

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD PROJECT

REVEALING THEIR 12-POINT AGENDA FOR GLOBAL ISLAMIC DOMINION



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شحو استراتیجیة عالمیة للیاسة الاملائیة
(منطلقات و عناصر و زمئلزمات اجرائیة و مهمات)

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD PROJECT

REVEALING THEIR 12-POINT AGENDA FOR GLOBAL ISLAMIC DOMINION

The Muslim Brotherhood is the most influential Islamic organization in the world. Its ultimate goal is to establish a global Islamic dominion and to ensure that every single human being submits to Mohammed and Allah. This is evident from the Brotherhood's strategic document called "The Project", which is presented and analyzed in this book.

The purpose of this book is to enable everyone to understand the Brotherhood's objectives, strategy, and tactics. It also shows their direct origins in the primary Islamic doctrine – the Koran, the Sira (Mohammed's biography), and the Hadith (Mohammed's traditions). This knowledge is essential to national security. It can help non-Islamic societies prevent the harmful influence of both the Muslim Brotherhood as well as Islamic political doctrine in general.

The Brotherhood's motto clearly reflects its world view:

"Allah is our objective. The Prophet is our leader. Koran is our law. Jihad is our way. Dying in the way of Allah is our highest hope."

The CSPII (Center for the Study of Political Islam International) is an independent non-profit research and educational organization. Our concern is with the ideological doctrine of Islam that relates to Kafirs (non-Muslims), and, therefore, is political. We define this part of the doctrine as "Political Islam".

We analyze Islamic primary doctrine, and its continuous, harmful political impact on individuals and governments. We use scientific methods, rational thought and fact-based reasoning to show how the influence of Political Islam exponentially spreads within non-Islamic countries, creating the economic, legal and sociocultural foundation to turn them into Islamic ones.

CSPII – RESEARCH

The Muslim Brotherhood Project – Revealing their 12-Point Agenda for Global Islamic Dominion

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DISCLAIMER

The authenticity of the document discussed in this book has never been formally verified by any official authority. It is attributed to Yusuf al-Qaradawi, a leading ideologue of the Muslim Brotherhood, and is said to have been registered as a confidential memorandum during conferences held in Lugano, Switzerland, in 1977 and 1982.

A copy of the document was reportedly discovered by the Swiss Federal Police in 2001. While the Swiss authorities have neither confirmed nor denied its authenticity, the document was first published by an independent expert in 2005. We have contacted the Swiss Federal Police; they have not acknowledged the document's authenticity, but notably, they have not denied its existence either.

Over the past two decades, this document has been referenced by intelligence analysts and researchers specializing in Islamic movements. If it were a known fabrication, it is unlikely it would have continued to circulate in academic and security-related discussions.



On the front is the circular emblem of the Muslim Brotherhood organization. At the top of the outer circle, the Brothers' motto can be read in Arabic in a semicircle: *Allah is our objective, the Prophet is our leader, Koran is our law, jihad is our way, dying in the way of Allah is our highest hope*. The name of the organization appears at the bottom of the outer circle: *Muslim Brotherhood*.

In the inner circle, there are two crossed swords forming a chalice. The chalice is inscribed with the Gracious Koran, which is emphasized by the text written above it: *For the Gracious Quran, indeed*. The end of the sentence is written between the handles: *make ready*. This command refers to the creed of the Muslim Brotherhood, which is its calling phrase. The creed is a verse from the Koran (8:60):

“Make ready for them all thou canst of (armed) force and of horses tethered, that thereby ye may dismay the enemy of Allah and your enemy, and others beside them whom ye know not. Allah knoweth them. Whatsoever ye spend in the way of Allah it will be repaid to you in full, and ye will not be wronged.”

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD PROJECT

The Muslim Brotherhood (MB) (Arabic: الإخوان المسلمون - el-Ikhwan el-Muslimun) is an Egypt-based organization that is active across the world. Its ultimate goal is to ensure the whole world submits to Mohammed and Allah. This is evident from the Brotherhood's document, which is presented below.

Mere publishing of the document is complemented by editorial comments added to each passage, a description of the historical context, the political embeddedness, the relevant Islamic terminology and attitudes. The purpose of this book is to enable everyone to understand the Brotherhood's objectives, strategy, and tactics. It also shows their direct origins in the primary Islamic doctrine – the Koran, the Sira (Mohammed's biography), and the Hadith (Mohammed's traditions). This knowledge is essential to national security. It can help non-Islamic societies prevent the harmful influence of both the Muslim Brotherhood as well as Islamic political doctrine in general.

A significant part of the study was completed in 2022, and the final sentences of the manuscript were put on paper by March 2023. As the document remains relevant, the conclusions drawn at the time of writing can also be extended to later periods.

Motto of the Brotherhood:

Allah is our objective. The Prophet is our leader. Koran is our law.

Jihad is our way. Dying in the way of Allah is our highest hope.^{1,2}

1 Motto in English: <https://irp.fas.org/world/para/mb.htm>, accessed: 02.02.2026.

2 The motto is on the Arabic page of the official Brotherhood website, with an explanation of each declaration: ikhwanonline.com/article/237998, ريانى-25-للالظو-ان توع-د-راعش accessed: 02.02.2026.

INTRODUCTION

The primary Islamic doctrine (Koran, Sira and Hadith) devotes 51% of its text to non-Muslims and how to treat them. This part of Islamic doctrine (Political Islam) commands that every single individual, Muslim or not, must submit to Mohammed and Allah on all levels of their life until the whole world becomes fully Islamic. The subjugation of non-Muslims can be achieved in a variety of ways, including through persuasion and violence. There are many references to this in Islamic doctrine.

For example, the Koran (58:5) verse threatens those who “resist” Islam:

“Those who oppose Allah and His messenger will be abased even those before them were abased; and We have sent down clear tokens, and for disbelievers is a shameful doom.”

Koran (9:123) explicitly calls for war:

„O ye who believe! Fight those of the disbelievers who are near to you, and let them find harshness in you, and know that Allah is with those who keep their duty (unto Him).”

The Muslim Brotherhood, by its own admission, *understands Islam perfectly*. This means that the brothers are guided by the Koran, the Sira (the life of Mohammed) and the Hadith (Mohammed’s traditions), i.e. Islamic doctrine. They relate to Kafirs (non-Muslims) on that base.

The *Kafir* (non-Muslim, see glossary) society concerned refers to the Brotherhood document by the title of: *The Muslim Brotherhood Project*, or simply as *The Project*. However, the original title of the work is: ‘*Towards a worldwide strategy for Islamic politics*’.

The Project was written by Yusuf al-Qaradawi, an ideologue of the Muslim Brotherhood, during two conferences held in 1977 and 1982 in Lugano, Switzerland. Here we present the English translation of the original Arabic report, along with an analysis from the Kafir (non-Islamic) perspective.

The Project is not the only guideline that provides for the subjugation of Kafirs. We know of two other documents which are similar in spirit and language to *The Project*, almost complementing it.

One such document is *An Explanatory Memorandum* (see glossary) on how to expand Political Islam in the USA and Canada. The other is the Palestinian one, which sets out the necessary measures following the *Liberation of Palestine* (see glossary).

At the end of the thesis there is a glossary with the definitions of Islamic terms found in or related to *The Project*. It is worth knowing these not only to understand the thesis, but also because they come up in discussions and debates with representatives of Political Islam.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

To understand the genesis and concept of *The Project*, it is necessary to know at least briefly the history of the Muslim Brotherhood. For this purpose, we draw on the introduction to a study by Olivier Guitta, written in 2010 for the Centre for European Studies. For more information, it is worth reading the full paper. The title of the study is: Muslim Brotherhood Parties.³

We also use extracts from the article „Musulman Brotherhood”⁴ by Balázs Mihálffy, a religious scholar and Koran translator, written in 2021 for *Civilhetes*, an independent public affairs magazine. This article looks at the Brotherhood from an Islamic perspective.

The Muslim Brotherhood organization was founded in 1928 by an Egyptian schoolteacher, Hassan al-Banna. Four years before its establishment, the Ottoman Caliphate (Osman Sultanate) had collapsed. The Arab and Persian-Mughal Caliphates had already fallen earlier, and only the Turkish Sultanate had remained as the main symbol of Islamic political power. When the Sultanate collapsed too, a void was left. The Muslim Brotherhood was created to resolve this void and restore the Caliphate and Islamic political power.

The MB is a *Sunni* (see glossary) organization that considers itself a grass-roots political movement (not party) that conducts mass mobilization. It is a movement of thin layers, a web of tiny cells whose structure is opaque and indecipherable to the outside observer.

Al-Banna promoted the message of protecting workers from the tyranny of foreign and monopoly corporations. It amassed a large following by building hospitals, schools, welfare societies, factories, and by distributing food.

By also having its own army, it ensured it was the only force able to resist the occupation of Egypt by Britain in the 1940s. That was the time when the MB learned to carry out violent acts of jihad.

³ www.martenscentre.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/muslim_brotherhood_parties_1.pdf, accessed: 02.02.2026.

⁴ www.civilhetes.net/muzulman-testveriseg-1 and www.civilhetes.net/muszlim-testveriseg-2, (Hungarian), accessed: 02.02.2026.

In November 1948, the Egyptian government arrested 32 leaders of the Brotherhood's 'secret apparatus' and banned the organization on charges of bombings and assassination attempts. In the following months, Egypt's prime minister was assassinated by a Brotherhood member and in the subsequent wave of reprisals, al-Banna himself was killed in 1949.

In 1952, the Free Officers' Movement, a revolutionary military cell, carried out a successful coup. As a result, Gamal Abdel Nasser, one of its members, seized power. At first, he was allied with the MB, but they later began to compete. In 1954, Nasser was the target of an assassination attempt. A member of the MB was accused, and Nasser's regime then dissolved the MB and put many of its leaders in prison. The majority of them were executed, including Said Qutb - the MB's most prominent figure - in 1966. Others escaped, fleeing to Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Northwest Africa, and Europe.

Due to this exile, the MB International was formed, with worldwide expansion as its goal. The MB spread its influence through all kinds of networks including financial, educational and social. Though all branches share the same goals, they adapt their tactics to the given country, meaning some contradictions between branches may arise. Crucially, some branches prefer to strategically avoid aligning themselves with the MB label, and thus the organizations and their members may not acknowledge that they are indeed members of the MB.

This has helped the organization grow enormously. In 2008, it had officially established almost 70 organizations around the world. It is the most influential Islamic movement today.⁵

After Nasser's death, in the 1970s, under the new president, Anwar es-Sadat, the Egyptian Brotherhood was recalled to Egypt, and a new phase of involvement in Egyptian politics began. The imprisoned brothers were released, and the organization was already tolerated to a certain extent, with periodic arrests and lessons learned, until the 2011 revolution.

Along with Nasser, Sadat was also a member of the Free Officers' Movement, which carried out a coup d'état in 1952. At the beginning of his rule, Sadat was relatively popular in Egypt. In particular, he became a

⁵ Dominique Hennequin and Emmanuel Razavi, 'Les VRP de la Charia', Arte TV (French), 9. February 2008.

hero in the eyes of his people for initiating and waging the October War in 1973, despite losing the war.

Sadat gradually dismantled ties with the Soviet Union built up by Nasser and instead built a closer relationship with the US. In 1977, he visited Israel, addressed the Knesset (Parliament of Israel) and recognized Israel. In 1978, under the patronage of US president Carter, he concluded a preliminary peace treaty with Israeli president Begin at the US presidential residence at Camp David, and in 1979 concluded peace with Israel. In return, Israel returned the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt.

Sadat was then elevated to the ranks of the celebrated statesmen of the Western world. Sadat and Begin were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. However, the Arab world ostracized Sadat for the 'compromising' peace deal, Egypt's membership of the Arab League was suspended, the League's headquarters were moved from Cairo to Tunis, and Egypt's diplomatic and economic relations with many Arab countries deteriorated.

Sadat had particularly angered the MB with his peace deal. In 1981, the MB's military executive carried out an assassination on a military parade among the excellences waving from the tribune, killing Sadat and injuring the then vice-president, later president, Hosni Mubarak. The assassination was, of course, followed by reprisals and executions.

After the Egyptian revolution of 2011 and the fall of Hosni Mubarak, the legal situation of the Brotherhood was settled. Initially, it was very successful: it dominated the 2011 parliamentary election and won the 2012 presidential election, with brother Mohamed Morsi becoming president. However, a year later, President Morsi was overthrown. Again actions were taken against the Brotherhood, Morsi was imprisoned. On 17 June 2019, during a trial on charges of spying for Hamas in Palestine, Morsi fell ill and died shortly afterwards.

In August 2013, the riot police dispersed the marchers supporting Morsi. Violence spread rapidly due to the actions of armed protesters attacking the police. Police clashes led to the deaths of more than 600 people and injuries to around 4,000. Brotherhood supporters retaliated by looting, burning police stations and dozens of churches. After a car bomb exploded at a police building in the city of Mansoura, killing at least 14 people, Prime

Minister Hazem al-Beblawi declared the Muslim Brotherhood a terrorist organization on 21 December 2013.

This is how MB defines itself:

„The Muslim Brotherhood is a radical reformist community that fully understands Islam. Its ideology encompasses all aspects of reform in the Umma such as salafi dawa, sunni methodology, sufi reality, political body, sports' association, scientific-cultural relation, economic society, social ideology.”⁶

(Umma, salafi, dawa, sunni, sufi explained in the glossary.)

Today (January 2026), the Muslim Brotherhood's primary sponsors are Qatar and Turkey. The MB has been declared a terrorist organization by Bahrain, Egypt, Russia, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Ecuador, Paraguay, and the United Arab Emirates. Certain US states (Florida and Texas) have also designated the MB as a terrorist organization, while at a federal level the US government has started the process for applying the designation to certain chapters. It has also been banned by Jordan.

⁶ The definition is found on the Arabic homepage of the MB: www.ikhwanonline.com/, on the bottom of every page. Accessed : 02.02.2026.

THE CONCEPT

Nasser's death in 1970 led to a split in the Qutb school. The movement was divided into a violent camp and a more compromising camp.

The crisis was deepened by Sadat's vacillating politics. The reconciliation process with Israel since 1977 had provoked bitter anger. The process has been described as a 'Zionist threat' by the Muslim Brotherhood. The Brotherhood was not satisfied with Sadat's assassination in 1981. From 1977 onwards, an Islamization plan for the whole world was drawn up which was finally approved in 1982.

From the 1980s onwards, the MB was torn on whether they should be involved in national elections. Different elements within the MB did not see eye to eye on this, and it caused major tension.

On 30 April 2011, the Egyptian Brotherhood formed the Freedom and Justice Party, which won 235 of the 498 seats in the 2011 Egyptian parliamentary elections, far more than any other party. The party has refused to nominate women and Copts as Egypt's president, but has not restricted cabinet positions.

This is how al-Banna defined the MB's goal:

*'It is the nature of Islam to dominate, not to be dominated, to impose its law on all nations, and to extend its power to the entire planet.'*⁷

Among the MB's goals are the introduction of *Sharia* (the handbook of Islamic civilization, see glossary), the liberation of Islamic lands from foreign rule and the spread of Islam worldwide through *dawa* (conversion).

Although MB claims to condemn violence, al-Banna writes:

*'The Umma should be able to raise the flag of Jihad and the call towards Allah until the entire world benefits from the teachings of Islam.'*⁸

This use of jihad as the tactic for expanding the influence of Political Islam, given expression by al-Banna and Qutb, can also explain the influence of

⁷ Lawrence Wright, *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*; New York: Vintage Books, 2007, p.29.

⁸ Saeed Hawwa, *The Muslim Brotherhood*, Kuwait International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations, 1985, p.43.

the MB on current jihadi groups. Such groups are the ISIS (Iraq, Syria), al-Qaeda (international), Hamas (Palestine), Taliban (Afghanistan), Boko Haram (Nigeria), al-Shabaab (Somalia, Kenya), ADF (Uganda, Congo Kinshasa), Jaish-e-Mohammed (Pakistan, India-Kashmir), Dawlah Islamiyah (Philippines).

In 2012, the Egyptian MB scholar Safwat Hegazi gave a speech in Morsi's campaign in which he expressed his hope and belief that Morsi would liberate Ghaza, restoring the caliphate of the „United State of the Arabs” with Jerusalem as its capital. Hegazi continued, „Our cry: *Millions of martyrs are marching toward Jerusalem.*”⁹

After being forced to leave Nasser's Egypt in the 1950s, Saudi Arabia picked Said Ramadad, al-Banna's son-in-law and a top MB figure, to be the leader of the World Muslim League (MWL), an instrument for expanding Political Islam worldwide.

Ramadan settled in Switzerland in 1961 and began to implement the agenda of spreading Political Islam in Europe. The MB has been highly active on the continent ever since, with branches in present in all major countries. It has had great success in establishing an Islamic identity and concept of Umma (Islamic community, see glossary), with a particularly notable impact on young Muslims in suburbs.

Tariq Ramadan (son of Said Ramadan and grandson of the founder al-Banna,) is also a powerful MB ideologue, philosopher and writer, and a professor at several famous universities, including the University of Oxford. He is considered a religious innovator¹⁰ and a powerful and influential thinker¹¹ by major organs.

Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi was another powerful figure. As the spiritual figurehead of the MB and chairman of the European Council for Fatwa and Research, he positioned himself as the leader of Europe's Muslims, often issuing fatwas (Islamic legal edict, see glossary). The revered leader, who died aged 96 in 2022, has been awarded numerous international

9 www.civilhetes.net/muszlim-testverisege-2, 2011-es forradalom és utána (2011 revolution and after) (Hungarian), accessed: 02.02.2026.

10 content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1970858_1970909_1971700,00.html, Scientists & Thinkers, accessed: 02.02.2026.

11 Tariq Ramadan ranks 87th on the list of 100 global thinkers of the renowned online magazine Foreign Policy. Compiled by Alicia P.Q. Wittmeyer. foreignpolicy.com/2012/11/26/the-fp-top-100-global-thinkers-2/, accessed: 02.02.2026.

prizes for his work in Islamic studies. However, he has been declared persona non grata by Egypt for his views and been denied visas by the UK, France and the US.

For al-Qaradawi, Islamic political influence in the West is key, and its eventual supremacy is an inevitable reality. In 1995, he said:

*'We will conquer Europe, we will conquer America not by the sword but by our Dawa.'*¹²

The former MB General Guide, Akif made a similar statement:

*'I have complete faith that Islam will invade Europe and America because Islam has logic and a mission.'*¹³

Both al-Qaradawi and Akif echo the MB's plan for the Islamic domination of the West. Crystal clear evidence of this plan appeared in November 2001, when Swiss authorities raided the home of Yousuf Nada - a top MB figure - and discovered a crucial document which is now referred to as '*The Project*'.

