



## The Influence of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Netherlands

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*The Muslim Brotherhood was founded in Egypt in 1928 by Hassan al-Banna in response to the collapse of the Muslim Caliphate. Al-Banna called for the establishment of a world Islamic state governed by Quranic law, ruled by a single caliph, The Brotherhood's creed is: "God is our objective; the Quran is our constitution; the Prophet is our leader; jihad is our way; and death in for the sake of God is the highest of our aspirations." The Brotherhood took a sharply anti-Western tone after the Second World War. According to Sayyid Outb, likely the most influential Brotherhood ideologue other than founder al-Banna; "All Westerners are the same: a rotten conscience, a false civilization. How I hate these Westerners, how I despise all of them without exception." Many of the early leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood were killed and others driven out of their homelands. They found refuge in Saudi Arabia, where local leaders had set out to spread their own conservative branch of Islam. Brotherhood activists helped launch the largest Saudi charities, including the Muslim World League and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, all closely tied to the conservative Saudi clergy. In the 1990s, faced with a host of new challenges, the Muslim Brotherhood began to create its own infrastructure in Europe.*

### Introduction

In the West, the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) has consistently attempted to present itself as a mainstream Muslim organization and is often able to co-opt Muslim organizations and mosques. Further, spokesmen and leaders for the Muslim Brotherhood in the West are often neatly dressed, highly educated individuals who fluidly speak the language. Frequently, MB leaders go to great lengths to claim they strongly believe in democracy, in an attempt to convince their official government contacts that they should to become the main intermediary for all Muslims in a given country.

However—for the MB—support for democracy is arguably not born of a genuine conviction based upon faith in the rule of democratic principals, but rather a belief rooted in the conviction that democracy can be a tool to gain political control. That control would then be used to abolish democracy and, as is consistent with the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood, implement sharia law as required by their interpretation of the Quran. The implementation of sharia law is necessary in order for Islam to rule the world and fulfill Quranic prophecies. The ideology of al Qa'ida is largely based on that of the Muslim Brotherhood, only the methods and strategies differ.

According to an internal MB document released as a government exhibit in the recent case of the United States v. Holy Land Foundation, et al., titled "An Explanatory Memorandum; On the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America", the goal of the Muslim Brothers in the United States is consistent with this ideology:

"The process of settlement is a "Civilization-Jihadist Process" with all the word means. The Ikhwan must understand that their work in America is a kind of grand Jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within and "sabotaging" its miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers so that it is eliminated and God's religion is made victorious over all other

religions. Without this level of understanding, we are not up to this challenge and have not prepared ourselves for Jihad yet. It is a Muslim's destiny to perform Jihad and work wherever he is and wherever he lands until the final hour comes, and there is no escape from that destiny except for those who chose to slack. But, would the slackers and the Mujahedeen be equal."<sup>1</sup>

In the latest public report by the Dutch General Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD) titled, "The radical dawa in transition. The rise of Islamic neoradicalism in the Netherlands", a section focuses on the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>2</sup> In that report, AIVD labels the Muslim Brotherhood "the founders of modern radical Islamic activism".<sup>3</sup>

The intelligence service writes the following on the MB in the Netherlands: "The Muslim Brotherhood certainly has some support in the Netherlands. For example, the management committee of the es-Salaam mosque currently under construction in Rotterdam – and set to be the largest in the country once it is finished – includes several members with known links to the organisation."<sup>4</sup>

This NEFA special report will attempt to paint as complete a picture as possible of the Muslim Brotherhood's operations in the Netherlands. The report will show that the MB has a sophisticated infrastructure established in the Netherlands, but it has not become a grassroots movement among the different Muslim communities. The MB, which mainly operates as an ideology in Europe rather than as a hierarchical organizational structure, still attracts, for the most part, ethnic Arabs. The MB has not been particularly attractive to the non-Arab Muslim communities. However, there is a certain amount of cooperation with organizations such as the Pakistani Jamaat e-Islami and the Turkish Milli Görüs, which share ideological ground with the MB.

It is important to note that the MB ideology has taken root in the Netherlands on three levels: national, international, and independent. Some of the MB-related activities are instigated from abroad. One of the main activities of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Netherlands is to rally support for the Palestinian cause. Recently-disclosed internal MB documents in the Holy Land Foundation case in the United States shows that the Office of Guidance of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in Cairo and the International Shura Council (an advisory body consisting of leaders of different MB country chapters under the chairmanship of the General Guide of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood) instructed chapters of the MB in various countries to organize a new flow of money to finance the Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood, better known as HAMAS.<sup>5</sup>

In the Netherlands, the task to raise funds for HAMAS was first given to the al-Aqsa Foundation which was founded in August 1993, primarily at the directive of the chairman of the German al-Aqsa Foundation.<sup>6</sup> Since 2000, the Union of the Good, led by the most influential Muslim Brotherhood scholar, Youssef al-Qaradawi, has coordinated fundraising for the Palestinians and HAMAS.<sup>7</sup> Al-Aqsa was part of the Union of the Good.

