



CENTER FOR  
**SECURITY POLICY**

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**THE ROLE OF SELECT NON-GOVERNMENTAL  
ORGANIZATIONS IN DOHA'S SUPPORT FOR  
TERRORISM**

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## INTRODUCTION

President Donald Trump’s “Drive Them Out” speech in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, called on the nations of the Middle East to drive out terrorists and terrorist supporters from their midst. The president exhorted the Gulf states to bring to an end policies that have allowed the infrastructure of terrorism, from indoctrination and recruitment to terror finance, to flourish with minimal enforcement.

Three days later, on May 24<sup>th</sup>, a simmering crisis boiled over in the Gulf as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Egypt issued a series of rebukes to government of Qatar. The trigger was a series of statements purportedly made by the Emir of Qatar in support of Hamas and Hezbollah, and opposing Gulf efforts to isolate the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The Qatari government insists the initial broadcast was the result of an illegal hacking conducted by the United Arab Emirates, a claim rejected by the UAE. Regardless of the cause of the initial flare-up, beginning on June 5<sup>th</sup> the allied Arab states took a series of steps to cut diplomatic ties with Qatar.<sup>1</sup>

On June 8<sup>th</sup> Arab coalition issued a list of 59 individuals and 12 organizations it claimed receive Qatar support as part of Doha’s systematic effort to promote and finance terrorism and stoke instability in the region. Based on these designations the coalition issued a list of thirteen demands, chief among them, the termination of Qatar’s support for terrorism generally, and for the Muslim Brotherhood specifically.<sup>2</sup>

This white paper is an effort to highlight five entities that represent the core of a network of Qatari-linked charities, and individuals, many of them either U.S. or U.N. designated terrorists and/or members of the Global Muslim Brotherhood, which stand accused by the Arab coalition of financing terrorism, promoting instability, and seeking the overthrow of regional governments.<sup>3</sup>

These entities were selected for examination because of the overlapping nature of their leadership and their centrality to the claims made by the Arab coalition against Qatar.

We begin with a look at four key players who are central to the allegations against these charities. All four men are U.S. government Specially Designated Global Terrorists with a history of supporting terrorism.

The report is organized by group and examines each organization’s key leadership, the allegations of terrorism, and/or incitement against the organization. The report looks at the geographic spread of those activities, in order to consider the correlation between the group’s legitimate non-profit activities and the terror finance allegations. It then examines each organization’s ties to Qatari institutions. Because the report is intended to raise awareness of the threat to U.S. national security posed by Qatar-based terror finance, it also examines relationships between these organizations or its leaders and the United States.

The goal of this report is to document the allegations against these organizations, and to more fully represent their role within the broader context of Qatar’s support for Islamist groups, including those that engage in terror incitement, finance, and indoctrination.

## ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF QATAR

The Qatari government has been accused of funding and financing terrorism and terrorist groups including: Libyan Islamists militias, Syrian jihadist groups, Hamas, the al-Nusra Front (al-Qaeda in Syria), and the Islamic State, previously the al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI).<sup>45</sup> In addition, Qatar has reportedly been involved with promoting terrorist attacks in Egypt, Sudan, Turkey, Iran, and North Africa. This report finds that the allegations are credible and compelling that Qatar is a state sponsor of terrorism. The Qatari government's sponsorship and funding of the Muslim Brotherhood, a trans-national incubator of terrorism that several Arab governments have designated as a terrorist organization, indicates that Doha is promoting a global clandestine political network to recruit, indoctrinate, and radicalize Muslims worldwide.

Qatar has conducted these terrorist support operations under the guise of providing humanitarian aid to areas beset with violence and disaster. In every case Qatar's promotion of these groups have undermined regional stability and security.

An analysis in *Foreign Policy* finds, "Libya is mired in a war between proxy-funded militias, Syria's opposition has been overwhelmed by infighting and overtaken by extremists, and Hamas's intransigence has arguably helped prolong the Gaza Strip's humanitarian plight."<sup>6</sup>

In looking further into these regions, evidence of Qatar's support for terrorism seems exhaustive.

In 2014, The Islamist faction Libyan Dawn, which included Al Qaeda militias seized control of Libya's capital of Tripoli forcing government officials to flee. Qatar helped send cargo planes filled with weapons to the Islamic coalition and played a key role in overthrowing and assassinating Colonel Gaddafi.<sup>78</sup>

In Syria, the Qatari government was a regular supporter of Ahrar al-Sham, a Syrian Jihadist group linked to Al Qaeda, and helped allocate weapons from Qatar to Syria.<sup>9</sup> The Qatari foreign minister, Khalid al-Attiyah, praised Ahrar al-Sham as "purely" Syrian.<sup>10</sup> Ahrar al-Sham has worked alongside al-Nusra in Syria.<sup>11</sup>

In the Gaza Strip, Qatar has been a long-time supporter of Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood branch in the Palestinian territories. Hamas has been a U.S. designated terror organization since 1997, and it has had influence over the Gaza Strip since 2007.<sup>12</sup>

Aid given to the Gaza Strip region subsidizes and often passes through the hands of the terrorist organization. Qatar also funds programs for the Gaza-Sinai build up orchestrated by Hamas.<sup>13</sup> Another indication of the Qatar's support for the group is its allowance for Hamas to move its headquarters from Damascus to Doha.<sup>14</sup>

Hosting terrorist organizations has long been part of Qatar's modus operandi. In 2013, the government of Qatar reportedly opened an office for Taliban after it changed its name to Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan.<sup>15</sup>

Qatar plays a key role in supporting the Ennahda party, the Tunisian Muslim Brotherhood. In 2011, the Qatari government provided financial and material support to the Ennahda party.<sup>16</sup> In February 2017, a Tunisian newspaper reported that Abdallah Bin Nassir Al-Homaidi, the Qatari Ambassador to Tunisia, invited Algerian terrorists who fought in Iraq and Syria in support of the Islamic state to come to Tunisia. This was done covertly and supported by the Ennahda Party who helped organize terror groups before sending them back to Algeria.<sup>17</sup> Recent reports from captured Islamic State fighters have confirmed that the Ennahda party played a role in recruiting fighters for jihadist groups in Syria.<sup>18</sup>

The Qatari government has apparently played a key role in destabilizing the Gulf region and has contributed to the growth of Islamist movements in unstable states.<sup>19</sup> Qatar has reinforced its support of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Egyptian region as well as its related activities in Sudan, Libya, and elsewhere. The Qatari government cooperates with Turkey and Iran in funding Sunni-Islamist activities and has provided weapons for a new surge in Africa, particularly West African countries such as Mali.

Many terrorist-affiliated individuals and groups, including members of the Muslim Brotherhood, consider Qatar a safe-haven where they can meet without feeling threatened.<sup>20</sup> According to an Arab diplomat in Doha, “Islamists here use Doha as an active launch pad for their media campaigns, communications, and logistics which directly have an impact on the security of other Arab states.”<sup>21</sup>

In 2014, the U.S. Department of the Treasury stated that Qatar’s “permissive jurisdictions” allow jihadist fundraisers to solicit donations to support terrorist organizations.<sup>22</sup> Critics claim that the Qatari government continues helping jihadist groups by paying ransoms for the release of hostages.<sup>23</sup>

## KEY PLAYERS

The allegations made against these Qatari-backed charities involve individuals already designated by the United States for terrorism finance. The allegations center around four primary players, Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi, Abd Al-Wahhab al-Humayqani, Saad bin Saad al-Kabi, and Abd Al-Latif bin Abdullah al-Kawari. Nuaimi and Humayqani are individuals with links to multiple non-profit organizations, including Qatar Charity, Eid Charity, and Alkarama human rights organization.

These four individuals allegedly play a key role in funneling money and support to designated terrorist organizations in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Pakistan, Libya, Afghanistan, Israel, and the Palestinian territory. Their activities are central to the allegations made against the Qatari-linked charities at the center of the Qatar crisis. All four men are already U.S. designated terrorists, and yet the Qatari government, Qatari royal family, and/or Qatari government officials maintain close relations with them.

### Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi

Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi has direct ties to terrorism and is involved at senior levels with four of the five organizations discussed in this report. Nuaimi is the founder of Eid Charity, the founder and former president of Alkarama, the former president of the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS), and the general secretary of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign (GAAC).<sup>24 25 26</sup> He is also a professor at Qatar University and served as the head of Qatar Football Association.<sup>27 28</sup>

Nuaimi was named as the ACRPS's president in 2002 and in 2005 he led a conference for the relaunching of the GAAC.<sup>2930</sup> In 2013, the United States designated Nuaimi as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT) due to his significant financial support for over a decade to al-Qaeda, al-Shabaab, Asbat al-Ansar, and fellow SDGT Yemen-based Abd al-Wahhab al-Humayqani who has financial ties to al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP).<sup>31</sup>

According to the Treasury Department, Nuaimi financed al-Qaeda and its affiliates in Syria, Iraq, Somalia, and Yemen over an 11-year period.<sup>32 33 34</sup> In 2013, he transferred \$600,000 to al-Qaeda's then representative in Syria, Abu-Khalid al-Suri. He had a hand in transferring \$2 million to terrorists in Iraq and was accused of providing money to al-Qaeda in Yemen and funding \$250,000 to al-Shabaab in Somalia.<sup>35</sup>

Nuaimi has served as a top advisor to the government of Qatar on issues related to charitable donations.<sup>36</sup> Allegedly, Nuaimi took messages from terrorist groups to media outlets such as Qatari-funded Al Jazeera, based in Doha.<sup>37</sup>

Since his designation as a terrorist, Nuaimi has traveled and visited supporters of jihadist militias in Syria. In 2016, he issued a call for supporting jihadist fighters in Syria, Iraq, and Yemen. He advocated for providing various support including money, weapons, and men to designated terrorist organizations.<sup>38</sup> After being designated as a terror financier by the U.S. Treasury Department, Nuaimi reportedly resigned as the president of Alkarama; however, other reports indicate that he remained president of the group for some time afterwards.<sup>39</sup>

In 2017, Nuaimi was designated by Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Egypt, and Bahrain as part of the list of Qatari-supported terrorist financiers.<sup>40</sup>

### Abd al-Wahhab al-Humayqani

Abd al-Wahhab al-Humayqani is a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT) with significant ties to al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP).<sup>41</sup> He is also a founder and the Secretary General of the Rashad Union Party, a Salafi political party in Yemen that aims at implementing Sharia law, and served



as a member of the Board of Trustees and representative for Alkarama in Yemen.<sup>42 43 44</sup> According to Alkarama's website, Humayqani is a professor and works alongside the Ministry of Social and Labor Affairs in conducting humanitarian projects.<sup>45</sup> Humayqani's other prior involvement includes the al-Islah Party (a Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated Yemeni political party), the Salafi al-Ihsan Charity Association, and Qatar's Ministry of Endowments (Awqaf) and Islamic Affairs.<sup>46 47 48</sup>

Beginning in 2010, Eid Charity worked with and funded Humayqani and his charity organization in Yemen.<sup>49 50 51</sup> In 2013, the United States Department of Treasury labeled Humayqani as a SDGT citing that his charity organization in Yemen was being used as a channel for AQAP.<sup>52</sup> This label was included along with Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi's designation.<sup>53</sup>

Nuaimi also funded Humayqani. According the U.S. Department of Treasury, in 2012 Nuaimi channeled funds to Humayqani's charity organization in Yemen. Humayqani then transferred these funds to AQAP.<sup>54</sup>

In addition to funding AQAP through his charity, and other channels, the U.S. Department of Treasury states that Humayqani recruited for the group, facilitated its financial transfers, acted as its representative in governmental negotiations, and served as its acting emir in Bayda' Governorate, Yemen. Humayqani also reportedly helped coordinate an attack on a Yemeni Republican Guard base in al-Bayda' Governorate which killed seven people.<sup>55</sup>

Humayqani has worked with SDGT Abd al-Majid al-Zindani who supports al-Qaeda and has provided it "religious guidance." Al-Zindani is a leader of the Yemeni Muslim Brotherhood and has ties to terror finance for Hamas.<sup>56</sup>

In 2017, Humayqani was designated as a terrorist by Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Egypt, and Bahrain.<sup>57</sup>

