Misha Moriarti

The Masquerade of The Muslim Brotherhood

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I.   Abstract:

The Muslim Brotherhood is of great interest to the West, as it has become a key player in the politics of Egypt and the Levant. Extrapolated through its relationships with organizations like the Council for Islamic − American Relations (CAIR) in the United States, The Muslim Association of Britain (MAB) in Britain and Al Qaeda, The Brotherhood's impact is global. (Crane 2012) There is little doubt that the Muslim Brotherhood has developed over the years into a fully realized political force in the region and indeed worldwide. The most intriguing thing about The Brotherhood is the fact that, while they are a Salafist organization that supports a literal interpretation of the Quran, they have been touted as a unifying force and perhaps even a savior for the strategically important and wholly unstable state of Egypt by Jake Trapper, US Director Of National Intelligence. (Tapper 2011) In the end, the most important question concerning this powerful and influential organization is "What are the goals of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and the Arab/Muslim World?" Therefore, we must consider that if the Muslim Brotherhood is successful in using Taqiyya (Bayt 2010) to mask their intentions, then their ultimate goal of restoration of the Islamic Caliphate and the eventual domination of Islam globally is possible. This is dependent on their desire to restore the Caliphate and establishment of Shari Law to insure the domination of Islam globally. In order to achieve this The Muslim Brotherhood must mask their intentions through the employment of Taqiyya and Kitman.

II.   Review of the Literature:

A dichotomy exists. This dichotomy is a puzzle that has the world viewing the surrounding events with bated breath. An Islamism movement that spawned the likes of Al Qaeda claims to support a democratic process in the reformation of perhaps the most crucial Muslim majority nation in the Middle East. The downfall of the Mubarak regime in Egypt this year has left the military in charge with promises of democratic reform. The primary opposition party in Egypt assassinated Egyptian president Sadat in 1981 and boasts members like Ayman al-Zawahiri, the so-called "spiritual leader" and current de facto leader of Al Qaeda. (Atkins 2010) Egypt's physical position, population and political sway in the Mid-East is significant because it has been a leader in the region, under Sadat and Mubarak, has kept the peace (no matter how cold) with Israel for the better part of 40 years. (BBC 2008) With the recent, relatively peaceful elections in Egypt, it is clear that the Muslim Brotherhood has come to an agreement with the military to share some power, but this also places The Brotherhood at the helm of the nation's future. Thus, the observer must be curious about the motivations and goals of The Muslim Brotherhood. The critical fact is this – The Brotherhood is bent on instituting universal Islamic Law (Sharia) in Egypt. Different schools of thought present this in different lights. While those closer to The Brotherhood in ideology claim that they have made fundamental changes to their processes and are supportive of democratic systems, those in opposition believe that it is all a ruse, practicing Taqiyya (the practice of deception for political aims that support Islam) in order to gain power and institute a totalitarian Islamic theocracy. To this camp, that is only the beginning.

Starting with the overt backers of The Muslim Brotherhood, Sana Abed-Kotob's piece in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* paints a picture of peaceful men who want

nothing more than a democratic society that bows to the goodness and will of God. While he presents many well-cited arguments for his contention, he also avoids, whitewashes and outright denies the history of The Brotherhood, while promoting all of their machinations as wholesome and peace loving. This clearly demonstrates the counterpoint to this paper and illustrates several instances of Taqiyya in black and white. However, even Abed-Kotob boldly states the primary issue of The Brotherhood is the formation of an Islamic state under Sharia Law. Nonetheless, he does not delve into what The Brotherhood is willing to do to accomplish this, and whether this is a global or local goal. His view is obviously in support of The Brotherhood and its quest for power in Egypt. (Abed-Kotob 1995)

Views and opinions such as those of Abed-Kotob's also find support in the academia of the West. There is almost an apologetic movement in the media and academia for the Islamist movement throughout the western world. John Walsh's explanation of motivations and methods of The Brotherhood in the *Harvard International Review* draws a distinct line between The Brotherhood and "radical groups" concerning methodology – but not concerning goals. In this Walsh recognizes that the primary mission of The Brotherhood and radicals coincide in reformation of an Islamic Caliphate. However, he warns against grouping the two together as, from Walsh's assertions, The Brotherhood is apparently pro-democracy in spite of their Islamist creed. Walsh is adamant in pointing out that The Brotherhood has, for some twenty years, been a legitimate political player that has remained non-violent in all of that time. (Walsh Winter 2003)