This report will focus on the MB infrastructure in the Netherlands that was created in the 1990s. The infrastructure shows both foreign influences, as well as the existence of numerous front

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<sup>1</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0085; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al. p.21;

[http://www.nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/HLF/Akram\\_GeneralStrategicGoal.pdf](http://www.nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/HLF/Akram_GeneralStrategicGoal.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> AIVD, The radical dawa in transition. The rise of Islamic neoradicalism in the Netherlands (2007) pp. 49-52

<sup>3</sup> AIVD, The radical dawa in transition. The rise of Islamic neoradicalism in the Netherlands (2007) p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> AIVD, The radical dawa in transition. The rise of Islamic neoradicalism in the Netherlands (2007) p. 52

<sup>5</sup> Government Exhibit 003-0017; 3:04-CR-240-G; U.S. v. HLF, et al p.12;

[http://nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/FeaturedDocs/palcommbylaws\\_amend.pdf](http://nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/FeaturedDocs/palcommbylaws_amend.pdf)

<sup>6</sup> Stichting al-Aqsa; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 41073460

<sup>7</sup> Center for Special Studies, The Union of the Good (February 2005); [www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/html/final/ebg/sib/2\\_05/funds.htm](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/html/final/ebg/sib/2_05/funds.htm)

groups, including charities; umbrella organizations; educational institutions; and real estate operations.

## **National Muslim Brotherhood Activities in the Netherlands**

On November 4, 1996, the Liga van de Islamitische Gemeenschap in Nederland (League of the Islamic Community in the Netherlands) or LIGN was founded in The Hague. The first board of directors consisted of a Dutchman of Syrian descent, one Moroccan, one Somalian, four Tunisians, and one person whose background is not known. The board changed directorships six times during the first eight years of LIGN's existence. However, the board has been stable since the end of 2004. It currently consists of Yahia Bouyafa, chairman, and Ibrahim Akkari, secretary and treasurer.<sup>8</sup> The LIGN is an umbrella organization and serves as the representative for the Netherlands within the Federation of Islamic Organisations in Europe (FIOE). The FIOE is the main vehicle for the MB ideology in Europe. According to recent information from chairman Bouyafa, he claims the LIGN organization is no longer active.<sup>9</sup>

The LIGN developed initiatives to create a comprehensive infrastructure that would help expand the MB ideology in the Netherlands. This effort largely failed. The LIGN never openly presented itself as an umbrella organization representing Muslims in the Netherlands.

Ibrahim Akkari (Ibrahim al-Aqari) is a founding member of the LIGN.<sup>10</sup> Since the establishment of the organization, he has been a member of the board and has held different positions during this period. Akkari lives in Schiedam and was involved in other Muslim organizations.<sup>11</sup> He also served on the board of the Islamic University of Europe in Schiedam.<sup>12</sup> While these were predominately local activities, Akkari also served as director of the al-Aqsa Foundation in the Netherlands. He held this position until the Dutch government froze the assets of al-Aqsa in 2003, after it conducted an investigation into terror financing.<sup>13</sup> After the de facto closing of the al-Aqsa Foundation's operation, Akkari was seen at the headquarters of another foundation called Internationale Steun Rechtstreeks Aan Armen (ISRAA), which stands for International Support for the Poor, where he coordinated the fundraising efforts for the Palestinian cause.<sup>14</sup>

Akkari's home address in Schiedam was used for a real estate company called Altawasul Co. BV. The company was registered in November 2001 and ceased its existence in November 2006.<sup>15</sup> The only shareholder of Altawasul Co. BV, was Abdullatif Ramadan al-Hajeri from Kuwait,<sup>16</sup> who is a trustee of the Europe Trust in the United Kingdom.<sup>17</sup> He is also a trustee of the trust overseeing the Islamic University of Chittagong in Bangladesh. Finally, al-Hajeri is the chairman of the Islamic Da'wah Committee in Kuwait.<sup>18</sup> The Islamic Da'wah Committee is the same organization as Lajnat al-Dawa al-Islamia, which the U.S. government has labeled a Specially Designated Global Terrorist or SGDT.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Liga van de Islamitische Gemeenschap in Nederland; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 40413776

<sup>9</sup> Vonnis Rechtbank Amsterdam, October 18, 2007, Nr: 378776/KG ZA 07-1700 OdC/MB, page 8.

<sup>10</sup> Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 40413776 and

<http://www.islamonline.net/English/News/2003-06/05/article03.shtml>

<sup>11</sup> Stichting Moslimhuis Tilburg, Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 18067675; Stichting S.O.O.N. Tilburg, Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 41052353

<sup>12</sup> Islamitische Universiteit van Europa; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 24323301

<sup>13</sup> [www.islamonline.net/English/News/2003-06/05/article03.shtml](http://www.islamonline.net/English/News/2003-06/05/article03.shtml)

<sup>14</sup> Joost de Haas, Moskeeën in de ban van Moslimgroep, De Telegraaf, March 24, 2007

<sup>15</sup> Altawasul Co. B.V.; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 24326858

<sup>16</sup> Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 24326858

<sup>17</sup> Europe Trust; U.K. Charity Commission, number #1054478

<sup>18</sup> [www.iiuc.ac.bd/Members/Committee%20Members/trustees.php](http://www.iiuc.ac.bd/Members/Committee%20Members/trustees.php)

<sup>19</sup> [www.treas.gov/offices/enforcement/ofac/sdn/t11sdn.pdf](http://www.treas.gov/offices/enforcement/ofac/sdn/t11sdn.pdf), pp. 135-136

The activities of other LIGN board members are also notable. Chairman Yahia Bouyafa, born in Morocco, was mentioned recently a number of times in the Dutch press. This prompted him to take legal action.<sup>20</sup> It was reported that Bouyafa was involved in a “hostile” takeover of the Contactgroep Islam (CGI), which is representing Muslim organizations in a dialogue with the government.<sup>21</sup> In 1987, Bouyafa became secretary of the foundation of Islamic Primary Schools in Eindhoven. This foundation is close to the radical al-Fourkaan mosque, which hosted conferences attended by some of the members of the Hamburg cell that carried out the 9/11 suicide attacks.<sup>22</sup>

The following table shows Yahia Bouyafa’s activities since 1987:

Organization	Function	Period of membership
Stichting Islamitische Basisscholen, Eindhoven <sup>23</sup>	Secretary	May 18, 1987 – until October 5, 1988
Islamitische Vereniging IJsselstein <sup>24</sup>	Chairman	Since May 15, 1991
Stichting Nederlandse Federatie van Maghrebijnse Islamitische Organisaties, Utrecht <sup>25</sup>	Second Secretary	Since August 29, 1993
Nederlandse Stichting voor Culturele Diensten, Avicenna, Amsterdam <sup>26</sup>	Chairman	November 16, 1993- September 1, 1999
Pizzeria Grillroom Dame Bianca, Utrecht <sup>27</sup>	Owner	March 15, 1996 - October 30, 1997
Euromaroc BV <sup>28</sup>	Owner	April 2, 1997 - April 15, 2002
Stichting Nederlands Centrum voor Interculturele Participatie, Amsterdam <sup>29</sup>	Chairman	February 27, 1998 - September 1, 1999
Stichting Islamitische Universiteit Europa, Schiedam <sup>30</sup>	Board Member	May 3, 2003 - October 4, 2003
Arabesques Uitgeverij Noer Al’ilm, Zaandam <sup>31</sup>	Owner	Since November 21, 2003
Stichting Nederlands Instituut voor Humane Studies, Zaandam <sup>32</sup>	Chairman	Since August 19, 2003
Liga van de Islamitische Gemeenschap in Nederland, Den Haag <sup>33</sup>	Chairman	Since October 24, 2004
Federatie Islamitische Organisaties in Nederland <sup>34</sup>	Chairman	Since July 8, 2005

<sup>20</sup> Joost de Haas, Moskeeën in de ban van Moslimgroep, De Telegraaf, March 24, 2007; Joost de Haas, Opvolger van Imam Haselhof duikt op in onderzoek veiligheidsdiensten, De Telegraaf, August 4, 2007; Nova TV, October 11, 2007;

<sup>21</sup> Opvolger van Imam Haselhof duikt op in onderzoek veiligheidsdiensten, De Telegraaf, August 4, 2007

<sup>22</sup> <http://eindhovenstadblad.nl/acrchive/?service=archive&articleID=1553284>

<sup>23</sup> Foundation Islamic Primary Schools in Eindhoven; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 41090664.

<sup>24</sup> Islamic Union IJsselstein, which is the mosque; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 40481014

<sup>25</sup> Foundation Dutch Federation of Maghrebian Islamic Organizations in Utrecht; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 41186321

<sup>26</sup> Dutch Foundation for Cultural Services, Avicenna; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 33254210

<sup>27</sup> Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 30133302

<sup>28</sup> Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 30141620

<sup>29</sup> Foundation Dutch Center for Intercultural Participation; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 33300858

<sup>30</sup> Foundation Islamic University of Europe; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number 24324301

<sup>31</sup> Publishing House Noer A’lim; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number 30204715

<sup>32</sup> Foundation Dutch Institute for Humane Studies; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number 30190143

<sup>33</sup> Foundation League of the Islamic Community in the Netherlands; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 40413776

Stichting Europe Trust Nederland <sup>35</sup>	Chairman	Since October 24, 2006
Stichting Nederlandse Moslimraad <sup>36</sup>	Board Member	Since December 22, 2006
Contact Groep Islam (CGI) <sup>37</sup>	Chairman	Since July 2007

Since 2003, Bouyafa, who also serves as chairman of the Taouba Mosque in his hometown IJsselstein, started to expand his activities in Islamic organizations. In May 2003, he became a trustee of the Islamic University Europe in Schiedam, where he likely met Ibrahim Akkari.<sup>38</sup> Bouyafa also founded the Noer Al'ilm publishing house, which translates and reproduces the works of Youssef al-Qaradawi, Hassan al-Banna, Abdul Ala Maududi, Ibn Taymiyyah, and Amr Khalid, all important figures in radical Islamist theology who advocate the violent overthrow of the West and the establishment of the Caliphate. Although Bouyafa could claim that by merely publishing these authors he is not necessarily a follower of their teachings, the fact remains that referring to the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood as "imam" Hassan al-Banna, is a clear indication of reverence and respect.<sup>39</sup>

In recent years, Bouyafa created a cluster of organizations that are duplications of organizations founded and linked to a complex structure run by the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE). In the Netherlands, Bouyafa founded the umbrella organization Federatie Islamitische Organisaties in Nederland (FION), which is a duplication of the FIOE itself. Also the Foundation Europe Trust Nederland is a duplication of the Europe Trust in the UK and the Foundation Nederlands Instituut voor Humane Studies is a duplication of the European Institute for Human Sciences (EIHS) in France. Together, these organizations are the backbone for the FIOE, so it can be assessed that the FION, Europe Trust Netherlands and the Nederlands Instituut voor Humane Studies, are the backbone for a cluster of interlinked organizations with the same goal in the Netherlands.

It is noteworthy to highlight that FION was founded by Bouyafa and two persons who serve as the secretary and treasurer, Moussa Marcouch and Nour Din Acherrat respectively, for the foundation Islamic Relief Nederland in Amsterdam.<sup>40</sup> Islamic Relief is an Islamic charity headquartered in the United Kingdom.<sup>41</sup> Although an independent charity in name, it is believed by certain experts that the Egyptian Medical Syndicate, which is closely related to the Muslim Brotherhood, controls the operations of Islamic Relief. Both persons were also involved in the founding of foundation Europe Trust Nederland.<sup>42</sup> In early 2007, Nour Din Acherrat left his trusteeships in both FION and Europe Trust Nederland.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Federation of Islamic Organizations in the Netherlands; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 34230218

<sup>35</sup> Foundation Europe Trust the Netherlands; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 34260834

<sup>36</sup> Foundation Dutch Muslim council; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 41185666

<sup>37</sup> Contact Group Islam is an official partner of the Dutch government. According to press report Bouyafa took over the CGI from the former chairman in July 2007. According to the file in the Chamber of Commerce the change in the chairmanship has not happened.

