



THE ANTI-QATAR **LOBBYING IN FRANCE**

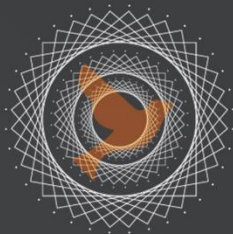
July 2020

CHESNOT AND MALBRUNOT'S POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

WHY THE BOOK "QATAR PAPERS" DOESN'T DESCRIBE THE REALITY, BUT THE PARANOID CONSPIRACY CREATED FROM A TYRANNICAL MONARCHY AND ITS HIRED ACCOMPLISHES



***Why** the book “Qatar Papers” doesn’t describe the reality, but the paranoid conspiracy created from a tyrannical Monarchy and its hired accomplices.*



Democracy Centre For
TRANSPARENCY



*Paolo FUSI (IBI World Ltd.) for Democracy Centre for Transparency (DCT)
July 2020*





Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot – They were kidnapped in the summer of 2004 near Baghdad, while they were narrating the American invasion of Iraq in the French radio and press. After four months of captivity, in the hands (apparently) of a group of Salafist guerrillas, they were freed and became famous. Now they are leading a crusade against Qatar and in defence of the Syrian, Emirate and Saudi governments. We try to explain how, what for and with whom.

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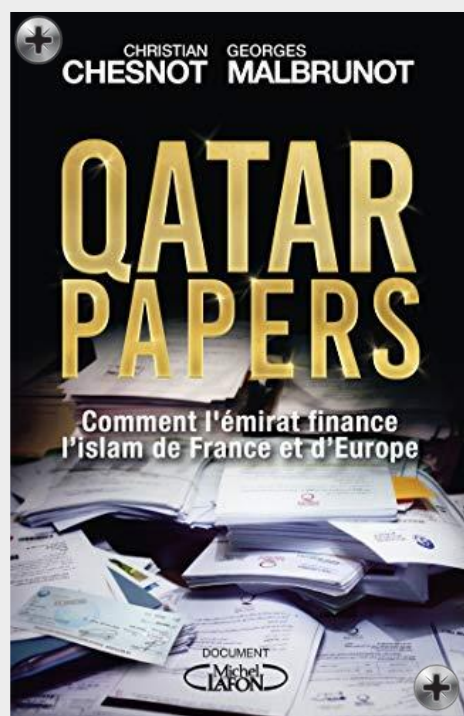
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FOREWORD

0.1 Introduction

0.1.1 In 2014 Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, wrote a book titled "*Qatar, les secrets du coffre-fort*" dedicated to undermine the image of Qatar and its impact in various international fields¹. In 2016, they continued their campaign focusing on Qatar with new book titled "*Nos très cher emirs*", again, with sole focus to attack Qatar and its image by linking it to International terrorism in the Middle East². In the spring of 2019, they published "*Qatar Papers*". The book, supported by a series of original documents illegally copied from the accounts of the Qatar Charity Foundation, supports a univocal thesis: The Doha government is infiltrating mainly France, but also the whole western world, in order to undermine the foundations of democracy, to support global jihad, to replace the Christian with the Muslim religion through violence. In his work – argue the two authors of the book – Qatar is supported by Muslim Brotherhood, an Egyptian political movement that, in one hundred years of history, has extended its ramifications throughout Europe, northern Africa and the Middle Orient.



0.1.2 This Report explains and demonstrates five fundamental facts: 1) the book "*Qatar Papers*" lies: it's not a scientific essay but a pamphlet of political propaganda; 2) Chesnot and Malbrunot are not two independent journalists, but two lobbyists serving the government of the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia; 3) those who conceived this strategy, and prepared "*Qatar Papers*" as the cathartic moment of a gigantic worldwide propaganda and disinformation operation, are the members of the Al-Nahyan family, who leads the UAE government, and the members of the Saudi royal family; 4) the motivation that drives these two nations to conduct such an expensive and complex propaganda operation is the fear of the economic, political and diplomatic growth of Qatar, Iran and other Middle Eastern countries; the anti-monarchist implications of the Arab Spring and its political achievements, first of all the government of Mohammad Morsi in Egypt, openly supported by the Muslim Brotherhood; a good dose of paranoia, which leads Abu Dhabi and Riyadh to believe that the success of other Arab countries simultaneously means the decline and end of their monarchies; 5) the fact that Chesnot

¹ <https://www.amazon.com/-/es/Christian-Chesnot/dp/2290079898>

² <https://www.amazon.com/Nos-tres-chers-emirs-French/dp/2749924871>

and Malbrunot, pretending to be journalists, are part of an impressive organization of lobbyists in the pay of a foreign power, implies a direct and immanent threat to French democracy and that of the whole West.

- 0.1.3 The paranoid and aggressive attitude of the Saudis and the Emirates towards Qatar has in the meantime reached truly alarming levels. Qatar is negotiating since over two years a possible ceasefire in Afghanistan. In February 2020, in Doha, thanks to the mediation of the government of Qatar, the United States and the Afghan Taliban signed a historic peace agreement after almost 19 years of military conflict³. In preparation for this historic event, the Saudi monarchy tried in every way to sabotage it. According to a statement by Qari Esmatullah Safi, the treasurer of the Haqqani Network, a dangerous terrorist group very close to Al Qaeda and the Taliban⁴, several high-ranking representatives from Riyadh and Abu Dhabi, including Prince Turki Al Faisal and Major General Ahmad Asiri, have donated significant sums and material to the Haqqani Network to finance a series of attacks to sabotage the Doha talks and make them appear, if possible, as acts of violence inspired by the Qatari government⁵. Even after the Treaty has been signed, several terroristic attacks are hard testing the deal, trying to oblige the US Government to cancel the Peace Treaty⁶.
- 0.1.4 In this Report we will explain the ideological, political, economic and financial ties of Chesnot and Malbrunot, the political context in which they operate, the biographical reasons for the role they are called to play today, and the extension and ramification of the conspiracy, of which "*Qatar Papers*" is the tip of the iceberg that is still in motion. The publication of "*Qatar Papers*" is the latest move as part of a massive disparaging project against Qatar, which aims to make this State appear, in Western public opinion, as one of the fundamental pillars of Islamic terrorism, hiding the role of other countries such as Iran, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.
- 0.1.5 The promotion of Chesnot and Malbrunot's books is a broad strategy of apparent objectivity, trying to awake the belief that the two French journalists are independent and that the results of their work is independent and objective, suggesting that the Government of Qatar, the Egyptian movement called Muslim Brotherhood and Iran are allied against the Christian civilization and are supporting irregular military Armies, which are heading a global jihad, like Al Qaeda and ISIS – a weird lie, which is damaging the image and the political and diplomatic activity of Qatar. Another goal of the

³ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-51689443>

⁴ <https://www.voanews.com/extremism-watch/what-haqqani-network>

⁵ 2019.04.12 Interview Qari Esmatullah Safi

⁶ <https://sicurezzainternazionale.luiss.it/2020/06/02/afghanistan-attentato-dei-talebani-incerto-futuro-dei-colloqui/>

campaign is to discredit Qatar, encouraging penal investigations into the awarding of the Football World Cup and other international sporting events.

- 0.1.6 *"Qatar Papers"* (2019, 2020) attempts to tell the French leaders that France is at risk because of Qatar Charity activities. Activities that are known to the French government and its security services where that charity helps some Islamic centres, mosques and community facilities for French Muslims. All of which is under the disguise of the French State. Yet, for the purposes of Dram and to make their book sellable and in the same time satisfy their funders, Chesnot and Malbrunot take facts out of context and produce only propaganda content. For the average French reader, foreign countries pose danger when they fund Islam in France independently and far from the state gaze.
- 0.1.7 Soon after its launch, the book did not achieve success in the French libraries or sales, it has received very insignificant publicity and most of the publicity around it seemed to have been sponsored and paid all of which to make it successful. It is unfortunate for both Chesnot and Malbrunot that this politically motivated book failed because it wasn't an innocent project but a tool for foreign powers and repressive regimes. Basic open intelligence search can tell a lot about the stakeholders of the book who apparently seem to be more than the two writers. The main stakeholder, which is very interested in the book, was some Arab media outlets owned by Saudis and Emirates such as Al Arabiya TV, Skynews Arabia, Alkhaleej Newspaper, the Arab Weekly, Al Bayan Newspapers, The Arab News. El Ain and dozen other outlets.
- 0.1.8 The scaremongering discourse throughout the book is vivid on the quick description of the Book in the Amazon website. It reads, "Europe led by Qatar Charity, the most powerful NGO in the emirate. These confidential documents, disclosed for the first time, detail most of the 140 projects to finance mosques, schools and Islamic Centres, for the benefit of associations linked to the movement of the Muslim Brotherhood. They reveal the salary paid to Tariq Ramadan, a figure in political Islam that Doha sponsors outside its borders... At the end of an investigation in six European countries and a dozen cities in France, the authors expose the concealment of Islamic associations on their foreign funding, as well as the policy of the ostrich followed by many mayors, accusing them of opportunism or ignorance.
- 0.1.9 They point to the absurdity of the situation: *"with the sole money of the faithful as a subsidy, how could mosques in France deprive themselves of aid from abroad? A trip behind the scenes of a wealthy and opaque NGO linked to the top of the Qatari State, as revealed by its funding by several members of the ruling actor, the al-Thani family. An essential contribution to the debate on the foreign ramifications of Islam in France when*

Emmanuel Macron seeks to structure it". Apparently, the authors of the book try to imply that their book is an important contribution to the debate about Islam in France. But observers and experts can promptly provide a sound judgment on this book with simple assessment as "*biased, inaccurate, and propaganda mouthpiece*".

- 0.1.10 The release of the book was followed by a propaganda campaign in a cover of "Book Promotion" and since then; it has been systematically used to undermine the reputation of Qatar. The campaign started in France in year 2019 is now expanding in the United Kingdom, in Germany, in Italy and in Turkey. Moreover, it looks like the target is to enlarge the campaign to further nations like the United States, Spain, Russia and the other Eastern European countries. This Report has the goal to concentrate the whole reachable knowledge on several aspects of this campaign, how and why Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt are leading the project, who are (joint to Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot) the other active cronies, what are they doing now and what they will do in the next future.

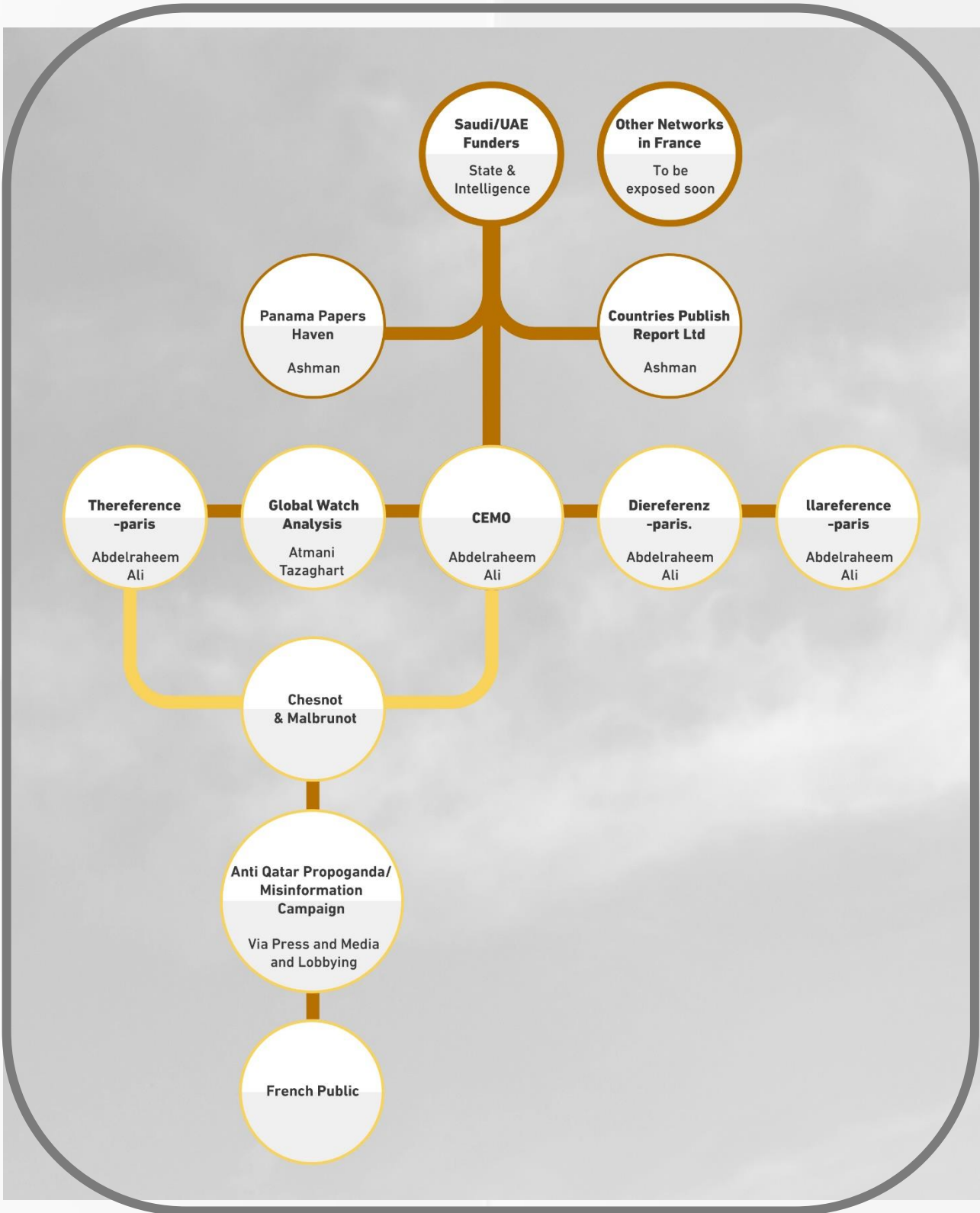
0.2 Key findings

"Qatar Papers" is not an academic nor a journalistic book; it's a piece of propaganda that falls within the context of anti-Qatar propaganda waged by both UAE, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and is part of their aggressive foreign policy against the country. The book is one sided and infested with propaganda and imbalanced argument all of which aims to damage the image of Qatar in France (which is on the rise). The writers failed in showing any journalistic objectivity, impartiality and accuracy. Apparently, they have agreed to join a "*Mud Machine*" to run a kind "*Project Fear*" wittingly or unwittingly on behalf of the states and their agents.

After deep and careful research, we found out that the book has been immediately and exclusively promoted by Saudi/UAE/Egyptian media outlets, known for either their bias for these States or being part of the States' owned media – in addition of apparent links with intelligence services in the Middle East. This includes Al Arabiya TV, Skynews Arabia, Alkhaleej Newspaper, the Arab Weekly, Al Bayan Newspapers, the Arab News and El Ain, as well as dozen other outlets.

Both of Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot are involved in "*rouge*" and "*worrying*" interactions with controversial parties which entirely undermine their credibility. For example, the English version of "*Qatar Papers*" (2020) has been published under the sponsorship of GWA Global Watch Analysis, which is owned by Countries Reports Publishing Ltd. (CRP) – a UK based company. CRP is also responsible for editing and translation of the book. We've found that CRP is not a publishing, nor a translation nor a proofreading or editing company, but simply a financial holding company. It has no offices and is registered in a private house in the far north slums of London at (191 Waltham Way). The company is directed by a controversial fiduciary trustee named Thomas Edmund Ashman. We found out that Mr. Ashman is involved in the scandal known as "*Panama Papers*" and is also managing more than 25 other companies, some of them offshore – his clients are hidden, even if he has clear and strong business relations in the Middle East

The writers choose to work with the Global Watch Analysis' (GWA) staff, which is headed by an anti-Semitic director, Atmane Tazaghart, who has been suspended as editor in chief of the Arab section of "*France 24*", following the discovery of comments he had made during an interview on a Lebanese pro-Hezbollah channel Al Mayadeen, funded by Iran in 2013. The video of the interview was published on April 22 by the electronic newspaper "*All4syria*", and the information was spotted by the Jewish Tribune. Most of the others member of the GWA staff do have analogue personal and professional histories.



The link between Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot with Panama Papers, and their Saudi-UAE employers and their agents In France.

1 ON THE ORIGIN AND MOTIVATION OF "QATAR PAPERS"

a) The authors wanted to write this book because their previous works had been a failure and wanted at all costs to obtain commercial, professional, and political success. Both of the writers authored a number of books attacking Qatar and also produced documentaries and wrote articles for the same purpose;

b) An expensive staff of polemicists, former journalists, politicians and propagandists linked to the Egyptian and Emirate secret services, who in the last three years has set up an impressive media structure in France to attack Qatar, needed a product-banner, something written by important French personalities, non-Muslims, apparently independent, whose reputation had not already been irreparably ruined, to make credible the themes of the anti-Qatar mud campaign;

c) "*Qatar Papers*" was supposed to give the impression of being a scientific research and investigative journalism essay, and not only a polemical pamphlet. To obtain this effect, original and relevant documents were needed, and there was a need for television support, created with the collaboration of Jérôme Sesquin;

d) To finance the apparent scientific research and the quality of the documentary shot by Sesquin it was necessary to make available to the three authors an impressive amount, not justifiable by the commercial result of "*Qatar Papers*", and it was necessary to find a financial vehicle through the which to get all that money in a suspicious way: a fictitious political cruise initiative led by a former colleague from Malbrunot to "*Le Figaro*";

e) The fact that Qatar, despite three years of vehement political, diplomatic and journalistic campaign, has maintained the charge of organizing the 2022 football World Cup, as well as contracts for other very important sporting events of global renown, has convinced the governments of Saudi Arabia and the UAE that, if not stopped, Qatar will succeed in diplomatically and economically overwhelming the other Gulf countries and will obtain an alliance with incalculable consequences with Iran – if Qatar has been able to achieve victory in negotiations with FIFA, then it is possible that it will succeed in lifting the international embargo against Tehran;

f) The signing of the Peace Treaty which stopped 19 years of war in Afghanistan, which was successfully negotiated by Qatari diplomacy, and which will go down in history as the Doha Treaty, has brought the leaders of Abu Dhabi and Riyadh to the hysteria and feeling of having to get an important result against Qatar, and immediately;

g) In their paranoia, the campaign principals believed that if the campaign would hit both at the same time, government of Qatar and Muslim Brotherhood, as if they were an equal alliance, Western public opinion would more easily believe that these two entities, so different from each other, could really be the center of a design that aims to destabilize the West through the jihad.

2 ON THE CREDIBILITY OF CHESNOT AND MALBRUNOT

a) "*Qatar Papers*" announces to tell the secret truth about the purposes of Qatar Charity funding. It's not true. The book documents a figure comparable to about 3% of the Foundation's annual expenses and, if calculated on the period of time during which, according to "*Qatar Papers*", that figure was spent, not even 1% of the figure is reached. As for the projects described, fifty out of over one hundred thousand, we are at a percentage lower than 0.5%. The goal of giving an overall image of Qatar Charity has failed miserably;

b) "*Qatar Papers*" supports equivalence: one Euro for a mosque or Islamic Center is equal to one Euro for Jihad. A paradoxical falsity which destroys the credibility of the book. As for Sesquin's documentary, the film shows that two pro-Saudi polemicists, Mohamed Louizi and Haoues Seniguer, directed the work of the two journalists, the first of whom has a very poor reputation and has already been convicted of defamation;

c) Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot gained notoriety in 2004, when they were kidnapped during the Occupation War in Iraq. Already on that occasion, at the time of liberation, their story of imprisonment was not credible and was however controversial. Those who claimed that the two journalists lied were prosecuted, but were later acquitted of court;

d) In the course of their work as authors, Chesnot and Malbrunot have gained a reputation as polemicists, not as journalists and objective researchers. Before "*Qatar Papers*", their previous book, "*Nos très chers Emirs*", was brought to Court by four of the people mentioned in its pages. The Tribunals, with their judgements, have so far shown that Chesnot and Malbrunot have lied;

e) Even in the journalistic activity, Georges Malbrunot, aimed at defending the President of Syria, Bashar Al Assad, has incurred some statements which have proved to be profoundly false and which certainly have damaged his reputation.

3 ON THE INDEPENDENCE AND OBJECTIVITY OF "QATAR PAPERS"

a) "*Qatar Papers*" exists because the team of the CEMO Center d'Études du Moyen Orient, headed by the former Egyptian secret service officer Abdelraheem Ali and directly financed by a Saudi state agency, gave the two journalists the material and the personal contacts, which have been necessary to complete it, faithfully and slavishly following their instructions and those of those who delivered the stolen documentary material, presumably from the DarkMatter by Faisal Al Bannai and Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, through the ECSSR Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research in Abu Dhabi;

b) In all their activities as journalists, Malbrunot and Chesnot are openly in favor of the Damascus regime, the Riyadh regime, the Egyptian and the Emirate regimes. Especially Malbrunot, who often speaks in public as a political polemicist, and not as a journalist, has married this position and the ideals that support it in a transparent and coherent way;

c) So, with the time, and the lack of political and commercial success of "*Qatar Papers*" and the propaganda project connected to it, while Chesnot has become very out of the way, Malbrunot becomes more and more present and assertive, to the point of going to speak at the Saudi Media Forum in Riyadh and argue that the Western press is exaggerating when it talks about Islamic terrorism as well as thanking Saudi Arabia and its journalists for the progress made towards democracy, pluralism and professionalism – all things that certainly do not support Malbrunot's reputation.

4 ON THE FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF THE WORK ON "QATAR PAPERS"

a) Our work is not able to conclusively document where the huge sums needed to pay for the parallel production of the book and the film "*Qatar Papers*" came from, but highlights the fact that the company of Lionel Rabiet, Croisières d 'Exception Sarl Paris, has deposited financial statements for over 10 million Euros per year without being able to demonstrate some entrepreneurial activity, which suggests that that company has received the necessary money from foreigner political sponsors, perhaps even those of Malbrunot's many participation in conferences in the Middle East. The book "*Qatar Papers*", in itself, has so far obtained negligible sales figures, both in France and in the United Kingdom, in the United States and in Italy;

b) What is certain is that the funding of the CEMO Center d'Études du Moyen Orient, its coordinator (Abdelraheem Ali), its staff and private companies of some of its components (press agencies, TV production companies, etc.) is much more transparent: it's all financed by the Arab School of Journalism Plc Cairo, which in turn is totally financed by the government of Saudi Arabia;

c) More generally, the entire political project, of which "*Qatar Papers*" is part, is directly supported by various entities, associations and entrepreneurs, who all refer to the Head of the UAE Armed Forces, Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, and to his empire of the cybernetic, military and espionage industry, whose core are the EDGE Group, the Mubadala Economic Council, the ECSSR and DarkMatter. These entities are also the financial and industrial foundation behind CAGN Global, which prepares, among other things, mercenary soldiers ready for illegal military actions around the world, including kidnappings, rape and torture of opponents or critics of the Saudi, Egyptian and Emirati regime, as well as terrorist attacks, military surgical operations abroad. By accepting the support of the structure set up by Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, Chesnot and Malbrunot have a moral responsibility to take part in such an undemocratic, bloody and dangerous operation for the stability of world peace.

5 ON THE MEDIA CAMPAIGN TO WHICH "QATAR PAPERS" BELONGS

a) The campaign is being conducted and coordinated by an Egyptian parliamentarian, close to President Al Sisi, whose name is Abdelraheem Ali, with a background in secret services and media entrepreneurship. He has almost been forced to resign from the Egyptian

Parliament because of his involvement with harassing practices. He moved to Paris, where he leads an organization called CEMO Center d'Études du Moyen Orient, which is now the spearhead of the propaganda paid by Riyadh and Abu Dhabi;

b) This organization manages a huge information project against Qatar and against the Muslim Brotherhood, publishing dozens of posts every day, often copied from agency news, often forged, published in French, English, German, Turkish and Arabic – a project, which enjoys a very small number of readers and has only the target to appear serious;

c) This organization manages a group of authors, all politically from the far-right spectrum, most of them with a layoff from the newspaper they worked for because of their anti-Semitic, spreading Islamophobia, or simply invented positions and news;

d) This organization manages a holding, called Countries Report Publishing, registered in London, but based in Paris, which manages another company, registered in Paris, organized as if it were an NGO, but in reality a pure commercial company, which it is called GWA Global Watch Analysis and is responsible for the so-called "journalistic and research contents" of the CEMO web portals;

e) This organization manages a number of commercial companies, registered in London or in tax havens, all managed by the British fiduciary trustee Thomas E. Ashman, whose customers are somehow related to the Middle East, or Eastern Europe, and are often customers with serious problems judicial;

f) This organization manages a lobbying campaign within the French National Assembly, but also a series of lobbying initiatives in favor (among other things) of Iranian interests in France (things that appears profoundly divergent from the univocal nature of the political theses of the CEMO participants);

g) This organization manages a series of relations with the French extreme right (Marine Le Pen) and, increasingly, positions and policies against Islam, but in defence of the absolutist monarchy; an organization that considers Israel a reliable partner, and the Palestinian issue a remnant of the past to be denied or forgotten.

6 ON THE POLITICAL, DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY CAMPAIGN TO WHICH "QATAR PAPERS" BELONGS

a) After the Arab Spring and the victory of Mohamed Morsi in Egypt, the Wahhabi monarchies have entered a hysterical phase made of fear (for the possibility that the population demands freedom and democracy, and therefore barefoot the absolutist and medieval monarchies that command in Riyadh and Abu Dhabi), of anger (because they perceive any substantial criticism of their actions as undue arrogance) and delusions of their will of grandeur and oppression, transformed into a huge military, technological, espionage, repressive, media, propagandistic commitment. In this struggle, launched by the Al Sa'ud and the Al Nahyan

families, there is nothing religious but, on the contrary, the need for a forced and incontrovertible secularization of the privileges of the Crown;

b) In this battle, the Wahhabi know they can count on forces, such as the United States and Israel, that support the same way of managing politics, society and the economy, even if, officially, they are still parliamentary democracies. Secret services that can control everything and everyone, and indicate ways and forms for the annihilation of any criticism, are the common feature of all these regimes. But, all together, they commit a serious error of assessment, when they look to Europe (and not only the European Union): they believe that all the elites of those countries work and think like their elites, and they think that propaganda campaigns, espionage and bullying can change the political line of nations such as France, Germany, the United Kingdom and Italy – which is not true;

c) In this context, "*Qatar Papers*" is an apparently infinitesimal chess move, which instead, in the perception of the Wahhabi monarchies, could be the necessary step to change the strategy, attitude and line of these countries, making them more inclined to cooperate with Saudi Arabia, Egypt and the United Arab Emirates. This is probably why the Al Thani family, in Doha, does not react with a counter-campaign, or with a series of judicial proceedings that punctually hit the pawns moved forward on the chessboard in which characters like Mohamed Bin Zayed Al Nahyan or Prince Turki Faisal believe to play;

d) Still looking at the total view of the situation, the possibility that, given the failure of the "*Qatar Papers*" strategy, of the Global Watch Analysis and CEMO web pages, of the joint conferences with Marine Le Pen and of the continuous publication on web portals that hardly anyone reads, is much more worrying if Riyadh and Abu Dhabi are beginning to think that it would be better to switch to a military option, with very serious and unpredictable consequences on the political, economic and social world balance;

e) Our work shows that it would be better to oppose the great media and propaganda operation, so that public opinion, industry, the financial system and politics in Western Europe become fully aware of what the real game is.

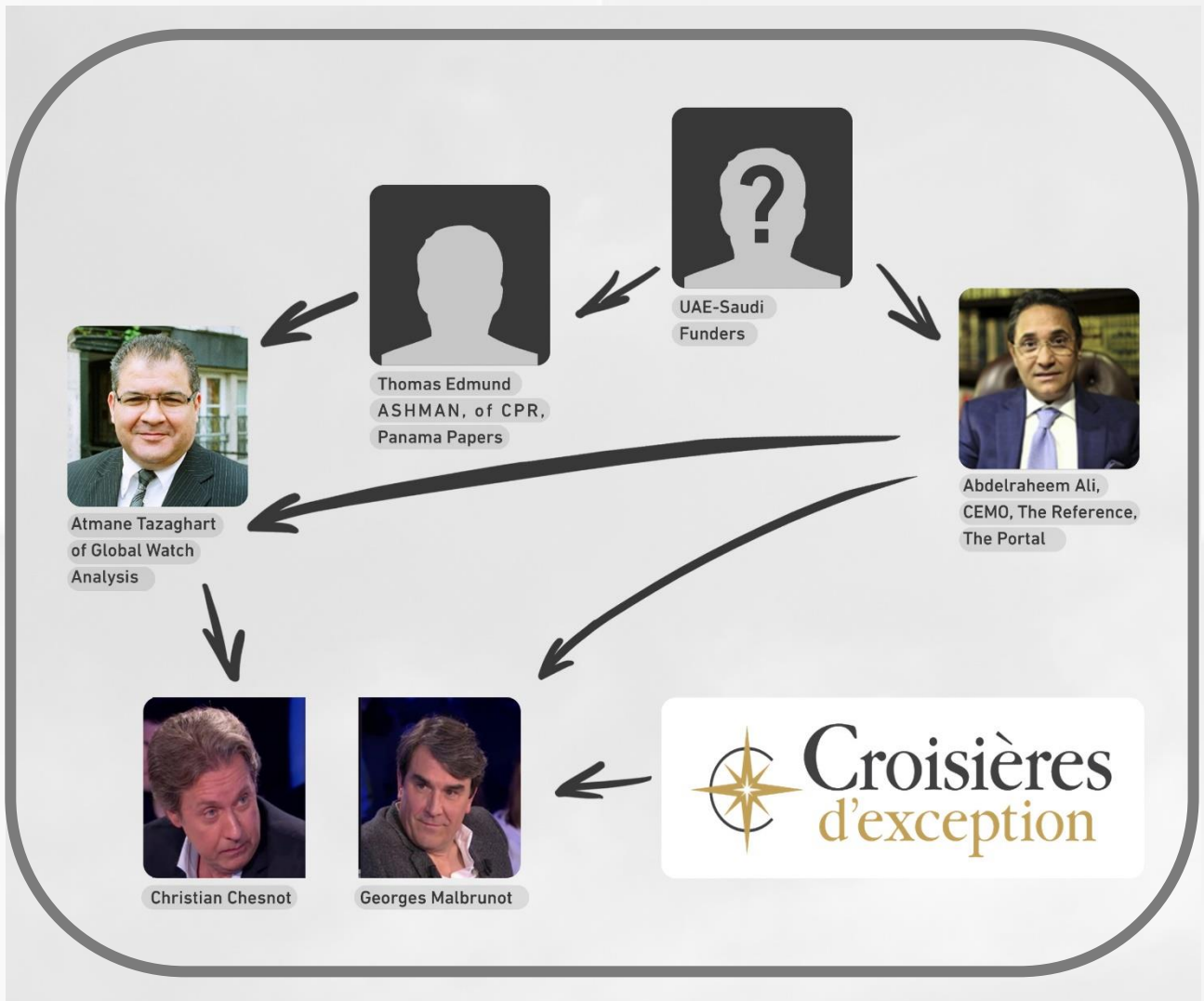


Illustration of hierarchy orders between Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot with Saudi-UAE funded persons (Financial and Intelligence agents).



CHAPTER 1: DOUBTS ABOUT CHESNOT AND MALBRUNOT'S STORYTELLING

1.1 HISTORY AND ORIGINS OF "QATAR PAPERS"



Abdelraheem Ali in the Egyptian Parliament

- 1.1.0 His name is Abdelraheem Ali. The whole story of the book "Qatar Papers" begins and end with him – the real sponsor and inspirer of the whole project. He is an Egyptian Member of Parliament, elected on the party lists of President Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi, who came to power with a coup d'état on 3 July 2013. Ali's career is due to foreign financiers. Those financiers, just over a year ago, convinced him to move to Paris. Here, Ali is fighting to sabotage the countries opposed by Saudi Arabia. He has gathered around him a team of journalists, most of whom are dismissed by their publishers – and leads a battle alongside them on the far right, against moderate Islam and inter-religious integration. Ali's riding a book that seems based on facts, and is instead a masterpiece of disinformation: a book written by French reporters Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, masterfully produced by the Great Wahhabi Mud Machine.

- 1.1.1 Prior starting his activities in Paris, a campaign was launched to expel Ali from the Egyptian parliament, due to his unethical behaviour, as his newspapers has been involved on espionage on activists, celebrities and businessmen. The Al-Sisi regime's propaganda machine has also attacked Ali at some stage due to his failure to defend the regime⁷. His TV show, Al Sandouq Al Aswad (The Black Box), was stopped after complaints against his behaviours of airing recorded interviews for political activists and journalists in Egypt⁸.



Abdelraheem Ali

- 1.1.2 Ali's debut on the political scene, as he explains, is linked to the coup d'état against the Morsi government⁹, openly supported by the Muslim Brotherhood. In the weeks following the coup, while Al-Sisi prepared the elections on May 28, 2014, which will win with over 96% of the vote, Ali built a media empire based on a news agency, Al Bawaba¹⁰, which had been founded in the United Arab Emirates, but then moved to Cairo, where it is financed by the Arab School for Journalism Plc¹¹ (born in preparation for the coup in 2012), which is 100% financed by the UAE government, the most loyal ally of the Saudi monarchy¹².
- 1.1.3 At the beginning, therefore, the "Mud Machine" we are talking about was simply one of the many operations put in place by Saudi and Emirates' diplomacy in

⁷ Al Araby Aljadeed, Article in Arabic, Url: shorturl.at/flMX5

⁸ Al Araby Aljadeed, Article in Arabic, Url: shorturl.at/buQ09

⁹ "Abdelrahim Ali est le directeur-fondateur du Centre des études du Moyen-Orient à Paris. Il est aussi le président du Centre arabe des recherches et études du Caire. Il a écrit de nombreux ouvrages sur l'islam politique. Il fut un des principaux acteurs de la révolution de 2013 qui fit chuter les Frères musulmans. Il jouit d'une reconnaissance incontestable auprès du public arabe" – cfr. https://www.amazon.fr/LEtat-Fr%C3%A8res-musulmans-Organisation-Internationale-ebook/dp/B078NX6ZPZ/ref=sr_1_1?__mk_fr_FR=%C3%85M%C3%85C5%BD%C3%95%C3%91&dchild=1&keywords=abdelrahim+ali&qid=1591578336&s=books&sr=1-1

¹⁰ <https://www.theportal-center.com/contact-us/>

¹¹ <https://www.albawabaeg.com/about/>;

¹² <https://egypt.mom-rsf.org/en/owners/companies/detail/company/company/show/the-arab-center-for-journalism/>;

order to support Al-Sisi (who was a military man, not a political leader) in the fight against Mohamed Morsi and against the Arab Spring's Movement, as well as to create and finance a party organization to cover Al-Sisi's shoulders, using Hizb al-Miṣrīyyīn al-aḥrār, the Liberal Party founded by the billionaire Naguib Sawiris in 2011 with the goal to fight against the Mohamed Morsi¹³. Abdelraheem Ali has transformed that small Egyptian organization, set up by the United Arab Emirates, into a portentous disinformation machine, creating a portal in French, one in English, then one in German and one in Turkish¹⁴.

1.1.4 In the early years of his political activity, Ali devoted himself to writing two books, both published by Editions L'Harmattan Paris (a publishing house widely distributed in French-speaking Africa¹⁵): "L'Etat des Frères Musulmans: L'Europe et l'expansion de l'Organisation Internationale", which maintains that the Muslim Brotherhood is the hidden direction of the expansion of fundamentalist jihad in the European Union¹⁶; "Daëch: La redistribution des cartes dans un monde bouleversé", which claims that the Muslim Brotherhood itself was the matrix from which Al-Qaeda was born first, and Daëch then¹⁷ – a misleading thesis, hinging on the needs of the struggle politics in Egypt, but that in the western world is seen as an exaggeration. Even the CIA, as early as the 1980s, had begun to change its attitude against this political movement¹⁸.

1.1.5 But these are internal Egyptian issues, and it would be presumptuous to want to claim to know or understand more than the Egyptians themselves have done, which, since 2014, have rewarded the Al-Sisi regime with overwhelming electoral victories - even if vitiated by violent repressions of the opposition, not only that of the Brotherhood, several arrests and political murders, culminating in the torture and murder of an Italian student, Giulio Regeni¹⁹, and with the massacre in Rabia-El-Adaouïa Square²⁰. In any case, starting from the victory of the 2018 elections and the following year's referendum, with the results of which it has become official that the Al-Sisi regime will remain in office for at least

¹³ <https://web.archive.org/web/20111227113023/http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/08/16/162562.html>

¹⁴ <https://www.theportal-center.com/> ; <http://www.leportail-centre.fr/> ; <https://www.diereferenz-paris.com/>

¹⁵ <https://www.harmattan.fr/groupeharmattan/harmattan-etranger.html>

¹⁶ https://www.amazon.fr/LEtat-Fr%C3%A8res-musulmans-lOrganisation-Internationale-ebook/dp/B078NX6ZPZ/ref=sr_1_1?__mk_fr_FR=%C3%85M%C3%85C5%BD%C3%95%C3%91&dchild=1&keywords=abdelrahim+ali&qid=1591578336&s=books&sr=1-1

¹⁷ https://www.amazon.fr/Da%C3%ABch-redistribution-cartes-monde-boulevers%C3%A9-ebook/dp/B078NWWLPJ/ref=sr_1_2?__mk_fr_FR=%C3%85M%C3%85C5%BD%C3%95%C3%91&dchild=1&keywords=abdelrahim+ali&qid=1591579981&s=books&sr=1-2

¹⁸ 1982.10.01 CIA on the Muslim Brotherhood, page 13

¹⁹ https://www.lemonde.fr/europe/article/2016/03/26/l-italie-doute-de-la-version-egyptienne-de-la-mort-de-l-etudiant-giulio-regeni_4890585_3214.html

²⁰ https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2014/08/12/human-rights-watch-accuse-l-egypte-de-probable-crime-contre-l-humanite_4470389_3212.html

another decade, Ali has decided to move the center of his operations in Paris, registering his CEMO Center d'Études du Moyen-Orient in the French capital²¹.



Abdel Fattah Al Sisi

- 1.1.6 But not all the Islamic world acts according to the same rules. The Al-Thani monarchy in Doha has chosen the opposite path. Instead of spreading fake news about international political opponents, the government of Qatar does something else: a) structurally preparing itself for a world in which oil will be overcome, investing in property, infrastructure, technology, environmental protection and positive advertising. No weapons, but money for the weakest. Six years later, for example, during the COVID-19 pandemic, Qatar will spend billions of dollars to bring food, water, disinfectant and medicine to the poorest places on earth, such as among refugees who survived the war in Syria and the persecution against the Kurds²²; in the 30 countries of the Third World in greatest difficulty²³; financially supporting UNICEF programs to protect children affected by the virus²⁴; and even bringing field hospitals to the worst affected countries of the European Union, primarily Italy²⁵.

²¹ Centre des Études du Moyen-Orient Sarl Paris Bilan ; Centre des Études du Moyen-Orient Sarl Paris

²² <https://reliefweb.int/report/syrian-arab-republic/covid-19-qatar-charity-supports-vulnerable-syrians-turkey-and-syria>

²³ <https://www.humanitarianlibrary.org/collection/qatar-charity-supports-efforts-curb-spread-covid-19-worldwide> ; <https://m.gulf-times.com/story/661328/Qatar-Charity-provides-aid-for-various-countries-to-fight-Covid-19>

²⁴ <https://reliefweb.int/report/qatar/qatar-charity-unicef-launch-awareness-campaign-protect-children-covid-19>

²⁵ https://corrieredelveneto.corriere.it/padova/cronaca/20_aprile_16/coronavirus-l-ospedale-campo-luxury-dell-emiro-qatar-c7ffa612-7faf-11ea-91a5-47260ca3e3ca.shtml ; <https://www.lagazzettadelmezzogiorno.it/gallery/potenza/1221078/basilicata-sara-sdoppiato-ospedale-da-campo-donato-dal-qatar.html>

- 1.1.7 Qatar has created two state organizations, the Qatar Investment Authority (QIA) and the Qatar Charity Foundation (QCF). QIA invests in industrial, real estate and commercial participations, as well as in entities with a great return on image²⁶, such as the Paris St. Germain football team, or the organization of international sporting events, from the football World Cup to the Formula 1 Grand Prix, up to the World Athletics Championships. QCF, on the other hand, sponsors and supports (economically and logistically) over 100,000 humanitarian projects in over 80 countries, with an annual multi-billion-dollar expenditure²⁷.
- 1.1.8 Aid from QIA and QCF does not only go to the poorest countries. In France, for example, there are a large number of important projects carried out or under construction, but not all welcome: the extreme right wing parties accept no help from Muslim countries. In 2012, for example, QIA had proposed a € 100 million plan to redevelop the Parisian Banlieue: 50 million for houses and streets, 50 million against unemployment²⁸. Marine Le Pen's party fiercely opposed this project, until François Hollande's presidency ended, and Qatar was forced to freeze the project²⁹, to the great satisfaction of the press that has always supported the populist right and they hate Qatar: "Le Figaro"³⁰ and "France24"³¹ never miss an opportunity to denigrate this small country. Do not forget this detail, you will see that it has a great importance.
- 1.1.9 Other projects are very successful, such as the creation of a mixed capital fund between Paris and Doha for French small and medium-sized enterprises – a fund in which Qatar has paid 300 million Euros³². In 2019 another commercial treaty was signed³³, and today France has one of the main buyers of its products in Qatar, and thus, after the pandemic ends, France will sell products and services in Doha for double the current 3 billion Euros³⁴, becoming one of the five major trading partners of Qatar³⁵.

