



The Meir Amit Intelligence and
Terrorism Information Center

September 6, 2010

An anti-Israel coalition, some of whose members organized the Mavi Marmara flotilla, were encouraged by its results. It is currently promoting a new series of projects to embarrass and isolate Israel. They include an upgraded flotilla and a plane to the Gaza Strip.

The screenshot shows a Facebook event page. The event title is "The Next Big Thing: Support the American Flotilla to Gaza". The event is public and scheduled for August 8 from 5:30pm to 9:00pm at Chandni Restaurant, 5748 Mowry School Rd, Newark. The event is created by Noura Khouri, Kat Jerman, Victoria Quevedo, and Fadwa Musleh. The event description includes a link to a YouTube video and mentions a dinner to hear from survivors of the Freedom Flotilla attack. The event is organized by the Free Palestine Movement and the American Friends Service Committee-SF.

A Facebook invitation to a Free Palestine Movement fundraiser for a series of new anti-Israel projects. The organization is affiliated with the Free Gaza Movement, which played a major role in the Mavi Marmara flotilla in close collaboration with the Turkish IHH, and which is an important factor in new projects planned against Israel.

Overview

1. Accumulated information indicates that the anti-Israel coalition behind the Mavi Marmara flotilla to the Gaza Strip **has spent the past three months promoting plans for new projects as part of a general campaign to smear Israel and erode its legitimacy.** The projects include **sending an upgraded flotilla** (with more ships, more activists, more media personnel and more celebrities) and **sending a plane to the Gaza Strip.** **All of the above are meant to raise the action threshold.**

2. **The anti-Israel coalition is ideologically heterogeneous, united by its hostility to Israel and desire to challenge and embarrass it** to promote what it represents as "the rights of the Palestinians." In reality, it often promotes Hamas' political agenda in opposition to the interests of the Palestinian Authority.

3. At the coalition's ideological poles are, **on the one hand, radical Islamic organizations and activists.** Conspicuous among them are the (ideologically close) Muslim Brotherhood and the Turkish IHH, and other European Islamist organizations. **On the other,** are **radical left organizations and activists** whose hostility toward Israel is part of their ideological opposition to the West (especially the United States) and its values, and to globalization. Between the poles are human rights organizations and activists, trade unions, Jewish activists and even politicians who ride the wave of anti-Israel hostility to make personal and political capital. However, some of the organizations and activists genuinely identify with the Palestinians, while others are interested in promoting their own political agendas, particularly pro-Hamas.

4. **The coalition includes a number of umbrella organizations which participated in organizing the Mavi Marmara flotilla.** Prominent within the radical Muslim organizations are the Turkish IHH, which directed the recent flotilla, and the radical Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas' parent movement, which has a world-wide network including the Arab-Muslim world and Europe (especially Britain). They collaborate with several umbrella organizations operating in Europe and the United States under the title of "humanitarian" or "human rights" organizations, while in reality their activity is political, pro-Palestinian/pro-Hamas. Among those collaborating with the radical Islamic organizations within the coalition are the Free Gaza Movement (FGM) and the International Solidarity Movement (ISM), which operate in Judea and Samaria, and the European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG) (For further information, see the Appendices).

5. For the aforementioned organizations, which inspired by the Goldstone Report, **the Mavi Marmara flotilla was a watershed event** (despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that nine Turkish IHH members were killed and dozens wounded). They share the following characteristics:

A. **The Turkish IHH, which led the most recent flotilla, is capable of actions** the other organizations are not **because of the governmental support it receives from Turkey**. The organization, which has branches throughout the world, made it possible for the coalition to enjoy **financial support** (which enabled it to launch a larger number of ships along with the Mavi Marmara), **organizational support, media support and political support** (which enabled the flotilla to greatly increase the pressure exerted on Israel).

B. **The organizations and activists** who joined the flotilla **demonstrated the capability and desire to go beyond their local interests and collaborate** to a great extent for the sake of promoting a joint anti-Israeli project, including taking risks (because of the expected Israeli opposition). That was manifested by months of preparation, mostly in Istanbul, which included coordination meetings of the representatives of the umbrella organizations of the coalition (the minutes of one of the meetings were seized on board the Mavi Marmara).

C. **As far as the coalition was concerned, the results of the flotilla were extremely positive**. They exceeded the individual "achievements" of the "routine" activity directed against Israel (sending convoys to the Gaza Strip, initiatives to boycott Israel, attempts to bring Israel's senior political and military figures to trial, propaganda projects). Because Israel was forced to change its policy toward the closure of the Gaza Strip, its public image was harmed, to this day its senior figures are under examination by Israeli and international investigations, and its relations with Turkey suffered a severe blow. However, **some of those involved, including Hamas, are worried by the Israeli easing of the closure**, which deflated some of the strategic momentum of the flotillas and harmed its ability to undermine Israel's legitimacy, which is at the center of the coalition's activity.