The Project was originally a secret and confidential document known only by the initiated Muslim Brothers. In the MB's sprawling organization, the loyalty of potential members and their compliance is carefully monitored with orders through slow, meticulous progress. A brother may reach the level where he can learn *The Project* only by achieving appropriate time and activity.

12 Yusuf al-Qaradawi, MAYA Conference, Toledo, Ohio, 1995.

13 Olivier Guitta: *Muslim Brotherhood Parties – The MB's View of the West*, p.5. www.martenscentre.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/muslim_brotherhood_parties_1.pdf; accessed: 02.02.2026.

THE PROJECT

The document is dated 1 December 1982, and it details a roadmap for Islamizing the West via multiple tactics including propaganda, dawa (invitation to Islam, see glossary), and violent jihad where necessary.¹⁴

The precursor to the birth of *The Project* is obviously the Camp David peace treaty. Egypt recognized Israel and entered into diplomatic relations with it. In return, it got back the Sinai Peninsula.

The reconciliation between a leading Islamic state and the Jewish state provoked great anger in the Islamic community. The effect of Islamic doctrine manifested itself in the massacre at the tribune, and is evident in the mood and expression of *The Project*.

From a Political Islamic perspective, the document instructs the Brotherhood members to show „flexibility” in their activities outside the Islamic world. It encourages them to accept Western values provisionally without deviating from the ‘principles of Islamic politics’ internally.

According to a European intelligence official in his statement in 2010:

‘The Project is going to be a real danger in ten years: one will witness the emergence of a parallel system, the creation of “Muslim Parliaments”. Then the slow destruction of our institutions will begin.’¹⁵

Few knew of The Project until 2005, when Sylvain Besson, an investigative journalist, printed in his book *La conquête de l’occident: Le projet secret des islamistes* (The Conquest of the West: The Secret Project of the Islamists). Until then, only some experts in counter-terrorism were able to access it, including Juan Zarate, a former the Deputy National Security Advisor for Combating Terrorism in the USA.

Zarate's assessment of the The Project is that it is the MB's complete plan for spreading Political Islam. Zarate said, *‘The Muslim Brotherhood is a group which worries us not because it deals with philosophical*

¹⁴ Sylvain Besson: *La conquête de L’occident: Le projet secret des islamistes – 1 Opération Lago* (The Conquest of the West: The Secret Plan of Islamists – 1 Operation Lago) (French) (2005) p.17.

¹⁵ Ibid. p.38, *2 Agents secrets, L’origine du Projet, et sa perpetuation* (2 Secret Agents, The origin of the Project, and its perpetuation)

*or ideological ideas but because it defends the use of violence against civilians.*¹⁶

As we will see, the project orders continuous application of *dawa* as well as support of all jihadi movements on Earth. *The Project* also emphasizes the importance of keeping the Islamic community in a jihad state of mind. One tool it uses to stoke this mindset is to make Islamic communities in the West aware of supposed *Islamophobia* (see glossary) against them. The MB aims to further cement its position by becoming the voice and authority with which Western governments must consult with regards to Islam and even domestic and foreign politics.

The Project is a global guide for MB, comparable to a constitution in Western terms. It is the task of local MB organizations to derive, develop and adapt *The Project* to local conditions. A Brotherhood document similar to *The Project*, with the title of *An Explanatory Memorandum* (see glossary), created especially for the US, surfaced during the Holy Land Foundation trial (Texas, 2007). It was written in 1991 by Mohamed Akram (a Muslim Brother), and it states:

*'The Brotherhood must understand that all their work in America is a kind of grand Jihad in eliminating and destroying Western civilization from within and sabotaging their miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers so that is eliminated and Allah's religion is made victorious over all religions.'*¹⁷

None of the accused denied the authenticity of the memo.

¹⁶ Sylvain Besson: *La conquête de L'occident: Le projet secret des islamistes – 2 Agents secrets, L'origine du Projet, et sa perpétuation* (The Conquest of the West: The Islamists' Secret Project - 2 Secret Agents, The origin of the Project, and its perpetuation) (French) (2005) p.39.

¹⁷ Mohamed Akram, 'An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America,' 22 May 1991, item 4, www.investigativeproject.org/documents/20/an-explanatory-memorandum-on-the-general.pdf, (English part, page 7), (part 1: Arabic original, part 2: English translation) accessed: 02.02.2026.

ABOUT THE TRANSLATION

Although the secret services were aware of *The Project* as early as 2001, it was not made public until 2005, when Besson published a French translation of it in his book. *The Project* was soon translated into English and other languages, partly by further translating the French translation. The widely available English translation¹⁸ is a good translation, but inaccurate in places.

The English translation in this document was prepared by consulting both the original Arabic document and prior published translations.

¹⁸ www.investigativeproject.org/documents/687-the-muslim-brotherhood-project.pdf, accessed: 02.02.2026.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

تقرير س / ٥ / ١٠٠

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نحو استراتيجية عالمية للسياة الاسلامية
(منطلقات ، وعناصر ، ومستلزمات اجرائية ومهميات)

يقدم هذا التقرير تصورا شاملا لاستراتيجية عالمية للسياة الاسلامية ويتم في ضوئها وينسجم معها رسم السياسات الاسلامية المحلية في الاقطار المختلفة ، وقد روعي ان تثبت منطلقات هذه السياة ، ثم تذكر اهم عناصر كل منطلق ، واهم المستلزمات الاجرائية لكل منطلق ، وبعض المهمات المقترحة على سبيل المثال وليس الحصر ، والله ولي التوفيق .
وفي ما يلي اهم منطلقات هذه السياة :

المنطلق الاول : معرفة ارض الواقع واعتماد المنهجية العلمية في التخطيط والتنفيذ
المنطلق الثاني : الجديد في العمل .

المنطلق الثالث : الجمع بين الالتزام العالمي والعرونة المحلية .
المنطلق الرابع : الجمع بين الاشتغال بالسياة وعدم الانعزال من جهة

والتربية المستمرة للاجيال والعمل المؤسسي من جهة اخرى .
المنطلق الخامس : السعي لاقامة الدولة الاسلامية والعمل الموازي التدريجي في السيطرة على مراكز القوى المحلية من جهة اخرى واستخدام العمل المؤسسي وسيلة لذلك .

المنطلق السادس : العمل باخلاص مع الجماعات والهيئات الاسلامية في محاور مختلفة وبالاتفاق على قدر مشترك من النقاط " نتعاون فيما اتفقنا عليه ويعذر بعضنا بعضا فيما اختلفنا فيه " .

المنطلق السابع : قبول فكرة نوع من التعاون المرطي بين الحركات الاسلامية وغيرها من الحركات الوطنية وفي قضايا عامة وفي بعض النقاط غير الخلافية كمحاربة الاستعمار والتبشير والدولة لليهودية بصورة لا ترقى الى مستوى التحالفات بل تتم على مستويات عناصر محدودة في القيادة او الاتصال ويبقى في نطاق دراسة كل حالة على حده والى المدى الذي يوافق الشرع دون موالاتهم او الاطمئنان اليهم مع ملاحظة ان تكون الحركة الاسلامية صاحبة المبادرة والتوجيه .

المنطلق الثامن : اتقان فن التمكّن من الناحية المرطية دون التفريط بالمبادئ الاساسية مع العلم ان احكام الله جميعا ممكنة التطبيق والدعوة الى

ممارسة الامر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر مع ابداء الرأي الموثق بالبيانات والكتب دون اضطرار الدعوة الى المجابهة غير المتكافئة مع خصومها المحليين او اعدائها العالميين

TOWARDS A WORLDWIDE STRATEGY FOR ISLAMIC POLITICS

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent and Merciful

S/5/100 report

1 December 1982.

Towards a worldwide strategy for Islamic politics (Motions, Elements, Procedures and Missions)

This report presents a global vision of a worldwide strategy for Islamic politics. Local Islamic politics will be drawn up in the different regions in accordance with its guidelines. It acts, first of all, to define the motions of that politics, then to set up the most important elements and executive procedures linked to each motion; finally we suggest several missions, by way of example rather than as constraints. May Allah protect us.

The following are the principal motions of this politics:

- 1: To know the terrain and adopt a scientific methodology for its planning and execution.**
- 2: To demonstrate proof of the serious nature of the work.**
- 3: To reconcile international engagement with flexibility at a local level.**
- 4: To reconcile political engagement and the necessity of avoiding isolation on one hand, with permanent education and institutional action on the other.**
- 5: To dedicate ourselves to the establishment of an Islamic state, in parallel with gradual efforts aimed at gaining control of local power centers through institutional action.**

- التي قد تقود الى ضربات قاصمة للدعوة والدعاة .
- المنطلق التاسع : البناء المستمر للقوة اللازمة للدعوة الاسلامية ودعم الحركات الجهادية في العالم الاسلامي بنسب متفاوتة قدر المستطاع .
- المنطلق العاشر : الاعتماد على اجهزة رصد متنوعة وفي امكنة مختلفة للتفذية بالمعلومات واعتماد سياسة اعلامية واعية وفعالة لخدمة السياسة الاسلامية العالمية ، فالرصد وعمل القرارات السياسية ، والاعلام الفعال عمل متكامل الاجزاء من حيث التكوين والاداء .
- المنطلق الحادي عشر : تبني القضية الفلسطينية ، على المستوى الاسلامي العالمي على الصعيدين السياسي والجهادي لانها مفتاح نهضة العالم الاسلامي من جديد في العصر الحاضر .
- المنطلق الثاني عشر : التقدير الذاتي والتقييم المستمر للسياسة الاسلامية العالمية من حيث الاهداف والمضمون والاجراءات بقصد التطوير والتحسين واجب اسلامي وامر ضروري وهذا مما توجه احكام الشريعة الاسلامية - القراء .
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- 6: To loyally work alongside Islamic groups and institutions in various areas and in agreement on a common ground in order to „cooperate on points of agreement and put aside points of disagreement”.**
- 7: To accept the principle of temporary cooperation between Islamic movements and nationalist movements in the broad sphere and on common ground such as the struggle against colonialism, preaching and the Jewish state, without however having to form alliances. This will require, on the other hand, limited contacts between certain leaders, on a case by case basis, as long as these contacts match the [Sharia] law. Nevertheless, one must not give them allegiance or take them into confidence, bearing in mind that the Islamic movement must be the origin of the initiatives and orientations taken.**
- 8: To master the art of the possible on a temporary basis without abusing the basic principles, bearing in mind that Allah’s judgement applies in its entirety. Applying the established method for dawa, rejecting the unknown method, always providing documented statements and books. But regarding the dawa, we should not look for confrontation with our adversaries at the local scale or with our enemies at the global scale, which could deal a severe blow to the proselytism and to the proselytizers.**
- 9: To construct a permanent force of the Islamic dawa and support movements engaged in jihad across the Islamic world, to varying degrees and insofar as possible.**
- 10: To rely on various surveillance systems in several places to gather information. Adopt a scientific, intelligent and effective politics serving the worldwide Islamic politics. Hence, monitoring and implementing political decisions and effectively communicating the work we do with all available tools, from which we build and operate.**
- 11: To adopt the Palestinian cause as part of a worldwide Islamic plan, with the political plan and by means of jihad, since it acts**

as the keystone of the new renaissance of the Islamic world today.

12: To know how to turn to self-criticism and permanent evaluation of worldwide Islamic politics and its objectives, of its content and its procedures, in order to improve it. This is an Islamic duty and a necessity according to the precepts of Sharia.

المنطلق الاول :

* معرفة ارض الواقع واعتماد المنهجية العلمية في التخطيط والتنفيذ .
أ- العناصر

- ١ - معرفة العوامل المؤثرة الفاعلة في العالم من حيث القوى الاسلامية
القوى المعادية ، القوى المحايدة .
 - ٢ - استخدام الاساليب العلمية والتكنولوجية في التخطيط والتنظيم والتنفيذ
ومواكبتها .
- ب- مستلزمات اجرائية :

- ١ - انشاء مراكز رقد للمعلومات وتجميعها وتخزينها والاستفادة منها حين
الحاجة مستعينين بالوسائل التكنولوجية الحديثة .
 - ٢ - انشاء مراكز للدراسات والبحوث وانتاج بحوث علمية في القضايا السياسية
في اطار اسلامي .
- ج- صهفات مقترحة :

- ١ - عمل خريطة عقائدية زمنية للعالم ، بقصد اعطاء نظرة كلية شاملة : تشمل
العالم منذ مائة عام الى اليوم ، وتحليل الوضع الحالي في ضوء ذلك مع التفسير
الذي حدث والتوقعات المرتبقة .
- ٢ - عمل خريطة مذهبية للعالم الاسلامي .
- ٣ - عمل خريطة للحركات الاسلامية في العالم الاسلامي .
- ٤ - القيام بدراسات سياسية متتالية باسلوب علمي للقضايا المختلفة في اطار
اسلامي وبخاصة الاحداث الجارية .
- ٥ - دراسة علمية تقييمية لتاريخ الحركات الاسلامية المعاصرة والاستفادة منها .

MOTION 1:

To know the terrain and adopt a scientific methodology for its planning and execution.

A – Elements:

1. Know the actual influential factors in the world, whether they act as Islamic forces, adverse forces, or neutral forces.
2. Use the necessary scientific and technical means for planning, organization, execution and follow-up.

B – Executive procedures:

1. Create observation centers in order to gather and store information for all useful purposes, if need be relying on modern technological methods.
2. Create centers of study and research and produce scientific studies on the political dimension of the Islamic movement.

C – Suggested missions:

1. Draw up a chronological map of doctrines in the world to have a global, comprehensive vision from 100 years ago to our era, and analyze the current situation in light of that configuration, taking account of changes both happening and predicted.
2. Draw up a map of doctrines of the Islamic world.
3. Draw up a map of Islamic movements in the Islamic world.
4. Carry out successive political studies by scientific methods in varying Islamic areas, those which apply more particularly to current events.
5. Carry out a scientific analyzing study which addresses the history of contemporary Islamic movements, and use it.

Comments to Motion 1

The initial motion defines the opposing camps of the peoples of the Earth from the perspective of Political Islam: Islamic forces against „adverse

forces”. In accordance with Islamic doctrine, adverse forces refers to *Kafirs* (non-Muslims, see glossary).

A1: The object of the ‘actual influential factors’ derives from the doctrine of Political Islam:

- Who is the *friend*, i.e. who belongs to the „Umma” (Islamic community, see glossary).
- Who is the *Kafir*, with whom no real alliance or friendship should be made.
- Who is a *hypocrite* (see glossary: munafiq).

<A1: Know the actual influential factors in the world, whether they act as Islamic forces, adverse forces, or neutral forces.>

The attitude towards Kafirs is made clear in Islamic doctrine. Koran (5:51):

“O ye who believe ! Take not the Jews and Christians for friends. They are friends one to another. He among you who taketh them for friends is (one) of them. Lo! Allah guideth not wrongdoing folk.”

Point A2 urges the use of scientific and technical means in planning, organization, execution and follow-up. Although interception systems already existed in 1982, the organized interception and surveillance of humanity is only made possible by the explosive development of the information technology which was realized later.

<A2: Use the necessary scientific and technical means for planning, organization, execution and follow-up.>

Point B1 goes beyond A2.

<B1: Create observation centers in order to gather and store information for all useful purposes, if need be relying on modern technological methods.>

Point B1 defines the classical method of espionage. This point removes all doubt as to the nature of the Muslim Brotherhood.

Point B2 instructs to set up political centers, which task is described in points C.

<B2: Create centers of study and research and produce scientific studies on the political dimension of the Islamic movement.>

Of particular interest are points C1, C2, C3, which urge the creation of a doctrinal chronological map of the world. The „world” here does not mean the Islamic world, but to avoid any misunderstanding, this is made clear immediately: it is the whole world, as point C1 demands *global, comprehensive vision*. Political Islam is deeply interested in the Kafir world, with its relationship to it being a crucial issue. The focus on how Kafirs should be treated cannot be considered a religious matter – it is political.

<C1: Draw up a chronological map of doctrines in the world to have a global, comprehensive vision from 100 years ago to our era, and analyze the current situation in light of that configuration, taking account of changes both happening and predicted.>

<C2: Draw up a map of doctrines of the Islamic world.>

<C3: Draw up a map of Islamic movements in the Islamic world.>

Some people may be put off by the use of the term „Islamic world” in C2 and C3, thinking that this might only apply to Islamic countries. On further study of the report, it becomes clear that it refers to Islamic doctrines and movements in all countries on Earth.

It would be interesting to see these maps. Not only would they reveal more vividly than any writing how the brothers judge the events of the past, but also what they plan for the future.

C4, C5: *Pursuing studies for Islam*. The MB leadership elaborates on this idea extensively through the report.

<C4: Carry out successive political studies by scientific methods in varying Islamic areas, those which apply more particularly to current events.>

<C5: Carry out a scientific analyzing study which addresses the history of contemporary Islamic movements, and use it.>

المنطلق الثاني :

الجدية في العمل

أ- العناصر :

- ١ - وضوح اهداف الدعوة الرئيسية للجميع واهداف مرحلية تستثمر الطاقات وتنظمها وتساعد على تجميعها وتوجيهها وترتيبها .
 - ٢ - بذل الجهد الكافي للعاملين وتجميع هذه الجهود في طريق واحد .
 - ٣ - بذل الوقت الكافي .
 - ٤ - بذل المال الممكن .
- ب- مستلزمات اجرائية :

- ١- تشغيل جميع طاقات العاملين لخدمة الدعوة كل حسب امكاناته (مقياس الفعالية ان يشتغل الجميع كل في مجال سخر له) .
 - ٢ - تفريغ العدد الكافي من الدعاة والقياديين .
 - ٣ - فعالية جمع المال ، ووضبط صرفه واستثماره للمصالح العام .
- ج - مهمات مقترحة :

- ١ - عمل مسح بشري متخصص للعاملين (الرجل المناسب في المكان المناسب)
- ٢ - عمل جداول زمنية باوقات العاملين والمتخصصين وحين استخدام هذه الجهود في الاوقات المناسبة (الجهد المناسب في الوقت المناسب) .
- ٣ - عمل المؤسسات الاقتصادية اللازمة لدعم الدعوة ماليا .

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MOTION 2:

To demonstrate proof of the serious nature of the work.

A – Elements:

1. Clarity of the principal objectives of the dawa in the eyes of all, as well as clarity of the temporary objectives, necessitates exploitation, help in gathering, channeling and orientation of the energies.
2. Devote sufficient effort to the service of the workers and coordinate their efforts to the sole and same objective.
3. Devote sufficient time.
4. Spend money to the extent possible.

B – Executive procedures:

1. Exploit all the energies of the workers to the service of the dawa, each at his level (the criterion of efficiency, given that each must be devoted to the task to which he's assigned).
2. Mobilize the greatest possible number of preachers and officials.
3. Collect money efficiently, control expenses and invest in the general interest.

C – Suggested missions:

1. Carry out a survey of workers (appropriate man to appropriate location).
2. Establish schedules with the time of workers and specialists and use their efforts with good judgment and on time (appropriate effort at the right time).
3. An engagement with economic institutions adequate to support the cause of dawa financially.