### **Saad bin Saad al-Kabi and Abd al-Latif bin Abdullah al-Kawari**

Designated as Specially Designated Global Terrorists by the United States and sanctioned by the United Nations for terror finance, Saad bin Saad al-Kabi and Abd al-Latif bin Abdullah al-Kawari have significant involvement with terrorism and often work together to finance terrorist groups.<sup>58</sup>

Saad bin Saad al-Kabi has substantial financial ties to al-Qaeda's Syrian affiliate, the al-Nusra Front, and was sanctioned by the U.S. and U.N. in 2015.<sup>59 60</sup> According to the U.S. Department of Treasury, al-Kabi, in addition to fundraising for al-Nusra, collected ransom payments for the group. He also channeled funds he received from U.S. and U.N. designated Hamid Hamad Hamid al-'Ali as a SDGT for ties to al-Nusra.<sup>61</sup> Al-Kabi reportedly sent al-Qaeda donations to an account under his son at the Qatar Islamic Bank and was involved in al-Nusra's online campaign, Madid Ahl al-Sham.<sup>6263</sup> In 2017, he was designated as a terrorist by Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Egypt, and Bahrain.<sup>64</sup>

Al-Kabi's colleague, Abd al-Latif bin Abdullah al-Kawari, is also a significant backer of al-Qaeda in Syria, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. Al-Kawari was a security official for al-Qaeda and organized the channeling of its donations from Qatari supporters.<sup>65</sup> According to the Wam Emirates News Agency, al-Kawari worked for Qatar's Ministry of Municipality and Urban Planning.<sup>66</sup> He was also involved in Madid Ahl al-Sham, the online fundraising campaign for al-Nusra.<sup>67</sup> In 2015, Al-Kawari was designated by the U.S. and sanctioned by the U.N. for terrorist activity.<sup>68</sup> Al-Kawari's involvement with al-Qaeda dates back to the early 2000s when he channeled funds with the help of U.S. and U.N. designated al-Qaeda supporters Hassan Ghul and Ibrahim 'Isa Haji Muhammad al-Bakr to the al-Qaeda in Pakistan. Al-Kawari also helped Ghul acquire a falsified passport so he could travel to Qatar.<sup>69</sup> Al-Kawari was accused twice for his alleged involvement in an assassination attempt on Former Emir

Khalifa bin Hamas Al Thani's son, Hamad, but avoided conviction both times.<sup>70</sup> In 2017, he was designated as a terrorist by Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Egypt, and Bahrain.<sup>71</sup>

Al-Kabi and al-Kawari have partnered together on many occasions in support for terrorism, specifically with their fundraising initiatives for al-Qaeda in Syria and allegedly Afghanistan. Donors sent funds to an account at the Qatar Islamic Bank in Doha. The account was reportedly under the name of al-Kabi's son. Al-Kabi and al-Kawari's ties are proven further with their U.S. and U.N. designations being listed together.<sup>72,73</sup> Additionally, they were both involved with Madid Ahl al-Sham, the online fundraising campaign for al-Nusra.<sup>74</sup>

Al-Kawari and al-Kabi's role in funding terrorism is central to the 2017 terrorist designations by Saudi Arabia, Egypt, the UAE, and Bahrain and they are linked to multiple influential Qatari governmental and business leaders.<sup>75</sup>

Abdulaziz al-Attiyah, first cousin of Qatar's Minister of State for Defense Affairs, Khalid bin Mohammed al-Attiyah, is reportedly a backer of al-Qaeda and supported al-Kabi and al-Kawari in their fundraising initiatives. Attiyah was appointed to the Qatar Olympic Committee by Emir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad al-Thani.

Al-Kabi and al-Kawari worked with Doha Apple (Positive Technology) to help promote the al-Nusra Front and their fundraising initiatives. The IT company was founded by Mohammad Saeed bin Helwan al-Seqatri who is also sanctioned by Saudi Arabia, Egypt, the UAE, and Bahrain.

Sanctioned by the U.S. and U.N. in 2008, al-Qaeda supporter Khalifa Muhammad Turki al-Subaie helped al-Kabi and al-Kawari fundraise for al-Nusra in 2013.

Mohammad Jassim al-Sulaiti is a Qatar Charity official and relief coordinator for the organization's Syria projects. Sulaiti worked with al-Kabi and al-Kawari to provide provisions to jihadists in Syria.

The founder of Doha Apple, Mohammad Saeed bin Helwan al-Seqatri, allegedly supplied technology and other forms of support to al-Kabi and al-Kawari's fundraising initiatives.

The Sheikh Eid Bin Mohammad Al Thani Charitable Foundation, a sanctioned charity organization listed in this report, sponsored al-Kabi and al-Kawari's fundraising.

Additionally, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Egypt designated Wagdy Abdel Hamid Mohammed Ghoneim (Wagdy Ghoneim), a Muslim Brotherhood cleric with close ties to Eid Charity, for assisting al-Kabi and al-Kawari in fundraising jihadists in Syria.<sup>76</sup>

## **QATAR CHARITY**

### **Overview**

Qatar Charity was originally established in 1992 as the Qatar Charitable Society. It is the largest Qatar-based non-governmental humanitarian organization with global reach into Asia, Africa, and Europe. Since 1997, Qatar Charity has been a member of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC). It has field offices in 17 countries and has implemented various projects in 60 countries.<sup>77</sup> Qatar Charity claims that it works with needy communities regardless of race, gender, or faith, and it helps to empower them to rebuild their lives. In addition to sponsoring the poor, orphaned, and the disabled, it seeks sponsors for preachers, teachers, and students. Qatar Charity is involved in several projects that include health, clean water, education, emergency, the establishment of mosques, and Quran Centers.<sup>78</sup>

In 2013, a report in *Foreign Policy* found that some Islamic charities, including Qatar Charity, are bankrolling terror groups in the name of giving aid to the poor and needy. These organizations send humanitarian resources to nations where Islamic movements are present to cover up their militant activities and to strengthen their dependence on the organization. According to this article, Qatar Charity was heavily involved in both Syria and Mali.<sup>79 80</sup>

Qatar Charity works closely with various Qatari government agencies. In a March 2017 article by the Qatar Tribune, Yusuf Bin Ahmed Al Kuwari, the CEO of Qatar Charity, stated that Qatar Charity's expansion of services over the past period was the result of the support and cooperation of the Regulatory Authority for Charitable Activities (RACA). RACA is a governmental agency responsible for supervising the charitable activities and organizations in Qatar.<sup>81 82</sup>

### **Leadership**

#### **Yusuf Bin Ahmed Al Kuwari**

Yusuf Bin Ahmed Al Kuwari is the Chief Executive Officer of Qatar Charity (CEO). He is also the Editor in Chief of Ghiras Magazine and Qatar Satellite Company.<sup>83 84</sup>

#### **Sheikh Hamad bin Nasser al-Thani**

Sheikh Hamad Bin Nasser al-Thani is a member of the Qatari royal family, and chairman of the Qatar Charity.<sup>85</sup> Previously, Hamad bin Nasser al-Thani served as a member of the board of directors for Vodafone Qatar from 2008-2011.<sup>86</sup> He is also a former vice chairman of Qatar Foundation. Qatar Foundation has repeatedly been criticized in the press for its ties to Muslim Brotherhood cleric Yusuf al-Qaradawi.<sup>87</sup> Qatar Foundation's Education City project has reportedly hosted clerics known for promoting jihadist ideology.<sup>88</sup> Hamad Bin Nasser al-Thani also served as co-chair and general manager of the Qatar Development Bank.<sup>89</sup>

#### **Mohammed Jassim al-Sulaiti**

Mohammed Jassim al-Sulaiti is the Qatar Charity Coordinator for Syrian Relief, and was designated by the coalition of Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Egypt, and Bahrain for allegedly distributing aid to U.N. and U.S. sanctioned terrorist groups and individuals in Syria.<sup>90</sup>

### **Allegations Against Qatar Charity**

Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Egypt, and United Arab Emirates cut ties with Qatar on June 5, 2017, due to Doha's connections with terrorist organizations. Saudi Arabia also provided a terror list that designated 59 individuals and 12 organizations. Qatar Charity is #3 of the organizations listed.<sup>91 92</sup> According to the

allegations against Qatar Charity leveled by the Arab states coalition, Qatar Charity supplied aid directly to a local Yemeni council led by al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) in the town of Mukalla, while it was under AQAP control. They also allege that prior to coming on board with Qatar Charity, Mohammed Jassim Al-Sulaiti engaged in providing aid to al-Qaeda in Syria through his association with U.S. and U.N. designated terrorists.<sup>93 94</sup>

In March 2008, the Interagency Intelligence Committee on Terrorism (IICT) of the U.S. National Counterterrorism Center listed Qatar Charity as a “priority III terrorism support entity (TSE)” given its “intent and willingness” to support terrorist organizations that attack the U.S. and its interests.<sup>9596</sup>

The Consortium Against Terrorist Finance (CATF) called Qatar Charity a “pioneer and master of terror finance.”<sup>97</sup>

The Washington Institute reported that in 1993 Osama bin Laden named Qatar Charity as one of the charities that had funded al-Qaeda’s overseas operations. Furthermore, Qatar Charity’s funds were reportedly used to support an assassination attempt on Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in 1995.<sup>98</sup>

A 2003 report from the House Committee on Financial Services Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations notes that Qatar Charity had allegedly been engaged in financing al-Qaeda and other terror organizations.<sup>99</sup> No evidence suggests that Qatar Charity has ceased such operations. The report stated that much of the funding of Qatar Charity comes from official sources, and this organization has strong contacts within the Qatari government.<sup>100</sup> Qatar Charity, along with two other organizations laundered money from bank accounts in Gulf nations that supported Bin Laden and used the proceeds to provide travel documents and employment to al-Qaeda members worldwide.

The report explained that most of the money was handled in cash and the organizations created false documentation to show that the money was spent on orphans or starving refugees.<sup>101</sup>

During that time, Qatar Charity had 20 banks accounts in Qatar Islamic Bank and Qatar International Islamic Bank that were available to receive donations. According to the same report, in the trial proceedings regarding the attempt to bomb U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, Qatar Charity was the first one named as a major financial mediator for al-Qaeda.<sup>102</sup>

Minni Minnawi, a humanitarian official for the Sudan Liberation Movement, accused Qatar Charity of channeling support to the Sudanese Armed Forces engaged in ethnic cleansing against Sudanese minorities. According to Minnawi, the director of Qatar Charity in Sudan lives inside the barracks of the Sudanese army.<sup>103</sup> He stated, “Qatar Charity is “building housing complexes in remote and isolated areas to harbour and train extremists groups to destabilize security and stability in Africa and some Arab countries.” He further claimed, “that to achieve this terrorist enterprise, the State of Qatar supports the “scorched earth policy” carried out by the Sudanese troops.<sup>104</sup>

The independent Mali-based website Maliweb accused Qatar Charity of serving as a major financier of “the terrorists in the Northern Mali.”<sup>105</sup>

## Regional Activities

On the surface, Qatar Charity is very much involved in various war-ridden locations where there is a great need for humanitarian relief and supplies. However, those locations are also frequently the same places where various terror groups allegedly supported by Qatar are working to undermine existing governments in support of establishing an Islamic regime. Below are a few examples of Qatar Charity’s various monetary or resource support in unstable areas suffering from various Islamist movements and jihadist activity.