6. The anti-Israel coalition was joined by a small organization in California called **the Free Palestine Movement (FPM)**. **In our assessment it is closely linked to the Free Gaza Movement (FGM), and is possibly its front organization** (because of legal considerations: in America supporting Hamas, which has been designated as a terrorist organization, is outlawed). **The most prominent figure in the FPM is Dr. Paul Larudee** (aka Paul Wilder). He is a radical leftist activist, anti-Israel and pro-Hamas, and is a co-founder of both the FGM and the ISM, and is in all probability still affiliated with them. He participated in the recent flotilla (and boasts of being one of its "survivors"). In the past he was involved in many ISM activities in Judea and Samaria, and expelled from Israel in 2006 (For further information about him and his organization, see **Appendix I**).

7. **Paul Larudee recently held a FPM fund-raising dinner in California at which he elaborated a series of planned projects. He also referred to them** in an interview with

Hezbollah's Al-Manar TV and on the FPM's website, calling them **part of the public relations war against Israel, which Israel can only lose.**

8. The projects include **increasing the number of American activists on the planned flotilla** (of 10-20 ships), **a permanent maritime presence of dozens of small boats and a supply ship** off the Gaza coast, sending a plane to the Gaza Strip, **flying 200 Palestinian volunteers on commercial planes to Israel's Ben-Gurion International Airport** to demand the so-called "right of return," and **holding a concert for the benefit of the Palestinians in London** and other locations in Europe, similar to the one held for Nelson Mandela in 1988 to protest apartheid in South Africa (For further information about planned projects, see **Appendix II**).

9. In our assessment, the projects for which the FPM is raising funds are not exclusive to the organization and reflect **plans practical preparations which have been carried out in recent months by the anti-Israel coalition. The main plan is to send a large flotilla to the Gaza Strip called Freedom Fleet 2.** It is being organized by the FGM, IHH and other umbrella organizations which participated in the Mavi Marmara flotilla (For further information see the Appendices). Organizations from other countries (Lebanon, Iran, Yemen) which are afraid of sending lone ships may join, and there may be individual ships or groups of ships from specific sectors intended to be difficult for the IDF to operate against (such as the Lebanese women's ship, a ship with clerics, a ship with Jewish passengers). In our assessment, the coalition is also making practical preparations for other projects, such as sending a plane to the Gaza Strip.

10. It is reasonable to assume that only some of the plans may eventually be implemented **because of their organizers' constraints: they still have financial difficulties** (the programs are more ambitious and more expensive than previous ones), **political difficulties** (the legitimacy of the flotillas has waned and most of the international community regards them as provocations liable to harm the peace process), and **legal difficulties** (especially in the United States). However, some of the coalition partners are highly motivated and enjoy governmental support from countries which include Iran and Syria. They are **determined to implement at least some of the planned projects to increase international pressure on Israel.**

11. **The Hamas movement is in contact with the hard core of coalition organizations and activists, directly or indirectly through Western activists and members of the Muslim Brotherhood around the globe.** Hamas will probably try to encourage the coalition to **execute spectacular projects in the upcoming months, regarding them not only as eroding Israel's legitimacy but as a means of disrupting the direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority,** which Hamas strongly opposes.

12. Appendices

- A. **Appendix I:** A list of the anti-Israel projects presented by the Free Palestine Movement (FPM)
- B. **Appendix II:** The Free Palestine Movement (FPM) and its co-founder, Dr. Paul Larudee
- C. **Appendix III:** The Free Gaza Movement (FGM)
- D. **Appendix IV:** The International Solidarity Movement (ISM)
- E. **Appendix V:** The European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza (ESESG)
- F. **Appendix VI:** The Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas' parent movement, and its British stronghold.

Appendix I

The Free Palestine Movement (FPM) and its co-founder, Dr. Paul Larudee



The masthead of the FPM's homepage (Free Palestine website, August 22, 2010).

1. **The FPM is a non-profit American organization based in California** which describes itself as a "non-profit human rights organization." It has a number of groups operating throughout the United States. According to its claims, its mission is to challenge Israeli policy, which it claims "denies the Palestinians human rights," especially the right of free movement. It claims to be trying to achieve its ends through "non-violent resistance." The FPM and other pro-Hamas organizations like it often represent themselves as non-violent, while **in reality they are ready to use strong violence against the Israeli security forces.**

2. **The organization deals with anti-Israel pro-Hamas political activity. In our assessment, it may be a front for the Free Gaza Movement (FGM), which does not want to entangle itself with American law** (which designates Hamas as a terrorist organization and supporting it, including with money, is outlawed).