Comments to Motion 2

This motion describes one of the main duties Islamic doctrine gives to Muslims: that of „dawa” (inviting people to embrace Islam).

Financial and economic activities play significant role in the functioning of the Muslim Brotherhood. Points A2, A3 and A4 suggest that no money, time or effort should be spared for the sake of conversion.

<A2: Devote sufficient effort to the service of the workers and coordinate their efforts to the sole and same objective.>

<A3: Devote sufficient time.>

<A4: Spend money to the extent possible.>

The Koran (61:9) puts it this way:

“He it is who hath sent His messenger with the guidance and the religion of truth, that He may make it conqueror of all religion however much idolaters may be averse.”

The passage mentions the word „effort” several times. The original Arabic text uses the word „juhud” here, which is from the same root as jihad.

In Islamic doctrine, converting is the duty of every Muslim. Point B2 emphasizes this further by referring to institutional conversion.

<B2: Mobilize the greatest possible number of preachers and officials.>

The MB has set out the measures needed to achieve its objectives in a number of documents. *Towards a worldwide strategy for Islamic politics (The Project)*, discussed here, is a document for the implementation of Islamic politics. The economic activities in support of that politics, on the other hand, are set out in another document, drawn up in 1983, entitled *Financial Strategy of the Muslim Brotherhood* (see glossary).

This strategy is required under point B3.

<B3: Collect money efficiently, control expenses and invest in the general interest.>

Point C3 already explicitly instructs for economic activity and the creation of economic organizations that supports dawa (conversion).

<C3: An engagement with economic institutions adequate to support the cause of dawa financially.>

The provisions of points B3 and C3 are made clear at the very beginning of the *Financial Strategy of the Muslim Brotherhood* document:¹⁹

There is no doubt that the economic aspect is important for any dawa, since it must possess the economic foundations providing the financial resources that protect it from jolts on the political front and make it less dependent on individual charitable payments. This base also provides a human resources training ground for the (Islamic) community in various economic and technical fields. In addition to this, it will be easy to use the economic base as a screen that cannot be easily infiltrated by political activities.

The document then lists the institutions that provide the economic foundations:²⁰

1. *The International Islamic Bank in Luxembourg. This is the major unit, directing and controlling the rest of the institutions.*
2. *The International Islamic Bank in Copenhagen, Denmark, which conducts all banking activities since the institution was recently able to obtain a license.*
3. *ABS for investments. An affiliated unit that manages short-term investments.*
4. *Arinco. An affiliated unit that manages long-term investments.*
5. *The Islamic Investment House (Cayman Islands) in London. This unit collects savings by issuing sterling certificates of deposit. It invests its money through other affiliated institutions.*
6. *International consultants: an advisory unit. It evaluates projects, their construction and follow-up. It has been agreed that a branch (for international consultants) should soon be opened in Cairo. The head office will be inaugurated in London.*

¹⁹ Sylvain Besson: *La conquête de L'occident: Le projet secret des islamistes – Document 2* (Conquering the West: The Islamists' secret project - Document 2) (French) (2005)

²⁰ Ibid.

7. *SEER reinsurance. A reinsurance company, headquartered in the USA. Thousands of people own its shares in partnership with the Islamic Waqf in America.*

8. *Production projects in Europe and Egypt.*

As you can see, jihad refers not only to violence, but also to all efforts to expand the political influence of Islam, including financial ones.

المنطلق الثالث:

الجمع بين الالتزام العالمي والمرونة المحلية .

أ- العناصر :

- ١ - تحديد الامور العامة التي ينبغي على الجميع الالتزام بها .
- ٢ - ترك المجال للحرية والمرونة الكافية في القضايا المحلية التي لا تتعارض مع الخطوط العامة للسياسة الاسلامية العالمية .

ب - مستلزمات اجرائية :

- ١ - يقوم التنظيم العالمي بتحديد المجالات والقضايا الاسلامية العامة التي تتطلب التزام الجميع بها وفق نظام اولويات مدروس .
- ٢ - يقوم التنظيم المحلي بتحديد القضايا المحلية التي يتركها للحرية والمرونة في التصرف بها وفق نظام اولويات مدروس .

ج - مميزات مقترحة :

- ١ - الالتزام الاسلامي العالمي تجاه تحرير فلسطين كاملة واقامة الدولة الاسلامية فيها ، ويقوم التنظيم العالمي بهذا التحديد .
- ٢ - المحاورة المحلية مع العاملين للقضية ضمن الخط السياسي العام للدعوة ، ويقوم التنظيم المحلي برسم خطوط هذا الحوار .

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MOTION 3:

To reconcile international engagement with flexibility at the local level.

A – Elements:

1. To define the guidelines that everyone must follow.
2. To leave a margin that provides sufficient freedom and flexibility at the local level for the issues that do not conflict with the general lines of the global Islamic politics.

B – Executive procedures:

1. The World Organization, at a global level, will define the Islamic domain and issues in a general way which will require the engagement of all according to previously defined priorities.
2. The local organization will define local issues that come within their prerogative, according to the principle of freedom and flexibility and according to previously defined priorities.

C – Suggested missions:

1. Worldwide Islamic engagement for a total liberation of Palestine and the creation of an Islamic state there is the mission which falls to the World Organization.
2. To establish a dialogue at a local level with those who work for the cause according to the global political lines of the *dawa*. It is up to the local organization to define the shape of that dialogue.

Comments to Motion 3

Here, an organ called „World Organization” (،et-Tanzim el-Alemee - التنظيم العالمي – other translation: International Organization) appears, which seems to be omnipotent. Although the structure of the MB organization is not really known in detail, this organ seems to be a general supra-national governing body of the Brotherhood. In an interview on the BBC Arabic program on 26 October 2009, the MB chief Yousuf Nada denied the existence of the Organization outright and described it as a rumor that

many Muslim brothers believed.²¹ However, the MB Wiki website also mentions this organization as a control board of the member countries.²²

It seems that local organizations work under the World Organization and translate global provisions into local directives. The brethren (individuals) are subordinate to these local bodies who must understand the *previously defined priorities*. Then they are free to exercise their remaining freedom.

C1: A striking measure is the demand for the establishment of an independent Islamic Palestinian state, uniformly, throughout the whole of Palestine. This is so important to the Movement that it is discussed in several passages.

<C1: Worldwide Islamic engagement for a total liberation of Palestine and the creation of an Islamic state there is the mission which falls to the World Organization.>

On the one hand, this demand runs counter to UN General Assembly Resolution 181 of 1947, in which the member states called for the partition of Palestine into two states.²³

Here the Political Islamic principle is stressed that the territory that was once Islamic will remain Islamic forever. Koran (2:191):

“And slay them wherever ye find them, and drive them out of the places whence they drove you out, for persecution is worse than slaughter...”

On the other hand, the principle of *dhimmitude* (see glossary: dhimmi) is caught out, whereby Kafirs living in Islamic territory have no say in the affairs of the state. They are beings of lower legal status whose fate is decided by the Islamic state. See the statement of the Koran (58:20) on this:

“Lo ! those who oppose Allah and His messenger, they will be among the lowest.”

The global Islamic clause for all Muslims is published, where *the group is above the individual*. Points A1 and B1 explicitly describe this, and the other points also refer to it.

21 www.bbc.com/arabic/multimedia/2009/10/091026_as_muslim_brotherhood_tc2 (Arabic), accessed: 02.02.2026..

22 Ikhwan Wiki October 30, 2017 (Arabic), Archive Today: archive.is/LLXiM 5th paragraph, accessed: 02.02.2026.

23 www.britannica.com/topic/United-Nations-Resolution-181, accessed: 02.02.2026.

<A1: To define the guidelines that everyone must follow.>

<B1: The World Organization, at a global level, will define the Islamic domain and issues in a general way which will require the engagement of all according to previously defined priorities.>

Islam is about more than the believer's intimate relationship with Allah; it is about the submission of all people to a complete civilizational system defined in Islamic doctrine by Mohammed and Allah. This political aspect of Islam was already evident in the first two motions, and is further reinforced in Motion 3.

In the words of Sheikh Balázs Mihálffy, a Koran translator:

„... we cannot consider Islam as religion in the sense as other people think. Islam is a comprehensive system including belief, philosophy, politics, economy, form of state etc.”²⁴

²⁴ *Qur'an - Dr. Balázs Mihálffy's 2nd translation.* Mihálffy's comment to the note of the religious scholar, Ala Maududi. Quran - Sura: The Cow - Introduction by Ala Maududi - Historical Background - Point 2 - Mihálffy's note. This is the 9th footnote in the pdf edition of the Koran from the OSZK library, called Hungarian Electronic Library (MEK). It is a bilingual translation: English, Hungarian. https://mek.oszk.hu/17000/17082/pdf/17082_1.pdf; accessed: 02.02.2026.

الجمع بين الاشتغال بالسياسة وعدم الانعزال من جهة والتربية المستمرة للأجيال والعمل المؤسسي من جهة أخرى .

أ- العناصر

إعلانية

- ١ - حرية العمل السياسي ~~داخل كل قطر~~ حسب الظروف المحلية ، مع ملاحظة عدم الاشتراك في مسؤولية اتخاذ قرارات مصيرية تخالف نصوص الشريعة الإسلامية .
 - ٢ - نذب الجميع للاشتراك في المجالس النيابية والبلدية والنقابية وغيرها من المؤسسات التي يختار مجالسها الشعب بما يحقق مصلحة الاسلام والمسلمين .
 - ٣ - الاستمرار في تربية الافراد والاجيال بما في ذلك اعداد الاختصاصيين في المجالات المختلفة وفق مخطط مدروس .
 - ٤ - بناء المؤسسات الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والصحية والعلمية والدخول في ميادين الخدمة الاجتماعية للاتصال بالشعب وخدمته عن طريق المؤسسات الاسلامية .
- ب - مستلزمات اجرائية :

- ١ - دراسة البيئات السياسية المختلفة ومدى امكانية النجاح في كل قطر .
 - ٢ - عمل مخطط ارسال بعثات للدراسات المتخصصة في الحقول النادرة والمفيدة كالاعلام والتاريخ الاسلامي الخ
 - ٣ - عمل دراسات جدوى لمؤسسات متنوعة وانشاؤها وفق اولويات محددة في كل قطر .
- ج - صيغ مقترحة :

- ١ - دراسة التجارب السياسية للحركات الاسلامية واخذ العبر منها .
- ٢ - ابداء الرأي السياسي الاسلامي في سائر القضايا الملحة .
- ٣ - تبني القضايا المحلية الهامة في اطار اسلامي ، كقضايا العمال ، والنقابات الخ
- ٤ - انشاء عدد من المؤسسات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية والصحية والتربوية وفق الامكانيات الممكنة وذلك لخدمة الشعب في اطار اسلامي .

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MOTION 4:

To reconcile political engagement with the necessity of avoiding isolation on the one hand, with permanent education and institutional work on the other.

A – Elements:

1. Liberty to function politically commensurate with opportunity in each country according to local circumstances, without however sharing responsibility which makes a decision which would be contrary to the texts of Sharia.
2. To invite everyone to take part in parliament, municipal councils, trade unions and other institutions of which the membership is chosen by the people in the interest of Islam and of Muslims.
3. To continue to educate individuals and generations and to guarantee the training of specialists in various areas according to a previously designed plan.
4. To construct social, economic, health and scientific institutions and penetrate the domain of the social services, in order to be in contact with the people and their work to serve them by means of Islamic institutions.

B – Executive procedures:

1. To study the varied political environments and the probabilities of success in each country.
2. To plan specialized study missions which will concentrate on rare and useful areas such as the science and history of Islam, etc.
3. To conduct feasibility studies concerning various institutions and create them according to priorities established in each country.

C – Suggested missions:

1. To conduct studies relating to political practices of Islamic movements and to draw lessons from them.

2. To give an Islamic political perspective on the pressing questions of the day.
3. To keep questions of local importance such as issues concerning workers, trade unions, etc. within Islamic framework.
4. To create certain number of economic, social, health care and educational institutions, using available means, to serve the people within Islamic framework.

Comments to Motion 4

The motion orders, point by point, the establishment of a *parallel society* in the state. It seems that a higher power, perhaps the World Organization, is to determine the only salutary social formation, over which the local state apparatus has no authority. Thus, in any Kafir state, a parallel society must be established.

The principle that the provisions of the *Sharia* (see glossary) prevail in cases of dispute, the *Sharia* overrides all other decisions, can be seen.

When freedom and flexibility is discussed in Motion 3, and then again in Motion 4 the free exercise of political work is set, it is added: according to local circumstances, without however infringing the text of the *Sharia* (point A1). Freedom is possible only within the framework of the *Sharia*; that is, *Islamic doctrine and law is above the secular law*.

<A1: Liberty to function politically commensurate with opportunity in each country according to local circumstances, without however sharing responsibility which makes a decision which would be contrary to the texts of *Sharia*.>

This report is based on the resolutions of the Muslim Brotherhood conferences of 1977 and 1982. As can be seen, the general guidelines for ensuring the world's submission to Mohammed and Allah are set out here.

At the same time, the report instructs *to study the political environments of each country* and calls for studies to be carried out on the *priorities established in each country* (points B1, B3). Such studies can only be carried out by workgroups with local knowledge.

<B1: To study the varied political environments and the probabilities of success in each country.>

<B3: To conduct feasibility studies concerning various institutions and create them according to priorities established in each country.>

One such local study is *An Explanatory Memorandum* (see glossary). This report was recorded in 1991, found by the FBI in a raid in 2004, and made available to the public in 2007-2008 during the trial of the Holy Land Foundation lawsuit in Texas.

The Memorandum describes the Muslim Brotherhood's mission in North America. The North American society, from an Islamic perspective, bears strong resemblance to the European society, and it is therefore safe to assume that many of the terms it defines are also relevant to the European societies.

Terms 'country' and 'people' are used in Motion 4 of *The Project* without being precisely defined. However, the Explanatory Memorandum makes it clear that these are the Kafir country apparatuses, organizations and societies of the USA and Canada which the brothers are to be incorporated to. There can be no doubt that the brothers must also be incorporated into the other Kafir state apparatuses of the Earth.

This is also confirmed by point A4, which defines a form of jihad: infiltration into the organizations of the Kafir societies.

<A4: To construct social, economic, health and scientific institutions and penetrate the domain of the social services, in order to be in contact with the people and their work to serve them by means of Islamic institutions.>

As quoted earlier, the Explanatory Memorandum treats this process as '*a kind of grand Jihad in eliminating and destroying Western civilization from within and sabotaging their miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers.*' In addition we can also detect reconnaissance and espionage in points A4 and B1 of Motion 4.

<B1: To study the varied political environments and the probabilities of success in each country.>

The Muslim Brotherhood has also infiltrated the apparatus of Islamic states and is carrying out actions there. In Egypt, for example, the brothers came to power in 2012, triggering a wave of violence.

Point A2 means Muslims are recommended to vote for the Muslim delegate or representative over the Kafir delegate.

<A2: To invite everyone to take part in parliament, municipal councils, trade unions and other institutions of which the membership is chosen by the people in the interest of Islam and of Muslims.>

Indeed, according to Islamic doctrine, the delegate being Muslim makes him more qualified to represent the people than the Kafir delegate. This is irrespective of the delegate's program, character, knowledge, experience, merit and ability.

The Kafir is an ignorant *dhimmi* (see glossary) who can only live as a subordinate, paying protection money (*jizya*), with low legal status among Muslims. This is stated, for example, in the Koranic verse (9:29):

“Fight against such of those who have been given the Scripture as believe not in Allah nor the Last Day, and forbid not that which Allah hath forbidden by His messenger, and follow not the religion of truth, until they pay the tribute readily, being brought low.”

In the Sharia court, the word of the Kafir is dwarfed by the word of the Muslim, as concluded, for example, from the Koranic verse (58:20):

“Lo ! those who oppose Allah and His messenger, they will be among the lowest.”

The ignorant Kafir is inherently unfit to represent and lead Muslims. Koran (33:48):

“And incline not to the disbelievers and the hypocrites. Disregard their noxious talk, and put thy trust in Allah. Allah is sufficient as Trustee.”

Here are some of the activities we have seen from Motion 4:

A1, A2: Political activism

<A1: Liberty to function politically commensurate with opportunity in each country according to local circumstances, without however sharing responsibility which makes a decision which would be contrary to the texts of Sharia.>

<A2: To invite everyone to take part in parliament, municipal councils, trade unions and other institutions of which the membership is chosen by the people in the interest of Islam and of Muslims.>

A3: Establishing a school system

<A3: To continue to educate individuals and generations and to guarantee the training of specialists in various areas according to a previously designed plan.>

B2: Integration into historical and scientific circles, e.g. university departments

<B2: To plan specialized study missions which will concentrate on rare and useful areas such as the science and history of Islam, etc.>

C4: Serving the people according to Islamic standards. For example, an Islamic agency that issues halal (see glossary) certificates for money should be considered an economic institution.

<C4: To create certain number of economic, social, health care and educational institutions, using available means, to serve the people within Islamic framework.>

المنطلق الخامس :

السعي لإقامة الدولة الإسلامية والعمل الموازي التدريجي في السيطرة على مراكز القوى المحلية من جهة أخرى واستخدام العمل المؤسسي وسيلة لذلك .

أ- العناصر :

- ١ - تركيز الفكر والتربية والعمل لإقامة حكم اسلامي في الارض .
- ٢ - التأشير على مراكز القوى المحلية والعالمية لصالح الاسلام .

ب- مستلزمات اجرائية :

- ١ - عمل دراسة علمية لامكانيات قيام حكم الله في اية بقعة في الارض وفق اولويات مدروسة .
- ٢ - دراسة علمية لمراكز القوى العالمية والمحلية وامكانية التأشير فيها .
- ٣ - عمل دراسة عميقة لمفهوم " النصر " للدعوة الاسلامية والحكم الاسلامي من حيث الرجال المؤثرون في الدولة والبلد .

ج- مهمات مقترحة

- ١ - العمل على تدوين دستور اسلامي في ضوء دراسة المجهودات التي بذلت لحد الآن .
- ٢ - العمل على تدوين قوانين اسلامية مدنية وغير ذلك الخ
- ٣ - اختيار بقعة واعطاؤها الاولوية لإقامة حكم اسلامي فيها وتركيز الجهد فيها .
- ٤ - العمل في المؤسسات المختلفة ذات مراكز القوى واستخدامها لصالح الاسلام ..
- ٥ - عمل مؤسسات اسلامية خاصة اقتصادية واجتماعية الخ

MOTION 5:

To dedicate ourselves to the establishment of an Islamic state, in parallel with gradual efforts aimed at gaining control of local power centers through institutional action.

A – Elements:

1. To channel thought, education and action in order to establish an Islamic power [government] on the Earth.
2. To influence centers of power both local and worldwide to the service of Islam.