²⁶ <https://www.qia.qa/Investments/InvestmentsFramework.aspx>

²⁷ <https://www.qcharity.org/en/qa/donation/projects>

²⁸ <https://www.bfmtv.com/international/qatar-dependence-millions-banlieues-francaises-342606.html>

²⁹ <https://www.lefigaro.fr/conjoncture/2012/03/28/20002-20120328ARTFIG00394-banlieues-francaises-le-qatar-gele-son-aide-financiere.php>

³⁰ <https://www.lefigaro.fr/voix/societe/2016/02/05/31003-20160205ARTFIG00415-uoif-freres-musulmans-salafisme-le-dessous-des-cartes.php>

³¹ <https://www.france24.com/fr/20150211-manuel-valls-islam-france-discours-freres-musulmans-uoif>

³² <https://www.agefi.fr/financements-marches/actualites/hebdo/20151210/300-millions-d-euros-fonds-pme-qatar-152856>

³³ <https://www.tresor.economie.gouv.fr/Articles/5567aa1f-415b-40a1-91e9-0c1d3e487a35/files/f9c3b332-a270-419f-9af9-e7302dcedd75>

³⁴ <https://www.tresor.economie.gouv.fr/Pays/QA/rerelations-economiques-bilaterales>

³⁵ <https://www.tresor.economie.gouv.fr/Articles/d4ff11e2-ec74-4a0e-84d3-6955864c9183/files/eb26f74f-abc1-445a-92d4-727533197190>



Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan

- 1.1.10 Qatar is not the only Gulf country to invest in integration between the West and Islam. In the past, other states in the area (like Bahrain, Kuwait and the UAE) have also taken care of a reassuring and cooperative image in relations with the countries of Christianity. Until Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan (nicknamed MbZ), who is the Army Chief, came to power, but because of the Prince's poor health³⁶, he is also the one who makes most of the decisions³⁷. MbZ, in 1994, founded the ECSSR Emirates Center for Strategic Studies & Research³⁸, headed by his lieutenant, Jamal Sanad Al-Suwaidi³⁹, which continues his political line of increasing the Emirates' military commitment⁴⁰.
- 1.1.11 In parallel, MbZ founded a special Army corps, trained by the US Marines⁴¹ for guerrilla missions abroad, called Presidential Guard or R242, mostly mercenary soldiers⁴³ who respond exclusively to MbZ command⁴⁴; Sheikh Bin Zayed al Nayan also founded his own industrial group, the Mubadala FZ Abu Dhabi⁴⁵, which controls several companies, including Tawazun Holding⁴⁶, which deals with the manufacture and trade of weapons and integrated high-tech military

³⁶ <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/uae-leader-returns-after-lengthy-unexplained-absence>

³⁷ <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/02/world/middleeast/crown-prince-mohammed-bin-zayed.html?module=inline>

³⁸ <https://www.ecssr.ae/en/>

³⁹ <https://www.ecssr.ae/en/director-general-statement/>

⁴⁰ "His Highness Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi and Deputy Supreme Commander of the UAE Armed Forces (may God protect him), who have instilled it as an approach to ruling and governance", cfr. <https://www.ecssr.ae/en/director-general-statement/>

⁴¹ <https://m.jpost.com/opinion/behind-the-lines-hedging-bets-in-the-gulf-599427/amp>

⁴² <https://www.protenders.com/companies/presidential-guard-command>

⁴³ <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/revealed-mercenaries-commanding-uae-forces-yemen>

⁴⁴ Claire Finkelstein, Jens David Ohlin, Andrew Altman, "Targeted killings: Law and morality in an asymmetrical world", Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, page 370

⁴⁵ <https://www.mubadala.com/en/who-we-are/board-of-directors/his-highness-sheikh-mohamed-bin-zayed-al-nahyan>

⁴⁶ <https://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20191105005661/en/Mohamed-bin-Zayed-Inaugurates-EDGE-Advanced-Technology>

defence systems. Tawazun has, among its customers, AGT International AG Zurich, owned by an Israeli industrialist, Mati Kochavi⁴⁷, from whom the Emirates bought a military system for 800 million dollars⁴⁸. The same installed by Israel against Palestine.



R2 Chief, the Australian mercenary Mike Hindmarsch (left)

- 1.1.12 To understand the deep connection between ECSSR (apparently nothing more than a harmless Study Center) and the Tawazun Holding, an investigation by the American press is enough: in August 2017 it revealed that Tawazun paid 20 million dollars to ECSSR, and the ECSSR paid them (as a contribution to an environmental project⁴⁹) to the Middle East Institute of Washington DC⁵⁰ – an association of former American servicemen, who in turn paid this amount to several generals and politicians as a kick-back for military contracts between the United States and the United Arab Emirates⁵¹. A blame for MbZ and the whole nation: he reacted charging a small team of lobbyists to bring out positive articles on ECSSR and Tawazun Holding: Abdelraheem Ali's Al Bawaba⁵².

⁴⁷ Ian Black, *Just below the surface: Israel, the Arab Gulf States and the limits of cooperation*, London School of Economics, London 2019 – cfr. <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/100313/7/JustBelowtheSurface.pdf>, pages 14-17

⁴⁸ https://www.upi.com/Business_News/Security-Industry/2012/01/27/Emirates-has-security-links-with-Israel/UPI-73471327687767

⁴⁹ <https://theintercept.com/2017/08/17/weapons-money-intended-for-economic-development-being-secretly-diverted-to-lobbying/>

⁵⁰ <https://theintercept.com/2017/08/17/weapons-money-intended-for-economic-development-being-secretly-diverted-to-lobbying/>

⁵¹ <https://theintercept.com/2017/08/17/weapons-money-intended-for-economic-development-being-secretly-diverted-to-lobbying/>

⁵² <https://www.albawaba.com/tawazun-holding>

1.1.13 Ali does it good, so he receives more and more relevant charges. After the overwhelming victory of Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi, the imposing Arab lobby structure, headed by Ali, has achieved its goal, and no longer serves. In Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood and any other opposition is suffocated in blood. Now, for the Gulf countries, there is the political and commercial battle for relations with the European Union – France in the lead, because this nation is traditionally the most important and reliable partner, never influenced by the United States. Ali moves to Paris and sets up a new team, led by journalists who previously showed sympathy for the positions of the Wahhabi and the regime of Al-Sisi: Alexandre Del Valle, former politician of the most extreme wing of the UMP, today columnist of "Le Figaro"⁵³; Emmanuel Razavi, who with Del Valle wrote "Le Projet: La stratégie de conquête et d'infiltration des Frères Muslims en France et dans le monde"⁵⁴ and, alone, published "Qatar, vérités interdites: Un émirat au bord de l'Implosion"⁵⁵ – a columnist for "Le Figaro" and "France24"⁵⁶; Roland Lombardi, ex paratrooper officer and today military expert for "Le Figaro"⁵⁷; Richard Labévière, former editor of "Radio France International", fired for telling lies about the Syrian issue and the geopolitical situation in the Middle East⁵⁸; Ian Hamel, a freelance who has been writing for decades only in small local Swiss newspapers, who has published a biography of one of the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood, Tariq Ramadan – a book, which is under criminal investigation by the Swiss judicial authorities for falsifying documents, defamation and other related crimes⁵⁹.

1.1.14 All of them are led by Atmane Tazaghart, the former editor of the Arab section of "France24", chased away for his anti-Semitic and pro-Hezbollah positions⁶⁰, and with a passionate agitator background in favour of some dictatorial regimes in the Middle East⁶¹. Under the leadership of Tazaghart and Ali, CEMO,

⁵³ <https://www.dreuz.info/2011/02/27/mais-qui-est-donc-alexandre-del-valle-%e2%80%93-par-jean-patrick-grumberg/>

⁵⁴ <https://www.amazon.com/Projet-strat%C3%A9gie-conqu%C3%AAt-e-dinfiltration-musulmans/dp/2810008663>

⁵⁵ <https://www.amazon.fr/Qatar-v%C3%A9rit%C3%A9s-interdites-%C3%A9mirat-limplosion/dp/2810007934>

⁵⁶ <https://www.atlantico.fr/fiche/emmanuel-razavi-1636508>

⁵⁷ <https://www.lefigaro.fr/vox/monde/2017/01/17/31002-20170117ARTFIG00140-2008-2016-la-politique-etrangere-de-barack-obama-nous-a-permis-d-eviter-le-pire.php>

⁵⁸ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_Lab%C3%A9vi%C3%A8re

⁵⁹ <https://www.reveilcitoyenmedia.com/post/ian-hamel-fait-face-%C3%A0-la-justice-helv%C3%A9tique-pour-avoir-diffam%C3%A9-et-calomni%C3%A9-tariq-ramadan>

⁶⁰ <https://laregledujeu.org/2016/05/12/28948/redac-chef-sur-france-24-arabe-conspirationniste-sur-les-teles-du-hezbollah/>

⁶¹ "Atmane Tazaghart, former editor in chief of the Arab section of France 24, was suspended from his duties following the discovery of comments he had made during an interview on a Lebanese pro-Hezbollah channel Al Mayadeen, funded by Iran in 2013. The video of the interview was published on April 22 by the electronic newspaper "All4syria", and the information was spotted by the Jewish Tribune. He said "at their beginning, these revolutions had shaken the projects of western hegemony and Zionist in the region. We did not expect the Zionist movements and America - which is the spearhead of Zionism in this region – to sit idly by" (...). So, from the events in Libya, there is a drift of the Arab Spring. There was the NATO intervention. There is this war funded by the Zionists. Bernard-Henri Lévy, this Zionist French philosopher of Likud, was the godfather of this revolution. It was he who had brought Gaddafi's opponents to France to Sarkozy's home at the Elysée Palace. He was able to wage this war and, therefore, there was this drift in the trajectory of these revolutions", declared Tazaghart. In 2012, MEMRI had already reported the anti-Semitic and negationist remarks by Tazaghart, broadcast on Al Manar, another Hezbollah channel⁶¹. In this program, he defends the position of Roger Garaudy, author of the book "The founding myths of Israeli policy". Tazaghart commented: "in his book, he highlighted the way in which the Zionists and the Israelis exploit the Holocaust. They put it forward to justify their aggressive policies. As a result, he has been attacked, demonized and marginalized for decades" – cfr. Report on Global Watch Analysis, pages 4-8

transferred to Paris, has a new enemy, alongside the Muslim Brotherhood: Qatar, against which the portals managed by CEMO publish new stories of negative propaganda every day, some of which are so extreme to be considered ridiculous – in the past two weeks alone, CEMO portals, in addition to the accusations about the links with terrorism, claim that Qatar is organizing a coup d'état in Saudi Arabia, Qatar is on the verge of bankruptcy, and Qatar transmits the pandemic to other Gulf countries, first of all Saudi Arabia⁶².

1.1.15 In the meantime, Abdelraheem Ali has begun a feverish lobby work, focusing heavily on Marine Le Pen's friendship and alliance⁶³, and on the system of political lobbies in France, organized in structures called "Groupe d'Amitié". Specifically, the Groupe d'Amitié France-Qatar at the National Assembly, is mainly composed of parliamentarians from different leftist parties and the "En Marche" movement of President Macron⁶⁴. Ali instead collaborated with the Groupe Amitié France-Iraq, which was led by parliamentarians of the right and the dissolved UMP, and which today is instead much more composite, and has therefore been replaced by the Groupe d'Amitié France-Egypte⁶⁵, which is dominated by right-wing parliamentarians⁶⁶.

1.1.16 Meanwhile, CEMO has launched its own NGO, Global Watch Analysis (GWA), based in Paris, coordinated by Abdelraheem Ali, Atmane Tazaghart and Ian Hamel, and which has started a feverish propaganda action against Qatar, focused on the thesis on existence of a structural alliance between the government of Qatar⁶⁷, and on the hypothesis that, following a campaign against the Muslim Brotherhood, Qatar has decided to distance itself from the organization led by Tariq Ramadan⁶⁸. This is obviously a lie, whose reason is to damage Qatar, due to the bad reputation of that Egyptian political movement. A lie, which can only work in the Western world, where the public opinion doesn't even understand the difference between a national State and a local political party. This is the Joker that GWA thinks to use to win its campaign. But an NGO which, however, is not very incisive. Websites are not credible, univocal, nobody takes up the contents proposed by GWA. They needed something

⁶² <https://www.lareference-paris.com/7538> ; <https://www.lareference-paris.com/7537> ; <https://www.lareference-paris.com/7437> ; <https://www.lareference-paris.com/7502> ; <https://www.lareference-paris.com/7512>

⁶³ <http://www.theportal-center.com/2018/05/abdel-rahim-ali-exposes-qatars-role-in-founding-Daëch/>;

⁶⁴ http://www2.assemblee-nationale.fr/instances/fiche/OMC_PO733632

⁶⁵ <https://www.lareference-paris.com/6104>

⁶⁶ http://www2.assemblee-nationale.fr/instances/fiche/OMC_PO733032

⁶⁷ <https://global-watch-analysis.com/listes-communautaires-en-france-la-main-du-qatar/?lang=en>

⁶⁸ <https://global-watch-analysis.com/freres-musulmans-en-suisse-apres-nadia-karmous-le-qatar-lache-nicolas-blanchon/?lang=en> ; <https://global-watch-analysis.com/lambassadeur-du-qatar-a-paris-met-en-garde-tariq-ramadan-de-tout-deballage-sur-ses-liens-passes-avec-lemirat-gazier/?lang=en>

more important, more authoritative, not controversial like the biography of Tariq Ramadan by any Ian Hamel.

- 1.1.17 The journalists Christian Chesnot (Radio France International) and Georges Malbrunot (Le Figaro) published several books. They became famous in 2004 when they were kidnapped near Baghdad while working as a reporter on the Iraq War⁶⁹. After about 4 months of detention they were released, although several aspects of the kidnapping and release are still controversial: on the one hand the secret services, on the other the Groupe d'Amitié France-Iraq, many have fought over the honor of liberation or that of being the kidnappers.
- 1.1.18 The books published by the two journalists (except for their hostage memoirs⁷⁰) have had a limited echo, but have consolidated their credibility in the Middle East, so much so that Malbrunot, over time, has become the only one Western journalist to whom Syria's dictator, Bashar Al Assad, gives exclusive interviews⁷¹, and is the co-author of a memoir of one of Osama Bin Laden's most dangerous lieutenants, Nasser Al Bahri⁷², called Abu Jandal (The Father of Death⁷³). Malbrunot goes further: when, during the Civil War, the French journalist Gilles Jacquier (France2) is killed, Malbrunot writes, based on sources within the Arab League and French secret service, that the rebels are responsible for the death⁷⁴. Jacquier's wife and the French judiciary then showed that the assassination had been perpetrated by Bashar Al Assad's agents⁷⁵.
- 1.1.19 Chesnot and Malbrunot are therefore two controversial journalists, often denied by the facts, who need something that, 15 years after the kidnapping, will give them a new reputation and credibility. The situation does not improve when, about four years ago, the two began to write only on a single topic, Qatar: their books also began to be denied by the Courts, who condemned them for having defamed the socialist senator Alexis Bachelay⁷⁶ and the socialist senator Ms. Nathalie Goulet⁷⁷. To increase his earnings, Georges Malbrunot, joined his former colleague in Le Figaro, Lionel Rabiet⁷⁸, who set up a travel company,

⁶⁹ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, *"Mémoires d'Otages"*, Éditions Calmann-Lévy, Paris 2005, passim

⁷⁰ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georges_Malbrunot#Publications

⁷¹ <https://www.polisblog.it/post/149067/bashar-al-assad-intervistato-da-le-figaro-minacce-alloccidente> ; <https://clarissa.it/wp/2012/01/19/liran-determinato-a-sostenere-bashar-al-assad-fino-alla-fine/>

⁷² Nasser Al Bahri, Georges Malbrunot, *"Guarding Bin Laden: My Life in Al Qaeda"*, Thin Man Press, London 2013

⁷³ https://www.thestar.com/news/world/2009/09/19/where_extremists_come_to_play.html

⁷⁴ <https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2012/02/09/01003-20120209ARTFIG00604-syrie-le-rapport-de-mission-de-la-ligue-arabe.php> ;

<https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2012/07/17/01003-20120717ARTFIG00525-jacquier-l-enquete-francaise-pointe-les-rebelles-syriens.php>

⁷⁵ https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/monde/les-zones-d-ombre-autour-de-la-mort-de-gilles-jacquier_1071159.html ;

<https://www.france24.com/fr/20130612-lentretien-gilles-jacquier-caroline-poiron-attentat-syrie-homs-journaliste> ;

https://www.lemonde.fr/syrie/article/2018/04/09/le-regime-syrien-mis-en-cause-a-washington-dans-la-mort-de-journalistes-etrangers-a-homs-en-2012_5283060_1618247.html ; <https://theintercept.com/2018/04/09/marie-colvin-syria-assad/>

⁷⁶ 2019.06.15 Bachelay vs. Malbrunot et alii ; 2019.10.22 Bachelay vs. Malbrunot et alii

⁷⁷ <https://www.europe1.fr/politique/une-senatrice-fait-condamner-le-livre-nos-tres-chers-emirs-en-diffamation-3760784>

⁷⁸ <https://www.cbnews.fr/medias/image-lionel-rabiet-quitte-figaro-1887>

the Croisières d'Exception Sarl Paris⁷⁹ which, long before starting its business (organize cruises in Middle East with Malbrunot as cicero and lecturer) inexplicably earns over 10 million Euros per year⁸⁰.



Gilles Jacquier

1.1.20 In 2017, a few months after moving to Paris and founding Center d'Études du Moyen Orient Sarl (CEMO)⁸¹, Ali organizes a meeting between the greatest Qatari detractors active in France, at the head of which is Georges Malbrunot⁸². The two gentlemen started collaborating as early as June – speaking at an official CEMO conference, the French journalist confirms that he is part of the political project of the Egyptian parliamentarian and his Saudi financiers: damage Qatar publicly, and try to undermine diplomatic relations, industrial and commercial activities of the Doha government, first with France, then with the other countries of the European Union. Malbrunot and Chesnot were not chosen randomly. Already in December 2013 they published a book discussing the possible forced Islamization, by Qatar, of the Parisian Banlieue⁸³, and other dangers for France and the Wahhabi (considered moderate) due to excessive economic and diplomatic aggression of the Doha government⁸⁴.

⁷⁹ <https://www.croisieres-exception.fr/intervenants/292-georges-malbrunot>

⁸⁰ Croisières d'Exception Sarl Paris

⁸¹ <https://www.bodacc.fr/annonce/detail-annonce/A/20170072/1524>;

⁸² <https://www.observatoire-qatar.com/politique/item/869-quel-est-ce-mysterieux-colloque-sur-la-crise-du-golfe-auquel-ont-participe-roland-dumas-georges-malbrunot-et-francois-asselineau>

⁸³ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, "Qatar, les secrets du coffre-fort", Michel Lafon, Paris 2013, page 10

⁸⁴ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, "Qatar, les secrets du coffre-fort", Michel Lafon, Paris 2013, pages 325-329

- 1.1.21 The collaboration between Abdelraheem Ali and Georges Malbrunot soon produced an extraordinary result. From a source that has remained secret until now, Malbrunot and his friend and co-author Christian Chesnot receive folders containing hundreds of documents (saved as PDFs on a USB stick⁸⁵) stolen from the QCF official accounts. With that material, the two journalists write the book "Qatar Papers", which was released by Parisian publisher Michel Lafon in early 2019, about two years later⁸⁶. The book contains the detail of the financial support of 140 projects among the over 100,000 curated by QCF, or a list of dozens of religious schools and centres of Islamic culture scattered throughout the European Union, the United Kingdom and Switzerland⁸⁷. This, according to the authors, is enough to say that QCF has secretly funded Al Qaeda⁸⁸.
- 1.1.22 Moreover, the book describes the payment of substantial emoluments to the Muslim Brotherhood's leader Tariq Ramadan⁸⁹, reiterating the thesis that this Egyptian organization is not only linked to terrorism, but an integral part of jihad⁹⁰. The fact that the collaboration between Ramadan and QCF is official and transparent is not considered a sign of normalcy, but the most secret mystery of all: in London QCF acts, in official collaboration with the Islamic Brotherhood, with the name of Nectar Trust⁹¹ – an organization which is carefully controlled by the United Kingdom Government's Charity Commission, which makes available to the public all the summary documents of the Trust's activity⁹², and whose lawyers are the same as those of the Church of England, therefore the Archbishopric of Canterbury, the entire Anglican church and many of the charity activities of the English royal family⁹³.
- 1.1.23 During the preparation of the book, a well-known documentary film director of "France2", Jérôme Sesquin, follows the two authors of the book to record their interviews but, in an unclear way, places some hidden cameras and microphones in different mosques and offices in religious institutions and records hours and hours of secret talks between those who work, study and pray in these institutions⁹⁴. Despite all this immense and costly effort, Chesnot,

⁸⁵ <https://www.programme-tv.net/programme/culture-infos/15938233-qatar-guerre-dinfluence-sur-lislam-deurope/>

⁸⁶ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, "Qatar Papers", Michel Lafon, Paris 2019

⁸⁷ <https://livre.fnac.com/a13195949/Christian-Chesnot-Qatar-papers>

⁸⁸ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, "Qatar Papers, *il libro nero dell'Islam*", versione italiana, Rizzoli, Milano 2019, pages 15-16

⁸⁹ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, "Qatar Papers", Michel Lafon, Paris 2019, passim

⁹⁰ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, "Qatar Papers, *il libro nero dell'Islam*", versione italiana, Rizzoli, Milano 2019, page 172 and pages 239-246

⁹¹ Nectar Trust Plc London was founded on March 26, 2012 and is located at 33 Cavendish Square, inside a very modern skyscraper. His bank accounts are deposited with Al Rayan Bank in London. In defence of its legal interests, as well as control over the work of its employees, Nectar Trust has entrusted them to LMBW Lee Bolton Monier-Williams, the Westminster Law Firm that sponsors the Anglican Church and the Catholic Charities operating in the United Kingdom (<http://www.lbmw.com/site/about/>), all its activity is subject to the rules of English law – cfr. 2019.03.31 Financial Statements of Nectar Trust Plc London

⁹² <https://beta.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-details/?subid=0®id=1146597>

⁹³ <http://www.lbmw.com/charities-institutions.html>

⁹⁴ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, "Qatar Papers, *il libro nero dell'Islam*", versione italiana, Rizzoli, Milano 2019, page 17, page 273

Malbrunot and Sesquin find no evidence of payments to jihad. None. Simply, letting it be understood that many operators linked to QCF are reticent, that anyone dealing with Tariq Ramadan and the other Muslim Brothers is a little good, that every Muslim is potentially a terrorist: the book, therefore, passed off as an essay of journalistic research, is nothing but a mere political propaganda operation. An operation clearly directed by Abdelraheem Ali, his Parisian staff, and his ideological alliance with Marine Le Pen.



Jérôme Sesquin

- 1.1.24 In short, according to the authors, the documents they use would demonstrate a direct link between the Doha government and the financing of terrorism with a religious background by organizations such as Al Qaeda and Daëch, not in an evident and incontrovertible way, but according to the principle: each Euro Islamic schools and cultural institutions probably have one Euro for jihad⁹⁵. In the meantime, thanks to the influence of Ali and his CEMO, two years after the publication of the book "Nos très chers Emirs"⁹⁶, which sold little but was convicted twice of defamation⁹⁷, the far right therefore discovered Malbrunot and begins to act as a sounding board for his political ideas⁹⁸: Abdelraheem Ali and Marine Le Pen hold a conference in a room of the French National Assembly to denounce the danger for democracy in France and Christians in Europe constituted by the alliance between the Qatar and the Islamic

⁹⁵ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, "Qatar Papers, il libro nero dell' Islam", versione italiana, Rizzoli, Milano 2019, pages 15-16 et pages 255-260

⁹⁶ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, "Nos très chers Emirs", Michel Lafon, Paris 2018

⁹⁷ <https://www.europe1.fr/politique/une-senatrice-fait-condamner-le-livre-nos-tres-chers-emirs-en-diffamation-3760784> ; 2019.06.15 Bachelay vs. Malbrunot et alii ; 2019.10.22 Bachelay vs. Malbrunot et alii

⁹⁸ Georges Malbrunot viene ufficialmente presentato dalla CEMO come un esponente politico, non come un giornalista – cfr. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fEbpN0J7-V8&t=122s>

Brotherhood, defined tout-court, "a conspiracy"⁹⁹. Because if a book can be convicted of defamation, if it contains falsehoods, if a political leader repeats and accentuates these lies, it is nothing but a political opinion, therefore untouchable.



From left: Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot and Atmane Tagazhert at a GWA Conference in Paris

1.1.25 At this point GWA is ready to attack on a European scale. An English edition of "Qatar Papers" is produced which is edited directly by Abdelraheem Ali and his staff: to publish it is a sort of consortium¹⁰⁰ made up of GWA (which however, although apparently English, is a limited liability company registered in Paris¹⁰¹), the company Averroes et Cie. Paris (a company that has not presented its financial statements for 15 years¹⁰² and which previously belonged to the leaders of the Tunisian Marxist party¹⁰³), and the financial company Countries Reports Publishing Ltd. London – a company of which the owners are not known, which controls 100% of GWA¹⁰⁴, and which was founded by Gethin Bernard Gibb: an English personal trainer and bodyguard, who's now in charge of the Swiss branch of a multinational company from Dubai¹⁰⁵. His place has been taken by Thomas Edmond Ashman, who has many clients, including a

⁹⁹ <https://www.lareference-paris.com/239>

¹⁰⁰ Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, "Qatar Papers: How Doha finances the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe". Global Watch Analysis / Averroes & Cie., London 2019, page 2

¹⁰¹ <https://global-watch-analysis.com/qui-sommes-nous/?lang=en>

¹⁰² <https://www.infogreffe.fr/entreprise-societe/418502993-averroes-cie-750198B066930000/actes-deposes.html?typeProduitOnglet=EXTRAIT&afficherretour=true>

¹⁰³ 2004.09.03 Averroes & Cie. Sarl Paris ; https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hachemi_Jegham

¹⁰⁴ 2020.01.01 Countries Reports Publishing Ltd. London

¹⁰⁵ <https://www.linkedin.com/in/gethin-webb-b7772617/?originalSubdomain=ch> ; <https://www.globaleye.com/>

French judge¹⁰⁶ convicted of fraudulent bankruptcy¹⁰⁷, directly linked to a scandal of illegal financing in the United Arab Emirates¹⁰⁸.

- 1.1.26 At the same time, Georges Malbrunot has for years started collaborating in a campaign to end the embargo against Iran¹⁰⁹. He operates as a lobbyist in the framework of the alliance between the association called CIE Cercle Iran Économie and the Groupe Sénatorial d'Amitié France – Iran¹¹⁰. CIE is active in London¹¹¹ and is headed by ex-CEO the Alstom Iran, Nigel Coulthard¹¹². CIE's main sponsors include the Germany-Iran Chamber of Commerce, the United Kingdom-Iran Chamber of Commerce¹¹³, and a private company, European Sanctions Ltd. Birmingham, controlled by the two lobbyists Maya Lester and Michael O'Kane¹¹⁴. They have a list of respectable customers: Kadi Holding Dammam (Saudi Arabia), the controversial banker Htoo Htet Tay Za (Myanmar), the Central Bank of Iran, the NITC National Iranian Tanker Company, the IRISL Group Tehran¹¹⁵, SAGIA Saudi Arabian General Investment Authority¹¹⁶ and Georges Malbrunot¹¹⁷.



The web logo of the German portal of the CEMO Centre d'études du Moyen Orient

- 1.1.27 In recent weeks, an edition of "Qatar Papers" is also being prepared for the German market. CEMO is also expanding its range of action in Brussels, Turkey, Italy, Switzerland, and the Arab countries. The effects of "Qatar Papers", an exceptional "mud machine" operation, have not yet been fully seen. And in the meantime, Georges Malbrunot and Christian Chesnot continue to publish, and

¹⁰⁶ <https://www.webtimemedias.com/article/alexandre-krivine-juge-au-tribunal-de-commerce-de-grasse>

¹⁰⁷ <https://tribuca.net/archives/pdf/2012/CCn660121012.pdf>, page 25

¹⁰⁸ Il Giudice Alexandre Krivine, insieme a sua moglie, Souad Belhouji, è personalmente coinvolto negli scandali dei parenti di sua moglie, Jean-Charles Charki ed il di lui suocero Claude Guéant, ex assistente di Nicholas Sarkozy. L'accusa è di aver mosso illegalmente denaro, trafugato ad investitori francesi, in una società offshore basata a Ras Al-Khaimah (UAE) e di aver usato parte di quei denari per sostenere gruppi del fondamentalismo islamico – cfr. <http://elfassiscoopblog.com/2013/12/> ; <https://www.lalettrea.fr/entreprises/2010/04/30/l-ascension-du-gendre-de-claude-gueant,83441569-arl> ; <https://www.jeuneafrique.com/mag/782875/politique/france-la-chute-de-claude-gueant-le-monsieur-afrique-de-nicolas-sarkozy/> ; <https://ledesk.ma/2018/07/04/jean-charles-charki-un-sulfureux-visiteur-du-soir-au-siege-docp/> ; <https://www.sudouest.fr/2014/04/10/claude-gueant-son-gendre-a-t-il-utilise-sa-position-de-ministre-1521669-4697.php> ; https://www.lepoint.fr/societe/exclusif-les-droles-de-business-du-gendre-de-gueant-10-04-2014-1811714_23.php# ; <https://www.nouvelobs.com/rue89/rue89-politique/20130428.RUE5898/la-nouvelle-vie-de-claude-gueant-avocat-des-africains.html> ; <http://www.wikistrike.com/article-claude-71865590.html> ; <https://www.capital.fr/entreprises-marches/l-argus-des-eminences-grises-du-business-512255> ; <https://www.atlantico.fr/rdv/746986/comptes-suisse--le-scandale-de-la--liste-des-3000--gueant--le-mail--tres--compromettant-nkm-patrick-buisson--la-guerre-c-est-maintenant-barbara-lambert>

¹⁰⁹ <http://www.assembly.coe.int/committee/CULT/2005/CULT030E.pdf>

¹¹⁰ https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265693861_VERS_L'OUVERTURE_DES_ECHANGES_COMMERCIAUX

¹¹¹ <http://www.cercle-iran-eco.com/partenaires/>

¹¹² <http://www.cercle-iran-eco.com/presentation-du-cercle/le-bureau/>;

¹¹³ <http://www.cercle-iran-eco.com/partenaires/>

¹¹⁴ European Sanctions Ltd. Birmingham

¹¹⁵ <https://www.globallegalinsights.com/firms/brick-court-chambers/maya-lester/>;

¹¹⁶ <https://www.amazon.co.uk/Doing-Business-Saudi-Arabia-Michael-ebook/dp/B00C2TCUZO>;

¹¹⁷ http://www.senat.fr/colloques/echanges_commerciaux_iran.html ; <https://studylibfr.com/doc/517326/le-rapport-au-format-pdf>

continue to have important sources, such as the ECSSR of Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, who has given the French exclusive rights to the news of the industrial and military alliance between the United Arab Emirates and Israel¹¹⁸. Maybe ECSSR, as various unconfirmed sources murmur, is the bearer of the famous USB stick with QCF accounting documents. There is no evidence of this, but it wouldn't surprise us too much if it were so. Abdelraheem Ali has proven to be a powerful man with powerful chiefs.

1.2 DOUBTS ABOUT THE 2004 ABDUCTION AND ITS CONCLUSION

1.2.1 Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot propose themselves as objective experts and analysts of what is happening in the Middle East, and based on the mass of publications produced after their "kidnapping" in 2004, they suggest a situation in which Jihad is financed not by Iranian sources, Hezbollah, Saudis, Taliban, Al Qaeda, Daëch, but from the Muslim Brotherhood – which means Qatar. The untrue equivalence between the Egyptian political movement and the Monarchy in Doha is the main column used in order to corroborate their hypothesis.



Bashar Al-Assad and Malbrunot

1.2.2 In November 2004, about a month before Chesnot and Malbrunot kidnapping ended, a press conference was held in Paris by the Syrian driver of the two French journalists, Mohammed al-Joundi, who had reappeared¹¹⁹, apparently accidentally found by American soldiers freeing Fallouja¹²⁰ - which means he

¹¹⁸ <http://www.lefigaro.fr/mon-figaro/2010/06/25/10001-20100625ARTFIG00486-le-business-secret-d-israel-dans-le-golfe-persique.php>

¹¹⁹ https://www.la-croix.com/Actualite/Monde/Mohammad-al-Joundi-est-libre-_NG_-2004-11-12-506502;

¹²⁰ <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/11/27/opinion/100-days-the-grim-ordeal-of-frances-hostages.html>;

was not detained together with others¹²¹. After that, he was invited to stop talking, since his version does not coincide with that given by Malbrunot and his captive companion¹²². Bashar Al-Assad's Baath Party activist al-Joundi said that the two journalists' entire journey was "piloted" thanks to his personal relationships with the militiamen on both sides, and that the kidnapers were treating the two Frenchmen with friendship and respect¹²³.

1.2.3 The Syrian Bath Party was an enemy of Saddam Hussein, but also an enemy of the US invaders, pursuing the political and military target to link the new political power of Baghdad to Iran¹²⁴. Al-Joundi went further, designating the kidnapers as "resistance fighters"¹²⁵ and emphasizing his closeness to their ideals, made evident by the fact that they freed the hostages, in excellent health conditions, without ever requesting a ransom¹²⁶. According to Al-Joundi, the kidnapping and release were made possible thanks to the relations between the kidnapers and the Syrian government¹²⁷.

1.2.4 After the months of that kidnapping, in times of crisis and throughout the civil war, Malbrunot is the only Western journalist who has been able to personally and individually interview Bashar Al-Assad¹²⁸ and who had several sources that confirmed the military alliance between Syria and Iran¹²⁹. Over the past ten years, anyone who wanted to know the position of the Damascus government had Georges Malbrunot as its source, who played a role comparable to that of Bashar Al-Assad's European press officer¹³⁰, even against Hollande, during his presidency¹³¹.

1.2.5 During the four months of the kidnapping of Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot in Iraq, there were two main official negotiators, who were apparently trying to get the two journalists free, one battling against the other:

¹²¹https://www.lorientlejour.com/article/487652/Le_compagnon_de_captivite_des_deux_journalistes_francais_a_donne_hier_une_conference_de_presseGeorges_Malbrunot_et_Christian_Chesnotsont_en_securite%252.html;

¹²²https://www.lorientlejour.com/article/487652/Le_compagnon_de_captivite_des_deux_journalistes_francais_a_donne_hier_une_conference_de_presseGeorges_Malbrunot_et_Christian_Chesnotsont_en_securite%252.html;

¹²³https://www.lorientlejour.com/article/487652/Le_compagnon_de_captivite_des_deux_journalistes_francais_a_donne_hier_une_conference_de_presseGeorges_Malbrunot_et_Christian_Chesnotsont_en_securite%252.html;

¹²⁴ <https://sicurezzainternazionale.luiss.it/2018/11/09/guerra-pace-storia-moderna-dei-rapporti-siria-iraq/>;

¹²⁵ Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, "Mémoires d'otages", Calmann-Lévy, Paris 2005, pages 81-84;

¹²⁶https://www.lorientlejour.com/article/487652/Le_compagnon_de_captivite_des_deux_journalistes_francais_a_donne_hier_une_conference_de_presseGeorges_Malbrunot_et_Christian_Chesnotsont_en_securite%252.html;

¹²⁷https://www.lorientlejour.com/article/487652/Le_compagnon_de_captivite_des_deux_journalistes_francais_a_donne_hier_une_conference_de_presseGeorges_Malbrunot_et_Christian_Chesnotsont_en_securite%252.html;

¹²⁸ <https://www.polisblog.it/post/149067/bashar-al-assad-intervistato-da-le-figaro-minacce-alloccidente>;

¹²⁹ <https://clarissa.it/wp/2012/01/19/liran-determinato-a-sostenere-bashar-al-assad-fino-alla-fine/>;

¹³⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AGHTgwATs4E>; <https://blog.lefigaro.fr/malbrunot/2010/12/bashar-al-assad-a-paris-le-9-d.html>;

<https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=218995955&t=1586838680881>;

¹³¹ <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/syria-crisis-assad-interview-has-increased-my-determination-says-france-president-fran-ois-hollande-8797061.html>;

Minister of Foreign Affairs Michel Barnier and the member of Parliament (and close friend of President Sarkozy) Didier Julia¹³², elected in the rows of president's party UPM (Union for a Popular Movement) which, after several scandals, disbanded in 2013¹³³. The day the two journalist came back free, Georges Malbrunot attacked Julia, asserting he despises him, and that he played no role in the liberation of the two French hostages¹³⁴. The French justice set under investigation Didier Julia and two partners of him, Philippe Brett and Philippe Evanno, asserting they built a parallel private secret service organization and received public money in order to support it¹³⁵, but they have been all exculpated from all the allegations five years later¹³⁶.

1.2.6 The clue of this dispute is not if Didier Julia had the right to negotiate, if he and Philippe Brett and Philippe Evanno created an illegal organization¹³⁷, or if he stolen around € 1 million public money¹³⁸. The key question is: if Michel Barnier and the French Government are right, Chesnot and Malbrunot were prisoners close to Baghdad¹³⁹ in the hands of a Salafist group called Islamic Army of Iraq¹⁴⁰ – a thesis, which has always been defended from Chesnot and Malbrunot¹⁴¹, even in despite of some contradiction¹⁴².

1.2.7 The first main problem with the official storytelling is: The Islamic Army of Iraq (IAI) kidnapped and killed the Italian journalist Enzo Baldoni¹⁴³, but the two French journalist never met him, even if they should have been prisoners at the same time of the same group¹⁴⁴, which, according to the official US military sources, consisted of ca. 13'000 soldiers and has been deployed about 300 km away from the place of the abduction¹⁴⁵. Malbrunot asserts that Baldoni has been killed because he was not cooperating with the kidnappers, because he was a spy¹⁴⁶ (which means that Malbrunot was cooperating with the kidnappers...).

¹³² <https://www.nouvelobs.com/politique/20041226.OBS4723/julia-j-ai-pris-des-risques.html>;

¹³³ <https://www.bfmtv.com/politique/dissolution-r-ump-officiellement-actee-424774.html>

¹³⁴ <https://www.lalibre.be/international/malbrunot-exprime-son-mepris-pour-didier-julia-51b8876de4b0de6db9ab560b>;

¹³⁵ <http://www.mafhoum.com/press7/222P7.htm>;

¹³⁶ <https://www.lejdd.fr/Societe/Justice/Irak-Didier-Julia-blanchi-38628-3254303>;

¹³⁷ <http://www.mafhoum.com/press7/222P7.htm>;

¹³⁸ http://www1.rfi.fr/actufr/articles/058/article_30887.asp;

¹³⁹ Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, "Mémoires d'otages", Calmann-Levy, Paris 2005, page 18;

¹⁴⁰ Ahmed S. Hashim, "Insurgency and counter-insurgency in Iraq", Cornell University Press, 2006, New York, page 175;

¹⁴¹ Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, "Mémoires d'otages", Calmann-Levy, Paris 2005, page 74;

¹⁴² Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, "Mémoires d'otages", Calmann-Levy, Paris 2005, pages 51-52;

¹⁴³ Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, "Mémoires d'otages", Calmann-Levy, Paris 2005, page 15;

¹⁴⁴ https://www.corriere.it/Primo_Piano/Esteri/2005/02_Febbraio/02/baldoni.shtml;

¹⁴⁵ Ahmed S. Hashim, "Insurgency and counter-insurgency in Iraq", Cornell University Press, 2006, New York, page 175;

¹⁴⁶ <https://www.repubblica.it/2004/1/sezioni/esteri/iraq39/spia.html>;

1.2.8 Moreover, Chesnot and Malbrunot assert that they have never been provided with cuffs and hood, and that's why they could see where they are¹⁴⁷. Few pages later, they assert the contrary¹⁴⁸. So, if Didier Julia is true, the two journalist have been guests by the Syria borders, and their liberation has been delayed (after the announcements of Julia and of Chesnot and Malbrunot¹⁴⁹), due to the massive bombing of the US troops and aviation on the road, which connects Damascus to Baghdad – a trip of almost 850 km street (about 590 km from the Syrian border to Baghdad)¹⁵⁰.



Moqtad Al-Sadr

1.2.9 The second problem is the result of the first one. Who abducted Chesnot and Malbrunot. In their book, they assert that they have been kidnapped in the area where the only active army was the Mahdi Brigade of Moqtad Al-Sadr¹⁵¹. The Islamic Army of Iraq was fighting ca. 160 km away from Najaf – where the two journalists have been abducted, and was placed in the North of the country¹⁵². Moreover, the kidnapping of Chesnot and Malbrunot (if they are really responsible for that) has been the first act of this Army¹⁵³. Before that day, they were mostly unknown.

1.2.10 The key question, obviously, is the different agenda of the IAI and the Mahdi units. The first group collects a significant number of patriots, even of different religions, not at all fundamentalists, who hates and fights the presence of the

¹⁴⁷ Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, "Mémoires d'otages", Calmann-Lévy, Paris 2005, page 76;

¹⁴⁸ Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, "Mémoires d'otages", Calmann-Lévy, Paris 2005, page 79;

¹⁴⁹ Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, "Mémoires d'otages", Calmann-Lévy, Paris 2005, page 120;

¹⁵⁰ <https://www.distance.to/Baghdad,IRQ/Damascus,Damascus-City,SYR>;

¹⁵¹ Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, "Mémoires d'otages", Calmann-Lévy, Paris 2005, pages 70-72;

¹⁵² https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/islamic-army-iraq#text_block_19592;

¹⁵³ https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/islamic-army-iraq#text_block_19592;

US troops in Iraq and sees that as an invasion¹⁵⁴. They were capable of bombing attack all over Iraq, but are hidden close to the Kurds, where the US troops didn't arrive¹⁵⁵. The Army of Moqtad Al-Sadr has a Syrian and Lebanese focussed agenda and pretends to obtain to sit at the table of the winners and achieve some slices of the cake from the neutralization of a weak Iraq. His Army had a relevant presence all over Iraq, and mostly westbound from Baghdad, already in year 2003¹⁵⁶. In the summer of 2004, IAI had no organization, not so many hiding possibilities and logistics, while the Sadrist Army was mighty and very well placed all over the country¹⁵⁷. According to the US Army, the whole area around Najaf was under their control¹⁵⁸.

1.2.11 Perhaps it seems a useless and idle question to establish which of the thousand fighting factions has kidnapped the two French journalists. But it's not true. If it had been the IAI, then it is not clear why they left the driver free (after identifying him as a pro-American spy so blatantly that it generated a rage crisis of Chesnot and Malbrunot¹⁵⁹) in Falluja, which was into the hands of hated Americans¹⁶⁰. There is no explanation for having struck two citizens of a country, France, which was among the very few acting against the American invasion¹⁶¹, even voting a veto against the invasion in the NATO Security Council¹⁶², and to have maintained a neutral attitude towards armies on the field (perhaps selling weapons even to factions, which were loyal to Saddam Hussein¹⁶³).

1.2.12 If, on the other hand, it was the Sadrists to organize and control the abduction, they surely obtained a series of advantages from a propaganda point of view (let the "bad guys" be the others; build a strong contact base in France to improve the image of the Assad's regime, and fortifying its alliance with Paris, as it happened) and military (they managed to hide several hostages for months, without ever having to face the US troops), their gain was greater and more evident. The fact remains that we can only have doubts about the thesis of Chesnot and Malbrunot, neither one nor the other version can be proved. After years of investigation, the French politicians, who fought for this second version, have been exculpated¹⁶⁴. So: apparently, they didn't lie.

¹⁵⁴ https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/islamic-army-iraq#text_block_19592;

¹⁵⁵ https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/islamic-army-iraq#text_block_19592;

¹⁵⁶ Patrick Cockburn, "Moqtada Al Sadr and the battle for the future of Iraq", Simon & Schuster, New York 2008, pages 112-130;

¹⁵⁷ <http://www.ufppc.org/content/view/2069/>;

¹⁵⁸ <https://web.archive.org/web/20171010055450/http://www.middle-east-online.com/english/?id=9514>;

¹⁵⁹ Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, "Mémoires d'otages", Calmann-Levy, Paris 2005, page 80;

¹⁶⁰ <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/11/27/opinion/100-days-the-grim-ordeal-of-frances-hostages.html>;

¹⁶¹ <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/chirac-makes-his-case-on-iraq/>;

¹⁶² <https://www.nytimes.com/2003/03/11/world/threats-and-responses-discord-france-to-veto-resolution-on-iraq-war-chirac-says.html>;

¹⁶³ <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2004/sep/8/20040908-123000-1796r/>;

¹⁶⁴ <https://www.lejdd.fr/Societe/Justice/Irak-Didier-Julia-blanchi-38628-3254303>;



Philippe Brett

- 1.2.13 Several books have been published, which tell a quite different story – a story of an adventure of two guys, whose directors are the French secret service (DGSE) and some Middle East lobbies, whose goal is to secure an alliance between them and the French government – an alliance, which became necessary because the old balance between Paris and Baghdad, after the death of Saddam Hussein, had to be negotiated starting from zero¹⁶⁵. In this alternative storytelling, the key role, in Iraq, has been played by an organization called OFDIC (Office Français pour le Développement de l'Industrie et de la Culture), whose main managers are the UMP Senator Didier Julia and the former DGSE-Agents Philippe Brett, Philippe Evanno and François Girard-Hautbout¹⁶⁶. Brett, who learned to fly a helicopter in the Army (FuMaCo, a marines' unit), was the man acting on the ground in Damascus and Baghdad¹⁶⁷.
- 1.2.14 Mr. Julia is not alone. In OFDIC, the decisions are made by the personal assistant of President Jacques Chirac, Thierry Mariani (UMP). The contact person for the French industry (TotalFina, Alcatel, Peugeot, Schneider Electric, Renault¹⁶⁸), which wants to make business in the post-Saddam's Iraq¹⁶⁹, is Roselyne Bachelot-Narquin (UMP), Ministry of the Environment¹⁷⁰, who has been along years in the Groupe d'Amitié France-Irak: one of the mightiest lobbies in the

¹⁶⁵ Gerard de Villiers: "Otages: la vérité", Fayard, Paris 2005, Chapter I;

¹⁶⁶ Gerard de Villiers: "Otages: la vérité", Fayard, Paris 2005, Chapter I;

¹⁶⁷ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippe_Brett;

¹⁶⁸ <https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/167/35145.html>;

¹⁶⁹ https://www.lorientjour.com/article/434005/Irak_-_

[_Une_obscurer_association_francaise_defie_la_communaute_internationale_Un_avion_atteint_a_Bagdad_en_depit_de_lembargo%2528photo%2529.html](https://www.lorientjour.com/article/434005/Irak_-_Une_obscurer_association_francaise_defie_la_communaute_internationale_Un_avion_atteint_a_Bagdad_en_depit_de_lembargo%2528photo%2529.html);

¹⁷⁰ <https://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/19/world/threats-and-responses-commerce-europeans-strive-to-tighten-trade-ties-with-iraq.html>;

Parliament, which counts around 30 Senators of different political parties¹⁷¹. This lobby organizes conferences in order to enforce the political and industrial relationships between Paris and the actors in the new Iraq – including the Sadrists¹⁷² and George Malbrunot, who's a regular guest as paid speaker¹⁷³.