## Palestinian Territories

Qatar Charity has had a hand in the Gaza Strip by supporting development and economic projects.<sup>106</sup> Qatar Charity along with three other Qatari organizations form Qatari Gaza Reconstruction Committee, which has funded several projects to the amount of \$407 Million.<sup>107</sup> This committee is led by Mohammed al-Emadi who is also Qatar's ambassador to the Palestinian territories.<sup>108</sup> He stated in an article dated, March 12, 2015, that Qatar will fund 70% of the Gaza reconstruction.<sup>109</sup>

In a recent March 2017 report by Qatar Tribune Qatar committed to providing \$812 million in the next 5 years to aid Palestinians. This meeting was held in Doha under the auspices of the Emir His Highness Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad al-Thani. The opening session was addressed by Qatar Charity CEO, Yusuf bin Ahmed Al Kuwari who emphasized the Palestinian cause and its importance for the Arab and Islamic world.<sup>110</sup> Qatar is the single largest support of Gaza infrastructure projects, and Eli Avidar, a former Israeli emissary to Qatar, has noted that Hamas would not be able to survive in the Gaza strip without Qatari funding.<sup>111 112</sup>

In 2012, Education Above All signed a memorandum of understanding with Qatar Charity to begin a global initiative in educating children worldwide. Its goal was to begin with six countries: Syria, Gaza in Palestine, Yemen, South Sudan, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, and it aimed to reach 10 million children by the end of 2015/16 school year.<sup>113</sup>

Qatar Charity received a donation from the International Physiotherapy Centre in the amount of QR25,000 to build a secondary girls school in the Gaza Strip.<sup>114</sup>

Qatar Charity facilitated the rehabilitation of Al-Quds University funded by Gulf Cooperation Council and the management of Islamic Development Bank Jeddah costing QR4.5 million.<sup>115</sup> The Israel Defense Forces described Al-Quds University as a “bedrock” of Hamas propaganda, following a 2014 Hamas-led rally and military parade held on the university campus.<sup>116</sup> A similar rally was held for the terrorist organization Palestinian Islamic Jihad in 2013.<sup>117</sup>

## Syria

In 2017, Qatar Charity reportedly sent a convoy of winter supplies in collaboration with the Turkish Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH) and Dawa Qatar.<sup>118</sup> Israel, Germany, and the Netherlands have designated the IHH as a terrorist organization and in 2010, following the IHH's involvement in the Gaza blockade, eighty-seven United States Senators sought a similar designation.<sup>119 120</sup> IHH Turkey offices were raided by Turkish authorities in 2014 under suspicion of IHH funding al-Qaeda.<sup>121</sup> IHH is also a member of the Union of the Good<sup>122</sup>, a coalition of charities the U.S. Treasury Department has designated as funding Hamas.<sup>123</sup>

Qatar Charity also belongs to International Islamic Council for Dawa (IICD), an organization comprised of 86 organizations.<sup>124</sup> Many of these organizations are associated with Muslim Brotherhood, support Hamas, or fundraise for al-Qaeda.<sup>125</sup> The IICD is headed by Abdullah Omar Naseef, a Saudi leader who served as the head of the Muslim World League, and founder of the Rabita Trust, an organization designated by the United States and United Nations for al-Qaeda financing shortly after 9/11.<sup>126 127</sup>

In 2016, Qatar Charity sent 35 trucks carrying food through the Turkish border to Syria reportedly to assist refugees in various Syrian cities.<sup>128</sup> Qatar Charity, in alliance with Turkish Red Crescent, provided \$10 million in support of Syrians affected by war.<sup>129</sup> Qatar Charity CEO al-Kuwari claims that it has helped more than 8 million people since the outbreak of war, and it plans to do more when it opens its office in Ankara in 2016.<sup>130</sup>

In 2016, the Jordan Hashemite Charity Organization (JHCO) signed a memorandum of understanding with Qatar Charity and joined forces in implementing humanitarian projects that serve Jordanians as well Syrian refugees.<sup>131</sup>

In 2013, the Iranian state media agency Fars News reported that Qatar had undertaken to wire \$5 billion to Syrian rebels, and Qatar reportedly had used Qatar Charity to send funds to Syrian rebels.<sup>132</sup>

### **Iraq**

In referring to Qatar Charity, Turkish Red Crescent's president Kerem Kinik stated that, "We have a common area of interest such as Palestine, Iraq and Somalia." He added. "This collaboration is just a beginning."<sup>133</sup>

Qatar Charity contributed QR1 million in food supplies and blankets to help the Mosul refugees.<sup>134</sup>

Qatar Fund for Development (QFFD) is a governmental organization that collaborates with Qatar Charity and other Qatari charitable organization's efforts in funding \$9 million projects for suffering people in Iraq.<sup>135</sup>

### **Sudan**

In Sudan, Qatar Charity reportedly aided militias associated with National Islamic Front (NIF) engaged in ethnic cleansing against Sudanese Christians and other groups.<sup>136</sup> Furthermore, Qatar Charity inaugurated a construction and development program in cooperation with governmental organization Qatar Fund for Development (QFFD) in Central Darfur, Sudan that costs QR3.6 million.<sup>137 138</sup>

### **Indonesia**

Indonesia has been cautious about Arab gulf countries promoting radical Islamic ideology, so Qatar's actions to date have been relatively small in the world's most populous Muslim country. According to a profile report, between the years 2003-2008, Qatar Charity built one school, five clinics, 878 water wells, and 465 mosques in Indonesia. In addition, it built another 41 multi-function structures that include mosques, schools, and clinics.<sup>139</sup> In 2010 and 2011, the United Nations Development Program in Indonesia funded Qatar Charity a total of \$500,000.<sup>140</sup> As of 2016, Qatar Charity has built a total of 765 mosques in Indonesia.<sup>141</sup>

### **Europe**

In 2014, Qatar Charity opened Qatar Charity UK in London to oversee its European operations. Among those who participated in this grand opening were not only the leadership of Qatar Charity, but also the Qatari ambassador Khalid bin Rashid al-Mansouri as well as Qatari Embassy senior officials.<sup>142</sup> Qatar Charity UK's deputy director general is Fadi Itani, who previously served as Global Director of Communications and External Relations for Islamic Relief. Islamic Relief is an organization with documented ties to the Muslim Brotherhood. Allegations of Islamic Relief's role in terrorism finance led to the United Arab Emirates designating it as a terrorist organization and HSBC bank canceling the group's UK bank accounts.<sup>143</sup>

Qatar Charity opened its first Islamic center in Luxemburg and contributed 75% of the cost of construction.<sup>144</sup> This center supposedly served 3,000 Muslims in an area where 10,000 Muslims currently reside. Qatar Charity also opened an Islamic center in Italy, which raised questions in the Italian press due to Qatar's known support for the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>145 146</sup>

## Relationship with Qatari Government

Given the role played by a member of the Qatari royal family as Qatar Charity chairman, it's not a surprise that the Qatari government is deeply involved in the charity. According to a 2009 State Department cable, Qatar Charity benefited from “historically close” ties to the Qatari government, and the Charity positioned itself to receive government donations to achieve Qatari political objectives.<sup>147</sup> In the same 2009 cable, Laurie Kitch, a director of Qatar Charity, is described as saying Qatar Charity would handle the implementation of \$40 million contributions made by Qatari government to the various United Nations relief funds.<sup>148</sup>

In 2012, the Qatari government donated over \$13 million through Qatar Charity for the purpose of health, food, and emergency shelter for the cause of Syrian civil unrest.<sup>149</sup> In 2013, the Qatari government donated over \$12 million for food, and health equipment and services for the Syrian refugees through Qatar Charity.<sup>150</sup> In 2015, the Qatari government donated over \$9 million through Qatar Charity for food, health and various humanitarian efforts for Yemenis.<sup>151</sup>

In July 2016, *Qatar Tribune* reported that Qatar Charity built partnerships with Qatari governmental and semi-governmental agencies to carry out its projects during the month of Ramadan. Those agencies included the Qatari Ministry of Endowments (Awqaf) and Islamic Affairs, the Qatari Ministry of Economy and Commerce, and the Qatari Education and Higher Education Ministries, among others.<sup>152</sup>

Qatari government website contains page with a list of those organizations that do charity work and Qatar Charity is included on the list and a link to their website is provided for those who wish to donate to it.<sup>153</sup>

## Relationship with the U.S. Government

In June 2017, Qatar Charity revealed that it has 93 partnerships with various regional and global organizations amounting to more than \$126.3 billion. Included among these partners is the U.S. Office for the Coordination of Foreign Disaster Assistance (USAID) where they cooperated on a 2010 Pakistan Water, Sanitation and Economic Empowerment Project.<sup>154</sup>

## THE SHEIKH EID BIN MOHAMMAD AL THANI CHARITABLE FOUNDATION

### Overview

The Sheikh Eid Bin Mohammad Al Thani Charitable Foundation also known as Eid Charity was founded in Doha, Qatar, 1995, and is the second largest charity organization in Qatar.<sup>155</sup><sup>156</sup> It was named after Sheikh Eid bin Mohammed bin Thani bin Jassim bin Mohammed bin Thani who died in 1994.<sup>157</sup>

Eid Charity works to provide forms of humanitarian aid to society and currently serves in over 60 countries including America (Colorado), the United Kingdom, Somalia, Syria, and Pakistan.<sup>158</sup> Its focus revolves around war-torn and impoverished areas.

The current global issues Eid Charity focuses on are agriculture, healthcare, family welfare, natural disasters, humanitarian affairs, education, and food security.<sup>159</sup> It has 38 different areas of donation on its website to countries such as Somalia, Syria and Iraq.<sup>160</sup>

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace labeled Eid Charity as “probably the biggest and most influential activist Salafi-controlled relief organization in the world.”<sup>161</sup>

In looking at Eid Charity’s vast and widespread philanthropic efforts, this claim is not farfetched. In 2015, it reportedly spent \$125 million on aid in over 59 countries.<sup>162</sup> This included the building of 469 mosques and 359 houses.

As of 2016, the organization had given over \$60 million to Syrian refugees, built over 6,000 mosques, and reportedly spent \$41 million in humanitarian aid during Ramadan 2016 for its ‘Qutouf Campaign.’<sup>163</sup> <sup>164</sup>

Additionally, in May 2016 the Ministry of Economy and Commerce announced its partnership with Eid Charity for the launching of the Al Baraka corporate social responsibility initiative.<sup>165</sup> The initiative encourages Qatari businesses to donate to Eid Charity for local charity projects.<sup>166</sup>

Some of Eid Charity’s bank accounts include Qatar Islamic Bank, Qatar International Islamic Bank, Barwa Bank, Masraf al-Rayan, Qatar National Bank, and Doha Bank.<sup>167</sup>

### Leadership

#### Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi

Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi is a founder of Eid Charity and is labeled as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT) by the U.S. Treasury Department. For more detailed information on Nuaimi, see the “Key Players” section.

#### Ali bin Abdullah al-Suwaidi

According to the Arab coalition’s list of designated entities, Managing Director of Sheikh Eid bin Mohammed Al Thani Charitable Foundation, Ali bin Abdullah al-Suwaidi, is one of the 59 designated individuals recently linked to terrorism finance. Ali al-Suwaidi, who manages Eid Charity’s budget, has been accused of working with Nuaimi to transfer funds to al-Qaeda-affiliated terrorist cells in Syria.<sup>168</sup>

The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center cites a French newspaper, *Le Figaro*, as noting that Ali al-Suwaidi, together with Nuaimi, used couriers to provide cash to al-Qaeda’s al-Nusra Front branch in Syria.<sup>169</sup>



In June 2016, Ali al-Suwaidi allegedly met with Speaker of the Iraqi Parliament, Saleem al-Jabouri, and the head of the Iraqi Front for National Dialogue, Saleh al-Mutlaq, for a large donation transaction.<sup>170</sup> Both Jabouri and Mutlaq have been accused of corruption.<sup>171 172</sup>

### **Hashim al-Awadhy**

Hashim al-Awadhy, a designated terrorist by Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Egypt, and Bahrain, is reportedly an Eid Charity official.<sup>173</sup> He is also the Chief Executive Officer of Retaj Marketing and Project Management, which is partially owned by Eid Charity and Qatar's Ministry of Endowments, with each controlling a 20% stake.<sup>174 175</sup> Retaj's Chairman, Ahmed bin Eid Al Thani, works at Qatar's Financial Information Unit, which is responsible for preventing terrorist funding.<sup>176 177</sup>

Awadhy is alleged to be an associate of Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi, and Awadhy's son reportedly died fighting on behalf of the Islamic State in Syria.<sup>178</sup> Egyptian media reported that Awadhy has ties to Turkey-based Muslim Brotherhood media organizations.<sup>179</sup>

### **Abd al-Wahhab al-Humayqani**

Beginning in 2010, Eid Charity worked with and funded Abd al-Wahhab al-Humayqani and his charity organization in Yemen.<sup>180 181 182</sup> In 2013, the United States Department of Treasury labeled Humayqani as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT) citing that his charity organization was being used as a channel for al-Qaeda.<sup>183</sup>

In 2017, he was designated as a terrorist by Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Egypt, and Bahrain.<sup>184</sup> Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi also funded Humayqani.<sup>185</sup> For more information on Humayqani, see the "Key Players" section.