Jeremy Sharp echoes Walsh in this special report to Congress on The Muslim Brotherhood and how they relate to the current situation, found in the *Congressional Research Service Report: Egypt in Transition.* The report again draws a sharp boundary between allegedly more radical Salafists and The Brotherhood itself. Further, the author give almost glowing

reviews of the "pragmatic" nature of The Brotherhood's economic plan for Egypt, pointing out that they seem to lean toward more capital investment and free markets while shunning interest-based banking (in accordance with Sharia Law). The author does briefly touch on the crux of the issue, and that is the long-term goal of The Brotherhood and their allies. That is the establishment of Sharia Law, making Egypt a de facto theocracy. He notes that the parliamentary arm of The Brotherhood is four-square behind the Nour Party Salafists in their goal to institute Sharia. This seems to be in direct conflict with the free and democratic process that the author insists that they prefer. Perhaps, then, democracy is being used as a tool of Sharia? (Sharp 2012)

The *African Security Review* article by Laurence Caromba and Hussein Solomon puts the relationship between Al Qaeda and The Muslim Brotherhood out in front of the motivations and methods of the organization. Nonetheless, The Brotherhood's "most striking" feature is its commitment to moderation and the use of the Democratic process in a tumultuous Egypt. Caromba and Solomon do point out that The Brotherhood ultimately wants to form an Islamic state firmly based on Sharia Law – but steers well clear of the past practice of violence to achieve those means. They point out that The Brotherhood also courts the unions and students as well as other social programs to achieve their parliamentary success. While this may seem to be an altruistic and wholly peaceful endeavor, even their article points out that their success is primarily due to being in opposition to Mubarak and his oppressive regime. (Caromba 2008)

"Islam is the Solution" by the Kristen Stilt in the *Texas International Law Journal*, examines The Muslim Brotherhood from the standpoint of Constitutional law in Egypt and how The Brotherhood has played an important role in the shaping of law, even under Mubarak. Stilt is as straightforward as possible, and does little speculation, letting the facts speak for themselves. She details the already well-established agenda of The Brotherhood but puts it in perspective of

the current and past practices of Egyptian Government at large as well as the future under Sharia

Law. Stilt's interpretation of both the published platform of The Brotherhood, and impact that

full institution of the platform will have, is valuable and critical to understanding the true intent

of The Brotherhood. She leaves little doubt that regardless of careful wording and profession to a

democratic process, the goal is purely the institution of Sharia law. (Stilt Fall 2010)

Laying out the ideological basis for this quest for the re-establishment of Sharia law can

be a challenging one, if the researcher relies strictly on the prepackaged message of The

Brotherhood. Fortunately, Rachel Ehrenfeld's article in *American Foreign Policy Interests*

delves into the spiritual teachings and edicts (fatwas) that support the supposed democratic

movement of The Brotherhood. Ehrenfeld goes straight for the proverbial throat with contentions

that The Brotherhood supports "modern methods to promote medieval ideology." Her article

goes into great detail outlining The Brotherhoods power struggle and plans for Egypt, again

confirming that the re-establishment of the Caliphate in Egypt under the guise of a Muslim

theocracy is a primary goal. However, she does not stop there. Her research and scope follows

that of The Brotherhood, while maintaining academic honesty and being well cited. She outlines

the ultimate goal of a global Caliphate as well as the machinations that The Brotherhood is

behind across the Mid-East, Europe and even the United States. (Ehrenfeld 2011)

Finally, one has but to look right across the no-man's land that is the Sinai Peninsula to

find an outside, but realistic view of what The Brotherhood's ambitions are. In the *Jerusalem*

Issue Brief, Jonathan D. Halevi does not rely on esoteric platforms designed to be politically

correct or second hand accounts of what people want to believe are the goals of The

Brotherhood. Halevi digs into what The Brotherhood says to each other and other Muslims when

they think no one else is listening. He lists five bullet points at the opening of his article and

proceeds to drive each point home with the rhetoric and actions of The Brotherhood themselves. Effectively, this five point plan is the real set of goals for The Muslim Brotherhood. These goals culminate with the establishment of a global Caliphate under the auspices of Sharia law. However, he also points out in the same goals that it is the deception first of the Egyptian people and then the West that must occur with the practice of Taqiyya that enables the global Caliphate. (Halevi 2011)

Overall, the researchers in the journal articles reviewed, regardless of slant or bias, agree on the premise that The Muslim Brotherhood is founded and exists to establish a theocratic government in Egypt under the helm of Sharia law. The difference in interpretation swings from outright support and conceivably misinformation, through apologetic researchers to those that either have a bias directly against The Brotherhood or see through the Taqiyya smokescreen. This project seeks to find evidence that The Brotherhood is indeed waging a war of deception in order to further its goal of establishment of a global Caliphate and the institution of Sharia Law for all. Halevi's work lies closest to the goal of this project, but one must practice due dilligence to avoid falling into a bias trap in spite of the article's apparent support of the thesis. Further research must include evidence of The Brotherhood's motivation from the media and from within Egypt, remembering that their actions will speak louder than words. Finally, the Quaran and Hadiths must be constantly referenced in various translations to attempt to understand what is perhaps the most important motivator for the group – the words of Allah and the actions of Mohammed.