3. The most prominent figure in the Free Palestine Movement is Dr. Paul Larudee:

i) Dr. Larudee is a radical leftist activist, hostile to Israel. He claims to work for "Palestinian rights" but in reality supports Hamas' political agenda.

ii) Born in Iran on April 25, 1946 to an Iranian father and American mother.

iii) Grew up in the United States.

iv) Holds a PhD in languages from Georgetown University.

v) At the beginning of the decade was active in the American branch of the International Solidarity Movement, an anti-Israel organization which participated in the Mavi Marmara flotilla as a part of the coalition.

vi) Was a co-founder of the FGM, an anti-Israel organization which played an important role in the Mavi Marmara flotilla.

vii) Was a co-founder of the FPM.

viii) Spent time in Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia, as an American government advisor.

ix) Between 2002 and 2003 frequently visited Judea and Samaria, and participated in anti-Israel activity. Visited the wife of a suicide bomber in Nablus and wrote **an article sympathetic to suicide bombers' motives** ("Sleeping in the Bed of a Suicide Bomber").

x) In June 2006 landed in Israel's Ben-Gurion International Airport and asked to enter Israel. He was refused for security reasons. When asked to board a plane back to the United States, caused a disturbance. Left Israel two weeks later after his suit against deportation was rejected by a court.

xi) Participated in the Mavi Marmara flotilla as a passenger aboard the Sfendoni (8000), which joined the flotilla representing pro-Palestinian organizations in Greece and Sweden. He carries American passport No. 7121815849, which was issued to Paul Wilder.¹



Paul Larudee's invitation to a fund-raising dinner in California, where he represented himself as one of the flotilla's "survivors," despite the fact that he was a passenger aboard a ship (the 8,000), where no violent confrontation occurred (YouTube, August 22, 2010).

xii) In 2009, while in the Gaza Strip, received a commendation from Ismail Haniya for his activities.

¹ When he entered Israel in 2006 he also carried a passport in the name of Paul Wilder, which is probably an alias.



Festive event attended by Paul Larudee (second from left) and Ismail Haniya (fourth from left).

xiii) In recent years was involved in sending flotillas to the Gaza Strip. In 2010 visited Lebanon to promote sending ships to the Gaza Strip.

Appendix II

The Free Palestine Movement's proposed projects

1. As opposed to other organizations in the coalition, the FPM often publicizes relatively detailed descriptions of its intentions and plans. That, in our assessment, is the result of its desire to raise funds for coalition projects, especially in the United States, and for the public relations purposes of Paul Larudee and his organization.

2. In recent months the organization's plans were made public on a number of occasions: at a fund-raising dinner in Newark, California, on August 8, in an interview Paul Larudee gave to Hezbollah's Al-Manar TV on June 16, and on the organization's website. The main projects are the following:

i) **"Gaza by sea:"** The FPM's objective is to ensure the **largest American participation possible** in the flotilla, which will include 10-12 ships and set sail around October-November 2010 (in our assessment, **it is Freedom Fleet 2, which Larudee and the FPM will join**). Larudee and the FPM hope members of the American Congress will join, along with human rights activists and celebrities. In addition a maritime presence is planned off the Gaza coast which will include dozens of small boats and a large supply ship.

ii) **"Gaza by air:"** The objective is to break the so-called "Israeli siege" of the Gaza Strip by **sending a plane** in collaboration with other groups. According to Larudee, the plan has been put in motion and preparations are being made, including **contacts with "the authorities in Gaza"** (i.e., the de facto Hamas administration).

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We'll Break Gaza Siege by Air; Revive Right of Return From Ben Gurion's Airport

Interview conducted by Mohamad Shmaysani Readers Number : 2702

Al Manar Exclusive 16/06/2010 Larudee says that plans have

been set to break the siege of Gaza by air and announces a new undaunted strategy to press the right of return of Palestinians back to the forefront of events.

Paul Larudee is an American citizen whose visit to Jordan back in 1965 was his first close acquaintance – from a different angle - with what was happening in Palestine. He got engaged with the cause ever since and gradually learned the price that he, and his peers, would have to pay for defying Israel and defending the rights of the Palestinians.

The linguist and piano technician works with the International Solidarity Movement and the Free Palestine Movement, and was cofounder of the Free Gaza Movement. May 31, 2010 Larudee and hundreds of other activists were taking part in the Gaza-bound Freedom flotilla to deliver tons of aids and supplies to a people that has been under Israeli siege since 2007. It was not his first trip to Gaza or his first encounter with Israeli authorities, it was simply the bloodiest, and it sure will not be his last. he told Al-Manar.com.lb in a special interview.