B – Executive procedures:

1. To prepare a scientific study on the possibility of establishing the reign of Allah throughout every corner of the Earth according to established priorities.
2. To study the centers of power both local and worldwide, and the possibilities of placing them under influence.
3. To conduct an up-to-date study to understand the “victory” of the Islamic dawa and Islamic law through the statesmen of influence in the state and the country.

C – Suggested mission:

1. To draw up codification of the Islamic Constitution in light of efforts deployed up to now.
2. To draw up Islamic laws, civil laws, etc.
3. The selection of a target area that is a priority for the establishment of Islamic domination and the concentration of power.
4. To work within various influential institutions and use them in the service of Islam.
5. To use the work of economic, social and other specialized Islamic institutions.

Comments to Motion 5

This motion makes even more emphatic demands than the previous ones. The key terms are: gradual effort, gaining control, Islamic domination, power, influence. These words remind us of the more than 100 violent verses of the Koran and the violence of Mohammed. Let us look at two examples of violence from the Koran.

Koran (8:59-60):

“And let not those who disbelieve suppose that they can outstrip (Allah’s purpose). Lo! they cannot escape. Make ready for them all thou canst of (armed) force and of horses tethered, that thereby ye may dismay the enemy of Allah and your enemy, and others beside them whom ye know not. Allah knoweth them. Whatsoever ye spend in the way of Allah it will be repaid to you in full, and ye will not be wronged.”

Koran (9:14):

“Fight them! Allah will chastise them at your hands, and He will lay them low and give you victory over them, and He will heal the breasts of folk who are believers.”

Examples of Mohammed’s violence include the 27 battles and raids he commanded and participated in as a general. These are reported, for example, by his most authoritative biographer, ibn Ishaq.

MB was calling for the formation of an Islamic state as early as 1982, long before the emergence of al-Qaeda and, especially, ISIS. Political Islam, in line with Islamic doctrine, has been continuously calling for the establishment of the Islamic caliphate across the planet for 1400 years.

The preamble mentions the phrase „gradual efforts aimed at gaining control of local power centers”. This expression is explained in the points of the motion (A2, B2 for example), which can be summarized as follows: *any method of influence can be used.*

<A2: To influence centers of power both local and worldwide to the service of Islam.>

<B2: To study the centers of power both local and worldwide, and the possibilities of placing them under influence.>

B1: The phrase ‘*every corner of the Earth*’ is an exact translation. There is no country, town, village, community or individual on Earth that is exempt from reign of Allah. The example here is also Mohammed, who could not suffer the Kafirs where he had the power to act against them. According to the most authentic collection of Mohammed’s *hadith* (tradition, see glossary) he orders to expel Kafirs from where it is possible as well as influence Kafir leaders who are still out of Islamic control.

Sahih al-Bukhari (USA-MSA web reference, Vol 56, Book 52, Hadith 288):

“The Prophet on his death-bed, gave three orders saying, *Expel the pagans from the Arabian Peninsula, give gifts to the foreign delegates as I did. I forgot the third (order).*”

<B1. To prepare a scientific study on the possibility of establishing the reign of Allah throughout every corner of the Earth according to established priorities.>

C4: Method of infiltration is described here.

<C4: To work within various influential institutions and use them in the service of Islam.>

2/C3, 4/A4, 4/C4, 5/C5: The instruction persists in several motions: set up various Islamic organizations. The different motions are formulated on the basis of different aspects. Each aspect requires the operation of appropriate organization.

<2/C3: An engagement with economic institutions adequate to support the cause of dawa financially.>

<4/A4: To construct social, economic, health and scientific institutions and penetrate the domain of the social services, in order to be in contact with the people and their work to serve them by means of Islamic institutions.>

<4/C4: To create certain number of economic, social, health care and educational institutions, using available means, to serve the people within Islamic framework.>

<5/C5: To use the work of economic, social and other specialized Islamic institutions.>

Here is an example of the proliferation of Islamic organizations in the US. The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) was established in July 1981 by US-based members of the Muslim Brotherhood who also had a background as leaders of the Muslim Students Association (MSA). As author and terrorism expert Steven Emerson puts it, ISNA “grew out of the Muslim Students Association, which ... was founded by Brotherhood members.”²⁵ The earlier mentioned *An Explanatory Memorandum* (see glossary) counts 29 cooperating („of our”) Islamic organizations in the USA already in 1991.

The national MB organizations form an international alliance called the Global (or International) Muslim Brotherhood (GMB). In addition to the US organizations named above, this includes, for example, the Council of European Muslims (CEM, formerly: Federation of Islamic Organizations of Europe, FIOE) and the Saudi based Muslim World League (MWL). The existence of the GMB is confirmed by statements made by some members of the Egyptian MB leadership.²⁶

However, according to the points indicated, the activities of political organizations should also be supported by economic activities, as already explained in Motion 2. Let us take a further example from Besson’s book, published in 2005:²⁷

„Thanks to its ‘Islamically correct’ philosophy, Al-Taqwa [bank, investment company] had accumulated substantial funds: over two hundred million dollars, mainly from aristocrats and clerics in the Gulf countries. In addition to its management functions, the company provided financial support to Islamic institutions - universities, mosques, foundations - in Europe, the United States and the Muslim world. Among the beneficiaries of its subsidies, investigators cite the Islamic Foundation of Leicester, in Great Britain, and the American WISE Institute, close to the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.”

Over the last few decades, most Kafirs have noticed that from time to time a new Islamic organization has appeared in his neighborhood. The

²⁵ www.discoverthenetworks.org/organizations/islamic-society-of-north-america-isna, accessed: 02.02.2026.

²⁶ www.global-influence-ops.com/wiki/global-muslim-brotherhood/, accessed: 02.02.2026.

²⁷ Sylvain Besson: *La conquête de L’occident: Le projet secret des islamistes – Le mystère de la banque Al-Taqwa* (Conquering the West: The Islamists’ secret project - The mystery of the Al-Taqwa bank) (French) (2005)

situation is indeed serious: there is a mass proliferation of these organizations on a staggering scale, covering the entire planet. The recent spread of Political Islam is particularly well illustrated by the chronological maps showing the territorial spread of Islamic organizations. These maps are now available, for example, on the website of the Center for the Study of Political Islam International (CSPII).²⁸

Points C1 and C2 demand for elaboration of an Islamic constitution and legal system.

<C1: To draw up codification of the Islamic Constitution in light of efforts deployed up to now.>

<C2: To draw up Islamic laws, civil laws, etc.>

As we know from the motto of the Muslim Brotherhood, the brothers regard the Koran as their constitution, elsewhere they claim to regard the Sharia as their legal system. The Koran and the Sharia are already elaborated and, as we saw in Motion 4, they are superior to all other legislation, and whoever touches them will incur the wrath of Allah.

See the statement of the Koran (41:40) on this:

“Lo! those who distort Our revelations are not hid from Us. Is he who is hurled into the Fire better, or he who cometh secure on the Day of Resurrection? Do what ye will. Lo! He is Seer of what ye do.”

In none of today’s Islamic countries is the Koran the constitution, nor is the Sharia the legal system, if they have a constitution at all. They are generally judged on the basis of mixed constitutions, legal systems, with elements of colonial legislation, local customary law, some elements of the Sharia. Some modern Western legislation has already appeared, particularly in international law.

According to points C1 and C2, Muslim Brothers wish to adapt to this diverse legal system and supervise it during the transitional period until the full implementation of Sharia.

²⁸ Initial site: <https://www.cspii.org/>

المنطلق السادس :

العمل باخلاص مع الجماعات والهيئات الإسلامية في مجاور مختلفة وبالاتفاق على قدر مشترك من النقاط " نتعاون فيما اتفقنا عليه ويعذر بعضنا بعضا فيما اختلفنا فيه " .

أ- العناصر:

١ - تنسيق العمل الإسلامي في اتجاه واحد ليتكامل وينمو في طريق إقامة ^{حرارة} المجتمع الإسلامي وحكم الله في الأرض .
كل في المجال الذي يرغبه أو يتقنه وحسب ما يعطى من جهد ، والعبرة بالاخلاص وتنسيق الجهود .

ب - مستلزمات اجرائية :

١ - دراسة واقع الحركات الإسلامية وتقييم تجاربها ورسم الخطط للتعاون فيما بينها .
٢ - عدم إقامة مزيد من الحركات الإسلامية في بلاد فيها حركات إسلامية شاملة وافية واحدة على الأقل .

ج - مهمات مقترحة :

١ - التنسيق بين العاملين للإسلام في كل بلد وإقامة صلة الحسنة مع العاملين للإسلام أفرادا وجماعات .
٢ - توضيح نطاق الخلافات بين العاملين للإسلام ، والسعي لحل نزاعاتهم وقضاياهم وفق الشريعة الإسلامية .

MOTION 6:

To loyally work alongside Islamic groups and institutions in various areas and in agreement on a common ground in order to „cooperate on points of agreement and put aside points of disagreement”.

A - Elements:

1. To coordinate the Islamic work in a single direction as will permit the laying of the foundations of the growth of Muslim society and dedication to Allah’s power on Earth.
2. For each to work according to his capacities in his chosen field and to master it, with loyalty and coordination of effort.

B - Executive procedures:

1. To study the true nature of Islamic movements, to evaluate their experiences and draw up plans to initiate collaboration among them.
2. To avoid creating new Islamic movements in a country which already has one; there will be but one movement, conscious and complete.

C - Suggested missions:

1. To coordinate the efforts of all those working for Islam, in each country, and to establish good contact with them, whether they work individually or in groups.
2. To reduce the differences that exist between workers for Islam and to resolve their conflicts according to Sharia.

Comments to Motion 6

While this motion gives guidance on how the various Islamic groups and institutions (underlined) should cooperate, the next motion’s guidance is more outward looking: how to cooperate with nationalist movements.

A2: The word „effort” written here is also from the same root as the word jihad.

<A2: For each to work according to his capacities in his chosen field and to master it, with loyalty and coordination of effort.>

B1: While A2 calls for individual concentration of power, this point calls for Islamic communities to join forces.

<B1: To study the true nature of Islamic movements, to evaluate their experiences and draw up plans to initiate collaboration among them.>

A1: A clear, unambiguous expression: „will permit the laying of the foundations of the growth of Muslim society”. This is clearly a form of relentlessly expanding jihad.

<A1: To coordinate the Islamic work in a single direction as will permit the laying of the foundations of the growth of Muslim society and dedication to Allah’s power on Earth.>

See the Koranic verse (47:35):

“So do not falter and cry out for peace when ye (will be) the uppermost, and Allah is with you, and He will not grudge (the reward of) your actions.”

Examples from Europe:

The Council of European Muslims (CEM) - previously the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE) - was founded in 1989 and is the umbrella organization of the Muslim Brotherhood for all of Europe.²⁹

In an interview with the newspaper „On the Moroccan” published on January 14, 2012, Chakib Benmakhoulf, Chairman of FIOE stated:

„The Federation, thanks to Allah, has a presence in 28 European countries, and it is the largest Islamic organization on the European continent in terms of horizontal propagation.

...

The Federation initiated the Charter of Muslims in Europe, which has been welcomed by many governmental and popular institutions. It is the Federation that has established and promoted the political work in the field. The Federation has a presence in 700 European cities.

²⁹ Lorenzo Vidino, Sergio Altuna: The Muslim Brotherhood’s Pan-European Structure; Dokumentationsstelle Politischer Islam; February 2021.
www.dokumentationsstelle.at/fileadmin/dpi/publikationen/Report_EU_Strukturen_final.pdf or extremism.gwu.edu/muslim-brotherhoods-pan-european-structure, accessed: 02.02.2026.

...

The Federation is the founder of the European Forum for Muslim Women, the first institution of this kind and has great connections with its surroundings. The Federation is the initiator of the European Forum for Muslim Youth and is also the former founder of the Union of European Schools and the European Islamic Scout Union."³⁰

On the situation in the US, Lorenzo Vidino, Ph.D., an academic and security expert wrote already in 2011:

*"In the United States, the nucleus that started with the Muslim Student Association in the 1960s spawned a myriad of organizations like the Islamic Association of North America (ISNA) and the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR). Each has its own magazine, website, annual conference, and regional branches. But their unity is shown by common financial sources, interlocking board of directors, and occasional participation in common initiatives. The few hundred individuals who run them form a small social network united by family, business and most importantly ideological ties."*³¹

B2: The almost opaque cavalcade of Islamic organizations is also noted in *An Explanatory Memorandum* (see glossary) before listing the 29 Islamic organizations in the USA from 1991: *"Imagine if they all march according to one plan!!!"*

<B2: To avoid creating new Islamic movements in a country which already has one; there will be but one movement, conscious and complete.>

C1: In the interview, mentioned earlier, Benmakhoulou FIOE chairman stated:

*„There are Islamic institutions with an ideology such as Milli Görüs [Turkish], the Pakistani Islamic Group and the Bengali Jamaat Ibad Ar-Rahman, which we have a very good relationship with, i.e. we coordinate, cooperate and integrate with each other."*³²

30 Sameh Egyptson: *Holy White Lies*; Swedish Cutlutre Center (Cairo) 3rd ed, 2018, p.150.

31 Lorenzo Vidino, *Muslim Brotherhood Organizations in America: Goals, Ideologies, and Strategies*; Foreign Policy Research Institute; 2011; files.ethz.ch/isn/150633/2011_12_muslim-brotherhood.pdf, accessed: 23.11.2025.

32 Sameh Egyptson: *Holy White Lies*; Swedish Cutlutre Center (Cairo) 3rd ed, 2018, p.151.

<C1: To coordinate the efforts of all those working for Islam, in each country, and to establish good contact with them, whether they work individually or in groups.>

C2: Then Benmakhlouf added:

“There are other ideological schools like Salafist [see glossary] and Sufi [see glossary]; we have difficulty dealing with them because it is difficult to gather them in a unified framework. We have those who have Salafist tendencies and those who have Sufi tendencies and we find that it is the Union that provides them with dialogue and rapprochement. We hope that we will bring this experience to our brothers, the Sufi and the Salafi.”³³

<C2: To reduce the differences that exist between workers for Islam and to resolve their conflicts according to Sharia.>

³³ Ibid.

المنطلق السابع

قبول فكرة نوع من التعاون المرطبي بين الحركات الاسلامية وغيرها من الحركات الوطنية في قضايا عامة وفي بعض النقاط غير الخلافية كمنجارية الإستعمار والتبشير والدولة اليهودية بصورة لا ترقى الى مستوى التحالفات/بل تتم على مستويات عناصر محدودة في القيادة او الاتصال وتبقى في نطاق دراسة كل حالة على حده والى المدى الذى يوافق الشرع دون موالاتهم او الاطمئنان اليهم مع ملاحظة أن تكون الحركة الاسلامية صاحبة المبادرة والتوجيه .

أ- العناصر :

- ١ - توحيد الجهود ضد قوى الشر الكبرى استنادا الى القاعدة الشرعية " يدفع الضرر الاشد بالضرر الأخرى " .
- ٢ - قصر التعاون على عناصر قيادية او عناصر محدودة للاتصال ، تزيد من الفائدة الممكنة وتنقص من الضرر المحتمل .
- ٣ - ان يكون العمل في اطار هذا المنطلق لتحقيق الاهداف التي رسمتها الدعوة مسبقا .

ب - مستلزمات اجرائية :

- ١ - دراسة تقييمية شاملة للمجالات التي تمت في السابق بين الحركات الاسلامية وغيرها من الحركات واستخلاص الدروس والعبر منها .
- ٢ - دراسة المجالات التي يمكن التنسيق فيها مع الآخرين وتحديد مدى ذلك التنسيق وصوره .
- ٣ - دراسة فكر وخطط الحركات الأخرى .

ج - مبهات مقترحة :

- ١ - يقوم كل قطر بدراسة امكانيات التعاون في المستقبل في ذلك القطر .

MOTION 7:

To accept the principle of temporary cooperation between Islamic movements and nationalist movements in the broad sphere and on common ground such as the struggle against colonialism, preaching³⁴ and the Jewish state, without however having to form explicitly strategic³⁵ alliances. This will require, on the other hand, limited contacts between certain leaders, on a case by case basis, as long as these contacts match the [Sharia] law. Nevertheless, one must not give them allegiance or take them into confidence, bearing in mind that the Islamic movement must be the origin of the initiatives and orientations taken.

A - Elements:

1. To combine all efforts against the supreme forces of evil in accordance with the Sharia that one must “battle the tougher evil with a lesser evil”.
2. To limit the collaboration to the leadership or to certain relationship in order to maximize the benefit and minimize the possible drawbacks.
3. To work within the framework of this motion to achieve the objectives previously defined for the dawa.

B - Executive procedures:

1. To make a complete study to evaluate the areas with the object of previous mutual assistance between Islamic and other movements, to summarize and draw lessons from them.
2. To study the areas which allow cooperation with others, and define the boundaries and methods of that cooperation.
3. To study the philosophy and plans of other movements.

34 The general word for conversion is used here: „tabshir” (preaching), rather than the word „dawa”. Dawa is used only for inviting people to Islam. (See glossary: dawa.)

35 In the typed text, the term „explicitly strategic” is a handwritten insertion. The term is not inserted in the list at the beginning of the document.

C - Suggested missions:

1. Each country should study the possibility, in the future, of strengthening internal collaboration.

Comments to Motion 7

The phrase in the preamble *struggle against colonialism* shows the nature of Political Islam. This is *jihad* (striving against non-Muslims, see glossary) and *hijra* (Islamic political migration, see glossary) which according to Islamic doctrine are not considered colonialism. From the Islamic perspective, colonialism refers to the process whereby Kafirs occupy an Islamic state and settle there.

However, the founding father, Al-Banna defines the Islamic colonization:

“For this reason, O Muslims, Muslims after the death of the prophet set out all over the world carrying Koran in their bosoms, swords in their hands, with clear argumentations on their tongues, calling people for one of the three: Islam, Jizya or War.

Who converts to Islam is a brother in Islam who has the same rights and duties like Muslims. He who pays Jizya is entrusted on his life and money and Muslims shall protect them and care for them. Eventually, he who rejects Islam and refuses to pay Jizya chooses war and fight.

This displays how the Islamic colonization is not similar to any other colonization throughout history. It is different in its goals, methods, results and benefits. The Muslim colonizer when he conquers a land, he does this to make the religion of Allah the dominant religion.”³⁶

The *limited collaboration* (point A2) clause is also a characteristic of Political Islam: short-term collaboration with enemies is possible when needed. This is reinforced in point A1: *with the lesser evil against the tougher evil*. In this matter, point A2 gives guidance to ordinary members: only cultivate relationship approved by the higher power.

<A1: To combine all efforts against the supreme forces of evil in accordance with the Sharia that one must “battle the tougher evil with a lesser evil”.>

³⁶ Sameh Egyptson: *Holy White Lies*; Swedish Cutlure Center (Cairo) 3rd ed, 2018; Cabinet Office of Sweden, Ministry of Justice, Dnr. Ju201 1/2806; p.225.