III.   Methodology and Research Strategy

Political Philosophy is one of the two major theories that support the thesis. This theory explores the history of political thought, governments and ideologies. Knowing the history of The Brotherhood is paramount to understanding their goals and aspirations. While this theory tends to focus on more Western thought processes, there is a certain amount of "universal truth" in the guise of historical fact and statements of Muslim Brotherhood leadership that will support the thesis.

Public Policy explores policymaking and how the government (or political organization) in question lays claim to the authority to make such policy decisions. This is helpful in a number of aspects, insomuch as the hypothesis is that The Brotherhood is bent on instituting Sharia Law in Egypt and reestablishing the Islamic Caliphate. Of course, these two policy schemes are major departures from the current and recent governments in Egypt and the region at large.

This paper was developed using a hybrid of the two above in the quest for answers: the use of history to understand current actions combined with the ability to appropriate the authority needed to make change, as the history of the situation is as important to the outcome and supporting the thesis as it is to ongoing political machinations. The fact that The Brotherhood appears to be basing much of their policy on the history of the old Caliphate and the traditions of 7th century Islam, one can hardly ignore one theory or the other.

Historical Research allows the researcher to build a case that supports the thesis and hypothesis by showing the foundations that the target situation in based upon. This method will allow analysis of the many instances that The Brotherhood has acted well outside of their supposed secular community building and highlight their more infamous acts of aggression and policy.

This of course leads directly into Document (content) Analysis. Document/Content Analysis allows the researcher to delve into examining the hard documentary evidence of the subject and interpret their blatant and subtle messages, as well as an understanding of the subject's motivations and influences. The myriad sources that one may explore concerning The Brotherhood must be understood in context to understand the organization itself. Document/Content Analysis will allows one to explore those documents and collect unbiased and concrete evidence that will either support of deny my hypothesis. The documents will include policy statements and press releases; references made to the Quran and Hadiths as well as published and broadcast interviews with the leadership of The Brotherhood.

IV.   Findings and Analysis:

It quickly becomes apparent that some academics weigh in supporting of The Muslim Brotherhood supporting the basic premise that Sharia Law is a prime directive, with the re-establishment of the Caliphate either ignored or masked completely. If these academics are purposefully masking the intentions of The Brotherhood, it is possible that the academics are unduly influenced and biased by their religious or political beliefs. This begs the question: Is it intentional?

There are two forms of deception that allow a Muslim to lie, regardless of subject. The first is an outright lie; in Arabic, it is called "Taqiyya." (Bayt 2010) The other is a lie or misleading by omission – such as is suspected above. This is called "Kitman" in Arabic. Both the Quran and several Hadiths sanction this behavior *if* it is for the greater good of Islam. (Ali 2007), (SearchTruth.com 2011) Thus, *if* the commenter or academic is a Muslim, it is reasonable to believe that the possibility exists that he or she may omit, deny or lie about the goals of an Islamic movement if it protects that movement and its goals in the light of a duty toward Islam.

Contrary to those closest to The Brotherhood, disinterested observers such as Rachel Ehrenfeld note that the motives of The Brotherhood are less than altruistic. According to Ehrenfeld, the spiritual leader of The Brotherhood actively promotes suicide bombings and boycotts on products made it the United States or Israel. He regularly uses Al Jazeera and CAIR to forward his message to fellow Muslims and the West writ large. In spite of statements advocating a new holocaust against Jews, his reputation is upheld as that of a moderate by Western academics on politicians alike. Ehrenfeld is adamant in her assertion that The Brotherhood's ultimate goal is imposition of Sharia Law worldwide. She claims that their adherence to death and deception as tools make them difficult to counter both physically and

ideologically as so many are ready and willing to believe that The Brotherhood's agenda is one of peace. (Ehrenfeld 2011)

As discussed, there are academics ideologically opposed to The Brotherhood and claim nefarious and global intentions of the organization. The question of bias still stands, and one must consider whether these academics are biased to the point of being without merit on this subject. However, even those that some might call Islamophobic seem to have a firm grasp of the deeds and misdeeds of both The Muslim Brotherhood and their apologists. Indeed, these more directly in opposition seem to have solid ground from which they can cast aspersions.