Interview with Dr. Paul Larudee (Al-Manar TV's English website)

iii) **The revival of "the right of return:"** Larudee told Hezbollah's Al-Manar TV that he had been in **contact with the Palestinian Return Center (PRC), a Hamas-affiliated group which operates in Britain,² and with a branch of an organization called Al-Awda ("The Return") in the United States.³** Its intention is to organize 200 Palestinians with European and North American passports, and fly them on **commercial flights** to Israel's Ben-Gurion Airport from cities in various countries and cities **on the same day**. They will carry copies of deeds to what were their lands and pictures of their families who lived in Israel before 1948, and they will demand to return to their houses. They will be interviewed before they board the plane and the texts will be released to the media after they arrive. They will be met by Palestinians, a "legal team," and media representatives. Israel is expected to try to deport them, but they intend to resist and will refuse to board planes leaving Israel. During the fund-raiser Larudee said **that there were already Palestinians in Israel working on the logistics and media coverage.**

iii) **"A concert for Palestine" in London in October 2010:** The organizers linked it to the concert given for Nelson Mandela in 1988 as part of the effort to enlist world

² The institute operates in Britain and is affiliated with Hamas. Former Hamas activists who found asylum in Britain, are on its board of directors. The most prominent are Majed Khalil Musa al-Zayir and Zaher Khaled Hassan al-Birawi. For further information see the February 21, 2010 bulletin, "[Britain as a Focus for Hamas' Political, Propaganda and Legal Activities in Europe.](#)" Al-Birawi was at the pre-sailing ceremony of the Mavi Marmara in Istanbul, May 22, 2010.

³ A pro-Palestinian organization operating in the United States to promote the so-called "Palestinians' right to return." Its full name is the Palestinian Right to Return Coalition (PRRC).

support against apartheid in South Africa. The concert will be called "Freedomfest"⁴ (to identify the "struggle for Palestine" with the struggle against apartheid). The organizers want to hold a series of such concerts throughout Europe, and to bring the concert to the United States as well, even though there does not seem much chance of that happening.

⁴ The concert on June 11, 1988 in London celebrated Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday and its objective was to bring about his release from prison and end apartheid in South Africa. Dozens of pop groups and rock stars performed and it was broadcast to 67 countries and seen by 600 million viewers. Music critics called it the greatest population-political event of all time. It brought the issue of apartheid to the consciousness of the world. **Identifying the planned concert with the 1988 concert is intended to fix Israel in public consciousness as an "apartheid state."**

Appendix III

The Free Gaza Movement



The Free Gaza logo

1. **The Free Gaza Movement, of which Dr. Paul Larudee was a co-founder, played an important role in** the coalition which organized the IHH-led Mavi Marmara **flotilla**. It allowed the flotilla to use the yachts Challenger 1 and Challenger 2 (which developed technical problems) and the MV Rachel Corrie, which arrived late.

2. The FGM is a pro-Palestinian pro-Hamas organization whose stated objective is to break the so-called "siege" of the Gaza Strip. It is registered in Cyprus as a charitable organization and its head offices are in Nicosia. According to its website, it has branches in 28 countries: 11 in Europe, five in North America (four in the United States and one in Canada), and a branch in Israel (defined by the website as the "1948 Palestine territories," terminology denying recognition of the existence of the State of Israel). **The FGM is an umbrella organization which includes the ISM**, with which Paul Larudee is affiliated.

3. According to its website, it is registered as a charitable society in Cyprus, and has four branches in the United States: one in the East, one in the Middle West, one in Northern California and one in Southern California. The local activists are:

A. The **Eastern branch** has two contacts, **Dina Kennedy**, who belongs to a Palestinian women's organization in the United States, and **Susan Kerin**, both listed as "coordinating volunteers"

B. The **Midwest** branch's contact is **Kevin Clark**.

C. The **Northern California** branch's contact is **Donna** or **Darlene Wallach**, 57, Jewish, an anti-Zionist activist who participated in the previous flotilla. She has been to the Gaza Strip and Ramallah.

4. A FGM internal document, seized aboard the Mavi Marmara, gives details of the organization's contact people around the world. **Ramzi Kysia's** name appears, listed as the "Washington coordinator." However, his name does not appear as a coordinator on the organization's website. **Ramzi Kysia is an American writer of Lebanese extraction and one of the Free Gaza founders. He was active in the Middle East for four years, including one year in Iraq and another in Lebanon** (in 2006, during the Second Lebanon War). He also spent several months in Jordan, Syria, Yemen and the Palestinian Authority.