<A2: To limit the collaboration to the leadership or to certain relationship in order to maximize the benefit and minimize the possible drawbacks.>

Let's adduce a Swedish example for the "lesser evil" with whom limited collaboration is conceivable. Mahmoud Aldebe was an important Brotherhood political leader and founder of the Swedish affiliates, the *Islamic Association in Sweden* (Islamiska Förbundet i Sverige, IFiS) and the *Swedish Muslim Council* (Sveriges Muslimska Rad, SMR). The Swedish MB is a very powerful Islamic organization in Europe. Aldebe says in his testimony:

*"... The Muslim Brotherhood in Sweden is moving slowly and steadily, and it is certain that they will become part of the Swedish political establishment through their selected figures seeking membership in the political parties such as Social Democrats (SAP), the Green Party and the Moderate Party."*³⁷

Taking the Swedish example, the *tougher evil* also should be revealed here. Let's listen to Mahmoud Aldebe again, who sent a letter to Mona Sahlin, the Swedish Integration Minister in the following case, happened in 2001.

In Sweden, an Iraqi Muslim girl was murdered by her two brothers for not fulfilling their wishes to get married to a man they chose for her. Sahlin condemned the honor killing and promised to protect the sister of the victim, so she could testify in the trial. She also expressed her fears that if she supported the immigrant girls she might be viewed as siding with the 'racists'.

As a reaction to this protection promise Aldebe writes to Sahlin:

*"Who do you think would benefit from your maneuvering of inciting against Islam, immigrant girls or racists? Be happy with the fears you are talking about because they will help you pump out clear statements that is dessert for racists of the Swedish Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna, SD, a nationalist party)."*³⁸

³⁷ Ibid. p.26.

³⁸ Ibid; Archive of the Swedish Prime Minister's Office, Ministry of Finance, Dnr 2001/7167/JM

Let's also listen to Omar Mustafa, another head of the Islamic Association in Sweden and leader of other significant Islamic organizations. Mustafa applied membership in the SAP (the Swedish Social Democrats, *the lesser evil*) moreover, he was elected as a member of the Central Committee of the SAP in 2013.

Mustafa spoke at a symposium of Muslim Families Forum on why it is important to be member in the SAP:

*"The Party [SAP] did not address the issue of how to confront the ethnic racism in Sweden though, and only discussed whether it would have dialogue with Sverigedemokraterna (SD, the nationalist party) or not."*³⁹

The leader of the Union of Muslim Youth in Sweden (SUM), Rashid Mousa goes further, when he defines the *supreme forces of evil* mentioned in point A1. He takes the example of Malcolm X, once a member of The Nation of Islam. In a magazine, issued by Ibn Rushd Study Association in 2017, Mousa writes:

*"Malcolm X not only gave us tools to understand the present, but has also provided us with a theory, stance and historical statement about the struggle of blacks and Muslims seeking for organization and decolonization. He expressed our feelings and could, first, determine the enemy, the white man."*⁴⁰

The reason for hypocrisy negotiated above is nailed down by point A3: the purpose of limited collaboration is the conversion itself. This is probably not recognized by the Kafirs in time because of ignorance and good faith. As we read in the preamble, cooperation is only to the extent consistent with the purpose. The Sharia ultimately supersedes any covenant with the Kafirs (see glossary: deception).

<A3: To work within the framework of this motion to achieve the objectives previously defined for the dawa.>

It is incredibly important for the Kafirs to take note of the message of points A2, B1 and B2: a brother will only cooperate with Kafirs when having permission from his leadership and only within the limits set out

³⁹ Ibid; p.60. Muslim Families Forum, MFD. Quotation from this presentation (in Swedish): drive.google.com/file/d/1y9UV0hY1yQOD269GTBpm8K82wBU4LPvQ/view?usp=sharing; accessed: 02.02.2026.

⁴⁰ Ibid; p.99. Kupolen, published by the Ibn Rushd Study Association, no. 1, 2017

therein. Beyond this framework, the brother is only an impostor to the Kafir. The Kafir must learn to recognize this limit, for beyond it all his efforts are in vain.

<A2: To limit the collaboration to the leadership or to cooperation for members designated for a specific relationship in order to maximize the benefit and minimize the possible drawbacks.>

<B1: To make a complete study to evaluate the areas with the object of previous mutual assistance between Islamic and other movements, to summarize and draw lessons from them.>

<B2: To study the areas which allow cooperation with others, and define the boundaries and methods of that cooperation.>

C1: Call for local adaptations of *The Project* to be developed by the affiliates.

<C1: Each country should study the possibility, in the future, of strengthening internal collaboration.>

Point C1 also confirms the existence of a world network. The phrase „each country” includes even Kafir countries. In this case, it could be the local MB bodies in the Kafir states. This body is already conducting a study on behalf of the host state on the possibility of collaboration on the basis of Political Islam.

It is thought-provoking to consider the idea mentioned in the preamble that there could be temporary cooperation between Political Islamic movements and national movements on the issue of preaching and the Jewish state. What cooperation can be assumed here? Which national movement takes up the broad sphere of preaching (and conversion)? What non-Islamic national movement takes up the cause of the Jewish state? Working out these aspects should also be task of local teams.

<Preamble: To accept the principle of temporary cooperation between Islamic movements and nationalist movements in the broad sphere and on common ground such as the struggle against colonialism, preaching and the Jewish state, ...>

And what stands for the *common ground of the Jewish state*? From the Islamic perspective, the state of Israel is an unnatural creation on Islamic land and must therefore be destroyed.^{41,42,43,44,45,46,47,48}

41 jpost.com/israel-news/new-york-protestors-wield-palestinian-flags-endorse-global-intifada-679762, accessed: 02.02.2026.

42 english.almanar.com.lb/1250482, accessed: 02.02.2026.

43 memri.org/tv/muslim-brotherhood-intellectuals-debate-hamas-untruthful-about-goals-talking-to-west, accessed: 02.02.2026.

44 nypost.com/2015/08/01/iran-publishes-book-on-how-to-outwit-us-and-destroy-israel/, accessed: 1. November 2022.

45 breitbart.com/national-security/2015/07/19/iran-dictator-calls-for-muslim-world-to-unite-and-destroy-israel-says-usa-created-isis/, accessed: 02.02.2026.

46 memri.org/tv/al-aqsa-mosque-imam-italy-we-await-arab-legions-liberate-haifa-acre-and-jaffa, accessed: 02.02.2026.

47 memri.org/tv/egyptian-child-preacher-ibrahim-adham-curses-bush-and-obama-and-prays-destruction-israel, accessed: 02.02.2026.

48 palwatch.org/page/3670, accessed: 02.02.2026.

المنطلق الثامن :

اتقان فن الممكن من الناحية المرطية دون التفريط بالمبادئ الأساسية مع العلم أن احكام الله جميعا ممكنة التطبيق والدعوة الى ممارسة الامر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر مع ابداء الرأى الموثق بالبيانات والكتب دون اضطرار الدعوة الى المجابهة غير المتكافئة مع خصومها المظيين او اعدائها العالميين التي قد تقود الى ضربات قاصمة للدعوة والدعاة .

أ- العناصر :

- ١ - تقييم تربية الافراد وعدم المغالاة والتطرف في التربية المشالية الكفترشة التي لا تستند الى الواقع ولا تؤمن بالمرونة والتدرج ، لما يترتب على ذلك من اخطار قد تؤدى الى تصادم الافراد انفسهم لمجرد ملاحظة أى تقصير .
- ٢ - ابداء الرأى الموثق بالخطبة والبيان والكتاب في الاحداث الكبرى التي تمر بامتنا بأسلوب علمي .
- ٣ - تجنب الدعوة المجابهات الحادة التي تؤدى الى ضرب الدعوة جذريا من قبل اعدائها .

ب - مستلزمات اجرائية :

- ١ - دراسة تقييمية لتجارب الحركات الإسلامية بقصد تجنب الأخطاء الباقلة .
- ٢ - تطوير مناهج التربية للأفراد بحيث تجمع بين المشالية والواقعية ، بين التمسك بالمبادئ واليمرونية في مواجهة المواقف .

ج - مهمات مقترحة :

- ١ - تطوير برامج اعداد الدعاة وتوعيتهم بالتجارب الماضية .
- ٢ - المباشرة في اعداد الافراد وفق مناهج تربوية مطورة .

MOTION 8:

To master the art of the possible on a temporary basis without abusing the basic principles, bearing in mind that Allah's judgement applies in its entirety. Applying the established method for dawa, rejecting the unknown method, always providing documented statements and books. But regarding the dawa, we should not look for confrontation with our adversaries at the local scale or with our enemies at the global scale, which could deal a severe blow to the proselytism and to the proselytizers.

A - Elements:

1. To evaluate the education of individuals. Practical, modern education should avoid exaggeration and extremes that do not emphasize reality, which is devoid of flexibility and progressivity. This could have grave consequences such as the conflict between individuals for a simple comment or a simple failure.
2. To give documented view, in the form of speeches, communiqués and books, that bears on events important to our Umma, using scientific method.
3. To avoid major confrontations during the dawa, which could encourage its adversaries to give it a fatal blow.

B - Executive procedures:

1. To carry out a study to evaluate the experiences of Islamic movements in order to avoid their fatal errors.
2. To develop educational methods for the individuals that are at the same time exemplary, realistic and true to our principles, in order to bestow a flexibility sufficient to permit the facing of reality.

C - Suggested missions:

1. To develop programs for the proselytizers and inform them of past experiences.
2. Directness in preparing individuals according to modern educational methods.

Comments to Motion 8

As we read in Motion 2, we now hear again about conversion (*dawa*, see glossary), which is one of the components of *jihad* (see glossary).

When an opportunity and the right situation arises, conversion is the duty of every Muslim. An example of this is from the Koran (25:52):

“So obey not the disbelievers, but strive against them herewith with a great endeavour.”

Points A3 and B1 are interesting, that a fatal blow can be dealt to the *dawa*. It is crucial for Kafirs to find out what this would involve.

<A3: To avoid major confrontations during the *dawa*, which could encourage its adversaries to give it a fatal blow.>

<B1: To carry out a study to evaluate the experiences of Islamic movements in order to avoid their fatal errors.>

A1, B2, C1, C2: The MB does not only prescribe *dawa*, i.e. converting in general, but Islam should be taught too. The motion orders the use of a sophisticated educational psychology method. Islamic governments, organizations, especially MB members, are filtered into Western universities on this basis,⁴⁹ where they now have a real influence on the curriculum.⁵⁰ The influence of Saudi Arabia is particularly strong.⁵¹

<A1: To evaluate the education of individuals. Practical, modern education should avoid exaggeration and extremes that do not emphasize reality, which is devoid of flexibility and progressivity. This could have grave consequences such as the conflict between individuals for a simple comment or a simple failure.>

<B2: To develop educational methods for the individuals that are at the same time exemplary, realistic and true to our principles, in order to bestow a flexibility sufficient to permit the facing of reality.>

49 thenationalnews.com/world/qatar-spent-huge-sums-on-muslim-brotherhood-groups-in-europe-1.845510, accessed: 02.02.2026.

50 www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/31.pdf, accessed: 02.02.2026.

51 www.investigativeproject.org/607/wolf-to-georgetown-detail-use-of-saudi, accessed: 02.02.2026.

<C1: To develop programs for the proselytizers and inform them of past experiences.>

<C2: Directness in preparing individuals according to modern educational methods.>

The influence usually starts with generous support for universities.⁵² With this support, the university develops, expands.⁵³ The maintenance of that extensive university then depends on the support of the Islamic government, dynasty, the university is now dependent on the goodwill of Islamic governments, dynasties, i.e. it can be blackmailed.⁵⁴ This support, blackmail has a direct impact on the possible persons of the university professors and the curriculum.⁵⁵

⁵² U.S. Department of Education Office of the General Counsel, October 2020 – *Institutional Compliance with Section 117 of the Higher Education Act of 1965*; ed.gov/policy/highered/leg/institutional-compliance-section-117.pdf, accessed: 02.02.2026.

⁵³ philanthropynewsdigest.org/news/harvard-georgetown-to-receive-20-million-each-from-saudi-prince, accessed: 02.02.2026.

⁵⁴ dailycaller.com/2018/10/23/saudi-arabia-universities-payment/, accessed: 02.02.2026.

⁵⁵ pjmedia.com/raymond-ibrahim/2024/03/29/hamas-supporter-qatar-sponsoring-what-americans-learn-n4927770, accessed: 02.02.2026.

المنطلق التاسع :

البناء المستمر للقوة اللازمة للدعوة الإسلامية ودعم الحركات الجهادية في العالم الإسلامي بنسب متفاوتة قدر المستطاع .

أ- العناصر :

- ١ - حماية الدعوة الى الله بالقوة اللازمة لأمنها محليا وعالميا .
- ٢ - الاتصال بأية حركة جهادية تنشأ في أي قطر من العالم الإسلامي والأقليات الإسلامية وبناء الجسور معها بنسب متفاوتة من أجل دعمها والتعاون المشترك .
- ٣ - إبقاء فريضة الجهادية في الأمة الإسلامية .

ب - مستلزمات اجرائية :

- ١ - بناء قوة أمن ذاتية لحماية الدعوة والدعاة ضحيا وعالميا .
- ٢ - دراسة الحركات الجهادية في العالم الإسلامي والأقليات الإسلامية بقصد معرفة أوضاعها بدقة .

ج - مهام مقترحة :

- ١ - عمل جسور اتصالات مع الحركات الجهادية في العالم الإسلامي والأقليات الإسلامية ودعمها في الحدود وبالصورة الممكنة والتعاون المشترك معها .

MOTION 9:

To construct a permanent force of the Islamic dawa and support movements engaged in jihad across the Islamic world, to varying degrees and insofar as possible.

A - Elements:

1. To protect the dawa for Allah with the force necessary to guarantee its security at the local and international levels.
2. To liaise with all jihadi movements, wherever they are established, be it in the Islamic world or among Muslim minorities, and to create links as needed to establish and support collaboration.
3. To maintain obligation of jihad throughout the Umma.

B - Executive procedures:

1. To create self-defense force to protect converting and converters locally and worldwide.
2. To study movements engaged in jihad in the Muslim world, as well as among Muslim minorities, to understand their cases accurately.

C - Suggested missions:

1. To build communication bridges between movements engaged in jihad in the Islamic world and in the Islamic minorities, and to support them insofar as possible within a framework of collaboration.

Comments to Motion 9

This motion deals with jihad, which primarily means struggle against the Kafirs. This is confirmed in the Koranic verse (48:17) when it exempts the blind, the lame and the sick from jihad:

“There is no blame for the blind, nor is there blame for the lame, nor is there blame for the sick (that they go not forth to war). And whoso obeyeth Allah and His messenger, He will make him enter Gardens underneath which rivers flow; and whoso tumeth back, him will He punish with a painful doom.”

The preamble mentions *permanent force*, which is a clear reference to violent jihad. Islamic jihad is essentially an external struggle against the Kafirs (non-Muslims). Koran (66:9):

“O Prophet! Strive against the disbelievers and the hypocrites, and be stern with them. Hell will be their home, a hapless journey's end.”

In many cases, Islamic jihad can escalate into violent struggle. Koran (47:3-4):

“That is because those who disbelieve follow falsehood and because those who believe follow the truth from their Lord. Thus Allah coineth their similitudes for mankind. Now when ye meet in battle those who disbelieve, then it is smiting of the necks until, when ye have routed them, then making fast of bonds; and afterward either grace or ransom till the war lay down its burdens. That (is the ordinance). And if Allah willed He could have punished them (without you) but (thus it is ordained) that He may try some of you by means of others. And those who are slain in the way of Allah, He rendereth not their actions vain.”

Mercy is finite, especially when Islam can show superiority, does not face significant opposition, and cannot otherwise achieve its demands. Koran (17:16):

“And when We would destroy a township We send commandment to its folk who live at ease, and afterward they commit abomination therein, and so the Word (of doom) hath effect for it, and We annihilate it with complete annihilation.”

The preamble calls for support for jihad.

<Preamble: To construct a permanent force of the Islamic dawa and support movements engaged in jihad across the Islamic world, to varying degrees and insofar as possible.>

This is obvious support for terror, which the Koran (8:12) also commands:

“When thy Lord inspired the angels, (saying:) I am with you. So make those who believe stand firm. I will throw fear into the hearts

of those who disbelieve. Then smite the necks and smite of them each finger.”

In the preamble, dawa, jihad and force are mentioned together. Points of the motion detail the modern way of doing this.

In point A1 we get an interesting addition about the dawa: *dawa must be supported by force*. The dawa, jihad and force mentioned in the preamble, together with point A1, already imply an ideological war, which emphasizes the political doctrine of the Islam.

<A1: To protect the dawa for Allah with the force necessary to guarantee its security at the local and international levels.>

A2, C1: As we have seen above, support for jihadi movements is a command from Islamic doctrine. Beyond this, here again we hear about the creation of intelligence services.

<A2: To liaise with all jihadi movements, wherever they are established, be it in the Islamic world or among Muslim minorities, and to create links as needed to establish and support collaboration.>

<C1: To build communication bridges between movements engaged in jihad in the Islamic world and in the Islamic minorities, and to support them insofar as possible within a framework of collaboration.>

A3: As we saw also in the previous motion, Islamic doctrine makes jihad the duty of every Muslim. Koran (2:216):

“Warfare is ordained for you, though it is hateful unto you; but it may happen that ye hate a thing which is good for you, and it may happen that ye love a thing which is bad for you. Allah knoweth, ye know not.”

<A3: To maintain obligation of jihad throughout the Umma.>

It is also the duty of every Muslim to follow the example of Mohammed, there are many exhortations to do so. Koran (3:31):

“Say, (O Muhammad, to mankind): If ye love Allah, follow me; Allah will love you and forgive you your sins. Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.”

Mohammed’s biography is full of various forms of fighting Kafirs, including violent acts such as the battles and raids already mentioned in the comments to Motion 5. Here is a description of another event, which is a summary of a story from Abu Dawud, one of the descriptors of Mohammed’s tradition (38:4390), and from his biographers Tabari (vol. VIII, pp. 35-36) and ibn Ishaq (pp. 461-464):

Although the Qurayza [a Jewish tribe] surrendered peacefully to the Muslims, Muhammad determined that every man of the tribe would be executed, along with every boy who had reached the initial stages of puberty (between the ages of 12 and 14). He ordered that a ditch be dug outside of the town and had the victims brought to him in several groups. Each person would be forced to kneel, and their head would be cut off and dumped along with the body into the trench.

Between 700 and 900 men and boys of the Banu Qurayza were slaughtered by Muhammad’s tribe after their surrender (Ibn Kathir v3. p. 170).