1.2.15 On June 23, 2016, the actual Chairman of the Groupe d'Amitié France-Iraq, senator Jean-Jacques Bridey, has been one of the promoters of a conference in the palace of the National Assembly of France. One of the panel regarded Qatar¹⁷⁴. The talk-master of the panel was a SRC-senator, Alexis Bachelay, a member of another lobby, the Groupe d'Amitié France-Qatar. Malbrunot has been invited by Bridey in order to counter the opinion of Bachelay¹⁷⁵. Malbrunot's speech was that insulting, that started a fight between him and Bachelay, which has been closed only with the judgement¹⁷⁶ for defamation against the journalists. Malbrunot accused Bachelay¹⁷⁷ and several other politicians to finance their own political activity through Qatari bribes¹⁷⁸.

1.2.16 The cooperation between Georges Malbrunot and the single members of the lobby Groupe d'Amitié France-Iraq is rich of examples. We researched only the common links of the last few years: On December 12, 2019, Mr. Bridey organizes another conference in the rooms of the National Assembly, whose director is another member of the Group d'Amitié, senator Gwendal Rouillard (REM)¹⁷⁹: on the future of Iraq – and one of his key speakers and panel's talk-masters is Georges Malbrunot¹⁸⁰; in April 2019 the members of the National Assembly Sonia Krimi (member of the Groupe d'Amitié France-Iraq¹⁸¹) and Valerie Boyer published a Report called "La lutte contre le financement du terrorisme international" and mentioned the audition of Georges Malbrunot as one of the key pieces of evidences of their opinion: that Qatar is the hub of the jihad in Europe¹⁸²; the members of the Groupe d'Amitié France-Iraq called Malbrunot several times to speak as expert advisor of the political discussion about the Middle East¹⁸³.

¹⁷¹ http://www2.assemblee-nationale.fr/instances/fiche/OMC_PO733547;

¹⁷² <http://www.libanvision.com/archives.htm>;

¹⁷³ <https://radical.hypotheses.org/17531>;

¹⁷⁴ <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/agendas/feuilletons/F0148-240613.pdf>, page 17;

¹⁷⁵ <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/agendas/feuilletons/F0148-240613.pdf>, page 17;

¹⁷⁶ 2019.10.22 Bachelay vs. Malbrunot et alii

¹⁷⁷ <http://www.lcp.fr/la-politique-en-video/info-lcp-accuse-davoir-sollicite-le-qatar-pour-financer-sa-campagne-electorale>;

¹⁷⁸ https://www.francetvinfo.fr/societe/le-groupe-d-amitie-france-qatar-a-l-assemblee-dans-la-tourmente-apres-les-accusations-d-un-livre_1881525.html;

¹⁷⁹ http://www2.assemblee-nationale.fr/instances/fiche/OMC_PO733547;

¹⁸⁰ <https://radical.hypotheses.org/17531>;

¹⁸¹ http://www2.assemblee-nationale.fr/instances/fiche/OMC_PO733547;

¹⁸² <https://www.atlantico.fr/decryptage/3570131/valerie-boyer---nous-devons-empecher-que-le-financement-du-terrorisme-low-cost-se-fasse-par-un-noircissement-d-argent-public->;

¹⁸³ <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000037738694&categorieLien=id>;

1.2.17 The obvious conclusion of this paragraph is that the period of captivity spent by Chesnot and Malbrunot after Najaf's abduction is likely not to have been in the hands of the Islamic Army in Iraq, but in the hands of the Sadrists of Moqtad Al-Sadr and the Mahdi Army. Regardless, it is a fact that despite Malbrunot having used contemptuous words towards Didier Julia and members of the pro-Iraqi lobby of the French National Assembly, despite the secret services (DGSE) having publicly disavowed their former agent Philippe Brett and accused him (in a penal Court case) of embezzlement, the Groupe d'Amitié France-Iraq has been rehabilitated, and since 2005 Georges Malbrunot has started to collaborate continuously with that lobby, openly sharing its positions, so as to arrive at a trial for defamation against the opposite lobby, the one that defends the friendship between France and Qatar.

1.3 CONCLUSIONS

The many contradictions and inconsistencies shown in this Chapter suggest that not only the entire "*Qatar Papers*" political operation is the placing on the western market of a text that apparently looks like a research work, and instead is a pure (and legitimate) operation of political controversy, but that behind this operation there is the erroneous belief, on the part (probably) of the Wahhabi, that the undeniable friendship offered by France to both the UAE and Saudi Arabia could be truly endangered by the friendship of France for the Iran, for Qatar or for anyone. It's a paranoid way of thinking, not at all justified in the facts. This demonstrates very little knowledge and understanding of how the Western world works and how its political leaders think.

CHAPTER 2: THE REAL FIGHT BEHIND “QATAR PAPERS”

2.1 The Saudi’s concern about an alliance between Qatar and Iran

2.1.1 In the last decade, Qatar became the target of a negative campaign, with religious, political, diplomatic, economic and military aspects¹⁸⁴: *“The 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq overthrew Saddam Hussein, a Sunni Arab who had been a major Iranian adversary. This removed a crucial military counter-weight to Iran. It opened the way for a Shia-dominated government in Baghdad and Iranian influence in the country has been rising ever since. Fast-forward to 2011 and uprisings across the Arab world caused political instability throughout the region. Iran and Saudi Arabia exploited these upheavals to expand their influence, notably in Syria, Bahrain and Yemen, further heightening mutual suspicions”*¹⁸⁵.

2.1.2 Often, Saudi Arabia had rifts with Qatar over the Aljazeera Channel and some geographical disputes. Saudi Arabia is seemingly upset from the impact in not only the Middle East but Europe and the US. In 2017, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Egypt cut diplomatic and trade ties with Doha, and imposed a sea, land and air blockade on Qatar, claiming it supported terrorism and was too close to Iran¹⁸⁶. At the time, Qatar rejected the claims and said there was “no legitimate justification” for the severance of relations. The four countries claimed that Qatar worked to support terrorism, maintained intimate relations with Iran and meddled in the internal affairs of their countries. Tensions with Qatar have generally revolved around its alleged support for political Islamic movements, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, as well as complaints about the Doha based Al Jazeera Media Network¹⁸⁷.

2.1.3 The best explanation we’ve got comes from Debka, an Israeli media, published in June 2017: “Qatar finds itself boycotted by the most powerful Arab governments for putting itself on Iran's side against its Sunni Arab allies. This is the most serious diplomatic crisis affecting the Arab world - and which has brought about the Gulf Cooperation Council from the inside - but which has been brewing for years. Qatar and its Al Jazeera channel are a thorn in the side for its Arab allies, who accuse it of providing asylum and providing a platform for terrorist groups and extremists, including the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas. However, Debkafile revealed, on June 2, the drop of water that overflows the vase and triggers these unprecedented

¹⁸⁴ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-42008809>

¹⁸⁵ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-42008809>

¹⁸⁶ <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/06/qatar-blockade-gulf-crisis-190604220901644.html> ; <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/economy/qatar-blockade-enters-fourth-year-timeline/1867504>

¹⁸⁷ <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/06/qatar-blockade-gulf-crisis-190604220901644.html>

reprisals: the leader of Qatar Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani has forged a plot to abort the Saudi-American initiative aimed at establishing Sunni league alignment against Tehran"¹⁸⁸.

2.1.4 "President Donald Trump presented his establishment during his visit to Riyadh on May 22. A week later, the Emir sent his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mohammed bin Abdulrahman Al Thani, to Tehran to advance his ploy there. He was received on the spot by the central actor in Iran, the head of Al Quds, General Qassem Soleimani, commander of the Iranian forces in Iraq and Syria, who are at the heart of the ongoing controversy. They worked together on a plan to torpedo American operations in the two countries in conflict. They also debated the reward that Doha was to receive for the betrayal of its allies"¹⁸⁹.



Mohammed bin Abdulrahman Al Thani (left) and Iran's President Hassan Rouhani in Tehran

2.1.5 "Qatari leaders have continued to pummel Washington, even though the largest US air base in the Gulf region is located in Al Udeid, southwest of Doha. Or even if the emir rushed to warmly shake hands with Trump in Riyadh. The split between Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Bahrain and Egypt finally came to light, shortly after President Trump ended his stay in the Middle East. On May 25, an article from the official Qatar news agency quoted the Emir as sharply criticizing the United States, Saudi Arabia and their "client states" for their attempts to cause tension with "Islamic power", Iran. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Qatar was also quoted there, announcing the withdrawal of his ambassadors from Kuwait, Bahrain, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the UAE"¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸⁸ <https://www.debka.com/?s=qatar+under+arab+boycott>

¹⁸⁹ <https://www.debka.com/?s=qatar+under+arab+boycott>

¹⁹⁰ <https://www.debka.com/?s=qatar+under+arab+boycott>

- 2.1.6 "It was only then that Doha claimed that the agency had been hacked and that these statements never existed. But the conflict continued. Saudi media accuses Qatar of "betraying" its Arab brothers by stabbing them in the back as they stage revolutionary events aimed at demonstrating their flawless unity. The Saudis, Egyptians and the UAE then blocked websites and broadcasts from Qatar, including Al Jazeera, on their territory. Behind these public recriminations, our sources reveal that King Salman, President El-Sissi and the leader of the Emirates Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan sent an ultimatum to the Qatari potentate. He was warned against very severe sanctions, unless he comes in line and does the following: 1) Break all military and intelligence relations with Tehran; 2) Repeal all agreements with Tehran: not only with regard to Syria and Iraq, but also other Arab countries, in particular Libya; 3) Cancel all "political" asylum and benefits arrangements that Qatar offers to Muslim Brotherhood activists, as well as their expulsion immediately; 4) Reduce Qatar's ties with the Palestinian fundamentalist group Hamas which heads the Gaza Strip and the refusal of permits granted to their leaders and their families in Doha. Last week, King Salman asked Egyptian President Abdul-Fatteh El-Sissi to refuse the visit to the new head of the Hamas political bureau, Islamil Haniyeh, who plans to move from Gaza and settle in Doha with his family. A handful of Hamas officials have been ordered to leave, but that is not enough to meet the overall demands of this ultimatum"¹⁹¹.
- 2.1.7 "The Saudi-Emirates' warning to the Emir of Qatar does not specify exactly what sanctions the terrorist monarch faces for disobedience. The virtual blockade announced on Monday may be just the first step. Our sources in the Gulf reveal that a massive military operation measured against a Qatari target could be part of the cards in the sleeve of its neighbours. They also did not rule out the possibility that the Egyptian, Saudi and Emirates secret services would organize a coup aimed at dethroning the Al-Thani clan in Doha"¹⁹².
- 2.1.8 This vehement reaction from the Saudi monarchy and its allies in the Emirates, due to their fear of the growing influence of Iran¹⁹³, was not only the reason and the basis for the financial, religious, political and military support given to Al-Sisi in preparing for the coup d'état in Egypt, but also became the key for Netanyahu's government in Tel Aviv to find unexpected allies in their war without quarter against Hamas and against the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Since the Al-Thani family has proven to be friends with Hamas, then Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates must be enemies of it – as the "Jerusalem Post" cynically comments¹⁹⁴.

¹⁹¹ <https://www.debka.com/?s=qatar+under+arab+boycott>

¹⁹² <https://www.debka.com/?s=qatar+under+arab+boycott>

¹⁹³ <https://blog.realinstitutoelcano.org/no-es-qatar-es-iran/>

¹⁹⁴ <https://www.jpost.com/middle-east/five-reasons-why-israel-should-care-about-the-qatar-crisis-494891>



Emir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani visiting Gaza in October 2012

2.1.9 In March 2018, the Zionist lobby called “MEMRI”, based in Washington DC, published a rabid dossier explaining the position of the extreme right wing in Israel about Qatar and the dispute on the friendship and sustain of the United States¹⁹⁵. This paper follows around one year after the first official statement of the Israeli Army in this matter has been published through General Yaakov Amidror, leading a panel for the BESA Begin – Sadat Center for Strategic Studies in Ramat Gan¹⁹⁶. General Amidror is not an unknown personality. He has been a paratrooper and a hero in the Six Day War in 1967¹⁹⁷ and climbed not only the hierarchy in the Army but, due to his open hate against Palestine, he has been hired in several leading positions in the Israeli secret service¹⁹⁸ and has been a quite profiled personality of the Habayit Hayehudi (the “Jewish Home Party”, which represents the most fundamentalist points of view of the Zionist wing of Israel)¹⁹⁹.



Major General Yaakov Amidror

¹⁹⁵ <https://www.memri.org/reports/qatar-and-american-syndrome>

¹⁹⁶ <https://besacenter.org/perspectives-papers/qatar-crisis-weakness/>

¹⁹⁷ https://jcpa.org/requirements-for-defensible-borders/foreign_peacekeeping_forces/

¹⁹⁸ <https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4039837,00.html> ; <https://www.haaretz.com/1.5133941>

¹⁹⁹ <https://www.haaretz.com/1.5077986>

2.1.10 It is no surprise that General Amidror and the editorial staff of "Le Figaro" support similar positions, even criticizing Benjamin Netanyahu for his supposed "moderation"²⁰⁰; so it is understandable why, in 2012, Amidror and other Israeli Generals, gathered in Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, have published an essay against Iran citing only one western journalist: Georges Malbrunot²⁰¹, whose articles support often the views of the old paratrooper²⁰².

2.1.11 Suggesting an equivalence and unity of purpose shared by Qatar, Muslim Brotherhood and the Iranian regime is absurd. It's not true. We must never forget that when DMI Dar Al-Maal Al-Islami Bank was founded in Geneva in 1981 (i.e. the first major global bank that, in Europe, applied the economic rules established by Sharia²⁰³), the first manager at the head of DMI, which was from the very first day a bank controlled by the Saudi monarchy and the Egyptian government²⁰⁴ was Ibrahim M. Kamel²⁰⁵, an influent member of the NDP (the party that brought Hosni Mubarak to power in Cairo) and Muslim Brotherhood²⁰⁶ – a man who now lives almost exile in Geneva and is regularly attacked from the press close to Abdel Fattah Al Sisi's regime²⁰⁷. The enmity between Riyadh and Brotherhood is new, but not entirely unambiguous, given that, among Georges Malbrunot's supporters, there are also forces close to Tehran and its political and diplomatic interests²⁰⁸.

²⁰⁰ <http://elnetwork.fr/netanyahou-evite-de-souffler-braises-dossier-iranien-thierry-oberle-figaro>

²⁰¹ Brigade General Shimon Shapira, Ambassador Dore Gold, Major General Yaakov Amidror, Colonel Jacques Neria et alii, "Iran: from regional challenge to global threat", Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, Jerusalem 2012, pages 245-250 – see <https://jcpa.org/text/downloads/iran-from-regional-challenge-to-global-threat.pdf>

²⁰² <https://www.lesclesdumoyenorient.com/Israel-et-l-Etat-islamique-sont-ils-a-la-veille-d-un-conflit-generalise.html> ; <https://www.vrede.be/nieuws/frankrijk-en-de-onderhandelingen-met-iran-loeil-disrael>

²⁰³ <http://www.dmitrust.com/>

²⁰⁴ Ibrahim Warde, "Islamic finance in the global economy", Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2014, pages 71-75

²⁰⁵ Ibrahim Warde, "Islamic finance in the global economy", Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2014, page 74

²⁰⁶ <http://www.ibrahimkamel.net/career.htm> ; Adnan Khan, "100 years of the Middle East: The Struggle for the Post Sykes-Picot Middle East", Maktaba Islamia, Lahore 2016, page 74; Safinaz El Tarouty, "Businessmen, clientelism and authoritarianism in Egypt", Springer Publishing, New York 2016, Chapter 2 and footnotes

²⁰⁷ <https://www.egyptindependent.com/brotherhood-accused-falsely-implicating-political-activist-thuggery/>

²⁰⁸ https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265693861_VERS_L'OUVERTURE_DES_ECHANGES_COMMERCIAUX



Ibrahim Mostafa Kamel

2.2 Rise and fall of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's regime

2.2.1 The whole youth movement against the Monarchy and the dictatorial regimes began in Tunisia in 2008 and grew constantly, starting from the Gafsa mines, finally exploding in a broad civil war²⁰⁹, after the street vendor Mohamed Bouazizi, one of the main activists of this youth movement, set himself on fire on December 17, 2010²¹⁰. As final consequence of the rise of this movement, in January 2011 dictator Zine El Abidine Ben Ali has been overthrown and escaped with his family to the only place, in the whole Middle East, where he felt to be secure: Riyadh²¹¹. The slogan screamed from the crowd became the same all over the Arab world, from Morocco to Saudi Arabia: ²¹²الشعب يريد إسقاط النظام

²⁰⁹ <https://www.centerforthehumanities.org/blog/state-violence-and-labor-resistance-the-2008-gafsa-mining-basin-uprising-and-its-afterlives> ;
<https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2011-jan-27-la-fg-tunisia-uprising-20110127-story.html> ;
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2011/01/03/tunisias-protest-wave-where-it-comes-from-and-what-it-means/> ;

²¹⁰ <http://umsoi.org/2018/10/primavera-arabasapevate-come-tutto-ebbe-inizio/>

²¹¹ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12195025>

²¹² In English: "The people wants to bring down the regime" – see <https://foreignpolicy.com/2011/02/24/reflections-on-the-revolutions-in-tunisia-and-egypt/>



Mohamed Bouazizi sets himself on fire

2.2.2 On January 22, 2011, in Samtah (a borough in the Jizan Province, at the border with Yemen), an old man followed the example of Mohamed Bouazizi, starting the protests in Saudi Arabia²¹³. Even if it has been difficult to understand the measure of the protest (media in Saudi Arabia do suffer to hard restrictions about the press' freedom), the rage of the population obliged the Crown family to allow (for the first time ever) municipal elections²¹⁴, to support financially 180'000 temporary employees²¹⁵, to give to women a row of new freedoms (voting and driving)²¹⁶, to swear to "restore a moderate Islam", which means repression of the protests but several concessions in the daily life²¹⁷.

2.2.3 In France, while the most of the newspapers describe the situation and try to achieve a balance between dreams, rage, enthusiasm, religious feelings and reality, Georges Malbrunot writes crude words about the movement, forecasting that the "printemps arabe" will only bring Islamic fundamentalism to power – something that will deeply damage the European interests in the Middle East and destabilize the whole world²¹⁸. Only one exception: Qatar, where such a protest is impossible, where the youth is that rich that there's no will of freedom and of a radical change²¹⁹.

²¹³ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12260465>

²¹⁴ <https://web.archive.org/web/20120119050656/http://main.omanobserver.om/node/66706>

²¹⁵ <https://web.archive.org/web/20110301013820/http://arabnews.com/saudi-arabia/article289334.ece>

²¹⁶ <https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2017/09/27/saudi-arabia-will-finally-allow-women-to-drive>

²¹⁷ <https://saudigazette.com.sa/article/520191/SAUDI-ARABIA/Kingdom-a-country-of-moderate-Islam>

²¹⁸ <https://blog.lefigaro.fr/malbrunot/2012/09/printemps-arabe-les-livres-pou.html>

²¹⁹ <https://blog.lefigaro.fr/malbrunot/2011/04/la-qatar-prend-a-contre-pied-l.html>

That's not all: The Government of Qatar should have sent 5000 soldiers to Libya in order to help by overthrowing Muammar Ghaddafi²²⁰.

2.2.4 Qatar (according to Georges Malbrunot and few other journalists) manipulated the French government, convincing the Palais de l'Élysée to support their war against the Libyan regime²²¹. From his point of view, the incontrovertible fact that Qatar has sent soldiers to support a colonial war unleashed by France to take advantage of the Arab Spring²²² becomes the subtle and sinister manipulation of Qatar that convinces Paris to want to overthrow Ghaddafi in order to replace contracts oil from Italian companies with new contracts for French industries.

2.2.5 In Egypt, the first huge demonstration took place in Cairo on January 25, 2011, having as target the regime of Hosni Mubarak and his incapacity to resolve economic and social problems, to stop the police's (and secret service's) brutality and the State's corruption, as well as give an end to religiously motivated attacks and guarantee freedom of speech²²³. In despite of the repression, in few days all the Egyptian cities were in flame, the protest grown, the foreign nations began to request Mubarak to stop the violence and negotiate with the population²²⁴. After few days, even the Egyptian Army chooses the side of the protesters²²⁵.



Naguib Sawiris

²²⁰ <https://blog.lefigaro.fr/malbrunot/2011/11/5-000-forces-speciales-du-qata.html>

²²¹ Vanessa Ratigner, Pierre Péan, *Une France sous influence: quand le Qatar fait de notre pays son terrain de jeu*, Fayard, Paris 2014, passim

²²² <https://www.tempi.it/perche-la-francia-ha-fatto-guerra-alla-libia-per-un-mancato-acquisto-di-armi/>

²²³ <https://www.sbs.com.au/news/q-a-what-s-behind-the-unrest>

²²⁴ <https://web.archive.org/web/20110201013309/http://www.france24.com/en/20110125-egypt-braces-nationwide-protests>

²²⁵ <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/egypt-from-police-state-to-military-rule>

2.2.6 On February 11, 2011, Hosni Mubarak resigns²²⁶. The Egyptian Army takes the control and drive the nation to democratic elections²²⁷, after a Constitutional referendum, won with over 77% of the voters, on March 19, 2011²²⁸. After months of demonstrations and brutal police repression, in May 2012 Egypt voted for the first President of the new era: Mohammed Morsi, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood²²⁹. The Brotherhood was the sole political party, which was able to organize itself all over the country and lead an elections' campaign, while the (in Europe) preferred political movement, Ḥizb al-Miṣrīyyīn al-aḥrār (Free Egyptian Party), created by the telecommunication's mogul Naguib Sawiris²³⁰ and several Egyptian intellectuals²³¹, has only been able to campaign in the capitol and few main cities²³².

2.2.7 The election as President of Mohammed Morsi, a leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, has not resolved the open questions raised from the movement of the Arab Spring – at the contrary, the streets' fight continued after the election and, if possible, grow an intensity²³³. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, following the wave of the Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt, begins to experience an internal division; in Al-Awamyah, in Hofuf, in Qatif and Riyadh the populations goes in the streets screaming for freedom²³⁴. The Royal family threatens with brutal repression²³⁵, the Saudi secret service reacts torturing and killing one of the leaders of the movement, Faisal Ahmed Abdul-Ahad²³⁶, who filed a petition with the goal to move the King to some democratic rights in the country²³⁷.

²²⁶ <https://web.archive.org/web/20110201013309/http://www.france24.com/en/20110125-egypt-braces-nationwide-protests>

²²⁷ <https://www.smh.com.au/world/egypt-military-dismantles-mubarak-regime-20110213-1as42.html>

²²⁸ <https://web.archive.org/web/20110430032815/http://referendum.eg/84-slideshow/158-2011-03-20-19-09-58.html>

²²⁹ <https://www.foxnews.com/world/muslim-brotherhood-backed-candidate-morsi-wins-egyptian-presidential-election> ;

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jun/24/muslim-brotherhood-egypt-president-mohamed-morsi>

<https://www.egyptindependent.com/naguib-sawiris-launches-liberal-free-egyptians-party/>

²³⁰ <https://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/08/16/162562.html>

²³² <https://web.archive.org/web/20111227113023/http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/08/16/162562.html>

²³³ <https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2013/07/millions-march-in-egyptian-protests/100543/>

²³⁴ <https://www.handelsblatt.com/politik/international/volksaufstaende-saudi-arabiens-maechtige-werden-nervoes/3904178.html>

²³⁵ <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-saudi-protests/saudi-arabia-says-wont-tolerate-protests-idUSTRE72419N20110305>

²³⁶ <https://www.webcitation.org/mainframe.php>

²³⁷ https://archives.politiqueinternationale.com/revue/read2.php?id_revue=24=522=synopsis&id=1029&content=texte



Prince Turki bin Faysal Al Sa'ud

2.2.8 But inside of the Crown, Prince Turki Al-Faisal (who's also the Chief of the Saudi secret service) knows that the Western world won't move a single finger helping the Arab youth, because capitalism needs no democracy, but stability²³⁸ – and other side the Crown needs to promise something to the crowd in order to support the brutality of the Police and the secret service with some step ahead for the poorest in his country²³⁹. With the goal to look like a modern and democratic leader, he organizes the first Saudi Media Forum, hiring all the friendly journalists from Europe – first of all Georges Malbrunot²⁴⁰. He goes even an historic step ahead, changing radically the Saudi policy with Israel, which suddenly become a friend of the government in Riyadh²⁴¹.

2.2.9 But the same Prince Turki Al-Faisal wants to avoid that something like this could happen again. His best friend is Mohammed bin Zayed Al-Nahyan, number two in the Royal family of the UAE: their friendship is that deep, that they are organizing common alcohol and escorts' parties on their yacht²⁴² – which is quite embarrassing for both Royal families²⁴³. While King Abdallah is reassuring the world, telling that Saudi Arabia will support the presidency of Mohamed Morsi²⁴⁴, Prince Turki and his team at the AMAA Al Mukhabarat Al A'amah (the Arabian secret service, also called GIP General Intelligence Presidency²⁴⁵) were putting the main picture together.

²³⁸ https://archives.politiqueinternationale.com/revue/read2.php?id_revue=24=522=synopsis&id=1029&content=texte

²³⁹ https://archives.politiqueinternationale.com/revue/read2.php?id_revue=24=522=synopsis&id=1029&content=texte

²⁴⁰ <https://www.leaders-mena.com/saudi-media-forum-kicks-off-in-riyadh-with-presence-of-more-than-1000-journalists/>

²⁴¹ Ian Black, *Just below the surface: Israel, the Arab Gulf States and the limits of cooperation*, London School of economics, London 2019, page 17 – see <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/100313/7/JustBelowtheSurface.pdf>

²⁴² <https://thamarinews.com/princes-of-uae-and-s-arabia-spent-the-night-excessively/>

²⁴³ <https://www.bakerinstitute.org/news/has-mohammed-bin-salman-finally-gone-too-far/>

²⁴⁴ <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/aug/20/saudi-arabia-coup-egypt>

²⁴⁵ https://worddisk.com/wiki/General_Intelligence_Presidency/

2.2.10 Turki Al-Faisal has been the Chief of AMAA until few days before the attack of Al Qaeda to the Twin Towers in New York²⁴⁶; he suddenly resigned, due to the suspicion he was too mellow and friendly with the jihad²⁴⁷. GIP has always been sitting between two chairs – the one of the CIA interests and the one of the jihad. Especially in the Transatlantic Aircraft Bomb Plot of 2010, as GIP gave the info about two Al-Qaeda bombs before they would have been used in order to destroy two civil planes during their flight²⁴⁸, this contradictory position has been tradition since the famous Iran-Contra scandal of the Eighties²⁴⁹. Through another scandal, in 2013, the global public opinion experienced about a common project of the CIA and the GIP (called Timber Sycamore²⁵⁰) to deliver weapons and ammunitions to the Syrian troops of Bashar Al-Assad during the Civil War²⁵¹.

2.2.11 Even if, since years, he's not in charge anymore, Prince Turki's influence on the Saudi secret service remains crucial. The picture he and his staff are facing seems clear: in September 2011, 243'000 Egyptian pilgrims and workers, who were living in Saudi Arabia, or were simply there for their ritual visit to Mecca, applied to escape from the country and go back to Egypt²⁵². The airport's authorities in Jeddah stranded thousands of Egyptian in the area beside the airport, blocking the flight – and the reaction has been thousands of people protesting against Saudi Arabia, screaming for the end of the tyranny in Riyadh²⁵³.



Over thousand dead bodies after the Massacre of Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya

²⁴⁶ <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/08/02/opinion/prince-turkis-rsum.html>

²⁴⁷ <https://web.archive.org/web/20150513050129/http://www.mathaba.net/news/?x=297295>

²⁴⁸ https://worddisk.com/wiki/2010_Transatlantic_aircraft_bomb_plot/

²⁴⁹ https://worddisk.com/wiki/Iran%E2%80%93Contra_affair/

²⁵⁰ https://worddisk.com/wiki/Timber_Sycamore/

²⁵¹ https://worddisk.com/wiki/Saudi_Arabian_involvement_in_the_Syrian_Civil_War/

²⁵² <https://web.archive.org/web/20110926234901/http://arabnews.com/saudi-arabia/article501817.ece?comments=all>

²⁵³ <https://www.egyptindependent.com/egyptian-protesters-demand-expulsion-saudi-ambassador/>

2.2.12 The result has been the fear that a Muslim Brotherhood's regime in Egypt would put in flame, sooner or later, all the monarchies in the Middle East. The strategy is to support (with money, intelligence, weapons and organizational infrastructures²⁵⁴) the protesters against President Morsi²⁵⁵, even killing supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood, journalists²⁵⁶, until the apical moment: the massacre of 1150 supporters of the Morsi Government in the Rab's Square of Cairo on August 14, 2013²⁵⁷. On July 4, 2013, the Egyptian Army, led by General Abdel Fattah Al Sisi, deposed Morsi, who has been put under house arrest²⁵⁸.

2.2.13 In October 2019, the head of the International Union of Muslim Scholars, Ahmed Al Raissouni, declared to the whole world that the coup against Morsi, his murder, and the murder of Khashoggi have been all part of a criminal strategy of the governments of Saudi Arabia and UAE, whose goal is to choke any freedom's and democracy hope in the Middle East²⁵⁹. No surprise concerning Saudi Arabia, but the involvement of the Emirates has been something new and completely unexpected, if you didn't know about the deep friendship between Prince Turki Al-Faisal and Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan...

²⁵⁴ <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887324425204578601700051224658>

²⁵⁵ <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424127887324425204578601700051224658>

²⁵⁶ <https://cpj.org/2013/08/in-egypt-two-more-journalists-killed-several-injur/>

²⁵⁷ <https://www.hrw.org/report/2014/08/12/all-according-plan/raba-massacre-and-mass-killings-protesters-egypt>

²⁵⁸ <https://edition.cnn.com/2013/07/03/world/meast/egypt-protests>

²⁵⁹ <https://www.morocoworldnews.com/2019/06/276098/ahmed-al-raissouni-saudi-arabia-egypt-uae-mohamed-morsi/>

2.3 The militaristic turn of the UAE and the Mubadala Group

2.3.1 The United Arab Emirates gained independence in 1971, but not following a fight against British colonialism – on the contrary, Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan, King of Abu Dhabi, had implored the British to leave their army there and he even offered to pay for UK protection²⁶⁰. When British troops left, Iran immediately occupied the two Tunb Islands, belonging to the Emirates²⁶¹, while Saudi Arabia claimed ownership of the Emirate of Abu Dhabi²⁶². The result: Bahrain, which has also been reclaimed from the Saudi Crown, has chosen to (through a referendum) to separate from the other Emirates²⁶³, and the Tunb Islands have been leased to Iran for \$ 3 million a year²⁶⁴. In this way the government of Tehran has acquired control of the Strait of Hormutz and presided over the Gulf of Oman: between Qešm Island and the Tunb Islands there are only 10 km of sea, no one can pass them unnoticed²⁶⁵.



Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan

²⁶⁰ <https://www.thenational.ae/uae/sun-sets-on-british-empire-as-uae-raises-its-flag-1.574721#page5>

²⁶¹ <https://web.archive.org/web/20150704222708/http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/tonb>

²⁶² Jim Krane, *“City of Gold: Dubai and the Dream of Capitalism”*, Picador MacMillan Publishing, London 2010, pages 81-84 – see <https://www.amazon.it/City-Gold-Dubai-Dream-Capitalism/dp/0312655436>

²⁶³ John Peterson, *“The emergence of the Gulf States”*, Bloomsbury Publishing, London 2016, pages 316-317 – see https://books.google.it/books?id=TtE4DAAAQBAJ&dq=book+%22independence+of+bahrain%22&hl=it&source=gbs_navlinks_s

²⁶⁴ Jim Krane, *“City of Gold: Dubai and the Dream of Capitalism”*, Picador MacMillan Publishing, London 2010, pages 81-84 – see <https://www.amazon.it/City-Gold-Dubai-Dream-Capitalism/dp/0312655436>

²⁶⁵ <https://web.archive.org/web/20090505052238/http://www.gulfnews.com/news/gulf/oman/10309166.html> ; Pirouz Mojtahed-Zadeh, *“Security and territoriality in the Persian Gulf”*, Routledge Publishing, London 1999

2.3.2 At this point, the defence of the newly formed federation of seven Emirates was taken over by the United States Army, which then trained a small number of local soldiers who, over the years, fought alongside the Americans in the Wars against the Iraq and against Afghanistan²⁶⁶. In 1995, Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan, who has been elected head of the Federation since its inception, signs a mutual defence contract with France²⁶⁷, which thus becomes the main Western political, diplomatic, commercial, industrial and military partner of the Emirates United Arab Emirates²⁶⁸. In this way, the Sheikh manages to shake off the pressure and blackmail of Iran and Saudi Arabia.

2.3.3 Considered the "Father of the Nation", Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan obtains an agreement between the seven Emirates, thanks to which the Federation crown is handed down in succession by the heirs of the Emirate of Abu Dhabi (which becomes the UAE capital), while the post of Prime Minister is handed down, always in line of inheritance, to the Sheikh of Dubai, Maktoum bin Rashid Al Maktoum²⁶⁹. After these two leaders died, their place was taken by Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan (2004) and Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum (2006)²⁷⁰. The agreement between them has ensured over a quarter of a century of political and diplomatic stability, gradually bringing the Emirates closer to Saudi Arabia, due to the common alliance with the United States²⁷¹. But Khalifa's health is very poor, and it's getting worse²⁷². His deputy is his younger brother, Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, who since 2010 becomes, de facto, the political and diplomatic chief of the Emirates²⁷³.

2.3.4 Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan has been educated in Morocco, in the Royal Academy, since he has been 14: his Father wanted to prepare him for a military career²⁷⁴. He has been sent to the Scottish school for aristocrats (Gordonstoun²⁷⁵) and then, after his 18th Birthday Mohammed bin Zayed to the most famous military school of Europe, the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst²⁷⁶. But the main years of his education has been spent at home, in Al Ain, with a private teacher, the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood Izzedine Ibrahim²⁷⁷. In despite of this fact, as Mohammed turned back to the Emirates, in 1980, he pondered that the ideas of the Muslim Brotherhood were wrong and dangerous for the further development of the

²⁶⁶ Alfred B. Prados, "Iraqi challenges and US responses: March 1991 through October 2002", Congressional Research Service, Washington DC 2012 (2002.11.20 Alfred B. Prados)

²⁶⁷ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14704414>

²⁶⁸ <https://www.tresor.economie.gouv.fr/Articles/2018/03/07/le-commerce-bilateral-entre-la-france-et-les-emirats-arabes-unis-eau-en-2017>

²⁶⁹ http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/emirati-arabi-uniti_res-ebed396a-fa44-11e4-9760-00271042e8d9_%28Atlante-Geopolitico%29/

²⁷⁰ http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/emirati-arabi-uniti_res-ebed396a-fa44-11e4-9760-00271042e8d9_%28Atlante-Geopolitico%29/

²⁷¹ http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/emirati-arabi-uniti_res-ebed396a-fa44-11e4-9760-00271042e8d9_%28Atlante-Geopolitico%29/

²⁷² <https://www.thenational.ae/uae/sheikh-khalifa-stable-after-recovering-from-stroke-1.686381>

²⁷³ <https://www.thenational.ae/uae/sheikh-khalifa-stable-after-recovering-from-stroke-1.686381>

²⁷⁴ <https://fr.le360.ma/societe/moulay-hicham-sinvente-une-scolaire-au-college-royal-13073>

²⁷⁵ <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/09/magazine/united-arab-emirates-mohammed-bin-zayed.html>

²⁷⁶ <https://www.cpc.gov.ae/en-us/thecrownprince/HHsBiography/Pages/default.aspx>

²⁷⁷ <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/09/magazine/united-arab-emirates-mohammed-bin-zayed.html>

UAE, of the Middle East and for the whole Islam. His Father always told him not to be a fundamentalist (“We are all God’s children”, he said to his son²⁷⁸), but his Mother told him that the real danger was not coming from the Christianity, but from the internal feuds, inside of the family Al Nahyan (dozens of killings for the takeover of the political power in Abu Dhabi) and between different views of the Islam linked to other populations of the Koran (mostly Iran, Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq)²⁷⁹.

2.3.5 So, Mohammed bin Zayed decided that the best thing to do would have been to create an efficient defence for the Emirates²⁸⁰ – a political defence against the governments of the Western, but also the Middle East’s world; a military defence as a counter-terrorism threat (knowing that the main part of the victims of the jihad are Muslims); an espionage web, who would have been able to damage the interests of his possible opponents and competitors – first of all Qatar, Iran and the Muslim Brotherhood²⁸¹. Immediately after September 11 and the attack to the Twin Towers, as Mohammed bin Zayed experienced, from the CIA, that there were two UAE citizens inside of the hijackers’ team, he ordered a deep investigation in his country, called the Al-Islah movement (whose political ideals are similar to the ideals of the Muslim Brotherhood²⁸²) as illegal and criminal, expelled 1600 foreigners and arrested more than 200 Emirates’ citizens, who were sympathizing for Al Qaeda and dreamed about joining the Jihad²⁸³.

2.3.6 Most of all, he has been sure that the goal of the Muslim Brotherhood was to overthrow his family and take the power also in the Emirates – so he started to fight against this movement inside and outside of the country, if necessary financing a revolution in Egypt, with the goal to install a trustful regime which would clean all the friends and supporters of Mohammed Morsi and of Tariq Ramadan²⁸⁴. As, in year 2013, after the move against Al-Islah²⁸⁵, he heard Sheikh Youssef El-Qaradawi defending the members of the Brotherhood and accusing the Government of Abu Dhabi to torture and kill all the good Muslims living there, for Mohammed bin Zayed has become clear that also Qatar was his main enemy and that it would have been necessary to defeat that country and its government²⁸⁶.

²⁷⁸ <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/09/magazine/united-arab-emirates-mohammed-bin-zayed.html>

²⁷⁹ <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/09/magazine/united-arab-emirates-mohammed-bin-zayed.html>

²⁸⁰ <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/09/magazine/united-arab-emirates-mohammed-bin-zayed.html>

²⁸¹ <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/09/magazine/united-arab-emirates-mohammed-bin-zayed.html>

²⁸² <https://www.reuters.com/article/oukwd-uk-uae-islamists-idAFBRE88JOPN20120920>

²⁸³ <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/09/magazine/united-arab-emirates-mohammed-bin-zayed.html>

²⁸⁴ <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-emirates-brotherhood/gulf-states-must-tackle-muslim-brotherhood-threat-uae-idUSBRE8970X220121008>

²⁸⁵ <https://www.thenational.ae/uae/brotherhood-sought-islamist-state-in-uae-1.576627>

²⁸⁶

https://web.archive.org/web/20130116153821/https://now.mmedia.me/lb/en/commentaryanalysis/is_the_muslim_brotherhood_targeting_the_u_ae

2.3.7 The Muslim Brotherhood has been set on the black-list of UAE terrorist organizations, Mohammed bin Zayed declared a personal war against Salafism (the core of the Al-Islah movement, which is critical against the UAE and the Saudi monarchy²⁸⁷): for this reason, it has been relevant to assert, against all evidences, that Malbrunot and Chesnot have been abducted by a Salafist Group²⁸⁸; CEMO and Abdelraheem Ali must fight Muslim Brotherhood but even more the Salafism²⁸⁹; Qatar is a Salafism dominated nation²⁹⁰; Tariq Ramadan has his own “private” institution²⁹¹ inside Education City²⁹², a huge education’s infrastructure²⁹³ in Al Rayyan (Qatar), which is actually administrated by the QCF²⁹⁴ – so both are mortal enemies and have to be considered as one.

2.3.8 These enemies must be attacked all over the world, and mostly in Europe²⁹⁵: so, Abdelraheem Ali, a former officer of the Egyptian secret services, friend of Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi, member of the Egyptian Parliament and employee of the Arab School for Journalism, must visit all the European countries and announce UAE will fight Qatar with no compromises²⁹⁶. In the meanwhile, after the official announcement that UAE will sustain Saudi Arabia against the government in Doha²⁹⁷, one of the helpers of Abdelraheem Ali, Georges Malbrunot, launches an attack against Al-Islah, describing this organization as directly linked to the Jihad and the financial support to Muslim schools and Mosques in France²⁹⁸.

2.3.9 The political strategy of Mohammed bin Zayed has also consequences on the industrial, commercial and financial matters. He’s already one of the members of the Board of Abu Dhabi Investment Authority (ADIA), the sovereign fund of the royal families of the Emirates, which has been created in 1974 from Mohammed’s Father, Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyad, whose Head of the Investment Strategy Division is a French banker, Jean-Paul Villain, who nowadays administrates over 820 billion dollars of patrimony²⁹⁹. This is not enough, in his opinion: in year 2016, the

²⁸⁷ Hendrik Kraetzschmar, “*Islamists and the Politics of the Arab Uprisings: Governance, Pluralisation and Contention*”, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2018, Chapter 9 and 11; see also <https://carnegieendowment.org/sada/48885>

²⁸⁸ Ahmed S. Hashim, “*Insurgency and counter-insurgency in Iraq*”, Cornell University Press, 2006, New York, page 175;

²⁸⁹ <http://www.acrseg.org/41174>

²⁹⁰ Mai Yamani, “*From fragility to stability: a survival strategy for the Saudi monarchy*”. Contemporary Arab Affairs, Center for Arab Unity Studies, University of California Press, Oakland (California) 2009, pages 90-105

²⁹¹ <https://www.cilecenter.org/>

²⁹² <https://www.cilecenter.org/resources/news/dr-tariq-ramadan-speaking-principles-leadership-islam-education-city-students> ; <https://www.hbku.edu.qa/en/news/dr-tariq-ramadan-inspires-future-leaders-hamad-bin-khalifa-universitys-ebda-leadership-program>

²⁹³ 12 Square Km, containing the campus of several Universities from all over the world

²⁹⁴ <https://www.hbku.edu.qa/en>

²⁹⁵ <http://eurosopeme.com/fr/2020/05/13/linquietude-des-europeens-a-grandi-face-a-limplication-des-eau-dans-lingerence-etrangere-et-a-laugmentation-de-ses-accords-militaires/>

²⁹⁶ <http://eurosopeme.com/fr/2019/11/20/les-eau-se-mobilisent-pour-organiser-un-deuxieme-symposium-a-munich-dans-le-but-doffenser-le-qatar/>

²⁹⁷ <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-03-09/u-a-e-supports-saudi-arabia-against-qatar-backed-brotherhood>

²⁹⁸ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, “*Qatar Papers, il libro nero dell’Islam*”, versione italiana, Rizzoli, Milano 2019, pages 135-140

²⁹⁹ <https://www.euromoney.com/article/b1321xk6smk28d/money-and-mystery-adia-unveils-its-secrets>

investigators of several countries filed a penal case against one of the key managers of ADIA, Khadem Al Qubaisi, who has been accused of complicity in the fraudulent bankruptcy of 1Malaysia Development Berhad, the sovereign fund of that country³⁰⁰. Al Qubaisi acted as CEO of another State owned UAE company, the IPIC International Petroleum Investment Company³⁰¹.