[www.vrom.nl/get.asp?file=docs/kamerstukken/Wed31Oct20071336020100/20071029BriefKVIII.doc](http://www.vrom.nl/get.asp?file=docs/kamerstukken/Wed31Oct20071336020100/20071029BriefKVIII.doc)

<sup>38</sup> Islamitische Universiteit van Europa; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 24323301

<sup>39</sup> <http://www.noeralilm.nl/auteurs.html>

<sup>40</sup> Stichting Islamic Relief Nederland, Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 41211754

<sup>41</sup> Extract from the Central Register of Charities maintained by Charity Commission for England and Wales; Main Charity file number 328158; Islamic Relief Worldwide and Main Charity file number 1112111; Islamic Relief (UK)

<sup>42</sup> Foundation Europe Trust the Netherlands; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 34260834

<sup>43</sup> Foundation Europe Trust the Netherlands; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 34260834; Federation of Islamic Organizations in the Netherlands; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 34230218

There are also more direct links between Bouyafa-run organizations and the FIOE or FIOE-related organizations. According to the bylaws of the FION, if the organization ceases operations, all finances will be transferred to the Europe Trust in Birmingham.<sup>44</sup> The now-defunct FION website offers some interesting insights.<sup>45</sup> A paper entitled, “Charter for Muslims in the Netherlands,” was written as a joint effort by European Muslim organizations, though no further information is given. An analysis of this document indicates that the document is a direct translation from a document called a “Charter for Muslims in Europe.” This document was written and published by the FIOE in Brussels, in 2002.<sup>46</sup> It is interesting to note that both charters talk about the six pillars of Islam. In Islam there are only five pillars. Only Islamic radicals refer to the sixth pillar, which is Jihad.<sup>47</sup>

## Al-Aqsa Network in the Netherlands

A former board member of the LIGN, Rashad Abdil-Rahman al-Baz, is the link between the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Netherlands and the actual activism of the MB within the European al-Aqsa network. Rashad Abdil-Rahman al-Baz was a member of the board of the LIGN in 1998 and 1999 and was likely invited by Ibrahim Akkari to join the LIGN board as both were involved in the activities of the Foundation al-Aqsa.<sup>48</sup> Since 1996, al-Baz has been the secretary of the Foundation al-Aqsa, where Akkari served as director and was a founding member of the Foundation Jerusalem. The Foundation Jerusalem is believed to be the direct successor of the Foundation al-Aqsa. Rashad Abdil-Rahman al-Baz served as treasurer at the Foundation Jerusalem from its founding on July 18, 2003 until August 31, 2007.<sup>49</sup>

An article in the Dutch newspaper, *De Telegraaf*, quotes an individual who asserted that the Foundation Jerusalem is the successor of al-Aqsa which worked from the same address. The person is quoted as saying, “We still fight against the power of the Dutch government who blocked the funds of al-Aqsa as ordered by the Americans. You Dutch people should not forget this: in earlier times the Muslims were stronger than Europe and Islam ruled everywhere. Those times will return!”<sup>50</sup>

As mentioned previously, in 2003, the Foundation al-Aqsa’s funds were blocked after an investigation by Dutch authorities into terror financing.<sup>51</sup> The authorities concluded that al-Aqsa directly funded activities of the terrorist movement HAMAS. Since then, the activities to fund the Palestinian cause have been divided among at least four foundations. Former board members, the director, and an activist of al Aqsa became active in the Foundation Jerusalem,<sup>52</sup> the Foundation al-Maktabah,<sup>53</sup> Foundation ISRAA,<sup>54</sup> and the Foundation Palestinian Platform for

<sup>44</sup> Federation of Islamic Organizations in the Netherlands; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 34230218

<sup>45</sup> <http://www.fiononline.nl/Organisatie.html> and <http://www.fiononline.nl/Handvest.html> were downloaded in June 2007

<sup>46</sup> [http://www.rabita.ch/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=13&Itemid=44](http://www.rabita.ch/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=13&Itemid=44)

<sup>47</sup> <http://www.fiononline.nl/Handvest.html> and

[http://www.rabita.ch/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=13&Itemid=44](http://www.rabita.ch/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=13&Itemid=44)

<sup>48</sup> Foundation League of the Islamic Community in the Netherlands; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 40413776. Member of the Board from October 31, 1998 until November 1, 1999.

<sup>49</sup> Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 24350798

<sup>50</sup> *Hollandse Martine ‘bruid’ van Hamas?*, *De Telegraaf*, 27 September 2003

<sup>51</sup> [https://www.aivd.nl/algemene\\_onderdelen/tegoeden\\_al-aqsa](https://www.aivd.nl/algemene_onderdelen/tegoeden_al-aqsa)

<sup>52</sup> Stichting Jerusalem; founded July 2003; Dutch Chamber of Commerce: File number: 24350798.

Foundation al-Aqsa chairman Ali Sonlu and Foundation al-Aqsa secretary Rashad al-Baz are founding members of this foundation which is seen as the direct successor to Foundation al-Aqsa.

<sup>53</sup> Stichting al-Maktabah; founded October 2002; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 24340571.

<sup>54</sup> Stichting Internationale Steun Rechtstreeks Aan Armen (ISRAA); founded December 2001; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File Number: 24328679. The former treasurer of the Foundation al-Aqsa Bassam El Saleh was chairman until January 1, 2004.