The surviving children of the men became slaves of the Muslims, and their widows became sex slaves (some were then traded for horses). This included the Jewish girl, Rayhana, who became one of Muhammad’s personal concubines the very night that her husband was beheaded.

B1: Creating a self-defense force. Kafir translation: maintaining own army, use of armed force.

<B1. To create self-defense force to protect converting and converters locally and worldwide.>

Koran (4:74):

“Let those fight in the way of Allah who sell the life of this world for the other. Whoso fighteth in the way of Allah, be he slain or be he victorious, on him We shall bestow a vast reward.”

Koran (4:89):

“They long that ye should disbelieve even as they disbelieve, that ye may be upon a level (with them). So choose not friends from them till they forsake their homes in the way of Allah; if they turn back (to enmity) then take them and kill them wherever ye find them, and choose no friend nor helper from among them.”

المنطلق العاشر :

الاعتماد على اجهزة رصد متنوعة وفي امكنة مختلفة للتغذية بالمعلومات واعتماد سياسة اعلامية واعية وفعالة لخدمة السياسة الاعلامية العالمية ، فالرصد وعمل القرارات السياسية ، والاعلام الفعال عمل متكامل الاجزاء من حيث التكوين والاداء .

f- العناصر :

- ١ - اعتماد القرار السياسي على رصد المعلومات الهامة والدقيقة .
- ٢ - اعتماد نشر السياسة الاسلامية على اعلام شامل من حيث التغطية وفعال من حيث الاداء .

ب- مستلزمات اجرائية :

- ١ - انشاء جهاز رصد حديث ، مستخدمين التكنولوجيا المتطورة (وربما تكامل ذلك مع مركز المعلومات المقترح) .
- ٢ - انشاء جهاز اعلامي واع وقدير .

ج - مهمات مقترحة :

- ١ - تنبيه المسلمين على الاخطار المحدقة بهم والمؤامرات العالمية التي تحاك ضدهم .
- ٢ - ابداء الرأي الاسلامي في القضايا المعاصرة المطروحة والقضايا المستقبلية .

MOTION 10:

To rely on various surveillance systems in several places to gather information. Adopt a scientific, intelligent and effective politics serving the worldwide Islamic politics. Hence, monitoring and implementing political decisions and effectively communicating the work we do with all available tools to be represented and get acquainted.

A - Elements:

1. To rely on political decisions based on monitoring important and precise information.
2. To diffuse Islamic politics so that it is completely and efficiently covered by the media.

B - Executive procedures:

1. To create a modern surveillance system by means of advanced technology (possibly created at the research centers suggested).
2. To create scientific, intelligent and effective equipment.

C - Suggested missions:

1. To warn Muslims of the dangers that threaten them and the international conspiracies directed at them.
2. To give Islamic views on current events and future issues.

Comments to Motion 10

Here we see foresight. The year was 1982. Information technology was not yet in the public domain, social networking sites did not yet exist, intelligence databases were based on a card index system, yet we hear of intelligent surveillance systems and information centers.

Muslim brothers further emphasize here the political aspects of Islam. Points A and B detail how the Islamic intelligence service should be established and maintained. There can be no doubt that this service is already in operation today, monitoring the Kafir society and building up a database of Kafirs.

<A1: To rely on political decisions based on monitoring important and precise information.>

<A2: To diffuse Islamic politics so that it is completely and efficiently covered by the media.>

<B1: To create a modern surveillance system by means of advanced technology (possibly created at the research centers suggested).>

<B2: To create scientific, intelligent and effective equipment.>

C1, B1: A database should be set up to record and organize data on conspiracies against Muslims. According to B2, the equipment should be intelligent, i.e. it should be able to draw conclusions autonomously. Nowhere in the report is there any mention of the protection of personal data.

<C1: To warn Muslims of the dangers that threaten them and the international conspiracies directed at them.>

The Koran (43:80) instructs to observe the Kafirs:

“Or deem they that We cannot hear their secret thoughts and private confidences? Nay, but Our envoys, present with them, do record.”

Point C2 instructs to give Islamic view on these events and issues.

<C2: To give Islamic views on current events and future issues.>

Islamic view on these events and issues was not clear to us in 1982, but we know it today: the Kafir who exposes Political Islam must be declared islamophobic and a campaign to discredit him on the grounds of racism must be waged.^{56, 57, 58}

Koran (3:151):

“We shall cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve because they ascribe unto Allah partners, for which no warrant hath been revealed. Their habitation is the Fire, and hapless the abode of the wrong doers.”

56 ricochet.com/210065/moderate-muslim-watch-how-the-term-islamophobia-got-shoved-down-your-throat/, accessed: 02.02.2026.

57 signandsight.com/features/2123.html, accessed: 02.02.2026..

58 discoverthenetworks.org/organizations/muslim-students-association-of-the-us-and-canada-msa, accessed: 02.02.2026.



المنطلق الحادى عشر :

تبني القضية الفلسطينية ، على المستوى الاسلامي العالمي على الصعيدين السياسي والجهادى لأنها مفتاح نهضة العالم الاسلامي من جديد في العصر الحاضر .

أ- العناصر :

- ١ - ابداء الرأى الاسلامي في كل الامور والطول والمشكلات التي تواجه القضية الفلسطينية مع بلورة حكم الاسلام في ذلك .
ودوام توعية المسلمين على اساسه .
- ٢ - اعداد الامة للجهاد من اجل تحرير فلسطين ، ويمكن قيادة الامة وتحقيق سائر اهداف الحركة الاسلامية عن هذا الطريق وخصوصا اذا تحقق النصر ان شاء الله .
- ٣ - بدء نواة الجهاد في فلسطين ، مهما كان متواضعا ، وتنميته على مر الزمن لابقاء جذوة الجهاد وكطريق وحيد لتحرير فلسطين ، ولابقاء القضية الفلسطينية نفسها حية حتى يأذن الله بالتحريز .

ب - مستلزمات اجرائية :

- ١ - ضمان جمع المال اللازم للجهاد باستمرار .
- ٢ - عمل مسح بشري للاوضاع الاسلامية واوضاع العدو في فلسطين المحتلة .

ج - مهمات مقترحة :

- ١ - عمل دراسات عن اليهود اعداء المسلمين وما يقوم به الاعداء اليهود من اذى واضطهاد لاخواننا في فلسطين المحتلة بالاضافة الى الخطب والنشرات .
- ٢ - محاربة روح الاستسلام في الامة ورفض الطول الاستسلامية وبيان ان الصلح مع اليهود يعني التفريط بقضيتنا الام وتراشبا .
- ٣ - عمل دراسات مقارنة بين الحروب المليبية واسرائيل وان النصر للاسلام .
- ٤ - بناء خلايا جهادية في فلسطين وتنميتها لتتسع وتشمل فلسطين المحتلة بكاملها .
- ٥ - عقد الصلة بين المجاهدين في فلسطين والمجاهدين في كل ارض اسلامية .
- ٦ - اذكاء روح الحقد على اليهود وعدم التعايش معهم .

MOTION 11:

To adopt the Palestinian cause as part of a worldwide Islamic plan, with the political plan and by means of jihad, since it acts as the keystone of the new renaissance of the Islamic world today.

A - Elements:

1. To provide an Islamic view on all areas, problems and solutions relative to the Palestinian question, based on the precepts of Islamic domination. Keeping Muslims informed about the substance of the matter.
2. To prepare the Umma [community of believers] for jihad for the liberation of Palestine. One can lead the Umma to realize the plans of the Islamic movement above all if victory is ours, if Allah wills it.
3. To create a nucleus of jihad in Palestine, even if it is helpless. This must be nurtured over time to keep the embers of jihad alive, because it is the only way to liberate Palestine, and in order that the Palestinian cause will endure until Allah gives permission for liberation.

B - Executive procedures:

1. To guarantee sufficient funds for jihad continuously.
2. To conduct a study of the situation of Muslims and the enemy in occupied Palestine.

C - Suggested missions:

1. To conduct studies on “the Jews, enemies of Muslims”, and on the harm and oppression inflicted by these enemies on our brothers in occupied Palestine, in addition to preaching and publications.
2. To fight against the sentiment of capitulation among the Umma, to refuse defeatist solutions, and to show that conciliation with the Jews will undermine our movement and its inheritance.
3. To conduct comparative studies on the Crusades and Israel, and the victory that will be that of Islam.

4. To create jihadi cells in Palestine, and support them in order that they cover and fulfill all of occupied Palestine.
5. To create a link between the mujahedeen in Palestine and those throughout the Islamic world.
6. To nourish a sentiment of rancor with respect to the Jews and refuse all coexistence with them.

Comments to Motion 11

C6 point emphasizes hatred, which makes sense of the Political Islamic protests which have been seen in the West, in this case against Jews.

<C6: To nourish a sentiment of rancor with respect to the Jews and refuse all coexistence with them.>

The struggle for the cause of a Palestinian State has been mentioned several times throughout this report, but here this whole motion is about it. It is a matter of fundamental importance to the Muslim Brotherhood, and the solution envisaged is set out in detail here.

From the preamble and points A1, A2, and C2, it seems that all Muslims have a duty to fight for the liberation of Palestine. According to the report, the Jews are the enemies of the entire Islamic community. The Muslim Brotherhood claims and demands the expansion of the camp opposing the Jewish state.

<Preamble: To adopt the Palestinian cause as part of a worldwide Islamic plan, with the political plan and by means of jihad, since it acts as the keystone of the new renaissance of the Islamic world today.>

<A1: To provide an Islamic view on all areas, problems and solutions relative to the Palestinian question, based on the precepts of Islamic domination. Keeping Muslims informed about the substance of the matter.>

<A2: To prepare the Umma [community of believers] for jihad for the liberation of Palestine. One can lead the Umma to realize the plans of the Islamic movement above all if victory is ours, if Allah wills it.>

<C2: To fight against the sentiment of capitulation among the Umma, to refuse defeatist solutions, and to show that conciliation with the Jews will undermine our movement and its inheritance.>

The A2 point highlights the need for MB's representatives to follow a path of victories. Then they can become authentic leaders of the Islamic community. Koran (8:67):

“It is not for any Prophet to have captives until he hath made slaughter in the land. Ye desire the lure of this world and Allah desireth (for you) the Hereafter, and Allah is Mighty, Wise.”

Reading carefully, point B1 does not order *to collect money*, but *to guarantee sufficient funds*. *Organizing fundraising* is an activity of higher order than collecting money, which requires the development of a method and the establishment of a financial basis, so that the collection of money becomes perpetual.

<B1: To guarantee sufficient funds for jihad continuously.>

Besson's book says the following:⁵⁹

In the wake of the attacks on New York and Washington, America brought new charges against Al-Taqwa [bank, investment company]. On November 7, 2001, the White House declared that the company had provided „financial advice and money transfer services” to Al-Qaeda and other radical Islamic groups. Shortly afterwards, a letter to Switzerland from the US Treasury Department stated that Al-Taqwa, founded in 1988 „with significant support from the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood”, had financed the Palestinian Hamas, the Islamic Salvation Front and the GIA in Algeria, as well as the Tunisian Islamist movement Ennahdah.

Point B1 is also interesting because of the term *guarantee jihad continuously*. This makes it seem that the jihad will last until the end of time.

A doctrinal support for this idea can be found in Mohammed's tradition, in a paragraph from Sahih Muslim, Hadith 22:

“I have been commanded to fight against people till they testify that there is no god but Allah, that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, and they

⁵⁹ Sylvain Besson, *La conquête de l'occident - Le mystère de la banque Al-Taqwa* (The conquest of the West - The mystery of the Al-Taqwa bank) (French) (2005)

establish prayer, and pay Zakat and if they do it, their blood and property are guaranteed protection on my behalf except when justified by law, and their affairs rest with Allah.”

Another interesting expression is *the jihadi cells in occupied Palestine* in point C4. This has a distinctly militaristic connotation.

<C4: To create jihadi cells in Palestine, and support them in order that they cover and fulfill all of occupied Palestine.>

The phrase ‘*Jews, enemies of Muslims*’, used in point C1, and the generalizing concept of ‘*brother*’, also mentioned there, are particularly interesting. According to this, not only are members of the Muslim Brotherhood brothers to each other, but every Muslim is a brother to every Muslim,⁶⁰ and every Muslim is an enemy to every Jew.

<C1: To conduct studies on “the Jews, enemies of Muslims”, and on the harm and oppression inflicted by these enemies on our brothers in occupied Palestine, in addition to preaching and publications.>

C2: Conciliation with the Jews is capitulation. It is felt throughout the whole motion and this point refers explicitly to the despised Camp David peace agreement.

<C2: To fight against the sentiment of capitulation among the Umma, to refuse defeatist solutions, and to show that conciliation with the Jews will undermine our movement and its inheritance.>

C3: The Crusades need to be compared with Israel in order to draw lessons for the path to victory for Islam.

<C3: To conduct comparative studies on the Crusades and Israel, and the victory that will be that of Islam.>

Point C5 of Motion 11 is a special case of what Motion 9 concludes: united jihadis of the world help the Palestinian jihadis. (As having the same root the words mujahedeen and jihadis are synonyms.) A group of the united international mujahedeen demolished the Twin Towers in New York on September 11, 2001.

⁶⁰ cspii.org/education/methodology/statistical-analysis-extra-information/the-meaning-of-brother-in-islam/, accessed: 02.02.2026.

<C5: To create a link between the mujahedeen in Palestine and those throughout the Islamic world.>

C6: *‘To nourish a sentiment of rancor with respect to the Jews’* - a rather particular instruction to add to a strategy guide. This is in accordance with the Jew-hatred found in Islamic doctrine.

<C6: To nourish a sentiment of rancor with respect to the Jews and refuse all coexistence with them.>

According to the most authoritative Hadith collection, Sahih Bukhari (2925) (52:176):

“Allah’s Messenger said: You (i.e. Muslims) will fight with the Jews until some of them will hide behind stones. The stones will (betray them) saying, *O `Abdullah* (i.e. slave of Allah)! *There is a Jew hiding behind me; so kill him.*”

Tabari, one of the biographers of Mohammed (7:97) informs us:

“The morning after the murder of Ashraf, the Prophet declared: *Kill any Jew who falls under your power.*”

We can be sure that it was the spirit of the Motion 11 that called for the creation of the „Promise of the Hereafter Institute” in 2014 to fight for the liberation of Palestine. The institute is run by the Hamas, a Muslim Brotherhood affiliate in Ghaza, with all-Islamic support. The purpose of the institute’s conference in Ghaza on 30 September 2021 is *to discuss preparations for the future administration of the state of Palestine following its „liberation” from Israel after the latter „disappears”*.⁶¹

One of the conclusions of the conference, chaired by Hamas leader Yahyah Al-Sinwar:

“We must differentiate between Jews who should and should not be killed, and prevent a Jewish ‘brain drain’ from Palestine”.⁶²

The conference produced a 20-point resolution for the liberation of Palestine. The text of the resolution is available,⁶³ yet it is not known to Kafir society. Its description and the interpretation of its text is subject of a separate study.

61 memri.org/reports/hamas-sponsored-promise-hereafter-conference-phase-following-liberation-palestine-and, accessed: 02.02.2026.

62 Ibid.

63 English translation is at the same place.

المستطرق الثاني عشر :

النقد الذاتي والتقييم المستمر للسياسة الاسلامية العالمية من حيث الاهداف والمضمون والاجراءات بقصد التطوير والتحسين واجب اسلامي وامر ضروري وهذا مما توجبه احكام الشريعة الاسلامية الفراء .

أ- العناصر:

- ١ - النقد الذاتي البناء الفعال يؤدي الى تجنب الاخطاء .
- ٢ - التقييم المستمر يجب ان يبنى على اسس علمية ، ويؤدي الى تطوير السياسات .
- ٣ - تحسين السياسات الاسلامية بالاستفادة من تجارب الماضي يجب ان يكون هدفا اساسيا واضحا .

ب - مستلزمات اجرائية :

- ١ - تقييم الممارسات الحالية والاستفادة من تجارب الماضي .
- ٢ - الطلب من القيادات في الاقطار المختلفة وكذلك الافراد في كل قطر ان يبدوا آراءهم وافكارهم في مسيرة الدعوة قيادية ومنهجية وخطية ونتاج بصورة مستمرة .

ج - مهمات مقترحة :

- ١ - اقرار وثيقة للسياسة الاسلامية العالمية بصورة رسمية .
- ٢ - توعية الاقطار والمسؤولين وفق هذه السياسة ، وتوعية الافراد في ضوء ذلك .
- ٣ - البدء بتطبيق هذه السياسة ، وتقويمها سنويا ، وتطويرها وفقا لذلك .

MOTION 12:

To know how to turn to self-criticism and permanent evaluation of world-wide Islamic politics and its objectives, of its content and its procedures in order to improve it. This is an Islamic duty and a necessity according to the precepts of Sharia.

A - Elements:

1. To conduct constructive self-criticism, in order to avoid pitfalls.
2. To proceed with constant evaluation, on a scientific basis, to permit the further construction of politics.
3. To improve Islamic politics and to take profit from past experiences must be a clear and essential objective.

B - Executive procedures:

1. To evaluate current practices and profit from past experience.
2. It should require the leadership of the various states and individuals in the states to consider their opinions and thoughts on the dawa. This should have an impact on governance, tools, plans and results on an ongoing basis.

C - Suggested missions:

1. To produce an official document on global Islamic politics.
2. To make the countries, the officials and the people aware of that politics.
3. To begin to apply this politics, to evaluate it annually and to improve it if need be.

Comments to Motion 12

The last motion is a summary of *The Project*, drawing conclusions. Motion 12 is a strong testimony to the political nature of Islamic doctrine, just as the previous motions leave no doubt about that: how to deal with the Kafirs, how to treat them. The preamble to Motion 12 already mentions the objectives, content, procedures, duty and necessity of Islamic politics.

<Preamble: To know how to turn to self-criticism and permanent evaluation of worldwide Islamic politics and its objectives, of its content and its procedures in order to improve it. This is an Islamic duty and a necessity according to the precepts of Sharia.>

The term *worldwide Islamic politics* is the culmination of the concept. Islamic politics is therefore applicable to all peoples, to every single person, in every corner of the globe.

A1: Self-criticism means only internal criticism in order to avoid mistakes that hinder the expansion of Political Islam. Mohammed, the perfect example, did not accept criticism.

<A1: To conduct constructive self-criticism, in order to avoid pitfalls.>

A3, C1, C2, C3: The expression *Islamic politics* is used throughout the report. From the Kafir perspective however, anything in Islamic doctrine that refers to how to treat Kafirs is *Political Islam* (see glossary). It is incredibly important for Kafirs to understand Political Islam.