Khadem Al Qubaisi

2.3.10 Following the first penal case, filed in Kuala Lumpur, all the business activities of Al Qubaisi have been questioned and he has been also accused in the United States, due to an alleged fraudulent row of transactions with Goldman Sachs³⁰², and in Italy, where he was a member of the Board of one of the biggest bank of the country, Unicredit, thanks to the fact that Abaar Investments (a company linked to IPIC and ADIA³⁰³) is the main shareholder of the banking group³⁰⁴.

2.3.11 Al Qubaisi has been sentenced to 15 years of prison, he's in jail in the Emirates, and he claims that he pays for the wrongdoing of his Chief³⁰⁵, Sheikh Mansour bin Zayed Al-Nahyan, half-brother of King Khalif, who's at the same time a member of the Board of Abaar, of IPIC, of ADIA, the main shareholder of the British football team Manchester City³⁰⁶ and even the Head of the Abu Dhabi Judicial Department³⁰⁷,

³⁰⁰ <https://www.occrp.org/en/goldensands/profiles/khadem-al-qubaisi-and-tasameem>

³⁰¹ <https://www.occrp.org/en/goldensands/profiles/khadem-al-qubaisi-and-tasameem>

³⁰² <https://www.ilsole24ore.com/art/scandalo-1mdb-fondo-sovrano-abu-dhabi-fa-causa-goldman-sachs-AEsQ5SIG>

³⁰³ <https://www.occrp.org/en/goldensands/profiles/khadem-al-qubaisi-and-tasameem>

³⁰⁴ https://www.repubblica.it/economia/2018/04/19/news/il_giallo_di_khadem_al-qubaisi_l_ex_vicepresidente_unicredit_sparito_nel_nulla-194270659/

³⁰⁵ <https://www.theedgemarkets.com/article/wsj-alleged-1mdb-conspirator-says-abu-dhabi-made-him-scapegoat> ;

³⁰⁶ <https://www.theedgemarkets.com/article/wsj-alleged-1mdb-conspirator-says-abu-dhabi-made-him-scapegoat> ;

³⁰⁷ <https://www.adjd.gov.ae/EN/pages/aboutadjd.aspx>

which sentenced Khadem Al Qubaisi to jail³⁰⁸ – as well as the man, who obtained a seizing order against Al Qubaisi from the US Court³⁰⁹, which includes also the properties of the DAS Holding (something quite weird, because Al Qubaisi was the CEO of this company, but the sole owner of DAS is Mansour bin Zayed)³¹⁰.



Mansour bin Zayed Al-Nahyan

2.3.12 Anyway, the scandal convinces Mohammed bin Zayed that he needs a new structure, something he can trust and control. There was an almost inactive company, which has been set up in 2002 with the idea to finance the growing welfare of the UAE citizens, called Mubadala Development Company³¹¹. Mohammed bin Zayed used it as a holding company and merged it with IPIC, hoping to fight the corruption inside of that group and recreate an international credibility, and then the agency Abu Dhabi Investment Council, which was the double of ADIA³¹². Then he decided an historical turn: to group all the main State owned industries of the country, but also to invest the part of the money not in oil, not in real estate, not in logistics, not in agricultural trade, but in chemical products, in high-tech, aerospace and arms' fabrication and trading³¹³.

2.3.13 The companies and divisions of Mubadala do have the duty to create an interdependence between UAE and Western countries. The reason for this strategy is much more than economic – it's a political strategy of a long-term thinking statesman. With only one critical point: Mohammed bin Zayed is not happy for the success of his own enterprises and homeland: he needs the destruction and the

³⁰⁸ <https://www.theedgemarkets.com/article/wsj-alleged-1mdb-conspirator-says-abu-dhabi-made-him-scapegoat> ;

³⁰⁹ <https://www.justice.gov/opa/press-release/file/973671/download>

³¹⁰ <https://www.malaysiakini.com/news/461430>

³¹¹ <https://www.mubadala.com/en/who-we-are/our-history>

³¹² <https://www.mubadala.com/en/who-we-are/our-history>

³¹³ <https://www.mubadala.com/en/who-we-are/corporate-structure>

humiliation of all his competitors, and the two strategies are always walking hand in hand.



Waleed Al Mokarrab Al Muhairi

2.3.14 In 2016 the French pension's system got close to the insolvency. Due to the structural crisis and the constant decrease of taxing revenues, the French Government has been obliged to create a new investment fund, whose goal is to sustain the State paying pensions and social sustain for handicapped, injured, unemployed and poor citizens. This charge has been given to BPIFrance, a financial vehicle, created in year 2013, whose main goal was to sustain the productive economy with cheap mortgages and development's money³¹⁴. Already in year 2014, this new vehicle risks to fail. Waleed Al Mokarrab Al Muhairi, CEO of Mubadala's subsidiary company Alternative Investments and Infrastructure Platform Ltd., buys a relevant stake in CDC International Capital SA Paris, which was a subsidiary company of the Caisse des Dépôts Group, which is part of BPIFrance³¹⁵. In this way, Al Muhairi obtains that Mubadala, with 300 million Euros, becomes 50% partner of the financial sustain for all the State supported start-ups and structural investments³¹⁶.

³¹⁴ <https://www.bpifrance.com/Bank-for-entrepreneurs>

³¹⁵ <https://www.mubadala.com/en/news/mubadala-cdc-international-capital-and-bpifrance-sign-investment-agreement>

³¹⁶ <https://www.mubadala.com/en/news/mubadala-cdc-international-capital-and-bpifrance-sign-investment-agreement>

2.3.15 In 2017 Al Muhairi increases the financial support up to half a billion Euros, and obtains that the French President Emmanuel Macron flies to Abu Dhabi and signs the contract personally³¹⁷. Close to the winter of 2019, the French government foresees that the pensions are in danger, and that Macron can't increase the taxes without creating the rage in the main cities of France – especially after the scandal of Macron's security assistant Alexandre Benalla, who ordered to counter with violence the peaceful protesters³¹⁸, and has been personally caught in the act to lam two girls³¹⁹; as well as after the birth of the "gilets jaune" movement, whose goal is to fight Macron's fiscal policy³²⁰, accused to be depauperating the weakest people: unemployed, retired, disabled, pieceworkers or special contract workers, all them without legal security.

2.3.16 The movement starts in France and grows rapidly all over the world, even in the Middle East, scaring the Arab monarchies³²¹ – also because of the statement of the "gilets jaunes" leaders, who give the blame to the OPEC countries and their oil price's policy³²². In December 2018, the Governments of Saudi Arabia and of the UAE condemn the gilets jaunes' movement and threaten whoever would try to bring their opinions inside of their countries³²³. Georges Malbrunot attacks: Macron's policy is guilty of destabilizing the whole world, because he's following the orders of Washington and Tehran³²⁴; he claims for more hardness against the "gilet jaunes" in order to reassure Saudi Arabia³²⁵.

³¹⁷ <https://www.mubadala.com/en/news/mubadala-cdc-international-capital-and-bpifrance-sign-investment-agreement>

³¹⁸ <http://www.francesoir.fr/politique-france/affaire-benalla-la-fiche-de-paie-de-ancien-charge-de-mission-devoilee> ;

https://www.bfmtv.com/police-justice/un-haut-grade-n-avait-pas-evoque-la-presence-d-alexandre-benalla-avec-sa-hierarchie_AN-201807270108.html

³¹⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PgjUeK6ICJK>

³²⁰ https://www.liberation.fr/france/2018/11/14/les-gilets-jaunes-carburent-au-ras-le-bol-fiscal_1692093 ;

https://www.bfmtv.com/economie/economie-social/social/gilets-jaunes-le-ras-le-bol-fiscal-comme-moteur_AV-201811160091.html

³²¹ https://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2019/11/08/du-declencheur-local-a-la-revolte-globale-la-convergence-des-luites-dans-le-monde_6018514_4355770.html

³²² <https://www.lefigaro.fr/flash-actu/2018/12/10/97001-20181210FILWWW00317-gilets-jaunes-l-iran-appelle-ses-ressortissants-a-etre-prudents.php>

³²³ <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20181210-where-are-the-gilets-jaunes-in-the-arab-world/>

³²⁴ <https://twitter.com/malbrunot/status/1071877479034482693>

³²⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mhe2wiXshhg&list=ULmZCnRaUAto8&index=61>



Waleed Al Mokarrab Al Muhairi signs the contract between the Mubadala Group and BPIFrance

2.3.17 The strategy of Malbrunot is smart, as explained from one movement's leader, Vincent Laville: Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, in "Qatar Papers", sustained that the Government in Doha supported and financed the "gilets jaune" damaging France, Saudi Arabia and all the Muslims³²⁶. The result of this campaign: President Emmanuel Macron creates a new investment fund at BPIFrance, called LAC1 (whose safe will constantly grow up to 10 billion Euros³²⁷ and whose goal is to decrease the taxes, sustain Asian oil's imports and pay the pensions) and the French Ministry of Finance, Bruno Le Maire³²⁸, invites Mubadala to participate with 1 billion Euros³²⁹: a measure, which sets Mubadala as co-owner of the whole French national debt³³⁰ and is celebrated as a great victory on the pages of "Le Figaro"³³¹.

³²⁶ Vincent Laville, "L'esprit Gilet jaune contre-attaque", Vincent Laville, Paris 2020, pages 205-206

³²⁷ <https://www.usinenouvelle.com/editorial/avec-son-lac-d-argent-bpifrance-leve-4-2-milliards-d-euros-pour-les-pepites-francaises.N968171>

³²⁸ <https://www.thenational.ae/business/mubadala-to-invest-1bn-in-french-investment-fund-french-finance-minister-says-1.983975>

³²⁹ <https://www.agefi.fr/financements-marches/actualites/quotidien/20200224/fonds-d-abu-dhabi-investit-milliard-d-euros-dans-293982> ;

<https://www.arabianbusiness.com/banking-finance/441096-uaes-mubadala-commits-to-invest-in-10bn-euro-french-fund> ;

<https://www.reuters.com/article/mubadala-france-investment-idUSL8N1NF5SS>

³³⁰ <https://www.mubadala.com/en/news/mubadala-commit-bpifrances-lac-i-fund>

³³¹ <https://www.lefigaro.fr/societes/abu-dhabi-au-capital-des-groupes-francais-20200224>



Colonel Fahed Gharib Al Shamesi

2.3.18 Nowadays, Mubadala Investment Co. (MIC) is investing in new targets: a) paying 180 million Euros, in April 2020 through Investcorp Inc. Manama, a fully-owned company of MIC, for the acquisition of 100% of Avira Operations GmbH & Co. KG Tett nang (Germany), one of the most relevant cybersecurity companies of the planet³³²; b) in October 2019, through SoftBank's Vision Fund, MIC bought for 60 million Euros 100% of Tier Mobility GmbH Berlin – one of the three main world's producers of e-scooters³³³; c) Mubaladala Ventures, an US-based subsidiary company, set up a new business unit, whose goal is to invest 400 million dollars in EU-based technology start-up-companies, mostly with possible military applications³³⁴, a strategy supported with a new entity, which will be based in London³³⁵; d) the first acquisition of this new entity has been a minority stake in Hyperoptic Ltd. London, the UK's largest fibre optic broadband provider, for an undisclosed amount³³⁶ – since October 2019, the main shareholder is KKR & Co. Inc. New York³³⁷; e) in November 2011, MIC has been able to negotiate a complex and very sensitive contract with the Boeing Group, which includes a Strata Manufacturing factory in Al Ain, and further common infrastructures of Boeing Defence, Space & Security and AMMROC Advanced Military Maintenance Repair and Overhaul Center (another business unit of the Mubadala Group)³³⁸.

³³² <https://www.thenational.ae/business/investcorp-buys-german-cybersecurity-firm-for-180m-1.1003970>

³³³ <https://www.ice.it/it/news/notizie-dal-mondo/133791>

³³⁴ <https://www.arabianbusiness.com/startup/420860-london-calling>

³³⁵ <https://www.networkmiddleeast.com/617325-mubadala-to-launch-%24400m-european-tech-fund?amp>

³³⁶ <https://www.thenational.ae/business/technology/mubadala-buys-minority-stake-in-uk-fibre-optic-firm-1.789594>

³³⁷ <https://media.kkr.com/news-releases/news-release-details/kkr-acquires-majority-stake-hyperoptic>

³³⁸ <https://boeing.mediaroom.com/2011-11-14-Mubadala-Aerospace-and-Boeing-Advance-Relationship-with-Agreements-on-Aerostructures-and-Military-Sustainment>

2.3.19 The birth of AMMROC is the necessary assumption for one of the key goals of Mubadala and Mohammed bin Zayed Al-Nahyan: to learn how to produce and develop own weapons³³⁹; to obtain the military independence of UAE³⁴⁰ and use it as hub for the geopolitical and diplomatic success of the Emirates worldwide³⁴¹. The CEO of AMMROC is a loyal friend of Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan and a high-ranking officer of the UAE Aviation, Colonel Fahed Gharib Al Shamesi³⁴². He has been set there, because he knows and agrees the plan of his Chief and Prince: The first step is to acquire the manufacturing plan and the spare parts of the key fighter planes in the whole world and the second step will be to learn how to produce them – this is the main target of AMMROC³⁴³.

2.4 Tawazun Holding and the promotion of terrorism against Qatar

2.4.1 Tawazun Holding has been along years the main UAE producers for weapons and military technology³⁴⁴. As Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan became the Head of the UAE Army and growth in his political influence due to the illness of the monarch, step by step the whole military industry of the country has been merged and deeply restructured³⁴⁵. Tawazun Holding (which was a Limited company) has been changed into TEC Tawazun Economic Council (which is a State owned agency, with no Financial Statements' obligations)³⁴⁶. The new born agency has a

³³⁹ <https://www.mubadala.com/en/news/ammroc-contract-ensure-full-operational-fleet-readiness-uae-armed-forces-across-full-aircraft-fleet>

³⁴⁰ <https://gulfnews.com/uae/government/mohamed-bin-zayed-our-armed-forces-will-be-cornerstone-of-uaes-strategic-plans-for-next-50-years-1.1588663190370>

³⁴¹ William Gueraiche, *"The UAE: Geopolitics, Modernity and Tradition"*, Bloomsbury, London 2016, pages 93-95

³⁴² <https://www.airforce-technology.com/news/newsammroc-wins-uae-military-aircraft-support-contract/>

³⁴³ As explained in its official website. *"Founded in 2010, AMMROC is a joint venture between EDGE, Lockheed Martin Corporation, and Sikorsky Aircraft Corporation (a Lockheed Martin Company). Headquartered in Abu Dhabi, UAE, we operate an international centre of excellence in military aircraft MRO that successfully meets the dynamic needs of military operations"* – see <https://ammroc.edggroup.ae/about> ; Moreover, *"we provide all-inclusive MRO services from engineering solutions and technical training to supply chain management, modification, and upgrade services. Our deep understanding of customer needs and comprehensive offerings makes us the industry leader in the military aircraft MRO and parts logistics service sector"* – see <https://ammroc.edggroup.ae/> ; Moreover: *"Our extensive MRO capability draws on our strategic relationships with major OEMs including Lockheed Martin, Dassault Aviation, Airbus, Boeing, BAE Systems, GE Aviation, SAFRAN, Honeywell, Thales, Collins Aerospace and others, enabling us to reduce maintenance costs, improve turnaround time and maximise aircraft availability – offering internationally standardized quality and optimized customer solutions"* – see <https://ammroc.edggroup.ae/services/strategic-relationships>

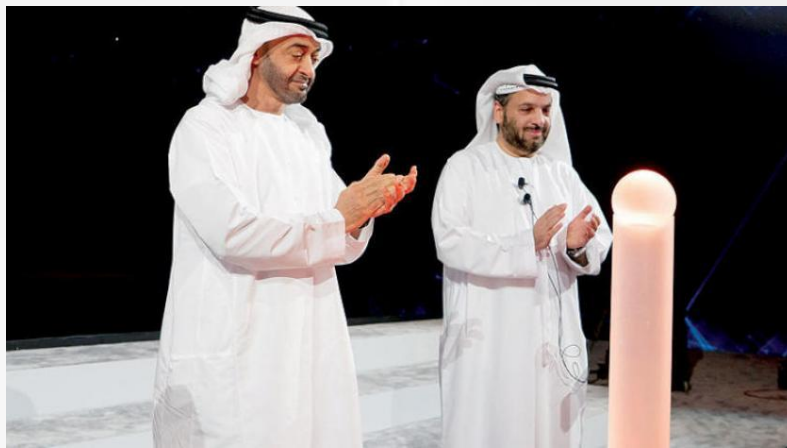
³⁴⁴ <https://www.tawazun.ae/about-us/>

³⁴⁵ In the beginning there was the EDIC Emirates Defence Industries Company, which was a defence industry holding company having several subsidiaries for defence industry. In 2014, in the form of a merger of 11 divisions of a unique State investment companies, EDIC merged with Mubadala Development, Tawazun Holding and EAIG Emirates Advanced Invest Group. EDIC is jointly owned by the Mubadala Development Company, an investment fund of the Emirate of Abu Dhabi (60%) and Tawazun (40%). In November 2019, the holding company was adsorbed into an even bigger umbrella, called EDGE Group, a new defence industry holding company owned also by the UAE Government, whose CEO is a French manager, Luc Vigneron, the former CEO of the French defence industry Thales, a quite politically profiled personality, as he was Minister of Economy under Pierre Mauroy (SP, Prime Minister) and François Mitterrand (PS, President of the Republic) – see <https://www.iiss.org/blogs/military-balance/2019/11/edge-uae-defence-industrial-development> ; <https://www.reuters.com/article/emirates-defence-ma/uae-merger-creates-defence-services-manufacturing-company-idUSL6NOTM33820141202> ; <https://www.mubadala.com/en/who-we-are/our-history> ; <https://www.usinenouvelle.com/article/les-eau-creent-un-emirates-de-la-defence-dirige-par-l-ancien-patron-de-thales-luc-vigneron.N301047> ; <https://edgegroup.ae/> ; <https://edgegroup.ae/about> ; <https://alkhaleejonline.net/%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%A9/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B5%D9%86%D8%A7%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B3%D9%83%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8AE%D9%84%D9%8A%D8AC-%D8%A3%D9%85%D9%86-%D9%82%D9%88%D9%85%D9%8A-%D9%85%D9%86%D8%B4%D9%88%D8%AF> ; <https://www.bloomberg.com/profile/person/4378862> ; <http://archive.wikiwix.com/cache/?url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.usinenouvelle.com%2Farticle%2Fles-eau-creent-un-emirates-de-la-defence-dirige-par-l-ancien-patron-de-thales-luc-vigneron.N301047>

³⁴⁶ <https://www.tawazun.ae/>

clear goal: "Tawazun Economic Council is an industry enabler responsible for the creation and development of a sustainable defence and security industry in the UAE. Tawazun serves as a catalyst for economic growth for the enhancement of the defence and security industry"³⁴⁷. In order to achieve his goals, TEC created the DSDF Defence & Security Development Fund, which acquires military technology, industrial productions' capability and promotes local manufacturing development³⁴⁸.

2.4.2 Before the row of merging operations, Tawazun Holding has been already involved in a scandal with ECSSR³⁴⁹. Together with the main South African arms' industry, the Denel Group, in year 2012 the Tawazun Holding signed a cooperation contract, which brought 490 million dollars in the UAE State safe³⁵⁰. With a joint venture (Tawazun 51%, Denel 49%), this new contract allowed Abu Dhabi and the Emirates' Air Force to start the development and the production of guided weapons systems³⁵¹. The stake in the new factory, called Tawazun Dynamics³⁵², is nowadays merged into the EDGE Group³⁵³ under the new name of Barij Group³⁵⁴. The two leaders of the new-born group are the South African Theunis Botha³⁵⁵ (who's not a relative of the former Prime Minister of the Apartheid's era, P.W. Botha) and Faisal Al Bannai, the founder of several espionage companies – as DarkMatter, which is one of the most intrusive group of the whole planet, and hired several hackers' groups and former NSA Agents³⁵⁶.



Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan (left) and his crony Faisal Al Bannai (right)

³⁴⁷ <https://www.tawazun.ae/about-us/>

³⁴⁸ <https://www.tawazun.ae/what-we-do/#df>

³⁴⁹ See Chapters 3.1.5, 3.1.6 and 3.1.7 of this Main Report

³⁵⁰ <https://www.thenational.ae/business/uae-armed-forces-places-dh1-8bn-weapons-order-with-tawazun-1.307778>

³⁵¹ <https://www.thenational.ae/business/weapons-systems-plant-for-abu-dhabi-1.388139>

³⁵² <https://www.arabianaerospace.aero/tawazun-creates-african-partnership-for-uae-s-precision-weapon-manufacture.html>

³⁵³ <https://www.cpifinancial.net/wealth/news/abu-dhabi-plans-to-merge-defence-and-technology-companies>

³⁵⁴ <https://quwa.org/2019/11/10/uae-launches-new-company-edge-to-spearhead-defence-industry/>

³⁵⁵ <https://www.linkedin.com/in/theunis-botha-4ba56013a/?originalSubdomain=ae>

³⁵⁶ <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/the-uae-s-covert-web-of-spies-hackers-and-mercenary-death-squads-23805>

2.4.3 Faisal Al Bannai obtained huge results in only two years, doubling the turnover of the Emirates' military industry up to 5 billion dollars à year³⁵⁷. The way this happened is quite scary. Faisal Al Bannai was in charge as CEO of Axiom, the State owned telecommunications' provider of the UAE³⁵⁸. In that position, in year 2012 he acquired an US secret espionage project, called "Raven", whose goal, as it has been started from the NSA, in year 2009, was to implement the crossing control of almost all the phone calls and web mail of the whole planet, spying all the possibly sensitive targets, who could have been linked to terrorism³⁵⁹. In the hands of Al Bannai, this system became a stupefying weapon in the hands of the Saudi and Emirates' intelligence, which surveys politicians, high-ranking military officers, university professors, entrepreneurs, industrial and banking managers, journalists, members of NGOs, pacifists, novelists, poets, musicians, charity managers, medicine doctors, whoever could have a diverging opinion from the one of the Saudi Crown³⁶⁰.



The logo of DarkMatter, the espionage company created by the CEO of the EDGE Group, Faisal Al Bannai

³⁵⁷ <https://www.edrmagazine.eu/edge-ceo-looking-at-expanding-opportunities-and-increasing-turnover> ;
<https://www.arabianaerospace.aero/leading-edge.html>

³⁵⁸ <https://emiratesleaks.com/en/emirates-state-espionage-reality-enshrined-series-facts-scandals/>

³⁵⁹ <https://emiratesleaks.com/en/emirates-state-espionage-reality-enshrined-series-facts-scandals/>

³⁶⁰ <https://emiratesleaks.com/en/emirates-state-espionage-reality-enshrined-series-facts-scandals/>

2.4.4 In the meanwhile, there are 9 former technicians, who were initially working for “Project Raven” at NSA and then, from 2012 to 2016, continued to be employed by the team of Faisal Al Bannai, which has been the birth of DarkMatter, who decided to quit and become a whistle blower, scared for the consequences of their work on behalf of Al Bannai and his chief, Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan³⁶¹. One of them, Lori Stroud, made public a lot of information about the illegal activities of Al Bannai and DarkMatter³⁶²: “Project Raven used a cutting-edge tool called Karma, letting them break into iPhones around the world through a security flaw to steal emails, locations, text messages and photographs, said five former employees. Karma made it all too easy. Their target didn’t even need to click on any link or download a virus. In 2016 and 2017 it would be used again and again on hundreds of targets across the world, including the governments of Qatar, Yemen, Iran and Turkey” ³⁶³.



Lori Stroud

2.4.5 First example: Hisham Almiraat, a famous Moroccan dissident, escaped to Rouen. In France, he continued to be in contact with other opponents of the King Mohammed VI – until he has been hacked from David Vincenzetti³⁶⁴, an Italian specialist, founder of Hacking Team Srl Milano and (more recently) of Enrico Fermi Manhattan Project Ltd. Abu Dhabi³⁶⁵. Vincenzetti has been the first hired

³⁶¹ <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-spying-raven-specialreport/special-report-inside-the-uaes-secret-hacking-team-of-u-s-mercenaries-idUSKCN1PO190>

³⁶² <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/the-uae-s-covert-web-of-spies-hackers-and-mercenary-death-squads-23805>

³⁶³ <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/the-uae-s-covert-web-of-spies-hackers-and-mercenary-death-squads-23805>

³⁶⁴ <https://d-art.it/news/chi-e-david-vincenzetti-uno-degli-uomini-piu-odiati-e-temuti-al-mondo/22493> ;

³⁶⁵ <https://www.linkedin.com/in/vincenzetti/>

personality³⁶⁶ for the new-born DarkMatter³⁶⁷. As a result of this espionage operation, the whole peaceful opponents group in Morocco has been dismantled³⁶⁸, all their computers have been infected with viruses³⁶⁹, all his members disappeared in jail³⁷⁰. Vincenzetti's original network has been dismantled too, this is why he escaped to the UAE³⁷¹. In Italy he has been monitored from the Police due to his political views: he signs all his email with the slogan "Boia chi molla"³⁷² (Who gives up is a hangman), which is the formal salutation of the Neo-Fascism underground organizations³⁷³.



David Vincenzetti

2.4.6 Second example: on October 2, 2018, the Saudis killed and dismembered the critical journalist Jamal Khashoggi, who made the mistake to visit the Saudi Embassy in Istanbul for the renewal of his passport³⁷⁴. He has been continuously monitored by the "Raven Project" system, and the Saudi secret service was expecting him, and killed him³⁷⁵. According to the investigators, there was a killing

³⁶⁶ <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/the-uae-s-covert-web-of-spies-hackers-and-mercenary-death-squads-23805>

³⁶⁷ <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/the-uae-s-covert-web-of-spies-hackers-and-mercenary-death-squads-23805>

³⁶⁸ <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/04/26/fear-this-man-cyber-warfare-hacking-team-david-vincenzetti/>

³⁶⁹ <https://d-art.it/news/chi-e-david-vincenzetti-uno-degli-uomini-piu-odiati-e-temuti-al-mondo/22493>

³⁷⁰ <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/04/26/fear-this-man-cyber-warfare-hacking-team-david-vincenzetti/>

³⁷¹ https://www.corriere.it/tecnologia/cyber-cultura/15_luglio_10/david-vincenzetti-mercenario-sicurezza-informatica-89a4bf90-2723-11e5-b94a-8cedf57f8ffd.shtml

³⁷² https://www.corriere.it/tecnologia/cyber-cultura/15_luglio_10/david-vincenzetti-mercenario-sicurezza-informatica-89a4bf90-2723-11e5-b94a-8cedf57f8ffd.shtml

³⁷³ <http://www.ecn.org/antifa/article/4783/-david-vincenzetti-un-fascista-alla-testa-di-hacking-team> ;

https://web.archive.org/web/20140202130014/http://archiviostorico.corriere.it/1999/ottobre/02/Boia_chi_molla_slogan_co_0_9910023063.shtml ; Bruno Borlandi, "Boia chi molla", Edizioni del Borghese, Roma 1969 ; <https://espresso.repubblica.it/plus/articoli/2019/05/02/news/servizi-segreti-si-ma-col-buco-1.334316>

³⁷⁴ <https://web.archive.org/web/20181112233122/https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/12/world/middleeast/jamal-khashoggi-killing-saudi-arabia.html> ; <https://web.archive.org/web/20181009004244/https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-45775819>

³⁷⁵ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-45812399>

team waiting for him in the Embassy: Maher Abdulaziz Mutreb, who has been schooled from Vincenzetti, and Saud Al-Qahtani³⁷⁶. The Saudi justice is persecuting Mutreb, asserting he was acting with no orders from any official power of Saudi Arabia³⁷⁷. Al-Qahtani lost his job as personal assistant of Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman Al Sa'ud, son of the actual King Salman³⁷⁸.

2.4.7 Third example: the UAE opposition's activist Ahmed Mansoor has been spied and surveyed from Hacking Team Srl and David Vincenzetti. The Italian hacker acted on behalf of a member of the Royal family, Sheikh Tahnoon bin Zayed Al-Nahyan³⁷⁹, CEO of the First Gulf Bank and owner of a 5,4% stake of this bank – one of the 50 richest men of Asia and the half-brother of Mohamed bin Zayed Al-Nahyan³⁸⁰. The e-mails between Hacking Team Srl and the Royal family of the UAE have been intercepted from a German hacker, known under the cover name of FinFisher³⁸¹, who's cooperating with Wikileaks and Julien Assange³⁸². Too late: DarkMatter hacked everything Ahmed Mansoor did, said, wrote, and even his wife Nadia³⁸³, and on March 20, 2017, Ahmed Mansoor has been sentenced to 10 years prison³⁸⁴, where he survives under quite difficult health's problems³⁸⁵.



Ahmed Mansour

³⁷⁶ <http://uopia.blogspot.com/2019/04/>

³⁷⁷ <http://uopia.blogspot.com/2019/04/>

³⁷⁸ <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/the-uae-s-covert-web-of-spies-hackers-and-mercenary-death-squads-23805>

³⁷⁹ <https://wikileaks.org/hackingteam/emails/emailid/448627>

³⁸⁰ <https://web.archive.org/web/20161209062647/http://www.forbesmiddleeast.com/en/lists/people/pname/sheikh-tahnoon-bin-zayed-bin-sultan-al/pid/13117>

³⁸¹ <https://wikileaks.org/spyfiles/>

³⁸² https://wikileaks.org/hackingteam/emails/?q=bahra*+%7C+bahre*&count=1000&sort=1

³⁸³ <https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/usa-spying-raven/>

³⁸⁴ <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2018/05/uae-activist-ahmed-mansoor-sentenced-to-10-years-in-prison-for-social-media-posts/>

³⁸⁵ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-39416734> ; <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2018/05/uae-activist-ahmed-mansoor-sentenced-to-10-years-in-prison-for-social-media-posts/>

2.4.8 Starting in 2016, DarkMatter, using a new developed hacking tool called Karma³⁸⁶, started to intercept and record emails and conversations of the Emir Tamin bin Hamad Al-Thani, his family, his key managers, the QIA Qatar Investment Agency and the QCF Qatar Charity Foundation³⁸⁷. Parallel to this, the same US professionals set up a new company of the EDGE Group, based in the same building of DarkMatter, called CAGN Global, whose target is to recruit mercenary soldiers and former CIA agents in order to prepare a special death's squad, which can be used abroad for terrorism attacks, targeting and killing sensitive political, military, industrial, banking personalities or simply critical journalists (like Jamal Khashoggi) or political activists³⁸⁸. These fact, in our view, answers the question about: who hacked the QCF documents, which have been used by Mohamed Louizi, Georges Malbrunot, Haoues Seniguer, Christian Chesnot and the staff of the CEMO Centre d'études du Moyen Orient for the compilation of "Qatar Papers".

2.4.9 According to the European specialized security and military magazines, since March 2018 CAGN Global, DarkMatter and other similar companies, in the UAE and in Saudi Arabia, have prepared over 350 arrests and tortures against famous businessmen, politicians, even members of the Royal family³⁸⁹ – and is actually preparing a huge operation against Qatar, which is driving three parallel ways: on one side a mud and propaganda campaign against several Qatari activities and diplomatic relationships worldwide³⁹⁰; on another side the preparation of terrorism attacks close or during the football World Cup of 2022³⁹¹; last but not least, the killing of the Emir Al-Thani, and his substitution with a Saudi puppet³⁹². The same media say that the last project has been rejected by the Americans, who are cooperating in these activities³⁹³.

³⁸⁶ <https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/usa-spying-karma/>

³⁸⁷ <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-spying-raven-specialreport/special-report-inside-the-uaes-secret-hacking-team-of-u-s-mercenaries-idUSKCN1PO190> ;

³⁸⁸ <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/the-uae-s-covert-web-of-spies-hackers-and-mercenary-death-squads-23805> ;
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/12/21/deep-pockets-deep-cover-the-uae-is-paying-ex-cia-officers-to-build-a-spy-empire-in-the-gulf/> ;
<https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/aramroston/mercenaries-assassination-us-yemen-uae-spear-golan-dahlan> ;
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-spying-raven-specialreport/special-report-inside-the-uaes-secret-hacking-team-of-u-s-mercenaries-idUSKCN1PO190> ; <https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/usa-spying-raven/> ; <https://www.reuters.com/investigates/special-report/usa-spying-karma/>

³⁸⁹ <https://intelnews.org/tag/cagn-global-ltd/> ; <https://www.analisdifesa.it/2018/03/truppe-intelligence-ed-inquisitori-privati-per-le-monarchie-del-golfo/> ; <https://www.voltairenet.org/mot116.html?lang=it>

³⁹⁰ <https://intelnews.org/tag/cagn-global-ltd/> ; <https://www.analisdifesa.it/2018/03/truppe-intelligence-ed-inquisitori-privati-per-le-monarchie-del-golfo/> ; <https://www.voltairenet.org/mot116.html?lang=it>

³⁹¹ <https://intelnews.org/tag/cagn-global-ltd/> ; <https://www.analisdifesa.it/2018/03/truppe-intelligence-ed-inquisitori-privati-per-le-monarchie-del-golfo/> ; <https://www.voltairenet.org/mot116.html?lang=it>

³⁹² <https://intelnews.org/tag/cagn-global-ltd/> ; <https://www.analisdifesa.it/2018/03/truppe-intelligence-ed-inquisitori-privati-per-le-monarchie-del-golfo/> ; <https://www.voltairenet.org/mot116.html?lang=it>

³⁹³ <https://intelnews.org/tag/cagn-global-ltd/> ; <https://www.analisdifesa.it/2018/03/truppe-intelligence-ed-inquisitori-privati-per-le-monarchie-del-golfo/> ; <https://www.voltairenet.org/mot116.html?lang=it>

2.4.10 It's quite interesting to see the political line followed by Georges Malbrunot, who's a quite active writer on this matter: in all his stories, the reporter of "Le Figaro" accuses the Saudi authorities of the illegitimate protection of one of the conspiracy members for the murder of Jamal Khashoggi, Saud Al-Qahtani³⁹⁴, who disappeared after the explosion of the scandal and has never been convicted, in despite of the evidence. Malbrunot is giving Mohamed bin Salman Al Saud the personal blame as mandatory of the murder³⁹⁵ – the same opinion of the most of the Arab, European and American specialists, especially after the already mentioned purge of November 2017³⁹⁶, as over 300 leading personalities of Saudi Arabia and other Middle East countries have been arrested and tortured under the supervision of Saud Al Qahtani³⁹⁷.



Saud Al Qahtani

2.4.11 This gentleman³⁹⁸ seems to be, over more than a decade, the main responsible of hundreds of women's rapes³⁹⁹, as well as tortures and murders of artists⁴⁰⁰, political activists and critical journalists on behalf of Prince Mohamed bin Salman⁴⁰¹. Twitter reacted to the scandal and closed the accounts of Saud Al-Qahtani and further 267 apparently faked accounts, whose target was principally to forge and spread anti-Qatari advertising on behalf of UAE and Saudi Arabia authorities⁴⁰². But now,

³⁹⁴ <https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/khashoggi-la-rapporteure-de-l-onu-denonce-le-silence-des-occidentaux-20190626> ;
<https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/cinq-saoudiens-condamnes-a-mort-pour-le-meurtre-de-khashoggi-20191223> ;
<https://plus.lesoir.be/274836/article/2020-01-23/affaire-khashoggi-lin vraisemblable-espionnage-de-jeff-bezos-par-le-royaume-de>
³⁹⁵ <https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/khashoggi-la-rapporteure-de-l-onu-denonce-le-silence-des-occidentaux-20190626> ;
<https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/cinq-saoudiens-condamnes-a-mort-pour-le-meurtre-de-khashoggi-20191223> ;
<https://plus.lesoir.be/274836/article/2020-01-23/affaire-khashoggi-lin vraisemblable-espionnage-de-jeff-bezos-par-le-royaume-de> ;
<https://twitter.com/Malbrunot/status/1263768517289140224>

³⁹⁶ <https://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/breakfast/saudi-arabia-arrests-11-princes/9121124>

³⁹⁷ <https://www.newsweek.com/what-just-happened-saudi-arabia-weekend-purge-explained-705617>

³⁹⁸ <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/where-is-saud-al-qahtani-saudi-mbs>

³⁹⁹ <https://archive.vn/20181210175840/https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/12/07/aide-mohammed-bin-salman-supervised-torture-female-prisoner/>

⁴⁰⁰ <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/01/08/middleeast/saudi-disappeared-couple-intl/index.html>

⁴⁰¹ <http://carga.prensainternacional.mrecic.gov.ar/saudi-crown-princes-brutal-drive-crush-dissenters-began-khashoggi>

⁴⁰² <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/twitter-suspends-account-former-saudi-royal-adviser-qahtani>

after two years of hiding⁴⁰³, it looks like Saud Al Qahtani is striking back to his old glorious days⁴⁰⁴.

2.5 The role of the AGT International in Zurich

2.5.1 *"One of the fastest-growing public safety and security solutions organizations in the world, AGT International, has operations on five continents (...). AGT International partners with governments and corporations to help them predict, prepare for, prevent, and manage challenges and threats that arise in complex environments – with services that include urban management, health emergency management, cyber and food security (...). Led by Founder and CEO Mati Kochavi, AGT International currently has nearly 2000 employees worldwide and is managing 8 billion dollars in projects"*⁴⁰⁵.



Matania "Mati" Kochavi

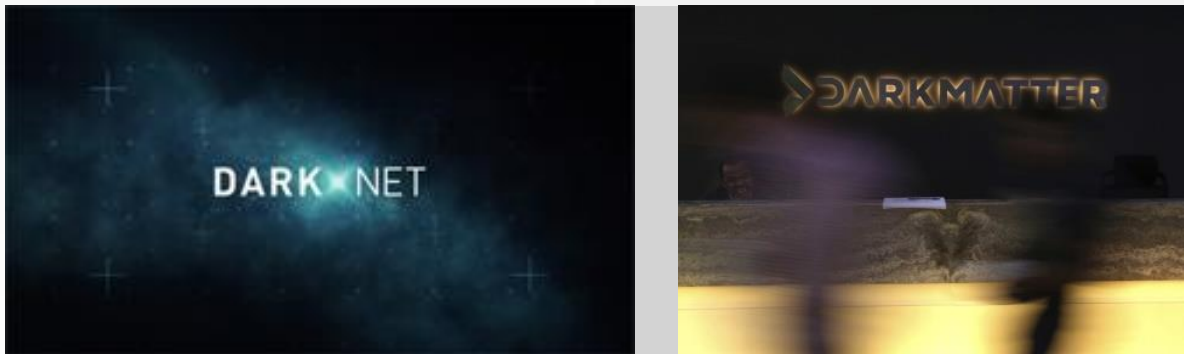
2.5.2 The advertising of the AGT International Group (the acronym means Asia Global Technology), the military and cybersecurity company of this Israeli businessman is explaining a completely new approach to the challenges of the political leaderships in the new-born century. The Cold War's time taught us that it's impossible to lead and win a classical war – as shown in the conflicts in Korea, in Vietnam, in Afghanistan, in the former Yugoslavia, in Israel, in Libya, in Sierra Leone and in several other countries: who defends, and defends his homeland and houses and families, can't be beaten, must be completely destroyed (through a genocide) or the war is lost. And the internal political and social situation becomes explosive, if

⁴⁰³ <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/saudi-failure-to-convict-saud-al-qahtani-is-glaring/> ;
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/dec/23/saud-al-qahtani-saudi-fixer-khashoggi>

⁴⁰⁴ <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/qahtani-comeback-song-praising-saudi-official-circulated-sign-rehabilitation>

⁴⁰⁵ <https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/mati-kochavi---founder-and-ceo-of-agt-international-and-chairman-of-3i-mind---leads-panel-on-urban-management-at-economist-ideas-forum-123643249.html>

the children of a country are going to die in a war that no citizen feels as his own problem. The solutions taken in Vienna in 1815, after the defeat of the Napoleon's Army, have been cancelled by the History – because of the technical progress of the massive destruction's weapons, because of the welfare, because of the economic and scientific development, because these values like freedom, justice and solidarity, in the meanwhile do have a global relevance which doesn't consider any national or cultural borders.



The logos of DarkNet and DarkMatter

2.5.3 Mati Kochavi learned the lesson⁴⁰⁶. In order to perform a stable political system, not blackmailed from economical forces or the sentiment of justice and the will of transparency of the population, today is necessary a new approach⁴⁰⁷: Matania "Mati" Kochavi's companies, first of all AGT International AG Zurich⁴⁰⁸, owns a cybersecurity division (which develops new hacking and spying systems and applications⁴⁰⁹), a military and oil-gas-energy division (actually also developing weapons, which are not driven from humans and don't cost lives if not because of the enemy reaction, not due to the mistakes of the own government⁴¹⁰), a biohacking and cyber-implants division (which has the goal to transform single human been in cyber-soldiers⁴¹¹), a sporting control division (which cares about a scientific way to take decisions during a game⁴¹²), an urban monitoring division (which coordinates street lighting, traffic-light, mail and logistics' transports, harbours and airports, subways, railways, video-surveillance and several other data⁴¹³) and a TV novel division, called Dark Net, which is preparing the population of the whole Planet for a new world, which is completely controlled with remote-

⁴⁰⁶ <https://www.haaretz.com/1.5034022>

⁴⁰⁷ <https://www.agtinternational.com/agt-news/mati-kochavi-bill-clinton/>

⁴⁰⁸ <https://www.agtinternational.com/about/>

⁴⁰⁹ <https://www.richardsilverstein.com/2014/12/04/israeli-cyber-security-merchant-peddles-wares-secretly-in-united-arab-emirates/> ; <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/falcon-eye-israeli-installed-mass-civil-surveillance-system-abu-dhabi>

⁴¹⁰ https://www.agtinternational.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/AGT_OilGas_62614.pdf

⁴¹¹ <https://jewishlifeneews.com/tag/biohacking-connected-devices-industry/>

⁴¹² <https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4804043,00.html>

⁴¹³ <https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/agt-international-showcases-new-urban-management-solutions-at-milipol-132039178.html>

control-technical devices⁴¹⁴. Funny, how similar the logos of Dark Net and DarkMatter are.