### **Allegations Against Eid Charity**

According to allegations made by Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, and Bahrain, Eid Charity engaged in providing funds to Abd al-Wahhab al-Humayqani and his Rachd Charitable Foundation, which were known conduits to al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP).<sup>186</sup>

Eid Charity is a member of the U.S. Treasury Department designated terrorist entity the Union of Good. Led by Muslim Brotherhood cleric Yusuf al-Qaradawi, the Union of Good has ties to the Muslim Brotherhood and acts as an umbrella organization to transfers funds to Hamas via charity organizations.<sup>187 188</sup> It was designated by the U.S. Department of Treasury in 2008 though this designation did not include all its leaders or members.<sup>189 190</sup> In that same year, Eid Charity was banned from Israel due to its relationship with the Union of the Good.<sup>191</sup>

Additionally, Eid Charity conducted a 2010 fundraiser in Yemen featuring Union of the Good member and designated terrorist Abdul Majid al-Zindani, one of the leaders of the Yemeni Muslim Brotherhood. Al-Zindani was designated by the U.S. Treasury department as a recruiter, funder and "mentor" of Osama bin Laden.<sup>192</sup> He is also believed to have coordinated activities in Yemen with Humayqani.<sup>193</sup>

Eid Charity is partnered with the Turkish Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH), a fellow member of the Union of Good.<sup>194 195 196</sup> Israel, Germany, and the Netherlands have designated the IHH as a terrorist organization, and in 2010, following the IHH's involvement in the Gaza blockade, eighty-seven United States Senators sought this same designation.<sup>197 198</sup> IHH Turkey offices were raided by Turkish authorities in 2014.<sup>199</sup>

In a 2014 statement, Eid Charity reportedly oversaw Madid Ahl al-Sham, an online fundraising operation associated with the al-Nusrah Front.<sup>200 201 202</sup> The al-Nusrah Front had characterized al-Sham

as “one of the preferred conduits for donations.”<sup>203</sup> In that same year, al-Sham was shut down by the U.S. government in for its ties to terrorism.<sup>204</sup>

Eid Charity worked closely with Muslim Brotherhood-linked cleric Wagdy Ghoneim who was designated by the Arab coalition for his alleged ties to designated terrorist groups including al-Qaeda and Gamaa Islamiyya. He is allegedly an associate of U.N. and U.S. Designated terrorist Mohammed Ahmed Shawki Al-Islambouli.<sup>205</sup> <sup>206</sup> Ghoneim also reportedly helped facilitate fundraising for U.N. and U.S. designated terrorists Saad Bin Saad al-Kabi and Abd Al-Latif Bin Abdullah al-Kawari.<sup>207</sup> In 1998, the Canadian government denied Ghoneim entry into Canada due to his reported membership in the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas.<sup>208</sup> In 2005, Ghoneim agreed to be voluntarily deported from the United States for immigration violations and was denied bail during the proceedings due to his participation in activities linked to terrorism. He was subsequently active in Qatar, Bahrain, and Yemen.<sup>209</sup> <sup>210</sup> <sup>211</sup>

A leaked report by Germany’s domestic intelligence agency, Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz (BfV), revealed that organizations supporting and funding Salafist activity in Germany included the Saudi Muslim World League, Eid Charity, and the Kuwaiti Revival of the Islamic Heritage Society. All three organizations have ties to terrorism, specifically al-Qaeda. Reports published on Eid Charity’s website illustrate this involvement further with its implementation of schools, preachers, and imams in Germany.<sup>212</sup>

## Regional Activities

### Palestinian Territories/Gaza Strip

In 2014, Eid Charity sent QR 30 million in aid to families in the Gaza Strip.<sup>213</sup> The funds were part of a QR 10 million project to fund and aid Gaza reconstruction.<sup>214</sup>

### Iraq

On Eid Charity’s website, there are six project donation options for Iraq; the projects total 5,033,400 QR and include food donations, orphan/family support, fresh water, and medical needs.<sup>215</sup>

Additionally, Eid Charity launched a campaign in Iraq and Syria to assist the displaced persons and refugees with a collection goal of QR 35 million , QR 15 million of which would go to Iraq.<sup>216</sup>

### Myanmar

Eid Charity lists nine donation projects for Myanmar; the projects total QR 3,200 and include food/medical relief (such as food baskets, and mosquito nets), school restoration, school uniforms, shelter, and other general relief sources.<sup>217</sup>

### Somalia

Eid Charity claims to have provided relief aid for a quarter of a million Somalis, totaling QR 10 million in 2017.<sup>218</sup> In 2012, Eid Charity founder Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi provided \$250,000 to al--Shabaab leader Hassan Dahir Aweys and al--Shabaab spokesman Al Mukhtar Robow.<sup>219</sup>

For 2017, Eid Charity hopes to build 14 orphanages totaling QR 23.2 million; countries for this project include Kenya, Lebanon, Somalia, and Sudan.<sup>220</sup>

### Syria

Eid Charity lists five donation options for Syria; the projects total QR 2,400 and include shelters, food supplies, and the White Helmets. The White Helmets is a Syrian Civil Defense coalition which has been accused of being biased in favor of Syrian rebels, including al-Qaeda-linked groups.<sup>221</sup> <sup>222</sup>

In addition to these projects, Eid Charity is in the process of conducting four medical projects in Syria totaling QR 12 million.<sup>223</sup>

Eid Charity also launched a campaign in Iraq and Syria to assist displaced persons and refugees. Its goal is to collect a total of QR 35 million, QR 20 million of which would go to Aleppo in Syria.<sup>224</sup>

### **Yemen**

Eid Charity lists four project donation options for Yemen; the projects total QR 10 million and include food, clothing, and medical relief.<sup>225</sup>

According to the Financial Tracking Services, the Government of Qatar funded the equivalent of \$37,137,802 to Yemen in 2015. There was no listed recipient in Yemen for this contribution. Funders included Eid Charity, which donated through the Al-Ihasan Charity Society Yemen.<sup>226</sup>

The Al-Ihasan Charity Society is a charity organization designated by the United States Department of Treasury in 2005 for providing support to Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), a U.S. designated terrorist organization and offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>227 228</sup> According to the U.S. Treasury Department, Al-Ihasan played a key role in PIJ operations, including fundraising, propaganda, and recruitment.<sup>229</sup>

### **Relationship With Qatari Government**

The Sheikh Eid bin Mohammad Al Thani Charitable Foundation was named after Sheikh Eid bin Mohammed bin Thani bin Jassim bin Mohammed bin Thani (1922-1994). The organization is directly linked and endorsed by the Qatari government. It is one of ten listed charities on Qatar's website to donate to and is licensed with the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs.<sup>230231</sup> The Qatari government "tightly" regulates these registered charities and supports their activities via its Regulatory Authority for Charitable Activities (RACA).

Additionally, the Qatari government has frequented events organized by Eid Charity such as the 2010 charity festival led by designated terrorist Abd al-Majid al-Zindani. Some of Eid Charity's bank accounts include Qatar Islamic Bank, Qatar International Islamic Bank, Barwa Bank, Masraf al-Rayan, Qatar National Bank, and Doha Bank.<sup>232</sup>

### **Relationship with U.S. Government**

In 2015, Washington DC lobbyist Wendell Belew, a former Chief Counsel of the United States House Budget Committee, registered to lobby for Eid Charity. Belew has a history in lobbying for organizations connected to terrorism, as he lobbied on behalf of Al-Haramain Islamic Foundation, a Saudi based organization designated by the U.S. Treasury Department for its ties to al-Qaeda.<sup>233 234</sup>

In 2016, representatives from the United States reportedly attended Eid Charity's annual harvest gala. The gala works to recognize and praise the humanitarian efforts of the organization. Other country representatives that attended include Somalia, Sudan, and Turkey.<sup>235</sup> Eid Charity also operates in the United States with Eid Charity's English website listing Colorado as one of the places where the organization works.<sup>236</sup> In addition, Eid Charity claims to have contributed to the construction of at least one mosque in the United States at the cost of QR 4.3 million (roughly \$1.16 million).<sup>237</sup>

## ALKARAMA

### Overview

Alkarama was formed in 2004 as a human rights organization in Geneva, Switzerland. It operates as a liaison between international human rights organizations and those at risk of execution, torture, or arbitrary detention in the Arab world.<sup>238</sup> Despite this positive sounding mission, the organization has drawn attention to itself thanks to allegations of terror finance from its founding leaders.<sup>239</sup> While it engages in an ostensibly pro-human rights mission, Alkarama seems to devote significant effort to opposing crackdowns on Islamic terrorism, terror finance, or in defense of Islamist movements whose activities are deemed illegal by Arab regimes.<sup>240</sup>

In 2014, Alkarama condemned the Qatari government for arresting individuals with ties to al-Qaeda.<sup>241</sup> Alkarama also made allegations against United Arab Emirates during a period when the Emiratis were engaged in a major crackdown on Muslim Brotherhood figures.<sup>242 243</sup> In 2014, Alkarama was on the terrorist list issued by the UAE.<sup>244 245</sup>

### Leadership

#### Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi

Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi is one of founders of Alkarama.<sup>246</sup> Nuaimi reportedly used Alkarama as a front for pressuring Gulf nations to release detained al-Qaeda members as well as several Qatari accomplices that were sanctioned by the United States. Alkarama continues its relations with Nuaimi despite his designation as a terrorist by the U.S. and U.N., and they proudly display his name as a founder on their website.<sup>247 248</sup> For more information on Nuaimi, see the “Key Players” section.

#### Abbas Aroua

Abbas Aroua is a founder and board secretary of Alkarama.<sup>249</sup> He is also a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign and is on the Board of Trustees of the Cordoba Foundation of Geneva, a non-profit organization focused on supposedly promoting peace.<sup>250 251</sup> David Cameron, former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, called the Cordoba Foundation “a political front for Muslim Brotherhood.”<sup>252</sup>

Aroua is a leader of the Ummah Conference’s Rachad Movement in Algeria, which has been repeatedly accused of supporting jihadists, including al-Qaeda affiliates.<sup>253 254</sup>

The Algerian authorities accused Aroua of being one of the founders of Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), but he denied this accusation.<sup>255</sup> Aroua wrote the *Quest for Peace in Islamic Tradition*, in which he supported waging jihad.<sup>256 257</sup>

#### Khalifa bin Mohammad al-Rabban

Khalifa bin Mohammad Al-Rabban is the president of the board of trustees at Alkarama and a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign.<sup>258 259</sup> He is on the list of Qatar linked individuals designated by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, UAE, and Egypt for financing terrorism, and is accused of working closely with the U.S. and U.N. designated terrorist Nuaimi.<sup>260</sup>

#### Rachid Mesli

Rachid Mesli is one of the founders of Alkarama and is an Algerian criminal lawyer.<sup>261</sup> He was imprisoned and allegedly tortured by Algerian government for three years in the 1990s before he left for Geneva where he founded Alkarama in 2004.