Ramzi Kysia (Photo from the gaza-journey blog)

5. Internal documents of Free Gaza seized in the latest flotilla (See Appendices for the unedited text) **deal with the movement's strategy** and briefings given to its activists prior to the flotilla's departure. An analysis of the documents and a comparison between them and the movement's public stance **shows significant discrepancies and even contradictions**.⁵ For example:

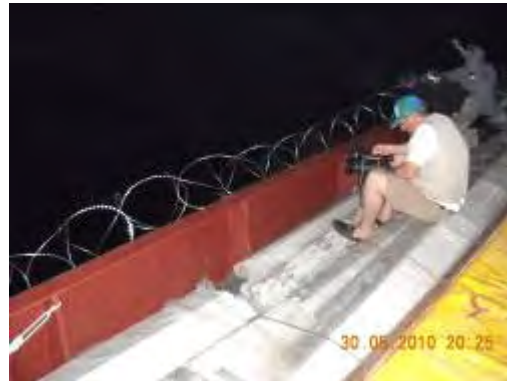
A. **Legal aspects: A legal briefing ("legal information") given by Free Gaza to its activists shows that the movement is well aware of the legal problem of delivering assistance to the Hamas de-facto administration in the Gaza Strip, particularly considering that the US designated Hamas as a terrorist organization.** Reading between the lines also shows that while Free Gaza publicly states that the aid is for the Palestinian population in the Gaza Strip, **it is aware that, in fact, it assists the Hamas de-facto administration.** Therefore, activists who took part in the flotilla **were warned at a legal briefing against making any statement or taking any action that could be construed as providing material assistance to Hamas** to avoid incrimination in the US and other countries (the movement has activists in the US whose participation in the flotilla seems to contradict US law; Free Gaza also raises funds in the US, where it has a contact person for allegedly humanitarian purposes, yet those purposes are in fact clearly political).

B. **Political aspects:** During the legal briefing, as a way of solving the problem of Hamas' designation as a terrorist organization, the activists were told that **Free Gaza had publicly announced that it had no political agenda** and that it was committed to "non-violent humanitarian assistance" for the Palestinian people (Free Gaza is registered as a "**human rights project**," a definition which appears on its website). However, according to an **internal document** found on the Mavi Marmara, the goals of the flotilla were **clearly political** rather than humanitarian (the minimum goals defined in the document are **generating media [impact] about the blockade on the Gaza**

⁵ For further information see the June 27, 2010 bulletin, "[Inside documents of the Free Gaza movement seized in the recent flotilla expose considerable discrepancies between its strategy and tactics and its public stance.](#)"

Strip and pushing foreign governments to take punitive action against Israel; delivering humanitarian aid to the Gaza Strip was not listed as a goal).

C. **Response to possible scenarios during the voyage:** Free Gaza drew up “defensive” scenarios for the flotilla **based on the assumption that the IDF would be unable to stop the boats without using force.** Several tactics were listed to prevent the IDF from taking over the boat. One was the activists' **putting sharp obstructions on the deck and barricading themselves in the wheelhouse and engine room.**



One of the ships from the last flotilla (not the Mavi Marmara) being protected with barbed wire in preparation for the confrontation (Photos seized aboard one of the ships).

6. Although those tactics pale in comparison to the organized violence used by IHH, they are still incompatible with the instructions given by Free Gaza to its activists, which categorically prohibited the use of verbal or physical violence. It therefore appears that the term “non-violent resistance”, which appears in the instructions of human rights organizations which took part in the flotilla, **was open to interpretation by the various organizations and the various activists eager to confront the IDF soldiers** (as demonstrated by the preparations made by IHH, which also defines itself as a “humanitarian organization,” for a violent confrontation with the IDF).

Appendix IV

The International Solidarity Movement



The ISM logo

1. The International Solidarity Movement (ISM) is an umbrella organization which participated in the Mavi Marmara flotilla, and is involved in organizing future projects. Dr. Paul Larudee was one of its founders and took part in its activities in Judea and Samaria.
2. The organization is anti-Israel, pro-Palestinian, and has been active within **Free Gaza** since 2001. Its goal is to oppose Israeli policy (what it calls "the Israeli apartheid in Palestine") using direct, non-violent action.⁶ Another of its goals is to support the "Palestinian popular resistance" through "international solidarity" and "an international voice."
3. The ISM harbors internal contradictions and vagueness, not to say confusion, regarding its public approach to terrorism: On its FAQ page, the ISM stated it did not support an armed struggle against the "occupation." However, the site also mentions its "mission statement" (which is not posted in full), according to which **the organization "is a Palestinian-led movement committed to resisting the Israeli apartheid in Palestine by using nonviolent, direct-action methods and principles."**
4. **ISM activists participate in the protests in Bila'in, Ni'lin and other focal points of friction in Judea and Samaria.** In such locations protests of Palestinians and pro-Palestinian activists from abroad take place and are encouraged by the Palestinian Authority. **The activities are routinely accompanied by violence:** stones, metal balls and Molotov cocktails are thrown and IDF soldiers are physically accosted, all under the title "**non-violent popular resistance.**"