2.5.4 Already before the Arab Spring of 2001⁴¹⁵, CNIA Critical National Infrastructure Authority⁴¹⁶, a cyber-defence agency of Abu Dhabi, signed a contract for 815 million dollars, but at that time the goal was to make national borders more secure⁴¹⁷. With the Arab Spring⁴¹⁸, everything changed, in year 2011 AGT sold technology to the Emirates for 600 million dollars⁴¹⁹ and in 2015 Mohamed bin Zayed Al-Nahyan, on behalf of Tawazun Holding, which has been lately merged into the EDGE Group, will personally sign a new contract with AGT International⁴²⁰ for an undisclosed sum – a transaction, which foreseen a consistent kickback bribe⁴²¹. But there were more: Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan signed also a contract with another Israeli company, the NSO Group Technologies Ltd. Herzliya⁴²², whose advertising strategy was to show to the leaders of the Emirates how they could hack and record all the communications of the Emir of Qatar – with a tool called Pegasus⁴²³.

⁴¹⁴ <https://www.sho.com/dark-net>

⁴¹⁵ <https://www.hstoday.us/people-on-the-move/leadership-profile-mati-kochavi-founder-and-ceo-agt-international/>

⁴¹⁶ "CNIA was created in May 2007 by a Presidential Decree with a view to safeguard Abu Dhabi's infrastructure and key assets and is an independent entity affiliated to the Abu Dhabi Executive Council. Pointing out that CNIA was making utmost efforts to protect the economic infrastructure of the nation, its officials said (...) that "we are striving to be the number one both regionally and internationally through the application of the highest standards of operation and by utilising state-of-the-art technologies and methodologies" (...). The Authority sponsors the Gulf Defence Conference (...). "CNIA's sponsorship of the conference is part of our efforts to develop security and defence knowledge and strategies and to exchange expertise and information with countries and defence experts worldwide" – see https://www.defenceworld.net/news/2802/Critical_National_Infrastructure_Authority_CNIA_UAE_home_land_security_will_be_at_IDEX_2009#.XvZ8Y-dS_IU

⁴¹⁷ <http://www.icfuae.org.uk/uae-in-the-media/abu-dhabi-announces-launch-israeli-installed-mass-surveillance-system> ;

<https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/falcon-eye-israeli-installed-mass-civil-surveillance-system-abu-dhabi> ; Kristian Coates-Ulrichsen, "The United Arab Emirates: Power, politics and policy-making", Taylor & Francis, London 2016, pages 219-220

⁴¹⁸ <https://onezero.medium.com/israels-silent-cyberpower-is-reshaping-the-middle-east-af1458d16a15> ;

<http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/100313/7/JustBelowtheSurface.pdf>, pages 13-14

⁴¹⁹ <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/north-africa-west-asia/abu-dhabi-announces-launch-of-israeli-installed-mass-surveillance-system/> ;

Kristian Coates-Ulrichsen, "The United Arab Emirates: Power, politics and policy-making", Taylor & Francis, London 2016, pages 219-220

⁴²⁰ <https://breakingdefence.com/2019/07/israel-eyes-uae-falcon-eye-surveillance-sat-program/> ; Kristian Coates-Ulrichsen, "The United Arab Emirates: Power, politics and policy-making", Taylor & Francis, London 2016, pages 219-220 ;

<http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/100313/7/JustBelowtheSurface.pdf>, passim

⁴²¹ See Chapter 3.1.5 of this Main Report

⁴²² <https://www.nso-group.com/>

⁴²³ Michel Taube, "La face cachée des Émirats Arabes Unis", Le Cherche Midi, Paris 2019, Chapter 2, "MBZ, le Machiavel du désert" ;

<http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/100313/7/JustBelowtheSurface.pdf>, pages 13-14



Mohammed Dahlan

2.5.5 The whole UAE cybernetic project, which is still running, is quite dangerous: Pegasus and Raven are hacking, monitoring, following everyone, destroying the defences of every single computer worldwide, and the blind Western countries accepted the sale of the biggest antivirus company, Avira⁴²⁴, to the same group, which is hacking the main part of all personal internet's accounts of the whole planet⁴²⁵. This project is that crucial for the Wahhabi, that brought Saudi Arabia and the Emirates to change the alliances: they left Palestine fall down and chosen Israel⁴²⁶. One of the main personalities of Palestine, the former leader of the Palestinian political party Fatah, Mohammed Dahlan, allegedly decided to follow the wave and became one of the main killers at the orders of the UAE Government⁴²⁷. There are only few journalists, after he escaped to Serbia and later moved to Dubai, who are still defending him – one of them is Georges Malbrunot⁴²⁸. Who's actually lobbying to convince the European nations and the USA to candidate Dahlan as President of the Palestinian Territory⁴²⁹.

⁴²⁴ See Chapter 2.3.18 of this Main Report

⁴²⁵ See Chapters 2.4 and 2.5 of this Main Report

⁴²⁶ Ian Black, "Just below the surface", LSE Middle East Center Report, London 2019, pages 14-15: "*Links with Israel are no longer an official taboo in the UAE, though the issue is not reported in local media. Generational change is one factor. Passionate support for the Palestinians, embodied by the UAE's founder Sheikh Zayed al Nahyan, has faded. Emirati experts emphasise the two countries' common agenda. 'We were raised to see Israel as an enemy which occupied Arab countries', argued the head of an Abu Dhabi think tank. 'The reality now is that they are there whether you like it or not. We have common interests with them – and it's about Iran, about interests, not emotions. In the assessment of a former UAE diplomat, the current Iranian threat is akin to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990, which paved the way for a previously unacceptable US military presence in Saudi Arabia. 'If it wasn't for the Palestinian issue, this relationship with Israel would be very public and it would be very welcome because we need their military equipment and technology. But the relationship will remain under the radar. In the words of Jamal al-Suwaidi, the influential founder of the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research: Israel, the Arab Gulf States and the Limits of Cooperation. The Palestinian cause is no longer at the forefront of Arabs' interests, as it used to be for long decades; it has sharply lost priority in light of the challenges, threats and problems that face countries of the region, altering their list of priorities as well as their perception of threats to their national security and the position of Israel within these threats compared to other threats posed, primarily by Iran, Hezbollah and terrorist groups, among others'*".

⁴²⁷ <https://www.trtworld.com/middle-east/mohammed-dahlan-arranged-yemen-assassinations-on-uae-s-behalf-34157>

⁴²⁸ <https://blog.lefigaro.fr/malbrunot/2010/12/indesirable-a-ramallah-mohamme.html>

⁴²⁹ https://www.francetvinfo.fr/monde/palestine/palestine-mohammed-dahlan-privilegie-a-marwan-barghouti-pour-succeder-a-abbas_3061081.html

2.6 Conclusions

The broader picture that emerges from this analysis of the political and business background, which is the real background and the real reason for the birth of the "*Qatar Papers*" project, is at least disturbing. There are some absolutist monarchies, of medieval mold, who are at the same time attracted and scornful towards their own religion (Islam) and the society of the Western countries (liberal democracy), which are necessarily their outlet market.

These monarchies attempted first with intimidation, then with repression (both of the opponents and – with the purge of November 2017, of their more famous and richer compatriots, the ones extraneous to the ruling family,), then with militarization: more army, industrial independence, acquisition and development of the most advanced and unscrupulous population's espionage and control systems that exist. In the name of this long struggle even traditional alliances (such as those with the Palestinian people) and the enmities of over a century (with Israel) are forgotten and reversed.

The inflexible determination of these monarchies can be seen clearly in the birth of extremely sophisticated hacking technology, and at the same time in the production of TV series that describe it and praise it. It is wise to buy more and more sophisticated systems to enter the computers of anyone on the planet, and then buy the German company that defends, with its software, billions of PCs and devices from all over the world from hacking attempts.

In this almost apocalyptic picture, "*Qatar Papers*" seems like a small forgettable question, like a fly on the skin of a hippopotamus, yet it constitutes a lever on which medieval monarchies place hopes to strike not the right to privacy, but free thought as well as the building of their own information of the French population (at the beginning) and now, expanding the experiment, of the population of the other countries of Western Europe. it is an operation that must be explained, shown, critically analyzed and whose mendacity and danger must be reported.

CHAPTER 3: SOURCES OF CHESNOT AND MALBRUNOT'S WORKS

3.1 ECSSR in the Emirates

- 3.1.1 During the preparation of this Report, we have done an impressive business intelligence work, interrogating more than twenty people involved in the management of sensitive information in France and the United Arab Emirates. Almost all our sources agree in giving the same answer to the question: Who has delivered to Chesnot and Malbrunot internal documents and confidential accounting of Qatar Charity Foundation? Five different and non-contacting sources indicated the same organization, the Abu Dhabi-based ECSSR Emirates Center for Strategic Studies & Research⁴³⁰. This means that we may have no evidence that the documents come from this organization, but that the reports received lead us to analyse operations, contents, partnerships and strategies of ECSSR.
- 3.1.2 ECSSR has been opened on the 14th of March 1994, as the organization, which administrates the UAE Federation Library – “one of the largest specialized libraries in the region, combining a variety of sources across multiple domains, including political, military, social and economic science. The library collects materials on the UAE and the Arabian Gulf region in particular, in addition to its wider focus on the Arab region and international topics. With 1,700,000 printed and electronic resources, the library is home to a wide selection of academic references, encyclopedias, periodicals, special purpose documents, official reports, maps and extensive electronic databases”⁴³¹. Moreover, the staff of ECSSR delivers to the Government of the Emirates mainly information and analysis on “political, security, military, economic and social issues”⁴³².
- 3.1.3 This organization is heavily well considered. In the list of the lecturers there are the Chancellor of Germany, Mrs. Angela Merkel; the former President of France, Nicholas Sarkozy; the former UK Prime Minister, Tony Blair; the former President of Poland, Lech Walesa; the former President of Georgia, Giorgi Margvelashvili; the former British secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Malcolm Rifkin; the responsible for Google’s public policy programs and elite government relationships, Mrs. Susan Pointer; the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir Mohamad; the former Secretary of State for Defence of the USA, Leon Panetta; the former President of Finland, Martti Ahtisaari – plus dozens of high-officers of

⁴³⁰ <https://www.ecssr.ae/en/>

⁴³¹ <https://www.ecssr.ae/en/library/>

⁴³² <https://www.ecssr.ae/en/reports-analysis/>

the military forces of many Arab countries, secret service officer from all over the world, politicians from every single Muslim country worldwide and more than 50 university professors⁴³³. But at the real top of the organization, there are only two persons: Director General, Prof. Jamal Sanad Al-Suwaidi⁴³⁴; and Executive Director, Dr. Khaled Al-Suwaidi⁴³⁵.



Jamal Sanad Al-Suwaidi

3.1.4 The political influence of ECSSR on the Government of the Emirates is huge. According to “The Guardian” journalist Ian Black, Jamal Sanad Al-Suwaidi has turned his own opinion in a political decision: since he asserted that the Palestinian question is not crucially relevant for the global Islam⁴³⁶, ECSSR and the United Arab Emirates allow the reading of Israeli newspapers and websites, but forbids all the Qatari websites and newspapers⁴³⁷. Moreover, Jamal Al-Suwaidi has been one of the sustainers of the decision to buy military technology (for 800 million dollars⁴³⁸) from an Israeli owned company, the AGT International AG Zurich, owned by the Jewish entrepreneur Mati Kochavi⁴³⁹ – a fact, which has been discovered and

⁴³³ <https://www.ecssr.ae/en/lecturers/>

⁴³⁴ <https://www.ecssr.ae/en/director-general-statement/>

⁴³⁵ <https://www.ecssr.ae/en/executive-director-statement/>

⁴³⁶ Jamal Sanad Al Suwaidi, ‘Dismantling the Palestinian issue: Manifestations, Causes and Consequences’, Gulf News, 20 November 2018. Available at <https://gulfnews.com/opinion/op-eds/dismantling-the-palestinian-issue-manifestations-causes-and-consequences-1.60456367>

⁴³⁷ Ian Black, “Just below the surface: Israel, the Arab Gulf States and the limits of cooperation”, London School of Economics, London 2019. Available at <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/100313/7/JustBelowtheSurface.pdf>, page 16;

⁴³⁸ https://www.upi.com/Business_News/Security-Industry/2012/01/27/Emirates-has-security-links-with-Israel/UPI-73471327687767

⁴³⁹ Ian Black, “Just below the surface: Israel, the Arab Gulf States and the limits of cooperation”, London School of Economics, London 2019. Available at <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/100313/7/JustBelowtheSurface.pdf>, pages 14-17;

published in Europe by Georges Malbrunot⁴⁴⁰. A small indication of a possible personal relationship between the French journalist and the founder of ECSSR.



Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan

3.1.5 There are much deeper traces of the influence of ECSSR in the military decisions of the Government of the UAE. In August 2017, the US media “The Intercept” discovered that the UAE paid 20 million Dollars to its “strategic defence manufacturing arm”⁴⁴¹, Tawazun Holding, in order to support a State investment program for the sustainable development⁴⁴². The same sum has been paid from Tawazun to ECSSR, which transferred the 20 million to The Middle East Institute of Washington DC⁴⁴³ – an association of US military experts, who paid these 20 million Dollars as kickback for hidden military contracts, from US industries to the UAE Army⁴⁴⁴. No surprise at all: according to Jamal Sanad Al Suwaidi, ECSSR has been built following the will of “His Highness Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan, Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi and Deputy Supreme Commander of the UAE Armed Forces (may God protect him), who have instilled it as an approach to ruling and governance”⁴⁴⁵.

3.1.6 The same Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed Al Nahyan is the founder of Tawazun Holding⁴⁴⁶ and the founder and CEO of its holding company Mubadala FZ Abu Dhabi⁴⁴⁷, as well as the director of a military and aggressive political strategy of the

⁴⁴⁰ <http://www.lefigaro.fr/mon-figaro/2010/06/25/10001-20100625ARTFIG00486-le-business-secret-d-israel-dans-le-golfe-persique.php>

⁴⁴¹ <https://www.tawazun.ae/about-us/>

⁴⁴² <https://theintercept.com/2017/08/17/weapons-money-intended-for-economic-development-being-secretly-diverted-to-lobbying/>

⁴⁴³ <https://theintercept.com/2017/08/17/weapons-money-intended-for-economic-development-being-secretly-diverted-to-lobbying/>

⁴⁴⁴ <https://theintercept.com/2017/08/17/weapons-money-intended-for-economic-development-being-secretly-diverted-to-lobbying/>

⁴⁴⁵ <https://www.ecssr.ae/en/director-general-statement/>

⁴⁴⁶ <https://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20191105005661/en/Mohamed-bin-Zayed-Inaugurates-EDGE-Advanced-Technology>

⁴⁴⁷ <https://www.mubadala.com/en/who-we-are/board-of-directors/his-highness-sheikh-mohamed-bin-zayed-al-nahyan>

UAE, which knew its highest point in the building of a special military unit, called R2, made out of 800 fighters, who have been trained from the US Marines and don't respond to the official UAE Army⁴⁴⁸. According to the Turkish media, there are even suspicions about the involvement of Sheikh bin Zayed Al Nahyan in the support for the terrorists of Al Qaeda, who ran the Twin Towers' attack on September 11, 2001⁴⁴⁹.

3.1.7 After this scandal, Tawazun Holding became the target for several critical reports: in his essay about the risks of dealing with corrupt financial entities, representing bad reputed Governments, whose real role is to hide illegal arms' transactions, the French expert Augustin De Colnet mentions Tawazun Holding as one of the main illegal arms' broker worldwide⁴⁵⁰. In order to counter the scandal, the website Al Bawaba led a long positive campaign⁴⁵¹. This was the main domain of the original organization of Ali, before he moved to Paris and created the new head office of the CEMO Centre d'Etudes du Moyen Orient⁴⁵².

3.1.8 Since that moment, the Al Bawaba organization has been split in two local organization (even if the CEMO-websites didn't show the change yet and still show a link to a site, which doesn't exist anymore⁴⁵³), the Al Bawaba Egypt⁴⁵⁴, and the Al Bawaba for Jordany and Dubai⁴⁵⁵ – both owned from the Arab Center for Journalism Plc Cairo⁴⁵⁶, whose sole owner is the Government of the United Arab Emirates⁴⁵⁷. The Dubai and Amman section of the Al Bawaba web has a minority shareholder, the SyndiGate Media Inc. Amman, whose management is based in the United Kingdom: Mark Gatty Saunt and Kane Hippisley-Gatherum⁴⁵⁸.

⁴⁴⁸ Claire Finkelstein, Jens David Ohlin, Andrew Altman, "Targeted killings: Law and morality in an asymmetrical world", Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, page 370

⁴⁴⁹ <https://www.haksozhaber.net/orta-dogunun-karanlik-prensi-muhammed-bin-zayed-123981h.htm>

⁴⁵⁰ Augustin de Colnet, "Guerre économique: grille d'analyse des risques concurrentiels", EGE École de Guerre Économique, Paris 2019, pages 36-37. Available at <http://www.epge.fr/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Grille-analyse-Augustin-de-Colnet-septembre-2019-1.pdf>

⁴⁵¹ <https://www.albawaba.com/tawazun-holding>

⁴⁵² <https://www.theportal-center.com/contact-us/>;

⁴⁵³ <https://www.domainmarket.com/buynow/albawabanews.com>

⁴⁵⁴ <https://www.theportal-center.com/>;

⁴⁵⁵ <https://www.albawaba.com/abstatic/about-us>

⁴⁵⁶ <https://www.albawabaeg.com/about/>;

⁴⁵⁷ <https://egypt.mom-rsf.org/en/owners/companies/detail/company/company/show/the-arab-center-for-journalism/>;

⁴⁵⁸ <https://www.syndigate.info/contact-us>



Mark Gatty Saunt

3.1.9 Officially, Mr. Gatty Saunt and his wife Mary had a public relations company, the Content Agents Ltd. Oxted, which has been set up on the 5th November of 2012 and has been liquidated on the 12th of May 2015⁴⁵⁹. But Mark and Mary Gatty Saunt are trading under the name of Content Agents since 2001 and relocated to Dubai in 2003 to become one of the key managers for the campaigns of Al Bawaba⁴⁶⁰. Since 2009, Gatty Saunt developed a system for global IT campaigns, and transformed Al Bawaba to an engine able to push UAE contents in thousands of media all over the world: "The number of Arab newspapers licensing their content is on the growth, allowing them to increase their visibility outside the region (...) Al Bawaba licenses, aggregates and distributes content from Arab newspapers and other publications through its SyndiGate service"⁴⁶¹.

3.1.10 This strategy has been developed and described in a book published from the global espionage expert (the founder and chief editor of "Eye Spy Intelligence Magazine"⁴⁶², which is produced in Leeds, New York and Burlington Ontario⁴⁶³) Mark Birdsall, who's one of the lecturers and consultants of the ECSSR and publishes under the direction of Rashed Al Shamsi, Deputy Commander of the UAE Air Forces⁴⁶⁴ and Chief Editor of the Emirate Lecture Series⁴⁶⁵. In his (in Abu Dhabi published) book, Birdsall asserts that, in despite of the development of internet and the quality of the cybernetic attacks, the key for the Intelligence

⁴⁵⁹ Content Agents Ltd. Oxted

⁴⁶⁰ <https://www.linkedin.com/in/markgattysaunt/?originalSubdomain=ae>

⁴⁶¹ <https://www.syndigate.info/content-licensing-gains-ground-arab-world>

⁴⁶² https://www.amazon.com/Mark-Birdsall/e/B005J4UAZW%3Fref=db_s_a_mng_rwt_scns_share

⁴⁶³ <https://www.eyespyimag.com/contact.html>

⁴⁶⁴ https://www.mod.go.jp/js/Press/press2019/press_pdf/p20190627_02.pdf

⁴⁶⁵ Mark Birdsall, "The future of Intelligence in the 21st Century", The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies & Research, Abu Dhabi 2013. Partially available at https://www.ecssr.ae/wp-content/themes/ecssr-child/split/100-The-Future-of-Intelligence-in-the-21st-Century_Preview.pdf

remains the crossed examination of human sources and open sources, because they can be used in order to redirect and funnel plots, ideas, opinions, and do have a quite bigger impact that very detailed blocks of documents, which are difficult to understand⁴⁶⁶. At the end, even if we have no evidence about the possibility that ECSSR stolen the QCF documents and gave them to Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, the hypothesis seems to be believable: ECSSR is a coverage for espionage, campaigning and military intrigues, in favour of the Government of the Emirates.

3.2 Mohamed Louizi

3.2.1 A proverb says that there is no one more radical than a convert: Mr. Louizi is a clear example of this: according to his own statements, he started his activist's career (as he was 13 years old and arrived to Europe from his native Morocco⁴⁶⁷) as a member of the UOIF (Union des Organisations Islamiques de France), which is an organization that he considers close to the Muslim Brotherhood⁴⁶⁸. Louizi left UOIF in 2012 and became one of the main enemies of this organization, as well as an enemy of the Brotherhood and of Qatar, which, in his eyes, are comparable to the Neo-Nazis German organization called PEGIDA⁴⁶⁹ and should be forbidden⁴⁷⁰, the one as the other, because they are both the spearhead of Salafism⁴⁷¹ (he believes), which is the main opponent against a global peace and the main support for religiously motivated terrorism⁴⁷². A theory, which is one of the main tools used by Marine Le Pen and the French extreme right to justify their obsession to expel the Muslims from the European Union⁴⁷³.

⁴⁶⁶ Mark Birdsall, "The future of Intelligence in the 21st Century", The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies & Research, Abu Dhabi 2013, page 3. Available at https://www.ecssr.ae/wp-content/themes/ecssr-child/split/100-The-Future-of-Intelligence-in-the-21st-Century_Preview.pdf

⁴⁶⁷ <https://www.amazon.com/Pourquoi-jai-quitte%C3%A9-fr%C3%A8res-musulmans/dp/2841868184>

⁴⁶⁸ <https://www.marianne.net/societe/un-collectif-publie-une-cartographie-de-la-galaxie-des-freres-musulmans-en-france>

⁴⁶⁹ Founded in Dresden (Germany) in October 2014, PEGIDA Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident (Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes), is a Pan-European, Islam-Phobic, extreme right political movement. Pegida believes that Germany is being increasingly Islamized and defines itself in opposition to the danger of destruction of the Arian genetics, tradition, religion and culture because of the Muslims. Pegida wants to curb immigration; it accuses authorities of failure to enforce immigration laws. In 2015, Lutz Bachmann, the founder of Pegida, resigned from the movement after reportedly posing as Adolf Hitler and making racist statements on Facebook. He was later reinstated – see Fabian Virchow, "PEGIDA: Understanding the Emergence and Essence of Nativist Protest in Dresden", *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, volume 37 / 2016, Taylor and Francis Ltd., London 2020; <https://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/origins-of-german-anti-muslim-group-pegida-a-1012522> ; https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/55598/ssoar-politicquarterly-2015-4-dostal-The_Pegida_Movement_and_German.pdf?sequence=1 ; <http://blogs.colgate.edu/keck/2015/03/pegida-in-germany.html>

⁴⁷⁰ https://huffpost50.rssing.com/chan-24823712/all_p422.html

⁴⁷¹ This fact, in our opinion, has been the reason why Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, after the abduction of 2004, gave the blame of the kidnapping to a Salafist group and not to the Sadrism Army, which has been the probable mind behind that abduction – see Chapter 1.2 of this Main Report

⁴⁷² <https://www.lefigaro.fr/vox/societe/2016/02/05/31003-20160205ARTFIG00415-uoif-freres-musulmans-salafisme-le-dessous-des-cartes.php>

⁴⁷³ <https://www.nouvelobs.com/presidentielle-2017/20170504.OBS8965/freres-musulmans-conferences-polemiques-10-choses-a-savoir-sur-l-uoif.html>

3.2.2 Mohamed Louizi presented himself on the stage of the French political debate with his book "Pourquoi j'ai quitté les Frères musulmans: retour éclairé vers un islam apolitique"⁴⁷⁴, which has been the first one in a row of several publications, whose main statement is that France can't accept that Muslims could be politically active in this country⁴⁷⁵. Curiously, he should be the first, according to his statements, to stop any political activity in the country (France) which welcomed him as a young engineer and gave him the possibility to grow as electrician engineer, to create his own family and become one of the best-paid ideologists of the political right wing of France⁴⁷⁶. Besides the myth, Louizi started his political career not in 1991, as he said in his book, but at the age of 17, as he was starting his student's career at the Faculty of Science and Technic of the University of Mohammadia (Morocco), where he will achieve his graduation in 1999, at the age of 21⁴⁷⁷.



Mohamed Louizi

⁴⁷⁴ <https://www.michalon.fr/index.asp?navig=catalogue&obj=livre&no=500568&razSqlClone=1>

⁴⁷⁵ His last post on his blog repeats his paranoid assertions: if there are local lists, where Muslims are candidates for some Municipal election, this is a real and immediate danger for the ethnic survival of the French population, even if there are only 10 in a row of 20765 allowed local lists – see <http://mlouizi.unblog.fr/2020/03/10/les-municipales-a-lheure-de-lislam-politique-a-roubaistan/#more-2016>

⁴⁷⁶ <http://mlouizi.unblog.fr/perso/>

⁴⁷⁷ <http://mlouizi.unblog.fr/perso/>

3.2.3 During these years, he was a member of the Harakat al Tawhid wal Islah movement⁴⁷⁸ – a lightly anti-monarchy political party, created by the former Prime Minister of Morocco, Abdelilah Benkirane, whose goal was to counter the will of the King, who always repressed the extremists' Muslim movement, because he considered them (and he was right) as a threaten to his power⁴⁷⁹. In year 1999, he follows Benkirane in the creation of a new political party, the PJD (Justice and Development Party), which will be initially quite close to the Muslim Brotherhood⁴⁸⁰ but then, after few years of trouble, will find a compromising solution with the new King, Mohammed VI, who took the place of his Father, King Hassan II, in July 1999⁴⁸¹.



Abdelilah Benkirane

⁴⁷⁸ <http://mlouizi.unblog.fr/perso/>

⁴⁷⁹ "Born in 1954, Abdelilah Benkirane was a member of Muslim Youths (Chabiba al Islamiya), a radical clandestine movement established in 1969. The movement's leader, Abdelkrim Mouti, an inspector of primary education, was influenced by the writings of radical Egyptian Islamist Sayyid Qutb. The group's original target was universities, which were then under the sway of secular leftists. The PJD's main objective was to liberate society from jahiliya, which refers to ignorance of divine guidance in pre-Islamic Arabia. The monarchy's tolerance of Muslim Youths began to wane after the group's assassination of a leftist labour leader in 1975 and Iran's Islamic revolution in 1979. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the government launched a dual strategy of repression and co-optation of Islamist militants. Benkirane broke with the banned Muslim Youths in 1980; he then took small steps to reassure the security apparatus in exchange for help integrating loose Islamist groups into the legal associations. In the 1990s, two developments aided Benkirane's project. First, a civil war consumed neighbouring Algeria after the military cancelled elections that Islamists were poised to sweep in 1992. Second, a radical new clerical movement was highly critical of Morocco's participation with U.S. forces in the 1990–91 Gulf War to liberate Kuwait after Iraq's invasion. In 1992, Benkirane was allowed to establish Reform and Renewal (al Islah wa Tajdid), a group that conspicuously dropped the name of Islam even though it was an Islamic association. It changed its name to the Movement of Unity and Reform (Harakat al Tawhid wal Islah, or MUR) in 1996, after three regional groups joined in. The new movement provided the social and religious backbone of the future political party", the PJD – see <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/morocco-the-kings-islamists>

⁴⁸⁰ <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/morocco-the-kings-islamists>

⁴⁸¹ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/402712.stm>

3.2.4 Through the new era started from Mohammed VI, PJD became an established parliamentary force of the Moroccan Kingdom and cut the relationship to the Muslim Brotherhood⁴⁸². PJD will attend to the government of the country during the years of changes, which have been generated by the Arab Spring, by the discovery of the corruption of the Monarchy⁴⁸³, but also under the pressure of a new King with a more modern vision⁴⁸⁴. This means, that the day Louizi moved to France (in year 2002) and became Executive Member of the branch in Lille of the UOIF, he turned his shoulders to the Brotherhood⁴⁸⁵ since almost three years⁴⁸⁶. Not because he sometimes decided to stop his political career, as he asserts, but exactly for the reverse reason, as requested from the chief of his movement⁴⁸⁷. Because, along the years, Abdelilah Benkirane and his party (including Louizi) became monarchists⁴⁸⁸.

3.2.5 Due to this fact, the main assertions of Louizi's books has to be considered as deeply unreliable. He continued, through the UOIF, and even after he left that movement, to be a political activist. A quite sensitive detail: in year 2017, UOIF cut completely its relationships to the Muslim Brotherhood and changed its name in "Musulmans de France"⁴⁸⁹. Moreover: MdF is nowadays an established member of UOIE (Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe⁴⁹⁰), which is allegedly financially and politically sustained from Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates⁴⁹¹. The only still existent source, which states, that Qatar is financing and controlling MdF, is Haoues Seniguer⁴⁹², based on "Qatar Papers" of Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot⁴⁹³.

⁴⁸² <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/morocco-the-kings-islamists>

⁴⁸³ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/dec/06/wikileaks-cables-morocco-royals-corruption>

⁴⁸⁴ <https://web.archive.org/web/20110525003606/http://moroccansforchange.com/2011/03/09/king-mohamed-vi-speech-3911-full-text-feb20-khitab/> ; <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13964550>

⁴⁸⁵ <http://www.vitainternational.media/en/article/2015/11/27/why-i-quit-the-muslim-brotherhood/82/> ;

<https://www.atlantico.fr/decryptage/2552387/mohamed-louizi-raconte-pourquoi-il-a-quitte-les-freres-musulmans-et-explique-le-role-de-la-republique-et-la-laicite-dans-son-cheminement-editions-michalon>

⁴⁸⁶ <http://mlouizi.unblog.fr/perso/>

⁴⁸⁷ Abdelilah Benkirane: *"I say to young talents, get involved in politics. If you are graduates of HEC Paris you are successful this is very good for you. You are comfortable in your cabin and it is very comfortable. But if the Morocco boat sinks, you will sink with it. The brains of Morocco must get involved in politics. The brains must integrate the Moroccan administration and the political life otherwise we will always be led by ignorant people and rats"*, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VtEC3iu7aSc>

⁴⁸⁸ Abdelilah Benkirane: *"There will be no future for Morocco if we come into conflict with the monarchy. Morocco had its Arab Spring. Thanks to the clairvoyance of His Majesty the King, the royal speech of March 9 met the expectations of the people. The fire was enough to heat the bowl. Thank God it was not enough to burn it"*, see <https://fr.le360.ma/politique/video-benkirane-la-monarchie-est-le-socle-du-maroc-34783>

⁴⁸⁹ <https://www.la-croix.com/France/Changement-pour-UOIF-desormais-appellee-Musulmans-France-2017-04-15-1300839890>

⁴⁹⁰ <https://euobserver.com/news/25444>

⁴⁹¹ Fabrice Maulion, *"L'organisation des Frères Musulmans: évolution historique, cartographie et éléments d'une typologie"*, Université Panthéon-Assas-Paris II, DRMC Département de Recherche sur les Menaces Criminelles Contemporaines, Paris 2004, pages 43-44 and pages 47

⁴⁹² <https://www.marianne.net/debattions/forum/mohamed-louizi-revele-l-agenda-cache-de-tarek-oubrou>

⁴⁹³ https://www.liberation.fr/societe/2013/04/26/l-emirat-aimerait-exercer-une-espece-de-magistere-moral_899470



Soufiane Iquioussen

3.2.6 Fact is, that one of the key sources of “Qatar Papers” is Mohamed Louizi⁴⁹⁴. He has also been one of the main assistants of the documentary film of Jérôme Sesquin⁴⁹⁵, who accompanied the production of “Qatar Papers”⁴⁹⁶. Fact is, that Mohamed Louizi, who also asserted that Qatar create and supported the “Gilets Jaunes” movement⁴⁹⁷, has already been convicted from the Court in Lille for libel because of the lies he publicly told about a local entrepreneur, Soufiane Iquioussen⁴⁹⁸, who has even been honoured, due to the success of his garage and his solidarity activities⁴⁹⁹, with the regional Price as the best young manager of the year 2016⁵⁰⁰. During the Court Case, there was two newspapers defending him: Le Figaro⁵⁰¹ and Le Point (Ian Hamel)⁵⁰². If we look at it soberly, the whole complex of political assertions of “Qatar Papers”, are based on a quite univocal, partial and reckless lecture of the QCF stolen documents, done from the books’ authors, but most of all of the manipulations of Mohamed Louizi and Haoues Seniguer.

⁴⁹⁴ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, “Qatar Papers, *il libro nero dell’Islam*”, versione italiana, Rizzoli, Milano 2019, page 36, pages 100-101, pages 112-113, passim

⁴⁹⁵ <https://www.lavoixdunord.fr/640358/article/2019-09-20/le-financement-de-la-mosquee-de-villeneuve-d-ascq-pointe-par-un-documentaire>

⁴⁹⁶ Chapter 1.1.22 of this Report

⁴⁹⁷ <https://blogs.mediapart.fr/nabil-ennasri/blog/190419/qatar-papers-la-montagne-des-accusations-et-la-souris-de-la-realite>

⁴⁹⁸ <https://www.lavoixdunord.fr/698817/article/2020-01-22/condamne-pour-diffamation-contre-soufiane-iquioussen-m-louizi-se-pourvoit-en> ; <https://www.lavoixdunord.fr/489789/article/2018-11-16/le-blogueur-roubaisien-mohamed-louizi-condamne-pour-diffamation>

⁴⁹⁹ https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2013/12/31/soufiane-iquioussen-le-garagiste-solidaire-qui-veut-reparer-denain_4341546_3224.html

⁵⁰⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s6uPlzTijDk>

⁵⁰¹ <https://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2018/02/19/01016-20180219ARTFIG00277-un-essayiste-anti-islamiste-jeune-contre-le-harcelement-judiciaire.php>

⁵⁰² https://www.lepoint.fr/societe/le-luxueux-train-de-vie-de-certains-representants-de-l-islam-en-france-06-07-2016-2052292_23.php



President Emmanuel Macron (left) with his personal assistant Rachid El-Kheng

3.2.7 Mohamed Louizi accused Emmanuel Macron, asserting that his political party has been infiltrated by the Muslim Brotherhood⁵⁰³. Louizi is also the man who asserts that Macron and the government of Qatar are financially supporting the terrorism in Syria⁵⁰⁴. Due to these assertions, Rachid El-Kheng, a personal assistant of President Macron, sued Louizi for libel too⁵⁰⁵. In the “European Islamophobia Report 2018”, which is a handbook paid with the financial support of the European Union. In this Report, Mohamed Louizi is several times mentioned as a hate instigator against the Islam⁵⁰⁶.



Mohamed Louizi shows the High-School of Villeneuve d’Ascq

⁵⁰³ <http://www.opinione.it/esteri/2017/05/13/yves-mamou/>

⁵⁰⁴ https://www.liberation.fr/checknews/2018/04/23/est-ce-que-la-france-subventionne-syria-charity-est-ce-que-cette-ong-est-liee-aux-freres-musulmans-o_1653561

⁵⁰⁵ <https://www.causeur.fr/mohamed-louizi-rachid-el-kheng-islamisme-proces-macron-167665>

⁵⁰⁶ <http://www.islamophobiaeurope.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/France.pdf>, pages 31-32, page 35, page 49

3.2.8 Mohamed Louizi is also one of the main sources of the book of Ian Hamel, who's part of the same team of journalists paid by Abdelraheem Ali⁵⁰⁷, called "Tariq Ramadan"⁵⁰⁸. Due to the contain of this book, Ian Hamel is under penal investigation in a Swiss Court with the suspicion of forge of documents⁵⁰⁹. The main contribution of Louizi to both books are his gossips⁵¹⁰ on the Islamic Centre of Villeneuve d'Ascq and on the High-School Averroès in Lille⁵¹¹.

3.3 Haoues Seniguer

3.3.1 Professor Haoues Seniguer is one of the most reputed experts of Islam in the French university system⁵¹². The list of his charges, participations to projects, seminars and conferences, as well as of his books, is astonishing⁵¹³. His political position, since his last publishing work, seems quite clear: the key problem, in the dialectical relationship and controversy between Muslims and Christians, is a "new" Muslim Brotherhood⁵¹⁴, which is using capitalism in order to destroy the Holy Buildings in Mecca and the whole Saudi world⁵¹⁵. He's interesting for this Report, because he's one of the main sources of the ideological side of "Qatar Papers"⁵¹⁶.



Haoues Seniguer

⁵⁰⁷ See Chapter 6.2.6, 6.2.9, 6.2.10, 6.2.11 and 6.2.12 of this Main Report;

⁵⁰⁸ https://books.google.it/books?id=EmPIDwAAQBAJ&pg=PR4-IA3&lpg=PR4-IA3&dq=sesquin+louizi&source=bl&ots=0NV_ZdrQr7&sig=ACfU3U3Gho8Du7LXYu1eieUY-9eTaIXERw&hl=it&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewiKyb-RhZ_qAhWowqYKHfU7CBMQ6AEwAXoECAoQAQ#v=onepage&q=sesquin%20louizi&f=false

⁵⁰⁹ <https://www.reveilcitoyenmedia.com/post/ian-hamel-fait-face-%C3%A0-la-justice-helv%C3%A9tique-pour-avoir-diffam%C3%A9-et-calomni%C3%A9-tariq-ramadan;>

⁵¹⁰ <https://www.lavoixdunord.fr/640358/article/2019-09-20/le-financement-de-la-mosquee-de-villeneuve-d-ascq-pointe-par-un-documentaire>

⁵¹¹ Ian Hamel, "Tariq Ramadan: Histoire d'une imposture", Arthaud, Paris 2000, Chapter "Burgat débine Kepel et Roy"; Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, "Qatar Papers, il libro nero dell'Islam", versione italiana, Rizzoli, Milano 2019, pages 89-110

⁵¹² <http://triangle.ens-lyon.fr/spip.php?article5383>

⁵¹³ <https://tarica.hypotheses.org/653>

⁵¹⁴ Haoues Seniguer, "Les (néo) Frères Musulmans et le nouvel esprit capitaliste entre rigorisme moral, cryptocapitalisme et anticapitalisme", Editions Le Bord de l'Eau, Lormont 2020

⁵¹⁵ <https://www.amazon.fr/Fr%C3%A8res-musulmans-nouvel-esprit-capitaliste/dp/2356876839>

⁵¹⁶ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, "Qatar Papers, il libro nero dell'Islam", versione italiana, Rizzoli, Milano 2019, page 28, page 39, pages 112-113, pages 247-254

3.3.2 Actually, his main project is TARICA, which has been created from a relevant Academic Blog⁵¹⁷ in Marseille, is administrated by an association of French university teachers and researchers called OpenEditions⁵¹⁸, and is sponsored by ERC European Research Council and financed with the money of the "Horizon 2020" Projects of the European Union⁵¹⁹: "The TARICA project aims to analyze the changes underway in northern Africa from the perspective of the dissemination, confrontation and hybridization of various political, societal and economic models (...). It is a question of grasping the way in which different public, private and associative actors position themselves in the spaces opened up by the collapse or the questioning of authoritarian political systems, and of analyzing their strategies in connection with the reference models and the normative registers which inspire their actions (...). We try to highlight the complex processes that contribute to the diversity of trajectories followed by the five North African countries directly or indirectly affected by the "Arab revolts", namely Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco, Algeria and Libya, each of these countries representing a case study, even a "model" in its own right"⁵²⁰. The head of the project, Mrs. Alia Gana, is a reputed expert of Tunisian history and socioeconomic skills⁵²¹.

3.3.3 Seniguer's idea of Qatar is the image of the core of a conspiracy, whose goal is to acquire power in the Muslim population of Europe and use it as a jimmy against the mightiest Arab countries, cheating the pure nature of Islam – a conspiracy, whose leaders are the head of the Muslim Brotherhood, Tariq Ramadan, and Mozah bint Nasser Al Missned, mother of the Emir of Qatar, Tamim bin Khalifa Al Thani: "The relationship of Qatari patrons to French or European Islam, working in circles more or less close to the centers of official power, is anything but obvious (...): France is the European country which counts the greatest number of Muslims (between five and six million people, practicing or not), some of whom are victims of socio-economic exclusion"⁵²².

3.3.4 "The absence of a centralizing magisterium, added to the emergence of new French Muslim generations increasingly detached from the countries from which their parents come, multiply the anchoring and attractiveness of an Islamist ideology (of which Qatar is one of the heralds), essentially "deterritorialized", which tries to articulate identity reaffirmation, including Orthodox and Orthoprax, and

⁵¹⁷ <https://hypotheses.org/>

⁵¹⁸ "OpenEdition is a comprehensive digital publishing infrastructure at the service of scientific information in the Humanities and social Sciences. The OpenEdition portal includes four publishing and information platforms in the humanities and social sciences: OpenEdition Journals, OpenEdition Books, Hypotheses (research blogs) and Calenda (announcements of international academic events). The portal is thus a space dedicated to the promotion of research, publishing tens of thousands of scientific documents that promote open access, while respecting the economic equilibrium of publications. Recognized as national research infrastructure since 2016, OpenEdition is developed by OpenEdition Center, a service and research unit (USR 2004) of the CNRS, Aix-Marseille University, the EHESS and the University of Avignon. A public non-profit initiative supported by major research institutions, whose main mission is the promotion of open access digital publishing" – see <https://www.openedition.org/6438>

⁵¹⁹ <https://tarica.hypotheses.org/>

⁵²⁰ <https://tarica.hypotheses.org/a-propos>

⁵²¹ <https://tarica.hypotheses.org/80>

⁵²² Haoues Seniguer, "Le Qatar et l'islam de France: vers une nouvelle idylle?", L'Harmattan, Paris 2013 – see https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287370909_Le_Qatar_et_l%27islam_de_France_vers_une_nouvelle_idylle

citizenship. By focusing on leading European Muslim personalities (...), such as the Swiss preacher Tariq Ramadan and the second wife of Emir Hamad Ben Khalifa Al-Thani, Mozah bint Nasser, tries to promote the enhancement of the image of his country with European Muslims, French in particular, among other things to make room for its Salafist competitors, them, financed and supported by Saudi Arabia. Qatar, at least the line defended by the emir and his second wife, seeks to kill two birds with one stone: on the one hand, to reduce, internally and externally, the share of influence of Wahhabism, and on the other hand, benefit from a good brand image with Europeans of Muslim faith"⁵²³.



Mozah bint Nasser with her husband Hamad Al Thani

3.3.5 Haoues Seniguer is one of the main supporters of the paranoid thinking, which sees every diverging application of the Muslim influence on the believers even as a personal danger, and considers the Wahhabi tyranny as the only good power in the Arab world⁵²⁴. In despite of the fact that the Qatari population belongs to Wahhabism⁵²⁵, Seniguer considers the government of Qatar and the Muslim Brotherhood as the spearhead of Salafism, which he despises and fears⁵²⁶. Based on his belief, he fights Qatar and the Brotherhood as they would be a unit, and spreads all over his writings the idea that these two entities are a danger for the Christians too, because they are directly supporting the jihad⁵²⁷.