The United Nations Report on Human Rights Committee, dated July 2007, states that Mesli acted under pretense by using the title “lawyer” when he had already been disbarred as a lawyer in 2002. He was also accused of belonging to the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC), which is on the U.N. list of terrorist organizations.<sup>262</sup>

Mesli has been identified as a member of the Ummah Conference’s Rachad movement and was a spokesperson for Arab commission for Human Rights, which regularly publishes a leaflet titled, “The Jewish-Nazi Manifesto of Ariel Sharon.”<sup>263</sup>

In a 2014 article written by *Le Temps*, a Swiss paper, Mesli argued that those who are fighting for freedom and human rights are labeled as “dangerous terrorists” by their governmental authorities.<sup>264</sup>

In 2015, Italy arrested Mesli based on an international arrest warrant issued by Algeria in 2002. He was charged by Algerian government for belonging to an “armed terrorist group.”<sup>265</sup>

### **Mourad Dhina**

Mourad Dhina joined Alkarama in 2007 and is the Executive Director. He holds a Ph.D. from Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT).<sup>266</sup>

Dhina was a prominent member of Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), which was formed in 1989 in opposition to the ruling party in Algeria, National Liberation Front (FLN). FIS attempted to establish Sharia law, but it was later banned by the Algerian government.<sup>267 268</sup> In 2012, Dhina was arrested temporarily by French authorities based on Algerian government allegation of his ties to extremist groups.<sup>269</sup> Dhina is also part of the Ummah Conference’s Algerian affiliate, the Rachad Movement.<sup>270</sup>

### **Allegations Against AlKarama**

In 2013, Alkarama launched a human rights prize that is primarily awarded to Islamists and their supporters. Among those chosen to receive the prize was Abdulelah Heidar Shaye, a Yemeni journalist that the U.S. Government noted as having an “association with al-Qaeda”.<sup>271</sup> Shaye tweeted about terror attacks in Boston and Fort Hood and praised the fact that they were executed by young people.<sup>272</sup>

Alkarama has cooperated with Emirate Centre for Human Rights on multiple occasions. Emirate Centre for Human Rights was set up in part by U.K.-based Muslim Brotherhood activist Anas Altikriti and registered by his wife Malath Shakir.<sup>273</sup> Anas Altikriti also runs the Cordoba Foundation, which has been considered as a “political front for Muslim Brotherhood”, and was designated by the United Arab Emirates as a terrorism front.<sup>274</sup> Al-Tikriti was also the founder of the British Muslim Initiative, a British-based organization he founded together with known Hamas associates Mohammed Sawalha and Azzam Tamimi.<sup>275</sup> Tikriti and the Cordoba Foundation’s bank accounts were closed in 2014 over concerns of Tikriti’s ties to terrorism.<sup>276</sup>

Alkarama advocated for the release of Hassan al-Diqqi who was a leader of the banned Emirates’ Ummah Conference.<sup>277</sup> Later, it was reported by the *Washington Post* that Hassan al-Diqqi appeared on video at a Syrian rebel training camp on behalf of the Ummah Conference. The Ummah Conference is known to have funded a variety of jihadist rebel groups, including the al-Qaeda-linked Ahrar Al-Sham.<sup>278</sup> As of 2013, Hassan al-Diqqi was heading the UAE’s Ummah party and living as a fugitive in Turkey.<sup>279</sup>

## Relationship with Qatari Government

As the head of Alkarama, Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi sits at the center of the web of funding for al-Qaeda in countries such as Yemen, Syria, Iraq, and Somalia.<sup>280</sup> Nuaimi reportedly donated \$2 million a month to al-Qaeda in Iraq while running a charity that was owned by the Qatari royal family.<sup>281</sup>

According to a *Washington Post* report from December 2013, the Qatar's royal family looked to Nuaimi for advice in charitable giving while the U.S. officials had deemed him as someone who had been secretly financing al-Qaeda.<sup>282</sup> Despite its cozy relationship with Alkarama founder Nuaimi, the government of Qatar has still be on the receiving end of the group's human rights criticism, particularly in regards to Qatari counterterrorism laws.<sup>283</sup>

## Relationship with the U.S. Government

In April 2013, a staff attorney for the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) submitted a report prepared by Alkarama about the impact that the U.S. drones have had in Yemen costing the lives of many innocent civilians.<sup>284</sup> The CCR has a long history of providing legal defense and litigation support to jihadist terrorists. The CCR was founded in the 1960s to provide legal support to violent extremists and other revolutionaries in the United States, under the guise of constitutional and human rights.<sup>285</sup>

Representatives Greyson and Lee invited Mohammad Al Ahmady who is an Alkarama director in Yemen to discuss drone strikes.<sup>286</sup> Ahmady is tied to the Salafist Rashad Union Party, a Yemeni political party founded and led by Abd al-Wahhab al-Humayqani, the U.S. and U.N. designated terrorist financier with close ties to AlKarama founder Nuaimi.<sup>287 288</sup>

## THE ARAB CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND POLICY STUDIES

### Overview

The Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, sometimes called the Arab Center for Studies is a research organization that claims to have been founded in 2010 in Doha, Qatar.<sup>289</sup> It focuses on the interdisciplinary study of the social sciences and analysis of problems facing the Arab world. It purports to believe in the advancement of civilization while also emphasizing the importance of maintaining Arab culture and identity. Additionally, the Center promotes dialogue among Arab intellectuals and works to establish a network of Arab institutions. It pays a particular attention to topics including citizenship, disintegration, sovereignty, technology, community development, and relations of international and neighboring countries.

In addition to research, the Center produces publications, programs, and projects as well as hosts numerous events, conferences, workshops, and seminars. One of its most well-known programs is the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies (DI).<sup>290</sup>

The organizational structure of the Center consists of three entities: the Executive Board (six board members), the Administrative Team, and Research Teams.<sup>291</sup>

Despite its seemingly academic nature, the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies' leaders and its affiliates have ties to al-Qaeda, Hamas, and Hezbollah.<sup>292</sup>

### Leadership

#### Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi

A former president of the ACRPS, Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi, has direct ties to terrorism. For further information on Nuaimi, see the “Key Players” section. While the ACRPS claims to have only been founded in 2010, reports show that Nuaimi served as the organization's president between 2002 and 2004.<sup>293</sup>

#### Azmi Bishara

Azmi Bishara is the General Director of the ACRPS and is on its Executive Board as well as the Doha Institute's (DI) Board of Trustees.<sup>294,295</sup> Bishara was one of the founders of the Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy (Muwatin), the Arab Center for Applied Social Research (Mada al-Camel), and the National Democratic Assembly (Balad). He is also a published author and was a professor at Birzeit University located in the West Bank from 1986-1996.<sup>296</sup>

In 2007, the Israeli Shin Bet secret service accused Bishara of espionage and treason. It claimed that Bishara counselled Hezbollah, a terrorist group in Lebanon, on how to attack Israel via missiles and psychological warfare. Bishara is further accused of warning Hezbollah about an Israeli assault on their leader, Hassan Nasrallah, and is suspected of receiving funds from a foreign intelligence service.<sup>297</sup>

More recently, Bishara spoke at a 2016 conference hosted by the Arab Center Washington DC (ACRP's affiliate in the United States). The conference was called ‘A Framework for Democracy in the Arab World.’<sup>298</sup> Bishara currently lives in Qatar and is listed as a ‘pending investigation’ by Israeli police.<sup>299, 300</sup>

#### Osama Abu-Irshaid

Osama Abu-Irshaid (Osama Abu-Irshaid) is a non-resident scholar at the ACRPS and has significant ties to Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>301</sup> Abu-Irshaid currently runs Al-Meezan, a pro-Hamas newspaper and is a national board member for the American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) which is an

anti-Israel and pro-Hamas organization.<sup>302303</sup> Additionally, Abu-Irshaid was a research fellow for the United Association for Studies and Research (UASR) whose founder, Moussa Abu Marzook, is a Hamas leader.<sup>304</sup> The U.S. government provided evidence to demonstrate in court that the UASR was an organ of the U.S. Palestine Committee, established by the Muslim Brotherhood in order to support Hamas. According to the government, Marzook founded UASR as a Hamas “think tank”, which existed to pass information between Hamas operatives in the Palestinian territories to U.S. Muslim Brotherhood operatives in the United States.<sup>305</sup>

Abu-Irshaid was also an editor of *Al-Zaitounah*, a magazine published by the Hamas and Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP). According to the U.S. government, the IAP existed as part of the U.S. Palestine Committee of the Muslim Brotherhood in order to provide Hamas propaganda in the United States. *Al-Zaitounah* published propaganda for the charities connected to terrorism such as the Holy Land Foundation (HLF), the Global Relief Foundation (GRF), and the Benevolence International Foundation (BIF).<sup>306 307</sup> The IAP disbanded in 2004 as a result of U.S. law enforcement action.

In 2016, Jonathan Schanzer, Vice President of Research Foundation for Defense of Democracies, gave Congressional in which he mentioned Abu-Irshaid’s 2015 ineligibility for naturalization because of his failure “to properly disclose his IAP past.”<sup>308 309</sup>

Schanzer also noted Abu-Irshaid’s role in the American Muslims for Palestine (AMP). According to Schanzer, there is a “significant overlap between AMP and people who worked for or on behalf of organizations that were designated, dissolved, or held civilly liable by federal authorities for supporting Hamas.”<sup>310</sup>

In August 2016, Abu-Irshaid spoke at the ACRPS’s conference “Boycott as a Strategy to Counter Israel’s Occupation and Apartheid: Present-day Realities and Aspirations.”<sup>311</sup> The conference labeled the movement known as Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) as “an indispensable method” against Israeli occupation.<sup>312313</sup>

More recently, Abu-Irshaid spoke out against the designation of Abu Anas al-Ghandour, a Hamas military commander by the U.S. Department of State.<sup>314</sup>

A lawsuit filed in May 2017 stated that the American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) and the Americans for Justice in Palestine Educational Foundation (AJP) are “alter egos and successors of the Holy Land Foundation (HLF), American Muslim Society (AMS) and the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP)” all of which supported Hamas.<sup>315</sup>

Abu-Irshaid issued public support for Hamas when he called the attacks on Israel “legitimate resistance” in 2010 and again in 2015 when he denounced the Egyptian government’s designation of Hamas as a terrorist organization.<sup>316 317</sup>

## **Allegations Against the ACRPS**

ACRPS’ material support for terrorism is best demonstrated by its willingness to supply a platform to known terrorists. At its 2012 Conference, “Islamists and Democratic Governance: Experiences and Future Directions,” the ACRPS hosted Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal, in addition to the head of the Tunisian Muslim Brotherhood, Rachid Ghannouchi.<sup>318</sup> At its 2013 Second Annual Conference of Arab Research Centers, the ACRPS hosted the head of international relations for Hamas, Osama Hamdan where Hamdan discussed future options for the “Resistance.”<sup>319</sup>



## Relationship with Qatari Government

The Qatari government supports and reportedly funds the Arab Center for Policy and Studies.<sup>320</sup>

The ACRPS has hosted Qatari leaders at numerous events such as its Third Annual Conference in 2014. Leaders present included Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad al-Thani, the emir of Qatar, and Abdulrahman Bin Hamad Al Attiyah, the former Secretary General of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC).<sup>321</sup>

### The Doha Institute

The Doha Institute (DI) is a private, nonprofit academic institution based in Qatar.<sup>322</sup> With the support of Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad al-Thani, the current emir of Qatar, the ACRPS founded the DI in 2014, and in 2015 the DI opened its doors to students seeking master's degrees.<sup>323 324</sup> The Supreme Education Council of Qatar labeled the DI as a national institution of higher education.<sup>325</sup>

There are nine listed members on the DI Board of Trustees, two of which, Ahmad Dallal and Azmi Bishara (mentioned earlier), are known for their public support for Hezbollah.