Human Rights and Solidarity (PPMS).<sup>55</sup> The links between the Foundation al-Maktabah and al-Aqsa are not quite clear but an online directory of Dutch Moroccan organizations lists an address for Foundation al-Aqsa at the same address as al-Maktabah.<sup>56</sup> Also, the brother of Abida Kabbaj, a former spokesperson for al-Aqsa, was chairman of al-Maktabah from October 2003 until November 2004.<sup>57</sup> Abida Kabbaj is the wife of Samir Azzouz, who was convicted of plotting terrorist attacks against Dutch politicians and the headquarters of the AIVD.<sup>58</sup>

The Foundation al-Aqsa was listed as a member of the 101 Days Campaign since its inception. The 101 Days Campaign is part of the Union of the Good, an umbrella organization created by Youssef al-Qaradawi and comprised of more than fifty Islamic charitable funds and foundations worldwide. The Union of the Good channels monies from charitable donations and also provides other items to HAMAS-affiliated entities in the Palestinian Authority, thereby contributing to the support infrastructure of HAMAS terrorism through the so-called “financial jihad.”<sup>59</sup> The Foundation Jerusalem and the Foundation ISRAA are mentioned as members of the campaign in the Netherlands, on the most recent 101 Days Campaign list.<sup>60</sup>

Interestingly, the chairman of the Foundation al-Aqsa and the Foundation Jerusalem, Ali Sonlu, recently created a foundation (Halal Producten Certificaat) that certifies Halal (foods that are permissible according to Islamic law) products.<sup>61</sup> In similar situations abroad, the monopoly to certify Halal meat was used as one of the main sources of income for certain organizations linked to the Muslim Brotherhood ideology in Europe.

Another former member of the Foundation al-Aqsa recently surfaced in a court case in the United States. In the U.S. government’s prosecution of the Holy Land Foundation, a Texas-based charity charged with funding HAMAS, an exhibit provided a description of the HAMAS support network in Europe. The writer of the document was Amin Abou Ibrahim of the Foundation al-Aqsa in Rotterdam.<sup>62</sup> Since the de facto closure of Foundation al-Aqsa, Amin Abou Ibrahim, whose real name is Amin Rashid, moved on to the Foundation Palestinian Platform for Human Rights and Solidarity (PPMS).<sup>63</sup> This organization was created at the end of 2005 and is by far the most active and most vocal mouthpiece for the Palestinian cause in the Netherlands.<sup>64</sup> Amin Rashid was recently described in the Dutch press as being the chairman of the PPMS, although on the Arabic

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<sup>55</sup> Stichting Palestijns Platform voor Mensenrechten en Solidariteit (PPMS); Founded December 2005; Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 27282990. Former Foundation al-Aqsa activist Amin Abou Ibrahim is one of the leading persons within the PPMS. He is mentioned in press reports as being the chairman of the organization but this is not reflected in the Dutch Chamber of Commerce file which names Ibrahim Hasan as chairman.

<sup>56</sup> <http://www2.fmg.uva.nl/imes/Moroccans.xls>

<sup>57</sup> Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 24340571;  
<http://www.hetparool.nl/artikelen/NIE/1054702678290.html>

<sup>58</sup> [http://zoeken.rechtspraak.nl/resultpage.aspx?snelzoeken=true&searchtype=ljn&ljn=AZ3589&u\\_ljn=AZ3589](http://zoeken.rechtspraak.nl/resultpage.aspx?snelzoeken=true&searchtype=ljn&ljn=AZ3589&u_ljn=AZ3589)

<sup>59</sup> The Union of the Good; Special Information Bulletin, Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Center for Special Studies, February 2005 [http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/ENGLISH/MARKETING%20TERRORISM/PDF/FEB22\\_05.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/ENGLISH/MARKETING%20TERRORISM/PDF/FEB22_05.pdf)

<sup>60</sup> <http://www.101days.org/arabic/index.php>

<sup>61</sup> Stichting Halal Producten Certificaat, Heerlen, Dutch Chamber of Commerce, File number: 14084699

<sup>62</sup> US Government exhibit number 001-0357

[http://nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/HLF/AlAqsa\\_OrgsWorkingPalestine.pdf](http://nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/HLF/AlAqsa_OrgsWorkingPalestine.pdf)

<sup>63</sup> Stichting Palestijns Platform voor Mensenrechten en Solidariteit (PPMS); Dutch Chamber of Commerce; file number 27282990

<sup>64</sup> <http://anjameulenbelt.sp.nl/weblog/2006/05/22/gaza-in-ons-hart/#more-1760>;  
[http://www.ppmsholland.nl/wesima\\_articles/index-20070507-250.html](http://www.ppmsholland.nl/wesima_articles/index-20070507-250.html)



language website of the organization he is mentioned as being the director.<sup>65</sup> A recent change in the foundation's board left the chairmanship open.<sup>66</sup>

There are differences between the Dutch version of the PPMS web-site and the Arab version. On the Arab language website, there is information that PPMS prefers not to share with the regular Dutch visitor who comes to the website. For instance, there is a page that links to other websites, and includes a link to <http://www.kate3.com>.<sup>67</sup> This website is run from Alexandria, Egypt and tries to convince people to boycott products of U.S. companies that have business dealings with Israel. The accompanying graphics suggest that U.S. companies that invest in Israel are also responsible for the deaths of children in Lebanon and in the Palestinian Territories.