⁵²³ Haoues Seniguer, *“Le Qatar et l’Islam de France: vers une nouvelle idylle?”*, L’Harmattan, Paris 2013 – see https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287370909_Le_Qatar_et_l%27islam_de_France_vers_une_nouvelle_idylle

⁵²⁴ <https://middle-east-online.com/en/wahhabism-vs-wahhabism-qatar-challenges-saudi-arabia> ; https://www.academia.edu/41682002/Islam_and_Otherness_PLURIEL_3rd_International_Congress

⁵²⁵ <https://middle-east-online.com/en/wahhabism-vs-wahhabism-qatar-challenges-saudi-arabia>

⁵²⁶ <https://www.menalib.de/news/community/konferenz/islam-in-plural-thought-faith-and-society/> ; <https://www.pisai.it/media/345129/islam-and-otherness-preliminary-programme-01-2020-en.pdf>

⁵²⁷ https://www.huffingtonpost.fr/haoues-seniguer/etat-islamique-et-qatar_b_5827762.html ; <https://www.cairn.info/revue-confluences-mediterranee-2013-1-page-101.htm?contenu=resume>

3.4 Conclusions

All around the authors of the book "*Qatar Papers*" there is a whirlwind of forces and personalities that have one thing in common: the hatred towards Islam of the people, the fear that the Muslim religion gives to the population, harassed by a thousand injustices and oppression, the strength to ask for freedom, justice, equality, self-determination. Both Saudi and Emirati political leaders, and the deeply discredited characters who inspired, accompanied and supported Chesnot and Malbrunot, do not care about the teachings of the Prophet, despise the Peace and Prosperity built together with other peoples, they want a populace that you hate strangers and the diverse and agree to obey without protesting, and without complaining that the corrupt monarchies that command them swim in the most extreme wealth, while many of them go hungry. Faced with the suffering of the Palestinian people, the Abu Dhabi and Riyadh monarchies prefer Israel because it is a more reliable and powerful partner. Faced with a country in which the monarchy has managed to bring almost all the population to well-being, those same monarchies only want annihilation and humiliation. They are regimes devoted to fear, supported by the fear of those who command them and who know they are not right. But who uses converts like Louizi and Seninguer, willing to be caught in the act with defamations and false campaigns, which obviously do not believe in anything. As the Prophet wrote: "*Persecution is worse than murder*" (II, 190-191).

CHAPTER 4: INACCURACIES IN CHESNOT AND MALBRUNOT'S BOOKS

4.0 Since the beginning of their common adventure, in 2005, as they published their book that told about the kidnapping⁵²⁸, Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot have tried in vain to assert their independence and credibility - a seemingly simple task, given that European public opinion has a confused idea of the Middle East and tends not to differentiate between different religious, political, ethnic and sociological approaches in different geopolitical areas. Already the war between Iran and Iraq had been difficult to explain to a population accustomed to considering those countries little more than colonies full of sand and oil wells, but without any national awareness. This is because European history, in the last 230 years, has been built on the assumption of national states and secular ideological movements, and therefore, for European citizenship, any divergent reality is incomprehensible. The fact that the two journalists could make believable their storytelling, especially due to the fact that they carry the stigmata of the kidnapping, and therefore (for public opinion) they are angelicated, led them to exaggerate, to work very often with ease, to make a lot of mistakes, and to expose themselves to harmful legal reactions. Reactions that they hope will not happen now, because they have finally a powerful organizational and political machine behind them, and also a lot of money and political relations to spend.

4.1 Al-Qaeda terrorist Nasser Al Bahri's biography

4.1.1 The book "*Dans l'ombre de Ben Laden: Révélations de son garde du corps repent*" has been published from Édition Michel Lafon in Paris in year 2010⁵²⁹. We quote it from the English version, which has been published under the title "*Guarding Bin Laden: My life in Al-Qaeda*" in London in year 2013⁵³⁰. Al Bahri has been one of the most powerful and dangerous soldiers of Osama Bin Laden, and has been his personal bodyguard from 1996 to 2001, as he has been arrested by order of the US Justice in Yemen and brought to a jail where he became a whistle blower and – two years later – he has been set free and spent the rest of his life driving a taxi in Sana'a⁵³¹.

⁵²⁸ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, "*Mémoires d'otages*", Éditions Calmann-Lévy, Paris 2005

⁵²⁹ <https://www.amazon.fr/DANS-LOMBRE-BEN-LADEN-REVELATIONS/dp/2749911974>

⁵³⁰ Nasser Al Bahri, Georges Malbrunot, "*Guarding Bin Laden: My Life in Al-Qaeda*", Thin Man Press, London 2013

⁵³¹ Nasser Al Bahri, Georges Malbrunot, "*Guarding Bin Laden: My Life in Al-Qaeda*", Thin Man Press, London 2013, page 7



Nasser Al Bahri and Georges Malbrunot

4.1.2 There is no doubt that the story of the life of the one whom Osama called Abu Jandal (Father of Death, because he gave him the order to kill him the day Osama would have been arrested, in order to avoid his captivity⁵³²) is extremely interesting, ever since he tells of his childhood and how his father, a Yemeni emigrated to Saudi Arabia in search of success, he felt sympathy for Riyadh's monarchy and for those who were then his most important ally: The Muslim Brotherhood that hated President Nasser⁵³³. The young Al Bahri, however, soon enters a collision course with his father's political and religious vision: he hates Saudi Arabia, which he considers a medieval and religiously immoral tyranny⁵³⁴, and dreams of being able to fight for an Islam of struggle and faith, as it had been for the Mujahedeen in Afghanistan⁵³⁵. At 16 Al Bahri wants to leave and reach Osama bin Laden in the mountains and fight against the Soviets, but his father prevents him, seizing him money and passport, and tries to explain to him that Osama is an American puppet and that the USSR is much closer to the pan-Arab feeling that the immoral Saudi alliance with Washington⁵³⁶.

⁵³² Nasser Al Bahri, Georges Malbrunot, *"Guarding Bin Laden: My Life in Al Qaeda"*, Thin Man Press, London 2013, pages 9-11

⁵³³ Nasser Al Bahri, Georges Malbrunot, *"Guarding Bin Laden: My Life in Al Qaeda"*, Thin Man Press, London 2013, pages 12-15

⁵³⁴ Nasser Al Bahri, Georges Malbrunot, *"Guarding Bin Laden: My Life in Al Qaeda"*, Thin Man Press, London 2013, pages 14-15

⁵³⁵ Nasser Al Bahri, Georges Malbrunot, *"Guarding Bin Laden: My Life in Al Qaeda"*, Thin Man Press, London 2013, pages 16-18

⁵³⁶ Nasser Al Bahri, Georges Malbrunot, *"Guarding Bin Laden: My Life in Al Qaeda"*, Thin Man Press, London 2013, page 17

- 4.1.3 The military battle fought in Iraq and Afghanistan, and then the terrorist actions planned by Sudan and carried out all over the world confirm what was already known about the history of Al-Qaeda. The reason that Al Bahri gives to explain why, in 2001, he decided to stop the armed struggle, is not religious, nor military: he now has a wife and children, and he feels increasingly uncomfortable near the exalted Egyptian extremists surrounding Al Qaeda's leader⁵³⁷; he is disappointed that Muslim Brotherhood is openly against Al Qaeda, and when Osama bin Laden suggests that he run away to one of the countries that tolerate refugees who leave jihad (including Qatar⁵³⁸), because they are not allies of Americans, Abu Jandal decides to go to Yemen – to go home, where he has relatives, where his wife feels at home, where he knows he will be able to find a job⁵³⁹.
- 4.1.4 After he has been sacked in Sana'a, Nasser Al Bahri officially continues to despise Americans and Saudis, but he decides to collaborate with the FBI⁵⁴⁰ and refuses to go to fight the Iraq war in 2003, because he does not consider it justifiable due to the fact that he opposes Muslims to other Muslims⁵⁴¹. Although Abu Jandal says he met those who participated in the attack on the Twin Towers, he also claims to have always been against an attack of that magnitude, because thousands of innocent people died in that operation, who probably had no resentment against the Muslim faith. So says Al Bahri, so writes Malbrunot, without any hesitation or awareness of how difficult it is to believe such a sudden and contradictory conversion.
- 4.1.5 The fact is that, both during his militancy in Al Qaeda and after his repentance, Al Bahri only met Saudi, Egyptian, Sudanese, Pakistani and Afghan personalities. No name of Qatari citizens is ever mentioned. The Muslim Brotherhood is referred to as an organization that has betrayed the religious ideal and therefore as a bitter enemy of Al Qaeda. Israel is the enemy; Palestine is the brother shackled by western capitalism. Regardless of any consideration on the credibility of the parable of the biography of one of the most famous jihadists of all time, the theory of Georges Malbrunot and Abdelraheem Ali comes out annihilated from this book.

⁵³⁷ Nasser Al Bahri, Georges Malbrunot, *"Guarding Bin Laden: My Life in Al Qaeda"*, Thin Man Press, London 2013, pages 170-173

⁵³⁸ Nasser Al Bahri, Georges Malbrunot, *"Guarding Bin Laden: My Life in Al Qaeda"*, Thin Man Press, London 2013, page 172

⁵³⁹ Nasser Al Bahri, Georges Malbrunot, *"Guarding Bin Laden: My Life in Al Qaeda"*, Thin Man Press, London 2013, pages 170-173

⁵⁴⁰ Nasser Al Bahri, Georges Malbrunot, *"Guarding Bin Laden: My Life in Al Qaeda"*, Thin Man Press, London 2013, pages 188-190

⁵⁴¹ Nasser Al Bahri, Georges Malbrunot, *"Guarding Bin Laden: My Life in Al Qaeda"*, Thin Man Press, London 2013, pages 195-196

4.2 Conviction for defamation in the trial of Alexis Bachelay

4.2.1 Alexis Bachelay has been born in Saint-Maur-de-Fossés, a village on the belt around Paris, in August 1973, spent his adolescent years in Nice and then came back to Paris to graduate in political science by the Sorbonne University⁵⁴² – then he got a job for the French State administration in Nanterre, where he climbed along 12 years a career as State official⁵⁴³. Already during his years at the Sorbonne, he's a member of the political organization called "Manifeste contre le Front National"⁵⁴⁴, which fights (also through the publishing of the essay "Le Guide anti-FN"⁵⁴⁵) against the party of the family Le Pen as well as against racism and Islamophobia⁵⁴⁶. Bachelay joins the Socialist Party and, in June 2012, he has been elected in the National Assembly, where he remains for one legislature, until June 2017⁵⁴⁷, due to his controversial feelings about the moderate trend of the Socialist Party. In year 2016, he achieves a broad popularity as one of first signatories of the political appeal to oblige the French Government to recognize the State of Palestine⁵⁴⁸.

4.2.2 In year 2013, he has been elected as Rapporteur of the "Fact-finding Mission on Older Immigrants"⁵⁴⁹ of the National Assembly, which tries to resolve the problems of the Muslim who arrive in France as there are already too old to be quickly integrated. In this position, Alexis Bachelay is one of the two authors of a delicate dossier, which suggest a row of integration's proposals to the French Government⁵⁵⁰. In the meanwhile, he became quite famous under the Muslim population of France, because he moderates a daily broadcast ("Et si on en parlait" – what if we would talk about it) at Izaat al Chark (the French and Arab speaking "Radio Orient"⁵⁵¹, based in Clichy, which covers almost the whole national territory)⁵⁵².

4.2.3 In October 2016, he has been questioned by the book "Nos très cher emirs" by Georges Malbrunot and Christian Chesnot⁵⁵³. The authors of the book accuse him of "seeking funding for his legislative campaign from the Embassy of Qatar".

⁵⁴² <https://www.leparisien.fr/hauts-de-seine-92/alexis-bachelay-sera-depute-socialiste-des-hauts-de-seine-12-06-2012-2044184.php>

⁵⁴³ <https://www.leparisien.fr/hauts-de-seine-92/alexis-bachelay-sera-depute-socialiste-des-hauts-de-seine-12-06-2012-2044184.php>

⁵⁴⁴ <https://editions.flammarion.com/Catalogue/librio/documents/le-guide-anti-fn>

⁵⁴⁵ <https://editions.flammarion.com/Catalogue/librio/documents/le-guide-anti-fn>

⁵⁴⁶ https://www.liberation.fr/france-archiv/1996/12/09/des-democrates-a-l-assaut-du-fnle-manifeste-contre-le-front-national-lance-une-grande-campagne_191536

⁵⁴⁷ http://www2.assemblee-nationale.fr/deputes/fiche/OMC_PA610066

⁵⁴⁸ https://www.liberation.fr/debats/2016/06/03/reconnaissance-de-la-palestine-le-chef-du-gouvernement-doit-respecter-le-vote-de-l-assemblee-nationale_1457070

⁵⁴⁹ http://www2.assemblee-nationale.fr/instances/fiche/OMC_PO684894

⁵⁵⁰ <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/14/rap-info/i1214.asp>

⁵⁵¹ <https://www.radioorient.com/>

⁵⁵² <https://www.radioorient.com/podcasts/et-si-on-en-parlait-179/1>

⁵⁵³ <https://www.lci.fr/politique/relation-avec-le-qatar-gravement-mis-en-cause-par-un-livre-enquete-rachida-dati-jean-marie-le-guen-et-alexis-bachelay-se-defendent-2008733.html>

Alexis Bachelay disputes these claims and immediately announces that he will file a complaint⁵⁵⁴. The complaint with constitution of civil parts is deposited in December 2016. Malbrunot and Chesnot are put under examination for defamation and awaiting judgment. In December 2016, Alexis Bachelay reacted to the allegations of fraud⁵⁵⁵ coming from one of the main sources of Chesnot and Malbrunot, the mayor of Colombes, Nicole Goueta, who sued him for “defamation and public insult”⁵⁵⁶. The trial takes place in October 2017. On November 21, 2017, Alexis Bachelay was acquitted and Nicole Goueta was ordered to pay him 1500 Euros⁵⁵⁷.

4.2.4 In “Nos très chers Emirs”, Chesnot and Malbrunot assert that Alexis Bachelay he was the subject of gifts from the Qatari Embassy in Paris with shots of 500 Euros to finance his election campaign⁵⁵⁸; they assert that they can prove this statement through original documents⁵⁵⁹; they assert that Bachelay, joint to his friend, the Minister Jean-Marie Le Guen, asked the Government of Qatar for money in order to stop any attempt to damage Qatar in the political debate inside of the National Assembly⁵⁶⁰; they assert that Bacheley supported some illegitimate requests of the Ambassador of Qatar for the permission of the renewal of his French residence⁵⁶¹; they assert that Alexis Bacheley supported the blackmail of Mrs. Rachida Dati, who obtained (from the Qatari Embassy) 40’000 Euros of personal compensation⁵⁶²; they assert that Bacheley asked for money from the Qatari Embassy for his election campaign⁵⁶³; all that, without giving Bachelay any chance to make a statement on the allegations⁵⁶⁴. On October 22, 2019, the Tribunal de Grande Instance de Paris declares Chesnot, Malbrunot and the company Michel Lafon guilty of defamation and convict them to pay a whole sum of 5000 Euros⁵⁶⁵.

⁵⁵⁴ <https://www.leparisien.fr/hauts-de-seine-92/colombes-92700/colombes-alexis-bachelay-mis-en-examen-pour-diffamation-et-injure-15-12-2016-6460095.php>

⁵⁵⁵ <https://alexisbachelay.typepad.com/l/2008/06/nicole-goueta-dans-le-parisien-le-retour-de-la-revanche.html>

⁵⁵⁶ <https://www.leparisien.fr/hauts-de-seine-92/colombes-92700/colombes-nicole-goueta-insultee-alexis-bachelay-relaxe-21-11-2017-7406994.php>

⁵⁵⁷ https://alexisbachelay.typepad.com/l/actualit_colombienne/page/3/

⁵⁵⁸ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, “*Nos très chers Émirs*”, Michel Lafon, Paris 2017, page 2 ; 2019.06.15 Bachelay vs. Malbrunot et alii, page 2

⁵⁵⁹ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, “*Nos très chers Émirs*”, Michel Lafon, Paris 2017, page 9 ; 2019.06.15 Bachelay vs. Malbrunot et alii, page 2

⁵⁶⁰ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, “*Nos très chers Émirs*”, Michel Lafon, Paris 2017, page 12 ; 2019.06.15 Bachelay vs. Malbrunot et alii, page 2

⁵⁶¹ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, “*Nos très chers Émirs*”, Michel Lafon, Paris 2017, pages 14-15 ; 2019.06.15 Bachelay vs. Malbrunot et alii, page 2

⁵⁶² Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, “*Nos très chers Émirs*”, Michel Lafon, Paris 2017, pages 22-25 ; 2019.06.15 Bachelay vs. Malbrunot et alii, page 2

⁵⁶³ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, “*Nos très chers Émirs*”, Michel Lafon, Paris 2017, page 29 ; 2019.06.15 Bachelay vs. Malbrunot et alii, page 2

⁵⁶⁴ 2019.06.15 Bachelay vs. Malbrunot et alii, page 4

⁵⁶⁵ 2019.10.22 Bachelay vs. Malbrunot et alii, pages 4-5

4.3 Conviction for defamation in the trial of Nathalie Goulet

4.3.1 Nathalie Milsztein is the daughter of a Jewish family, whose Father has been deported by the Nazis in 1942, but survived the Holocaust⁵⁶⁶. She started her political activity as the assistant of the Senator Daniel Goulet, a close ally of General de Gaulle, a past soldier who earned the War Cross medal⁵⁶⁷, and member of De Gaulle's right party RPR⁵⁶⁸. Even if she was 30 years younger than Goulet, Nathalie married him after a long relationship and two common children, in 1999, and survived his death, in February 2007⁵⁶⁹, as he was traveling as member of the French Parliament in Abu Dhabi on the occasion of the International Exhibition of Military Armaments⁵⁷⁰. His wife claimed against unknowns for his death⁵⁷¹, but the investigation brought no results⁵⁷².

4.3.2 Daniel Goulet and his wife have always been passionate supporters of the friendship between France and the Gulf countries, as well as defenders of the right of Palestine to independence and self-determination – due to this, both have been accused of antisemitism⁵⁷³. Mr. Goulet was a personal friend of Yassir Arafat⁵⁷⁴, and Nathalie Goulet has been the one of the authors of a proposal for the convention for the international judicial assistance between France and Saudi Arabia⁵⁷⁵, as well as a law for military cooperation with UAE⁵⁷⁶. In despite of this fact, in year 2014, as she has been the promoter⁵⁷⁷ of a Commission of Inquiry into the Fight against Jihadist Networks in France⁵⁷⁸, she became the target of the hate of Israel⁵⁷⁹, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and the Emirates⁵⁸⁰ – not Qatar, not the Muslim Brotherhood.

⁵⁶⁶ <https://lelab.europe1.fr/Apres-avoir-relaye-une-campagne-pro-Gaza-sur-Twitter-la-senatrice-UDI-Nathalie-Goulet-se-defend-de-tout-antisemitisme-15679>

⁵⁶⁷ http://www.senat.fr/cra/s20070724/s20070724_2.html

⁵⁶⁸ http://www.senat.fr/cra/s20070724/s20070724_2.html

⁵⁶⁹ http://www.senat.fr/cra/s20070724/s20070724_2.html

⁵⁷⁰ http://www.senat.fr/cra/s20070724/s20070724_2.html

⁵⁷¹ https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2007/10/11/le-parquet-ouvre-une-enquete-qui-vise-la-senatrice-de-l-orne_965761_3224.html

⁵⁷² https://alencor.maville.com/actu/actudet_-Affaire-Goulet-la-justice-rend-un-non-lieu-_dep-783146_actu.Htm

⁵⁷³ <https://lelab.europe1.fr/Apres-avoir-relaye-une-campagne-pro-Gaza-sur-Twitter-la-senatrice-UDI-Nathalie-Goulet-se-defend-de-tout-antisemitisme-15679>

⁵⁷⁴ http://wikimonde.com/article/Daniel_Goulet

⁵⁷⁵ <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/13/projets/pl3878-ei.asp>

⁵⁷⁶ <https://www.senat.fr/rap/l10-724/l10-7241.pdf>

⁵⁷⁷ <http://www.senat.fr/leg/ppr13-578.html> ; http://www.senat.fr/commission/enquete/reseaux_djihadistes.html

⁵⁷⁸ <https://www.tendanceouest.com/actualite-74684-nathalie-goulet-veut-une-commission-d-enquete-sur-la-lutte-contre-les-reseaux-djihadistes-en-france.html>

⁵⁷⁹ <https://www.rtl.fr/actu/politique/la-senatrice-nathalie-goulet-menacee-de-mort-apres-avoir-denonce-une-niche-fiscale-en-faveur-d-israel-7782564144>

⁵⁸⁰ <https://www.lemondejuif.info/2016/10/france-senatrice-anti-tsahal-nathalie-goulet-accusee-de-toucher-de-largent-de-larabie-saoudite/>

4.3.3 The Committee ends its works with a generous list of recommendations⁵⁸¹, mostly based on the cooperation with the CFCM (Conseil Français du Culte Musulmane), where immigrants from all the Muslim countries, from North Africa to the Middle East and Central Asia, are equally represented⁵⁸². In year 2016, the day Mrs. Goulet has been elected at the Head of a Parliamentary Committee “on the organization, place and financing of Islam in France and its places of worship”⁵⁸³, several old friends became suddenly enemies – and accuse her of the contrary: In their book “Nos très chers Emirs”, Chesnot and Malbrunot accuse her to be (at the same time) on the payroll of the Government of Doha, of Tehran and of Riyadh⁵⁸⁴.



The French member of the EU Parliament Rachida Dati

4.3.4 Nathalie Goulet sues Chesnot and Malbrunot. They have no evidence of their assertion and get convicted to the payment of 3000 Euros each⁵⁸⁵. The French Court, that in September 2018 convicts the two journalists, is the same Correctional Chamber of the Tribunal de Grande Instance de Paris which will, one year later, judge both journalists for their slanders on Alexis Bachelay⁵⁸⁶. In the meanwhile, two other victims of the defamation of “Nos très chers Emirs”, Jean-Marie Le Guen and Rachida Dati, filed a personal plaintiff against Chesnot and Malbrunot⁵⁸⁷. The whole book comes out of this storm completely devoid of credibility. At this point,

⁵⁸¹ For instance, to add to the formative offer of the French Universities courses as preparation to become Imam – see <https://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2018/05/30/01016-20180530ARTFIG00317-des-senateurs-veulent-une-loi-pour-encadrer-la-formation-des-imams.php>

⁵⁸² http://www.senat.fr/fileadmin/Fichiers/Images/commission/missions/islam_en_france/14-Brochure_Mission_Islam.pdf

⁵⁸³ http://www.senat.fr/commission/missions/islam_en_france/index.html

⁵⁸⁴ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, “Nos très chers Émirs”, Michel Lafon, Paris 2017, pages 44-46

⁵⁸⁵ https://actu.fr/societe/senatrice-orne-nathalie-goulet-condamner-deux-journalistes_18702088.html

⁵⁸⁶ <https://www.ouest-france.fr/normandie/orne/orne-diffamation-la-senatrice-goulet-fait-condamner-deux-auteurs-5977041> ;

<https://www.tendanceouest.com/actualite-293091-alencon-orne-nathalie-goulet-obtient-la-condamnation-de-deux-journalistes.html>

⁵⁸⁷ <https://www.leparisien.fr/politique/relations-avec-le-qatar-le-guen-et-dati-portent-plainte-contre-nos-tres-chers-emirs-20-10-2016-6233007.php>

it becomes clearer why someone knocked on the door of the two journalists to give them the poisoned meatball of a USB-stick that contained the documents necessary for the birth of their great hope of revenge and resurrection.

4.4 The case of Gilles Jacquier

4.4.1 He was one of the most famous reporters of his country, working for France2⁵⁸⁸ from every war: Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Kosovo, Palestine, the cities of the Arab Spring⁵⁸⁹ and then, finally, the civil war in Syria, where he has been killed, on January 11, 2012⁵⁹⁰. Few hours after his death, the spokespersons of the Government of Bashir Al-Assad assert that the journalist has been killed in a violent demonstration, infiltrated by foreign terrorists⁵⁹¹. Due to the many open questions and the statements of more than a dozen witnesses, who all talked about an organized trap, the French justice filed a penal case against unknowns⁵⁹².

4.4.2 As the French investigations started, Georges Malbrunot began a solitary campaign, asserting that Jacquier was killed from foreign terrorists, because he was in Homs, the hometown of President Al-Assad, with other 14 foreign journalists, and the Salafist troops wanted to give a symbolic sign of their power and their hate against the European and American journalists⁵⁹³. The girlfriend of Jacquier, Caroline Poiron, who was there as the photograph has been killed, reacted with rage and began her own investigation, with the goal to prove that Malbrunot, who was spreading his opinion even in the national TV⁵⁹⁴, was lying: Jacquier should have been killed by a decision of the Syrian regime, who wanted to teach a lesson to the European governments⁵⁹⁵.

⁵⁸⁸ https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2007/06/01/des-cameras-contre-les-cavaliers-du-diable-par-dominique-dhombres_917783_3232.html

⁵⁸⁹ <https://primed.tv/les-ecrans-du-printemps-arabes-la-video-est-en-ligne/>

⁵⁹⁰ <https://www.ledauphine.com/haute-savoie/2012/01/11/gilles-jacquier-ne-rentre-pas> ;

⁵⁹¹ https://www.lemonde.fr/proche-orient/article/2012/01/12/la-mort-d-un-journaliste-en-pleine-fole-syrienne_1628878_3218.html ;

https://www.bfmtv.com/international/moyen-orient/syrie-gilles-jacquier-reporter-a-france-2-tue-a-homs_AN-201201110030.html ;

https://www.lepoint.fr/monde/syrie-gilles-jacquier-a-t-il-ete-assassine-13-01-2012-1418806_24.php

⁵⁹² <https://www.leparisien.fr/international/mort-de-gilles-jacquier-on-nous-a-tendu-un-piege-12-01-2012-1808342.php> ;

<https://www.leparisien.fr/international/mort-de-gilles-jacquier-le-recit-d-un-temoin-11-01-2012-1806929.php> ; https://www.lemonde.fr/proche-orient/article/2012/01/23/gilles-jacquier-une-mort-qui-veille-les-plus-vifs-soupcons_1633385_3218.html ;

https://www.francetvinfo.fr/economie/medias/une-enquete-de-45-minutes-pour-comprendre-comment-gilles-jacquier-a-ete-tue_52491.html

⁵⁹³ <https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2012/07/17/01003-20120717ARTFIG00525-jacquier-l-enquete-francaise-pointe-les-rebelles-syriens.php> ;

<https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2012/01/20/01003-20120120ARTFIG00667-jacquier-aurait-ete-victime-d-une-bavure-des-insurges.php> ;

<https://www.eilmensile.it/2012/07/20/le-figarojacquier-lenquete-francaise-pointe-les-rebelles-syriens/> ;

<https://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2012/01/11/01003-20120111ARTFIG00602-un-journaliste-de-france-2-a-ete-tue-a-homs-en-syrie.php>

⁵⁹⁴ https://www.francetvinfo.fr/monde/revolte-en-syrie/video-gilles-jacquier-serait-victime-d-un-tir-des-rebelles-a-homs_120059.html

⁵⁹⁵ <https://www.elle.fr/Societe/Interviews/Syrie-ne-ratez-pas-Homs-au-coeur-de-la-revolte-syrienne-2104534> ;

https://www.francetvinfo.fr/societe/justice/notre-journaliste-gilles-jacquier-avait-refuse-d-aller-a-homs_50131.html



Rémy Ochlik and Marie Colvin in Syria

4.4.3 After few months, Caroline Poiron finds the evidence she was looking for: in his interview, after his arrest, a former high-ranking officer of the Syrian secret service, known with his cover name of Ulysses, testifies that, few minutes after the Jacquier's death, General Major Rafiq Shahadah, one of the members of the Headquarter of the Syrian Army, exulted and howled his happiness for the "reached target"⁵⁹⁶. The US media obtain a further evidence: on February 22, 2012, eleven days after the murder of the French journalist, NSA records a phone call of the Syrian Army. In this terrific document, there's the screaming and dying of two American reporters, Marie Colvin and Rémi Ochlik, killed by the official Syrian Army⁵⁹⁷. One year after the death of her boyfriend, Caroline Poiron publish a book, which collects all the pieces of evidence against the good old friend of Georges Malbrunot, Basher Al-Assad⁵⁹⁸, and hurls herself with desperate anger against le journalist of "Le Figaro"⁵⁹⁹.

⁵⁹⁶ <https://www.letemps.ch/monde/regime-syrien-assassine-journalistes-occidentaux> ; https://next.liberation.fr/livres/2018/01/10/caroline-poiron-son-homme-a-homs_1621533

⁵⁹⁷ <https://theintercept.com/2018/04/09/marie-colvin-syria-assad/>

⁵⁹⁸ Chapters 1.2.2, 1.2.3 and 1.2.4 of this Main Report

⁵⁹⁹ Caroline Poiron, Sid Ahmed Hammouch et Patrick Vallélian, "Attentat Express", Le Seuil, Paris 2013

4.5 Conclusions

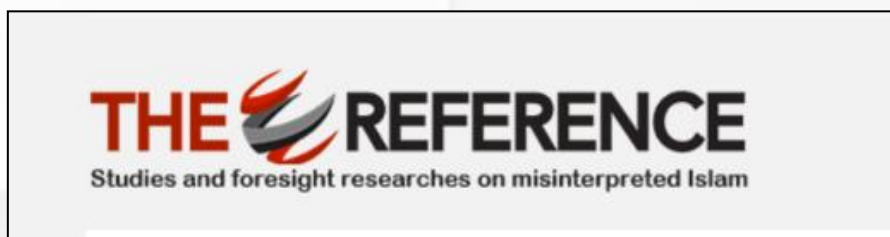
Also in this chapter, it is clearly seen that Georges Malbrunot acts not as a journalist, but as a political polemicist, openly asked, regardless of the facts, on the side of the allies of the Saudi Crown. In this battle, he does not grant any defence to his professionalism and credibility, which appear definitively and irreparably compromised.



CHAPTER 5: WHO PAYS CHESNOT AND MALBRUNOT

5.0 So far we have not found any clues that would suggest that Chesnot or Malbrunot have been paid directly by the state or its agencies and subsidiaries of Iran, Saudi Arabia or the United Arab Emirates. However, we found many substantial clues that explain how Malbrunot has earned significant sums thanks to invitations to conferences sponsored by those States, or by associations and / or lobbyists of those States. With regard to Georges Malbrunot, his activity as a lecturer has become so profitable as to convince him to found a special company to promote the obtaining of contracts at conferences, seminars and talk-shows⁶⁰⁰. This chapter indicates the most substantial links that we have managed to document. The intelligence work had suggested others, but we have not yet been able to find pieces of evidence for other cases. In any case, the two main sources of additional income for Malbrunot are his business alongside CEMO and his cruise trips, organized by a business partner.

5.1 Payments from France



The logo of the CEMO Centre d'études du Moyen Orient – see <http://www.theportal-center.com/>

5.1.1 The main French partner of Georges Malbrunot, in France, is the entity called CEMO (Centre des Études du Moyen-Orient), which makes a lot of losses, which are repaid from the backing organization, the Abu Dhabi Islamic Bank⁶⁰¹. CEMO Sarl is a company, whose capital betrays € 8000, and has been incorporated in Fontenay-aux-Roses (Nanterre) on March 13, 2017⁶⁰² in one office of the construction company (Euro-Bat) of the Iraqi businessman Yasser El Kadi⁶⁰³. On July 31, 2017, the company changed its name in CEMO Centre des études du Moyen-Orient and moved to Saint-Ouen (Bobigny)⁶⁰⁴ in the office building of a fiduciary company called Etablissement CNRP⁶⁰⁵. On September 8, 2017, the company found its actual office, in 26 Avenue Marceau (Paris) and changed its

⁶⁰⁰ <https://www.bodacc.fr/annonce/detail-annonce/A/20160017/2554;>

⁶⁰¹ Centre des Études du Moyen-Orient Sarl Paris Bilan; Centre des Études du Moyen-Orient Sarl Paris; <https://www.zoominfo.com/p/Khaled-Abdelrahim/-957175881;>

⁶⁰² <https://www.bodacc.fr/annonce/detail-annonce/A/20170072/1524;>

⁶⁰³ [https://dirigeants.bfmtv.com/Yasser-EL-KADI-3608320/;](https://dirigeants.bfmtv.com/Yasser-EL-KADI-3608320/)

⁶⁰⁴ <https://www.bodacc.fr/annonce/detail-annonce/A/20170144/1029;>

⁶⁰⁵ <https://www.societe.com/etablissement/c-n-r-p-83375183700018.html;>

activity into the publishing of magazines and books, as well as the creation of an investment fund⁶⁰⁶.

5.1.2 This project failed. Since March 18, 2020, the capital of CEMO has been increased to € 28000 and its only activity is publishing magazines and books and organize events⁶⁰⁷. The two shareholders of the company are Khaled Abdelrahim (82,14%) and Shahenda Abdelrahim (17,86%). Abdelrahim Ali is the CEO and sole member of the Board⁶⁰⁸. The company is entitled of the bank account 00743/10191165-96 at the Neuilly-sur-Seine branch of BNP-Paribas⁶⁰⁹. The company closed 2018 with ca. € 80000 debts, the financial statements for 2019 have not been registered yet⁶¹⁰. The two shareholders are the two parents of Ali. Father Khaled is a manager at the Abu Dhabi Islamic Bank in Abu Dhabi⁶¹¹.



The Head office of CEMO in 77 Rue de Charonne, Paris

5.1.3 CEMO controls two main websites. The first one, "La Reference", publishes hundreds of articles, report, analysis and other news⁶¹². The second one, "The Portal", is a service page for propaganda campaigns, lawsuits advisory and other similar instruments in favour of Muslim movements outside the Middle East⁶¹³. It looks like the main target of this association, with a close alliance between the CEO

⁶⁰⁶ <https://www.bodacc.fr/annonce/detail-annonce/A/20170191/740;>

⁶⁰⁷ <https://www.bodacc.fr/annonce/detail-annonce/B/20200055/247;>

⁶⁰⁸ Centre des Études du Moyen-Orient Sarl Paris;

⁶⁰⁹ Centre des Études du Moyen-Orient Sarl Paris Account;

⁶¹⁰ Centre des Études du Moyen-Orient Sarl Paris Bilan;

⁶¹¹ <https://www.zoominfo.com/p/Khaled-Abdelrahim/-957175881;>

⁶¹² <https://www.lareference-paris.com/list/7;>

⁶¹³ <https://www.theportal-center.com;>

of CEMO, Abdelrahim Ali and Georges Malbrunot, is lead a religious propaganda campaign beating the public image of Qatar, pointing this country as the core of the fundamentalist terrorism and the main danger for the Western and Christian countries⁶¹⁴. The main political ally on CEMO and Malbrunot in their fight against Qatar is Mrs. Marine Le Pen⁶¹⁵.



Abdelrahim Ali and Marine Le Pen

5.1.4 Malbrunot appears to be a paid consultant in a lawsuit against some Qatar-friendly organizations in France⁶¹⁶. Moreover, CEMO openly sustains the Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi government⁶¹⁷, and it seems to be one of the most relevant websites of the country⁶¹⁸. According to the LinkedIn page of Abdelrahman Ali, CEMO existed already in Egypt since 2000, 17 years before it has been moved to France⁶¹⁹.

5.1.5 The news, analysis, documents and reports are coming from the media platform Al Bawaba Egypt⁶²⁰, whose chief editor is Mrs. Rasha Ramzy⁶²¹ (a professor at the Fayoum University of Cairo) and whose owner is the Arab Center for Journalism Plc Cairo⁶²², which is also the sole financial sponsor of CEMO's "Le Portal"⁶²³. The leaders of the Arab Center for Journalism are Abdelrahman Ali and his wife

⁶¹⁴ <https://www.theportal-center.com/category/news/paris-conference/page/6/>;

⁶¹⁵ <http://www.theportal-center.com/2018/05/abdel-rahim-ali-exposes-qatars-role-in-founding-Daëch/>;

⁶¹⁶ <https://www.theportal-center.com/2017/10/international-lawyer-files-lawsuit-for-preventing-journalists-from-attending-qatar-terrorism-conference-in-paris/>;

⁶¹⁷ <https://egypt.mom-rsf.org/en/media/detail/outlet/al-bawaba-news/>;

⁶¹⁸ <https://rsf.org/en/news/sisification-media-hostile-takeover>;

⁶¹⁹ <https://www.linkedin.com/in/abdelrahim-ali-6004b6174/?originalSubdomain=fr>;

⁶²⁰ <https://www.theportal-center.com/>;

⁶²¹ <https://www.albawabaeg.com/editorial-team/>;

⁶²² <https://www.albawabaeg.com/about/>;

⁶²³ <https://www.theportal-center.com/contact-us/>;

Dalia⁶²⁴: “Abdel Rahim Ali, is a member of the House of Representatives who was elected in 2015 for the Dokki and Agouza constituencies, in the Giza governorate (Cairo). He founded the Arab Center for Research and policy Studies in 1998 and has a number of writings”⁶²⁵. The Arab Center for Journalism is fully funded by the Government of the UAE⁶²⁶.



Nigel Coulthard

5.1.6 Since 2013, Georges Malbrunot personally leads a political campaign in favour of Iran in the European Union⁶²⁷. He acts as a lobbyist as member of the alliance between the CIE Cercle Iran Économie and the Groupe Sénatorial d'Amitié France–Iran⁶²⁸. CIE is openly a lobby in favour of the end of the embargo of the Iran economy, sustaining that the Iranian economy is completely independent from the regime and even the exchange of knowledge regarding nuclear technology would be a positive progress⁶²⁹ of the European position⁶³⁰. In despite of the name and its main activity in France, CIE is a British lobby⁶³¹, whose main activity is the consultancy eluding the sanctions against Iran⁶³², headed by the former CEO of Alstom Iran Nigel Coulthard⁶³³.

⁶²⁴ <https://egypt.mom-rsf.org/en/media/detail/outlet/al-bawaba-news/>;

⁶²⁵ <https://egypt.mom-rsf.org/en/media/detail/outlet/al-bawaba-news/>;

⁶²⁶ <https://egypt.mom-rsf.org/en/owners/companies/detail/company/company/show/the-arab-center-for-journalism/>;

⁶²⁷ <http://www.assembly.coe.int/committee/CULT/2005/CULT030E.pdf>;

⁶²⁸ https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265693861_VERS_L'OUVERTURE_DES_ECHANGES_COMMERCIAUX;

⁶²⁹ Michael O’Kane, “Doing business in Saudi Arabia”, Andalus Publishing, London 2013; Various Authors, “Preventing Black Market Trade in Nuclear technology”, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2018;

⁶³⁰ <http://www.cercle-iran-eco.com/>;

⁶³¹ <http://www.cercle-iran-eco.com/partenaires/>;

⁶³² <https://www.europeansanctions.com/contact-us/>;

⁶³³ <http://www.cercle-iran-eco.com/presentation-du-cercle/le-bureau/>;



Maya Lester



Michael O'Kane

5.1.7 CIE looks like a think-tank, its sponsors are the Chambers of Commerce UK-Iran and Germany-Iran⁶³⁴, as well as the blog run by the European Sanctions Ltd. Birmingham, which belongs to the lawyers Maya Lester and Michael O'Kane⁶³⁵. Mrs. Lester's main clients are a formidable list of Middle East addresses: Kadi Holding Dammam (Saudi Arabia), the controversial banker and politician Htoo Htet Tay Za (Myanmar), the Central Bank of Iran, NITC National Iranian Tanker Company, IRISL Group Teheran⁶³⁶. Michael O'Kane is a former Senior Crown Prosecutor and is now the owner of the London based law firm Peters & Peters⁶³⁷, whose main client is SAGIA Saudi Arabian General Investment Authority⁶³⁸.

5.1.8 In the Spring of 2015, Georges Malbrunot hold a speech at the UCM Université Clermont Auvergne, in Clermont-Ferrand (F), which is considered the best management university of the country, about the situation in Syria and Yemen⁶³⁹. The political view of UCM is largely determined from Prof. Emma Soubrier, who's a supporter of the positive role of the UAE in the Gulf Region⁶⁴⁰ and has recently won a scholarship in Washington⁶⁴¹. Since she left UCM, Malbrunot is mostly invited to speak about the situation in the Middle East from the IFRI Institut Français pour les Relations Internationales⁶⁴².

⁶³⁴ <http://www.cercle-iran-eco.com/partenaires/>;

⁶³⁵ European Sanctions Ltd. Birmingham;

⁶³⁶ <https://www.globalllegalinsights.com/firms/brick-court-chambers/maya-lester/>;

⁶³⁷ <https://www.linkedin.com/in/michael-o-kane-a8ab8414/?originalSubdomain=uk>;

⁶³⁸ <https://www.amazon.co.uk/Doing-Business-Saudi-Arabia-Michael-ebook/dp/B00C2TCUZ0>;

⁶³⁹ <https://vimeo.com/127459310>;

⁶⁴⁰ Various Authors, "Les Emirates Arabe unis à la conquête du monde?", frpm Emma Soubrier, in « Le Golfe : nouveau centre du Moyen-Orient ? : Europe/Russie : ouvertures et réticences », IFRI, Paris 2020; Emma Soubrier, « Les pays du Conseil de coopération du Golfe : Nouvelles puissances du monde arabe ? », Editions du Cygne, paris, 2014;

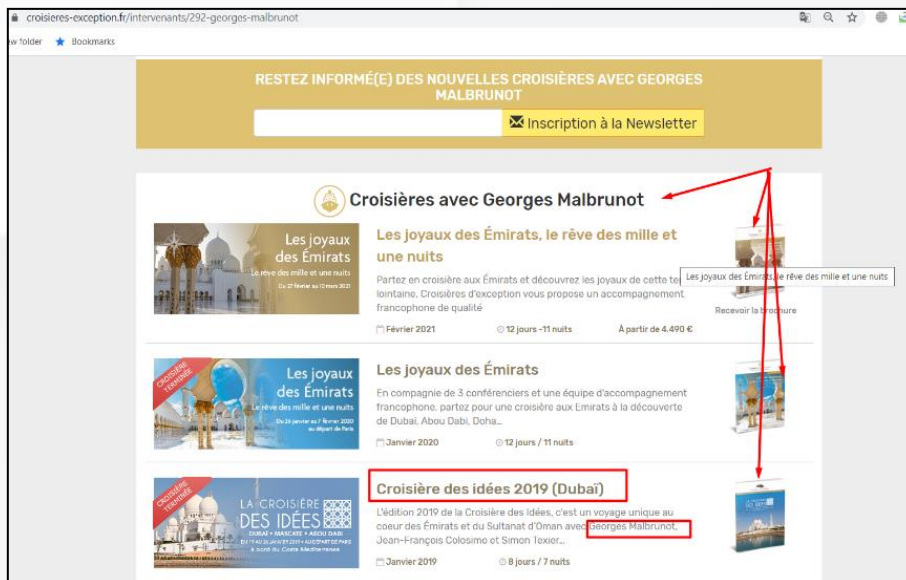
⁶⁴¹ <https://agsiw.org/emma-soubrier-joins-agsiw-as-a-visiting-scholar/>;

⁶⁴² <https://www.ifri.org/fr/espace-media/videos/moyen-orient-2019-quoi-sattendre-conference-ifri>;



Emma Soubrier

5.2 Cruises in the Middle East



Malbrunot is listed as speaker for trips in 2019, 2020 and 2021. No records of such trips were found.

5.2.1 Since January 2019, once every year Georges Malbrunot acts as a guide on a 12 days' cruise trip from France to the United Arab Emirates, sold under the trade mark "*Croisières d'exception*", a service traded from the Atout France Sarl Paris⁶⁴³ for a range of prices starting from € 4490⁶⁴⁴. The cruises are commercialized through two relevant tour operators: SETO Syndicat des Entreprises du Tour Operating and EDV Syndicat National de les Entreprises du Voyage⁶⁴⁵. The organization of the whole

⁶⁴³ <http://www.atout-france.fr/>

⁶⁴⁴ <https://www.croisieres-exception.fr/intervenants/292-georges-malbrunot;>

⁶⁴⁵ <https://www.croisieres-exception.fr/utile/qui-sommes-nous#equipe;>

project is under the authority of the Director of EDV Ile de France, Lionel Rabiet⁶⁴⁶. Mr. Rabiet worked along 12 years as responsible for the organization of trips, events and conferences at Le Figaro⁶⁴⁷ (the French newspaper where Malbrunot works since 25 years)⁶⁴⁸.