⁶ The ISM and other pro-Palestinian organizations publicly represent themselves as non-violent and part of a "popular resistance." However, in many events in Bila'in, Ni'lin and other locations of friction in Judea and Samaria in which the ISM participated alongside Palestinians and foreign pro-Palestinian activists from other organizations, violence was used by the activists, including Molotov cocktails, and they confronted IDF soldiers.

Appendix V

The Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas' parent movement, and its British stronghold

Overview

1. **The Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas' parent movement, has a radical Sunni Islamic ideology similar to that of IHH.** While it is not an official member of the coalition which organizes various anti-Israel projects (noted above), its activists and institutions from the Arab-Muslim world and Western countries were strongly represented on the Mavi Marmara. In addition, they are actively involved in the various networks and organizations that make up and participate in the anti-Israel coalition's activities.

Profile of the Muslim Brotherhood



The Muslim Brotherhood logo depicts a Qur'an flanked by two swords. At the bottom is the Arabic word for "prepare," taken from Surat al-Anfal, verse 60: "And prepare against them whatever you are able of power and of steeds of war [ready for battle] by which you may terrify the enemy of Allah and your enemy."

2. The Muslim Brotherhood was founded in Egypt in 1928 by Hassan al-Banna, then a young teacher. Al-Banna sought to revive Islam, which was in decline at the time because of the development of modern nationalism, Western influence on Muslim society in Egypt and in the Middle East, the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the abolishment of the Ottoman caliphate. Al-Banna considered Islam to be an integrated system which could be applied to all aspects of life, including society, economy, law, politics and religion. He stressed the significance of inviting people to the faith of Islam (*da'wah*), a process which begins with individual Muslims reconnecting to their religion and then spreads to society as a whole. He also discussed the need to instill the values of conservative Islam in the younger generation to create the foundation for an Islamic state operating under Islamic religious law (*shari'ah*).

3. **Al-Banna considered his goal to be the establishment of the Islamic state, and his aspirations were worldwide.** He stressed that the objective would be achieved in several stages: the first stage was missionary activity (*da'wah*), in which individuals turned to Islam and proceeded to introduce its worldview to their immediate families, until the entire Muslim nation adopted a religious Islamic lifestyle. The next stage was increasing political involvement in state affairs to form an Islamic political structure based on Islamic religious law (*shari'ah*). The third stage, **to be launched once sufficient power has been achieved, was jihad, a holy war waged against the non-Muslim nations of the world, even as missionary activity took place** to convert them to Islam.⁷ Al-Banna was assassinated in 1949, following the Muslim Brotherhood assassination of Egypt's PM Mahmud Fahmi al-Nuqrashi some three weeks earlier.

4. The movement underwent several splits over the years and different factions emerged. **One of the most influential figures on the Muslim Brotherhood's jihadist faction was Sayyid Qutb, who was executed in Egypt in 1966.** Some of Qutb's main ideas were withdrawal from society and the reformation of Muslim society to create an alternative, truly Islamic society. He encouraged violent jihad against moderate Muslim governments that were not, in his eyes, sufficiently religious. According to Qutb, a violent jihad had to be waged against those governments first, and only then followed by jihad against the infidels. **Qutb had a great deal of influence on later jihadist organizations, including the ideologues who established Al-Qaeda. One of those ideologues was Abdallah Azzam, Osama Bin Laden's mentor, who was at one time a member of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan.** The Muslim Brotherhood is represented among Israeli Arabs by the **two factions, the northern and the southern, of Israel's Islamic Movement.**

5. Over the years, the Muslim Brotherhood established branches in other Arab countries: **Jordan, Syria, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, etc. Hamas, a movement founded in Gaza in late 1987, is a Palestinian offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood. According to the Muslim Brotherhood leaders, it is currently represented in over 80 countries worldwide.**

6. **The Muslim Brotherhood is currently highly active in Europe, particularly in Islamic missionary activity (*da'wah*) and fundraising** (for the benefit of Hamas, among other things). The movement's development in Europe began in the 1950s in the wake of Nasser's brutal suppression of its members in Egypt. Many Muslim Brotherhood activists moved from Egypt to Saudi Arabia, and then spread out to Europe, the US, and other places to carry the movement's vision forward.