It is not atypical that PPMS' Arabic language section of the website has differences from the Dutch one. This is common practice in this milieu. A participant of a strategy conference in Philadelphia in 1993, [the goal of the conference was how to oppose the Oslo Accords and support HAMAS,] explained it this way: "if you want to [talk to] the Americans, you lose the Muslims. If you address the Muslims, it means that you cannot reveal your address to the Americans. Frankly speaking." Later on he gives an example "...if someone asked you if you want to destroy Israel, what are you going to say on TV?" He tells the group, "if you give an inconclusive response which is like you didn't answer the question, someone will come to you and tell you that you have forsaken your principles."<sup>68</sup>

### **International Muslim Brotherhood Activities in the Netherlands**

It has always been difficult to describe what exactly the International Muslim Brotherhood (Tanzim al-Dawli) is. According to the General Guide of the Egyptian MB, who also chairs the International Muslim Brotherhood, it is an advisory council consisting of leading members of the Muslim Brotherhood worldwide.<sup>69</sup> It appears the above-mentioned International Shura Council is the successor of the Tanzim al-Dawli, which was officially disbanded in 2004.<sup>70</sup>

In interviews, the current General Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood said: "We do not have an international organization. If we have a form of organization, it is through our perception of the situation. We are present in all countries: there are people everywhere who recognize themselves in the thinking of the Muslim Brotherhood."<sup>71</sup> A former Muslim Brother, who is very critical about the International Muslim Brotherhood said; "The organization has never been capable of achieving an objective. As a school of thought, it is a success. But as an organization, it is a failure."<sup>72</sup>

The International Muslim Brotherhood has the guidance office as its executive body. The guidance office is led by the General Guide of the Egyptian MB. It has about 25 members, nine of whom are Egyptian. The other members represent various countries. Europe is represented by two members, including Ahmed al-Rawi, the president of the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE).<sup>73</sup>

<sup>65</sup> NRC Handelsblad, May 7, 2007; [http://www.nrc.nl/binnenland/article707508.ece/De\\_Hamas-broeder\\_moest\\_achter\\_de\\_muur\\_blijven](http://www.nrc.nl/binnenland/article707508.ece/De_Hamas-broeder_moest_achter_de_muur_blijven); [http://www.ppmsholland.nl/Arabisch/wesima\\_articles/activity-20070305-198.html](http://www.ppmsholland.nl/Arabisch/wesima_articles/activity-20070305-198.html)

<sup>66</sup> Dutch Chamber of Commerce; file number 27282990, checked on October 18, 2007.

<sup>67</sup> [http://www.ppmsholland.nl/Arabisch/useful\\_links.html](http://www.ppmsholland.nl/Arabisch/useful_links.html)

<sup>68</sup> U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation (N.D. TX.), No. 3:04-CR-240-G, Government Exhibit 016-0069, [http://nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/HLF/93Philly\\_9.pdf](http://nefafoundation.org/miscellaneous/HLF/93Philly_9.pdf)

<sup>69</sup> Xavier Ternisien, An international break-up of the Muslim Brotherhood, Le Monde, 23 October 2004

<sup>70</sup> Abd-al-Hafiz Sa'd, International Muslim Brotherhood Organization Gathering for Emergency Meeting in Presence of Egyptian Guide, al-Sharq al-Awsat, November 11, 2004.

<sup>71</sup> Xavier Ternisien, An international break-up of the Muslim Brotherhood, Le Monde, 23 October 2004

<sup>72</sup> Xavier Ternisien, An international break-up of the Muslim Brotherhood, Le Monde, 23 October 2004

<sup>73</sup> Xavier Ternisien, Les Freres musulmans (Paris 2005), pp. 107-131.



Two trustees of the FIOE are especially active in the Netherlands: Ibrahim El-Zayat and Nooh al-Kaddo. Ibrahim El-Zayat is a trustee and public relations officer for the FIOE and is involved in numerous activities and organizations linked to this organization. He also serves on a number of other boards of European Islamic organizations. For example, he is the chairman of the Islamische Gemeinschaft Deutschland (IGD),<sup>74</sup> an organization founded in March 1960, in Munich, by Said Ramadan.<sup>75</sup> El-Zayat is also a Trustee of the European Institute for Human Sciences in France; a director of the Europäische Moscheenbau- und Unterstützungs Gemeinschaft (EMUG) which represents the real estate holdings of Milli Görüs in Germany;<sup>76</sup> a trustee of Islamic Relief Worldwide in Birmingham;<sup>77</sup> and the Western European representative for the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), among others.<sup>78</sup>

In the Netherlands, El-Zayat's activities came to the forefront in the scandal around the building project of the Westermoskee in Amsterdam. El-Zayat was one of signatories who signed a highly controversial contract. In the contract, the representatives of the Turkish community in Amsterdam promised to transfer control of the mosque to the IGMG-EMUG in Cologne, Germany.<sup>79</sup> El-Zayat has also been secretary of the Foundation Nederlandse Moskeebouw - en Ondersteunings Gemeenschap (NMOG) since its founding in 1996. This organization is similar to the EMUG in Germany, representing the real estate of the Milli Görüs in the Netherlands.<sup>80</sup>

Another trustee of the FIOE, who is involved in a mosque building project in Rotterdam, is Nooh al-Kaddo. Within the FIOE, he is the main officer for the planning and development program of the organization.<sup>81</sup> He lives in Ireland and is running the Islamic Cultural Center of Ireland (ICCI) in Clonskeagh. The ICCI is part of the Islamic Foundation of Ireland (IFI), of which al-Kaddo is the director.<sup>82</sup> The ICCI was built with a grant from the Maktoum Foundation<sup>83</sup> and houses the headquarters of the European Council for Fatwa and Research (ECFR), an organization discussed above and led by Sheikh Youssef al-Qaradawi.<sup>84</sup> At the end of October 2007, the keynote speaker at the annual conference of the ICCI was the influential and radical Saudi Sheikh Salman al-Awdah.<sup>85</sup> Salman al-Awdah is a trustee of the International Union for Muslim Scholars (IUMS) which was founded in 2004, by Youssef al-Qaradawi, is headquartered in Dublin. As al-Kaddo operates as al-Qaradawi's viceroy in Dublin, it is probable that the IUMS operates from the same buildings as the IFI of which al-Kaddo is director.<sup>86</sup>