Malbrunot listed as speaker for future trips. Although, no evidence of the trip to UAE has been found

5.2.2 Lionel Rabiet registered the copyright of the cruises with Malbrunot under the name of his personal company, the Croisières d'Exception Sarl Paris⁶⁴⁹. This company, based in 77 Rue de Charonne (Paris) closed 2018 with a turnover of € 10,1 million and a win of € 0,2 million⁶⁵⁰. The company has been set up on November 12, 2012, under the name Media Up Sarl and a capital of € 5000⁶⁵¹. On January 17, 2017, the company acquired the actual name and began to trade under the name of Mediaup Croisières Thematique, its capital grown up to € 10000 and Lionel Rabiet remained CEO and sole shareholder⁶⁵².

⁶⁴⁶ https://registre-operateurs-de-voyages.atout-france.fr/web/rovs/resultat_recherche#https://registre-operateur;s-de-voyages.atout-france.fr/immatriculation/fichePublique?idPersonne=11631;

⁶⁴⁷ <https://www.cbnews.fr/medias/image-lionel-rabiet-quitte-figaro-1887>;

⁶⁴⁸ <https://www.linkedin.com/in/rabiet/?originalSubdomain=fr>;

⁶⁴⁹ <https://www.croisieres-exception.fr/intervenants/292-georges-malbrunot>;

⁶⁵⁰ Croisières d'Exception Sarl Paris;

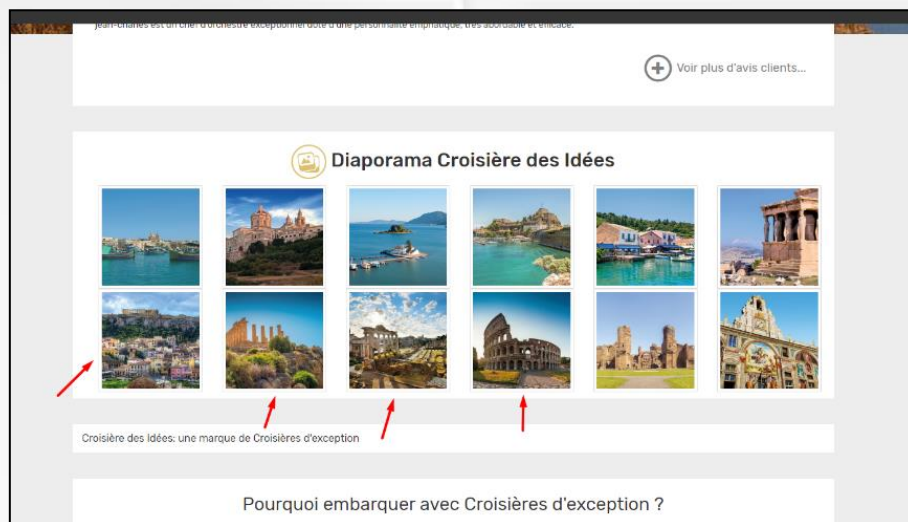
⁶⁵¹ <https://www.bodacc.fr/annonce/detail-annonce/A/20120232/1474>;

⁶⁵² <https://www.bodacc.fr/annonce/detail-annonce/B/20170015/1284>;



Lionel Rabiet

5.2.3 A quite weird thing: the first cruise to the Emirates has been done on January 2019⁶⁵³, but the company has a relevant turnover since 2013⁶⁵⁴, even if without activity. In despite of the videos existing on youtube (containing the voice of Malbrunot advertising the cruises coming in the future⁶⁵⁵), the suspicion is that the main activity of this company is completely different from the organization of one cruise each year (whose success would never justify a turnover of more than € 10 million⁶⁵⁶, which has been obtained before the start of the cruises). The turnover, already in year 2015, betrayed € 1,2 million⁶⁵⁷.



The advertising for Malbrunot's trips is confusing: the pictures show Rome, Athens and several other cities, which are not even offered in the official booklet of Croisières d'Exception...

⁶⁵³ <https://www.croisieres-exception.fr/intervenants/292-georges-malbrunot;>

⁶⁵⁴ <https://www.bodacc.fr/annonce/detail-annonce/C/20170006/6965;>

⁶⁵⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VNPGFz2tzg&feature=youtu.be;>

⁶⁵⁶ Croisières d'Exception Sarl Paris;

⁶⁵⁷ Croisières d'Exception Sarl Paris

5.2.4 We don't know how this sum has been done. According to Rabiet, the turnover grown up in 2020 to the sum of € 14,2 million, due to the fact that the company, starting in January 2020, will offer further cruises (with different stars than Malbrunot) to Kamchatka, Borneo and other destinations⁶⁵⁸. We couldn't find any trace of these cruises, but Rabiet asserts to have sold 3000 trips to Patagonia, Japan or the Mekong River⁶⁵⁹. In despite of COVID19, Rabiet asserts to have sold out a trip to St. Petersburg, in June 2020, with the chief editor of the "Paris Match+". Gilles Martin-Chauffier⁶⁶⁰. Watching the feedback page of TripAdvisor, there's a plenty of angry people writing, asserting that thee trips are not "exceptional", but are only the usual cruises they buy anytime, with the only difference that, at one hand of the trip, there's someone holding a speech – a detail, which doubles the cost of the cruise⁶⁶¹.

Georges Malbrunot
Journalist

A great reporter for Le Figaro, Georges Malbrunot is a specialist in the Middle East. He was based in Jerusalem between 1994 and 2002, then in Baghdad between 2003 and 2004 where he was held hostage for 121 days by a Salafist group, along with his colleague, Christian Chesnot. Holder of a postgraduate diploma in economics, he followed the courses of the Practical Institute of Journalism in Paris, before entering La Croix. Then he worked for the Reuters agency and AFP, before expatriating to the Middle East, a region he has covered for 25 years. He has written ten books, alone or with Christian Chesnot, on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Iraq, Al-Qaida, Syria and the Gulf monarchies, Qatar in particular. Their latest work is called *Our Very Dear Emirs. Are they really our friends?*

CONFERENCE THEMES

During this cruise, you will benefit from a captivating program of conferences with our guests. The conferences will take place during navigation times and in the evening, the program will be communicated to you on board. Here is a selection (not exhaustive and subject to change) of the topics to be covered:

- Dubai: a model for the city tomorrow?
- Abu Dhabi: culture as a development tool
- The foundations of Islam
- Geopolitics of Islam Today
- The branches of Islam

* The guests will be present except in cases of force majeure. The proposed program is subject to change.

Route Thematic **Excursions** Ship Prices How to book ⓘ

Georges Malbrunot is listed to speak about UAE. No evidence about these trips, as these would never happen – suggesting that this is a way, for Malbrunot, to earn money in an opaque way

5.2.5 At the same address as Croisières d'Exception Sarl Paris, on March 8, 2017, Lionel Rabiet created a new company, Ojade Edition Sarl Paris⁶⁶², whose announced activity was to publish a quarterly magazine called "Croisières" – which never came beneath the magazine's number one, leaving the company inactive⁶⁶³. In despite of this fact, the chief editor and designer of the magazine, Jean-Marc Dupuis, still asserts to be the author of this publication⁶⁶⁴. The address of both companies is in a very fancy (and expensive) renewed real estate, built in 1866, and now occupied with dozens of ateliers⁶⁶⁵.

⁶⁵⁸ <https://www.lechotouristique.com/article/lionel-rabiet-croisieres-dexception-les-agences-deviennent-importantes;>

⁶⁵⁹ <https://www.lechotouristique.com/article/lionel-rabiet-croisieres-dexception-les-agences-deviennent-importantes;>

⁶⁶⁰ <https://www.parismatch.com/Web-Radio/Match-Plus/Regards-sur-la-Russie-avec-Paris-Match-1661228;>

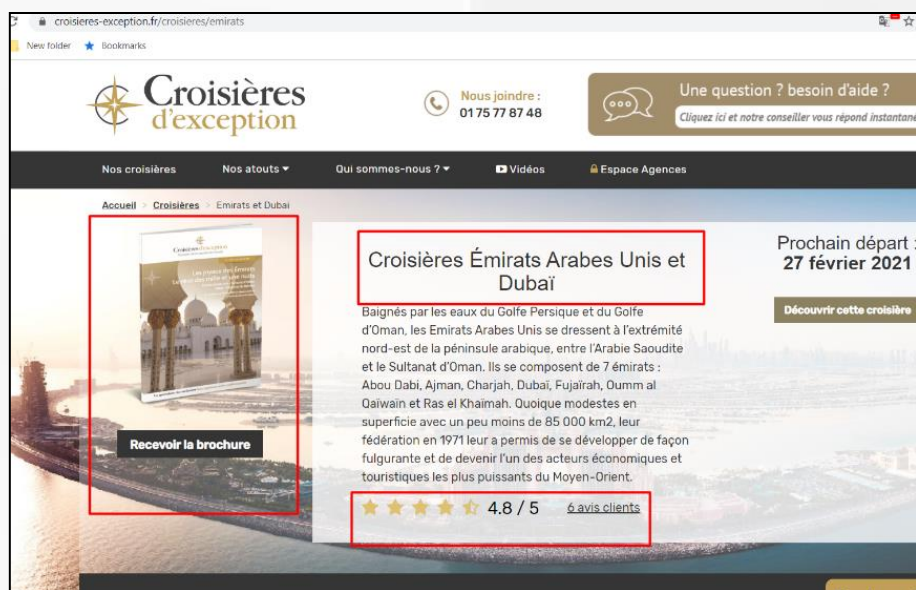
⁶⁶¹ https://www.tripadvisor.fr/ShowTopic-g1-i10703-k11550882-Croisieres_exception-Cruises.html;

⁶⁶² <https://www.infogreffe.fr/entreprise-societe/828727545-ojade-editions-750117B08018/actes-deposes.html?typeProduitOnglet=EXTRAIT&afficherretour=true;>

⁶⁶³ http://www.direct-editeurs.fr/magazine/12026_croisieres_1;jsessionid=B58D41677F080C9DE1056133986176BF;

⁶⁶⁴ <https://www.linkedin.com/in/jean-marc-dupuis-5182ab6a/?originalSubdomain=fr;>

⁶⁶⁵ <https://www.parisladouce.com/2018/09/paris-77-rue-de-charonne-les-ateliers.html;>



Next trip announced for the end of February 2021. Did any other trip ever succeed before?

5.3 Payments from Saudi Arabia

5.3.1 On December 3, 2019, Malbrunot has been one of the main speakers and panel's coordinator at the Saudi Media Forum, a two-days conference organized from the highest level of the Saudi Crown and personally sponsored from the King Salman Al-Saud's family⁶⁶⁶: *"The forum is attended by Saudi decision-makers (...) including Prince Abdulaziz bin Turki Al-Faisal, CEO of Saudi General Authority for Sport, Minister of Trade and Investment Majid Al-Qasabi, Minister of Finance, Mohammed Al-Jadaan, Minister of Information Turki Al-Shabana, Chairman of the General Authority for Entertainment, Turki Al-Sheikh. Moreover, the forum is witnessing the presence of head of Egypt's State Information Service, Diao Rashwan, (...) and Jamal Al-Keshki, editor-in-chief of Al-Ahram Al-Arabi newspaper"*⁶⁶⁷.

5.3.2 In his speech, Georges Malbrunot regret about the leap of contacts between journalists from Europe and the Middle East, which would show to the Western media how deep the democratic change inside of Saudi Arabia has been. He asserted that the Western media exaggerate the negative aspects of the political and religious life in the Islamic World and empathize far too much the jihad: "Let me be clear, we do not have to bring, as Western journalists, our values in this part of the world. Of course, we share some universal values, but it is a terrible mistake to think that we can export our values"⁶⁶⁸. In his panel, the Saudi leaders were discussing the possibility to invest in Western media⁶⁶⁹.

⁶⁶⁶ <https://saudimf.com/en/news/details/680>;

⁶⁶⁷ <https://www.leaders-mena.com/saudi-media-forum-kicks-off-in-riyadh-with-presence-of-more-than-1000-journalists/>;

⁶⁶⁸ <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1593791/media>;

⁶⁶⁹ <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1593791/media>;

5.3.3 In April 2017, Georges Malbrunot participated to a Campus for the management of the Group Setec, where he presented his view about the key personalities to be linked with in order to do business in Saudi Arabia and the Emirates⁶⁷⁰. After that, Setec won a submission for the building of the automatic subway in Riyadh⁶⁷¹. A company of the Group Setec, the 1Pax, is building the roads connecting the Airport of Jeddah to the local freeways in cooperation with the Saudi Binladin Group⁶⁷², whose client is the Saudi general Authority of Civil Aviation⁶⁷³. According to Gilles Peyet, Director at Setec International in Vitrolles (Marseille), Mr. Malbrunot has been paid an undisclosed sum for the participation at the Campus and another sum for his consultancies⁶⁷⁴.

5.4 Payments from the United Arab Emirates

5.4.1 On September 26, 2017, Georges Malbrunot hold a conference for the Institute Diderot about a suggested crisis of Qatar⁶⁷⁵. This Institute is one the main think-tanks of France, due to the fact that several mighty politicians are members of the Committee, which organizes and gives a direction to the conferences⁶⁷⁶. Most of them are coming from the extreme right-wing spectrum and are against the European Union⁶⁷⁷, or even military high officers⁶⁷⁸, including the Head of the French Free Masonry⁶⁷⁹. The Middle East conferences are directed by a team including the Ambassador of Turkey⁶⁸⁰, the Ambassador of Israel and, most of all, the Ambassador of Iran⁶⁸¹. This organization has a budget of several million Euros each year, but the sources of the money are undisclosed.

⁶⁷⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p8vSZTi6xhU>;

⁶⁷¹ <https://www.lemoniteur.fr/article/setec-participera-au-chantier-de-la-ligne-6-du-metro-de-sao-paulo.1377834>;

⁶⁷² <http://www.1pax.com/1PAX.pdf>, page 27;

⁶⁷³ <http://www.1pax.com/1PAX.pdf>, page 27;

⁶⁷⁴ Phone chat on April 6, 2020;

⁶⁷⁵ <https://www.institutdiderot.fr/qatar-les-causes-de-la-crise/>;

⁶⁷⁶ <https://www.institutdiderot.fr/author/alain-juppe/>;

⁶⁷⁷ <https://www.institutdiderot.fr/author/jeanpierrechevenement/>; <https://www.institutdiderot.fr/author/hubert-vedrine/>;

⁶⁷⁸ <https://www.institutdiderot.fr/author/arnaud-coustilliere/>; <https://www.institutdiderot.fr/author/general-vincent-desportes/>;

⁶⁷⁹ <https://www.institutdiderot.fr/author/jean-pierre-hubsch/>;

⁶⁸⁰ <https://www.institutdiderot.fr/author/ismail-hakki-musa/>;

⁶⁸¹ <https://www.institutdiderot.fr/author/aliahani/>;

5.5 Conclusions

From the beginning of our research, it had seemed unlikely that Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot received significant amounts directly from their clients. Their books, in any case, assure them of a reasonable premium on a salary (€ 48,000 per year for Chesnot, € 58,000 for Malbrunot, as reported in the proceedings of the lost trials against Alexis Bachelay) which is already high, compared to average French wages. The payments received from the Middle East follow another path: fees for attending conferences or seminars, talks on talk-shows on TV, and then with the great idea of accompanied cruises, which make Malbrunot important figures. With the use of the "cross examination" legal instrument, it would be necessary to obtain key information from the two journalists (especially from Malbrunot): how much do they earn per year with their parallel businesses? Do they pay taxes on these revenues?

CHAPTER 6: THE FINANCIAL WEB AND THE TEAM BEHIND

“QATAR PAPERS”

6.0 The book "*Qatar Papers*" has so far been published in French, English and Italian. A German edition has been announced before the end of year 2020. The original version, in French, was published by Michel Lafon; the Italian one at Rizzoli, which belongs to the Mediaset group (Silvio Berlusconi) and is the largest publishing house in Italy; the English version was released not by an established publishing house, but on the initiative of a group of companies: GWA Global Watch Analysis Sarl Paris, Averroes et Cie. SA Paris and Countries Report Publishing Ltd. London. In this chapter we analyse these publishing houses.

6.1 Editions Michel Lafon

6.1.1 The Michel Lafon publishing house was founded in 1980 by the TV producer of the same name, who had already had experience in the media, and who, with his publishing house, achieved success in 1984, when he associated with the famous music producer Patrick Carrère and the two partners together began to publish books and autobiographies of famous artists (Pink Floyd, David Bowie, and many others)⁶⁸².



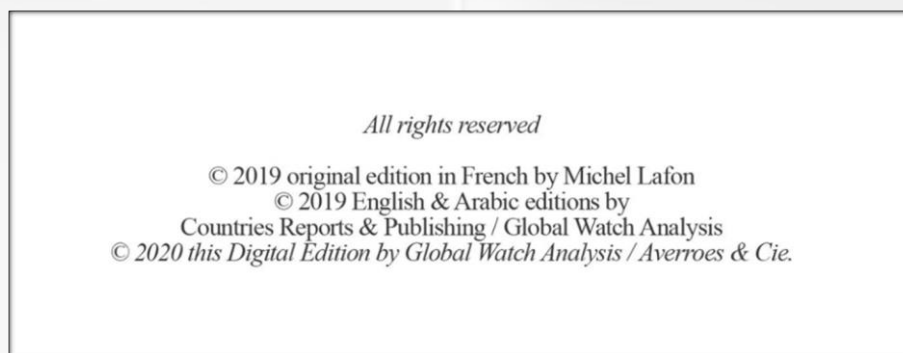
Elsa Lafon

⁶⁸² https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%89ditions_Michel_Lafon;

6.1.2 Today the publishing house is directed by Elsa Lafon, daughter of the founder⁶⁸³, who expanded the production to young novelists (many of whom have had great success) and, after publishing a book of Admiral Philippe De Gaulle⁶⁸⁴, son of Charles de Gaulle⁶⁸⁵, has expanded its list of authors to essays in the conservative area. Elsa Lafon has become a politically profiled character⁶⁸⁶, among the most influential people in France, and closely linked to the authors of the newspaper "Le Figaro"⁶⁸⁷, the employer of Georges Malbrunot. Editions Michel Lafon is also responsible for allowing the publication of propaganda material which is in service of foreign agenda.

6.1.3 Editions Michel Lafon, under the directorship of Elsa Lafon, published several books of Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, whose content is discussed in a different part of this Report. The publishing house has also been judged liable, joint to the authors, for the untrue assertions of their book⁶⁸⁸. It hasn't been the first time that the publishing house has been convicted for its products and the way to distribute them, in year 2006⁶⁸⁹, in year 2008⁶⁹⁰ and in year 2014, for the untrue accusations contained in another book of Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot⁶⁹¹.

6.2 Averroes & Cie and Global Watch Analysis



The publishers of the English version of "Qatar Papers" as on page 2 of the book

⁶⁸³ <https://www.linkedin.com/in/elsa-lafon-0a96b357/?originalSubdomain=fr>;

⁶⁸⁴ <https://www.abebooks.it/9782749905471/p%C3%A8re-images-Gaulle-Philippe-Tauriac-2749905478/plp>;

⁶⁸⁵ http://www.michel-lafon.fr/livre/181-Le_meilleur_du_General_de_Gaulle.html;

⁶⁸⁶ <https://www.lefigaro.fr/culture/benjamin-biolay-pascal-elbe-marianne-crebassa-ils-entrent-au-who-s-who-2020-20191011>;

⁶⁸⁷ <https://www.lefigaro.fr/culture/benjamin-biolay-pascal-elbe-marianne-crebassa-ils-entrent-au-who-s-who-2020-20191011>;

⁶⁸⁸ <https://fakenewsfrance.com/2019/10/25/christian-chesnot-et-georges-malbrunot-condamnes-plusieurs-fois-en-diffamation-pour-leur-livre-sur-le-qatar/>;

⁶⁸⁹ <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichJurijudi.do?idTexte=JURITEXT000006949680>;

⁶⁹⁰ <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichJurijudi.do?idTexte=JURITEXT000019196047>;

⁶⁹¹ https://www.carter-ruck.com/images/uploads/documents/Ghannouchi_Michel_and_Lafon-Press_Release-040614.pdf;

6.2.1 The English edition of “*Qatar papers*” has been published in the United Kingdom by GWA Global Watch Analysis⁶⁹². GWA owns the translation’s rights, but the book has been printed for a French publishing company, the Averroés et Cie. Sarl Paris⁶⁹³. This company has been set up on May 2, 1998, in 7 Boulevard Saint Germain, Paris⁶⁹⁴ and opened the still existing library called Librairie Averroés, which is specialized in law, science, philosophy and art’s books⁶⁹⁵ and a conference room, placed in the Mosque Sainte Genevieve du Bois, called Espace Averroés⁶⁹⁶ – both belonging to the company Madame Najet Miled Sarl Paris⁶⁹⁷. The Mosque is one of the biggest in France and an Islamic Salafist center, known as moderate and famous for its reception to refugees⁶⁹⁸.



The Librairie Averroés in 7 Boulevard Saint Germain, Paris, head office of the Averroés & Cie. Sarl (left) and Najet Miled (right)

6.2.2 The founder and original owner of the Averroés & Cie. Sarl Paris is the Tunisian Mohamed Hachemi Jegham⁶⁹⁹, who transferred the 100% of the quotes (capital: € 15,64 / FF 100) to the Tunisian Mrs. Najet Miled⁷⁰⁰ on September 3, 2004⁷⁰¹. On December 23, 2005, Mrs. Miled transferred 100% of the company to the Tunisian Foued Miled⁷⁰². In reality, the company stopped its activity in 2004, and since December 31, 2005, didn’t file any legal document⁷⁰³. Mrs. Miled transformed her house in Sousse in a luxury B&B⁷⁰⁴. She’s married with Moshen

⁶⁹² Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, “Qatar Papers: How Doha finances the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe”. Global Watch Analysis / Averroés & Cie., London 2019, page 2;

⁶⁹³ https://books.google.it/books/about/Qatar_Papers.html?id=HU3ZDwAAQBAJ&redir_esc=y;

⁶⁹⁴ <http://entreprises.lefigaro.fr/averroes-cie-75/entreprise-418502993>;

⁶⁹⁵ <https://es.foursquare.com/v/librairie-averroes/4f0444677ee579338f9cacd4>;

⁶⁹⁶ <https://www.lamosqueeducoin.com/mosquee/espace-averroes-mosquee-de-sainte-genevieve-des-bois/226>; <https://mawaqit.net/fr/m/espace-averroes-sainte-genevieve-des-bois>;

⁶⁹⁷ <https://www.societe.com/societe/madame-najet-miled-519594857.html>;

⁶⁹⁸ https://www.liberation.fr/societe/2012/12/27/un-ticket-pour-la-paix-entre-juifs-et-musulmans_870294;

⁶⁹⁹ 2004.09.03 Averroé & Cie. Sarl Paris;

⁷⁰⁰ <https://www.linkedin.com/in/najet-miled-60975319/?originalSubdomain=fr>;

⁷⁰¹ 2004.09.03 Averroé & Cie. Sarl Paris;

⁷⁰² 2005.12.23 Averroé & Cie. Sarl Paris;

⁷⁰³ <https://www.infogreffe.fr/entreprise-societe/418502993-averroes-cie-750198B066930000/actes-deposes.html?typeProduitOnglet=EXTRAIT&afficherretour=true>;

⁷⁰⁴ <https://residence-najet-miled.business.site/>;

Hadj Hassine, a biologist and Professor at the University of Monastir (Tunisia)⁷⁰⁵. The couple has two children⁷⁰⁶. She's a profiled feminist and defender of women's rights⁷⁰⁷, as well as a founder and leader of the French branch of the Front de Salut National, a left wing democratic party of Tunisia⁷⁰⁸. Her brother Fouad lives in Madrid⁷⁰⁹.



Mohamed Hachemi Jegham

6.2.3 Also Mr. Jegham is a quite profiled Tunisian personality. Born in Sousse (a city called the Pearl of Sahel, built from the Phoenicians almost 3000 years ago, and transformed – after the war against Carthage – in the main monumental harbour of the North Africa from the Romans) in 1938, he became a lawyer in Paris, and is one of the founders of the GEAST Groupe d'études et d'Action Socialiste Tunisien⁷¹⁰, which, starting in year 1960, published the magazine "Perspectives Tunisiennes" along 11 years⁷¹¹.

6.2.4 The magazine has been renamed in "El Amal Ettounsi", as the grounders' group became the national founder of the Communist Party and became the main opponent of the regime of the dictator Habib Bourguiba⁷¹². Starting from 2011, Mr. Jachem has been the Chairman of the OHCHR (High Commissioner of the United Nations) in Tunisia⁷¹³ – a role, which he maintained until his death, in November 2019⁷¹⁴. Nowadays the political group, which has been founded by

⁷⁰⁵ <https://biography.omicsonline.org/tunisia/university-of-monastir/mohsen-hassine-608347;>

⁷⁰⁶ [https://lapresse.tn/46847/deces-et-fark-torkia-rezig/;](https://lapresse.tn/46847/deces-et-fark-torkia-rezig/)

⁷⁰⁷ [https://www.ldh-france.org/Tunisie-La-victime-d-un-viol/;](https://www.ldh-france.org/Tunisie-La-victime-d-un-viol/)

⁷⁰⁸ [http://www.kapitalis.com/politique/17443-tunisie-en-crise-constitution-de-la-coordination-france-du-front-de-salut-national.html;](http://www.kapitalis.com/politique/17443-tunisie-en-crise-constitution-de-la-coordination-france-du-front-de-salut-national.html)

⁷⁰⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/fouad.millad;>

⁷¹⁰ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hachemi_Jegham;

⁷¹¹ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Perspectives_tunisiennes;

⁷¹² https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Perspectives_tunisiennes;

⁷¹³ [https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Countries/MENARRegion/Pages/OHCHRTunisia.aspx;](https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Countries/MENARRegion/Pages/OHCHRTunisia.aspx) [https://allafrica.com/stories/201311240138.htm;](https://allafrica.com/stories/201311240138.htm) I

⁷¹⁴ [https://lapresse.tn/40029/remerciements-me-mohamed-hachemi-jegham/;](https://lapresse.tn/40029/remerciements-me-mohamed-hachemi-jegham/)

Hachemi Jegham, is called Workers' Party of Tunisia, which reaches 1,57% of the votes and is one of the few still existing communist parties, which assert to be loyal to the Stalinism⁷¹⁵. The library and the publishing company have apparently nothing to do with this political party.



Atmane Tazaghart

6.2.5 Suddenly, on July 2, 2019, the company Averroés & Cie. Sarl has resurrected and filed a document asserting that activity had been relaunched on April 1, 2017⁷¹⁶. The French Companies' House (Infogreffe) still has no info on the possible new owners and the actual turnover. But the fact is that the company has been used in order to sell the publishing rights of "Qatar Papers" in the United Kingdom. We are still looking for the contract, but we are sure that GWA is no publishing company and needed a formal one in order to sell the book in its English version⁷¹⁷.

6.2.6 GWA defines itself as a group securing "geostrategic foresight, security monitoring, counter-terrorism and resistance to extremism"⁷¹⁸ and has been recently set up in France, on October 19, 2019, in the multi-office building at 11 Avenue Ferdinand Buisson, in Paris⁷¹⁹, with a capital of € 30'000, 100% controlled from the Countries Reports Publishing Ltd. London. The CEO of the French based subsidiary company is Asma Ramdani Tazaghart⁷²⁰, and the whole staff

⁷¹⁵ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Workers%27_Party_\(Tunisia\);](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Workers%27_Party_(Tunisia);)

⁷¹⁶ 2019.07.02 Averroé & Cie. Sarl Paris;

⁷¹⁷ <https://global-watch-analysis.com/la-video-integrale-de-la-conference-de-presse-de-ledition-anglaise-de-qatar-papers/?lang=en;>

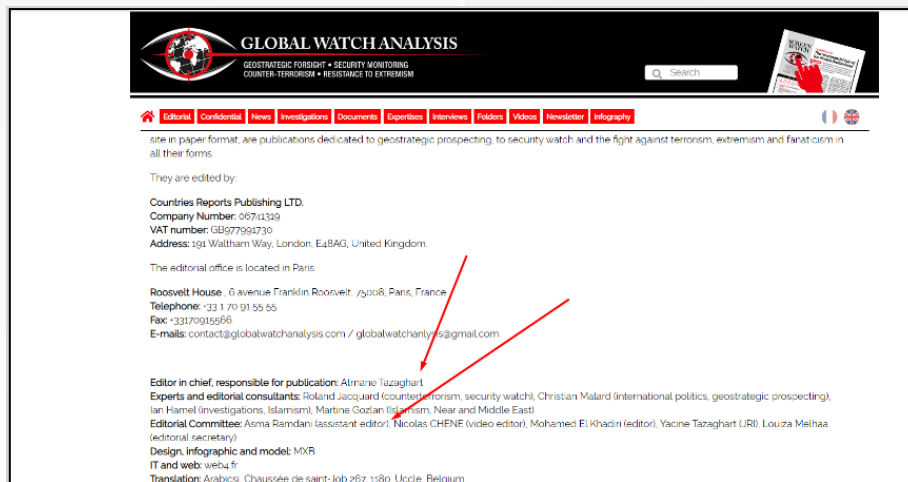
⁷¹⁸ <https://global-watch-analysis.com/?lang=en;>

⁷¹⁹ [https://www.infogreffe.fr/entreprise-societe/878231596-global-watch-analysis-](https://www.infogreffe.fr/entreprise-societe/878231596-global-watch-analysis-750119B278620000.html?typeProduitOnglet=EXTRAIT&afficherretour=true&tab=entrep;)

[750119B278620000.html?typeProduitOnglet=EXTRAIT&afficherretour=true&tab=entrep;](https://www.infogreffe.fr/entreprise-societe/878231596-global-watch-analysis-750119B278620000.html?typeProduitOnglet=EXTRAIT&afficherretour=true&tab=entrep;)

⁷²⁰ <https://www.bodacc.fr/annonce/detail-annonce/A/20190209/1973;>

is working from Paris⁷²¹. Mrs. Ramdani Tazaghart is the owner and the CEO of the Press Agency Madame Asma Ramdani SAS Le-Blanc-Mesnil, which has been set up in January 2012 and seems to be still active⁷²². The members of the GWA staff are: Atmane Tazaghart (chief editor), Roland Jacquard, Christian Malard, Ian Hamel, Martine Gozlan, Asma Ramdani (deputy chief editor), Nicolas Chene, Mohamed El Khadiri, Yacine Tazaghart and Louiza Melhaa⁷²³.



The British staff (based in Paris) of the GWA and of the CEMO

6.2.7 In the Report we received from the client, the chief editor, Atmane Tazaghart, is described as follows: "Atmane Tazaghart, former editor in chief of the Arab section of France 24, was suspended from his duties following the discovery of comments he had made during an interview on a Lebanese pro-Hezbollah channel Al Mayadeen, funded by Iran in 2013⁷²⁴. The video of the interview was published on April 22 by the electronic newspaper "All4syria", and the information was spotted by the Jewish Tribune. He said "at their beginning, these revolutions had shaken the projects of western hegemony and Zionist in the region. We did not expect the Zionist movements and America - which is the spearhead of Zionism in this region - to sit idly by"⁷²⁵.

6.2.8 "So, from the events in Libya, there is a drift of the Arab Spring. There was the NATO intervention. There is this war funded by the Zionists. Bernard-Henri Lévy, this Zionist French philosopher of Likud, was the godfather of this revolution. It was he who had brought Gaddafi's opponents to France to

⁷²¹ <https://global-watch-analysis.com/qui-sommes-nous/?lang=en>;

⁷²² <https://www.societe.com/societe/madame-asma-ramdani-751390600.html> ; <http://entreprises.lefigaro.fr/madame-asma-ramdani-93/entreprise-751390600>

⁷²³ <https://global-watch-analysis.com/qui-sommes-nous/?lang=en>;

⁷²⁴ <https://fr.timesofisrael.com/le-redacteur-en-chef-de-france-24-en-arabe-suspendu-de-ses-fonctions/>;

⁷²⁵ Report on Global Watch Analysis, pages 4-5;

Sarkozy's home at the Elysée Palace. He was able to wage this war and, therefore, there was this drift in the trajectory of these revolutions," said Atmane Tazaghart. In 2012, MEMRI had already reported the anti-Semitic and negationist remarks by Atmane Tazaghart, broadcast on Al Manar, another Hezbollah channel⁷²⁶. In this program, he defends the position of Roger Garaudy, author of "The founding myths of Israeli policy". According to Atmane Tazaghart "in his book, he highlighted the way in which the Zionists and the Israelis exploit the Holocaust. They put it forward to justify their aggressive policies. As a result, he has been attacked, demonized and marginalized for decades"⁷²⁷.



Roland Jacquard

6.2.9 Mr. Tazaghart is a friend of Abdelrahim Ali⁷²⁸ and a sponsor of the CEMO (Centre des études du Moyen-Orient)⁷²⁹, which we discuss in Chapter 5 of this Report. Further three managers of Global Watch Analysis are also part of the staff of CEMO: Roland Jacquard⁷³⁰, Richard Labévière and Ian Hamel⁷³¹. Mr. Jacquard is one of the most controversial and discussed authors of essays about Al Qaeda, founder and sole member of the Observatoire International du Terrorisme – an entity, which has never been registered and has no

⁷²⁶ <https://laregledujeu.org/2016/05/12/28948/redac-chef-sur-france-24-arabe-conspirationniste-sur-les-teles-du-hezbollah/>;

⁷²⁷ Report on Global Watch Analysis, pages 4-5;

⁷²⁸ Report on Global Watch Analysis, pages 5-8;

⁷²⁹ <http://www.theportal-center.com/2018/04/abdelrahim-ali-issues-a-website-and-magazine-in-four-languages/>;

⁷³⁰ <http://www.theportal-center.com/tag/roland-jacquard/>;

⁷³¹ <http://www.theportal-center.com/2018/04/abdelrahim-ali-issues-a-website-and-magazine-in-four-languages/>; <https://www.theportal-center.com/2018/07/the-24-news-website-highlights-the-efforts-of-cemo-in-its-intellectual-fight-against-terrorism/>;

transparency at all⁷³². Several books and assertions of Jacquard have been questioned from other experts and declared as forge or even delirium⁷³³.



The Chairman of CEMO Abdulrahim Ali and Richard Labévière

6.2.10 Richard Labévière has been, until 2008, the Chief Editor at Radio France International and – in this quality – the head of the team of Christian Chesnot, then he has been fired, because he has been accused of forge and lie regarding an interview with the President of Syria, Bashar Al-Assad, and, after that, his whole professional career has been questioned⁷³⁴. Since that day he works as a free-lance and as editor of a military magazine (who fired him in 2011⁷³⁵) and online investigative platforms⁷³⁶. Both (Richard Labévière and Roland Jacquard), are further members of the staff of CEMO, but far not that relevant as Ian Hamel.

6.2.11 Ian Hamel is a Geneva based French-Jewish journalist⁷³⁷, author of controversial books, mostly against the Muslim Brotherhood, as his biographies of Tariq Ramadan⁷³⁸, one of the most profiled members of this organization and the son of Said Ramadan, one of the mightiest members of the Brotherhood, the son-in-law of the founder Hassan Al-Banna and allegedly an agent of the CIA⁷³⁹. The biography of Tariq Ramadan is very controversial⁷⁴⁰, the Muslim Brotherhood's leader sued the

⁷³² https://www.lemonde.fr/m-le-mag/article/2015/12/04/qui-sont-vraiment-les-experts-en-terrorisme-que-l-on-voit-partout_4823903_4500055.html;

⁷³³ <http://lmsi.net/L-antiterrorisme-et-ses-experts>; <https://www.arretsurimages.net/articles/letrange-document-terroriste-de-l-expert-jacquard-f5?id=8790>; <http://www.kapitalis.com/medias/61-medias/5073-lattentat-doslo-al-qaida-et-les-rates-des-medias-occidentaux-.html>; [http://archive.wikiwix.com/cache/?url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.bakchich.info%2FAu-nom-du-11-septembre-suite%2C04933.html%23nb8](http://archive.wikiwix.com/cache/?url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.bakchich.info%2FAu-nom-du-11-septembre-suite%2C04933.html%23nb8;);

⁷³⁴ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_Lab%C3%A9vi%C3%A8re;

⁷³⁵ https://www.lepoint.fr/editos-du-point/jean-guisnel/crise-ouverte-a-la-revue-defence-la-redaction-a-demissionne-28-03-2011-1312272_53.php;

⁷³⁶ <https://www.investigaction.net/fr/qui-sommes-nous/>;

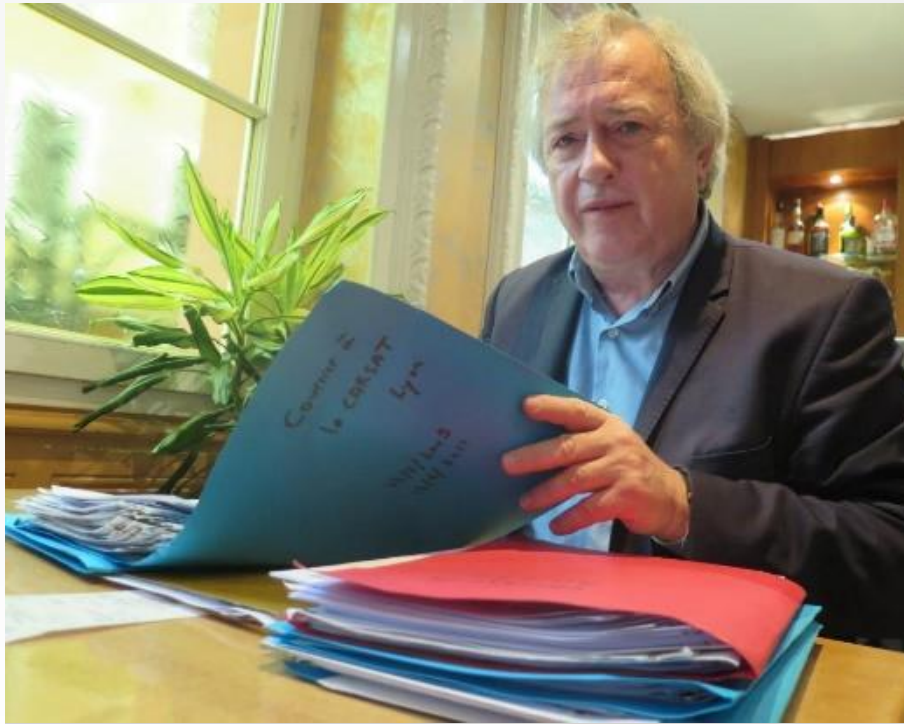
⁷³⁷ <https://www.lepoint.fr/journalistes-du-point/ian-hamel>;

⁷³⁸ <https://editions.flammarion.com/Catalogue/hors-collection/tariq-ramadan>;

⁷³⁹ Hamid Algar, *Wahhabism. A critical Essay*, Islamic Publications International, Oneonta NY, pages 45-50;

⁷⁴⁰ <https://www.lematin.ch/suisse/enquete-tariq-ramadan-roi/story/24357827>;

author, the prosecutor of Geneva decided to investigate Ian Hamel not only for liable, but also for the forge of documents⁷⁴¹.



Ian Hamel

6.2.12 Ian Hamel is one the main sources⁷⁴² of Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot's book "Nos très chers Emirs"⁷⁴³. Parallely, Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot are some of the main sources of Ian Hamel's book on Tariq Ramadan⁷⁴⁴ as well as for his newspapers' publications⁷⁴⁵. Defending the book on Tariq Ramadan, Hamel quotes the books of Chesnot and Malbrunot, in despite of the fact that he's one of the sources of many of them, including "Qatar Papers"⁷⁴⁶.

6.2.13 On the other hand, Hamel is defending the book "Qatar Papers" in his commentary in GWA⁷⁴⁷. Ian Hamel is one of the editors of Global Watch

⁷⁴¹ <https://www.reveilcitoyenmedia.com/post/ian-hamel-fait-face-%C3%A0-la-justice-helv%C3%A9tique-pour-avoir-diffam%C3%A9-et-calomni%C3%A9-tariq-ramadan;>

⁷⁴² https://www.lepoint.fr/monde/le-monsieur-anticorruption-du-qatar-et-son-hotel-particulier-26-02-2018-2197953_24.php;

⁷⁴³ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, "Nos très chers Émirs", Michel Lafon, Paris 2017, pages 50-51, page 217;

⁷⁴⁴ Ian Hamel, "Tariq Ramadan. Histoire d'une imposture", Flammarion, Paris 2020, five different quotes, see in

[https://books.google.it/books?id=EmPIDwAAQBAJ&pg=PP208&lpg=PP208&dq=%22qatar+papers%22+%22ian+hamel%22&source=bl&ots=0NU20fjOn7&sig=ACfU3U2275jHbx-](https://books.google.it/books?id=EmPIDwAAQBAJ&pg=PP208&lpg=PP208&dq=%22qatar+papers%22+%22ian+hamel%22&source=bl&ots=0NU20fjOn7&sig=ACfU3U2275jHbx-aKiGp9JgHvD1ORjf1tQ&hl=it&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi1odDlvnoAhXK0qQKHfYfEafEQ6AEwBHoECAkQAQ#v=onepage&q=%22qatar%20papers%22%20%22ian%20hamel%22&f=false;)

[aKiGp9JgHvD1ORjf1tQ&hl=it&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi1odDlvnoAhXK0qQKHfYfEafEQ6AEwBHoECAkQAQ#v=onepage&q=%22qatar%20papers%22%20%22ian%20hamel%22&f=false;](https://books.google.it/books?id=EmPIDwAAQBAJ&pg=PP208&lpg=PP208&dq=%22qatar+papers%22+%22ian+hamel%22&source=bl&ots=0NU20fjOn7&sig=ACfU3U2275jHbx-aKiGp9JgHvD1ORjf1tQ&hl=it&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi1odDlvnoAhXK0qQKHfYfEafEQ6AEwBHoECAkQAQ#v=onepage&q=%22qatar%20papers%22%20%22ian%20hamel%22&f=false;)

⁷⁴⁵ [https://mondafrique.com/tariq-ramadan-un-benevole-a-35-000-euros-par-mois/;](https://mondafrique.com/tariq-ramadan-un-benevole-a-35-000-euros-par-mois/)

⁷⁴⁶ https://www.lepoint.fr/monde/le-qatar-accuse-d-arroser-generousement-l-islam-de-suisse-03-05-2019-2310764_24.php;

⁷⁴⁷ <https://global-watch-analysis.com/le-qatar-et-lislam-englobant/?lang=en;>

Analysis⁷⁴⁸ and of "Conspiracy Watch"⁷⁴⁹. Last one is an online platform of the Observatoire du Conspirationisme Paris⁷⁵⁰, directed by the Jewish author Rudy Reichstadt and sustained from the Fondation pour la Mèmoire de la Shoah⁷⁵¹. As the Observatoire has been launched, Le Figaro published a story about it, sustaining its goal⁷⁵². The association has been set up in July 21, 2014 and registered in June 2016⁷⁵³.