⁷ For more information on the aforementioned stages, see Hassan al-Banna's letter collection: "*Majmu'at Rasa'il al-Imam al-Shahid Hassan al-Banna'*" (Beirut, undated), pp. 100-101.

7. **Muslim Brotherhood members have been key partners in the establishment of international organizations which conduct Islamic missionary activity across the globe, such as the Saudi-based Muslim World League (MWL) and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY).** In addition, private individuals in various countries (including Europe and the US) have established local networks influenced by the movement's ideology (Muslim Brotherhood activists enjoy considerable influence in Britain; see below).

8. Today a prominent Muslim Brotherhood religious leader **Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, an Egyptian residing in Qatar,** who in the late 1980s launched well-organized activities to spread the movement's ideology among European Muslims. He developed a unique religious doctrine which dealt with Islamic religious law and the daily lives of Muslim minorities under non-Muslim rule. It allowed them to conduct their daily lives until they were strong enough to seize power. Qaradawi established several umbrella organizations for social, political, economic and religious coordination among the organizations affiliated with the movement's ideology across the continent. **One of them is the Union of Good, which provides financial assistance to Hamas.** Qaradawi is currently not an official member of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, preferring to act as an alternative to the Muslim Brotherhood establishment in Egypt through his own institute (even though, in practice, his ideology is identical to that of the Muslim Brotherhood and he considers himself as Hassan al-Banna's successor).

9. **The Muslim Brotherhood is an opposing force to moderate Arab regimes, mainly in Egypt and Jordan. It supports Hamas and frequently criticizes the Arab regimes for their suspicious (and even hostile) attitude towards Hamas.** In particular, the connection between Hamas in the Gaza Strip and the opposition Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt is regarded by the Egyptian government with deep suspicion, and **considered a potentially subversive relationship which poses a threat to Egypt's national security.**

10. **Muslim Brotherhood activists worldwide fully sympathize with the Palestinians in general and with Hamas in particular, raising funds and providing it with media support.** Some of them have even publicly expressed support for suicide bombing attacks against Israeli civilians, including **Sheikh Qaradawi, perceived as a role model and supreme source of religious authority for Hamas.** Many of them try to help Hamas by political lobbying, organizing anti-Israeli demonstrations and working on the legal aspects of filing lawsuits against Israeli leaders.

11. Even though the Muslim Brotherhood does not carry out terrorist attacks against Israel and the West (unlike Al-Qaeda and global jihad networks), **in the long run it poses a considerable challenge to both moderate Arab countries and the West.** That is because the movement has an **extensive organizational and social networks worldwide,** including in the US and Europe (with Britain's being the hub of its activities in Europe). Muslim Brotherhood activists, who subscribe to a radical Islamic ideology, **are a**

potential manpower pool for Islamic terrorist organizations and various terrorist operatives. In recent years, there have been many instances of "homegrown terrorists," that is, terrorists from Western countries educated at some point in institutions associated with the radical ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood, or brainwashed by radical Islam through the internet.

The Muslim Brotherhood movement in Britain

12. **Britain is the center of activity for the Muslim Brotherhood's political, economic, and media activities.** It appears that the Muslim Brotherhood first began operating in Britain in the 1950s. **Over the years, Britain became the home of the movement's exiled Middle Eastern leaders** (mainly from Egypt, Syria, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Iraq). Later on, the sons and daughters of those leaders began taking part in the movement, enjoying massive involvement in British society and being well-versed in the English language and English culture.

13. **In the 1990s, the movement was joined by senior Hamas operatives who came to Britain from Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip,** most notably **Muhammad Sawalha**. In addition, Muslim Brotherhood activists in Britain **have maintained long-standing cooperation with Islamic activists of Pakistani descent mostly affiliated with the ideology of Abul A'ala Mawdudi.**

14. **The Muslim Brotherhood currently conducts extensive activities in Britain which support Hamas.** Hamas' political, economic and media activities are supported by the local Muslim Brotherhood network. **Politically, Hamas is aided by the Muslim Brotherhood in Britain, which cooperates with the British radical left wing,** sharing a common hostility towards Israel and the intention to undermine the foundations of Western society, which they believe to be imperialist and capitalist. **Economically, Hamas enjoys the support of Sheikh Qaradawi's Union of Good and the Hamas-affiliated Interpal foundation.** One of the British institutions affiliated with Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood is the **Palestinian Return Center (PRC)**, mentioned by Dr. Paul Larudee as an organization which cooperates with the FPM to organize the project of "reviving" the right of return (as noted above).

