quds intifada’ are carried out by “little girls”, who are said not to be affiliated with any particular faction; this, he said, is a source for pride, “since we would like that Resistance [*muqawamah*] becomes a popular culture for all, in words, missiles and surprise”.<sup>40</sup> According to another Palestinian report, MOHAMED AL-HINDI maintained that the only option is to declare that negotiations with Israel have failed; that the security coordination has to stop and that all forms

of Resistance [*muqawamah*] should be relied on, especially the armed struggle. AL-HINDI also added that the Intifada should be supported both materially and morally.<sup>41</sup>

On 19 February, YASSIN HAMMOUD of the AQII addressed a thank you letter to both SAFAR AL-HAWALI and RABIH HADDAD for their care for the people of Al-Quds and Al-Aqsa and what he described as the “warm hospitality” experienced by the AL-QUDS INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTION’s delegation at the conference. He emphasized that the INSTITUTION would be glad to continue its cooperation with GAAC in serving Al-Quds.<sup>42</sup>

a This is an international, Turkey based youth association that “imbues the youth with leadership spirit and encourages their efforts for the case Islamic Ummah” and seems to be dealing with Palestinian issues quite often, see: <https://irade.org.tr/Kurumsal.aspx?SayfaID=1>

b See main report, p. 45.. Since the publication date, the IARF has new social media pages, see <http://iarf.info>, <https://www.facebook.com/iarfpage>, <https://mobile.twitter.com/iarfpage>

c YILMAZ spoke on behalf of the Presidency of Religious Affairs, representing its President MEHMET GORMEZ.

d Representing KHALED MASHA’AL, political leader of HAMAS in exile

e Representing RAMADAN ABDULLAH SHALAH, leader of PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD

f He is a Moroccan Salafi, see <https://twitter.com/jalalaaouita>





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