The creed of the Muslim Brotherhood is proof positive that the aspirations of the organization are in no way democratic or secular. Its motto, although often dismissed as antiquated or passé in the light of their recent aspirations toward a democratic process, drives to the core of the issue. In fact, the "official" site of The Brotherhood has taken down all references to this creed as well as their overtly hostile logo depicting the Quran and Swords. Nonetheless, it is well documented -

> "Allah is our objective. The Prophet is our leader. The Qur'an is our law. Jihad is our
> way. Dying in the way of Allah is our highest hope." (Vidino 2005)

This motto is not just a relic of times past. Mustafa Mashhur, the leader of The Brotherhood in Egypt has made very clear that the ultimate goal of the organization is the re-establishment of the Caliphate. Worse yet, this apparently must be supported by violent Jihad against Israel and the West, with martyrdom and Jihad itself being not only necessary but also a religious duty. (Mashhur 1995) This exposes that The Brotherhood's leadership and goals have in no way deviated from the principles of its original motto or the acts of terrorism and Islamist expansion that it has supposedly eschewed in recent years.

In spite of such denial of violence and a professed dedication to the democratic process, The Brotherhood has been a key player in the oft violent protests to overthrown the Mubarak regime in Egypt. (Dreyfuss 2011) While the overt bloodshed has been relatively light in comparison to the revolutions in Libya and Syria, the shadow of Sharia Law and its brutal implementation have been clear and widespread across Egypt since Arab Spring spread there. These attacks are often attributed to The Brotherhood and clearly demonstrate the actions of an organization that has no intention of supporting a multicultural, secular state in Egypt. (Abdelmassih 2012)

Statements made by organizational leadership belie their altruistic nature touted by friendly academics. There can be little in the way of misinterpretation, regardless of translation, when one considers that during the recent election in Egypt, even the spokesman for the Muslim Brotherhood candidate announced that Morsi would make Jerusalem the capital of the Caliphate, once restored. (Higazi 2012) Statements like this are clear and consistent, not off the cuff gaffes and places doubt on the motivations of those that defend The Brotherhood against accusations of Fundamental Islamist goals.

As one examines the statements made by operatives of The Brotherhood and their cohorts, the message is the same and as clear. Belying the peaceful message touted by supporters, Mahmoud Ghuzlan, a Brotherhood operative and spokesman stated that the restoration of the Caliphate is a dream and alluded to the fact that the ultimate goal had never been truly achieved – but will come "gradually." (IPTNews 2012) This gradual change is being affected across the Arab world as Brotherhood operatives and their supporters infiltrate and lurk in the governments of various neighboring states. (Hammami 2012)

Members of The Brotherhood are radicalizing Kuwait as well. The Emirate has been staunch ally of the United States and the West for decades, owing its very existence to the Allied Coalition that liberated it from the grasp of Iraq in 1991. However, men like Tareq Al-Suwaidan make millions preaching the gospel of hate in Kuwait and the United States. His CD sales and personal appearances are unabashed in their support of Jihad in support of the eradication of Israel and establishment of a true global Caliphate. His stance of zero negotiation and ultimate domination is indicative of the true nature of The Brotherhood unchained by political expediency. (Stalinsky 2012)

In various states involved in the recent "Arab Spring" one finds ready allegiance with The Brotherhood. In Tunisia, The Brotherhood is the majority Party. (Global Muslim Brotherhood Daily Report 2011) While not achieving majority in the Libyan elections, The Brotherhood most certainly has a major role to play and will probably lead a coalition government. (Dettmer 2015) The opposition coalition called The Syrian National Council is largely supported by The Brotherhood and has already begun to campaign for power in Syria once Assad is deposed. (The Daily Star 2012) Along with operatives in other Arab nations, this collectively demonstrates that The Brotherhood has aspirations far beyond the borders of Egypt, and opens the doors beyond the region as well.

The Brotherhood's ties to CAIR, MAB, Al Qaeda and others tell a much different story than the narrative being sold to the Arab Street and the West. The trail is relatively easy to follow from Cairo to Jerusalem to Britain and the United States. Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, a member of The Brotherhood, founded HAMAS (Arabic for "zeal" and an acronym for Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiya," or Islamic Resistance Movement) in 1987 to be the political arm of The Brotherhood in the West Bank and Gaza. Although HAMAS publicly disavowed the violent

aspects The Brotherhood, their actions spoke much louder than their charter – with the first of many suicide bombings in 1993. (Council on Foreign Relations 2011) One can only surmise that HAMAS either tacitly approves of, or actively supports such violence, giving clear indication of Taqiyya to cover their true intentions and methods.