<A3: To improve Islamic politics and to take profit from past experiences must be a clear and essential objective.>

<C1: To produce an official document on global Islamic politics.>

<C2: To make the countries, the officials and the people aware of that politics.>

<C3: To begin to apply this politics, to evaluate it annually and to improve it if need be.>

B2, C2, C3: The report does not yet use the term *islamophobia* (see glossary), but representatives of Political Islam have long been experimenting by spreading the guidelines set out in the points. Although the term islamophobia was coined in the early 20th century, its meaning has been constantly evolving. It only acquired its current meaning at the end of the 20th century, and since the beginning of the 21st century attempts have been made to make critics of Political Islam increasingly punishable.

<B2: It should require the leadership of the various states and individuals in the states to consider their opinions and thoughts on the dawa. This should have an impact on governance, tools, plans and results on an ongoing basis.>

In 1997, the Runnymede Trust, a British ideological research institute, published *Islamophobia: A Challenge for us All in 1997*,⁶⁴ the first study to use the word islamophobia in its modern sense. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan promoted the word at a conference in 2004, when it became a household name.

Since then, research institutes have been studying the issue, publishing annual reports. One such annual report is the *European Islamophobia Report 2022*,⁶⁵ a Turkish-EU co-production. The Turkish research institute SETA, in collaboration with the Leopold Weiss Institute in Vienna and researchers from 32 European countries, has published its 8th annual report on islamophobia in Europe.

The editors of the report are assisted by a network across the European countries, with local organizations delivering news of islamophobic incidents in these locations. The 583-page report details acts, exclusions, statements and hate speech against organizations, followers, concepts of Political Islam, specifying countries, „anti-Islamic” organizations and individuals.

One of the editors of the report is the Turkish Assoc. Prof. Dr. Enes Bayraklı, university professor of political science. He has already been detecting islamophobia not only in Kafir societies but also in Islamic communities.⁶⁶

The other editor, Prof. Dr. Farid Hafez, PhD, is a political scientist, university professor, Austrian citizen. His activities have already been discussed in the European Parliament. German EP-representative Markus Pieper (CDU) has tabled a resolution condemning „*the fact that Hafez has repeatedly received funding from the EU budget despite his close ties with the Muslim Brotherhood and the Turkish government, which are trying to*

⁶⁴ mcislamofobia.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Islamophobia-a-challenge-for-us-all-without-cartoons-1.pdf, accessed: 02.02.2026.

⁶⁵ islamophobiareport.com/islamophobiareport-2022.pdf, accessed: 02.02.2026.

⁶⁶ www.researchgate.net/publication/358617437_Enes_Bayrakli_and_Farid_Hafez_eds_-_Islamophobia_in_Muslim_Majority_Societies; accessed: 02.02.2026.

*silence independent journalists and media freedom under the pretext of Islamophobia”.*⁶⁷

The motion, adopted by a two-thirds majority, calls on the EU Commission to „change the eligibility criteria for the *Rights, Equality and Citizenship* program under the EU budget to prevent individuals and organizations with such disturbing views from receiving EU funds.”⁶⁸ Hafez vehemently denies that he is a MB member, but in the paper *Der Standard* he praised the MB as a democratic force.⁶⁹

The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) long before the first European Islamophobia Report, since 2007 has been carrying out a similar regular study, but covering the whole globe. In 2022, the organization has already published its 14th report on islamophobia,⁷⁰ which was presented at the session of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Islamabad on 22-23 March.

The OIC study does not identify its researchers or news providers. Even the name of the current OIC Secretary General, who honored the reader with his foreword, is not mentioned. However, we can see from the photo attached that it is His Excellency Ambassador Hissein Brahim Taha. The Chadian-born Secretary General is also the Chancellor of the Islamic University of Technology.

While this report keeps the identity of its researchers incognito, it is not so shy about exposing the Kafir governments, organizations, leaders and individuals that it identifies as islamophobic. The 224-page study is written with sophisticated text pasted with graphs, trend charts, and diagrams.

What can those who are stigmatized by these reports expect? The punishment of Kafirs who oppose Islam is provided for by Allah himself in the Koran (5:33):

“The only reward of those who make war upon Allah and His messenger and strive after corruption in the land will be that they will

67 europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/A-9-2021-0117-AM-095-097_EN.pdf, accessed: 02.02.2026.

68 Ibid.

69 derstandard.at/story/1371172114314/demokratie-und-islam---schon-am-ende, German, accessed: 02.02.2026.

70 oic-oci.org/upload/islamophobia/2022/14th_Annual_Report_on_Islamophobia_March_2022_r2.pdf, accessed: 02.02.2026.

be killed or crucified, or have their hands and feet on alternate sides cut off, or will be expelled out of the land. Such will be their degradation in the world, and in the Hereafter theirs will be an awful doom.”

C1: What official document has been published on global Islamic politics since 1982? We know that *The Project, An Explanatory Memorandum* (see glossary), the *Liberation of Palestine* (see glossary) are internal documents, not intended for the public.

<C1: To produce an official document on global Islamic politics.>

In contrast, *The Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam* (CDHRI),⁷¹ published in 1990 and arranged by the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), was intended as a public response to the 1948 UN *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR).⁷² The UN declaration cannot be fully accepted by Islamic countries. The Cairo Declaration is the subject of a separate study.

The declaration was soon the subject of controversy, which led the OIC to launch a revision process from the mid-2000s. Finally, in 2021, the revised declaration was issued as the *OIC Declaration of Human Rights* (ODHR).⁷³

Although it is not the task of our study to evaluate the 1990 and 2021 declarations, it should be noted that the later OIC declaration is significantly closer in its resolutions and tone to the UN declaration. (This evolution is described in detail by the Turkish-American political scientist Turan Kayaoglu in his article *Promises and pitfalls*.⁷⁴)

For example, the original Arabic-language declaration of 2021⁷⁵ mentions Sharia only three times, twice in the preface and once in the conclusion, and not once in the body of the resolution. Moreover, the English translation of the declaration has omitted the word Sharia altogether and has replaced it with ‘the teachings of Islam’ and ‘Islamic values and principles’.

71 hrlibrary.umn.edu/instree/cairodeclaration.html, accessed: 02.02.2026.

72 un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights, accessed: 02.02.2026.

73 oic-oci.org/upload/pages/conventions/en/CDHRI_2021_ENG.pdf, accessed: 02.02.2026.

74 brookings.edu/research/the-organization-of-islamic-cooperations-declaration-on-human-rights-promises-and-pitfalls/, accessed: 02.02.2026.

75 oic-oci.org/topic/?t_id=29268&t_ref=18438&lan=ar, Arabic, accessed: 02.02.2026..

However, as the Sharia is derived entirely from Islamic doctrine, these terms can be considered identical.

And now back to *The Project*. The declarations above were not issued by the Muslim Brotherhood, but by the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). The question arises: has there not been a similar evolution in the thinking of the Muslim Brotherhood to the peace-seeking process that is nevertheless taking place in the OIC? Are the decisions taken in 1982 still regarded 40 years later in the same way, are they still valid?

To answer the question, first consider that *The Project* was found in 2001, almost 20 years after it was created, when it was in force with the same effect. The same determination could be felt among the brothers at least 25 years after *The Project* was written down, at the 2007-2008 year court hearing of the document of *An Explanatory Memorandum*, which is in a similar vein to *The Project*. And in 2021, we know from the document of *Liberation of Palestine* that the mood has not changed almost 40 years after *The Project* was registered.

Secondly, consider that the MB's action plans are highly confidential documents that are only revealed in the events of break-downs. A completely different tone is expressed in the case of documents made public by the MB and other Islamic organizations than in internal, confidential material. If the Islamic interest already demands politically more correct statements, it can be done (see glossary: deception).

Thirdly, a careful examination of *The Project* document should reveal that the resolutions are implemented gradually over time. For example, many Western universities are now under the influence of Political Islam, parallel Islamic societies have been created living alongside Kafir societies, acts of jihad have been escalated, the Islamic State has been created, the crime of islamophobia is being introduced.

Finally, we must not forget that Islamic doctrine makes it a duty for Muslims to wage jihad on Kafirs until the whole world submits. This command from Mohammed and Allah is eternal and unchanging.

C1, C2, C3: The very end of the report gives the order: *global Political Islam must be introduced*, i.e. Political Islam must cover the whole planet, including the Kafir states; *it must be accepted by the leaders of the Kafir states and even should be extended to the Kafir citizens*. How? That is

what the whole report is about, for example, the finding in Motion 5: *any method of influence can be used.*

<C1: To produce an official document on global Islamic politics.>

<C2: To make the countries, the officials and the people aware of that politics.>

<C3: To begin to apply this politics, to evaluate it annually and to improve it if need be.>

Koran (8:38-39):

“Tell those who disbelieve that if they cease (from persecution of believers) that which is past will be forgiven them; but if they return (thereto) then the example of the men of old hath already gone (before them, for a warning). And fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is all for Allah. But if they cease, then lo! Allah is Seer of what they do.”

CONCLUSION

Political Islam has been expanding successfully for 1400 years. Starting in Mecca in 610 AD, Mohammed's initial 12 years of preaching were then followed by a hugely successful political and military expansion, which continues to this day. The secret of its success is the *jihad* (see glossary).

Islamic jihad is sweeping over Kafir nations in waves. The first jihad began in 622 with the *hijra* (see glossary) and quickly became an armed campaign of conquest. In the course of a single century, the Islamic invasion that started from Arabia conquered all of North Africa and Hispania to the west, and through Persia reached India in the east, conquering all the Kafir nations in between.

Jihad has destroyed many once thriving Kafir societies. For example, during the first jihad, those Christian societies were already destroyed, which then belonged to the unified Pentarchy in what are now Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, and the ancient Persian Zoroastrian society were destroyed as well. They disappeared from the scene of history in Islamic territory. It was Islamic territory where Syrian, Mesopotamian (Iraqi), Judean (Palestinian), Egyptian, Sabean (Yemeni), Maghrebi and Hispanic Christians and Jews became second-class (dhimmi) citizens of the Caliphate.

The rapid conquest was inevitably followed by a period of rest and recharging: the changed situation called for a reorganization. The conquered foreign land had to be known, inhabited, settled, the order of *caliphate* (see glossary: caliph) had to be extended there. It was necessary to organize the systematic plundering of the conquered peoples, the ways in which, among others was the *jizya* and *kharaj* (see glossary: dhimmi).

The second jihad was then led by the now Islamic Persians and Mughals in Asia, and by the converted Turks in Asia Minor and then Europe. In fact, the decline of the Byzantine Empire had already begun in the early Middle Ages, gaining momentum from the 11th century onwards. This was due to the progressively overwhelming invasion of the Islamic Turks, who had gained a permanent foothold in Europe by the mid-14th century.

The second jihad destroyed the Buddhist communities in Afghanistan and Central Asia (Turkestan), Hindu kingdoms with Sikhs and Christians in western India (now Pakistan), Hindu principalities and kingdoms in northern India (Kashmir, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar) and Bengal, and Hindu communities in South-East Asia (Malaysia, Indonesia). Then the Byzantine Orthodox Christian society and the ancient Miaphysite (Monophysite) Armenian Christian community were also destroyed both in the now Islamic area of Turkey.

Significant part of Africa also became victim of the second jihad. In the course of that, Animist and Christian societies disappeared from the Sahel and the Indian Ocean coast. Islamic slave-hunting then spread further into the rainforests of Africa, devastating, crippling its indigenous communities.

In the second jihad, the expansion of Political Islam covered the entire Balkans, then occupied significant part of the Hungarian Kingdom for almost 200 years, and threatened Vienna. Of the 270 million Kafirs killed by jihad in the last 1400 years, 60 million were Christians. The Kafirs of the conquered European peoples who survived the conquest were subjected to another form of plunder in addition to jizya and kharaj: the *child tax*. According to Islamic doctrine, the Kafir is inferior to the Muslim, can be enslaved and is liable to pay tribute to the Islamic authorities. Taxed (kidnapped) Kafir boys were turned into jihadis called janissaries, while Kafir girls were used as concubines.

After World War I, the collapse of the last caliphate marked the definitive end of the second jihad. Then, inevitably, there was another breakdown, and the Islamic world had to be reorganized again. The Muslim Brotherhood, founded in Egypt in 1928, played a major role in this resurgence. The MB developed an elaborate structure and hierarchy, organized charity campaigns, carried out armed raids, became dominant force. It expanded steadily, establishing cells in Europe and then in North America.

Since its inception, the MB has encouraged all forms of jihad including dawa, hijra (Islamic political migration), armed violence. The third jihad had in fact already begun in the 1960s, became more pronounced in the 1990s, but as for Kafirs it became apparent only in 2015, when the hijra to Europe increased sharply.

In the MB, the method to make the third jihad truly effective matured in the 1980s. This method was put into writing in 1982 in Switzerland, the writing we know as *The Project*. The brothers managed to keep *The Project* secret for almost 20 years before a copy was found by the Swiss Federal Police in the possession of a MB leader. *The Project*, which has been closely guarded, has lost none of its relevance, the decisions that have been taken since then are proof of its validity.

The remaining Kafir communities living in the present Islamic territory have now been disastrously repressed, their population has been drastically reduced. Such disappearing Kafir peoples are the Copts of Egypt and Eritrea, the Chaldeans and Yazidis of Iraq, the Zoroastrians of Iran, the Hindus of Pakistan and the Catholic and Protestant Christians of Pakistan, the Hindus of Bangladesh, the Orthodox Christians of Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine and Egypt. As a result of the third jihad, we are witnessing the collapse of the indigenous Papuan and Austronesian communities of Animists and Protestant Christians, living in the now Indonesian West New-Guinea.

The current process of the third jihad in Europe and North America can also be read in *The Project*. We see the instructions that have been carried out, discover the pattern of influence, and recognize the Brothers from the nature of their actions.

GLOSSARY

An Explanatory Memorandum⁷⁶ - مذكرة تفسيرية

A Muslim Brotherhood resolution for North America, similar in spirit and tone to *The Project*. It is a guideline for a method of the jihad in eliminating and destroying Western civilization from within. Authored by Mohamed Akram, it was written in 1991, but the decisions of the Memorandum were taken at a conference held in 1987. The memorandum was made public in 2007-2008.

caliph <khalifa> - خليفة - successor

In Islamic interpretation: Mohammed's successor. The Islamic state maintained by the successors, based on the tradition of Mohammed, is the caliphate, headed by the worthy successor, the caliph.

dawa - دعوة - invitation

In Islamic parlance: conversion. The worthy, spiritually mature Kafir is invited into the Islamic community.

Koran (16:125):

“Call unto the way of thy Lord with wisdom and fair exhortation, and reason with them in the better way. Lo! thy Lord is best aware of him who strayeth from His way, and He is Best Aware of those who go aright.”

While the Muslim is permitted, and even obliged to convert, this is strictly forbidden for a Kafir. A Kafir who spreads disbelief among Muslims must be killed.

Koran (4:89):

“They long that ye should disbelieve even as they disbelieve, that ye may be upon a level (with them). So choose not friends from them till they forsake their homes in the way of Allah; if they turn back (to enmity) then take them and kill them wherever ye find them, and choose no friend nor helper from among them.”

⁷⁶ Mohamed Akram, 'An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America', 22. May 1991, item 4, (English part, page 7), (part 1: Arabic original, part 2: English translation) investigativeproject.org/documents/20-an-explanatory-memorandum-on-the-general.pdf, accessed: 02.02.2026.

Note that in Arabic there is a general, literal word for „conversion”: tabshir - تبشير . Only this word can be used for conversion applied by the Kafirs (mission). The word dawa - invitation - is reserved only for conversion to Islam.

deception (including taqiyya – تقية)

Islamic doctrine makes it permissible to deceive and lie, as deception is in accordance with Mohammed’s example:

Hadith, Bukhari 3030 (also 3027, 3028, 3029):

“The Prophet said, *War is deceit.*”

The above hadith was proclaimed by Mohammed after the Battle of the Trench (year 627), where Mohammed got a convert to Islam to betray his own tribal alliance (al-Ahزاب) by sowing dissension among them until they disbanded, thus ending the siege on the Islamic forces.

Hadith, Bukhari 4037:

“Allah’s Messenger said, *Who is willing to kill Ka’b bin Al-Ashraf who has hurt Allah and His Apostle?* Thereupon Muhammad bin Maslama got up saying, *O Allah’s Messenger! Would you like that I kill him?* The Prophet said, *Yes,* Muhammad bin Maslama said, *Then allow me to say a (false) thing (i.e. to deceive Ka’b).* The Prophet said, *You may say it. ...”*

In this passage above, Mohammed permitted lying so that his followers could kill a man who had criticized him.

Islamic doctrine also makes it permissible to say one will do something and then not do it if one has found something more advantageous:

Hadith, Bukhari 7146:

“Mohammed: *If you ever take an oath to do something and later on you find that something else is better, then you should expiate your oath and do what is better.*”

Indeed, Koran 9:1 explicitly frees those who follow Islam from any obligation to Kafirs “with whom ye made a treaty”, thus permitting Islamic leaders to dissolve an agreement if something better comes along (Hadith, Bukhari 7146). This was exemplified by Mohammed himself after agreeing to the 10-year treaty of Hudaibiya (A.D. 628) with the Quraish tribe.

Only two years later, when his forces had gathered enough strength to defeat them, Mohammed declared that the Quraish had broken the treaty, so he attacked them, and was able to defeat them. The breaking of treaties is also in accordance with Mohammed's example.

dhimmi - ذمى - protected

The legal status of the Kafir in the Islamic state. Juridically the Kafir has significantly fewer rights than the Muslim, but is „protected” by the Islamic state. A Kafir with dhimmi status pays a tax for protection, while a Kafir cannot own weapons or may not fight. The dhimmi Kafir on the one hand pays a poll tax, *jizya* - جزية - and on the other hand pays a land tax, *kharaj* - خراج - on the land he owns.

The extent of the *jizya* has varied over time. Sometimes more was collected from rich Kafirs, and less from poor Kafirs, and sometimes no difference was made. However, the *jizya* is always much more than the tax paid by Muslims, the *zakat* - زكاة - alms. The *zakat* is 2% (sometimes 2.5%) of a Muslim's income.

The rate of the *kharaj* was half the income from the land of the Kafirs in the time of Mohammed. This was imposed by Mohammed on those Jews who survived the battle of Khaybar and wanted to continue living on their ancestral land.

Only the people of the Book (Christians and Jews) can be granted dhimmi status. All other non-Muslims must convert to Islam if they want to live in Islamic territory. The word dhimmi, like Kafir, has a pejorative connotation, with the explicit meaning being accompanied by 'abominable'.

An example of dhimmi is from the Koran (9:29):

“Fight against such of those who have been given the Scripture as believe not in Allah nor the Last Day, and forbid not that which Allah hath forbidden by His messenger, and follow not the religion of truth, until they pay the tribute readily, being brought low.”

fatwa - فتوى - decree

In Islam, it is a religious ruling when a specific question of faith theory, religious practice or Islamic politics has no answer in the Koran, the hadiths or the consensus of Muslim scholars, the *ijma*. The fatwa is issued by a qualified jurist, the mufti. Nowadays there are also fatwa councils.