15. **The Muslim Brotherhood also provides Hamas with media assistance, mainly via Al-Hiwar TV,** an Arabic-language satellite TV channel **based in London** and affiliated with the **Brotherhood**. The channel targets Muslims worldwide, particularly in **Europe**, disseminating Islamic messages and incitement against Israel. **Muhammad Sawalha**, a Hamas operative who found political asylum in Britain, is a frequent guest on the channel. Two of the channel's directors help spread Hamas' messages: **Zaher Birawi**, a Hamas activist who fled to Britain, is the channel's programming director and main presenter; **Dr. Azzam al-**

Tamimi, a Hamas-associated member of Jordan's Muslim Brotherhood, is the founder of the channel and has also been its manager since 2006.⁸

16. Muslim Brotherhood activists in Europe, mainly Muhammad Kazem Sawalha, took part in organizing aid flotillas for the Gaza Strip, including the Mavi Marmara flotilla. Muhammad Sawalha was involved in organizing a previous aid convoy called Lifeline 3, which confronted the Egyptian security forces. He participated in preparations for the Marmara flotilla from the very beginning. During his stay in Istanbul (January 2010), he announced that the next aid convoy would avoid any "unwanted confrontations" with the Egyptian authorities, as had happened the last time. Next time, Sawalha said, "the confrontation will take place in the open sea directly with the Zionist enemy itself" (Al-Intiqad, a Hezbollah website, January 17, 2010). Muhammad Sawalha attended the launching ceremony in Istanbul for the Mavi Marmara, but chose not to join the passengers (most likely due to concerns that he could be detained by Israel).⁹

⁸ For further information on Britain as a hotbed for Hamas activity in Europe, see our February 21, 2010 bulletin [Britain as a Focus for Hamas' Political, Propaganda and Legal Activities in Europe](#)

⁹ For further information on Muhammad Sawalha, see our January 29, 2010 bulletin: "Hamas continues initiating anti-Israeli activities in Europe: Muhammad Kazem Sawalha is a Hamas activist living in Britain who in the past was involved in operational activities in Judea and Samaria. He is personally involved in preparations to dispatch another aid convoy to the Gaza Strip by sea to confront Israel" at http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/hamas_e095.pdf.

Appendix VI

The European Campaign to End the Siege on Gaza (ECESG)



The ECESG logo

1. ECESG is a **pro-Palestinian umbrella organization comprised of about 30 NGOs**, whose stated purpose is to end the Israeli "siege" on Gaza. The organization was part of the coalition involved in the last flotilla, and it continues to be involved in pushing forward the new flotillas and other projects.
2. According to its website, the organization claims that its values are derived from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It cooperates with politicians, members of the academia and human rights organizations across Europe. In practice, however, it is involved in **political and propaganda activities whose aim is to provide political, propaganda and material assistance to Hamas**. One of the people in charge of such activities is **Amin Abu Rashed** (or Amin Abu Ibrahim), a **co-founder of ECESG** and one of the organizers and participants of the last flotilla (during which he was on board the **SFENDONI 8000**, together with Paul Larudee).



Amin Abu Rashed (Al-Jazeera, April 24, 2010)

3. **Amin Abu Rashed** (or Amin Abu Ibrahim), 43, is a Palestinian **who holds a Dutch passport**. His views are similar to those held by the **Muslim Brotherhood and related organizations** in Europe in general and in the Netherlands in particular. He was formerly a

member of the **Dutch branch of the Al-Aqsa Foundation**, part of a network of charitable societies belonging to the **Union of Good** and involved in **providing financial aid to Hamas**. It was outlawed by Israel in 1997 and classified as a terrorist organization in 1998. The foundation was outlawed in the US in May 2003 by American Executive Order 13224 (USTreas.gov). The Dutch branch of the Al-Aqsa Foundation was included in the European Union's list of terrorist organizations in June 2003.

4. **A document was signed by Amin Abu Ibrahim, which includes addresses of "charitable societies" in Europe working "for Palestine,"** that is, for Hamas (nefafoundation.org). It was a court exhibit in America's successful legal proceedings against the Holy Land foundation.

5. **After the termination of Al-Aqsa Foundation's activities in the Netherlands, Amin Abu Rashed changed his modus operandi and became the leader of a local group called PPMS (Palestinian Platform for Human Rights and Solidarity) operating in the Netherlands.** It is a **pro-Hamas organization affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood**, established in late 2005 and considered the most vociferous organization of its kind in the Netherlands (ibloga.blogspot.com, nisnews.nl).



Participant at a PPMS demonstration holding a sign emphasizing the Palestinian refugees' "right of return" to Israel (ppms.nl)



Pro-Hamas demonstration for Gaza accusing Israel of genocide (ppms.nl)