6.3 The German team



Youssef Nada

6.3.0 The paranoid need to publish "Qatar Papers" also in Germany, and to create a special staff of GWA to take care of the German relations of the CEMO Centre d'études du Moyen Orient, is described in a chapter of the book by Chesnot and Malbrunot⁷⁵⁴: according to the authors, Qatar, after having infiltrated France, is now proceeding to conquer Bavaria, collaborating with Muslim Brotherhood which, since the 1950s, has built a mosque and inaugurated an Islamic Center in Munich - both sponsored by the founder and main shareholder of Bank Al-Taqwa SA Lugano , Youssef Nada, an Egyptian belonging to a family deeply rooted in Muslim Brotherhood⁷⁵⁵. This idea terrifies Abdelraheem Ali and his staff. Probably, he doesn't know that the biggest clients of the Bank Al-Taqwa was the Wahhabi family

⁷⁴⁸ <https://global-watch-analysis.com/qui-sommes-nous/?lang=en>;

⁷⁴⁹ <https://www.conspiracywatch.info/author/ian-hamel/>;

⁷⁵⁰ <https://www.conspiracywatch.info/mentions-legales/>;

⁷⁵¹ <https://www.conspiracywatch.info/>;

⁷⁵² <https://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2015/03/02/01016-20150302ARTFIG00391-ce-site-qui-traque-les-conspirationnistes.php>;

⁷⁵³ <https://www.societe.com/societe/observatoire-du-conspirationnisme-805407194.html>;

⁷⁵⁴ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, "Qatar Papers, *il libro nero dell'Islam*", versione italiana, Rizzoli, Milano 2019, pages 222-230

⁷⁵⁵ Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, "Qatar Papers, *il libro nero dell'Islam*", versione italiana, Rizzoli, Milano 2019, pages 222-230

Bin Laden⁷⁵⁶, which used the bank setting up their multinational Saudi Bin Laden Group⁷⁵⁷, whose main client has always been the Saudi Crown⁷⁵⁸.

6.3.1 As part of its efforts to undermine the image of Qatar in France and Europe, both KSA and UAE deploy their operatives and agencies to do the job. The importance of Abdelraheem Ali is very vivid in this instance where his job not only promoting the Qatar Papers book but also functioning as propaganda tool across the borders, with the base being Paris. The same agenda of CEMO, GWA and the Reference is now being taken to other European countries but with new faces and languages. On January 21st, 2018, CEMO started a website for the German readers, called "Die Referenz", which has a different team as the French and English one⁷⁵⁹: even if the head office remains in Paris, and Abdelraheem Ali remains the owner and the Chairman of the whole organization⁷⁶⁰, there are several young writers, who are working for this new page, which is apparently preparing the publishing of the German edition of "Qatar Papers": Alexandre Del Valle, Roland Lombardi, Joachim Veliocas, Emmanuel Razavi and Roland Jacquard⁷⁶¹. They can count also on the contributions of further writers, like Ahmed Youssef⁷⁶², Mustafa Kamal⁷⁶³, Nora Albendary⁷⁶⁴, Shima Hafezy⁷⁶⁵, Ahmed Sami Abdul Fattah⁷⁶⁶, Mahmood Roshdi⁷⁶⁷, Ali Rajab⁷⁶⁸, Mustafa Salah⁷⁶⁹. The reason why there are so many external contributions can be explained with the fact that the contributions in "Die Referenz" are in Google-German, not in proper and professional language, done in a way to let it look big if you watch it with the eyes of a foreigner.

6.3.2 All the Arab contributors are in reality working for a parallel Egyptian organization, called ACRSEG (Arab Center for Research and Studies), which has been established in 1998 and, since 2012, is coordinated by Abdelraheem Ali⁷⁷⁰. The core of the program of the center is to study "the currents of political Islam in Egypt and the world, their sources of financing, and the nature of the differences within the political stream of Islam, (Brotherhood, Salafi groups, Islamic group, jihad, etc.)", as well as "the Muslim Brotherhood, international Islamic organizations" and "jihadist

⁷⁵⁶ http://www.historycommons.org/entity.jsp?entity=abdullah_awad_bin_laden

⁷⁵⁷ http://historycommons.org/entity.jsp?entity=bakr_bin_laden

⁷⁵⁸ Steve Coll, "The Bin Ladens: An Arabian Family in the American Century", Penguin Books, London 2008

⁷⁵⁹ <https://www.diereferenz-paris.com/2833>

⁷⁶⁰ <https://www.diereferenz-paris.com/2833>

⁷⁶¹ <https://www.diereferenz-paris.com/2833>

⁷⁶² <https://www.diereferenz-paris.com/3681>

⁷⁶³ <https://www.diereferenz-paris.com/991>

⁷⁶⁴ <https://www.diereferenz-paris.com/745>

⁷⁶⁵ <https://www.diereferenz-paris.com/703>

⁷⁶⁶ <https://www.diereferenz-paris.com/659>

⁷⁶⁷ <https://www.diereferenz-paris.com/640>

⁷⁶⁸ <https://www.diereferenz-paris.com/611>

⁷⁶⁹ <https://www.diereferenz-paris.com/1287>

⁷⁷⁰ <http://www.theportal-center.com/2017/09/the-arab-center-for-research-and-studies-facts-figures/>

movements⁷⁷¹. The most of the articles, copied and pasted from Press Agencies, regard German internal political matters.



Emmanuel Razavi and Alexandre Del Valle

6.3.3 Alexandre Del Valle is a former politician of the rightest wing of UMP, a University Professor for geopolitics (he has a quite successful blog⁷⁷²) and a reputed expert for military questions⁷⁷³. He works also for "Le Figaro"⁷⁷⁴, where he leads a fight against the Muslim Brotherhood and some Arab nations together with Georges Malbrunot⁷⁷⁵, publishing his own last book (called "Le Projet: La stratégie de conquête et d'infiltration des frères musulmans en France et dans le monde"⁷⁷⁶, joint with Emmanuel Razavi, 5 months after Malbrunot's book on Qatar)⁷⁷⁷. The book has been published in the collection "L'Artilleur", which is specialized in geopolitical essays, by the éditions du Toucan, in Paris⁷⁷⁸.

6.3.4 Emmanuel Razavi wrote already a book in September 2017 about Qatar, published by éditions du Toucan, called "Qatar, vérités interdites: Un émirat au bord de l'implosion"⁷⁷⁹. He's a well-known French journalist, who works as reporter in the Middle East for "Le Figaro" (as a colleague of Georges Malbrunot) and "France 24" (as a colleague of Atmane Tazaghart)⁷⁸⁰. Both gentlemen have parallel business activities. Alexandre Del Valle is the owner, joint to his sister Nathalie and her husband Jean-Louis Hurel (a rich industrial manager), of the company Société Civile Immobilière 24 Vineuse SA Paris⁷⁸¹, which owes the building located at 24, Rue

⁷⁷¹ <http://www.acrseg.org/41174>

⁷⁷² <https://www.alexandrevalle.com/>

⁷⁷³ <https://www.dreuz.info/2011/02/27/mais-qui-est-donc-alexandre-del-valle-%e2%80%93-par-jean-patrick-grumberg/>

⁷⁷⁴ <https://www.dreuz.info/2011/02/27/mais-qui-est-donc-alexandre-del-valle-%e2%80%93-par-jean-patrick-grumberg/>

⁷⁷⁵ <https://blogs.mediapart.fr/observateur-independant-du-qatar/blog/100519/financement-du-terrorisme-les-revelations-qui-accablent-le-qatar>

⁷⁷⁶ <https://www.amazon.com/Projet-strat%C3%A9gie-conqu%C3%AAt-dinfiltration-musulmans/dp/2810008663>

⁷⁷⁷ <https://www.breizh-info.com/2020/01/29/135522/islamisation-de-la-france-on-ne-pourra-pas-dire-que-lon-ne-savait-pas/>

⁷⁷⁸ <https://www.editionsdutoucan.fr/>

⁷⁷⁹ <https://www.amazon.fr/Qatar-v%C3%A9rit%C3%A9s-interdites-%C3%A9mirat-limplosion/dp/2810007934>

⁷⁸⁰ <https://www.atlantico.fr/fiche/emmanuel-razavi-1636508>

⁷⁸¹ <https://www.manageo.fr/entreprises/511432916.html>

Vineuse, Paris, which belonged to the family of the famous composer Claude Debussy⁷⁸². The family Hurel-Del Valle owns two further real estate companies, the NBI SA Paris and the Société Civile Immobilière du Grignon SA Paris, as well as the financial consultancy company Le Poisson Pilote Sarl Paris, which is in liquidation⁷⁸³. On the 16th of April 2019 Alexandre Del Valle started up a financial consultancy and brokerage company, called Monsieur Alexandre Del Valle – a company, which has been immediately cut off, due to reasons we don't know⁷⁸⁴.



The luxury building in 24 Rue Vineuse, Paris

6.3.5 Alexandre Del Valle worked already as a financial broker with a London based company, the High Potentials Consulting Ltd., which has been set up in March 2005 and has been liquidated in March 2010. Del Valle, initially, registered himself with his pseudonym, and later with his real name, Marco D'Anna⁷⁸⁵. Emmanuel Razavi has an history as media entrepreneur. On the 17th of January 2000, together with Frank Lodi and Olivier Jacquin, he set up the Axel Presse International Inc. Brigham (Québec) – a company, which has been cut off on the 10th of May 2002, because it never deposited a financial statement⁷⁸⁶. Frank Lodi was a photographer for several French media, who has been accused in 2010 for showing the face of the demonstrators by a protest's march in 2010⁷⁸⁷ and is now working for an agency called SIPA⁷⁸⁸. Olivier Jacquin is a former French senator from the Socialist Party⁷⁸⁹.

⁷⁸² https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rue_Vineuse

⁷⁸³ <https://dirigeants.bfmtv.com/Nathalie-DEL-VALLE-336986/>

⁷⁸⁴ <https://www.societe.com/societe/monsieur-alexandre-del-valle-850130865.html>

⁷⁸⁵ High Potential Consulting Ltd. London

⁷⁸⁶ Axel Presse International Inc. Brigham Québec

⁷⁸⁷ <https://www.ani-asso.fr/flouter-ou-ne-pas-flouter/>

⁷⁸⁸ [https://www.pinterest.com.mx/pin/469922542348018715/?amp_client_id=CLIENT_ID\(&\)&mweb_unauth_id=&from_amp_pin_page=true](https://www.pinterest.com.mx/pin/469922542348018715/?amp_client_id=CLIENT_ID(&)&mweb_unauth_id=&from_amp_pin_page=true)

⁷⁸⁹ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olivier_Jacquin

6.3.6 The main activity of Emmanuel Razavi, until 2018, has been the agency called “BEW Media Corporation”, which is the trading name for four different companies, which were mainly producing a Press Agency (“Global Geo News”⁷⁹⁰) on the Middle East and North Africa and recording webinars and other broadcasts for “Le Figaro” and several other French media⁷⁹¹. As Malbrunot and Chesnot, Razavi was one of the most famous reporters acting in Baghdad during the war in 2004⁷⁹². The original holding company was the BEW Media Group SAS, which has been set up on the 22nd of April 2014 in Dijon and was a common business between Emmanuel Razavi, Thomas Barbier (still the main shareholder the BEW Group, and also majority shareholder of several other media companies⁷⁹³) and Serge Bernard (who left the group in 2016 and is working in the hotel sector⁷⁹⁴ since that day)⁷⁹⁵.



Thomas Barbier

The BEW Group in Perpignan, 18 Boulevard John Fitzgerald Kennedy

6.3.7 With the launch of Global Geo News, Barbier, Razavi and Alexandre Del Valle moved the head office to Barcelona and created a new company, the BEW Between East & West Corporation SL Barcelona, which has a capital of € 3000, has been set up on the 11th of December 2014, never filed a financial statement and is considered (since 2016) inactive⁷⁹⁶. The three gentlemen hoped to create a new media pole, which would deeply influence the description of the Middle East in France, Germany, Italy and Spain, and would act from Barcelona and Doha as a global player in the media industry⁷⁹⁷. The company closed 2018 with a loss of € 31838⁷⁹⁸, after moving the official seat from Dijon to Perpignan, increasing the capital from € 6000 to €

⁷⁹⁰ <https://globalgeonews.com/en/contributors>

⁷⁹¹ <https://www.linkedin.com/in/emmanuel-joseph-razavi-88615aa4/?originalSubdomain=es>

⁷⁹² <https://www.linkedin.com/in/emmanuel-joseph-razavi-88615aa4/?originalSubdomain=es>

⁷⁹³ <https://dirigeants.bfmtv.com/Thomas-BARBIER-4463923/>

⁷⁹⁴ <https://dirigeants.bfmtv.com/Serge-BERNARD-518080/>

⁷⁹⁵ <https://www.bodacc.fr/annonce/detail-annonce/A/20140087/131>

⁷⁹⁶ Between East & West Corporation SL Barcelona

⁷⁹⁷ <https://www.equinoxmagazine.fr/2018/05/15/e-razavi-geopolitique-barcelone/>

⁷⁹⁸ <https://www.infogreffe.fr/entreprise-societe/801821240-bew-media-group-660118B00846.html?typeProduitOnglet=EXTRAIT&afficherretour=true&tab=repr>

340'927⁷⁹⁹ and having the head office in Barcelona. The BEW Between East & West Corporation SL Barcelona still didn't file the Financial Statement for 2019⁸⁰⁰.



Joachim Véliocas



Roland Lombardi

6.3.8 The BEW Consulting SAS Perpignan has been set up on the 20th of October 2016 with € 1000 of capital⁸⁰¹ and a head office, which has been moved in 2019 in 18 Boulevard Kennedy, Perpignan, on the 24th of January 2019⁸⁰². The last financial statement announced a turnover of € 361⁸⁰³. The BEW TV SAS Perpignan has been set up on the 17th of January 2019 in Dijon with the capital of € 1500, which has been signed from Emmanuel Razavi, Sébastien Bouille (a TV Reporter, who worked in Qatar and Iraq for "France 24" and other media⁸⁰⁴) and Fabrice Pascal (a video and music producer⁸⁰⁵, who's working in Hollywood)⁸⁰⁶.

6.3.9 Roland Lombardi is a former paratrooper and is now a reputed champion of martial arts and – after graduating in Marseille – an independent consultant in geopolitics, specialized in Middle East and North Africa⁸⁰⁷, working for JFC Conseil, the military advisory company of the Rear Admiral Jean-François Coustillièr⁸⁰⁸, a 71 years old Marine Officer, who belongs to a long familiar tradition of Marine officers and grew up in Tunis⁸⁰⁹. Roland Lombardi is also a columnist of "Le Figaro"⁸¹⁰. Joachim Véliocas is an historian, who created his own blog, Observatoire de l'Islamisation⁸¹¹, which published several books until Spring 2018, as Véliocas joined CEMO and

⁷⁹⁹ <https://www.bodacc.fr/annonce/detail-annonce/B/20190108/2654>

⁸⁰⁰ <https://www.bodacc.fr/annonce/detail-annonce/B/20190108/2654>

⁸⁰¹ <https://www.bodacc.fr/annonce/detail-annonce/A/20140087/128>

⁸⁰² <https://www.bodacc.fr/annonce/detail-annonce/B/20190017/2435>

⁸⁰³ <https://www.infogreffe.fr/entreprise-societe/801820754-bew-consulting-660116B01368.html?typeProduitOnglet=EXTRAIT&afficherretour=true>

⁸⁰⁴ <https://www.linkedin.com/in/s%C3%A9bastien-bouille%C3%A9-377548101/>

⁸⁰⁵ <https://www.spettacolo.eu/tag/fabrice-pascal/>

⁸⁰⁶ <https://www.bodacc.fr/annonce/detail-annonce/A/20140087/130>

⁸⁰⁷ <https://www.linkedin.com/in/lombardi-roland-18031342/?originalSubdomain=fr>

⁸⁰⁸ <http://www.jfcconseilmed.fr/les-analystes...html>

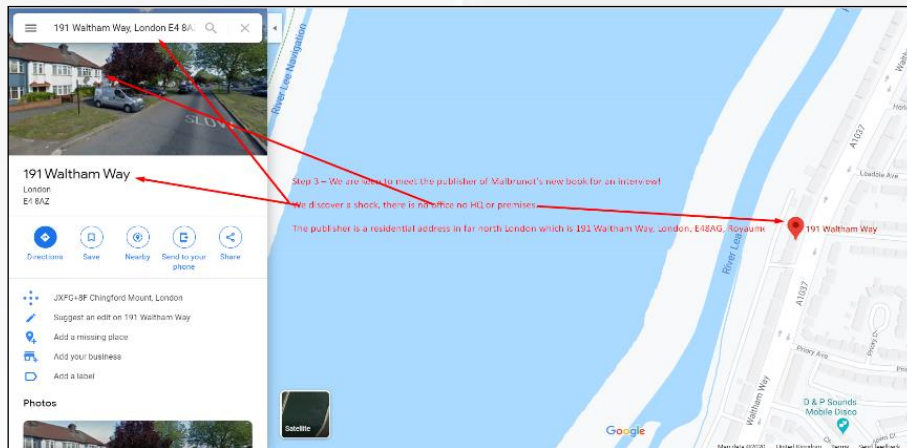
⁸⁰⁹ http://ecole.nav.traditions.free.fr/officiers_coustilliere_jean_francois.htm

⁸¹⁰ <https://www.lefigaro.fr/vox/monde/2017/01/17/31002-20170117ARTFIG00140-2008-2016-la-politique-etrangere-de-barack-obama-nous-a-permis-d-eviter-le-pire.php>

⁸¹¹ <https://islamisation.fr/>

published on its French and German websites his main articles. He's also one of the key sources of "Qatar Papers"⁸¹².

6.4 Countries Reports Publishing



Trying to meet the British publisher of "Qatar Papers"! No office, only a residential address in far north London: 191 Waltham Way, London, E4 8AG, Source: <https://goo.gl/maps/dWAMpHfCjEigUxaE6>

6.4.1 After established that the English version of "Qatar Papers" has been published from GWA and Averroes et Cie. Sarl Paris, we established that the responsibility for the book, in the UK, USA and in the Commonwealth countries lies by the Countries Reports Publishing Ltd. London⁸¹³. This company has been incorporated on November 4, 2008, with a capital of 1000 GBP⁸¹⁴.

⁸¹² Christian Chesnot, Georges Malbrunot, "Qatar Papers, *il libro nero dell'Islam*", versione italiana, Rizzoli, Milano 2019, pages 85-88

⁸¹³ Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, "Qatar Papers: How Doha finances the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe". Global Watch Analysis / Averroes & Cie., London 2019, page 2;

⁸¹⁴ 2008.11.04 Countries Reports Publishing Ltd. London;

Step 5
We make simple check about the financial status of the company. We found out BIG NEWS. We found NET current assets stand on £197, and Total net assets stand at £97. Meanwhile, Capital reserves stand at 97. These accounts were only given to the UK HMRC at Company House in August 2019, few months before the (Arabic and English) book released.

Source: <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/06741319/filing-history>

COUNTRIES REPORTS PUBLISHING LTD Registered Number 06741319

Micro-entity Balance Sheet as at 30 November 2018

	Notes	2018	2017
		£	£
Called up share capital not paid		100	100
Current Assets		1,603	53,445
Creditors: amounts falling due within one year		(1,800)	(16,659)
Net current assets (liabilities)		(197)	36,786
Total assets less current liabilities		(97)	36,886
Total net assets (liabilities)		(97)	36,886
Capital and reserves		(97)	36,886

- For the year ending 30 November 2018 the company was entitled to exemption under section 477 of the Companies Act 2006 relating to small companies.
- The members have not required the company to obtain an audit in accordance with section 476 of the Companies Act 2006.
- The directors acknowledge their responsibilities for complying with the requirements of the Companies Act 2006 with respect to accounting records and the preparation of accounts.
- The accounts have been prepared in accordance with the micro-entity provisions and delivered in accordance with the provisions applicable to companies subject to the small companies regime.

Approved by the Board on 27 August 2019

And signed on their behalf by:
T E Ashman, Director

A check about Countries Reports Publishing Ltd. London; NET current assets £197; Total net assets £97; Meanwhile, Capital reserves £97. These accounts are dated August 2019, few months before the (Arabic and English) book released – see <https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/06741319/filing-history>

6.4.2 It's impossible to establish the owner of the company, because the bearers have always been fiduciary trustees and we have no access to the by-law contracts. Countries Reports Publishing had a small turnover (175'000 GBP in 2014, 37'600 GBP in 2015⁸¹⁵, 186'500 GBP in 2016⁸¹⁶, 53'400 GBP in 2017⁸¹⁷, only 1600 GBP in 2018, no statement filed for 2019⁸¹⁸, yet). The fiduciary owner and sole member of the Board is Thomas Edmond Ashman⁸¹⁹. This opaque company is the holding entity of the GWA Global Watch Analysis Sarl Paris⁸²⁰.

⁸¹⁵ 2015.11.30 Countries Reports Publishing Ltd. London;

⁸¹⁶ 2016.11.30 Countries Reports Publishing Ltd. London;

⁸¹⁷ 2017.11.30 Countries Reports Publishing Ltd. London;

⁸¹⁸ 2018.11.30 Countries Reports Publishing Ltd. London;

⁸¹⁹ 2020.01.01 Countries Reports Publishing Ltd. London;

⁸²⁰ <https://global-watch-analysis.com/qui-sommes-nous/?lang=en>;



Gethin Bernard Webb

6.4.3 Thomas Ashman became the CEO of Countries Reports Publishing only in 2016. Before that, the sole member of the Board was Gethin Bernard Gibb⁸²¹. He wasn't a lawyer, or a financial broker – he was a bodyguard, who achieved a job as head of the maintenance team in the Hotels' chain David Lloyd Leisure⁸²², and he was based in a thermal bath in Hertfordshire⁸²³, a place beloved for Arab clients. Three years later, in 2011, still being the CEO of Countries Reports Publishing, he got a job in a luxury wellness hotel, in Bristol, The Bannatyne Group⁸²⁴, where he stayed only seven months⁸²⁵, because he moved to Geneva: he has been chosen as the Swiss CEO of the main European office of the Globaleye Group⁸²⁶ – one of the biggest financial investment company of Dubai⁸²⁷.

6.4.4 Globaleye is a relevant vehicle for Arab investments worldwide, and has been founded from his main shareholder and CEO, the former Royal Navy officer Tim Searle⁸²⁸. Gethin Webb resigned from the Board of Countries Reports Publishing the day he left Globaleye and became the CEO of another Geneva based financial

⁸²¹ 2008.11.04 Countries Reports Publishing Ltd. London;

⁸²² <https://careers.davidlloyd.co.uk/>;

⁸²³ [https://www.linkedin.com/in/gethin-webb-b7772617/?originalSubdomain=ch](https://www.linkedin.com/in/gethin-webb-b7772617/?originalSubdomain=ch;);

⁸²⁴ <https://www.bannatyne.co.uk/>;

⁸²⁵ [https://www.linkedin.com/in/gethin-webb-b7772617/?originalSubdomain=ch](https://www.linkedin.com/in/gethin-webb-b7772617/?originalSubdomain=ch;);

⁸²⁶ [https://www.linkedin.com/in/gethin-webb-b7772617/?originalSubdomain=ch](https://www.linkedin.com/in/gethin-webb-b7772617/?originalSubdomain=ch;);

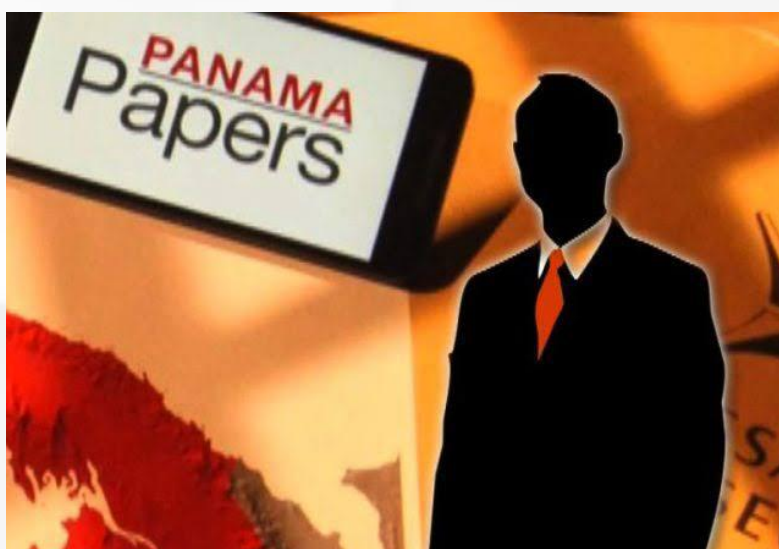
⁸²⁷ <https://www.globaleye.com/>;

⁸²⁸ <https://www.globaleye.com/about/our-people/tim-searle/>;

trust⁸²⁹. This suggests that the founders and true owners of Countries Reports Publishing Ltd. London are likely to be and still are in the UAE.

6.5 The onshore and offshore web of Thomas Edmond Ashman

6.5.1 The sole shareholder of Countries Reports Publishing Ltd. London, Thomas E. Ashman, has been working in the UK for over 20 years as a trustee, representing many Russian clients, including major industrial groups such as Nordgold SE Moscow⁸³⁰. Nordgold controls 100% of Celtic Resources Holdings Ltd. Dublin⁸³¹, which in turn controls 100% of Centoferve Ltd. Limassol⁸³², which in turn controls 100% of Eureka Mining Ltd. London⁸³³, which in turn controls 100% of Chelyabinsk Copper Company Ltd. London, which in turn previously called Transworld Mineral Gigant Ltd. London and was led by Thomas E. Ashman⁸³⁴.



The Qatar Papers book 2020 publishers are directly involved in the Panama Papers through the director of Countries Publishing Report Ltd, Thomas Edmond Ashman.

6.5.2 Several of his clients are active in the Czech Republic, in Russia, in Kazakhstan, and – in the last 15 years – in France⁸³⁵ and in the UAE. The role of Mr Ashman and his partners (Aman Antoinette Rooney, Nicholas S. Cooke, Carol Ann Dockrell, David Binding, Hugh G. Watson) is played through a web of companies

⁸²⁹ <https://www.linkedin.com/in/gethin-webb-b7772617/?originalSubdomain=ch;>

⁸³⁰ [http://www.nordgold.com/;](http://www.nordgold.com/)

⁸³¹ Celtic Resources Holdings Ltd. Dublin, page 8;

⁸³² Celtic Resources Holdings Ltd. Dublin, page 8;

⁸³³ Eureka Mining Ltd. London, page 5;

⁸³⁴ Transworld Mineral Gigant Ltd. London, page 4;

⁸³⁵ With regard to this info, he's a partner of the entrepreneur Ondřej Rudolf, who's active in different sectors (restaurants, food, IT, real estate, textiles) – Abillance Europe AS Plzeň, Abillance Ltd. Benfleet, Abillance Sro Plzeň, Vadis Analytical Sro Plzeň, Lambton Invest Ltd. Benfleet, Lambton Investments SA Gibraltar and several more...

(Lyntell Corporate Management Ltd. Benfleet⁸³⁶, Cides International Development Ltd. Benfleet⁸³⁷, RAM Active Media Plc Watford⁸³⁸, Degap Holding Ltd. Benfleet⁸³⁹), who are handling offshore companies for different clients.



Alexandre Krivine

6.5.3 Mr. Ashman is one of the trustees of Alexandre Charles Louis Krivine⁸⁴⁰. Mr. Krivine is an engineer who has been, until 2017, CEO⁸⁴¹ of the French company of the multinational group 3S Photonics⁸⁴² (which has been sold and transferred to the US⁸⁴³). In the recent decades, Krivine set up a row of offshore entities, registered through Mr. Ashman or his partner Mrs. Aman Rooney⁸⁴⁴. Some of them are still active⁸⁴⁵, and are controlled through a holding company, based in Quebec, which has no office and no capital: the Services Professionels Adrar Inc. Montreal⁸⁴⁶.

6.5.4 Mr. Krivine moved to Canada in 2009, as he has been involved in the investigations about the bankruptcy of some subsidiary company of the 3S Photonics Group, which have been sold and liquidated in Montreal⁸⁴⁷. This web of companies became necessary already 2009, after Mr. Krivine has been judged from the Court in Grasse (France) for the fraudulent bankruptcy of one of his French companies⁸⁴⁸, and he needed to avoid the seize of his patrimony. In

⁸³⁶ Lyntell Corporate Management Ltd. Benfleet;

⁸³⁷ Cides International Development Ltd. Benfleet;

⁸³⁸ David Binding;

⁸³⁹ Degap Holding Ltd. Benfleet;

⁸⁴⁰ The Bespoke Investment Car Company Ltd. London; Sheryne Ltd. London; Goo Business Ltd. London;

⁸⁴¹ <https://www.bloomberg.com/profile/person/17870013>;

⁸⁴² Alexandre Charles Louis Krivine;

⁸⁴³ https://www.photonics.com/Articles/Eurazeo_Acquires_3S_Photonics/a48733;

⁸⁴⁴ Alexandre Charles Louis Krivine;

⁸⁴⁵ The Bespoke Investment Car Company Ltd. London; Sheryne Ltd. London; Goo Business Ltd. London;

⁸⁴⁶ Services Professionels Adrar Inc. Quebec;

⁸⁴⁷ http://bankrupt.com/TCR_Public/091218.mbx;

⁸⁴⁸ <https://tribuca.net/archives/pdf/2012/CCn660121012.pdf>, page 25;

despite of that, since 2005 he was one of the judges of the Court of Commerce of Grasse⁸⁴⁹.

6.5.5 Mr. Krivine has been obliged to leave his charge after being involved, with his wife, the Moroccan citizen Souad Belhouji, in more than a scandal⁸⁵⁰. Mrs. Belhouji is a cousin of one of the main business partners of Mr. Krivine – Jean-Charles Charki⁸⁵¹ – who has been involved in many scandals with his father-in-law Claude Guéant⁸⁵², the former personal assistant of President Nicholas Sarkozy⁸⁵³. According to the French media, Mr. Charki, with Mr. Krivine and Mr. Guéant, moved apparently suspiciously earned money⁸⁵⁴ out of France and hidden it in an investment company based and administrated by these three gentlemen in Ras Al-Khaimah (UAE)⁸⁵⁵. According to several media stories, Mr. Charki and Mr. Guéant have been also involved in other scandals linked to some Algerian businessmen and some Muslim Groups' sustain⁸⁵⁶.



Jean-Charles Charki



Claude Guéant

6.5.6 The main client of Mr. Ashman remains unknown, even if he has been investigated from ICIJ in the process of the analysis of the illegal proceeds of the trustee company Mossack y Fonseca, which is generally known under the name of "Panama Papers"⁸⁵⁷. This client (or these clients – from some documents we could think there are two cooperating⁸⁵⁸) has a holding company in Victoria

⁸⁴⁹ <https://www.webtimemedias.com/article/alexandre-krivine-juge-au-tribunal-de-commerce-de-grasse>;

⁸⁵⁰ <http://elfassiscoopblog.com/2013/12/>;

⁸⁵¹ <https://www.lalettrea.fr/entreprises/2010/04/30/l-ascension-du-gendre-de-claude-gueant,83441569-arl>;

⁸⁵² <https://www.jeuneafrique.com/mag/782875/politique/france-la-chute-de-claude-gueant-le-monsieur-afrique-de-nicolas-sarkozy/>;

⁸⁵³ <https://ledesk.ma/2018/07/04/jean-charles-charki-un-sulfureux-visiteur-du-soir-au-siege-docp/>;

⁸⁵⁴ <https://www.sudouest.fr/2014/04/10/claude-gueant-son-gendre-a-t-il-utilise-sa-position-de-ministre-1521669-4697.php>;

⁸⁵⁵ https://www.lepoint.fr/societe/exclusif-les-droles-de-business-du-gendre-de-gueant-10-04-2014-1811714_23.php#;

⁸⁵⁶ <https://www.nouvelobs.com/rue89/rue89-politique/20130428.RUE5898/la-nouvelle-vie-de-claude-gueant-avocat-des-africains.html>;

<http://www.wikistrike.com/article-claude-71865590.html>; <https://www.capital.fr/entreprises-marches/l-argus-des-eminences-grises-du-business-512255>; <https://www.atlantico.fr/rdv/746986/comptes-suissees--le-scandale-de-la--liste-des-3000--gueant--le-mail--tres--compromettant-nkm-patrick-buisson--la-guerre-c-est-maintenant-barbara-lambert>;

⁸⁵⁷ <https://www.icij.org/investigations/panama-papers/video/>;

⁸⁵⁸ Black Pearl Holding Ltd. London, page3;

(Seychelles), called Watergardens Corporation Ltd. Victoria⁸⁵⁹. This company also controls many offshore entities⁸⁶⁰. Unfortunately, the documents held by ICIJ can't explain anything about the ownership and the use of all these companies.

6.5.7 Another Seychelles entity of Mr. Ashman, the Mostalina Investments SA Victoria, owns another group of offshore entities⁸⁶¹, some of them included in the "Panama Papers"⁸⁶². Mostalina Investments is a shareholder of the Watergardens Corporation Ltd. Victoria⁸⁶³. The web of companies around Mostalina Investments has been mostly used in order to funnel assets stolen from the frozen assets of the bankruptcy of the Landsbanki AS Reykjavik⁸⁶⁴. Due to the global crisis of 2008, this State owned Icelandic bank became insolvent and the Icelandic justice ordered its compulsory wind-up and froze all the assets⁸⁶⁵. After a long fight in the Tribunal, the judgement assigned to each damaged account holder a refund of 65,1% of his/her loss⁸⁶⁶ – but the measure failed, because, in the meanwhile, the main part of the assets disappeared – as documented from the Association of the Victims of Landsbanki⁸⁶⁷. Beside this case, Mostalina Investments controls 100% of the Tarmotion Consulting Ltd. London⁸⁶⁸, of the Blue Payments Ltd. London, of the Cytrix Trade Ltd. Stevenage⁸⁶⁹ and of the Mostalina Investments SA Birkikara (Malta)⁸⁷⁰.

6.5.8 We have an investigative track leading to Mauritius⁸⁷¹, whose owners are impossible to be identified yet. The African trustee, Joseph Pierre Benoit Ducray, has also been involved in the collection of documents known as the "Panama Papers" because of two companies, the Bradley B. Factoring Ltd. Tortola and the Vodavi Technologies Ltd. Victoria⁸⁷². The first company seems to have an unidentified owner in the BVI⁸⁷³; the last one seems to have an unidentified Samoan stakeholder⁸⁷⁴. VoDaVi technologies is the name of a business services company based in Massachusetts⁸⁷⁵. They are active in the advising, installing,

⁸⁵⁹ Black Pearl Holding Ltd. London, page 3;

⁸⁶⁰ Watergardens Corporation Ltd. Victoria;

⁸⁶¹ <https://panama.data2www.com/o/12217281>;

⁸⁶² Mostalina Investments SA

⁸⁶³ Mostalina Investments SA

⁸⁶⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/605068499505134/photos/a.608583849153599/1654435491235091/?type=1&theater>

⁸⁶⁵ <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2008/oct/07/iceland.banking>;

⁸⁶⁶ <https://web.archive.org/web/20131004220940/http://www.lbi.is/library/Opin-gogn/skyrslan/Q2%202013%20-%20LBI%20open%20site.pdf>;

⁸⁶⁷ [https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=4098550470156902&id=605068499505134&__tn__=K-R](https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=4098550470156902&id=605068499505134&__tn__=K-R;);

⁸⁶⁸ Tarmotion Consulting Ltd. London;

⁸⁶⁹ Cytrix Trade Ltd. Stevenage;

⁸⁷⁰ <https://www.datocapital.mt/executives/Mostalina-Investments-S.A.html>;

⁸⁷¹ Yeah Ltd. London;

⁸⁷² Joseph Pierre Benoit Ducray;

⁸⁷³ <http://www.hist-chron.com/welt/panama-papiere/briefkastenfirmen-British-Virgin-Islands/vorrat002.html>;

⁸⁷⁴ <http://www.geschichteinchronologie.com/welt/panama-papiere/briefkastenfirmen-Seychellen/Sey014.html>;

⁸⁷⁵ <https://www.vodavitechnologies.com/#>;

teaching, coordinating and implementing IT solutions for the management of industries and financial institutions⁸⁷⁶.

- 6.5.9 Amy Friel, CEO and owner of the company, asserts that she has “no idea about this company” and that her company “has nothing to do with this offshore entity”⁸⁷⁷. Moreover: at 626 Umm Al Quwain, in Dubai, is the Head Office of the Indian broker Vaidyan Vazhayil Baby Johnson, the owner of the Central Europe Media Ltd. Stevenage⁸⁷⁸, whose CEO is Thomas E. Ashman⁸⁷⁹. It looks like he’s a small fiduciary trustee.



Ahmed Azhari Gasim

- 6.5.10 Mr. Ashman has also a strong link to the Saudi ISDB Islamic Development Bank Ltd. Jeddah, visible in the UK through the role of an Ashman-administrated company, the Dawnfell Ltd. Tortola (BVI), which controls 100% of the Britten Development London (which has a significant capital of 15,5 million GBP and is buying real estate properties in the UK)⁸⁸⁰ and owns a building in Bayswater (London City), whose flats are controlled and administrated by the Hyde Park Towers Management Company Ltd. London⁸⁸¹. The company is run by Mrs. Claxton-Oldfield (who also run Britten Development) and the two Saudi citizens Ayman S.A. Gasim and Talal Al-Mashan⁸⁸². Mr. Gasim belongs to a family of Saudi and Sudanese bankers, who are working for ISDB in Saudi Arabia (Ahmed Azhari Gasim⁸⁸³) and in Canada (Mazin Gasim⁸⁸⁴). They are descendants of Awa Sharif

⁸⁷⁶ <https://www.vodavitechnologies.com/managed-services/>;

⁸⁷⁷ Phone conversation from the 3rd of April 2020;

⁸⁷⁸ Central Media Europe Ltd. Stevenage;

⁸⁷⁹ Central Media Europe Ltd. Stevenage Financial Statement;

⁸⁸⁰ Britten Development Ltd. London, page 4;

⁸⁸¹ Hyde Park Towers Management Company Ltd. London, page 14;

⁸⁸² Hyde Park Towers Management Company Ltd. London, page 2;

⁸⁸³ Report of the 34th Session of COMCEC, page 73; <https://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/people/azhari-gasim-ahmed/>;

⁸⁸⁴ <https://www.linkedin.com/in/mazingasim/?originalSubdomain=ca>;

Gasim, an UK living Sudanese theologian and politician, who has been Minister of Religious Affairs in Sudan in 1971⁸⁸⁵.

6.6 Conclusions

Starting three years ago, a team of provocative agents established itself between Egypt, France and the United Kingdom, serving the United Arab Emirates' government, financed by various Arab and Jewish sources, whose aim is to denigrate Qatar and to prevent the huge campaign carried out by the Qatar Investment Authority and the Qatar Charity Foundation in the last decade from leading the Doha government to be the most influential, among those of the Middle East countries, in Paris and London. It is not possible to understand exactly who is leading this conspiracy, but those who earn their living by working on this project are well recognized: Abdelraheem Ali, Atmane Tazaghart, Abdelrahim Ali, Ian Hamel, Georges Malbrunot, Roland Jaquard, Richard Labévière, Christian Chesnot. To support this conspiracy, a structure made up of publishing houses, intelligence and geopolitical periodicals, cultural centers, newspapers and TV was created for these people, and a protective umbrella was created for them, consisting of the parliamentarians' lobby. National Assembly called Groupe d'Amitié France-Iraq. In France the conspiracy already has a solid and politically rooted basis, while in the UK the campaign is still in its infancy. At the same time, through Globaleye and other investment funds in Dubai and Abu Dhabi, the Emirates aristocracy is using the lawyers and trustees of the group of spookies led by Tazaghart and Abdelrahim Ali to purchase assets in the European Union. I am sure that if we investigated more analytically, we would find acquisitions of economic entities from the Emirates and Saudi Arabia also in Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Spain and Portugal. This group can be easily challenged legally, as we already have enough pieces of evidence in hand to document the conspiracy and defamation.

⁸⁸⁵ Who's who in the Arab World 2007/2008, page 322;

https://books.google.it/books?id=NHCQBAMwawC&pg=PA524&lpg=PA524&dq=%22who%27s+who+in+the+arab+world%22+2007/2008+gasim&source=bl&ots=CmZKZFBuY_&sig=ACfU3U1oK5flkrIzPrcdbJqbJyF0v9LJTA&hl=it&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewiLp93T28voAhXHfZoKHY2OBHQQ6AEwAHoECASQLA#v=onepage&q=%22who's%20who%20in%20the%20arab%20world%22%202007%2F2008%20gasim&f=false

CHAPTER 7: RECOMMENDATIONS

- 7.1 The goal of this report is to show the propaganda campaign against QCF and to give transparency to the names and purposes of those who collaborate in this disparaging campaign, starting with Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot. The aim of this Report is to form the knowledge base for setting up subsequent steps for the customer to obtain the result he seeks.
- 7.2 This Report has been prepared in accordance with the international rules relating to business intelligence advisory, which allow the collection of statements by persons informed of the facts (which cannot be used in legal terms, because the veracity of the statements cannot be guaranteed in any way) and documentary evidence collected from public sources: official documents, publications of companies, associations and state bodies, as well as journalistic publications.
- 7.3 This Report reproduces the existence of a network of people and companies operating behind Chesnot and Malbrunot, who make use of their profile in public opinion and their active contribution and who all have some elements in common: they are deeply linked to Funding from the United Arab Emirates defends Saudi, Iranian and Muslim Brotherhood interests in different ways.

7.4 Based on the results of this Report, we suggest the following actions:

7.4.1 A row of publications in the newspapers or on TVs of the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and Italy, which explain the traits, the purposes, the protagonists and the modus operandi of the conspiracy - as well as the falsehoods reported in the writings of Chesnot and Malbrunot, whose purpose is evidently to distort the reputation of Qatar in the perception of the global public opinion and, consequently, to also damage the projects of investment and charity that Qatar finances worldwide; in this sense, we are making the first contacts in order to be able to convince nationally renowned newspapers to use the Report as a basis for the preparation of press articles. In two weeks we will be able to tell if there are concrete possibilities, and where;

7.4.2 A civil action (which is more pertinent and hurts the counterparty much more), which prohibits the continuation of the campaign, obligations to public denials and apologies, and punishes a series of violations of the laws on defamation;

7.4.3 The compilation of "case studies", to be completed during the legal action (at that time it is possible to request internal documents from associations and companies to which we, in compiling the Report, could not have access), which act as a stimulus to French judicial authority to initiate a possible criminal case for fraud and mobbing against the key personalities of the conspiracy - an action which, especially if supported by a favorable decision for our client in civil proceedings, can have important effects on the future attitude of the participants in the conspiracy against Qatar.

7.5 In agreement with the client, we contacted Dr. N.S., who is an established international expert on multi-jurisdictional cases and asset recovery actions. N.S., who's based in the South of Switzerland, but do have the license to operate in all Swiss jurisdictions) said he is available to examine this Report and evaluate the next possibilities.

7.6 Given that it is necessary to shield the identity of the ultimate client, and it is preferable to have the epicenter of the civil proceeding outside France, because in that country the political and (as evidenced by the Krivine case) juridical seems to be able to influence any legal action, we propose a formula that offers a solution to both needs: to found an association in Switzerland, which is the engine of the legal action, given that many of the suspicious payments that occurred between entities in the Middle East and operating entities in France, they took place through Geneva branches of Swiss banks. The association should gather representatives of people, living all over the world, mentioned in the disparaging campaign of Chesnot and Malbrunot, as well as organizations covered by the same defamatory campaign.

July, 2020