Al-Kaddo also serves as a trustee of the Islamic charity Human Appeal International,<sup>87</sup> the Maktoum Foundation in the Netherlands;<sup>88</sup> and the Foundation Mosque Essalam, also in the

<sup>74</sup> [http://www.i-g-d.de/cmsde1/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=66&Itemid=33](http://www.i-g-d.de/cmsde1/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=66&Itemid=33)

<sup>75</sup> Amtsgericht München, Registerakten; filenumber VR6256; Islamische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland e.V.; Gründungsprotokoll (Bylaws) and Vereinsatzung (foundingmeeting) Munich, March 6, 1960.

<sup>76</sup> [http://reporter.kro.nl/uitzendingen/2007/0402\\_moskeeen/westermoskee\\_in\\_duitse\\_handen.aspx](http://reporter.kro.nl/uitzendingen/2007/0402_moskeeen/westermoskee_in_duitse_handen.aspx)

<sup>77</sup> Extract from the Central Register of Charities maintained by Charity Commission for England and Wales; Main Charity file number 328158; Islamic Relief Worldwide and Main Charity file number 1112111;

<sup>78</sup> Romana Abels and Kustaw Bessems, De Saoedische Geldkraan, Trouw, 6 December 2001

<sup>79</sup> [http://reporter.kro.nl/uitzendingen/2007/0402\\_moskeeen/westermoskee\\_in\\_duitse\\_handen.aspx](http://reporter.kro.nl/uitzendingen/2007/0402_moskeeen/westermoskee_in_duitse_handen.aspx);  
[http://reporter.kro.nl/uitzendingen/2007/0402\\_moskeeen/het\\_geheime\\_contact.aspx](http://reporter.kro.nl/uitzendingen/2007/0402_moskeeen/het_geheime_contact.aspx)

<sup>80</sup> Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 34106272

<sup>81</sup> <http://web.archive.org/web/19990220120409/www.alphastraining.co.uk/apage7.htm> 9/12/2006

<sup>82</sup> <http://www.islaminireland.com/mosque/mosque.html>

<sup>83</sup> [http://www.qantara.de/webcom/show\\_article.php/\\_c-469/\\_nr-166/\\_p-1/i.html?PHPSESSID=5](http://www.qantara.de/webcom/show_article.php/_c-469/_nr-166/_p-1/i.html?PHPSESSID=5)

<sup>84</sup> <http://www.islamonline.net/English/News/2003-06/24/article14.shtml>

<sup>85</sup> <http://islamireland.ie/blog/skaven/420>

<sup>86</sup> [http://www.iumsonline.net/english/topic\\_06b.shtml](http://www.iumsonline.net/english/topic_06b.shtml)

<sup>87</sup> Extract from the Central Register of Charities maintained by Charity Commission for England and Wales; Main Charity file number 1005733

<sup>88</sup> Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 24320087

Netherlands. In the Netherlands, the activities of al-Kaddo are associated with the building of the Essalam Mosque in Rotterdam which will be largest mosque in the Netherlands when completed and has generated deep controversy in the Rotterdam city council.<sup>89</sup>

## Independent Brotherhood-Linked Activities in the Netherlands

Worth mentioning is the controversial academic Tariq Ramadan. Since January 1, 2007, Tariq Ramadan has been a visiting professor at the Erasmus University in Rotterdam. He holds a chair in "Identity and Citizenship."<sup>90</sup> In early November 2007, Ramadan was nominated to the board of Leiden University to become the first Sultan of Oman Chair in Oriental Studies. The Chair will be located within the Department of Theology.<sup>91</sup> On November 28, Tariq Ramadan wrote on his website that he decided to turn down the offer of Leiden University.<sup>92</sup>

Although Tariq Ramadan always denied that he was or is a Muslim Brother, it is in his blood. His father Said Ramadan was the private secretary of MB founder Hasan al-Banna and his mother was al-Banna's daughter. In the words of Fouad Alami: "In the world of the new Islamism, Mr. Ramadan was pure nobility."<sup>93</sup> In his public appearances he never distanced himself from Youssef al-Qaradawi and his support for suicide attacks in Israel and Iraq. Everything Ramadan says in public is in line with the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>94</sup>

Ramadan has been called "an author and pamphleteer;" "an Islamist academic;" "a pragmatist and an opportunist;" and "a Swiss academic."<sup>95</sup> Tariq Ramadan is a controversial person. Some of his ideas look tempting to Westerners, but the fact is, he never distanced himself from Islamism. He is a smooth talker, demonstrated in his recent posting in *The Christian Science Monitor*. Ramadan again argues that it was unjust to ban him from the United States in 2004. He argues that the main reason was the fact that he donated money to a Swiss charity. This charity funded Hamas and was blacklisted by the United States in 2003.<sup>96</sup> Ramadan does not know on which grounds the U.S. banned him and therefore he is forced to conjecture. His arguments sounds reasonable, but he leaves out devastating evidence that was brought into the public domain against him. In September 2006 this information became public:

"Tariq Ramadan had contacts with at least six convicted terrorists and terrorist designated entities, including:

- 1 Ahmed Brahim (sentenced to 10 years in prison in Spain in April 2006 for incitement of terrorism);
- 2 Djamel Beghal (sentenced to 10 years in prison in France in March 2005 for his participation in a foiled terrorist attack in Paris);
- 3 Menad Benchellali (sentenced to 10 years in prison in France in June 2006 for his participation in a foiled chemical attack in Paris);

<sup>89</sup> Dutch Chamber of Commerce; File number: 41129822; [http://www.molenaarenvanwinden.nl/web-content/documents/01160\\_bd.pdf](http://www.molenaarenvanwinden.nl/web-content/documents/01160_bd.pdf)

<sup>90</sup> <http://www.eur.nl/fsw/staff/homepages/ramadan>

<sup>91</sup> <http://research.leidenuniv.nl/index.php3?m=1&c=317>; [http://www.nisnews.nl/public/071107\\_2.htm](http://www.nisnews.nl/public/071107_2.htm);  
[http://www.nrc.nl/binnenland/article811329.ece/Islamtheoloog\\_Ramadan\\_naar\\_Universiteit\\_Leiden](http://www.nrc.nl/binnenland/article811329.ece/Islamtheoloog_Ramadan_naar_Universiteit_Leiden);  
[www.nieuws.leidenuniv.nl/index.php3?m=&c=1901](http://www.nieuws.leidenuniv.nl/index.php3?m=&c=1901)

<sup>92</sup> [http://www.tariqramadan.com/article.php3?id\\_article=1291&lang=en](http://www.tariqramadan.com/article.php3?id_article=1291&lang=en)

<sup>93</sup> Fouad Alami, Tariq Ramadan, *The Wall Street Journal*, September 7, 2004.

<sup>94</sup> Christopher Hitchens, *Islam Goes Mainstream*. My evening with Tariq Ramadan. September 11, 2007; [www.slate.com/toolbar.aspx?action=print&id=2173736](http://www.slate.com/toolbar.aspx?action=print&id=2173736)

<sup>95</sup> Fouad Alami, Tariq Ramadan, *The Wall Street Journal*, September 7, 2004; Christopher Hitchens, *Islam Goes Mainstream*. My evening with Tariq Ramadan. September 11, 2007; Olivier Guitta, *Danger: Tariq Ramadan is coming to the US*, *The American Thinker*, May 3<sup>rd</sup> 2004; Jeffrey Breinholt, *The Muslim Brotherhood for Beginners*, July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2007 at the Counter Terrorism Blog;

[http://counterterrorismblog.org/2007/07/the\\_muslim\\_brotherhood\\_for\\_beg.php](http://counterterrorismblog.org/2007/07/the_muslim_brotherhood_for_beg.php)

<sup>96</sup> Tariq Ramadan, *The U.S. black listed me*. Let's Talk, *Christian Science Monitor*, October 31, 2007; <http://www.csmonitor.com/2007/1031/p09s02-coop.html?page=1>

4 Intelligence documents reflect that Tariq Ramadan coordinated a meeting held in 1991 in Geneva attended by Ayman al-Zawahiri and Omar Abdel Rahman respectively Al Qaeda leader and planner of the terrorist attack against the World Trade Center in 1993, sentenced to life in the United States

5 An abstract of the (terrorist-designated) Al Taqwa Bank phonebook mentions Ramadan and his brother.<sup>97</sup>

## **Conclusions**

The AIVD states that “the representatives of the radical dawa have become more insistent in their claims that they represent and speak on behalf of the Islamic communities in the West. In their contacts with the government, mainstream organisations, and others, they argue that they represent pure Islam. And sometimes even that they speak for all the Muslims in the country.”<sup>98</sup> The same can be said in general for the Muslim Brotherhood fronts in the West, they avoid the use of the term Muslim Brotherhood. Often they claim to speak for the whole Muslim minority in their respective countries. As their front men are highly educated and studied in European countries, they are welcome partners for government leaders who are in need of contacts within the Muslim communities.

It is difficult to prove that there is a national chapter of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Netherlands. However, it is evident that the organizations and persons mentioned in this report are remarkably close to the ideology propagated by the Muslim Brotherhood.

In the Netherlands, a network of people linked mainly to the European fronts of the Muslim Brotherhood ideology have developed an extensive infrastructure, including umbrella organizations; charities; educational institutions; real estate related entities; and youth activities. This is not one single network but dosparate, yet overlapping networks. To work with different fronts has become a signature for the spread of the Muslim Brotherhood ideology in the West; the Netherlands is just another example of this.

The two most central figures, Ibrahim Akkari and Yahya Bouyafa, seem to have parted ways as of late, as a number of organizations in which Akkari was involved were dissolved recently. Bouyafa, it appears, has the approval of the leadership of the FIOE as he created a shadow structure of the FIOE on a national level.

Since the Dutch authorities closed the Foundation al-Aqsa, fundraising for the Palestinian cause has moved to at least four other organizations. Al-Aqsa officers are active in most of these organizations. Given the past history of front groups reorganizing to carry out the same work, it is reasonable to assume that money raised in the Netherlands by these organizations has partly ended up with Hamas or Hamas affiliated organizations.

As the Muslim Brotherhood is still mainly an Arab phenomenon, it does not attract a large following in the Netherlands. Exact membership numbers are impossible to come by. Although small in membership, the MB ideology can spread easily by making the major writings of MB leaders and ideologues like al-Banna, Outb, and al-Qaradawi available in the Dutch language, often at reduced prices.

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<sup>97</sup> <http://www.prweb.com/releases/2006/9/prweb438947.htm>

<sup>98</sup> AIVD, The radical dawa in transition. The rise of Islamic neoradicalism in the Netherlands (2007) p. 24.