Financial Strategy of the Muslim Brotherhood⁷⁷ - لا استراتيجية المالية لجماعة الإخوان

A document created by the MB leadership in 1983, covering the Islamic financial network operating in the Kafir world, which the MB set up in Europe in the 1970s, mainly with funds from the Gulf States. This commercial network of institutions discreetly pursued political objectives, in particular the training of MB cadres. The document was found by the Swiss investigative authorities in 2001 on the premises of the Al-Taqwa financial company run by Yousuf Nada, together with *The Project* discussed here and with many other documents.

jihad - جهاد - struggle

31% of Islamic doctrine deals with jihad.⁷⁸ Although some claim it is about an internal spiritual struggle, in the Bukhari Hadith this accounts for only 2% of the word's usage, while in 98% it is about violence against Kafirs.⁷⁹ The Sharia defines it so: *Jihad is a war against the Kafirs, with the aim of establishing Islam.*⁸⁰

Let us see an example from the Koran (9:5):

“Then, when the sacred months have passed, slay the idolaters wherever ye find them, and take them (captive), and besiege them, and prepare for them each ambush. But if they repent and establish worship and pay the poor due, then leave their way free. Lo! Allah is Forgiving, Merciful.”

Hadith - حديث - Tradition of Mohammed

The original Arabic word means ‘narration’. A Hadith is a collection of Mohammed’s deeds, sayings and teachings, passed on by a multitude of narrators. The Hadith is part of the trilogy of Islamic doctrine, along with the Koran and the Sira. The tradition has been collected by several collectors. The most famous and authoritative collection of hadith is that

77 Sylvain Besson: *La conquête de L'occident: Le projet secret des islamistes* – Document 2 (The Conquest of the West: The Secret Project of Islamists – Document 2) (French) (2005)

78 www.cspii.org/education/methodology/statistical-analysis-political-islam/trilogy-text-devoted-jihad/

79 www.cspii.org/education/methodology/statistical-analysis-extra-information/greater-jihad/

80 *Reliance of the Traveller and Tools of the Worshipper - A classic manual on the sacred law of Islam*, originally entitled *Umdat as-Salik wa Uddat an-Nasik*, after Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri (1302-1367 AD), edited and translated by Nu Ha Mim Keller. p.599. o9.0 Jihad.

of Bukhari, with the English translation being approximately 1600 pages long.

halal - حلال - permissible

Islamic category for permissible acts. According to Islamic doctrine, it is permissible, for example: polygamy for up to 4 women; wife-beating; eating clean food (animal of blood spilled out, not pork, not predator); slavery; killing women as punishment for adultery; deceiving, exploiting, raping, killing Kafirs. In general, acts not prohibited (non-haram) are considered permissible.

haram - حرام - forbidden

Islamic category for forbidden acts. According to Islamic doctrine, forbidden are, for example: leaving Islam; mocking Islam, Allah, Mohammed; killing a Muslim; disobeying parents; prostitution; usury (interest); adultery; eating pork, predatory animals; drinking alcohol; arrogance; gossip; stealing from a Muslim; slandering, bribing a Muslim; lying to a Muslim.

hijra - هجرة - Islamic political migration

Mohammed was able to convert only about 150 people to Islam during his 12-year activity in Mecca from 610 to 622. Driven out of Mecca, he and his followers migrated to Medina in 622, where he made a change. He became a military leader and implemented a totalitarian political system. The Medinan migration was the start of this period of success. The new era called for a new calendar, so the year 622 Hijra marked the beginning of the Islamic calendar.

Islamophobia - رهاب الاسلام - irrational fear of Islam

Compound word: Islam + phobia. Phobia is a psychological term: fear, anxiety. However, as Political Islam poses a threat to Kafirs, it is rational for Kafirs to be concerned. The term is typically used to silence legitimate criticism of Islamic doctrine.⁸¹

⁸¹ www.cspii.org/methodology/research-reports/islamophobia/

Kafir - كافر – non-Muslim

All non-Muslims are Kafirs. Islamic doctrine is 51% about Kafirs.⁸² According to Islamic doctrine, Kafirs can be divided into two groups: the People of the Book and the rest of the non-Muslims.

The people of the Book are Jews and Christians. Members of the people of the Book have the option of living as subjects, paying poll tax to Muslims with dhimmi legal status in Islamic territory, where the purpose of the poll tax is not on the sum of the money but to humiliate - as the Sharia informs.⁸³ Kafirs who are not People of the Book cannot live on Muslim land in any way.

According to Islamic doctrine, a Kafir may be mocked (Koran 83:34), be beheaded (Koran 47:4), conspired against (Koran 86:15), feared (Koran 8:12), cursed (Koran 33:60), and a Muslim may not be a friend of a Kafir (Koran 3:28).

Islamic doctrine also contains numerous other clauses concerning Kafirs. The Kafir is in all respects subordinate to the Muslim. Here is a thought from the Koran (98:6), i.e. from Allah:

“Lo! those who disbelieve, among the People of the Scripture and the idolaters, will abide in fire of hell. They are the worst of created beings.”

Liberation of Palestine⁸⁴ - تحرير فلسطين

A guide developed by Hamas in Palestine, an affiliate of the Muslim Brotherhood, which sets out 20 points for action following the liberation of Palestine. The resolution, similar in spirit and tone to *The Project*, is on the subject of preparing for the situation following the liberation of Palestine and the defeat of Israel. The adaptation was registered on 30 September 2021, on the basis of the resolutions of the „*Promise of the Hereafter*” conference held on that date.

⁸² www.cspii.org/education/methodology/statistical-analysis-political-islam/amount-text-devoted-kafir/

⁸³ *Reliance of the Traveller and Tools of the Worshipper* - A classic manual on the sacred law of Islam, originally entitled *Umdat as-Salik wa Uddat an-Nasik*, after Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri (1302-1367 AD), edited and translated by Nu Ha Mim Keller. p.602. o9.8 Jihad.

⁸⁴ www.memri.org/reports/hamas-sponsored-promise-hereafter-conference-phase-following-liberation-palestine-and, accessed: 02.02.2026.

mujahed - مجاهد - struggler

Meaning of this word in Political Islam is: a fighter of jihad, who is ready to kill and die, a jihadi. Its plural: mujahedeen, i.e. jihadis.

Here is a description of the mujahedeen from the Koran (9:111):

“Lo! Allah hath bought from the believers their lives and their wealth because the Garden will be theirs they shall fight in the way of Allah and shall slay and be slain. It is a promise which is binding on Him in the Torah and the Gospel and the Qur'an. Who fulfilleth His covenant better than Allah? Rejoice then in your bargain that ye have made, for that is the supreme triumph.”

munafiq - منافق - hypocrite

An Islamic doctrinal term for a person who outwardly presents himself as a Muslim but is not in fact a Muslim. A munafiq withdraws from fulfilling Islamic duties, is reluctant to obey the commands of Islam, and does not wish to participate in any form of jihad. Yet he claims to be a Muslim and makes real believers consider him as he is also entitled to the rights and benefits of all Muslims. According to Islamic doctrine the munafiq is a sneaky, low-minded, miserable individual who, like the Kafir, is not worthy of equal treatment with a Muslim.

See a statement from the Koran (33:60-62):

“If the hypocrites, and those in whose hearts is a disease, and the alarmists in the city do not cease, We verify shall urge thee on against them, then they will be your neighbours in it but a little while. Accursed, they will be seized wherever found and slain with a (fierce) slaughter. That was the way of Allah in the case of those who passed away of old; thou wilt not find for the way of Allah aught of power to change.”

Political Islam - السياسة الإسلامية

Part of the Islamic doctrine dealing with non-Muslims, which accounts for 51% of the doctrine. The literal translation of the Arabic term is Islamic politics. How to get to heaven and avoid hell is a religious matter, how to treat non-Muslims is a political procedure. It is only the political system that is of interest to the Kafirs (non-Muslims), since it determines their

legal status and the treatment they are to be subjected to. The political system of Islam is described in the Koran, the Hadith and the Sira.

Salafi - سلفي - original

From the Islamic perspective, a Salafi is one who wishes to return to the tradition of Mohammed. A Salafi is a Sunni reformer, where reform does not mean updating, but on the contrary, adhering closely to the original doctrine. Salafis champion following the Koran, Sira and Hadith precisely, and ensure the Sharia governs societies.

Sharia - شريعة

The handbook of Islamic civilization, a code of laws that religious scholars have drawn from the Koran and the Sunna. It deals with theology, prayer, charity, fasting, marriage, jihad, sexual behavior, will-writing, inheritance, etc. There is no area of life that is not touched by Sharia.

It began to be developed as early as the 8th century and took its present form at the end of the Middle Ages. Since Sharia is derived from Islamic doctrine, it is considered to embody the ideal, divine legal order, superior to all human constitutions or laws. The full implementation of Sharia law is inevitable sooner or later, so that Allah's rule may extend to the whole Earth. Today, no Islamic countries (except for ISIS-controlled territories) implement Sharia totally, but many of its elements are used to a greater or lesser extent.

There are different philosophical schools of Sharia, and all schools agree that jihad is necessary and that Kafirs are inferior. The most authoritative English translation of a Sharia manual is Keller's translation of al-Misri's work: *Reliance of the Traveller*.⁸⁵

Shi'ite - شيعي - partisan

A Muslim belonging to the minority (about 10-13%) branch of Islam, the party of Caliph Ali. In the Shi'ite conception, veneration of the saints (imams), intercession of the clergy, and the lineage of Mohammed are prominent.

⁸⁵ *Reliance of the Traveller and Tools of the Worshipper* - A classic manual on the sacred law of Islam, originally entitled *Umdat as-Salik wa Uddat an-Nasik*, after Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri (1302-1367 AD), edited and translated by Nu Ha Mim Keller.

Sira - سيرة - Biography of Mohammed

Lower case: biography, upper case: biography of Mohammed. Sira is part of the trilogy of Islamic doctrine, along with the Koran and the Hadith. Many biographies of Mohammed have been written, including the most famous and most accepted, that of ibn Ishaq's.⁸⁶

Sufi - صوفي - woolly

A member of the contemplative Muslim order who wears a woolen garment. The Sufis are as a highly mystical sect proclaim the esoteric truth of Islam, seek personal, direct experience of Allah.

Sunna - سنة - The life and tradition of Mohammed

Lower case: method, prescription, custom. Mohammed's life is contained in the Sira, while his traditions are contained in the Hadith. The Sunna is the sum of the two. Islamic doctrine is made up of Allah's guidance, the Koran, on the one hand, and the life and tradition of Mohammed, the Sunna, on the other.

Sunnite - سني - follower of the tradition

A Muslim belonging to the majority (about 80-85%) branch of Islam. This branch relies exclusively on Islamic doctrine, rejecting cleric or sacramental intercession and the influence of Mohammed's blood lineage.

Umma - أمة - Islamic community

The original meaning of the Arabic word is 'nation'. The Islamic meaning of the term is: a brotherhood of all Muslims on Earth.

Koran (3:104):

"And there may spring from you a nation who invite to goodness, and enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency. Such are they who are successful."

However, even within this fraternal community there are grades.

Koran (4:95-96):

"Those of the believers who sit still, other than those who have a (disabling) hurt, are not on an equality with those who strive in the way of Allah with their wealth and lives. Allah hath conferred on those who strive with their wealth and lives a rank above the

⁸⁶ www.cspii.org/education/articles/trilogy

sedentary. Unto each Allah hath promised good, but He hath bestowed on those who strive a great reward above the sedentary. Degrees of rank from Him, and forgiveness and mercy. Allah is ever Forgiving, Merciful.”

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THE TEARS OF JIHAD

These figures are a rough estimate of the death of Kafirs by the political act of jihad found in the Koran, Sira and Hadith.

AFRICANS

Thomas Sowell estimates that 11 million slaves were shipped across the Atlantic and 14 million were sent to the Islamic nations of North Africa and the Middle East.¹ For every slave captured, many others died. Estimates of this collateral damage vary. The renowned missionary David Livingstone estimated that for every slave who reached the plantation, five others died by being killed in the raid or died on the forced march from illness and privation.² So, for 25 million slaves delivered to the market, we have the death of about 120 million people. Islam ran the wholesale slave trade in Africa.³

120 million Africans

CHRISTIANS

The number of Christians martyred by Islam is 9 million.⁴ A rough estimate by Raphael Moore in *History of Asia Minor* is that another 50 million died in wars by jihad. So to account for the 1 million African Christians killed in the 20th century we have:

60 million Christians

JEWS

The Jews had no political control over any country, and their deaths were limited to a few thousand killed in riots.

1 Sowell, Thomas, *Race and Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 188.

2 Worcester, J.H., *Life of David Livingstone* (Chicago: Woman's Presbyterian Board of Missions, 1888), 62.

3 Lewis, Bernard, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

4 Barrett, David B., and Johnson, Todd M., *World Christian Trends AD 30-AD 2200* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 2001), 230, table 4-10.

HINDUS

Koenard Elst in *Negationism in India*⁵ gives an estimate of 80 million-Hindus killed in the total jihad against India. The country of India today is only half the size of ancient India, due to jihad. The mountains near India are called the Hindu Kush, meaning the “funeral pyre of the Hindus.”

80 million Hindus

BUDDHISTS

Buddhists do not keep up with the history of war. Keep in mind that in jihad, only Christians and Jews were allowed to survive as dhimmis (secondclass subjects under Sharia); everyone else had to convert or die. Jihad killed the Buddhists in Turkey, Afghanistan, along the Silk Route, and in India. The total is roughly 10 million.⁶

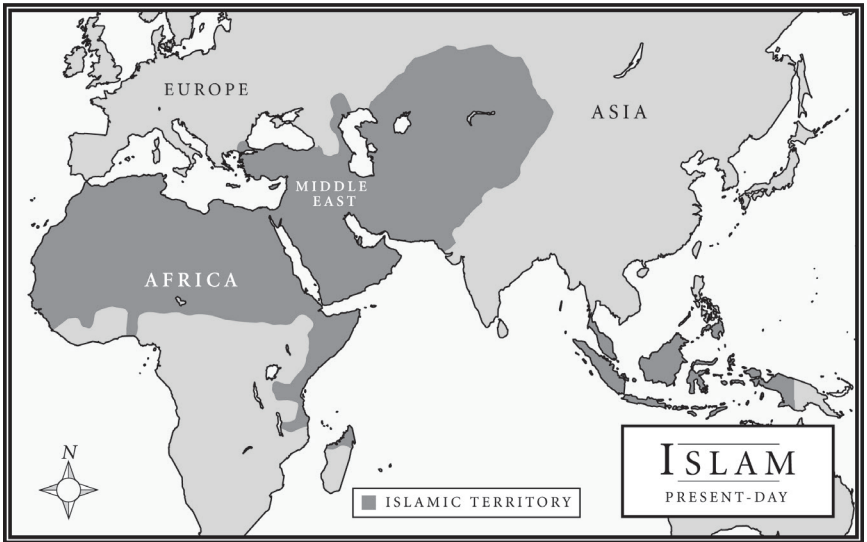
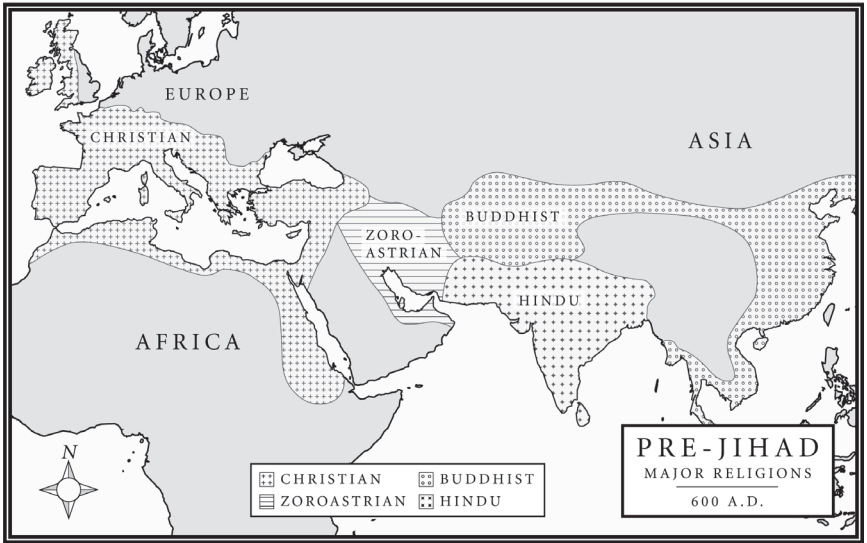
10 million Buddhists

TOTAL

This gives a rough estimate of *270 million* killed by jihad.

⁵ Elst, Koenard, *Negationism in India* (New Delhi: Voice of India, 2002), 34.

⁶ Barrett and Johnson, *World Christian Trends AD 30-AD 2200*, 230, table 4-1.



ABOUT CSPII

The CSPII (Center for the Study of Political Islam International) is an independent non-profit research and educational organization. Our concern is with the ideological doctrine of Islam that relates to Kafirs (non-Muslims), and, therefore, is political. We define this part of the doctrine as “Political Islam”.

We analyze Islamic primary doctrine, and its continuous, harmful political impact on individuals and governments. We use scientific methods, rational thought and fact-based reasoning to show how the influence of Political Islam exponentially spreads within non-Islamic countries, creating the economic, legal and sociocultural foundation to turn them into Islamic ones.

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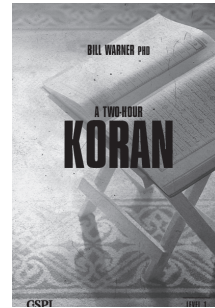
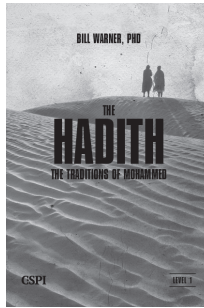
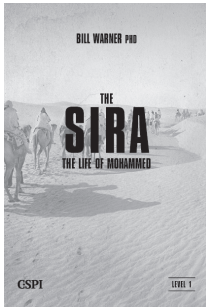
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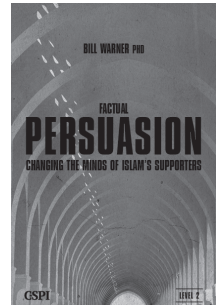
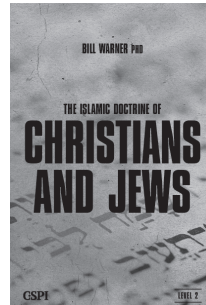
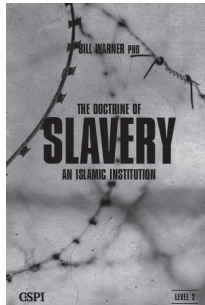
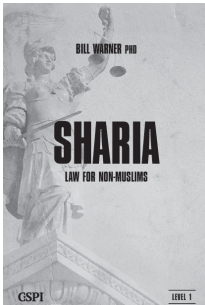
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