Ahmad Dallal is currently a professor at the American University of Beirut. Dallal's past positions include being an Associate Professor at Yale University and Stanford University, as well as being Chair of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies at Georgetown University. He is also a published author.<sup>326</sup>

Dallal is known for his public support for Hezbollah, a designated foreign terrorist organization listed by the United States in 1997.<sup>327</sup> Dallal signed a 2006 petition that stated his "support for the Lebanese national resistance as it wages war" on Israel. Additionally, the petition deemed Hezbollah as a "heroic operation."<sup>328 329</sup>

## Relationship with U.S. Government

### The Arab Center Washington DC

The Arab Center Washington DC (ACW) is the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies' sister institute in the United States. It describes itself as a research organization that works to build a greater understanding in America about the Arab world and gives analysis about US-Arab relations. It has publications in the following categories: policy analysis, research papers, Congress, elections (2016), and Arab public opinion (index and surveys).<sup>330</sup> The ACW's executive director is Khalid Jahshan. Jahshan previously served as the vice president of the American Committee for Jerusalem (ACJ). During that time, he served on the ACJ board of directors with Abdurrahman Alamoudi, a U.S. Muslim Brotherhood member and convicted al-Qaeda financier.<sup>331 332 333</sup> Also on the ACJ board was the late Hisham Sharabi, who was a member of the board of trustees for the World & Islam Studies Enterprise, a Palestinian Islamic Jihad front group founded by convicted terrorist organizer and former Muslim Brotherhood leader Sami Al-Arian, who sat on the Palestinian Islamic Jihad's leadership council.<sup>334</sup>

ACW's board member George Salem was also a member of the ACJ with Jahshan and Alamoudi.<sup>335</sup> From 1990-2004, Salem worked as a partner at Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld LLP, a law firm in DC. The firm represented a convicted Hamas financing organization known as the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development in a civil suit filed by the Boims, a family whose son was murdered by Hamas.<sup>336</sup> Salem also served on the board of the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), an organization whose founders and staff have a reputation of issuing statements in support of Hamas and Hezbollah.<sup>337</sup>

Yousef Munayyer is an ACW Middle East analyst, executive director of the U.S. Campaign for Palestinian Rights, and supporter of the “boycott, divestment, sanctions” campaign known as the BDS movement.<sup>338 339</sup> Munayyer previously worked for the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee and served as a director of the Jerusalem Fund founded by Sharabi.<sup>340</sup>

## THE GLOBAL ANTI-AGGRESSION CAMPAIGN

### Overview

The Global Anti-Aggression Campaign (GAAC) was first established in 2003 following the second Gulf war in Iraq.<sup>341 342 343</sup>

The organization was founded as an umbrella group to support an Islamist resistance to Western intervention and served as a conduit between the Muslim Brotherhood, Islamist leaders, al-Qaeda, Hamas, and other jihadist organizations.<sup>344</sup> Seven of the prominent leaders have been designated terrorists by the U.S., EU, or U.N..<sup>345</sup> According to the Global Muslim Brotherhood Research Center, key Global Muslim Brotherhood leaders have been intimately involved with GAAC for over a decade.<sup>346</sup>

GAAC's founding statement is as follows:

"The Muslim ummah - in this era - is facing a vicious aggression from the powers of tyranny and injustice, from the Zionist power and the American administration led by the extreme right, which is working to achieve control over nations and peoples, and is stealing their wealth, and annihilating their will, and changing their educational curriculums and social orders.

...And in resistance to this aggression, the signatories of this statement announce the Global Anti Aggression Campaign as a vessel uniting the efforts of the children of the ummah, and to remind [the ummah] of its obligation for victory, and to raise [the ummah's] awareness for its right of self-defense, and to combat the aggressor in a legal manner through effective tools."<sup>347</sup>

Through various conferences and hierarchies linked to Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas is building a global infrastructure utilizing organizations such as the GAAC to challenge the Palestinian Liberation Organization as the only legitimate representation of Palestine.<sup>348</sup>

This conference was led by Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi (GAAC's Secretary General) who was designated as terrorist by the U.S. government in 2013 for his connections to al-Qaeda.

The primary activity of the GAAC has been conducting conferences where it calls Muslims to action for so-called injustices.<sup>349</sup> In the 2009 conference, it advocated for a "third Jihadist Front" for Gaza. From 2011-2015, the GAAC was involved in three conferences revolving around Arab Spring that were held in Tunisia, Cairo, and Istanbul.<sup>350</sup>

On February 12, 2016, the GAAC held its seventh annual conference in Istanbul with the goal to have a "Global day to support Al-Aqsa and occupied Jerusalem," referring to the Al-Aqsa mosque on the Temple Mount, and "against Israeli criminal siege of Gaza."<sup>351 352</sup>

### Leadership<sup>353</sup>

#### Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi

Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi has been described as both the president and the secretary-general of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign depending on the source.<sup>354 355</sup> For more information on Nuaimi, see the "Key Players" section.

#### Dr. Sheikh Safar bin Abdul Rahman al-Hawali

Al-Hawali has alternatively been described as both the founding member and president of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign or its secretary-general.<sup>356 357</sup>

A Saudi Cleric and scholar, al-Hawali received his Ph.D. in Islamic theology.<sup>358</sup> He is a co-leader of Saudi “Sahwa” or Awakening movement which opposes the Saudi monarchy and provided ideological support to Osama bin Laden.<sup>359</sup> Al-Hawali reportedly had close ties to Muhammad Qutb, the brother of the late Muslim Brotherhood ideologue Sayyid Qutb.<sup>360</sup>

Al-Hawali has stressed the importance of engaging in “jihad with money” calling on donations in support of Palestinian jihadist efforts.<sup>361</sup>

In 2004, al-Hawali was named as a “theologian of terror” by a petition submitted to the U.N. by 2,500 Muslim intellectuals.<sup>362</sup> Samuel Huntington in his book, *Clash of Civilizations*, mentioned al-Hawali by name<sup>363</sup>

Al-Hawali wrote an open letter to President George W. Bush following 9/11 justifying the attacks as a retaliation against the U.S. striking al-Qaeda.<sup>364 365</sup> He has also called for jihad against the U.S. and its allies and urged Iraqis to conduct a “defensive Jihad” against the US.<sup>366</sup> Al-Hawali’s radicalization work reportedly influenced several of the 9/11 hijackers as well as Osama bin Laden.<sup>367</sup>

### **Waleed al-Tabtabai**

Waleed al-Tabtabai is the vice president of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign, a former member of Kuwaiti National Assembly (MP), and an influential politician with ties to Salafi groups.<sup>368</sup> In 2008, al-Tabtabai called for the government of Kuwait to boycott Denmark after the cartoon controversy.<sup>369</sup> According to a report published by Al-Akbar on Kuwaiti foreign fighters operating in Syria, al-Tabtabai played a role in promoting a campaign called “Kuwait’s Major Campaign to Prepare 12,000 Invaders for Syria,” which raised over \$30 million dollars to support jihadist operations in Syria, including the Islamic State and al-Qaeda. Al-Tababai is reportedly a key participant in facilitating the transfer of recruits, money, and weapons to jihadists in Syria and has personally participated in launching rockets and other attacks.<sup>370</sup> According to a piece on Kuwaiti jihadists published in Al-Hayat, Al-Tabtabai serves as a “role model” for Kuwaiti foreign fighters.<sup>371</sup> He was an associate of Sulaiman Abu Ghaith, the Kuwaiti spokesman for Osama bin Laden and openly supported the funding of jihadist activities in Chechnya, Bosnia, and the Palestinian territories, calling such activities legitimate resistance.<sup>372</sup>

Al-Tabtabai participated in the 2010 Gaza Flotilla incident aboard the Mavi Marmara, where protestors aboard the boat attacked and injured Israeli commandos attempting to enforce the legal blockade of Gaza.<sup>373</sup> The Mavi Marmara was funded and organized by the Turkish IHH, which is a member of the Hamas funding coalition, the Union of Good.

### **Rabih Haddad**

Rabih Haddad is the Executive Director of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign.<sup>374</sup> In 1980, he came to the U.S. to study mechanical engineering at the University of Nebraska and in 1988, he moved to Pakistan. In the 1990s, Haddad worked for the precursor to al-Qaeda, the *Maktab Al Khidamat* (also referred to as the Afghan Services Bureau in Pakistan).<sup>375</sup>

In 1993, Haddad moved to Chicago and became the chairman of the Global Relief Foundation (GRF), an Islamic charity founded by Haddad and his coworkers in 1989. Within a decade, GRF raised \$20 million and became the second largest Islamic charity in the US.<sup>376</sup> Haddad was also known as a fundraiser for the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR), an organization founded by the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood to provide media and political lobbying support for Hamas, and general political pressure and action inside the United States for the Brotherhood and its front organizations.<sup>377 378</sup>

The U.S. Treasury Department designated Haddad as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist with ties to Osama bin Laden, al-Qaeda, and Taliban.<sup>379</sup> The GRF was also designated as a terrorist organization by the U.S. Treasury in October 2002.<sup>380</sup> In 2003, Haddad was deported and returned to Lebanon.<sup>381</sup>

Haddad was also a founding member of the Union of Good, a Hamas fundraising network tied to the Global Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>382</sup>

### **Abbas Aroua**

Abbas Aroua is a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign as well as a founder and board secretary of Alkarama.<sup>383 384</sup> He is also on the Board of Trustees of the Cordoba Foundation of Geneva which is a British non-profit organization with ties to the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>385</sup> David Cameron, former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, called the Cordoba Foundation “a political front for Muslim Brotherhood.”<sup>386</sup>

Aroua is a leader of the Ummah Conference’s Rachad Movement in Algeria.<sup>387</sup> The Ummah Conference has been repeatedly accused of supporting jihadists, including al-Qaeda affiliates.<sup>388</sup>

The Algerian authorities accused Aroua of being one of the founders of Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), but he denied the accusation.<sup>389</sup> Aroua wrote the *Quest for Peace in Islamic Tradition* where he supports waging jihad.<sup>390 391</sup>

### **Khalifa bin Mohammad al-Rabban**

Khalifa bin Mohammad Al-Rabban is a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign and the president of the board of trustees at Alkarama.<sup>392 393</sup> Al-Rabban appears on the list of Qatar-linked individuals designated by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the UAE, and Egypt for financing terrorism and is accused of working closely with the U.S. and U.N. designated terrorist Nuaimi.<sup>394</sup>

### **Yusuf al-Qaradawi**

Yusuf al-Qaradawi is a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign and listed as one of the 59 individuals on the terror list generated by the Gulf states.<sup>395 396</sup> He is considered the “spiritual leader” of the Global Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>397 398</sup>

Qaradawi is the founder of the Al-Quds International Institution, a Lebanese organization headquartered in Jerusalem. He also heads the European Council for Fatwa and Research which is the theological body for the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE). In addition, Qaradawi leads the International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS), an organization which issued a 2004 fatwa authorizing the targeting of U.S. troops in Iraq.<sup>399</sup>

Qaradawi has advocated for violent jihad in many places including Syria, Iraq, and Israel.<sup>400</sup> He established and led the Union for Good which was designated in 2008 by the U.S. for providing tens of millions of dollars to Hamas.<sup>401 402</sup>

In a short YouTube video, Qaradawi states that killing of “apostates” is essential for Islam to survive.<sup>403</sup> In 2013, he called for jihad in Egypt to restore the Muslim Brotherhood’s regime to power and in 2014, he called for the “greatest battle of liberation” against the Jews and Israel.<sup>404 405</sup>

Qaradawi has been banned from entering the U.S. since 1999 and from the UK since 2008.<sup>406</sup> He regularly appears on Al-Jazeera and has issued supporting Fatwas to permit suicide bombing.<sup>407</sup> In 2014, Egypt demanded that Qatar extradite Qaradawi on charges of inciting violent Muslim Brotherhood protests and assisting in “international murder.”<sup>408</sup>

### Salman al-Odah

Salman al-Odah is a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign and co-leader with al-Hawali of the “Sahwa” or Awakening movement.<sup>409 410</sup> In 2004, al-Odah and al-Hawali were two of the 26 signatories of Saudi religious scholars who signed an open letter urging Iraqis to support Jihad against U.S. forces in Iraq.<sup>411</sup> Al-Odah has been a regular feature at Muslim Brotherhood events and was considered by investigators to be the ideological and partial financial support of the 2004 Madrid Train bombings, which killed 192 people.<sup>412 413 414</sup>

### Tareq Suwaidan

Tareq Suwaidan (Tareq Mohamed El Saleh Al Suwaidan) is a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign and is a Muslim Brotherhood leader who resides in Kuwait.<sup>415</sup>

Suwaidan has a website that includes various courses, videos, audio, published books, and religious teachings.<sup>416</sup> He studied petroleum engineering in the U.S. at Penn State University and later received his MSc and Ph.D. from the University of Tulsa.<sup>417 418</sup>

Suwaidan resided in the U.S. for 17 years.<sup>419</sup> During his time there, he was an officer of the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO) which was raided by federal law enforcement as part of an investigation into terror finance. In 2006, the organization’s Philippines and Indonesian branches were designated by the U.S. Treasury Department on allegations of funding al-Qaeda.<sup>420</sup> They were delisted in 2010.

Suwaidan is the director of Al-Risala TV, which he has used to praise attacks such as the 2012 cyberattack on Tel Aviv Stock exchange. On his twitter account, Suwaidan tweeted:

"I see the need in uniting the efforts of the hackers within the electronic jihad project against the Zionist enemy, and it is an effective and important jihad, and its reward is great – Allah willing." <sup>421</sup>

In 2013, Suwaidan was barred from entering Saudi Arabia where he planned to perform the Umrah pilgrimage.<sup>422</sup>

### Essam El-Erian

Essam El-Erian is a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign, a senior member of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, and the vice chairman of the Muslim Brotherhood Freedom and Justice Party.<sup>423 424</sup> He is a physician who studied in Cairo.