CAIR, being the de facto civil rights organization in support of Muslims in the United States, has very close ties to HAMAS and The Brotherhood. While they say that they are against violence and have made a public show of that stand, their actions speak louder than their public words. (CAIR-Chicago 2010) CAIR is one of the "unindicted co-conspirators" in the landmark "Holy Land Foundation Case." This case proved that a huge amount of money from supposed charity and human rights organizations went directly to the terrorist organization HAMAS. (Gerstien 2007) This dichotomy may very well be a well-intentioned act of charity gone awry. However, if the masquerade perpetrated in the public eye is indeed what it seems, then it smacks of intentional deceit under the guise of Taqiyya or Kitman – intentional deception or deception by omission.

The deception continues in Britain as Brotherhood member and former spokesperson Kamal El-Helbawy founded the MAB. El-Helbawy has built MAB into a major factor in British politics, not unlike CAIR in the United States. El-Helbawy has even secured a post as the chairman of the Centre for the Study of Terrorism in Britain. Additionally, MAB has publically decried terrorism in Europe. (MAB 2010) However, in Arabic the MAB's tune is decidedly different. El-Helbawy himself intoned on state-funded BBC Arabic Television that Israeli children are ""future soldiers," and as such are legitimate targets for violence. (Allen 2009) Additionally, nominal ally the Socialist group "Worker's Liberty" disavowed the MAB after its spokesmen made it clear that the imposition of Sharia Law was the primary goal. (Worker's

Liberty 2006) It seems that the Taqiyya is evident in many cases, but only if the observer speaks Arabic or is in the correct audience. Nonetheless, the masquerade continues.

It is relatively well known that Al Qaeda's ultimate goal is establishment of a global Caliphate and the complete domination of Islam. (Musharbash 2005) What is not as widely known is that Al Qaeda is not only ideologically allied with the Brotherhood, but its current senior member and longtime "spiritual leader," Ayman Mohammed Rabie al-Zawahiri found his ideological base in The Brotherhood. (Crane 2012) To deny this clear tie to current Islamist terrorism, as even some in the highest levels of Western government chose to do, is foolhardy at best and purposefully complicit at worst.

V. Conclusions:

The goals of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and the Arab/Muslim World is clearly the spread of Sharia Law and global domination of Islam. Apologists and groups practicing deliberate deception in order to mask the true intentions of the organization and its allies dispute this. Nonetheless, the statements of The Brotherhood, their creed and more importantly their actions speak to these goals in a clear voice, unfettered by propaganda or politics.

Working through documentary evidence of the political philosophy, public policy and historical records of the Muslim Brotherhood, we have discovered a consistence in their goals, and inconsistency in their methods. From the basic creed of The Brotherhood to documents that postdate the alleged turn from violence, their mission has remained constant. However, their public face has softened and decried violence in many forms and forums worldwide. This masking of their goals and even their overt actions can only have one meaning. That meaning is the deliberate deception of those entities that they wish to dominate. On one hand, they eschew violence and on the other, yet they openly support terrorist groups like HAMAS.

These methods have naturally adapted to the ongoing changes in the region and the amount of overt and subtle influence that The Brotherhood has in a particular point in history. Their ploy to become a political force in Egypt and elsewhere has worked almost universally. However, this tactic is not universal – it is mainly used where The Brotherhood is not supported in the majority. The use of a democratic process to further their goals is admirable as a political maneuver. This has been an ongoing process for The Brotherhood and has worked well in Egypt. (Brownlee 2010)

The developments in Egypt with The Brotherhood rising to power will ultimately prove or disprove their motivations, in that arena. Albeit their success will tell tales only to the extent

of that success juxtaposed against their own stated goals. Elsewhere The Brotherhood will continue to build a political base that will support its goals while funding and supplying terrorist organizations bent on violent implementation of Shari Law. The critical piece of this stratagem is disinformation and deception of those that stand to lose the most from the gains of The Brotherhood.

The demonstrated double-dealing, support of terrorism, use of Taqiyya and Kitman to hide goals and overt statements in "safe" forums unmasks the true intentions of The Brotherhood on a global scale. The Muslim Brotherhood has been thus far successful in using deception to mask their intentions, supporting their ultimate goal of restoration of the Islamic Caliphate and the eventual domination of Islam globally.

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