In 1981, El-Erian was arrested alongside other Egypt Islamist group members and was released a year later.<sup>425</sup> El-Erian was imprisoned several times due to his ties to the Muslim Brotherhood and for his participation in protests.<sup>426</sup>

In 2011, following Morsi’s takeover of the presidency, El-Erian had an interview with the Cairo Review of Global Affairs, in which he stated,

“I hope that America can discover also itself, that is not the overwhelming sovereignty in the whole world. It’s not the Allah, the God, for the world.”<sup>427</sup>

In October 2013, Egypt arrested El-Erian as part of the crackdown of the Egyptian government on Islamist groups following the ousting of President Morsi.<sup>428</sup> In 2015, he was sentenced to life by the Egyptian government for his role in instigating a violent Muslim Brotherhood response to protestors around the Presidential palace in 2012.<sup>429</sup> Muslim Brotherhood members reportedly captured, tortured, and interrogated demonstrators who opposed them.<sup>430 431 432</sup>

### **Abd al-Majid al-Zindani**

Abd al-Majid al-Zindani is a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign and a Yemeni Muslim Brotherhood leader.<sup>433</sup> In 2004, the U.S. Treasury designated al-Zindani as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist for his support of Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda.<sup>434</sup> The U.S. has also accused al-Zindani of financially supporting Hamas.<sup>435</sup> Al-Zindani is a U.N.-designated recruiter and fundraiser for al-Qaeda. He has played a key role in the purchase of weapons for al-Qaeda.<sup>436</sup>

Al-Zindani is the founder and leader of Al Iman University in Sanaa, Yemen, which had about 5,000 students in 2004. The school is known as a jihadist recruiting hub.<sup>437</sup> Al-Zindani's students have been suspected of being responsible for terror attacks, assassinations of three American missionaries, and two leaders of the Yemeni Socialist Party.<sup>438 439</sup>

In 2012, al-Zindani urged his followers to emulate the protests in Libya and Egypt and initiated the protest where rioters attacked the U.S. embassy in Sanaa.<sup>440</sup>

In 2013, the U.S. Treasury stated that al-Zindani was providing “religious guidance” to al-Qaeda and the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). He is also a prominent member of Al-Islah, a Yemeni Political party affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>441 442</sup>

### **Ibrahim Abd al Halim Mustafa Zayd al-Kilani**

Ibrahim Abd al Halim Mustafa Zayd al-Kilani was a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign and passed away in 2013.<sup>443 444</sup> Prior to the GAAC, al-Kilani received his doctorate in the science of interpretation from Al-Azhar University.<sup>445</sup>

During his life, al-Kilani held many roles including being the Minister of Endowments (Awqaf) and Islamic Affairs, a member of Jordan's House of Representatives, and a preacher at mosques. He also held memberships and preaching positions in many other councils and areas.<sup>446</sup> Most significantly, al-Kilani served as a chairman for the Islamic Action Front, the Jordanian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>447</sup> Al-Kilani is a vocal supporter of Hamas and in 2005, he expressed vocal support for convicted Hamas financier and suspected al-Qaeda supporter Shaykh Muhammad Ali Hassan Al-Muayad.<sup>448 449</sup> Al-Muayad is the head of the Yemeni branch of the Al-Aqsa Foundation, a charity designated by the Treasury Department as a financier of terrorism.<sup>450</sup>

Al-Kilani was reportedly arrested in 2004 for his condemnation of the United States and commendation of waging jihad against its troops in Iraq.<sup>451</sup> Additionally, in the past al-Kilani vocalized his support for Jordanian civil law which provides substantially reduced penalties to men convicted of honor killings.<sup>452</sup>

### **Abdul Latif Suleiman Salem Arabiyat**

Abdul Latif Suleiman Salem Arabiyat is a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign and Chairman of the Islamic Action Front in Jordan, a Muslim Brotherhood affiliate.<sup>453 454</sup> Arabiyat received his Ph.D. at Texas A&M University and has served in many Jordanian governmental positions including the Senate, Ministry of Education, and House of Representatives.<sup>455</sup> Arabiyat has traditionally been viewed as one of the more “dovish” Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood leaders; his faction is a group in the minority within the Jordanian Brotherhood that prefers to see distance between the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas.<sup>456 457</sup>

### **Hamza Abbas Mansour**

Hamza Abbas Hussein Mansour (Hamza Abbas Mansour) is a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign and leader of the Islamic Action Front, the Jordanian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>458</sup> He has held multiple leadership positions including in the Red Crescent Society and was a member of the House of Representatives as well as the parliamentary Islamic Action Front bloc.<sup>459</sup>

In a 2015 interview with the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), Mansour repeatedly evaded answering whether he thinks ISIS is a terrorist group.<sup>460</sup> According to the U.S. government, Mansour participated in fundraising activities on behalf of the Holy Land Foundation (HLF), a Muslim Brotherhood entity engaged in funding Hamas.<sup>461</sup> Mansour was named as an unindicted co-conspirator in the Holy Land Foundation terrorism finance trial.

### **Azzam Jamil Fares Henaidi**

Azzam Jamil Fares Henaidi is a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign and a member of the Muslim Brotherhood Islamic Action Front in Jordan.<sup>462</sup> He served in the Jordanian House of Representatives and was a part of the parliamentary Bloc Islamic Action Front (along with his fellow Representative and GAAC founder, Hamza Abbas Mansour).<sup>463</sup>

### **Harith al-Dari**

Leading up to his death in 2015, there were many reports of Dari's involvement in illicit activities.<sup>464</sup> Born in Iraq, 1941, Harith al-Dari was a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign and had deep ties to terrorism.<sup>465</sup> He was the head of the Iraqi Muslim Scholars Association and Secretary General of the Muslim Ulema Council.<sup>466</sup>

According to the U.S. Department of Treasury, Dari directed al-Qaeda attacks on Iraqi Forces and civilians as well as provided financial support to the group and its affiliates. In 2006, the Iraqi government issued a warrant for Dari's arrest on the basis of Dari inciting terrorism in the country.<sup>467</sup> In 2008, the U.S. Department of Treasury sanctioned Dari under Executive Order 13438, for threatening "the peace and stability of Iraq" and Iraqi government.<sup>468</sup>

Dari's son, Muthanna Harith al-Dari, also has links to terrorism and is a founder of the GAAC.<sup>469</sup> In 2010, the U.S. Department of Treasury designated Muthanna for his backing of al-Qaeda in Iraq.<sup>470</sup> Both U.S. and Iraqi authorities claim that Muthanna led the Brigades of the 1920 Revolution, a Sunni Islamist terror group that has been described as Muslim Brotherhood aligned.<sup>471 472</sup>

### **Hamid Al-Ali**

Hamid Al-Ali is a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign and former leader of the Salafi Movement in Kuwait. Al-Ali received his master's in interpretation of the holy Quran and Quran Sciences.<sup>473</sup>

In 2006, the United States Department of the Treasury designated Al-Ali for providing financial and other forms of support to al-Qaeda affiliated groups (primarily in Iraq and Kuwait). Additionally, the U.S. government states that Al-Ali had issued fatwas legitimatizing suicide operations and used [his website](#) to provide instructions on how to make weapons.<sup>474</sup> In 2008, Al-Ali was placed on the United Nation's al-Qaeda Sanctions List.<sup>475</sup>

On numerous occasions, Al-Ali has professed his jihadist beliefs. In an article published by Al-Ali in 2006, he praises Allah who has made jihad "the pinnacle of Islam's strength" (translated from Arabic).<sup>476</sup> In a 2009 interview with the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), Al-Ali says that there is



“no alternative but to wage jihad” and that “the real jihad...has not yet reached [their enemies], but it will, Allah willing.”<sup>477</sup>

In 2012, Al-Ali vocalized his support for al-Qaeda and the al-Nusrah Front in Syria. In that same year, the Ministry of Endowments (Awqaf) and Islamic Affairs invited Al-Ali to come speak at Qatar’s State Grand Mosque. Al-Ali is currently a professor at the Faculty of Basic Education in Kuwait.<sup>478</sup>

### **Hamed Betawi**

Hamed Betawi was a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign and a known Hamas supporter.<sup>479</sup> He died in 2012. Prior to his death, Betawi held many leadership positions which included being a preacher at the al-Aqsa Mosque, a Chairman of the Palestinian Islamic Scholars Association, and a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council on the Hamas-associated Change and Reform Bloc.<sup>480 481</sup> Betawi was arrested on multiple occasions such as in 2007 when Israel authorities arrested him as well as 29 other Hamas supporters in the West Bank.<sup>482 483</sup>

### **Mohammad Akram Adlouni**

Mohammad Akram Adlouni is a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign and the Secretary General of the Al-Quds International Foundation, which was designated by the United States Department of Treasury in 2012 for “being controlled by and acting for or on behalf of Hamas.”<sup>484 485</sup> <sup>486</sup> Adlouni was also a part of the United Association of Studies and Research (UASR), an organization tied to Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>487</sup>

Adlouni served as the secretary of the Executive Office of the Muslim Brotherhood in the U.S. and was the author of Muslim Brotherhood “Explanatory Memorandum on the General Goal for the Group in North America.” This document was entered into evidence in the Holy Land Foundation terrorism finance trial.<sup>488</sup> In this publication, Akram writes that the Muslim Brotherhood “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...It is a Muslim’s destiny to perform Jihad and work wherever he is and wherever he lands until the final hour comes....”<sup>489</sup> A U.S. federal court named Akram as an unindicted co-conspirator in the Holy Land Foundation Trial.<sup>490</sup>

### **Mohammad Sawalha**

Mohammad Sawalha is a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign and the President of the Islamic Association of Britain.<sup>491</sup> In the early 1990s, Sawalha allegedly helped found and command one of Hamas’s military units in the Palestinian territory.<sup>492 493</sup> In 1990, after being listed as wanted by Israeli authorities, he fled to Britain.<sup>494</sup> Sawalha currently resides in London where he practices pro-jihad activities and is “responsible for the political unit of the international Muslim Brotherhood in the UK.”<sup>495 496</sup>

Sawalha helped establish the Muslim Association of Britain, a Muslim Brotherhood front organization. He has also played a key role in organizing convoys intended to provide money and materials to Hamas representatives in Gaza.<sup>497</sup>

U.S. federal court documents state that Sawalha met with suspected Hamas supporter Muhammad Salah in the early 1990s to provide Salah with instructions on Hamas-related activities.<sup>498</sup> Muhammad Salah would later be acquitted on terrorism charges, although he was convicted for obstruction of justice, and placed on the U.S. Treasury Department sanctions list for terrorism finance activities. After a lawsuit, Salah was removed from the Treasury list in 2012.<sup>499</sup>

## Allegations against GAAC

The Global Anti-Aggression Campaign is most notable for the multiple Specially Designated Global Terrorists (SDGT) and terrorist supporters within its leadership, described in detail above. Additionally, GAAC leaders have directly called for financing jihadist activities against Israel and a GAAC website published support for individual Palestinian terror attacks against Israeli civilians.<sup>500</sup>

## Regional Activities

### Qatar

The GAAC re-launching was held in Doha in 2005 and headed by Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi whom the United States government later designated as a terrorist. The three-day GAAC conference was held at Doha Sheraton. The plan was to hold a conference every three years.<sup>501</sup>

In the wake of the 2006 Danish cartoon crisis, a panel was held and headed by Nuaimi in Doha. The panel included various charitable Qatari bodies such as Qatar Charity and Eid Charity. Their goal was “to wage the campaign to make the world respect Muslims and Islam.”<sup>502</sup>

In that same year, Iraqi Prime Minister Maliki raised concerns with the U.S. Ambassador to Iraq, Zalmay Khalilzad, that GAAC had planned a conference set to occur in Turkey on November 15-16. Maliki stated that if the conference occurred as planned, he would reconsider his trip to Turkey on November 16<sup>th</sup>. Ultimately the GAAC conference was rescheduled, but the incident illustrates concern the Iraqi government regarding the GAAC, and U.S. interest in tracking GAAC activities as early as 2006.<sup>503</sup>

Following Ethiopia’s intervention in Somalia to oppose the al-Qaeda-linked Islamic Courts Union, the GAAC issued a statement in June 2007 condemning the “Ethiopian naked aggression” and Ethiopia’s “collaborators.”<sup>504</sup> According to the same statement, GAAC was going to hold a conference the following month to establish a “Somali national movement for the liberation of the country from the foreign oppressive occupation by all legitimate means available.”<sup>505</sup>

On June 7-8, GAAC paid for a conference in Doha that hosted Somali militants.<sup>506</sup> The tripartite conference, titled, “Foreign Interventions and the Future of Horn of Africa,” was held on Doha under the auspices of GAAC.<sup>507</sup> Participants included Sheikh Sharif of the Islamic Courts movement and Sharif Hassan, a former Somali parliamentary speaker. Those at the meeting were in opposition to the Ethiopian presence in Somalia.<sup>508</sup>

Though there was reportedly no direct support by the Qatari government, the GAAC’s funding of the event and the government issued visas convey that the Qatari government permitted these activities. Furthermore, Sharif Hassan reportedly met with the Emir in Doha during Ramadan in October 2006.<sup>509</sup>

### Turkey

In 2006, the GAAC held a conference “in support of the Iraqi people” in Istanbul. The conference was first scheduled to take place in November.<sup>510</sup> Some of the GAAC members who attended include al-Hawali, Nuaimi, Haddad, Al-Aouda, and Al Dari.<sup>511</sup>

A 2009 conference was referred to as the “International Conference for the Victory of Gaza.”<sup>512</sup> <sup>513</sup> According to BBC, the participants were conservative sheikhs, scholars and Hamas leaders. The speakers called for jihad against Israel in support of Hamas. In closed meetings, they discussed the creation of a “third Jihadist front.”<sup>514</sup> The statement made at the conference declared that the dispatch of foreign warships on “Muslim waters” is a declaration of war. Three hundred people attended this

conference, which included GAAC officials and important Muslim Brotherhood leaders such as Yusuf al-Qaradawi, and Tunisian leader Rachid Ghannouchi (head of Ennahda Party).<sup>515</sup>

A May 2009 conference, titled “World Popular Conference for the Support of Palestine,” was held in Istanbul and sponsored by several Turkish organizations affiliated with Muslim Brotherhood including Turkish Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH). Also present were members of the International Union of Muslim Scholars which is led by GAAC member Yusuf al-Qaradawi.<sup>516 517</sup>

Another 2009 conference, “Iraqi Resistance Support Conference” was held at the Cevahir Hotel in Istanbul.<sup>518</sup>

A 2013 Istanbul conference, “The World Amid a Coup Against the Will and Free Choices of the People,” was organized by the Muslim Thinkers Forum and the Global Forum for Islamic Parliamentarians. Partner organizers included the GAAC, IUMS, Alkarama, Cordoba Foundation, and others.<sup>519</sup>

The GAAC held a February 2016 international conference in Istanbul titled “Support in Al-Aqsa – A Matter for the Nation [Ummah] and Priorities for Action.”<sup>520</sup>

### **Saudi Arabia**

GAAC was founded in Saudi Arabia in 2003 during the outbreak of the second Gulf War in Iraq.<sup>521</sup> The goal was to bring a body of supporters for global jihad against the U.S. and the “Crusader” West. Safar al-Hawali initiated this campaign.<sup>522</sup>

### **Lebanon**

GAAC organized a Beirut conference intended to help prepare for a second Gaza Flotilla. GAAC Participants included Mohammad Sawalha.<sup>523</sup>

### **Tunisia**

A December 2011 GAAC conference on the “Arab Spring” was held in Tunis following the Ennahda Party gaining power in Tunisia.<sup>524</sup> The conference, titled, “We Have Been Born Free,” was led by Rabih Haddad (executive director of GAAC) and Ghannouchi (head of Ennahda Party). The opening address was given by al-Hawali.<sup>525</sup>

### **Egypt**

A June 2013, conference, “The Scholars Stance Towards the Syrian Problem,” was held by the GAAC and Alkarama, and prominently featured GAAC member Yusuf al-Qaradawi. The participants urged Muslim Sunnis to support the Syrian rebels “through every kind of jihad.”<sup>526</sup>

Some of the other conference participants are as follows: Mohammed Al-Arifi (Saudi cleric accused of recruiting young British subjects for jihad in Syria and banned from the UK), Hassan Aboud (head of the Salafi-jihadi Ahrar al-Shaam), Salah Sultan (Egyptian ministry of endowments during Muslim Brotherhood government, International Union of Muslim Scholars, European Council for Fatwa and Research), and Safwat Bejazy (Egyptian cleric banned from the UK and France for glorifying terrorist violence).<sup>527</sup>

## **Relationship with Qatari Government**

The Qatari government has many ties to the GAAC and especially to the group’s 2005 relaunching. Qatar was recognized and praised among the participants for its “support” and “patronage.”<sup>528</sup> Many terrorist-affiliated individuals consider Qatar a refuge to practice their illegal activities.

Key Leader Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi is the general secretary of the GAAC and led a 2005 conference in Doha for its relaunching.<sup>529 530</sup> Nuaimi served as a top advisor to the Qatari government on issues related to charitable donations.<sup>531</sup> For more information on Nuaimi, see the “Key Leaders” section.

Hamid Al-Ali is a founding member of the GAAC, designated by the U.S., and sanctioned by the U.N. for his support to al-Qaeda.<sup>532 533 534</sup> He was also a leader of the Salafi Movement in Kuwait and allegedly funded terrorists. In 2012, the Ministry of Endowments (Awqaf) and Islamic Affairs invited Al-Ali to come speak at Qatar’s State Grand Mosque. Al-Ali has reportedly been invited to speak at Qatar-run organizations on multiple occasions.<sup>535</sup>

Ibrahim Abd al Halim Mustafa Zayd al Kilani was a founding member of the GAAC. He passed away in 2013 but prior to his death was Minister of Endowments (Awqaf) and Islamic Affairs. For more information on Kilani, see the “Leadership” section of the GAAC.

Ismail Haniyeh is a senior leader of Hamas and will be succeeding Khaled Meshaal, who has ties to the GAAC, as the new Hamas politburo leader.<sup>536</sup> As the new leader, Haniyeh reportedly plans on moving to Qatar.<sup>537</sup> Haniyeh was pictured with former Emir of Qatar Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani in 2012.<sup>538</sup> Additionally, in 2014, after Haniyeh conversed with Qatar’s Emir Tamim bin Hamad, the country supposedly agreed to pay salaries to Hamas employees.<sup>539</sup> For more information on Haniyeh, see the “Leadership” section of the GAAC.

Khaled Meshaal is the former leader of Hamas and attended the 2005 relaunching of the GAAC.<sup>540</sup> Meshaal moved to Doha, Qatar in 2012 where he was allegedly welcomed with open arms and resided in one of Qatar’s most luxurious hotels.<sup>541 542</sup> In 2015, Qatar’s former Foreign Minister Dr. Khalid bin Mohammed Al Attiyah called Meshaal “a dear guest of Qatar.”<sup>543</sup> Additionally, Meshaal has hosted Hamas conferences in Doha at places such as the Four Seasons hotel and reportedly owns five buildings in the country.<sup>544 545</sup> For more information on Meshaal, see the “Leadership” section of the GAAC.

Khalifa bin Mohammad al-Rabban is a co-founder of the GAAC and president of the board of trustees at Alkarama. Rabban was pictured with former Emir Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani in 2014.<sup>546</sup> For further information, refer to the “Leadership” section of the GAAC.

Yusuf al-Qaradawi is a founding member of the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign, leader of the International Union of Muslim Scholars (IUMS), and a designated terrorist group by the UAE.<sup>547</sup>

Qaradawi is a leading Muslim Brotherhood figure and holds a position at Education City, which is a foundation run by the Qatari royal family.<sup>548</sup> One of Education City’s main missions is to encourage universities in the United States to come to Qatar. Universities it has hosted in the past include Georgetown, Northwestern, Texas A&M, and Cornell.<sup>549</sup> Additionally, Qaradawi served as a personal guide to former Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Khalifa al-Thani. When Egypt denied Qaradawi’s request to extend his stay in Qatar, al-Thani issued him a Qatari passport.<sup>550</sup> For further information on Qaradawi, see the “Leadership” section of the GAAC.

Those included on the 2017 Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the UAE, and Egypt’s sanction list include Abdulrahman al-Nuaimi, Hamid Al-Ali, Khalifa bin Mohammad al-Rabban, and Yusuf al-Qaradawi.<sup>551</sup>

## Relationship with the U.S. Government

Of the four charities listed, the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign has perhaps the most ties to U.S. domestic Islamist activities. Rabih Haddad, Tareq Suwaidan, and Mohammed Akram Adlouni all historically operated from within the United States, fundraising and supporting a variety of Muslim Brotherhood front organizations. Most notably, Adlouni’s role in authoring the 1991 “Explanatory Memorandum,” which played a key role in establishing Muslim Brotherhood efforts in the United States.<sup>552 553</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The five charities examined in this report represent a useful cross-section of the allegations which the Arab states coalition of Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Egypt have leveled against the Qatari government regarding supporting and financing terrorism and regional instability.

Two of the five - Qatar Charity and Eid Charity - are global non-profits engaged in distributing humanitarian aid in areas of the globe which overlap considerably with areas where the Qatari government has been accused of intervening on behalf of Islamist movements and jihadist groups.

The other three organizations, the “human rights” group Alkarama, the “think tank” called Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS), and the Global Anti-Aggression Campaign (GAAC) each play separate, but relevant roles in support of Qatari foreign policy objectives regarding both the weakening of counterterrorism efforts, as well as supporting networks of aligned Islamist/Salafist ideologues.

In each case these organizations are affiliated with individuals sanctioned as Specially Designated Global Terrorists, and utilize relationships with Muslim Brotherhood organizations to achieve their goals. These relationships occur either at the leadership level, in the case of the ACRPS and GAAC, or through the organizations with whom they partner to spread their message, as is the case with Alkarama, or through the organizations and individuals who fundraise on their behalf and who assist them in moving humanitarian aid, as seen in the case of Qatar Charity and Eid Charity.

The allegations against Qatar and the non-governmental organizations examined in this report, require a response to terrorism which is radically different from the countering violent extremism (CVE) model that has dominated U.S. and global counterterrorism efforts for the past decade. The CVE model views terrorists as essentially lone individuals radicalized by a variety of psychological and environmental factors that are different for each and every member or sympathizer.

This is not the approach adopted by the Arab states in their dispute with Qatar.

Instead, the allegations made by the Arab state coalition harken back to an earlier view of the terrorism threat, as it was understood following 9/11. It was this view which led the United States to endorse a structure of overlapping U.S. and U.N. terrorism designations, including against non-governmental organizations and individuals engaged in material support. This effort was intended to choke off state support for terrorism, and prevent the flow of funds from these sponsors, through non-profit entities and quasi-governmental organizations, to those who engaged in jihadist terror.

This more traditional view holds that terrorism is a political activity carried out to achieve political realities for an ideological purpose. It is a view which understands terrorist groups enjoy a network of infrastructure and support, including state support, upon which they rely, and which can be effectively disrupted.

Central to that network infrastructure is the Muslim Brotherhood, whose members and groups form a key element of the connective tissue between the Qatari government and the designated charities and non-profits described in this report.

Arguably it is the disconnect between the traditional view of counterterrorism adopted by Qatar’s adversaries and the counterterrorism policy as it was espoused under the both the Obama and George W. Bush administrations which deemphasized these matters, which has led to the present crisis.

The information contained in this report confirms the view offered by Ambassador John Bolton, who rightly noted that, resolving Qatar’s situation with its regional neighbors requires the United States to

reestablish its leadership in counterterrorism by designating the Muslim Brotherhood and its affiliate organizations for their role in terrorism, terror finance, and material support.<sup>554</sup>

Only by reestablishing a tough standard on terror finance that is equally applicable to all states, including Qatar, can the United States make clear what its expectations are of its regional allies regarding terror finance. As a state sponsor of international terrorism, the Qatar regime has chosen to make itself a pariah. The present disunity in the region can be turned to support Trump's stated policy objective that terrorists and their supporters be, "driven out."

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